A GRAMMAR OF ULWA

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>dependent (marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DETR</td>
<td>detransitivized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative/negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSG</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>partitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>speculative</td>
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</table>
Abbreviations used in examples taken from Tok Pisin (or used in glossing loans from that language) are presented below. These abbreviations do not necessarily apply to the grammar of Ulwa.

HAB = habitual
PRED = predicate (marker)
TR = transitive

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

A = the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause
ELAR = Endangered Languages Archive
IPA = International Phonetic Alphabet
ISO = International Organization for Standardization
LLG = Local-Level Government area
NP = noun phrase
O = object
P = the more patient-like argument of a transitive clause
PARADISEC = Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures
PP = postpositional phrase
R = recipient
S = subject (or, the single argument of an intransitive clause)
sp. = species (not necessarily used in a scientific sense)
T = theme
TAM = tense-aspect-mood
TP = Tok Pisin
V = verb
VP = verb phrase
X = oblique
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

The description of Ulwa’s grammar—even of aspects of the language that may lack any particular relevance to specific theoretical claims—will also be of broad typological value. Typologists can always benefit from a wider linguistic sample. Indeed, much earlier typological theory was based on a sample that was biased toward European or otherwise well-described languages and language families; even when examples from Papuan languages are now being
taken into consideration, most of them are taken from the rather large Trans New Guinea family (as understood in Pawley & Hammarström 2018). The documentation and description of Ulwa, however, will provide data and analyses not only from a previously unknown language, but from an entire language family that has never before been considered in any typological studies, obviously so since no descriptive materials on any of its languages existed previously.

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

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

1.2 Previous research on the language

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

In addition to Donald Laycock’s survey work in 1970–71 (presumably in Yaul village, since he decided to christen the language “Yaul”), there are four audio recordings of Ulwa
available on PARADISEC (http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/JM1), collected in 2005 by James McElvenney, a student at the University of Sydney, who, during two months of fieldwork on Mudukumo [bwm, biwa1243] (also known as Biwat or Mundugumor), was able to record some speakers of “Yaul” and “Dimili” [= Ulwa]. The collection consists of 1) an elicitation session (1 hour and 29 minutes) of basic vocabulary and sentences conducted in Dimiri village, 2) a story told in Ulwa and Tok Pisin (under 3 minutes), recorded in Dimiri village, 3) an elicitation session (about 40 minutes) of basic vocabulary and sentences conducted in the Biwat-speaking Kinakaten village with an Ulwa speaker from Yaul village, and 4) a story told in Ulwa by the same speaker (about 3 minutes), also recorded in Kinakaten village.

1.3 Methodology of research on the language

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

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

These recordings (both audio and video), as well as transcriptions and translations of texts annotated in ELAN and other materials on the language that I collected or produced are archived with the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS) (https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MI11035105) and with the Kaipuleohone Language Archive at the University of Hawai‘i (http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/37432).

The data upon which all descriptions and analyses are based come from a total of eleven months spent in Manu village, divided among three research trips—two months in 2015 (June to
August), six months in 2016 (June to December), and three months in 2017 (April to June). In total, I recorded over 60 hours of audio (including about 6 hours of video). Almost all of my time was spent in Manu village, but a few days’ worth of research was also conducted in the three other Ulwa-speaking villages (Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul). Research was also conducted in the three villages of Ulwa’s two sister languages—Mwakai (in Mongol and Kaimbal villages) and Pondi (in Langam village). While comparative data from the sister languages are considered, and certain dialectal differences among the four Ulwa-speaking villages are noted, this is, foremost, a grammatical description of the Manu dialect of the Ulwa language as spoken by older speakers. (The reason for this focus on the Manu dialect is a practical one. I have had the greatest access to Manu villagers and, accordingly, the most of my data come from this dialect. It is hoped that future research will examine the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect more carefully.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The second line is the morpheme-by-morpheme morphological analysis of the utterance: morphemes are separated such that (tabbed) spaces are placed between all (phonological) words,
an equal sign (=) is placed between clitics and their host words, and an en-dash (-) is placed between bound morphemes within a single word.

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

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

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

Ungrammatical utterances are indicated by an asterisk (*) at the start of the first line of the example. If there is a particular element in the utterance that is responsible for the ungrammaticality, this is preceded by an asterisk in the second line. (Note, however, that reconstructed forms are also indicated by an asterisk—there is an unfortunate homography in the
conventions of theoretical and historical linguistics.) A sentence preceded by a question mark (?) is taken to be somehow doubtful: it may be grammatically acceptable but semantically bizarre, or some speakers may be uncertain about whether it is grammatical or not.

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

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

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

1.5 Orthography

Before research on the language was begun in 2015, Ulwa had never been written. In developing the orthography used here, I have had a number of interests in mind. First, as much as possible, I have tried to maintain an isomorphic relation between sound and symbol. Indeed, each phoneme can be written in only one way. There is thus exactly one grapheme for every phoneme and one phoneme for every grapheme. Second, the practicalities of reading and writing the language have been taken into consideration. Thus, unusual characters have mostly been avoided. The Ulwa alphabet consists of 19 letters, almost all of which are basic Latin characters, found both in English and in Tok Pisin, and are easily typed on any keyboard. The one exception is the grapheme <ɨ>, which represents the high central vowel (written in the IPA as <ɨ>). Although it would be preferable to avoid diacritics entirely, there is no readily available alternative to this form (which contains a dieresis), since all five basic vowels of the Latin
alphabet are used to represent other phonemes in Ulwa’s orthography. The form <i> was chosen over the IPA form <ɨ>, since it is easier to type (on a PC: Alt 139; on a Mac: option u + i) and perhaps also less easily confused with the form <i>.

Aside from <i>, the phonemic values of Ulwa’s 19 letters should not be difficult for a general audience to intuit. The only digraphs are the four used to represent the language’s three prenasalized voiced stops and one prenasalized voiced affricate. On phonemic grounds, these could have been written more logically as *<b, d, g, j> as opposed to <mb, nd, ng, nj>, since there are no contrasts between prenasalized and plain voiced stops (in other words, the model of the orthographies of some other languages of the Pacific, such as Samoan, could have been followed). (Similarly, there is no need to write the voiceless stops—all of which are aspirated—as *<p, t, k, kh>, since there is no contrast between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops.) Nevertheless, the decision was made to represent the nasal gesture in these phonemes (i.e., the nasal sub-segments) overtly in the orthography with a digraph, so as to avoid any possible mispronunciation. As the language faces attrition, younger speakers and language learners may fail to note the prenasalized quality of all voiced stops, and they are likely to read Ulwa by following Tok Pisin and English spelling conventions, not those chosen explicitly for Ulwa, thus pronouncing <b, d, g> as [b, d, ɡ], rather than with their prenasal gesture as [m b, n d, n ɡ]. Indeed, whereas the oldest speakers are inclined to pronounce plain voiced stops in Tok Pisin as prenasalized voiced stops (e.g., *ndok for Tok Pisin dok ‘dog’), younger speakers (whose first language is usually Tok Pisin, do just the opposite—that is, they fail to pronounce the nasal portion of Ulwa’s voiced stops, especially when word-initial (e.g., *dunduma for Ulwa ndunduma ‘great-grandparent’). Also, regarding these graphemes, it may be noted that the phonetic realization of <ng> is [ŋɡ]—that is, with a velar (not alveolar) nasal element. However, since there is no phonemic velar nasal in the language, since writing one would require an unusual character, and since a natural phonological process assimilates alveolar nasals to the place of following velar stops (i.e., /nk/ → [ŋk]), there is no need to write this grapheme with an engma. It should be noted, though, that <ng> is always pronounced /ŋɡ/ and never */ŋ/ or */ŋɡ/ (as in, say, English, singer or finger)—again, there is no phonemic velar nasal in the language. (Similarly, the <n> of the grapheme <nj> represents a palato-alveolar nasal gesture, not an alveolar nasal gesture.)
When a proper noun (such as the name of a person or place) begins with a prenasalized stop (or affricate), however, only the stop (or affricate) gesture of the phoneme is written. Thus, for example, the personal names /mbanjiwa, ndamnda, nganmali, njukan/ are written <Banjiwa, Damnda, Ganmali, Jukan>. This is in keeping with earlier Ulwa name-writing practices, which were themselves likely influenced by the perceptions or preferences of the Australian officials charged with taking census and writing names. Whatever its origin, however, this practice is maintained throughout this work, since it is in keeping with the preferences of current Ulwa speakers. But since the present work also maintains the convention of capitalizing the first letter of proper nouns, the graphemes <B, D, G, J> may simply be viewed as representing [ⁿb, nd, ⁿɡ, ⁿdʒ].

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

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

Changes that occur between two (phonological) words, however, are not indicated in the orthography. Especially in rapid speech, there is a strong tendency for there to be elision and
coalescence of vowels between words. Discrete words are nevertheless always written with spaces on either side, such that the integrity of their underlying forms is preserved in the text.

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

1.6 Ulwa: the language and its speakers

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

1.6.1 The name of the language

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

As is common among languages of the Sepik (and is, indeed, attested in various languages across the globe), the glottonym Ulwa is based on a word that means ‘no’ or ‘nothing’.
The language of study in this grammar should not be confused with another Ulwa, the Nicaraguan language [ulw, ulwa1239] of the same name (also known as Ulúa and Sumu, and considered to be a dialect of Sumu by many).

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

1.6.2 The environment

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

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

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

Map 2 (on the following page) shows the location of Ulwa within the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea.
Manu village is located in the Keram Rural Local-Level Government area (LLG). The village sits along the Keram Black tributary to the Keram River, which is itself a tributary to the Sepik. There are no other villages upstream of Manu on the Keram Black; the inhabitants of villages downstream of Manu (including its nearest neighbor Yamen) speak Ap Ma as their traditional language. On the main Keram River are found villages whose inhabitants traditionally speak Kanda. The Keram leads to the Sepik, meeting this larger river around Angoram, the nearest town connected by road (to Wewak). Manu’s GPS coordinates are: 4°29’0”S, 144°0’55”E (-4.483, 144.015). The Ulwa name for the village of Manu is Nîmalnu (perhaps derived from nîmal ‘river’ plus nu ‘near’). The region immediately surrounding Manu village is known to Ulwa speakers as Bulon.

The other three Ulwa-speaking villages—Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul—form a small triangle in the Yuat Rural LLG, west of Manu village. These three villages are closer to the Yuat River, another tributary of the Sepik. The Yuat lies west of the villages and is at times accessible from them by creeks. The nearest neighbors on the Yuat speak Bun (upstream) and Biwat (downstream). The GPS coordinates for Maruat are 4°25’20”S, 143°54’40”E (-4.422, 143.911);
the GPS coordinates for Dimiri are 4°24′55″S, 143°54′30″E (-4.415, 143.908); and the GPS coordinates for Yaul are 4°24′55″S, 143°56′10″E) (-4.415, 143.936). In Ulwa, Maruat village is known as *Mamala*, Dimiri village is known as *Andimali*, and Yaul village is known as *Mosombla*.

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

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

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

Map 3 (on the following page) illustrates the relative locations of the four Ulwa-speaking villages and their neighbors.
Map 3. The four Ulwa villages and their neighbors
Ulwa-speaking villages are in red, Ap Ma-speaking villages are in yellow, Biwat-speaking villages are in light green, and Bun (which speaks a language related to Biwat) is in dark green.

1.6.4 The people

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

The primary staple carbohydrate is sago, a starch that must be painstakingly extracted from certain palm species and then prepared either as a jelly (ay in Ulwa) or as a chewy pancake (we in Ulwa). Traditionally, this entire process was the work of women alone, though now men often help in extracting the pulp from the trees—that is, felling the palm, stripping the bark, and hacking the wood into the splinters through which water may subsequently be passed to collect a starchy water for processing the sago flour. While men nowadays assist in the felling of the sago palms and beating of the sago pulp, it is still generally considered the work of women to press the pulp to extract the starchy water, to carry the starch back to the village, and to cook the sago into ay, by pouring boiling water onto the dry flour. When men wish to cook the sago starch, it is
more socially acceptable to prepare we, which is made without adding water to form the jellied sago (ay) that only women tend to cook.

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

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

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

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

Hunting is the domain of men. It is usually undertaken at night, though this depends on the quarry—bandicoot, lizard, and crocodile are usually hunted at night, whereas pig is more commonly hunted during the day. All animals are hunted by spear. At night people are aided by flashlights (which have replaced traditional flame torches). During the day (that is, to hunt pig) the hunters are assisted by dogs. Birds are also hunted, often by slingshot. This is one of the favorite pastimes of children.
Two species of grub are harvested from palm trees—the relatively large *siwi* and the smaller *mïnkïn*, the latter of which is often worked into sago pancakes (*we*). A third species of grub, *mundun*, is taken from the trunks of other (dead) tree species.

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

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

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

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

Houses are built from jungle materials (timber, woven bamboo, and vine ropes), but store-bought nails are occasionally used as well. Houses are raised on stilts, and may contain multiple rooms as well as outdoor verandas. They typically need to be rebuilt every five to seven years, an effort that can involve much of the community, who, working together, are able to finish constructing a house in about seven to ten days (although this process can take longer,
especially if resources are limited). People sleep inside store-bought mosquito nets, which are especially important during the rainy season, when malaria-carrying mosquitoes plague the villages. (Traditionally, people slept in meshwork enclosures made from bark, the insides of which would become sweltering hot, especially when shared by multiple people.) Malaria carried by mosquitoes is probably the single greatest health risk that the villagers face.

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

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

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

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

Many other important community activities revolve around the church, which hosts prayer meetings for women, youth gatherings, and occasional feasts for special occasions, during which many families come together for pot-luck-style meals. A death in the family is occasion for a long period of mourning (called a hauskrai in Tok Pisin—common among Melanesian cultures), and—depending on the circumstances of the death—may require compensation to be
paid to the bereaved. Many community conflicts are resolved by paying monetary (or equivalent) compensation, often brokered through the help of respected village leaders. (If, for example, a dispute results in a physical altercation, and one party is injured or killed, the assailant will be expected to pay a certain amount to the victim or the victim’s family.)

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

1.6.5 Relationships with neighboring villages

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

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

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

Map 4. Ulwa and its neighbors
Ulwa, Mwakai, and Pondi are members of the Ulmapo family; Kanda belongs to the Lower Sepik family; Biwat, Bun, Changriwa [cga, chan1319], Mekmek [mvk, mekm1240], and Miyak [kql, kyen1243] (also known as Kyenele) are members of the Yuat family; Ap Ma and Banaro are each either isolates or members of the Ramu family.
1.6.6 Borrowing

A number of lexical items in Ulwa are identical or similar to those in other languages of the Sepik, namely Ap Ma, Biwat, Kanda [aog, ango1255] (also known as Angoram), and perhaps others. Since these languages are all largely unstudied, it is hard to know just how much of Ulwa’s lexicon is shared with those of other languages. It is also not always clear the direction of borrowing, although it is generally assumed—since the other languages are socially much more dominant—that Ulwa has adopted lexical items from its neighbors more than vice versa. Where possible, however, comparative evidence may be used from Ulwa’s two sister languages, Mwakai and Pondi, to try to tease out native versus inherited vocabulary (although it must be conceded that this methodology may be confounded by the possibility of borrowings made by the proto-language or by the possible presence of more recent borrowings that have managed to enter into multiple Ulmapo languages.

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

Among the apparent loans from Biwat is the word kalim ‘cassowary’ (< Biwat karim). The Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect seems to have more loans from Biwat than does the Manu dialect, such as: kita ‘frog’ (< Biwat kitak, cf. Manu dialect womotana ‘frog’), mbalanji ‘person’ (< Biwat baranjik, cf. Manu dialect ankam ‘person’; note also the Manu dialect meaning of the form mbananji ‘enemy’, an interesting semantic shift, though not a surprising one, considering the traditional animosity between Manu village and Biwat village), and sakanma ‘axe’ (< Biwat sakanma, cf. Manu dialect tana ‘axe’).
From Ap Ma, Ulwa has apparently adopted the word ay ‘jellied sago’ (< Ap Ma ay; Ulwa lacks the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/, but it is not exactly clear why this sound would become /y/ in Ulwa as opposed to, say, /n/). Also mbatmbat ‘tilapia’ (an introduced fish species) is likely from Ap Ma mbatmbat. An alternate term for ‘grandmother’ used in Manu, mom, also likely comes from Ap Ma (mom ‘old woman’). The Manu dialect form aw ‘betel nut’ is also likely from Ap Ma aw (cf. Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect awm, which is more likely cognate with Pondi kamu and Mwakai amu, although it is probable that terms for ‘betel nut’, much like those for ‘tobacco’ have been circulating along with the actual traded good for many generations).

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.7 Language vitality

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

If they were to be naïvely compared to earlier reports of speaker numbers, then these figures could, perhaps, appear relatively high—that is, as if the language were thriving. Earlier counts of Ulwa speakers, however, may be misleading. When Laycock (1973:36) first reports the existence of the language, he offers the number 814. As is often the case with apparent speaker number counts, however, this is not the purported number of Ulwa speakers, but rather the combined population of the villages where Ulwa is spoken, in this case, the “population (estimated or censused) as at 1 January 1970” (ibid., 3).
Official census numbers from the Papua New Guinea government are also problematic. The most recently released census—from 2011—lists 669 inhabitants for Manu, 424 for “Muruat” (sic, for Maruat), 1,111 for Dimiri, and nothing for Yaul (2014 National Statistic Office). Not only does the census suffer from misspellings and omissions—the figure of 669 for “Manu” seems to include also the population of the neighboring Simbri village, which shares a government representative with Manu, but whose population speaks the unrelated Ap Ma language.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Age 0–19</th>
<th>Age 20–40</th>
<th>Age 40+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maruat</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimiri</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaul</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>636</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the total population of the four Ulwa-speaking villages in 2017 was 3,899. While some inhabitants of these villages originally come from other language communities, there is also a comparable number of ethnic Ulwas who have moved out of these four villages (there are, of course, also migrants from one Ulwa village to another). Thus, this rough estimate of 3,900 people can be taken as the total ethnic population of the Ulwa people.

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

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

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

The most important indicator for the decline in vitality of Ulwa is the utter lack of intergenerational transmission. Even though most people older than 40 are fluent, they nevertheless communicate almost entirely in Tok Pisin. Some elders regularly use Ulwa, but even among members of this demographic group there are no monolinguals, and elders often rely
heavily on Tok Pisin as well. For those who do speak Ulwa, code-switching with Tok Pisin is common. Even attempts at “pure” speech (offered for the benefit of the researcher) are usually riddled with Tok Pisin loan words.

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

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

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

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

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

Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission

Ulwa’s status: grade “2”: severely endangered

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

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

Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

Ulwa’s status: “at risk”

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

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

Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population

Ulwa’s status: grade “2”: severely endangered

“A minority speak the language” (UNESCO 2003:9).
Even including the estimates of semi-speakers along with those of fully fluent speakers, only 1,943 people out of the four villages’ total population of 3,899 (49.83%) speak Ulwa.

**Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains**

**Ulwa’s status: grade “2”: used in “limited or formal domains”**

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

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

**Factor 5: Response to new domains and media**

**Ulwa’s status: grade “0”: an “inactive” response**

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

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

**Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy**

**Ulwa’s status: grade “1”**

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

Speakers in Manu village have been adopting the orthography that I have devised with suggestions from the community. There is not, however, much being written by community members in this (or any) language.
Factory 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and polices, including official status and use

Ulwa’s status: grade “5”: equal support

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

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

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

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

Factor 8: Community members’ attitudes toward their own language

Ulwa’s status: grade “4”

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

Ulwa fairs well according to this metric, as the overall popular view of the vernacular is positive. Many lament the lack of intergenerational transmission, as well as the loss of traditional ecological knowledge that is seen as being strongly bound to linguistic knowledge. Although a number of community members have aspirations of economic advancement and, as such, support
the use of dominant languages, Ulwa is not viewed as a hindrance to progress. Rather, there is a common view that the spread of Tok Pisin has been an unnecessary step in the process of globalization, many wishing their children to be fluent in just two languages, English and Ulwa, the former for reasons of socioeconomic betterment and cross-cultural communication, the latter for reasons of cultural preservation and identity.

**Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation**

*Ulwa’s status: transitioning from grade “0” (undocumented) to grade “3” (fair)*

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

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

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

### 1.7.2 EGIDS

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

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

**LEI factor 1: Intergenerational transmission**

*Ulwa’s status: 3 – endangered*

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

**LEI factor 2: Absolute number of speakers**

*Ulwa’s status: 3 – endangered*

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

**LEI factor 3: Speaker number trends**

*Ulwa’s status: 4 – severely endangered*

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

**LEI factor 4: Domains of use**

*Ulwa’s status: 4 – severely endangered*

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

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

LEI calculation: $3 \times 2 + 3 + 4 + 4 = 17$

$17 / 25 = 68\% = \text{severely endangered (61–80\%).}$
1.8 Classification

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

1.8.1 Papuan languages

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

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

All told, there are perhaps 862 indigenous spoken non-Austronesian languages in this “New Guinea region” (Palmer 2018:7). For whatever reason, these Papuan languages have
suffered from the zealous efforts of comparative linguists to fit them all into a small number of large language families (cf. Greenberg’s 1971 “Indo-Pacific” hypothesis and Wurm, Voorhoeve, and McElhanon’s 1975 proposed “Trans-New Guinea Phylum”). But the overly broad claims of genetic affiliations that have been made over the years have failed to garner the support of any rigorous application of the comparative method. While it is certainly possible that all Papuan languages descend from just a few proto-languages (or even just a single proto-language), it may simply be impossible (given current methods and the nature of the data available at least) to prove this. The reason for this is simply the great time depth. The ancestors of the modern Papuan peoples migrated to the island of New Guinea perhaps more than 49,000 years ago (Summerhayes et al. 2010), and, given their subsequent dispersal into areas that are environmentally quite isolating, their languages were allowed multiple millennia during which to diversify. Perhaps many sister languages have diversified to the point that any cognacy (if it were ever present) is now irrecoverable due to the extensive amount of language change over such an extensive amount of time.

1.8.2 Language families of the Sepik-Ramu Basin

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>Mwakai</th>
<th>Pondi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>kikal</td>
<td>kikar</td>
<td>kakal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sun’</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>arila</td>
<td>ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>ankam</td>
<td>akam</td>
<td>alka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>anma</td>
<td>anum</td>
<td>almon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>kapo</td>
<td>kapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>apin</td>
<td>apu</td>
<td>apn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘spirit’  naⁿbana  aⁿqolo  naⁿban
‘my’  niⁿdʒi  naⁿdʒi  niⁿdʒi
‘canoe’  num  niⁿba  nim
‘husband’  numan  numun  numon
‘two’  nini  ɲim  inin
‘thing’  ⁿdʒi  ⁿdʒi  ⁿdʒi

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

1.8.4 Evidence for broader genetic affiliations?

Despite his limited data, Laycock ventured a broader affiliation for the family, writing that the three languages “clearly form a separate stock within the Ramu Sub-Phylum” (1973:36). This family (the “Ramu Phylum”) was first postulated by Z’graggen (1971:73ff.), who used lexicostatistical counts of “probable cognates” to generate theories of genetic affiliation, following Swadesh’s (1954:326) system of considering 81–100% cognate vocabulary to constitute a single language, 36–81% to constitute a “family”, 12–36% to constitute a “stock”, and 4–12% to constitute a “phylum”. Although he notes that “[s]ound correspondences were taken into consideration whenever detected” (1971:6), Z’graggen’s approach was far from rigorous, relying on an impressionistic notion of “similarity in form”, rather than the strict application of the comparative method. The result was the proposed Ramu family, consisting of perhaps 25 languages, of which three—Banaro [byz, bana1292], Aion (Ambakich) [aew, amba1269], and Kambot (Ap Ma) [kbx, apma1241]—were included only quite tentatively. Z’graggen did not himself include Mongol-Langam in his classification, but he writes: “Between the Biwat and Kambot languages the following villages were said to have languages of their own: a) Mangol [sic], Kamba [sic], b) Dimiri, Yaul, Manu, Maruwat [sic]” (1971:88). Mongol and Kaimbal are the two Mwakai-speaking villages; and Dimiri, Yaul, Manu, and Maruat are the four Ulwa-speaking villages; the village (Langam) of the third language (Pondi) in the family is not mentioned.
Laycock (1973:19ff.), adopting Z’graggen’s Ramu family, includes it as a subgroup of a larger family, which he calls the “Sepik-Ramu Phylum”. Laycock and Z’graggen (1975:758) ultimately place Mongol-Langam within the “Yuat Super-Stock” of the “Ramu Sub-Phylum” of this rather large “Sepik-Ramu Phylum”, which consists of some 97 languages. An abbreviated tree diagram of the proposed family is presented in Figure 1 below.

![Tree Diagram of Sepik-Ramu Phylum](image)

Figure 1. Laycock and Z’graggen’s “Sepik-Ramu Phylum”

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

Foley’s (2018:206) most recent classification includes Ulmapo (which he calls “Koam”) as a subgroup within the Ramu branch of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family. The relevant portions of his classification of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family are presented in Figure 2 (on the following page). Some of the subgroupings are included more tentatively than others.
Although Foley (2018:205) places the Grass family within the Ramu subgroup, he explains that this is very tentative: “Although its membership within the larger Lower Sepik-Ramu family seems secure, its inclusion within the Ramu family is debatable.” Admitting the dearth of cognate vocabulary, Foley bases his hypothesis on morphological and (to a lesser extent) typological evidence.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Lower Sepik</th>
<th>Proto-Ramu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*miniŋ (tongue)</td>
<td>*mi(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kwand- (ear)</td>
<td>*kwar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Foley’s classification of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family
lime  *awi(r)   *awi(r)  
eat  *am(b)   *am(b)  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Proto-Ramu</th>
<th>Proto-Ulmapo?</th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>Mwakai</th>
<th>Pondi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>*mbunim</td>
<td>*nin</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>nimm</td>
<td>inin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sun’</td>
<td>*ra(u)</td>
<td>*ale</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>arila</td>
<td>ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>*nda(r)</td>
<td>*ale</td>
<td>ambla</td>
<td>alum</td>
<td>awmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>*(a)gar</td>
<td>*kuma</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>kumal</td>
<td>kulumbun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td>*(m)i(m)</td>
<td>*milim</td>
<td>minim</td>
<td>milimọla</td>
<td>milim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>*kwar</td>
<td>*kakal</td>
<td>kikal</td>
<td>kikar</td>
<td>kakal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eye’</td>
<td>*romeak</td>
<td>*kip</td>
<td>limndi</td>
<td>ndʒini</td>
<td>ilan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td>*ngun</td>
<td>*kip</td>
<td>ip</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>kip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leg’</td>
<td>*or ?</td>
<td>*pis</td>
<td>wuti</td>
<td>pisi</td>
<td>pis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bird’</td>
<td>*ŋgwarak</td>
<td>*kamu</td>
<td>uta</td>
<td>weme</td>
<td>awal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td>*rapar</td>
<td>*papa</td>
<td>wapa</td>
<td>papan</td>
<td>papa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td>*yur</td>
<td></td>
<td>awal</td>
<td>ŋangọ</td>
<td>meyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘betel nut’</td>
<td>*mbok</td>
<td>*kamu</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>amu</td>
<td>kamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lime’</td>
<td>*awi(r)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>pali</td>
<td>patale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sago’</td>
<td>*veak</td>
<td>*kwe</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘name’</td>
<td>*v/ŋi</td>
<td>*kwi</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
<td>*ŋgit</td>
<td>*nangun</td>
<td>yangun</td>
<td>nongun</td>
<td>nangun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td>*varak</td>
<td></td>
<td>wana-</td>
<td>sil-</td>
<td>ole-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>*am(b)</td>
<td>*ama-</td>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>ame-</td>
<td>ama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>*mbirak</td>
<td>*asi-</td>
<td>asi-</td>
<td>yapsil-</td>
<td>asiya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>*-tik</td>
<td>*sọna-</td>
<td>tane-</td>
<td>tap-</td>
<td>sina-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>*mbəkmbək</td>
<td></td>
<td>mbunmana</td>
<td>imal</td>
<td>kalami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are certainly some apparent similarities here, but not much to instill confidence in a prima facie grouping of Ulwa with the Ramu languages.
Next may be considered the morphological evidence. Foley (2018:203f.) provides the following diagnostics as the best morphological indicators of membership to (or at least the existence of) the Lower Sepik-Ramu family:

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

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

– 1sg *(ŋ)go
– 2sg *nu

second person non-singular pronouns with stem in *n-
– dative case-marker *mV.

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

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

The remainder of the morphological evidence for the Lower Sepik-Ramu languages concerns pronouns, so these may be considered next. The pronouns for the three languages of the Ulmapo languages are presented below, with (very speculative) reconstructions for Proto-Ulmapo (all in IPA).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>Mwakai</th>
<th>Pondi</th>
<th>Proto-Ulmapo?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>nye</td>
<td>*ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INCL</td>
<td>gunan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.EXCL</td>
<td>ggan</td>
<td></td>
<td>wanin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>unan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>kani</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>*kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>*u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>uni</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>*un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mə</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>*me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>min</td>
<td></td>
<td>min</td>
<td>*min ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ñdi</td>
<td>ñdə</td>
<td>ñdin</td>
<td>*ñdi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First it may be noted that two of the third person pronouns (singular and dual, but not plural) are built on a stem of *m*-.

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

Foley (2018:205), does, however place Ulmapo within the Grass subfamily of Ramu, noting that “Grass family languages exhibit two major divergences in their pronominal systems, *(ŋ)i 1SG and *(ŋ)re 3SG*.” Still, while Proto-Ulmapo *(ŋ)i 1SG may bear some resemblance to the former, Proto-Ulmapo *(ŋ)me is not much like the latter. Furthermore, when it is considered that *(ŋ)i and *(ŋ)me is less impressive (see Campbell 1994 for discussion of similar issues in Native American languages).
Thus, although the morphological features of Ulmapo do exhibit a few similarities to those of the Lower Sepik-Ramu languages, there is nothing fully convincing of genetic affiliation.

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

1. “Low number of vowel phonemes: never more than seven”. Proto-Ulmapo likely had either five or six vowels (depending on the phonemic status of a non-low central vowel found in its daughter languages). Also, the tacit definition of a “low” number of vowels as “seven or fewer” is problematic: more than two-thirds of Maddieson’s (2013b) sample of 564 languages have six or fewer vowels.

2. “Occurrence of a schwa-phoneme which is only quasi-phonemic”. Ulwa indeed has a (high) central vowel /ɨ/, that, while clearly phonemic (there are minimal pairs contrasting it with other vowels), nevertheless does pattern differently from other vowels and seems to be used epenthetically to break up consonant clusters. Mwakai has a similarly quasi-phonemic vowel /ə/. (This central vowel could also be an areal trait, as is found also in the Balkan Sprachbund.)

3. “Frequent occurrence of a palatal series of stops and nasals”. There is no palatal nasal in Ulwa or Pondi, but there is one in Mwakai. It is not clear whether it is reconstructible for Proto-Ulmapo. Also, there is no palatal stop in any of the languages, but there does exist the prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ndʒ/. The single fricative /s/, which is often palatalized to [ʃ] before high front vowels, could conceivably be viewed as the voiceless counterpart to /ndʒ/, filling the voiceless palatal gap, as it were.

4. “Basic opposition … between plain and pre-nasalised stops”. This is present in Ulmapo, but is a feature also known to exist in many unrelated languages of the region.

5. “No vowel sequences (if [i] and [u] are treated as consonantal phonemes /y/ and /w/)”. This holds at least for Ulwa, where [ai] and [au] are treated as /ay/ and /aw/ (see 2.6.1).
6  “Lack of complex suprasegmental systems”. This, too, holds, although it is not particular
telling.
7. “Nasal vowels rare”. This is also true for Ulmapo (and also for most of the world’s
languages).
8. “Fairly transparent affixation, with few complex morphophonemic changes”. The object
markers in Ulmapo are fairly transparent as are the possessive pronominal forms. There are not
too many morphophonemic changes (although some are certainly present), but this apparent lack
of complex morphophonemic changes could simply reflect the fact that Ulwa has comparatively
little bound morphology to begin with.
9. “Predominance of suffixation in morphology”. This is not particularly true for Ulmapo.
Although TAM morphemes are all suffixes, the object-agreement markers (although not
technically prefixes) are proclitics. More notably, however, there is indeed a verbal prefix in
Ulwa (a detransitivizing marker). Nevertheless, even though Ulwa does predominantly use
suffixes in its morphology, the presence of suffixes is to be expected among SOV languages, and
the Ulmapo languages (as well as many other languages of various families in New Guinea) have
SOV basic constituent order.
10. “Strong tendency for indication of subject in verbs (by suffixes), with object-marking less
frequent”. This runs completely counter to Ulmapo, which indicates objects (by proclitics), but
does not index subjects on verbs in any way.
11. “Sentence-medial verb marking rudimentary or absent”. Certain constructions consist of
more than one verb-like element, often with one of these occurring in sentence-medial position.
While typically not exhibiting inflection for TAM, these can indeed be marked for object
agreement.
12. “Widespread occurrence of a two-gender system in nouns and pronouns”. There is no
gender system among Ulmapo languages.

To summarize: several of these so commonplace around the world that they should not
count as very useful as evidence of affiliation; many of these are potentially or even likely to be
areal traits; and most of these violate Meillet’s (1914) requirement of sound-meaning
isomorphism in traits used to support genealogical claims, since they identify similarities either
only in sound or only in meaning.
Furthermore, Foley (2018:205) provides a description of the basic consonant phonemes of Ramu languages (as represented by Ap Ma’s phonemic inventory). It is presented in Table 1.1 (all forms have been converted into IPA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized voiced stops</td>
<td>ṁb</td>
<td>ṉd</td>
<td></td>
<td>ṇg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized voiced affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṉdʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ṃn</td>
<td>ṇŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>r ~ l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 Basic consonant inventory of Ramu languages

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2 Proto-Ramu vowel inventory

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

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

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

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

1.9 Typological overview

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

1.9.1 Phonetics and phonology

Ulwa has a rather small consonant inventory: 13 consonants, compared to an average of 22.7 in Maddieson’s (2013a) sample of 562 languages. Such a small consonant inventory is not, however, unusual among languages of the region. Ulwa’s vowel inventory, composed of 6 vowels, is closer to the crosslinguistic average of “just fractionally below 6” (Maddieson 2013b). Ulwa thus has a “moderately low” consonant-to-vowel ratio of 2.17. There is nothing particularly unusual about either the consonant inventory or the vowel inventory. The only gap in the consonant inventory is caused by the presence of the (prenasalized) voiced palato-alveolar
affricate /ⁿdʒ/ without a voiceless counterpart (i.e., no /tʃ/ or /ʃ/). Otherwise, there are no unusual contrasts (or the absence of common contrasts) among phonemes. Ulwa distinguishes plosives in three places of articulation: labial, alveolar, and velar. In each place of articulation, there is a contrast in voicing. Somewhat less common in Ulwa (but not particularly unusual for the region), however, is the fact that the voiced stops are all prenasalized. Thus, Ulwa’s version of the set of typologically common stops is manifested as: /p, t, k, ᴷb, ᴷd, ᴷɡ/. There is, however, no contrast in voicing among fricatives (in fact, the only fricative is the voiceless alveolar /s/). There are no uvular consonants, nor are there glottalized consonants nor others with secondary manners of articulation. There is one lateral consonant: a voiced alveolar /l/. There is no phonemic velar nasal, although this sound occurs phonetically (as part of the prenasalized voiced velar stop and when an underlying alveolar nasal precedes the voiceless velar stop). The vowel inventory is likewise fairly typical, consisting of the five standard vowels plus the high central vowel /ɨ/. The two back vowels are rounded; and the two front vowels are unrounded. There are no nasal vowels.

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

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

1.9.2 Morphology and word classes

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

Ulwa employs the morphological process of suffixation, both on verbs and on noun phrases. The only known prefix is a detransitivizing marker that affixes to verbs. Object markers, while properly proclitics and not prefixes, have a close phonological affinity with their following host verbs. Although almost entirely suffixes, some TAM affixes take forms resembling
circumfixes. There are no known processes of infixation, stem modification, suprasegmental modification, or reduplication. Some verbs have suppletive forms for certain TAM distinctions. Derivational morphology includes nominalizing suffixes that derive nouns from verbs. Verbs, in a sense, may be derived from other parts of speech through the use of a copular suffix.

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

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

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

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

Verbs are marked for various tense, aspect, and mood distinctions by suffixes. There is a basic three-way contrast among imperfective (often unmarked), perfective, and irrealis forms. There is generally no grammatical evidentiality (but epistemic possibility can be expressed with
a speculative suffix). There is also a conditional suffix that marks the verb in the protasis of a conditional statement.

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

1.9.3 Word order and syntax

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

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

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

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

Both nouns and adjectives can function as predicate complements, either with a null copula or with a copular suffix, which may inflect for tense (past) or for mood (irrealis).
Questions are formed simply by applying a rising intonation to a declarative statement. That is, there is no wh-movement. Polar (‘yes/no’) questions generally employ no question particle; content (wh-) questions contain their question word in the syntactic slot to be expected from the standard SOV order of declarative sentences—that is, the so-called wh-word is not preposed to the beginning of its clause.

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

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

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

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

(Note that above—and throughout this grammar—syntactic phenomena are often described as processes, whereby one underlying clause type becomes another clause type. Alternatively, these could be described as pairs of separate clause types that happen to be related.)
Chapter 2
Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Introduction

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

2.2 Consonants

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized voiced stops</td>
<td>mb (ᵐb)</td>
<td>nd (ⁿd)</td>
<td>ng (ⁿg)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized voiced affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nj (ⁿdʒ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l, [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y (j)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Ulwa consonants (in practical orthography)

2.2.1 Voiceless stops

There is a three-way place distinction that exists among voiceless stops in Ulwa: labial /p/, alveolar /t/, and velar /k/. These are all quite similar to their English equivalents; the /p/ is bilabial, like English /p/; the alveolar /t/ is like English /t/; and the velar /k/ is like English /k/.
They are all slightly aspirated. The following sets of minimal pairs illustrate contrasts among voiceless stops.

/p/ versus /t/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pal</th>
<th>‘palm shoot’</th>
<th>tal</th>
<th>‘tail feather’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apa</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>‘up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upa</td>
<td>‘mosquitofish’</td>
<td>uta</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wop</td>
<td>‘sleep [PRF]’</td>
<td>wot</td>
<td>‘younger (sibling)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/p/ versus /k/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>palam</th>
<th>‘cane grass’</th>
<th>kalam</th>
<th>‘knowledge’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nopal</td>
<td>‘coconut frond’</td>
<td>nokal</td>
<td>‘beak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuku</td>
<td>‘flatus’</td>
<td>nupu</td>
<td>‘base’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/t/ versus /k/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta</th>
<th>‘already’</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>‘peak’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tukul</td>
<td>‘fish trap’</td>
<td>kukul</td>
<td>‘sago basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akal</td>
<td>‘tinea’</td>
<td>atal</td>
<td>‘anus’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Word-initial voiceless stops:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>piya</th>
<th>‘banana sp.’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pul</td>
<td>‘piece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tembi</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongan</td>
<td>‘mosquito-swatter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuman</td>
<td>‘large wildfowl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwe</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Word-medial voiceless stops:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mapu</th>
<th>‘<em>Oxyeleotris</em> fish’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
nipum ‘kunai grass’
nilét ‘kundu drum’
aweta ‘friend’
yakal ‘insect sp.’
luke ‘too’

The following words all end with voiceless stops.

Word-final voiceless stops:

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

2.2.2 Prenasalized voiced stops

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

| Minimal pairs, contrasting voiceless stops and prenasalized voiced stops: |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| amba                | ‘men’s house’   | apa            | ‘house’         |
| andana              | ‘left’          | atana          | ‘older sister’  |
| nga                 | ‘this’          | ka             | ‘thus’          |

Minimal pairs, contrasting prenasalized voiced stops and simple nasals:

| Minimal pairs, contrasting prenasalized voiced stops and simple nasals: |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| mbï                       | ‘here’        | mï             | ‘he/she/it’     |
| ndï                       | ‘they’        | nï             | ‘I’             |
| nga                       | ‘this’        | na             | ‘talk’          |

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

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

/np/

| Minimal pairs, contrasting voiceless stops and prenasalized voiced stops: |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| inpul              | ‘elbow’         | wonp           | ‘cut [PRF]’     |

/nt/

| Minimal pairs, contrasting voiceless stops and prenasalized voiced stops: |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| nongontam                | ‘kaukau (sweet potato)’ | wenta          | ‘bird sp.’     |

/nk/

| Minimal pairs, contrasting voiceless stops and prenasalized voiced stops: |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| inkaw              | ‘mountain’ (phonetically [iŋkaʊ]) | mînkîn         | ‘sago grub sp.’ (phonetically [mîŋkîn]) |
| ankam              | ‘person’ (phonetically [aŋkam])     |                |                |

/mp/

| Minimal pairs, contrasting voiceless stops and prenasalized voiced stops: |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| impul              | ‘piece of wood’ | kalamp         | ‘know’ (literally, ‘be knowing’) |
It should be noted that—except in very slow speech—the sequence /nk/ is realized as [ŋk], the nasal assimilating in place to the following velar stop, a typologically very common process. Interestingly, the sequence /np/ (as in inpu ‘elbow’ and wonp ‘cut [PRF]’, is not realized as *[mp]—that is, /n/ does not assimilate in place to the following bilabial stop /p/.

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

angïn ‘vine sp.’  ankïn ‘vegetable sp.’

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

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

2.2.3 The prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /\text{nd}/

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

\textit{Word-initial affricate:}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{npj} & \text{‘thing’} \\
\text{njukuta} & \text{‘small’} \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{Word-medial affricate:}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{lanjin} & \text{‘ariid catfish’} \\
\text{tambanji} & \text{‘bird sp.’} \\
\end{tabular}

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

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

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{anj} & \text{‘our [EXCL]’} & \text{andi} & \text{‘OK’ (alternate pronunciation of ande)} \\
\text{njukuta} & \text{‘small’} & \text{ndukumbu} & \text{‘palm sp.’} \\
\text{nini} & \text{‘my’} & \text{nindiwe} & \text{‘sago palm sp.’} \\
\end{tabular}

Additional examples of /\text{nd}/ occurring before high vowels are included below.
An alternative hypothesis could be that [nj] is actually a palatalized version of the cluster /ny/, since this cluster is found only before low vowels (/a/), as in:

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

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

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

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

### 2.2.4 Nasals

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

mî ‘he/she/it’
mil ‘sugarcane’
nî ‘I’

nil ‘body hair’

Word-medial nasals:

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

Word-final nasals:

um ‘neck’
un ‘you [PL]’

utam ‘yam’
utan ‘cough’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.5 The liquid /l/

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

lamndu ‘pig’
lemetam ‘large hardwood tree’
lı ‘down’
lımdı ‘eye’
luke ‘too’

Word-medial liquids:

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

Word-final liquids:

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

Liquids in consonant clusters:

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

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

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

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

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

\[
s \rightarrow (ʃ) / _i (optional)\]

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

*Word-initial /s/:

sawī ‘saliva’
sikal ‘fly sp.’
simīnda ‘banana sp.’
sokoy ‘tobacco’

*Word-medial /s/:

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

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

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

Word-initial glides:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wol</td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wusim</td>
<td>‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>‘sago starch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>‘coconut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiwa</td>
<td>‘mound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yot</td>
<td>‘machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuname</td>
<td>‘bird sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeta</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow ([\text{-syl}, \text{-cons}, o\text{back}]) / # \ [\text{+syl, +high, o\text{back}}] \ (\text{optional}) \]

The following words contain glides in medial position.

Word-medial glides:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awal</td>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aweta</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awi</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwil</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malalīwa</td>
<td>‘snake sp.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaya</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayanmalí</td>
<td>‘lizard sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asiya</td>
<td>‘string’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyo</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the distribution of /w/ is fairly broad (it seems to be permitted before or after any vowel), /y/ is markedly much more restricted. It occurs rarely in medial position, and when it does, the only permissible preceding vowels are /a/ and /i/ (and perhaps also /o/, see below). The status of glides (or semivowels) in Papuan languages poses a notoriously difficult problem, and the line between vowels and glides is often blurred, especially in languages (like Ulwa) that
exhibit the high central vowel [ɨ] (see Foley 1986:50ff. for some possible analyses).

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>‘wet’</th>
<th>Minyam</th>
<th>‘feces’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minwata</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
<td>Kunya</td>
<td>‘yam sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atwana</td>
<td>‘question’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulwa</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>‘one’</th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>‘opening’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kwa</td>
<td>‘opening’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘spider’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Word-final glides:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>‘betel nut’</th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>‘jellied sago’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aw</td>
<td>‘correct’</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>‘eel-tailed catfish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maw</td>
<td>‘fish scale’</td>
<td>Way</td>
<td>‘turtle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wowaw</td>
<td>‘song’</td>
<td>Langay</td>
<td>‘bird sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaw</td>
<td>‘ball’</td>
<td>Sokoy</td>
<td>‘tobacco’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wopaw</td>
<td>‘brown gecko’</td>
<td>Tomoy</td>
<td>‘insect sp.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the examples above suggest, word-final glides appear almost exclusively after the low vowel /a/. The two examples of /-oy/ above, however, of course run counter to this. There are no examples of /w/ following /o/, though, and these two examples of /-oy/ (two of only a few known to exist in the Ulwa lexicon) may be problematic. First, the pronunciation of sokoy ‘tobacco’ varies greatly among speakers, many pronouncing the word as sokay or soke. This variation is perhaps due to the presence of many similar-sounding words for ‘tobacco’ in neighboring languages. The origin of tomoy ‘insect sp.’ is unclear, although it is known that many terms for flora and fauna have been borrowed from other languages (cf. samnay ‘yam sp.’ and lumnjap ‘Sepik garfish’). A third known word to end in /-oy/, sinokoy ‘crop’, may be derived from sokoy ‘tobacco’; finally, the adverb woyambïn ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’, seems to have been derived from other words (see 8.3.5 for a possible etymology).

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

2.2.8 The glottal stop [ʔ]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phonemic Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/anma/</td>
<td>[ʔanma]</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/apa/</td>
<td>[ʔapa]</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/im/</td>
<td>[ʔim]</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/itom/</td>
<td>[ʔitom]</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ulum/</td>
<td>[ʔulum]</td>
<td>‘sago palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/utal/</td>
<td>[ʔutal]</td>
<td>‘worm’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As seen above, it is possible for the glottal stop to occur before /i/ or /u/, in addition to occurring before /a/, but this is often bled by epenthetic glides that often appear before initial /i/ or /u/ (i.e., [yim], [yitom], [wulum], [wutal]) (see 2.2.7).

2.3 Vowels

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

2.3.1 Monophthongs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Ĭ (i)</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>[ae] (æ)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Ulwa vowels (in practical orthography)

While the phonetic realizations of these vowels may occasionally approximate those of the cardinal vowels (especially in careful speech), they are more often pronounced somewhat more centralized. Thus, tense vowels may be lax, especially when occurring in closed syllables. Accordingly, the high front unrounded vowel /i/ has the allophone [i]; the high back rounded vowel /u/ has the allophone [ʊ]; the mid front unrounded vowel /e/ has the allophone [ɛ]; and the mid back rounded vowel /o/ has the allophone [ɔ]. Similarly, the low central unrounded vowel /a/ may be raised to [ʌ].
Since the lax pronunciations of /o/ and /a/ approach each other somewhere in the middle of the vowel space, and since a preceding labial-velar [w] has the effect of rounding a following non-front vowel, the phonetic realizations of /o/ and /a/ after /w/ are often identical, i.e.:

\[
o, a \rightarrow ɔ / w _\]

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wol</th>
<th>‘breast’</th>
<th>wal</th>
<th>‘ribs’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>won</td>
<td>‘penis’</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>‘sago shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonmbi</td>
<td>‘tusk’</td>
<td>wanmbi</td>
<td>‘daka pepper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wopa</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
<td>wapa</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wot</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
<td>wat</td>
<td>‘ladder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wowal</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
<td>wawal</td>
<td>‘hive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Minimal pairs distinguishing high from mid vowels:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wi</th>
<th>‘name’</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>‘sago starch’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asi</td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘kanda (rattan)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilum</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
<td>ilom</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Minimal pairs distinguishing front from back vowels:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nging</th>
<th>‘net’</th>
<th>ngun</th>
<th>‘you two’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ande</td>
<td>‘okay’</td>
<td>ando</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nĩ</th>
<th>‘I’</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>‘talk’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tũl</td>
<td>‘husk’</td>
<td>tal</td>
<td>‘tail feather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The high central vowel can further be shown to be distinct from other high vowels, both front and back, as in:

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mae</th>
<th>‘shovel’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maep</td>
<td>‘bird sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waembīl</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waenkīn</td>
<td>‘plant sp.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In at least some cases, this vowel may derive from sequences of /e/ + /a/— at least this is a folk-linguistic explanation that has been provided for some of these curious-sounding words. The plant species waenkīn is described as being similar to the species ankīn, only having leaves with the (off-)white color of we ‘sago starch’ (i.e., waenkīn ‘plant sp.’ < we ‘sago starch’ + ankīn ‘plant sp.’)
Likewise, the word *mae* ‘shovel’ is seen as being connected to the word *me* ‘limbum palm’ (from which the shovel is made). The etymology of this word would thus be: *mae* < *me* ‘limbum palm’ + *a* [unknown element].

The word *waembil* ‘white’ (as *waenkîn* ‘plant sp.’ above) also likely contains *we* ‘sago starch’, but here the resulting [æ] may be the product of a (formerly) underlying /e/ phonetically nasalizing (due to the following nasal articulation) and consequently lowering (first in perception, then in production) to [æ] (this process may also have played a role in the formation of [waenkîn]). The other dialects of Ulwa lend some insight. In Dimiri, ‘white’ is [ve⁰dum] (cf. *ve* ‘sago starch’), and in Yaul ‘white’ is [weⁿbal]. The meanings of forms *ndum* and *mbal* is obscure, but at least the latter is found in the Manu dialect word *anembal* ‘light (color)’, which clearly contains *ane* ‘sun’. Thus, it may be hypothesized that Manu *waembil* ‘white’ derives from *we* ‘sago starch’ + *mbal* ‘color (?)’, the *a* in the second syllable having reduced to *i*, and the *e* in the first syllable having lowered to *æ* (see 14.5 for more on color terms in Ulwa).

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/æ/ \text{ versus } /e/ \\
\text{mae} \quad \text{‘shovel’} & \quad \text{me} \quad \text{‘limbum palm’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/æ/ \text{ versus } /a/ \\
\text{mae} \quad \text{‘shovel’} & \quad \text{ma=} \quad \text{‘3SG’} \quad \text{mama} \quad \text{‘mouth’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

There are some rather interesting phonotactic constraints placed on vowels. Most notably, the only permissible vowels in syllables without consonant onsets are /a/, /i/, /u/. Furthermore, since many speakers insert epenthetic glides before word-initial /i/ and /u/ (namely, /y/ and /w/, respectively, 2.2.7), the only permitted onset vowel in some idiolects is /a/. Since all vowel-
initial syllables begin phonetically with a glottal stop [ʔ] (when utterance-initial, 2.2.8), it could further be argued that the language lacks V(C) syllables altogether, at least phonetically.

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

[apn] for /apín/ ‘fire’
[simnda] for /simõnda/ ‘banana sp.’
[mïtn] for /mõtïn/ ‘egg’
[mnkn] or [mnkïn] for /mïnkïn/ ‘sago grub sp.’

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

2.3.2 Diphthongs

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

2.4 Syllable structure

Ulwa permits a variety of syllable shapes: syllables may or may not have onsets, codas, or both. Complex onsets are, however, quite limited, and complex codas are absent altogether. The following set shows clear examples of V-only syllable structure (single-vowel words). It should be noted that V-onsets exist only at the underlying level, since otherwise they start with glottal stop (2.2.8), or—optionally—those with initial /i/- or /u/- may become [yi-] and [wu-], respectively (2.2.7).
Syllables without onsets or codas (V):

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{i} & \text{'hand, arm'} & \text{u} & \text{'you [SG]'} \\
\text{i} & \text{'lime'} & \text{u} & \text{'ditch, creek'} \\
\text{i} & \text{'go [PRF]'} & \text{u} & \text{'in, at, from, around, along'} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
a.\text{mbi} & \text{'big'} & a.\text{nda} & \text{'that'} \\
i.\text{mba} & \text{'night'} & i.\text{nga} & \text{'in-law'} \\
u.\text{mbo.p\text{a}} & \text{'stomach'} & u.\text{nda} & \text{'put [IRR]'} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

Syllables with simple onsets (CV):

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{li} & \text{'down'} & \text{le} & \text{'kanda (rattan)'} \\
\text{mae} & \text{'shovel'} & \text{me} & \text{'limbum palm'} \\
\text{mi} & \text{'he/she/it'} & \text{mu} & \text{'fruit'} \\
\text{nǐ} & \text{‘I’} & \text{tī} & \text{‘take’} \\
\text{na} & \text{‘talk’} & \text{ka} & \text{‘at, in, on’} \\
\text{pe} & \text{‘[DEP marker]’} & \text{se} & \text{‘cry [IPFV]’} \\
\text{mbi} & \text{'here'} & \text{ndī} & \text{'they'} \\
\text{nga} & \text{'this'} & \text{nji} & \text{'thing'} \\
\text{ya} & \text{'coconut'} & \text{wa} & \text{'village'} \\
\text{we} & \text{'fresh sago'} & \text{wi} & \text{'name'} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

Syllables with simple coda and no onset (VC):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
im & \text{'tree'} \\
ip & \text{'nose'} \\
\end{array}
\]

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The following set consists of monosyllabic CVC-words.

**Syllables with both onset and coda (CVC):**

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

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

**Syllables with complex onsets (CCV or CCVC):**

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

In an alternative analysis, at least some of these apparent CCs could be treated instead as consisting of single (complex) phonemes, such as labialized velar stops [kʷ, ŋʷ] or a labialized bilabial nasal [mʷ]. If these are in fact separate phonemes in Ulwa, then they have very limited representation in the lexicon. The forms [kʷ, ŋʷ, mʷ] are, however, much more common in Ulwa’s sister languages and may indeed be reconstructible as phonemes of the proto-language.
No onsets of more than two consonants have been found, nor have any complex codas at all. Even the phonetically complex prenasalized voiced stops are prohibited in coda position.

2.5 Stress

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

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

2.6 Morphophonemic processes

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

2.6.1 Glide formation

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

\[ V [+\text{high}] \rightarrow [-\text{syl}] / V [+\text{low}] \_ \]
This phonological process is clearly revealed by the addition of object-marker proclitics, which index person and number. In the following examples, a glide is formed wherever the object-marker clitic ends in /a-/ (as in ma= ‘3SG’) and the verb stem host begins with a high vowel (/i/ or /u/).

\[
\begin{align*}
&/ma=\ddash tî-/ \quad 3SG=\text{take} \\
&\text{[matî-]} \quad \text{‘take it’} \\
&/min=\ddash tî-/ \quad 3DU=\text{take} \\
&\text{[mintî-]} \quad \text{‘take two’} \\
&/ma=\ddash \text{ita}-/ \quad 3SG=\text{build} \\
&\text{[mayta-]} \quad \text{‘build it’} \\
&/min=\ddash \text{ita}-/ \quad 3DU=\text{build} \\
&\text{[minita-]} \quad \text{‘build two’} \\
&/ma=\ddash \text{uta}-/ \quad 3SG=\text{grind} \\
&\text{[mawta-]} \quad \text{‘grind it’} \\
&/min=\ddash \text{uta}-/ \quad 3DU=\text{grind} \\
&\text{[minuta-]} \quad \text{‘grind two’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
i \rightarrow y / o _{-} #
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
&/\text{ko=ita}-/ \quad \text{INDF=build} \\
&\text{[koyta-]} \quad \text{‘build a’} \\
&/\text{ko=tî-}/ \quad \text{INDF=take} \\
&\text{[kotî-]} \quad \text{‘take a’}
\end{align*}
\]

Also, although /ou/ generally becomes [owu] when the vowels fall across a word boundary, it is possible within a word for the /u/ to be elided, producing simply [o], i.e.:

\[
u \rightarrow \emptyset / o _{-} #
\]

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

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

### 2.6.2 Monophthongization

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

\[
\begin{align*}
aw & \rightarrow (o) /_\_{} \{^c_\# \text{ (optional)} \} \\
ay & \rightarrow (e) /_\_{} \{^c_\# \text{ (optional)} \}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/min}=\text{ul/} & \quad \text{[minul]} & \text{‘with two’} & \quad \text{/ma}=\text{ul/} & \quad \text{[maw] or [mol]} & \quad \text{‘with it’} \\
3\text{DU}=\text{with} & \quad & & 3\text{SG}=\text{with} & \quad & \\
\text{/min-in/} & \quad \text{[minin ]} & \text{‘in two’} & \quad \text{/ma-in/} & \quad \text{[mayn] or [men]} & \text{‘in it’} \\
3\text{DU}=\text{in} & \quad & & 3\text{SG}=\text{in} & \quad & \\
\text{/i/} & \quad \text{[i]} & \text{‘went’} & \quad \text{/na-i/} & \quad \text{[nay] or [ne]} & \text{‘went away’} \\
go.\text{PRF} & \quad & & \text{DETR-go.}\text{PRF} & \quad & \\
\end{align*}
\]

### 2.6.3 High vowel gliding

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

\[
u \rightarrow w /_\_{} \text{V}_\sigma
\]
Consider, for example, the following object-marker clitics as they appear in the verbs /asa-/ ‘hit’ and /ama-/ ‘eat’, where this change is seen in the ‘you [sg]’ forms:

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

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

| uta  | ‘bird’ | wuta  | ‘shell’ (for some speakers) |
| un   | ‘you [pl]’ | wun   | ‘fan’ |
| util | ‘refuse’ | wuti  | ‘leg, foot’ |

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

It would of course also seem likely—insofar as the other glide /y/ patterns like /w/—that there would exist a process of high front vowel gliding as well. However, there are no examples of proclitics or prefixes ending in /i/-, and thus no way of knowing how this would apply within phonological words. When /i/- precedes a vowel across a word boundary, though, a number of phonological changes are possible. If the following vowel is a mid vowel, then the /i/ may delete
(2.6.4). If the following vowel is high, then an epenthetic glide (y) may break up the following sequence. If the following vowel is low, however, is possible for the /i-/ and /-a/ to coalesce to [e] (2.8).

2.6.4 Vowel elision before mid vowels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.6.5 Central vowel elision

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

V [-back, -front] → Ø / _ V

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

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

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

1. V_i → Ø / _ V_i
2. ï → Ø / _ V

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

### 2.6.6 High central vowel assimilation

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

ï → (u) / _ w (optional)

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

?  \( \hat{i} \rightarrow i / _{y} \)

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

\( nï \ yå \) ‘I … coconut …’
\( mï \ yåna \) ‘he … woman …’

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

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

All of the rules above (which have been shown to apply within phonological words) may also apply across word boundaries, and thus seem to reflect general phonetic preferences in the languages. Accordingly, gliding often occurs in rapid speech when a word ending in a low vowel /a/ is immediately followed by one beginning with a high non-central vowel /i, u/. Likewise, the elision of central vowels, the gliding of /u/ to [w], and the deletion of vowels preceding like vowels can occur across word boundaries, all of which are illustrated in the following examples.
Processes such as these are generally more likely to occur when one of the elements involved is a clitic or affix, and this may indeed be the case above, if all pronominal markers in Ulwa may be analyzed as such. Nevertheless, these alternations are still possible with full lexical items, suggesting a strong phonetic basis for these phonological rules.

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

\[ a \rightarrow o /_C_0V [-\text{high}, +\text{back}], \text{when in the proclitic /ma=/} \]

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

/ma=kot/- [mokot-] ‘break it’
/ma=topli/- [motopli-] ‘throw it’
/ma=mopli/- [momplo-] ‘tie it’
/ma=poli/- [mopoli-] ‘sweep it’

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

/min=kotï/- [minkotï-] ‘break two’
/u=topli/- [utoplï-] ‘throw you [sg]’
/un=mopli/- [unmopli-] ‘tie you [pl]’
/ndï=poli/- [ndïpopli-] ‘sweep them’
Even more interestingly, no process like the one just mentioned affects other object markers with the same vowel /a/, as illustrated below.

/anda=kot-/ [andakot-] ‘break that’
/an=topli-/ [antoplî-] ‘throw us [PL.EXCL]’
/ala=moplî-/ [alamoplî-] ‘tie those’
/nga=popli-/ [ngapoplî-] ‘sweep this’

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

\[ a \rightarrow o \ / C \ [+\text{labial}] \_ C_0 V \ [-\text{high}, +\text{back}] \]

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

2.6.8 Degemination

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

\[ C_i \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ C_i \]

This is mostly observed across word boundaries in rapid speech. There are few instances in which identical consonants would occur underlingly across a morpheme boundary, but the oblique marker =n (11.5) can follow words ending in -n. Although this marker has the allomorph
[ɪn], which could bleed a possible degemination, it is also possible for the sequence of $n + n$ to reduce to a single $n$, as seen below.

| /tɪn=n/ | [tɪn] | ‘with the dog’ |
| /u=n/ | [u] | ‘with you [PL]’ |
| /unduwan=n/ | [unduwan] | ‘with the head’ |
| /ngi=n/ | [ngi] | ‘with the net’ |

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

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

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

| /un=na-n/ | [unan] | ‘give you [PL] [PRF]’ |
| /an=na-n/ | [anan] | ‘give us [EXCL] [PRF]’ |
| /un=ni-p/ | [unip] | ‘beat you [PL] [PRF]’ |
| /an=ni-p/ | [anip] | ‘beat us [EXCL] [PRF]’ |

### 2.6.9 Lexically determined alternations and rules

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

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

There also appear to be generational differences. For example, older speakers of the Manu dialect prefer the form *namndu* ‘pig’, whereas younger speakers prefer *lamndu*. Indeed, the form *namndu* is also used by speakers (of all ages) of the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect. Although there are often correspondences of $l : n$ between the two dialects, they usually occur in
the opposite manner—that is (when there is a difference between the two dialects), typically an /l/ in the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect corresponds to an /n/ in the Manu dialect. The form lamndu may thus be a recent innovation of the Manu dialect, the result perhaps either of hypercorrection or of folk etymology (based on a perceived connection between namndu/lamndu ‘pig’ and lam ‘meat’).

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/ma=lɨ-p/ & \quad [\text{malp}] \quad \text{‘put it [PRF]’} \\
/min=lɨ-p/ & \quad [\text{minlɨp}] \quad \text{‘put two [PRF]’} \\
/ndɨ=lɨ-p/ & \quad [\text{ndɨlɨp}] \quad \text{‘put them [PRF]’} \\
/ma=lɨ-nda/ & \quad [\text{malɨnda}] \quad \text{‘put it [IRR]’} \\
/min=lɨ-nda/ & \quad [\text{minlɨnda}] \quad \text{‘put two [IRR]’} \\
/ndɨ=lɨ-nda/ & \quad [\text{ndɨlɨnda}] \quad \text{‘put them [IRR]’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

2.7 Metathesis

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

First are considered some instances of sporadic metathesis. They may be simple speech errors. The first example below shows the local reversal of two consonants. The second shows
the change in order of consonant and vowel. The third shows a long-distance (non-contiguous) swapping of consonants (/l/ and /n/). The change between /l/ and /n/ is of particular interest given the sporadic correspondences between these two phonemes in the two main dialects of Ulwa.

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

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

unanul ‘with us [INCL]’ (T01)
unanlu ‘with us [INCL]’ (T20)

ip ul ‘with the nose’ (T32)
Yakap lu ‘with Yakap’ (T11)

yena ul ‘with the woman’ (T05)
mangusuwa lu ‘with the poor thing’ (T32)

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

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

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

2.8 Phonetics and phonology of connected speech

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

Finally, some phonological phenomena are only observable at the utterance level. For example, many speakers employ an occasional utterance-final epenthetic alveolar nasal /n/. This can cause confusion between nominalized verb forms, which end in /-en/ (3.3), and verbs that end (underlyingly) with the dependent (or imperfective) marker /-e/ (4.6, 12.3.1), but which also take this utterance-final epenthetic -n, resulting in the homophonous ending [-en].
Chapter 3

Nouns

3.1 Introduction

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

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

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

In Ulwa, nouns can be defined by their distribution. Nouns (or pronouns) alone can serve as subjects or objects of verbs. In practical terms, this means that the first word in a basic indicative sentence will be either a noun or a pronoun, since the unmarked SOV word order demands a sentence-initial subject (although see 11.2 on pro-drop), and only nouns and pronouns can serve that role (although see 5.4 on substantive, i.e., nominal uses of adjectives; and 8.3 on adverbs, whose freer word order allows sentence-initial placement). In transitive clauses that have expressed objects, there will also typically be a noun immediately preceding the verb (again, in accordance with the demands of SOV word order). Nouns, moreover, always precede
subject markers or object markers (when present), although not always immediately—longer noun phrases, with postnominal modifiers, may contain words intervening between the noun and its person/number marker. Nouns alone may be modified by adjectives, which almost always follow the noun. Nouns alone may immediately follow possessive pronouns. Nouns are not inflected for number or gender. They may precede the oblique marker =n, however, which may be thought of as filling certain semantic case functions (11.5.2).

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

(3.001) **Alum** mĩ se.
\[\begin{array}{ll}
alum & mĩ sa-e \\
child & 3SG cry-DEP \\
\end{array}\]
‘The baby is crying.’

(3.002) **Tĩn** ndĩ **mĩnda** ndamap.
\[\begin{array}{ll}
tĩn & ndĩ mĩnda ndĩ=ama-p \\
dog & 3PL banana 3PL=eat-PRF \\
\end{array}\]
‘The dogs ate the bananas.’

(3.003) **Sina** mĩ **lam** maweyunda.
\[\begin{array}{ll}
sina & mĩ lam ma=we-u-nda \\
knife & 3SG meat 3SG=cut-put-IRR \\
\end{array}\]
‘The knife will cut the meat.’

(3.004) **An** **Wopata** mape.
\[\begin{array}{ll}
an & Wopata ma=p-e \\
1PL.EXCL [place] & 3SG=be-DEP \\
\end{array}\]
‘We were at Wopata.’ (T11)

(3.005) **I** anma mĩ keka **itom** alol i.
\[\begin{array}{ll}
i & anma mĩ keka itom ala=ul i \\
way & good 3SG completely father that.SG=with go.PRF \\
\end{array}\]
‘Good behavior has completely gone with (our) fathers.’ (T27)

(3.006) **Na** ndĩ tĩngĩnpe.
\[\begin{array}{ll}
a & ndĩ tĩngĩn-p-e \\
talk & 3PL many-be-DEP \\
\end{array}\]
‘There are many arguments.’ (T32)

As seen above, noun may refer to humans (3.001), non-human animates (3.002), inanimate objects (3.003), places (3.004), and abstract concepts (3.005 and 3.006).
Although there is no nominal inflection in Ulwa (3.2), nouns that are derived from verbs bear derivational (that is, nominalizing) morphology (3.3), and multiple nouns can be joined together to form compounds (3.4). There does not seem to be any productive process of reduplication, but the question of the nature of nouns that seem to be composed of reduplicative elements is discussed in 3.5.

### 3.2 Nominal inflection

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

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

(3.007) **Uta mî im may.**

- **ut**a mî im ma=i  
  bird 3SG tree 3SG=go.PRF  
  ‘The bird [singular subject] flew to the tree.’

(3.008) **Itom mî uta nduwalinda.**

- **itom** mî **uta** ndî=wali-nda  
  father 3SG bird 3PL=hit-IRR  
  ‘Father will shoot the birds [plural object].’

(3.009) **Nî limndî anka mambi mala.**

- nî limndî **anka** mambi ma=ala  
  1SG eye person big 3SG=for  
  ‘I saw the big person [singular object].’
(3.010) Ankam ndī awal imba wondi anglalop.
    ankam    ndī    awal    imba    wondi    angla-lo-p
    person 3PL yesterday night bandicoot await-go-PRF
    ‘The people [plural subject] hunted bandicoot(s) [unmarked object] last night.’

3.3 Derivational morphology: nominalization

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

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

(3.012) Nī inden.
    nī    inda-en
    1SG    walk-NMLZ
    ‘I am a walker.’

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

(3.013) Raikos iyen mī mat ngata lanjî anda.
    Raikos  i-en  mī  ma=ta  ngata  alanji  anda
    Rai.Coast go.PRF-NMLZ 3SG 3SG=say grand that.PL.POSS that.SG
    ‘The one who went to the Rai Coast said: “That belongs to those grandparents.”’
    (Raikos < TP; literally, ‘the having-gone-to-the-Rai-Coast [one] …’) (T11)
As the translations of the two sentences above suggest, clauses with nominalized verb forms are in some ways akin to (subject) relative clauses (see 12.4).

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

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

As can be seen in the last example, the suffix -e marks verbs in clauses in a dependent relation to the matrix clause (see 12.3), here marking ‘die’ as the main verb of a relative clause.
There could thus be some relationship (whether diachronic or synchronic) between the -e component of the nominalizing suffix and this dependent-marking suffix -e. That is, apa iten mî ‘the house-builder’ could in effect be (or have evolved from being) a phrase meaning something like ‘the one that builds houses’. Since the suffix in question consists of more than just -e, however, (that is, the form is -en) it is treated as something other than (or at least more than) a relativizer. Furthermore, the nominalized forms in -en behave in every way syntactically as nominal elements, receiving subject (or object) marking, preceding adjectives that modify them, and exhibiting all other distributional properties of nouns.

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

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

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

(3.021) Nî limndî mînda amen wutota mala.
nî limndî mînda ama-en wutota ma=ala
1SG eye banana eat-NMLZ tall 3SG=for
‘I saw the tall banana-eater.’

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

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

The nominalizing suffix may affix to the copular suffix, which can derive verbs from other parts of speech (10.3), as in:
(3.023) Li mapen ndi wopa wa i.
li ma=p-en ndi wopa wa i
down 3SG=be-NMLZ 3PL all village go.PRF
‘The downstream people all came to the village.’ (Literally, ‘the being-down ones’)
(T29)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.029) Mangusuwata ango niya mbunden.
mangusuwata ango nī=iya mbī-unda-en
3SG.poor NEG 1SG=toward here-go-NMLZ
‘The poor thing doesn’t come around here to me (anymore).’ (T27)
(3.030) Ala mundun amblo inden.
    ala mundu=n ambla=ul inda-en
    that.PL food=OBL PL.REFL=with walk-NMLZ
    ‘They were ones who walked around with food with each other.’ (T11)

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

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

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

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

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

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

    There can therefore at times be ambiguity, as in:

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

    Usually, however, the nature of the derivation is clear from context. Further examples of patientive nominalizations follow.
(3.036) Ambawanam Ngata ankam ambi anda …
   AmbawanamNgataankamambianda
   [name]grandpersonbigthat.sg
‘Ambawanam Ngata is that big person, …’

… ankam ango limbndī uten me.
   ankaman goose eye grind-nmlz neg
‘… a person who has never been seen.’ (this could also technically mean ‘a person who has never seen [something/anything]’) (T07)

(3.037) Nungunupen ndī ngamana.
   nungun-u-p-enndī nga=ma-na
   break-put-nmlz3plthis.sg=go-irr
‘The broken ones will go here.’ (T11)

As mentioned above, the nominalizing suffix may serve certain aspecual functions.

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

(3.038) Ala yotnī mase mī nipen.
   alayot=nīma=asa-e mīni-p-e-n
   that.plmachete=obl3sg=hit-dep3sgdie-prf-dep-n?
‘They hit him with a machete and he died.’ (T34)

(3.039) Ndī ango kīkal nīwanen.
   ndīango kīkalnī=wana-e-n
   3plnegear1sg=feel-dep-n?
‘They weren’t listening to me.’ (T32)

3.4 Compound nouns

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

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

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

Most of these are completely literal, endocentric compounds—e.g., a ‘roof’ is the ‘peak of a house’, ‘bark’ is the ‘skin (i.e., outside covering) of a tree’, a ‘grass knife’ is a ‘knife for (cutting) grass’, etc. While the head is almost always the second element, it is also possible for the head to come first, as in **nil nopa** ‘beard’, in which nil ‘body hair’, precedes nopa ‘cheek’.

While many compounds are completely literal, some contain a (slightly) metaphorical element—e.g., a ‘branch’ is the ‘tongs of a tree’, a ‘headache’ is ‘fire of the head’, a ‘toe’ is the ‘fruit of the foot’, etc. Also, not all compounds are strictly endocentric. The word **yawe** ‘sago pancake cooked with coconut’ is copulative, since it is composed of the two main ingredients: ya ‘coconut’ we
‘sago’. The word for ‘bat’ is an exocentric compound (unless *uta* in the Ulwa taxonomy means more ‘flying non-insect animal’ than ‘bird’, in which case the word for ‘bat’ is a regular endocentric compound, with the second element serving as the head).

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>im nali</em></td>
<td>‘stick’ (<em>&lt; im</em> ‘tree’ + <em>nali</em> ‘small star’)</td>
<td><em>im</em> ‘tree’ + <em>nali</em> ‘small star’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apa imot</em></td>
<td>‘veranda, awning’ (<em>&lt; apa</em> ‘house’ + <em>imot</em> ‘log’)</td>
<td><em>apa</em> ‘house’ + <em>imot</em> ‘log’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nipum amba</em></td>
<td>‘grassland’ (*&lt; nipum = kunai grass + ‘amba’ = ‘men’s house, spirit house’)</td>
<td><em>nipum</em> ‘grass’ + ‘amba’ ‘men’s house, spirit house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apep</em></td>
<td>‘front of house’ (<em>&lt; apa</em> ‘house’ + <em>ip</em> ‘nose’)</td>
<td><em>apa</em> ‘house’ + <em>ip</em> ‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apinsi</em></td>
<td>‘ashes’ (*&lt; apин ‘fire’ + <em>isi</em> ‘salt’)</td>
<td><em>apин</em> ‘fire’ + <em>isi</em> ‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apombam</em></td>
<td>‘middle of house’ (<em>&lt; apa</em> ‘house’ + <em>wombam</em> ‘middle’)</td>
<td><em>apa</em> ‘house’ + <em>wombam</em> ‘middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sinananangин</em></td>
<td>‘claw’ (*&lt; sinanan ‘nail’ + <em>nangин</em> ‘tongs’)</td>
<td><em>sinanan</em> ‘nail’ + <em>nangин</em> ‘tongs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wandapata</em></td>
<td>‘fallow garden’ (*&lt; wandam ‘jungle, garden’ + <em>wapata</em> ‘old, dry’)</td>
<td><em>wandam</em> ‘jungle, garden’ + <em>wapata</em> ‘old, dry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first word in the list, *apep* ‘front of house’ is the product of a still productive phonological process of coalescence, which may optionally yield [e] from /a#i/ (less common than [e] being derived from /i#a/, 2.8). The word *sinananangин* ‘claw’ has likewise undergone only a minor change: the degemination of consecutive consonants (2.6.8). The other words on the list above, however, have undergone more drastic changes, that is, changes not apparently motivated by any regular phonological rules of the language: *apinsi*, for example, has lost the initial /i/ of *isi*. These changes may reflect the sort of phonological reductions common among
high-frequency lexical items—that is, the case could be made that such compounds have more fully lexicalized than others. The word for ‘fallow garden’, \textit{wandapata}, has lost both the final /m/ of \textit{wandam} ‘jungle, garden’ and the initial /wa/ of \textit{wapata} ‘old, dry’; and the word for ‘middle of house’, \textit{apombam}, has lost both the final /a/ of \textit{apa} ‘house’ and the initial /w/ of \textit{wobam} ‘middle’.

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

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

### 3.5 Reduplication?

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 The verb stem

Monomorphemic verbs in Ulwa (that is, verbs that are not compounds), are generally disyllabic or (less commonly) monosyllabic. Verbs generally (at least underlyingly) end in vowels, although (for most verbs) this final vowel is lost in the imperfective form (or replaced by the dependent marker -e). There is also a small set of verbs that end in consonants. Interestingly, these verbs almost all belong to the same semantic domain of cutting, splitting, breaking, etc.: kol- ‘break, split’, kot- ‘break, bear’, kun- ‘break (off)’, won- ‘cut’. (In addition to these, there is
the verb *ina*– ‘get’, which has the alternate consonant-final stem *in*-., as seen in the irrealis form *inda*, < /in-nda/; also, on the verb *kamb*- ‘shun’, see 2.2.2.).

### 4.3 Basic verbal morphology

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

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

- **imperfective:** -Ø
- **perfective:** -p
- **irrealis:** -na

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>underlying imperfective form</th>
<th>surface imperfective form</th>
<th>surface perfective form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>/ama-Ø/</td>
<td>[am]</td>
<td>[amap]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sew’</td>
<td>/me-Ø/</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[mep]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shout’</td>
<td>/uni-Ø/</td>
<td>[un]</td>
<td>[unip]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the examples above illustrate the loss of all stem-final vowels except /-u/, which is not found stem-finally in any verb except the irregular verb u- ‘put’ (4.4.). The last example above, won- ‘cut’, illustrates how the imperfective form of consonant-final verb stems is identical to the underlying form of the stem.

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

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

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

The perfective suffix -p requires little comment. Aside from in a few irregular verbs (4.4), this suffix always appears, quite transparently, suffixed to the verb stem. Although stem-final vowels are never lost before -p, there is one notable phonological change that occurs in certain verb stems before the perfective suffix -p, a change that has a rather specific conditioning
environment. Namely, the high central vowel /i/ is lowered to [a] when following the voiceless velar stop and preceding the voiceless bilabial stop—that is:

\[ i \rightarrow p / k \_ p \]

This is known to affect only two verbs: \( k\ddot{i} \)- ‘say’ and \( n\ddot{k}\)- ‘dig, cut’. The low vowel \( a \) may be seen in the perfective forms in the following two paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>( k\ddot{i} - )</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>( \ddot{k})ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dig, cut’</td>
<td>( n(\ddot{i})k\ddot{i} - )</td>
<td>n(\ddot{i})ke</td>
<td>n(\ddot{i})kap</td>
<td>n(\ddot{i})( \ddot{k})ina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>landa</td>
<td>‘eat [IRR]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolnda</td>
<td>‘break, split [IRR]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ananda</td>
<td>‘scrub [IRR]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunda</td>
<td>‘break (off) [IRR]’ (from the stem [kun-], with a quasi-degemination of /nnd/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menda</td>
<td>‘sew [IRR]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowonda</td>
<td>‘sleep [IRR]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liyunda</td>
<td>‘fall [IRR]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These may be compared with the following irrealis forms, which have \( n \) when the preceding consonant is an obstruent /p, t, k, nd, ng, s/ (there are no known forms with preceding /mb/ or /ng/) or when there is no preceding consonant at all (as in the final example on the list below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘scrape’</td>
<td>ale-</td>
<td>al(e)</td>
<td>alep</td>
<td>alinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cut, go’</td>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>l(e)</td>
<td>lop</td>
<td>lunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

The phonetic motivation for this process is unclear, but it could be a form of hypercorrection, speakers raising vowels they assume to have been lowered phonetically due to secondary nasalization from the following nasal gesture giving the vowel a perceived lower quality. Also, there could be another phonotactic constraint at play here, since there are no known phonological forms *-lend- or *-lond- in Ulwa. Actually, since there are also no known instances of *-len- or *-lon-, it is equally possible that this raising of /e/ and /o/ to [i] and [u], respectively, occurs before the strengthening of /n/ to [nd]. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that the imperative forms of ‘scrape’ and ‘cut, go’ are alin and lun, respectively (4.9). It may also be
the case, however, that the imperative forms are built through analogy to the irrealis forms; this is almost certainly the case with the conditional forms (4.14), which are *alita* and *luta*, respectively.

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

(4.001) Yawat mî awal num **molop**.

Yawat mî awal num ma=lo-p
[ name ] 3SG yesterday canoe 3SG=cut-PRF
‘Yawat made the canoe yesterday.’

(4.002) Yawat mî amun num **mole**.

Yawat mî amun num ma=lo-e
[ name ] 3SG now canoe 3SG=cut-DEP
‘Yawat is making the canoe now.’

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

Yawat mî umbe num ma=lo-n\-da
[ name ] 3SG tomorrow canoe 3SG=cut-IRR
‘Yawat will make the boat tomorrow.’

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>tî-</td>
<td>t(î) ~ te</td>
<td>t ~ tî(n)</td>
<td>t ~ tî(na)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nan(a)</td>
<td>nanda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>man(e)</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Another verb, si- ‘push’ has a unique perfective suffix, -al. This is a highly unusual form—it could be related to the postposition al(a) ‘for, from’, but, if so, the semantic connection
between these two forms is obscure. It is also common for this verb to use the bare stem \( si \) as the perfective form—that is, the final vowel may be retained (an alternative analysis would be that this is a periphrastic verbal construction: \( s- \text{ ‘push’} + i \text{ ‘go.PRF’} \), 10.4). The paradigm for this verb is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘push’</td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>s(e)</td>
<td>si ~ sal</td>
<td>sina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘let’</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lakana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>wo-</td>
<td>wo(we)</td>
<td>wop</td>
<td>lowonda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>am(e)</td>
<td>amap</td>
<td>landa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

The verb wo- ‘sleep’ does not lose its final vowel in the imperfective. When the dependent marker -e is suffixed to the stem, the final -o also remains, with an epenthetic glide /w/ breaking up the sequence /oe/.
Three verbs have stems consisting of just a single vowel. The verb *i* ‘come’ is described above. The other two such verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘break’</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ay(e)</td>
<td>ap</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>aw(e)</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>unda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>man(e)</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit, kill’</td>
<td>asa-</td>
<td>as(e)</td>
<td>asap</td>
<td>atîna ~ atîm ~ [walinda]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hit, kill’</td>
<td>wali-</td>
<td>wal(e)</td>
<td>[asap]</td>
<td>walinda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First, *ma*- ‘go’ does not have a perfective form, relying instead on the bare stem of *i*- ‘come’ to fill this role. The imperfective from *man* is very strange in that it employs the suffix -n, which is otherwise found as a perfective marker (as in, e.g., *ti*- ‘take’ and *na*- ‘give’, shown above). The irrealis form *mana* is also irregular, in that it exhibits the suffix -na (not *nda*), despite the presence of the preceding sonorant consonant *m*. 
The verb *asa-* ‘hit, kill’ does not have the predicted irrealis form *asana*. Instead, one of two irregular forms is used: *atïna* or *atïm*, the first of which at least exhibits the regular irrealis suffix *-na*. The nature of the apparent stem change (that is *atï-* instead of *asa-*) is not clear, but there could be alternate forms of this root, at least historically (cf. the noun *at* ‘fight, battle’). The final *-m* of the alternate irrealis form *atïm* is even harder to account for. Most commonly, however, instead of *atïna* or *atïm*, the suppletive form *walinda* is used for the irrealis. This form comes from the verb stem *wali-* ‘hit kill’, which itself relies on suppletion for its otherwise lacking perfective form. The verb *asa-* ‘hit, kill’ often appears without TAM marking.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘arise’</td>
<td>tïnanga-</td>
<td></td>
<td>tïnangana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘feel’</td>
<td>wana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>wananda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>lumo-</td>
<td></td>
<td>lumop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td>al-</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>andïn</td>
<td>andïna ~ andïm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td>andï-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Two postpositions, *ala* ‘for, from’ and *andï* ‘for, from’ (8.2) are often used as verbs. There is much variability in the forms that may be used to express various TAM distinctions, and often they appear to be used interchangeably, or the verbs (that is, the postpositions) are left unmarked for TAM entirely. Still, the form *al* resembles many imperfective forms in that it is missing its final verb. Likewise, the form *andïn* resembles some irregular perfective forms that end in *-n*, and the form *andïna* appears to have the regular irrealis suffix *-na*. The alternate irrealis form
andîm resembles the irregular irrealis form aṭîm ‘hit, kill’, in that they both end in the bilabial nasal m. The verbal use of these two postpositions is discussed in more detail in 8.2 and 9.3.1.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>tan(e)</td>
<td>t(ap)</td>
<td>tana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘fall’</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>liwe</td>
<td>liyu</td>
<td>liyunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Finally, this section may be concluded with a note pertaining to the small set of verbs whose stems end in consonants. Although, perhaps not irregular, these verbs exhibit forms that deserve some comment. Most importantly, the verb kot- ‘break, bear’ is analyzed here as ending in t- (and not *i-), despite often exhibiting the perfective form kotîp and the irrealis form kotîna. The presence of [i] in these forms, however, is taken to be phonologically driven—that is, it is an epenthetic vowel breaking up the consonant cluster. Indeed, this vowel can be avoided in the perfective form in instances in which the /tp/ sequences can be broken across a syllable boundary (e.g., in the dependent-marked form kot.pe). Moreover, the conditional form of the verb kot- is
kota (not *kotîta), from underlying /kot-ta/—in other words, instead of acquiring an epenthetic vowel, the /tt/ sequence simply degeminates (2.6.8).

4.5 **Summary of verb paradigms**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'break'</td>
<td>a-ay(e)</td>
<td>ap</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'for'</td>
<td>ala-al</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'scrape'</td>
<td>ale-al(e)</td>
<td>alep</td>
<td>alinda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>ama-am(e)</td>
<td>amap</td>
<td>landa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'scrub'</td>
<td>ana-an(e)</td>
<td>anap</td>
<td>ananda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'for'</td>
<td>andi-andin</td>
<td>andina ~ andim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hit, kill'</td>
<td>asa-as(e)</td>
<td>asap</td>
<td>atina ~ atim ~ [walinda]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>i-[man(e)]</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'get'</td>
<td>in(a)-in</td>
<td>inap</td>
<td>inda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'walk'</td>
<td>inda-ind</td>
<td>indap</td>
<td>indana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build'</td>
<td>ita-it(e)</td>
<td>itap</td>
<td>itana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'let'</td>
<td>ka-kam(be)</td>
<td>kamp</td>
<td>kambina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'shun'</td>
<td>kamb-ke</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>kina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'say'</td>
<td>kî-ke</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>kina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'break, split'</td>
<td>kol-kol(e)</td>
<td>kolp</td>
<td>kolnda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'break, bear'</td>
<td>kot-kot(e)</td>
<td>kot(î)p</td>
<td>kot(î)na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'break (off)'</td>
<td>kun-kun(e)</td>
<td>kunp</td>
<td>kunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fall'</td>
<td>li-liwe</td>
<td>liyu</td>
<td>liyunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'put'</td>
<td>lî-l(e)</td>
<td>l(î)p</td>
<td>l(î)nda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cut, go'</td>
<td>lo-lo(e)</td>
<td>lop</td>
<td>lunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rain'</td>
<td>lopo-lop(e)</td>
<td>lopop</td>
<td>lopona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'put'</td>
<td>lumop-lumop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>ma-[i]</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sew'</td>
<td>me-m(e)</td>
<td>mep</td>
<td>menda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>moko-moke</td>
<td>mokop</td>
<td>mokon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'feed'</td>
<td>na-n(e)</td>
<td>nap</td>
<td>nanda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'give'</td>
<td>na-nan(a)</td>
<td>nep</td>
<td>nenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'harvest'</td>
<td>ne-n(e)</td>
<td>nip</td>
<td>ninda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'act, die'</td>
<td>ni-n(e)</td>
<td>nip</td>
<td>ninda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dig, cut'</td>
<td>nkï-nke</td>
<td>nkap</td>
<td>nkina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6 Imperfective aspect

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

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

(4.004) Anam mĩ amun apa mayte.
Anam mĩ amun apa ma=ita-e
[name] 3SG now house 3SG=build-DEP
‘Anam is building the house now.’

(4.005) Anam mĩ awal apa mayte.
Anam mĩ awal apa ma=ita-e
[name] 3SG yesterday house 3SG=build-DEP
‘Anam was building the house yesterday.’ (Implication: the process was ongoing yesterday or he has not finished it.)

(4.006) Malman mĩ amun lamndu mas.
Malman mĩ amun lamndu ma=asa-Ø
[name] 3SG now pig 3SG=hit-IPFV
‘Malman is killing the pig now.’
Malman mī amun lamndu mase.
Malman mī amun lamndu ma=asa-e
[name] 3SG now pig 3SG=hit-DEP
‘Malman is killing the pig now.’

Inom mī ya u-te.
inom mī ya uta-e
mother 3SG coconut grind-DEP
‘Mother is grinding coconut.’

Inom mī ipka ya u-te.
inom mī ipka ya uta-e
mother 3SG before coconut grind-DEP
‘Mother was grinding coconut earlier.’ (Implication: she was continuing to grind it.)

Itom mī amun in-de.
itom mī amun inda-e
father 3SG now walk-DEP
‘Father is walking now.’

Itom mī utam mame inom mī unip.
itom mī utam ma=ama-e inom mī uni-p
father 3SG yam 3SG=eat-DEP mother 3SG shout-PRF
‘Father was eating the yam when mother shouted.’

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

Inom mī alum nunu ilom mat in-de.
inom mī alum nunu ilom ma=tī inda-e
mother 3SG child various day 3SG=take walk-DEP
‘Mother carries the baby every day.’

Ginam mī minda ame.
Ginam mī minda ama-e
[name] 3SG banana eat-DEP
‘Ginam eats bananas.’

Ginam mī ipka minda ame.
Ginam mī ipka mīnda ama-e
[name] 3SG before banana eat-DEP
‘Ginam used to eat bananas.’
(4.015) Mī **ane**.

mī an=na-e
3SG 1PL.EXCL=feed-DEP

‘She would feed us.’ (T10)

(4.016) Ninji inom mī nīt **inde**.

ninji inom mī nī=tī inda-e
1SG.POSS mother 3SG 1SG=take walk-DEP

‘My mother used to carry me around.’ (T10)

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

4.7 **Perfective aspect**

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

(4.017) Mī awal mīnda **mamap**.

mī awal mīnda ma=ama-p
3SG yesterday banana 3SG=eat-PRF

‘He ate the banana yesterday.’

(4.018) Mī amun mīnda **mamap**.

mī amun mīnda ma=ama-p
3SG now banana 3SG=eat-PRF

‘He just now ate the banana.’

(4.019) Banjiwa mī numbu **manip**.

Banjiwa mī numbu ma=ni-p
[name] 3SG garamut 3SG=beat-PRF

‘Banjiwa has beaten the *garamut* drum.’
4.8 Irrealis mood

The third major TAM suffix does not encode the aspect of an event, but rather its mood: irrealis mood applies to unreal or hypothetical events and states. The irrealis suffix is 

\[-na\], which has the phonologically conditioned allomorph \[-nda\] (4.3).

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

(4.020) Gambri mî umbe apa maytana.
\[\text{Gambri} \quad \text{mî} \quad \text{umbe} \quad \text{apa} \quad \text{ma}=\text{ita}-\text{na}\]
\[\text{name} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{house} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{build-IRR}\]
(a) ‘Gambri will build the house tomorrow.’
(b) ‘Gambri will be building the house tomorrow.’

(4.021) Nungol ndî wambana nduwananda.
\[\text{nungol} \quad \text{ndî} \quad \text{wambana} \quad \text{ndî}=\text{wana}-\text{nda}\]
\[\text{child} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{fish} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{cook-IRR}\]
(a) ‘The children will cook the fish.’
(b) ‘The children will be cooking the fish.’

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

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

The epistemic adverb \text{tap} ‘maybe’ is often possible in these sentences, but not necessary for conveying the modal sense of the irrealis. Note, however, that \text{tap} ‘maybe’ cannot be used when the sense is conveyed that the action will necessarily happen (‘will’, ‘must’). Thus, the
sentence above (when *tap* is included), cannot mean *‘Gambri will build the house’* or *‘Gambri must build the house’*.

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

(4.023)  *Ndī ango luwa miniya mana.*

\[\text{Ndī ango luwa min=iya ma-na} \]

\[3\text{PL NEG place 3DU=toward go-IRR} \]

‘They could not go to them.’ (Literally, ‘They nowhere could go to them.’) (T01)

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

(4.024)  *Awal maka nungol ndul li mana.*

\[\text{awal maka nungol ndī=ul li ma-na} \]

\[\text{yesterday thus child 3PL=with down go-IRR} \]

‘(He) would have gone down with (his) children yesterday.’ (T11)

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

(4.025)  *Ticha ngala mbiye em i stap.*

\[\text{ticha ngala mbi=î-e em i stap} \]

\[\text{teacher this.PL here-go.PRF-DEP 3SG PRED stay} \]

‘But these teachers came, so he stayed.’ *(ticha, i, stap < TP)* (T11)

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

(4.026)  *Wa me ndul landa.*

\[\text{wa ma=i ndī=ul la-nda} \]

\[\text{village 3SG=go.PRF 3PL=with eat-IRR} \]

‘(They) went home to eat with them.’ (T02)

(4.027)  *Malimap matī yawa mananda.*

\[\text{ma=alima-p ma=tī yawa ma-na-nda} \]

\[\text{3SG=beat-PRF 3SG=take uncle 3SG=give-IRR} \]

‘(We) beat it (sago starch) to give to (our) uncle.’ (T11)
Sentences such as (4.026) and (4.027) above are analyzed as consisting of two (full) clauses, so there is actually nothing akin (syntactically) to the English infinitive.

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

4.9 Imperative

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>landa</td>
<td>lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘let’</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>lakana</td>
<td>lakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>kina</td>
<td>kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cut, go’</td>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>lunda</td>
<td>lun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sew’</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>menda</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.10 The double perfective

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

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

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

(4.029) Mana man masapap.
mana ma=n ma=asa-p-ap
spear 3SG=OBL 3SG=hit-PRF-PRF
‘(They) had killed him with a spear.’ (T32)
(4.030) Nî mape Madangpe ndilopop.
nî ma=pol=op  Madang-p-e  ndî=lo-p-op
1SG 3SG=be-DEP [place]-be-DEP 3PL=cut-PRF-PRF
‘I had made them when I was there in Madang.’ (T11)

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

(4.032) Asika limndî ndilpîpe …
asî-ka limndî ndî=li-p-ip-e
sit-let eye 3PL=put-PRF-PRF-DEP
‘After (they) had sat and watched them, …’

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

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

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

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

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

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

The two sentences above (4.033 and 4.034) also illustrate the fact that the vowels in the second perfective suffix do not always match the final vowel of the verb stem. Indeed, there is variability even within certain verb forms (e.g., there are attested forms such as li-p-ap ‘put-PRF-PRF’ alongside li-p-ip, as seen in 4.032 above). It may be that some of these putative second
perfective forms are actually reduced forms of the past copular suffix -wap (10.3). Indeed, it is not unlikely that they have all derived (historically) from wap, which is often pronounced [wɔp]: thus, it could be assumed that first the /w/ has been lost; then, when following non-low vowels, the vowel [ɔ] is colored to [o], and when following the low vowel, it is colored to [a]. The following sentences further exemplify the form -op, following the stem-final vowels i and u.

(4.035) Ane nda ine nda ni-pop.
ane andanda i-n-e anda ni-p-op
sun that.SG come-PRF-DEP that.SG die-PRF-PRF
‘That (woman) died the day before yesterday.’ (T32)

(4.036) John maweka i Mongima ul ngalan upop.
John maweka i Mongima ul ngala=n u-p-op
[name] also go.PR [name] with this.PL=OBL put-PRF-PRF
‘John had also gone and planted these with Mongima.’ (T11)

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

(4.037) An ndamapape inim nga ambipe.
an ndi=ama-p-ap-e inim nga ambi-p-e
1PL.EXCL 3PL=eat-PRF-PRF-DEP water this.SG big-be-DEP
‘We were eating them (fish), but (now) the water is high (again)’ (T11)

(4.038) Monam ala ndi ndin maytapap.
monam ala ndi ndi=n ma=ita-p-ap
tree.SP that.PL 3PL 3PL=OBL 3SG=build-PRF-PRF
‘Monam trees—they had(?) built it with these.’ (T11)

(4.039) Mi maka aw ndin mopop.
mû maka aw ndi=n ma=u-p-op
3SG thus betel.nut 3PL=OBL 3SG=put-PRF-PRF
‘He had(?) planted the betel nut there.’ (T11)

Some of the examples above may reflect grammatical attrition; as verbal suffixes come to be used in increasingly interchangeable ways, they lose their aspecual force: perhaps such seemingly redundant (i.e., extra) perfective markers are used to show that the meaning intended is truly perfective. A good example to bolster this hypothesis is to be found in how the suppletive perfective form of the word ‘go’ ma- is used. The form i ‘go.PR’ is intrinsically marked for
perfective aspect. Nevertheless, speakers on occasion add what seems to be a perfective suffix—that is, as if they were treating this form as unmarked for aspect and thus requiring a perfective suffix—as in the following:

(4.040) Li kîkal wopa nda ang o mbìyap.  
        li-i kîkal wopa anda ango mbì-i-ap  
        down-go.PRF ear all that.SG NEG here-go.PRF-PRF  
        ‘(She) went downstream, but that deaf one did not stay here.’ (T11)

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

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

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

4.11 The irrealis perfective

An interesting tug-of-war occurs when one must refer to a completed action in future time—something akin to what may be called the future perfect in some languages (e.g., English we will have eaten). The three designations in Ulwa’s basic three-way TAM system are not all mutually exclusive: that is, an event could, theoretically, be marked simultaneously for perfective aspect and for irrealis mood. In terms of aspect, an event may be perfective in that it is viewed as a completed whole, but in terms of mood, it may be treated as irrealis, assuming, for
example, that it has not yet taken place. Typically in Ulwa, all irrealis-mood verbs are treated the same—that is, there are no aspectual distinctions maintained among them (see 4.8 above). Thus, the following sentence could be translated variously into English, as shown below.

(4.043) Nungol ndì **landa**.

(a) ‘The children will eat.’ (unspecified aspect)
(b) ‘The children will be eating.’ (imperfective aspect)
(c) ‘The children will have eaten.’ (perfective aspect)

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

(4.044) Un i anul ndul amblawalin.

‘Go and fight with us with (against) them!’ (Literally, ‘having gone … fight!’) (T02)

(4.045) Anji wa **koytap** namndu nungol kot …

‘Once (we) have built a village for ourselves and gotten a pig …’

‘… (we) will go and put it there.’ (T11)

A verb in the first clause may be marked with the conditional suffix -*ta* (4.14). Especially when the subject of the first clause differs from that of the second, the inclusion of this suffix may be seen as necessary to convey the irrealis perfective sense of the protasis: in the sentence below, the conditional suffix on the first verb, **anmbi** ‘come out’, helps signal that the action of the following verb is contingent on the completion of the action described by this one.
(4.046)  Ngun anmbita …
    ngun    an-mbî-i-ta
2DU     out-here-go.PRF-COND
‘Once you two have come …’

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

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

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

(4.047)  Ndîlamap we un namndu atîna.
    ndî=la-ama-p    we    un    namndu    atî-na
3PL=IRR-eat-PRF then 2PL pig hit-IRR
‘Once (we) have eaten them, then you will kill pigs!’ (T11)

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

In the text that contains the previous sentence (4.048), there is actually another irrealis perfective construction that immediately follows (4.049); here it may be seen again that—as for most verbs—the irrealis perfective form of ita- ‘build’ is morphologically identical to the perfective form.
(4.049) Mana maytap mat mananda.
mana ma=ita-p ma=tī ma=na-nda
spear 3SG=build-PRF 3SG=take 3SG=give-IRR
‘Having made the spear, (they) will give it to him.’ (T11)

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

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

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

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

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

4.12 The inchoative imperfective

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

ma=wap  imba-p-e  mĩ  wolka  na-wo-O
3SG=be.PST  night-be-DEP  3SG  again  DETR-sleep-IPFV

‘(He) stayed the night there and again he fell asleep.’ (T05)

Tana kot ambīn wutī anmot ngalīp …
tana  ko=tī  ambī=n  wutī  anmot  nga=li-p
axe  INDF=take  SG.REFL=OBL  leg  post  this.SG=put-PRF

‘(He) cut his shin with an axe …’

… anankīn ala li **mane**.
anankīn  ala  li  ma-n-e
blood  that.PL  down  go-IPFV-DEP

‘… and blood began to run down.’ (T07)

Ndī kīkāl ndīwana **ndīnawte** inim **naw**.
ndī  kīkāl  ndī=wana  ndī=na-uta-e  inim  na-aw
3PL  ear  3PL=feel  3PL=DETR-grind-DEP  water  DETR-put.IPFV

‘They heard them (their names) and started grinding them (coconuts) into water.’ (T14)

Mī se nĩ mala ndīwanawne.
mĩ  sa-e  nĩ  ma=ala  ndī=wana-unî-e
3SG  cry-DEP  1SG  3SG=for  3PL=feel-shout-DEP

‘When she started to cry, I called to them to get her.’ (T27)

We mokoṭip matī manane mĩ **mame**.
we  ma=kot-p  ma=tī  ma=na-n-e  mĩ  ma=ama-e
sago  3SG=cut-PRF  3SG=take  3SG=give-PRF-DEP  3SG  3SG=eat-DEP

‘(He) broke a piece of sago and gave it to him, and he began to eat it.’ (T01)

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

Mī numbu **mole**.
mĩ  numbu  ma=lo-e
3SG  garamut  3SG=cut-DEP

‘He resumed making the garamut drum.’ (T07)
4.13 The speculative suffix -t

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

(4.059) Nakanaka nundate.
na-kanaka lu-nda-t-e
DETR-unwrap put-IRR-SPEC-DEP
‘(It) might unwrap.’ (T11)

(4.060) Mï amun wa mbi …
mï amun wa mbï-i
3SG now village here-go.PRF
‘He recently came here to the village …’

… nan nït mol inat.
na=n nï=ta ma=ul i-na-t
talk=OBL 1SG=say 3SG=with come-IRR-SPEC
‘… and told me that he might come with her.’ (T32)

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

(4.061) Inim ngol mol ina nït.
inim nga=ul ma=ul i-na nï=ta
water this.SG=with 3SG=with come-IRR 1SG=say
‘(He) told me (he) would come with her this year.’ (T32)

(For more on indirect discourse, see 13.5.5.)
The speculative suffix can also be used in conjunction with the epistemic adverb *tap* ‘maybe’, which always comes earlier in the clause, as in:

\[(4.062)\] Ngunanji yalum anda **tap** i wa **mbiŋiŋate**.

\[\text{ngunanji} \quad \text{yalum} \quad \text{anda} \quad \text{**tap**} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{mbi-p-na-t-e} \]

\[\text{1DU.INCL.POSS} \quad \text{grandchild} \quad \text{that.SG} \quad \text{maybe} \quad \text{go.PRF} \quad \text{village here-be-IRR-SPEC-DEP} \]

‘Our granddaughter might come and stay here in the village.’ (T11)

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

\[(4.063)\] **Makina.**

\[\text{ma=kĩ-na-t-e} \]

\[3SG=\text{say-IRR-SPEC-DEP} \]

‘(He) might tell him.’ (T27)

\[(4.064)\] **Una i ken malka manate.**

\[\text{unan} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{ken} \quad \text{ma=lĩ-ka} \quad \text{ma-na-t-e} \]

\[\text{1PL.INCL} \quad \text{PRED} \quad \text{can} \quad 3SG=\text{put-let go-IRR-SPEC-DEP} \]

‘We may go follow it (an accusation).’ (i ken < TP) (T32)

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

\[(4.065)\] **Nogut mundu tī unanandat.**

\[\text{nogut} \quad \text{mundu} \quad \text{tī} \quad \text{unan=na-nda-t} \]

\[\text{bad} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{1PL.INCL=give-IRR-SPEC} \]

‘(It) might give us food.’ (T24)

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

\[(4.066)\] **Ango maka anma apombam manate.**

\[\text{ango} \quad \text{maka} \quad \text{an-ma} \quad \text{apombam} \quad \text{ma-na-t-e} \]

\[\text{NEG} \quad \text{thus} \quad \text{out-go} \quad \text{middle.of.house} \quad \text{go-IRR-SPEC-DEP} \]

‘(She) shouldn’t go into the middle of the house, going out like that.’ (T11)
(4.067) **Ango** apa kon lusim **manat**.

        ango  apa   ko=n    lus-im   ma-na-t
        NEG   house   INDF=OBL  leave-TR   go-IRR-SPEC

‘(They) were not going to leave out a single house(hold).’ 

*(lusim < TP) (T24)*

(4.068) **Una** **ango** luwa **lundat**.

        unan    ango    luwa   lo-nda-t
        1PL.INCL  NEG  place   go-IRR-SPEC

‘We can’t go anywhere.’ 

*(T24)*

(4.069) **Nî** **ango** mbuka wiya **inat**.

        nî       ango    mbî-u-ka    u=iya    i-na-t
        1SG  NEG  here-from-let  2SG=toward  come-IRR-SPEC

‘I will not come to you quickly.’ 

*(T24)*

(4.070) **Ango** **nokoplïndat**.

        ango    nokop-lï-nda-t
        NEG   hide-put-IRR-SPEC

‘(It) couldn’t hide (from us).’ 

*(T26)*

(4.071) **Mi** **ango** un **apapïnät**.

        mî       ango    un=n     apa-p-na-t
        3SG  NEG  2PL=OBL  house-be-SPEC

‘It won’t last (long) in your house.’ 

*(T26)*

(4.072) **Ango** in **malandate** unji ametamal.

        ango    i=n    ma=la-nda-t-e    unji     ametamal
        NEG   hand=OBL  3SG=eat-IRR-SPEC-DEP  2SG.POSS  spoon

‘(You) may not eat it with (your) hand, but (must use) your spoon.’ 

*(T11)*

(4.073) **Nî** **ango** **manat** nî mbî napïna.

        nî       ango    ma-na-t   nî     mbî    na-p-na
        1SG  NEG  go-IRR-SPEC  1SG  here  DETR-be-IRR

‘I won’t go; I’ll stay here.’ 

*(T32)*

The last examples above illustrate the contrast between negative irrealis clauses (here marked with speculative -t) and positive irrealis clauses (here—as usual when not needed for extra speculative force—not marked with -t). In the following sentence, there is also a contrast between a negative irrealis clause and a positive one—here, the negator **ango** is missing; the speculative suffix -t alone is conveying the negative force of the first clause.
(4.074) Apombam **manate** angani wat ando li mana.
apombam ma-na-t-e angani wat anda≈u li ma-na
middle.of.house go-IRR-SPEC-DEP rear ladder that.SG=from down go-IRR
‘(She won’t) go to the middle of the house, but will go down the back ladder.’ (T11)

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

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

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

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

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

4.14 The conditional suffix -ta

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

In the protases of conditional statements, the suffix -ta is affixed either to the stem of the
verb (always including the vowel) or to the perfective form (that is, including the perfective
suffix). In verbs that exhibit different stems in the irrealis, the conditional form is never built
from the imperfective/perfective stem, but rather from this suppletive stem (cf. imperative verbs,
4.9). Thus, the verb *ama- ‘eat’* has as its conditional form either *amapta* (from the fully inflected
perfective form) or *lata* (from the irrealis stem), but never *amata* (from the
imperfective/perfective stem). Often the two forms appear to be interchangeable, and it is
suspected that, for many speakers, an aspectual or modal distinction that perhaps once existed is now being lost. Still, at least in some circumstances, it may be the case that the perfective version of the conditional verb is required to show a sequence of events. In the following examples, the conditional suffix -\textit{ta} is affixed to perfective verb forms.

(4.077) Sinda nji \textit{wanapta} Womel landa.
Sinda nji wana-\textit{p-ta} Womel la-nda
[name] thing cook-PRF-COND [name] eat-IRR
‘If Sinda cooks, Womel will eat.’

(4.078) Inim umbe \textit{lopopta} nī mana.
inim umbe lopo-\textit{p-ta} nī ma-na
water tomorrow rain-PRF-COND 1SG go-IRR
‘If it rains tomorrow, I’ll leave.’

The example below illustrates the conditional suffix on the suppletive perfective stem \textit{i} ‘go’.

(4.079) Mī \textit{ita} nī nan makīna.
mī i-\textit{ta} nī na=n ma=kī-na
3SG go-PRF-COND 1SG talk=OBL 3SG=say-IRR
‘If he comes, I’ll tell him.’ (T11)

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

(4.080) Kuma lawa \textit{mapta} landa.
kuma alawa ma=\textit{p-ta} la-nda
some that.PL.INT 3SG=be-COND eat-IRR
‘If some other people are there, (they) could eat (our food).’ (T28)

(4.089) Ambi \textit{napta} we mī līmndī anala.
ambi na-\textit{p-ta} we mī līmndī an=ala
big DETR-be-COND then 3SG eye 1PL.EXCL=for
‘Once (we) had gotten big, then she saw us.’ (T10)

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

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Akumpîta akumñi ndutana.
   akum-p-ta    akum=nî   ndî=uta-na
baskêt-be-COND  baskêt=OBL  3PL=grînd-IRR
‘If there is an akum basket, (they) scoop them with the akum basket.’ (T31)

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

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

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

More examples of conditional sentences are provided in 13.6.

4.15 Derivational morphology: verbalization

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

4.16 Compound verbs

While most verbs are composed of simply a single free root (plus, potentially, bound morphology such as TAM suffixes, the detransitivizing prefix na-, and object-marker proclitics), some can be analyzed as compounds—that is, consisting of more than one free morpheme (i.e., multiple conjuncts). The final element of such compounds (excluding any suffixes) is always a verb stem. This may have preceding it as the first conjunct either a noun or another verb (or perhaps a postposition, although this may be analyzed otherwise, see below).
Often it is not clear whether such a combination of non-bound morphemes should best be analyzed as a compound. A noun preceding a verb, for example, could simply be the object of the verb. Only when this noun-plus-verb combination permits a direct object (or an object marker) can it clearly be said to be a compound. Similarly, two verb stems in succession may be separate words that are coordinated paratactically. A true compound verb consisting of two verbal elements, however, should permit only one object marker (that is, the object marker should affix to the beginning of the first conjunct in the compound). Often, series of postposition-plus-verb-stem seem very much like compound verbs, especially when considering their phonological tendency to coalesce and reduce. However, there are few if any morphosyntactic tests to prove that such forms are true compounds.

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

(4.092) **Ndīn ndiya i iwan ndīnambūlumope.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndī}=n & & \text{ndī}=i\text{ya} & & \text{iwa}=n & & \text{ndī}=\text{nambī}-\text{lumo}-p-e \\
3\text{PL}=\text{OBL} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{toward} & & \text{go.PR} & & \text{basket}=\text{OBL} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{body-put-PRF-DEP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(Men) would go to them (women) with them (bamboo stalks), blocking them (fish) with fish trap baskets.’ (T31)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma}=\text{nambi-}\text{we-u-p} & & \text{kuma} & & \text{ndī}=\text{ina-p} & & \text{ndī}=\text{ti}-\text{wa} & & \text{i} \\
3\text{SG}=\text{skin-cut-put-PRF} & & \text{some} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{get-PRF} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{take village go.PR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(She) peeled it, got some (greens), and brought them home.’ (T01)

(4.094) **An kaw mawutinip.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an} & & \text{kaw} & & \text{ma}=\text{wutī-ni-p} \\
1\text{PL.EXCL} & & \text{song} & & 3\text{SG}=\text{leg-beat-PRF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘We danced the song.’

(4.095) **Nī tīn manambiwana.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nī} & & \text{tīn} & & \text{ma}=\text{nambīt-wana} \\
1\text{SG} & & \text{dog} & & 3\text{SG}=\text{odor-feel} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I smelled the dog.’
Note that, in the second example above, (4.093), the verb is analyzed as containing not only a nominal element, but also two verbal elements (more on this in 9.3.2, where ‘put’ verbs are discussed). The following are examples of compound verbs consisting of two verb roots. Only the second (final) element receives TAM marking.

(4.096) Ul wandam ma i tî u kîkal welunda.
\[\text{u=ul} \quad \text{wandam} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tî} \quad \text{u[nji]} \quad \text{kîkal} \quad \text{we-lo-nda}\]
2SG=with jungle go hand take 2SG[.POSS] ear cut-cut-IRR
‘(They) will go to the jungle with you and box your ears with (their) hands.’ (T11)

(4.097) Ndî angos tîna nakap anwanakap.
\[\text{ndî} \quad \text{angos} \quad \text{tî-na} \quad \text{na-ki-p} \quad \text{an=wana-kî-p}\]
3PL what get-IRR DETR-say-PRF 1PL.EXCL=feel-say-PRF
‘(When) they wanted to get something, (they) called us.’ (T14)

(4.098) Amblawanawne nay.
\[\text{ambla=} \quad \text{wana-uni-e} \quad \text{na-i}\]
PL.REFL=feel-shout-DEP DETR-go.PRF
‘Calling to each other, they went.’ (T01)

Compounds can be even more complex, containing whole postpositional phrases (that is, units composed of noun-plus-postposition). The first two examples below contain a rather prototypical noun *ina* ‘liver’; the second two, however, include as the object of the postposition in the compound verb a more (semantically) verb-like noun, *top* ‘throw’.

(4.099) Nî kenmbu maynakawana.
\[\text{nî} \quad \text{kenmbu} \quad \text{ma=} \quad \text{ina-ka-wana}\]
1SG problem 3SG=liver-at-feel
‘I thought about the problem.’

(4.100) Nungolke ngala ango ndinakawana.
\[\text{nungolke} \quad \text{ngala} \quad \text{ango} \quad \text{ndî=} \quad \text{ina-ka-wana}\]
child this.PL NEG 3PL=liver-at-feel
‘But these children aren’t thinking about them.’ (T33)

(4.101) Nî natopinka.
\[\text{nî} \quad \text{na-top-in-ka}\]
1SG DETR-throw-in-let
‘I’ve forgotten.’ (T32)

The verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ is discussed more fully in a section on separable verbs (9.3.3), along with discussion of other such compound verbs that may be composed of
discontinuous elements (see 9.3.1 for an introduction, and 9.3.2 for a summary of separable verbs of ‘putting’).

Some compounds may be composed of just postpositions and verbs. While there often seems to be a close connection (both semantic and phonological) between these two elements, it is difficult to prove that they indeed form compounds. Although they are glossed below as transitive compound verbs with direct objects, they could alternatively be analyzed as series of postpositional phrases (which contain objects of the postposition) and intransitive verbs (that have no object of their own). Therefore, it is ambiguous how the postposition and verb should be treated in the following example.

(4.102) Atana mï ko malakam.
        atana  mï  ko    ma=ala-kamb
        older.sister 3SG just 3SG=from-shun
        ‘The older sister disapproved of it.’ (T09)

In some instances, there are phonological clues that a sequence of postposition-plus-verb is actually a compound. Although it is possible for glide formation (i.e., $a + i > ay$, 2.6.1) and monophthongization (i.e., $ay > e$, 2.6.2) to occur across word boundaries, these processes are more likely to occur within phonological words, as in, perhaps, the following example.

(4.103) Ndîn unji uta menup.
        ndî=n unji  uta    ma=in-u-p
        3PL=OBL 2SG.POSS shell 3SG=in-put-PRF
        ‘(They) put them in your dish.’ (T11)

The putative compound verb *watlo- ‘clear (as land of rubbish, foliage, etc.)’, composed of the postposition *wat ‘atop’ and a form of the verb *lo- ‘cut’ may, at first, appear to be a better candidate of postposition-plus-verb verbal compound, since the verb *lo- ‘cut’ is transitive; unfortunately, this same verb can also be used intransitively to mean ‘go’ (although, given the semantics of this verb, a derivation from this intransitive meaning seems less likely). The following examples illustrate *watlo- ‘clear’, as it appears to function as a compound verb.

(4.104) Ndî amun nduwatlope.
        ndî   amun   ndî=wat-lo-p-e
        3PL now  3PL=atop-cut-PRF-DEP
        ‘They have just now cleared them.’ (T11)
(4.105) Nī mape **ndïwatle**.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nī} & \text{ma=p-e} & \text{ndī=wat-lo-e} \\
1\text{SG} & 3\text{SG}=\text{be-DEP} & 3\text{PL}=\text{atop-cut-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I cleared them there.’ (T32)

For the form and function of compound verbs containing locative adverbs, such as *mbï* ‘here’, see 8.3.2.
Chapter 5
Adjectives

5.1 Introduction

Compared to nouns and verbs, adjectives are much less frequent and somewhat harder to define on morphosyntactic grounds. The semantic prototype of the adjective is a word denoting a property. As such, adjectives often occur as modifiers within noun phrases or as predicate complements to noun phrases, being used to ascribe attributes to nouns. There is not much, however, that makes adjectives morphosyntactically distinct as a class. Indeed, the fundamental divide among grammatical categories in Ulwa falls between verbs and non-verbs. When viewed within this dichotomy, adjectives resemble nouns somewhat more than they resemble verbs. For example, adjectives may receive the copular suffix (and they never receive any of the three basic TAM suffixes found on verbs). Adjectives may even function as substantives (i.e., nominals), in which case they have the same distribution as prototypical nouns. (When adjectives function as nouns, they in effect become nouns, at least in terms of syntax). When adjectives function as predicates, likewise, their distribution and morphology are the same as the distribution and morphology of predicate nominatives.

5.2 Attributive adjectives

The distinctive behavior of adjectives is best seen in their distribution within noun phrases (that is, when they are functioning as attributive adjectives). When an adjective is neither functioning as a substantive nor serving as a predicate complement, it occurs within the limits of a noun phrase: here, inside the NP, adjectives occur after the noun (the head of the NP) and before the subject marker, object marker, or any other determiner that may be found in an NP. The following are examples of adjectives (in bold) as they appear in NPs, illustrating their postnominal position, preceding determiners.
(5.001) Ankam **ambi** mī tīn **njukuta** masap.

ánkam **ambi** mī tīn **njukuta** ma=asa-p

person big 3SG dog small 3SG=hit-PRF

‘The big person hit the little dog.’

(5.002) Ndīnji i **anma** mī ndul i.

ndīnji i **anma** mī ndī=ul i

3PL.POSS way good 3SG 3PL=with go.PRF

‘Their good behavior has gone with them.’ (T11)

(5.003) Nī ninji wandam **ambi** ndalop.

nī nīnji wandam **ambi** anda=lo-p

1SG 1SG.POSS jungle big that.SG=cut-PRF

‘I cleared that big garden of mine.’ (T37)

(5.004) Nīmal **wapata** menpe apa ite mawap.

nīmal **wapata** ma=in-p-e apa ita-e ma=wap

river old 3SG=in-be-DEP house build-DEP 3SG=be.PST

‘(They) were building houses in the old river there.’ (T27)

5.3 **Predicative adjectives**

When adjectives function predicatively, they may receive copular morphology (10.3), although this is not obligatory (neither for adjectives nor for nouns). These predicative adjectives occur clause-finally (the position held prototypically by verbs), as seen below.

(5.005) Mīnkīn ndī **wutota**.

mīnkīn ndī **wutota**
palm.sp 3PL tall

‘The mīnkīn palms are tall.’ (T11)

(5.006) Nīnji wūtī ambatīm ngala **tembipe**.

nīnji wūtī ambatīm ngala **tembī-p-e**

1SG.POSS foot joint this.PL bad-be-DEP

‘My knees are bad.’ (T27)

(5.007) Mī **anmapīna**.

mī **anma-p-na**

3SG good-be-IRR

‘It (sago starch) will be good.’ (T11)
5.4 Substantive adjectives

Adjectives may also function as substantives—that is, they may have the same formal properties as archetypical nouns. In such cases, these adjectives have the same distribution of nouns, as seen in the following examples, in which adjectives serve as the heads of NPs, which may themselves serve as subject (5.008), direct object (5.009), or object of a postposition (5.010) within a clause.

(5.008)  **Ambi mī ngununu ndītīna.**

  ambī
  big 3SG

  mī
  1DU.INCL

  ngunan=u
  from

  ndī=ti-na
  3PL=take-IRR

  ‘The big man will get them from us.’ (Literally, ‘the big [one]’) (T11)

(5.009)  **Tembi ndinap.**

  tembi
  bad 3PL

  ndī=ina-p
  get-PRF

  ‘(I) got the bad ones (tobacco plants).’ (T32)

(5.010)  **Tembi ngalol inde.**

  tembi
  bad

  ngala=ul
  this.PL

  inda-e
  with

  ‘(They) walk around with these sick ones (children).’ (T11)

5.5 Relationship to other word classes

One factor complicating the task of assigning words in Ulwa to the grammatical category of adjective is the fact that adjectives in NPs sometimes precede their head nouns (instead of following them). While some speakers consider this order to be ungrammatical (perhaps an influence from the word order of Tok Pisin, see Chapter 15), it nevertheless occurs in speech, thus making it difficult to rely on the distributional criterion that adjectives follow nouns. The following are examples of adjective-noun word order.

(5.011)  **Waembīl ankam anda i.**

  waembīl
  white

  ankam
  person

  anda i
  that.SG go.PRF

  ‘That white person came.’ (T10)
(5.012) **Tembi** ankam ala imbape.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tembi</th>
<th>ankam</th>
<th>ala</th>
<th>imba-p-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>that.PL</td>
<td>nigh-be-DEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Those bad people are around at night.’ (T27)

(5.013) **Tembi** nji ala ala ndi=t indana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tembi</th>
<th>nji</th>
<th>ala</th>
<th>ala</th>
<th>ndi=t</th>
<th>inda-na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>that.PL</td>
<td>that.PL</td>
<td>3PL=take</td>
<td>walk-IRR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Those bad things—they will bring them (here).’ (T32)

(In the first example above, 5.011, the form *waembïl ankam* ‘white person’ may be lexicalized, likely calqued from Tok Pisin *waitman* ‘white man, white person’.)

The morphosyntactic similarity between nouns and adjectives also makes it difficult at times to assign certain words to one class or another. For example, the word *kalam* can mean either ‘knowledge, wisdom’ or ‘knowledgeable, knowing, wise’, and it is difficult to define one of these meanings (i.e., grammatical class) as being the primary one. Whereas in the first example below, (5.014), this word carries a more noun-like meaning, in the second example, (5.015), it functions more like a substantive adjective (5.4).

(5.014) Ndawa ndînji **kalam** andol le.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndawa</th>
<th>ndînji</th>
<th><strong>kalam</strong></th>
<th>anda=ul</th>
<th>lo-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL.INT</td>
<td>3PL.POSS</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>that.SG=with</td>
<td>go-DEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They went around with their knowledge.’ (T11)

(5.015) Yena ambi anda **u kalam** anda.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yena</th>
<th>ambi</th>
<th>anda</th>
<th><strong>u kalam</strong></th>
<th>anda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>that.SG</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>that.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘You’re a grown woman; you know well.’ (Literally, ‘[You] are that big woman; you are that knowledgeable [woman].’) (T27)

Complicating matters even further is the fact that *kalam* ‘knowledge, knowledgeable’ very often functions like a verb. While this is generally an unremarkable trait for nouns or adjectives (indeed, the form *kalam* even takes the copular suffix and not verbal TAM morphology), it is noteworthy that this putative noun/adjective seems able to take objects (a feature of verbs), as in the following examples.

(5.016) Mi **ukalampe**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mî</th>
<th><strong>u=kalam-p-e</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>2SG=know-be-DEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘She knows you.’ (T27)
(5.017) Nī ango ndikalam.

\begin{align*}
\text{nī} & \quad \text{ango} & \quad \text{ndī}=\text{kalam} \\
1\text{SG} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{know}
\end{align*}

‘I don’t know about them.’ (T27)

(5.018) Na ndī anjikape i kalampīna.

\begin{align*}
\text{na} & \quad \text{ndī} & \quad \text{anjikaka-p}=\text{e} & \quad \text{i} & \quad \text{kalam-p}=\text{na} \\
\text{and} & \quad 3\text{PL} & \quad \text{how-be-DEP} & \quad \text{way} & \quad \text{know-be-IRR}
\end{align*}

‘And how are they going to know (good) behavior?’ (na < TP) (T11)

(See 13.1.2 for the internal morphology of \textit{anjikaka} ‘how?’)

Even rather prototypical adjectives, such as \textit{tembi} ‘bad, sick, etc.’ can be employed nominally (i.e., to mean ‘badness, sickness, etc.’), as in:

(5.019) \textbf{Tembi} mī makape tīlwa ndo unden.

\begin{align*}
\text{tembi} & \quad \text{mī}=\text{make-p}=\text{e} & \quad \text{tīlwa} & \quad \text{anda}=\text{u} & \quad \text{unda}=\text{en} \\
\text{bad} & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{thus-be-DEP} & \quad \text{road} & \quad \text{that} \cdot \text{SG}=\text{from} & \quad \text{go-NMLZ}
\end{align*}

‘The sickness is one that goes along this kind of road.’ (T33)

(5.020) \textbf{Tembi} nji ala un mat …

\begin{align*}
\text{tembi} & \quad \text{nji} & \quad \text{ala} & \quad \text{u}=\text{n} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{ma}=\text{ti} \\
\text{bad} & \quad \text{thing} & \quad \text{that} \cdot \text{PL} & \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{from} & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{take}
\end{align*}

‘Bad things will take her from you …’

\begin{align*}
\text{tembi} & \quad \text{tī}=\text{mananda}. \\
\text{tembi} & \quad \text{tī} & \quad \text{ma}=\text{na}-\text{nda}
\end{align*}

bad take 3\text{SG}=\text{give-IRR}

‘… and give her sickness.’ (T27)

In the second example above, the same word \textit{tembi} ‘bad/badness’ functions both as adjective and as noun (note the non-canonical order of noun and adjective in the first NP). The sense of ‘sick’ (i.e., an adjective) is illustrated by the following sentence; here the word functions as a predicate adjective, receiving the copular suffix.

(5.021) U tembīpīta.

\begin{align*}
\text{u} & \quad \text{tembi-p}=\text{ta} \\
2\text{SG} & \quad \text{bad-be-COND}
\end{align*}

‘You may be sick (someday).’ (T11)

Another notable fact about the grammatical class of adjectives is its rather small size. Taking the definition (based both on semantics and on syntactic distribution) that adjectives are words that denote properties and can occur within NPs after nouns and before determiners, then
the class of adjectives is quite small, and is, perhaps, in fact closed. The following list contains the best exemplars of this class of adjectives. They almost all refer to physical properties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ulwa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anma</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tembi</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambi</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njukuta</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîpat</td>
<td>‘giant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilum</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapata</td>
<td>‘old, dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akînaka</td>
<td>‘new, young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wananum</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mînoma</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namli</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîpokonam</td>
<td>‘hard’ (i.e., not soft)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenmbu</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiwila</td>
<td>‘light’ (i.e., not heavy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutota</td>
<td>‘tall, long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundotoma</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaya</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbunmana</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waembîl</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andîl</td>
<td>‘careful, slow, quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangle</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangîmot</td>
<td>‘tasty, sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mînwata</td>
<td>‘wet, ripe, rotten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maw</td>
<td>‘correct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monop</td>
<td>‘full, sated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngusuwa</td>
<td>‘poor, pitiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wopa</td>
<td>‘whole’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This list may even be close to representing a complete list of true adjectives, at least those most commonly used in discourse. To denote most other properties that could be ascribed to nominals, Ulwa makes use of other grammatical means, such as postpositional phrases or verb phrases. For example, the notion ‘fast’ is often expressed with a (metaphorical) postpositional phrase apîn wat (literally, ‘on fire’), as in:

(5.022)  Tîn [apîn wat] mî imbamka.
       dog fire atop 3SG run-let
‘The fast dog ran.’
The notion ‘happy’ is expressed with the compound verb *wana-ni*—‘feel-act’ along with the adjective *anma* ‘good’, as in:

(5.023) **Anma wana**-n mol lope.

*anma* *wana-ni-e* ma=ul lo-p-e

good feel-act-DEP 3SG=with go-PRF-DEP

‘(They) were happy and went with him.’ (T30)

It is also not uncommon to use Tok Pisin loan words, as in the following example, which contains Tok Pisin *amamas* ‘happy’ to denote the same attribute as in the example above.

(5.024) **Ndï wa amamaspe** mol lopen.

*ndï* *wa* *amamas-p-e* ma=ul lo-p-en

3PL just happy-be-DEP 3SG=with go-PRF-NMLZ

‘They were just happy and went with him.’ (T30)

One final feature of adjectives to be discussed here is their ability to function as adverbs when placed immediately before the verb in the clause. This results in the direct object being demoted to an oblique, as in the following sentence.

(5.025) **Inim u kwa man anma lan!**

*inim* *u* *kwa* *ma=n* *anma* *la-n*

water 2SG just 3SG=OBL good eat-IMP

‘Water—just drink it well!’ (T11)

For more on this phenomenon and additional examples, see the sections on adverbs (8.3), the oblique marker =n (11.5.1), and valency-changing operations (13.9.8).
Chapter 6
Pronouns

6.1 Introduction

The major (open) word classes have been described in Chapters 3 through 5. This chapter discusses the various types of pronouns in Ulwa and their morphology and functions.

In the category of Ulwa pronouns are included personal pronouns (6.2), possessive pronouns (6.3), reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (6.4), indefinite pronouns (6.5), interrogative pronouns (6.6), various types of intensive pronouns (6.7), and what are here referred to as affective pronouns (6.8). (Demonstrative words, which may also function pronominally, are treated in 7.3.) Defined in terms of discourse function, these subcategories all consist of words that refer to something that is either identified elsewhere in the discourse or thought to be identifiable from either context or shared knowledge of speech participants. The referents of these pronominal forms are semantically nouns. Additionally, there are distributional similarities that exist among these subgroups of pronouns (for example, their members can all serve as the head of an NP), as well as shared structural features (for example, these forms do not permit TAM suffixation).

6.2 Personal pronouns

The paradigm for Ulwa personal pronouns consists of three persons—first, second, and third (with an inclusive/exclusive distinction among first person non-singular forms)—and three numbers—singular, dual, and plural. The dual forms denote exactly two referents, whereas plural number implies more than two (but can, at least for some speakers, be used to refer to exactly two referents as well, 9.2.2). The singular form, as to be expected, is used when the referent is exactly one. The forms of the personal pronouns in Ulwa are shown in Table 6.1 (on the following page).
Table 6.1 Personal pronouns

All (and only the) non-singular speech-act personal pronouns end in the formative /n/. The second person is marked by the vowel /u/, which occurs in each number. The presence of this vowel is also felt in the first person, non-singular inclusive; this has a certain logic to it, since these forms include the addressee(s) as a referent. The vowel /a/ is found in all first person forms, except the first singular. Dual forms are marked by initial /ng/, present in all dual pronouns except the third person. In fact, all dual forms (except the third person) can be analyzed as consisting of the plural equivalent of these pronouns plus word-initial /ng/. The third person dual pronoun min does indeed stand out as being unusual in form. (There is also an alternate form ndin, on which see below.) The only polysyllabic personal pronouns (the dual and plural first person inclusive forms) are each clearly derived from the combination of two other pronouns, namely a second person form (plural or dual) and a plural exclusive first person form—i.e., unan < un 2PL + an 1PL.EXCL and ngunan 1DU.INCL < ngun 2DU + an 1PL.EXCL. (If /ng/ is treated as a dual formative, /n/ as a non-singular speech-act participant formative, and /a/ as an indicator of the first person, then these two pronouns could be further analyzed as u-n-a-n 2-PL-1-PL and ng-u-n-a-n DU-2-PL-1-PL, respectively.) These two exclusive pronouns are perhaps younger forms, possibly calqued from one of the nearby Yuat languages, which contrast inclusive and exclusive first person forms. Indeed, Foley (2018:227) proposes that an inclusive/exclusive pronominal distinction is an areal feature (found, for example, in both the Yuat family and the Grass subfamily of the Ramu family).

The potential alternate 3DU form ndin is attested only a few sentences in the corpus, one of which follows.

(6.001) Kambok inom ngusuwa ndin asika ndule.
   Kambok inom ngusuwa ndin asi-ka ndi=ula-e
   Kambuku mother poor 3DU sit-let 3PL=weave-DEP
   ‘Two poor women from Kambuku (village) used to sit and weave them.’ (T11)
The above form may, however, be an elided version of \textit{andin} ‘that.DU’. Nevertheless, speakers attest that \textit{ndin}, spoken as is, is acceptable for ‘the two [people, things, etc.]’. The example below is less likely to be an elided form, since the preceding /i/ vowel should not condition the elision of the initial /a/ in \textit{andin}.

\begin{verbatim}(6.002) wik wopa kwa ndi nini \textbf{ndintina}  
    wik wopa kwa anda nini \textbf{ndin}=ti-na  
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
week all one that.SG two 3DU=take-IRR  

‘for all of one week, or two’ (wik < TP) (T20)
\end{verbatim}

Alternatively, the form \textit{ndin} may simply be an allomorph of the distal dual demonstrative \textit{andin}, not necessarily conditioned phonologically (cf. the abridged form \textit{nda} ‘that.PL’, 7.3), and not necessarily carrying spatial deictic meaning (7.3).

It is possible that \textit{min} and \textit{ndin} derive from 3SG and 3PL forms (respectively), perhaps each blending with \textit{nini} ‘two’ (i.e., \textit{min} \textless{} \textit{mī-nini} ‘3SG-two’ and \textit{ndin} \textless{} \textit{ndī-nini} ‘3PL-two’). This is of course speculative, but still rather plausible, especially considering the crosslinguistically common derivation of dual forms from the numeral ‘two’.

Each of the forms in Table 6.1 above may serve as the subject of either an intransitive or transitive clause. Objects, however, are indicated by a paradigm of clitics that precede a verb, postposition, or oblique marker. They are almost identical to their subject-form equivalents; the only difference occurs in the third person singular form, which is \textit{mī} as a subject, but \textit{ma=} as an object or object marker. This can all be seen in Table 6.2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} person exclusive</td>
<td>nī= ‘me’</td>
<td>ngan= ‘us two [EXCL]’</td>
<td>an= ‘us [PL.EXCL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} person inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngunan= ‘us two [INCL]’</td>
<td>unan= ‘us [PL.INCL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>u= ‘you [SG]’</td>
<td>ngun= ‘you two’</td>
<td>un= ‘you [PL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person</td>
<td>ma= ‘him/her/it’</td>
<td>min= ‘them two’</td>
<td>ndi= ‘them [PL]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\begin{verbatim}
Table 6.2 Pronominal object markers
\end{verbatim}

Further information on object markers (and non-subject pronominal forms) is found in 7.4.

In casual speech, the dual and plural first person inclusive pronouns may be pronounced without the final /-n/, i.e., [nguna] and [una] for /ngunan/ and /unan/, respectively.
6.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronominal forms are all clearly derived from the corresponding personal pronominal forms plus the word *nji ‘thing’. More precisely—the possessive pronouns correspond to the paradigm of objective personal pronominal forms, since the third person singular possessive form is *manji, rather than *mînji (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2 above for the subject and object personal pronominal paradigms). These possessive forms do not necessarily function as subjects or objects themselves, but rather typically occur within NPs headed by another nominal form. Thus, in some ways, the so-called possessive pronouns function as nominal modifiers (i.e., adjectives)—but, it must be noted that, unlike prototypical adjectives in Ulwa, possessive pronominal forms precede, rather than follow, the noun. As with all pronominal forms, there is no gender distinction, whether in the third person or elsewhere.

Table 6.3 provides the forms of the possessive pronouns in Ulwa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person exclusive</td>
<td>nînji ‘my’</td>
<td>nganjî ‘our [DU.EXCL]’</td>
<td>anjî ‘our [PL.EXCL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngunanjî ‘our [DU.INCL]’</td>
<td>unanjî ‘our [PL.INCL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>unjî ‘your [SG]’</td>
<td>ngunjî ‘your [DU]’</td>
<td>unjî ‘your [PL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>manjî ‘his/her/its’</td>
<td>minjî ‘their [DU]’</td>
<td>ndînjî ‘their [PL]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Possessive pronouns

All of the above forms are transparently decomposable. There is only one (very minor) phonological change, which affects the dual and non-third person plural forms (as well as the dual reflexive form). This is the shortening (a quasi-degemination) of the sequence nasal-plus-prenasalization. Thus, the possessive first person plural exclusive form has the underlying form /annjî/, but is realized as [anjî]. Similarly, second person plural /unnjî/ is realized as [unjî], making it homophonous with the second person singular possessive form /unjî/.

Possessive pronouns do not index anything about the possessum. That is, although the possessive pronoun encodes the person and number of the possessor, it offers no information
about the person or number (or gender) of that which is possessed. Also, no distinction is made in Ulwa between alienable and inalienable possession.

The role of different possessive forms to limit the meaning of NPs is illustrated in the following sentences.

(6.003) **Nínji anapa mī atalap.**

\[
\text{nínji} \quad \text{anapa} \quad \text{mī} \quad \text{atal-a-p}
\]

\[1SG.POSS \quad \text{sister} \quad 3SG \quad \text{anus-break-PRF}\]

‘My sister laughed.’

(6.004) **Unji aweta mī anma.**

\[
\text{unji} \quad \text{aweta} \quad \text{mī} \quad \text{anma}
\]

\[3SG.POSS \quad \text{friend} \quad 3SG \quad \text{good}\]

‘Your friend is nice.’

(6.005) **Manji wonmi ndī namli-p.**

\[
\text{manji} \quad \text{wonmi} \quad \text{ndī} \quad \text{namli-p}
\]

\[3SG.POSS \quad \text{hair} \quad 3PL \quad \text{soft-be}\]

‘Her hair is soft.’

(6.006) **Ndī līmdī ndínji aweta mala.**

\[
\text{ndī} \quad \text{līmdī} \quad \text{ndínji} \quad \text{aweta} \quad \text{ma=ala}
\]

\[3PL \quad \text{eye} \quad 3PL.POSS \quad \text{friend} \quad 3SG=for\]

‘They saw their friend.’

Third person possessive forms (such as the one in the following example) can have ambiguous reference, pointing either (reflexively) to an antecedent in the clause or to a third party not necessarily mentioned in the clause.

(6.007) **Ginam1 mī inim mo manji\textsubscript{ij} aweta …**

\[
\text{Ginam1} \quad \text{mī} \quad \text{inim} \quad \text{ma=u} \quad \text{manji\textsubscript{ij}} \quad \text{aweta}
\]

\[\text{name} \quad 3SG \quad \text{water} \quad 3SG=from \quad 3SG.POSS \quad \text{friend}\]

… ndīt atalp.

\[
\text{ndīt} \quad \text{ata-li-p}
\]

\[3PL=take \quad \text{up-put-PRF}\]

‘Ginam pulled her friends out of the water.’

That is, *manji* ‘3SG.POSS’ in the sentence above can refer either to Ginam’s friends or to someone else’s, say, Yawat’s. To clarify that the pronoun refers to Ginam, a different form may
instead be used, composed of the reflexive pronoun of the appropriate number (6.4) and \( nji \) ‘thing’, giving the meaning ‘X’s own’, as in the following example.

(6.008) \textit{Ginam\textsubscript{i} m\textsubscript{i} inim mo \textit{amb\textsubscript{i}nji}, aweta …}

\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
\text{Ginam\textsubscript{i}} & m\textsubscript{i} & inim & ma= & \textit{amb\textsubscript{i}nji} & aweta \\
[\text{[name]}] & 3SG & water & 3SG=from & SG.REFL.POSS & friend \\
\end{tabular}

… nd\textsubscript{i}=t\textsubscript{i} & ata-li-p \\
3PL=take & up-put-PRF \\
\text{‘Ginam pulled her own friends out of the water.’}

These forms are similar in function to certain pronouns found in some other languages, such as the Latin possessive reflexive pronoun \textit{suus}. In addition to their use in clarifying third person antecedents, however, the Ulwa forms may also be used with first or second person reference in order to convey the sense ‘my own’, ‘our own’, ‘your own’, etc., as in:

(6.009) \textit{N\textsubscript{i} l\textsubscript{i}mnd\textsubscript{i} \textit{amb\textsubscript{i}nji} aweta mala.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{n\textsubscript{i}} & l\textsubscript{i}mnd\textsubscript{i} & \textit{amb\textsubscript{i}nji} & aweta ma=ala \\
1SG & eye & SG.REFL.POSS & friend 3SG=for \\
\end{tabular}

‘I saw my own friend.’

(6.010) \textit{Min l\textsubscript{i}mnd\textsubscript{i} \textit{ambinji} aweta mala.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{min} & l\textsubscript{i}mnd\textsubscript{i} & \textit{ambinji} & aweta ma=ala \\
3DU & eye & DU.REFL.POSS & friend 3SG=for \\
\end{tabular}

‘The two of them saw their own friend.’

(6.011) \textit{Un l\textsubscript{i}mnd\textsubscript{i} \textit{amblanji} aweta ndala.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{un} & l\textsubscript{i}mnd\textsubscript{i} & \textit{amblanji} & aweta nd\textsubscript{i}=ala \\
2PL & eye & PL.REFL.POSS & friend 3SG=for \\
\end{tabular}

‘You saw your own friends.’

These reflexive possessive forms are not marked for number (or gender, of course); they are only marked for number. They are included in Table 6.3 above.

Alternatively, possession can be marked with shorter pronominal forms that lack the \( nji \) ‘thing’ morpheme, as in the following examples. In such instances, the abbreviated possessive forms match identically the set of object-marker pronominal forms (shown in Table 6.2).
(6.012) **Ma** yawa mî i makalilîpe.

  **ma[nji]** yawa mî i ma=kali-li-p-e

  3SG[.POSS] uncle 3SG go.PRF 3SG=send-put-PRF-DEP

  ‘Her uncle went and sent her.’ (T11)

(6.013) **Mî ma** inim ame.

  mî **ma[nji]** inim ama-e

  3SG 3SG[.POSS] water eat-DEP

  ‘He was drinking its nectar.’ (T01)

(6.014) **May limndî ndî** we imbin ndutap.

  ma=i limndî **ndî[nji]** we imbin ndî=uta-p

  3SG=go.PRF eye 3SG[.POSS] sago water.refuse 3PL=grind-PRF

  ‘(I) went and saw their sago water refuse.’ (i.e., the water run-off from strained sago; literally, ‘eye-ground’ for ‘saw’) (T32)

(6.015) **Ndî** ini nda.

  **ndî[nji]** ini anda

  3PL[.POSS] ground that.SG

  ‘That’s their land.’ (T27)

(6.016) **I limndî min** luwa ala.

  i limndî **min[jji]** luwa ala

  go.PRF eye 3DU[.POSS] place for

  ‘(He) went and saw their place.’ (T01)

  It may here be noted that possessive forms need not necessarily precede (i.e., combine with) nouns. Although they cannot precede verbs (without the verbs having been nominalized), they can precede adjectives—this happens, however, when the adjective is functioning substantively (i.e., nominally) (5.4), as shown below.

(6.017) **Manji** anma ndî apa map.

  **manji** anma ndî apa ma=p

  3SG.POSS good 3PL house 3SG=be

  ‘His good ones (daughters) are in the house.’

(6.018) **Nînji** njukuta mî wandam i.

  **nînji** njukuta mî wandam i

  1SG.POSS small 3SG jungle go.PRF

  ‘My small one (dog) went into the jungle.’

  Finally, the possessive forms can be used substantively with an implied noun, as seen the following examples.
Unji apa m' njukutap nínji m' ambi-p.

unji         apa m' njukuta-p nínji       m' ambi-p
2SG.POSS  house 3SG small-be 1SG.POSS 3SG big-be

‘Your house is small; mine is big.’

Kayta manji t'in m' nínji asap.

Kayta manji t'in m' nínji as-a-p
[name] 3SG.POSS dog 3SG 1SG.POSS hit-PRF

‘Kayta’s dog attacked mine.’

Substantive possessive forms (otherwise more akin to determiners) are thus in some ways rather similar to English possessive pronouns and can, accordingly be translated as ‘mine’, ‘ours’, ‘yours’, ‘hers’, etc.

6.4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

A reflexive pronoun generally has as an antecedent a form occurring (or implied) earlier in the same clause that has the same referent (i.e., the two words are co-indexed for reference). Reflexive pronouns are inflected for number, but not for person or gender. As these forms function as objects, they typically cliticize to a following verb or postposition. The Ulwa reflexive pronouns are as follows:

ambî          SG.REFL  ‘myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself’
ambîn         DU.REFL  ‘ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU]’
ambla         PL.REFL  ‘ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL]’

Thus, these pronouns are similar to English ‘-self/-selves’, in that there is no distinction made among them for person—whether first, second, or third—but they are distinguished for number. These three forms are based on the same root, amb(î)-. The following examples illustrate the use of reflexive pronouns.

(6.021) Tambana m' ambuwalinda.

Tambana m' ambî=wal-nda
[name] 3SG SG.REFL=hit-IRR

‘Tambana will hit herself.’
There are indications that the binding domain for anaphors (i.e., reflexive pronouns) in Ulwa may be something greater than the clause—that is, unlike in English, it is possible for the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun in Ulwa to be located in a so-called higher clause. All known examples of this occur when the matrix clause (containing the antecedent) introduces the embedded clause (containing the reflexive pronoun) by means of a verb of speaking (or thinking). Thus, Ulwa may be said to exhibit logophoricity, since these logophoric reflexives must be bound by an antecedent whose speech (or thought) is being reported. This is illustrated in the following examples.
Wangasa; Wore ngala ini ti ambi=nanda nate.  
Wangasa; Wore ngala ini ti ambi=na-nda na-ta-e  
[name] [place] this.PL ground take SG.REFL=give-IRR DETR-say-DEP
‘Wangasa says that these Wore (people) will give him land.’ (Literally, ‘… will give himself land’) (T11)

Ambiwalinda ambul undate nakap.  
ambi=wali-nda  ambi=ul unda-t-e na-kî-p  
SG.REFL=hit-IRR SG.REFL=with go-SPEC-DEP DETR-say-PRF
‘(He) thought that (the crocodile) might go around with him to kill him.’ (T30)

The following example illustrates this long-distance (or logophoric) anaphoric reference with a reflexive pronominal modifier (here elided, without the form nji ‘thing’) (6.3).

Kwa mî man ambi aweta kap.  
kwa  mî  ma=n  ambi[nji] aweta kî-p  
one 3SG 3SG=OBL SG.REFL[.POSS] friend say-PRF
‘Someone said that it was his friend.’ (T16)

Also to be mentioned here is an interesting idiomatic use of the reflexive pronominal object marker ambla ‘PL.REFL’. When used with the verb asa- or wali- ‘hit, kill’, this marker does not necessarily have a reflexive (or reciprocal) sense, but rather gives the entire verb the (intransitive) meaning ‘fight’ (as in combat between two groups). The object of fighting (the enemy) can be marked in a postpositional phrase with the postposition ul ‘with’. This can cause ambiguity not unlike what often occurs in English, since this same postpositional phrase can mark either enemies or allies (cf., e.g., ‘The English fought with the French.’). The following sentences exemplify this use of the verb asa- or wali- ‘hit, kill’ with the reflexive pronominal object marker ambla= ‘PL.REFL’.

Ndiya lop ndiya wa lop ndul amblasap.  
ndî=iya  lo-p ndî=iya wa  lo-p ndî=ul ambla=asa-p  
3PL=toward go-PRF 3PL=toward village go-PRF 3PL=with PL.REFL=hit-PRF
‘(They) went to them, went to them in the village, and fought with them (as enemies).’ (T29)

Unan ndiya ma ndul amblawalinda!  
unan  ndî=iya ma  ndî=ul ambla=wali-nda  
1PL.INCL 3PL=toward go 3PL=with PL.REFL=hit-IRR
‘Let’s go to them and fight with them (as allies)!’ (T02)
(6.033) Ndul ndul amblasap.
\[
\text{ndì}=\text{ul} \quad \text{ndì}=\text{ul} \quad \text{ambla}=\text{asa-p} \\
3\text{PL}=\text{with} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{with} \quad \text{PL.REFL}=\text{hit-PRF}
\]
‘With them (our allies) we fought with them (our enemies).’ (T02)

The dual and plural reflexive pronouns may, alternatively, convey a reciprocal sense (i.e., ‘each other’, ‘one another’). There may thus arise ambiguity in meaning, typically clarified through pragmatics or through context. For example, sentence (6.024) above (ngun ambinkalamp) could be interpreted either as having reflexive or as having reciprocal sense (i.e., either ‘you two know each other’ or ‘you two know yourselves’). Further examples follow.

(6.034) Kolpe Womel min ambinasap.
\[
\text{Kolpe} \quad \text{Womel} \quad \text{min} \quad \text{ambin}=\text{asa-p} \\
\text{name} \quad \text{name} \quad 3\text{DU} \quad \text{DU.REFL}=\text{hit-PRF}
\]
‘Kolpe and Womel fought each other.’

(6.035) Nguna ambinlu ndìtana.
\[
\text{ngunan} \quad \text{ambin}=\text{lu} \quad \text{ndì}=\text{ta-na} \\
1\text{DU.INCL} \quad \text{DU.REFL}=\text{with} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{say-IRR}
\]
‘We will tell them (stories) with each other.’ (T28)

(6.036) Ngan manap ambinlu une i.
\[
\text{ngan} \quad \text{ma}=\text{nap} \quad \text{ambin}=\text{lu} \quad \text{uni-e} \quad \text{i} \\
1\text{DU.EXCL} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{for} \quad \text{DU.REFL}=\text{with} \quad \text{shout-DEP} \quad \text{go-PRF}
\]
‘We argued with each other over her.’ (T27)

(6.037) Wopa amblol malanda mane.
\[
\text{wopa} \quad \text{ambla}=\text{ul} \quad \text{ma}=\text{la-nda} \quad \text{ma-n-e} \\
\text{all} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{hit-COND} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{talk} \quad \text{PL.REFL}=\text{say-PRF}
\]
‘All are going to eat it with one another.’ (T11)

(6.038) Mundu ndata ndì na amblakap:
\[
\text{mundu} \quad \text{ndì}=\text{at-ta} \quad \text{ndì} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ambla}=\text{kì-p} \\
\text{food} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{hit-COND} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{talk} \quad \text{PL.REFL}=\text{say-PRF}
\]
‘And when (they) got hungry, they said to one another other.’ (T14)

(6.039) An ambi nape an lìmndì amblala.
\[
\text{an} \quad \text{ambi} \quad \text{na-p-e} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{lìmndì} \quad \text{ambla}=\text{ala} \\
1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{DETR-be-DEP} \quad 1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{eye} \quad \text{PL.REFL}=\text{for}
\]
‘When we had gotten big, we looked at one another.’ (T10)

Sometimes a personal pronoun occurs where a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun may otherwise be expected. It is unclear whether this is a permissible variation in pronoun use or an
indication of grammatical attrition. It is common with the postposition/verb *ala* ‘for, from’, when it is being used in expressions of ‘seeing’, as in the following:

(6.040) An lîmndî **anala**.
    an lîmndî **an=ala**
    1PL.EXCL eye 1PL.EXCL=for
    ‘We saw ourselves.’ (T10)

(6.041) Olsem nî lîmndî **nala**.
    olsem nî lîmndî **nî=ala**
    thus 1SG eye 1SG=for
    ‘I see myself like this.’ (i.e., ‘I view myself as a person from Manu’; *olsem* < TP) (T04)

6.5 **Indefinite pronouns**

Indefinite referents can be denoted by the numeral/interrogative word *kwa* ‘one, who’ when the referent is a human or by the phrase *nji kwa* ‘one thing’ when the referent is non-human, as seen below.

(6.042) **Kwa** nip.
    kwa ni-p
    one die-PRF
    (a) ‘Someone died.’
    (b) ‘Who died?’

(6.043) Nî **kwa** asap.
    Nî kwa asa-p
    1SG one hit-PRF
    ‘I killed someone.’

(6.044) **Nji kwa** liyu.
    nji kwa li-u
    thing one fall-PRF
    ‘Something fell.’

(6.045) Nî lîmndî **nji kwa** ala.
    nî lîmndî **nji kwa ala**
    1SG eye thing one for
    ‘I saw something.’
The first sentence above—given the right intonation—could alternatively be a question (as glossed in 6.042b), since *kwa* is also an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘who?’ (6.6).

Dual and plural forms do not tend to be used for indefinite pronominal referents—at least not on their own. For non-singular indefinite referents, however, the word *kuma* ‘some’ may follow an NP, whether human or non-human, as in the following examples. (Subject markers may also follow *kwa* ‘someone’, but this is less common. In this way, *kwa* seems to pattern with what are more likely true pronouns, whereas *kuma* seems to pattern more with adjectives.)

(6.046) Ankam *kuma* mbin.

\begin{verbatim}
ankam  kuma  mbî-i-n
person  some    here-come-PRF
\end{verbatim}

‘Some people came.’

(6.047) Ya *kuma* liyu.

\begin{verbatim}
ya  kuma  li-u
coconut  some  fall-PRF
\end{verbatim}

‘Some coconuts fell.’

It is possible for subject markers (7.2) to follow *kuma* ‘some’, as in:

(6.048) Ya *kuma* ndî liyu.

\begin{verbatim}
ya  kuma  ndî  li-u
coconut  some  3PL  fall-PRF
\end{verbatim}

‘Some coconuts fell.’

It should be noted as well that object markers (7.4) can follow object NPs ending in *kuma* ‘some’, as in:

(6.049) Nî limndî ankam *kuma* ndala.

\begin{verbatim}
lî  limndî  ankam  kuma  ndî=ala
1SG   eye    person  some  3PL=for
\end{verbatim}

‘I saw some people.’

(6.050) Nî ya *kuma* ndamap.

\begin{verbatim}
lî  ya  kuma  ndî=ama-p
1SG  coconut  some  3PL=eat-PRF
\end{verbatim}

‘I ate some coconuts.’

The interrogative form *angos* ‘what?’ can also be used (in negative-polarity sentences) to mean something along the lines of ‘whatever, whatsoever, anything’, as in the following:
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(6.051) Ango angos na iye.
ango angos na i-e
NEG what talk go.PRF-DEP
‘(They) came to no thought whatsoever.’ (i.e., they came without any particular purpose) (T02)

(6.052) Una ango angos wombín ninda.
unan ango angos wombín=n ni-nda
1PL.INCL NEG what work=OBL act-IRR
‘We will not do (just) whatever (sort of) work.’ (T25)

(6.053) Ango angos na ndi. 
ango angos na ndi=ta
NEG what talk 3PL=say
‘(She) didn’t say anything to them.’ (T11)

(6.054) Nî ango angos ame. 
nî ango angos ama-e
1SG NEG what eat-DEP
‘I’m not eating anything.’ (T27)

When combined with nji ‘thing’, angos ‘what?’ can convey the sense ‘whatever’ in positive-polarity sentences, as in:

(6.055) Angos nji inata una lîmndî mandî ande.
angos nji i-na-ta unan lîmndî ma=andî ande
what thing come-IRR-COND 1PL.INCL eye 3SG=for ok
‘Whatever may come, we would see it (and say:) “OK”.’ (T32)

6.6 Interrogative pronouns

The indefinite pronouns kwa ‘one, someone’ and kuma ‘some’ (6.5) are the same forms used in asking content questions in Ulwa. The pronoun kwa ‘one, someone’ also means ‘who?’ (for a singular [human] referent), and the pronoun kuma ‘some’ also means ‘who?’ (for multiple [human] referents). For non-human referents, the question word angos ‘what?’ is used. For all interrogative pronouns, subject markers (or object markers) are optional, as shown in the following examples.
(6.056) **Kwa** (mî) lamndu ndasap?

  *kwa* (mî) lamndu ndî=asa-p
  one (3SG) pig 3PL=hit-PRF

‘Who killed the pigs?’

(6.057) **Kuma** (min) lamndu ndasap?

  *kuma* (min) lamndu ndî=asa-p
  some (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF

‘Who (which two people) killed the pigs?’

(6.058) **Kuma** (ndî) lamndu ndasap?

  *kuma* (ndî) lamndu ndî=asa-p
  some (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF

‘Who (which [three or more] people) killed the pigs?’

(6.059) **Angos** (mî) lamndu ndasap?

  *angos* (mî) lamndu ndî=asa-p
  what (3SG) pig 3PL=hit-PRF

‘What killed the pigs?’

(6.060) **Angos** (min) lamndu ndasap?

  *angos* (min) lamndu ndî=asa-p
  what (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF

‘What (which two things) killed the pigs?’

(6.061) **Angos** (ndî) lamndu ndasap?

  *angos* (3PL) lamndu ndî=asa-p
  what (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF

‘What (which [three or more] things) killed the pigs?’

In content questions (i.e., *wh*- questions) in Ulwa, the *wh*- word remains in situ; it is not preposed to the front of the clause as in English. Accordingly, when the ‘who’ or ‘what’ being asked about is not the grammatical subject, the interrogative pronoun occurs preverbally, as in the following:

(6.062) **U lîmndî kwa** mala?

  *u* lîmndî *kwa* ma=ala
  2SG eye one 3SG=for

‘Whom did you see?’

(6.063) **Yata mî kuma** ndasap?

  *yata* mî *kuma* ndî=asa-p
  man 3SG some 3PL=hit-PRF

‘Whom (which [three or more] people) did the man hit?’
U angos matîn?
2SG what 3SG=take-PRF
‘What did you take?’

Nungol mî angos minanglalop?
child 3SG what 3DU=await-go-PRF
‘What (which two things) did the boy look for?’

When preceding an NP, the interrogative word ango ‘which?’ (cf. angos ‘what?’) conveys the sense ‘which NP?’ There is no distinction based on animacy, nor does it matter whether the questioned element is a subject or an object, nor is there any distinction made based on number. Significantly, whereas modifiers of NPs such as adjectives or determiners follow their associated NPs (9.2), the modifying element ango ‘which?’ precedes its NP. This could serve the functional means of differentiating between ‘which [NP]’ and ‘[NP] NEG’ (cf. ango tîn mamap ‘which dog ate it?’ as opposed to tîn ango mamap ‘the dog did not eat it.’). The following sentences illustrate the use of ango ‘which?’.

Ango tîn (mî) mînda mamap?
which dog 3SG banana 3SG=eat-PRF
‘Which dog ate the banana?’

Ango mînda (mî) mamap?
which banana 3PL=build-PRF
‘Which houses did you build?’

Ango nungolke nînji yot matîn?
which child 1SG.POSS machete 3SG=take-PRF
‘Which child took my machete?’

Ango apa nditap?
which house 3PL=build-PRF
‘Which houses did you build?’

The interrogative pronoun ‘whose?’ takes the form kwanji ‘whose.sg’ for singular possessors and kumanji ‘whose.NSG’ for dual or plural possessors (no distinction is made here
between the two), as may be seen in the following examples. These forms are transparently derived (much like possessive pronouns, see 6.3) from the words kwa ‘one’ or kuma ‘some’ plus njì ‘thing’.

(6.070)  **Kwanji** nungol (mî) nînji yot tîn?

*Kwanji*  nungol  (mî)  nînji  yot  tî-n
whose.SG  child  3SG  1SG.POSS  machete  take-PRF

‘Whose child took my machete?’

(6.071)  Anda **kwanji** mana?

*Anda*  *kwanji*  mana
that.SG  whose.SG  spear

‘Whose spear is that?’

(6.072)  **U kumanji** apa maytap?

*u*  *kumanji*  apa  ma=ita-p
2SG  whose.NSG  house  3SG=build-PRF

‘Whose [plural] house did you build?’

6.7  **Intensive pronouns**

There are two basic sets of intensive pronouns in Ulwa. The forms of one paradigm stress the fact that the referent(s) alone is/are the subject (or object); this set is taken as the set of true intensive pronouns. The forms of the other paradigm stress the fact that the referent(s), out of a group of potential referents, performed the action; the members of this set are called partitive intensive pronouns.

The formative found throughout the set of (true) intensive pronouns is *awa* ‘-self/-selves’. It may combine with any of the object-marker pronominal forms, generating the paradigm in Table 6.4 (on the following page).
The following sentences illustrate the use of basic intensive pronouns to place emphasis on a subject or an object.

(6.073) **Nawa** lamndu masap.
   
   nawa lamndu ma=asa-p
   1SG.INT pig 3SG=hit-PRF
   ‘I myself killed the pig.’

(6.074) **Ankam mĩ kalam na nawatap.**

   ankam mĩ kalam na nawa=ta-p
   person 3SG knowledge talk 1SG.INT=say-PRF
   ‘The man taught me.’

(6.075) **Kayta mawa lamndu masap.**

   Kayta mawa lamnduma=asa-p
   [name] 3SG.INT pig 3SG=hit-PRF
   ‘Kayta himself killed the pig.’

(6.076) **Wawa utam nduwanap.**

   wawa utam ndi=wana-p
   2SG.INT yam 3PL=cook-PRF
   ‘You yourself cooked the yams.’
The partitive intensive pronominal formative is we ‘-self/-selves (out of multiple)’. It may combine with any of the object-marker pronominal forms, generating the paradigm in Table 6.5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person exclusive</td>
<td>nuwe ‘I/me myself (from among several)’</td>
<td>nganwe ‘we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL] (from among several)’</td>
<td>anwe ‘we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL] (from among several)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngunanwe ‘we/us ourselves [DU.INCL] (from among several)’</td>
<td>unanwe ‘we/us ourselves [PL.INCL] (from among several)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>uwe ‘you yourself (from among several)’</td>
<td>ngunwe ‘you yourselves [DU] (from among several)’</td>
<td>unwe ‘you yourselves [PL] (from among several)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>mawe ‘(he/him) himself/(she/her) herself/(it) itself (from among several)’</td>
<td>minwe ‘(they/them) themselves [DU] (from among several)’</td>
<td>nduwe ‘(they/them) themselves [PL] (from among several)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>ambuwe (partitive intensive forms of ‘myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself’)</td>
<td>ambinwe (partitive intensive forms of ‘ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU]’)</td>
<td>amblawe (partitive intensive forms of ‘ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL]’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5 Partitive intensive pronouns

The following sentences illustrate the use of partitive intensive pronouns to emphasize sole participation of a referent (or group of referents).

(6.077) **Nuwe lamndu masap.**

**nuwe** lamndu ma=asa-p

1SG.INT.PART pig 3SG=hit-PRF

‘I myself (in the group) killed the pig.’

(6.078) **Ankam mï kalam na nuwetap.**

ankam mi kalam na **nuwe**=ta-p

person 3SG knowledge talk 1SG.INT.PART=say-PRF

‘The man taught me (and no one else).’
Although both paradigms of intensive pronouns are written as sets of single lexemes, the composite morphemes of each putative word are quite clear and can, in fact, occur separately, as in the following examples, each of which contains both the partitive intensive pronominal form (of the 3PL pronoun) and the basic intensive form (as a separate morpheme, without any person or number marking).

(6.081)  **Nduwe awa** nîmal ngayte …

    nduwe    awa    nîmal    nga=ita-e
  3PL.INT.PART  INT  river  this.SG=build-DEP

    … mo liyen.
  3SG=from  down-go.PRF-NMLZ

‘They themselves alone were the ones who built (along) this river, having come down along it.’ (T02)

(6.082)  **Manji nji ngala nduwe awa.**

    manji    nji    ngala    nduwe    awa
  3SG     thing     this.PL  3PL.INT.PART  INT

‘These things are his.’ (Literally, ‘His things are them indeed [out of the group].’) (T11)

(6.083)  **Nduwe awa** man ne.

    nduwe    awa    ma=n    ni-e
  3PL.INT.PART  INT  3SG=OBL  act-DEP

‘They themselves do it.’ (T27)

It is also possible for the form *we* ‘alone’ to occur as a separate morpheme, phonologically distinct from the preceding word (even if that word is pronoun), as in the following sentences.
(6.084) Mangusuwa we i.
   mangusuwa  we  i
   3SG.poor  alone  go.PRF
   ‘The poor thing went alone.’ (T30)

(6.085) Nĩ we alum ngol mbĩka lowonda.
   nĩ  we  alum  nga=ul  mbĩ-ka  lo-wo-nda
   1SG  alone  child  this.SG=with  here-thus  IRR-sleep-IRR
   ‘I alone will sleep here with this child.’ (T09)

It would thus perhaps be more representative of the structure of these forms to gloss them each broken into two morphemes (e.g., nĩ-awi ‘1SG-self’ for nawa ‘1SG.INT’ and nĩ-we ‘1SG-alone’ for nuwe ‘1SG.INT.PART’, etc.). Still, despite their ability to be analyzed as such, these forms often function as single units (with composite meaning) and are thus treated here as such.

In addition to these two sets of intensive pronouns, there is another set of forms that can be used to place focus on a pronoun (whether personal, 6.2, or demonstrative, 7.3). The pronominal form combines with the adjective ambi ‘big’. The sense of ‘big’, however, is not retained, but rather the composite word form draws attention to a specific referent. These focus forms are presented in Table 6.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person exclusive</td>
<td>nambi ‘as for me’</td>
<td>nganambi ‘as for us [DU.EXCL]’</td>
<td>anambi ‘as for us [PL.EXCL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngunambangi ‘as for us [DU.INCL]’</td>
<td>unambangi ‘as for us [PL.INCL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>wambi ‘as for you [SG]’</td>
<td>ngunambi ‘as for you [DU]’</td>
<td>unambi ‘as for you [PL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>mambi ‘as for him/her/it’</td>
<td>minambi ‘as for them [DU]’</td>
<td>ndambi ‘as for them [PL]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6 Focus pronominal forms

These focus forms can be used to contrast one referent from another or to introduce a new referent after, say, a pause in the discourse. Some of their functions are illustrated by the following sentences.
(6.086) **Ngunanambi** ango limndi manji famili ndale.

*Ngunanambi* ango limndi manji famili ndî=ala-e

1DU.INCL.FOC NEG eye 3SG.POSS family 3PL=for-DEP

‘As for us, we don’t see his family.’ *(famili < TP)* (T11)

(6.087) Mî mînjan **nambi** ango misimisi kalamp.

mî mînja=n **nambi** ango misimisi kalam-p

3SG speech=OBL 1SG.FOC NEG story know-be

‘She said: “Me? I don’t know stories.”’ *(T11)*

(6.088) **Unanambi** unanji wa ilum **ngambi** anma ndo.

unanambi unanji wa ilum **ngambi** anma anda-o

1PL.INCL.FOC 1PL.INCL.POSS village little this.SG.FOC good that.SG-INTERJ

‘But us? As for this little village of ours, it’s good.’ *(T32)*

(6.089) Nogat Nomnga **mambi** kalam anda.

nogat Nomnga **mambi** kalam anda

no [name] 3SG.FOC knowledge that.SG

‘No, Nomnga knows (how to hunt).’ *(The speaker was asked whether she was referring to Nomnga as the person who does not know how to hunt; nogat < TP)* (T11)

(6.090) **Nambi** mandîm ma Wopata ma mapîna.

**nambi** ma=andîm ma Wopata ma ma=p-na

1SG.FOC 3SG=from go [place] go 3SG=be-IRR

‘I for one will leave her behind and go and stay at Wopata.’ *(T27)*

(6.091) Tarambi **mambi** anmbi mbîpe.

Tarambi **mambi** an-mbî mbî-p-e

[name] 3SG.FOC out-here here-be-DEP

‘As for Tarambi, he stays outside.’ *(T11)*

Although the focus pronominal forms are almost always found in subject NPs, it is also possible for them to appear as object markers. This is often the case in irrealis or imperative expressions with the verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’, often creating the idiomatic meaning ‘forget (about) it/forget (about) them!’ as in the following:

(6.092) **Mambilakan** nî nakamp.

**mambi**=la-ka-n nî na-kamb-p

3SG.FOC=IRR-let-IMP 1SG DETR-shun-PRF

‘Forget it; I’ve had enough.’ *(T27)*
Makape i mambi mambinalakata!

Thus-be-DEP way 3SG.FOC 3SG.FOC-DETR-IRR-let-COND

‘As for behavior like that—forget it!’ (T32)

Ninji uta la …

ninji uta ala

1SG.POSS bird that.PL

‘Those are my birds; …’

… ko ndambilakata ndi nin mapin!

ko ndambi=la-ka-ta ndi ni=n ma=p-n

just 3PL.FOC=IRR-let-COND 3PL 1SG=OBL 3SG=be-IMP

‘… just let them be there with me!’ (T32)

Mambilakana!

mambi=la-ka-na 3SG.FOC=IRR-let-IRR

‘Shocking!’ (T01)

In addition to these intensive and focus pronominal forms, there is a set of what are here called emphatic pronominal forms. While there may also exist a full paradigm for such forms in all persons and numbers, both for personal pronouns and for demonstratives (see 7.3), only four forms are attested in texts: mi nam (‘he/she/it is the one’), ndinam (‘they are the ones’), andanam (‘that is it’), and ngam (‘this is it’). Interestingly, these forms are based on the subject (and not object) forms of the pronouns (i.e., mi-nam and not *ma-nam). They all contain the emphatic element nam, whose origin is unknown. (The form ngam seems to have undergone a phonological reduction, < *nga + *nam). All of these forms permit the suffix -e. The emphatic pronominal forms are illustrated below.

Mi nam amun masal Dumngul nungol ngawatawe.

mi-nam amun ma=si-al Dumngul nungol nga=wat-aw-e 3SG.INT now 3SG=push-PRF [name] child this.SG=atop-put.IPfv-DEP

‘Now he’s the one—(they) call Dumngul’s son after him.’ (Literally, ‘are pushing it [the name] onto this child [of] Dumngul’) (T11)

Inap ul iyen ndinam.

ina-p u=ul i-en ndi-nam get-PRF 2SG=with go.PRF-NMLZ 3PL-INT

‘They were the ones who bore (you) and went with (you).’ (T11)
(6.098) A andanam!
   a anda-nam
   ah that.SG-INT
   ‘Ah, that one!’ (T01)

(6.099) Ngam u nîn limnî ngaka nase.
   nga-nam u nî=n limnî nga=ka nî=asa-e
   this.SG-INT 2SG 1SG=OBL eye this.SG=in 1SG=hit-DEP
   ‘This is it—you shot me in my eye.’ (T05)

6.8 Affective pronouns

Ulwa has a set of pronouns used to convey compassion toward a second person or third
person referent. These affective (or commiserative) forms are transparently derived from the set
of personal pronouns plus the adjective ngusuwa ‘poor, pitiful’. Notably, the 3SG affective
pronoun derives from the object-marker pronominal form (ma=), and not the subject pronominal
form (mi). There is no phonological difference between the 2SG and 2PL affective pronominal
forms, as this historical difference has been neutralized by the place assimilation and quasi-
degemination of the final *n of the 2PL personal pronoun un before the following ng-. All the
forms may be optionally elongated by the suffix -ta, which bears no clear semantic connection to
the conditional suffix of the same form (4.14). The forms of the affective pronouns are shown in
Table 6.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>manguasuwa(ta) ‘the poor thing’</td>
<td>mingusuwa(ta) ‘the poor things [DU]’</td>
<td>ndinguasuwa(ta) ‘the poor things [PL]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7 Affective pronouns

As an adjective, ngusuwa ‘poor’ has the same distribution to be expected of any
(attributive) adjective in Ulwa (5.2): it follows the nominal head of the NP and may precede a
determiner. Its use as an adjective is illustrated by the following sentences.
6.100 Yawa ngusuwa nda ma unap mat iyap.
Yawa ngusuwa anda ma u=nap ma=tī i-ap
uncle poor that.SG go 2SG=for 3SG=take go.PRF-PRF
‘That poor uncle went and brought it for you.’ (T11)

6.101 Moira numan ngusuwa mī ndala kuma nep.
Moira numan ngusuwa mī ndi=ala kuma ne-p
[name] husband poor 3SG 3PL=for some harvest-PRF
‘Moira’s poor husband harvested some (betel nut) for them.’ (T11)

6.102 Paulus ngusuwa mī …
Paulus ngusuwa mī
[name] poor 3SG
… numbu ma nan nīt.
numbu ma}[nji] na=n nī=ta
garamut 3SG[.POSS] talk=OBL 1SG=say
‘Poor Paulus told me about the garamut tree.’ (T32)

6.103 Donna maka wombīn tī …
Donna maka wombīn tī
[name] thus work take
… tawatīp ngusuwa lanane.
tawatīp ngusuwa ala=na-n-e
child poor that.PL=give-PRF-DEP
‘Donna, like, gave the work to those poor children.’ (T32)

6.104 Ngunanji itom ngusuwa minwe …
ngunanji itom ngusuwa minwe
1DU.INCL.POSS father poor 3DU.INT.PART
… ya ndīn awe.
 ya ndī=n aw-e
cocnut 3PL=OBL put.IPV-DEP
‘Only our two poor fathers used to plant coconuts.’ (T11)

The adjective seen in the examples above may be contrasted with the pronominal forms, which never precede subject markers, object markers, or any other determiners belonging to the same phrase. The pronominal forms are also capable of being expanded by the suffix -ta, which is never seen in the adjective ngusuwa ‘poor’. The following sentences illustrate the use of these affective pronouns.
(6.105) **Mangusuwa** ya ndïn num up.
**mangusuwa** ya ndï=n num u-p
3SG.poor coconut 3PL=OBL canoe put-PRF
‘The poor thing put coconuts in the canoe.’ (T11)

(6.106) **Mangusuwa** mbïpe salïn nïsap.
**mangusuwa** mbï-p-e sal=ïn ni=sa-p
3SG.poor here-be-DEP tear=OBL 1SG=cry-PRF
‘When the poor thing was here, (he) cried to me.’ (T11)

(6.107) **Mangusuwata** ngat iye.
**mangusuwata** nga=tï i-e
3SG.poor this.SG=take go-PRF-DEP
‘The poor thing brought this.’ (T11)

(6.108) **Ungusuwa** mat ambul namana.
**ungusuwa** ma=tï ambï=ul na-ma-na
2SG.poor 3SG=take SG.REFL=with DETR-go-IRR
‘You poor thing will bring it with yourself.’ (T36)

(6.109) **Ngungusuwa** ango luwa u wambana ndï=tï?
**ngungusuwa** ango luwa u wambana ndï=tï
2DU.poor which place from fish 3PL=take
‘You two poor things, where did (you) get the fish?’ (T31)

(6.110) **Mat** **ungusuwata**!
**ma=ta** **ungusuwata**
3SG=say 2PL.poor
‘(I) said: “You poor things!”’ (T11)

(6.111) **Ndïngusuwa** may we matïn mat mbi.
**ndïngusuwa** ma=i we ma=tï-n ma=tï mbi=i
3PL.poor 3SG=go.PRF sago 3SG=take-PRF 3SG=take here-go.PRF
‘The poor things went there, got sago starch, and brought it here.’ (T32)

(6.112) **Ndïngusuwata** mbïpe matane wapen.
**ndïngusuwata** mbï-p-e ma=ta-n-e wap-en
3PL.poor here-be-DEP 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP be.PST-NMLZ
‘When the poor things were here, (they) used to talk about it.’ (T32)
Chapter 7
Determiners

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of determiners in Ulwa. Under the heading “determiners” are included a number of rather different word types (as well as clitics, and perhaps bound morphemes as well), that in some way indicate the definiteness or specificity of a referent, provide information that situates it in space (relative to some deictic center), or identify its function (as subject or object) within a clause. While there are some syntactic commonalities among the various categories described below, the group of determiners is rather more a semantic grouping, since there are indeed syntactic differences among the categories as well. (Note that in this chapter—and throughout this description of Ulwa—the term “determiner” is not to be confused with the so-called articles of languages such as English, e.g., ‘a[n]’ and ‘the’.)

One function of Ulwa determiners is to encode the number of a referent NP, which is otherwise unmarked for number. The basic number distinction in Ulwa is among singular, plural, and dual, all of which may be indicated by subject markers (7.2), demonstratives (7.3), or object markers (7.4).

7.2 Subject markers

Ulwa makes frequent use of a class of subject markers, determiners that occur as the final element in noun phrases that are serving as subjects of clauses. As described above (3.1–3.2), nouns in Ulwa are not marked in any way to reflect number. Subject markers, however, can indicate whether the preceding noun phrase is singular, dual, or plural.

The three basic subject markers (indicating different numbers) have the same form as (and are clearly related to) the third person subject pronouns (6.2). They are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
  mî & \quad 3\text{SG} \\
  min & \quad 3\text{DU} \\
  ndî & \quad 3\text{PL}
\end{align*}
\]
The subject marker can occur with either animate or inanimate referents, as seen in the examples below. In these examples, each NP marked by a subject marker is translated with the English definite article ‘the’. This reflects the fact that subject markers (as determiners) may function to signal definiteness (or specificity) in a referent (more on this below). That said, it is often possible to translate NPs with subject markers with the English indefinite article ‘a(n)’ or with no article at all.

(7.001) Mana mī liyu.
mana mī li-u
spear 3SG fall-PRF
‘The spear fell.’

(7.002) Wot yana mī līmndī mala.
wot yana mī līmndī ma=ala
younger woman 3SG eye 3SG=for
‘The younger sister saw her.’ (T01)

(7.003) Sokoy mī ango anmap tembi.
sokoy mī ango anma-p tembi
tobacco 3SG NEG good-be bad
‘The tobacco isn’t good; (it’s) bad.’ (T32)

(7.004) Itom nɗī isin nɗīwanap.
itom nɗī isi=n nɗī=wana-p
father 3PL soup=OBL 3PL=cook-PRF
‘The men cooked them in soup.’ (T11)

(7.005) Alum nɗī se.
alum nɗī s-e
child 3PL cry-DEP
‘The children were crying.’ (T27)

(7.006) Tîn mîn mo maka lamndu kon anmbas.
tîn mîn ma=u maka lamndu ko=n an-mbî-asa
dog 3DU 3SG=from thus pig INDF=OBL out-here-hit
‘The two dogs thus chased out a pig from there.’ (T32)

The examples above illustrate how subject markers can indicate whether a common-noun subject is singular, dual, or plural. Subject markers can also be used with proper nouns, as in the examples below.
When Tarambi comes, I will sit and tell him.’ (T11)

‘Again the (people from) Bun (village) came out with us.’

Subject markers can even be used with recent loan words, as in the following example, which contains the Tok Pisin word polis ‘police’.

‘The police will go up to them and completely kill the pigs.’ (T11)

In all of the examples above (and throughout the examples in this grammar), the subject markers are glossed with a ‘3’ (for third person). This is done for two reasons: first, the forms of the subject markers are identical to the forms in the series of third person personal pronouns; second, the subject markers can only appear with third person noun phrases (that is, never with first person or second person noun phrases), so they do, in fact index the third person.

Although perhaps not always obligatory, subject markers can be useful for clarifying meaning in certain circumstances. First, since adjectives (and even possessive pronouns) may be used substantively, the presence of a subject marker may clarify that an adjective or other modifier is functioning as the subject of the sentence, as in the following examples.
(7.010) Ambi mī keka mat nin ndīl.

ambi mī keka ma=tī nin ndī=li
big 3SG completely 3SG=take thorn 3PL=put
‘The big one (a pig) completely got him and put (him) on thorns.’ (T16)

(7.011) Ninji ndī anma iye.

ninji ndī anma i-e
1SG.POSS 3PL good go.PRF-DEP
‘My (comrades) came (home) well.’ (T02)

Also, in equative or attributive sentences that lack any overt verb form (i.e., sentences that contain no overt copula, 10.2), the subject marker helps to break the clause into two halves: everything up to and including the subject marker is clearly the subject; everything following must be the predicate, as illustrated by the following sentences (square brackets enclose first the [subject] and then the [predicate]).

(7.012) [Ulum ndī] [ndinji alo].

[ulum ndī] [ndinji ala-o]
palm 3PL 3PL.POSS that.PL-INTERJ
‘The sago palms are theirs.’ (T11)

(7.013) [Inom ndī] [wandam itom ala].

[inom ndī] [wandam itom ala]
mother 3PL jungle father that.PL
‘The mothers are the land owners.’ (T11)

(7.014) [Ya ndī] [ambi nji ala].

[ya ndī] [ambi nji ala]
coconut 3PL big thing that.PL
‘Coconuts are big things.’ (T11)

(7.015) [Supam Sinanam min] [atana wot].

[Supam Sinanam min] [atana wot]
[name] [name] 3DU older.sister younger
‘Supam and Sinanam were sisters.’ (T01)

The last example above further illustrates how coordinated subjects that lack any overt coordinator (12.2) may be clarified as such by means of the subject marker. The subject marker is all the more valuable in this regard when one (or more) of the members of the conjoined subject is left unexpressed. In the example below, the dual marker indicates that there are two subjects, even though only one is expressed.
In other circumstances, the subject marker can help prevent a subject from being misinterpreted as being an object or oblique. Since it is common for (pronominal) subjects to be omitted, the absence of a subject marker could lead to such a miscue. Compare the following two sentences: the second (7.018) is ambiguous, since *yeta nungol* ‘boys’ could be interpreted as either the subject (without a subject marker) or the object (with a pro-dropped subject); in the first example (7.017), however, the subject is clearly defined because it contains the subject marker.

Likewise, within the pair of sentences below, the subject of the first example (7.019) is clearer, since it contains the subject marker, whereas the subject of the second example (7.020) is ambiguous.

A similar situation can also be seen below in the following pair of sentences.
(7.021) **Nungol mĩ ndala aw ndînep.**

\[
\text{Nungol mĩ ndi=ala aw ndi=ne-p} \\
\text{child 3SG 3PL=for betel.nut 3PL=harvest-PRF}
\]

‘The child harvested betel nut for them.’ (T11)

(7.022) **Nungol ndala aw ndînep.**

\[
\text{Nungol ndi=ala aw ndi=ne-p} \\
\text{child 3PL=for betel.nut 3PL=harvest-PRF}
\]

(a) ‘The child harvested betel nut for them.’
(b) ‘(Someone) harvested betel nut for the children.’

Although subject markers are used with great frequency and (as seen above) may be useful for marking number or clarifying the subject in ambiguous circumstances, they do not occur in every subject NP. Their absence may be a simple omission (the product of casual speech), or it may simply be that their use is optional. Often, no difference in meaning can be detected between when subject markers are present and when they are absent. That said, the omission of subject marker seems more likely when the subject is a proper noun and especially when the verb in intransitive (unsurprisingly, since the role of the single core NP—i.e., subject—is easily determined by default in an intransitive clause without needing any special marking).

(In other words, Ulwa appears to exhibit differential subject marking.) Subject markers may also be omitted more frequently when the referent of the subject is less definite, although no strict rules have been found for their omission. In the following examples, the subject marker is dropped when (otherwise) following a proper noun (person or place).

(7.023) **Alkumot yana minkotip.**

\[
\text{Alkumot yana min=kot-p} \\
\text{[name] woman 3DU=break-PRF}
\]

‘The woman Alkumot bore them.’ (T01)

(7.024) **Biwat atay.**

\[
\text{Biwat ata-i.} \\
\text{[place] up-go.PRF}
\]

‘The Biwat (people) went up.’ (T02)

(7.025) **Ambawanam Ngata i unip.**

\[
\text{Ambawanam Ngata i uni-p} \\
\text{[name] grand go.PRF shout-PRF}
\]

‘Ambawanam Ngata came and shouted.’ (T06)
(7.026) Elias tīnanga.
Elias  tīnanga
[0.067]arise
‘Elias got up.’ (T32)

In the following sentences, the subjects are indefinite. The subject NPs do not have subject markers.

(7.027) Lamndu keka ndamap ulwap.
lamndu  keka  ndī=ama-p  ulwa-p
pig  completely  3PL=eat-PRF  nothing-be
‘A pig completely ate them.’ (T27)

(7.028) Ankam ulwap.
ankam  ulwa-p
person  nothing-be
‘No one is left.’ (Literally, ‘Person [or people] is [or are] nothing.’) (T32)

7.3 Demonstratives

Ulwa makes a two-way deictic distinction within its set of demonstrative words: proximal referents (near the speaker) and distal referents (not near the speaker). The Ulwa deictic system is thus egocentric (although see below on complications). Since referents can be singular, dual, or plural, there is thus a matrix of six deictic words. These usually occur in the same spot that otherwise might contain subject markers (7.2) or object markers (7.3): the use of these demonstrative determiners instead of other markers may signal that a specific (as opposed to a generic) referent is being identified. In addition to functioning as determiners (that is, as elements of NPs), the Ulwa demonstrative forms may also be used as pronouns. Of the six forms, ala ‘those’ is most commonly used in this way, often functionally equivalent to ‘they’ or ‘them’. Table 7.1 shows the basic forms of Ulwa demonstratives words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>nga ‘this’</td>
<td>nging ‘these two’</td>
<td>ngala ‘these (more than two)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>anda ‘that’</td>
<td>andin ‘those two’</td>
<td>ala ‘those (more than two)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1 Demonstratives
As seen in Table 7.1, the proximal forms are all built on the formative \textit{ng-}, which combines with \textit{-a} in the singular (cf. \textit{ma= 3SG}), \textit{-in} in the dual (cf. \textit{min= 3DU}), and \textit{-ala} in the plural. This last form does not correspond to anything in the other sets of pronominal forms. The distal forms, on the other hand, are built on the formative \textit{and-}, which—as in the proximal forms—combines with \textit{-a} in the singular and \textit{-in} in the dual. The plural form \textit{ala} is assumed here to be derived from \textit{*andala}. Demonstrative determiners do not co-occur with subject (or object) markers.

In the following examples, demonstrative determiners occur as the final elements of subject NPs. They all have spatial deictic force, pointing to referents either near or far. They may occur with either common or proper nouns, and (as in examples 7.034 and 7.035) may function pronominally (more on this below).

(7.029) Inom \textit{nga} mawanape.
\textit{inom} \hspace{1em} \textit{nga} \hspace{1em} \textit{ma=wana-p-e} \\
\textit{mother} \hspace{1em} \textit{this.SG} \hspace{1em} \textit{3SG=cook-PRF-DEP} \\
‘This woman cooked it.’ (This was said of the woman in the house next to where the speaker was sitting.) (T11)

(7.030) Wandam \textit{nga} ambi ngatap.
\textit{wandam} \hspace{1em} \textit{nga} \hspace{1em} \textit{ambi} \hspace{1em} \textit{ngata-p} \\
\textit{jungle} \hspace{1em} \textit{this.SG} \hspace{1em} \textit{big} \hspace{1em} \textit{grand-be} \\
‘This garden is very big.’ (T37)

(7.031) itom \textit{ngin} li ngapen
\textit{itom} \hspace{1em} \textit{ngin} \hspace{1em} \textit{li} \hspace{1em} \textit{nga=p-en} \\
\textit{father} \hspace{1em} \textit{this.DU} \hspace{1em} \textit{down} \hspace{1em} \textit{this.SG=be-NMLZ} \\
‘these two men who live downstream’ (spoken while downstream) (T11)

(7.032) Wa mbî olsem nungolke \textit{ngala} skulpe.
\textit{wa} \hspace{1em} \textit{mbî} \hspace{1em} \textit{olsem} \hspace{1em} \textit{nungolke} \hspace{1em} \textit{ngala} \hspace{1em} \textit{skul-p-e} \\
\textit{village} \hspace{1em} \textit{here} \hspace{1em} \textit{thus} \hspace{1em} \textit{child} \hspace{1em} \textit{this.PL} \hspace{1em} \textit{school-be-DEP} \\
‘Here in the village, like, these children are in school.’ (\textit{olsem, skul} < TP) (T22)

(7.033) Wusim \textit{anda} nîwalinda i nî masap.
\textit{wusim} \hspace{1em} \textit{anda} \hspace{1em} \textit{nî=wali-nda} \hspace{1em} \textit{i} \hspace{1em} \textit{nî} \hspace{1em} \textit{ma=asa-p} \\
\textit{crocodile} \hspace{1em} \textit{that.SG} \hspace{1em} \textit{1SG=hit-IRR} \hspace{1em} \textit{PRED} \hspace{1em} \textit{1SG} \hspace{1em} \textit{3SG=hit-PRF} \\
‘That crocodile could have killed me, but I killed it.’ (\textit{i} < TP?) (T30)
(7.034) **Anda** man ute.

*anda* ma=n u=ta-e

that.SG 3SG=OBL 2SG=say-DEP

‘That one told you.’ (T11)

(7.035) **Andin** wot kokot nangani nalp.

*andin* wot ko=kot ni=angani na-li-p

that.DU younger INDF=break 1SG=behind DETR-put-PRF

‘Those two (i.e., ‘my parents’) bore a younger sibling after me.’ (T01)

(7.036) **Awngala** la kuk ato im andawatawe.

*awngala* ala kuk ata-u im anda=wat-aw-e

bird.sp that.PL gather up-from tree that.SG=atop-put.IPV-DEP

‘Those **awngala** birds are gathering up into that tree.’ (T32)

Indeed, as a spatial deictic, **nga** ‘this.SG’ alone can mean ‘here’, as in the following sentence.

(7.037) **Nga** unji ani ngala ata ngap.

*n* nj* unji* ani ngala ata nga=p

this.SG 2SG.POSS bilum this.PL up this.SG=be

‘Here, these **bilum** (net bags) of yours are up here.’ (T01)

The example above also illustrates the common use of demonstrative determiners in possessive phrases. More examples follow.

(7.038) **Ninji** nungol **ngala** mbípe.

*ninji* nungol **ngala** mbí-p-e

1SG child this.PL here-be-DEP

‘My children live here.’ (Literally, ‘these children of mine’) (T11)

(7.039) **Ninji** inom **anda** kíkal wopa.

*ninji* inom **anda** kíkal wopa

1SG.POSS mother that.SG ear all

‘That mother of mine was deaf.’ (T11)

(7.040) **Unji** inom tembi **nda**

*unji* inom tembi **anda**

2SG.POSS mother bad that.SG

‘that poor mother of yours’ (T32)
Demonstrative determiners occur not only in subject NPs, but also in object or oblique phrases, as in the following examples.

(7.042) Ndɪn numɪŋe ndalumopta ndɪ mɪnапɪŋa.

nɗi=n numɪŋe anda=lumo-p-ta ndi mɪ=na-p-na
3PL=OBL ditch that.SG=put-PRF-COND 3PL 3SG=DETR-be-IRR
‘Once (I’ve) planted them in that ditch, they will be there.’ (T11)

(7.043) An tɪn andol iye …

an tɪn anda=ul i-e
1PL.EXCL dog that.SG-with go.PRFR-DEP
‘When we went with that dog, …’

… tɪn anda lamndu nungol kosape.

tɪn anda lamndu nungol ko=asa-p-e
dog that.SG pig child INDF=hit-PRF-DEP
‘… that dog killed one small pig.’ (T32)

(7.044) Mɪkɪ itɪm ambi ngata lamana.

mɪkɪ itɪm ambi ngata ala=ma-na
tree.sp trash big grand that.PL=go-IRR
‘(We) will go to those great big swamps.’ (T33)

(7.045) Una ngusuwa laya wonlakan!

unan ngusuwa ala=iya won-la-ka-n
1PL.INCL poor that.PL=toward cut-IRR-let-IMP
‘Let’s cross over (the river) to those poor folks (on the other side)!’ (T32)

While the basic function of demonstrative determiners is taken to be a means of providing spatial deixis from the reference point of the speaker, the actual range of uses of demonstratives is much greater. First, it is not uncommon for a speaker to project a deictic center to a point other than the self. Thus, while demonstrative words in Ulwa are taken generally to be egocentric, a speaker may choose a reference point other than himself or herself in the moment of speech. This is common in recounted narratives, such as the following:
(7.046) Nǐ amun iwa ngalan mop …
nī amun iwa ngala=n ma=u-p
1SG now basket this.PL=OBL 3SG=put-PRF
‘Now I put these fish trap baskets (down) there …’

… mo kundan nịpat ngatif.
ma=u kundan nịpat nga=tì-n
3SG=from eel huge this.SG=take-PRF
‘… and got this huge eel from there.’ (T11)

In the example above, although the proximal deictics (ngala= and nga=) are indeed used with reference to the speaker, they are not in reference to the speaker’s location at the time of speaking, but rather to her location in the past, when the events being recounted occurred. Projected deixis can occur in narratives even when the actor of the clause is different from the narrator of the events, as, for example, in:

(7.047) Mì i wolka i manji anaw ngatif.
mì i wolka i manji anaw nga=tì-n
3SG go.PRIF again go.PRIF 3SG.POSS paddle this.SG=take-PRF
‘He went, went back, and got his motorboat.’ (T30)

(7.048) Anul men i wonmbi ngintì men i.
anul ma=in i wonmbi nging=tì ma=in i
grassland 3SG=in go.PRIF tusk this.DU=take 3SG=in go.PRIF
‘(He) went into the grass, got these two tusks, and went in.’ (T01)

This phenomenon of projection can further be illustrated with the adverb mbì (usually translated ‘here’), which can signify space near the referent of the clause (even when this is not near the speaker in his or her current location), as in the following example (see 8.3.2 for locative adverbs).

(7.049) Alum mokotìp an mol mbìwap.
alum ma=kot-p an ma=ul mbì-wap
child 3SG=break-PRF 1PL.EXCL 3SG=with here-be.PST
‘She bore a child, and we were there with her.’ (T11)

Demonstratives, although fundamentally spatial, may be extended in their use to have temporal deixis. Thus, proximal forms may be used to refer to times (metaphorically) close to the present, whereas distal forms signal more (metaphorically) distant time, as illustrated below.
(7.050) Ipka ndan matmat mbu ulwape.
    ipka  anda=n  matmat  mbī=u  ulwa-p-e
before  that.SG=OBL  cemetery  here=from  nothing-be-DEP
‘In the past, there was no cemetery here.’ (matmat < TP) (T23)

(7.051) Pe amun nγan olsem matmat anda mbipe.
    pe  amun  nga=n  olsem  matmat  anda  mbī-p-e
DEP  now  this.SG=OBL  thus  cemetery  that.SG  here-be-DEP
‘But at this time, like, there is that cemetery here.’ (olsem, matmat < TP) (T23)

(7.052) Inim nγan maytap mat atal wap ma …
    inim  nga=n  ma=ita-p  ma=tī  ata-lī  wap  ma
water  this.SG=OBL  3SG=build-PRF  3SG=take  up-put  be.PST  go
‘Having built it this year, and put it up, …’

… inim andan nī makīke lunda.
    inim  anda=n  nī  ma=ki=ke  lo-nda
water  that.SG=OBL  1SG  3SG=throw  go-IRR
‘… I’m going to sell it next year.’ (T37)

(7.053) Ilom andan nī ango mbipīna.
    ilom  anda=n  nī  ango  mbī-p-na
day  that.SG=OBL  1SG  NEG  here-be-IRR
‘On that day, I won’t stay here.’ (T37)

(7.054) Iwīl andan ma mapta apa ndaytana.
    iwīl  anda=n  ma  ma=p-ta  apa  anda=ita-na
moon  that.SG=OBL  go  3SG=be-COND  house  that.SG=build-IRR
‘Next month (I) will go and build a house there.’ (T32)

The last example also illustrates how words like English ‘this’, ‘these’, ‘that’, ‘those’, etc.
are often not ideal (or even possible) translations for the demonstrative markers. This is because,
even though they serve some deictic function (pointing to a place [or time]), they do not
necessarily have a definite referent. Thus, in the example above, the translation ‘a house’ is
given, since this as-yet unbuilt house has no definite referent; the salient information, however, is
that the house will be built over there. (Of course, it is possible that the ‘house’ in this sentence
does have a definite referent, just not a real-word one, and that the speaker and hearer can both
be thinking of a specific yet-to-be-built house.)

In addition to spatial and temporal deictic functions, the demonstrative words in Ulwa
can serve discourse functions as well, pointing to speech itself, whether already spoken or not yet
uttered, as in:
Demonstrative words may also be used (to similar effect) as determiners modifying the word *na* ‘talk’, as in the following:

(7.055) Oke li ngata ngusuwa **nga**: …

oke li ngata ngusuwa **nga**

‘OK, the downstream ancestors, the poor things, were as follows: …’

… Kayta Amombi Yokombla Yaruwa Kayngam.

Kayta Amombi Yokombla Yaruwa Kayngam

[76x708]7.055

‘… Kayta, Amombi, Yokombla, Yaruwa, and Kayngam.’ (*oke* < TP) (T10)

Similarly, when a referent has been introduced, a speaker can refer again to this referent with a deictic word. In the text from which the following two examples are taken, the speaker introduces a subject with the subject marker *mī* ‘3SG’ (7.059), but shortly thereafter refers again to the same referent with *nga* ‘this.SG’ (7.060).

(7.056) Ini na **nga** mī ambip.

ini na **nga** mī ambip

‘This talk about land is big—it (has gotten) big.’ (T32)

(7.057) Mase na **nda** una asika matap.

ma=asa-e na **anda** unan asi-ka ma=ta-p

3SG=hit-DEP talk that.SG IPL.INCL sit-let 3SG=say-PRF

‘That talk of (them) killing her—we sat and discussed it.’ (T32)

(7.058) Na anma **nda**.

na anma **anda**

‘That’s good talk.’ (i.e., ‘I agree with you.’) (T33)

Similarly, when a referent has been introduced, a speaker can refer again to this referent with a deictic word. In the text from which the following two examples are taken, the speaker introduces a subject with the subject marker *mī* ‘3SG’ (7.059), but shortly thereafter refers again to the same referent with *nga* ‘this.SG’ (7.060).

(7.059) Inom **mī** anganika nganul i.

inom **mī** anganika ngan=ul i

mother 3SG after 1DU.EXCL=with go-PRF

‘Later, the mother came with the two of us.’

(7.060) Inom **nga** nan makīta …

inom **nga** na=na=ta

mother this.SG talk=OBL 3SG=say-COND

‘If this mother tells him …’ (T27)
Often, however, the deictic function of demonstrative words is not clear. The choice between *nga* ‘this.SG’ and *anda* ‘that.SG’, for example, does not always seem to reflect proximity or distance, whether spatial, temporal, or narrative. Perhaps speakers make decisions based on desires to signal metaphorical proximity or distance to referents. This seems possible especially when referring to people in general terms (that is, people who are physically neither close nor far in the event encoded in the clause). Other times, however, it is not at all clear why these words are being used, and there could be some degree of free variation for speakers in certain circumstances. In the following sentences, the deictic function (if any) of the demonstrative words is unclear.

(7.061) Anji ngata *ngalol* inde.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anji} & \quad \text{ngata} & \quad \text{ngala} = \text{ul} & \quad \text{inda-e} \\
1\text{PL.POSS} & \quad \text{grand} & \quad \text{that.PL} = \text{with} & \quad \text{walk-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(We) walked around with our grandparents.’ (T10)

(7.062) Anji ngata *la* ndiɪ inde.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anji} & \quad \text{ngata} & \quad \text{ala} & \quad \text{ndiɪ} = \text{ti} & \quad \text{inda-e} \\
1\text{PL.EXCL.POSS} & \quad \text{grand} & \quad \text{that.PL} & \quad 3\text{PL} = \text{take} & \quad \text{walk-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Our ancestors used to carry them around.’ (T12)

(7.063) Inom *anda* man nɪɪ.
\[
\begin{align*}
inom & \quad \text{anda} & \quad \text{ma} = \text{n} & \quad \text{nɪi} = \text{ta} \\
\text{mother} & \quad \text{that.SG} & \quad 3\text{SG} = \text{OBL} & \quad 1\text{SG} = \text{say}
\end{align*}
\]
‘That mother told me.’ (T11)

(7.064) Maria *nga* nan ndiɪ.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Maria} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{na} = \text{n} & \quad \text{ndiɪ} = \text{ta} \\
\text{[name]} & \quad \text{this.SG} & \quad \text{talk} = \text{OBL} & \quad 3\text{PL} = \text{say}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Maria told them.’ (T11)

(7.065) A nɪɪ ji aweta *anda* ko matɪɪna!
\[
\begin{align*}
a & \quad \text{nɪɪ ji} & \quad \text{aweta} & \quad \text{anda} & \quad \text{ko} & \quad \text{ma} = \text{ti} - \text{na} \\
1\text{SG.POSS} & \quad \text{friend} & \quad \text{that.SG} & \quad \text{just} & \quad 3\text{SG} = \text{hit-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Ah, that friend of mine will really hit her!’ (T16)

(7.066) Nɪɪ ji yawa *nga* itom ndiɪ ji tana mat nen.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nɪɪ ji} & \quad \text{yawa} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{itom} & \quad \text{ndiɪ ji} & \quad \text{tana} & \quad \text{ma} = \text{ti} & \quad \text{ni-en} \\
1\text{SG.POSS} & \quad \text{uncle} & \quad \text{this.SG} & \quad \text{father} & \quad 3\text{PL.POSS} & \quad \text{axe} & \quad 3\text{SG} = \text{take} & \quad \text{act-NMLZ}
\end{align*}
\]
‘This uncle of mine was one who got the (fore)fathers’ axe.’ (T32)
Reference to undoubtedly distant entities, such as the sun or the moon, for example, may be referred to with either proximal determiners (7.067) or distal determiners (7.068, 7.069, 7.070); they may alternatively be referred to with the 3SG subject marker mi (7.071) or with no marker at all (7.072), as in the following examples.

(7.067) Ané nga wowe …
    ané nga wo-e
    sun this.SG burn-DEP
    ‘In the dry season …’ (T27)

(7.068) Ané anda wowe …
    ané anda wo-e
    sun that.SG burn-DEP
    ‘In the dry season …’ (T27)

(7.069) A ané anda li namane.
    a ané anda li na-ma-n-e
    ‘Ah, the sun is setting.’ (T32)

(7.070) Iwìl anda liye wa imbape.
    iwìl anda li-i-e wa imba-p-e
    moon that.SG down-go.PRF-DEP village night-be-DEP
    ‘The moon had set; the village was dark.’ (T27)

(7.071) Anwe iwìl mì ata ne ne.
    anwe iwìl mì ata na-i na-i
    1PL.EXCL.INT.PART moon 3SG up DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF
    ‘We were alone; the moon rose and rose.’ (T32)

(7.072) Ané namane.
    ané na-ma-n-e
    sun DETR-go-IPFV-DEP
    ‘The sun is setting.’ (T32)

Although the Christian god is usually referred to with the proximal deictic nga ‘this.SG’ (i.e., ambi nga ‘this big [man]’), it seems also possible to refer to him with the distal deictic anda ‘that.SG’, as illustrated below.

(7.073) Ambi nganji na nga unaniya mbi.
    ambì nganji na nga unan=iya mbi-i
    big this.SG.POSS talk this.SG 1PL.INCL=toward here-go.PRF
    ‘The word of God has come to us.’ (T32)
As the examples above illustrate, there is often much freedom in the use of subject (and object) markers and demonstratives (or their omission altogether). In addition to serving their prototypically deictic function, demonstrative words in Ulwa may be used to indicate that an introduced NP is going to play a key role in the discourse to follow—that is, even though the NP presents new (non-given) information, a form like anda ‘that.sg’ may be used, as seen below.

(7.074) Ambi ngawe una ikali mas.

ambi ngawe unan i-kali ma=si
big this.sg.INT.PART 1PL.EXCL hand-send 3SG=push
‘God alone—we (must) hold onto him.’ (T32)

(7.075) Wolka ambu ngaynakawana.

wolka ambu nga=ina-ka-wana
again big this.sg=liver-at-feel
‘(He) in turn was thinking of God.’ (T30)

(7.076) Ambi anda mat anmbïnalp.

ambi anda ma=tï an-mbï na-lli-p
big that.sg 3SG=take out-here DETR-put-PRF
‘God has revealed him.’ (Literally, ‘That big [man] has taken him and put [him] out.’) (T32)

(7.077) Awlu ato anmoka anda apïnal ando ambï.

awlu ata-u anmoka anda apïnal anda=u an-mbï-i
step up-from snake that.sg swamp that.sg=from out-here-go.PRF
‘When (the moon) appeared, a snake came out from the swamp.’ (T29)

(7.078) Nambi wandam ambï nda.

nambi wandam ambï anda
1SG.FOC jungle big that.sg
‘As for me, I have a big garden.’ (T37)

(7.079) Balus anda ina mane.

balus anda i-na ma-n-e
plane that.sg come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
‘A plane was going to come.’ (balus < TP) (T11)

This use of demonstratives is especially common when recounting narratives in a vivid manner (cf. sentences in English such as ‘so then this guy comes up to me and says …’, only in Ulwa the distal deictic is used instead of the proximal).

Demonstratives may also occur in non-subject NPs—that is, in NPs encoding the (direct) objects of verbs, objects of postpositions, or oblique phrases. While often attaching
phonologically to following words (especially verb stems), these demonstrative forms seem somehow less clitic-like than true object markers (7.4). When the demonstrative forms appear (phonologically) to cliticize to host verbs, they are treated as object markers and are glossed with a clitic boundary marker (=) following them. Generally, however, it may be said that there is no formal distinction between subject demonstratives and object demonstratives.

The following sentences exemplify the use of the demonstratives as object markers.

(7.080) Lapun nga lamndu nga!
lapun nga lamndu nga=asa
‘This old man killed this pig!’ (lapun < TP) (T24)

Mî ya uta nginganda.
3SG coconut shell this.DU=break-IRR
‘He will break these two coconut shells.’

(7.082) Wambana ngalamoke.
wambana ngala=moko-e
fish this.PL=take-DEP
‘(They) were catching fish.’ (T27)

(7.083) Mota wulis andaytap.
mota wulis anda=ita-p
bamboo platform that.SG=build-PRF
‘(They) built that bamboo platform (i.e., a raft).’ (T02)

(7.084) Sokoy andin lapap.
sokoy andin=n lapa-p
tobacco that.DU=OBL plant-PRF
‘(He) has planted those two tobacco plants.’ (T32)

(7.085) Upan wambana lawtata ndul wa undana.
upan wambana ala=uta-ta ndî=ul wa unda-na
small.fish fish that.PL=grind-COND 3PL=with village go-IRR
‘If (we) catch those small fish, (we) will go home with them.’ (T33)

The demonstrative forms can also function pronominally, both as subjects and as objects (that is, as object-marker clitics). No distinction is made between animate and inanimate referents, as can be seen in the following examples.
(7.086) Anda nip.
   anda      ni-p
that.SG     die-PRF
‘That (one) died.’

(7.087) Ngin liyu.
   ngin      li-u
this.DU     fall-PRF
‘These (two) fell.’

(7.088) Ala nip.
   ala       ni=p
that.PL     die-PRF
‘Those (ones) died.’ (often = ‘They died.’)

(7.089) Nï limndï ngala.
   nï        limndï       nga=ala
1SG        eye           this.SG=for
‘I saw this (one).’

(7.090) Nï limndï andinala.
   nï        limndï       andin=ala
1SG        eye           that.DU=for
‘I saw those (two).’

These object-marker demonstrative pronouns may not always be clitics. Examples such as the following two illustrate a greater (phonological) separation between pronoun and verb—that is, the sequence in the first example, (7.091), is pronounced [nga.la.i.ta.na] and not *[nga.lay.ta.na], and the sequence in the second example, (7.092), is pronounced [a.nda.i] and not *[a.nday].

(7.091) Apa ngala itana mane.
   apa       ngala       ita-na       ma-n-e
house      this.PL      build-IRR    go-IPFV-DEP
‘(They) were going to build these houses.’ (T23)

(7.092) Ndamepe nï anmap nï i anda i.
   ndi=ama-p-e    nï     anma-p    nï     i     anda    i
3PL=eat-PRF-DEP 1SG     good-be   1SG     go-PRF   that.SG             go-PRF
‘Having taken them, I got better, and I went, went there.’ (T21)

Demonstrative pronouns can be the subject of a clause that has a noun or adjective as the predicate complement. Here, their deictic function is quite clear, as seen below.
Demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to human referents (as in ‘this [one]’, ‘those [ones]’, etc.) much more than is common in, say, English. In particular, the demonstrative pronoun *ala* ‘that.PL’ is often best translated simple as ‘they’ or ‘people’ (or sometimes as ‘other people’), as in the following:

(7.099) **Ala natana.**
*ala* na-ta-na
that.PL DETR-say-IRR
‘They were going to have a talk.’ (T27)

(7.100) **Ala angop tane.**
*ala* ango-p ta-n-e
that.PL NEG-be say-IPFV-DEP
‘They tell lies.’ (T11)
(7.101) Ala ta ando apín tì lip.
    Ala ta anda=u apín tì lì-p
   that.PL already that.SG=from fire take put-PRF
   ‘People have already set fire there.’ (T33)

(7.102) Ala ndute ndame mbïp.
    Ala ndï=uta-e ndï=ama-e mbï-p
   that.PL 3PL=grind-DEP 3PL=eat-DEP here-be
   ‘People catch them and eat them here.’ (T36)

Furthermore, *ala ‘that.PL’* may be used instead of the second plural personal pronoun *un*, when addressing groups of people, as in:

(7.103) Ala wokïn anda unanul mbiyen anda ango i?
    Ala wokïn anda unan=ul mbï-i-en anda ango i
   that.PL big.man that.SG 1PL..INCL=with here-go-NMLZ that.SG which go.PRF
   ‘You folks, that big man who came with us—where did that (man) go?’ (T01)

(7.104) Ala una wandam ma mundu anglalunda mane.
    Ala unan wandam ma mundu angla-lo-nda ma-n-e
   that.PL 1PL..INCL jungle go food await-go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
   ‘Everyone, we’re going to go to the jungle and look for food.’ (T25)

(7.105) Ala ndï ta lop.
    Ala ndï ta lo-p
   that.PL 3PL already go.PRF
   ‘You all, have they already left?’ (T10)

(7.106) Ala ndïn anjikake ndï se?
    Ala ndï=n anjikaka-e ndï sa-e
   that.PL 3PL=OBL how-DEP 3PL cry-DEP
   ‘Folks, what have (you done) with them, such that they are crying?’ (T27)

   In fact, combined with the form *-nji ‘thing’, *ala ‘that.PL’* can even be used in possessive constructions (that is, *alanji* in place of *ndïnji ‘their’), often with the sense of ‘other people’s), as in:

(7.107) Ambwat alanji Monde.
    Ambwat alanji Monde
   Kambot that.PL..POSS [name]
   ‘The Kambot people’s (ancestor) was Monde.’ (T02)
(7.108) Alanji wo ndï makape.
alanji   wa       ndï    maka-p-e
that.PL.POSS village 3PL thus-be-DEP
‘Other people’s villages are like that.’ (T32)

(7.109) alanji ambnda
alanji   amb         anda
that.PL.POSS haus.tambaran that.SG
‘that magic of other people’ (T32)

In casual speech, the forms anda ‘that.SG’ and ala ‘that.PL’ are commonly shortened to nda and la, respectively. This is especially common when following a vowel, but can occur in any environment.

7.4 Object markers

Whereas subject markers are clearly unbound morphemes, indicating that their phrase is the grammatical subject of the clause, object markers are trickier to categorize. Like subject markers, object markers typically follow nouns. But, as their name suggests, these forms indicate grammatical objects, whether the (direct) object of a verb or the object of a postposition. The reason that they are tricky to categorize, though, is that they have a very close affinity to the forms that follow them, especially verbs. While they almost certainly arose (historically) as unbound pronominal forms, these forms are now almost always inseparable from the verbs of which they are objects. While casual speech in Ulwa permits many phonological changes across word boundaries, there is an especially strong tendency for object markers to undergo phonological changes (see, for example, 2.6.7 above on the 3SG object marker ma= assimilating to following mid-back vowels).

I put forth that these markers, while originally simply free pronominal forms and subsequently unbound morphemes completely parallel to the set of subject markers, have later undergone (or are currently undergoing) a grammatical change—namely, they are becoming bound morphemes. This process seems to have begun with the 3SG form ma=. This may partially be due to the fact that this form (given its ending in the low central vowel /a/) is the most likely to undergo phonological change before a verb in Ulwa. Furthermore, if indeed these once free pronominal forms have begun the process of becoming bound verbal morphemes, one would
expect this change to begin with the third singular form (here, \( mî > ma = \)), as this is not unlike the predictions of Watkins’s Law—namely, that analogical reorganization begins on the model of third singular forms (Watkins 1962). Indeed, there seems to be some psychological reality to the fact that object forms (and especially the 3SG form) are somehow part of the verb—to wit, native speakers almost invariably offer forms beginning with 3SG \( ma = \) as the citation forms for transitive verbs.

The forms of the object markers are identical to the forms in the set of third-singular objective personal pronouns (6.2)—thus, they are identical to the set of subject markers, with the main exception of the 3SG form, which is \( ma = \) as opposed to \( mî \). There is also an allomorph \( mini = \) for the dual object-marker clitic (more on this below), which does not exist in the set of subject pronouns (or subject markers). The object markers are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
ma &= \quad \text{3SG} \\
min &= \sim mini &= \quad \text{3DU} \\
ndi &= \quad \text{3PL}
\end{align*}
\]

As is the situation with subject markers, object markers may follow either common or proper nouns, and have either animate or inanimate referents. The following sentences exemplify object markers cliticized to transitive verbs.

(7.110) Inom mî utam **mawanap**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inom} &\quad mî \quad \text{utam} \quad ma = \text{wana-p} \\
\text{mother} &\quad 3SG \quad \text{yam} \quad 3SG = \text{cook-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Mother cooked the yam.’

(7.111) Inom mî utam **minwanap**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inom} &\quad mî \quad \text{utam} \quad \text{min} = \text{wana-p} \\
\text{mother} &\quad 3SG \quad \text{yam} \quad 3DU = \text{cook-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Mother cooked two yams.’

(7.112) Inom mî utam **nduwanap**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inom} &\quad mî \quad \text{utam} \quad ndî = \text{wana-p} \\
\text{mother} &\quad 3SG \quad \text{yam} \quad 3PL = \text{cook-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Mother cooked the yams.’

This first set above illustrates the (optional) change of /î/ to [u] before /w/ in the 3PL object marker (2.6.6). In the set below, vowel elision may be witnessed in the 3SG and 3PL object markers (2.6.5).
(7.113) Tín ndí lamndu masap.
  tín  ndí  lamndu    ma=asa-p
dog   3PL   pig       3SG=hit-PRF
‘The dogs killed the pig.’

(7.114) Tín ndí lamndu minasap.
  tín  ndí  lamndu    min=asa-p
dog   3PL   pig       3DU=hit-PRF
‘The dogs killed two pigs.’

(7.115) Tín ndí lamndu ndasap.
  tín  ndí  lamndu    ndí=asa-p
dog   3PL   pig       3PL=hit-PRF
‘The dogs killed the pigs.’

In the first of the following examples, (7.116), it is possible to see how mo=, an allomorph of the 3SG object marker /ma=/, appears before a following /o/ in the verb stem (2.6.7).

(7.116) Nìnipil momoplìp.
   nì   nipil    ma=mop-li-p
   1SG  vine     3SG=tie-put-PRF
‘I tied the rope.’

(7.117) Nìnipil minmoplìp.
   nì   nipil    min=mop-li-p
   1SG  vine     3DU=tie-put-PRF
‘I tied two ropes.’

(7.118) Nìnipil ndìmoplìp.
   nì   nipil    ndì=mop-li-p
   1SG  vine     3PL=tie-put-PRF
‘I tied the ropes.’

Further support for the claim that the status of object markers is distinct from that of simple pronominal forms comes from the 3DU marker min=, which has the allomorph mini= when preceding a verb with stem beginning in /n/. Although it may be possible to explain the allomorph mo= (for ma= ‘3SG’) in terms of simple phonological conditioning (that is, regardless of morphological considerations, see 2.6.7), the form mini= ‘3DU’ is clearly a morphologically conditioned change, since—elsewhere—consecutive consonants are simply degeminated (thus, one should expect the allomorph, were it phonologically conditioned, to be *mi=). Indeed, the
form *mini= ‘3DU’ only appears before verbs, not even before postpositions, suggesting that object-marker clitics for verbs are somewhat more closely affiliated with their hosts than are those associated with postpositions. The following sentences demonstrate how the allomorph *mini= ‘3DU’ occurs when preceding an initial /n/ of a verb stem (7.119), but not when preceding other consonants (e.g., l-) (7.120).

(7.119)  Itom mî inmî mininkap.
  itom  mî  inmi  mini=nkî-p
  father  3SG  hole  3DU=dig=PRF
  ‘Father dug two holes.’

(7.120)  Itom mî num minlop.
  itom  mî  num  min=lo-p
  father  3SG  canoe  3DU=cut-PRF
  ‘Father carved two canoes.’

The fact that *[mini] is not produced from /min/ in contexts other than those in which it directly precedes a verb can be illustrated by comparison of the following examples taken from texts, the first (7.121) showing [mini] before a verb beginning with /n/, the second (7.122) showing the pronominal form as a free subject marker ([min]) preceding a word beginning with /n/. Only the first example, (7.121), exhibits the form [mini].

(7.121)  Wondì inom min ndî mininke isi up.
  wondì  inom  min  ndî  mini=nkî-e  isi  u-p
  bandicoot  mother  3DU  3PL  3DU=cut-DEP soup  put-PRF
  ‘The two mother bandicoot—they cut them up into the soup.’ (T27)

(7.122)  Min num si nîn ata lip.
  min  num  si  nî=n  ata  lî-p
  3DU  canoe  push  1SG=OBL  up  put-PRF
  ‘The two of them came ashore with me.’ (Literally, ‘put the canoe up with me’) (T27)

Even before a postposition beginning in /n/, the form *[mini] does not occur, as seen below.

(7.123)  Unji yenat ngîn nap mana na.
  unji  yenat  ngîn  mini=nap  ma-na  na=-kî-p
  2SG.POSS daughter this.DU  3DU=for  go-IRR DETR-say-PRF
  ‘These two daughters of yours—(I) wanted to go on account of them.’ (T32)
There are, however, admittedly few examples of [mini] in the Ulwa corpus of texts. This is not surprising, given the rarity both of dual referents and of verbal stems beginning in /n/. Speakers do, however, consistently produce the form in elicitation.

Although helpful in designating the number of referents in an object NP, object markers, like subject markers (7.2), are not always included in their respective NPs. Again, their absence may be a simple omission, the product of casual speech. Their omission does, however, seem more likely when the referent is less definite, but no clear correlation has been found in the corpus. (In other words, Ulwa may exhibit a form of differential object marking in addition to exhibiting differential subject marking, 7.2.) The objects of both examples below are indefinite; in the first, (7.124), the object receives the object marker (for each of two verbs), whereas in the second, (7.125), it does not.

(7.124) Yawa ndi anasa *maytape* mat mananda.

```
yawa ndi anasa ma=ita-p-e ma=tî ma=na-nda
```

uncle 3PL pickaxe 3SG=build-PRF-DEP 3SG=take 3SG=give-IRR

‘The uncles will make a pickaxe and give it to her.’ (T07)

(7.125) Ndi tîmbil itap.

```
ndî tîmbîl ita-p
```

3PL fence build-PRF

‘They built a fence.’ (T11)

The following is another set of examples with indefinite object NPs, again contrasting the presence (7.126) and absence (7.127) of the object marker.

(7.126) Imba nape ay *ndînkap ndîn* amblan up.

```
imba na-p-e ay ndî=nki-p ndî=n ambla=n u-p
```

night DETR-be-DEP sago 3PL=cut-PRF 3PL=OBL PL_REFL=OBL put-PRF

‘At night (they) made sago (packets) and left them for themselves.’ (T11)

(7.127) Un ay nîkap?

```
un ay nki-p
```

2PL sago cut-PRF

‘Did you make sago?’ (T14)

In addition to appearing as the final element in (direct) object NPs (that is, immediately preceding verbs), object markers occur as the final elements of NPs that are the objects of postpositions, as in the following:
(7.128) Kayngam i ya **maya** atay.

Kayngam i ya ma=iya ata-i

[name] go.PRF coconut 3SG=toward up-go.PRF

‘Kayngam went, climbed up a coconut tree.’ (T14)

(7.129) Imbape nǐ wolka tawatip **ndiya** i.

imba-p-e nǐ wolka tawatip ndi=iya i

night-be-DEP 1SG again child 3PL=toward go.PRF

‘That night, I again went to the young folks.’ (T32)

(7.130) Tīlwa **mo** i wa mbi.

tilwa ma=u i wa mbi-i

road 3SG=from go.PRF village here-go.PRF

‘(We) came along the path here to the village.’ (T27)

(7.131) Manji yawa **minul** i.

manji yawa min=ul i

3SG.POSS uncle 3DU=with go.PRF

‘(He) went with his two uncles.’ (T11)

(7.132) An wolka ngata **ndul** iye.

an wolka ngata ndi=ul i-e

1PL.EXCL again grand 3PL=with go.PRF=DEP

‘We again went with the ancestors.’ (T02)

Object markers are also found in NPs marked with the oblique marker =n, as in:

(7.133) Ay **man** minanap.

ay ma=n mĩ=na-na-p

sago 3SG=OBL 3SG=DETR-feed-PRF

‘(They) fed him with the sago.’ (T09)

(7.134) An mǐnda **ndĩn** malan up ndamap.

an mĩnda ndi=n manal u-p ndi=ama-p

1PL.EXCL banana 3PL=OBL hot.water put-PRF 3PL=eat-PRF

‘We boiled bananas and ate them.’ (Literally, ‘put bananas in hot water’, with metathesis in malan ‘hot water’) (T27)

In addition to the three object markers used for indexing (usually) definite referents (whether singular, dual, or plural), there is a (third-singular) indefinite marker, **ko=**, clearly derived from the numeral **kwa ~ kwe** ‘one’. It is here considered a distinct object marker, both because it tends to cliticize to the following verb, postposition, or oblique marker and because it never appears in subject NPs (only the forms **kwa** or **kwe** may appear in this position). (Note that
when occurring as a free morpheme, the form *ko* ‘just’ is a modal adverb, not to be confused with the indefinite object marker *ko=.* The indefinite object marker is illustrated below.

(7.135)  Ala nǐ nji *kosap!*

*ala nǐ nji ko=asa-p*

that.PL 1SG thing INDF=hit-PRF

‘Guys, I killed something!’ (T30)

(7.136)  Nī ango wolka nungolke *kofín.*

*nī ango wolka nungolke ko=tī-n*

1SG NEG again child INDF=take-PRF

‘I didn’t have another child.’ (T31)

(7.137)  Kayngam wam *ngatì* ma ya *koyà* ma!

*Kayngam wam nga=tī ma ya ko=iya ma [name] strap this.SG=take go coconut INDF=toward go*

‘Kayngam, go get this tree-climbing strap and go up a coconut tree!’ (T14)

(7.138)  Plas mī ango ma in …

*Plas mī ango ma[nji] i=n*

[name] 3SG NEG 3[SG.POSS] hand=OBL

… nji *kon* mbîlp.

*nji ko=n mbî-li-p*

thing INDF=OBL here-put-PRF

‘Plas didn’t plant anything here with his (own) hands.’ (T11)

(7.139)  Ndī ango wondi *kofín.*

*ndī ango wondi ko=tī-n*

3PL NEG bandicoot INDF=take-PRF

‘They didn’t get a (single) bandicoot.’ (T27)

This marker is commonly used in demands or requests to be given something, such as the very common request to be passed betel nut (the first of the two following examples).

(7.140)  Aw *kot* nīnan!

*aw ko=tī nī=na-n*

betel.nut INDF=take 1SG=give-IMP

‘Please pass the betel nut!’

(7.141)  Kau nungol *kot* nīnata!

*kau nungol ko=tī nī=na-ta*

cow child INDF=take 1SG=give-COND

‘Give me a calf!’ (kau < TP) (T11)
Although etymologically related to the form *kwa* ‘one’, the (definite) sense of the numeral ‘one’ is generally not felt in the object marker. Rather, to give the sense of ‘(exactly) one’, the numeral itself is used, followed by a 3SG object (or subject) marker, as in the following examples.

(7.142)  
Mī may ndimbam …

mī      ma=i       ndī=imbam
3SG     3SG=go.PRF 3PL=under
‘She went there, went under them, …’

… lop *kwa molop* līp malep.
lo-p   kwa   ma=lo-p lī-p  ma=ale-p
go-PRF one 3SG=cut-PRF put-PRF 3SG=scrape-PRF
‘… cut one (palm) down, and scraped it.’ (T27)

(7.143)  
Nī *kwa mol* ne

nī    kwa    ma=ul ni-e
1SG    one    3SG=with act-DEP
‘I was making one (armband).’ (T12)

(7.144)  
Nīnji wot yana *kwa mī* nip.

nīnji wot    yana    kwa    mī    ni-p
1SG.POSS younger woman one 3SG die-PRF
‘One younger sister of mine has died.’ (T23)

Sometimes the only expressed element in an object NP (whether the direct object of a transitive verb or the object preceding a postposition or oblique marker) is an object marker. Since these are identical in form to third person non-subject personal pronominal forms and since first person and second person pronouns may also occur in these positions, it is probably most parsimonious to view these all simply as pronouns. That is, when no nominal is expressed in an object NP consisting solely of the form *ma=*, *min=*, or *ndī=*, these may be treated simply as object pronouns, as in:

(7.145)  
Ndī *mayte*.

ndī      ma=ita-e
3PL     3SG=build-DEP
‘They were building it.’ (T27)
(7.146) Unan maya mbiye.
unan ma=iya mbï-i-e
1PL.INCL 3SG=toward here-go.PRF-DEP
‘We came here to him.’ (T32)

(7.147) Ndí nokolïp limndï mala.
ndí nokop-lï-p limndï ma=ala
3PL hide-put-PRF eye 3SG=for
‘They hid and saw her.’ (T16)

(7.148) Ní man mint.
ní ma=n min=ta
1SG 3SG=OBL 3DU=say
‘I told them.’ (T11)

(7.149) Ní ango ndïîn.
ní ango ndÎ=tî-n
1SG NEG 3PL=take-PRF
‘I didn’t get them.’ (T32)

(7.150) Mi nasape.
mÎ=nî=asa-p-e
3SG 1SG=hit-PRF-DEP
‘He hit me.’ (T11)

(7.151) Nga mÎnjikan ngant.
nga mÎnjika=n ngan=ta
this.SG speech=OBL 1DU.EXCL=say
‘This one spoke to us.’ (T11)

(7.152) Wondi andat ngunanata ngunan matïîm.
wondi anda=tï ngunan=na-ta ngunan ma=atï-m
bandicoot that.SG=take 1DU.INCL=give-COND 1DU.INCL 3SG=hit-IRR
‘When (he) gives us that bandicoot, we will kill it.’ (T24)

(7.153) Yalum un yanat un ango kîkal anwana.
yalum un yanat un ango kîkal an=wana
grandchild 2PL daughter 2PL NEG ear 1PL.EXCL=feel
‘You granddaughters and you daughters don’t listen to us.’ (T11)

(7.154) Ndí kîkal unanwana mînja m!
ndí kîkal unan=wana mînja m
3PL ear 1PL.INCL=feel speech hm
‘They will hear us and say: “Hm!”’ (T32)
(7.155) Ngan **nguniya** men iye.  
\[\text{ngan ngun}=\text{iya} \quad \text{ma}=\text{in} \quad \text{i-e} \]
\[\text{1DU.EXCL} \quad \text{2DU=toward} \quad \text{3SG=in} \quad \text{go.PRF-DEP} \]
‘We came to you in it.’ (T11)

(7.156) Nî **unul** wa mana.  
\[\text{nî un}=\text{ul} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ma-na} \]
\[\text{1SG} \quad \text{2PL=with} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{go-IRR} \]
‘I will go with you to the village.’ (T32)

Similarly, the set of reflexive (or reciprocal) forms, when cliticizing to verbs or postpositions (or when preceding oblique markers), may simply be considered to be pronouns (see examples in 6.4).

### 7.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words that provide information concerning the number (or amount) of a referent, without assigning an exact numerical value (numerical values are assigned through the use of numerals, 7.6). Thus, words that express concepts such as ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘few’, ‘all’, ‘some’, etc. may all (on semantic grounds) be considered quantifiers. The words that express these concepts in Ulwa, however, mostly pattern (syntactically) with words in other classes, namely adjectives. There is at least one word, however, that warrants placement in a separate quantifier class, since it displays unique syntactic properties. This word is **wopa** ‘all’.

First it must be demonstrated how the quantifier **wopa** ‘all’ can, in fact, function as an adjective. As an adjective, **wopa** means ‘whole’, ‘entire’, or ‘full’. Like all adjectives, its canonical position is immediately following the noun that it modifies (5.2). If there is a subject marker, object marker, or other determiner present, then the adjective **wopa** precedes this word. In this usage, **wopa** ‘all’ has a singular (as opposed to plural) meaning—that is, it means something like ‘all of something’, i.e., ‘the whole’. Accordingly, as in the following examples, NPs containing **wopa** as an attributive adjective are followed by singular determiners (e.g., the subject marker **mî** ‘3SG’ or the demonstrative object marker **anda** ‘that.SG’).

(7.157) Im **wopa** mî liyu.  
\[\text{im wopa mî li-u} \]
\[\text{tree all 3SG fall-PRF} \]
‘The whole tree fell.’
(7.158) Utam *wopa* mî tembip.
    utam *wopa* mî tembi-p
    yam all 3SG bad-be
    ‘The entire yam is rotten.’

(7.159) Ndî unan wat u apîn *wopa* ndatîne …
    ndî unan=n wat u apîn *wopa* anda=tî-n-e
    3PL 1PL.INCL=OBL atop from fire all that.SG=take-PRF-DEP
    ‘And once they have gotten the full fire from above us, …’ (T32)

As all adjectives, *wopa* ‘all’ may function as a substantive as well (5.4). In the following example, *wopa* ‘all’ is followed by the third plural subject marker *ndî*, because it is referring to multiple whole things (in this sentence, fish).

(7.160) *Wopa* ndî ngamana.
    *wopa* ndî nga=ma-na
    all 3PL this.SG=go-IRR
    ‘The whole (ones) will go here.’ (T11)

As a (syntactically distinct) quantifier, however, *wopa* has the meaning ‘all’ (i.e., all members of a group or set of things). Instead of preceding the subject marker (or subject pronoun), the quantifier follows it. This usage may be thought of as plural. In the following sentences, *wopa* follows third plural subject markers (*ndî*).

(7.161) Im ndî *wopa* liyu.
    im ndî *wopa* li-u
    tree 3PL all fall-PRF
    ‘All the trees fell.’

(7.162) Utam ndî *wopa* tembip.
    utam ndî *wopa* tembi-p
    yam 3PL all bad-be
    ‘All the yams are rotten.’

(7.163) Nji ndî *wopa* menpe.
    nji ndî *wopa* ma=in-p-e
    thing 3PL all 3SG=in-be-DEP
    ‘All (his) possessions are in it.’ (T11)

The following examples illustrate that the quantifier *wopa* ‘all’ can appear after (plural) pronouns as well as after subject markers.
(7.164) Una **wopa** map.
unan **wopa** ma=p
1PL.INCL all 3SG=be
‘We all stay there.’ (T11)

(7.165) Ndí **wopa** wombìn ne.
ndí **wopa** wombìn=n ni-e
3PL all work=OBL act-DEP
(a) ‘They are all working.’
(b) ‘All of them are working.’

(7.166) Ndambi **wopa** anala mbìp.
ndambi **wopa** an=ala mbì-p
3PL.FOC all 1PL.EXCL=for here-be
‘As for them, they all stayed for our sake.’ (T27)

As a quantifier, the post-NP position of **wopa** is rigid. Attempts to raise the quantifier (overtly) to a position within the NP (that is, between the noun and subject marker), result in an adjectival interpretation of the word (that is, ‘whole’, ‘full’, ‘complete’, etc.), as shown below.

(7.167) Ankam ndí **wopa** wandam i.
an kam ndí **wopa** wandam i
person 3PL all jungle go.PRF
‘All the people went to the jungle.’

(7.168) ? Ankam **wopa** ndí wandam i.
an kam **wopa** ndí wandam i
person all 3PL jungle go.PRF
? ‘The whole people went to the jungle.’ (e.g., not just their hands went)

In negative clauses, however, the quantifier **wopa** ‘all’—though it must always follow the entire NP (including the subject marker)—may either precede (7.169) or follow (7.170) the negative marker **ango** ‘NEG’, as seen below.

(7.169) Ankam ndí **ango** **wopa** wandam i.
an kam ndí **ango** **wopa** wandam i
person 3PL NEG all jungle go.PRF
‘All the people did not go to the jungle.’

(7.170) Ankam ndí **wopa** **ango** wandam i.
an kam ndí **wopa** **ango** wandam i
person 3PL all NEG jungle go.PRF
‘All the people did not go to the jungle.’
The two sentences above have the same meaning. Indeed, the scopal relationship between the negator and the quantifier is also the same—and, in both cases, ambivalent. That is, either may have scope over the other, producing either the possible interpretation that ‘not all (i.e., some) people went to the jungle’ or the other possible interpretation that ‘no people went to the jungle.’ In the example below, only context reveals that *ango wopa* ‘not all’ implies ‘no one’ as opposed to implying ‘some’.

(7.171) **Ndí ango wopa mol lop.**

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
3PL & NEG & all & 3SG=with \\
\hline
\text{ndí} & \text{ango} & \text{wopa} & \text{ma} = \text{ul} \\
\text{lo-} & & & \text{p} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They all did not go with him.’ (i.e., ‘None of them went with him.’); but, in other contexts this could imply: ‘Not all of them went with him.’ (T30)

At times, *wopa* may alternatively be translated as ‘everything’ or ‘everyone’. In these instances, *wopa* also follows subject markers or pronouns (as when the word functions elsewhere as a quantifier), as in the following examples.

(7.172) **Nji ndí wopa liyu.**

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
3PL & all & fall-PRF \\
\hline
\text{nji} & \text{ndí} & \text{wopa} & \text{li} = \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Everything fell.’ (Literally, ‘All the things fell.’)

(7.173) **Ala wopa nip.**

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{that}.PL & \text{all} & \text{die-PRF} \\
\hline
\text{ala} & \text{wopa} & \text{ni} = \text{p} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Everyone died.’ (Literally, ‘Those all died.’)

It may even appear as the only element in an NP, thus functioning somewhat as a pronoun, as in:

(7.174) **Wopa malanda.**

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{all} & \text{3SG} = \text{eat-IRR} \\
\hline
\text{wopa} & \text{ma} = \text{la-nda} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘All would eat it.’ (T11)

One of the most interesting aspects of the syntactic positioning of the quantifier *wopa* ‘all’, however, is the fact that it follows not only subject markers, but also object markers. It is thus the only element known to be able to intercede between object-marker clitics and their associated verbs. The following sentences illustrate this unusual placement of *wopa* ‘all’.
(7.175) Inom mī mīnda nduwopa wananda.
inom mī mīnda ndī=wopa wana-nda
mother 3SG banana 3PL=all cook-IRR
‘Mother will cook all the bananas.’

(7.176) Nī lamndu nduwopa asap.
inlamndu ndī=wopa asa-p
1SG pig 3PL=all hit-PRF
‘I killed all the pigs.’

(7.177) Nī limndī nji nduwopa ala.
inlimndī nji ndī=wopa ala
1SG eye thing 3PL=all for
‘I saw everything.’

(7.178) Nī limndī alawopa ala.
inlimndī ala=wopa ala
1SG eye that.PL=all for
‘I saw everyone.’

(Examples 7.177 and 7.178 above illustrate the alternative translation with ‘everything’ or ‘everyone’.)

When preceding the object marker, however, *wopa* can only have an adjectival interpretation, as in the following sentence.

(7.179) Inom mī mīnda wopa nduwananda.
inom mī mīnda wopa ndī=wana-nda
mother 3SG banana all 3PL=cook-IRR
‘Mother will cook the whole bananas.’ (i.e., the un-cut bananas)

The unique positioning of *wopa* ‘all’ between object markers and their associated verbs is suggestive more than anything else that this word belongs to a syntactic class of its own (although caution is required, since this evidence comes solely from elicitations; there are—perhaps surprisingly—no examples in the Ulwa corpus of texts of *wopa* ‘all’ occurring in non-subject NPs). Other (semantically) quantifier-like words do not intercede between object markers and verbs. For example, when *kuma* ‘some’ modifies an object NP, it occurs before the object marker (when present), as in the following:
In the two examples above, kuma ‘some’ could also have the reading ‘a few’ (that is, ‘some’ but not ‘many’). For the sense ‘some of’ (that is, a partitive quantity), the postposition ul ‘with’ is employed, as in:

(7.182) Nī limndī tin ndul kuma ndala.

nī limndī tin kuma ndī=ala
1SG eye dog some 3PL=for
‘I saw some of the dogs.’ (Literally, ‘I saw some with the dogs.’)

(7.183) Nī utam ndul kuma amap.

nī utam ndī=ul kuma ama-p
1SG yam 3PL=with some eat-PRF
‘I ate some of the yams.’

(7.184) An lamndu ndul kuma asap.

an lamndu ndī=ul kuma asa-p
1PL.EXCL pig 3PL=with some hit-PRF
‘We killed some of the pigs.’

Like other modifiers, kuma ‘some’ can function as a substantive, whether in a subject NP (7.185 and 7.186), direct object NP (7.187 and 7.188), or oblique NP (7.189), as seen in the following examples.

(7.185) Kuma la woyambīn alanji wandam ala nakap.

kuma ala woyambīn alanji wandam ala na-kī-p
some that.PL pointlessly that.PL.PESS jungle that.PL DETR-say-PRF
‘Some people claimed absurdly that those are their jungles.’ (Literally, ‘those some’) (T27)

(7.186) Kuma mo ato anmbundata undana.

kuma ma=u ata-u an-mbī-unda-ta unda-na
some 3SG=from up-from out-here-go-COND go-IRR
‘If some go out from there, (they) will go.’ (T27)
(7.187) Ndī **kuma** ndīt nīnane nī wolka i.
\[
\text{3PL} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{3PL}=\text{take} \quad \text{1SG}=\text{give-PRF-DEP} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{go-PRF}
\]
‘They gave me some and I in turn went.’ (T27)

(7.188) Mī **kuma** ndīnkap niya i.
\[
\text{3SG} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{3PL}=\text{dig-PRF} \quad \text{1SG}=\text{toward} \quad \text{go-PRF}
\]
‘She dug some out and came to me.’ (T37)

(7.189) Min mape **kuman** upe.
\[
\text{3DU} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{3SG}=\text{be-DEP} \quad \text{some}=\text{OBL} \quad \text{put-PRF-DEP}
\]
‘The two are there and (they) planted some.’ (T32)

Note the use of subject markers and object markers. While *kuma* ‘some’ patterns mostly like other adjectives (and is thus less clearly a member of the quantifier class that contains *wopa* ‘all’), there is at least one quirk in its syntactic patterning. To express a partitive sense in the first person or second person (i.e., ‘some of us’, ‘some of you’, etc.), *kuma* is placed after the relevant pronoun, as seen below.

(7.190) **Una kuma** apa mawnde isal monombam awe.
\[
\text{1PL.INCL} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{3SG}=\text{go-DEP} \quad \text{hand-push-PRF} \quad \text{forehead} \quad \text{put-IPFV-DEP}
\]
‘Some of us go to church and pray.’ (Literally, ‘We some go to the house and push hands on foreheads.’) (T32)

(7.191) **Un kuma** ananganipe imot aye.
\[
\text{2PL} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{1PL.EXCL}=\text{behind-be-DEP} \quad \text{log} \quad \text{break-DEP}
\]
‘Some of you are behind us, breaking firewood.’ (T32)

Often, *kuma* ‘some’ is used in contrastive statements, providing a correlative structure (‘some … others …’), as in:

(7.192) **Kuma** matǐna **kuma** manakam.
\[
\text{some} \quad \text{3SG}=\text{take-IRR} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{3SG}=\text{DETR-shun}
\]
‘Some wanted to get her; others didn’t want it.’ (T27)
Thus, while there are other words (like kuma ‘some’) that can be used to provide information about the quantity of a referent, only wopa ‘all’ is considered to be a quantifier in the sense of having qualities significantly syntactically distinct from those of other word classes (i.e., adjectives). It has been shown, though, that another word that may (on semantic grounds) be considered a quantifier, kuma ‘some’, does have at least one syntactic quirk. Finally, several other ways of expressing ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘little’, and ‘few’ in Ulwa may be examined to help consider whether the associated words behave distinctly as quantifiers in any way. They are listed below.

- **ilum**  ‘piece, little, few’
- **kekaka**  ‘one each, one by one, just a few’
- **ambi**  ‘big, much’
- **tingin**  ‘many’
- **nunu**  ‘various, many’

The principal means of expressing a small amount or number is the word *ilum* ‘piece’, which is thought primarily to be a noun, but which can also function as a modifier along with other nouns in an NP. Its various uses are illustrated below.

(7.194)  {ni:n de m a ilum kotin.}

ni  ndi=n  u  ma[nji]  ilum  ko=ti-n
1SG  3PL=OBL  from  3SG[.POSS]  piece  INDEF=take-PRF
‘I got a piece of it (tobacco) from them.’  (T32)

(7.195)  An ilum mokop ndinan.

an  ilum  moko-P  ndi=na-n
1PL.EXCL  piece  take-PRF  3PL=give-PRF
‘We gave them a little.’  (T31)
Inim ilum kuk nji up.

‘(They) got a little water into something.’ (T11)

Nî nji ilumnî molnda.

‘I will plant a few things there.’ (T11)

The word kekaka (sometimes pronounced kwekaka) ‘one each’ may also be used to express a limited number. The word seems to have derived as a calque from Tok Pisin wanwan ‘one each’. It behaves primarily like an adverb, as in the following examples.

An ango mîka kekaka inde.

‘We wouldn’t walk one by one.‘ (i.e., ‘We wouldn’t walk alone.’) (T10)

Ndî unanî kekaka inap.

‘They had just a few of us.’ (Literally, ‘They got one each with us.’; i.e., ‘Our parents didn’t have many children.’) (T11)

To express large non-countable quantities, adjectives such as ambi ‘big’ are used, as in the following:

Inim ambi keka i.

‘A lot of water has gone.’ (T33)

Ango ndîn wombasa anga ambi moke.

‘(They) don’t get lots of money with them.’ (T27)

For large countable quantities, the word tîngin ‘many’ is used. It patterns for the most part with other modifiers (i.e., adjectives). Namely, it can appear after nouns and precede subject markers or object markers. Like other modifiers, it can also serve as a substantive (that is, as the head of a noun phrase). That said, there does seem to be a tendency for object markers to be
omitted from NPs containing (or consisting exclusively of) tïngïn ‘many’, suggesting perhaps that the word behaves differently (or, at least, that there is indeed a correlation between lack of object markers and lack of definiteness, see 7.4). The following sentences exemplify the use of tïngïn ‘many’.

(7.202) Ulum ndï ankam tïngïn ndame.
   ulum   ndï ankam   tïngïn   ndï=ama-e
   palm 3PL  person  many 3PL=eat-DEP
   ‘The sago palms—many people are eating them.’ (T11)

(7.203) Apa ango tïngïn ndï mape.
   apa  ango   tïngïn  ndï  ma=p-e
   house  NEG many 3PL 3SG=be-DEP
   ‘There aren’t many houses there.’ (T23)

(7.204) Unanji yalum ngala ndï tïngïnpe.
   unanji  yalum  ngala  ndï   tïngïn-p-e
   1PL.INCL.POSS  grandchild  this.PL 3PL many-be-DEP
   ‘We have many grandchildren.’ (Literally, ‘These grandchildren of ours—they are many.’) (T32)

(7.205) Anambi ango uta tïngïn asap.
   anambi  ango  uta   tïngïn  asa-p
   1PL.EXCL.FOC  NEG  bird  many  hit-PRF
   ‘As for us, we didn’t kill many birds.’ (T27)

Finally, the word nunu ‘various, many’ may be used to express a large number. Whereas tïngïn ‘many’ follows nouns (thus patterning with other modifiers such as adjectives), nunu ‘various, many’ behaves differently, occurring before the noun it modifies. It thus may prove a good candidate (along with wopa ‘all’) for membership in a small, somewhat motley class of quantifiers. The use of nunu ‘various, many’ is illustrated below.

(7.206) Nunu njin molnda mane.
   nunu   nji=n   ma=lu-nda  ma-n-e
   various  thing=OBL 3SG=put-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
   ‘(I) am going to plant all sorts of things there.’ (T37)

(7.207) Wa nunu wa ule.
   wa  nunu  wa  u-lo-e
   just  various  village  from-go-DEP
   ‘(They) just go around in many villages.’ (T32)
7.6 Numerals

Cardinal numerals are the numbers used in counting. They may also be used to quantify noun phrases, assigning a numerical value to the referent. Ulwa makes use of a quinary (base-five) number system—that is, there are distinct, (mostly) morphologically simple words for the numbers one through four, none of which appears to have been derived from another number word.

The basic cardinal numerals in Ulwa are as follows:

1. kwe / kwa
2. nini
3. lele
4. watangînîla
5. angay (kwe)
6. angay kwe kwe mowon ndîwatîlîp
7. angay kwe nini minwon ndîwatîlîp
8. angay kwe lele ndîwon ndîwatîlîp
9. angay kwe watangînîla ndîwon ndîwatîlîp
10. angay nini / nali (kwe)
11. angay nini kwe mowon ndîwatîlîp / nali kwe kwe
12. angay nini nini minwon ndîwatîlîp / nali kwe nini
13. angay nini lele ndîwon ndîwatîlîp / nali kwe lele
14. angay nini watangînîla ndîwon ndîwatîlîp / nali kwe watangînîla
15. angay lele
16. angay lele kwe mowon ndîwatîlîp
17. angay lele nini minwon ndîwatîlîp
18. angay lele lele ndîwon ndîwatîlîp
19. angay lele watangînîla ndîwon ndîwatîlîp
20. angay watangînîla / nali nini / lamndu unduwan
25. angay angay / nali nini angay
30. nali lele
40. nali watangînîla
50. nali angay / ankam unduwan
60. ankam unduwan nali (kwe)
70. ankam unduwan nali nini
80. ankam unduwan nali lele
The numbers one through four are (mostly) unanalyzable. The word for ‘one’ (which may be pronounced either kwe or kwa) is undoubtedly related to the indefinite object marker ko=, as well as to the modal adverb ko ~ kwa ‘just’, the indefinite pronoun kwa ‘someone’, and the interrogative pronoun kwa ‘who?’.

The word for ‘two’ (nini) bears a (perhaps superficial) resemblance to the 3DU marker min (and its rarer alternate ndin), but—if there is any etymological relationship—it is more likely that one or both of the pronominal forms derive from the numeral (and not vice versa). Also, the form of the word appears to consist of a reduplicated monosyllabic form. This could be in origin iconic, although there is no known form *ni.

Likewise, the word for ‘three’ (lele) appears to contain reduplication. Of course, there is less logical justification for calling this iconic, but perhaps the form was derived by analogy from the preceding form in the series of numerals. This is all, of course, very speculative.

The word for ‘four’ (watangïnila), does, however, seem somewhat analyzable: watangï ‘last bunch (of bananas) to emerge’ + ila ‘morota frond’. The word watangï seems to be used in a more general sense to refer to the last of a series (it also refers to the ‘pinky finger’, for example). In traditional timekeeping, days can be marked by the breaking of one ila ‘morota frond’ each day. The word watangïnila ‘four’, thus seems to mean something like ‘the last straw’.

The word for ‘five’ (angay) is transparently derived from anga ‘piece, side’ plus i ‘hand, arm’ (optionally, the word kwe ‘one’ may be added to this, i.e., angay kwe). This reflects the system of hand-counting that underlies the quinary numerical system—that is, people start to count objects using the fingers of one hand. When all fingers have been extended (that is, when the number ‘five’ has been reached), they have created a single outstretched palm (that is, one ‘side’ of ‘hand’).

The numbers six through nine contain verbal elements, which, when taken literally, express that numbers (probably in origin palm fronds or other counters) have been ‘cut’ and ‘added’ to (literally, ‘put atop’) the number five. Thus, the verbal expression of the number six is literally analyzable as follows:

90 ankam unduwan nali watangïnila
100 uta (kwe)
200 uta nini
300 uta lele
The expressions for the numbers seven through nine break down as follows:

(7.210) angay kwe nini minwon ndi=qatlïp
angai kwe nini min=won ndi=qat-li-p
side-hand one two 3DU=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut two and put (them) on top of them’ (= seven)

(7.211) angay kwe lele ndi=won ndi=qatlïp
angai kwe lele ndi=won ndi=qat-li-p
side-hand one three 3PL=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut three and put (them) on top of them’ (= eight)

(7.212) angay kwe watangïnila ndi=won ndi=qatlïp
angai kwe watangïnila ndi=won ndi=qat-li-p
side-hand one four 3PL=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut four and put (them) on top of them’ (= nine)

Other periphrases are possible to express sums larger than five. In the first example below, (7.213), the speaker uses the forms similar to those above, but with the alternate form of the word for ‘one’; in the second example below, (7.214), however, instead of using the metaphor of ‘cutting’, the speaker uses the metaphor of numbers being ‘thrown’ atop each other (i.e., ‘added’).

(7.213) Lucy mï …
Lucy mï
[name] 3SG

… manji angay kwa kwe mowon ndi=qatlïp.
manji angay kwa kwe ma=won ndi=qat-li-p
3SG.POSS five one one 3SG=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
‘Lucy has six (children).’ (T20)

(7.214) Nï nïnji twaïtïp angay kwe nini top ndi=qatlïp.
nï nïnji twaïtïp angay kwe nini top ndi=qat-li-p
1SG 1SG.POSS child five one two throw 3PL=atop-put-PRF
‘I have seven children.’ (T10)
The number ten is of the form ‘five (times) two’. An alternate form, nali ‘ten’, reflects the traditional system for counting larger numbers in Ulwa, as this word also refers to the spines of sago fronds, which were used to mark units of ten when counting larger sums. The number twenty can be expressed either as ‘five (times) four’ or ‘ten (times) two’. It can also be denoted by the phrase lamndu unduwan ‘pig(’s) head’, a term reflecting modern Papua New Guinean currency, as the twenty-kina note has the picture of a pig’s head. (Higher-number counting was probably not a common practice among Ulwa speakers before the introduction of a cash economy.) Similarly, the number fifty can be expressed either as ‘ten (times) five’ or as ankam unduwan ‘person(’s) head’, this phrase likewise reflecting the fact that the fifty-kina note contains the image of a man’s head (that of Prime Minister Michael Somare). Finally, the number one hundred is expressed as uta (kwe) ‘(one) bird’, similarly derived from the fact that the hundred-kina note contains the image of a bird (a bird-of-paradise, the nation’s symbol).

When modifying noun phrases, cardinal numerals occur in the same position as (other) adjectives—that is, immediately following the noun phrase. Numerals can modify either subjects or objects; in subject NPs, the subject marker is somewhat unnecessary (at least in terms of it serving its common function of identifying number—singular, dual, or plural), and it is thus often omitted, as in the following:

(7.215)  Tin nini utam mamap.
        tīn  nini  utam  ma=ama-p
          dog  two  yam  3SG=eat-PRF
   ‘Two dogs ate the yam.’

(7.216)  Tin lele utam mamap.
        tīn  lele  utam  ma=ama-p
          dog  three  yam  3SG=eat-PRF
   ‘Three dogs ate the yam.’

Numerals are not often used to indicate the number of referents in a subject, however. Indeed, the ubiquitous subject markers often offer clues to the quantity of multiple referents in a subject NP, especially when the number of referents is exactly two, as in the first of the examples below.
(7.217)  Tín min awal wandam i.
    tìn min awal wandam i
dog 3DU yesterday jungle go.PR.F
    ‘Two dogs went to the jungle yesterday.’

(7.218)  Tín ndí awal wandam i.
    tìn ndí awal wandam i
dog 3PL yesterday jungle go.PR.F
    ‘(Three or more) dogs went to the jungle yesterday.’

Despite the redundancy, it is, however, possible for the dual subject marker to appear alongside the numeral two, as in:

(7.219)  Manji nungol nini min ndílope.
    manji nungol nini min ndí=lo-p-e
3SG.POSS child two 3DU 3PL=go-PRF-DEP
    ‘His two sons went around in them (jungle areas).’ (T30)

When modifying object NPs, the numeral (again, not commonly used in discourse), also appears immediately following the NP, as in the following:

(7.220)  Tín mì mìnda (nini) minamap.
    tìn mì mìnda (nini) min=ama-p
dog 3SG banana (two) 3DU=eat-PRF
    ‘The dog ate two bananas.’

(7.221)  Tín mì mìnda (lele) ndamap.
    tìn mì mìnda (lele) ndí=ama-p
dog 3SG banana (three) 3PL=eat-PRF
    ‘The dog ate (three) bananas.’

The presence of object markers (which often identify the number of direct-object referents) also frequently renders the use of cardinal numerals redundant. Of course, for numbers greater than two, numerals are useful for specifying exact quantities, as in the sentence below.

(7.222)  Maple mì apa mo mìnda lele nditàna.
    Maple mì apa ma=u mìnda lele ndì=tì-na
[name] 3SG house 3SG=from banana three 3PL=take-IRR
    ‘Maple will take three bananas from the house.’
Despite the redundancy, the numeral *kwe* or *kwa* ‘one’ may be used to modify the object of a verb along with the 3SG object marker *ma=*, as in the following sentence. In such instances, the indefinite object marker *ko=* is not used (7.4).

(7.223) **Kwe** mat manane.
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{lll}
    \text{kwe} & \text{ma}=tí & \text{ma}=\text{na-n-e} \\
    \text{one} & \text{3SG}=\text{take} & \text{3SG}=\text{giv-PRF-DEP} \\
    \text{‘(They) gave him one (fruit).’ (T01)}
    \end{array}
    \]

Understandably, the object marker agrees with preceding numerals, as in the examples above. In numbers greater than four, however, which are periphrastic, the object marker can actually agree with the final component number, as in the following:

(7.224) **Angay nini minat.**
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{lll}
    \text{angay} & \text{nini} & \text{min}=\text{at} \\
    \text{five} & \text{two} & \text{3DU}=\text{hit} \\
    \text{‘Ten [days] passed.’ (Literally, ‘Ten [days] hit.’) (T01)}
    \end{array}
    \]

It could be argued that the object marker in the example above should properly be *ndi* ‘3PL’ and not *min* ‘3DU’, since the object is a number greater than two (‘ten days’). The presence of the numeral *nini* ‘two’—as part of the periphrastic numeral for ‘ten’ (‘five [times] two’) —however, has likely influenced the use of the dual object marker.

As modifiers, numerals can also be predicate complements to subjects, serving as the verbal element of a clause. They can thus take the copular suffix (10.3). Existential constructions specifying a particular number of referents can take this form, as seen below.

(7.225) **Tin ndi lelep.**
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{lll}
    \text{tín} & \text{ndi} & \text{lele-p} \\
    \text{dog} & \text{3PL} & \text{three-be} \\
    \text{‘There are three dogs.’ (Literally, ‘The dogs are three.’)}
    \end{array}
    \]

(7.226) **Tin ndi ipka lelewap.**
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{lll}
    \text{tín} & \text{ndi} & \text{ipka lele-wap} \\
    \text{dog} & \text{3PL} & \text{before three-be-PST} \\
    \text{‘There were three dogs before.’ (Literally, ‘The dogs were three before.’)}
    \end{array}
    \]

(7.227) **Tin ndi lelepina.**
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{lll}
    \text{tín} & \text{ndi} & \text{lele-p-na} \\
    \text{dog} & \text{3PL} & \text{three-be-IRR} \\
    \text{‘There will be three dogs.’ (Literally, ‘The dogs will be three.’)}
    \end{array}
    \]
There is no distinct set of ordinal numbers in Ulwa. The relative ordering of events must be accomplished with forms of the words *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’ or *anganika* ‘after, later, soon’. Nominalized forms in -en (3.3) can be paired in apposition with NPs, as in the examples below.

(7.228) Ninji *ipken* yana mī nip.

*ninji*  
**ipka-en**  
yana  
mī  
nip

‘My first wife died.’ (Literally, ‘My wife, the one before, died.’)

(7.229) Ninji *anganiken* yana mī nip.

*ninji*  
**anganika-en**  
yana  
mī  
nip

‘My second wife died.’ (Literally, ‘My wife, the one after, died.’)

Consider the contrast between the adverbial use of *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’ (7.230) or *anganika* ‘after, later, soon’ (7.232) with their nominalized counterparts (7.231 and 7.233), in the following sentences.

(7.230) Kapos mī *ipka* lamndu masap.

Kapos  
mī  
**ipka**  
lamndu  
ma=asa-p

[&name;]  
3SG  
before  
pig  
3SG=hit-PRF

‘Kapos killed the pig first.’

(7.231) Kapos mī *ipken* lamndu masap.

Kapos  
mī  
**ipka-en**  
lamndu  
ma=asa-p

[&name;]  
3SG  
before-NMLZ  
pig  
3SG=hit-PRF

‘Kapos killed the first pig.’

(7.232) Kapos mī *anganika* lamndu masap.

Kapos  
mī  
**anganika**  
lamndu  
ma=asa-p

[&name;]  
3SG  
after  
pig  
3SG=hit-PRF

‘Kapos killed the pig afterwards.’

(7.233) Nomnga mī *anganiken* lamndu masap.

Nomnga  
mī  
**anganika-en**  
lamndu  
ma=asa-p

[&name;]  
3SG  
after-NMLZ  
pig  
3SG=hit-PRF

‘Nomnga killed the second pig.’

These nominalized forms, it should be noted, are probably not nominalizations of adverbs, but rather of verbs—that is, of *ipka* (or *ip ka*, 9.3.3, a verb with the sense of ‘precede’) and *anganika* (or *angani ka*, 9.3.3, a verb with the sense of ‘follow’). This is suggested by forms
used to distinguish ordinals greater than ‘first’ and ‘second’. In the examples below, ‘third’ is denoted by the dual object marker \textit{min=} preceding the verb \textit{anganika} and ‘fourth’ is denoted by the plural object marker \textit{ndī=} preceding the verb \textit{anganika}.

(7.234) \textit{Yokombla mī minanganiken lamndu masap.}
\begin{verbatim}
Yokombla mī min=anganika-en lamndu ma=asa-p
[name] 3SG 3DU=after-NMLZ pig 3SG=hit-PRF
\end{verbatim}
‘Yokombla killed the third pig.’ (Literally, ‘Yokombla killed the pig, the one following two.’)

(7.235) \textit{Amiwa mī ndanganiken lamndu masap.}
\begin{verbatim}
Amiwa mī ndī=anganika-en lamndu ma=asa-p
[name] 3SG 3PL=after-NMLZ pig 3SG=hit-PRF
\end{verbatim}
‘Amiwa killed the fourth pig.’ (Literally, ‘Amiwa killed the pig, the one following multiple.’)

In the last example, \textit{ndanganiken} could refer to any ordinal number fourth or greater (or third or greater, if plural marking may be allowed for dual referents). Thus, there is no facile means of distinguishing ordinals in Ulwa beyond first-second-third.
Chapter 8
Other word classes

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the function, structure, and distribution of various word types that do not fit neatly into other groupings. They are all relatively small and closed classes, and—on both semantic and morphosyntactic grounds—they are trickier to define than nouns or verbs. After discussing postpositions (8.2) and adverbs (8.3), I provide an overview of the remaining small classes: negators, questions words, and interjections (8.4).

8.2 Postpositions

In keeping with typological expectations of verb-final languages, Ulwa employs postpositions rather than prepositions. Postpositions may be used to relate an NP to an event—whether spatially or otherwise—or to provide relational or locational information involving verbs. As their name suggests, postpositions follow (rather than precede) NPs. When an NP ends in (or consists entirely of) an object marker, this object marker cliticizes to the following postposition. Although considered a grammatical category in Ulwa, postpositions (at least some) may function at times as verbs. Furthermore, there may not be so clearly a defined line between postpositions and the oblique-marker enclitic =n, which functions something like a case marker (11.5). This should not, however, be surprising, given the crosslinguistically common diachronic relationship between postpositions and case-marking suffixes.

Postpositions in Ulwa function to designate relationships between NPs; many of these relationships are spatial, but other functions are possible as well, such as temporal, causal, and benefactive. The most frequent postpositions in Ulwa are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ala ~ andii(m/n)</td>
<td>‘for’ (benefactive), ‘from’ (ablative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andila ~ angla</td>
<td>‘waiting for, awaiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angani</td>
<td>‘behind, after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbam</td>
<td>‘under, below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>‘in, into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipka</td>
<td>‘before’ (spatial or temporal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iya ‘to, toward’
ka ‘at, in, on’
kana(m) ‘beside, near, next to’
moni ‘between, among’
nakap ~ nap ‘on account of, because of, for’
u ‘from, in, at, around, along’
ul ~ lu ‘with’ (comitative)
wat ‘over, above’

The following sentences illustrate the use of these postpositions.

(8.001)  
Mala ay mankap.
ma=ala ay ma=nkï-p
3SG=for sago 3SG=cut-PRF
‘(They) made sago for him.’ (T09)

(8.002)  
Nï wala wa man.
 nội u=ala wa ma-n
1SG 2SG=from village go-IPFV
‘I’m going from you to the village.’ (T35)

(8.003)  
Mandi sakla itap matï …
ma=andi sakla ita-p ma=tï
3SG=for platform build-PRF 3SG=take

… mal unda mane.
ma=lï unda ma-n-e
3SG=put go go-IPFV-DEP
‘(They) were going to build a stretcher for him, put (him) on it, and go.’ (T24)

(8.004)  
Ndilakan ndï ndandïla ndïpïn!
ndï=la-ka-n ndï ndï=andïla ndï=p-n
3PL=IRR-let-IMP 3PL 3PL=await 3PL=be-IMP
‘Let them be there waiting for them!’ (T27)

(8.005)  
Kuman ndangla kontena menup.
kuma=n ndï=angla kontena ma=in-u-p
some=OBL 3PL=await container 3SG=in-put-PRF
‘(I) put some (bananas) in the container to wait for them.’ (kontena < TP) (T11)

(8.006)  
An luke unangani ata i.
an  luke un=angani ata i
1PL.EXCL too 3PL=behind up go-PRF
‘We, too, came up behind you.’ (T32)
(8.007) Namndu wa anmbi apa imbam iye.
    namndu wa an-mbī-i apa imbam i-e
pig just out-here-go.PRF house under go.PRF-DEP
    ‘The pigs have just come out and gone under the houses.’ (T32)

(8.008) Sinokoyâñi men nīkīna mane.
sinokoy=n ma=in nkī-na ma-n-e
crop=OBL 3SG=in cut-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
    ‘(I) am going to plant crops in it (the garden).’ (T37)

(8.009) U mat ma mat nipka malīta!
    u ma=tī ma ma=tī nī=ipka ma=lī-ta
2SG 3SG=take go 3SG=take 1SG=before 3SG=put-COND
    ‘Take her, go, and put her ahead of me!’ (T27)

(8.010) Ndī ndīt ulum ndiyâ unde.
    ndī ndī=tī ulum ndī=iya unda-e
3PL 3PL=take palm 3PL=toward go-DEP
    ‘They take them and go to the sago palms.’ (T11)

(8.011) Samban ka ndiwanap.
samban ka ndī=wana-p
crop at 3PL=cook-PRF
    ‘(They) cooked them in the pot.’ (T32)

(8.012) Min tanâ inmi makana mâp lîp.
    min tâne inmi ma=kanam lî-p
3DU stand hole 3SG=near put-PRF
    ‘The two were standing near the hole.’ (T01)

(8.013) Nī matâne ndīl ndimoni lîp
    nī ma=tane ndīl ndī=moni lî-p
1SG 3SG=stand pandanus 3PL=among put-PRF
    ‘I stood it among the pandanus.’ (T01)

(8.014) Itom mî way manakâp tînanga se.
itom mî way ma=nakap tînanga sa-e
father 3SG turtle 3SG=for arise cry-DEP
    ‘The father got up and began to cry on account of the turtle.’ (T05)

(8.015) Kalam nga ndī manâp anwale.
kalam nga ndī ma=nap an=wali-e
knowledge this.SG 3PL 3SG=for 1PL.EXCL=hit-DEP
    ‘This knowledge—they are killing us on account of it.’ (T11)
(8.016) Mī tīlwa mo mat ine.

mī tīlwa ma=u ma=tī i-n-e
3SG road 3SG=from 3SG=take come-PRF-DEP
‘She carried her along the road.’ (T27)

(8.017) Nī mol may mawap.

nī ma=ul ma=i ma=wap
1SG 3SG=with 3SG=go.PRF 3SG=be.PST
‘I went with him there and stayed there.’ (T21)

(8.018) Ndī ipka man ango alum tīngīn lu inde.

ndī ipka ma=n ango alum tīngīn lu ma=nda-e
3PL before 3SG=OBL NEG child many with walk-DEP
‘In the past, they wouldn’t go around with lots of children.’ (T11)

(8.019) Nī apīn malamap mawan utape …

nī apīn ma=la-ama-p ma=wan uta-p-e
1SG fire 3SG=IRR-eat-PRF 3SG=above grind-PRF-DEP
‘When I’ve burned it and cleared over it, …’ (T32)

(8.020) Ata ma mīka ndawat namana.

ata ma mīka anda=wat na-ma-na
up go tree.sp that.SG=atop DETR-go-IRR
‘(He) will go up, go onto that mīka tree.’ (T24)

Like other non-verbal elements (e.g., nouns and adjectives), postpositions permit the copular suffix and may, as such, function as predicates. This is an especially common function of the spatial postpositions that can convey either stationary or directional meaning (e.g., in ‘in, into’). When the copular suffix occurs on such postpositions, generally only the static sense is felt (e.g., in-p ‘is in’), as in the following:

(8.021) Mana mī im makanamp.

mana mī im ma=kanam-p
spear 3SG tree 3SG=beside-be
‘The spear is next to the tree.’

(8.022) Mana mī im makanamwap.

mana mī im ma=kanam-wap
spear 3SG tree 3SG=beside-be.PST
‘The spear was next to the tree.’
(8.023) Nī manji ya ngalaymbampe.
\[nī \quad manji \quad ya \quad ngala=imbam-p-e\]
1SG 3SG.POSS coconut this.PL=under-be-DEP
‘I am under his coconut trees.’ (T10)

(8.024) Ngata nda unde ndīwatpe.
\[ngata \quad anda \quad unda-e \quad ndī=wat-p-e\]
grand that.SG go-DEP 3PL=atop-be-DEP
“Our ancestor used to go around over them.’ (T11)

(8.025) Ngīm ndenpe wa layte iye.
\[ngīm \quad anda=in-p-e \quad wa \quad ala=ita-e \quad i-e\]
cloud that.SG=in-be-DEP village that.PL=build-DEP go.PRF-DEP
‘Living in that cloud, (he) was building village after village.’ (T07)

(8.026) Inom ndī umbe nungol ndulpīna.
\[inom \quad ndī \quad umbe \quad nungol \quad ndī=ul-p-na\]
mother 3PL tomorrow child 3PL=with-be-IRR
‘The mothers will be with the children tomorrow.’

As verbal forms, these postpositions with copular suffixes can further take the nominalizing suffix -en (3.3), as in the following:

(8.027) Ngunan ato inkaw ngawatpen ngala …
\[ngunan=n \quad ata-u \quad inkaw \quad nga=wat-p-en \quad ngala\]
1DU.INCL=OBL up-from mountain that.SG=atop-be-NMLZ this.PL
‘these (people) who live atop the mountains above us’ (T11)

(8.028) stik mī kīka tīlwa menpen
\[stik \quad mī \quad kīka \quad tīlwa \quad ma=in-p-en\]
stick 3SG white.ant road 3SG=in-be-NMLZ
‘the stick that is in the white ant track’ (stik < TP) (T24)

Like verbs (and unlike nominal elements, adjectives, etc.), postpositions do not permit the oblique marker =n (11.5.1).

Some postpositions seem to function like verbs even without the verbalizing copular suffix. They may occur clause-finally and express the action or event of the predicate. They may in such circumstances be considered (mostly defective) verbs. The act of seeing, for example, is very frequently expressed with the noun limndī ‘eye’ preceding the object, and a postposition (ala ~ andī(m/n) ‘for, from’) following the object. The postposition generally does not take any TAM suffixation, but it can show a dependent marker, as in the third of the following examples.
(8.029) Unan amun lîmndî makape i mandîm.
unan amun lîmndî maka-p-e i ma=andîm
1PL.INCL now eye thus-be-DEP way 3SG=for
‘We have now seen behavior this kind of behavior.’ (T32)

(8.030) Ninji itom mî lîmndî nala.
ninji itom mî lîmndî ni=ala
1SG.POSS father 3SG eye 1SG=for
‘My father saw me.’ (T10)

(8.031) Ndî wa i lîmndî wa male.
ndî wa i lîmndî wa ma=ala-e
3PL village go.PRF eye village 3SG=for-DEP
‘They went home and saw the village.’ (T01)

Although—when functioning as verbs—both forms of the postposition ‘for’ are mostly defective, the form andî does at times seem to permit something like irrealis marking (i.e., the suffix -na), as in the following sentence (see 9.3.1 for more on verbal constructions with ala ~ andî ‘for, from’).

(8.032) Ankam moweka ango lîmndî mandîna.
ankam moweka ango lîmndî ma=andî-na
person also NEG eye 3SG=for-IRR
‘Nor would people see it.’ (T11)

Postpositions may also be used as elements in compound verbs (see 4.16, however, for problems surrounding this issue).

8.3 Adverbs

The class of adverbs in Ulwa is not especially well defined semantically. Adverbs can serve a number of different functions, but often provide additional information on the manner in which an action occurs or situate an event in time or space. They are never required by the argument structure of a verb and may thus always be considered additional information. In terms of distribution, adverbs can be defined by their unique ability to precede subjects. Although the canonical placement of adverbs is following subjects and preceding objects (that is, in the position of obliques, i.e., SXOV, 11.5), it is possible for adverbs to come first in a given clause.
In terms of structure, adverbs may be defined by their inability to take verbal TAM suffixes, nominal copular suffixes, or oblique marking (although, this potential morphological criterion for identifying adverbs is complicated by the fact that some putative temporal adverbs may also function as nouns and may thus receive the copular suffix).

The major subclasses of adverbs treated here are temporal adverbs (8.3.1), locative adverbs (8.3.2), and adverbs of manner (8.3.3). In addition, there is the epistemic adverb tap ‘maybe’ (8.3.4), as well as several other modal and discourse adverbs (8.3.5) in Ulwa.

### 8.3.1 Temporal adverbs

The most frequent temporal adverbs are as follows:

- *amun* ‘now, today, nowadays, recently, still’
- *awal* ‘afternoon, yesterday’
- *umbe* ‘tomorrow’
- *ta* ‘already’
- *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’
- *anganika* ‘after, later, soon’

The following sentences illustrate the use of these temporal adverbs.

(8.033) Una *amun* mbi.

unan amun mbï-i
1PL.INCL now here-go.PRIF
‘We’ve now come here.’ (T32)

(8.034) Amun una kalam.

amun unan kalam
now 1PL.INCL know
‘Now we know.’ (T11)

(8.035) Nï *amun* anmbi wema weyunda.

nï amun an-mbï-i wema we-u-nda
1SG now out-here-go.PRIF pangal cut-put-IRR
‘I came out recently to cut pangal fronds.’ (T33)

(8.036) U *awal* mawap.

u awal ma=wap
2SG yesterday 3SG=be.PST
‘You were there yesterday.’ (T35)
The examples above illustrate how the three basic temporal adverbs (*amun* ‘now’, *awal* ‘yesterday’, and *umbe* ‘tomorrow’), which generally occur immediately after the subject (when it is expressed), may alternatively occur before the subject (that is, clause-initially). There is a tendency to place the temporal adverb before postpositional phrases, as in the following examples.

Similarly, temporal adverbs tend to precede oblique-marked NPs, as in the following:

When temporal adverbs occur with other adverbs, however, the order seems rather flexible. In (8.038) above, the adverb *wolka* ‘again’ follows the temporal adverb *umbe* ‘tomorrow’. It does seem possible, however, for such adverbs to precede the temporal adverb as well. This alternation in ordering of adverbs may be seen in the following two examples.
As in (8.037) above, there may also be a preference among some speakers to place the temporal adverb before the subject in clauses containing multiple oblique expressions, such as adverbs, as also seen below.

(8.045) *Amun* yalum ngala wolka mbulop.

```
  a'mun  yalum  ngala  wolka  mbů-u-lo-p
  now  grandchild  this.pl  again  here-from-go-prf
```

‘Now these grandsons came around here again.’ (T11)

Similarly, modal adverbs such as *wa* ‘just’ may either follow (8.046) or precede (8.047) temporal adverbs, as in the following:

(8.046) Ndí *amun* wa ndale.

```
  ndí  a'mun  wa  ndí=ale-e
  3pl  now  just  3pl=scraper-dep
```

‘Nowadays they just scrape them.’ (T11)

(8.047) Ndí *wa amun* kuli atap.

```
  ndí  wa  a'mun  kuli  ata-p
  3pl  just  now  throw  up-be
```

‘Now they are just coming up well.’ (T32)

Although one of the defining characteristics of the class of adverbs is that its members do not permit any verbal or nominal morphology, this claim is confounded by the fact that words such as *amun* ‘today’, *awal* ‘yesterday’, and *umbe* ‘tomorrow’ may also function as nouns, as is illustrated below.

(8.048) Ay ngam *amun* Fraide.

```
  ay  nga-nam  a'mun  Fraide
  ay  this.sg-int  now  Friday
```

‘Ay, that’s it, today is Friday.’ *(Fraide < TP)* (T11)
Umbe anambi …

umbe  an-mbi-i

tomorrow  out-here-go.PRF

‘When tomorrow comes …’

… angos mundu mì anmapita u malanda?
angos  mundu  mì  anma-p-ta  u  ma=la-nda
what  food  3SG  good-be-COND  2SG  3SG=eat-IRR

‘… what food will be good for you to eat?’ (T11)

The morphosyntactic result of the existence of these nominal forms is that these three words may receive the copular suffix. When occurring with the word amun ‘today’, this can give the sense of ‘still’ (or, in negative polarity, ‘yet’), as illustrated below.

(8.050)  Unji nungol ngala amunpe kalam ngol mane.
unji  nungol  ngala  amun-p-e  kalam  nga=ul  ma-n-e
2SG.POSS  child  this.PL  now-be-DEP  know  this.SG=with  go-IPFV-DEP

‘Your children are still in school.’ (Literally, ‘going with this knowledge’) (T11)

(8.051)  Olsem nìi amunpe njukutape …
olsem  nìi  amun-p-e  njukuta-p-e
thus  1SG  now-be-DEP  small-be-DEP

‘Like, when I was still small …’ (olsem < TP) (T24)

(8.052)  Wowal amunpìta atapìta …
wowal  amun-p-ta  ata-p-ta
chicken  now-be-COND  up-be-COND

‘When the chickens are still up (in the trees), …’

… una ko nol!
unan  ko  na-lo
1PL.INCL  just  DETR-go

‘… let’s just go!’ (T26)

(8.053)  Ango amunpe atay matína.
ango  amun-p-e  ata  i  ma=tì-na
NEG  now-be-DEP  up  go.PRF  3SG=take-IRR

‘(It) wouldn’t go up and get him immediately.’ (T05)

(8.054)  U amunpe wol ulwap.
u  amun-p-e  wol  ulwa-p
2SG  now-be-DEP  breast  nothing-be

‘You don’t have breasts yet.’ (T09)
When *awal* ‘yesterday’ takes the copular suffix, however, it generally has the sense of ‘afternoon’, as in:

(8.055) **Awalpe inim ndin apiñ up ay ndinkap.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awal-p-e} & \quad \text{inim ndi=n apin u-p ay ndi=nk=p} \\
\text{afternoon-be-DEP} & \quad \text{water 3PL=OBL fire put-PRF sago 3PL=cut-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘In the afternoon, (we) put water on the fire and made sago.’ (T26)

(8.056) **Mundu anglaluta maw awalpita.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mundu} & \quad \text{angla-lo-ta ma=wap awal-p-ta} \\
\text{food await-go-COND 3SG=be.PST afternoon-be-COND}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If (they) were hunting for food, (they) would stay until afternoon.’ (T24)

There are no attested uses of *umbe* ‘tomorrow’ with copular suffixation.

The other temporal adverbs, which never take either nominal or verbal morphology are perhaps better exemplars of adverbs. Like the three adverbs described above, they may appear either before or after subject NPs.

Whereas *ta* ‘already’ is clearly monomorphemic, *ipka* ‘before’ and *anganika* ‘after’ are each apparently derived from multiple morphemes: the former consisting of *ip* ‘nose’ and *ka* ‘at, in, on’, the latter consisting of *angani* ‘behind’ and *ka* ‘at, in, on’. While *ipka* is derived from a crosslinguistically common body-part metaphor, *anganika* (often shortened to *naka*) is not necessarily, since *angani* ‘behind’ is not typically used to refer to any part of the human body (cf. *mutam* ‘back’ and *unmbi* ‘buttocks’). The following sentences illustrate the adverbial use of *ipka* ‘before’ and *anganika* ‘after’.

(8.057) **Nî ipka alan malan upe.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nî} & \quad \text{ipka} \quad \text{ala=n malan u-p-e} \\
1SG & \quad \text{before that.PL=OBL hot.water put-PRF-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I boiled those first.’ (T27)

(8.058) **Nînji inom mî ipka apa mo li.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nînji} & \quad \text{inom mî ipka apa ma=u li-i} \\
1SG.POSS & \quad \text{mother 3SG before house 3SG=from down-go.PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘My mother went down around the house first.’ (T04)

(8.059) **Ipka ankam ango ulum alepen.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ipka} & \quad \text{ankam ango ulum ale-p-en} \\
\text{before person NEG palm scrape-PRF-NMLZ}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Before, people didn’t use to scrape sago palms.’ (T06)
(8.060) Nī ananga ma wanam mana.
    nī ananga ma[nji] wanam ma-ña
1SG after 3SG[.POSS] side go-IRR
‘I will go alongside her later.’ (Literally, ‘go to her side’) (T27)

(8.061) Yaka ananga li.
    Yaka ananga li-i
[name] after down-go.PRF
‘Yaka came down after.’ (T04)

(8.062) U ananga ndītana!
    u ananga ndī=ta-na
2SG after 3PL=say-IRR
‘Tell them later!’ (T11)

Whereas ananga is viewed here as a single adverb (that is, not composed of angani and ka, at least not synchronically) and thus should not accept any morphological inflection, the postposition angani ‘behind’ (as a postposition) can indeed have an object-marker clitic, as in the following:

(8.063) Anambi itom alangani i.
    anambi itom ala=angani i
1PL.EXCL.FOC father that.PL=behind-go.PRF
‘As for us, we came after (our) fathers.’ (T32)

(8.064) Ninji aweta nda nangani wonp!
    nī=angani won-p
1SG.POSS friend that.SG 1SG=behind cut-PRF
‘That friend of mine has gone behind my back!’ (Literally, ‘That friend of mine has cut behind me.’) (T16)

More troubling for this analysis of ipka ‘before’ and ananga ‘after’ as adverbs, however, is the (very occasional) use of ipka as a postposition as well, as seen below.

(8.065) E an tin alol uninaka mbiye!
    e an tin ala=ul uninaka mbi-i-e
hey 1PL.EXCL dog that.PL=with 2PL=before here-go.PRF-DEP
‘Hey, we came here with those dogs before you!’ (T26)

(8.066) Ngan ndipka iyen.
    ngan ndi=ipka i-en
1DU.EXCL 3PL=before go.PRF-NMLZ
‘We two went ahead of them.’ (T27)
It could be, however, that in such instances the postpositional force of *ka* ‘at, in, on’ is still felt, creating a postposition meaning something along the lines of ‘at one’s nose’.

One final complication is the verbal use of *ipka* and *anganika* in ordinal constructions and their consequent ability to take the nominalizing suffix (see 7.6 above).

Thus, perhaps *ta* ‘already’, which permits no verbal TAM suffixation, copular endings, nominalized forms, or object-marker clitics, and which is able to occur either before or after the subject, is the best archetype of the temporal adverb in Ulwa. The use of *ta* ‘already’ is illustrated by the following examples.

(8.067)  
*U* *ta* kalampe.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
2SG & \text{already know-be-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘You already know.’ (T11)

(8.068)  
*E mî* *ta* keka wapatap.  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3SG & \text{already completely dry-be} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Hey! It’s already completely dry.’ (T33)

(8.069)  
*Ta* unji anapa ndî u inim nkîpe.  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{already} & \text{2SG.POSS sister} & \text{3PL} & \text{2SG.POSS water cut-PRF-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Already, your sisters have celebrated you.’ (Literally, ‘have cut your water’) (T11)

8.3.2 Locative adverbs

There is a small class of locative adverbs in Ulwa, which are used to indicate position or direction. They are:

- *ata* ‘up, upward, upstream’
- *li* ‘down, downward, downstream’
- *mbî* ‘here, hither’
- *ando* ‘there, thence’
- *nu* ‘near’
- *ngaya* ‘far’
- *wala* ‘far, far-off’

The adverbs *ata* ‘up’ and *li* ‘down’ may refer either to literal vertical-axis locations and directions or to relative locations and directions along the river—that is, ‘upstream’ and
‘downstream’, respectively. Also, motion ‘upward’ and ‘downward’ is often synonymous in Ulwa with entering and exiting houses, respectively—since houses are built on stilts, one must physically move along the vertical axis in order to enter or exit one. As words meaning ‘upstream’ and ‘downstream’, they may also be used as substantives, referring to the two physical halves of the village—that is, the ‘upstream (half)’ and the ‘downstream (half)’, respectively. The following examples illustrate the use of the locative adverbs ata ‘up’ and li ‘down’.

(8.070) Wot ngo ata mane.
Wot nga=u ata ma-n-e
younger this.sg=from up go-IPFV-DEP
‘(They) were going upstream from this younger (village).’ (T02)

(8.071) Ulum maya ata i.
ulum ma=iya ata i
palm 3sg=toward up go.PRF
‘(It) went up the sago palm.’ (T05)

(8.072) Mat i ata apa may.
ma=tï i ata apa ma=i
3sg=take up house 3sg=go.PRF
‘(It) brought him up to the house and went with him.’ (T05)

(8.073) Nî mat ata ato i.
nî ma=tï ata anda=u i
1sg 3sg=take up that.sg=from go.PRF
‘I brought it from up(stream) there.’ (T32)

(8.074) Ndîmepe ndît li may.
ndî=me-p-e ndî=tï li ma=i
3pl=sew-PRF-DEP 3pl=take down 3sg=go.PRF
‘He sewed them and brought them down(stream) there.’ (T32)

(8.075) Yana mî li membam i atwana mat.
yana mî li ma=imbam i atwana ma=ta
woman 3sg down 3sg=under go.PRF question 3sg=say
‘(His) wife came down under him and asked him a question.’ (The man in the story is up in a house.) (T01)

(8.076) Anda ngunaya li nayn.
anda ngunan=iya li na-i-n
that.sg 1du.incl=toward down detr-come-PRF
‘That one has come down to us.’ (T11)
(8.077) Nungolke ngala kuli li malp.
child this.PL throw down 3SG=put-PRF
‘These children have thrown (themselves) down there (the water).’ (T33)

(8.078) Ngala li mape ngala ngalaya ata mbi.
this.PL down 3SG=be-DEP this.PL this.PL=toward up here-go.PRFR
‘These, these people from downstream came upstream here to these people.’ (T27)

The locative adverb mbi ‘here’ may be used to indicate direction toward the speaker (i.e., ‘hither’), as in the following:

(8.079) Na manji yalum ngala mbï indap.
and 3SG.POSS grandchild this.PL here walk-PRF
‘And his grandchildren walked here.’ (na < TP) (T11)

Often, as in the example above, the adverb mbi occurs as the first conjunct of a compound verb. The second conjunct is usually a verb of ‘going’, such as ma- ~ i- ‘go’, and the compound has the sense ‘come (here)’ as seen below.

(8.080) Atuma numan anda mï mbi.
[name] husband that.SG 3SG here-go.PRFR
‘Atuma’s husband—he came.’ (T11)

(8.081) Ngata la Wopata ndo mbi.
grandparent that.PL [place] that.SG=from here-go.PRFR
‘The ancestors came here from Wopata.’ (T32)

Compounds formed with mbi ‘here’ and other verbs are possible as well, as in the following sentence, in which the compound headed by the verb li- ‘put’ also contains the conjunct an- ‘out’ (which is not known to occur independently as an adverb).

(8.082) Ndï ndït anmbïlïp ndïmoke amblanane.
3PL 3PL=take out-here-put-PRF 3PL=take-DEP PL=REFL=give-PRF-DEP
‘They got them out and shared them among themselves.’ (T11)
With verb stems of ‘going’ (such as ma-~i- ‘go’), compounds containing the conjuncts an- ‘out’ and mbï- ‘here’ give the sense of going or coming outside (from being within a house, jungle region, etc.), as in the following:

(8.083) Ndî wolka anmbi.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ndî} & \text{wolka} & \text{an-mbî-i} \\
3PL & \text{again} & \text{out-here-go.PRF} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘They went out again.’ (T11)

(8.084) Wolka maya anmbi mol natana.
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{wolka} & \text{ma}=\text{iya} & \text{an-mbî-i} & \text{ma}=\text{ul} & \text{na-ta-na} \\
\text{again} & 3SG=\text{toward} & \text{out-here-go.PRF} & 3SG=\text{with} & \text{DETR-say-IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Having come out to him, (we) will talk with him again.’ (T32)

To indicate direction away from the speaker (i.e., ‘hence’), the adverb mbï ‘here’ may be combined with the postposition u ‘from, in, at, around, along’, as in the following:

(8.085) Ngo Ganmalin u mbu matîn mana.
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{nga}=\text{u} & \text{Ganmalin}=\text{n} & \text{u} & \text{mbî-u} & \text{ma}=\text{ti-n} & \text{ma-na} \\
\text{this.SG}=\text{from} & [\text{name}]=\text{OBL} & \text{from here-from} & 3SG=\text{take-PRF} & \text{go-IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘From this (place), having gotten it from here, from Ganmal, (they) will go.’ (T11)

The same compound mbu (< mbî-u) can have not only ablative, but also locative sense (i.e., ‘[at] here’ in addition to ‘from here’), as shown below.

(8.086) Ndîn mbu inum awe.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ndî}=\text{n} & \text{mbî-u} & \text{inum} & \text{aw-e} \\
3PL=\text{OBL} & \text{here-from} & \text{ground} & \text{put.IPFW-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘(They) bury them here.’ (T23)

(8.087) Una we apa mbu ulwap.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{unan} & \text{we} & \text{apa} & \text{mbî-u} & \text{ulwa-p} \\
1PL.INCL & \text{have} & \text{ apa} & \text{here-from} & \text{nothing-be} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘We don’t have any sago here at home.’ (T32)

Especially when occurring with the copular suffix, mbî ‘here’ can have more of a nominal function—that is, ‘here’ in the sense of ‘this place’, as in:

(8.088) Owet yena ngusuwa anda mbîpe.
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Owet} & \text{yena} & \text{ngusuwa} & \text{anda} & \text{mbî-p-e} \\
\text{name} & \text{woman} & \text{poor} & \text{that.SG} & \text{here-be-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Owet’s wife, the poor thing, was here.’ (T11)
Like other deictic words, mbï ‘here’ can also be used by speakers to project a deictic center to a point other than the ego (7.3), as in the following sentence, in which it is translated in English as ‘there’.

(8.089) Alum mokotïp an mol mbiwap.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{alum} & \quad \text{ma} = \text{kot-p} & \quad \text{an} & \quad \text{ma} = \text{ul} & \quad \text{mbï-wap} \\
\text{child} & \quad 3SG = \text{break-PRF} & \quad 1\text{PL.EXCL} & \quad 3SG = \text{with} & \quad \text{here-be.PST}
\end{align*}
\]
‘She bore a child, and we were there with her.’ (T11)

The locative word ando ‘there, thence’ is—more properly—a compound, composed of the deictic word anda ‘that’ and the postposition u ‘from, in, at, around, along’. The following examples illustrate its use (see also examples 7.103 and 8.073 above).

(8.090) Ando una mape.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anda} = \text{u} & \quad \text{unan} & \quad \text{ma} = \text{p-e} \\
\text{that.SG} = \text{from} & \quad 1\text{PL.INCL} & \quad 3SG = \text{be-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]
‘We are there.’ (T37)

(8.091) Nga nganji pul ando.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nga} & \quad \text{nganji} & \quad \text{pul} & \quad \text{anda} = \text{u} \\
\text{this.SG} & \quad \text{this.SG.Poss} & \quad \text{piece} & \quad \text{that.SG} = \text{from}
\end{align*}
\]
‘This is this one’s piece (of the river) over there.’ (T11)

(8.092) Tilwa mï ando i.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tilwa} & \quad \text{mï} & \quad \text{anda} = \text{u} & \quad \text{i} \\
\text{road} & \quad 3SG & \quad \text{that.SG} = \text{from} & \quad \text{go.PRF}
\end{align*}
\]
‘The track went from there.’ (T24)

The locative words nu ‘near’, ngaya ‘far’, and wala ‘far, far-off’ generally function as adjectives (5.5), but they do contain some curious distributional properties (such as variable word order with respect to other constituents, examples of which are given in 13.4.1) that mark them as somewhat adverb-like. Moreover, since their etymologies seem to reflect origins as postpositional phrases, it should not be surprising that they behave more like obliques than like prototypical adjectives (11.5). I propose the following etymologies for these words:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nu} & \quad \text{‘near’} & \quad < \text{nï} = \text{u} < \text{nï} & \quad \text{‘1SG’} + \text{u} & \quad \text{‘from, in, at, around, along’, i.e., ‘around me’} \\
\text{ngaya} & \quad \text{‘far’} & \quad < \text{nga} = \text{iya} < \text{nga} & \quad \text{‘this.SG’} + \text{iya} & \quad \text{‘toward’, i.e., ‘toward this (place)’} \\
\text{wala} & \quad \text{‘far(-off)’} & \quad < \text{u} = \text{ala} < \text{u} & \quad \text{‘2SG’} + \text{ala} & \quad \text{‘for, from’, i.e., ‘(away) from you’}
\end{align*}
\]
In the following examples, these words modify verbs—that is, they are functioning as adverbs.

(8.093) Iwïl nga nu kukawe.
    iwïl   nga   nu   kuk-aw-e
    moon   this.SG   near   gather-put.IPV-DEP
    ‘(The end of) this month is drawing near.’ (T32)

(8.094) Nï ndul ngaya mana awlop.
    nï   ndi=ul   ngaya   ma-na   awlop
    1SG   3PL=with   far   go-IRR   in.vain
    ‘I want to go far with them but can’t.’ (T27)

There are no instances in the Ulwa corpus of texts in which wala ‘far(-off)’ functions as an adverb. It always precedes the noun luwa ‘place’ (which it modifies); thus, it may be most parsimonious to analyze wala luwa as a single compound noun (‘far-off place’), one which follows the general trend in Ulwa of the head of the endocentric compound occurring as the final conjunct (3.4).

8.3.3 Adverbs of manner

Another major subgroup of adverbs consists of adverbs of manner. These modify sentences by providing additional information on the way in which an event occurs or a state exists. Although this information is often conveyed through other means (e.g., adjectives, postpositional phrases, or even whole clauses), there is a small class of manner adverbs, the most frequent of which are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apka</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keka ~ kaka</td>
<td>‘completely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maka</td>
<td>‘thus, in this/that manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maweka ~ moweka</td>
<td>‘also, moreover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolka</td>
<td>‘again, in turn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One readily apparent formal trait shared by all these words is their ending in ka, which, in these words, is taken to be a formative meaning something like ‘thus, in this/that manner’. These adverbs of manner seem much less amenable to pre-subject position than the temporal adverbs.
are, and their inclusion within the larger class of adverbs is, admittedly, largely based on 
semantic grounds. The following sentences illustrate their use.

(8.095)  Woni mǐ **apka** wutota.
Woni  mǐ **apka** wutota
[name]  3sg  very  tall
‘Woni is very tall.’

(8.096)  Amun ane ngo **apka** nįpat awlu ato!
amun  ane  nga-o  **apka** nįpat awlu  ata-u
now  sun  this.sg-interj  very  giant  step  up-from
‘Now, this sun has really come out very strong!’ (T33)

(8.097)  Anglo **apka** nu luwa me.
ango  **apka** nu  luwa  me
NEG  very  close  place  NEG
‘(It) wasn’t a close place at all.’ (T24)

(8.098)  Apįn **keka** ndįn mol amap.
apįn  **keka**  ndį=n  ma=ul  ama=p
fire  completely  3pl=obl  3sg=with  eat-prf
‘They were totally burned with it.’ (Literally, ‘Fire completely ate with them [the saucepans] along with it [the house].’) (T11)

(8.099)  Ala **keka** ūlwa le.
ala  **keka**  ūlwa  lo-e
that.pl  completely  road  go-dep
‘Those (children) make tracks all around.’ (T27)

(8.100)  Mį **keka** nungunup.
mį  **keka**  nungun-u-p
3sg  completely  break-put-prf
‘It broke completely.’ (T32)

(8.101)  Nį **maka** man ndįt.
nį  **maka**  ma=n  ndį=ta
1sg  thus  3sg=obl  3pl=say
‘I told them like this.’ (T11)

(8.102)  Ndį **maka** i.
ndį  **maka**  i
3pl  thus  go-prf
‘They went like this.’ (T27)
(8.103) Mbiyen maka nī kaka mbīpe.
mbī-i-en maka nī kaka mbī-p-e
here-go.PRF-NMLZ thus 1SG completely here-be-DEP
‘Having come here, I have thus always stayed here.’ (T21)

(8.104) Ngata ngusuwa nga moweka wa i.
ngata ngusuwa nga moweka wa i
grand poor this.SG also village go.PRF
‘This poor grandfather also came home.’ (T11)

(8.105) Inom ndī moweka ango unan ūngin inap.
inom ndī moweka ango unan ūngin ina-p
mother 3PL also NEG 1PL.INCL many get-PRF
‘And another thing: (our) mothers didn’t have many of us.’ (T11)

(8.106) Ndī wolka anmbi.
ndī wolka an-mbī-i
3PL again out-here-go.PRF
‘They went out again.’ (T11)

(8.107) Nī wolka man mat:
nī wolka ma=n ma=ta
1SG again 3SG=OBL 3SG=say
‘I in turn said to her:’ (T11)

In addition to these, there is another adverb of manner, one which seems only to be permitted in negative polarity (and is in some ways the negative counterpart to wolka ‘again’).

This adverb, tīki ‘(ever) again, anymore, else’, may be seen in the following (negative) sentences.

(8.108) Ndī ango tīki itom luwa ndule.
ndī ango tīki itom luwa ndī=u-lo-e
3PL NEG again father place 3PL=from-go-DEP
‘They don’t go around in (their) father’s places anymore.’ (T27)

(8.109) Nī ango tīki ikali usina.
nī ango tīki i-kali u=si-na
1SG NEG again hand-send 2SG=push-IRR
‘I won’t hold you again.’ (T27)

Notably, tīki ‘(ever) again, anymore, else’ is permitted in questions as well, which—in some ways (or at least historically)—have negative polarity (see 13.2.2). The following questions illustrate this.
Angoluwa tiki ko nji kuma ndiţina?
‘Where else could (we) get some things?’ (T27)

Tikiunan angos natana?
‘What else should we say?’ (T32)

The adverb maka ‘thus’, unlike other adverbs, actually does permit suffixal morphology—namely, the copular suffix. In this use, maka is taken to be functioning as a verb, meaning something like ‘to be like’, as in:

Kalim mî maka-p.
The cassowary is like that. (T11)

Amun una keka maka-pe.
‘But nowadays we are completely like this.’ (T11)

This verbalized form of maka ‘thus’ can even, in turn, be nominalized, as in the following:

Makapen mî nay.
‘That way has gone.’ (T11)

Yetani lan u makape ambet matîn.
‘(They) got magic like this from the Yamen people.’ (T32)
Often the embedded clause formed with *makape* has a similar grammatical function to just the plain adverb *maka* ‘thus’, as in:

(8.117) Un [makape] imba wombam niya ita ...
        un [maka-p-e] imba wombam nī=iya i-ta
        2PL thus-be-DEP thing nothing-COND 1SG=go.PRF-COND
        ‘If you come to me like this in the middle of the night …’ (T11)

In addition to its use as an adverb meaning ‘thus’, *maka* is very frequently used as a filler word (cf. Tok Pisin *olsem* ‘thus’, German *also* ‘thus’, etc.). When used as such, it is generally translated as ‘like’, following contemporary English idiom. As a filler word, *maka* ‘thus’ can occur in any position in a sentence, even within NPs, as in the second example below.

        Wusimali maka in tī Kayta na-n-e
        [name] thus get take [name] give-PRF-DEP
        ‘Wusimali, like, bought (an axe) and gave (it) to Kayta.’ (T11)

(8.119) Anji *maka* ngata ndī ndul iyen.
        anjī maka ngata ndī ndī=ul i-en
        1PL.EXCL.POSS thus grand 3PL=with go.PRF-NMLZ
        ‘Our, like, ancestors were the ones who went with them.’ (T02)

### 8.3.4 The epistemic adverb *tap*

In addition to the basic subclasses of adverbs detailed above (temporal adverbs 8.3.1, locative adverbs 8.3.2, and adverbs of manner 8.3.3), there is another important adverb, epistemic in function—the adverb *tap* ‘maybe’. This word is used to show the possibility of an event’s occurrence, whether present, past, or future. Unsurprisingly, since its use signals speculation on the part of the speaker, it is often accompanied by the speculative suffix -t (4.13) on the verb in the clause in which it occurs. Like other adverbs, it often occurs immediately after the subject (when expressed). It tends to precede temporal adverbs, when these occur in the same
clause. It does not permit any form of inflection. The following sentences illustrate the use of *tap* ‘maybe’.

(8.120)  Mî *tap* amun ina.
\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
3SG & \text{maybe} & \text{now come-IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘He might come today.’ (T27)

(8.121)  *Tap* umbe Kumba mana.
\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
\text{maybe} & \text{tomorrow} & \text{Bun go-IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Maybe tomorrow (I) will go to Bun (village).’ (T32)

(8.122)  *Tap* manji yawa ngawl i.
\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
\text{maybe} & \text{3SG.POSS uncle this.SG=with go.PRF} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘(He) might have gone with (his) uncle.’ (T11)

The adverb *tap* ‘maybe’ is homophonous with the perfective form of the verb *ta*– ‘say’, and the adverb very well may derive from this form—after all, that which has merely been ‘said’ (but which is not known to be true) can easily be taken as speculative.

### 8.3.5 Other modal and discourse adverbs

The most frequent discourse adverbs are as follows. It is notoriously difficult to provide accurate translations of words that serve modal or discourse functions. The glosses provided here represent the best efforts to determine their meaning and function:

- *kop* ‘please’
- *kwa ~ ko ~ wa* ‘just’
- *lolop* ‘just’
- *woyambin* ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’

The adverb *kop* ‘please’ is often used to soften commands—that is, to make polite requests, as in:
More examples and details relating to this use of *kop* ‘please’ may be found in the section on commands and requests (13.3.2). As an adverb, *kop* ‘please’ can also be used in statements. Here, it can convey a sense of care or patience, as in:

(8.124)  
Mī *kop*  limndī  anulpe.

mī  *kop*  limndī  an=ul-p-e
3SG  please  eye  1PL.EXCL=with-be-DEP

‘She stays with us, watching (us) patiently.’ (T10)

Three forms that are frequently used in discourse are *kwa* ~ *ko* ~ *wa* ‘just’, the first of which is identical to the numeral *kwa* ‘one’, and the second of which is clearly derived from the first. The form *wa* is probably also derived from *kwa*, although it may, of course, have a separate etymology (and even be a separate lexeme altogether). Regardless, all three forms share essentially the same set of functions. Often translated as ‘just’, they add a degree of casualness to a statement. Sometimes they convey a sense of ‘simply’, other times a mildly negative sense of ‘without care’ or ‘without reason’. Very often, however, it is hard to ascribe any clear meaning to them (at least in the English translation). These three forms (*kwa* ~ *ko* ~ *wa* ‘just’) are illustrated below.

(8.125)  
Ay nī *kwa* apa mbīpe mane?

ay  nī  *kwa*  apa  mbī-p-e  ma-n-e
ay  1SG  just  house  here-be-DEP  go-IPFV-DEP

‘Ay, am I just going to stay here?’ (T11)

(8.126)  
Lamndu  ko  minamap.

lamndu  ko  min=ama-p
pig  just  3DU=eat-PRF

‘A pig ate them.’ (T27)

(8.127)  
Wa  inde  le.

wa  inda-e  lo-e
just  walk-DEP  go-DEP

‘(We) would just walk around.’ (T10)
Serving the same function as *kwa ~ ko ~ wa* ‘just’ is the adverb *lolop* ‘just’, reportedly borrowed from the neighboring language Ap Ma. It often occurs immediately following *wa*, but may occur independently as well. In the following examples, it has a frustrative sense.

(8.128)  
\[ \text{Nī wa lolop i mangusuwa nji molop Ṽp.} \]
\[ nī \text{ wa lolop i mangusuwa nji ma=lo-p lǐ-p} \]
\[ 1SG \text{ just just go.PRF 3SG.poor thing 3SG=cut-PRF put-PRF} \]
‘Frustratedly, I just went and cut the poor thing’s thing (sago palm jungle).’ (T11)

(8.129)  
\[ \text{Una wa lolop wape.} \]
\[ unan \text{ wa lolop wa-p-e} \]
‘We are just (hanging around) in the village.’ (T32)

(8.130)  
\[ \text{Nambi tembi nape nī wa lolop indana.} \]
\[ nambi \text{ tembi na-p-e nī wa lolop inda-na} \]
‘As for me, I’m becoming unfit, so I’ll just go around (without worrying about other people).’ (T27)

Similar in function to *kwa ~ ko ~ wa* ‘just’ and *lolop* ‘just’ is the word *woyambïn* ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’, which has a much more negative connotation. This word looks very much like it has derived from other words, in part because of the unusual diphthong *oy* (2.2.7). It may derive from *wa-iambi=n* ‘just-go.PRF-SG.REFL=OBL’—that is, a phrase having meant something like ‘just went with himself/herself/itself’. This is, of course, only speculative. The following examples illustrate the use of *woyambïn* ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’.

(8.131)  
\[ \text{Nī woyambïn ndul ndinanape.} \]
\[ nī \text{ woyambïn ndi=ul ndi=na-na-p-e} \]
‘I fed them along with them (my biological children) for nothing.’ (said in reference to ungrateful foster children) (T27)

(8.132)  
\[ \text{Na woyambïn matane.} \]
\[ na \text{ woyambïn ma=ta-n-e and pointlessly 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP} \]
‘But (we) are just wasting time talking about it.’ (na < TP) (T32)

Some of the adverbs described in section 8.3.3 above also seem to behave at times much like modal or discourse adverbs, carrying subtle connotations or serving various discourse functions.
The adverb *wolka* ‘again, in turn’ may be used in narratives to tie together events in series, especially when they are somewhat repetitive (similar to English ‘and then …’), as in the following:

(8.133) Biwat inim menklop i atay.

Biwat inim ma=in-klop i ata-i
[place] water 3SG=in-cross go.PRF up-go.PRF
‘(They) went following the Biwat river, went up.’

Ataye *wolka* ngo nay.
ata-i-e *wolka* nga=u na-i
up-go.PRF-DEP again this.SG=from DETR-go.PRF
‘Having gone up, (they) came this way.’

**Wolka** ngo anji wandam ngayte i.

*wolka* nga=u anji wandam nga=it a-e i
again this.SG=from 1PL.EXCL.POSS jungle this.SG=build-DEP go.PRF
‘And then from here, (they) came and built our jungle (area).’ (T02)

The adverb *maweka* ~ *moweka* ‘also, moreover’ also seems to serve modal functions at times. Its usage here seems parallel to modal uses of Tok Pisin *tu* ‘also, too’, and it is thus quite possibly a calque (cf. similar phenomena in Chapter 15). It can be used to add a degree of incredulity, to strengthen a request for confirmation in a question, or add a sense of wonder to a statement. Its use is illustrated below.

(8.134) Nambi *maweka* nînji ala wala luwa ndap.
nambi *maweka* nînji ala wala luwa anda=p
1SG.FOC also 1SG.POS that.PL far.off place that.SG=be
‘As for me, those (relatives) of mine are in a far-off place.’ (T11)

(8.135) Kanangula *moweka* ango wa mbîwap.
Kanangula *moweka* ango wa mbî-wap
[name] also NEG village here-be.PST
‘Kanangula did not (even bother to) stay in the village.’ (T11)

It has been seen above how the adverb *maka* ‘thus’ can also function as a filler word (8.3.3). In a somewhat similar fashion, the word *mingamata* (glossed as ‘whatchamacallit’) can be used when a speaker is trying to retrieve a word, as in:
Finally, to conclude this overview of adverbs, it may be shown how concepts that are often conveyed with adverbs in other languages can be expressed in different ways in Ulwa.

First, it is possible to use dependent clauses to express adverbial notions. Such clauses typically contain verbalized forms of nouns/adjectives that express properties, as in the following:

(8.138) **Andilpe ndimisisinap.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndi=misisina-p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>careful-be-DEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl=arrange-PRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(They) carefully arranged them.’ (Literally, ‘Being careful, (they) arranged them.’) (T11)

Additionally, adverb-like notions can be expressed with postpositional phrases or oblique-marked NPs; these usages are often metaphorical, as in:

(8.139) **Nambil lu manen.**

| ma=n-en        |
| feather        |
| with           |
| go-IPFV-NMLZ   |

‘(The water) is going quickly.’ (Literally, ‘going with feather’) (T33)

(8.140) **Apini mownlip.**

| ma=won-lii-p   |
| fire=OBL       |
| 3SG=cut-put-PRF|

‘(He) cut it down quickly.’ (Literally, ‘cut it down with fire’) (T10)

Of particular interest, however, is Ulwa’s method of placing adjectives in object positions to be used adverbially. When this occurs with transitive verbs, the putative direct object of the
verb is demoted to an oblique and is marked by the oblique marker \( =n \). See 11.5.1 for examples of this phenomenon.

### 8.4 Other small classes

Finally, in this chapter I consider a few other small closed classes, namely negators (8.4.1), interrogative words (8.4.2), and interjections (8.4.3).

#### 8.4.1 Negators

There is in Ulwa a small set of negators, words that indicate that the polarity of a sentence is negative as opposed to positive (taken to be the unspecified, default polarity). There are two basic negators: the regular negative marker \( \textit{ango} \), which is glossed as ‘\( \text{NEG} \)’, and the word \( \textit{wana}(p) \) ‘\( \text{PROH} \)’, which is used in negative commands (i.e., prohibitions):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ango} & \quad \text{NEG (’no, not’)} \\
\text{wana}(p) & \quad \text{PROH (’don’t!’)}
\end{align*}
\]

For more on the function of these words, see the sections on negation (13.4), prohibitions (13.4.2), and the speculative suffix \(-t\) (4.13).

In addition to these two negators, there are two particles, each of which may occur as the second element of a two-part negative construction (13.4.1), namely, \( \textit{me} \) and \( \textit{kom(e)} \), both of which are usually glossed as ‘\( \text{NEG} \)’.

#### 8.4.2 Interrogative words

There is also in Ulwa a small set of interrogative words, which are used in \( \text{wh-} \) (or content) questions. Their forms and functions are described more fully in the section on questions (13.2), but they may be viewed together here in terms of their word class membership. While they are all functionally similar in that they help form interrogative sentences, they are likely not a morphosyntactically distinct class, but rather a group composed of different grammatical categories, as outlined below. These interrogative words are:
The etymologies of these question words are discussed in 13.1.2. In addition to these interrogative words, there is the question particle a (or e) (glossed as Q), that may occur at the end of a sentence to indicate that it is an interrogative.

### 8.4.3 Interjections

Finally, there are in Ulwa a number of interjections, small words used to express a variety of thoughts or emotions. If they are to be considered interjections as well, the words equivalent to ‘yes’, ‘no’, and ‘OK’ may be included in this discussion as well. In the following list, the exclamation point (!) indicates emphatic pronunciation, the question mark (?) indicates rising intonation, and the colon (:) indicates extended vowel length (note also that the word mm is pronounced as two syllabic nasals separated by a glottal stop, i.e., [mʔm]).

- **iyo**  yes
- **iya**  yeah
- **ase**  no
- **asa**  nah
- **ande**  OK
- **andi**  OK
- **a!**  expresses shock or disbelief (and often used to signal quoted speech)
- **a:**  filler interjection (‘uh…’)
- **ay**  expresses pain or shock (‘ow’)
- **aya**  expresses compassion (‘ah, me’)
- **e!**  expresses excitement, whether positive or negative (‘hey!’)
- **i**  expresses dejection (‘alas’)
- **o**  intensifier / vocative form (as suffix)
- **u**  expresses amazement (‘ooh’)
- **m!**  expressed disapproval (‘hm!’)
shows agreement (‘mhm’)
mm shows disagreement (‘uh-uh’)
mawnam ‘that’s it!’

(When appropriate, the above translations are used as glosses for interjections that occur in examples throughout in this grammar; otherwise, the abbreviation ‘INTERJ’ is used.)

The two words on this list that deserve the most comment are o and mawnam, the former since it may function either as its own lexical item (that is, an unbound morpheme) or as a suffix, and the latter because it seems to be polymorphic.

The interjection o is likely a loan from Tok Pisin (indeed, Ulwa has no native words that begin with /o-/), and, in fact, this interjection is often pronounced [wo], perhaps when treated as a free morpheme). The examples below illustrate the use of o, both as an interjection of emphasis and as a vocative form used when calling to people.

(8.141) **Tembiwo!**
tembali-o bad-INTERJ
‘It’s bad!’ (T32)

(8.142) Alanji amba **ndo!**
alanjī amba anda-o that.PL.POSS haus.tambaran that.SG-INTERJ
‘Over there they have magic!’ (T32)

(8.143) Mawanat **Supamo!**
ma=wana-ta Supam-o
3SG=feel-say [name]-INTERJ
‘(They) called to her: “Supam!”’ (T01)

(8.144) Ndi ndiwanate wot **alo!**
ndī ndī=wana-ta-e wot ala-o
3PL 3PL=feel-say-DEP younger that.PL-INTERJ
‘They called to them: “Younger brothers!”’ (T02)

(8.145) **Alo un ino!**
ala-o un i-na-o that.PL-INTERJ 2PL come-IRR-INTERJ
‘You all, come!’ (T10)

The interjection mawnam ‘that’s it’ is used to signal the emphatic identification of a referent or to show approval of a thought or action (cf. Tok Pisin em nau [literally, ‘it now’]).
The word appears to contain the word *maw* ‘correct’. The second syllable, *nam*, however, never appears in isolation; it seems to function as an intensifier (cf. its role in emphatic pronominal forms, 6.7). The form *mawnam* may take the ending -e. It is unclear whether this is the dependent marker (suggesting a verbal nature to the form *mawnam*) or simply a further emphatic syllable. The following sentences exemplify the use of *mawnam* ‘that’s it’.

(8.146) *Makape i mawnam.*

maka-p-e i maw-nam
thus-be-DEP way correct-INT
‘Behavior like that—that’s it.’ (T32)

(8.147) *Mawname mī kalam.*

maw-nam-e mī kalam
correct-INT-DEP 3SG know
‘That’s it, he knows.’ (T11)

(8.148) *Mawnam.*

maw-nam
correct-INT
‘That’s it.’ (T09)

(8.149) *Mawname.*

maw-nam-e
correct-INT-DEP
‘That’s right.’ (T32)
Chapter 9
Phrase-level syntax

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the description of phrase-level syntax. A phrase may be considered a set of one or more words functioning together as a syntactic unit, a unit usually taken to be smaller than (or a constituent of) a clause. Although a phrase may consist of a single word, the following sections will mostly be concerned with multi-word phrases, as the present point of interest is how multiple words interact with one other within a single phrase.

9.2 Noun phrases

A noun phrase consists minimally of a noun (common or proper) or a pronoun (personal, possessive [functioning as a substantive], intensive, or demonstrative). If a noun phrase has a noun as its head, it may also contain a determiner (subject marker, object marker, or demonstrative determiner) which always appears at the end of the phrase. Noun phrases headed by pronouns do not permit subject markers or object markers (and in instances in which, say, an object marker immediately follows a demonstrative pronoun, the two are taken to be in apposition to each other, not part of the same NP, and there should be a prosodic break signaling this). Noun phrases also permit one or more adjectives (5.2). The canonical position for adjectives in NPs is following the noun and preceding the determiner (if present); but there are examples of adjectives preceding nouns. This may be due to influence from the word order of Tok Pisin; indeed, some speakers consider the order adjective-noun to be ungrammatical. Numerals (7.6), which in this context may best be thought of as adjectives as well, also follow nouns (and [other] adjectives, if present); numerals, too, precede determiners such as subject markers (7.2), object markers (7.4), or demonstratives (7.3), when present. NPs also permit possessive markers (6.3, 9.2.5). These precede nouns and thus, when present, are the first elements in their respective NPs. (The issue of the peculiar placement [outside the NP] of the universal quantifier wopa ‘all’ is addressed in 7.5.) The following is a summary of the canonical order of elements in an Ulwa NP.
The following noun phrase illustrates all these elements together.

(9.001) nînji lamndu ambi kwe anda
nînji lamndu ambi kwe anda
1SG.POS pig big one that.SG
‘that one big pig of mine’

9.2.1 The head of the noun phrase

The head of a noun phrase need not be an archetypical noun (or personal pronoun). It may, instead, be an adjective functioning as a noun (as in 9.002 below) (see 5.4 on substantive uses of adjectives). Similarly, a possessive pronoun (6.3) may function as the head of an NP (as in 9.003 below).

(9.002) Ambi anda wa lolop man.
ambi anda wa lolop ma-n
big that.SG just just go-IPFV
‘That big (man) just goes around.’ (T11)

(9.003) Nî ninji ngalat unanda.
 nî ninji ngala=u tû u=na-nda
1SG 1SG.POSS this.PL=take 2SG=give-IRR
‘I will give mine to you.’ (T24)

The head of an NP can also be a noun derived from a verb that has been nominalized with the suffix -en (see 3.3 for examples).

9.2.2 Plural for dual

As discussed above in 7.2 and 7.4, subject markers and object markers do not always occur in NPs that function as subjects or as objects. When they do occur, however, they mark their respective NPs for number. The three number categories in Ulwa are singular, dual, and plural (7.1). While “dual” may never be used when there are three or more referents, “plural” is sometimes found even when there are exactly two referents, as in the example below.
(9.004) Wonmbi nditumulka.
    wonmbi  ndī=tumul-ka
tusk   3PL=bend-let
‘(They) bent the tusks.’ (This refers to a pair of tusks belonging to a single boar.) (T01)

9.2.3 Multiple adjectives

Multiple adjectives may occur in a single NP. When there are multiple adjectives, they simply stack up after the head noun (and before any determiners), as seen below.

(9.005) Wapa ambi tembi ndawe nī mat inde.
    wapa    ambi tembi andawe    nī    ma=tī    inda-e
leaf    big    bad    that.SG.INT.PART 1SG 3SG=take    walk-DEP
‘That big, bad leaf alone—I’m taking it.’ (T32)

(9.006) Tīmbīl ambi nīpat ngata maytana mane.
    tīmbīl    ambi nīpat ngata ma=ita-na    ma-n-e
fence    big    giant    grand 3SG=build-IRR    go-IPFV-DEP
‘(You) are going to build a big, huge, giant fence.’ (T37)

9.2.4 Apposition

Noun phrases may be in apposition to each other, as in the following sentence, which contains two NPs (the compound wot yana ‘younger sister’ and the proper noun Sinanam) in apposition to each other. Each NP serves as the singular grammatical object of the verb na-‘give’.

(9.007) Wot yana Sinanam manana.
    wot    yana    Sinanam    ma=na-na
younger    woman    [name]    3SG=give-PRF
‘(He) gave it to the younger sister Sinanam.’ (T01)
9.2.5  Indicating possession

Noun phrases may indicate possession. Often, these NPs make use of possessive pronouns (which may appear in abbreviated forms, i.e., identical to the set of object markers, see 7.3).

Another means of signaling that an NP has a possessor role is the oblique-marker enclitic =n (11.5.1). In such constructions, the NP marked with =n is the possessor of the NP that immediately follows, as in the following examples.

(9.008)  Upan nungol ndim nîn ani up.
          upan   nungol  ndi=n   nî=n   ani   u-p
          small.fish  child   3PL=OBL  1SG=OBL  bilum  put-PRF
          ‘(She) put some small little fish in my bilum (net bag).’ (T11)

(9.009)  Mawl i man wandam malp.
          ma=ul  i  ma=n  wandam  ma=li-p
          3SG=with  go.PRIF  3SG=OBL  jungle  3SG=put-PRF
          ‘(He) went with her and put her in his jungle (home).’ (T01)

(9.010)  Way mî asi man wat wan make.
          way  mî  asi  ma=n  wat  wan  ma=ka-e
          turtle  3SG  sit  3SG=OBL  ladder  above  3SG=let-DEP
          ‘The turtle was sitting at the top of his ladder.’ (T05)

(9.011)  Atana mî liyu matîn …
          atana  mî  li-u  ma=tî-n
          older.sister  3SG  down-from  3SG=take-PRF
          …  mat  ambi=n  ame  menlip.
          ma=tî  ambi=n  ame  ma=in-li-p
          3SG=take  SG.REFL=OBL  basket  3SG=in-put-PRF
          ‘The older sister got him down and put him in her basket.’ (T09)

(See 11.5.2 for other case-like uses of the oblique marker.)

Whereas the oblique marker =n can function very much like a possessive marker, possessive pronouns can serve oblique-like functions—namely, they may indicate a beneficiary, as in the following sentences.
(9.012) Nī i ngunji mundu ilum kuma wananda.
\[\begin{array}{llllll}
1SG & go.PRF & 2DU.POSS & food & little & some & cook-IRR \\
\end{array}\]
‘I will come and cook some food for you.’ (Literally, ‘cook some little food of yours’) (T11)

(9.013) Ndīnjī na tīna mbilop.
\[\begin{array}{llll}
3PL.POSS & talk & take-IRR & here-go-PRF \\
\end{array}\]
‘(They) came here to have a talk for them (their children).’ (T27)

(9.014) Nī manji ana ma=tī manana.
\[\begin{array}{llllll}
1SG & 3SG.POSS & grass.skirt & 3SG=take & 3SG=give-PRF \\
\end{array}\]
‘I gave her a grass skirt.’ (T11)

To intensify possessor NPs that contain possessive pronouns, the modifier wo ‘very own’ may be added. Whereas the possessive pronoun precedes the head noun, the intensifier wo follows it, as in the following:

(9.015) Manji tīn wo lamndu masap.
\[\begin{array}{llll}
3SG.POSS & dog & INT & pig \\
\end{array}\]
‘His very own dog killed the pig.’

(9.016) nīnji na wo
\[\begin{array}{llll}
1SG.POSS & talk & INT \\
\end{array}\]
‘my very own story’ (T10)

(9.017) Anji wi wo.
\[\begin{array}{llll}
1PL.EXCL.POSS & name & INT \\
\end{array}\]
‘It’s really our name.’ (T02)

(9.018) Yetani lanji wo.
\[\begin{array}{llll}
Yamen & that.PL.POSS & INT \\
\end{array}\]
‘(He was) the Yamen people’s very own (ancestor).’ (T02)

As the last example above suggests, possession for full NPs—that is, for common or proper nouns—is marked by placing the possessive pronoun after the noun denoting the possessor. This is the method for marking possession on all full NPs (whether or not they contain
the intensifier wo ‘very own’). The possessive pronoun follows the possessor and precedes the possessum (the head noun of the NP). The following sentences illustrate possession marked on full NPs.

(9.019) **Itom manji lamndu mï nip.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>pos</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itom</td>
<td>3SG.POSS</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manji</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>pig</td>
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<tr>
<td>lamndu</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>die-prf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mï</td>
<td>ni-p</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘Father’s pig died.’

(9.020) **Tîn ndî itom manji lamndu masap.**

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<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>pos</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tîn</td>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndî</td>
<td>3SG.POSS</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itom</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manji</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>die-prf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamndu</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>hit-prf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mï</td>
<td>=asa-p</td>
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</table>

‘The dogs killed father’s pig.’

(9.021) **Manama manji wot mï mana motoplï.**

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<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>pos</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manama</td>
<td>3SG.POS</td>
<td>[name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manji</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wot</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mï</td>
<td>ma=top-lï-p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>bad-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mï</td>
<td>ma=put-prf</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘Manama’s younger brother threw the spear.’

(9.022) **Nînji atma manji aweta mï tembip.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>pos</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nînji</td>
<td>1SG.POSS</td>
<td>older.brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atma</td>
<td>3SG.POSS</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manji</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aweta</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>bad-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mï</td>
<td>tembi-p</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘My older brother’s friend is sick.’

Sometimes, however, what are functionally very much like noun phrases indicating possession are in form actually verb phrases. They function in sentences as relative clauses (12.4), as in:

(9.023) **Kaytape anapa mï**

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<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>pos</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Kayta-p-e]</td>
<td>anapa</td>
<td>mï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[name]-be-DEP</td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Kayta’s sister’ (Literally, ‘the sister that Kayta [has]’) (T11)

These verb phrases may in turn be nominalized, as in:

(9.024) **Lucypen anda.**

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<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>pos</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Lucy-p-en     | anda | [
| [name]-be-NMLZ | that.SG | ] |

‘That (pot) is Lucy’s.’ (Literally, ‘The one that Lucy [has] [is] that [one].’) (T11)
The reason that this is possible in Ulwa relates to how possession is expressed in predicates. In short, there is no verb to indicate possession (such as ‘have’ in English), but rather that which is possessed is simply predicated of the person who possesses it, either with the copular suffix or without it. The possessor is indicated by the possessive pronoun. In the examples below, the possessum is in **bold**.

(9.026) **Alimban manji yeta watangǐnila.**
         Alimban manji yeta watangǐnila
         [name] 3SG.PSS man four
‘Alimban has four sons.’ (T20)

(9.027) **Ninji ambi kwe mape.**
         ninji ambi kwe ma=p-e
         1SG.PSS big one 3SG=be-DEP
‘I have one big one there.’ (T37)

The predicate denoting that which is possessed may be expressed as a nominalized verb form, as in the following:

(9.028) **Manji ini ulwappen.**
         manji ini ulwa-p-en
         3SG.PSS ground nothing-be-NMLZ
‘He doesn’t have land.’ (T11)

### 9.2.6 Noun phrases as clauses

Noun phrases may serve a number of grammatical functions: an NP may be the subject of a clause, a (direct) object of a verb, the object of a postposition, or part of an oblique phrase marked by the oblique marker =n. More detail on clause structure in Ulwa is found in Chapter
11, but I conclude this section on noun phrases by noting one particular use of Ulwa NPs. Occasionally, and especially for particular emphasis, noun phrases may serve alone as entire clauses. In this use, the grandeur of an event is stressed, the predicate itself being merely implied, as seen in the following:

(9.029) **Mïnda wandam!**  
\[\text{mïnda} \quad \text{wandam}\]  
banana jungle  
‘Banana garden!’ (i.e., ‘Oh what a banana garden they made!’) (T01)

(9.030) **Ndï apïn anul ndame.**  
\[\text{ndï} \quad \text{apïn=an} \quad \text{anul} \quad \text{ndï=ama-e}\]  
3PL fire=OBL grassland 3PL=eat-DEP  
‘They were burning the grassland.’ (as a strategy for hunting pigs)

\[\text{Namndu!}\]  
\[\text{namndu}\]  
pig  
‘Pigs!’ (i.e., ‘Oh how many pigs they killed!’) (T01)

### 9.3 Verb phrases

A verb phrase consists minimally of a verb (or a non-verbal element with copular suffix [10.3] or a postposition functioning as a verb [8.3]). The verb is always the final element in the phrase. If the verb is transitive (and contains an overt object), then contained within the verb phrase is also a noun phrase (the direct object of the verb). This NP may be marked with an object marker, which cliticizes to the verb. (Other determiners, i.e., demonstratives, may also cliticize, but see 7.3.) The fact that object markers are phonologically closely connected with their verbs makes it difficult to assign them to positions within NPs (in so far as they resemble agreement-marking verbal prefixes); still (largely by analogy to their subject marker equivalents), they are considered properly constituents of NPs (albeit NPs that are themselves constituents of verb phrases). In addition to NPs, postpositional phrases (PPs) may also be considered constituents of VPs. When present, they always occur before the verb (and before the direct object, if the verb is transitive). The order of potential elements of the Ulwa VP may thus be summarized as follows:
The phrases in the following examples illustrate these elements, providing examples of both transitive (9.033 and 9.034) and intransitive (9.031 and 9.032) verbs, both with (9.032 and 9.034) and without (9.031 and 9.033) postpositional phrases.

\[(9.031)\] man
\[\text{ma-n}\]
\[\text{go-IPFV}\]
‘is going’

\[(9.032)\] im maya man
\[\text{im}\]
\[\text{ma=iya}\]
\[\text{ma-n}\]
\[\text{tree}\]
\[\text{3SG=toward}\]
\[\text{go-IPFV}\]
‘is going toward the tree’

\[(9.033)\] utam mawanap
\[\text{utam}\]
\[\text{ma=wana-p}\]
\[\text{yam}\]
\[\text{3SG=cook-PRF}\]
‘cooked the yam’

\[(9.034)\] apîn mawat mawanap
\[\text{apîn}\]
\[\text{ma=wat}\]
\[\text{ma=wana-p}\]
\[\text{fire}\]
\[\text{3SG=atop}\]
\[\text{3SG=cook-PRF}\]
‘cooked the yam on the fire’

The order and relation of elements within NPs are discussed above in 9.2 and the order and relation of PPs are discussed below in 9.4.

### 9.3.1 Separable verbs

In this section, I wish to draw attention to an interesting phenomenon that occurs with certain verb phrases. In section 4.16 it was shown that compound verb forms can be constructed with postpositional or nominal elements (in addition to at least one verbal component). Some compound verbs containing nominal elements can actually be discontinuous—that is, words may intervene between the nominal conjunct and the verbal conjunct (cf. *tmesis* in Ancient Greek or *trennbare Verben* in German, only here in Ulwa the separable elements are nominal, not adpositional—more like the German verb *radfahren* ‘bike’).
These constructions are especially common with verbs of perception. For example, the verb *wana-* ‘feel, taste, sense, think’ can combine with different elements to form various compound verbs. While the compound *nambïtwana-* ‘smell (transitive)’ (< *nambï* ‘odor’ + *wana-* ‘sense’, i.e., ‘sense odor’) is composed of just a noun and verb, the compound *inakawana-* ‘think’ (< *ina* ‘liver [the seat of reason]’ + *ka* ‘at, in, on’ + *wana-* ‘feel’, i.e., ‘feel in [one’s] mind/heart’) contains an entire postpositional phrase, itself composed of a noun and a postposition. These two forms may be contrasted with the compound *kïkalwana-* ‘hear’ (< *kïkal* ‘ear’ + *wana-* ‘feel’), since this form is actually separable. The object of the verb occurs between the two elements *kïkal* and *wana-* (as seen in examples 9.044 through 9.047 below).

First it may be seen how *wana-* ‘feel’ functions as a verb on its own, with a variety of related meanings:

(9.035)  
\[
\text{Nï } \text*wana\text{ Raten ndï ita}
\]
\[
nï \quad \text{wana} \quad \text{Raten} \quad \text{ndï} \quad \text{i-ta}
\]
\[
1SG \quad \text{feel} \quad [\text{place}] \quad 3PL \quad \text{go.PRF-COND}
\]
‘I thought that the Raten people would come.’ (T11)

(9.036)  
\[
\text{Ankam mawane mambi …}
\]
\[
\text{ankam} \quad \text{ma=}[\text{wana}-\text{e}] \quad \text{mambi}
\]
\[
\text{person} \quad 3SG=\text{feel-DEP} \quad 3SG.\text{FOC}
\]
‘As for the person who tastes it …’ (T32)

(9.037)  
\[
\text{Mawana.}
\]
\[
\text{ma=}[\text{wana}]
\]
\[
3SG=\text{feel}
\]
‘(She) smelled it.’ (T32)

The following sentence illustrates the noun-plus-verb compound *nambïtwana-* ‘smell’, which here takes as its direct object the pronoun *nï*= ‘1SG’.

(9.038)  
\[
\text{Mï } \text{nïnambïtwana ko anmbu i.}
\]
\[
\text{mï} \quad \text{nï}=[\text{nambï-wana}] \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{an-mbï-u} \quad \text{i}
\]
\[
3SG \quad 1SG=\text{odor-feel} \quad \text{just} \quad \text{out-here-from} \quad \text{go.PRF}
\]
‘It smelled me and just went out from there.’ (T32)

The more complex combination of postpositional phrase-plus-verb is seen in *inakawana-* ‘think’, which may take as an object the subject/topic about which one thinks, as in the following:
(9.039) Mĩ i atay mawap inakawanap.
mī i at-ata ma=wap ina-ka-wana-p
3SG go.PRF up-go.PRF 3SG=be.PST liver-at-feel-PRF
‘He went, went up, stayed there, and thought.’ (T30)

(9.040) Atana nda nipe ndĩ ango ninakawan.
atana anda ni-p-e ndĩ ango nĩ=ina-ka-wana-Ø
older.sister that.SG die-PRF-DEP 3PL NEG 1SG=liver-at-feel-IPFV
‘When that older sister died, they didn’t think of me.’ (T11)

(9.041) Nĩ inakawan nĩ unul mbįpita ...
nĩ ina-ka-wana nĩ un=ul mbį-p-ta
1SG liver-at-feel 1SG 2PL=with here-be-COND
‘So I thought: if I stay here with you, …’ (T32)

But the main point of interest here is the ability of kīkal ‘ear’ to separate from the verb stem wana- ‘feel’. In the first two examples below, (9.042) and (9.043), it may be seen that when kīkalwana- ‘hear’ is intransitive (meaning something more like ‘listen’), the verb appears to function just like any other (inseparable) compound. But the transitive examples (9.044, 9.045, and 9.046) show that when the verb has an object, this object occurs between kīkal and wana-. The object (when present) is underlined in the following examples.

(9.042) Ndĩ kīkalwana ngunaniya ita.
nď kīkal-wana ngunan=iya i-ta
3PL ear-feel 1DU.INCL=toward go.PRF-COND
‘If only they would listen and come to us.’ (T32)

(9.043) Ano kīkalwana.
ango kīkal-wana
NEG ear-feel
‘(They) don’t listen.’ (T11)

(9.044) Ndĩ mbi nǐmal mbįpen ndĩ kīkal na mawana.
ndĩ mbi-i nǐmal mbį-p-en ndĩ kīkal na ma=wana
3PL here-go.PRF river here-be-NMLZ 3PL ear talk 3SG=feel
‘Those who came here and stay here at the river would hear the message.’ (T23)

(9.045) An kīkal inom itom ndįwana.
an kīkal inom itom ndį=wa
1PL.EXCL ear mother father 3PL=feel
‘We listened to our parents.’ (T10)
Of course, viewed from an alternative perspective, such verbal constructions can be thought of as exhibiting “incorporation” rather than “separation”. In this view, sentences such as 9.042 and 9.043 would be said to have “unincorporated” verbal structures.

In constructions with separable verbs, the first element always appears at the absolute beginning of the verb phrase. Postpositions, which are also properly constituents of VPs, thus appear after the first element, as in the following example, in which kïkal ‘ear’ is the first element in the separable verb construction.

Verbs of seeing function similarly to this verb of hearing detailed above. Often, however, they rely on a verbal use of the postposition ala – andï(m/n) ‘for, from’, which, as in (9.053) below, may exhibit TAM marking. The first example below (9.048) is intransitive; the others are transitive and illustrate the separable element limndì ‘eye’ occurring before the direct object of the verb (here underlined).
(9.051) U amun limndi unji atma ngal!
   u       amun       limndi          unji          atma         nga=al[a]
2SG    now         eye          2SG.POSS       older.brother   this.SG=for
    ‘Now look at your older brother!’ (T11)

(9.052) U amun limndi Gambri andim!
   u       amun       limndi         Gambri       andim
2SG    now         eye               [name]          for
    ‘Now, take a look at Gambri!’ (T11)

(9.053) Una limndi mangusuwa andina.
   unan       limndi       mangusuwa     andi-na
1PL.INCL   eye           3SG.poor        for-IRR
    ‘We will see the poor thing.’ (T32)

    In the following example, the first element limndi ‘eye’ precedes a direct object NP that
    itself contains a (relative clause) VP.

(9.054) Una limndi makape i mandim.
   unan       limndi         [maka-p-e]       i        ma=andim
1PL.INCL   eye               [thus-be-DEP]   way       3SG=for
    ‘We’ve seen this kind of behavior.’ (T32)

    Crucial for the argument that the nouns kikal ‘ear’ and limndi ‘eye’ are truly (separable)
    parts of compound verbs is the fact that they never receive postpositions or oblique markers in
    these constructions. That is, they cannot be interpreted as belonging to other phrases. For
    example, constructions such as the following are never found:

(9.055) *kikaln(i) mawana
   kikal=n(i)       ma=wana
         ear=OBL   3SG=feel
    ‘sense with ear’ (i.e., ‘hear’)

    Expressions of visual perception can also be formed with verbs that are more
    prototypical (compared to the postposition-like verbal forms seen above), such as lï- ‘put’ and
    uta- ‘grind’. In all instances, the nominal element limndi ‘eye’ behaves the same—that is, it
    never receives any oblique marking, as illustrated below.
While verbs of perception constitute one of the most common subclasses of verbs to exhibit the separable structure, other compound verb forms behave similarly. The verb ‘ask’ is composed of the word *atwana* ‘question’ and some form of a verb of speaking (*ta-* or *kî-* ‘say’) as discontinuous elements, with no oblique marking on the nominal component *atwana* ‘question’, as in the following sentences (for more on reported speech with *na* ‘talk’ as a nominal component, see 13.5).

(9.056) Mî lîndî malîp.  
\[mî\] lîndî \[ma=li-p\]  
3SG eye 3SG=put-PRF  
‘She watched it.’

(9.057) Mî ndala wonka lîndî manji asiya ndute.  
\[mî\] nd=ala won-ka lîndî \[manji\] asiya nd=uta-e  
3SG 3PL=from cut-let eye 3SG.POSS string 3PL=grind-DEP  
‘He left them and crossed (the river) and was checking his string traps.’ (T27)

(9.058) Una lîndî ndutape.  
\[unan\] lîndî nd=uta-p-e  
1PL.INCL eye 3PL=grind-PRF-DEP  
‘We’ve examined them.’ (T32)

(9.059) Mî li atwana manji yana mat.  
\[mî\] li-i atwana \[manji\] yana \[ma=ta\]  
3SG down-go.PRF question 3SG.POSS woman 3SG=say  
‘He went down and asked his wife.’ (T01)

(9.060) Dumngul imbape i atwana ankap.  
Dumngul imba-p-e i atwana an=kî-p  
[name] night-be-DEP go.PRF question 1PL.EXCL=say-PRF  
‘Dumngul came at night and asked us.’ (T27)

In a somewhat more complicated fashion, the verb ‘catch, grab, hold’ is formed with the irregular verb *si-* ‘push’, which follows the discontinuous element *ikali*, which is itself composed of *i* ‘hand’ and *kali* ‘send’, and may thus not so clearly be labeled a nominal element. The following two sentences exemplify this structure.

(9.061) Una ikali ndisina.  
\[unan\] i-kali nd=si-na  
1PL.INCL hand-send 3PL=push-IRR  
‘We can grab them.’ (T32)
(9.062) Ngunan ango ikali ndin u ani kos.

NGUNAN ANGO I-KALI NDIN=U ANI KO=SI

‘We haven’t gotten a single bilum (net bag) from them.’ (T32)

The use of light verbs (such as wana- ‘feel’, ta- or kî- ‘say’, and si- ‘push’) to generate a larger semantic range than would otherwise be possible within Ulwa’s small set of verbs is reminiscent of many languages of New Guinea. Indeed, this resembles the common adjunct-plus-verb construction (Foley 1986:117ff.), in which an adjunct nominal combines with a generic verb to make the meaning of the generic verb more specific. One notable feature of these Ulwa constructions, however, is that the adjunct nominal component is often morphologically very much like a verb—that is, it can take verbal morphology. This feature is described further in 9.3.2 and 9.3.3. For the role of the verb ti- ‘take’ in similar bipartite constructions, see the discussion of serial verb constructions in 11.4.

9.3.2 Verbs of ‘putting’

This section covers an especially important subclass of separable verbs, consisting, primarily, of two verbs with meanings somewhat like English ‘put’—“somewhat like” since two important semantic distinctions must be made. First, these Ulwa verbs select only two arguments—i.e., they are not three-place predicates (and, indeed, they may be able to function intransitively as well). Second, the object of these Ulwa verbs is not a theme argument, but rather a goal, the place to which a theme is put (if a theme argument is expressed in a clause, it occurs in an oblique phrase). This may be seen in the following:

(9.063) Inom mî wa unde iwa lan inim andawe.

INOM MÎ WA UNDE IWA ALA=N INIM ANDA=AWE-E

‘A woman used to just go around, setting fish traps in the water.’ (T05)

(9.064) Wen ndawe.

WE=N NDI=AWE-E

‘(They) used to put sago starch in them.’ (T11)
(9.065) Ndī malimap ndīn **ame ndīlumop**.

\[ \text{ndī} \quad \text{ma=} \text{alima}-p \quad \text{ndī-n} \quad \text{ame} \quad \text{ndī=} \text{lumo}-p \]

3PL 3SG=beat-PRF 3PL=OBL basket 3PL=put-PRF

‘They beat it (the sago) and put them (the starch) in the **ame** baskets.’ (T11)

(9.066) **Al malpe** mī i.

\[ \text{al} \quad \text{ma=} \text{li}-p-e \quad \text{mī} \quad \text{i} \]

net 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG go.PRF

‘Having put (the baby) in the mosquito net, she went.’ (T01)

The two major ‘put’ verbs are **u-** and **li-**. They are both used very frequently in separable verb constructions. (In addition to these two verbs, there is the defective stem **lumo-** ‘put’, which seems only to exist in the perfective form (**lumop**) or in conditional forms (**lumota** and **lumopta**); sometimes, in casual speech, the initial **l-** is lost, i.e., the stem may be apheresized to [umo-]).

Often in such constructions, the nominal first element is a form that occurs only in verbal compounds—that is, unlike **limndi** ‘eye’, which occurs frequently as a noun in its own right (e.g., **mī nīnji limndi masap** ‘he hit my eye’), there is no indication that forms like **kuk** ‘gather(ing?)’ ever appear on their own as verbs (indeed, there may even be a phonotactic constraint against a final **-k** in words such as **kuk**; 2.1.1).

Indeed, the first element in separable ‘put’ verbs resemble verbs in at least one way: it permits an object marker. The (unseparated) verb **kalili-** ‘send’, for example, takes as its object that which is sent (i.e., a theme argument); however, as a discontinuous verb, the first element **kali** ‘send’ takes this theme argument as its object, whereas the second element **li-** ‘put’ takes as its object the place to which someone or something is sent (i.e., a goal argument), as in:

(9.067) **Wot makalilipe.**

\[ \text{wot} \quad \text{ma=} \text{kalili}-p-e \]

younger 3SG=send-put-PRF-DEP

‘(They) sent the younger brother.’ (T01)

(9.068) **Makali Nanīmwat malp.**

\[ \text{ma=} \text{kali} \quad \text{Nanīmwat} \quad \text{ma=} \text{li}-p \]

3SG=send [place] 3SG=put-PRF

‘(They) sent him to Nanīmwat.’ (T02)

(The example above illustrates yet another peculiarity of the verb **li-** ‘put’: its ability to lose its vowel, 2.6.9).
Similarly, the form *kuk-* ‘gather’ may take an object marker when appearing with a separable ‘put’ verb. This form mostly appears with the other ‘put’ verb, *u-*, but may instead appear with a blended version containing the element /l/). The first two examples below show an intransitive (middle voice, according to some terminologies) use of the verb, with (9.070) and without (9.069) the detransitivizing marker *na-*.

(9.069) Kuma *kukup*.

kuma  kuk-u-p

some  gather-put-PRF

‘Some gathered.’ (T27)

(9.070) An *nakukunda*.

an  na-kuk-u-nda

1PL.EXCL  DETR-gather-put-IRR

‘We would gather.’ (i.e., ‘gather together, assemble’) (T10)

As a transitive verb, however, *kuku-* ‘gather’ has as its object that which is ‘gathered’ (or ‘piled up’, etc.), and this argument may be indexed by an object marker preceding the form *kuk*. The place in(to) which things are being gathered or piled is, in turn, the object of the verb ‘put’, and thus occurs as an NP between the separable form *kuk* and the ‘put’ verb stem *u-*, as in the examples below. In (9.071), note the metathesis of the alternate form [lu-] of the verb stem *lĩ*- (2.6.9), enabling the formation of the monophthong [o] (from /au/) (2.6.2).

(9.071) Siwi *kuk wa nołnda*.

siwi  *kuk*  wa  na-lu-nda

grub.sp  gather  village  DETR-put-IRR

‘(We) will gather *siwi* grubs home.’ (T33)

(9.072) Mi *ndĩkuk nĩ ani mope*.

mĩ  ndĩ=*kuk*  nĩ=n  ani  ma=*u-p-e*

3SG  3PL=gather  1SG=OBL  bilum  3SG=put-PRF-DEP

‘She piled them into my *bilum* (net bag).’ (T32)

As a phonotactically prohibited final consonant, the final /k/ in *kuk* may be deleted when this word occurs as a separate form, as in:

(9.073) Nipĩl ndĩwale *ndĩku inim aw*e.

nipĩl  ndĩ=wali-e  ndĩ=*ku[k]  inim  aw-e

vine  3PL=hit-DEP  3PL=gather  water  put.IPFV-DEP

‘(We) used to break vines and gather them into the water.’ (T31)
Other separable verbs with stems meaning ‘put’ have as first elements words that seem less likely to permit object markers. For example, *tane-* ‘stand’ has as its object the place where one stands, as in:

(9.074) Ngala imbape **tane malpe**.
ngala  imba-p-e  tane  ma=li-p-e
this.PL  night-be-DEP  stand  3SG=put-PRF-DEP
‘These people stand there at night.’ (T27)

That said, this verb can at times permit two objects (that is, the first element may permit as an object that which is stood [i.e., erected, positioned, etc.]), as in:

(9.075) I apa kongomlip mat i **matanelip**.
i  apa  ko=angom-li-p  ma=tí  i  ma=tane-li-p
go.PRF  house  INDF=pull.out-put-PRF  3SG=take  go.PRF  3SG=stand-put-PRF
‘(It) went and pulled out a house, brought it, and stood it up.’ (T05)

Other verbs appear (on morphological grounds) to belong to this class of separable ‘putting’ verbs, but never seem to occur as discontinuous elements. This could simply be a pragmatic matter, as the object of a verb such as *mimilu-* ‘wring, strain’, for example, is more likely to be a theme than a goal argument. This verb may be seen in the following sentences.

(9.076) Ulum tamndi mawa **ndimimilunda**.
ulum  tamndi  mawa  ndi=mimil-u-nda
palm  owner  3SG.INT  3PL=wring-put-IRR
‘The owner of the sago palms herself will wring them.’ (T11)

(9.077) Ndi **ndimimilawe**.
ndi  ndi=mimil-aw-e
3PL  3PL=wring-put.IPFW-DEP
‘They would be wringing them.’ (T11)

The fact that verbs of ‘putting’ can, however, so commonly permit separable constructions has a certain rationale to it, especially considering that the object of these verbs glossed as ‘put’ is always the goal and not the theme (which, when overt, is expressed as an oblique phrase). Thus, in expressions like ‘send to a place’ or ‘gather/pile up to a place’, it accords that the object of the second element in the separable verb (i.e., the ‘put’ verb) is a destination.
The semantic origins of verbs of ‘putting’ being used as the second component in such separable verbs may be posited: verbs like ‘throw’, ‘break’, etc. could derive from phrases such as ‘put a throw’, ‘put a break’, etc., where the first element in each phrase is in origin an (abstract) noun.

This section may be concluded with lists of some of the most common separable ‘put’ verbs, organized according to whether they typically take the verb stem li- or the verb stem u-. Especially when occurring unseparated, though, the verbs in the first set below often take aw(e) instead of l as their imperfective endings. (Often, given the phonotactics of the language, the imperfective forms in -l would prove unpronounceable; thus, it is not uncommon to substitute a form in -aw).

*Separable ‘put’ verbs with verb stem li-*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘send’</td>
<td>kalil</td>
<td>kalilïp</td>
<td>kalïlïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>kulil</td>
<td>kulilïp</td>
<td>kulïlïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tie’</td>
<td>mopl</td>
<td>moplïp</td>
<td>moplïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spit’</td>
<td>ngoml</td>
<td>ngomlïp</td>
<td>ngomlïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hide’</td>
<td>nokopl</td>
<td>nokoplïp</td>
<td>nokoplïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>tanel</td>
<td>tanelïp</td>
<td>tanelïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>topl</td>
<td>toplïp</td>
<td>toplïnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>ulepl</td>
<td>uleplïp</td>
<td>uleplïnda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Separable ‘put’ verbs with verb stem u-*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>kîkeyaw</td>
<td>kîkeyup</td>
<td>kîkeyunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gather’</td>
<td>kukaw</td>
<td>kukup</td>
<td>kukunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wring’</td>
<td>mîmîlaw</td>
<td>mîmîlup</td>
<td>mîmîlunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
<td>nonganaw</td>
<td>nonganup</td>
<td>nonganunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘crush’</td>
<td>nopalaw</td>
<td>nopalup</td>
<td>nopalunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘break’</td>
<td>nungunaw</td>
<td>nungunup</td>
<td>nungununda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pour’</td>
<td>tomalaw</td>
<td>tomalup</td>
<td>tomalunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>weyaw</td>
<td>weyup</td>
<td>weyunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two sets above are not completely distinct—that is, although separable ‘put’ verbs mostly contain either one set of endings or the other, sometimes speakers mix forms, producing, for example, tane-u-p ‘stand.PRF’ (for tane-li-p) or kuk-li-p ‘gather.PRF’ for
9.3.3 The verb ka- ‘let’

The verb ka- ‘let, leave, allow’ is another important verb that is used in separable verb constructions. (For the use of this verb in permissive constructions, see 13.11.)

As a verb with telic Aktionsart, there is no distinction made between perfective and imperfective: both aspects are encoded with the uninflected form of the verb, ka. This form is homophonous with the adverb/formative ka ‘thus, in this/that manner’ as well as with the postposition ka ‘at, in, on’. It is not clear whether there are any relationships (diachronic or synchronic) among any of the homophonous forms. The irrealis form, lakana, has what appears to be circumfixation, la- -na (4.4). The final -na of lakana ‘let.IRR’ is often elided.

Members of the class of ‘ka-’ separable verbs tend to be intransitive; but, when they do have objects, these (like their counterparts in ‘put’ separable verbs, 9.3.2) are goal arguments. They occur between the first element and the verb stem, as illustrated below (direct objects are underlined).

(9.078) Nawa ndul asike ndi matap.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nawa} & \text{ndi=ul} & \text{asi-ka-e} & \text{ndi} \\
\text{1SG.INT} & \text{3PL=with} & \text{sit-let-DEP} & \text{3PL} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{3PL}=\text{say-PRF} & & \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I myself sat with them, and they talked about it.’ (T11)

(9.079) Nii wa ndul asi maka.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nii} & \text{wa} & \text{ndi=ul} & \text{asi} & \text{ma=ka} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{just} & \text{3PL=with} & \text{sit} & \text{3SG=let} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I just sat there with them.’ (T27)

(9.080) Nii ma lopakana.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nii} & \text{ma} & \text{lop-la-ka-na} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{go} & \text{lie-I RR-let-I RR} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I will go and rest.’ (T27)

(9.081) Lop wulis maka.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{lop} & \text{wulis} & \text{ma=ka} \\
\text{lie} & \text{platform} & \text{3SG=let} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘(I) lay on the platform.’ (T32)
Ngan wolka tīklika mbi.

‘The two of us turned again and came here.’ (T32)

Una tīkli amblalaka wolka amblawalinda man.

‘We’re going to turn on one another and fight one another again.’ (T32)

Often, however, the goal argument is expressed in a postpositional phrase. Nevertheless, these phrases occur between the first element of the separable verb and the verb stem, as in the following:

Nī asī unji komblam mayn ka.

‘I sat in your chair.’

Wa asī nīmal kanam ka.

‘(They) just sit beside the river.’ (T32)

Lop ndīkana ka ko nip.

‘(She) lay beside them and just died.’ (T11)

The following is a list of separable ka-verbs, presented in the perfective (the same as the imperfective) and the irrealis forms.

Separable ka-verbs

gloss  |  perfective  |  irrealis

‘sit’  |  asika  |  asilakana
‘lie (down)’  |  lopka  |  loplakana
‘turn (around)’  |  tīklika  |  tīklilakana
‘bend’  |  tumulka  |  tumulakana
‘cut’  |  wonka  |  wonlaka
Note the degemination (2.6.8) that occurs in the irrealis form of *tumul-* ‘bend’). Also note that *won-* ‘cut’ can alternatively take a set of regular TAM endings (i.e., *won, wonp, wonda*).

### 9.4 Other phrasal constructions

Besides noun phrases and verb phrases, the most important phrasal constituents of clauses are postpositional phrases (PPs). I begin this section by describing PPs in Ulwa (9.4.1). Then I consider the utility of describing adjectival phrases and adverbial phrases in Ulwa (9.4.2).

#### 9.4.1 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases in Ulwa consist minimally of a postposition and the object of the postposition (always preceding it). The object of the postposition may be a full NP (with or without an object marker) or it may be (minimally) just an object marker. A number of examples of postpositions are provided in 8.2 above.

In addition to simple postpositional phrases consisting of just a single postposition, it is possible for multiple postpositions to occur within a single phrase (taking just a single object), often in order to convey a specific (usually spatial) relationship between two NPs. A common component of such complex postpositional phrases is *u* ‘from, in, at, around, along’, which, when following another postposition, may add to it a sense of motion from, as in the following examples.

(9.087)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nî</th>
<th>aplatam</th>
<th>mawat</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ani</th>
<th>ma=tîn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>table</td>
<td>3SG=atop</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>bilum 3SG=take-PRF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I took the <em>bilum</em> (net bag) from atop the table.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9.088)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lîwa ta</th>
<th>nîwat</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>anmbi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>already</td>
<td>1SG=atop</td>
<td>out-here-go-PRF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Dawn already came out upon me.’ (T36)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(9.089) Ndî wimbam u inim ma.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ndî} \\
\text{u} = \text{imbam} \\
3\text{PL} = \text{under} \\
2\text{SG} = \text{water} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They go from under you to the water.’ (i.e., people go under your legs to lift you up and take you to the water) (T11)

(9.090) Ndî u siwi lomoke.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ndî} = \text{in} \\
\text{u} \text{ siwi} \\
3\text{PL} = \text{from} \\
\text{siwi} \text{ ala} = \text{moko-e} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(He) would get siwi grubs from within them.’ (T04)

Sometimes, however, two postpositions may occur in a single phrase without any sense of motion. In the following example, in which the postpositional phrase receives the copular suffix so as to function as a predicate, the two postpositions wan ‘over, above’ and wat ‘atop, onto’ combine to give the sense of (hovering) above.

(9.091) Yangun mî aplatam mawanwatwap.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{yangun} \\
mî \text{ aplatam} \\
m = \text{wan-wat-wap} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The mosquito was above the table.’

It is even possible for three postpositions to occur within a single phrase, as demonstrated below.

(9.092) Yangun mî aplatam mawan wat u mbi.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{yangun} \\
mî \text{ aplatam} \\
m = \text{wan} \\
\text{wat} \text{ u} \\
\text{mbi} = \text{i} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The mosquito came from above the table.’

(9.093) Nongami mawan wat u molop.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Nongami} \\
\text{ma} = \text{wan} \\
\text{wat} \text{ u} \\
\text{ma} = \text{lo-p} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Nongami cut it from above it.’ (i.e., he cut a sago palm by positioning himself above the palm) (T11)

These PPs consisting of multiple postpositions should not be confused with series of multiple PPs occurring in a single clause. The latter always contains multiple objects (one per head postposition in each PP), as in the following examples.
(9.094)  Maya al meni.
    ma=iya  al  ma=in  i
    3SG=toward  net  3SG=in  go.PRF
    ‘(It) went to him into (his) mosquito net.’ (T05)

(9.095)  Min mawl mawatwap.
    min  ma=ul  ma=wat-wap
    3DU  3SG=with  3SG=atop-be.PST
    ‘The two stayed with her on top of it.’ (T15)

9.4.2 Adjectival or adverbial phrases?

This chapter may be concluded with a consideration of other phrasal units that are sometimes described in other languages. First, (multi-word) adjectival phrases may be considered to be combinations of two or more adjectives. There does not, however, seem to be much utility in describing such phrases in Ulwa. When multiple adjectives occur in sequence, either 1) they are all in the same NP, together modifying the same head noun, or 2) they are in the same predicate, being predicated of the same subject, or 3) at least one is a substantive, with the other(s) modifying the noun or being predicated of it.

First, when multiple adjectives modify the same head noun, it is not clear whether one or another adjective has a closer affinity to the head noun (i.e., what the constituent structure is), as is illustrated below.

(9.096)  lamndu ambi anma mi
    lamndu  ambi  anma  mi
    pig  big  good  3SG
    (a) ‘the big [good pig]’ (?)
    (b) ‘the good [big pig]’ (?)
    (c) ‘the [big (and) good pig]’ (?)

Second, when an NP has multiple predicate adjectives, it may be most parsimonious to analyze them as coordinated paratactically (as Ulwa does not contain overt coordinators, 12.2), as in the following:

(9.097)  Lamndu mi ambi anma.
    lamndu  mi  ambi  anma
    pig  3SG  big  good
    ‘The pig is big (and) good.’
Third, when one adjective in a series is functioning as a substantive, it may indeed be the head of a phrase—but this phrase in question is a *noun* phrase, not an adjectival phrase, as is illustrated below.

(9.098)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ambi</th>
<th>anma mĩ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>good 3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the big good (one)’

(9.099)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ambi</th>
<th>(mĩ) anma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>3SG good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The big (one) is good.’

Finally, there does not seem to be much value in analyzing a set of adverbial phrases. The class of adverbs in Ulwa consists of modifiers that are mostly all considered to be sentential—that is, in so far as they are modifiers, they modify on the level of the sentence (i.e., clause), and do not modifier smaller constituents, such as verbs or adjectives. Thus, they are generally not themselves constituents of larger phrases. Furthermore, when multiple adverbs occur in the same clause, they each, independently modify this clause. Therefore, they do not seem to belong to any multi-word constituent unit smaller than the clause or sentence.
Chapter 10
Predicates

10.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provides an examination of various phrase types, including verb phrases, which are often central to the predicate of a clause. In this chapter I describe how different types of predicates may be formed. I begin by looking at predicates that actually contain no overt verb (10.2) and move on to examining those that rely on a verbalizing suffix (10.3), before discussing one interesting group of verb phrases used as predicates: periphrastic constructions containing verbs of ‘going’ (10.4).

10.2 The null copula

There is (generally) no discrete copular verb in Ulwa. Equative sentences (or sentences containing a predicate complement that is a noun or an adjective) can be formed without any overt verb. That is, the subject (always first in the clause) may be juxtaposed with whatever is predicated of it (always last in the clause).

In each of the following equative sentences, the two NPs have the same referent. No verb is needed; rather, the two NPs are simply juxtaposed. The second NP is taken to be the complement (of a null-copula predicate), indicated here in bold.

(10.001) Kowe mĩ ninji atma.
    Kowe  mĩ  ninji  atma
    [name]  3SG  1SG.POSS older.brother
‘Kowe is my older brother.’

(10.002) Kowe Mongima min ninji atma wot.
    Kowe  Mongima  min  ninji  atma  wot
    [name]  [name]  3DU  1SG.POSS older.brother younger
‘Kowe and Mongima are my brothers (unspecified for relative age).’

In such constructions, the referent of the second NP (i.e., the predicate) need not be definite, as illustrated below.
(10.003) Kowe mǐ **atma.**
Kowe mǐ **atma**
[name] 3SG older.brother
‘Kowe is an older brother.’ (i.e., he is an older brother to some unspecified person)

(10.004) Mongima mǐ **yata.**
Mongima mǐ **yata**
[name] 3SG man
‘Mongima is a man.’

(10.005) Mongima mǐ ango **yana.**
Mongima mǐ ango **yana**
[name] 3SG NEG woman
‘Mongima is not a woman.’

(10.006) Mongima mǐ **ankam anma.**
Mongima mǐ **ankam anma**
[name] 3SG person good
‘Mongima is a good person.’

Such constructions may be used to identify people (i.e., proper nouns), as, for example, in:

(10.007) Ngata yeta mǐ **Suwol.**
ngata yeta mǐ **Suwol**
grand man 3SG [name]
‘The male ancestor was Suwol.’ (T02)

Not only nouns and noun phrases, but also adjectives and adjectival phrases can be the predicate complements of null-copula clauses, as in:

(10.008) Kowe mǐ **wutota.**
Kowe mǐ **wutota**
[name] 3SG tall
‘Kowe is tall.’

(10.009) Kowe mǐ **apka wutota.**
Kowe mǐ **apka wutota**
[name] 3SG very tall
‘Kowe is very tall.’
10.3 The copular suffix

Although copular clauses can be formed without any overt verb phrase (10.2), it is also possible to affix a copular suffix to a noun or an adjective to create a predicate. This suffix thus derives verbs from other parts of speech. The copular suffix take three forms, but unlike the aspectual/modal three-way distinction of imperfective-perfective-irrealis found in regular verbal suffixes, the three forms of the copular suffix reflect a temporal/modal distinction. The basic copular forms are as follows:

-\( p \) ‘be’
-\( wap \) ‘be [PST]’
-\( p\text{ïna} \) ‘be [IRR]’

The form -\( p \) ‘be’ is taken to be default, essentially unmarked for tense, aspect, or mood. It is homophonous with the regular perfective suffix -\( p \), and—although there may be a historical connection between the two forms—it remains difficult to posit a current semantic one, as there is very little that is perfective about the present copular suffix (or any copular suffix for that matter), since it by nature indicates imperfective aspect. Although considered here unmarked for tense, the copular suffix -\( p \) can often be used to indicate present time, especially when contrasted with the form -\( wap \).

The copular form -\( wap \) is marked for past time. It contains the phoneme /\( p \)/ in its form, but the nature of a possible derivation from the basic copular suffix -\( p \) ‘be’ is unclear. Notably, when a distinction is drawn between the suffixed -\( p \) ‘be’ and -\( wap \) ‘be.PST’, it is not an aspectual one (as seen in regular verbal suffixes); rather, the two forms contrast in terms of time (present and past). Indeed, since the copular suffix perforce derives stative verbs, it would seem unlikely for there to be a logical contrast between perfective and imperfective aspects.

The copular form -\( p\text{ïna} \) is clearly derived from -\( p \) ‘be’ plus the regular irrealis suffix -\( na \). The epenthetic \( i \) is needed to break up the forbidden *\( pn \) consonant cluster, and—although this vowel is phonemic and thus written in the orthography—the irrealis copular suffix can most simply be analyzed and glossed as -\( p-na \) ‘-be-IRR’. Similarly, the conditional form of the copular suffix is often realized as [-\( p\text{ïta} \)], but may also be realized as [-\( pta \)] (if immediately following a vowel). It is analyzed and glossed here as -\( p-ta \) ‘-be-COND’. The imperative form is [-\( pin \)], and is analyzed and glossed here as -\( p-n \) ‘-be-IMP’. The irrealis, imperative, and conditional copular
forms encode the same modal distinctions as seen elsewhere in these respective suffixes (4.8, 4.9, 4.14).

Noun phrases can denote concepts that can be predicated of subjects; the addition of the copular suffix provides temporal (or modal) information, as seen in the following examples (note that, here, the unmarked copular form -p ‘be’ is translated as encoding present time).

(10.010) Kowe mī atmap.
  Kowe mī atma-p
  [name] 3SG older.brother-be
  ‘Kowe is an older brother.’ (cf. 10.001)

(10.011) Kowe mī atmawap.
  Kowe mī atma-wap
  [name] 3SG older.brother-be.PST
  ‘Kowe was an older brother.’

(10.012) Kowe mī atmapīna.
  Kowe mī atma-p-na
  [name] 3SG older.brother-be-IRR
  ‘Kowe will be an older brother.’

Adjectives can also take the copular suffix and be predicated of subject noun phrases, also with the same three-way (mostly) temporal contrast, as illustrated below.

(10.013) Itom mī ambip.
  itom mī ambi-p
  father 3SG big-be
  ‘Father is big.’

(10.014) Itom mī ambiwap.
  itom mī ambi-wap
  father 3SG big-be.PST
  ‘Father was big.’

(10.015) Itom mī ambipīna.
  itom mī ambi-p-na
  father 3SG big-be-IRR
  ‘Father will be big.’

The suffix can also be attached to entire phrases, occurring always at the end of the phrase. In the case of a noun modified by an adjective (adjectives typically occurring postnominally), this means that it is affixed to the end of the adjective in the NP. Indeed, in such
instances the copular forms are functioning more like enclitics. Nevertheless, even these more clitic-like copular forms may be followed by (other) verbal suffixes, namely the conditional marker -ta (4.14). This is taken as an indication that the copular forms are basically suffixes, even if they may also behave like phrase-level clitics. The following sentence illustrates such a use of the past copular marker wap, which, here, attaches to the adjective anma ‘good’ in the NP ankam anma ‘good person’.

(10.016) Banjiwa mǐ ankam anmawap amun tembi-p.
Banjiwa mǐ ankam anma-wap amun tembi-p
[name] 3SG person good-be.PST now bad-be
‘Banjiwa was a good person, but now he is bad.’

It may be noted that the copular suffix is not restricted to use with nouns and adjectives. The sentences below illustrate the suffix being used to predicate deictics of NPs.

(10.017) Yanapi mǐ andap.
Yanapi mǐ anda-p
[name] 3SG that.SG-be
‘Yanapi is there.’

(10.018) Yanapi mǐ andawap.
Yanapi mǐ anda-wap
[name] 3SG that.SG-be.PST
‘Yanapi was there.’

(10.019) Yanapi mǐ andapina.
Yanapi mǐ anda-p-na
[name] 3SG that.SG-be-IRR
‘Yanapi will be there.’

Existential constructions (akin to English ‘there is/are/was/were …’) are likewise formed with a copular suffix, often affixing to a postposition-like verbal form (8.2), as (10.022) and (10.023) of the examples below.

(10.020) Anmoka ndī wandam map
anmoka ndī wandam ma=p
snake 3PL jungle 3SG-be
‘There are snakes in the jungle.’
(10.021) Anmoka mî apa mawap i.
anmoka mî apa ma=wap i
snake 3SG house 3SG=be.PST go.PRF
‘There was a snake in the house, (but it) left.’

(10.022) Inim mî awal ini mawatwap.
inim mî awal ini ma=wat-wap
water 3SG yesterday ground 3SG=atop-be.PST
‘There was water on the ground yesterday.’

(10.023) Inim mî ini mawatpe.
inim mî ini ma=wat-p-e
water 3SG ground 3SG=atop-be-DEP
‘There is water on the ground.’

(10.024) Wanmbi ani mupta …
wammbi ani ma=p-ta
daka bilum 3SG=be-COND
‘If there is daka pepper in (your) bilum (net bag) …’

… u mat ninata nî ansî lan.
u ma=tî nî=na-ta nî ansî l-an[da]
2SG 3SG=take 1SG=give-COND 1SG red.buai eat-IRR
‘… (then) give it to me so I can chew red buai (betel nut).’ (T32)

Often context alone can determine whether a copular suffix is being used in an existential construction or a predicative construction. Thus, for example, a sentence such as (10.023) above could be interpreted as meaning ‘the water is on the ground’ as well as ‘there is water on the ground’.

As mentioned above, the copular form -p ‘be’, while at times indicating present time, is often used as a default verbalizing form. That is, it does not necessarily suggest any temporal distinction and is thus able to refer to past as well as to present time. In all the examples below, the form -p ‘be’ is used, despite that fact that it refers in each sentence to past time, serving simply as a verbalizing suffix, without any TAM distinctions being made. (More properly, it may be said that no temporal distinctions are made, since there are no known instances in which the form -p is used with irrealis force.)

(10.025) Inom manji mî ata ngap.
inom manji mî ata nga=p
mother 3SG.POSS 3SG up this.SG=be
‘The mother’s (garden) was upstream.’ (T01)
(10.026) Na mĩ ango **anmape**.
na mĩ ango anma-p-e
talk 3SG NEG good-be-DEP
‘The talk wasn’t good.’ (T32)

(10.027) Wondi **ulwap**.
wondi ulwa-p
bandicoot nothing-be
‘There were no bandicoots.’ (T27)

Although functioning above as suffixes, these copular forms can also actually behave like separate verbs. In such instances, however, the forms are in fact transitive verbs that require direct objects. The forms mean something like ‘be in [x]’, ‘stay in [x]’, ‘live in [x]’ ‘inhabit [x]’, etc., with [x] here referring to a location (the direct object of the verb). Often, when just the 3SG object marker *ma=* is used alone (that is, without any other overt object NP), the verb can be taken to mean ‘be there’ or ‘stay there’. Notably, the past/present (as opposed to perfective/imperfective) TAM distinction is still in force for this verb, as the sentences in the following example illustrate.

(10.028) Kambaramba wa ambi maytap **mawap**.
Kambaramba wa ambi ma=ita-p ma=wap
[place] village big 3SG=build-PRF 3SG=be.PST
‘(They) built the big village Kambaramba and stayed there.’

**Mawape** wusim andenpe amblasap.
ma=wap-e wusim anda=in-p-e ambla=asa-p
3SG=be.PST-DEP crocodile that.SG=in-be-DEP PL.REFL=hit-PRF
‘While staying there, they fought on another over the crocodile.’ (T02)

The word **mawape** in the second sentence above, which is used in the very common tail-head linkage discourse device (12.3.5), cannot possibly have perfective force, since it is referring to a continuous stretch of time within which a particular event occurred. It must simply refer to past time.

Often, free copular forms are used to serve grammatical function—that is, they function as auxiliary verbs. On this suspected recent innovation in Ulwa, see Chapter 15.
10.4 Periphrastic ‘go’ verb phrases

The imperfective or irrealis forms of ma- ‘go’ may be used (as an auxiliary) along with an irrealis form of a main verb to signal the future, nearly paralleling the English periphrastic future construction ‘going to [infinitive]’, as in the following:

(10.029) Nî ma na tana man.
    nî    ma[nji]    na    ta-na    ma-n
    1SG   3SG[.POSS] talk  say-IRR  go-IPFV
‘I am going to tell its story.’ (T12)

(10.030) Un maytana man.
    un    ma=ita-na    ma-n
    2PL   3SG=build-IRR  go-IPFV
‘You are going to build it.’ (T11)

(10.031) Wombîn ambi nga ina mane.
    wombîn  ambi  nga    i-na    ma-n-e
    work  big  this.SG come-IRR  go-IPFV-DEP
‘This big work is going to come.’ (T11)

(10.032) Ndî menpîna mane.
    ndî    ma=in-p-na    ma-n-e
    3PL   3SG=in-be-IRR  go-IPFV-DEP
‘They are going to stay inside it.’ (T27)

Examples such as (10.032) above illustrate the purely aspectual use of this verb ma- ‘go’—that is, a use without any sense of motion. While the imperfective form of ma- is most often used in these constructions, it is alternatively possible to use an irrealis (or even conditional) form, as shown below.

(10.033) U angos tîna mana?
    u    angos    tî-na    ma-na
    2SG what  take-IRR  go-IRR
‘What could you be going to get?’ (T27)

(10.034) Una tîmbîl menpîta manata …
    unan    tîmbîl    ma=in-p-ta    ma-na-ta
    1PL.INCL fence  3SG=in-be-COND  go-IRR-COND
‘If we are going to be within the fence, …’ (T32)
While it is theoretically possible that perfective forms of the verb may be used in such constructions as well (i.e., the suppletive form i ‘go.PRF’), one must be careful not to confuse periphrastic future constructions with final clauses containing an irrealis verb form. The following sentences containing the verb i ‘go.PRF’ are taken to be indicating purpose, not futurity.

(10.035) Ala unanwalinda i.
         ala  unan=wali-nda i
         that.PL  I.PL.INCL=hit-IRR go.PRF
‘Those people have come to fight us.’ (T11)

(10.036) Min tîlwanî wandam kolnda iye.
         min  tîlwa=nî  wandam  kol-nda  i-e
         3DU  road=OBL  jungle  split-I RR  go.PRF-DEP
‘The two went to split the jungle from the path.’ (i.e., clear a trail) (T11)

  Indeed, it is often difficult to determine whether a verb of ‘going’ is marking futurity or purpose (unsurprising, if one assumes the likely historical change of verb of motion > purpose > future). In the examples below, the English translations capture the ambiguity well. In the first example, (10.037), a reading in which the verb of ‘going’ marks futurity would suggest that the first clause is counterfactual.

(10.037) Ndî apîn anul landa mane mî ipka i.
         ndî  apîn=n  anul  la-nda  ma-n-e  mî  ipka  i
         3PL  fire=OBL  grassland  eat-I RR  go-IPFV-DEP  3SG  before  go.PRF
‘They were going to burn the grassland, but he went ahead (of them).’ (T01)

(10.038) Magendo lol amblawalinda mane.
         Magendo  ala=ul  ambla=wali-nda  ma-n-e
[place]  that.PL=with  PL.REFL=hit-I RR  go-IPFV-DEP
‘(They) were going to fight with the people from Magendo (village).’ (T02)

  Whereas only ma- ‘go’ seems permitted in periphrastic future constructions, it is possible for other verbs of ‘going’ to indicate purpose as well, such as the verb lo- ‘cut, go’ and in- ‘come’, as seen in the following examples.

(10.039) Wongîta man matîna lope.
         wongîta  ma=n  ma=atî-na  lo-p-e
         bow  3SG=OBL  3SG=take-I RR  go-P RF-DEP
‘(I) went to hit it with (my) bow.’ (T32)
(10.040) Ndīt ndīnanda ndīnap ine.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndī=tī} & \quad \text{ndī=na-nda} & \quad \text{ndī=nap} & \quad \text{i-n-e} \\
3\text{PL}=\text{take} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{give-IRR} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{for} & \quad \text{come-PRF-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) came for their sake to give them (fish) to them (their people).’ (T27)

It should be noted, however, that the exact syntactic nature of these purpose constructions is not entirely clear. It seems that only verbs of ‘going’ permit this embedded clause structure to express purpose. Elsewhere, the clause indicating purpose simply follows the clause detailing the action performed for that purpose (see 4.8).
Chapter 11
Clause-level syntax

11.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the syntax of Ulwa at the clausal level. A clause is taken to be a set of elements consisting (minimally) of a verb and a subject (whether overtly expressed or not). The interaction of multiple clauses is the focus of Chapter 12.

11.2 Basic constituent order

The minimal constituents of an intransitive clause are taken to be the subject (S) and the verb (V); a transitive clause consists of these two elements as well as an object (O). Stated in terms more agnostic with respect to notions of subjecthood and objecthood, an intransitive clause consists of a single argument (S) and a verb (V), whereas a transitive clause consists of a more agent-like argument (A), a more patient-like argument (P), and a verb (V). Although various pragmatic factors may affect the ordering (or overt expression) of elements in a clause, Ulwa nevertheless has a fairly rigid ordering of constituents (at least in active-voice independent clauses), as detailed below.

Intransitive clauses: SV
Transitive clauses: SOV (APV)

In the following intransitive clauses, the verb is in **bold** and the subject is **underlined**.

(11.001) *Alum mî sap.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>almum</th>
<th>mî</th>
<th>sa-p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>cry-PRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The baby cried.’

(11.002) *Anmoka i.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>anmoka</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>go-PRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The snake left.’
(11.003) Ndì nip.
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{Ndì} & \text{ni-p} \\
   3\text{PL} & \text{die-PRF}
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘They died.’

(11.004) Jukan mì mbìp.
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{Jukan} & \text{mbï-p} \\
   [\text{name}] & 3\text{SG} \quad \text{here-be}
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘Jukan is here.’

(11.005) Alum uleplïnda.
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{Alum} & \text{ulep-fi-nda} \\
   \text{child} & \text{jump-put-IRR}
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘The child will jump.’

In the following transitive clauses, the verb is in \textbf{bold}, the subject (or more agentive participant) is \underline{underlined}, and the object (or more patientive participant) is in \textit{italics}.

(11.006) Itom mì uta walinda.
   \[
   \begin{array}{llll}
   \text{Itom} & \text{mi} & \text{uta} & \text{wali-nda} \\
   \text{father} & 3\text{SG} & \text{bird} & \text{hit-IRR}
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘Father will shoot a bird.’

(11.007) Alimban mì apa mayte.
   \[
   \begin{array}{llll}
   \text{Alimban} & \text{mi} & \text{apa} & \text{ma=ita-e} \\
   [\text{name}] & 3\text{SG} & \text{house} & 3\text{SG}=\text{build-DEP}
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘Alimban is building the house.’

(11.008) Apa mì alum masap.
   \[
   \begin{array}{llll}
   \text{Apa} & \text{mi} & \text{alum} & \text{ma=asa-p} \\
   \text{house} & 3\text{SG} & \text{child} & 3\text{SG}=\text{hit-PRF}
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘The house killed the child.’ (e.g., by falling on him)

Note that object-marker clitics have been written in both bold and italic typeface in the examples above. This represents an attempt to address the ambivalent role that they play. (See 7.4 for more on object markers and 9.3 for a discussion of their syntactic place within the verb phrase.)

As is suggested by the last example above (in which the subject-agent is inanimate and the object/patient is animate), notions of agentivity or patientivity are not intrinsic to NPs based on their referents. That is, principles such as the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976) play no role in determining constituent order (or core argument alignment, 11.3) in Ulwa.
As mentioned above, this order (SOV) is fairly rigid, perhaps unsurprisingly so, considering the absence of verbal subject agreement, core argument case morphology, or other clues as to the grammatical relations of NPs—that is, whether they are subjects or object. Thus, almost every indicative main clause with overtly expressed NPs follows this pattern, as do other clause types, such as interrogative sentences (i.e., there is no wh-movement, 13.2) and imperative sentences (the subject need not be expressed in second-person imperatives, but—when present—it always precedes the object and verb, 13.3). The most notable divergences from this pattern occur in passive constructions. In passive constructions, the basic constituent order is VS (see 13.8). Also, if relative clauses are to be analyzed as head-internal, then they could be said to reflect the order (O)VS (however, this word order does not hold in a gap-strategy analysis of relative clauses).

While this S(O)V order is rigid for most clause types, it is possible to omit the subject (S) constituent when its referent is clear from context. Ulwa may thus be called a pro-drop language. (While subjects may be omitted, it is not common to omit objects—a transitive clause must, at the very least, contain an object marker.) The following sentences all have unexpressed subjects.

(11.009) Wop.
   w-op
   sleep-PRF
   ‘(He) slept.’ (T01)

(11.010) Yawe mankap.
   ya-we
   ma=nkï-p
   coconut-sago
   3SG=cut-PRF
   ‘(He) made the coconut-sago-pancake.’ (T01)

(11.011) Lïmndï wapa ngalala.
   lïmndï
   wapa
   ngala=ala
   eye
   leaf
   this.PL=for
   ‘(He) saw these leaves.’ (T01)

(11.012) Wombasame maya iye.
   Wombasame
   ma=iya
   i-e
   [name]
   3SG=toward
   go.PRФ-DEP
   ‘(She) went to Wombasame.’ (T01)
(11.013) Wolka manji numan andanap i.
   wolka  manji  numan  anda=nap  i
   again  3SG.POSS  husband  that.SG=for  go.PRF
   ‘(She) went (home) again for the sake of her husband.’ (T27)

(11.014) Wambana ndimokop.
   wambana  ndi=moko-p
   fish  3PL=take-PRF
   ‘(They) caught fish.’ (T01)

(11.015) Mol mbiye.
   ma=ul  mbī-i-e
   3SG=with  here-go.PRF-DEP
   ‘(They) came with her.’ (T11)

(11.016) Manji inom ambi manji wandam may.
   manji  inom  ambi  manji  wandam  ma=i
   3SG.POSS  mother  big  3SG.POSS  jungle  3SG=go.PRF
   ‘(We) went to her aunt’s garden.’ (T27)

(11.017) We ndīt akīnakape.
   we  ndi=tī  akīnak-a-e
   sago  3PL=take  young-be-DEP
   ‘(We) took the sago starch when (we) were young.’ (T11)

(11.018) Manji alum mat inde.
   manji  alum  ma=tī  inda-e
   3SG.POSS  child  3SG=take  walk-DEP
   ‘(I) carried her child around.’ (T27)

(11.019) Kwa angwena man inim atīna ne?
   kwa  angwen  ma=n  inim  atī-na  na-i
   just  why  3SG=OBL  water  hit-IRR  DETR-go.PRF
   ‘Why did (you) just go to throw it in the water?’ (T27)

   As mentioned above, the canonical S(O)V word order is fairly rigid in active-voice main
   clauses. Sometimes, in transitive clauses, however, emphasis can be placed on an object by
   fronting it to the beginning of the clause. Even in such instances, however, the order of the clause
   (following this arguably pre-clausal element) is usually still SOV, since the referent of the
   fronted object invariably appears again in the clause, marked by an agreement marker
   immediately preceding the verb, as in the following:
(11.020) **Ninji alum ndī nī Wopata ndape ndinap.**

\[
\text{nīnji \, alum \, ndī \, nī \, Wopata \, anda-p-e \, \text{ndī}=\text{ina-p}}
\][place] that.SG-be-DEP 3PL=get-PRF

‘My children—I had them when I was there at Wopata.’ (T11)

(11.021) **Talamba ulum ala ndī ndinap amblawale.**

Talamba ulum ala ndī ndī=nap ambla=wali-e

[place] palm that.PL 3PL=for PL.REFL=hit-DEP

‘Those palms at Talamba—they were fighting each other on account of them.’ (T29)

(11.022) **Nipīl ala ndīwale.**

\[
\text{nīpīl \, ala \, ndī=\text{wali-e}}
\][place] 3PL=hit-DEP

‘Those vines—people used to beat them.’ (T31)

(11.023) **Ninji yenat ngala nī nan ndīt:**

\[
\text{nīnji \, yenat \, ngala \, nī \, na=n \, ndī=\text{ta}}
\][this.PL 1SG talk=OBL 3PL=say]

‘My daughters—I told them.’ (T32)

### 11.3 Core argument alignment

The three basic core arguments of all clause types may be considered to be: 1) the single argument of an intransitive clause (S), 2) the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause (A), and 3) the more patient-like argument of a transitive clause (O) (also identified as P in the literature). In Ulwa, the S and A arguments pattern alike in every way—syntactically, morphologically, phonologically, and so on. Ulwa may thus be considered to exhibit nominative-accusative alignment. It is therefore convenient (and, generally, unproblematic from a crosslinguistic typological perspective) to use terms like “subject” and “object” to refer to various NPs in Ulwa.

S and A occur in the same position in the clause (namely, clause-initially), whereas O occurs after S and before the verb. Since there is no core-argument case morphology in Ulwa (even among pronouns), is fruitless to talk about “nominative” and “accusative” or “ergative” and “absolutive” NPs in Ulwa (at least in terms of morphological marking). There is, however, one important distinction made between subject markers and object markers. Although the two paradigms are nearly identical (7.2, 7.4), the third-singular forms do diverge: whereas the subject form is \( \text{mī} \) ‘3sg’, the object form is \( \text{ma=} \) ‘3sg’. The fact that third-singular S and A NPs are both
marked with \( mî \), whereas third-singular O NPs are marked with \( ma= \) is further indication of accusative alignment. Finally, there is no evidence of syntactic ergativity in the language. Thus, for example, in coordinate constructions (12.2), coreference is possible between S and A but not between S and O (cf. Dixon 1979:62f.). In the following sentence, the omitted S argument of the second clause must be understood to refer to the stated A argument (\( yana \) ‘woman’) of the first clause.

(11.025) \( \text{Yana mî yata masap i.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{yana} & \text{mî} & \text{yata} & \text{ma=} & \text{asa-p} \\
\text{woman} & 3\text{SG} & \text{man} & 3\text{SG}=\text{hit-PRF} & \text{go.PRF}
\end{array}
\]
‘The woman hit the man and (the woman/*the man) left.’

Similarly, in the sentence below, the A argument Kolpe must be understood to be the omitted S argument of the second clause, and it would be impossible for the O argument \( mana \) ‘spear’ to be understood as such.

(11.026) \( \text{Kolpe mana motoplî p liyu.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Kolpe} & \text{mana} & \text{ma=} & \text{top-lî-p} & \text{li-u} \\
\text{[name]} & \text{spear} & 3\text{SG}=\text{throw-put-PRF} & \text{fall-PRF}
\end{array}
\]
‘Kolpe threw the spear (but) (Kolpe/*the spear) fell.’

There is also no indication of split-intransitivity or related alignment types in the language (i.e., no active-stative/semantic/fluid alignment in Ulwa). That is, all types of S arguments pattern more closely with A arguments than with O arguments (it is not the case that some S’s are more similar to A’s, whereas other S’s are more similar to O’s depending on semantic or other criteria). Thus, the S arguments of the following clauses are alike both syntactically and morphologically, irrespective of whether they are more agentive (unergative) (11.027) or more patientive (unaccusative) (11.028).

(11.027) \( \text{Alum mî uleplî p.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{alum} & \text{mî} & \text{ulep-lî-p}
\end{array}
\]
‘The child jumped.’

(11.028) \( \text{Alum mî liyu.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{alum} & \text{mî} & \text{li-u}
\end{array}
\]
‘The child fell.’
This universal treatment of S arguments holds for all NPs, whether full NPs as those above (marked with subject markers) or pronominal NPs, as seen below.

(11.029) Nī amun natan.
    nī       amun       na-ta-n
    1SG      now        DETR-say-IPFV
    ‘I am speaking now.’

(11.030) Nī amun kīkalwana.
    nī       amun       kīkal-wana
    1SG      now        ear-feel
    ‘I am listening now.’

Finally, S and A arguments are also alike in that both can be relativized (whereas O arguments cannot be, 12.4) and neither S nor A arguments can be passivized (whereas O arguments can be, 13.8).

**11.4 Ditransitive alignment?**

As well as considering the morphosyntactic patterning of S, A, and O arguments, some typologists analyze the relationships among arguments in ditransitive constructions. Such typological endeavors (e.g., Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010) have largely focused on dative constructions—that is, constructions in which something is given from one participant to another. In some languages, these constructions make use of ditransitive verbs, which take three arguments: 1) an agent (A), 2) a recipient (R), and 3) a theme (T). The question of interest is whether the O argument of a monotransitive verb patterns more like the R or T argument of a ditransitive verb (it is not known ever to pattern like the A argument).

In Ulwa, however, there are no ditransitive verbs. In short, there is no word ‘give’ in the sense of English ‘give’, which may, in some uses, be considered ditransitive (as in sentences such as ‘John gave Mary a rose’). To express ‘give’-events in Ulwa, two verbs are needed, one meaning ‘take’, which has as its object an NP with a theme role (the ‘gift’), and the other using the verb na- ‘give’, which has as its object an NP with a recipient role (the receiver). The following cannot be stressed enough: the fact that the (monotransitive) verb glossed as ‘give’ has as its (sole) object a recipient, does not imply any sort of ditransitive alignment between R and O arguments. The verb na-, despite being glossed for convenience as ‘give’, is not equivalent to the
English word *give*. There is, however, unfortunately, no basic monotransitive English word with which to gloss this monotransitive Ulwa word, which means something more like ‘endow’ (although even this English gloss is not a very good match, since it can have as its object NP either a recipient or a theme).

Given the real-world scenarios involved in the act of giving, it is most common for such giving events to include three participants—giver (agent), recipient (benefactive), and gift (theme)—and, as such, these three participants are often all expressed in Ulwa ‘give’ constructions (through the use of at least two verbs). It is, however, possible for the verb *na-* ‘give’ to occur without any other verb encoding the theme argument; in such instances, the only two roles expressed (as determined by the verb’s argument structure) are the giver (the grammatical subject) and the recipient (the grammatical object), as seen below.

(11.031) **Manata** we mī man um al nālin.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma}=\text{na}-\text{ta} & \quad \text{we} \quad mī \quad \text{ma}=\text{n} \quad \text{ulum} \quad \text{ndī}=\text{n} \quad \text{ali}=\text{n}[\text{da}] \\
3\text{SG}=\text{give}\text{-COND} & \quad \text{then} \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{palm} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{scrape}\text{-IRR} \\
\text{‘After (they) give (it) to her, then she will scrape sago palms with it.’} & \quad \text{(T18)}
\end{align*}
\]

(11.032) **Ndīnane** mane ndī nāmāne.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndī}=\text{na}-\text{n-e} & \quad \text{ma}=\text{n-e} \quad \text{ndī} \quad \text{ndī}=\text{ama-e} \\
3\text{PL}=\text{give}\text{-PRF-DEP} & \quad \text{go}\text{-IPFV-DEP} & \quad 3\text{PL} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{eat-DEP} \\
\text{‘Going and giving them, they would eat them.’} & \quad \text{(T14)}
\end{align*}
\]

When the theme (gift) is also to be overtly expressed, it is necessary to use another verb. The verb that is most commonly used along with *na-* ‘give’ in these constructions is the (sometimes defective) verb *ti-* ‘take’ (see 4.4). This first verb always details the theme (that which is given), whereas the second verb (*na-*) details the beneficiary (to whom it is given), as in the following examples.

(11.033) Alma mī lamndu matī Kongos manan.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Alma} & \quad \text{mī} \quad \text{lamndu} \quad \text{ma}=\text{tī} \quad \text{Kongos} \quad \text{ma}=\text{na-n} \\
[\text{name}] & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{pig} & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{take} & \quad [\text{name}] & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{give}\text{-PRF} \\
\text{‘Alma gave a pig to Kongos.’} & \quad \text{(Literally, ‘Alma took a pig; [Alma] gave Kongos.’)}
\end{align*}
\]

(11.034) Ndīt wa ne ndīt ninji inom manana.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndī}=\text{tī} & \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{na-i} \quad \text{ndī}=\text{tī} \quad \text{ninji} \quad \text{inom} \quad \text{ma}=\text{na-na} \\
3\text{PL}=\text{take} & \quad \text{village} & \quad \text{DETR-go}\text{-PRF} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{take} & \quad 1\text{SG.POSS} & \quad \text{mother} & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{give}\text{-PRF} \\
\text{‘(He) brought them home and gave them to my mother.’} & \quad \text{(Literally, ‘took them; gave my mother’)} & \quad \text{(T10)}
\end{align*}
\]
(11.035) Ngan tana **mat manan**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngan} & \text{ tana} & \text{ma}=tî & \text{ma}=\text{na-n} \\
1\text{DU.EXCL} & \text{axe} & 3\text{SG}=\text{take} & 3\text{SG}=\text{give-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We gave him the axe.’ (Literally, ‘We took the axe; (we) gave him.’) (T11)

(11.036) Wawana mu **kot manane**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wawana} & \text{ mu} & \text{ko}=tî & \text{ma}=\text{na-n-e} \\
\text{plant.sp} & \text{fruit} & \text{INDF}=\text{take} & 3\text{SG}=\text{give-PRF-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) gave him a wawana fruit.’ (T16)

(11.037) Imbapta wondi **andat unananda**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{imba-p-ta} & \text{ wondi} & \text{anda}=tî & \text{unan}=\text{na-nda} \\
\text{night-be-COND} & \text{bandicoot} & \text{that.SG}=\text{take} & 1\text{PL.INCL}=\text{give-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘When night comes, (he) will give us that bandicoot.’ (T24)

(11.038) An ango **kumat unananda**!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an} & \text{ango} & \text{kuma}=tî & \text{u}=\text{na-nda} \\
1\text{PL.EXCL} & \text{NEG} & \text{some}=\text{take} & 2\text{SG}=\text{give-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We won’t give you any!’ (T27)

(11.039) Mu **kumti ninan**!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu} & \text{kuma}=tî & \text{nî}=\text{na-n} \\
\text{seed} & \text{some}=\text{take} & 1\text{SG}=\text{give-IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Give some seeds to me!’ (T32)

(11.040) Ndî yena **ndî ndînan** ndî ndîul wop.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndî} & \text{yena} & \text{ndî}=tî & \text{ndî}=\text{na-n-e} & \text{ndî} & \text{ndî}=\text{ul} & \text{wo-p} \\
3\text{PL} & \text{woman}3\text{PL}=\text{take} & 3\text{PL}=\text{give-PRF-DEP} & 3\text{PL} & 3\text{PL}=\text{with} & \text{sleep-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They gave the women to them and they slept with them.’ (T02)

Since the verb *tî*- ‘take’ is often defective (as in the examples above), it looks very much like these are separable verb constructions (9.3.1). Given the verbal nature of *tî*- ‘take’, however, these ‘give’ constructions can instead be described as serial verb constructions. Although not quite fitting some stricter criteria for serial verb constructions (e.g., Aikhenvald 2006:8), since (as a defective verb) *tî*- ‘give’ does not match *na*- ‘give’ in its TAM marking, these Ulwa ‘give’ constructions qualify as such under definitions such as Haspelmath’s (2016:296): “a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs”.

That said, there are other instances in which it seems best to analyze Ulwa ‘give’ constructions as consisting of two separate clauses. When the first verb *tî*- ‘take’ is marked for
TAM, it must also receive the dependent marker -e (12.3), proving, as it were, that this verb belongs to a separate clause. This may be seen in the sentence below.

(11.041) Uma nditéné Wombasame manane …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uma} & \quad \text{ndi}=t\text{-n-e} \\
\text{bone} & \quad \text{3PL}=\text{take-PRF-DEP} & \quad \text{[name]} & \quad \text{3SG}=\text{give-PRF-DEP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) gave the bones to Wombasame …’

… mï ndiî nê.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mï} & \quad \text{ndi}=\text{n} & \quad \text{ni-e} \\
\text{3SG} & \quad \text{3PL}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{act-DEP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘… and he began playing with them.’ (T01)

Literally, the sentence above may be rendered as: ‘After (they) took the bones, and after (they) gave Wombasame, he was acting with them.’

It is possible to form other (multi-verb) ‘giving’ constructions in Ulwa with other (inflected) verbs that mean ‘take’. In the sentences below, the verb moko-, which often has the sense ‘take one by one’ is used along with na- ‘give’. The first example (11.042) could be analyzed as a serial verb construction, if it is assumed that the two verbs belong to a single clause (indeed, they even match in terms of TAM marking); in the second example (11.043), however, the verb moko- ‘take’ is marked as belonging to a different clause (and, moreover, it does not share TAM marking with na- ‘give’), suggesting that this is not a serial verb construction.

(11.042) Mi ani ndimokop ndinanê.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi} & \quad \text{ani} & \quad \text{ndi}=m\text{oko-p} & \quad \text{ndi}=\text{na-na} \\
\text{3SG} & \quad \text{bilum} & \quad \text{3PL}=\text{take-PRF} & \quad \text{3PL}=\text{give-PRF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He gave them the bilum (net bags) (one by one).’ (T01)

(11.043) Ndît wa i ndiweyawe …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndi}=t\text{-i} & \quad \text{wa} & \quad \text{i} & \quad \text{ndi}=\text{we-aw-e} \\
\text{3PL}=\text{take} & \quad \text{village} & \quad \text{go.PR} & \quad \text{3PL}=\text{cut-put.IPV-DEP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) used to bring them home, cut them, …’

… ndimoke lapun ndinane.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndi}=m\text{oko-e} & \quad \text{lapun} & \quad \text{ndi}=\text{na-n-e} \\
\text{3PL}=\text{take-DEP} & \quad \text{old} & \quad \text{3PL}=\text{give-PRF-DEP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘… and give them out to the old people.’ (lapun < TP) (T24)

The combination of moko- and na- is often used to describe the distribution or sharing of items (with a reflexive object form preceding the verb na-), as seen below.
(11.044) Ndí ndit amblanane.  

implified:  

3PL=take out-here-put PRF 3PL=take-DEP PL=REFL=give-PRF-DEP  

‘They got them out and were sharing them among themselves.’ (T11)

(11.045) Ndí ilum moke amblanane.  

3PL little take-DEP PL=REFL=give-PRF-DEP  

‘They would share little (pieces) with each other.’ (T24)

(11.046) Ndí atma wot ala mundu moke amblanane.  

3PL older.brother younger that PL food take-DEP PL=REFL=give-PRF-DEP  

‘They, those brothers, shared the food.’ (T28)

Also, although not necessarily common, it is possible for na- ‘give’ to follow a verb in the preceding clause that means something other than ‘take’, as in the following sentences, in which na- ‘give’ follows wana- ‘cook’ (11.047) and nkī- ‘cut’ (11.048).

(11.047) Ma isi wanap yawa lananda.  

3SG[.POSS] soup cook PRF uncle that PL=give-IRR  

‘(They) will cook her soup and give (it) to the uncles.’ (T11)

(11.048) An keka mankap ndīnan.  

1PL.EXCL completely 3SG=cut PRF 3PL=give-PRF  

‘We butchered it and gave it out completely to them.’ (T11)

While ‘giving’ is the prototypical event to be encoded by ditransitive constructions (in languages that exhibit them), there are other verbs as well that are likely to function similarly crosslinguistically. In the remainder of this section I describe how the ‘showing’ event is encoded in Ulwa. Whereas ‘giving’ events in Ulwa are encoded with two transitive verbs (typically lī- ‘take’ and na- ‘give’), ‘showing’ events are encoded with a single intransitive verb (sī- ‘push’). In other contexts, this verb is used transitively (11.049), often in conjunction with the verb lī- ‘put’ to convey the sense of something being pushed upon something else (11.050 and 11.051) or in conjunction with the preverbal form ikali (literally, ‘hand-send’) to convey the act of grabbing, holding, or catching (11.052 and 11.053), as seen in the following examples.
(11.049) Ndin u iitiil ndise.
     ndi=in u iitiil ndi=s-i-e
     3PL=in from dust 3PL=push-DEP
     ‘(I) was pushing the dust out from them.’ (i.e., shaking out the dust) (T32)

(11.050) Unap ndis apin lip.
     u=nap ndi=s-i apin li-p
     2SG=for 3PL=push fire put-PRF
     ‘(They) put them on the fire for you.’ (T11)

(11.051) Nawoli mangusuwa imbake apa i …
     Nawoli mangusuwa imba-ka-e apa i
     [name] 3SG.poor night-at-DEP house go-PRF
     ‘Nawoli, the poor thing, came to (my) house at night …’

     … wuti si nimbamlip.
     wuti si nī=imbam-li-p
     leg push 1SG=under-put-PRF
     ‘… and put (his) legs under me.’ (T11)

(11.052) Nungol mī ikali mas.
     nungol mī i-kali ma=s-i
     child 3SG hand-send 3SG=push
     ‘The son grabbed it.’ (T05)

(11.053) U wa li mama ikali masina?
     u wa li ma=ma i-kali ma=s-i-na
     2SG just down 3SG=go hand-send 3SG=push-IRR
     ‘You’ll just go down there and grab it?’ (T11)

     When used to encode a ‘showing’ event, however, the verb si- ‘push’ is intransitive: the
     agent (the one showing) is the subject of the verb; the theme (that which is shown) is the object
     of the postposition ul ‘with’; and the experiencer (the one to whom something is shown) is
     marked by the oblique marker =n. The preferred order of these two non-core arguments is first
     the oblique-marked noun phrase, and then the postposition phrase. Literally, such sentences may
     be rendered as ‘[agent] pushes with [theme] (along) with [experiencer]’. They may be seen in the
     following examples.

(11.054) Gwam mī tawa man Mapana mol si.
     Gwam mī tawa ma=n Mapana ma=ul si
     [name] 3SG wound 3SG=OBL [name] 3SG=with push
     ‘Gwam showed her wound to Mapana.’
(11.055) Gwam mî tawa ndîn yena minul sina.
Gwam mî tawa ndî= n yena min= ul si-na
[name] 3SG wound 3PL=OBL mother 3DU=with push-IRR
‘Gwam will show her wounds to the two women.’

(11.056) Gwam mî tawa ndîn ndî wopa lu se.
Gwam mî tawa ndî= n ndî wopa lu si-e
[name] 3SG wound 3PL=OBL 3PL all with push-DEP
‘Gwam is showing her wounds to everyone.’

(11.057) Maya apa i lîmnðî man mol si.
ma=iya apa i lîmnðî ma= n ma= ul si
3SG=toward house go.PRF eye 3SG=OBL 3SG=with push
‘(It) went to him in the house, and showed him (its) eye.’ (T05)

(11.058) Man ndul si.
ma= n ndî= ul si
3SG=OBL 3PL=with push
‘(He) showed it to them.’ (T32)

11.5 Obliques

Following from the discussion above (11.4), there is no language-internal reason to refer to any arguments as indirect objects in Ulwa. The canonical placement of subjects is at the beginning of clauses, and the canonical placement of (direct) objects is immediately preceding verbs (which are typically clause-final). All other arguments in a clause (that is, noun phrases that are neither subjects nor objects, and all other phrases) may be referred to as obliques. In Ulwa, obliques typically follow subjects and precede verbs (in intransitive clauses) or objects (in transitive clauses).

11.5.1 The oblique marker =n

The clearest illustrations of the position and function of obliques in Ulwa are NPs that contain the enclitic =n (glossed as ‘OBL’), which may be considered an oblique marker. This oblique-marker enclitic =n can—when affixed to a noun phrase—be described as something like a non-core case marker. It often encodes instrumental functions, and may, in origin, be an instrumental marker. Synchronously, however, it can serve other semantic and grammatical
functions (none of which relates to indicating a core argument, i.e., subject or object). The oblique marker is realized by the following allomorphs, which are mostly in free variation:

=ⁿ ‘OBL’
=ⁿi ‘OBL’
==in ‘OBL’

In all the examples below, the oblique NP appears after the subject (if expressed) and before the object of the verb.

(11.059) Itom *napnï* uta masap.

*Itom* nap=nï uta ma=asa-p
father arrow=OBL bird 3SG=hit-PRF
‘Father shot the bird with an arrow.’

(11.060) Mï *manji sina man* mundu maweyup.

mï manji sina ma=n mundu ma=we-u-p
3SG 3SG.POSS knife 3SG=OBL food 3SG=cut-put-PRF
‘He cut the meat with his knife.’

(11.061) Anton mangusuwata *nimnï* aninap.

Anton mangusuwata imnï an=ana-p
[name] 3SG.poor water=OBL 1PL.EXCL=scrub-PRF
‘Anton, the poor thing, baptized us.’ (Literally, ‘scrubbed us with water’) (T11)

(11.062) Nï *anamnï* ndatina.

nï anam=nï ndi=ati-na
1SG lightnin=OBL 3PL=hit-IRR
‘I will strike them with lightning.’ (T11)

(11.063) Mï *yotnï* masap.

mï yot=nï ma=asa-p
3SG machete=OBL 3SG=hit-PRF
‘He hit it with (his) machete.’ (T30)

(11.064) Ninji apa may nji *ndín* apa up.

ninji apa ma=i nji ndi=n apa u-p
1SG.POSS house 3SG=go.PRIF thing 3PL=OBL house put-PRF
‘(I) went to my house and put things in the house.’ (T35)

Note the argument structure of the word glossed as ‘put’ above—the object of the verb is the place where the item is put; the theme is expressed in the oblique phrase (cf. the argument structure of the English verb ‘load’). Similarly, the word glossed as ‘tie’ in the following
example takes as object the thing to which something is tied; that which is tied is encoded in the oblique phrase.

(11.065) Lamndu nungol kosape an man im itap.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
lamndu \quad nungol \quad ko=asa-p-e \quad an \quad ma=n \quad im \quad ita-p \\
pig \quad child \quad INDF=hit-PRF-DEP \quad 1PL.EXCL \quad 3SG=OBL \quad tree \quad tie-PRF \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(They) killed a small pig and we tied it to stick.’ (T26)

Obliques may occur within compound verb phrases or between verbs functioning together in complex verb phrases. The following two examples illustrate non-instrumental uses of the oblique marker—the first (11.066) is closer to giving a comitative meaning; the second (11.067) is closer to giving a benefactive meaning (more on this below in 11.5.2).

(11.066) Wa ala limndi unani mbu mawte.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
wa \quad ala \quad limndi \quad unan=n\i \quad mb\i-u \quad ma=uta-e \\
village \quad that.PL \quad eye \quad 1PL.INCL=OBL \quad here-from \quad 3SG=grind-DEP \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Those (people from other) villages see it here among us.’ (T32)

(11.067) Mint ambin ani menlip.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
min=ti \quad amb\i=n \quad ani \quad ma=in-l\i-p \\
3DU=take \quad SG.REFL=OBL \quad bilum \quad 3SG=in-put-PRF \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(I) put them into the *bilum* (net bag) for myself.’ (T32)

The oblique-marked NP may occur alongside other non-core elements in a clause, such as postpositional phrases. Postpositional phrases may either precede oblique-marked NPs (as in 11.068 and 11.069) or follow them (as in 11.070 and 11.071), but they always occur between subjects and object, as seen below.

(11.068) N\i mol apini mame.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
n\i \quad ma=ul \quad apin=n\i \quad ma=ama-e \\
1SG \quad 3SG=with \quad fire=OBL \quad 3SG=eat-DEP \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I burn it with him.’ (Literally, ‘I eat it with [= by means of] fire with [= along with] him.’) (T11)

(11.069) N\i mawl ndin mbup.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
n\i \quad ma=ul \quad nd\i=n \quad mb\i-u-p \\
1SG \quad 3SG=with \quad 3PL=OBL \quad here-put-PRF \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I planted them here with him.’ (T11)
(11.070) Ndīn maka yə ndiya ata unde.
   ndī=n maka yə ndī=iya ata unda-e
   3PL=OBL thus coconut 3PL=toward up go-DEP
   ‘With them (straps around their feet) (they) would go up coconut trees like that.’ (T14)

(11.071) Ala nīn amba ngo numbu līp …
   ala nī=n amba nga=u numbu li-p
   that.PL 1SG=OBL haus.tambaran this.SG=from post put-PRF

   … itana man.
   it-ana ma-n
   build-IRR go-IPFV
   ‘They are going to tie me to a post in this haus tambaran (men’s house).’ (T01)

The negator ango typically occurs before oblique NPs (but after subjects, when expressed), as seen below.

(11.072) U ango inambanī ini men.
   u ango inamba=nī ini ma=in
   2SG NEG money=OBL ground 3SG=get
   ‘You did not buy the land.’ (Literally, ‘get the land with money’) (T11)

(11.073) Ango maka nginī ute.
   ango maka ngin=nī ute-e
   NEG thus net=OBL grind-DEP
   ‘(They) didn’t catch (fish) with the nets.’ (T31)

(11.074) Ango man ambi itanate.
   ango ma=n ambi ita-na-t-e
   NEG 3SG=OBL big build-IRR-SPEC-DEP
   ‘(I) won’t build it (too) big.’ (T37)

The last example above also illustrates the preverbal placement of an adjective when functioning adverbially and the effect of this on the (semantic) object of the verb: it is demoted to an oblique, being marked by the oblique marker =n, as seen in the following examples.

(11.075) Ndī ango ndīn anma asap.
   ndī ango ndī=n anma asa-p
   3PL NEG 3PL=OBL good hit-PRF
   ‘They did not kill them well.’ (T27)
(11.076) U mat inde man anma tí índë.
    2SG 3SG=take walk-DEP 3SG=OBL good take walk-DEP
    ‘You carry her, carry her well.’ (T27)

(11.077) Apa më ndë man tembi itap.
    house 3SG 3PL 3SG=OBL bad build-PRF
    ‘The house—they built it poorly.’ (T11)

The same demotion that occurs with adjectives functioning adverbially also occurs when there is an intervening adpositional phrase (see 13.9.8 for examples).

11.5.2 The oblique marker as case marker

As described above (11.5.1), the primary function of the oblique-marker enclitic =n is to encode non-core NPs. These oblique-marked NPs may serve a number of functions in a clause, many of which are reminiscent of case-marked NPs in languages that employ grammatical case. Specifically, the marker =n has certain functions that resemble those of dative markers found in other languages (although, importantly, it does not mark the recipient in ‘give’ constructions, 11.4). Three such dative-like uses of =n are to indicate: 1) possessors (cf. Latin), 2) agents (cf. ancient Greek), and 3) those to whose disadvantage something is done (cf. German). The use of =n to encode possessors is discussed in 9.2.5. For the role of =n in marking agents in passive constructions, see 13.8. In the following examples, the oblique marker indicates disadvantage.

(11.078) Më unan mawatpe wombën ne.
    3SG 1PL.INCL=OBL 3SG=atop-be-DEP work=OBL act-DEP
    ‘He is hurting us by doing work during it (this period of mourning).’ (T25)

(11.079) Tembi njì ngala apan ndin mbhilip.
    bad thing this.PL house=OBL 3PL=OBL here-put-PRF
    ‘These bad things (flies) have put (their) house (i.e., nest) here to their disadvantage.’ (T27)
(11.080) Ndí mokum anĩn wandampe ndam!

    ndí mokum an=ĩn wandam-p-e ndí=ama-Ø
    3PL stealth 1PL.EXCL=OBL jungle-be-DEP 3PL=eat-IPFV

‘They are stealthily in (our) jungles, eating them (our crops)!’ (T27)

Sometimes, as in (11.080) above, it is not clear whether the oblique marker is encoding a possessor or the experiencer of some disadvantage. It may be possible for the oblique-marked NP to function as a clause on its own—that is, when supplied with the copular suffix, as in the following:

(11.081) Ala anĩnpe ndiwale.

    ala an=ĩn-p-e ndi=wali-e
    that.PL 1PL.EXCL=OBL-be-DEP 3PL=hit-DEP

‘People were killing them (our dogs), while we were there suffering for it.’ (T27)

In the sentence below, the dative of disadvantage usage of the oblique marker has an almost predicative sense.

(11.082) Nipokonampĩta un mapĩna.

    nipokonam-p-ta u=n ma=p-na
    hard-be-COND 2SG=OBL 3SG=be-IRR

‘If (the soil) is hard, (it) will be no good for you.’ (Literally, ‘If hard, (it) will be there to your disadvantage.’) (T32)

11.5.3 Other oblique arguments

Other non-core elements (namely, adverbs and adpositional phrases), like other obliques, most typically occur between subjects and objects (for examples of this word order, see 8.2 on postpositions and 8.3 on adverbs). When a clause contains both an adverb and an adpositional phrase, the adverb typically precedes the adpositional phrase, as in the following:

(11.083) Mĩ awal wandam mo lop.

    mĩ awal wandam ma=u lo-p
    3SG yesterday jungle 3SG=from go-PRF

‘Yesterday, he went around in jungle.’ (T11)
It is possible for a number of obliques to occur in succession, as in the following sentence, which contains a temporal adverb, an oblique-marked NP, a postposition, and a modal adverb.

(11.084) Un amun man u maka wombín ngamokop.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
un & amun & ma=n & u & maka & wombín & nga=moko-p \\
2PL & now & 3SG=OBL & from & thus & work & this.SG=take-PRF \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You recently got this work from him.’ (T32)

11.6 Monoclausal (or simple) sentences

A simple sentence in Ulwa thus consists (minimally) of one subject and one predicate. Since subjects may be pronominal and since subject pronouns may be omitted, it is possible for only the predicate to be overt in the clause. The predicate must consist minimally of a verb, whether transitive or intransitive. A transitive verb has an object within its phrase and may have object markers preceding it. TAM suffixation may appear on the verb. It is common for multiple verbs to occur within a single clause. Some compound verbs consist of discontinuous elements, and objects may occur within this structure. Subject, too, (when overt) may consist of multiple elements (typically noun phrases). Subjects often contain subject markers following the head NP. Other determiners (that is, in addition to subject markers and object markers) are possible as well, whether as part of the subject or as part of the object in a transitive verb phrase.

In addition to the basic elements of the subject and the verb phrase (which, if transitive, also contains an object), the monoclausal sentence may contain obliques. These typically occur between the subject and object, yielding a canonical word order of SXOV.
Chapter 12
Complex sentences

12.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine how clauses are combined in Ulwa to form longer (complex) sentences. The combination of clauses of equal grammatical status (coordination) is discussed in 12.2 below. Then I consider Ulwa’s means for showing the dependence of one clause on another (subordination) in 12.3. Finally, one special subtype of subordinate clause (the relative clause) is investigated in 12.4.

12.2 Coordination

There is no lexical class of coordinators or coordinating conjunctions in Ulwa. That is, there are no words equivalent to English ‘and’ used to connect elements of equal grammatical status, whether to link words within a phrase, phrases within a clause, or clauses within a sentence. Coordination (at all syntactic levels) is accomplished through parataxis—coordinate elements are presented one after the other without any morphological connector (whether word or morpheme).

12.2.1 Coordination within phrases

Before examining coordination between clauses, I consider how elements within phrases may be coordinated, starting with nouns within a noun phrase. When multiple nouns are coordinated within a noun phrase, the entire NP receives plural (or dual) subject marking or object marking (depending on the function of the NP within the clause), without any overt conjunction or morphosyntactic marking to indicate conjunction. The following examples illustrate NP coordination.
(12.001) Yeta yena la nakuklunda.
  yeta  yena  ala  na-kuk-lu-nda
  man  woman  that.PL  DETR-gather-put-IRR
  ‘The boys and girls would gather.’ (T27)

(12.002) Manji atana atma ndiya wa i.
  manji  atana  atma  ndi=iya  wa  i
  3SG.POSS  older.sister  older.brother  3PL=toward  village  go.PRF
  ‘(He) went to his older brothers and sisters in the village.’ (T01)

(12.003) Bill Elvis ndi molop.
  Bill  Elvis  ndi  ma=lo-p
  [name]  [name]  3PL  3SG=go-PRF
  ‘Bill and Elvis went there.’ (T32)

(12.004) Nifïne nïnji wufi i tembipe.
  nï=tï-n-e  nïnji  wufi  i  tembi-p-e
  1SG=take-PRF-DEP  1SG.POSS  leg  hand  bad-be-DEP
  ‘When it got me, my legs and arms were sick.’ (T21)

(12.005) Dimes Susan min luke i mapta …
  Dimes  Susan  min  luke  i  ma=p-ta
  [name]  [name]  3DU  too  go.PRF  3SG=be-COND
  ‘If Dimes and Susan go there, too, …’

  … minji itana mane.
  minji  ita-na  ma-n-e
  3DU.POSS  build-IRR  go-IPFV-DEP
  ‘… (then they) are going to build their (house there).’ (T37)

(12.006) Imnde ame lat inde.
  imnde  ame  ala=tï  inda-e
  basket  basket  that.PL=take  walk-DEP
  ‘(They) carried around imnde baskets and ame baskets.’ (T11)

It is possible to coordinate more than just two nouns in a single NP, as in the following:

(12.007) Awaka Mukamba Kawat ndi mol i.
  Awaka  Mukamba  Kawat  ndi  ma=ul  i
  [name]  [name]  [name]  3PL  3SG=with  go.PRF
  ‘Awaka, Mukamba, and Kawat came with him.’ (T02)

(12.008) Anapa yawa ngata ndunduma ndi wopa malanda.
  anapa  yawa  ngata  ndunduma  ndi  wopa  ma=la-nda
  sister  uncle  grand  great-grandparent  3PL  all  3SG=eat-IRR
  ‘Sisters, uncles, grandparents, and great-grandparents would all eat it.’ (T11)
In the following example, two adjectives that are functioning as nouns are coordinated in the same NP.

(12.009) Njukuta ambi nen.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{njukuta} & \text{ambi} \\
\text{small} & \text{big} \\
\text{DETR} & \text{come-PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Both big and small (people) came.’ (T24)

Adjectives may also be coordinated within a single noun phrase, whether they are serving as attributive adjectives or as predicative adjectives (as in the last of the following examples).

(12.011) Tin mbunmana ambi m\ï\unip.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
tîn & \text{mbunmana} & \text{ambi} & \text{m\ï\uni-p} \\
dog & \text{black} & \text{big} & \text{3SG shout-PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘The big, black dog barked.’

(12.012) Nî lîmndî wambana ambi anma mala.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
lîmndî & \text{wambana} & \text{ambi} & \text{anma} \\
\text{eye} & \text{fish} & \text{big} & \text{good} & \text{3SG=for}
\end{array}
\]

‘I saw a nice, big fish.’

(12.013) Tokples njukuta ilum wa ndîtane.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
tokples & \text{njukuta} \\
tokples & \text{small}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ilum} & \text{wa} & \text{ndi}=\text{ta-n-e} \\
\text{little} & \text{just} & \text{3pl}=\text{say-IPFV-DEP}
\end{array}
\]

‘Little, short tokples (vernacular) stories—(I’m) just telling them.’ (T27)

(12.014) Tîmbîl ambi nîpat ngata ndaytana.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
tîmbîl & \text{amb} & \text{nîpat} & \text{ngata} \\
fence & \text{big} & \text{giant}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ngata} & \text{anda}=\text{ita-na} \\
\text{grant} & \text{that}.\text{SG}=\text{build-IRR}
\end{array}
\]

‘(You) will build that big, huge, giant fence.’ (T37)

(12.015) Namndu mî ambi ngatape.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
namndu & \text{mî} \\
pig & \text{big}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ambi} & \text{ngata-p-e} & \text{grand-be-DEP}
\end{array}
\]

‘The pig was really big.’ (T32)

Verb phrases may also be coordinated. When multiple verbs are truly coordinated in the same verb phrase, then the TAM marking should match on all the verbs, as in the following examples.
The first verb may be unmarked, however, especially if it is an often defective verb (4.4), as in (12.018), or it is a postposition function as a verb (8.2), as in (12.019).

(12.018) Min ko mas masap.
min ko ma=asa ma=ama-p
3DU just 3SG=hit 3SG=eat-PRF
‘The two killed and ate it.’ (T01)

(12.019) Guren mî limndî lamndu mala masap.
Guren mî limndî lamndu ma=ala ma=asa-p
[‘name’] 3SG eye pig 3SG=for 3SG=hit-PRF
‘Guren saw and killed the pig.’

Moreover, there should be no dependent marking (12.3) on anything other than the final verb in the phrase, unless such marking is being used to show imperfective aspect (4.6), as in the example below.

(12.020) Lamndu wale ndame.
lamndu wali-e ndi=ama-e
pig hit-DEP 3PL=eat-DEP
‘(They) would kill and eat pigs.’ (T11)

Although—as suggested by most of the examples above—it is common for both verbs in the phrase to receive object marking, this is not necessarily mandatory: in example (12.020) above, only the second of the two coordinated verbs takes the object marker.

12.2.2 Coordination of clauses

If a sentence contains two verbs that have different objects, then it is assumed that the coordination occurs not between two verbs within a single verb phrase but rather between two
verb phrases. However, it may not always be clear whether there are two verb phrases being coordinated within a single clause or there are two clauses being coordinated within a larger sentence. This is because it is common in Ulwa to omit subjects. Thus, although the following example is translated as though the coordination occurs within a single clause, it could alternatively be the case that there are two full clauses coordinated, but that the subject in the second clause is omitted (i.e., ‘Alimban killed the pig and [he] cooked the meat’).

(12.021) Alimban mǐ lamndu masap mundu nduwanap.

Alimban mǐ lamndu ma=asa-p mundu ndi=wana-p

[name] 3SG pig 3SG=hit-PRF food 3PL=cook-PRF

‘Alimban killed the pig and cooked the meat.’

This point leads to the focus of this section: the coordination of clauses in Ulwa. When two clauses are presented on equal grammatical footing, there is no distinction made between the two. They are presented paratactically, one after the other, without any dependent marking, as in the following:

(12.022) Mangusuwa as mǐ nip.

[mangusuwa asa] [mǐ ni-p]
[3SG.poor hit] [3SG die-PRF]

‘(They) struck the poor thing and he died.’ (T32)

(12.023) Nǐ mbiwap mokotip.

[nǐ mbi-wap] [ma=kot-p]
[1SG here-be.PST] [3SG break-PRF]

‘I stayed here and (I) bore her.’ (T11)

(12.024) Mangusuwa mbiwap mǐ amun naman.

[mangusuwa mbi-wap] [mǐ amun na-ma-n]
[3SG.poor here-be.PST] [3SG now DETR-go-IPFV]

‘The poor thing stayed here and today she’s leaving.’ (T27)

The above examples are all translated with ‘and’. Coordinated clauses can have concessive (i.e., ‘but’) senses as well. Again, this is achieved without any overt coordinating conjunction, as in:

(12.025) Mǐ ango maka Nǐmalnu wa map mǐ nay.

[mǐ ango maka Nǐmalnu wa ma=p] [mǐ na-i]
[3SG NEG thus Manu village 3SG=be] [3SG DETR-go.PRF]

‘He didn’t stay in Manu village, but he went.’ (T19)
Coordination of clauses is not, however, especially common: speakers generally prefer to mark one or more clauses as dependent (12.3).

12.2.3 Other means of coordination

It is common for speakers to borrow words from Tok Pisin when coordinated structures are desired, especially when they are disjunctive (i.e., ‘or’) structures, as in the following sentences, which borrow Tok Pisin o ‘or’.

(12.026) U wandam mana o nǐ wandam mana.
   u        wandam       ma-na   o    nǐ    wandam    ma-na
   2SG    jungle       go-IRR       or     2SG    jungle    go-IRR
   ‘Either you will go to the jungle or I will go to the jungle.’

(12.027) Wambana tīn malanda …
   wambana    tī-n               ma=la-nda
   fish      take-PRF        3SG=eat-IRR
   ‘(Either they) would catch a fish and (we) would eat it …’

   … o an ma wanwane angop …
   o       an        ma       wanwane       ango-p
   or   1PL.EXCL  go    mushroom   pull.out-PRF
   ‘… or we would go, pick mushrooms, …’

   … i ndīwanap ndīlanda.
   i    ndī=wana-p        ndī=la-nda
   go-PRF      3PL=cook-PRF   3PL=eat-IRR
   ‘… go cook them, and eat them.’ (T35)

(12.028) Nī mana o nī mbīpīna nī ango kalam.
   nī         ma-na   o    nī    mbī-p-na   nī    ango    kalam
   1SG    go-IRR       or     1SG    here-be-IRR    1SG    NEG    know
   ‘Should I go or should or stay? I don’t know.’ (T32)

This Tok Pisin loan word o ‘or’ is used not only to connect clauses, but also to connect elements within phrases, as in the following examples.

(12.029) Kawana mī mīnda o utam amap.
   Kawana      mī       mīnda   o    utam    ama-p
   [name]   3SG    banana    or    yam    eat-PRF
   ‘Kawana ate either a banana or a yam.’
(12.030) U o nî wandam mana.
2SG or 1SG jungle go-IRR
‘Either you or I will go to the jungle.’

(12.031) Mînî o mil o utam o nongontam …
mannal o mil o utam o nongontam
taro or sugarcane or yam or kaukau
‘(Whether it be) taro or sugarcane or yam or kaukau (sweet potato), …’

… mî keka ndîn up.
mî 3SG completely 3PL=OBL put-PRF
‘… he planted them all.’ (T05)

The Tok Pisin loan word na ‘and’ is also used in discourse to coordinate elements, whether words within a phrase (as in the first example below), phrases within a clause, or clauses within a sentence (as in the second example below).

(12.032) Bopten na Yar ngusuwa ndî …
Bopten na Yar ngusuwa ndî
[place] and [place] poor 3PL

… wome mat ndînane.
wome ma=tî 3PL=take 3PL=give-PRF-DEP
‘The poor (people from) Bopten and Yar gave them the middle (land between Bopten and Yar villages).’ (T11)

(12.033) Tiklika na anmbi.
tikli-ka na an-mbî-i
turn-let and out-here-go-PRF
‘(I) turned and came out.’ (T35)

The borrowing of Tok Pisin loans for grammatical functions such as coordination is further described in Chapter 15.

Some speakers use ma ‘and’ in certain coordinate structures. This seems more frequent among younger speakers and is perhaps a recent innovation. It bears a superficial resemblance to Tok Pisin na ‘and’, but could instead be derived from 3SG marking (mî [subject] or ma= [object]) (indeed, this coordinator is used at times in a reduced form [mî]). Regardless of its
origins, as a connecter within noun phrases, *ma* ‘and’ is limited in its scope, appearing almost exclusively after proper names, as in the following sentences.

(12.034) Nicko *ma* Danny min niya i.

Nicko  *ma*  Danny  min  nī=iya  i

[‘Nicko and Danny came to me.’ (T11)]

(12.035) Pisuwa *ma* Yaluwa minul le.

Pisuwa  *ma*  Yaluwa  min=ul  lo-e

[‘(He) was following Pisuwa and Yaluwa.’ (T11)]

(12.036) Tupuk *ma* Bay min man mat.

Tupuk  *ma*  Bay  min  ma=n  ma=ta

[‘Tupuk and Bay told her.’ (T11)]

(12.037) Nambul *ma* Wangasa min …

Nambul  *ma*  Wangasa  min

[‘Nambul and Wangasa fought over it.’ (T11)]

The connector *ma* ‘and’ may be used to connect more than two (proper noun) NPs, as in the following:

(12.038) Līmndī Ambayam *ma* Josephine *ma* Susan ndala.

līmndī  Ambayam  *ma*  Josephine  *ma*  Susan  ndī=ala

[‘(I) saw Ambayam, Josephine, and Susan.’ (T32)]

As a connecter of NPs, *ma* ‘and’ may follow a proper noun even when the other NP is a pronoun, as in:

(12.039) Donna *ma* ndī molop.

Donna  *ma*  ndī  ma=lo-p

[‘Donna and they went there.’ (T37)]
As a clausal coordinator, *ma* ‘and’ may even be derived from *ma* ‘go’ (perhaps calqued from Tok Pisin uses of *go* ‘go’ as a discourse connector). The following sentence suggests the ambiguity of the form *ma*, which, as a connector here could mean ‘go’ or ‘and’.

(12.040) Ay nīkap *ma* ndīmokota ndīnata mana.

ay nū-p *ma* ndī=moko-ta ndī=na-ta *ma*-na
sago cut-PRF and 3PL=take-COND 3PL=give-COND go-IRR

‘(I) have made sago and will go and give them (servings of sago) to them.’ (T10)

### 12.3 Subordination

Ulwa makes prolific use of clause-linking, connecting dependent clauses to following independent clauses (or to further dependent clauses) with the verbal suffix *-e*, which is glossed here as ‘*DEP*’ (for “dependent”), but which can also function as an imperfective marker (4.6).

#### 12.3.1 The dependent marker *-e*

The dependent marker *-e* (‘*DEP*’) is a suffix that can affix to fully inflected verb forms (that is, to verbs with TAM suffix marking). The use of the dependent marker in Ulwa is not considered an indication of the prototypical clause-chaining (or medial clauses), found in many languages of New Guinea, since the dependent-marked verbs in these clauses do not have “more restricted structures”, nor do they indicate “switch reference” (Longacre 2007:399). This is, nevertheless, clearly a kindred phenomenon. Also, as just implied, the subject of the *-e*-marked dependent clause may be the same as or different from the subject of a subsequent independent clause without any morphological indication one way or the other. When one clause is subordinated to another, it almost always precedes it in Ulwa. A subordinate clause marked by the dependent marker *-e* may bear one of a few semantic relations to the main clause on which it depends—causal (12.3.2), concessive (12.3.3), temporal (12.3.4), and so on—as discussed in the following sections.
12.3.2 Causal subordinate clauses

The following sentences contain dependent clauses that bear causal relations to their respective independent clauses.

(12.041) Nǐnji yanat mǐ tembipe nonganup.

ninji yanat mǐ tembi-p-e nongan-u-p
1SG.POSS daughter 3SG bad-be-DEP vomit-put-PRF
‘My daughter vomited because she was sick.’

(12.042) Itom mundu mase utam mamap.

itom mundu ma=asa-e utam ma=ama-p
father food 3SG=hit-DEP yam 3SG=eat-PRF
‘Father ate the yam because he was hungry.’

(12.043) Nupe Kumba la unanlu amblawale.

nu-p-e Kumba ala unan=lu ambla=wali-e
near-be-DEP Bun that.PL 1PL.INCL=with PL.REFL=hit-DEP
‘Since (Bun village) is close, the Bun people fight with us.’ (T11)

(12.044) Nipe nganwe nini ngan mbǐp.

ni-p-e nganwe nini ngan mbǐ-p
die-PRF-DEP 1DU.EXCL.INT.PART two 1DU.EXCL here-be
‘Since (they) have died, we two alone—we stay here.’ (T23)

(12.045) Ya ulwape an wa inimnǐ ndīwane.

ya ulwa-p-e an wa inim=nī ndī=wana-e
coconut nothing-be-DEP 1PL.EXCL just water=OBL 3PL=cook-DEP
‘Since there were no coconuts, we just cooked them in water.’ (T27)

(12.046) Wanmbi ulwape …

wanmbi ulwa-p-e
daka nothing-be-DEP
‘Since there’s no daka pepper, …’

… nǐ wa aw ngan wa akińaka landa man.

nǐ wa aw nga=n wa akińaka la-nda ma-n
1SG just betel.nut this.SG=OBL just new eat-IRR go-IPFV
‘I’m just going to chew this betel nut fresh.’ (i.e., without daka pepper and lime) (T32)

Instead of the dependent marker -e, the conditional suffix -ta (4.14, 13.6) may be affixed to the final verb in a dependent clause, providing a similar causal function as the dependent marker -e, as in the following:
(12.047) **Unanji ngata lanji luwa lawapta …**

unanji ngata alanji luwa ala=wap-ta

1PL.INCL.POSS grand that.PL.POSS place that.PL=be.PST-COND

‘Since those were our ancestors’ lands, …’

… maka apa ndaytana.
maka apa anda=ita-na
thus house that.SG=build-IRR

‘… (we) will thus build that house.’ (T32)

The conditional suffix -ta is not known to co-occur with the dependent marker -e (i.e., *-ta-e ‘COND-DEP’).

12.3.3 Concessive subordinate clauses

In the following sentences, the dependent clauses bear a concessive relation to their associated independent clauses.

(12.048) **Ndï ndïl kumat ine …**

ndï ndïl=kuma=tïi i-n-e

3PL 3PL=put some=take come-PRF-DEP

‘Although they’ve brought some of them (home), …’

… kuma wa mïnwata wandam lïp.
kuma wa mïnwata wandam lï-p
some just rotting jungle put-PRF

‘… (they’ve) left others just left rotting in the jungle.’ (T27)

(12.049) **Wot mï maka lïmndï matïne …**

wot mï maka limndï ma=tï-n-e

younger 3SG thus eye 3SG=take-PRF-DEP

‘Whereas the younger (brother) got the eye (side of the coconut), …’

… atma mï nupu matïn.
atma mï nupu ma=tï-n
older.brother 3SG base 3SG=take-PRF

‘… the older brother got the base (side of the coconut).’ (T08)

As can be seen above in the examples of causal subordinate clauses (12.3.2), concessive subordinate clauses may also on occasion employ conditional suffixes in place of the dependent marker -e, as in the following example.
(12.050) Wa mînomapîta ndinpîta …
wa mînoma-p-ta ndî=în-p-ta
just cold-be-COND 3PL=în-be-COND
‘Even though (the meat) will get cold in them (pots), …’

… tem mat an mokolpe …
tem ma=tî an ma=kol-p-e
time 3SG=take out 3SG=break-PRF-DEP
‘… when (you) have taken it out and broken it, …’

… mî wa nambîn ninda!
mî wa nambî=în ni-nda
3SG just smell=OBL act-IRR
‘… it will just smell (good)!’ (tem < TP taim ‘time’) (T11)

The example above actually illustrates two dependent clauses in succession, the first (concessive clause) marked by the conditional suffix -ta and the second (temporal clause) marked by the dependent marker -e. This temporal clause has, in addition, the Tok Pisin loan word taim ‘time’ (in Ulwa, tem) functioning as a subordinator. This loan word, however, is not needed to form temporal subordinate clauses, as shown below (12.3.4).

12.3.4 Temporal subordinate clauses

In the following (more traditional) example of a temporal subordinate clause, the dependent marker helps signal that the event occurred simultaneously to the action of the associated independent clause (i.e., signaling the sense of ‘while’).

(12.051) Plas mambi ango mbîpe nji tîngîn up.
Plas mambi ango mbî-p-e nji tîngî=n u-p
[name] 3SG.FOC NEG here-be-DEP thing many=OBL put-PRF
‘As for Plas, he didn’t plant many things while he was here.’ (T11)

Here, too, in temporal constructions, it is possible for the conditional suffix -ta to occur at the end of the subordinate clause instead of the dependent marker -e, as in:

(12.052) Ala ndandîlîa mapta …
ala ndî=andîla ma=p-ta
that.PL 3PL=await 3SG=be-COND
‘So, while they are there waiting for them, …’
suwan ndi-nap na-u-lo-nda ma-n-e
mesh 3PL=for DETR-from-cut-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
‘… (they) are going to cut (things) for the suwan meshes.’ (T11)

Similarly, dependent marking can signal the sense of ‘when’, as in the following examples.

(12.053) Nĩ tembipe …
   nĩ  tembi-p-e
1sg  bad-be-DEP
‘When I was sick, …’

… u marasin alakali nĩn anmbi lip.
   u   marasin  ala=kali nĩ=n an-mbĩ  lii-p
2SG  medicine  that.PL=send 1SG=OBL out-here put-PRF
‘… you sent medicine to me.’ (marasin < TP) (T21)

(12.054) An njukutape ndul inde.
   an  njukutap-e   ndi=ul  inda-e
1PL.EXCL small-be-DEP 3PL=with walk-DEP
‘When we were small, we went with them.’ (T24)

(12.055) Anmbi atwana te ndi man nĩt.
   an-mbĩ-i  atwana  ta-e   ndi  ma=n  nĩ=ta
out-here-go.PRF question say-DEP 3PL 3SG=OBL 1SG=say
‘When (I) came out and asked, they told me.’ (T32)

Very commonly, there is a simple sequential temporal relationship between a subordinate clause and the clause that follows it. That is, the dependent marker on the subordinate clause signals that the event described within it occurs before (never after) the event described in the associated independent clause, as in the following:

(12.056) Ala apĩn mamape …
   ala  apĩn=n  ma=ama-p-e
that.PL  fire=OBL 3SG=eat-PRF-DEP
‘After they burned it, …’

… nĩ wa mbi ndi-monip.
   nĩ   wa   mbĩ-i   ndi=moni-p
1SG  just  here-go.PRF 3PL=between-be
‘… I just came to this place and live among them.’ (T11)
Mi mawap liye na ndi=na.

mî ma=wap li-i-e na ndî=tî-na
3SG 3SG=be.PST 3SG=go.PRF-DEP talk 3PL=take-IRR
‘After he’s stayed there and (then) come down, (he) will get the conversations.’ (T11)

Ndî ndamap inim lopop ataye …

ndî ndî=ama-p inim lopo-p ati-i-e
3PL 3PL=eat-PRF water wash-PRF up-go-PRF-DEP
‘After they ate them, washed and came up, …’

… an anmbi uniya wa molop.
an an-mbî-i un=iya wa ma=lo-p
1PL.EXCL out-here-go.PRF 2PL=toward village 3SG=go-PRF
‘… we came out to you in the village.’ (T27)

Mi mankape ndî moko amblanan.

mî ma=nkî-p-e ndî moko ambla=na-n
3SG 3SG=cut-PRF-DEP 3PL take PL.REFL=give-PRF
‘After he butchered it, they shared (it) among themselves.’ (T30)

Mbi wa mbitape …

mbî-i wa mbî ita-p-e
here-go.PRF village here build-PRF-DEP
‘After (they) came here and made this village, …’

… ndî Yetani lan u matîn.

ndî Yetani ala=n u ma=tî-n
3PL Yamen that.PL=OBL from 3SG=take-PRF
‘… they got it (sorcery) from the Yamen people.’ (T32)

Nî inim lopope nî mana.

nî inim lopo-p-e nî ma-na
1SG water wash-PRF-DEP 1SG go-IRR
‘After I’ve bathed, then I will go.’ (T35)

Min anmbî naye …

min an-mbî na-i-e
3DU out-here DETR-go.PRF-DEP
‘After the two came out, …’

… an mînanamape …
an mî=na-na-ama-p-e
1PL.EXCL 3SG=DETR-DETR-eat-PRF-DEP
‘… we ate, …’
... an taunam nolop.
an taunam na-u-lo-p
1PL.EXCL net DETR-from-go-PRF
‘... and then we went to (our) mosquito nets.’ (*taunam < TP) (T36)

As the last example illustrates, multiple dependent clauses may be strung together in succession.

12.3.5 Tail-head linkage

Subordinate clauses marked with final -e are used extensively in the rhetorical structure known as tail-head linkage, whereby the final clause of one sentence is more or less repeated at the start of the following sentence. In these structures in Ulwa, the final verb of the first sentence is fully repeated somewhere in the first clause of the second sentence (that is, it has the same exact object marker and TAM suffix); the addition of the dependent marker -e, however, allows this clause with the repeated verb to be a transition into a new (independent) clause. In tail-head linkage constructions, it is possible for the entire pivot to be repeated exactly, as in the example below.

(12.063) **Min nay wambana ndutap.**

min na-i wambana ndi=uta-p
3DU DETR-go.PRIF fish 3PL=grind-PRF
‘The two went and caught fish.’

**Min nay wambana ndutape wa namane.**

min na-i wambana ndi=uta-p-e wa na-ma-n-e
3DU DETR-go.PRIF fish 3PL=grind-PRF-DEP village DETR-go-IPFV-DEP
‘After the two went and caught fish, (they) headed home.’ (T09)

It is more common, however, for the recapitulatory clause to be a reduced form of its model, eliding, for example, the subject or one or more coordinated verb phrases. Such reductions in tail-head linkage constructions may be seen below.

(12.064) **Mi wolka nawo.**

mi wolka na-wo-Ø
3SG again DETR-sleep-IPFV
‘Again it fell asleep.’
Wolka nawowe mĩ mala yana angla nol.

wolka na-wo-e mĩ ma=ala yana angla na-lo
again DETR-sleep-DEP 3SG 3SG=for woman await DETR-go

‘After again sleeping, it went searching for a wife for him.’ (T05)

(12.065) Mĩ mol wop.

mĩ ma=ul wo-p
3SG 3SG=with sleep-PRF

‘She slept with him.’

Mol wope yana mĩ tûnanga lîmndî wa mala.

ma=ul wo-p-e yana mĩ tûnangalîmndî wa ma=ala
3SG=with sleep-PRF-DEP woman 3SG arise eye just 3SG=for

‘Having slept with him, the woman got up and noticed him.’ (T05)

(12.066) Mat i matî nowe ndo malîp.

ma=tï i ma=tï nowe anda=u ma=lî-p
3SG=take go.PRIF 3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF

‘(It) brought him and put him on a nowe sago palm.’

Matî nowe ndo malîpe ...

ma=tï nowe anda=u ma=lî-p-e
3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF-DEP

‘Having put him on the nowe sago palm, …’

… mĩ mawa pê.

mĩ ma=wat-p-e
3SG 3SG=atop-be-DEP

‘… he stayed atop it.’ (T05)

(12.067) Kowe mol anmbi nîmal mbi.

Kowe ma=ul an-mbi-i nîmal mbi-i
[name] 3SG=with out-here-go.PRIF river here-go.PRIF

‘(We) came out with Kowe, came here to the river.’

Nîmal mbiye anmbîwap

nîmal mbî-i-e an-mbî-wap
river here-go.PRIF-DEP out-here-be.PST

‘After coming here to the river, (we) stayed here.’ (T10)

(12.068) Alkumot yana mĩ alum mokoûp ...

Alkumot yana mĩ alum ma=kot-p
[name] woman 3SG child 3SG=break-PRF

‘The woman Alkumot bore the child …’
… mat al malp.
ma=tì al ma=li-p
3SG=take net 3SG=put-PRF
‘… and put it in a mosquito net.’

Al malpe mì i.
al ma=li-p-e mì i
net 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG go.PRF
‘Having put it in the mosquito net, she went.’ (T01)

It is also possible for multiple verbs (in a single verb phrase) to be repeated in tail-head linkage patterns, as in the last line of the following example.

(12.069) Wondi mì i mawat inmi may.
wondi mì i ma=wat inmi ma=i
bandicoot 3SG go.PRF 3SG=atop hole 3SG=go.PRF
‘The bandicoot went onto her in the hole.’

Inmi maye mì mìnda mokotìp …
inmi ma=i-e mì mìnda ma=kot-p
hole 3SG=go.PRF-DEP 3SG banana 3SG=break-PRF
‘(After it) went into the hole, he cut the banana tree …’

… mat li lip.
ma=tì li li-p
3SG=take down put-PRF
‘… and put it down.’

Mat li fìpe mì inmi mawap.
ma=tì li li-p-e mì inmi ma=wap
3SG=take down put-PRF-DEP 3SG hole 3SG=be.PST
‘When (he) put it down, she was (still) in the hole.’ (T01)

As the example above illustrates, it is possible for such chains of dependent and independent clauses to continue for linkages of longer than two sentences.

12.3.6 Dependent markers for floor-holding

It is also common for seemingly independent clauses to receive the dependent marker -e. In this way, when added almost as an afterthought, this suffix can serve something of a coordinating function, equivalent almost to a conjunction ‘and’ in use. By affixing -e to the end
of a clause (and in so doing signaling that another clause is to follow), a speaker may have a better chance at holding the floor. Indeed, some speakers commonly insert the sound -e (or even -pe) in the silence following a clause to signal that they are not yet done talking, as in the following:

(12.070) Rais muku kot nin ani lip.
rais muku ko=tī nī=n ani lī-p
rice package INDF=take 1SG=OBL bilum put-PRF
‘(He) put a package of rice into my bilum (net bag).’

E Dora lîmndî nala.
e Dora lîmndî nī=ala
DEP [name] eye 1SG=for
‘And Dora saw me.’ (rais < TP) (T11)

(12.071) Min mat i pul ko i ...
min ma=tī i pul ko i
3DU 3SG=take go.PRFF piece one go.PRFF
‘The two brought it, went to a place, …’

… matlîp wulinup.
ma=tī lī-p wulin-u-p
3SG=take put-PRF rest-put-PRF
‘… put it down, and rested.’

E wolka tînanga matîn.
e wolka tînanga ma=tī-n
DEP again arise 3SG=take-PRF
‘(And then they) got up again and got it.’ (pul ‘piece’ meaning ‘place’ may be calqued from TP hap ‘piece, place’) (T30)

(12.072) Ndî maka lop.
ndî maka lo-p
3PL thus go-PRF
‘They went like that.’

E ndî we ndimokop.
e ndî we ndî=moko-p
DEP 3PL sago 3PL=take-PRF
‘And then they got the sago starch.’
E ndi mbilop.
e ndi mbī-lo-p
DEP 3PL here-go-PRF
‘And then they came here.’ (T32)

The form -pe likely owes its derivation to the fact that clauses often end with the sound /p/, since this is the form of both the perfective suffix and the present copular suffix (as well as the last phoneme of the past copular suffix). It may be used as a floor-holding particle, however, even when the preceding sound in the previous clause is not [p], as in the last of the three examples below.

(12.073) Ndi mape malep amun wa mbilop.
ndi ma=p-e ma=ale-p amun wa mbī=lo-p
3PL 3SG=be-DEP 3SG=scraper-PRF now village here-go-PRF
‘They were there scraping it and now came home.’

Pe nī tinanga anmbī mbi.
pe nī tinanga an-mbī mbī-i
DEP 1SG arise out-here here-go-PRF
‘And then I got up and came out here.’ (T35)

(12.074) Ndi ango anmap tembip.
ndi ango anma-p tembi-p
3PL NEG good-be bad-be
‘They were not healthy, but sick.’

Pe ndi nena.
pe ndi na-i-na
DEP 3PL DETR-come-IRR
‘And (when they were sick,) they would come.’ (T24)

(12.075) We ndīt anmbī mbi Taw mbi.
we ndī=tī an-mbī mbī-i Taw mbī-i
sago 3PL=take out-here here-go-PRF [place] here-go-PRF
‘(They) brought sago starch out there, went there to Taw.’

Pe Brian manji inom mī wolka tikli-ka …
pe Brian manji inom mī wolka tikli-ka
DEP [name] 3SG.POS mother 3SG again turn-let
‘And (after they had gone,) Brian’s mother turned back …’
… lìmndì tîn mala.

lìmndì tîn ma=ala
eye dog 3SG=for
‘… and saw the dog.’ (T32)

Of course, it remains possible that e (as well as even pe) is a separate discourse connective particle, and not necessarily related to the dependent marker -e.

12.3.7 Other means of subordination

In addition to the dependent-marker suffix -e and the afterthought-like free forms (e and pe), there is another form, we ‘(and) then’, which can connect clauses. It is often used in conditional statements, occurring between the verb of the apodosis (marked by the conditional suffix -ta) and the start of the protasis. Phonologically (that is, in terms of prosodic units), this marker we belongs to the apodosis. The following example illustrates its use.

(12.076) Ndī ita we unan ma=tìna.

ndī i-ta we unan ma=atī-na
3PL go.PRF-COND then 1PL.INCL 3SG=hit-IRR
‘If they come, then we will kill him.’ (T01)

This form may occur in other sentence types besides just conditional sentences, however. Sometimes it is not perfectly clear whether it is a separate lexeme (we) or an elongated version of the dependent marker -e.

The word we ‘(and) then’ also functions like a coordinator. It may be used to connect sentences in discourse (helping the speaker to hold the floor). The following examples illustrate the use of we ‘then’ in connecting independent clauses.

(12.077) Utam ndīn mankap we …

utam ndī=n ma=nkī-p we yam 3PL=OBL 3SG=dig-PRF then
‘(I) planted yams there and then …’

… Kowe mangusuwa amun ngolop.
Kowe mangusuwa amun nga=u-lo-p
[name] 3SG.poor now this,SG=from-cut-PRF
‘… Kowe, the poor thing, only recently cleared this place.’ (T11)
(12.078) Mundu wanata ndangla lumop …
mundu wana-ta ndi=angla lumo-p
food cook-COND 3PL=await put-PRF
‘Once (you) have cooked food and put it (there) for them, …’

… ndi anmbi we nalanda.
ndi an-mbi-i we na-la-nda
3PL out-here-go.PRIF then DETR-eat-IRR
‘… they will come out and then eat.’ (T25)

12.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a subordinate clause that modifies an antecedent noun phrase in the matrix clause in which it is embedded. In Ulwa, there is no overt (morphological) marker for relative clauses—that is, there are no relative pronouns or relativizers. A relative clause always immediately precedes the head noun of the matrix clause, and the verb in the relative clause is marked for TAM as would any finite verb in a clause.

As an argument in the matrix clause, the head noun of the matrix clause may fulfill any grammatical relation—that is, it may be a subject, object, or oblique. The noun phrase in the relative clause that refers to this antecedent, however, must be the grammatical subject of the clause. Thus, viewed crosslinguistically in terms of the accessibility hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), Ulwa has a rather limited set of grammatically possible relative clause constructions, as only subjects can be relativized.

Since it is always the subject of the relative clause that refers to the head noun of the matrix clause, and since the relative clause always immediately precedes this head noun, the subject of the relative clause (expressed in the matrix clause) appears to follow its verb. There are thus two ways of analyzing sentences with relative clauses in Ulwa. If the rigidity of S(O)V word order is to be assumed, then relative clauses in Ulwa are prenominal dependent clauses with unexpressed subjects. In this view, relative clauses employ the gap strategy, since the syntactic spot where the head noun of the antecedent clause should be found in the relative clause (that is, before the verb) is empty (that is, there is no overt phonological form).

If, however, alternate word orders are to be accepted in an analysis of Ulwa, then it is possible for relative clauses to be considered head-internal, with the head being expressed as a full NP only within the relative clause, namely post-verbally. In this view, whereas the word
order of pragmatically neutral active clauses is S(O)V (11.2), the word order of relative clauses is (O)VS. This second analysis indeed at first seems typologically unusual, but nevertheless has some support when considered alongside Ulwa’s passive constructions (13.8).

The following sentence is a simple intransitive sentence. The word order is the canonical SV.

(12.079) Itom ngata mī nip.

father  grand  3SG  die-PRF

‘The old man died.’

The following example shows how the sentence above might appear in a relative clause. Here, *itom ngata* ‘old man’ is both the subject of the relative clause and the object of the matrix clause. The brackets in the example below enclose the relative clause: here—and throughout this grammar—the bracketing of the relative clause reflects a gap-strategy analysis. Thus, the sentence below is considered to contain a noun-modifying clause, the verb *nipe* ‘died’ thus constituting the entire relative clause (with a gap for the subject occurring immediately before the verb).

(12.080) Nī nipe itom ngata makamp.

1SG  [die-PRF-DEP]  father  grand  3SG=shun-PRF

‘I avoided the old man who died.’

Note, however, that in a head-internal analysis, the relative clause would be considered to contain the entire sequence *nipe itom ngata* ‘old man died’ (that is, it would include the head noun *itom ngata* ‘old man’), and the antecedent in the matrix clause would thus consist solely of the object marker *ma* = ‘3SG’. In this head-internal analysis, the word order of the matrix clause is SOV, as expected. The word order of the relative clause (which is itself the O argument of the matrix clause), however, is VS.

Note also that the dependent marker -e is employed on the verb in the dependent relative clause (12.3.1). This lends further support to the idea that the structure in question is indeed a clause.

A relative clause can also serve as the subject of a matrix clause, as in the following example.
(12.081) Nipe itom ngata mî ankam anma.
[ni-p-e] itom ngata mî ankam anma
[die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG person good
‘The old man who died is a good person.’

Note that verb phrases that consist of discontinuous elements (that is, separable verbs, 9.3.1) will create a sandwich-like structure if the relative clause is the object of the verb phrase, as in:

(12.082) Ndî lîmndî nipe itom ngata mala.
[ndî lîmndî] [ni-p-e] itom ngata ma=ala
3PL eye [die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG=for
‘They saw the old man who died.’

Finally, it may be shown that—in addition to subjects and objects—relative clauses may function as oblique arguments within matrix clauses, such as objects of postpositions, as seen in the following sentence.

(12.083) Damnda mî nipe itom ngata mayi l.
Damnda mî [ni-p-e] itom ngata ma=iya l
[name] 3SG [die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG=toward go.PR
‘Damnda went to the old man who died.’

Just like intransitive clauses, transitive clauses may also serve as relative clauses. The following sentence is a simple transitive sentence. The word order is SOV.

(12.084) Ankam mî lamndu masap.
ankam mî lamndu ma=asa-p
person 3SG pig 3SG=hit-PRF
‘The person killed the pig.’

This transitive sentence may serve as the object of a verb in a matrix clause, as in the sentence below. Whereas the word order of the matrix clause is SOV (with the relative clause filling the role of O), the word order of the relative clause is OV (or OVS in a head-internal analysis).

(12.085) Damnda mî lîmndî lamndu masape ankam mala.
Damnda mî lîmndî [lamndu ma=asa-p-e] ankam ma=ala
[name] 3SG eye [pig 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] person 3SG=for
‘Damnda saw the person who killed the pig.’
Note, again, the use of the dependent marker -e suffixed to the verb in the relative clause. The following is an example of a transitive-verb relative clause serving as the subject of a matrix clause. Note the use of the subject marker mï.

(12.086) Lamndu masape ankam mï wandam may.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{lamndu } \text{ma}=\text{asa-p-e} \\
\text{mï } \text{wandam } \text{ma}=\text{i} \\
\text{pig 3SG}=\text{hit-PRF-DEP} \\
\text{3SG jungle 3SG}=\text{go.PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘The person who killed the pig went to the jungle.’

The following is an example of a transitive-verb relative clause serving as an oblique argument within the matrix clause.

(12.087) Sinda mï lamndu masape ankam maya i.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Sinda } \text{mï } \text{lamndu } \text{ma}=\text{asa-p-e} \\
\text{ankam } \text{ma}=\text{iya } \text{i} \\
\text{[name] 3SG [pig 3SG}=\text{hit-PRF-DEP} \\
\text{person 3SG}=\text{toward go.PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Sinda went to the person who killed the pig.’

It is possible for obliques to occur within the dependent relative clauses as well, whether they contain transitive (12.088) or intransitive (12.089) verbs, as seen below.

(12.088) Mï limndï mananï lamndu masape ankam mala.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{mï } \text{limndï} [\text{mana}=\text{ni} ] \text{ lamndu } \text{ma}=\text{asa-p-e} \\
\text{ankam } \text{ma}=\text{ala} \\
\text{3SG eye [spear=OBL pig 3SG}=\text{hit-PRF-DEP} \\
\text{person 3SG}=\text{for}
\end{array}
\]

‘She saw the man who stabbed the pig with the spear.’

(12.089) Mï limndï ankam ul natane yana mala.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{mï } \text{limndï} [\text{ankam } \text{ul } \text{na-ta-n-e} ] \\
\text{yana } \text{ma}=\text{ala} \\
\text{3SG eye [person with DETR-say-IPFV-DEP] woman 3SG}=\text{for}
\end{array}
\]

‘She saw the woman who is talking with the man.’

Relative clauses occur rarely in discourse, and some (especially younger) speakers probably never employ them. It could be that—as fairly complex syntactic structure—relative clauses are being lost as the language suffers grammatical attrition due to rapid replacement by Tok Pisin (a language which also—for many speakers—has no formal structures for relativization) (see Chapter 15). Nevertheless, relative clauses do occasionally occur in the speech of some older speakers. The following are examples of relative clauses taken from texts.
(12.090) Ndī manji mawl anmbiye ndī kwa masap.

\[\text{nđī [manji }\text{ ma}=\text{ul }\text{ an-mbī-i-e]} \text{ ndī kwa ma}=\text{asa-p}\]
\[\text{3PL [3SG.POSS 3SG=with out-here-go.PRIF-DEP] 3PL one 3SG=hit-PRF}\]

‘They killed one (of) his (brothers) who came along with him.’ (T01)


\[\text{awal }\text{ [ma}=\text{in-p-e]} \text{ nji ndī=kuk-li-p}\]
\[\text{yesterday [3SG=in-be-DEP] thing 3PL=gather-put-PRF}\]

‘Yesterday (we) gathered (our) things that were in it (the house).’ (T37)

(12.092) Anga mape numīni mī angani mape.

\[\text{anga ma}=\text{p-e] numīni mī angani ma}=\text{p-e}\]
\[\text{[side 3SG=be-DEP] ditch 3SG behind 3SG=be-DEP}\]

‘The ditch that is on the other side (of the river) is behind it.’ (T11)

(12.093) Nul mbiye yanat mambi …

\[\text{[nī}=\text{ul }\text{ mbī-i-e]} \text{ yanat mambi}\]
\[\text{[1SG=with here-go.PRIF-DEP] daughter 3SG.FOC}\]

… umbenam nay.
umenam na-i
morning DETR-go.PRIF

‘As for the daughter who came with me, she left this morning.’ (T27)

(12.094) Apa mbīpe itom inom min luke nji ulwap.

\[\text{[apa mbī-p-e] itom inom min luke nji ulwa-p}\]
\[\text{[house here-be-DEP] father mother 3DU too thing nothing-be}\]

‘The two home-owners have nothing either.’ (Literally, ‘The father and mother who are in the house here, too, have no things.’) (T27)

One possible reason for the relative rarity of these constructions in discourse is that fact that the pragmatic function of relative clauses can be assumed by nominalizations (12.4.1), of which speakers tend to make more frequent use. Furthermore, speakers may employ paratactic relative clauses as an alternative to this more complicated syntactic structure (12.4.2). Perhaps relative clauses have their historical origins in nominalized verb phrases. The formal distinction between the two is slight—basically, the presence (in nominalization) or absence (in relativization) of a final -\text{n}—and it is not beyond imagination that in the examples above the sound has simply been elided. Still, based on speaker perceptions and on the careful pronunciations of elicited sentences, these are treated (at least synchronically) as two separate structures: nominalized verb phrases and relative clauses.
12.4.1 Nominalized verb phrases

Nominalized verb phrases may serve the pragmatic function of relative clauses, discussed above.

The examples in 3.3 above illustrate how nominalized verb phrases may function similarly to relative clauses. Often, these nominalized forms are used with free copular suffixes (10.3), as in the following:

(12.095) Wandam wapen ndï wa nen.
[wandam wap-en] ndï wa na-i-n
[jungle be.PST-NMLZ] 3PL village DETR-come-PRF
‘Those who were in the jungle came home.’ (Literally, ‘the having-been-in-the-jungle [people] …’) (T14)

The verb phrase that is nominalized may consist of more than one verb (although only the final verb receives the nominalizing morphology), as in the following:

(12.096) Ata ngape wowen anda mo anmbunde.
[ata nga=p-e wo-en] anda ma=u an-mbï-unda-e
[up this.SG=be-DEP sleep-NMLZ] that.SG 3SG=from out-here-go-DEP
‘That one who lives upstream is coming around here from there.’ (Literally, ‘that sleeping-up-(in)-this-(place) [person] …’) (T27)

The nominalized phrase may have its own object NP, as exemplified below.

(12.097) Tïrïngïn inen i man nït.
[Tïrïngïn ina-en] i ma=n nï=ta
[[name] get-NMLZ] go.PRF 3SG=OBL 1SG=say
‘The one who married Tïrïngïn came and told me.’ (Literally, ‘the Tïrïngïn-getting [one]’) (T11)

12.4.2 Paratactic relative clauses

There is yet another means of accomplishing the pragmatic task of narrowing the reference of a noun. In addition to relative clauses (12.4) described above and to nominalized phrases just exemplified (12.4.1), speakers of Ulwa can make use of paratactic relative clauses (following Comrie & Kuteva 2013). In these constructions, there is no formal morphological or syntactic relativization; rather, what could otherwise be expressed as matrix clauses with
embedded relative clauses (as above), are here expressed by sets of two (paratactically) juxtaposed clauses. These paratactic relative clauses are for some speakers the exclusive means of creating relative-clause-like structures—that is, they lack the formal relative clauses described above. It is possible that paratactic relative clauses are a relatively recent syntactic innovation, having emerged as the formal relative clause structures have become obscure to younger speakers (see Chapter 15). The following sentences provide examples of paratactic relative clauses (the clauses in each example are enclosed in brackets).

(12.098) Tembi la ndi wa mbip.
[tembi ala] [ndi wa mbí-p]
[bad that.PL] [3PL village here-be]
‘Those people here in the village are bad.’ (Literally, ‘Those (people) are bad; they are here in the village.’) (T27)

(12.099) Anda nji tembi wa …
[anda nji tembi wa]
[that.SG thing bad just]

… mì unaniya wa ine.
[mì unan=iya wa i-n-e]
[3SG 1PL.INCL=toward village come-PRF-DEP]
‘That’s a bad thing that’s come to our village’ (Literally, ‘That is a bad thing; it has come to us, to the village.’ There is no prosodic break between clauses.) (T32)

(12.100) Ango mundu kom un mat nìnan!
[ango mundu kom] [un ma=tì nì-na-n]
[NEG food NEG] [2PL 3SG=take 1SG=give-PRF]
‘That’s not food at all you gave me!’ (Literally, ‘Not food at all; you gave it to me.’) (T16)

(12.101) Numbu anma nda u mole.
[numbu anma anda] [u ma=lo-e]
[garamut good that.SG] [2SG 3SG=cut-DEP]
‘That’s a good garamut drum that you’re carving.’ (Literally, ‘That is a good garamut; you are carving it.’) (T07)
Chapter 13
Additional topics in syntax

13.1 Introduction

This chapter covers an assortment of syntactic constructions, organized rather more by functional concerns than by internally (i.e., syntactically) motivated principles. Thus this chapter explains how a speaker of Ulwa may formulate questions, issue commands or make requests, negate propositions, report on the speech of others, and so on.

13.2 Questions

There are, as in most languages, two basic types of questions in Ulwa: polar (‘yes/no’) questions and content (\(wh\)-) questions.

13.2.1 Polar (‘yes/no’) questions

In polar questions, the truth value of a proposition is queried—that is, whether an event did or did not happen, whether a state is or is not present, whether an attribute does or does not hold, etc. In Ulwa, ‘yes/no’ questions are identical in form to their declarative counterparts. They are recognizable, however, through pragmatics and through phonology (intonation). First, context often makes it apparent that a question (rather than a statement) is being formed by the speaker. Second, polar questions are identifiable through a rising intonation. The following questions, given the right context and said without a rising intonation, could all also function as statements.

\[(13.001) \text{itom mī awal tembiwap.} \]
\[
\text{itom} \quad mī \quad \text{awal} \quad \text{tembi-wap} \\
\text{father} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{yesterday} \quad \text{bad-be.PST}
\]

(a) ‘Was father sick yesterday?’
(b) ‘Father was sick yesterday.’
(13.002) U namap.
   u na-ama-p
   2SG DETR-eat-PRF
(a) ‘Have you eaten?’
(b) ‘You’ve already eaten.’

(13.003) Inom mī amun ya ute.
inom mī amun ya uta-e
mother 3SG now coconut grind-DEP
(a) ‘Is mother grinding coconut now?’
(b) ‘Mother is grinding coconut now.’

(13.004) Alum mī ikali ya ndīsina.
alum mī i-kali ya ndī=si-na
child 3SG hand-send coconut 3PL=push-IRR
(a) ‘Can the child catch the coconuts?’
(b) ‘The child can catch the coconuts.’

Perhaps due to influence from Tok Pisin, ‘yes/no’ questions in Ulwa can employ the question particle a (sometimes e), appearing at the end of the question. This is a further means of indicating that a sentence is a question, as seen in the following:

(13.005) Alo un apa map a?
   ala-o un apa ma=p a
   that.pl-INTERJ 2PL house 3SG=be Q
‘You all, are you in the house?’ (T14)

(13.006) Ngun andin ngun mundu ngunas a?
   ngnandin ngun mundu ngun=asa a
   2DU that.DU 2DU food 2DU=hit Q
‘You two, you two over there—are you hungry?’ (T36)

(13.007) U ango anmbī mbi e?
   u ang an-mbī mbī-i e
   2G NEG out-here out-go.PRFR Q
‘Didn’t you come out?’ (T35)

Polar questions may be answered with full sentences, paralinguistic gestures, exclamations (such as m), or the words ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The Ulwa word for ‘yes’ is iyo (with the alternate form iya ‘yeah’), and the Ulwa word for ‘no’ is ase (with the alternate form asa ‘nah’). To respond (negatively) to a negative proposition in a question, a speaker may answer ‘yes’. Thus, for example, the answer to (13.007) above is as follows:
Here the responder answers ‘yes’ to mean: ‘No, I did come out.’

13.2.2 Content (wh-) questions

The other major question type—content questions—do not put forth a proposition whose truth value is queried, but rather request particular information. They do so by making use of wh-words—that is, words corresponding to English ‘who?’, ‘whose?’, ‘what?’, ‘which?’, ‘where?’, ‘when?’, ‘why?’, ‘how?’, ‘how many?’, etc. The basic wh- words of Ulwa are as follows (for more on interrogative pronouns, see 6.6):

- **kwa** who? [SG]
- **kuma** who? [NSG]
- **kwanji** whose? [SG]
- **kumanji** whose? [NSG]
- **ango** what?
- **ango** which?
- **ango (luwa)** where?
- **ango tem** when?
- **angwena** why?
- **anjika** how many?
- **anjikaka** how?

First, a few notes on the forms of these words are in order. The question word **kwa** ‘who?’ [SG] is likely related to the indefinite pronoun **kwa** ‘someone’ (6.5), itself homophonous with the numeral **kwa** ‘one’. The non-singular form **kuma** ‘who?’ [NSG] is identical to the quantifier-like word **kuma** ‘some’ (7.5) (and is homophonous with the indefinite pronoun **kuma** ‘some [people]’). The possessive question words **kwanji** ‘whose? [SG]’ and **kumanji** ‘whose? [NSG]’ are both transparently derived from the two respective forms of ‘who?’ plus the word **nji** ‘thing’ (that is, they are formed like all possessive pronouns, 6.3). The question word **ango** ‘which?’ is identical to the negative marker **ango** ‘NEG’ (8.4.1, 13.4). And the question word **angos** ‘what?’ also seems closely related—the only difference being the addition of final /s/. The form **anjika** ‘how many?’ appears to be derived from other forms as well, but its etymology is obscure. It may
contain some possessive formative (i.e., \textit{nji} ‘thing’, perhaps even \textit{anji} 1\textsc{pl.excl.poss}) plus the highly homophonous \textit{ka} ‘thus, in this/that manner; at, in, on; let, leave, allow’. All other forms seem (at least diachronically) to be polymorphemic (more on these question words below). The connection between interrogative words and indefinite pronouns and negation markers suggests that content questions in general may derive from polar questions (i.e., something along the lines of, for example, ‘who killed the pig?’ < ‘did someone kill the pig?’ or ‘what have you eaten?’ < ‘have you not eaten?’).

It is also important to note that the number distinction made in the words meaning ‘who?’ or ‘whose?’ is a binary distinction of singular versus non-singular, as opposed to the three-way contrast of singular, dual, and plural that runs throughout many other paradigms in the language.

As mentioned above (11.2), there is no so-called \textit{wh}-movement in Ulwa; all content questions are asked in-situ—that is, with the questioned element occurring in the same place where it would occur in an equivalent declarative sentence. Thus, \textit{kwa/kuma} ‘who?’ or \textit{angos} ‘what?’ occur in the subject position when the questioned element is the subject of a clause, and they occur in the object position when the questioned element is an object. Likewise, \textit{kw\textit{anji}/kumanji} ‘whose?’ occurs immediately before the possessed NP, just as would any possessive pronominal marker.

The interrogative pronoun \textit{angos} ‘what?’ is discussed in 6.6. The following examples demonstrate its use in texts.

\begin{verbatim}(13.009) A \textit{n\text{\texttt{i}nji}} nungol ala \textit{angos} landa?
  a \textit{\texttt{n\text{\texttt{i}nji}}} nungol ala \textit{angos} la-nda
  ah 1SG child that.PL what eat-IRR

  ‘Ah, what will my children eat?’ (T11)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}(13.010) U \textit{angos} natan?
  u \textit{angos} na-ta-n
  2SG what DETR-say-IPFV

  ‘What are you saying?’ (T11)
\end{verbatim}

The following are examples of \textit{kwa} ‘who?’ (further discussed above in 6.6). This form is often shortened to \textit{ko}. 
Other question words (or phrases) cannot properly serve as either subject or object of a predicate, and can, accordingly, be considered obliques. Their position in a clause is thus akin to the positioning of adverbs—that is, following the subject (when expressed) and preceding the entire verb phrase (including an object if the verb is transitive).

In questions of countable quantity, the question word *anjika* ‘how many?’ appears after the noun phrase whose quantity is the topic of questioning. This could be either a subject or an object (or even an oblique phrase). The word *anjika* ‘how many?’ is thus syntactically identical to any modifying adjective and—in particular—to numerals, which immediately follow the enumerated NP. Its use is exemplified below.

(13.014) Wambana *anjika* inim mo man?

wambana  *anjika*  inim  ma=*
ma-n
fish  how.many  water  3SG=from  go-IPFV
‘How many fish are swimming?’

(13.015) U wambana *anjika* tīn?

U  wambana  *anjika*  tī-n
2SG  fish  how.many  take-PRF
‘How many fish did you catch?’

It should be noted that questions of non-countable quantity (that is, questions about mass nouns, i.e., ‘how much?’) are not asked with *anjika* ‘how many?’. Rather, such interrogatives can only be formed as ‘yes/no’ questions, in which an inquiry is made whether the amount in question is ‘big’ or ‘little’, as seen below.

...
Inim **ambi** samban maynp?

inim  **ambi**  samban  ma=in-p
water  big  pot  3SG=in-be

‘How much water is in the pot?’ (Literally, ‘Is there big [i.e., much] water in the pot?’)

(13.017) Inim **ilum** samban maynp?

inim  **ilum**  samban  ma=in-p
water  little  pot  3SG=in-be

‘How much water is in the pot?’ (Literally, ‘Is there little water in the pot?’)

(13.018) Nungol mī inim **ambi** ame?

nungol  mī  inim  **ambi**  ama-e
child  3SG  water  big  eat-DEP

‘How much water does the child drink?’ (Literally, ‘Does the child drink big [i.e., much] water?’)

In questions that ask ‘how’, the question word *anjikaka* ‘how?’ appears after the subject and before the verb phrase (as in 13.019 and 13.020). This is the same position as other obliques, such as postpositional phrases (13.021) or oblique-marked NPs (13.022) (11.5), as illustrated by the following examples.

(13.019) U **anjikaka** apa maytap?

u  **anjikaka**  apa  ma=ita-p
2SG  how  house  3SG=build-PRF

‘How did you build the house?’

(13.020) Alimban mī **anjikaka** lamndu masap?

Alimban  mī  **anjikaka**  lamndu  ma=asa-p
[name]  3SG  how  pig  3SG=hit-PRF

‘How did Alimban kill the pig?’

(13.021) Alimban mī **tīn mol** lamndu masap.

Alimban  mī  **tīn**  ma=ul  lamndu  ma=asa-p
[name]  3SG  dog  3SG=with  pig  3SG=hit-PRF

‘Alimban killed the pig with the dog.’

(13.022) Alimban mī **mananī** lamndu masap.

Alimban  mī  **mana=ni**  lamndu  ma=asa-p
[name]  3SG  spear=OBL  pig  3SG=hit-PRF

‘Alimban killed the pig with the spear.’

Although glossed above as a monomorphemic word, *anjikaka* ‘how?’, this form is actually analyzable as *anjika-ka* ‘how.many-let’ (and may even be analyzable further; see above
on *anjika*). That is, the final -ka is the perfective/imperfective form of the irregular verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ (9.3.3). Though perhaps having undergone a process of grammaticalization and now often analyzed simply as ‘how?’, the word’s verbal morphology is apparent in sentences such as the following, which show the irrealis form *laka*(*na*).

(13.023) Itom mī *anjikalaka* apa maytana?

    itom mī anjika-la-ka apa ma=ita-na
    father 3SG how.many-IRR-let house 3SG=build-IRR
    ‘How will father build the house?’

(13.024) Nungol ndī *anjikalaka* wambana ndutana?

    nungol ndī anjika-la-ka wambana ndī=uta-na
    child 3PL how.many-IRR-let fish 3PL=grind-IRR
    ‘How will the boys catch the fish?’

(13.025) Nga kwa *anjikalakana* mane?

    nga kwa anjika-la-ka-na ma-n-e
    this one how.many-IRR-let-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
    ‘What is this one going to do?’ (T01)

(13.026) U manī *anjikalakana*?

    u ma=nī anjika-la-ka-na
    2SG 3SG=OBL how.many-IRR-let-IRR
    ‘What will you do with it?’

(13.027) Itom mī mana manī *anjikalakana*?

    itom mī mana ma=nī anjika-la-ka-na
    father 3SG spear 3SG=OBL how.many-IRR-let-IRR
    ‘What is father going to do with the spear?’

(13.028) U ndīt indata ndīn *anjikalakana*?

    u ndī=tī inda-ta ndī=n anjika-la-ka-na
    2SG 3PL=take walk-COND 3PL=OBL how.many-IRR-let-IRR
    ‘What will you do with them if you carry them around?’ (T11)

Note that these irrealis-marked forms of this question word often convey a sense other than strictly ‘how’, as in many of the examples above, which are translated as ‘what will [someone] do?’. The irrealis examples above notwithstanding, elsewhere throughout this grammar the form *anjikaka* is glossed simply as ‘how’, without being analyzed as being polymorphemic.
Idiomatically, *anjika* ‘how many?’ can also be used to ask a question somewhat akin to English ‘what happened to [someone]?’, or ‘what’s up with [someone]?’, where the person being asked about is the grammatical object of *anjika*, here functioning as a verb, as seen below.

(13.029) Mī nan mat a *wanjika*?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mī} & \quad \text{na=n} \quad \text{ma=ta} \quad \text{a} \quad u=\text{anjika} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{talk=OBL} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{say} \quad \text{ay} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{how}.\text{many}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He said to her: “Ay, what happened to you?”’ (T01)

As is discussed in the section on interrogative pronouns (6.6), questions of ‘which’ are formed with *ango* ‘which?’, homophonous with the negative marker, and likely derived from it. The two differ, however, in terms of syntactic position: whereas the negative marker typically follows the grammatical subject, the question word ‘which?’ precedes the NP it modifies (whether subject, object, or oblique). The following are additional examples of *ango* ‘which?’ as it is used in questions.

(13.030) *Ango* wa makape wombīn?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ango} & \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{maka-p-e} \quad \text{wombīn} \\
\text{which} & \quad \text{village} \quad \text{thus-be-DEP} \quad \text{work}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Which village has work like this?’ (T11)

(13.031) U *ango* tīlwa u mbi?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u} & \quad \text{ango} \quad \text{tīlwa} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{mbī-i} \\
2\text{SG} & \quad \text{which} \quad \text{road} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{here-go.PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Along which road have you come here?’ (T32)

(13.032) Mbīpīta *ango* ini mawatpīta?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mbī-p-ta} & \quad \text{ango} \quad \text{ini} \quad \text{ma=}\text{wat-p-ta} \\
\text{here-be-COND} & \quad \text{which} \quad \text{ground} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{atop-be-COND}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If (they) stay, which ground will they live on?’ (T11)

Alternatively, the interrogative word *angos* ‘what?’ may be used in the same fashion, modifying an NP (by preceding it) to ask ‘which?’, as in the following:

(13.033) Ayndin nī *angos* na ukīna?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ayndin} & \quad \text{nī} \quad \text{angos} \quad \text{na} \quad u=\text{kī-na} \\
[\text{name}] & \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{talk} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{say-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Ayndin, what should I say to you?’ (Literally, ‘what talk?’) (T32)
(13.034) Una wandam mawap **angos wombín ninda**?

```
unan wandam ma=wap angos wombín=n ni-nnda
```

IPL.INCL jungle 3SG=be.PST what work=OBL act-IRR

‘(When) we are in the jungle, what work will (we) do?’ (T25)

Questions of time are asked by combining *ango* ‘which?’ with *tem* ‘time’, the latter derived from Tok Pisin *taim* ‘time, when’. Thus, quite transparently, temporal questions in Ulwa are rooted in a phrase meaning ‘which time?’. This phrase occurs in the canonical position for temporal adverbs (e.g., *umbe* ‘tomorrow’, *amun* ‘now’, etc.)—that is, immediately following the subject NP, as illustrated by the pair of examples below.

(13.035) Kapos mī **angō tem** lamndu masap?

```
Kapos mī angō tem lamndu ma=asa-p
```

[name] 3SG=be.pst which time pig 3SG=hit-PRF

‘When did Kapos kill the pig?’

(13.036) Kapos mī **awal lamndu masap**.

```
Kapos mī awal lamndu ma=asa-p
```

[name] 3SG yesterday pig 3SG=hit-PRF

‘Kapos killed the pig yesterday.’

The following are additional examples of *angō tem* ‘when?’.

(13.037) Itom mī **angō tem utam mamap**?

```
itom mī angō tem utam ma=ama-p
```

father 3SG=be.pst which time yam 3SG=eat-PRF

‘When did father eat the yam?’

(13.038) **Angō tem** man ninda?

```
angō tem ma=n ni-nnda
```

which time 3SG=OBL act-IRR

‘When will (we) do it?’ (T26)

Alternatively, the phrase *angō tem* ‘which time?’ (i.e., ‘when?’) can take the oblique marker =n, thus forming a phrase meaning ‘with which time?’ (i.e., ‘at which time?’), as in:

(13.039) Kapos mī **angō temnī lamndu masap**?

```
Kapos mī angō tem=nī lamndu ma=asa-p
```

[name] 3SG=be.pst which time=OBL pig 3SG=hit-PRF

‘When did Kapos kill the pig?’
Spatial questions are likewise formed with the question word *ango* ‘which?’. Unlike temporal questions, however, *ango* usually occurs without (overtly) modifying any noun (such as, for example, a word meaning ‘place’). That is, when taken alone, *ango* ‘which?’ is understood to mean ‘which location?’. Again, the spatial question word (or, rather, elided phrase) occurs in the same position as spatial modifiers in indicative clauses, as illustrated by the pair of examples below.

(13.041) Ankam mĩ *ango* i?

```
ankam  mĩ    *ango*  i
person  3SG    which go.PRF
```

‘Where did the person go?’

(13.042) Ankam mĩ *ngaya* i.

```
ankam  mĩ    *ngaya*  i
person  3SG    far go.PRF
```

‘The person went far away.’

Verbs of ‘going’ in Ulwa can be transitive, taking the destination as direct object. Thus, in questions of ‘whither’, the question word *ango* ‘which?’ occurs in object position, as illustrated by the following pair of examples.

(13.043) Tangin mĩ *ango* i?

```
Tangin  mĩ    *ango*  i
[name]  3SG    which go.PRF
```

‘Where did Tangin go?’

(13.044) Tangin mĩ *wa* may.

```
Tangin  mĩ    *wa*  ma=i
[name]  3SG    village go.PRF
```

‘Tangin went to the village.’

Critically, in such constructions, no object marker is permitted; its inclusion would render an interpretation of *ango* as ‘NEG’ rather than ‘which?’, as illustrated below.
In verbs of ‘coming’, on the other hand, the source (i.e., origin) can be indicated as the object of the postposition u ‘from’. Thus, in questions of ‘whence’, the question word ango ‘which?’ occurs as the object of the postposition u ‘from’, as seen in the following pair of sentences.

(13.046) U ango u mbi?
            u   ango   u   mbi-i
     2SG   which   from   here-go.PRF
      ‘Where did you come from?’

(13.047) Nī wandam u mbi.
            nī    wandam   u   mbī-i
     1SG   jungle   from   here-go.PRF
      ‘I came from the jungle.’

Indications that ango ‘which?’ is elliptical for ‘which place?’ come from sentences such as the following:

(13.048) Popo ndī un ango luwape.
           popo  ndī   u=n   ango   luwa-p-e
     papaya   3PL   2SG=OBL   which   place-be-DEP
      ‘Where are your papayas?’ (Literally, ‘The papayas for you are at which place?’; popo < TP) (T11)

It may be noted that something of the negative sense of ango is perhaps preserved in this example above, since this is a rhetorical question meant to imply ‘You have no papayas’. The following is another example in which the full phrase ango luwa ‘which place’ is presented.

(13.049) Ngun ango luwawap?
       ngun   ango   luwa-wap
     2DU   which   place-be.PST
      ‘Where were you?’ (Literally, ‘You were at which place?’) (T11)
As a modifying element, the *angop* ‘which?’ component of the elided phrase ‘which place?’ can receive copular verbal suffixing—that is, it can serve as the verb of its own clause, as in the following examples.

(13.050) Unan *angop*?
unan  ango-p
1PL.INCL which-be
‘Where are we?’

(13.051) U *angowap*?
 u  ango-wap
2SG which-be.PST
‘Where were you?’

(13.052) Yanapi mī *angopīna*?
Yanapi mī  ango-p-na
[name]  3SG which-be-IRR
‘Where will Yanapi be?’

Such clauses with verbalized ‘where’ constructions can combine with other clauses, as in the following question.

(13.053) Itom mī *angope* lamndu masap?
itom  mī  ango-p-e  lamndu  ma=asa-p
father  3SG which-be-DEP pig  3SG=hit-PRF
‘Where did father kill the pig?’ (Literally, something like, ‘Father killed the pig, having been where?’)

Note that the verbalized *angop* ‘which?’ in the sentence above now functions as the linking element between two clauses, and accordingly receives both the copular suffix -p and the dependent marker -e.

In a similar sentence, but with irrealis modality, the verb in each of the two clauses would be marked for irrealis (or conditional) mood, as below.

(13.054) Itom mī *angopīta* lamndu mawalinda?
itom  mī  ango-p-ta  lamndu  ma=wali-nda
father  3SG which-be-COND pig  3SG=hit-IRR
‘Where will father kill the pig?’ (Literally, ‘Father will kill the pig if [he] is where?’)

Finally, ‘why’ questions are formed with the question word *angwena* ‘why?’. Although this is pronounced (and written here) as a single word, it, too, likely derives from a phrase
containing ango ‘which?’ The second element is, however, more obscure, but likely derives from ina ‘liver’ (the seat of reasoning and emotion in the Ulwa conception of the human body), which is also found in words such as inakawana ‘think’ (see 9.3.1 for a proposed etymology). The following questions all contain angwena ‘why?’.

(13.055) U angwena mbi?
   u angwena mbi-i
   2SG why here-go.PRF
   ‘Why did you come here?’

(13.056) Itom mī angwena apa maytap?
   itom mī angwena apa ma=ita-p
   father 3SG why house 3SG=build-PRF
   ‘Why did father build the house?’

(13.057) Mī ndīn angwena ndīt inde?
   mī ndī=n angwena ndī=tī inda-e
   3SG 3PL=OBL why 3PL=take walk-DEP
   ‘Why is he walking around with them?’ (T11)

(13.058) Un angwena mawatpe ne?
   un angwena ma=wat-p-e ni-e
   2PL why 3SG=atop-be-DEP act-DEP
   ‘Why are doing (things) during it (this period of mourning)?’ (T27)

13.2.3 Multiple questions

Ulwa interrogative constructions have the productive ability to question multiple things simultaneously. Similarly to English constructions such as ‘who gave what to whom?’, Ulwa constructions may inquire into multiple unknowns. Whereas these English constructions are mostly limited to situations in which it is assumed by the asker that each question component has a known referent, Ulwa multiple-question constructions are more flexible. Thus, for example, the two questions ‘where will you find food?’ and ‘what food will you find?’ may be combined into something like ‘where will you find what food?’, a sentence that would stretch the capacities of English multiple-question constructions. Admittedly, this sample sentence, as well as the examples below, is not an archetypical multiple-question construction, since one of the two
questioned elements is perhaps more properly considered an indefinite pronoun (6.5) and not a \textit{wh}- word. The following examples illustrate multiple-question constructions of this type.

(13.059) \textbf{Ango} luwa \textit{angos} nji nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$l$\tilde{\text{a}}$nda?
\textit{ango} luwa \textit{angos} nji nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$=la-nda
which place what thing 3PL=eat-IRR
‘Where will we find something to eat?’ (Literally ‘[we] will eat what things [at] which place?’) (T27)

(13.060) Ngan nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$ \textit{ango} luwa u \textit{angos} ti$\tilde{\text{a}}$?
ngan nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$=and$\tilde{\text{i}}$ \textit{ango} luwa u \textit{angos} ti-na
1DU.EXCL 3PL=for which place from what take-IRR
‘From which place can we two get what for them?’ (T27)

(13.061) \textbf{Ango} luwa u \textit{angos} ti mina?
\textit{ango} luwa u \textit{angos} ti min-na-n[da]
which place from what take 3DU=give-IRR
‘From which place could (they) give what to the two of them?’ (T27)

(13.062) \textit{E ngusuwa ko angwena angos} mundu wananda nat?
\textit{e ngusuwa ko angwena angos} mundu wana-nda na-ta
ay poor just why what food cook-IRR DETR-say
‘Ay, why did that poor thing say that he would cook whatever kind of cook food?’
(Literally, ‘Why did the poor thing say that [he] would cook what food?’) (T11)

An alternate analysis of these multiple questions would be that these are sets of conjoined phrases with no overt conjunction (e.g., ‘at what place and what thing will we eat?’, ‘from which place and what thing can we two get for them?’, etc.)

Multiple questions can also be expressed in what are clearly multiple clauses. In the following example, the conditional form -\textit{ta} marks the end of the first clause (the protasis).

(13.063) Nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$ \textit{ango} luwa wandam luta \textit{angos} mundu malan?
nd$\tilde{\text{i}}$ \textit{ango} luwa wandam lo-ta \textit{angos} mundu ma=la-n[da]
3PL which place jungle go-cond what food 3SG=eat-IRR
‘Where will they go and what will they eat?’ (Literally, ‘If they go to which jungles, what food will (they) eat?’) (T27)
13.2.4 Rhetorical questions

Questions often serve rhetorical purposes—that is, a speaker may not be actually requesting information, but rather may be making an argument (anticipating a negative response to the rhetorical question). The following example illustrates how these may be made in Ulwa.

(13.064) Ndï nji ndïwatlunda?
ndï nji ndï=wat-lo-nda
3PL thing 3PL=atop-cut-IRR
‘Will they clear the things?’ (The anticipated response is: ‘No, they won’t.’) (T11)

Rhetorical questions can be either polar or content questions. In polar rhetorical questions, the anticipated (negative) response is ‘no’; in content rhetorical questions, the anticipated (negative) response is ‘nothing’, ‘nowhere’, ‘nobody’, etc. The following example contains first a polar question, and then a content question.

(13.065) U ko wandam nji ndï ako luwape?
u ko wandam nji ndï ako luwa-p-e
2SG just jungle thing 3PL which place-be-DEP
‘Where are your jungle properties?’ (The anticipated response is: ‘Nowhere.’ The question is literally, ‘You have which place (of) jungle things?’) (T27)

U ko limndï ndala?
u ko limndï ndï=ala
2SG just eye 3PL=for
‘Do you see them?’ (The anticipated response is: ‘No.’) (T27)

The example above also illustrates the use of the modal adverb ko ‘just’, which may be used for emphasis is rhetorical questions.

13.3 Commands and requests

Commands (or requests) are, generally, built around an imperative form of a verb (see 4.9).

Imperative sentences may contain an expressed subject (typically a second person pronoun), but (as in all sentence types), it is possible for the subject to be omitted. The following examples illustrate how second person pronouns may be included in an imperative sentence.
(13.066) **U nul man!**

\[ u \text{ ni}=ul \text{ ma-n} \]

2SG 1SG=with go-IMP

‘Go with me!’ (said to one person) (T11)

(13.067) **Ngun naman!**

\[ ngun \text{ na-ma-n} \]

2DU DETR-go-IMP

‘Go!’ (said to two people) (T01)

(13.068) **U ikali ngasin!**

\[ u \text{ i-kali nga}=si-n \]

2SG hand-send this.SG=push-IMP

‘Hold this!’ (said to one person) (T11)

(13.069) **U manji ndi nan makîn!**

\[ u \text{ manji ndi na=n ma}=kî-n \]

2SG 3SG.POSS 3PL talk=OBL 3SG=say-IMP

‘Tell her about her (sago palms)!’ (said to one person) (T32)

(13.070) **Un maya wa nayn!**

\[ un \text{ ma}=iya wa na-i-n \]

2PL 3SG=toward village DETR=come-IMP

‘Come home to her!’ (said to multiple people) (T27)

In the following imperative sentences, the (second person) subject is not expressed.

(13.071) **Amun man!**

\[ amun ma-n \]

now go-IMP

‘Go now!’

(13.072) **Unji mat indan!**

\[ unji ma=tî inda-n \]

2SG.POSS 3SG=take walk-IMP

‘Carry your (child) around!’ (T27)

(13.073) **Unji al kwa ndawa ka lowon!**

\[ unji \text{ al kwa andawa ka lo-wo-n} \]

2SG.POSS net one that.SG.INT in IRR-sleep-IMP

‘Sleep in that other mosquito net of yours!’ (T09)

Third person imperatives are also possible. These are no different from prototypical (second person) imperatives: they, too, contain a verb with the imperative suffix; the only
difference is that the command is issued to a third person referent. The following are examples of third person imperatives in Ulwa.

(13.074) Mī lan!
    mī       l-an
    3SG    eat-IRR
‘Let him eat!’

(13.075) Ndī wūṭīnin!
    ndī     wūṭī-ni-n
    3PL     leg-beat-IMP
‘Let them dance!’

(13.076) Kalingana kalīlītā mī man!
    Kalingana    kali-li-ta    mī    ma-n
    [name]    send-put-COND    3SG    go-IMP
‘Send Kalingana and he’ll go!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] send Kalingana, let him go!’) (T14)

    First person imperatives (i.e., exhortations or jussives) are possible as well, but only for plural, inclusive forms. That is, at least one addressee must be included in the exhortation. The following are examples of first person imperatives in Ulwa.

(13.077) Ngunan lan!
    ngunan    l-an
    1DU.INCL    eat-IMP
‘Let’s eat!’

(13.078) Unan ndīlan!
    unan    ndī=la-n
    1PL.INCL    3PL=eat-IMP
‘Let’s eat them!’ (T32)

(13.079) Una man!
    unan    ma-n
    1PL.INCL    go-IMP
‘Let’s go!’ (T11)

    Indeed, the only referents that cannot be the subjects of imperatives are first person non-inclusive forms—that is, first person singular, first person dual exclusive, and first person plural exclusive. Similar constructions containing these pronominal forms, however, can be created with the irrealis suffix, as illustrated below.
The issue is, however, complicated, since—in casual speech—speakers commonly drop verbal endings, especially of irrealis verb forms. Thus, among the collected texts there are examples of irrealis clauses with, e.g., 1SG subjects that do appear to employ the imperative suffix -n, as in the following:

(13.080) Nī landa.
   nī  la-nda
   1SG    eat-IRR
   ‘I should eat.’

(13.081) *Nī lan!
   *nī  la-n
   1SG    eat-IRR
   ‘Let me eat!’

(13.082) An landa.
   an   la-nda
   1PL.EXCL eat-IRR
   ‘We should eat.’

(13.083) *An lan!
   *an   la-n
   1PL.EXCL eat-IRR
   ‘Let’s eat!’

Prohibitions (i.e., negative commands) are treated separately from true imperatives, not only since they require an additional word, wana(p) ‘PROH’, but also because they do not permit the imperative suffix. Prohibitions may be issued to any referent, including first person non-inclusive forms (see 13.3.4 for examples).

13.3.1 Irrealis for imperative

The fact that the irrealis suffix can encode deontic modality (4.8)—and specifically a directive mood—means that it may function very much like an imperative suffix. Indeed, it is not
unlikely that the imperative suffix derived historically from the irrealis suffix—that is, as an apocopated version, which one might expect to occur in emphatic direct address.

Thus, some clauses containing irrealis verbs may be functionally equivalent to imperatives, and may therefore be translated as such in English, as in the first (a) translation of each of the following examples.

(13.085) U *landa*!

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>eat-IRR</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) ‘Eat!’</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) ‘You must eat.’</td>
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(13.086) Asa u mat *nīnanda*!

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>3SG=take</td>
<td>1SG=give-IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ‘No, give it to me!’</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) ‘No, you should give it to me.’ (T27)</td>
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(13.087) Kīkal misimisi *ngawananda*!

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<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>this.SG=feel-IRR</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) ‘Listen to this story!’</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) ‘(You) must/should listen to this story.’</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) ‘Would that (you) were listening to this story!’</td>
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This use of the irrealis suffix applies as well to third person imperatives and first person imperatives, as illustrated below.

(13.088) Mī *landa*!

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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>eat-IRR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ‘Let him eat!’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) ‘He must eat.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) ‘Oh that he eat!’</td>
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(13.089) Ngunan *mana*!

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INCL</td>
<td>go-IRR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ‘Let’s go!’ (T01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) ‘We shall go.’</td>
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</table>
13.3.2 The modal adverb *kop* ‘please’

Generally, no distinction is made between commands and requests—that is, there is no common formulaic question form (as in, for example, English ‘can you please pass the salt?’) to signal a gentle request as opposed to a stern command. Typically, intonation and context alone define an imperative form as serving the pragmatic function of either command or request. There are, however, two other formal devices for indicating requests (as opposed to commands): the adverb *kop* ‘please’ (treated below) and the conditional suffix -*ta* (13.3.3). Since these devices are softer than commands formed with only the imperative verb form, they may be considered akin to requests.

The modal adverb *kop* ‘please’ (8.3.5) may be used to soften a command, as seen in the following sentences, which contain imperative verb forms (4.9).

(13.091) I apa i *kop* lamap we un *man*!  
   i go.PRF apa i *kop* la-ama-p we un ma-n  
   house go.PRF please IRR-eat-PRF then 2PL go-IMP  
   ‘Come, come to the house, eat, and then go!’ (T10)

(13.092) *Kop* malakan!  
   *kop* ma=la-ka-n  
   please 3PL=IRR-let-IMP  
   ‘Just leave him!’ (T11)

13.3.3 Conditionals used for requests

Another (morphosyntactic) method of softening a command is using a conditional verb form—that is, one with the ending -*ta* (4.14, 13.6), as illustrated by the following sentence.
(13.093) Nī umbe Supam ul mata mī maya ata mana.
   nī    umbe    Supam ul    ma-ta    mī    ma=iya    ata    ma-na
1SG    tomorrow    [name]    with    go-COND    3SG    3SG=to ward up    go-IRR
‘I’ll go with Supam tomorrow and she’ll climb it (a tree).’ (T01)

In the story from which the above sentence is taken, a mother is addressing her children—including Supam. While the literal meaning of the first clause is ‘if I go with Supam …’, it has the pragmatic value of ‘Supam, you shall go with me …!’ Further examples of conditional sentences functioning as softened commands follow.

(13.094) Nīlakata nī mol malanda!
   nī=la-ka-ta    nī    ma=ul    ma=la-nda
1SG=IRR-let-COND    1SG    3SG=with    3SG=eat-IRR
‘Let me eat with him!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] allow me, I will eat with him.’) (T01)

(13.095) Yena ngalat ndinata …
   yena    ngala=tī    ndī=na-ta
woman    this.PL=take    3PL=give-COND
… ndī ndul lowope lunda!
   ndī    ndī=ul    lo-wo-p-e    lo-nda
3PL    3PL=with    IRR-sleep-PRF-DEP    go-IRR
‘Give them these women, and they, having slept with them, will go!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] give them these women, they, having slept with them, will go.’) (T02)

(13.096) Kwa ninji mol niya wa ita …
   kwa    ninji    ma=ul    nī=iya    wa    i-ta
just    1SG.POSS    3SG=with    1SG=toward    village    go-PRF-COND
… nī ko limndī mandīn.
   nī    ko    limndī    ma=andīn
1SG    just    eye    3SG=for
‘If (you) come home to me with my (cousin), I will see her.’ (i.e., ‘Please bring my cousin to me so that I can see her!’) (T32)

The conditional form may also be used with first person commands (i.e., jussive or hortatory constructions, 13.3). Often, only the protasis (marked with -ta) is expressed, leaving the apodosis only implied, as in the following:
(13.097) Unan na kali wa alan ëta!
unan na kali wa ala=n ë-ë-
1PL.INCL talk send village that.PL=OBL put-COND
‘Let’s send a message to those villages!’ (Literally, ‘If we send a message to those villages…’) (T01)

The modal adverb kop ‘please’ may be used in conjunction with the conditional -ta verb form, as in:

(13.098) Kop ma wa na nditata mata!
kop ma wa na ndi-ta-ta ma-ta
please go just talk 3PL=say-COND go-COND
‘Please, just go and tell stories!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] please just go and say the talks, [it] will go.’) (T11)

The form kop may be shortened to ko, as in the following:

(13.099) Ko ngapta apa itap nji ngalembampin!
kopi nga-p-ta apa ita-p nji ngala=imbam-p-n
please this.SG=be-COND house build-PRF thing this.PL=under-be-IMP
‘Please build a house here under these things!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] please this, build a house under these things.’) (T11)

(13.100) Ko amblakalampita lun!
kopi ambla=kalam-p-ta lo-n
please PL.REFL=know-be-COND go-IRR
‘Please look after yourselves and go!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] please know yourselves, go!’) (T32)

13.3.4 Negative commands

Negative commands are formed with the prohibitive marker wana ~ wanap ‘PROH’ (8.4.1). The form wanap is perhaps analyzable as containing the copular suffix -p (or even, perhaps, the perfective suffix -p), although why this would be the case etymologically is unclear. The prohibitive marker tends to come early in its sentence, as in the following examples.

(13.101) Wana nunu nji tì ip lìp mana!
wana nunu nji tì ip lì-p ma-na
PROH various thing take nose put-PRF go-IRR
‘Don’t go destroying lots of things!’ (Literally, ‘Don’t go, having put nose to many things!’) (T11)
Prohibitions are not limited to second person forms, but may apply to any person or number, as seen below.

(13.103) (U) **wana** nuwalinda!

(13.104) (Un) **wana** nĩnji utam malanda!

(13.105) Mĩ **wana** landa!

(13.106) Unan **wana** mana!

(13.107) An **wana** nakĩna.

(13.108) Nĩ **wana** mana.

Prohibitions may include the speculative suffix -t on the irrealis verb form (4.13), as in the following:
(13.109) Tarambi **wana** apka nǐ klo p ma ngaya **manat**!

Tarambi **wana** apka nǐ= klo p ma ngaya ma-na-t
[name] PROH very 1SG=cross go far go-IRR-SPEC
‘Tarambi, don’t go completely bypass me and go far away!’ (T11)

(13.110) Wana **ndīwalindat**!

wana ndi= wali-nda-t
PROH 3PL=hit-IRR-SPEC
‘Don’t shoot them!’ (T32)

(13.111) Wanap **mbipīnate**!

wanap mbi-p-na-t-e
PROH here-be-IRR-SPEC-DEP
‘Don’t stay here!’ (T01)

(13.112) Wana ata ma Kambaramba **manat**!

wana ata ma Kambaramba ma-na-t
PROH up go [place] go-IRR-SPEC
‘Don’t go up to Kambaramba (village)!’ (T11)

(13.113) Inim wana **malakanat** ko man ambi ndalan!

inim wana ma=la-ka-na-t ko ma=n ambi anda=la-n
water PROH 3SG=IRR-let-IRR-SPEC just 3SG=OBL big that.SG=eat-IMP
‘Water—don’t avoid it; drink a lot of it!’ (T11)

(13.114) **Wana** imbapta niya **mbundanat**!

wana imba-p-ta nǐ= iya mbi-unda-na-t
PROH night-be-COND 1SG=toward here-go-IRR-SPEC
‘Don’t come around here to me at night!’ (Literally, ‘Don’t—when it is night—come around here to me!’) (T11)

The last example above also illustrates the use of the conditional suffix -**ta** (4.14). Although here it is used to show an actual condition (along with the speculative suffix on the final irrealis-marked verb), it may also be used idiomatically in prohibitions, presumably to present an implied apodosis (i.e., ‘or else …!’), as in the following:

(13.115) **Wana** mapta!

wana ma=p-ta
PROH 3SG=be-COND
‘Don’t live there!’ (T11)
13.4 Negation

Negative declarative sentences in Ulwa are typically readily identifiable by the negator word *ango* ‘NEG’ (‘no, not’), which comes immediately after the subject NP (or, potentially, after other postnominal modifying elements, such as temporal adverbs). Sentences with negative polarity contain propositions concerning events or states that are contrary to perceived reality. Nevertheless, these sentences need not be marked as being irrealis through verbal morphology. Indeed, negative sentences may reflect the same basic three-way TAM distinction as seen in positive sentences (4.3).

The following two examples illustrate the variable ordering of *ango* ‘NEG’ with other adverbial-like words.

(13.117) Kolpe mǐ amun *ango* apa mayte.

Kolpe mǐ amun *ango* apa ma=ita-e

[name] 3SG now NEG house 3SG=build-DEP

‘Kolpe is not building the house now.’

(13.118) Kolpe mǐ *ango* amun apa mayte.

Kolpe mǐ *ango* amun apa ma=ita-e

[name] 3SG NEG now house 3SG=build-DEP

‘Kolpe is not building the house now.’

Constructions that negate predicate nouns or adjectives work much the same as those that negate regular verbal predicates, as seen below.

(13.119) Kolpe mǐ *ango* yana.

Kolpe mǐ *ango* yana

[name] 3SG NEG woman

‘Kolpe is not a woman.’

(13.120) *Ango* anmap.

*ango* anma-p

NEG good-be

‘(It) is not good.’ (T01)
The following sentences provide examples of negative constructions in Ulwa (all of which use *ango* ‘NEG’). Many of these would be translated in English (or many other languages) variously (e.g., with words such as ‘no one’, ‘not … anything’, ‘nothing’, etc.). Where relevant, parallel positive polarity sentences are provided to illustrate contrasts.

(13.121) Kwa *ango*nip.
   kwa   *ango*   ni-p
   one  NEG   die-PRF
   ‘No one died.’ (cf. *Kwa nip* ‘Someone died.’)

(13.122) Nǐ *ango* lîmndî kwa ala.
   nĩ  *ango*  lîmndî  kwa  ala
   1SG  NEG  eye  one  for
   (a) ‘I didn’t see anyone.’
   (b) ‘I saw no one.’ (cf. Nǐ lîmndî kwa ala ‘I saw someone.’)

   nji  (mĩ/ndĩ)  *ango*  li-u
   thing  (3SG/3PL)  NEG  fall-PRF
   ‘Nothing fell.’ (cf. Nji kwa liyu ‘Something fell.’)

(13.124) Nǐ *ango* lîmndî njī ala.
   nĩ  *ango*  lîmndî  njī  ala
   1SG  NEG  eye  thing  for
   (a) ‘I didn’t see anything.’
   (b) ‘I saw nothing.’ (cf. Nǐ lîmndî njī kwa ala ‘I saw something.’)

(13.125) Nǐ *ango* lîmndî minul kwa ala.
   nĩ  *ango*  lîmndî  min=ul  kwa  ala
   1SG  NEG  eye  3DU=with  one  for
   ‘I didn’t see either (of them).’ (Literally, ‘I did not see one with [i.e., of] the two.’; cf. Nǐ lîmndî minala ‘I saw both.’)

(13.126) Nǐ *ango* lîmndî nungol minul kwa ala.
   nĩ  *ango*  lîmndî  nungol  min=ul  kwa  ala
   1SG  NEG  eye  child  3DU=with  one  for
   ‘I didn’t see either child.’ (Literally, ‘I did not see one with [i.e., of] the two children.’)

   nĩ  *ango*  lîmndî  min=ala
   1SG  NEG  eye  3DU=for
   ‘I saw neither (of them).’ (Literally, ‘I did not see the two.’)
(13.128) Nî ãngo lîmndî ankam minala.
   nî          ãngo   lîmndî        ankam      min=ala
   1SG    NEG   eye       person     3DU=for
   ‘I saw neither person.’ (Literally, ‘I did not see the two people.’)

(13.129) Nî ãngo lîmndî mînda ndul kwa ala.
   nî          ãngo   lîmndî       mînda      ndî=ul    kwa    ala
   1SG    NEG   eye       banana     3PL=with one for
   ‘I saw none of the bananas.’ (Literally, ‘I did not see one [i.e., of] the [more than two] bananas.’)

(13.130) Anul kwa ãngo wandam i.
   an=ul   kwa   ãngo        wandam    i
   1PL.EXCL=with one NEG jungle go.PRF
   ‘None of us went to the jungle.’ (Literally, ‘With [i.e., among] us, one did not go to the jungle.’)

(13.131) Ndul kwa ãngo wombîn ne.
   ndî=ul   kwa   ãngo       wombîn=n    ni-e
   3PL=with one NEG work=OBL act-DEP
   ‘None of them is working.’ (Literally, ‘With [i.e., among] them, one is not working.’)

(13.132) Ndînji kwa ãngo nipe.
   ndînji    kwa   ãngo        nî-p-e
   3PL.POSS one NEG die-PRF-DEP
   ‘Not one of them died.’ (Literally, ‘Their one did not die.’) (T02)

(13.133) Ndînji kwa ãngo tînanga wolka tôklika i.
   ndînji    kwa   ãngo        tînanga wolka    tôkli-ka    i
   3PL.POSS one NEG arise again      turn-let  go.PRF
   ‘Not one of their (men) got up and came back again.’ (Literally, ‘Their one did not arise again and go back.’) (T04)

(13.134) Mawna mî keka ãngo mînkîn amap.
   Mawna    mî     keka     ãngo    mînkîn    ama-p
   [name]  3SG completely NEG grub.sp eat-PRF
   ‘Mawna has never eaten mînkîn grubs.’ (Literally, ‘Mawna has completely not eaten mînkîn grubs.’)

(13.135) Nî keka ãngo ya ame.
   nî          keka     ãngo        ya       ama-e
   1SG      completely NEG coconut eat-DEP
   ‘I never eat coconut.’ (Literally, ‘I completely do not eat coconut.’)
(13.136) Mawna mĩ **ango** nunu ika mĩnda ame.

Mawna mĩ **ango** nunu i-ka mĩnda ama-e
[3SG NEG various hand-let banana eat-DEP]

‘Mawna sometimes/rarely eats bananas.’ (Literally, ‘Mawna does not always eat bananas.’; cf. *Mawna mĩ nunu ika mĩnda ame* ‘Mawna always/often eats bananas.’)

13.4.1 Two-part negative constructions

Sometimes in Ulwa, the form *ango* ‘NEG’ is not the only negative element in a sentence, but rather serves as the first part of a discontinuous structure, the second negative element occurring at the end of the sentence (cf. French *ne … pas*).

In the discontinuous structure *ango … me*, the second element *me* is taken to be a negative polarity emphatic marker (i.e., ‘at all’), as in the following examples.

(13.137) Nĩ **ango** unji itom *me*.

nĩ **ango** unji itom *me*

1SG NEG 2PL.POSS father NEG

‘I’m not your father at all.’ (T07)

(13.138) Way **ango** ambi *me*.

way **ango** ambi *me*

turtle NEG big NEG

‘The turtle wasn’t big at all.’ (T05)

As the above examples suggest, the form *me* seems to be restricted to clauses that lack overt verb forms—that is, sentences in which a noun (13.137) or an adjective (13.138) is predicated of a subject (and in which this nominal or adjectival quality is negated). This should, perhaps, be expected, considering the very rigid verb-final word order of active-voice Ulwa sentences—that is, it may be assumed that every such two-part negative construction has a null copula as its (implied) verb (10.2).

This element *me* can also be used to negate various predicate nominatives, including nominalized verb phrases and entire relative clauses. The following example may be compared with (13.138) above. The placement of *ango* before the noun phrase indicates that this is an existential clause.
Ipka **ango** wambana ambi **me**.

before  NEG  fish  big  NEG

‘Before, there weren’t any big fish.’ (T11)

The following example also illustrates the negation of an NP using **me**. It reflects the unusual preference of using prenominal modifiers for the word *luwa* ‘place’, also seen in the expression *wala luwa* ‘far-off place’, seen in example (13.150) below (cf. 8.3.2).

**Ango nu luwa me**.

NEG  close  place  NEG

‘(It) was not a close place at all.’ (T26)

The next example illustrates the use of **me** with a possessive form, expressed without any verbal marking.

**Unanambi angounanji ambame**.

1PL.INCL.FOC  NEG  1PL.INCL.POSS  haus.tambaran  NEG

‘As for us, we don’t have any magic at all.’ (T32)

The following is an example of **ango … me** used with a nominalized verb phrase.

**Mï angonanîkapen me**.

3SG  NEG  talk=OBL  ISG=say-PRF-NMLZ  NEG

‘She didn’t reply to me at all.’ (Literally, ‘She was not a having-spoken-to-me [person] at all.’) (T27)

The following is an example of **ango … me** used with a relative clause.

**Angokambenjime**.

NEG  [shun-DEP]  thing  NEG

‘(It) wasn’t something that (they) neglected at all.’ (T32)

Instead of **ango**, the negative-like word *ulwa* ‘nothing’ can be used in these two-part negative constructions—that is, with **me** following it, as below.
(13.144) Ulwa me.
    ulwa    me
nothing    NEG
‘(It) is nothing at all.’ (T27)

(13.145) Ulwapen me nį un ka naman.
    ulwa-p-en    me    nį    u=n    ka    na-ma-n
nothing-be-NMLZ    NEG    1SG    2SG=OBL    let    DETR-go-IPFV
‘There’s nothing here, so I’m leaving you.’ (T26)

Finally, it may be shown that me is sometimes used alone (that is without ango—or even ulwa—preceding), nevertheless maintaining a negative sense. This is akin to the colloquial French use of just pas for ‘NEG’, where it is no longer obligatory to include the ne component of the ne ... pas construction. The following sentence illustrates the use of me without any other negative marker.

(13.146) Un ini me.
    un[ji]    ini    me
2PL.[POSS]    ground    NEG
‘(It) is not your land.’ (T11)

The origin of me ‘NEG’ is unknown, but it may have derived from me ‘limbum’ (that is, a strip of flattened palm stem, which is used in weaving and house-building). Under this assumption, the negative particle developed from an exploratory “expression of minimal value” (Harris & Campbell 1995:54f., 73). Thus (much like French pas ‘NEG’ < pas ‘step’), the word me ‘limbum palm’ was originally a reinforcing expression, as could be imagined to have occurred in utterances such as ‘I haven’t built the house—not (even) a strip!’). Especially when used alone (that is, without another negator preceding it), me ‘NEG’ often occurs with the modal adverb ko ‘just’, which likely maintains the sense of ‘even’ underlying the historical development of me ‘limbum palm’ as a negator. In the following sentences, ko ‘just’ occurs after the subject, with me ‘NEG’ occurring clause-finally.

(13.147) Un ko nįnjį ankam me.
    un    ko    nįnjį    ankam    me
2PL    just    1SG.POSS    person    NEG
‘You are not my people.’ (T27)
(13.148) Nguna ko ndul amba kwe inwap …

ngunan ko ndī=kalamp-en me
1DU.INCL just 3PL=know-be-NMLZ NEG
ko ndī=kul amba kwe in-wap
just 3PL=with haus.tambaran one in-be.PST

… ko ndīkalampen me.
ko ndī=kalamp-p-en me
just 3PL=know-be-NMLZ NEG
‘We have not lived with them in even one haus tambaran (men’s house) nor (do we)
know about them at all.’ (T32)

(13.149) Ngun ko ini anma me.
ngun ko ini anma me
2DU just ground good NEG
‘You two, (it) is not good land at all.’ (T11)

Lending support to this hypothesis is the alternative two-part negative construction, ango ...
kom(e) ‘NEG’, in which the second element can be assumed to derive from ko ‘just’ plus me
‘limbum palm’. The second element is frequently reduced to kom, as may be seen in the
following examples.

(13.150) Ango wala luwa kom.
ango wala luwa kom
NEG far.off place NEG
‘(It’s) not a far-off place at all.’ (T01)

(13.151) Unan ango wa ambi kom.
unan ango wa ambi kom
1PL.INCL NEG village big NEG
‘We are not a big village at all.’ (T32)

(13.152) Ango wutota kom mundotoma ando.
ango wutota kom mundotoma anda-o
NEG long NEG short that.SG-INTERJ
‘(The story is) not long at all; it’s a short one.’ (T08)

It is also possible to form negatives with only the (typically) second element, kom(e), as
in the following:

mīkī itīm kome
tree.sp trash NEG
‘(It) is not a swamp at all.’ (T11)

355
(13.154) Ndìnji kome ndì matîna.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nđìnji} & \quad \text{kome} & \quad \text{ndì} & \quad \text{ma=ti}-na \\
3\text{PL.POSS} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad 3\text{PL} & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{take-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘But (it) isn’t theirs, so they (won’t) get it.’ (T32)

(13.155) Isin wane mundu kóm.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{isi=n} & \quad \text{wana-e} & \quad \text{mundu} & \quad \text{kom} \\
\text{soup}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{cook-DEP} & \quad \text{food} & \quad \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(This) is not (the kind of) food that is cooked in soup.’ (T11)

(13.156) Kwe wat u iyen kóm.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwe} & \quad \text{wat} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{i-en} & \quad \text{kom} \\
\text{one} & \quad \text{atop} & \quad \text{from} & \quad \text{go.PRIF-NMLZ} & \quad \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘It wasn’t just one who came onto (it).’ (Literally, ‘One was not a having-gone onto [it] [one].’) (T11)

Thus the claim could be made that forms such as me and kom(e) are undergoing a grammatical change reflecting the Jespersen’s Cycle (Dahl 1979), whereby the preverbal negative marker is being replaced by a postverbal negative marker. Still, the use of preverbal ango ‘NEG’ is (still) the most unmarked means of negation.

Finally, it must be noted here that there are also instances in which me is used alone without any apparent negative sense. Such uses seem more common with adjectives designating the greatness of someone or something, as in:

(13.157) E an namndu nípat me!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e} & \quad \text{an} & \quad \text{namndu} & \quad \text{nípat} & \quad \text{me} \\
\text{ay} & \quad 1\text{PL.EXCL} & \quad \text{pig} & \quad \text{giant} & \quad \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Ay, we (had) really giant pigs!’ (T11)

(13.158) Ambi ngata nda yangle me kenmbu nípat.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ambi} & \quad \text{ngata} & \quad \text{anda} & \quad \text{yangle} & \quad \text{me} & \quad \text{kenmbu} & \quad \text{nípat} \\
\text{big} & \quad \text{grand} & \quad \text{that.SG} & \quad \text{strong} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{heavy} & \quad \text{giant}
\end{align*}
\]

‘That big huge (child) was very strong, terribly heavy.’ (T27)

Perhaps sentences such as those above should be taken to mean, for example, ‘not [merely] giant, [but rather] really, really giant’. Or perhaps they reveal a simply emphatic meaning of the particle me, one that is not limited to sentences of negative polarity. They could even be ironical statements.
13.4.2 Prohibitions

In prohibitions (i.e., negative commands), the regular negator ango ‘NEG’ is not used at all, but rather the prohibitive marker wana(p) ‘PROH’ is used, as in:

(13.159) **Wanap** apka nîklop mana!

**wanap** apka nî=klop ma-na
PROH very 1SG=cross go-IRR
‘Don’t go and bypass me completely!’ (T11)

More examples of prohibitive statements can be found in the sections on negative commands (13.3.4) and on the speculative suffix -t (4.13).

13.4.3 Negative scope

An interesting fact about Ulwa negation is the scope of the negator. The tendency in Ulwa is to place ango within the first clause of multicausal constructions, even when the scope of negation is smaller than the whole series of clauses—i.e., only one (subsequent) clause (or clausal element) is negated, as in:

(13.160) An **ango** apa mbïlop mbïwap.

an **ango** apa mbî-lo-p mbî-wap
1PL.EXCL NEG house here-go-PRF here-be.PST
‘We came home, but didn’t stay.’ (Literally, ‘We did not come home and stay.’) (T27)

(13.161) **Ango** ulum ale we wandampen.

**ango** ulum ale-e we wandam-p-en
NEG palm scrape-DEP sago jungle-be-NMLZ
‘When (they) scrape sago palms, the sago starch is not (left behind) in the jungle.’
(Literally, ‘[It is] not [the case that], having scraped sago palms, the sago starch is [left behind] in the jungle.’) (T11)

(13.162) **Ango** mat mînjikan kîna:

**ango** ma=tî mînjika=n kî-na
NEG 3SG=take speech=OBL say-IRR
‘Having gotten it, (they) wouldn’t say (the following):’ (Literally, ‘[It is] not [the case that they] get it and would say [the following:]’) (T27)
This rather early placement of *ango* occurs in conditional statements as well—that is, the negator may occur within the protasis, even when the verbal element to be negated properly belongs in the apodosis. In each of the following conditional statements, *ango* occurs within the protasis.

(13.163) **Ango** maka apwanam mapta inim landa.

*Ango* maka apa-wanam ma=p-ta inim la-nda
NEG thus house-side 3SG=be-COND water eat-IRR

‘As long as (she) is staying at the side of the house, (a recent mother) may not drink water.’ (T11)

(13.164) **Ango** mat ita nduwe malanda.

*Ango* ma=tî i-ta nduwe ma=la-nda
NEG 3SG=take go.PRF-COND 3PL.INT.PART 3SG=eat-IRR

‘If (he) brings it, they will not eat it alone.’ (T11)

(13.165) **Ango** amunpîta ikali masinate.

*Ango* amun-p-ta i-kali ma=si-na-t-e
NEG now-be-COND hand-send 3SG=push-IRR-SPEC-DEP

‘If (a baby) is still very young, (then fathers) will not hold it.’ (T11)

In the following two conditional prohibitive statements, the negative marker *wana* ‘PROH’ occurs in the protasis, even though the negation properly occurs in the apodosis.

(13.166) **Wana** ambipîta wa lolop ala wandampîta …

*Wana* ambi-p-ta wa lolop ala[nji] wandam-p-ta
PROH big-be-COND just just that.PL[.POSS] jungle-be-COND

… alanji nji landa!
alanji nji la-nda
that.PL.POSS thing eat-IRR

‘When (you) are grown and are just (going around) in other people’s gardens, don’t eat their things!’ (T27)

(13.167) A un **wana** apa mapta luke natana!

a un *wana* apa ma=p-ta luke na-ta-na
INTERJ 2PL PROH house 3SG=be-COND too DETR-say-IRR

‘Hey, if you’re in the house, don’t talk either!’ (T27)
13.4.4 Negative responses

Finally, in this section on negation, it may be noted how one may use the word ‘no’ to respond negatively to a proposition. It is relatively uncommon to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to questions in Ulwa: rather, interlocutors tend to respond with full answers or paralinguistic gestures (head movements or interjections such as m). It is, nevertheless, possible to use the word ase ‘no’ (sometimes realized as asa), whether as a response to a question, or as a simple denial (without any question necessarily having been posed). The following are examples of its use.

(13.168) Ndī man nan nǐt ase.
ndī  ma=n    na=n     nī=ta  ase
3PL 3SG=OBL 1SG=OBL 1SG=say no
‘They told me “no”.’ (T11)

(13.169) Ase unan tīngīnpe.
ase  unan  tīngīn-p-e
no  1PL.INCL  many-be-DEP
‘No, we are many (now).’ (T11)

(13.170) Nī ango wa mbīpta ul wombīn ninda …
nī   ango  wa   mbī-p-ta   u-ul  wombīn=n  ni-nda
1SG  NEG  village  here-be-COND 2SG=with  work=OBL  act-IRR
‘I won’t stay in the village and work with you.’

Ase nī umbe un ka wandam namana.
ase  nī  umbe  u=n   ka  wandam  na-ma-na
no  1SG  tomorrow  2SG=OBL  let  jungle  DETR-go-IRR
‘No, tomorrow I’ll leave you and go to the jungle.’ (T26)

(13.171) Asa mī mīnjikan ngunankap:
asa  mī  mīnjika=n  ngunan=ki-p
no  3SG  speech=OBL  1DU.INCL=say-PRF
‘No, he said the following to us:’ (T11)

13.5 Reported speech

The speech of others can be reported either directly or indirectly. In direct, quotative reports, someone’s speech is presented (or purportedly presented) as a verbatim repetition of the original utterance. In Ulwa, direct discourse is constructed around (a minimum) of two, separate
clauses: one containing the quoted utterance (typically the second clause) and one reporting who uttered it (typically the first clause). Direct discourse constructions are thus of the form: ‘so-and-so said: “[what that person said]”’. They are generally formed with one of two verbs meaning ‘say’, ta- and ki-. The basic three-way TAM paradigms for these verbs (as well as the imperative and conditional forms) are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘say’</th>
<th>‘say’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>t(e)</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>tana</td>
<td>kîna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>kîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>kîta ~ kapta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that, since [k] generally does not exist word-finally (2.1.1), the imperfective form of the root k- requires the dependent-clause marker -e (that is, to prevent a phonotactically impossible form). Both roots, ta- and ki-, can form their conditional suffixes based on the verb stem, but only ki- seems to be capable of forming a conditional on the perfective form (i.e., there is no attested form *tapa*) (4.14).

These two roots are very frequently preceded by the form /na/. Due to the homophony of this form, it is often unclear whether it is functioning as the word na ‘talk’ (which is joining with the verb as a compound [literally, ‘to say talk’]) or it is functioning as the detransitivizing prefix na- (13.9.1).

13.5.1 Intransitive uses of verbs of speaking

In the following examples, the speaking verb (ta- or ki-) is used intransitively. The form na (when present) is glossed as the detransitivizing marker (although the argument could be made that it is the word na ‘talk’ functioning as the first half of a compound verb form; see above). Since the speaking verb is often transitive, however, the analysis of na- here as the detransitivizing marker is preferred, since it seems to be helping to reduce the valency of the verb, as seen in the following examples.
(13.172) Awal imbape una natap.  
awal imba-p-e unan na-ta-p  
yesterday night-be-DEP 1PL.INCL DETR-say-PRF  
‘Last night we talked.’ (T32)

(13.173) Inom mǐ nakap.  
inom mǐ na-ki-p  
mother 3SG DETR-say-PRF  
‘Mother spoke.’

u=iya mbī-i u-ul na-ta-na mbī-i  
2SG=toward here-go.PRF 2SG=with DETR-say-IRR here-go.PRF  
‘(I) came to you here, came to speak with you here.’ (T21)

13.5.2 Transitive uses of verbs of speaking

It is, however, much more common for the speaking verb to be transitive, taking as the object either the thing said or the person addressed. In the following examples, the object of the verb is the thing said (note that the detransitivizing marker na- is not present).

(13.175) Min na kuma tap.  
min na kuma ta-p  
3DU talk some say-PRF  
‘The two planned something.’ (Literally, ‘The two said some talks.’) (T11)

(13.176) Nǐ ango na ŋīgin tana.  
ni=ango na ŋīgin ta-na  
1SG NEG talk many say-IRR  
‘I won’t tell many stories.’ (T20)

(13.177) Nǐ mol na ndìtane.  
ni ma=ul na ndi=ta-n-e  
1SG 3SG=with talk 3PL=say-IPFV-DEP  
‘I was telling the stories with him.’ (T11)

(13.178) Ndi ndìnap atwana kīna.  
ndí ndí=nap atwana kī-na  
3PL 3PL=for question say-IRR  
‘They will ask about them.’ (T27)
The last example above illustrates how reported questions can be expressed (namely, by saying literally ‘say a question’, where ‘question’ is the object of the verb of speaking).

Often, the verb of speaking takes as an object the thing said, without there being much semantic value of this object. That is, the object (always just a bare 3SG object-marker clitic) functions as an expletive, as in the following:

(13.179) Nî mat a!
    nî       ma=ta   a
    1SG     3SG=say   ah
    ‘I said, “ah!”’ (Literally, ‘I said it: “Ah!”’) (T11)

(13.180) Mî mate ankam alanji ala!
    mî       ma=ta-e  ankam  alanji  ala
    3SG     3SG=say-DEP person that.PL.POSS that.PL
    ‘He said it (that he would kill their pigs), but those are other people’s (pigs)!’ (T11)

(13.181) Mî ambîvana mat a …
    mî       ambî=wana ma=ta   a
    3SG     SG.REFL=feel 3SG=say   ah
    ‘It thought to itself and said: “Ah! …”’

… nî ta tata tî-n ma=ul li i-na ma-n-e
    1SG alreadypapa take-PRF 3SG=com down come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
    ‘… I’m already able to get papa and come down with him.’” (T05)

(13.182) Makape mî i.
    ma=kî-p-e    mî    i
    3SG=say-PRF-DEP 3SG go.PRIF
    ‘Having spoken, he went.’ (T34)

(13.183) Nî lîmndî minlipe mat:
    nî      lîmndî        min=lî-p-e ma=ta
    1SG     eye            3DU=put-PRF-DEP 3SG=say
    ‘I saw the two of them and said:’ (T11)

As the above examples illustrate, it is common for verbs of speaking (or at least the verb ta-) to be defective—that is, the verb stem is often left unmarked for TAM (and loses its stem-final vowel). This occurs especially in situations such as those above, in which the object of speech is an expletive (or dummy) object.
The role of the object of the (transitive) speaking verb, however, need not be the thing spoken, but may instead be the person addressed. In such constructions, the word na ‘talk’ is often present before the object marker. This word may or may not be followed by the oblique marker =n. When this marker is present, then the construction is analyzed as a clause that consists of a transitive verb taking the person addressed as its direct object and an oblique phrase composed of the word na plus the oblique marker (i.e., literally, ‘to tell [someone] with/by means of speech/talk’). When the oblique marker is absent, on the other hand, then the construction is analyzed as a compound verb phrase in which the first (nominal) element occurs before the object. (In certain situations, however, it is impossible to tell whether the form na contains the enclitic =n or not, since, if na is followed by a word that begins with /n- or /nd-, then the sequence /nn—if ever present—would degeminate to [n].)

In the following examples, the verbs ta- and kï- ‘say’ are used transitively, taking as an object the person addressed and following the oblique phrase na=n.

(13.184) Ni nan mat ni ango makike lunda.
      nî na=n ma=ta nî ango ma=kîke lo-nda
1SG talk=OBL 3SG=say 1SG NEG 3SG=throw go-IRR
‘I told her: “I won’t sell it.”’ (T37)

(13.185) Ni nan ndît nga unji.
      nî na=n ndî=ta nga unji
1SG talk=OBL 3PL=say this.SG 2PL.POSS
‘I said to them: “This is yours.”’ (T11)

(13.186) Ninji yanat mî nan ndîkâp:
      nînji yanat mî na=n ndî=kî-p
1SG.POSS daughter 3SG talk=OBL 3PL=say-PRF
‘My daughter told them:’ (T27)

(13.187) Ni ine Tarambi nan nît:
      nî i-n-e Tarambi na=n nî=ta
1SG come-PRF-DEP [name] talk=OBL 1SG=say
‘When I came, Tarambi told me:’ (T11)

(13.188) An nan amblakâp:
      an na=n ambla=kî-p
1PL.EXCL talk=OBL PL.REFL=say-PRF
‘We said to each other:’ (T27)
(13.189) Nī angos nan ukīn?

nī angos na=n u=kī-n[a] 1SG what talk=OBL 2SG=say-IRR

‘What should I tell you?’ (T32)

(13.190) Nan nungolke ngalakpta ndī kalamīn!

na=n nungolke ngala=kī-p-ta ndī kalam-p-n[a] talk=OBL child this.PL=say-PRF-COND 3PL know-be-IRR

‘Tell these children so that they’ll know!’ (Literally, ‘If (you) tell these children with speech, they will know.’) (T05)

(13.191) Mī nan minte ngun naman!

mī na=n min=ta-e ngun na-ma-n 3SG talk=OBL 3DU=say-DEP 3DU DETR-go-IMP

‘He told the two of them: “Go!”’ (T01)

Although dependent marking is not necessary, it seems to be possible, as in the last example above. Also, since the word na ‘talk’ is functioning as the head noun of its own oblique phrase in these constructions, it is possible for it to be modified by an adjective, as in the following:

(13.192) Ndī na ilumnī ukīnāt.

ndī na ilum=nī u=kī-na-t 3PL talk little=OBL 2SG=say-IRR-SPEC

‘They might tell you a little story.’ (i.e., ‘They might try to deceive you.’) (T11)

In the following examples, the verbs ta- and kī- ‘say’ are also used transitively (again, taking as an object the person addressed); here, however, although the word na ‘talk’ is present, it does not take the oblique marker =n. Accordingly, these sentences are interpreted as containing compound verb phrases, in which the nominal component is separate from the verb stem, occurring before the object (i.e., they are separable verb constructions, 9.3.1).

(13.193) Nī na makīna ase.

nī na ma=kī-na ase 1SG talk 3SG=say-IRR no

‘I will tell him “no”.’ (T26)

(13.194) Na Joanna kap inom ngol man!

na Joanna kī-p inom nga=ul ma-n talk [name] say-PRF mother this.SG=with go-IMP

‘(I) told Joanna: “Go with this woman!”’ (T32)
(13.195) Yanat mī na makap:
yanat mī na ma=ki-p
daughter 3SG talk 3SG=say-PRF
‘(My) daughter told her.’ (T27)

nī na ma=ta-e mī li i
1SG talk 3SG=say-DEP 3SG down go.PRF
‘I told her and she went down.’ (T32)

(13.197) Awal na yenanu ambi ndate.
awal na yenanu ambi anda=ta-e
yesterday talk woman big that.SG=say-DEP
‘I told that big woman yesterday.’ (i.e. ‘my older sister’) (T32)

(13.198) Nī ango angos na ukānte.
nī ango angos na u=ki-na-t-e
1SG NEG what talk 2SG=say-IRR-SPEC-DEP
‘I don’t have anything to tell you.’ (T05)

In another version of transitive clauses based on the verbs ta- and ki- ‘say’, an expletive
3SG pronominal object clitic (ma=) is used in place of na ‘talk’ and receives the oblique maker
= n. The literal meaning of these constructions could be rendered as ‘tell [someone] with it (with
‘speech’ understood as the antecedent of ‘it’). They are illustrated below.

(13.199) Nī man ngunte:
nī ma=n ngun=ta-e
1SG 3SG=OBL 2DU=say-DEP
‘I told you two:’ (T11)

(13.200) Ya nī man mate.
ya nī ma=n ma=ta-e
coconut 1SG 3SG=OBL 3SG=say-DEP
‘“Coconuts,” I told him.’ (T11)

(13.201) Tiponîm ini mī tembipe nī man Danny mat.
Tiponîm ini mī tembi-p-e nī ma=n Danny ma=ta
[place] ground 3SG bad-be-DEP 1SG 3SG=OBL [name] 3SG=say
‘“The Tiponîm ground is bad,” I told Danny.’ (T11)

(13.202) Mī man mat:
mī ma=n ma=ta
3SG 3SG=OBL 3SG=say
‘He told her:’ (T01)
(13.203) Nī man unate.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{nī} & \text{ma}=n & \text{u}=\text{na-ta-e} \\
1\text{SG} & 3\text{SG}=\text{OBL} & 2\text{SG}=\text{talk-say-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’m telling you.’ (T11)

This last example illustrates the compound verb form (consisting of \textit{na} ‘talk’ and \textit{ta-}
‘say’) occurring along with the expletive-object-marker-plus-oblique-marker construction
\((ma=n)\).

### 13.5.3 Expressing the topic of speech

A topic spoken about can be referred to as a phrase consisting of the topic, possessive
marking, and the word \textit{na} ‘talk’ (literally something like ‘X’s story’, where \(X\) can be any kind of
referent—a person, thing, or concept). Often the possessive marker is not included, as in all but
the first of the examples below.

(13.204) \textbf{Manji na} latane.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{manji} & \text{na} & \text{ala}=\text{ta-n-e} \\
3\text{SG.Poss} & \text{talk} & \text{that.PL}=\text{say-IPFV-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(We) were talking about her.’ (Literally, ‘were saying those talks of her’) (T32)

(13.205) Nī amun maka …

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{nī} & \text{amun} & \text{maka} \\
1\text{SG} & \text{now} & \text{thus} \\
\end{array}
\]

… \textbf{lamndu wonmbi ma na} tana manen.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{lamndu} & \text{wonmbi} & \text{ma[nji]} & \text{na} & \text{ta-na} & \text{ma-n-en} \\
\text{pig} & \text{tusk} & 3\text{SG.Poss} & \text{talk} & \text{say-IRR} & \text{go-IPFV-NMLZ} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Now I’m thus going to tell the story of the boar tusk.’ (T13)

(13.206) Nī \textbf{ini man} na tane Wore un ango wap?

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{nī} & \text{ini} & \text{man[ji]} & \text{na} & \text{ta-n-e} & \text{Wore un ango wap} \\
1\text{SG} & \text{ground} & 3\text{SG.Poss} & \text{talk} & \text{say-IPFV-DEP} & \text{[place] 2PL} & \text{which be.PST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When I was talking about the land, where were you, Wores?’ (T11)

(13.207) Sande ndan \textbf{apa nda na} te.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Sande} & \text{anda}=\text{n} & \text{apa} & \text{anda} & \text{na} & \text{ta-e} \\
\text{Sunday} & \text{that.SG}=\text{OBL} & \text{house} & \text{that.SG.Poss} & \text{talk} & \text{say-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Last Sunday, (he) was talking about that church.’ (\textit{Sande} < TP) (T11)
If there is a person addressed in such constructions detailing the topic of conversation, then this person typically occurs as the direct object of the verb of speaking and the topic is included as an oblique phrase marked by \( =n \) following the word na ‘talk’. The possessive marker does not seem necessary, as in the following:

(13.208) Ndï isi nan antane.  
\[
\text{ndï} \quad \text{isi} \quad \text{na} = n \quad \text{an} = \text{ta-n-e} \\
3\text{PL} \quad \text{salt} \quad \text{talk=OBL} \quad 1\text{PL.EXCL}=\text{say-IPFV-DEP} \\
\text{‘They were asking us about salt.’} \quad \text{(T27)}
\]

(13.209) Ndunduma nan nïte nï mat:  
\[
\text{ndunduma} \quad \text{na} = n \quad \text{nï} = \text{ta-e} \quad \text{nï} \quad \text{ma} = \text{ta} \\
\text{ancestor} \quad \text{talk=OBL} \quad 1\text{SG}=\text{say-DEP} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{say} \\
\text{‘When (they) asked me about (their) ancestors, I said:’} \quad \text{(T11)}
\]

\[
\text{nïnji} \quad \text{ulum} \quad \text{ndï} \quad \text{na} = n \quad \text{nï} = \text{kï-p} \\
1\text{SG.POSS} \quad \text{palm} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{talk=OBL} \quad 1\text{SG}=\text{say-PRF} \\
\text{‘(She) told me about my sago palms.’} \quad \text{(T27)}
\]

### 13.5.4 Omission of verbs of speaking

In casual speech, the verb of speaking is sometimes omitted, presumably implied by the word na ‘talk’ plus the oblique marker \( =n \) (or by the expletive oblique phrase \( ma=n \)), as in the following:

(13.211) Nï nan:  
\[
\text{nï} \quad \text{na} = n \\
1\text{SG} \quad \text{talk=OBL} \\
\text{‘I said:’} \quad \text{(T11)}
\]

(13.212) Nï wolka man Carobim u nul man!  
\[
\text{nï} \quad \text{wolka} \quad \text{ma} = n \quad \text{Carobim} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{nï} = \text{ul} \quad \text{ma-n} \\
1\text{SG} \quad \text{again} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{OBL} \quad [\text{name}] \quad 2\text{SG} \quad 1\text{SG}=\text{with} \quad \text{go-IMP} \\
\text{‘I in turn (told) Carobim: ‘Go with me!’’} \quad \text{(T11)}
\]

Sometimes speech is reported without any word of speaking at all to signal the quotation—that is, there is neither the verbs \( ta- \) or \( kï- \) ‘say’ nor the noun na ‘talk’ (or an expletive in its stead). Such quotations are signaled by pragmatic features, intonation, or
paralinguistic sounds or gestures. Often they follow a phrase of ‘seeing’, which may be used idiomatically to signal thought or reflection, as in:

(13.213) **Nī limndī ndala** ungu-suwa-ta wombīn ambi nda.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 \\
\text{nī} & \text{limndī} & \text{ndī}=\text{ala} & \text{ungusuwata} & \text{wombīn} & \text{ambi} & \text{anda} \\
1G & \text{eye} & 3PL=\text{for} & 2PL=\text{poor} & \text{work} & \text{big} & \text{that.SG} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I saw them (and said:) “You poor things—that’s big work.”’ (T11)

(13.214) **Itom ndī limndī anala a**

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 \\
\text{itom} & \text{ndī} & \text{limndī} & \text{an}=\text{ala} & \text{a} \\
\text{father} & \text{3PL} & \text{eye} & 1PL.EXCL=\text{for} & \text{ah} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(Our) fathers saw us (and said:) “Ah! …”’

… anji nungol ala ambi nape.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 \\
\text{anji} & \text{nungol} & \text{ala} & \text{ambi} & \text{na-p-e} \\
1PL.EXCL.POSS & \text{child} & \text{that.PL} & \text{big} & \text{DETR-be-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

“… our sons have gotten big.”’ (T10)

As in the second example above, the exclamation a ‘ah’ often signals speech as well. It typically belongs at the end of a prosodic unit (with the rest of the quoted speech continuing at the start of the subsequent prosodic unit).

When recounting stories, people may also omit a verb of speaking to make the action livelier, as seen below.

(13.215) **Ne may tata!**

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 \\
\text{na-i} & \text{ma=i} & \text{tata} \\
\text{DETR-go. PRF} & 3SG=\text{go.PRF} & \text{papa} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(He) went, went to him (and said:) “Papa!”’ (T07)

Also, when conversations are recounted, the back-and-forth between two quoted speakers need not contain verbs of speaking between each turn, as in the following:

(13.216) **Nī awana ma a un ango luwa?**

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 \\
\text{nī} & \text{awana} & \text{ma}=\text{ta} & \text{a} & \text{un} & \text{ango} & \text{luwa} \\
1SG & \text{question} & 3SG=\text{say} & \text{ah} & 2PL & \text{which} & \text{place} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I asked her: “Ah! Where are you [going]?”’

An ma we ndafina le.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 & 368 \\
\text{an} & \text{ma} & \text{we} & \text{anda}=\text{tī-na} & \text{lo-e} \\
1PL.EXCL & \text{go} & \text{sago} & \text{that.SG}=\text{take-IRR} & \text{go-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(And she said:) “We’re going to get sago starch.”’
'Ande no!
ande na-lo
ok DETR-go
'(And I said:) “All right, go!”’ (T32)

The word mënja ‘speech’ often appears in clauses that introduce reported speech. Much like na ‘talk’, it may be used with an oblique marker along with a verb of speaking. It may serve a discourse-deictic function, pointing to what was just reported or what is just about to be reported (i.e., '[someone] said this’), as in:

(13.217) Nî mënjan ndît mambinalakan!
nî mënja=n ndî=ta mambi=na-la-ka-n
1SG speech=OBL 3PL=say 3SG.FOC=DETR-IRR-let-IMP
‘I told them: “Leave it alone!”’ (T32)

(13.218) Ndî mënjan ke: …
ndî mënja=n kî-e
3PL speech=OBL say-DEP
‘They’re saying this: …’

… Mî unanî wa mbîpe.
mî unan=nî wa mbî-p-e
3SG 1PL.INCL=OBL village here-be-DEP
‘It’s here in the village with us.’” (T32)

(13.219) Thomas mî na nîte nî mënjan mat:
Thomas mî na nî=ta-e nî mënja=n ma=ta
[name] 3SG talk 1SG=say-DEP 1SG speech=OBL 3SG=say
‘When Thomas told me, I said to him:’ (T32)

Frequently, however, the word mënja ‘speech’ occurs in a more elliptical construction, in which it takes oblique marking, but where there is no expressed verb, as in the following examples.

(13.220) Ninji inom mî mënjan a …
ninji inom mî mënja=n a
1SG.POSS mother 3SG speech=OBL ah
‘My mother said: “Ah!” …’

… nî inim lopop ambi nay.
nî inim lop=p an-mbî na-i
1SG water wash-PRF out-here DETR-go.PRF
‘“… I bathed and came out.”’ (T10)
Kowe Marungun min mënja a …
Kowe Marungun min mënja=n a
[base] [base] 3DU speech=OBL ah
‘Kowe and Marungun said: “Ah!” …’

… una yeta la unan ma maytana!
unan yeta ala unan ma ma=ita-na
IPL.INCL man that.PL IPL.INCL go 3SG=build-IRR
“… We are men; let’s go and build it!” (T10)

(Note the use of the interjection a ‘ah!’ in the two examples above.)
Sometimes just the word mënja ‘speech’ stands alone, without any oblique marking, to introduce reported speech. In the examples below, the interjection m ‘hm!’ helps signal the start of quoted speech.

Mënja m!
më mënja m
3SG speech hm
‘She said: “Hm!”’ (T32)

An lëndë ndala mënja m …
ani lëndë ndë=ala mënja m
IPL.EXCL eye 3pl=for speech hm
‘We saw them and said: “Hm!” …’

… ala ankam kuma lawo.
al a ankam kuma alawa-o
that.PL person some that.PL.INT-INTERJ
“… Those really are some different people!”’ (T10)

13.5.5 Indirect discourse

All of the examples of reported speech have thus far been quotative. In other words, information regarding what has been said (or is said or will be said) is presented directly, as if in the voice of the person who said it (or says it or will say it). It is also possible to present speech indirectly in Ulwa. In such constructions, two clauses are employed—a matrix clause containing the verb of speaking and a dependent clause containing the reported speech. The dependent clause (consisting of the indirect speech) is embedded within the matrix clause. Unlike relative clauses, however, which (in a head-internal analysis) may be analyzed as having (O)VS word
order, embedded dependent clauses of indirect discourse maintain Ulwa’s canonical S(O)V word order. Of course, as a pro-drop language, the (pronominal) subject of the embedded clause is often omitted; this may be even more common when the subject of the embedded clause matches that of the matrix clause (e.g., ‘he, said that he, …’). In the following example, the form na (which is not necessarily required in such constructions) is analyzed as the detransitivizing marker na-.

(13.224) Alma mī Guren mī apa maytape natap.
Alma mī [Guren mī apa ma=ita-p-e] na-ta-p
[name] 3SG [[name] 3SG house 3SG=build-PRF-DEP] DETR-say-PRF
‘Alma said that Guren built the house.’

The verb in the embedded clause may be in the irrealis mood if the reported statement refers to something that has not necessarily already transpired, as in the following:

mī [ma=ul ma=la-nda] na-ta-e
3SG [3SG=with 3SG=eat-IRR] DETR-say-DEP
‘She said that (she) would eat with him.’ (T01)

(13.226) Ndī i mana nakap.
ndī i [ma-na] na-kī-p
3PL go-PRF [go-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
‘They came and talked about going.’ (T01)

(13.227) Dorothy awal makīke lunda na nīte.
Dorothy awal [ma=kīke lo-nda na] nī=ta-e
[name] yesterday [3SG=throw go-IRR talk] 1SG=say-DEP
‘Yesterday, Dorothy told me that (she) would sell it.’ (T37)

The last example above suggests that it may also be possible for the embedded clause of indirect discourse to be embedded within a noun phrase headed by the word na ‘talk’. In this analysis, the literal rendering of this sentence would be something like ‘yesterday, Dorothy told me would-sell-it talk’.

A reflexive pronoun may be used within the embedded clause of speech to refer to the speaker, i.e., the subject of the matrix clause (see examples 6.028 and 6.029 in 6.4 for illustrations of how binding principles apply within indirect discourse).
Often the verb of ‘speaking’ kî- (generally translated as ‘say, speak, talk, tell,’ etc.) is used to refer to ‘thinking’ (or other not-necessarily vocal events), as in the following examples. This use is limited to the verb kî-, which is otherwise mostly synonymous with the verb ta-.

(13.228) Alma mî Guren mî apa mayte nakap.
Alma mî [Guren mî apa ma=ita-e] na-kî-p
[name] 3SG [[name] 3SG house 3SG=build-DEP] DETR-say-PRF
‘Alma thought that Guren was building the house.’

(13.229) Nî anmbî ina nakap.
nî [an-mbi i-na] na-kî-p
1SG [out-here come-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
‘I thought about coming out here’ (i.e., ‘I thought that [I] would come out here.’) (T35)

(13.230) Im maya ata mana nakap.
[im ma=iya ata ma-na] na-kî-p
[tree 3SG=toward up go-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
‘(He) thought about going up a tree.’ (i.e., ‘[He] thought that [he] would go up a tree.’) (T30)

The example above actually contains two degrees of embedding, since there is an irrealis verb designating purpose within the embedded clause of indirect speech/thought.

In the sentence below, the verb of ‘speaking’ kî- is assisted by the form wana ‘feel’, creating a compound surrounding the embedded clause of indirect speech/thought, thus functioning as a discontinuous (or separable) compound verb form (9.3.1).

(13.231) Nî wana ndî ndine lîpe ndî anmape nakap.
nî wana [ndî ndî=in-e lî-p-e ndî anma-p-e] na-kî-p
1SG feel [3PL 3PL=get-DEP put-PRF-DEP 3PL good-be-DEP] DETR-say-PRF
‘I thought that they got them down and that they were good.’ (T11)

### 13.6 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences express hypothetical situations and their presumed results. A basic conditional statement in Ulwa consists of two clauses, the first (the protasis) expressing the condition, and the second (the apodosis) expressing the consequence. There may be variations to this pattern, though, such as sentences that include more than one protasis, sentences that include
more than one apodosis, and sentences in which the result clause is not a statement, but rather a question or a command.

In the prototypical conditional sentence in Ulwa, the verb in the protasis is marked with the conditional suffix -ta (whether affixed to the full perfective form of the verb or to the verb stem, see 4.14). The verb in the apodosis is always marked as irrealis. This verb may (additionally) receive the suffix -ta, but only built from the irrealis form of the verb. That is, the verb in the apodosis cannot be in any way perfective- or imperfective-marked (with the exception of imperfective-marked verbs of ‘going’ used in periphrastic irrealis constructions, see 10.4). Thus, conditional sentences in Ulwa are taken always to be hypothetical. For implicative (or factual) conditions, Ulwa does not employ the suffix -ta, and thus—one on grammatical grounds—these are not taken to be conditional sentences. Proclamations such as ‘if it rains, the ground gets wet’ would not be expressed as conditions in Ulwa; instead, a speaker would likely connect two clauses by subordinating one to the other and employing the dependent marker on the first (i.e., ‘[when] it rains, the ground gets wet’). The protasis always precedes the apodosis in an Ulwa conditional sentence.

Conditional clauses in Ulwa can variously be translated in English with ‘if’, ‘when’, ‘whenever’, ‘once’, ‘lest’, ‘even if’, or ‘even though’, depending on the context and intended meaning of the utterance. In the following examples of conditional sentences, most are translated with ‘if’, but some (i.e., 13.235, 13.236, and 13.237) are better translated with ‘when’.

(13.232) Inim lopota nĩ mana.
   inim  lopo-ta  nĩ   ma-na
   water  rain-IRR-COND 1SG  go-IRR
   ‘If it rains, I’ll go.’

(13.233) U atwana nikĩta nũ utana.
   u  atwana  nĩ=kĩ-ta  nĩ   u=ta-na
   2SG  question 1SG=say-COND 1SG  2SG=say-IRR
   ‘If you ask me, I’ll tell you.’

(13.234) Itom mĩ mbita unan landa.
   itom   mĩ   mbĩ-i-ta   unan   la-nda
   father 3SG  here-go.PRF-COND 1PL.INCL  eat-IRR
   ‘If father comes, we’ll eat.’
(13.235) Nī anganika ma maya mata ngan lowonda.  
nī anganika ma ma=iya ma-ta ngan lo-wo-nda  
1SG after go 3SG=toward go-COND 1DU.EXCL IRR-sleep-IRR  
‘When I later go, go to her, we two will sleep.’ (T27)

(13.236) We mī akīnakapīta u mankapīta mī anmapīna.  
we mī akinaka-p-ta u ma=nki-p-ta mī anma-p-na  
sago 3SG young-be-COND 2SG 3SG=cut-PRF-COND 3SG good-be-IRR  
‘When the sago starch is fresh, (then) when you prepare it, it will be good.’ (T11)

(13.237) Ndīnkīta ndul wa undana mane.  
ndī=nnkī-ta ndī=ul wa unda-na ma-n-e  
3PL=cut-IRR-COND 3PL=with village go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP  
‘When we have butchered them, we’re going to go home with them.’ (T33)

(13.238) Mī anmapīta we ande ndī wolka mol nena.  
mī anma-p-ta we ande ndī wolka ma=ul na-i-na  
3SG good-be-COND then ok 3PL again 3SG=with DETR-come-IRR  
‘If he is well, then, OK, they would come back with him.’ (T24)

As the last example above illustrates, conditional sentences may contain the subordinator  
we ‘then’ to connect the two clauses (12.3.7). This example also illustrates the use of the  
conditional marker -ta following the copular suffix (10.3). The sentence below also contains a  
copular suffix, as well as a periphrastic ‘going’ verb in the apodosis in lieu of a simple irrealis  
verb.

(13.239) Tembipīta ndī mo ina mane.  
temb-p-ta ndī ma=u i-na ma-n-e  
bad-be-COND 3PL 3SG=from come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP  
‘Whenever (people) were sick, they were going to come from there.’ (T24)

The use of periphrastic ‘going’ verbs in an apodosis is further illustrated by the following  
sentence.

(13.240) Nduwe unīn ambīhumopta …  
ndī=we un=īn am-bī-lumo-p-ta  
3PL=cut 2PL=OBL out-here-put-PRF-COND  
‘Once (I) have cut them (tobacco leaves) out for you, …’

… un nul ndinap ndulunda mane.  
un nī=ul ndī=ina-p ndī=u-lo-nda ma-n-e  
2PL 1SG=with 3PL=get-PRF 3PL=from-cut-IRR go-IPFV-DEP  
‘… you, having gotten them with me, are going to peel them.’ (T37)
The sentence above also illustrates some of the complexity that is possible among conditional sentences in Ulwa. It is not uncommon for either the protasis or the apodosis (or both) to be multicleausal. Whereas the protasis in the sentence above is monoclausal (consisting of just a single verb, marked with the conditional suffix -ta), the apodosis is multicleausal (consisting of first a perfective-marked verb and then a periphrastic construction that gives the entire multicleausal apodosis its irrealis mood). Note that it is rare for the dependent-marker suffix to occur within conditional clauses, even within multicleausal apodoses or protases (that is, it does not occur anywhere except at the very end of the apodosis, as in the example above). These clauses are thus considered to be coordinate structures (12.2). The perfective-marked verb in this example can thus be considered an irrealis perfective (4.11); and the periphrastic construction (technically an irrealis-marked verb plus an imperfective-marked verb) can thus be considered the requisite irrealis construction of the apodosis.

The following example also illustrates an irrealis perfective in the apodosis, here morphologically clearer since the form of the verb is lamap (see 4.11).

(13.241) U mat ita nī malamap wa mana.
       u   ma=tī    i-ta   nī  ma=la-ama-p  wa  ma-na
2SG  3SG=take  go.PRF-COND 1SG  3sg=IRR-eat-PRF village  go-IRR
‘If you bring it, I’ll eat it and go home.’ (T27)

In addition to exhibiting a multicleausal apodosis, the sentence above exemplifies a protasis that contains two verbs. The first verb tī- ‘take’, however, is often defective and is often semantically closely connected to the following verb (often i- ~ ma- ‘go’ or na- ‘give’), so this is perhaps not the clearest example of multiple clauses. In the following conditional sentences, the verb tī- ‘take’ is used both in the protasis and in the apodosis.

(13.242) Olsem u ngalat nīnata …
       olsem  u  ngala=tī  nī=na-ta
thus  2SG  this.PL=take  1SG=give-COND
‘So if you give these to me, …’

… nī nīnjī ngalat unanda.
       nī   nīnjī  ngala=tī  u=na-nda
sg   1SG.POSS this.PL=take  2SG=give-IRR
‘… I’ll give mine to you.’ (olsem < TP) (T24)
(13.243) Nî ko nji ti unata …
 nî ko nji ti u=na-ta
1SG just thing take 2SG=give-COND
‘If I give you something, …’

… u ko nji ti nînanda.
u ko nji ti nî=na-nda
2SG just thing take 1SG=give-IRR
‘… (then) you should give me something.’ (T27)

In the sentence below, the verb iï- ‘take’ is marked for TAM (here, perfective), and thus this sentence provides an example of an irrealis verb and a perfective verb working together in the same protasis of a conditional sentence.

(13.244) Kalam ngatïn mol luta ngaya ndapïna.
kalam nga=ti-n ma=ul lo-ta ngaya anda=p-na
know this.SG=take-PRF 3SG=with go-COND far that.SG=be-IRR
‘If he gets this knowledge and goes around with it, he will be far away.’ (T11)

Notably, there is no conditional marking on the first verb in the protasis, even though it is not defective here. There are, however, instances in which multiple verbs in the protasis may be marked with the conditional suffix -ta. In such sentences, it can be assumed that each verb represents a condition that must be met for the state or event in the apodosis to be or occur. Often these are best translated in English with a single clause, often with a single verb. The Ulwa sentence, however, contains multiple verbs in the protasis that may constitute either a single clause with multiple verb phrases or a multicausal protasis, as in the following example.

(13.245) U kwa mapta mundu lata …
u kwa ma=p-ta mundu la-ta
2SG just 3SG=be-COND food eat-COND
‘If you eat the food there, …’

… tamndï ko mundu ndïwalin.
tamndï ko mundu ndï=wali-n[da]
owner just food 3PL=hit-IRR
‘… (then) the owners will go hungry.’ (T27)

The sentence above has two verbs marked with the conditional suffix -ta in the protasis (literally, ‘if you are here and if [you] eat food …’). Note that a simple irrealis form of ama- ‘eat’ (i.e., la-) is employed, and not an irrealis perfective form (i.e., *la-ama-). This is because the
hypothetical event in the protasis is not perfective—that is, the event need not have been completed for the situation in the apodosis to be true (i.e., the landowners will be hungry [suffering from want of food] when you are there, eating their food).

Note, however, that verbs in the protasis clause (or clauses) should properly be marked as conditional only if the apodosis is in fact contingent on them. Thus, in the following sentence, the first verb (in fact a verbalized noun) receives no conditional suffix, but rather is dependent-marked.

(13.246) Nungolkepe nǐ mandīm sata …
child-be-DEP 1SG 3SG=for cry-COND
‘When (I) was a child and I would cry for him (my father), …’

… mī nīt awi līp nul wandam mana.
3SG 1SG=take shoulder put-PRF 1SG=with jungle go-IRR
‘… he would put me on his shoulder and go with me to the jungle.’ (T28)

The protasis may have any number of conditionally marked verbs, however. The following sentence contains three.

(13.247) Mambilakata mankīta …
mambi=la-ka-ta ma=nkī-ta
3SG.FOC=IRR-let-COND 3SG=cut-COND
‘If (we) abandon it, cut it (out), …’

… keka itīm nomo pta una wo lolop wapīn.
3SG DETR-put-PRF-COND IPL.INCL just just village-be-IRR
‘… and throw (it) completely in the trash, (then) we will just stay (fine here) in the village.’ (T32)

It is also possible for the conditional suffix to appear on the verb (or verbs) in the apodosis. It is suspected that this is a form of overextension, marking a clause as conditional simply because it is connected to (by, indeed, being the result of) a conditional clause. This may be seen in the following examples.
(13.248) *Nditapta kalam mī natīnangata*.
ndī=ita-p-ta kalam mī na-tīnanga-ta
3PL=build-PRF-COND knowledge 3SG DETR-arise-COND
‘When (they) build them (school buildings), knowledge will increase.’ (T11)

(13.249) U mat nonal luwa *malta* …
u ma=ti nonal luwa ma=lī-ta
2SG 3SG=take wind place 3SG=put-IRR-COND
‘If you put it out in the open air, …’

… mī lowop *tembipīta*.
mī lo-wo-p tembi-p-ta
3SG IRR-sleep-IRR bad-be-COND
‘… (then) it will go bad overnight.’ (T11)

Since clauses in the apodosis may also be marked with the conditional suffix *ta-* , it is sometimes not entirely clear whether a clause belongs to the protasis or to the apodosis (in instances in which a conditional sentence contains more than two clauses). The following sentence illustrates this possible ambiguity.

(13.250) Mat *ndīnata ndī mankīta* malanda.
ma=ti ndī=na-ta ndī ma=nkī-ta ma=la-nda
3SG=take 3PL=give-COND 3PL 3SG=cut-COND 3SG=eat-IRR
(a) ‘If (she) gives it to them, then they will prepare it and eat it.’
(b) ‘If (she) gives it to them, and if they prepare it, then (they) will eat it.’ (T11)

While the previous examples all contain statements as apodoses, it is also possible for a conditional sentence to have a question or command following the protasis. In the following examples, a question occurs in the apodosis.

(13.251) Nī *mamata osem ko kwa mbīpīta* …
nī ma=ma-ta osem ko kwa mbī-p-ta
1SG 3SG=go-COND thus just one here-be-COND
‘If I were to go there, who would stay here, …’

límndī *ndutata ay nkiṭa* ndul landa?
límndī ndī=uta-ta ay nki-ta ndī=ul la-nda
eye 3PL=grind-COND sago cut-cond 3PL=with eat-IRR
‘… watch after them, prepare sago, and eat with them?’ (olsem < TP) (T21)

Note the extensive use of conditional-marked verbs throughout the example above; indeed, every verb except the final irrealis verb in the apodosis displays the conditional suffix
-ta. The example below also has a question for its protasis (here, only one verb is marked with the suffix -ta).

(13.252) Un nambi kenmbupîta un anjikaka imbamka lunda?
un nambi kenmbu-p-ta un anjikaka imbam-ka lo-nda
2PL body heavy-be-COND 2PL how run-let go-IRR
‘But if your body is heavy, how can you run around?’ (T35)

It is possible for the question word to occur in the protasis even when (at least in the English translation) the interrogative would be expected to occur in the apodosis, as is the case in the following example. This may be taken as related to the placement (and scope) of the negator ango in multiclausal constructions (13.4.3), especially since so many question words are etymologically related to ango ‘NEG’.

(13.253) Una ango luwapîta inim malanda?
unan ango luwa-p-ta inim ma=la-nda
1PL.INCL NEG place-be-COND water 3SG=eat-IRR
‘Where will we drink water?’ (Literally, ‘We, if at which place, will drink water?’) (T24)

It is also very common for apodoses to take the form of imperatives. In fact, conditional constructions often serve the pragmatic function of softening a request or command (13.2.2), as seen below.

(13.254) Un ma ya koya ata ma maynaptâ …
un ma ya ko=iya ata ma ma=ina-p-ta
2PL go coconut INDF=toward up go 3SG=get-PRF-COND
‘If you go, go up a coconut tree, and get it, …’

… nditap ndîîil nap ndit ita …
ndî=ita-p ndî=tìl na-p ndî=tì i-ta
3PL=build-PRF 3PL=husk DETR-be 3PL=take go.PRF-COND
‘… (and) if (you) tie them (the coconuts), husk them, and bring them, …’

… una ndutata inim uta ndîlan!
unan ndî=uta-ta inim u-ta ndî=la-n
1PL.INCL 3PL=grind-COND water put-COND 3PL=eat-IMP
‘… (then) we will grind them into water and eat them!’ (T14)

Although presented as a series of conditions, the first clauses in the sentence above are pragmatically tantamount to a request, i.e., ‘please get coconuts so that we may grind them and
eat them’ Note also how the conditional form -ta occurs in (what is translated here as) the apodosis. Further examples of conditional forms in imperatives follow.

(13.255) Un keka nul ndin umop ulwap …
un keka nî=ul ndî=n [l]umo-p ulwa-p
2PL completely 1SG=with 3PL=OBL put-PRF nothing-be
‘If you plant all of them (the tobacco seedlings) with me …’

… ndîwat itapta we un no!
ndî=wat ita-p-ta we un na-lo
3PL=atop build-PRF-COND then 2PL DETR-go
‘… and cover them (with leaves), then you may leave!’ (T35)

Sometimes, even without an imperative form, a conditional sentence can serve (pragmatically) as a request (see 13.3.3).

In some instances, the use of the conditional in imperatives may be seen as necessary to clarify a sequence of tasks that the speaker wishes the interlocutor to undertake, as in the following sentence.

(13.256) Inim ngan apîn ta …
inim nga=n apîn [lî]-ta
water this.SG=OBL fire put-COND
‘Put this water on the fire, …’

… we inim ngan ndanan!
we inim nga=n ndî=ana-n
then water this.SG=OBL 3PL=scrub-IMP
‘… and then scrub with this water!’ (T11)

Finally, in prohibitions, the conditional suffix -ta may be employed without any following apodosis, as in the following example. This may be considered a form of ellipses. Alternatively, it could be the case that the suffix here is related to (or an elongation of) the speculative suffix -t (4.13), which is also often used in negative commands (i.e., prohibitions).

(13.257) Wanap nji ndîn umopta!
wana p nji ndî=n [l]umo-p-ta
PROH thing 3PL=OBL put-PRF-COND
‘Don’t grow things!’ (T11)

See 13.3.4 and 13.4.2 for more on prohibitions.
13.7 Counterfactual sentences

A counterfactual sentence is one which presents an event or state that the speaker considers to be untrue, often for the purpose of hypothesizing what would be (or would have been) the result of the event or state if it were or had been true.

In Ulwa, the irrealis mood is a natural resource for designating counterfactual statements. While one prolific use of the irrealis mood is to mark future states or events (which, in a sense, are perforce counterfactual), the irrealis mood can also be applied to hypothetical states or events in present or past time that are known not to be true. This is illustrated below.

(13.258) Apin kali malnda inim ngalope ni makam.
    apin    kali  ma=li-nda  inim  nga=lo-p-e  ni  ma=kamb
fire      send  3SG=put-IRR  water  this.SG=cut-PRF-DEP  1SG  3SG=shun
‘(I) would have burned it, but this rain came, so I didn’t want to.’ (T32)

(13.259) Wa mbipina Kowe awa mangusuwa asape mii i.
    wa     mbi-p-na  Kowe  awa  mangusuwa  asa-p-e  mii  i
village  here-be-IRR  [name]  INT  3SG.poor  hit-PRF-DEP  3SG  go.PRF
‘(Kitalwe) would have stayed in the village, but Kowe himself hit the poor thing (Kitalwe) and he (Kitalwe) left.’ (T32)

The two sentences above posit hypothetical events in the past that are known not to have occurred. In each sentence, an irrealis form is used (to be contrasted with the perfective forms used to mark what was known to have occurred). Counterfactual statements are frequently used in conditional sentences, presenting hypothetical states or events, whether in the past (13.260 and 13.261) or in the present (13.262 and 13.263), as shown below.

(13.260) Ni ndin ndul sita …
    nii    ndi=n    ndi=ul    si-ta
1SG  3PL=OBL  3PL=with   push-COND
‘If I had shown them (the birds) to them, …’

… ndi ango uta ti ninanda.
    ndi   ango  uta  ti  nii=na-nda
3PL   NEG  bird  take  1SG=give-IRR
‘… (then) I would not have been able to take the birds for myself.’ (T27)
(13.261) U ukunda nakîta …
   u   [h]uk-unda-na   na-ki-ta
2SG   hook-go-IRR   DETR-say-COND
‘If you had thought of fishing, …’

… u ilum atnî wambana mokona.
   u   ilum   at=nî   wambana   moko-na
2SG   little   fight=OBL   fish   take-IRR
‘… (then) you would have gotten many fish.’ (Literally, ‘take with little fight’; huk < TP) (T27)

(13.262) Ndzi ndandîlaluta ndalin.
   ndî   ndî=andîla-lo-ta   ndî=ali-n[da]
3PL   3PL=await-go-IRR-COND   3PL=scrape-IRR
‘If they looked for them, they would scrape them.’

Ndzi ango ndale.
   ndî   ango   ndî=ali-e
3PL   NEG   3PL=scrape-DEP
‘But they don’t scrape them.’ (T27)

(13.263) A! Ala num tî mbîlta nî mbu wonlakana.
   a   ala   num   tî   mbî-li-ta   nî   mbî-u   won-la-ka-na
ah   that.PL   canoe   take   here-put-COND   1SG   here-from   cut-IRR-let-IRR
‘Ah! If only those folks had a canoe here, I would cross from there.’ (T32)

13.8 Passive voice

In a passive sentence, the more agentive argument of a transitive verb may be viewed as somehow demoted when compared to the more agentive argument in the active sentence counterpart: in Ulwa, the agent is typically left unexpressed in passive sentences. Syntactically, passive sentences are quite interesting in Ulwa, since they do not comply with the canonical verb-final clause structure. Despite their crosslinguistically unusual formation (in that they rely solely on a manipulation of word order), these constructions in Ulwa are considered here to be passive, since they satisfy common criteria for defining passives as such. Siewierska (2013) defines the passive construction according to five criteria:

1. it contrasts with another construction, the active;
2. the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;
3. the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
4. the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;
5. the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb.

First, the passive construction in Ulwa contrasts with the active—morphosyntactically, by reflecting a different order of basic constituents. Second, the subject of the active construction either is left unexpressed in the passive version or it occurs as an oblique phrase. Third, the subject of the passive corresponds to the object of the active equivalent. Fourth, the construction is pragmatically restricted (that is, the unmarked sentence type—and the one that occurs most frequently—is the active sentence type). Fifth, the construction displays special behavior on the part of the verb. This last point warrants further comment.

Although Siewierska’s (ibid.) definition calls for “special morphological marking” on the verb, this need not be reflected inflectionally. Indeed, two methods of forming passive constructions are often noted: synthetic passives, which show special passive verbal morphology (e.g., verbal suffixes in Latin); and analytic passives, which are formed with the help of an additional verb (e.g., the auxiliary verb ‘be’ in English).

If one allows for the existence both of synthetic and of analytic passives in typologies of grammatical voice alternations, then one should also admit syntactic passives, should they exist. That is, if a language distinguishes passive sentences from their active equivalents solely by altering the position of the verb, then such constructions should be considered passives, even though they are certainly not prototypical ones. In Ulwa, passives are distinguished in exactly this way.

Active sentences in Ulwa have a fairly rigid basic constituent order (11.2). Although there is some flexibility in the placement of adverbs and other obliques, the verb is always clause-final, the object (if present) always immediately precedes the verb, and the subject always precedes the (object and) verb—that is, there is a fairly rigid SOV word order. In passive sentences, however, the verb occupies a different position: it precedes the subject (which corresponds semantically to the object of the active equivalent). The sentences below contrast active sentences (with the canonical SOV word order) with their passive equivalents (illustrating the inverted VS order). In each passive example, the subject argument corresponds to the object argument of its active equivalent.
As seen above, the order of elements in the passive sentences is markedly different from that of their active equivalents. In the passive sentences, the verb occurs initially, followed by the subject—that is, a VS constituent order, as opposed to the canonical S(O)V order of active sentences. To put this in terms of semantic roles (rather than grammatical relations), the canonical active transitive clause has the basic order AVP (where A is the more agent-like argument and P is the more patient-like argument, i.e., the object); passive clauses, on the other hand, have an order of VP. Thus, while in terms of grammatical relations, there is an inversion (the verb swaps places with the subject), in terms of semantic roles there is no change between the relative ordering of verb and patient. The fact that this patient-like argument is in fact the grammatical subject, however, is clear. First, it is the only obligatory argument of the verb. Second, this patient-like subject is marked not with the object marker but with the subject marker; although these are usually homophonous, there is a distinction in the 3SG form—mī for subjects and ma for objects (7.4, 11.3). Crucially, as in example (13.265) above, the marker mī (and not *ma) follows (what must be) the subject of the passive clause. Third, as evidence that the semantic patient (the object of the equivalent active sentence) has been promoted to the role of subject, the verb in the passive sentence does not permit an object-marker proclitic.

There is, however, at least one complication. The verb in the passive clause (generally) requires the suffix -e (a form which can serve several functions in Ulwa). While primarily
functioning as a dependent marker that indicates that the verb which bears this suffix belongs to a clause that is dependent on a following clause, the suffix -e may also function as an imperfective aspect marker. Here, however, although this suffix is glossed (as elsewhere) as ‘DEP’ (that is, “dependent”), these passive sentences are analyzed as being independent (since they serve as complete sentences, without needing any additional clause, stated or implied). It is, however, very likely that—diachronically—passive sentences have developed from a type of dependent clause, namely, relative clauses, which can be analyzed as having inverted word order (12.4). Perhaps the examples above could be analyzed as relative clauses: e.g., example (13.267) above could actually mean something like ‘the yams that were cooked’. However, since these examples are all fully capable of serving as independent sentences, not dependent on any other clause, they are analyzed here as indeed passive sentences and not as relative clauses.

Also, it should be noted that the -e suffix does not appear (at least not overtly) in irrealis-mood passives. Since the irrealis suffix invariably ends in -a, and a phonological rule could syncopate a following /e/, it is, however, possible that there is an underlying -e suffix even in these irrealis-mood passives. The following is an example of an irrealis-mood passive sentence.

(13.268) Umbe walinda lamndu.
   umbe wali-nda lamndu
   tomorrow hit-IRR pig
   ‘The pig will be killed tomorrow.’

When passive clauses contain discontinuous verb forms (9.3.1), the entire verbal unit occurs prenominally, as in the following:

(13.269) Lîmndî ale ankam.
   lîmndî ala-e ankam
   eye for-DEP person
   ‘The man was seen.’

The following examples of simple passive sentences taken from texts reveal some of the pragmatic functions of passive sentences. In the first sentence below, (13.270), the speaker is introducing a new topic and placing emphasis on the action (the killing of pigs) and not on the agents of this action. In the second sentence below, (13.271), the role of the agent (the people who eat food in the dry season) is negligible; rather, the important point is—quite impersonally—that the dry season is a time when there is plenty food.
(13.270) Asape nungol!

asa-p-e   nungol
hit-PRF-DEP  child
‘Piglets were killed!’ (Literally, ‘Children [i.e., offspring of pigs] were killed!’) (T11)

(13.271) Ane se ame mundu.

ane   sa-e   ama-e   mundu
sun   cry-DEP  eat-DEP  food
‘When the sun is shining, food is eaten.’ (i.e., the dry season is a good time for finding food) (T36)

Although the agent of a passive sentence need not be expressed, it can be included as an oblique phrase. In active sentences, obliques (such as temporal adverbs) occur either in clause-initial position or immediately before the verb phrase (that is, before the verb in intransitive clauses, and before the object of the verb in transitive clauses). Likewise, the agent oblique phrase (if included) appears at the beginning of the passive clause, immediately before the verb. The oblique marker =n is used to identify the agent of passive verbs, as in the following sentences.

(13.272) Ankamnī tolpīpe mana.

ankam=nī   tolpī-p-e   mana
person=OBL  throw-put-PRF  spear
‘The spear was thrown by the man.’

(13.273) Ndīn asape lamndu.

ndī=n   asa-p-e   lamndu
3PL=OBL  hit-PRF-DEP  pig
‘The pig was killed by them.’

(13.274) Nungolnī lukautimawpe nga.

nungol=nī   lukaut-im-wap-e   nga
child=OBL  look.after-TR-be.PST-DEP  this.SG
‘This one was looked after by (my) son.’ (lukautim < TP) (T11)

It should be noted that passivized clauses are very rare in Ulwa discourse. It is suspected that—as relatively complex grammatical structures—they are being lost as the language suffers grammatical attrition in the face of obsolescence (see Chapter 15). In many situations where one might be expected to use a passive construction (i.e., situations in which the role of the agent of a transitive sentence is to be downplayed), alternate structures are often used. For example, some speakers use impersonal constructions: since a pronominal subject can be omitted (i.e., pro-
drop), it is possible to say something along the lines of ‘[they] did x’, in which the non-specific subject ‘they’ is unstated altogether, as in the following:

(13.275) Nip malpe.
\[
\begin{array}{l}
ni-p & ma=li-p-e \\
die-PRF & 3SG=put-PRF-DEP \\
\end{array}
\]
‘(He) died and (they) buried him.’ (T32)

(13.276) Lungum anda mat Tapon nana.
\[
\begin{array}{l}
lungum & anda & ma=ti & Tapon & na-na \\
long,spear & that.SG & 3SG=take & [name] & give-PRF \\
\end{array}
\]
‘(They) gave a long spear to Tapon.’ (T03)

Although often not necessary to convey information, passive clauses fulfill a very useful role in discourse, since they enable certain relative clause constructions that would otherwise be impossible. In Ulwa relative clause constructions, only the subject argument is accessible to being relativized. In other words, the NP of the matrix clause that is modified by the relative clause (although it can fill any grammatical role within the matrix clause) must serve the role of subject of the embedded relative clause (see 12.4). It is thus impossible for this antecedent NP to serve as the direct object of the relative clause. Therefore, although it would be possible directly to translate into Ulwa a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the man that killed the pig’, it would not be possible directly to translate into Ulwa a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the pig that the man killed.’

Passivization, however, which can promote a direct object to subject, provides a means for conveying the meaning of a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the pig that the man killed’, changing the sentence, as it were, to a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the pig that was killed by the man.’ The sentence in Ulwa would appear as follows.

(13.277) Ginam limndi ankamni asape lamndu mala.
\[
\begin{array}{l}
Ginam & limndi & [ankam=ni asa-p-e] & lamndu & ma=ala \\
[name] & eye & [person=OBL hit-PRF-DEP] & pig & 3SG=for \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Ginam saw the pig that the man killed.’ (Literally, ‘Ginam saw the pig that was killed by the man.’)

In the set of examples that follow, it may be seen that it is a straightforward process to have the head noun in the matrix clause (lam ‘meat’ in 13.279) correspond to the subject of the relative clause (lam ‘meat’ in 13.280). It is not, however, possible, for the head noun in the
matrix clause to correspond to a direct object in the relative clause (lam ‘meat’ in 13.281); but, rather, this can be conveyed by using a passive construction in the relative clause (13.282).

(13.278) Inom mī lam mawanap.
    inom mī lam ma=wana-p
    mother 3SG meat 3SG=cook-PRF
    ‘Mother cooked the meat.’

(13.279) Lam mī nungol masap.
    lam mī nungol ma=asa-p
    meat 3SG child 3SG=hit-PRF
    ‘The meat killed the child.’ (i.e., it poisoned him and he died)

(13.280) Inom mī nungol masape lam mawanap.
    inom mī [nungol ma=asa-p-e] lam ma=wana-p
    mother 3SG [child 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] meat 3SG=cook-PRF
    ‘Mother cooked the meat that killed the child.’

(13.281) Nungol mī lam mamap.
    nungol mī lam ma=ama-p
    [name] 3SG meat 3SG=eat-PRF
    ‘The child ate the meat.’

(13.282) Inom mī nungolŋī amape lam mawanap.
    inom mī [nungol=ŋī ama-p-e] lam ma=wana-p
    mother 3SG [child=OBL eat-PRF-DEP] meat 3SG=cook-PRF
    ‘Mother cooked the meat that the child ate.’ (Literally, ‘Mother cooked the meat that was eaten by the child.’)

    It is perhaps due to this usefulness that the passive voice does still appear in discourse, often in rather complex constructions that employ relative clauses, like this following sentence.

(13.283) U ko nanani niwat lape mīnda ngawonp.
    u ko nana=nī ni=wat la-p-e mīnda nga=won-p-e
    2SG just mama=OBL 1SG=atop plant-PRF-DEP banana this.SG=cut-PRF-DEP
    ‘You just cut this banana tree that was planted above me by mama.’ (T01)

13.9 Valency reduction and decreased transitivity

    Passive sentences (13.8) can be thought of as reducing the valency of a verb. Since their active (transitive) equivalents have two core arguments (a subject and a direct object), whereas
they themselves have only one (a patient-like subject), the valency of the verb is considered decreased. This section is concerned with other means of reducing valency (or decreasing transitivity).

13.9.1 The detransitivizing prefix *na-*

There is an important bound morpheme in Ulwa that serves a number of grammatical functions, often with nuances that are difficult to explain, but whose basic function seems to be to reduce the transitivity of a verb. This is the verbal prefix *na-* , which is glossed as ‘DETR’ (“detransitivized”). (Reasons for treating *na-* as a prefix rather than a clitic include the fact that it only occurs before verbs and the fact that object-marker proclitics may precede it.)

In Ulwa, there are not strong distributional or structural differences between what may be thought of as transitive and intransitive verbs. Many verbs with meanings that are often considered prototypically intransitive can, in Ulwa, have direct objects and, as such, may be marked with object-marker proclitics. For example, the verb *ma-=i-* ‘go’ can function simply as an intransitive verb, requiring no object (13.284). Alternatively, it can take as its object a destination (goal) and thus receive object marking (13.285). As an intransitive verb, it may even accept a postpositional phrase to demark a goal argument (13.286). And as a transitive verb, it may take an object even without an object-marker proclitic (13.287). These possible configurations may all be seen in the following examples.

(13.284) Nī i.
    \[
    \begin{array}{ll}
    \text{nī} & \text{i} \\
    1\text{SG} & \text{go.PRFL} \\
    \end{array}
    \]
    ‘I went.’ (T11)

(13.285) Nī Kumba may.
    \[
    \begin{array}{llll}
    \text{nī} & \text{Kumba} & \text{ma=i} \\
    1\text{SG} & \text{Bun} & 3\text{SG}=\text{go.PRFL} \\
    \end{array}
    \]
    ‘I went to Bun (village).’ (T27)

(13.286) Nī ndiya i.
    \[
    \begin{array}{llll}
    \text{nī} & \text{ndī=iya} & \text{i} \\
    1\text{SG} & 3\text{PL}=\text{toward} & \text{go.PRFL} \\
    \end{array}
    \]
    ‘I went to them.’ (T11)
(13.287) Mi i wandam **iye**.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mī} & \text{i} & \text{wandam} & \text{i-e} \\
\text{3SG} & \text{go.PRF} & \text{jungle} & \text{go.PRF-DEP}
\end{array}
\]
‘She went, went to the jungle.’ (T01)

Furthermore, as a transitive verb, *i ‘go’* can even have both a direct object and a postpositional phrase marking an additional destination (i.e., goal), as in:

(13.288) Nī **maya** wa **may**.
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nī} & \text{ma=inya} & \text{wa} & \text{ma=i} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{3SG=toward} & \text{village} & \text{3SG=go.PRF}
\end{array}
\]
‘I went to him in the village.’ (T32)

Thus the verb *ma- ~ i- ‘go’* may be considered transitive (or at least capable of being transitive), taking as its direct object a goal argument. Even when there is no expressed object, the claim can be made that the verb is still transitive, only that the direct object has been left unexpressed.

Although it is possible for the verb *ma- ~ i- ‘go’* to function as an intransitive verb without any special marking, it very commonly receives the prefix *na-* , which is believed here to serve the primary purpose of reducing transitivity, in this case changing the verb’s meaning from something perhaps better glossed as ‘go to’ to something meaning simply ‘go’, as in the following:

(13.289) Ndī **nay**.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ndī} & \text{na-i} \\
\text{3PL} & \text{DETR-go.PRF}
\end{array}
\]
‘They went.’ (T27)

(13.290) Mangusuwata **namana**.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mangusuwata} & \text{na-ma-na} \\
\text{3SG.poor} & \text{DETR-go-IRR}
\end{array}
\]
‘The poor thing will be going.’ (T32)

This same prefix is seen on the verb ‘go’ also when a single (goal) argument is expressed in a postpositional phrase (that is, the goal is not expressed as the direct object of the verb), as in the following:
Mî Maya nay.

mî ma=iya na-i
3SG 3SG=toward DETR-go.PRF

‘He went to her.’ (T07)

The same prefix na- ‘DETR’ can occur with other verbs, also marking them as intransitive. In the first example below, the verb ama- ~ la- ‘eat’ is transitive. This sentence may be compared with examples (13.293) and (13.294), in which the same verb is intransitive.

Tîn mî utam mamap.
tîn mî utam ma=ama-p
dog 3SG yam 3SG=eat-PRF

‘The dog ate the yam.’

Nî ta namap.
nî ta na-ama-p
1SG already DETR-eat-PRF

‘I’ve already eaten.’

Ndul nalanda!
ndî=ul na-la-nda
3PL=with DETR-eat-IRR

‘(Let’s) eat with them!’ (T24)

As a verbal affix that allows an otherwise transitive verb to lose its direct object argument, the prefix na- could theoretically be described as an antipassive morpheme, even if this is not a common description among languages with nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment, such as Ulwa (although see Heaton 2017:149ff. for a discussion of antipassives in nominative-accusative languages).

The morpheme na- is often better described not as changing the valency of a verb, but rather somehow reducing its transitivity. In the example below, the object of the verb is technically the question word angos ‘what?’; but given the fact that the event that the verb is encoding is far from being prototypically transitive (i.e., the situation is non-punctual, irrealis, etc., cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), it is not surprising that the detransitivizing prefix na- is employed.
Una angos nalanda?
unan angos na-la-nda
1PL.INCL what DETR-eat-IRR
‘What shall we eat?’ (T35)

The following examples illustrate how the verb *ita* - ‘build’ can likewise be
detransitivized with the prefix *na*-.

(13.296) Mĩ wat maytap.

mĩ wat ma=ita-p
3SG ladder 3SG=build-PRF
‘He built the ladder.’ (T01)

(13.297) Mĩ naytap.

mĩ na-ita-p
3SG DETR-build-PRF
‘He built (something).’ (T11)

Verbs glossed as ‘put’ in Ulwa, which take as their direct object a goal argument, are also
commonly marked with *na*- when there is no specific goal or when the goal is wished to be
omitted, as in the following:

(13.298) Ndĩn nop.

i ndĩ=n na-u-p
go.PRФ 3PL=OBL DETR-put-PRF
‘(They) went and planted them (somewhere).’ (T27)

(13.299) Nay mat nalp mat wapa nduwatlippe.

na-i ma=tĩ na-li-p ma=tĩ wapa ndĩ=wat-li-p-e
DETR-go.PRФ 3SG=take DETR-put-PRF 3SG=take leaf 3PL=atop-put-PRF-DEP
‘(They) came, took him, put him (somewhere), put him on the leaves.’ (T01)

(13.300) Ndĩ namlipe mĩ ndĩt-anmbĩ nalpe.

ndĩ namli-p-e mĩ ndĩ=tĩ an-mbĩ na-li-p-e
3PL soft-be-DEP 3SG 3PL=take out-here DETR-put-PRF-DEP
‘When they were soft, she took them out.’ (T10)

This prefix may also be used when these verbs of ‘putting’ are used as the second
element of verbal compounds, also with the effect of downplaying the direct object (goal
argument) of the verb of ‘putting’, as in:
(13.301) Ndī **mamune nop.**

\[ \text{n&i m&=m&u& n&=u-p} \]

3PL 3SG=throw DETR-put-PRF

‘They threw it around.’ (T27)

(13.302) Ndī nji ngalan **ndinambi nop.**

\[ \text{n&i j&i &n&=a=n n&==n&=a-i n&=u-p} \]

3PL thing this.PL=OBL 3PL=body DETR-put-PRF

‘They blocked them with these things.’ (T31)

Although the prefix *na-* serves a number of functions (some of them not always entirely clear), all of these relate in some way to altering verbs. Whereas seemingly similar markers such as object-marker proclitics appear both before verbs and before postpositions, the morpheme *na-* only occurs pre-verbally. Furthermore, when *na-* occurs with object-marker proclitics, these attach before /na-/ as part of their host, further suggesting that *na-* is a verbal prefix. Indeed, as the only true prefix in the language, *na-* is quite interesting, especially since Ulwa (as a verb-final language) otherwise conforms to typological expectations of employing suffixes as opposed to prefixes.

For uses of *nay* (or *ne*, both from *na-i*) as a TAM or discourse marker, see Chapter 15, on contact-influenced grammatical change in Ulwa.

### 13.9.2 Middle voice

One function of the prefix *na-* seems to be to create something like middle voice, showing that the agent of the verb is also affected by the verb (without being its grammatical object). Thus the verb *kuk-* ‘gather’ can have a middle voice sense when marked with *na-*, i.e., something like ‘assemble, unite, or (perhaps) gather oneself’, as in the following example (more examples are provided above in the discussion of separable verbs, 9.3.1).

(13.303) Mape **nakukawe.**

\[ \text{m&=p-e n&=k&=k&-a-w-e} \]

3SG=be-DEP DETR-gather-put.IPFW-DEP

While (he) was there, (they) were gathering.’ (T17)
13.9.3 The prefix na- with the verb ni- ‘act, die’

Sometimes the role of na- is not as clear. It shows up at times, for example, with the verb ni- ‘act’, including some instances in which this verb has the (common alternate) meaning ‘die’. It is not, however, always present; and it is difficult to explain its presence as a form of detransitivization, as the verb ni- ‘act’ is not particularly transitive. When it does select an argument (i.e., when the verb has the sense of ‘do’), this argument is marked with the oblique marker =n, as in the following example.

(13.304) Ndī makape wombīn man ne.
   ndī    maka-p-e   wombīn  ma=n  ni-e
   3PL    thus-be-DEP work  3SG=OBL  act-DEP
   ‘They used to do work like this.’ (T24)

Of course, since the oblique marker is often of the phonological form /n/, since the stem of the verb ‘act’ is always of the form /n/, and since degeminates consonants are typically degeminated, it could be argued that the example above is actually transitive, with the object marker ma= affixing directly to the verb stem. That is, since the surface form is [wo.mbīn.ma.ne] ‘do work’, it could be that there is actually no (elided) oblique marker at all. Arguing against this theory, however, are examples in which the allomorph /nï/ appears as the oblique marker, such as the following:

(13.305) Wombīn anmanī ne.
   wombīn  anma=nï  ni-e
   work    good=OBL  act-DEP
   ‘(They) were doing good work.’ (T27)

Nevertheless, it is possible that the verb ni- ‘act’ is moving towards becoming more prototypically transitive, helped in part by the phonological ambiguity of forms such as those in (13.304) above. This can perhaps explain what otherwise seems like redundancy in marking ni- ‘act’ with the detransitivizing na- prefix (seemingly without any change of meaning), as in the example below.
(13.306) Una umbe makape wombïn **man naninda**.
unan umbe maka-p-e wombïn ma=n na-ni-nda
1PL.INCL tomorrow thus-be-DEP work 3SG=OBL DETR-act-IRR
‘Tomorrow we will do work like this.’ (T25)

The following examples show the presence (13.308) and absence (13.307) of the prefix *na-* when the verb has the sense ‘die’.

(13.307) Mî **nip**.
mî ni-p
3SG die-PRF
‘She died.’ (T23)

(13.308) Mî **nanip**.
mî na-ni-p
3SG DETR-die-PRF
‘She died.’ (T11)

13.9.4 The prefix *na-* with the copular suffix

The detransitivizing morpheme *na-* is often used with the copular suffix when it has a locative sense (i.e., ‘be present [at a location]’). It is often used in conjunction with *mbî* ‘here’. It may serve to make the identification of the location less definite (as in the first example below), but this is not always clearly the case (as in the second example below, in which it is uncertain why the location would be marked as less definite).

(13.309) Una ango luwa lunda? Mbî **nawap**.
unan ango luwa lo-nda mbî na-wap
1PL.INCL which place go-IRR here DETR-be.PST
‘Where should we have gone? We stayed.’ (i.e., ‘just stayed around’?) (T24)

(13.310) Wolka mo nay …
wolka ma=u na-i
again 3SG=from DETR-go.PRF
‘Again, (we) came from there, …’

… anmbî mbi mbî **nap**.
an-mbi mbî-i mbî na-p
out-here here-go.PRF here DETR-be
‘…came out here, and are staying here.’ (T02)
13.9.5 The prefix na- with object-marker proclitics

Rather more challenging to explain, the detransitivizing prefix na- may be used in conjunction with object-marking proclitics. When present, the object marker always precedes the prefix na-. Interestingly, when the 3SG marker is used, it takes the form mï (as it appears as a subject marker) and not the form ma= (as would otherwise be expected of an object marker). The fact that na- immediately precedes verb stems and follows object-marker proclitics (when present) is further support that this form is a verbal prefix. The following sentences exemplify the use of object markers along with the detransitivizing prefix na-.

(13.311) Mï mol anmbi inim naye …
   mï    ma=ul    an-mbi-i    inim    na-i-e
   3SG  3SG=with   out-here-go.PRF water DETR-go.PRF-DEP
‘It went with it out into the water …’

   … mïnapemï=na-p-e
   3SG=DETR-be-DEP
   ‘… and stayed around there.’ (T05)

(13.312) Mingusuwa mat nay ndì mïnanïkape.
   mingusuwa    ma=tï    na-i    ndì    mï=na-nkï-p-e
   3DU.poor  3SG=take DETR-go.PRF 3PL  3SG=DETR-cut-PRF-DEP
‘The two poor things took it and they butchered it.’ (T11)

(13.313) Ay ndïnamap.
   ay     ndï=na-ama-p
   sago    3PL=DETR-eat-PRF
(They) have eaten the sago.’ (T11)

(13.314) Min ndïnasap.
   min     ndï=na-asa-p
   3DU    3PL=DETR-hit-PRF
‘The two killed them.’ (T01)

It may be that these forms have some level of reduced transitivity or that the object of the transitive verb is less definite. Sometimes, however, the direct object of the verb marked with both na- and an object marker is expressed as a full NP, as in the examples below. It is hard to see na- as a means of either reducing transitivity or definiteness in such examples—although, the third example below does seem best translated with an indefinite article.
(13.315) Ande an wa mĩnapĩna.
    ande an wa mĩ=na-p-na
    OK 1PL.EXCL village 3SG=DETR-be-IRR
    ‘OK, we’ll stay in the village.’ (T10)

(13.316) Yokombla mĩ nay numbu mĩnanip.
    Yokombla mĩ na-i numbu mĩ=na-ni-p
    [name] 3SG DETR-go.PRF garamut 3SG=DETR-beat-PRF
    ‘Yokombla went and beat the garamut drum.’ (T11)

(13.317) Apa ambi mĩnaytana.
    apa ambi mĩ=na-ita-na
    house big 3SG=DETR-build-IRR
    ‘(I) will build a big house.’ (T37)

    In some instances, it seems that the simultaneous use of the detransitivizing prefix na-
    and an object marker is attributable such frequent use of na- with certain verbs. For example,
    verb forms such as nay (< na- ‘DETR’ + i ‘go.PRF’) are so common, that it could be that—for
    some speakers—the na- prefix has fossilized to the verb root, having lost its original
    (detransitivizing) meaning, as in:

(13.318) Nay i nay Imwa mĩnay.
    na-i i na-i Imwa mĩ=na-i
    DETR-go.PRF go.PRF DETR-go.PRF [place] 3SG=DETR-go.PRF
    ‘(They) went and went, went to Imwa.’ (T11)

    The hypothesis that nay has fossilized as a monomorphemic form may be supported by
    the fact that it itself may receive the na- prefix (in effect giving the verb stem two
    detransitivizing prefixes), as in:

(13.319) Nĩ mol nay wa mbĩ nanay.
    nĩ ma=ul na-i wa mbi na-na-i
    1SG 3SG=with DETR-go.PRФ village here DETR-DETR-go.PRФ
    ‘I went with her and came home here.’ (T27)

    The stem kamb- ‘shun’ also frequently seems to have a fossilized prefix na-, especially
    when the verb has the sense ‘suffice, have enough’, as in the following example.

(13.320) Nambi nakamp.
    nambi na-kamb-p
    1SG.FOC DETR-shun-PRФ
    ‘As for me, I’ve had enough.’ (T27)
This form *nakamb*- can also take an additional object marker, as in the following examples.

(13.321) I ndī una ndīnakam.
   ndī unan ndī=na-kamb
   way 3PL 1PL.INCL 3PL=DETR-shun
   ‘The (traditional) customs—we shun them.’ (T11)

(13.322) Una ndīnakam nay.
   unan ndī=na-kamb na-i
   1PL.INCL 3PL=DETR-shun DETR-go.PRF
   ‘We left them and came.’ (T32)

13.9.6 Multiple *na*- prefixes on a single verb

At times, however, the sheer number of *na*- markers in a given verb can be hard to account for morphosyntactically (even diachronically), and may be most simply explained as a sort of filler, as in the following examples.

(13.323) Unan ndīnanalanda.
   unan ndī=na-na-la-nda
   1PL.INCL 3PL=DETR-DETR-eat-IRR
   ‘We will eat them.’ (T25)

(13.324) Mbī nanap.
   mbī na-na-p
   here DETR-DETR-be
   ‘(We) stayed around.’ (T27)

(13.325) Na ambi ndī mī ndīnanatīn.
   ambi ndī mī ndī=na-na-tī-n
   talk big 3PL 3SG 3PL=DETR-DETR-take-PRF
   ‘The big stories—he got them (already).’ (T27)

13.9.7 The prefix *na*- for ‘become’

There is another use of *na-* , which may be related (at least historically) to its function as a reducer of transitivity, valency, or definiteness. When used with the copular suffix, the form *na*-
often seems to give the verb a sense of ‘become’ rather than ‘be’ (although this is not always the case). The following sentences all convey the sense of ‘becoming’.

(13.326) Mī wandam **nap**.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mī} & \quad \text{wandam} & \text{na-p} \\
3SG & \quad \text{jungle} & \text{DETR-be}
\end{align*}
\]
‘It’s become a jungle.’ (T11)

(13.327) Asiya mī mundotoma **nap**.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asiya} & \quad \text{mī} & \quad \text{mundotoma} & \quad \text{na-p-e} \\
\text{string} & \quad 3SG & \quad \text{short} & \quad \text{DETR-be-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]
‘The string has gotten short.’ (T12)

(13.328) Ndī ambi **nap** kalam **nap**.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndī} & \quad \text{ambi} & \quad \text{na-p} & \quad \text{kalam} & \quad \text{na-p} \\
3PL & \quad \text{big} & \quad \text{DETR-be} & \quad \text{know} & \quad \text{DETR-be}
\end{align*}
\]
‘They are already big and know.’ (Literally, ‘have become knowing’) (T11)

(13.329) Ane naman awal **nap**.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ane} & \quad \text{na-ma-n} & \quad \text{awal} & \quad \text{na-p} \\
\text{sun} & \quad \text{DETR-go-IPFV} & \quad \text{afternoon} & \quad \text{DETR-be}
\end{align*}
\]
‘The sun is going; it’s becoming evening.’ (T14)

13.9.8 Objects demoted by preverbal obliques

Finally, in this section I examine a phenomenon in Ulwa that may be analyzed as a change in valency (or at least the demotion of a verbal argument). It is possible for the semantic object of a verb to appear as part of an oblique phrase. This occurs when an element intervenes between the (otherwise immediately preverbal) direct object and the verb. The element that motivates this demotion may be a postpositional phrase or an adjective functioning adverbially. In the following examples, the logical object of the verb contains oblique marking.

(13.330) **Ndīn** we ndul landa.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndī=n} & \quad \text{we} & \quad \text{ndī=ul} & \quad \text{la-nda} \\
3PL=OBL & \quad \text{sago} & \quad 3PL=with & \quad \text{eat-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(They) would eat them (pieces of meat) with sago.’ (T28)
In the example below, it seems that even the question word *anjikaka* ‘how?’ can intervene, thereby motivating the demotion of the object.

(13.334) **U man anjikaka tî ine ...**

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  & ma=n & anjikaka & tî & i-e \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  2SG & 3SG=OBL & how & take & go.PRF-DEP \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  3SG & just & fall-PRF \\
\end{array}
\]

‘How were carrying it around such that it just fell?’ (T32)

Constructions such as these may, in a way, be considered antipassives, since the logical object of the transitive verb is demoted to an oblique phrase. It should be noted, however, that there is no verbal morphology (such as an affix) to signal this change.

**13.10 Causative constructions**

The syntactic process of passivization (13.8) and the morphological addition of the prefix *na-* (13.9) are both potential means of reducing valency in Ulwa. Many languages also have valency-increasing constructions, whereby a clause containing a verb that otherwise would permit only one (or two, etc.) arguments undergoes a morphosyntactic process such that it can permit two (or three, etc.) arguments. Ulwa has no known valency-increasing constructions. The addition of any core arguments requires the addition, as well, of an inflected verb—that is, the
addition of a clause. Thus, what are sometimes expressed through valency-increasing operations in other languages (e.g., applicatives, causatives, etc.) have as functional equivalents in Ulwa multiclausal constructions. This section provides some illustrations of how events involving causation are expressed in Ulwa. The following sections illustrate permissive constructions (13.11) and desiderative constructions (13.12), both of which are also formed with multiple clauses in Ulwa.

Events in which one participant causes another to act are expressed in Ulwa by a minimum of two clauses: one relating the causer to the causee, the other detailing the action of the causee (whether it involves other participants or not). In the following examples, the verb ni-‘act’ is used along with a postpositional phrase headed by ul ‘with’ to convey the sense ‘force’. In these constructions, the clause with the causer as subject is marked as dependent (with the dependent marker -e following the verb); this first clause may thus be translated with a causal sense (i.e., ‘since …’, see 12.3.2).

(13.335) Itom mĩ Kongos mol nipe …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{itom} & \quad \text{mĩ} & \quad \text{Kongos} & \quad \text{ma}=\text{ul} & \quad \text{ni-p-e} \\
\text{father} & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad [\text{name}] & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{with} & \quad \text{act-PRF-DEP} \\
& & & & \\
& & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Father made Kongos …’

… mĩ apa itap.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mĩ} & \quad \text{apa} & \quad \text{ita-p} \\
\quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{build-PRF} \\
& & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘… build a house.’ (Literally, ‘[Since father acted with [i.e., forced] Kongos, he built a house.’)

(13.336) Yena mĩ numan mol nipe …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yena} & \quad \text{mĩ} & \quad \text{numan} & \quad \text{ma}=\text{ul} & \quad \text{ni-p-e} \\
\text{woman} & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{husband} & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{with} & \quad \text{act-PRF-DEP} \\
& & & & \\
& & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The woman made (her) husband …’

… mĩ asimu inap.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mĩ} & \quad \text{asi-mu} & \quad \text{ina-p} \\
\quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{grass-seed} & \quad \text{get-PRF} \\
& & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘… buy rice.’ (Literally, ‘[Since the woman acted with [i.e., forced] [her] husband, he got rice.’)

(13.337) Itom mĩ Kongos mol nipta …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{itom} & \quad \text{mĩ} & \quad \text{Kongos} & \quad \text{ma}=\text{ul} & \quad \text{ni-p-ta} \\
\text{father} & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad [\text{name}] & \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{with} & \quad \text{act-PRF-COND} \\
& & & & \\
& & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Father will make Kongos …’
… mī apa itana.

mī apa ita-na
3SG house build-IRR
‘... build a house.’

In the last example above, a conditional statement is used to convey the irrealis sense of a causative (literally, ‘if father forces Kongos, he will build a house.’).

The idiom ‘to act with’ (i.e., ‘to force’) may be used in a single clause, without any other clause divulging what the person is forced to do, as in the following example. This lends further support that the causative constructions above are all truly composed of two clauses each.

(13.338) Itom mī Kongos mol nip.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>itom</th>
<th>mī</th>
<th>Kongos</th>
<th>ma=ul</th>
<th>ni-p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Kongos</td>
<td>3SG=with</td>
<td>act-PRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Father forced Kongos.’

In addition to ‘act with’, there is another idiom used in Ulwa to express compulsion. The form is nambǐnkī-, a compound verb literally meaning ‘dig at (one’s) body’. It conveys a weaker level of compulsion than ul ... ni- ‘act with’, and may be seen in the following sentence:

(13.339) Yena mī numan manambahīnkape ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yena</th>
<th>mī</th>
<th>numan</th>
<th>ma=nambǐ-nkī-p-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>3SG=body-dig-PRF-DEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The woman made her husband …’

… mī asimu inap.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mī</th>
<th>asi-mu</th>
<th>ina-p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>grass-seed</td>
<td>get-PRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘... buy rice.’

The fact that examples such as (13.336) and (13.339) above are truly sets of two clauses is also borne out by uses of these causative verb phrases in situations where the would-be causee fails to complete the action, as in the following:

(13.340) Yena mī numan mol nipe ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yena</th>
<th>mī</th>
<th>numan</th>
<th>ma=ul</th>
<th>ni-p-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>3SG=with</td>
<td>act-PRF-DEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Even though the woman pressured (her) husband, …’
… mî ango asimu inap.
mî ango asim mu ina-p
3SG NEG grass-seed get-PRF
‘… he didn’t buy rice.’

That is, any putative ‘causing’ verb is really a verb of ‘asking’ or ‘persuading’, and in no way suggests any increase in valency.

13.10.1 Causatives in indirect discourse

Commands or requests made in reported speech may be viewed as forms of causatives, provided that the command or request being made leads to an action being performed.

In Ulwa, commands expressed in reported speech are particularly interesting, since they reveal a distinction between realis and irrealis moods. In English, for example, there is a degree of ambiguity created by sentences that employ non-finite verb forms (i.e., infinitives), such as the following: Mary told John to leave. Namely, it is not clear whether John actually left or not. In Ulwa, however, this distinction is always apparent, since the event must be expressed with two clauses, each with a finite verb form—thus, the (finite) form of the verb to leave must be marked for aspect and mood, revealing (in effect) whether Mary’s imperative actually led to the desired action (perfective aspect) or did not (irrealis mood). This may be seen in the two sentences below, the first with perfective aspect and the second with irrealis mood.

(13.342) Mawna mî nan Yawat mate mî i.
Mawna mî na=n Yawat ma=ta-e mî i
[name] 3SG talk=OBL [name] 3SG=say-DEP 3SG go-PRF
‘Mawna told Yawat to leave (and he did).’ (Literally, ‘[Since] Mawna told Yawat, he left.’)
(13.343) Mawna mî † nan Yawat mate mî † mana.
Mawna mî na=‡nan Yawat ma=ta-e mî ma-na
[name] 3SG talk=OBL [name] 3SG=say-DEP 3SG go-IRR
‘Mawna told Yawat to leave (but it is unclear whether he did).’ (Literally, ‘[Since] Mawna told Yawat, he might have left [OR] he will leave.’)

The following two examples of causatives in indirect discourse come from texts.

(13.344) Nan mate mî i masamasa mowanp.
a=‡nan ma=ta-e mî i masamasa ma=won-p
talk=OBL 3SG=say-DEP 3SG go.PRF tree.sp 3SG=cut-PRF
‘(She) told him to go cut the masamasa tree.’ (Literally, ‘[Since] [she] told him, he went and cut the masamasa tree.’) (T01)

(13.345) Unan na makîta mî ndambikulili!
unan na ma=ki-ta mî ndambi=kuli-li
1PL.INCL talk 3SG=say-COND 3SG 3PL.FOC=throw-put
‘Let’s tell him to throw them away!’ (Literally, ‘If we tell him, he will throw them away.’) (T11)

13.10.2 Factitive constructions

When someone or something is caused to have a certain attribute, Ulwa uses an idiom with the verb *me- ‘sew’. The object of this verb is the acquired attribute and that which acquires it is expressed as an oblique phrase designated by the oblique marker =n (literally, ‘to sew [the attribute] to [that which acquires it]’). Examples of such factitive (or translative) constructions follow.

(13.346) Ndîn wapata mep.
n=‡ndîn wapata me-p
3PL.OBL dry sew-PRF
‘(He) made them (sores) dry.’ (Literally, ‘[He] sewed dry[ness] to them.’; i.e., he healed the sores.) (T11)

(13.347) Amblan mundotoma menda.
ambla=‡amblan mundotoma me-nda
PL.REFL=OBL short sew-IRR
‘(We) will make ourselves short.’ (Literally, ‘[We] will sew short[ness] to ourselves.’; i.e., we will become less populous as a village) (T32)
In the three examples above, the adjectives either may be functioning as abstract nouns or may (as is common in translative constructions in other languages) be functioning as predicate adjectives. The following example contains the noun kalam ‘knowledge/knowing’, which also commonly functions either as an adjective (‘knowing’) or as an abstract noun (‘knowledge’)

(13.349) Nan ndītap n'dīn kalam mendat.

na=n  ndī=t-a-p  n'dī=n  kalam  me-nda-t

‘(We) told them so that (we) might teach them.’ (Literally, ‘might sew knowledge to them’) (T14)

Such ‘teaching’ constructions can admit two oblique phrases, one denoting the recipient of the knowledge (as in the example above) and the other denoting the material being taught (literally, ‘sew knowledge to someone with [respect to] something’), as in:


nī  njī  ngala=n  un=nī  kalam  me-n[da]

1SG  thing  this.PL=OBL  2PL=OBL  know  sew-IRR

‘I will teach you these things.’ (T11)

In the example below, the object of the verb is a title that has been acquired.

(13.351) Amblan ini tamndī mep.

ambla=n  ini  tamndī  me-p

PL.REFL=OBL  ground  owner  sew-PRF

‘(They) made themselves the owners of the land.’ (Literally, ‘sewed [the title] of land-owner to themselves’) (T11)

While the verb me- ‘sew’ is the most common verb used in these constructions, the same factitive concept can be expressed with other verbs that show that a new quality is being ‘attached’, as in the following examples, which use the compound verb watlī- ‘put atop’.
(13.352) Simban yeta tì ambiwatîpe.
Simban yeta tì ambî=wat-li-p-e
[name] man take SG.REFL=atop-put-PRF-DEP
‘Simban made herself (like) a man.’ (Literally, ‘Simban took “man” and put [it] atop herself.’) (T29)

(13.353) Mî yeta ambi tì ambiwatîp.
mî yeta ambi tì ambî=wat-li-p
3SG man big take SG.REFL=atop-put-PRF
‘He’s (like) a grown man!’ (Literally, ‘He took “big man” and put [it] atop himself.’) (T11)

13.11 Permissive constructions

Constructions expressing permission function similarly to biclausal causative constructions. In the first clause is the verb ka- ‘let, leave, allow’, which takes as its object the person or thing being granted permission; in the second clause, the subject is this person or thing being granted permission and the verb explains what this subject is being permitted to do.

First, it may be shown how the verb ka- ‘let, leave, allow’ functions in simple monoclausal constructions. It should be noted that, in these clauses, the object of the verb is the location in which someone or something is being left. That which is being left, on the other hand, may be expressed in an oblique phrase using the oblique marker =n (cf. the argument structure of the verb li- ‘put’, 9.3.2). (For the irregular circumfix-like form of the irrealis of this verb, see 4.4 and 9.3.3.) The following sentences illustrate the use of ka- ‘let, leave, allow’ in simple monoclausal constructions.

ma=ul i ma=n Simundo ma=ka
3SG=with go.PRFL 3SG=OBL [place] 3SG=let
‘(They) went with him and left him at Simundo (village).’ (T02)

(13.355) Dingo man maka.
Dingo ma=n ma=ka
[name] 3SG=OBL 3SG=let
‘(They) left Dingo there.’ (T02)
(13.356) Mi nul mbi nín ka wolka nay.

Mi n=ul mbi-i nĩ=n ka wolka na-i
3SG 1SG=with here-go.PRF 1SG=OBL let. PRF again DETR-go.PRF

‘She came with me, left me, and went again.’ (T27)

(13.357) Ulum pul male we ndín maka.

ulum pul ma=ale-e we ndi=n ma=ka
palm piece 3SG=beat-DEP sago 3PL=OBL 3SG=let

‘(They) were scraping a piece of sago palm but left the sago starch there.’ (T32)

(13.358) Wana malakana!

wana ma=la-ka-na
PROH 3SG=IRR-let-IRR
‘Don’t abandon it!’ (T11)

Interestingly, when functioning in biclausal permissive constructions, the verb ka- ‘let, leave, allow’ takes as its object the thing being permitted (not a location, as in the monoclausal sentences above), as in the following:

(13.359) Ndínji ndílaka ndi mínap.

Ndínji ndi=la-ka ndi mĩ=na-p
3PL.POSS 3PL=IRR-let 3PL 3SG=DETR-be

‘(They) let their possessions (just) stay (as they are).’ (Literally, ‘[They] let theirs; they stay.’) (T11)

(13.360) Ndílakan ndi mapín!

Ndí=la-ka-n ndi ma=p-n[a]
3PL=IRR-let-IMP 3PL 3SG=be-IRR

‘Let them stay there!’ (Literally, ‘Let them! They will be there.’) (T25)

Such constructions often make use of conditional clauses, especially in commands, as shown below.

(13.361) Nilakata nĩ mawl malanda!

Nĩ=la-ka-ta nĩ ma=ul ma=la-nda
1SG=IRR-let-COND 1SG 3SG=with 3SG=eat-IRR

‘Let me eat with him!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] let me, I will eat with him.’) (T01)

(13.362) Unanji malakata mĩ ina!

Unanji ma=la-ka-ta mĩ i-na
1PL.INCL.POSS 3SG=IRR-let-COND 3SG come-IRR

‘Let our (granddaughter) come!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] let our [granddaughter], she will come.’) (T11)
These permissive conditional sentences may be contrasted with the following sentence, in which the conditional verb form lakata ‘let, leave, allow’ is used in a protasis to mean, simply, ‘leave’ (that is, not a permissive construction); here, the object of lakata is the location where something is left.

Finally, it may be noted that the verb ka- ‘let, leave, allow’ is used frequently in an idiom meaning something like ‘forget about it!’, ‘don’t’ even mention it!’, ‘amazing!’, etc. In such expressions, the object marker typically takes the focus-marked pronominal form (6.7) and the verb takes an irrealis or imperative form. This use of ka- is illustrated below.

13.12  Desiderative constructions

The expression of wants in Ulwa follows patterns very similar to those of indirect discourse (13.5.5). Indeed, the most common way of expressing that one wants something to
happen is to use a verb of speaking or thinking, typically \( k'i- \) and typically expressed in the perfective mood and with the detransitivizing prefix \( na- \) (thus, \( nakap \), literally, ‘said’ or ‘thought’). This form has likely been somewhat fossilized as a word used to express desires.

The clause expressing the desire is a dependent clause embedded within a matrix clause that has as its subject the person who desires something. The verb in the dependent clause is always marked as irrealis, as in the following sentences (brackets enclose the embedded clauses).

(13.367) Sokoy ulwape nį nįnji wa mana **nakap**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sokoy} & \quad \text{ulwa-p-e} \quad \text{nį} \quad [\text{nįnji} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ma-na}] \quad \text{na-ki-p} \\
\text{tobacco} & \quad \text{nothing-be-dep} \quad \text{1SG} & \quad [\text{1SG.Poss} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{go-IRR}] \quad \text{DETR-say-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Since there’s no tobacco, I want to go to my village.’ (T27)

(13.368) Kaukaunį mankïna **nakap**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[kaukau=ni} & \quad \text{ma=nkï-na}] \quad \text{na-ki-p} \\
\text{[kaukau=OBL} & \quad \text{3SG=dig-IRR]} \quad \text{DETR-say-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) wanted to plant kaukau (sweet potato).’ (T32)

(13.369) Nį u na tīna **nakap**.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[nį=n} & \quad \text{u} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tī-na}] \quad \text{na-ki-p} \\
\text{[1SG=OBL} & \quad \text{from talk} \quad \text{take-IRR]} \quad \text{DETR-say-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) wants to get stories from me.’ (T27)

(13.370) Na ndan nįkïna **nakap**?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[na} & \quad \text{anda=n} \quad \text{nī-kī-na}] \quad \text{na-ki-p} \\
\text{[talk} & \quad \text{that.SG=OBL} \quad \text{1SG=say-IRR]} \quad \text{DETR-say-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do (you) want to tell me something?’ (T11)

The subject of the matrix clause (the person desiring something) need not be the subject of the embedded clause (the agent desired to do something). In the following sentence, the subject of the matrix clause is an understood third party, whereas the subject of the embedded clause is the speaker (1SG).

(13.371) Nį mana **nakap** nį mīnjan mat:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[nį} & \quad \text{ma-na}] \quad \text{na-ki-p} \quad \text{nį} \quad \text{mīnja=n} \quad \text{ma=ta} \\
\text{[1SG} & \quad \text{go-IRR]} \quad \text{DETR-say-PRF} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{speech=OBL} \quad \text{3SG=say}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(Wala) wanted me to go, but I told him.’ (T32)

The form **nakap**, as seen above, can be used regardless of TAM distinctions: thus, for example, many of the sentences above have imperfective force, despite the (otherwise)
perfective-marking suffix -p. Moreover, the form nakap may be used without any conditional marking (-ta), even in the protasis of a conditional sentence, as in the following:

(13.372) Nan níkïna nakap …
[na=n nī=kī-na] na-kī-p
[talk=OBL 1SG=say-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
‘If (you) wanted to talk to me …’

… na kali nīwatliita.
na kali nī=wat-li-ta
talk send 1SG=atop-put-COND
‘… (then you) should have sent a message to me.’ (T11)

(13.373) Wutï munta lunda nakap …
[wutî mun[ê]-ta lu-nda] na-kî-p
[leg throw-COND put-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
‘If you want to throw your legs around …’ (i.e., play sports) (T27)

In the second example above, the conditional marker -ta occurs within the embedded clause (instead of being affixed to the matrix clause verb nakap, cf. issues of scope in 13.4.3).

The semantic connection between verbs of speaking (or thinking) and verbs of desiring is understandable. Often, when one wants something, one talks about it (and almost certainly thinks about it). While nakap seems to be a fossilized form used in desiderative clauses, it is nevertheless possible to use other verbs of speaking to express desires, as in the following desiderative sentence, which uses the verb ta- ‘say’.

(13.374) Nul mana nate.
[nī=ul ma-na] na-ta-e
[1SG=come go-IRR] DETR-say-DEP
‘(He) wanted to go with me.’ (T11)

In addition to these biclausal desiderative constructions, it is possible to express a desire in a single clause, simply by using an irrealis verb form. In such instances, it is not necessarily clear whether the person desiring the event encoded by the verb is the subject of the verb, the speaker of the clause, or both. In the following examples (all translated with ‘want’), the irrealis verb forms could, in other contexts, impart other meanings (e.g., ‘will’, ‘should’, etc., see 4.8).
(13.375) Nî lamndu mawalinda.
   nî   lamndu          ma=wali-nda
   1SG  pig            3SG=hit-I RR
   ‘I want to kill a pig.’

(13.376) Nî awal we landa.
   nî   awal          we  la-nda
   1SG yesterday sago  eat-I RR
   ‘I wanted to eat sago yesterday.’

(13.377) An inamba sokoy inda.
   an     inamba[=n]  sokoy  in-nda
   1PL.EXCL money=OBL  tobacco  get-I RR
   ‘We want to buy tobacco.’ (T32)

(13.378) Apa mana i liwe …
   apa    ma-na   i   li-aw-e
   house   go-I RR   go.PR F fall-put.I PFV-DE P
   ‘(He) wanted to go home, but (he) went and fell …’

   … numbu aniim nga mas.
   numbu    anîm   nga  ma=as
   post     fork   this.SG  3SG=hit
   ‘… and the fork of the post pierced him.’ (T17)

(13.379) Nî ango wa lunda.
   nî   ango  wa     lo-nda
   1SG  NEG   village  go-I RR
   ‘I don’t want to go around in villages.’ (T32)

The last example above illustrates a negative desire. Often, to express that something is not desired, the verb kamb- ‘shun’ (see 2.2.2) is used (either in the imperfective/unmarked form kam, the dependent/imperfective form kambe, or the perfective form kamp), as shown in the following:

(13.380) Nî kam(be/p)!
   nî          kamb(-e/-p)
   1SG         shun(-DEP/-PR F)
   (a) ‘I don’t want to!’
   (b) ‘I don’t want it!’

To express that an object is desired, Ulwa simply employs the verb tî- ‘take’ in the irrealis mood. After all, to say, for example, that one ‘wants a spear’ means that one ‘wants to
take (i.e., obtain, have) a spear’ (or, put otherwise: a proclamation such as ‘I would take’ links, by inference, to ‘I want’). This is illustrated in the following:

(13.381) Nī mana tiña.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nī} & \text{mana} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{take-IRR}
\end{array}
\]

‘I want a spear.’

(13.382) Nī awal mana akīnaka tiña.

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{nī} & \text{awal} & \text{mana} & \text{akīnaka} & \text{ti-na} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{yesterday} & \text{spear} & \text{new} & \text{take-IRR}
\end{array}
\]

‘I wanted a new spear yesterday.’

Often the distinction between ‘want’ and ‘need’ in such instances is not explicit. The following sentence thus may be translated variably.

(13.383) Nī mana akīnaka tiña.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nī} & \text{mana} & \text{akīnaka} & \text{ti-na} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{spear} & \text{new} & \text{take-IRR}
\end{array}
\]

(a) ‘I want a new spear.’

(b) ‘I need a new spear.’
Chapter 14
Topics in semantics

14.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe a few topics in lexical semantics, in the hopes of achieving three goals: 1) facilitating a clearer understanding of the Ulwa language in general, 2) recording information that is of particular interest to the Ulwa community, and 3) providing data that may be used in crosslinguistic typological comparisons. My objective here is by no means a complete formal treatment of Ulwa semantics, but rather a description of selected semantic domains that are of particular interest.

14.2 Polysemy and homonymy

Perhaps unsurprisingly for a language with a relatively small phonemic inventory and many monosyllabic and disyllabic morphemes and lexemes, Ulwa contains in its lexicon many pairs of same-sounding forms that have different meanings. It is not always possible to determine whether these pairs represent different meanings of a single word (polysemy) or such pairs are truly separate words that—due to historical accident—share the same phonological form (homonymy).

Given Ulwa’s phonotactic constraints, the three phonologically shortest possible words should be $i$, $u$, and $a$ (no other vowels are permitted word-initially, 2.3.1). Especially the forms $i$ and $u$ have a large number of meanings, representing a variety of parts of speech, as seen below.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i & \text{noun, ‘hand, arm’} \\
i & \text{noun, ‘lime (calcium hydroxide)’} \\
i & \text{noun, ‘behavior, habit, custom, way’} \\
i & \text{verb, ‘go’ (suppletive perfective form of } ma-) \\
i & \text{verb stem, ‘come’ (this form is never found unaffixed, except as in above) } \\
i & \text{interjection expressing dejection (‘alas’) } \\
i & \text{predicate marker (Tok Pisin loan) } \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
u & \text{noun, ‘ditch, creek’} \\
u & \text{pronoun, ‘you’ (2SG) } \\
u & \text{postposition, ‘from, in, at, around, along’ } \\
\end{array}
\]
One of the difficulties in understanding Ulwa stems from the fact that there exists homophony among a number of important functional morphemes, especially when they undergo phonological changes. Some examples follow.

- **ala**
  - demonstrative determiner, ‘those’
  - postposition, ‘for, from’

- **ka**
  - adverb, ‘thus, in this/that manner’
  - postposition, ‘at, in, on’
  - verb, ‘let, leave, allow’, used in ‘separable verb’ constructions
  - noun, ‘peak’ (as in *apa-ka* ‘roof’, literally, ‘house peak’)

- **ma**
  - object marker (3SG)
  - verb, ‘go’
  - coordinator, ‘and’ (perhaps a recent innovation)
  - possessive pronoun (3SG), abbreviated form of *manji*

- **-n**
  - oblique marker
  - pronoun, ‘I’ (1SG), allomorph of *ni* when preceding a vowel
  - nominalizer, allomorph of -en when following *e*
  - epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers
  - TAM suffix (IMP)

- **-n**
  - irregular TAM suffix: imperfective (IPFV) for *ma-‘go’, perfective (PRF) for *ti-‘take’ and *na-‘give’

- **na-**
  - detransitivizing prefix
  - verb, ‘give’
  - TAM suffix (IRR)
  - noun, ‘talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language’
  - coordinator, ‘and’ (Tok Pisin loan)

- **-p**
  - copular suffix
  - TAM suffix (PRF)
  - epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers

- **-t**
  - speculative suffix
  - verb, ‘take’, allomorph of *ti-*, used in ‘giving’ constructions
  - conditional suffix, allomorph of -*ta* when preceding a vowel
The following pairs of identical forms are almost certainly true homonyms (as opposed to polysemes).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ambla} & \quad \text{‘PL.REFL’} \\
\text{ambla} & \quad \text{‘tooth’} \\
\text{ina} & \quad \text{‘come [IRR]’} \\
\text{ina} & \quad \text{‘liver’} \\
\text{mana} & \quad \text{‘go [IRR]’} \\
\text{mana} & \quad \text{‘spear’} \\
\text{min} & \quad \text{‘3DU’} \\
\text{min} & \quad \text{‘armband’} \\
\text{un} & \quad \text{‘2PL’} \\
\text{un} & \quad \text{‘okari nut tree’ (\textit{Terminalia kaernbachii})} \\
\text{wal} & \quad \text{‘hit’} \\
\text{wal} & \quad \text{‘ribs’}
\end{align*}
\]

The following is a list of other pairs of identical forms that are very likely polysemes (as opposed to homonyms).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anga} & \quad \text{‘piece’ or ‘side’} \\
\text{apin} & \quad \text{‘fire’ or ‘pain’} \\
\text{mbomala} & \quad \text{‘large firefly sp.’ or ‘large star (or planet)’} \\
\text{mu} & \quad \text{‘fruit’ or ‘seed’ or ‘nut’ (the meaning ‘kidney’ is probably derived metaphorically; the meaning ‘blowfly’ may be polysemous)} \\
\text{nali} & \quad \text{‘small firefly sp.’ or ‘small star’ (the meanings ‘spine of a sago frond’ and ‘ten’ are likely related to each other [see numerals, 7.6], but are polysemous with these other meanings of \textit{nali})}
\end{align*}
\]

Some words in Ulwa have much greater ranges of meaning than any of their possible English equivalents. While these are not properly polysemes or homonyms, it may prove useful to provide a few examples of these words below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akinaka} & \quad \text{‘new, fresh, alive, raw, young’} \\
\text{anma} & \quad \text{‘good, nice, true, smart, straight, healthy, well’} \\
\text{na} & \quad \text{‘talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language’} \\
\text{tembi} & \quad \text{‘bad, sick, poor, dirty’}
\end{align*}
\]
Often a word derives a new meaning based on a metaphorical or metonymous relationship; for polysemes thus derived, see the section below (14.3); for Ulwa coinages for foreign concepts that employ metaphor or metonymy, see (14.9). There are also examples of polysemous relationships among color terms (14.5), body part terms (14.6), and terms expressing various temporal concepts (14.8).

14.3 Metaphor and metonymy

One productive means of expanding the lexicon is extending the meaning of an existing word. Two methods of doing so are identified below: metaphor (whereby meaning is extended based on a similarity between two referents) and metonymy (whereby meaning is extended based on an association between two referents). While many metaphors and metonyms have become ossified as the primary term used for certain referents (and thus are perhaps no longer viewed as semantic extensions), it is still possible for speakers to employ both metaphor and metonymy creatively. Although this may be done even when another word for a referent already exists, it is more common as a means of coining terminology for new concepts (see 14.9 below on coinages). Examples of metaphors include:

- **ana** ‘parasitic person’, literally, ‘grass skit’ (an article of clothing that ‘hangs onto’ a person)
- **mundotoma** ‘lacking’, literally, ‘short’ (the same metaphor as in English, e.g., ‘in short supply’, ‘came up short’, etc.)
- **unduwan** ‘elder’, literally, ‘head’ (the part of the body that comes ‘first’)
- **yawil** ‘full moon’, literally, ‘coconut moon’ (< ya ‘coconut’ + iwil ‘moon’, as the full moon resembles the coconut in roundness)

Metonymy is very common in Ulwa. Often the material from which something is made is used to refer to the end product, as in:

- **asiya** ‘animal trap’ (made with asiya ‘string’)
- **numbu** ‘garamut drum’ (made from nambu ‘ironwood tree sp.’)
- **we** ‘sago pancake’ (made directly from we ‘sago starch’, without first processing it into ay ‘jellied sago’)

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Other forms of metonymy are possible as well, such as synecdoche, in which either the part comes to represent the whole (pars pro toto, as in the first example below) or the whole comes to represent the part (totum pro parte, as in the second example below).

- *isi* ‘soup’ (typically containing *isi*, a native ‘salt’, made from the ashes of banana leaves)
- *ulum* ‘sago pith’ (the soft, white insides of the *ulum* ‘sago palm’)

Other forms of metonymy are used as well, including:

- *iwīl* ‘menstruation’ (which has a cycle roughly equal in duration to that of the *iwīl* ‘moon’); as a further extension of meaning, *iwīl* ‘moon’ can also be used euphemistically to refer to the vulva (*inmbī*)
- *nambana* ‘mask’ (which is used represent a *nambana* ‘spirit’)
- *yopa* ‘peace’ (which traditionally was signaled by painting oneself white to resemble a *yopa* ‘cockatoo’)

### 14.4 Formulaic expressions, greetings, and farewells

In Ulwa (as in Tok Pisin and many other languages of the Pacific), it is common to greet people with descriptions of what they are doing (e.g., ‘you are bathing’, ‘you are chopping wood’, etc.) or questions regarding what they have just done or are about to do (e.g., ‘where were you?’, ‘where are you going?’, etc.). It is not common (as in many European languages) to inquire into one’s physical or emotional state. Such traditional greetings include, for example:

- *Inim lope.* ‘(You) are bathing.’
- *U ango mana?* ‘Where are you going?’ (pronounced [wangomana])

In addition, there is a set of formulae used to greet people at various times of the day. They are all formed with the adjective *anma* ‘good’, and it is not unlikely that they are calques from Tok Pisin, which (like English) employs greetings built from the adjective ‘good’ (*gut[pela]* in Tok Pisin) and the time of day. The Ulwa greetings are:

- *Umbenam anma!* ‘Good morning!’
- *Ane anma!* ‘Good day!’ (literally, ‘good sun’)
- *Awal nambī anma!* ‘Good afternoon!’ (literally, ‘good body [of] yesterday’)
- *Imba anma!* ‘Good evening/night!’
Farewells in Ulwa are typically proclamations that one is leaving or commands (not impolite) for the other party to go (or to stay). These, too, parallel traditional Tok Pisin valedictions. Examples are presented below.

*An mana!* ‘We (1PL.EXCL) shall go!’
*Un mbîpîna!* ‘Stay here!’ (addressed to multiple people)
*U mana!* ‘Go!’ (addressed to one person)

One form, clearly derived from such a command, has taken on a formulaic usage:

*Namanu!* ‘Goodbye!’ (addressed to someone leaving, perhaps derived from na-‘DET’ + ma- ‘go’ + na- ‘IRR’ + u ‘2SG’ or -o ‘INTERJ’)

The formulaic greetings listed above may also be used as farewells, especially at nighttime (i.e., *imba anma* ‘good night’ can be used either to greet or to bid farewell).

Some polite formulaic expressions that are common among European languages like English (e.g., ‘please’, ‘thank you’, etc.) do not have direct equivalents in Ulwa. It is common, for example, for an Ulwa speaker not to say anything when receiving something from another person. To express strong gratitude, however, one may say *ninji anma* (literally, ‘my good’), which is akin to English ‘thank you’. To make a polite request, the modal adverb *kop* may be used along with an imperative, somewhat like the use of English ‘please’ (see 13.3.2).

### 14.5 Color terms

Color terms occur very infrequently in the Ulwa corpus. Given the paucity of data and variability in interpretation of the term “basic”, it is not possible to place Ulwa with perfect certainty within Berlin and Kay’s (1969) hierarchy of stages of basic color terms. That said, Ulwa seems to employ very few basic color terms. Indeed, even the term for ‘white’ (or ‘light’ as opposed to ‘dark’, i.e., less saturated)—which is supposed to be one of two basic color terms (when only two terms exist)—appears to be derived in Ulwa (see 2.3). (Of course, the fact that a color term has been derived synchronically from one or more other words does not perforce preclude it from being considered “basic”.)

The following is a list of terms for colors in Ulwa. Some of these words have been obtained through elicitation alone (asking for speakers to generate lists of color terms or...
obtaining translations of Tok Pisin color terms); these are thus perhaps more suspect are marked with a plus sign (+) to identify them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waembil</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbun</td>
<td>‘black, blue, dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbunmana</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngungun</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ anem</td>
<td>‘blue, purple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane</td>
<td>‘yellow, light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anembal</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andwana</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ mïndit</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ mïnal</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ tondiway</td>
<td>‘orange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ lemetam</td>
<td>‘brown’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these are obviously derived from other words, typically nouns that refer to entities that exhibit the color in question. The word for ‘red’ (*ngungun*), for example, also refers to a species of red ant (it is used as a traditional medicine, boiled in a solution to treat coughs). The same word also refers to a species of plant with red seeds. (Yet another meaning of *ngungun*, ‘cyclone’, is less clearly connected to the color red.) The word for ‘green’ (*mïnal*) also means ‘taro’, a plant whose leaves are boiled to make a soup of very saliently green color.

Similarly, *tondiway* ‘orange’ has as its more basic meaning a plant species with orange seeds used to make dyes. The word *lemetam* ‘brown’ also refers to a large hardwood tree, whose (brown) bark is used to bandage wounds. The color word *ane* ‘yellow, light’ also means ‘sun’ (*anembal* ‘light’ clearly contains *ane* ‘sun’ as well, but the form *mbal* is an obscure element; it possibly underlies waembil ‘white’ as well). The word *anem* ‘blue, purple’ is also the name both for a yam variety with purple flesh and for a necklace bead made from a blue seed. The meaning ‘scar’ that belongs to the form *mbun* ‘black, blue, dark’, is, however, more likely derived from the color term than vice versa (if, of course, this is not just a matter of homophony).

Some of the color terms in the list above—although not completely homonymous with other forms—bear very strong resemblances to nominals associated with those colors: *andwana* ‘yellow’ may be related to *anduwan* ‘young sago palm’ and *mïndit* ‘yellow’ may be related to *mïnda* ‘banana’. The form *mbunmana* ‘black’ seems derived from *mbun* ‘black, blue, dark’, but exactly how this has occurred (or why) is unclear (perhaps < *mbun* ‘dark’ + *mana* ‘go [IRR]’ = ‘going dark’?).
For a possible etymology of *waembil* ‘white’, which contains the highly unusual phonetic form, *ae* ([æ]), see 2.3.

The form that seems least likely to have been derived is *mbun* ‘black, blue, dark’.

### 14.6 Body part terms

In this section I discuss terminology for the parts of the body, a domain that is often of interest to semantic typologists, anthropologists, and others.

First, it is not entirely clear whether there is a term in Ulwa that covers the human body in its entirety (that is, a word for ‘body’, distinct from *ankam* ‘person’). In practical terms, the word *nambë* ‘body’ does indeed function in this way, but—in lexicographical elicitation sessions—speakers have offered the semantic insight that *nambë* refers only to the external body—that is, skin, hair, and anything else visible on a person, but not internal organs, blood, bones, etc. Some speakers further insist on a distinction between *nambë* ‘(external) body’ and *nambi* ‘skin’, although such careful differentiation in texts is hard to parse out (if, however, one were to refer to an animal hide, for example, the proper term should be *nambi* ‘skin’, and not *nambë* ‘body’).

Languages divide up the body in different ways; sometimes, what are two categorically different body parts in the terminology of one language may be covered by the same term in another—i.e., the distinct designations of ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ in a language like English might be covered by a single designation in another language. Ulwa is one such language that does not differentiate between ‘hand’ and ‘arm’. The word *i* can be translated as either. Similarly, the word *wuti* refers to a part of the body that could be translated as either ‘foot’ or ‘leg’ in English.

While neither ‘foot’ nor ‘leg’ is taken to be a more basic meaning for *wuti* (and neither ‘hand’ nor ‘arm’ is taken to be a more ‘basic’ meaning for *i*), the word *monombam*, which can mean either ‘face’ or ‘forehead’, is assumed to have ‘forehead’ as its primary meaning, based on the typologically common semantic change of deriving a term for ‘face’ from a term referring to one particular part of the face, very often from ‘forehead’ (on *pars pro toto* synecdoche, see 14.2 above).
In other cases, there are distinctions made in Ulwa that are not common in, say, English. For example, there is no general term to cover ‘hair’ in Ulwa: the word *wonmi* refers only to ‘(top of the) head hair’, whereas *nil* refers only to ‘body hair (including a man’s beard)’.

Also, as is attested in many languages, body part terms may be used metaphorically in Ulwa, often to express spatial reference, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awi} & \quad \text{‘the side of’ (literally, ‘shoulder’)} \\
\text{ip} & \quad \text{‘front’ (as of a house, literally, ‘nose’)} \\
\text{unmbi} & \quad \text{‘back’ (as of a house, literally, ‘buttocks’)}
\end{align*}
\]

The spatial metaphor of ‘nose’ to mean ‘front’ has been extended to a temporal metaphor to mean ‘earlier, former’, as seen in the example below.

(14.001) Mat *ip* ul manata …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma=t}i & \quad \text{*ip* ul ma=na-ta} \\
3\text{SG}=\text{take} & \quad \text{nose with} \quad 3\text{SG}=\text{give-COND}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If (we) bring it first …’ (Literally, ‘take it and give with nose’) (T32)

Indeed, the postposition/adverb *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’ is transparently derived from the word *ip* ‘nose’ (plus the formative/postposition *ka* ‘thus, in this/that manner; at, in, on’).

There are a number of idioms based on body part terms; some cases are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uma t}i & \quad \text{‘be strong’ (literally, ‘take bone’)} \\
\text{t}i \text{ ip l}i & \quad \text{‘destroy’ (literally, ‘take and put nose to’)} \\
\text{awal namb}i & \quad \text{‘afternoon’ (literally, ‘body of yesterday’)}
\end{align*}
\]

In other cases, a word whose primary meaning does not relate to the human body may be used metaphorically to refer to a body part, as in the following words.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mitin} & \quad \text{‘testicle’ (literally, ‘egg’)} \\
\text{mota} & \quad \text{‘throat’ (literally, ‘bamboo sp.’, cf. also *aninokam* ‘throat’)} \\
\text{mu} & \quad \text{‘kidney’ (literally, ‘fruit’)} \\
\text{timbil} & \quad \text{‘diaphragm’ (literally, ‘fence’)}
\end{align*}
\]

It seems that the metaphorical use of *mitin* ‘egg’ to refer to testicles has pejorated the word *mitin* in all its senses. Many speakers thus avoid using *mitin* when referring to actual fowl or reptile eggs, instead using *yokomtìn* (literally, ‘wild fowl egg’, *yokomakan* ‘wild fowl’ + *mitin* ‘egg’) for all types of eggs, regardless of species.
The word for ‘finger’ (imu) is a compound, consisting of i ‘hand’ and a metaphorical use of mu ‘fruit’ (literally, ‘the fruit of the hand’). The individual fingers have mostly metaphorically derived names as well. They are:

- **imu unduwan** ‘thumb’ (literally, ‘head finger’)
- **imu ankam** ‘index finger’ (literally, ‘person finger’)
- **imu wome** ‘middle finger’ (literally, ‘middle finger’)
- **imu law** ‘ring finger’ (literally, ‘ti plant finger’)
- **imu watangīn** ‘pinky finger’ (literally, ‘last finger’)

Similarly, the word for ‘toe’ is wutimu (literally, ‘fruit of the foot’). The individual toes follow a similar naming scheme to that for the individual fingers, as seen below.

- **wutimu unduwan** ‘big toe’
- **wutimu ankam** ‘second toe’
- **wutimu wome** ‘middle toe’
- **wutimu law** ‘fourth toe’
- **wutimu watangīn** ‘pinky toe’

In many cultures, a particular organ is viewed as having certain importance—as the seat of emotion, thought, or both. In Ulwa, ina ‘liver’ functions much like either ‘heart’ or ‘mind’ in English, capable of referring to one’s center of reason or emotion. It forms part of the compound verb inakawana- ‘think’ (9.3.1), and may also play a part in the etymology of angwena ‘why?’ (13.2.2).

Similarly, the more general term inji ‘innards’ (likely, < *in* ‘in, inside’ + *nji* ‘thing’)—which can refer to the inside of anything, but typically refers to internal organs—can also have a metaphorical sense (cf. English ‘guts’), as in the following sentence.

(14.002) Una wa lolop wa **inji** wopapta.

`1PL.INCL just just just innards all-be-COND`

‘If we just have full hearts, …’

…” una wa mbī napin.

`1PL.INCL village here DETR-be-IRR`

‘… then we will stay here (safely) in the village.’ (T32)

I conclude this section with a list of some basic body part terms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akunpu</td>
<td>‘back of the skull’</td>
<td>nambi</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambatín</td>
<td>‘joint’</td>
<td>nambí</td>
<td>‘(external) body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anangum</td>
<td>‘spine’</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>‘body hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anankín</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
<td>nopa</td>
<td>‘cheek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anen</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>ngínim</td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aninokam</td>
<td>‘throat’</td>
<td>sinanan</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atal</td>
<td>‘anus’</td>
<td>tambeta</td>
<td>‘chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awi</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
<td>tanum</td>
<td>‘lips’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘hand, arm’</td>
<td>tumbunma</td>
<td>‘nape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
<td>um</td>
<td>‘neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inapaw</td>
<td>‘belly’</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inji</td>
<td>‘innards’</td>
<td>umbopa</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inmbí</td>
<td>‘vulva’</td>
<td>unduwan</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inpi</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
<td>unet</td>
<td>‘navel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td>unmbí</td>
<td>‘buttocks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikal</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>unum</td>
<td>‘clavicle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limndí</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>‘ribs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
<td>wanamba</td>
<td>‘armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mínandín</td>
<td>‘gallbladder’</td>
<td>wol</td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mínane</td>
<td>‘intestines’</td>
<td>won</td>
<td>‘penis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>míním</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td>wonmi</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mínopal</td>
<td>‘bladder’</td>
<td>woploita</td>
<td>‘lungs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misam</td>
<td>‘brain’</td>
<td>wutí</td>
<td>‘leg, foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monombam</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
<td>yom</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutam</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.7 Kinship terms

The system of kinship terminology in Ulwa is fairly classificatory (as opposed to descriptive), in that a single term may refer to a large number of different types of relatives. It is, however, possible for Ulwa to employ more descriptive terminology by expanding upon the basic system with nominal modifiers. Gender distinctions are made among most of the basic kinship terms, and where they are not, gender may be specified by additional modifiers. Some of the basic kinship terms also indicate relative age (e.g., atma ‘older brother’).

Relatives of the ego’s parents’ generation can all be referred to as itom ‘father’ or inom ‘mother’, based on gender. That is, all male siblings of one’s father and mother are itom (as is, of course, one’s actual father) and all female siblings of one’s father and mother are inom (as is, of course, one’s actual mother). The spouses of one’s parents’ siblings are not seen as familial
relations per se, but—in the extended kinship system—can be referred to as ‘father’ and ‘mother’ as well, since they belong to that same generation.

One member of this parents’ generation, however, does receive a special designation: the ego’s mother’s brother is called yawa (cf. kandere ‘maternal uncle’ in Tok Pisin). Although it is possible to refer to this relation as itom ‘father’, it is more common to use the term yawa ‘maternal uncle’. This maternal uncle holds special responsibilities to his sisters’ children.

The ego’s mother’s brother’s wife is known as ansi inom ‘red buai (betel nut) mother’ (ansi is a word that appears in a number of kinship terms relating to the yawa ‘maternal uncle’, but its exact meaning in these contexts is unclear; elsewhere, this word means ‘red buai’ [the combination of betel nut, daka pepper, and lime]; it also refers to a gourd-like plant that may be used to store lime, and which was previously used to cover the penis; and it also may be used as slang for the penis itself). The counterpart to the yawa is the ansi nungol, the child of a man’s sister.

The ego’s father’s sister does not have the same pride of place or responsibilities as the mother’s brother; there is, however, a periphrastic way of referring to this relation: ane inom ‘paternal aunt’ (literally, ‘sun mother’). Nor does the ego’s father’s brother have similar responsibilities to his brother’s children. This relation may be called, generally, itom ‘father’.

For one’s actual biological parents, it is common to use the ‘nursery’ forms for direct address (i.e., as vocative forms). These are tata ‘papa’ and nana ‘mama’.

There are a few different terms to refer to the ego’s children, but the distinctions among them are not clear. A child may be called nungol, nungolke, alum, or tawatïp. Any one of these may refer either to one’s biological child (that is, a ‘son’ or ‘daughter’) of any age or to any person of young age (whether related or not). Although none of these terms is marked for gender, nungol often implies a male child. There is a specific word for ‘daughter’, yenat (or yanat), which refers to one’s biological daughter or to other females of that generation in the extended kinship system. It is clearly related to yena ~ yana ‘woman, female’, perhaps also containing the element t(i) ‘take’—i.e., ‘the female that (one) has taken/gotten’.

When referring to one’s siblings, it is common to make distinctions both based on gender and based on relative age. There is no cover term for ‘sibling’ (of any gender or age), nor is there a cover term either for ‘brother’ or for ‘sister’ (unspecified for relative age). It is, however, possible to refer to a ‘younger sibling’, regardless of gender, with the word wot. This may be
further specified as *wot yeta* ‘younger brother’ (literally, ‘younger man’) or *wot yena* ‘younger sister’ (literally, ‘younger woman’). The term for ‘older brother’ is *atma*, and the term for ‘older sister’ is *atana*. Although a man has no way of speaking generally about a brother (whether younger or older), a woman may refer to any of her male siblings (regardless of his relative age) simply as *yeta* ‘man’.

The words *wot* ‘younger (sibling)’, *atma* ‘older brother’, and *atana* ‘older sister’ may be used to add specificity to family relations of the parents’ generation (i.e., aunts and uncles), as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>itom wot</em></td>
<td>‘father’s younger brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yawa wot</em></td>
<td>‘mother’s younger brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inom wot</em></td>
<td>‘parent’s younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ane inom wot</em></td>
<td>‘father’s younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>itom atma</em></td>
<td>‘father’s older brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yawa atma</em></td>
<td>‘mother’s older brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inom atana</em></td>
<td>‘parent’s older sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ane inom atana</em></td>
<td>‘father’s older sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For parent’s older siblings, it is also possible to use the modifier *ambi* ‘big’ instead of *atma* ‘older brother’, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>itom ambi</em></td>
<td>‘father’s older brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yawa ambi</em></td>
<td>‘mother’s older brother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grandparents may be referred to with the noun/adjective *ngata* ‘grand(parent)’, irrespective of gender. More specifically, though, the ego’s grandfathers are called *itom ngata*, and the ego’s grandmothers are called *inom ngata*. The term *ngata* is also used generally to refer to any old man or woman (cf. Tok Pisin *lapun* ‘old person’). It may also refer, broadly, to ‘ancestors’ or to members of a past generation. Sometimes the word *mom* is used as a vocative form to mean ‘grandmother’; it is a loan from the neighboring Ap Ma language.

Grandchildren are known as *yalum*. Great-grandparents and great-grandchildren alike are called *ndunduma*. This latter term is also commonly used with the general sense of ‘ancestors’, usually those from the distant past.

There is no special term for ‘wife’ that is distinct from general terms meaning ‘woman’. To refer to a wife, one may use either *yena* ‘woman’ or *yenanu* ‘woman’ (or their alternate pronunciations, *yana* and *yananu*). To refer to one’s husband, however, the special form *numan*
‘husband’ is used (the general term for ‘man’ *yeta*, or its alternate pronunciation *yata*) may be used by women to refer to their brothers, but generally not to their husbands. The form *yenanu*, ‘woman, wife’ seems, of course, derived from *yena*, ‘woman, wife’.

It can probably be assumed that *yena* (clearly the analogue of *yeta*, ‘man’) was the original word for ‘woman’. The form *yenanu* probably thus emerged as a word meaning ‘wife’. Perhaps the form /nu/ was connected to the adjective *nu*, ‘near’ (i.e., *yenanu* ‘wife’ = *yena* ‘woman’ + *nu* ‘near’ = ‘the woman who is near to one’). The /nu/ component of *yenanu* might also have an etymological connection to the /nu/ of *numan*, ‘husband’. Nevertheless, in contemporary usage, *yena* and *yenanu* are completely interchangeably: both can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’, and neither meaning is more ‘basic’ to either of the forms.

To refer to people related to the ego by marriage, the general term *inga*, ‘in-law’, is used. It may be combined with other kinship terms to add specificity, as in:

- *wot inga yena* ‘younger brother’s wife’
- *atma inga yena* ‘older brother’s wife’

A number of taboos dictate the proper relationship that one has with one’s in-laws. For example, it is forbidden to utter an in-law’s name. Instead, one will typically employ one or another circumlocution to refer to a person related by marriage.

It may also be noted that the term *tamndi*, ‘owner’ has importance in kinship terminology. While otherwise referring to owners of physical property (e.g., land), *tamndi* may refer broadly to any kin, but especially the next of kin following a death in the family (i.e., children, parents, siblings, and spouse). Incidentally, when there is a death in a family, other relatives belonging to the extended family are referred to as *nambana ankam* (literally, ‘spirit person’).

I summarize and conclude this section with an annotated glossary of kinship terms in Ulwa.

- *itom* ‘father’ (also a term of respect for older men and a general term for uncles [usually only paternal uncles]; sometimes means simply ‘man’)
- *inom* ‘mother’ (also a term of respect for older women and a general term for aunts; sometimes means simply ‘woman’)
- *tata* ‘papa’ (a ‘nursery’ term for ‘father’; also the vocative form for speakers of all ages)
- *nana* ‘mama’ (a ‘nursery’ term for ‘mother’; also the vocative form for speakers of all ages)
yawa  ‘mother’s brother’
yawa wot  ‘mother’s younger brother’
yawa atma  ‘mother’s older brother’ (also yawa ambi)
itom wot  ‘father’s younger brother’
itom atma  ‘father’s older brother’ (also itom ambi)
an inom  ‘father’s sister’
an inom wot  ‘father’s younger sister’
an inom atana  ‘father’s older sister’
inom wot  ‘parent’s younger sister’
inom atana  ‘parent’s older sister’
an su inom  ‘mother’s brother’s wife’
ngata  ‘grand(parent), old person, ancestor’
itom ngata  ‘grandfather, old man’
inom ngata  ‘grandmother, old woman’
ngata yawa  ‘mother’s mother’s brother’
ndunduma  ‘great-grandparent, great-grandchild, ancestor’
yalum  ‘grandchild’
wot  ‘younger (sibling)’
wot yeta  ‘younger brother’
wot yena  ‘younger sister’
atma  ‘older brother’
atana  ‘older sister’
yeta  ‘brother’ (only said by women) (or yata, both, literally, ‘man’)
yena  ‘wife’ (literally, ‘woman’)
yenanu  ‘wife’ (< yena ‘woman’ + nu ‘near’?)
numan  ‘husband’
nungol(ke)  ‘child’ (often ‘son’, but may refer to any young person, boy or girl)
alum  ‘child’
tawatip  ‘child’
yetalum  ‘son, boy’
yenalum  ‘daughter, girl’
yenat  ‘daughter’ (or yanat)
inga  ‘in-law’ (i.e., any relation through marriage)
wot inga yena  ‘younger brother’s wife’
atma inga yena  ‘older brother’s wife’
wot yena numan  ‘younger sister’s husband’
atana numan  ‘older sister’s husband’
an su nungol  ‘nephew, niece’ (only used to refer to a man’s sister’s child)
an su yanat  ‘niece’ (only used to refer to a man’s sister’s daughter)

14.8 Expressions of time

Ulwa’s vocabulary reflects some of its speakers’ traditional methods of marking time. The word for ‘year’, for example, is the same as the word ‘water’, inim. Living in the tropics,
Ulwa speakers do not experience significant seasonal changes in temperature or amount of sunlight per day; the most salient demarcation of the passing of years is the annual arrival of the rainy season (generally in November or December), during which time the rivers swell and much of the land becomes swampy. The word for ‘month’ is the same as the word for ‘moon’, *iwïl*, reflecting, of course, the crosslinguistically common division of time based on the synodic month (roughly 29.5 days). Contemporary speakers use the term *iwïl* to refer to the months of the Gregorian calendar, not lunar cycles.

There are also a number of interesting polysemes and derivatives within the semantic domain of ‘time’. The form *amun* means both ‘today’ and ‘now’ (cf. colloquial Tok Pisin *nau* ‘now, today’). Similarly, *awal* can mean either ‘yesterday’ or ‘afternoon’. Based in part on the existence of cognates in the Ulmapo languages for ‘afternoon’ but not for ‘yesterday’, it is assumed that the word *awal* in Ulwa originally meant ‘afternoon’ and subsequently took on the meaning ‘yesterday’ (cf. English ‘eve’). In the formula for ‘good afternoon’, it is possible to clarify ‘afternoon’ as *awal nambi*, literally, ‘body of yesterday’. Finally, the word for ‘morning’, *umbenam*, is clearly derived from the word for ‘tomorrow’ (*umbe*), the *nam* element perhaps serving an emphatic function (cf. Spanish *mañana* ‘morning, tomorrow’, German *Morgen* ‘morning, tomorrow’, English *morrow* and *tomorrow*, etc.).

As mentioned above, *amun* can mean either ‘today’ or ‘now’; within this latter meaning alone, *amun* can be employed to convey a range of temporal meanings, sometimes when modified by a copular suffix (see 8.3.1 on temporal adverbs). It can mean ‘recently’ or ‘still’ (among other things), as seen in the examples below.

(14.003) Ala *amun* manap lop.
   ala    amun      ma=nap    lo-p
       that.PL   now   3SG=for  go-PRF
   ‘They recently went (to Madang) for his sake.’ (T27)

(14.004) Ni *amunpe* wol ame.
   nï   amun-p-e  wol  ama-e
    1SG now-be-DEP  breast  eat-DEP
   ‘I was still nursing.’ (T02)

In Ulwa, the passage of time is generally expressed with verbal constructions. The verb *wo*- ‘sleep’ (usually in the perfective form *wop*) has become almost fossilized as an adverb meaning ‘the next day’; but it is also possible to use other—often very long—expressions to
convey this meaning. The following examples illustrate the use of *wop* ‘sleep [PRF]’ to indicate the passage of one day.

(14.005) **Wope** nī man Chris mat.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo-p-e} & & \text{nī} & & \text{ma=n} & & \text{Chris} & & \text{ma=ta} \\
\text{sleep-PRF-DEP} & & 1\text{SG} & & 3\text{SG}=\text{OBL} & & [\text{name}] & & 3\text{SG}=\text{say}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The next day, I told Chris.’ (T11)

(14.006) Nī ndīwanap **wop**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nī} & & \text{ndī}=\text{wana-p} & & \text{wo-p} \\
1\text{SG} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{cook-PRF} & & \text{sleep-PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I cooked them, and the next day …’

\[
\text{… wolka ndī tamndī ndīn up.}
\]

\[
\text{wolka} & & \text{ndī}=\text{tī} & & \text{tamndī} & & \text{ndī}=\text{n} & & \text{u-p}
\]

\[
\text{again} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{take} & & \text{owner} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{OBL} & & \text{put-PRF}
\]

‘… in turn gave them to the owners.’ (T11)

The following is an example of a much longer periphrastic construction used to show the passage of a day.

(14.007) Awlu ilom ngawat u mat awe …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awlu} & & \text{ilom} & & \text{nga}=\text{wat} & & \text{u} & & \text{ma=tī} & & \text{aw-e} \\
\text{step} & & \text{day} & & \text{this}\text{.SG}=\text{atop} & & \text{from} & & 3\text{SG}=\text{take} & & \text{put}\text{.IPFV-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘On the next day …’ (Literally, ‘taking a step away from this day’) (T11)

The verb *wop* ‘sleep [PRF]’ can also be used to express longer passages of time. In the example below, this verb is used transitively (with the amount of time passed as its direct object).

(14.008) Ilom lele ndīwope …

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ilom} & & \text{lele} & & \text{ndī}=\text{wo-p-e} \\
\text{day} & & \text{three} & & 3\text{PL}=\text{sleep-PRF-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘After three nights, …’

\[
\text{… atana mī nan wot yena mat:}
\]

\[
\text{atana} & & \text{mī} & & \text{na=n} & & \text{wot} & & \text{yena} & & \text{ma=ta}
\]

\[
\text{older}\text{.sister} & & 3\text{SG} & & \text{talk=OBL} & & \text{younger} & & \text{woman} & & 3\text{SG}=\text{say}
\]

‘… the older sister said to the younger sister:’ (T09)

In the following example, the passage of time is marked with the verb *tī*- ‘take’, which has as its direct object the amount of time passed. Here, as in the example above, the object marker is plural to mark the number of days, months, etc. that have passed.
(14.009) Iwîl lele ndî̀fîne yeta nga nan mat:
  iwîl     lele     ndî=ți-n-e     yeta     nga     na=n     ma=ta
moon     three     3Pl=take-PRF-DEP     man     this.SG     talk=OBL     3SG=say
‘After three months, the man told her:’ (Literally, ‘having taken three months’) (T05)

14.9 (Relatively) recent coinages

When speakers wish to refer to things that have no traditional name in their language, they may coin new words for them. Most contemporary Ulwa speakers do not, however, commonly coin words. Instead, when speaking Ulwa, people will generally use a Tok Pisin loan word to refer to any concept that lacks an Ulwa name.

In the past, however, when confronted with new concepts, like ‘money’ or ‘matches’, speakers employed one of two basic methods for identifying such referents: 1) extending the meaning (metaphorically or metonymically) of an existing Ulwa word to refer to the new concept or 2) forming a compound noun, often one that describes periphrastically the new concept. The following are examples of words whose meanings have been extended to include new concepts.

*apîn* ‘matches, lighter’ (literally, ‘fire’)
*mîndapan* ‘paper’ (literally, ‘banana leaf’)
*nîpîl* ‘rope’ (literally, ‘vine’)
*wanwane* ‘policeman’ (literally, ‘mushroom’; the policeman’s hat apparently made him resemble a mushroom)

The following are examples of compounds formed to describe new concepts. (Where a compound is typically written as a single orthographic word, a hyphen is included below to show the breaks between conjuncts.)

*asi-mu* ‘rice’ (literally, ‘grass seed’)
*i-nangîn-mana* ‘official, civil servant’ (literally, ‘going claw hands’?; the etymology is obscure, but it is perhaps related to the official’s ability to catch people; cf. the English expression ‘the long arm of the law’)
*inim tembi* ‘alcohol’ (literally, ‘bad water’)
*mbomala nangum* ‘flashlight’ (literally, ‘firefly shoot’)
*tilwa num* ‘car’ (literally, ‘road canoe’)

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Sometimes multiple means of coining words coexist for a single referent. There are, for example, a number of ways to refer to money. The word *palpal* ‘ceremonial armband’ may be extended in meaning (presumably due to the armband’s material value). Another form, *inamba* ‘money’, also seems originally to have referred to a type of armband. Alternatively, a compound may be used, such as *wombasa anga* ‘piece of clay pot’ or *ata monam mu* ‘high fruit of the *monam* tree’, both of whose etymologies are obscure.

### 14.10 Traditional names

The people of Manu village typically have multiple names. Almost everyone has one or more traditional names, but people are most commonly referred to and addressed by their modern names (western given names, often Biblical or English). If a person has more than one traditional name, one of these is considered primary. As mentioned above (14.7), it is taboo for someone to utter the primary name of an in-law.

The use of last names (family names) is a relatively new practice, and many of the current oldest living generation (born before 1950 or so) do not have last names that they use. Those who first adopted last names did so by selecting one of their own names or the name of a relative; this then became the name that would be passed down—patrilineally—to children.

The meanings of most names are unknown; while the etymologies of some may have been obscured through time, it is likely that many names are loans from neighboring languages. This is especially suspected to be the case where names contain sounds that are foreign to Ulwa, such as [ŋ], which occurs in the name *Kanang* (pronounced [kanaŋ]). Also, while there is generally free variation in pronunciation between [l] and [r] in the Ulwa phoneme /l/, there is a strong preference for some proper names to be pronounced with the rhotic [r] (and they are, accordingly, written with <r> and not <l>). These, too, may be loans from neighboring languages. Names in Ulwa are marked for gender.

The following is a list of some common traditional male names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alimban</td>
<td>Anam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma</td>
<td>Ayndin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambinme</td>
<td>Banjiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiwa</td>
<td>Gambri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amombi</td>
<td>Ganmali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Names</td>
<td>Male Names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guren</td>
<td>Manama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanang</td>
<td>Mongima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapos</td>
<td>Nomnga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawat</td>
<td>Wekumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayta</td>
<td>Womel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolpe</td>
<td>Yaruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konawa</td>
<td>Yawat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongos</td>
<td>Yokombla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowe</td>
<td>Yolomban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malman</td>
<td>Yomali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is a list of some common traditional female names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Names</th>
<th>Male Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambonda</td>
<td>Mawna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asingona</td>
<td>Sinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awandana</td>
<td>Tambana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damnda</td>
<td>Tangin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginam</td>
<td>Tanom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwam</td>
<td>Woni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jukan</td>
<td>Yambin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawana</td>
<td>Yambit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapana</td>
<td>Yanapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple</td>
<td>Yawana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 15
The structural consequences of language loss

15.1 Introduction

This chapter provides some hypotheses about the nature of contact-induced language change in Ulwa. These must all remain merely hypotheses, since—without the presence of any significant documentation prior to 2015—it is impossible to know with any certainty what the structure of the language was like in the more-distant past. Still, based in part on older speakers’ grammaticality judgements of younger speakers’ speech and in part on suspicious structural similarities to (or clear borrowings from) Tok Pisin, we may outline some of the most important changes Ulwa has faced and is facing in light of rapid language loss.

Although Ulwa has likely always been in contact with other languages (given the linguistic ecology of the Sepik) and has probably undergone changes due to areal influences, it is assumed that the greatest external force to affect the language has been Tok Pisin, which first came to the Ulwa community in the twentieth century and has become the first language of all ethnic Ulwas and the only language of the majority of ethnic Ulwas.

15.2 Lexical changes

The most obvious linguistic effect of Tok Pisin can be seen in the lexicon. It is very common for Ulwa speakers to infuse their speech with Tok Pisin loan words. Sometimes these borrowings are clearly motivated by the lack of native vocabulary for certain concepts (e.g., Tok Pisin balus ‘airplane’, hausik ‘hospital’, etc.). Often, however, speakers use Tok Pisin words simply because they come more readily to mind or because they do not know the Ulwa word. In some instances, it may be better to view the use of Tok Pisin words as a form of code-switching, as indeed some speakers switch between Ulwa and Tok Pisin both intersententially and intrasententially (that is, at the lexical level).

Tok Pisin words are generally changed to accommodate the phonology of Ulwa (see 15.3 below).
15.3 Phonological changes

Even though the number of native lexical items used in speech appears to have diminished—even among the oldest speakers—Ulwa’s native phonology seems still to be intact. That is, there are not any indications that older speakers have shifted their phonologies due to influences from Tok Pisin. In fact, many speakers impose Ulwa phonotactics on their variety of Tok Pisin. For example, older Ulwa speakers often produce [l] for /r/ in Tok Pisin words (e.g., [kal] for Tok Pisin /kar/ ‘car’, [lalim] for Tok Pisin /larim/ ‘let’, etc.). They often also prenasalize all voiced stops in Tok Pisin (e.g., [mbilas] for Tok Pisin /bilas/ ‘decoration’, [ndok] for Tok Pisin /dok/ ‘dog’, [ngutpela] for Tok Pisin /gutpela/ ‘good’, etc.). Many younger Ulwas (that is, those who are generally non-speakers, but perhaps know a few words), however, seem not to have acquired the phonology of Ulwa. They often fail to prenasalize word-initial voiced stops (as this is phonotactically prohibited in Tok Pisin); and—when prenasalized voiced stops occur intervocalically—they syllabify the word such that the nasal gesture ends up as a discrete nasal segment that is the coda of one syllable and the stop gesture ends up as the onset of the following syllable (i.e., they fail to treat prenasalized voiced stops as single segments).

15.4 Morphosyntactic changes

Ulwa also seems to be undergoing morphosyntactic changes due to contact with Tok Pisin and to language loss in general. For example, speakers may be less likely to make use of appropriate TAM suffixes on verbs, or they may omit such verbal morphology entirely. Whereas Ulwa exhibits a mandatory three-way distinction in TAM, manifested by verbal suffixes, Tok Pisin does not inflect verbs at all for TAM. As speakers shift more and more to Tok Pisin, they observe these distinctions in Ulwa less and less. Similarly, when speakers do make use of a perfective or irrealis suffix, they sometimes use an unexpected stem-final vowel. The underlying stem-final vowel of many verbs is never seen in the imperfective (or unmarked) form (4.3), and it may be the case that younger speakers are not acquiring this underlying form, instead creating perfective and irrealis forms based on analogy to other verbs. For example, a speaker might say *inde-p for inda-p ‘walk [PRF]’, unaware that the underlying root is inda-, since this form never appears as a surface form.
While the aforementioned changes may all be viewed simply as mistakes (or ungrammaticality) and seem to reflect a general reduction of grammatical forms, there are also morphosyntactic innovations (although clearly due to contact and language shift) that would not be viewed as mistakes. These are mostly calques from Tok Pisin, a highly analytic language. Thus, even though Ulwa has the ability to express a host of temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings through its verbal morphology, speakers have begun to incorporate periphrases to express such distinctions. These may be used in place of or in addition to the more synthetic Ulwa structures. This appears to be in keeping with hypotheses that speakers in endangered language situations tend to rely more on analytic constructions, replacing or reducing the number of their morphologically marked (i.e., synthetic) alternatives (Andersen 1982:97).

A very common form of this morphosyntactic calquing from Tok Pisin is the use of the past form of the copular suffix (-wap) as a free lexeme following the verb to signal continuous or progressive (or, occasionally, habitual) aspect. This is thought here to be derived by the very similar role of stap ‘be’ in Tok Pisin. Not only does the Ulwa suffix parallel the Tok Pisin word in meaning (both are used in copular constructions to signal the location of the subject), but it also resembles the Tok Pisin word phonologically (the two forms rhyme). In the following example, the perfective form of the verb is used, but with the form wap following it to signal continuous action in the past.

(15.001) Ala mawl i wap.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ala} & \text{ma}=ul & i & \text{wap} \\
\text{that.PL} & \text{3SG}=\text{with} & \text{go.PRF} & \text{be.PST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They were going with her.’ (T11)

In proper Ulwa, the same sentence would be rendered as follows, with the imperfective form of the same verb.

(15.002) Ala mawl man.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ala} & \text{ma}=ul & \text{ma-n} \\
\text{that.PL} & \text{3SG}=\text{with} & \text{go-IPFV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They were going with her.’

Sentences such as first example above, (15.001), are thus likely influenced by structures in Tok Pisin. The sentence below reflects how this concept might most naturally be rendered in Tok Pisin.
Ol i go i stap wantaim em.

They were going with her.

Note that Tok Pisin makes use of the predicate marker i in such constructions. This form is phonologically identical to the suppletive perfective form of the verb ‘go’ in Ulwa, a chance similarity that has perhaps influenced the adoption of this construction.

In the example below, wap serves a habitual function. Here it follows a verb that is already marked as imperfective (that is, it is marked with the dependent marker -e, 4.6).

(15.003) Kapos wapata anda ma=tï inde wap.

That old (man) Kapos used to carry it. (T11)

The use of a (historically) bound suffix (-wap ‘be.PST’) as an unbound auxiliary verb is particularly interesting, since it runs counter to claims of the unidirectionality of grammaticalization changes (i.e., full verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix, Hopper & Traugott 1993:108). This unusual development in Ulwa could thus offer further indication of how endangered languages may not be as fully constrained by universal tendencies as fully viable languages are (cf. Campbell & Muntzel 1989 for abundant examples of highly irregular phonological changes that are attested in obsolescent languages).

Some speakers of Ulwa also make use of iconic repetition of verbs to signal iterative (or, occasionally, durative) aspect. This, too, seems influenced from Tok Pisin, in which verbs may be repeated to signal iterative action (although this could, of course, also reflect a general tendency in languages towards iconic representation of iterated activity). The following examples illustrate the use of repeated verbs to signal repetitive (15.004) and durative (15.005) action.

(15.004) Ndalep ndalep ndalep ...

They scraped and scraped and scraped them, …
… yawt ti nduwep.
yawt ti ndi=we-[u-]p
machete take 3PL=cut-put-PRF
‘… (and then) got machetes and cut them.’ (T11)

(15.005) Wa Yalamba wa wap mawap mawap mawap
wa Yalamba wa wap ma=wap ma=wap ma=wap
just Korokopa village be.PST 3SG=be.PST 3SG=be.PST 3SG=be.PST
‘(He) just stayed at Korokopa village for quite some time.’ (T32)

A form of the verb ‘go’ (often either the root ma- alone or the perfective form i with the
detransitivizing prefix, i.e., nay or ne) may be used to show iterative or durative aspect as well.
This, too, parallels some uses of Tok Pisin i go, and is illustrated below.

(15.006) Mi minyam ti ambilip naye.
mì minyam ti ambì=li-p na-i-e
3SG feces take SG.REFL=put-PRF DETR-go.PRF-DEP
‘He kept soiling himself.’ (T31)

(15.007) Wopata mapen makape
Wopata ma=p-en maka=p-e
[place] 3SG=be-NMLZ thus=be-DEP
‘Those who lived in Wopata were like this, …’

… wombìn ndìn ne i.
wombìn ndì=n ni-e i
work 3PL=OBL act-DEPGO.PRF
‘… doing work, for some time.’ (T14)

As in the Tok Pisin i go construction, the ‘go’ element in Ulwa may be repeated—even
multiple times—as in the following examples.

(15.008) Una awal matane nay …
unan awal ma=ta-n-e na-i
1PL.INCL yesterday 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP DETR-go.PRF
‘We kept discussing it yesterday, …’

… nay nay nay
na-i na-i na-i
DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF
‘… over and over.’ (T32)
(15.009) Una wombīn nita ma ma ma …
unan wombīn=n n-i-ta ma ma ma
IPL.INCL work=OBL act-IRR-COND go go go
‘And when we work on and on …’ (T32)

Also likely calqued from Tok Pisin are some idiomatic expressions, such as using the equivalent of stap na kam ‘be (in a place) and come’ to express the notion of coming from a place (here, too, employing the copular suffix as a free lexeme). The Ulwa equivalent of the Tok Pisin construction may be seen in the following sentence.

(15.010) Nambi Madang wap mbiye …
nambi Madang wap mbī-i-e
1SG.FOC [place] be.PST here-go.PRF-DEP
‘As for me, when I came from Madang, …’

… nī maka Wombasame mī Wonmelma mintap.
nī maka Wombasame mī Wonmelma min=ta-p
1SG thus [name] 3SG [name] 3DU=say-PRF
‘… I talked about Wombasame and Wonmelma.’ (T11)

15.5 Syntactic change

Speakers may also be employing fewer and fewer syntactic structures in Ulwa. Thus, the more complex constructions in the language, such as relative clauses and passive constructions, may be avoided entirely by some speakers (or are simply unknown to them).

Other syntactic changes may be due specifically to Tok Pisin influence. Although the order of basic clausal constituents does not seem to have been affected by the prevalence of Tok Pisin (that is, Ulwa’s SOV word order has not shifted towards Tok Pisin’s SVO word order), the structure of NPs may be changing due to Tok Pisin influence, as some speakers occasionally place adjectives before their nominal heads (following Tok Pisin syntax) instead of after them (as more traditionally in Ulwa).

15.6 Borrowed function words

In addition to grammatical calques such as those detailed above (15.4), speakers of Ulwa frequently employ Tok Pisin loan words for grammatical functions. Commonly borrowed
function words include: *bai* ‘will’, *i* (predicate marker), *ken* ‘can, may’, *laik* ‘about to’, *mas* ‘should, must’, *maski*, ‘although’, *na* ‘and’, *nogut* ‘lest’, *o* ‘or’, *olsem* ‘thus’, *sapos* ‘if’, *save* (habitual marker), *tasol* ‘but’, and *taim* (or [tem]) ‘when(ever)’.

The adoption of the Tok Pisin conjunctions *na* ‘and’ and *o* ‘or’ can be seen as filling a gap in the Ulwa lexicon, since—prior to contact with Tok Pisin—the language did not have any word used to coordinate phrases or clauses (this having been accomplished through juxtaposition, 12.2). The following sentences contain borrowed coordinating conjunctions.

(15.011) Mat lï *na* amun wolka kwa ngol ne.

\[
\text{ma=tï lï-p na amun wolka kwa nga=ul ni-e} \\
\text{3SG=take put-PRF and now again one this.SG=with act-DEP}
\]

‘(I) left it and now in turn (I) am making this one.’ (T12)

(15.012) U imbape *i o* anepe i?

\[
\text{u imba-p-e i o ane-p-e i} \\
\text{2SG night-be-DEP go.PRIF or sun-be-DEP go.PRIF}
\]

‘Did you go at night or go during the day?’ (T32)

Loan subordinators from Tok Pisin include *maski* ‘although’ and *taim* ‘when(ever)’ (sometimes pronounced in the form of the presumably earlier loan, [tem]). These function words occur at the beginning of a dependent clause. In traditional forms of Ulwa, the dependent marker -*e* would have sufficed to convey such concessive or temporal notions. With these words, however, the dependent marker may be used as well (as in the first example below), or it may be omitted (as in the second example).

(15.013) **Maski** u ma awlop maka lowonda.

\[
\text{maski u ma awlop ma=ka lo-wo-nda} \\
\text{although 2SG go in.vain 3SG=at IRR-sleep-IRR}
\]

‘Even if you go and get lost, (you) can sleep there.’ (T24)

(15.014) **Tem** ndï ndïnjî ngin motop inim pe …

\[
\text{tem ndï ndïnjî ngin ma=top inim [lï-]p-e} \\
\text{time 3PL 3PL.POSS net 3SG=throw water put-PRF-DEP}
\]

‘Whenever they threw their net into the water …’

… wambana nungol kotïne bai an malanda

\[
\text{wambana nungol ko=tï-n-e bai an ma=la-nda} \\
\text{fish child INDF=take-PRF-DEP will 1PL.EXCL 3SG=eat-IRR}
\]

‘… and got a small fish, (then) we would eat it.’ (T27)
The second example above also illustrates the use of a Tok Pisin auxiliary verb, *bai* ‘will’. Such modal verbs—e.g., *bai* ‘will’, *ken* ‘can, may’, or *mas* ‘should, must’—may occur along with irrealis-marked Ulwa verbs. The Tok Pisin verb *save* (‘know’), which can function as an auxiliary in that language to mark habitual aspect, is also a common loan word in Ulwa, usually used with imperfective (often dependent) marking on the verb, the traditional means of marking habitual aspect in Ulwa. The following sentences illustrate the use of the borrowed Tok Pisin function words *mas* ‘should, must’ (15.015), *ken* ‘can, may’, (15.016), and *save*, ‘HAB’ (15.017).

(15.015) U *mas* matan!
\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{u} & \text{mas} \\
\text{2SG} & \text{must} \\
\end{array}\]
\[3SG=\text{say-IRR}\]
‘You should tell it!’ (T27)

(15.016) Un i *ken* mawan utap ma ndī=mankīna.
\[\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{un} & \text{i} & \text{ken} & \text{ma}=&\text{wan} \\
\text{2PL} & \text{PRED} & \text{can} & 3SG=&\text{above} \\
\end{array}\]
\[\text{grind-PRF} \quad \text{go} \quad 3PL=\text{OBL} \quad 3SG=\text{dig-IRR}\]
‘You can clear over it and plant them there.’ (T37)

(15.017) Nambi nī *save* inim lope
\[\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{nambi} & \text{nī} & \text{save} & \text{inim} & \text{lopo-} \\
1SG.FOC & 1SG & \text{HAB} & \text{water} & \text{wash-DEP} \\
\end{array}\]
‘As for me, I bathe.’ (T11)

The first example above, (15.015), may also be interpreted as an imperative (lacking the final vowel of the irrealis suffix and thus instead exhibiting the imperative suffix). The second example above, (15.016), illustrates the use of the Tok Pisin predicate marker *i*, here probably just adopted along with the verb *ken* ‘can, may’—that is, reanalyzed as a unitary auxiliary verb *iken*. The predicate marker *i* does appear elsewhere in Ulwa discourse, but—due to its homophony with the suppletive perfective form of the verb ‘go’ (*i*), it is often hard to tease out whether the form [*i*] is being used as the predicate marker or as a calque of Tok Pisin *go* ‘go’, which is used to achieve similar grammatical functions.
15.7 Detransitivization of loan verbs

This chapter may be concluded with a description of one very interesting contact phenomenon in Ulwa: when Tok Pisin verbs are borrowed into Ulwa, they are typically treated as intransitive. The logical object of the verb is not indexed by an object marker, but instead appears as the head of an oblique phrase marked by the oblique marker =n. This occurs even in spite of the presence of the Tok Pisin transitive suffix -im, whose etymology is likely obscure to speakers. The Tok Pisin verb is usually employed without any TAM marking (as in Tok Pisin). It may, however, be followed by a verb of ‘going’ (ma- ~ i or unda-), which can carry TAM meaning. The examples below illustrate the use of Tok Pisin loan verbs without any suffix or following auxiliary verb. Note the absence of any grammatical object and the use of the oblique marker =n.

(15.018) Ndī i awnī tambuim.
   ndí   i                   aw=ní       tambu-im
   3PL  go.PR  betel.nut=OBL taboo-TR
       ‘They went and forbade (taking) the betel nut.’ (T11)

(15.019) Nī ta wa man pilim.
   ní    ta                   wa=ma=n        pil-im
   1SG  just            3SG=OBL feel-TR
       ‘I had already just felt it.’ (T32)

(15.020) Unji yena unji inin painim!
   unji  yena                unji=ni       pain-im
   2PL.POSS woman 2PL.POSS ground=OBL find-TR
       ‘(They) are your women; (so) find your land!’ (T11)

One Tok Pisin loan, however, *does* seem to permit objects: helpim ‘help’, generally pronounced [alpim] in Ulwa, which (like some dialects of Tok Pisin) lacks [h] (voiceless glottal fricatives); Ulwa furthermore forbids word-initial [e] (mid front vowels). In the following example, the 2SG object marker is the direct object of the verb.

(15.021) Walpim unji wombīn man ninda.
   u=help-im  unji            wombīn=ma=n  ni-nda
   2SG=help-TR 2SG.POS work 3SG=OBL act-IRR
       ‘(I) will help you do your work.’ (T26)
The examples below illustrate various verbs of ‘going’ used to convey aspect or modality as part of a phrase containing a detransitivized Tok Pisin loan verb. The logical object is still expressed in an oblique phrase.

(15.022) Ndin boilim i ndala ya motap.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ndi}=&\text{n} & \text{boil-im} & i \\
3\text{PL}=\text{OBL} & \text{boil-TR} & \text{go.PRF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(I) boiled them and ground a coconut for them.’ (T11)

(15.023) Una gaden ngalan pinisim iye.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{unan} & \text{gaden} & \text{ngala}=&\text{n} & \text{pinis-im} & \text{i-e} \\
1\text{PL.INCL} & \text{garden} & \text{this.}\text{PL}=\text{OBL} & \text{finish-TR} & \text{go.PRF-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We have finished these gardens.’ (gaden also < TP) (T25)

(15.024) Ala ndin rabisim mana.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ala} & \text{ndi}=&\text{n} & \text{rabis-im} & \text{ma-na} \\
\text{that.}\text{PL} & 3\text{PL}=\text{OBL} & \text{rubbish-TR} & \text{go-IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They will mess with them.’ (T11)

(15.025) Una unanji grup ngan pasim ma!

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{unan} & \text{unanji} & \text{grup} & \text{nga}=&\text{n} & \text{pas-im} & \text{ma} \\
1\text{PL.INCL} & 1\text{PL.INCL.POSS} & \text{group} & \text{this.}\text{SG}=\text{OBL} & \text{tie-TR} & \text{go} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Let’s form our group!’ (grup also < TP) (T24)

(15.026) Ala amblol le amblan winim unde.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ala} & \text{ambla}=&\text{ul} & \text{lo-e} \\
\text{that.}\text{PL} & \text{PL.REFL}=\text{with} & \text{go-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They go around with each other, competing with each other.’ (T27)

(15.027) Ya, i mas tokples ngan lainim unda.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ya} & \text{i} & \text{mas} & \text{tokples} \\
\text{yeah} & \text{PRED} & \text{must} & \text{tokples} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Yeah, (we) have to teach (them) this tokples (vernacular).’ (ya, i, mas, tokples also < TP) (T11)

Again, the loan verb helpim ‘help’ is exceptional in allowing an object, as seen below.

(15.028) Nungol ndi malpim unde ...

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nungol} & \text{ndi} & \text{ma}=\text{help-im} & \text{unda-e} \\
\text{child} & 3\text{PL} & 3\text{SG}=\text{help-TR} & \text{go-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

… mol inamban nji ndine.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ma}=&\text{ul} & \text{inamba}=&\text{n} \\
3\text{SG}=\text{with} & \text{money}=\text{OBL} & \text{thing} & \text{3PL}=\text{get-DEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The children are helping him buy things.’ (T27)
The loan verb *lukautim* ‘look after’ is also exceptional in that it seems to take the copular suffix rather than using a periphrastic construction with a verb of ‘going’ to convey TAM meaning. This perhaps reflects the fact that this verb has been adopted into Ulwa as a non-verbal element. Still, like most loan verbs that come from Tok Pisin, *lukautim* does not permit an object, but rather makes use of oblique phrases marked by =n, as seen below.

(15.029)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{nī} & \text{ango} & \text{tīki} & \text{ankam} & \text{kuma}=n & \text{lukaut-im-p-na} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{NEG} & \text{again person} & \text{some=OBL} & \text{look.after-TR-be-IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I won’t look after other people anymore.’ (T33)
Chapter 16
Conclusions and directions for further research

The primary goal in writing this grammatical description of Ulwa has been to make accessible some information on this otherwise unknown language, itself a member of an otherwise unknown language family (Ulmapo). The documentation and description of Ulwa is an urgently needed undertaking, since the language is suffering rapid attrition. Essentially no younger people are acquiring the language and those older people who do speak the language often appear to do so with difficulty in recalling words or employing grammatical structures.

This dissertation is intended to offer an overview of some of the most important phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic features of Ulwa, presented such that the information could be of value to typologists as well as other linguists. These grammatical descriptions are based on eleven months spent in Manu village, studying the language with native speakers.

Much work remains to be done. The most urgent task for linguists interested in Ulwa is further documentation. Most importantly, further research should be conducted with speakers from the other three villages where Ulwa is spoken. This present grammatical description is almost entirely limited to the dialect of Ulwa as spoken in Manu village, where I spent most of my eleven months conducting field research. Manu has an estimated 70 fluent speakers, whereas the larger Ulwa-speaking villages of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul have—combined—some 600 fluent speakers. Moreover, the dialect spoken in these three communities is significantly different from that spoken in Manu. Thus, it could prove very informative to study the speech of these three villages so that we may extend knowledge of lexical and grammatical variation within Ulwa. Also, insights from grammatical analyses of the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect could reveal grammatical features that are not found or are unclear in the Manu dialect or could help explicate otherwise confusing features of the Ulwa language, features that remain obscure in this grammatical description based almost entirely on the Manu dialect.

Further documentation is also needed of Ulwa’s two sister languages, Mwakai and Pondi. I conducted field research on both of these languages in 2016 and intend to write a monograph on the entire language family, providing sketch grammars for all three languages, a sociocultural introduction to the language family and its speakers, and comparative linguistic analysis and
historical reconstruction where possible. Still, my time spent in each village was short, and further field work is desperately needed. Mwakai is likely the most endangered of the three languages, and thus, perhaps, the most urgent to document further. Although there seem to be few (if any) competent speakers remaining in its two ancestral villages of Mongol and Kaimbal, it is possible that some fluent older speakers are currently residing in a large settlement near Angoram town. Pondi, which is likely the most vital of the three languages, also seems to exhibit some of the most complex grammatical structures. Thus, it would be of great diachronic and typological interest also to conduct further research in Langam village, where Pondi is still spoken.

With further documentation and description it is hoped that we can gain a better understanding of some of the grammatical phenomena sketched here in this reference grammar. Specifically, we should look more deeply into Ulwa’s more unusual grammatical features such as its syntactic passives, detransitivizing marking (and valency reduction in general), object indexing, and conditional verbal suffixation.

Although this dissertation is only a sketch of the Ulwa language—one which certainly contains some inadequacies and probably some errors—it is hoped nevertheless that it provides a solid foundation for future research into the language and its family, research that may offer insight into the prehistory of the Sepik area, as well as inform linguistic theory more generally.
Chapter 17
Texts

17.1 Introduction

This chapter contains three Ulwa texts, *Way Inom* (‘The Mother of the Turtle’, 17.2), *Amblom Yena* (‘The Woman Amblom’, 17.3), and *Anmoka* (‘Snakes’, 17.4). The versions of the texts included here are all based on recordings that I have collected in the field. These recordings can all be found online with the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR): https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1035105

The transcriptions in this chapter are presented in the practical phonemic orthography. Minor speech errors and nonlinguistic vocalizations such as coughs have not been included in these clean versions. The translations are meant to be fairly literal, while still capturing the spirit of the stories being told. Where it is thought helpful, footnotes are included to explicate relevant cultural information, clarify aspects of the narrative, or indicate words borrowed from Tok Pisin.
17.2 *Way Inom* (‘The Mother of the Turtle’)

This is a traditional story told by Ayndin Bram on 16 November 2016, at his home in Manu village. Examples from this text that appear within this dissertation are labeled “T05”. The audio recording can be found on the ELAR website (file name *ulwa006.wav*). It is about eight-and-a-half minutes long (8:40).

The story is an etiology of sea turtles. The Ulwa people live at a considerable remove from the ocean and probably did not have much direct familiarity with the ocean traditionally. That said, there must have been a long history of trade routes leading to the sea and its contents. For example, the lime (calcium hydroxide) used in chewing betel nut is produced from seashells.

The story runs roughly as follows: A woman lives alone with her son. Every morning she goes out on the river with him in her canoe to check her fish traps. One day she finds a small turtle caught in a trap. The boy becomes fond of the turtle and keeps it as a pet. He feeds the turtle fish and it grows bigger and bigger. One day, however, an eagle swoops down and snatches both the boy and his turtle. It carries them far away, ultimately dropping them on the top of a sago palm. With no way down, the two live together in a crevice at the top of the palm. The turtle continues to grow and grow. Once it has become rather large, it begins testing its strength, climbing up and down the stalk of the palm with pieces of wood on its shell. When it gets strong enough, it climbs down the palm, uproots a house from a village, and carries it off. It goes back up the palm to fetch its owner, carries him down, and puts him in the house. The turtle then goes off to find a wife for its owner, who is by now a grown man. It picks up a young woman fast asleep and carries her back to the owner in his new house. The man and woman live together with the turtle and have children of their own. The children grow up, but the man never tells him about the special nature of this turtle. One day, one of his sons shoots an arrow at the turtle and hits it in the eye. The turtle decides to leave the family forever, running off to the sea, where it can still be seen to this day as the giant sea turtle.
Way inom.
way inom
turtle mother
The mother of the turtle.¹

Way ango ambi me.
way ango ambi me
turtle NEG big NEG
The turtle wasn’t big at all.

Njukuta ndo.
njukuta anda-o
small that.SG-INTERJ
It was small!

Inom mī—
inom mī
mother 3SG
A woman—

Inom mī wa unde iwa lan inim andawe.
inom mī wa unde-e iwa ala=n inim anda=aw-e
mother 3SG just go-DEP basket that.PL=OBL water that.SG=put.IPFV-DEP
A woman used to just go around, setting fish traps² in the water.

Iwa lan inim andawe umbenam unde ndī we …
iwa ala-n inim anda=aw-e umbenam unde-e ndī=i we
basket that.PL=OBL water that.SG=put.IPFV-DEP morning go-DEP 3PL=go.PRF then
(She) would put fish traps in the water, go to them in the morning, and then, …

… ndī in u kundan nīmban ndīkuk nji awe.
ndī=in u kundan nīmban ndī=wali-e ndī=kuk nji aw-e
3PL=in from eel gudgeon 3PL=hit-DEP 3PL=gather thing put.IPFV-DEP
… from within them, kill eels and gudgeon and gather them into something (i.e., a basket).

Ndīkuk nji awe mī wolka i ndī in.
ndī=kuk nji aw-e mī wolka i ndī=n u-p
3PL=gather thing put.IPFV-DEP 3SG again go.PRF 3PL=OBL put-PRF
After gathering them into something, she again went and set them.

¹ This is something like a title to the story, ‘mother’ referring to the fact that this is a story about the origin of the (sea) turtle.
² The iwa basket (here translated as ‘fish trap’) is a traditional basket woven from sago fronds; it is shaped like a vase (or funnel) and is used to catch fish in the river over night as they swim into the wide mouth and get trapped at the other end of the basket.
Iye wolka i ndïkukaw.
i-e wolka i ndï=kuk-aw
go.PRF-DEP again go.PRF 3PL=gather-put.IPfv
Having gone, (she) again went and gathered them (the fish).

Ndí we iye way nungol koṭín.
ndi=i we i-e way nungol ko=tì-n
3PL=go.PRF then go.PRF-DEP turtle child INDEF=take-PRF
(She) went to them, and having gone, (she) caught a little turtle.³

Way nungol mì iwa mene.
way nungol mì iwa ma=in-e
turtle child 3SG basket 3SG=INDEF
The little turtle was in the trap.

Manjì nungol mat ambìn num malìp.
manji nungol ma=tì ambì=ìn num ma=lì-p
3SG.POSS child 3SG=take SG.REFL=OBL canoe 3SG=put-PRF
(She) got her child and put (him) in her canoe.⁴

Alum ulwap numan ulwapeno.
alum ulwa-p numan ulwa-p-en-o
cycle nothing-be husband nothing-be-NMLZ-INTERJ
(She) didn’t have a child⁵—didn’t have a husband.

Mawe awa iyen.
mawe awa i-en
3SG.INT.PART INT go.PRF-NMLZ
She herself used to go out alone.

Yanat maṭì nungol maṭì ambìn num malìp.
yanat ma=tì nungol ma=tì ambì=ìn num ma=lì-p
daughter 3SG=take child 3SG=take SG.REFL=OBL canoe 3SG=put-PRF
(She) put her daughter⁶—her son into her canoe.

Wolka mol i iwa ndí we …
wolka ma=ul i iwa ndì=i we
again 3SG=with go.PRF basket 3PL=go.PRF then
(She) in turn went with him, went to the fish traps and then,

³ Literally, a ‘child turtle’.
⁴ Here the story backs up to what the woman had done before catching the turtle in her trap.
⁵ The speaker makes a mistake (‘child’) but corrects it (‘husband’).
⁶ The speaker makes another mistake (‘daughter’) but again corrects it (‘child/son’).
… iye way mï matïne matï nungol manane.

i-e way mï ma=tî-n-e ma=tï nungol ma=na-n-e
go.PRF-DEP turtle 3SG 3SG=take-PRF-DEP 3SG=take child 3SG=give-PRF-DEP

… having gone—the turtle—when (she) got it, (she) gave it to her son.

Nungol mï ikali mas mat uta ndenlip.
nungol mï i-kali ma=si ma=tï uta anda=in-li-p
child 3SG hand-send 3SG=push 3SG=take shell that.SG=in-put-PRF

The son grabbed it and put it in a (coconut) shell.

Mat uta ndalp mala unde.
ma=tï uta anda=li-p ma=ala unda-e
3SG=take shell that.SG=put-PRF 3SG=for go-DEP
(He) put it in the shell and started going around for the sake of it.7

Mala wambana mïnwata ndïmoke manane.
ma=ala wambana mïnwata ndï=moko-e ma=na-n-e
3SG=for fish rotten 3PL=take-DEP 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
For the sake of it, (he) gave rotten fish to it.

Mï ndame nay nay.
mï ndï=ama-e na-i na-i
3SG 3PL=eat-DEP DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF
It ate them for quite some time.

Way mï nay ambï nap.
way mï na-i ambï na-p
turtle 3SG DETR-go.PRF big DETR-be
And the turtle went and got big.

Inom mï mol nay.
inom mï ma=ul na-i
mother 3SG 3SG=with DETR-go.PRF
The mother went with him (her son).

Inom mol iyen mambi nungol mï ambï nap.
inom ma-ul i-en mambi nungol mï ambï na-p
mother 3SG=with go.PRF-NMLZ 3SG.FOC child 3SG big DETR-be
And as for the mother who went around with him—(her) son got big.

Ambi nape way mï luke ambï nap.
ambi na-p-e way mï luke ambï na-p
big DETR-be-DEP turtle 3SG too big DETR-be
(He) got big and the turtle got big, too.

7 That is, the boy started going around the river to look for food for his pet turtle.
Ambi nape nogat!
ambi na-p-e nogat
big DETR-be-DEP no
(It) got big, but no! 8

Wolka wop mol iye nogat!
wolka wo-p ma=ul i-e nogat
again sleep-PRF 3SG=with go.PRF-DEP no
Again, the next day, 9 (the mother) went with him (the son), but no! 10

Mî ikali way nungol man uta mol si.
mî i-kali way nungol ma=n uta ma=ul si
3SG hand-send turtle child 3SG=OBL shell 3SG=with push
He held the little turtle with the (coconut) shell.

Amangala nda kwâ i wapa li ka i.
amangala anda kwa i wapa li ka i
eagle that.SG just go.PRF wing down let go.PRF
But an eagle 11 just came, came with (its) wings pointing down.

Kwa manguwuwa—
kwa manguwuwa
just 3SG.poor
Just, the poor thing—

Num mo nungol man kwa way mol tîn.
num ma=u nungol ma=n kwa way ma=ul tî-n
canoe 3SG=from child 3SG=OBL just turtle 3SG=with take-PRF
(The eagle) got the boy with the turtle from the canoe.

Mat i matî nowe ndo malîp.
ma=tî i ma=tî nowe anda=u ma=lî-p
3SG=take go.PRF 3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF
And (it) brought him and put him on a nowe 12 sago palm. 13

Matî nowe ndo malîpe mî mawatpe.
ma=tî nowe anda=u ma=lî-p-e mî ma=wat-p-e
3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG 3SG=atop-be-DEP
Having put him on the nowe sago palm, he (the boy) stayed atop it.

8 The Tok Pisin loan nogat ‘no’ is signaling that something bad is about to happen.
9 Literally ‘slept’.
10 Nogat ‘no’ < Tok Pisin.
11 A large, brown predatory bird, similar to an eagle.
12 A large sago palm species that has no thorns on its stem.
13 In some versions of the story, the eagle wishes to remove the boy and the turtle from the river, since the boy has been feeding the turtle all the fish that the eagle would otherwise hunt.
While he was staying atop it, (he) carried the turtle around with himself.

The turtle went and got big.

After the turtle went and got big, …

…the mother just spoke about him and cried about him (the boy).\(^{14}\)

\(^{14}\) Literally, ‘said his talk’ and ‘cried his tears’, the second of which is something like a cognate accusative.
... imbape mî mol awlu unum kwa men u.
imba-p-e mî ma=ul awlu unum kwa ma=in u
night-be-DEP 3SG 3SG=with step crevice one 3SG=in from
... one night, he (the boy) stepped out with it from within one crevice (to another).

Awlu ato unum kwa men u lowonda mane.
awlu ata-u unum kwa ma=in u lo-wo-nda ma-n-e
step up-from crevice one 3SG=in from IRR-sleep-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
Having stepped up into another crevice, (he) was going to sleep (there).

Lowonda mane way mî mala ne.
lo-wo-nda ma-n-e way mî ma=ala na=i
IRR-sleep-IRR go-IPFV-DEP turtle 3SG 3SG=for DETR-go.PRF
As (he) was going to sleep, the turtle went for his sake.

Li ne.
lî na-i
down DETR-go.PRF
(It) went down.

Ulum ma nambi ka li wandam nay.
ulum ma[nji] nambi ka li-i wandam na-i
palm 3SG[.POSS] skin on down-go.PRF jungle DETR-go.PRF
(It) went down along the bark of the sago palm and went toward the jungle.

Li wandam may molop.
lî wandam ma=i ma=lo-p
down jungle 3SG=go.PRF 3SG=go-PRF
(It) went down to the jungle and went around.

Molop impul kotîn ...
ma=lo-p im-pul ko=tî-n
3SG=go-PRF wood-piece INDF=take-PRF
(It) went around, got a piece of wood, ...

... mas ambî awi lip.
ma=si ambî[nji] awi li-p
3SG=push SG.REFL[.POSS] shoulder put-PRF
... and put it on its shoulder.

Mas ato ambî mutoma watlip.
ma=si ata-u ambi[nji] mutoma wat-li-p
3SG=push up-from SG.REFL[.POSS] backbone atop-put-PRF
(It) put it (the wood) up onto its back.
Mat i atay ulum maya ata i.
ma=tī i ata-i ulum ma=iya ata i
3SG=take go.PRF up-go.PRF palm 3SG=toward up go.PRF
(It) brought it and went up, went up the sago palm.

Ata iwap a wolka mat i li.
ata i-wap wolka ma=tī i li-i
up go.PRF-be.PST again 3SG=take go.PRF down-go.PRF
Having gone up, (the turtle) again brought it (the wood) down.

Mat i li nay matī li …
a ta i li na-i ma=tī li-i
3SG=take go.PRF down DETR-go.PRF 3SG=take down-go.PRF
(It) brought it, went down, brought it down, …

… wandam nay inakawana.
wandam na-i ina-ka-wana
jungle DETR-go.PRF liver-in-feel
… went to the jungle, and thought.

Mī ambīwana mat: “A!”
mī ambī=wana ma=ta a
3SG SG.REFL=feel 3SG=say ah
It thought to itself and said: “Ah!”

“Nī ta tata tīn mol li ina mane.”
nī ta tata tī-n ma=ul li i-na ma-n-e
1SG already papa take-PRF 3SG=with down come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
“I’m already able to get papa and come down with him.”15

“Nī tata tīn mol li ina!”
nī tata tī-n ma=ul li i-na
1SG papa take-PRF 3SG=with down come-IRR
“So I’ll get papa and come down with him!”

makap
ma=kī-p
3SG=say-PRF
(He) thought this.

Ango amunpe.
ango amun-p-e
NEG now-be-DEP
But not immediately.

15 The turtle was carrying the wood as a test to see whether he would be able to carry the boy (his ‘papa’) down from atop the palm.
Ango amunpe atay matīna.

(NEG) now-be-DEP up-go.PRF 3SG=take-IRR

(It) wouldn’t go up and get him immediately.

Kop mala i inim i i wa ndī li …

just 3SG=for go.PRF water go.PRF go.PRF village 3PL down-go.PRF

(It) just went for his sake, went to the water, went, went down to the villages, …

… ndule i apa kongomlip.

just 3SG=for go.PRF water go.PRF go.PRF village 3PL down-go.PRF

(It) just went for his sake, went to the water, went, went down to the villages, …

Apa kongomlip wa molop.

(It) pulled out a house and cleared a village.

I apa kongomlip mat i matan e līp.

(It) went and pulled out a house, brought it, and stood it up.

Keka wandam ndī way mawa wandam ndī=lo-p

Completely, the gardens—the turtle itself cut the gardens.

Mīnal o mil o utam o nongontam—

(Whether it be) taro or sugarcane or yam or kaukau (sweet potato)—

Mī keka ndīn up.

He planted them all.

Ndī keka ambip.

They (the crops) were really big.

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16 The coordinator o ‘or’ is borrowed from Tok Pisin.
Chickens and pigs—it got them, brought them, …

… ndïkuk wandam mop.
ndï=kuk wandam ma=u-p
3PL=gather jungle 3SG=put-PRF
… and gathered them into the garden.

Apa membamup.
apa ma=imbam-u-p
house 3SG=under-put-PRF
(The turtle) put (the livestock) under the house.

Ande.
ande
ok
OK.

Mï wolka impul matïn mat …
mï wolka im-pul ma=tï-n ma=tï
3SG again wood-piece 3SG=take-PRF 3SG=take
It again got a piece of wood …

… ambï mutoma watlïpe.
ambï[nji] mutoma wat-lï-p-e
SG.REFL[.POSS] back atop-put-PRF-DEP
… and put it on its shell.

Mol i atay ulum maya atay.
ma=ul i ata-i ulum ma=iya ata-i
3SG=with go.PRF up-go.PRF palm 3SG=toward up=go.PRF
(It) went with it, went up, went up the sago palm.

Ullum mat ataywape mat nay li nay.
ulum ma=tï ata-i-wap-e ma=tï na-i li na-i
palm 3SG=take up-go.PRF-be.PST-DEP 3SG=take DETR-go.PRF down DETR-go.PRF
(On the) palm, got it (the piece of wood), went up, brought it down, and went down.

Mat nay li wandam i ambiwana.
ma=tï na-i li-i wandam i ambi=wana
3SG=take DETR-go.PRF down-go.PRF jungle go.PRF SG.REFL=feel
(The turtle) bought it (the wood) down, went to the jungle, and thought to itself.
Mat: “Nï ata ma matïn mol li ina.”

3SG=say 1SG up go 3SG=take-PRF 3SG=with down come-IRR

(It) thought: “I shall go up, get him, and come down with him.”

Al matïn.

al ma=tï-n
net 3SG=take-PRF

(It) got a mosquito net.

Al mï apa mï alanda menwapen nda.

al mï apa mï al anda ma=in-wap-en anda
net 3SG house 3SG net that.SG 3SG=in-be.PST-NMLZ that.SG

The mosquito net, the house—there was a mosquito net in it.17

Man mol tï i.

ma=n ma=ul tï i
3SG=OBL 3SG=with take go.PRФ

(The turtle) brought it (the mosquito net) with it (the house).

Man mol tï i matanelipape …

ma=n ma=ul tï i ma=tane-li-p-ap-e
3SG=OBL 3SG=with take go.PRФ 3SG=stand-put-PRF-PRF-DEP

After (the turtle) had brought it (the mosquito net) with it (the house) and stood it up, …

… mï imbape nay mï nawowe.

mï imba-p-e na-i mï na-wo-e
3SG night-be-DEP DETR-go.PRФ 3SG DETR-sleep-DEP

… it went at night, while he (the man) was sleeping.

Unumpe menpe wowe …

unum-p-e ma=in-p-e wo-e
crevice-be-DEP 3SG=in-be-DEP sleep-DEP

While (the man) was sleeping in the crevice, inside it, …

… mï i mokum ne i membam i.

mï i mokum na-i i ma=imbam i
3SG go.PRФ stealth DETR-go.PRФ go.PRФ 3SG=under go.PRФ

… it (the turtle) went, went stealthily, went, went under him.

Mat ato ambï mutam watli.p.

ma=tï ata-u ambi[nji] mutam wat-li-p
3SG=take up-from SG.REFL.POSS back atop-put-PRF

(The turtle) got him and put him up onto its back.

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17 The speaker is clarifying what the turtle had done: the house that the turtle had pulled out for the growing young man had a mosquito net inside it.
Ankam ngatan ambĩ mutam watlip.

(It) put the huge person on its back.

Ankam ngatan ambĩ mutam watlip ande …

Having put the huge man on its back, OK, …

… mokum mat le.

… (it) began bringing him carefully.

Naye ulum ma nambi ka nay li …

… (it) went and went down the bark of the palm …

… wandam nay.

… and went to the jungle.

Keka matĩ i atay apa may.

(The turtle) brought him all the way up to the house.

Mat i ata apa may mol i.

(It) brought him up to the house and went with him.

Al men i matĩ menlip.

(It) went into the mosquito net and put him inside it.

Mĩ al men ka wop.

He slept in the mosquito net.
Mî al men ka wop awlu anmbu inakawanap: “A!”
mî al ma=in ka wo-p awlu an-mbî-u ina-ka-wana-p a
3SG net 3SG=in at sleep-PRF step out-here-from liver-in-feel-PRF ah
He slept in the mosquito net, came out, and thought: “Ah!”

“How did I come down like this?”

Way mî asi man wat wan make.
way mî asi ma=n wat wan ma=ka-e
turtle 3SG sit 3SG=OBL ladder above 3SG=let-DEP
The turtle was sitting at the top of his ladder. 18

(L)op man wat wan maka map.
lop ma=n wat wan ma=ka ma=p
lie 3SG=OBL ladder above 3SG=let 3SG=be
(The turtle) lay at the top of his ladder and stayed there.

“It was there watching him, when he (the man) came out and thought:

(He) was thinking: “How did I get down like this?”

“I was up there, so how did I get down like this?”

18 This is the ladder (or stairs) leading up to the house, which, like all houses in the region, would have been built on stilts.
Lîmndî way mala.
(He) saw the turtle.

“Way ngangusuwa ngapînate mî ko mî mase—”

way nga ngusuwa nga=p-na-t-e mî ko mî mas-e
turtle this.SG poor this.SG=be-IRR-SPEC-DEP 3SG just 3SG must-DEP
(And he thought:) “This turtle, the poor thing; it might be this (turtle)—it just; it must\(^{19}\) have—”

“Ata i ko nîn nît liwap.”
ata i ko nî=tî-n nî=tî li-i-wap
up go.PRIF just 1SG=take-PRIF 1SG=take down-go-PRIF-be.PST
“(It) went up and just got me and brought me down.”

Makap inakawanap.
ma=kî-p ina-ka-wana-p
3SG=say-PRIF liver-in-feel-PRIF
(He) said it and thought.

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

Wolka nawowe mî mala yana angla nol.
wolka na-wo-e mî ma=ala yana angla na-lo
again DETR-sleep-DEP 3SG 3SG=for woman await DETR-go
After again sleeping, it (the turtle) went searching for a wife for him.

Way nga wa mala yana anglale.
way nga wa ma=ala yana angla-lo-e
turtle this.SG just 3SG=for woman await-go-DEP
This turtle was just searching for a wife for him.

I wa kwa may inim i li …
i wa kwa ma=i inim i li-i
go.PRIF village one 3SG=go.PRIF water go.PRIF down-go.PRIF
(It) went, went to one village, went downstream, …

… wa kwa may atay.
wa kwa ma=i ata-i
village one 3SG=go.PRIF up-go.PRIF
… went to another village, and then went up (into the village).\(^{20}\)

\(^{19}\) Mas ‘must’ < Tok Pisin.
\(^{20}\) The turtle was going to village after village along the river to find a wife for its master.
Atay wa mo le yana amunji nungol anma ndawa.
ata-i wa ma=u lo-e yana amun-nji nungol anma ndawa
up-go.PRF village 3SG=from go-DEP woman now-thing child good 3PL.INT
(It) went up, going around the village, (looking for) suitable young women.

Mï i apa nd in u le lïmndï mala.
mï i apa nd=î=î=î=î=î=î in u lo-e i lïmndï ma=ala
3SG go.PRF house 3PL=î=î from go-DEP go.PRF eye 3SG=for
It went, went around inside the houses, went, and saw her.21

Limndï mala mokum al men u matïn.
lïmndï ma=ala mokum al ma=î=î=î=î=î=î in u ma=tï-n
eye 3SG=for stealth net 3SG=î=î=î=î=î=î=î from 3SG=take-PRF
(It) saw her and stealthily got her from out of (her) mosquito net.

Man al mol tîn.
ma=n al ma=ul tî-n
3SG=OBL net 3SG=with take-PRF
(It) got her with the mosquito net.

Mat ambi mutam watlip mat i.
ma=tï ambï[nji] mutam wat-lï-p ma=tï i
3SG=take SG.REFL[.POSS] back atop-put-PRF 3SG=take go.PRF
(It) got her onto its back and brought her.

Mat i itom maya apa i.
ma=tï i itom ma=iya apa i
3SG=take go.PRF father 3SG=toward house go.PRF
(It) brought her and went home to the man.

Itom maya apa i mat makanalïp.
itm ma=iya apa i ma=tï ma=kana-lï-p
father 3SG=toward house go.PRF 3SG=take 3SG=beside-put-PRF
(It) went home to the man and put her next to him.

Mat iye keka mol i …
ma=tï i-e keka ma=ul i
3SG=take go.PRF-DEP completely 3SG=with go.PRF
Having brought her, (it) went all the way with her, …

… maya al men i mat monilïp.
ma=iya al ma=î=î=î=î=î=î ma=tï moni-lï-p
3SG=toward net 3SG=î=î=î=î=î=î=î go.PRF 3SG=take among-put-PRF
… went to him into (his) mosquito net, and put her within (it).

21 That is, the turtle finally saw the woman that it thought would make a good wife for its master.
Mī mol wop.

mī ma=ul wo-p
3SG 3SG=with sleep-PRF

She slept with him.22

Mol wope yana mī tīnanga līmndī wa mala.

ma=ul wo-p-e yana mī tīnanga līmndī wa ma=ala
3SG=with sleep-PRF DEP woman 3SG arise eye just 3SG=for

Having slept with him, the woman got up and noticed him.

Līmndī ankam ngala.
līmndī ankam nga=ala
eye person this.3SG=for
(She) saw this person.

Mī keka sewap sewap sewap …
mī keka sa-e-wap sa-e-wap sa-e-wap
3SG completely cry-DEP-be.PST cry-DEP-be.PST cry-DEP-be.PST

And she cried and cried …

… sewap keka awalpe imbape wop.

sa-e-wap keka awal-p-e imba-p-e wo-p
cry-DEP-be.PST completely afternoon-be-DEP night-be-DEP sleep-PRF
… and cried throughout the afternoon, throughout the night, and into the next day.

Keka makawap makape imbape wop.

keka maka-wap maka-p-e imba-p-e wo-p
completely thus-be.PST thus-be-DEP night-be-DEP sleep-PRF
It was totally like that, like this, every night.

Inim iwīl lele ndītūn.
iwīl lele ndī=tī-n
moon three 3PL=take-PRF
Three years23—months passed.

Iwīl lele ndītīne yeta nga nan mat:
iwīl lele ndī=tī-n-e yeta nga na=n ma=ta
moon three 3PL=take-PRF DEP man this.SG talk=OBL 3SG=say
And after three months, the man told her:

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22 That is, she slept in the same bed as him. The young woman was asleep this whole time she was being transported.
23 The speaker makes a mistake (‘year’) but corrects it (‘month’).
“Nawa ango kalam me nĩ i ungusuwalu iwap.”
nawa ango kalam me nĩ i ungusuwa=lu i-wap
1SG.INT NEG know NEG 1SG go.PRF 2SG.poor=with go.PRF-be.PST
“I really don’t know how I went and came to stay with you, you poor thing.”

“Nĩ ango kalam me wanjikaka iwap.”
nĩ ango kalam me wanjikaka i-wap
1SG NEG know NEG 2SG.how go.PRF-be.PST
“I don’t know how you got here.”

“Nĩ ango kalam me.”
nĩ ango kalam me
1SG NEG know NEG
“I don’t know.”

“Way nga tap ungusuwa tĩ iwapape.”
way nga tap ungusuwa tĩ i-wap-ap-e
turtle this.SG maybe 2SG.poor take go.PRF-be.PST-PRF-DEP
“Maybe this turtle brought you, you poor thing.”

“Nĩ ango angos na ukĩnate.”
nĩ ango angos na u=kĩ-na-t-e
1SG NEG what talk 2SG=say-IRR-SPEC-DEP
“I don’t have anything to tell you.”

“Awlopen luwa nda nguna map.”
awlop-p-en luwa anda ngunan ma=p
in.vain-be-NMLZ place that.SG 1DU.INCL 3SG=be
“That strange place—we are in it.”

“Nguna mbĩ nanap.”
ngunan mbĩ na-na-p
1DU.INCL here DETR-DETR-be.PRES
“We are staying here.”

Mĩ nasape mĩ mala li lamndu masap.
mĩ na-sa-p-e mĩ ma=ala li-i lamndu ma=asa-p
3SG DETR-cry-PRF-DEP 3SG 3SG=for down go.PRF pig 3SG=hit-PRF
After she cried, he went down for her and killed a pig.

Yeta mĩ mala li lamndu masap …
yeta mĩ ma=ala li-i lamndu ma=asa-p
man 3SG 3SG=for down go.PRF pig 3SG=hit-PRF
The man went down for her, killed a pig, …
… manke man up.
ma=nk-e ma=n u-p
3SG=cut-DEP 3SG=OBL put-PRF
… butcheted it, and put it (in the house) for her.

Mol min ndïmondop.
ma=ul min ndi=mondo-p
3SG=with 3DU 3PL=dry-PRF
With her—the two dried them (the butchered pieces of meat).

Ndïmonde ndame ndïwatpe.
di=mondo-e ndi=ama-e ndi=wat-p-e
3PL=dry-DEP 3PL=eat-DEP 3PL=atop-be-DEP
(They continued) drying them, eating them, and relying on them.

Way nga minin twa kana map.
wây nga min=în twa kana ma=p
turtle this.SG 3DU=OBL hearth beside 3SG=be
And this turtle stayed there with them next to the hearth.

Way nga minin twa kana mape mî nan mat:
wây nga min=în twa kana ma=p-e mî na=n ma=ta
turtle this.SG 3DU=OBL hearth beside 3SG=be-DEP 3SG DETR=OBL 3SG=say
And while this turtle stayed there with them next to the hearth, he (the man) said to her:

"Tsk!"
tsk
INTERJ
"Tsk!"26

"Way nga mî tap utîn utî i wap."
wây nga mî tap u=tî-n u=tî i-wap
turtle this.SG 3SG maybe 2SG=take-PRF 2SG=take go.PRF-be.PST
"This turtle, maybe he got you and brought you."

"Nî ango kalam me."
nî ango kalam me
1sg NEG know NEG
“I don’t know.”

24 The start of this sentence (that is, using the postposition ul ‘with’ as something like a coordinator ‘and’) may be influenced from Tok Pisin grammar.
25 Literally ‘being atop’.
26 Phonetically this is a dental click ([ ]). In Ulwa it is a paralinguistic sound used to express shock, compassion, or dismay. Here it signals the man’s sympathy for the woman.
Way mĩ minĩn twa kana map.

The turtle stayed there with them next to the hearth.

Minĩn twa kana mape min ame.

While (it) stayed with them there by the hearth, the two would eat.

Mundu ndïkuk man awe mĩ ndame.

(They) would gather food for it and it would eat them (the food items).

Ndame nay nay …

(It) ate them and ate them …

… way mĩ keka ne ambi nïpat ngata nap.

… until the turtle totally went and got big, giant, huge.

Way mĩ keka ne ambi nïpat ngata nap ande.

The turtle completely went big, giant, huge, OK.

Mĩ inakawane—

He was thinking—

Ita tata mĩ inakawane mĩnape.

If (he) went—the papa was thinking around there.27

Min yena mol mĩnap min alum ndïnanayn.

They—(he) stayed around there with his wife, and they had children.

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27 This line is hard to follow and may be a bit confused.
Min alum ndínanayne.
min alum ndi=na-na-in-e
3DU child 3PL=DETR-DETR-get-DEP
They had children.

E yeta uwe ko way ma nan alum ndíkína!
eya yeta uwe ko way ma[nji] na=OBL alum ndí=ki-na
hey man 2SG.INT.PART just turtle 3SG[.POSS] talk=OBL child 3PL=say-IRR
Hey, man, you yourself should have just told the children about the turtle!28

“Un wana mbïwap angos ngan anjikalakana!”
un wana mbî-wap angos nga=n angika-la-ka-na
2PL PROH here-be.PST what this.SG=OBL how-many-IRR-let-IRR
“Don’t do something (bad) to this (turtle) here!”29

Way mï nï min ndïwana ande.
way mï nï min ndi=wana ande
turtle 3SG 1SG 3DU 3PL=hear ok
The turtle, I, they two, heard them, OK.30

Mï alum ndínayne way mï mala inim namana man.
mï alum ndi=na-in-e way mï ma=ala inim na-ma-na ma-n
3SG child 3PL=DETR-get-DEP turtle 3SG 3SG=from water DETR-go-IRR go-
IPFV
(After) he (the man) had children, the turtle was going to go away from him, (back) to the water.

Mala inim namana mane.
ma=ala inim na-ma-na ma-n-e
3SG=from water DETR-go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
(It) was going to go away from him to the water.

Imbape ala maka longom tï manana.
imba-p-e ala maka longom tï ma=na-na
night-be-DEP that.PL thus dream take 3SG=give-PRF
At night, they31 gave him (the man) a dream like this.

Nan mat: “Nï wandïm inim namana.”
na=n ma=ta nï u=andïm inim na-ma-na
talk=OBL 3SG=say 1SG 2SG=from water DETR-go-IRR
(It) told him: “I will go from you (back) to the water.”32

28 The narrator is addressing the man in the story, who should have told his children that this turtle that lives around them is no ordinary turtle, but something like a foster parent to their own parents. The line seems to have a false start.
29 This is something along the lines of what the father should have told his children.
30 This line seems to be confused.
31 The demonstrative pronoun here perhaps refers to spirits that grant people dreams at night.
32 The man has a premonitory dream, in which the turtle tells him that it will leave him.
Itom mï wop umbenam lamndu masap.

father 3SG sleep-PRF morning pig 3SG=hit-PRF

The man slept and in the morning killed a pig.

Wonmelma.

Wonmelma [name]

Lamndu manji wi Wonmelma.

pig 3SG.POSS name [name]

The pig’s name was Wonmelma.

Masape way mol mïnanamap.

turtle 3SG=with 3SG-DETR-DETR-eat-PRF

After (he) killed it, (he) ate it with the turtle.

At kwa man mï mat man ani lïp.

One piece (of the meat)—he put it in the bilum (net bag) for it (the turtle).

Way mï ango man ka li mana.

The turtle wouldn’t (yet) leave him and go down.

Mï kop mol mape.

It just stayed with him.

Mï ko mol mape nogat!

It just stayed with him—no!34

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33 Wonmelma is a figure from another very popular traditional Ulwa tale. Examples taken from a telling of his story are labeled “T01” in this dissertation.

34 Nogat ‘no’ < Tok Pisin.
The father’s children, they—

They—the husband was going around the jungle with (his) wife.

Ay, tell these children so that they’ll know!35

The son just stayed there and got a sago-frond bow …

… and just hit the poor turtle like this in the eye.

Having hit it, the spine thus broke into its eye.

35 The narrator is again addressing the man in the story.
36 Nogat ‘no’ < Tok Pisin, here used to express the fact that something did not occur (i.e., the father never did tell his children about the turtle.)
37 That is, a set of bow and arrow, in which the arrow is made from a nali ‘sago-frond spine’.
38 This seems to be another false start.
Mī mol anmbi inim nay.
mī ma=ul an-mbî-i inim na-i
3SG 3SG=with out-here-go.PRF water DETR-go.PRF
It went with it (the spine arrow) out into the water.

Mī mol anmbi inim naye mînape.
mī ma=ul an-mbi-i inim na=i-e mī=na-p-e
3SG 3SG=with out-here-go.PRF water DETR-go.PRF-DEP 3SG=DETR-be-DEP
It went with it out into the water and stayed around there.

Itom mī wa i manglalop.
itom mī wa i ma=angla-lo-p
father 3SG village go.PRF 3SG=await-go-PRF
The man went to the village and searched for it.

“Inom ngata ngusuwa nda ango luwa nay?”
inom ngata ngusuwa anda ango luwa na-i
mother grand poor that.SG which place DETR-go.PRF
“Where did that poor grandmother go?”39

Ndī atwana nungolke ndīte.
ndī atwana nungolke ndī=ta-e
3PL question child 3PL=say-DEP
They asked the children.

Alum ndīte alum ndī nat: “An ango kalam me.”
alum ndī=ta-e alum ndī na-ta an ango kalam me
child 3PL=say-DEP child 3PL DETR-say 1PL.EXCL NEG know NEG
(They) asked the children and the children replied: “We don’t know.”

Yenanu nungol mawape nan mat: “Nogat ya!”
yenanu nungol ma=wap-e na=n ma=ta nogat ya
woman child 3SG=be.PST-DEP talk=OBL 3SG=say no yes
But the daughter later40 told him (the father): “No!”41

“Yeta nda maswape!”
yeta anda ma=as-wap-e
man that.SG 3SG=hit-be.PST-DEP
“That boy hit it!”

39 The man and woman refer to the (female) turtle as ‘grandmother’, since it was a foster parent to them and therefore a foster grandparent to their children.
40 Translated here as ‘later’, mawape literally means something like ‘having been there’.
41 In other words, she confesses that she and the other children had been lying; nogat ‘no’ and ya ‘yes’ < Tok Pisin.
“Nali wongita ndan mangusuwa limndi andaka maswap.”

(He) hit the poor thing in the eye with that sago-frond bow.

Itom mï way manakap tinanga se.

The father got up and began to cry on account of the turtle.

Way mï ta awalpe imbape i …

The turtle—already in the afternoon—went at night, …

“Ngam u nin limndi ngaka nase.”

“This is it—you shot me in my eye.”

“Ni wandim namana man.”

“So I’m going to go to away from you.”

Itom mï mala wop wolka li lamndu masap.

The next day, the man went down again and killed a pig for it.

Wolka lamndu kwa masape mol minanamap …

Having killed another pig, (he) ate it with it (the turtle) …

… at kuma ndin man ame naytap.

… and tied some pieces (of meat) up in his basket.

---

42 The speaker again corrects his diction.

43 The turtle presumably speaks this line, as well as the following one.
Ndît manane mî ndît nay …
ndî=tî  ma=na-n-e  mî  ndî=tî  na-i
3PL=take  3SG=give-PRF-DEP  3SG  3PL=take  DETR-go.PRF
(He) gave them (the pieces of meat) to it (the turtle), and it took them and went, …

… inim nay.
inim  na=i
water  DETR-go.PRF
… went into the water.

Inim naye una amun limndî way ambi ndanden
inim  na-i-e  unan  amun  limndî  way  ambi  anda=andî-en
water  DETR-go.PRF-DEP  1PL.INCL  now  eye  turtle  big  that.SG=for-NMLZ
Having gone into the water, we now see that big turtle.

Ndî angumoni nîmal ando inimp.
ndî  angumoni  nîmal  anda=u  inim-p
3PL  swelling  river  that.SG=from  water-be
They are in the swelling river,⁴⁴ in the water.

Ndî angumoni nîmal mo inimpe.
ndî  angumoni  nîmal  ma=u  inim-p-e
3PL  swelling  river  3SG=from  water-be-DEP
They are in the water in the swelling river.

Una way ambi way ambi ndî—
unan  way  ambi  way  ambi  ndî
1PL.INCL  turtle  big  turtle  big  3PL
We—big turtles, the big turtles—

Ndînam ndî angumoni nîmal map.
ndî-nam  ndî  angumoni  nîmal  ma=p
3PL-INT  3PL  swelling  river  3SG=be
They’re the ones; they live in the swelling river.

Mawnam.
maw-nam
correct-INT
That’s it.

---

⁴⁴ That is, the ocean: angumoni nîmal ‘swelling river, ocean, sea’ may perhaps best be thought of as a compound noun, especially since it has the (non-canonical) order adjective-noun. The big turtles referred to here are sea turtles.
17.3  *Amblom Yena* (‘The Woman Amblom’)

This is a traditional story told by Yanapi Kua on 26 May 2017, at her home in Manu village. Examples from this text that appear within this dissertation are labeled “T16”. The audio recording can be found on the ELAR website (file name *ulwa020.wav*). It is a little over two minutes long (2:17).

The story is (among other things) an etiology of the moon. In the tale, a wicked woman named Amblom lives in the village. Whenever the men and women of the village go off into the jungle to harvest sago starch, she captures their children, decapitates them, and eats them. And she hides their bones in the top of a sago palm. Eventually, however, the parents discover Amblom’s secret and decide to kill her. She evades them, however, by climbing the palm where she keeps their bones. They run to the palm but she exerts a magical force over it, so there is little that they can do to get her down. In some versions of the story she taunts the parents by throwing feces at them (that is, the final product of their eaten children). They cannot chop down the palm, nor can they shoot her down with arrows. Finally, a mysterious stranger comes to the village, supposedly a friend of one of the villagers. Versed in magic, he is able to shoot down Amblom with an enchanted arrow. She falls to her death and the villagers butcher her body. They begin distributing her flesh as meat, offering to the stranger whichever body part he prefers. He refuses all the choicest cuts, requesting instead Amblom’s vulva. He places the vulva on a frond of the palm where she was hiding, whereupon it transforms into a glowing torch. Using this torch, he has great success hunting pigs. The stranger’s friend learns of his fruitful hunts, but does not know his secret. The stranger, not wanting to reveal his magical glowing vulva, instructs his friend simply to build a regular torch out of coconut flower sheaths. The friend has some initial success killing a small pig, but, when he tries to kill a larger one, he himself is nearly killed by the boar. Suspecting that he has been tricked, he spies on the stranger’s home, discovering the magical vulva. However, while trying to grab it, he clumsily disrupts the vulva and sends it flying off into space where it remains to this day as the moon. The Ulwa conception that there is something feminine about the moon can still be seen in the fact that the word *iwil* means both ‘moon’ and ‘menstruation’, no doubt related to the similarity in duration of the lunar and menstrual cycles.
The story also contains an epilogue in which the stranger builds a huge ladder to rescue his magical vulva (now the moon). He manages to reach the moon and dangle from it. While hanging there, however, a colony of bats comes by to inspect this strange new being. When he declines the fruit that they offer him, they become suspicious that he is not one of them, so they yank him away. And no human since has been able to reach the moon. In some versions of the story, these bats are said to be the stars that surround the moon.

Amblom Yena mį —
Amblom Yena mį
[name] woman 3SG
Amblom Yena —

ndį nungolke ndi man lip …
ndį nungolke ndį=n ma=n li-p
3PL child 3PL=OBL 3SG=OBL put-PRF
They (other villagers) left (their) children with her …

… wandam unde ulum ale.
wandam unda-e ulum ali-e
jungle go-DEP palm scrape-DEP
… when (they) would go around in the jungle and scrape sago palms.

Mį wa mape.
mį wa ma=p-e
3SG village 3SG=be-DEP
She stayed in the village.

Ndįnji unduwan nduwe we ndame …
ndįnji unduwan ndį=we we ndį=ama-e
3PL.POSS head 3PL=cut then 3PL=eat-DEP
(She) would cut off their heads and then eat them, …

… uma ndįt li unde ndįkuk maka ulum nowe nda ndįn—
uma ndį=tį li unda-e ndį=kuk maka ulum nowe anda
bone 3PL=take down go-DEP 3PL=gather thus palm palm.sp that.sg
… bring (their) bones down, and pile them—like, that nowe sago palm—

Ndįkuk mo ma awi up.
ndį=kuk ma=u ma[nji] awi u-p
3PL=gather 3SG=from 3SG[.POSS] shoulder put-PRF
(She) piled them there onto its shoulder.

45 That is, she piles the eaten children’s bones into a crevice in the pangal frond of the palm.
Ndì nokoplïp lïmndï mala.
3PL hide-put-PRF eye 3SG=for
But they (the parents) hid and saw her.

I ma nan amblakap.
3SG=hide-put-PRF talk=OBL PL.REFL=say-PRF
They went and talked about her.

Matïna nakap iye.
3SG=kill-IRR DETR-say-PRF go.PRf-DEP
(They) wanted to kill her.

Mï li awlu ulum mo ma we …
But she went down (from her house) and stepped onto the palm, and then …

… ulum mï keka i wutotap.
3SG=down go.PRf step palm 3SG=from go then
… the palm went and got really tall.46

Wutotape ndï wongïta tïn mol asap ulwape.
Since (it) was tall, they could hit nothing when they got a bow and shot with it.

Kwa ngawa wandam ngo i ndiya wa i.
But someone just came from out of the jungle and went to them in the village.

Wongïta matïn man mawl as.
(He) took the bow and shot at her with it.

Manji sawi manip mawl ase.
(He) sang his magic charm and shot with it.

46 Ambloem works some magic to make the palm grow tall.
Kwa mï man ambï aweta kap.

Someone said that it was his friend.

“A nïnji aweta anda ko matïna!”

“Ah, that friend of mine will really hit her!”

Mï asi-ka sawi ma=n-p ulwa=p-e

He (the stranger) sat and sang the magic spell to the end—

Keka man u wongïta matïn …

Totally—(he) got the bow from him (his friend) …

… keka mase mï keka nip.

… and totally hit her and she died completely.

Ulum molop li lïp …

(They) cut the sago palm down …

… men u uma ndïkuk anmbup.

… and gathered the bones out from within it.

Mankap at kot mananda nate.

(They) butchered her and talked about giving a piece (of her body) to him (the stranger).48

47 That is, one of the villagers identifies the stranger as his friend.

48 Having butchered Amblo Yena’s fallen body, the villagers distribute her body parts as food. The stranger (as the hero of the day) is offered various body parts.
Mī kambī man ndīt: “M!”
mī kamb ma=n ndī=ta m
3SG shun 3SG=OBL 3PL=say no
But he didn’t want it and told them: “No!”

“Un maka ma nambïpen ngat nīnata …”
un maka ma[nji] nambï-p-en nga=tī nī=na-ta
2PL thus 3SG[.POSS] body-be-NMLZ this.SG=take 1SG=give-COND
“If you, like this, give me this thing on her body, …”

“… nī mat mana.”
nī ma=tī ma-na
1SG 3SG=take go-IRR
“… I will take it and go.”

Mī mat i mas isi pul mat līp.
mī ma=tī i ma=si isi pul ma=tī lī-p
3SG 3SG=take go.PRIF 3SG=push young.pangal piece 3SG=take put-PRF
He brought it and pushed it onto a piece of young pangal frond.

Kukumbe isi pul mat līpe mī tembi-p.
kukumbe isi pul ma=tī lī-p-e mī tembi-p
palm.sp pangal piece 3SG=take put-PRF-DEP 3SG bad-be
(He) put it on a piece of young kukumbe palm pangal frond, but it was bad.

Mī mas nowe isi pul mat līpe …
mī ma=si nowe isi pul ma=tī lī-p-e
3SG 3SG=push palm.sp young.pangal piece 3SG=take put-PRF-DEP
So he pushed it onto a piece of young nowe palm pangal frond …

… mī anmap!
mī anma-p
3SG good-be
… and it was good!

---

49 The stranger rejects the offers of various body parts, asking instead for Amblom Yena’s vulva.
50 *Isi ‘young pangal frond’* is a younger form of *wema ‘pangal’*—that is, sago palm fronds that are used in weaving. In this case, the *pangal* frond is being used as a pike.
51 Here the narrator specifies the species of palm to which the young pangal pike belongs.
52 The mysterious hero, clearly familiar with magic, knows that Amblom Yena’s vulva has special properties. He is experimenting with different species of *pangal* fronds to discover how to harness its power.
Pe mï ma anenisin namndu nduwalep.

And then he, with its torch,\textsuperscript{53} was killing pigs.\textsuperscript{54}

Manji aweta mï i.

Mangop ana mangop.

“U ma ila we apïn lumope namndu kotïn!”

Mï i ila we apïn up namndu tïke mase …

Mï numbu mane mï i mankape

\textsuperscript{53} Literally, its ‘sun-coconut-flower-sheath’. The flower pods of coconuts were traditionally used as torches.

\textsuperscript{54} Now affixed to the proper species of \textit{pangal} frond, the vulva emits a light like a torch, which the stranger can use to hunt pigs at night.

\textsuperscript{55} The verbs here are difficult to parse. The verb ‘lie’ may be a verbalized form of the negator \textit{ango} ‘NEG’. There may also be an idiom ‘pull off one’s grass skirt’ meaning ‘trick’, containing the component \textit{ango(m)} ‘pull out’.

\textsuperscript{56} The stranger’s friend has come in order to learn how the stranger has been so successful in hunting pigs. The stranger tricks him, however, in that he tells him to make a regular torch out of \textit{morota} (sago palm fronds), not revealing anything of the incandescent vulva.

\textsuperscript{57} Having successfully killed a (small) pig, the friend summons the stranger by beating the \textit{garamut} drum, so that the two may work together to butcher the pig.
Mat: “Mawnam.”

ma=ta maw-nam
3SG=say correct-INT

(And the stranger) said: “That’s it.”

Mï nay awlu ambi mo ma awi we …

mï na-i awlu ambi ma=u ma[nji] awi i we
3SG DETR-go.PRF step big 3SG=from 3SG[Poss] shoulder go.PRF then

He went and stepped onto the shoulder of a big one, but then …

… ambi mï keka mat nin ndïl.

ambi mï keka ma=tï nin ndï=lï
big 3sg completely 3sg=take thorn 3pl=put

… the big one (pig) completely got him and put (him) on thorns.

Ka atay nipe.
ka ata i ni-p-e
thus up go.PRF die-PRF-DEP

(He) went up like that and (nearly) died.

Mï wa i tawa ndul mawap.

mï wa i tawa ndï=ul ma=wap
3SG village go.PRF wound 3pl=with 3SG=be.PST

He went home and stayed there with his wounds.

I mangani wonp.
i ma=angani won-p
3SG=behind cut-PRF

(He) went behind his back.

Njin iwïl mase mï keka i atay anam i.
nji=n iwï ma=asa-e mï keka i ata-i anam i
thing=OBL moon 3SG=hit-DEP 3SG completely go.PRF up-go.PRF sky go.PRF

(He) hit the moon with something and it went completely up, went to the sky.

Anam maye mï anmbi.
anam ma=i-e mï an-mbï-i
sky 3SG=go.PRF-DEP 3SG out-here-go.PRF

When (it) went to the sky, he (the stranger) came out.

58 The friend goes out a second time, trying to kill a larger pig this time.
59 This second pig is too much for the hunter to handle; while he is climbing onto the pig’s shoulders to attack it, the pig bucks, pushing the hunter into a thorny tree, injuring him severely.
60 Literally, ‘cut behind him’. The injured friend goes to the home of the stranger without him knowing.
61 While spying, the injured friend spots the magical vulva (here, referred to euphemistically—or with foreshadowing—as the ‘moon’); he somehow disrupts it and it flies up into the sky.
“Ninji aweta nda nangani wonp!”
ninji aweta anda nĩ=angani won-p
1SG.POSS friend that.SG 1SG=behind cut-PRF
“That friend of mine has gone behind my back!”

Mi tamben mayte i atay.
mī tamben ma=ita-e i at-a-i
3SG ladder 3SG=build-DEP go.PRФ up-go.PRФ
He (the stranger) went and built a ladder\(^\text{62}\) and climbed up.

I si membamlïpe ato ul ka.
i si ma=imbam-li-p-e at-a-u ul ka
hand push 3SG=under-put-PRF-DEP up-from with let
(He) put his hand under it (the moon) and hung (onto it).

Ato ul ke nĩplopa ngala i.
ata-u ul ka-e nĩplopa ngala i
up-from with let-DEP flying.fox this.PL go.PRФ
As (he) hung, some flying foxes came.

Wapan masine i.
wapa=n ma=si-ni-e i
wing=OBL 3SG=push-beat-DEP go.PRФ
(They) came and played with him with (their) wings.

Wawana mu kot manane.
wawana mu ko=tï ma=na-n-e
plant.sp fruit INDF=take 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
(They) gave him a wawana fruit.\(^\text{63}\)

Mi man ndït: “Ango mundu kom un mat nïnan!”
mī ma=n ndï=ta ango mundu kom un ma=tï nĩ=na-n
3SG 3SG=OBL 3PL=say NEG food NEG 2PL 3SG=take 1SG=give-PRF
But he told them: “That’s not food at all you gave me!”

Ndï i ma nan amblakap.
nï dî i ma[nji] na=n ambla=kï-p
3PL go.PRФ 3SG.POSS talk=OBL PL.REFL=say-PRФ
They went and talked about him.\(^\text{64}\)

---

\(^{62}\) A tamben ‘ladder’ is very tall, used for climbing trees, as opposed to a wat ‘ladder’, which is shorter and leads up to the entrance of a stilted house.

\(^{63}\) The flying foxes are curious about this new creature (a man) that has come to join their realm in the sky. They give him wawana fruit, which is something a flying fox (but not a human) would typically eat.

\(^{64}\) When the man refuses the wawana fruit as something inedible, the flying foxes become suspicious and wary about having him around.
Wop wolka i umbenam i.
wo-p wolka i umbenam i
sleep-PRF again go.PRJ morning go.PRJ
The next day, (they) came again, came in the morning.

Ato mawlop.
ata-u ma=u-lo-p
up-from 3SG=from-go-PRF
(They) grabbed onto him.

Iwïl membam u motop anmbïlip.
iwïl ma=imbam u ma=top an-mbï-li-p
moon 3SG=under from 3SG=throw out-here-put-PRF
(And they) threw him out from under the moon.

Em Amblam manji mïnam.
em Amblam manji mï-nam
3SG [name] 3SG.POSS 3SG-INT
That’s it,⁶⁵ that’s Amblo’s (story).

---

⁶⁵ The pronoun em ‘3SG’, used here as an interjection is a loan from Tok Pisin.
17.4 *Anmoka* (‘Snakes’)

This is a description of a traditional cultural practice, as told by Tangin Kapos on 1 June 2017, at her home in Manu village. This text is part of a larger conversation between Tangin Kapos and Gweni Tungun. Examples from this conversation that appear within this dissertation are labeled “T30”. The audio recording can be found on the ELAR website (file name *ulwa035.wav*). The entire recording is almost six minutes long (5:51); the following text, however, represents about the first minute (0:57) of the text.

In this text, Tangin describes a traditional method of inducing labor, which would be used when a husband suspected that his wife was overdue in carrying their child. The husband would kill a snake and wrap its body in a banana leaf, as if it were prepared food. He would then give this package to his wife, who, thinking it was food, would unwrap it, see the snake, and get a shock, which—it was believed—would induce her to bear the child on that very night.

Anmoka stori.

*Anmoka* stori
snake story

A snake story.\(^{66}\)

**Nambi save anmoka ala namnapen**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nambi</th>
<th>save</th>
<th>anmoka</th>
<th>ala</th>
<th>namnapen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.FOC</td>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>afraid-be-NMLZ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for me, I’m afraid of snakes.\(^{67}\)

**Nï wandam mata ankam anmoka matïm mapta …**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nï</th>
<th>wandam</th>
<th>mata</th>
<th>ankam</th>
<th>anmoka</th>
<th>matïm</th>
<th>mapta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>jungle</td>
<td>go-COND</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>3SG=hit-IRR</td>
<td>3SG=be-COND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whenever I go to the jungle and people kill a snake there,

… nï mandï namnap unip.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nï</th>
<th>ma=andï</th>
<th>namnap-p</th>
<th>uni-p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>3SG=for</td>
<td>afraid-be</td>
<td>shout-PRF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

… I shout in fear about it.

---

\(^{66}\) *Stori* ‘story’ < Tok Pisin.

\(^{67}\) The habitual marker *save* (literally ‘know’) is borrowed from Tok Pisin.
Wopa ndawa u mana mane.

(I’m) going to go far from there.

Ango amoka ndala nambi nīpatpe.

(I) don’t have thick skin for snakes.68

Amoka ndī ala ipka inom ala nambi kenmbupe …

After the preceding prologue about the speaker’s fear of snakes, she begins now to describe a traditional means of inducing labor that relies on a woman’s fear of snakes.

68 Literally, ‘not for the snakes is skin giant’, i.e., the speaker is easily frightened by snakes.

69 Literally, ‘bodies (have) heaviness’.

70 That is, the husband would toss the leaf-wrapped snake to his wife as if it were food.

71 This is what a husband might say to his presumed overdo wife.

72 Oke ‘OK’ < Tok Pisin.

Manap amoka matim map …

Having killed a snake for her there, …

---

68 Literally, ‘not for the snakes is skin giant’, i.e., the speaker is easily frightened by snakes.

69 After the preceding prologue about the speaker’s fear of snakes, she begins now to describe a traditional means of inducing labor that relies on a woman’s fear of snakes.

70 Literally, ‘bodies (have) heaviness’.

71 That is, the husband would toss the leaf-wrapped snake to his wife as if it were food.

72 This is what a husband might say to his presumed overdo wife.

73 Oke ‘OK’ < Tok Pisin.
… man muku itap matì ma …
ma=n muku ita-p ma=tì ma
3SG=OBL package tie-PRF 3SG=take go
… made a package with it, and brought it (home), …

… angop mundu tì mawatlïp mat mananda.
ango-p mundu tì ma=wat-li-p ma=tì ma=na-nda
NEG-be food take 3SG=atop-put-PRF 3SG=take 3SG=give-IRR
… (the husband), pretending that it was food, would give it to her.74

Mat manata mì makanakawmop …
ma=tì ma=na-ta mì ma=kanaka-[l]umo-p
3SG=take 3SG=give-COND 3sg 3sg=unwrap-put-PRF
When (he) has given it to her, she would unwrap it, …

… limndì mandì mandì unipïna: “Yi!”
limndì ma=andì ma=andì uni-p-na
eye 3SG=for 3SG=for shout-be-IRR
… see it, and shout75 about it: “Eek!”

Mala namnap unipïna.
ma=ala namna-p uni-p-na
3SG=for afraid-be shout-be-IRR
(She) would shout in fear of it.

Ta manji alum mì tïnanga-ta mì ma=kot-nda
ta manji alum mì tïnanga-ta mì ma=kot-nda
already 3SG.POSS child 3SG arise-COND 3SG 3SG=break-IRR
Already her baby would get up, and she would bear76 it.

Olsem mì amun imbapta mì mandoni unipta …
olsem mì amun imba-p-ta mì ma=andì uni-p-ta
thus 3SG now night-be-COND 3SG 3SG=for shout-PRF-COND
And so,77 it—that night, when she shouted about it …

… mì imbapta alum mì tïnangana.
mì imba-p-ta alum mì tïnangana
3SG night-be-COND child 3SG arise-IRR
… it—that night—the baby would get up.

74 Literally, ‘in a false way taking (the name) “food” and putting (it) on it (the snake’.
75 The form unipïna ‘shout [IRR]’ appears to be an alternate form of uninda, seemingly formed with the irreals copular suffix.
76 The form kotnda ‘break [IRR]’ appears to be an alternate form of kotïna, exhibiting the allomorph -nda of the irreals suffix -na.
77 Olsem ‘thus’ < Tok Pisin.
When (the baby) would get up inside her, she would bear it that night.
Chapter 18
Lexicon

18.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a basic (bilingual) dictionary of Ulwa. First, in the following section (18.2), 1,277 Ulwa lexical entries are presented alphabetically, each with an English definition (or explanation). This is by no means meant to be a complete dictionary of Ulwa vocabulary. It does, however, include every Ulwa word that appears in this dissertation, as well as a number of other words found in texts or recorded during elicitation session. The subsequent section (18.3) provides an English-to-Ulwa word list. This is intended to be a quick and simple means of finding words in Ulwa: as such, it does not provide lengthy definitions, nor does it include Ulwa words that have no simple English definition (such as the names of a native varieties of banana).
### 18.2 Ulwa-to-English

In the following dictionary, the Ulwa words are organized alphabetically, following the conventions of English (and Tok Pisin) alphabetization. For ease of use, the digraphs `<mb>`, `<nd>`, `<ng>`, `<nj>`, and `<ae>` are treated as series of two characters each. That is, although each represents a single phoneme in Ulwa, they are alphabetized as if they were composed of separate letters. Thus, for example, the words *ana* ‘scrub’, *anda* ‘that’, and *ane* ‘sun’ are presented in that order, even though *ana* and *ane* share the first two phonemes, whereas *anda* has a different second phoneme. This separation of phonologically more similar words is made in the interest of facilitating the discovery of lexical items. The one exception to this scheme is that word-initial prenasalized voiced stops are treated as distinct graphemes and, as such, received their own letter headings (*Mb, Nd, Ng, Nj*). (Proper nouns that begin with these phonemes, are written, however, without the nasal component, see 1.5, and they are alphabetized accordingly). The letter `<ï>` immediately follows `<i>` in the alphabetization scheme used here.

Ulwa verbs are identified with the abbreviation *v.* at the beginning of the English definition. The entry for the Ulwa verb takes the form of the verb’s stem. (For more on the conjugation of verbs, see 4.5.) If a verb has multiple stems (e.g., the irregular verb *ama-* ~ *la-* ‘eat’), each stem receives its own entry in the dictionary. Separable verbs are written with a space between the separable elements, to help show how these words may be used (see 9.3.1–3).

### A – a

| a\(^1\) | v. break | -al \[irregular perfective suffix\] \(\text{for si ‘push’}\) |
| a\(^2\) | ah, uh | al\(^1\) \(\text{long, thin beam in a house, running to the roof atop the}\) kukun |
| a\(^3\) | [question particle] | al\(^2\) \(\text{traditional mosquito net}\) |
| akatoma | fork | al\(^3\) \(\text{traditional skirt for men}\) |
| akïnaka | new, fresh, alive, raw, young | al nambi \(\text{bed sheet}\) |
| akïnanga | frond skin | al\(^1\) \(\text{for, from}\) |
| akum | basket made from sago fronds, used as a container to hold things | al\(^2\) \(\text{those [PL]}\) |
| akunpu | back of the skull (occipital bone) | alakamb \(\text{v. dislike, disapprove of, hate}\) |
alalama  matured coconut fruit, older than andimoni, but not yet wapata ‘dry’
alaman  large sago palm sp. with spines
ale  v. scrape (as a sago palm)
alima  v. beat (as sago pulp)
Alimban [male name]
Alkumot [female name]
Alma [male name]
almba hornbill bird
almbïne banana sp. of the plantain variety; the plant has bunches with very many fruits
alsa scorpion
alum child, baby
alwoma support in a house, tied perpendicularly under the al
ama v. eat, drink, chew, bite, suck, smoke (tobacco)
Amal site of the third Manu village, near present-day Bun village
amam insect sp. that lives in the water, similar to a ladybug
amangala brown eagle-like bird
amba haus tambaran, men’s house, spirit house; clan; magic
ambatim joint
ambawa myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself (singular intensive reflexive pronoun)
Ambawanam [male name]
Ambayam [female name]
ambep front of the haus tambaran (men’s house)
ambet magic, poison
ambi big; much; big man, God
ambin ourselves [DU.INCL.EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU] (dual reflexive pronoun)
ambinawa ourselves [DU.INCL.EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU] (dual intensive reflexive pronoun)
ambinji our [DU.INCL.EXCL] own, your [DU] own, their [DU] own (dual reflexive possessive pronoun)
Ambïnme [male name]
Ambïnji my own, your [SG] own, his own, her own, its own (singular reflexive possessive pronoun)
Ambïnme [male name]
ambla1 ourselves [PL.INCL.EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL] (plural reflexive pronoun)
ambla2 tooth
amblanji our [PL.INCL/EXCL] own, your [PL] own, their [PL] own (plural reflexive possessive pronoun)
amblawali v. fight, battle
amblawe ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL] (plural intensive reflexive pronoun)
amblawali v. fight, battle
amblawe ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL] (plural partitive intensive reflexive pronoun)
Ambloom [female name]
Ambonda [female name]
ambunmbĩ back of the haus tambaran (men’s house)
ambuwe myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself (singular partitive intensive reflexive pronoun)
Ambwat Kambot (village)
ame basket made from sago starch; uterus, marsupial pouch
amendum  stinging nettle sp. with small leaves
ametamal  spoon made from a coconut shell
Amiwa [male name]
amla  tree sp.
Amombi [male name]
amun  now, today, nowadays, recently, still, yet
amunji  young person
an  we [PL.EXCL]
an nambi  waistcloth, clothing
an=  us [PL.EXCL]
a1  grass skirt made from sago shoots, dress; a parasitic person
a2  hair on the tip of an animal’s tail
a3  v. scrub, scratch
anam  sky; lightning
Anam [male name]
anam wapata  thunder
anambi  as for us [PL.EXCL] (focus pronoun)
anangum  spine, backbone
anankin  blood
anapa  sister
anapot  short grass skirt for men
anasa  pickaxe used for scraping sago
anat  ginger-like plant, used to treat coughs
anaw  paddle; fishtail; outboard motor
anawa  we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL] (intensive pronoun)
anda  that
andana  left, left-hand
andanam  that is it (emphatic pronoun)
ande  OK
andi  OK (alternate pronunciation of ande)
andin  those [DU]
andi1  for, from
andi2  sago shoot
andil  careful, slow, quiet
andila  waiting for, awaiting (also angla)
andilalo  v. hunt, seek (also anglalo)
andim  for, from
Andimali  Dimiri (village)
andimoni  young (drinking) coconut fruit
andin  for, from
ando  there, thence
anduwan  young sago palm
andwana  yellow
ane  sun; midday, day; yellow, light
Ane anma!  Good day!
ane inom  aunt (father’s sister)
ane inom atana  aunt (father’s older sister)
ane inom wot  aunt (father’s younger sister)
ane mongi  banana sp. with sweet, green fruit, traditionally only eaten by men
ane uta  small brown bird with a beak like a parrot’s that sings in the dry season
ane wapata  dry season
ane wombam  noon, midday
anem  plant sp. with seeds used for making necklace beads; yam sp. with purple flesh; blue, purple
anem nambum  rainbow
anembal  light (color)
anen  fat, grease
anenis  torch
angag  piece, side
angani  rear, behind, after
angani ka  v. follow
anganika  after, later, soon
angay  five
angay angay  twenty-five
angay kwe kwe
mowon ndiwalip  six
angay kwe lele
ndiwn ndiwalip  eight
angay kwe nini
minwon ndïwatlïp  seven
angay kwe
watangïnila ndïwon
ndïwatlïp  nine
angay lele  fifteen
angay lele kwe
mowon ndïwatlïp  sixteen
angay lele lele
ndïwon ndïwatlïp  eighteen
angay lele nini
minwon ndïwatlïp  seventeen
angay lele
watangïnila ndïwon
ndïwatlïp  nineteen
angay nini  ten
angay nini kwe
mowon ndïwatlïp  eleven
angay nini lele
ndïwon ndïwatlïp  thirteen
angay nini nini
minwon ndïwatlïp  twelve
angay nini
watangïnila ndïwon
ndïwatlïp  fourteen
angay watangïnila  twenty
angïn  vegetable sp.
angla  waiting for, awaiting (also
andïla)
anglalo  v. hunt, seek (also andïlalo)
ango 1  no, not (negator)
ango 2  which?; where?
ango 3  v. pull out, pick
ango luwa  where?
ango tem  when?
angom ë  v. pull out, uproot
angos 1  whatever
angos 2  whatever, whatsoever, anything
angos nji  whatever
angumoni  swelling
angumoni nïmal  ocean, sea
angun  tail; fin, fishtail
angwena  why?
anì  bilum, net bag, string bag
anïnokam  throat, windpipe
anîm  forking stick
anîmasi  python
anji  our [PL.EXCL], ours [PL.EXCL]
anjika  how many?
anjikaka  how?; what’s the matter?
ankam  person
ankam unduwan  fifty
ankam unduwan
nali  sixty
ankam unduwan
nali lele  eighty
ankam unduwan
nali nini  seventy
ankam unduwan
nali watangïnila  ninety
ankïn
anma 1  good, nice, true, smart,
straight, healthy, well
anma 2  v. go out
anma wanani  v. be happy
anmbasa  v. chase
anmbï  v. come out
anmbï  outside
anmoka  snake
anmopa  tulip greens (Gnetum
gemon)
anmot  post used in the middle of a
house to support the roof
ansi  red buai (betel nut); a gourd-
like plant used to store lime,
previously used to cover the
penis; penis (slang)
an si inom  aunt (mother’s brother’s
wife)
an si nungol  nephew, niece (only used to
refer to a man’s sister’s child)
an si yanat  niece (only used to refer to a
man’s sister’s daughter)
an simu  gourd-like drum
anul  grass, grassland
anwe  we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL]
(from among several)
ap  [perfective suffix] (in double
perfective constructions)
apa  house, building
apa ini  floor of a house
apa mot  veranda, awning
apaka    roof
apembam   area beneath a stilted house
apep      front of the house
apiñ      fire, matches, lighter; pain
apiñ inim perspiration
apiñ mînda banana sp. with sweet, small, red fruit, traditionally only eaten by men
apiñ nangîn large fire tongs
apiñ ngîn smoke
apiñ we   sago cooked on the fire
apiñal    swamp
apiñisi   ash, ashes
apîka     very
apîlam    table, shelf
apiombam  middle of the house
apot      shelf that hangs above the hearth, used for drying and smoking meat and fish
apunmbî   back of the house
apwanam   side of the house
apwane    insect sp., the adult form of the mînkîn grub
asa¹      nah (denial)
asa²      v. hit, stab, shoot; kill
ase       no (denial)
asi       grass
asi ka    v. sit, sit down
asimu     rice
Asingona  [female name]
asiya     string, thread; animal trap made of string; fishing line
asiyot    grass knife
asîmna    nose ring traditionally worn by men
at¹       fight, battle
at²       end, piece
ata       up, upward, upstream
ata monam mu money
atal      anus
atala     v. laugh
atalî     v. put up
atana     older sister
atana numan brother-in-law (older sister’s husband)
atay      v. go up
atî       v. hit, stab, shoot; kill (irregular irrealis stem)
atma      older brother
atma inga yena sister-in-law (older brother’s wife)
Atuma     [female name]
atwana    question
atwana kî v. ask
atwana ta v. ask
aw¹       buai, betel nut (the Areca catechu palm or its seed) –
aw²       v. put (imperfective form of u)
aw ilowan young betel nut tree, just grown from a shoot
aw lîmndî youngest (immature) stage of betel nut
aw ulum   young, somewhat wet betel net (the stage following kakîla)
aw wapata mature, ‘dry’ betel nut (the stage following pîsima)
awa       [intensive marker]
Awaka     [male name]
awal      afternoon, evening; yesterday
awal nambî afternoon
Awal nambî anma! Good afternoon!
awalawa   bird sp. that is usually red or green and looks like a parrot
awame     rice-like seed of a limbum palm, commonly eaten by children
Awandana  [female name]
awaw      lie, untruth
awena     female friend (of a woman)
aweta     (male) friend
awi       shoulder, the side of
awîl      white, thin, very long yam sp.
awlop     in vain
awlu      step
awnaka    tree sp.
awngala   small, black, yellow-breasted bird
awpane    butterfly
awsingîn  eagle-like bird
ay¹       sago, jellied sago
ay²  ow, ay                      ayna  scarf worn by women in mourning; *bilum* (net bag) for carrying babies
aya  ah me                      Ayndin  [male name]
aylat  millipede                aypul  scoop of jellied sago
aymoma  stick used for stirring sago

B (mb)

Banjiwa  [male name]             Bulon  region immediately surrounding the fifth (and current) Manu village
Bay  [male name]

D (nd)

Damnda  [female name]             Dimes  [male name]
Dim  Biwat (village); name of the original Manu village
Dumngul  [male name]
Dingo  [male name]

E – e

-e¹  [dependent marker suffix]    e²  [question particle]
-e²  [imperfective suffix]       e³  hey, ay
-e³  [free dependent marker]     -en  [nominalizing suffix]

G (ng)

Gambri  [male name]              Guren  [male name]
Ganmali  [male name]             Gwam  [female name]
Ginam  [female name]

I – i

i¹  hand, arm                      i⁷  [predicate marker] (from Tok Pisin)
i²  behavior, habit, custom, way  i ambatîm  elbow
i³  lime (calcium hydroxide)      i name  upper arm
i⁴  v. come                        i nangum  forearm
i⁵  v. go (suppletive perfective form of *ma*)
i⁶  alas                           ika  riverbank
                              ika uta  v. count
                              ikali  li  v. grab, hold, catch
ila  morota  frond
ilom  day
ilu  root
ilum  piece; little, few
ilumka  a little
im  tree
im nalistick
im nambi  bark
im nangin  branch
imba  night, evening
Imba anma!  Good evening!, Good night!
imbam  under, below
imbam ka  v. run
imbïn  water refuse (the discarded run-off from strained sago starch)
imnde  basket used for straining sago
imot  log
impul  piece of wood
imu  finger
imu ankam  index finger
imu law  ring finger
imu unduwan  thumb
imu watangin  pinky finger
imu woma  middle finger
Imwa  region surrounding Wopata village
in1  in, into
in2  v. get, collect
ina1  liver; the seat of reasoning and emotion
ina2  v. get, collect (alternate stem of in)
inakawana  v. think
inamba  armband; money
inane  mature edible grub, either of the minkin or mundu species
inanginmana  official, civil servant
inapaw  belly
inapum  right, right-hand
inda  v. walk
ingga  in-law (i.e., any relation through marriage)
ingwa  spider
ini  ground, land, earth, soil
inim  water, rain, liquid; year
inim ambi  flood
inim mo ma  v. swim
inim nkï  v. celebrate
inim tembi  alcohol
inimndum  small sago sp. with short spines
ininnji  water spirit; dew
inimpul  lake, pond
inji  innards, guts
inkaw  mountain
inmbi  vulva
inmbi minim  clitoris
inmi  hole
inom  mother; term of respect for older women; general term for aunts; any adult woman
inom atana  aunt (parent’s older sister)
inom ngata  grandmother, old woman
inom wot  aunt (parent’s younger sister)
ipu  elbow
intïp  cassowary bone
inum  ground, burial spot
ip  nose, front
ip ka  v. precede
ipka  before, earlier, first
ipwat  front
isi1  traditional salt made from the ashes of burnt banana leaves; soup
isi2  young pangal frond (a younger form of wema)
isimonbam u  v. pray
ita  v. build, make; tie
itenmbu  bamboo container, cup
itïm  trash
itïtïl  dust
itom  father; term of respect for older men; general term for uncles (usually only paternal uncles); any adult man
itom ambi  uncle (father’s older brother)
itom atma  uncle (father’s older brother)
itom ngata  grandfather, old man
itom wot  uncle (father’s younger brother)
iwa  vase-shape basket woven from sago fronds, used to catch fish
iwal  horizontal beam in a house crossing on top of the kukan
iwanal  small red or brown ant

iwal  moon; month; menstruation; vulva (euphemism)
iya¹  to, toward
iya²  yeah (affirmation)
iyo  yes (affirmation)

ï  oblique marker (allomorph of ïn)
-ïp  perfective suffix (in double perfective constructions)

J (nj)

Jukan  [female name]

K – k

ka¹  at, in, on
ka²  v. let, leave, allow
ka³  thus, in this manner, in that manner
ka⁴  peak
kaka  completely (also keka)
kakïla  young, wet betel nut (the stage following aw limndî)
kalam  knowledge, wisdom; knowing, knowledgeable, wise
kali lî  v. send
kalim  cassowary
kalingana  praying mantis
Kalingana  [male name]
kalum  egg yolk
kamb  v. shun, avoid
Kambok  Kambuku (village)
Kamen  the ancestral village of Ulwa and neighboring language communities, near present-day Kambaramba village
kana  beside, near, next to
kanaka lumo  v. unwrap
kanam  beside, near, next to
Kanang  [male name]
Kanangula  [male name]
Kanangwa  alternate name of Amali village
kananum  boil, abscess
Kapos  [male name]
katmombe  black stinging ant
kaw  song
kawa  small green nut that is chewed
Kawana  [female name]
Kawat  [male name]
kawni  v. sing
kayanmali  lizard sp. with a horn on the back of its head
Kayngam  [male name]
Kayta  [male name]
keka  completely (also kaka)
kekaka  one each, one by one, just a few (also kwekaka)
kenmbu  problem, heavy
kî  v. say, speak, tell, talk, think
kîka  white ant, white ant nest
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kïkal</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kïkal wana</td>
<td>v. hear, listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kïkal wopa</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kïke u</td>
<td>v. throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kïlakïli</td>
<td>tiny frog sp. that lives on leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kïtalwe</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kïtïmngïle</td>
<td>banana sp. with very large fruit, second in size only to wowi bananas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klop</td>
<td>v. cross, pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko=</td>
<td>[indefinite marker]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>just, simply, without care, without reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokawe</td>
<td>bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kol</td>
<td>v. break, split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolpe</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kom</td>
<td>[negative marker]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komblam</td>
<td>chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kome</td>
<td>[negative marker]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konawa</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongos</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop¹</td>
<td>just, simply, without care, without reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop²</td>
<td>please</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>v. break, bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowe</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuk u</td>
<td>v. gather, pile; assemble, unite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukul</td>
<td>basket for carrying sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukum</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukumali</td>
<td>bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukumbe¹</td>
<td>clay pot used to hold water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukumbe²</td>
<td>sago palm sp. with no spines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukun</td>
<td>horizontal beam on the top of a house, under the roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuli li</td>
<td>v. throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulkul</td>
<td>bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuma¹</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuma²</td>
<td>who? [NSG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumanji</td>
<td>whose? [NSG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumba</td>
<td>Bun (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumblima</td>
<td>long, bean-like daka pepper sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kun</td>
<td>v. break, break off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kundan</td>
<td>eel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunya</td>
<td>yam sp. with red skin and reddish-pink flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwa¹</td>
<td>just, simply, without care, without reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwa²</td>
<td>one (also kwe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwa³</td>
<td>someone; other, another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwa⁴</td>
<td>who? [SG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwanjri</td>
<td>whose? [SG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwe</td>
<td>one (also kwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwekaka</td>
<td>one each, one by one, just a few (also kekaka)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**L – 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la-</td>
<td>[irregular irrealis prefix]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la¹</td>
<td>(for ka ‘let’, wo ‘sleep’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la²</td>
<td>v. eat, drink, chew, bite, suck, smoke (tobacco) (irregular irrealis stem of ama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laka</td>
<td>v. let, leave, allow (irregular irrealis stem of ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>meat, flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamban</td>
<td>nut, larger than betel nut and also chewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamndu</td>
<td>pig (also namndu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamndu mu</td>
<td>blue fly that follows pigs and stings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamndu unduwan</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamndu uta</td>
<td>bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langay</td>
<td>red-and-black parrot-like bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanjin</td>
<td>ariid catfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapa</td>
<td>v. plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>ti plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>kanda, rattan cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lele</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemetam</td>
<td>large hardwood tree; brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemta</td>
<td>spade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
li\textsuperscript{1} down, downward, 
downstream
li\textsuperscript{2} v. fall
li\textsuperscript{3} v. go down
lindin edible fern sp.
linginane spiderweb
li v. put
limndi eye
limndi ala v. look, see, watch
limndi imim tear, teardrop
limndi li v. watch
limndi uta v. check, examine
limndi wopa blind
lingin fog
liwa dawn
lo v. cut, go
lolop just (likely from Ap Ma)
longom dream
lop ka v. lie, lie down
lopo v. rain, wash, bathe
lowo v. sleep; burn (intransitive);
swell (irregular irrealis stem
of wo)
lu with
luke too
lumnjap Sepik garfish
lumo v. put
lungum long spear made of sharpened

M – n

-m [irregular irrealis suffix] (for
asa ~ ati ‘hit’)
m mhm, hm!
ma\textsuperscript{1} v. go
ma\textsuperscript{2} and
ma= him/her/it
mae shovel, spade
maep bird sp.
maka thus, in this manner, in that
manner
malalîwa snake sp.
Malman [male name]
mama mouth
manal hot water
Manama [male name]
mangusuwa the poor thing
Manana river snail
manangum stick with decorations used in
dances
manji his/her(s)/its
manjimanji maggot
Manjima [female name]
Mapana [female name]
Maple [female name]
mapu Oxyeleotris fish
Mapun [male name]
masamasa tree sp.
matamal sharp; difficult; angry
matlaka rat sp.
maw correct, right
mawa (he/him) himself/(she/her)
herself/(it) itself (intensive
pronoun)
mawea (he/him) himself/(she/her)
herself/(it) itself (from among
several)
maweka also, moreover (also
moweka)
Mawna  [female name]
mawnam  that's it!
may  eel-tailed catfish
me\textsuperscript{1}  limbum palm
me\textsuperscript{2}  [negative marker]
me\textsuperscript{3}  v. sew
membul  small pigeon-like bird with brown sides
metmet  swamp dwarf
mi  splinter, strand, fiber (inside the husk of a coconut)
mil  sugarcane
mimin  louse
min\textsuperscript{1}  they [DU]
min\textsuperscript{2}  armband
min=  them [DU]
minam  urine
minambi  as for them [DU] (focus pronoun)
minawa  (they/them) themselves [DU] (intensive pronoun)
mingusuwa  the poor things [DU]
mingusuwatà  the poor things [DU]
mini=  them [DU] (allomorph of min=)
minwe  (they/them) themselves [DU] (from among several)
minyam  feces
misam  brain
misimisi  story
mï  he/she/it
mïkï  tree sp.
mïkï ìtìm  swamp
Mïkïlwe  jungle region near Manu
mïlì  tall ginger
mïmïl u  v. wring (as sago fibers), squeeze, strain
mïnal  taro; green
mïnal anmoka  green snake sp.
mïnam  he/she/it is the one (emphatic pronoun)
mïnandïn  gallbladder
mïnan  intestines
mïnanum  mature, fully ripe betel nut (the stage following aw wapata)
mïnda  banana
mïndam  pus
mïndapan  banana leaf; paper
mïndìt  yellow
mïngamata  whatchamacallit
mïnim  tongue
minja  speech
minji  their [DU], theirs [DU]
minjika  this/that kind of speech
mïnkïn  small, edible sago grub sp., the larva of the apwane insect
mïnkïn ulum  sago palm sp. with many spines, used for harvesting mïnkïn grubs
mïnkïn we  sago pancake fried with mïnkïn grubs
mïnoma  cold, cool
mïnopal  bladder
mïnwata  wet, ripe, rotting, rotten, spoiled
mïsisïna  v. arrange
mitïn\textsuperscript{1}  egg; testicle
mitïn\textsuperscript{2}  language
mm  uh-uh
moko  v. take, take one-by-one, catch
mokum  stealth
molpan  tree spirit
mom  grandmother (from Ap Ma)
moma  leaf tied in an overhand knot used to summon the spirit of the deceased
monam  tree sp.
Monde  [male name]
mondin  fruit sp. similar to a watermelon
mondo  v. dry, smoke
mongi  banana sp. with sweet, thin, long fruit
mongi ankam  banana sp. with sweet, red fruit, traditionally only eaten by men
Mongima  [male name]
moni\textsuperscript{3}  between, among
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moni²</td>
<td>red bird with a beak like a parrot’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moniwot</td>
<td>croton shrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monombam</td>
<td>forehead, face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monop</td>
<td>full, sated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mop li</td>
<td>v. tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morombi</td>
<td>Raten (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosombla</td>
<td>Yaul (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mota</td>
<td>bamboo used for cooking fish; bamboo flute; throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motam</td>
<td>stick, bundle; bunch of coconuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moweka</td>
<td>also, moreover (also maweka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu¹</td>
<td>fruit, seed, berry nut; head or tip of a tool; kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu²</td>
<td>blowfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukamba</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muku</td>
<td>package, packet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukuwi</td>
<td>older sago palm that has gone to flower (i.e., it has shoots emerging)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moweka</td>
<td>also, moreover (also maweka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muna</td>
<td>large, brown ant sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumul</td>
<td>fungus, mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumne</td>
<td>cold and dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundu</td>
<td>animal, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundum</td>
<td>edible, mid-sized grub, the larva of the nitili insect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumu</td>
<td>v. throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungul</td>
<td>edible fern sp. with small leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungun</td>
<td>ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutam¹</td>
<td>back (of the body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutam²</td>
<td>tree sp. with leaves used to wrap sago or bandage wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutoma</td>
<td>backbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwa</td>
<td>opening, door, window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulwat</td>
<td>bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumul</td>
<td>fungus, mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumun</td>
<td>edible, mid-sized grub, the larva of the nitili insect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mura</td>
<td>animal, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mune u</td>
<td>v. throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungun</td>
<td>ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mupu</td>
<td>core of a tree or palm; meat of a coconut, sago palm, or betel nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muta</td>
<td>back (of the body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutan</td>
<td>tree sp. with leaves used to wrap sago or bandage wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutama</td>
<td>backbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwa</td>
<td>opening, door, window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubina</td>
<td>here, hither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubula</td>
<td>palm sp. used to make bows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubun</td>
<td>black, blue, dark; scar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubunmana</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubuka</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mb – mb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbalanji</td>
<td>enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbatmbat</td>
<td>tilapia (likely from Ap Ma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbi</td>
<td>v. come here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbinmbin</td>
<td>grave, cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbii</td>
<td>here, hither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbilanda</td>
<td>palm sp. used to make bows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mblando</td>
<td>rat sp. that lives in the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbomala</td>
<td>large firefly sp.; large star, planet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbomala nangum</td>
<td>flashlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbu</td>
<td>here, hence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbuka</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbun</td>
<td>black, blue, dark; scar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbunmana</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N – n**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n¹</td>
<td>[imperative suffix]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n²</td>
<td>[irregular imperfective suffix] (for ma ‘go’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n³</td>
<td>[irregular perfective suffix] (for ti ‘take’, na ‘give’, i ‘come’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n⁴</td>
<td>[nominalizing suffix]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=n</td>
<td>[oblique marker]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n¹</td>
<td>I (allomorph of ni when preceding a vowel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n²</td>
<td>[epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-na [irrealis suffix]
a¹ talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language
na² v. give
na³ v. feed
na⁴ and (from Tok Pisin)
na- [detransitivizing prefix]
naka after, later, soon (abbreviated form of anganika)
nakam wanmbi wild, short daka pepper sp.
nakamb v. suffice, have enough
nakap on account of, because of, for
nali¹ small firefly sp.; small star
nali² spine of a sago frond used to make baskets or arrows
nali³ ten
nali angay fifty
nali kwe kwe eleven
nali kwe lele thirteen
nali kwe nini twelve
nali kwe
watangïnila fourteen
nali lele thirty
nali nini twenty
nali nini angay twenty-five
nali watangïnila forty
-nam [intensifier suffix]
Namanu! Goodbye! (addressed to someone who is leaving)
nambana¹ ancestral spirit, ghost; mask depicting a spirit’s face
nambana² large, hard, white yam sp.
nambana³ sago palm flower
nambana ankam extended family member
nambi¹ skin, hide
nambi² as for me (focus pronoun)
nambiwe u v. peel
nambî body; the external body, including only skin and hair
nambïlumo v. block
nambïnkî v. make, nag
nambït smell, odor
nambït wana v. smell, sniff
nambli feather, fur

Nambul [male name]
nambum inner membrane of an egg shell
namle plant sp. that grows in swamps
namli soft, smooth
namna afraid
namndu pig (also lamndu)
nana mama (a nursery term for ‘mother’); the vocative form of inom for speakers of all ages
nangîn fire tongs, scissors
nangu poisonous, brown lizard sp. with a diamond-shaped head
nangum shoot, seedling
nanim ironwood tree sp., used to make paddles for canoes
Nanîmwat the name of the old Yamen village
naniwe banana sp. with small, sweet fruit
nap¹ on account of, because of, for
nap² yam thorn
nap³ arrow, fishing spear
nasalîwa leech
nataw¹ big, brown gecko
nataw² white spot on the skin
natnat greens, vegetables
nawa I/me myself (intensive pronoun)
Nawoli [male name]
ne v. harvest
netîl plant sp. with black seeds
ni¹ v. act, do; die
ni² v. beat
nil body hair
nil nopa beard
nim nest
nin thorn, spine
nini two
nipum kunai grass (Imperata cylindrica)
nipum amba grassland
nisi coconut flower sheath; bunch of betel nut

498
nitil insect sp., the adult form of the mundum grub
=ni [oblique marker] (allomorph of =n)
ni I
nì= me
nikki v. dig, cut, butcher (with epenthetic vowel)
nikin hiccup, belch
nikit lizard
nimal river
Nimalnu Manu (village)
nimban gudgeon fish
nimin mucus
nimtu very small, green, yellow-breasted bird
nindiwe small sago palm sp. with no spines
ninil sago palm sp.
ninji my, mine
Ninji anma! Thank you!
nipa breadfruit
nipat giant
nipil vine, rope
niplopa flying fox
nipokonam hard
nite kundu drum
nkì v. dig, cut, butcher
nokal beak
kokopi v. hide
nokosam Java almond tree
No! Go!; Let’s go!
nom clay stand used to hold pots over a fire
Nomnga [male name]
nonal wind, breath; the Holy Spirit
nonal u v. breathe
nonalni v. blow (of wind)
Nongami [male name]
nongan u v. vomit
nongontam kaukau, sweet potato
nopa cheek
opal coconut frond, used in roofing
opal u v. crush
nowe large sago palm sp. with no spines
nu near
nuku flatus
num canoe, boat
numan husband
numbu ironwood tree sp. (Vitex cofassus); garamut drum; post of a house
numbu motam mallet used to beat the garamut drum
numbunum large red bee
numini ditch
numnata earthquake
nuna large, mosquito-like insect
nungol child (often ‘son’, but may refer to any young person, boy or girl)
nungolke child (often ‘son’, but may refer to any young person, boy or girl)
nungum sucker of a plant, used to plant new bananas, sago palms, etc.
nungun u v. break
nunu various, many
nunu ika always, often
nupu bottom, base; side of the coconut fruit without eyes; part of the yam that is planted in soil
nuwe I/me myself (from among several)

Nd – nd

-nda [irrealis suffix] (allomorph of -na)
da that (abbreviated form of anda)
ndam bridge
ndambi as for them [PL] (focus pronoun)
ndaw (they/them) themselves [PL] (intensive pronoun)
ndin they [DU] (alternate form of min?)
ndi they [PL]
ndi= them [PL]
ndil pandanus
ndilpot basket
ndinam they are the ones (emphatic pronoun)

Ndëngonim brown ant sp.
Ndëngusuwa the poor things [PL]
Ndëngusuwata the poor things [PL]
Ndënji their [PL], theirs [PL]
Ndolum bird sp.
Ndukumbu palm sp. used in construction
Ndunduma great-grandparent, great-grandchild, ancestor
Ndëwe (they/them) themselves [PL] (from among several)

Ng – ng

Nga this
Ngala these [PL]
Ngam this is it (emphatic pronoun)
Ngan we [DU.EXCL]
Ngan= us [DU.EXCL]
Nganambi as for us [DU.EXCL] (focus pronoun)
Nganangan daka pepper seed
Nganawa we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL] (intensive pronoun)
Nganji our [DU.EXCL], ours [DU.EXCL]
Nganwe we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL] (from among several)
Ngata grand, big; grandparent, old person, ancestor
Ngata yawa maternal great-uncle (mother’s mother’s brother)
Ngaya far, long (time)
Ngin¹ these [DU]
Ngin² net, fish trap woven around a cane hoop
Ngin cloud
Ngini im chin
Ngomi li v. spit
Ngowil black ant sp.
Ngum¹ long, white yam sp.
Ngum² poisonous snake sp. that lives both in water and on land
Ngun you [DU]
Ngun= you [DU]
Nguna we [DU.INCL] (abbreviated form of ngunan)
Ngunambi as for you [DU] (focus pronoun)
Ngunan we [DU.INCL]
Ngunan= us [DU.INCL]
Ngunanambi as for us [DU.INCL] (focus pronoun)
Ngunanawa we/us ourselves [DU.INCL] (intensive pronoun)
Ngunanji our [DU.INCL], ours [DU.INCL]
Ngunanwe we/us ourselves [DU.INCL] (from among several)
Ngunawa you yourselves [DU] (intensive pronoun)
Ngungun¹ red ant; red
Ngungun² plant sp. with red seeds
Ngungun³ cyclone
Ngungusuwa you poor things [DU]
Ngungusuwata you poor things [DU]
Ngunguswa cockroach
Ngunji your [DU], yours [DU]
Ngunmbi banana sp. of the plantain variety with medium-sized fruit in big bunches
Ngunwe you yourselves [DU] (from among several)
Ngusuwa poor, pitiful
Nj – nj

nj | thing | njukuta | small, thin, narrow
njimana | housefly

O – o

-o | [intensifier/vocative suffix] | -op | [perfective suffix] (in double perfective constructions)
o | or (from Tok Pisin)

P – p

-p₁ | [copular suffix] | pe | [free dependent marker]
-p₂ | [perfective suffix] | -pïna | [irrealis copular suffix]
p | [epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers] | pïsima | older, somewhat dry betel nut (the stage following aw ulum)
pal | main shoot of a sago palm, used as a horizontal beam in houses to support the floor | Pisuwa | [male name]
palmana | thick, wide | piya | small banana sp. of the plantain variety
palam | cane grass | Plas | [male name]
palpal | ceremonial armband; money | pop lï | v. sweep
pat | shoot that emerges from the bulb of a yam | popotala | big, brown frog sp.
pawla | wild yam sp. with long bulb | pul | piece, place

S – s

sa | v. cry, shine | si | v. push
sakîma | tool for digging out canoes, adze | sikal | fly sp.
sakla | platform; stretcher | Simban | [female name]
saklup | broom | simbîli | blue-and-brown-striped lizard sp.
sal | tear, teardrop | simînda | banana sp. of the plantain variety with large bunches (second only to almbîne in number of fruits)
samban | pot for cooking | sina | small, young bamboo stalk; small knife made from bamboo
sambulumbu | flying insect sp. | Sinanam | [female name]
samnang | yam sp. with pink flesh | sandipal | basket made from coconut fronds
sasi | initiation rites | sasi | saliva, magic
sawi | initiation rites | Simban | [female name]
sinanan  | nail, fingernail
sinananangin  | claw
sinangul  | Jew’s harp
Sinda  | [female name]
sini  | v. play
sinokoy  | crop
siwi  | large, edible sago grub sp., the larva of the tambin insect
simbini  | large storage pot
sokoy  | tobacco
somine  | fish sp.

sum  | edible sago grub (minkin or siwi) in a slightly more matured state
Supam  | [female name]
supangasa  | banana sp. of the plantain variety with the second smallest fruit (after yokomakan)
suan  | mesh
Suwol  | [male name]

T – t

-t1  | [conditional suffix]
     (allomorph of -ta when preceding a vowel)
-t2  | [speculative suffix]
-ta  | [conditional suffix]
ta1  | already
ta2  | crossbeam, floor support in a house that sits atop the pal, underneath the limbum palm stem
ta3  | v. say, speak, tell, talk, think
tal  | tail feather
Talamba  | jungle region near Manu
taman  | roof beam that sits atop supports
Tambana  | [female name]
tambanji  | black, sharp-beaked bird
tamben  | ladder used to climb trees
tambeta  | chest
tambin  | insect sp., the adult form of the siwi grub
tambin ulum  | tall, thin sago palm sp. that, when fallen and dry, often contains siwi grubs
tambontam  | yam sp. with yellow-whitish skin and white flesh
tambumana  | dull
tamndi  | owner, kin, next of kin	an  | stone, axe
tanatmu  | stone axe, axe head	anawen  | hoe
tane lī  | v. stand, stand up
tanen  | brown, yellow-legged bird
tangam  | sprout, bud
Tangin  | [female name]
Tanom  | [female name]
tanum  | lips
tap  | maybe
Tapon  | [male name]
Tarambi  | [male name]
tata  | papa (a nursery term for ‘father’); the vocative form of itom for speakers of all ages
Taw  | jungle region near Manu
tawa  | wound, sore
tawatal  | scab
tawatip  | child
tawi  | magic
tem  | time, when (from Tok Pisin)
tembi  | bad, sick, poor, dirty; badness, sickness
Tiwen  | jungle region near Wopata
tī  | v. take
tīke  | small
tīki  | again, anymore, else
tīkli ka  | v. turn, turn around
tīl  | husk, shell
tīlwa  | road, path, trail, track
tīlwa num  | car
tīmal  | buttress root
tīmbil  | fence; diaphragm
tīn  | dog
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tinanga</td>
<td>v. arise, get up</td>
<td>tongonat²</td>
<td>small, black frog sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tingin</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>tongonat¹</td>
<td>flying insect sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiponim</td>
<td>cuscus</td>
<td>top li</td>
<td>v. throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiponim</td>
<td>section of Manu village where the school was built</td>
<td>topinka</td>
<td>v. forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirinigín</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
<td>tukul</td>
<td>fish trap made from bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomal u</td>
<td>v. pour</td>
<td>tul</td>
<td>crow-like black bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomona</td>
<td>brown, sharp-nosed frog sp.</td>
<td>tumbunma</td>
<td>nafe-like black bird sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomoy</td>
<td>insect sp. that lives around hearth ashes</td>
<td>tumbu ifím</td>
<td>outhouse, toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tondiway</td>
<td>plant sp. with orange seeds; orange</td>
<td>tumopa</td>
<td>heap of the neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongan</td>
<td>mosquito-swatter</td>
<td>tumul ka</td>
<td>v. bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongla</td>
<td>headdress</td>
<td>Tupuk</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un¹</td>
<td>you [SG]</td>
<td>una</td>
<td>we [PL.INCL] (abbreviated from of unan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un²</td>
<td>from, in, at, around, along</td>
<td>unambi</td>
<td>as for you [PL] (focus pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un³</td>
<td>v. put</td>
<td>unan</td>
<td>we [PL.INCL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un⁴</td>
<td>ditch, creek</td>
<td>unan=</td>
<td>us [PL.INCL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un⁵</td>
<td>ooh</td>
<td>unanambi</td>
<td>as for us [PL.INCL] (focus pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u=</td>
<td>you [SG]</td>
<td>unanawá</td>
<td>we/us ourselves [PL.INCL] (intensive pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>unanji</td>
<td>our [PL.INCL], ours [PL.INCL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul ni</td>
<td>make, force, pressure</td>
<td>unanwe</td>
<td>we/us ourselves [PL.INCL] (from among several)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul watka</td>
<td>v. float</td>
<td>unapín</td>
<td>bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ula</td>
<td>v. weave</td>
<td>unawa</td>
<td>you yourselves [PL] (intensive pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulep li</td>
<td>v. jump</td>
<td>unda¹</td>
<td>enemy, vital spot, target</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulet</td>
<td>clay bowl, dish</td>
<td>unda²</td>
<td>go around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulo</td>
<td>v. peel</td>
<td>unden</td>
<td>stem of the betel nut palm; container for catching water from strained sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulum</td>
<td>sago palm; sago pith</td>
<td>unduwan</td>
<td>head; elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulumbi</td>
<td>wild taro</td>
<td>unduwan apín</td>
<td>headache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulwa</td>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>unet</td>
<td>navel, umbilical cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>ungusuwa¹</td>
<td>you poor thing [SG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma</td>
<td>bone; fish hook</td>
<td>ungusuwa²</td>
<td>you poor things [PL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umba</td>
<td>garbage heap</td>
<td>ungusuwata¹</td>
<td>you poor thing [SG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbe</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>ungusuwata²</td>
<td>you poor things [PL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbenam</td>
<td>morning</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>uni</td>
<td>v. shout</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unji¹</td>
<td>your [SG], yours [SG]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unji²</td>
<td>your [PL], yours [PL]</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmbï</td>
<td>buttocks, rear</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>unum</td>
<td>clavicle; crevice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>unwe</td>
<td>you yourselves [PL] (from among several)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>upa</td>
<td>mosquitofish</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>upan</td>
<td>small fish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upin</td>
<td>Victoria crowned pigeon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta¹</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta²</td>
<td>one-hundred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta³</td>
<td>coconut shell, plate (also wuta)</td>
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<tr>
<td>uta⁴</td>
<td>v. grind (as coconut meat), rub, wipe, scoop, catch (fish) with a net</td>
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<tr>
<td>uta nini</td>
<td>two-hundred</td>
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<td>uta lele</td>
<td>three-hundred</td>
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<td>utal</td>
<td>worm</td>
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<td>utam</td>
<td>yam</td>
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<td>utan</td>
<td>cough</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>utan uta</td>
<td>v. cough</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>util</td>
<td>refuse, leftovers</td>
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<tr>
<td>uwe¹</td>
<td>you yourself (from among several)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uwe²</td>
<td>tree sp. whose oil is used to clean rusted metal</td>
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<tr>
<td>wa¹</td>
<td>village</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wa²</td>
<td>just, simply, without care, without reason</td>
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<tr>
<td>waembï</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>waenkïn</td>
<td>plant sp. similar to ankïn, but with leaves with white backsides</td>
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<tr>
<td>wakan</td>
<td>wallaby</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wal</td>
<td>ribs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wala¹</td>
<td>far, far-off</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wala²</td>
<td>rat sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>wala luwa</td>
<td>far-off place</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wala uta</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wali¹</td>
<td>v. hit, stab, shoot; kill</td>
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<tr>
<td>wali²</td>
<td>little green, yellow, or brown frog sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>walimot</td>
<td>dove, pigeon</td>
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<tr>
<td>wambana</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wambi</td>
<td>as for you [SG] (focus pronoun)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wambïn</td>
<td>small, green nut that is chewed</td>
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<tr>
<td>wan¹</td>
<td>over, above</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wan²</td>
<td>sago shoot, main stalk running along a sago frond</td>
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<tr>
<td>wana¹</td>
<td>v. feel, taste, sense, think</td>
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<tr>
<td>wana²</td>
<td>v. cook</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wana³</td>
<td>[prohibitive marker] (also wanap)</td>
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<tr>
<td>wana⁴</td>
<td>v. call</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wanam</td>
<td>side; wooden shield</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wanamba</td>
<td>armpit</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wananum</td>
<td>hot, warm</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wanap</td>
<td>[prohibitive marker] (also wana)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanawni</td>
<td>v. call, summon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wandam</td>
<td>jungle, woods; garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wandana</td>
<td>curry-flavored vegetable, used for treating coughs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wandapata</td>
<td>fallow garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wandï</td>
<td>bird sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wandïwandï</td>
<td>small, black frog sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangasa</td>
<td>[male name]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanesi</td>
<td>daka, betel nut pepper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanwane</td>
<td>mushroom; policeman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wap</td>
<td>[past copular suffix]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapa</td>
<td>leaf; wing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapal</td>
<td>caterpillar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapata</td>
<td>old, dry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasi</td>
<td>tree sp. whose seeds are used to repel cockroaches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wat¹</td>
<td>atop, onto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W – w
wat² ladder, steps leading to a stilted home
watangín last bunch (of bananas) to emerge; last
watangínila four
watlo v. clear, cut down
wawa you yourself (intensive pronoun)
wawal hive (for ants, bees, etc.)
wawana plant sp. with fruit eaten by flying foxes
wawat segment (as between joints in a sugarcane)
way turtle
way sokoy tobacco sp. with short, oval-shaped leaves
we¹ sago starch, fresh sago, sago pancake
we² then, and then
we³ alone, only
we nangín small fire tongs
we u v. cut
Wekumba [male name]
welo v. box (as one’s ears)
wema pangal frond
wemali large pot for stirring sago
wemana small colorful gecko
wen handle (as of the anasa)
wenta small black bird sp. whose call is believed to announce a visitor’s arrival
wepal dry, dead sago palm
wewun clay pot for storing dry sago starch
wi name
wipam arrow, arrow tip; bullet
wiwila light (not heavy)
wiwina v. fly
-wo [intensifier/vocative suffix] (alternate form of -o)
wo¹ v. sleep; burn (intransitive); swell
wo² very own [possessive intensifier]
woka flower of the banana plant
wokín big man, important person
wokomanã conch shell
wokomanã orchid sp. with large leaves
wol breast
wol minda banana sp. (alternate name for wowi minda)
wol mîndam milk
wolka again, in turn
wolmu nipple
wolname tadpole
womba¹ big, brown lizard sp.
womba² tree sp. whose sap is drunk to treat illness
wombam middle
wombasa clay pot
wombasa anga money
Wombasame [male name]
wombîn work, job, task, activity
wombulalaw kingfisher
wome middle, trunk
Womel [male name]
womotana frog
won penis
won imim semen
won ka v. cut, cross
wondawonda small, brown frog sp. with small eyes and a big belly
wondi bandicoot
wonga bow, bow and arrow
wonglin cup, ladle for hot water used in making ay
Woni [female name]
wonmbi tusk (as of a boar)
Wonmelma [male name]
wonmi hair
wop the next day
wopa all; whole, entire; full; everything, everyone
wopana waist skirt
Wopata site of the fourth Manu village, still used as a hunting campsite
wopaw ball
woplohta lungs
wot younger; younger sibling
wot inga yena sister-in-law (younger brother’s wife)
wot yena younger sister
wot yena numan brother-in-law (younger sister’s husband)
wot yeta younger brother
wotnyya black bird sp.
wowal chicken
wowane feathers worn ceremonially
wowaw rainbow fish; fish scale
wowi mïnda banana sp. with the largest fruit of all, traditionally only eaten by men (its sweet fruits are used to make yamkwe)
woyambïn pointlessly, fruitlessly
wuľïn u v. rest, relax, pause
wulis platform
wun fan

Y – y

Ya coconut; white of the egg
Ya inim coconut milk
YaKa [female name]
yakal edible, black-and-yellow, caterpillar-like insect
yakal inom bird sp.
yakam traditional shoe made from sago fronds
yakeka bean
Yalamba Korokopa (village)
yalum grandchild
Yaluwa [male name]
yamangla cloth-like part of the coconut tree bark
yamangla hawk
yamanyawi bird-of-paradise
yambalpa devil-like spirit in the form of a man
yambi tall, white tree sp.
Yambi [female name]
yambil [male name]
yambisa big, white, soft yam sp.
Yambil [female name]
wusim crocodile
Wusimali [male name]
wusimi bamboo panpipes
wuta coconut shell, plate (also uta)
wutï leg, foot
wutï ambatïm knee
wutï anmot shin, lower leg
wutï fimndï anklebone
wutï name thigh, upper leg
wutï yombam sole of the foot
wutfimu toe
wutfimu ankam second toe
wutfimu law fourth toe
wutfimu unduwan big toe
wutfimu watangïn pinky toe
wutfimu wome middle toe
wułïni v. dance
wuñawuñi duck
wuñota tall, long

Yamibiwa upstream half of the old Wopata village
Yambul site of the second Manu village, near present-day Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul villages
yami¹ bird sp.
yami² insect sp.
yamkwe sago fried with banana and coconut
Yana woman, wife, female (also yena)
yanalum daughter, girl (also yenalum)
yanana woman, wife (also yenana)
Yanapi [female name]
yanut daughter (also yenat)
yangïmot tasty, sweet
yangle strong
yangun mosquito
yangusole green stinging nettle sp.
yanîmana plant sp. with round leaves used to perfume the body during dances
Yaruwa      [male name]  yeta      man, male, brother (only said by women) (also yata)
          yata      man, male, brother (only said by women) (also yeta)
           yatalum  son, boy (also yetalum)  yeta utam  class of yam varieties without spines
           yawa¹    uncle (mother’s brother)  yetalum  son, boy (also yatalum)
           yawa²    sago strainer  Yetani  Yamen (village)
           yawa ambi uncle (mother’s older brother) (also yawa ambi)  yiwa  mound (as one built of soil to plant a yam)
           yawa atma uncle (mother’s older brother) (also yawa atma)  yokam  arrow shaft
           yawa wot  uncle (mother’s younger brother)  yokomakan  banana sp. of the plantain variety with the smallest fruit of all
         Yawana     [female name]  yokomakan  small wildfowl
         Yawat     [male name]  Yokombla  [male name]
           yawatalin small eel sp.  yokomfún  wildfowl egg
         yawe      sago pancake cooked with coconut  Yolomban  [male name]
         yawil     full moon  yom      heart
         yawín     sugar glider  yoma      brown snake sp.
         yawit     machete, knife (also yot)  yomal  aibika greens (Abelmoschus manihot)
         yena      woman, wife, female (also yana)  Yomali  [male name]
           yena utam class of yam varieties with spines  yomba  balbal greens (Erythrina variegata)
           yenam    daughter, girl (also yanalam)  yombam  palm of the hand
           yenat    daughter (also yanat)  yopà     cockatoo; peace, peace treaty
           yenala    woman, wife (also yanuan)  yot      machete, knife (also yawt)
           yenname  small brown bird sp. that sings in the morning
18.3 English-to-Ulwa

The following word list provides translations from English to Ulwa. It is organized alphabetically by the basic English translations for words in the Ulwa lexicon. It is intended to be used as a general guide and is by no means exhaustive. More detailed definitions of Ulwa words are provided in section 18.2 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>ilumka</td>
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<tr>
<td>above</td>
<td>wan</td>
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<tr>
<td>abscess</td>
<td>kananum</td>
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<td>act v.</td>
<td>ni</td>
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<td>activity</td>
<td>wombín</td>
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<td>adze</td>
<td>sakíma</td>
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<td>afraid</td>
<td>namna</td>
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<td>after</td>
<td>angani, anganika, naka</td>
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<td>afternoon</td>
<td>awal, awal nambí</td>
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<td>again</td>
<td>wolka, tíki</td>
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<tr>
<td>ah</td>
<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td>ah me</td>
<td>aya</td>
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<td>aibika greens</td>
<td>yomal</td>
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<td>alas</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td>alcohol</td>
<td>inim tembi</td>
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<td>alive</td>
<td>akínaka</td>
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<td>all</td>
<td>wopa</td>
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<tr>
<td>allow v.</td>
<td>ka, laka</td>
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<td>alone</td>
<td>we</td>
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<td>along</td>
<td>u</td>
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<td>also</td>
<td>maweka, moweka</td>
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<td>arise v.</td>
<td>tînanga</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>armpit</td>
<td>min, palpal, inamba</td>
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<td>around</td>
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<td>arrange v.</td>
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<td>ask v.</td>
<td>atwana ta, atwana kî-</td>
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<td>apïnsi</td>
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<td>assemble v.</td>
<td>kuk u</td>
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<td>at</td>
<td>u, ka</td>
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<td>avoid v.</td>
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B – b

baby  alum
back  mutam
backbone  anangum, mutoma
bad  tembi
badness  tembi
bag  ani

balbal greens  yomba
bball  wopaw
bamboo  mota, sina
banana  mïnda
banana leaf  mïndapan
bandicoot  wondi
bark  im nambi, yamangla
base  nupu
basket  ame, imnde, akum, iwa,
kukul, niölpot, sanḍipal

bat  niıplopa, wala uta
bathe v.  lopo
battle  at
battle v.  amblawali
be v.  -p
be happy v.  ama wanani
beak  nokia
beam  al, pal, taman
bean  yakeka
bear v.  kot
beard  nil nopa
beat v.  ni, alima
because of  nakap, nap
bed sheet  al nambi
bedbug  mambun
bee  unapin, numbunum
before  ipka
behavior  i
behind  angani
belch  nïkin
belly  inapaw
below  imbam
bend v.  tumul ka
berry  mu
beside  kana, kanam
betel nut  aw
between  moni

big  ambi, ngata
big man  wokïn, ambi
big toe  wutïmu unduwan
bilum  ani
bird  uta
bird-of-paradise  yamanyawi
bite v.  ama, la
Biwat (village)  Dim
black  mbunmana, mbun
black ant  katmombe, ngowil
bladder  mïnopal
blind  lïmndï wopa
block v.  nambilumo
blood  anankïn
blow v.  nonalni
blowfly  mu
blue  anem, mbun
boat  num
body  nambi
body hair  nil
boil  kananum
bone  uma
bottom  nupu
bow  wongïta
bowl  ulet
box v.  welo
boy  nungol, nungolke, yata,
yatalum, yeta, yetalum
brain  misam
branch  im nangïn
breadfruit  nïpa
break v.  a, kol, kun, nungun u
breast  wol
breath  nonal
breathe v.  nonal u
bridge  ndam
broom  saklup
brother  yata, yeta
brother-in-law  atana numan,
wot yena numan
brown  lemetam
brown ant  muna, ndïngonim, iwanal
bud  tangam
build v. ita
bullet wipam
Bun (village) Kumba
bunch of betel nut nisi
bunch of coconuts motam
bundle motam
burn v. wo, lowo
butcher v. nkï, nïkï
butterfly awpane
buttocks unmbï
buttress root tímal

C – c

call v. wanakï, wanawni
cane grass palam
canoe num
car tíïwa num
careful andïl
cassowary kalim
cassowary bone intïp
catch v. ikali ë, uta, moko
caterpillar wapal, yakal
catfish may, lanjin
celebrate v. inim nkï
cemetery mbinmbin
centipede yambïpal
chair komblam
chase v. anmbasa
check v. lïmandâ uta
cheek nopa
chew v. ama, la
chest tambeta
chicken wowal
child alun, nungol, nungolke, tawatïp
chin ngïnïm
civil servant inangïnmana
clan ambâ
clavicle unum
claw sinananangïn
clear v. watlo
clitoris inmbï mïnïm
clothing an nambi
cloud ngïn
cockatoo yopa
cockroach ngunguswa

coconut ya
coconut frond nopal
coconut milk ya inim
cold mïnoma, mumne
come v. i
come here v. mbi
come out v. anmbï
completely keka, kaka
conch shell wokomana
container unden
cook v. wana
cool mïnoma
core mupu
correct maw
cough utan
cough v. utan uta
count v. ika uta
creek u
crevise unum
crocodile wusim
crop sinokoy
cross v. klop, won ka
crossbeam íwal, kukun, ta, alwoma
croton shrub moniwot
crowned pigeon upïn
crush v. nopal û
cry v. sa
cup itenmbu, wonglin
cuscus típonïm
custom i
cut v. lo, nkï, nïkï, we û, won ka
cut down v. watlo
cyclone ngungun
D – d

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<td>dance v.</td>
<td>wutïni</td>
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<td>dark</td>
<td>mbun, mumne</td>
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<td>yanalum, yanat, yenalum, yenat</td>
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<td>ìwa</td>
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<td>day</td>
<td>ìlom</td>
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<td>dig v.</td>
<td>nkï, nïkï</td>
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<td>Andïmali</td>
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<td>wana, wanap</td>
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<td>ama, la</td>
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<td>ansimu, nambu, nïte</td>
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<td>dry v.</td>
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E – e

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<td>ipka</td>
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<td>ini</td>
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<td>numnata</td>
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<td>eat v.</td>
<td>ama, la</td>
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<td>kundan, yawatalin</td>
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<td>mïtïn, yokomtïn</td>
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<td>everyone</td>
<td>wopa</td>
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<td>examine v.</td>
<td>ëìmndï uta</td>
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<td>extended family</td>
<td>nambana ankam</td>
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<td>eye</td>
<td>ëìmndï</td>
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F – f

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<td>fall v.</td>
<td>li</td>
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<td>fallow garden</td>
<td>wandapata</td>
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<td>fan</td>
<td>wun</td>
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<td>far</td>
<td>ngaya, wala</td>
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<td>far-off</td>
<td>wala</td>
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far-off place  wala luwa
fat  anen
father  itom, tata
feather  nambli, wowane
feces  minyam
feed v.  na
feel v.  wana
female  yana, yananu, yena, yenanu
fence  tïmbïl
fern  lindïn, mungul
few  ilum
fiber  mi
fifty  ankam unduwan
fight  at
fight v.  amblawali
fin  angun
finger  imu
fingernail  sinanan
fire  apïn
fire tongs  nangïn
firefly  mbomala, nali
first  ipka
fish  wambana, upan
fishing line  asiya
fishtail  anaw, angun
five  angay
flashlight  mbomala nangum
flatus  nuku
flesh  lam
flood  inim ambi
floor  apa ini
flower  woka, nambana
flower sheath  nisi
flute  mota
fly v.  wiwina
fly ing  nïplopa
fog  ëngïn
follow v.  angani ka
food  mundu
foot  wufï
for  ala, andï, andïm, andïn,
force v.  ul ni
forearm  i nangum
forehead  monombam
forget v.  topinka
Forget about it!  Mambilakan!
fork  akatoma, anïm
four  watangïnïla
fourth toe  wufîmu law
fresh  akïnaka
friend  awena, aweta
frog  womotana
from  ala, andï, andïm, andïn, u
frond skin  akïnampa
front  ipwat, ip
fruit  mu
fruitlessly  woyambïn
full  wopa, monop
full moon  yawïl
fungus  mumul
fur  nambli

G – g

Gallbladder  mïnandïn
garamut  numbu
garbage heap  umba
garden  wandam
gather v.  kuk u
gear  nataw, wemana
get v.  in, ina
get up v.  finangô
ghost  nïpat
giant  anat, mïli
girl  yana, yanalum, yena,
yenalum
give v.  na
go v.  ma, i, unda, lo
go around v.  unda
go down v.  li
go out v.  anma
go up v.  atay
God  ambï
good  anma
Good afternoon!  Awal nambï anma!
Good day! Ane anma!
Good evening! Imba anma!
Good morning! Umbenam anma!
Good night! Imba anma!
Goodbye! Namanu!
grab v. ikali ili
grand ngata
grandchild yalum
grandfather itom ngata
grandmother inom ngata, mom
grandparent ngata
grass asi, anul
grass knife asiyot
grasshopper kukum

habit i
hair wonmi
hand i
handle wen
hard nipokonam
hardwood tree lemetam
harvest v. ne
hate v. alakamb haus tambaran ambä
hawk yamangla
he mï
he himself mawa, mawe
he is the one mïnam
head unduwan
headache unduwan apïn
headdress tongla
healthy anma
heap tumopa
hear v. kïkal wana
heart yom
heavy kenmbu
hence mbu
her ma=
her herself mawa, mawe
her own ambïnji
here mbï, mbu, nga
hers manji
herself ambawa, ambuwe, ambï

grassland anul, nipum ambä
grave mbinmbin
grease anen
great-grandchild ndunduma
great-grandparent ndunduma
great-uncle ngata yawa
green mïnal
greens natnat
grind v. uta
ground ini, inum
grub mïnkïn, siwi, mundum, inane, sum
gudgeon fish nîmban
guts inji

H – h

hey e
hiccup nikïn
hide nambi
hide v. nokop ili
him ma=
him himself mawa, mawe
himself ambawa, ambuwe, ambï
his manji
his own ambïnji
hit v. asa, atï, wali
hither mbï
hive wawal
hm m
hoe tanawen
hold v. ikali ili
hole inmi
Holy Spirit nonal
hook uma
hornbill bird almba
hot wanum
hot water manal
house apa
housefly njimana
how many? anjika
how? anjikaka
hundred uta
hunt v. anglalo, andïlalo
husband numan
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<td>job</td>
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<td>joint</td>
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<td>jump v.</td>
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<td>kill v.</td>
<td>asa, aîî, wali</td>
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514
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<td>ka, laka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Let’s go!</td>
<td>Nol!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>awaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>lie down v.</td>
<td>lop ka</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>apïn</td>
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<td>limb</td>
<td>me</td>
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<td>lime</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
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<td>lime gourd</td>
<td>ansï</td>
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<td>lips</td>
<td>tanum</td>
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<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>inim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen v.</td>
<td>kïkal wana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little</td>
<td>ilum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>nïkït</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>log</td>
<td>imot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>wutota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long time</td>
<td>ngaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look v.</td>
<td>limndï ala</td>
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<tr>
<td>louse</td>
<td>mïmin</td>
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<td>lower leg</td>
<td>wutï anmot</td>
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<tr>
<td>lungs</td>
<td>woplot</td>
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<tr>
<td>machete</td>
<td>yot, yawt</td>
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<tr>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>manjimanji</td>
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<tr>
<td>magic</td>
<td>tawi, sawi, ambet, ambä</td>
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<tr>
<td>make v.</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>yata, yeta</td>
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<tr>
<td>mallet</td>
<td>motam</td>
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<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>nana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maruat (village)</td>
<td>Mamala</td>
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<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>yata, yeta, itom</td>
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<td>Manu (village)</td>
<td>Nimalnu</td>
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<td>many</td>
<td>tingïn, nunu</td>
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<td>mask</td>
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<td>apïn</td>
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<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>nï=</td>
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<tr>
<td>me myself</td>
<td>nawa, nuwe</td>
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<td>meat</td>
<td>lam</td>
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<td>men’s house</td>
<td>ambä</td>
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<td>menstruation</td>
<td>iwïl</td>
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<td>mesh</td>
<td>suwan</td>
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</tr>
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<td>mhm</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midday</td>
<td>ane wombam, ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>wombam, wome</td>
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<tr>
<td>middle finger</td>
<td>imu womé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle toe</td>
<td>wutïmu womé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>might</td>
<td>-t</td>
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<td>wol mïndam</td>
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<tr>
<td>mold</td>
<td>mumul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money</td>
<td>ata monam mu, inamba, wombasa anga, palpal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>month</td>
<td>iwïl</td>
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<tr>
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<td>iwïl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moreover</td>
<td>maweka, moweka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>umbenam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morota</td>
<td>ila</td>
</tr>
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<td>mosquito</td>
<td>yangun</td>
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<tr>
<td>mosquito net</td>
<td>al</td>
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<td>tongan</td>
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<td>mosquito-kill</td>
<td>upa</td>
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<td>mother</td>
<td>inom, nana</td>
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<td>mound</td>
<td>yïwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>inkaw</td>
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<td>mouth</td>
<td>mama</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Xam</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td>ambë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mucus</td>
<td>nïmïn</td>
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<tr>
<td>mushroom</td>
<td>wanwane</td>
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**N – n**

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<td>nambënki</td>
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<tr>
<td>nah</td>
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<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>sinanan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nape</td>
<td>tumbunma</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrow</td>
<td>njukuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>unet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>nu, kana, kanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nephew</td>
<td>ansi nungol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nest</td>
<td>nim</td>
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<tr>
<td>net</td>
<td>nging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net bag</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>akiñaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next day</td>
<td>wop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next of kin</td>
<td>tamndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next to</td>
<td>kana, kanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nice</td>
<td>anma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niece</td>
<td>ansi nungol, ansi yanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>imba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipple</td>
<td>wolmu</td>
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<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>ase, ango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noon</td>
<td>ane wombam</td>
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<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>ip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>ango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>me, kom, kome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>ulwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>amun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nowadays</td>
<td>amun</td>
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<tr>
<td>nut</td>
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**O – o**

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>occipital bone</td>
<td>akunpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocean</td>
<td>angumoni nïmal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odor</td>
<td>nambët</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>official</td>
<td>inangïnmana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often</td>
<td>nunu ika</td>
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<tr>
<td>OK</td>
<td>ande, andi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okari nut tree</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>wapata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>itom ngata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old person</td>
<td>ngata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>inom ngata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>atma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older sister</td>
<td>atana</td>
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<td>on</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
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<td>on account of</td>
<td>nakap, nap</td>
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<td>one</td>
<td>kwa, kwe</td>
</tr>
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<td>one by one</td>
<td>kekaka, kwekaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>one each</td>
<td>kekaka, kwekaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>only</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onto</td>
<td>wat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooh</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opening</td>
<td>mwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orange</td>
<td>tondiway</td>
</tr>
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<td>orchid</td>
<td>wokomana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>kwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>anji, unanji, nganji, ngunanj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our own</td>
<td>amblanji, ambënji</td>
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<tr>
<td>ours</td>
<td>anji, unanji, nganji, ngunanj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ourselves</td>
<td>ambla, ambëlawa, ambëwe, ambinawa, ambinwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outboard motor</td>
<td>anaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outhouse</td>
<td>tumbu itïm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>anambë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over</td>
<td>wan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

516
ow  ay  owner  tamndī
owl  mamwapa  Oxyeleotris fish  mapu

P – p

package  muku
packet  muku
paddle  anaw
pain  apīn
palm  ulum
palm of the hand  yombam
pandanus  ndīl
pangal  wema
panpipes  wusimi
papa  tata
paper  mūndapan
pass v.  klop
path  tīlwa
pause v.  wulīn u
peace  yopa
peak  ka
peel v.  ulo, ambiwe u
penis  won, ansi
penis gourd  ansi
person  ankam
perspiration  apīn inim
pickaxe  anasa
piece  ilum, pul, anga, at
piece of wood  impul
pick v.  ango
pig  lamndu, namndu
pigeon  walimot
pile  tumopa
pile v.  kuk u
pinky finger  imu watangīn
pinky toe  wufūmu watangīn
pitiful  ngusuwa
place  luwa, pul
planet  mbomomala
plant v.  lapa
plate  uta, wuta
platform  wulīs, sakla
play v.  sīni
please  kop
pointlessly  woyambīn
poison  ambet
policeman  wanwane
pond  inimpul
poor  ngusuwa
poor thing  mangusuwa, mangusuwata
poor things  ndīngusuwa, ndīngusuwata, mingusuwa, mingusuwata
post  nīmbu, anmot
pot  kukumbe, samban, sīmbīn, wemali, wewun, wombasa
pouch  ame
pour v.  tomal u
pray v.  isi monombam u
praying mantis  kalingana
precede v.  ip ka
pressure v.  ul ni
problem  kenmbu
pull out v.  angom lī, ango
purple  anem
pus  mūndam
push v.  sī
put v.  lī, u, lumo, umo
put up v.  atalī
python  anīmasi

Q – q

question  atwana
quickly  mbuka
quiet  andīl
R – r

rain  inim
rain v.  lopo
rainbow  anem nambum
rainbow fish  wowaw
rat  wala, matlaka, mblandu
rattan  le
Raten (village)  Morombi
raw  akipaka
rear  angani, umbë
reason  na
recently  amun
red  ngungun
red ant  ngungun, iwanal
red buai  anisi
refuse  utif
refuse water  imbën
relax v.  wulin u
rest v.  wulin u
ribs  wal
rice  asimu
right  maw
right-hand  inapum
ring  mungun, asimna
ring finger  imu law
ringworm  akal
ripe  mënwat
river  nimal
river snail  manana
riverbank  ika
road  tilwa
roof  apaka
root  ilu
rope  nipil
rotten  mënwa
rotting  mënwa
rub v.  uta
run v.  imbam ka

S – s

sago  ay, we
sago palm  ulum
sago pancake  we
sago pith  ulum
sago shoot  andi, wan
sago starch  we
sago strainer  yawa
saliva  sawi
salt  isi
sated  monop
say v.  ta, kıldı
scab  tawatal
scale  wowaw
scar  mbun
scarf  ayna
scissors  nangin
scoop v.  uta
scorpion  alsal
scrape v.  ale
scratch v.  ana
scrub v.  ana
sea  angumoni nimal
second toe  wutimu ankam
see v.  fimndi ala
seed  mu
seedling  nangum
seek v.  anglalo, andilalo
segment  wawat
-self  awa
-selves  awa
semen  won imim
send v.  kali li
sense v.  wana
Sepik garfish  lumnjap
sew v.  me
sharp  matamal
she  mi
she herself  mawa, mawe
she is the one  mënám
shelf  apot, aplatam
| sun | ane | sweet potato | nongontam |
| swamp | aïnal, mïkï itïm | swell v. | wo, lowo |
| sweep v. | pop ли | swelling | angumoni |
| sweet | yangïmot | swim v. | inim mo ma |

### T – t

<p>| table | aplatam | they themselves | ndawa, nduwe, |
| tadpole | wolname | | minawa, minwe |
| tail | angun | thick | palmana |
| tail feather | tï, moko | thigh | wutï name |
| take v. | na | thin | njukuta |
| talk | ta, kï | thing | nji |
| talk v. | wutota | think v. | inakawana, wana, ta, kï |
| tall | una | this | nga |
| target | mïnal | this is it | ngam |
| taro | wombïn | this kind of speech | mïnjika |
| task | wana | thou | u, u= |
| taste v. | yangïmot | thorn | nin, nap |
| tasty | wana | those | ala, la, andin |
| tear | sal, limndï inim | thought | na |
| tell v. | ta, kï | thread | asiya |
| ten | nali | three | lele |
| testicle | mïtïn | throat | aninokam, mota |
| Thank you! | Ninji anma! | throw v. | kïke u, kuli li, mune u, |
| that | anda, nda | | top li |
| that is it | andanam | thumb | imu unduwan |
| that kind of speech | mïnjika | thunder | anam wapata |
| that’s it! | mawnam | thus | maka, ka |
| their | ndïnji, minji | ti plant | law |
| their own | amblanjï, ambînjï | tie v. | mop li, ita |
| theirs | ndïnji, minji | tilapia | mbatmbat |
| them | ndï=, min=, mini= | time | tem |
| them themselves | ndawa, nduwe, minawa, minwe | tinea | akal |
| themselves | ambla, amblawa, amblawe, ambïn, ambînawa, ambînwe | to | iya |
| then | -e, e, pe, we | tobacco | sokoy |
| thence | ando | today | amun |
| there | ando | toe | wutïmu |
| these | ngala, ngïn | toilet | tumbu itïm |
| they | ndï, min, ndïn | tomorrow | umbe |
| they are the ones | ndïnïm | tongue | mïnïm |
| | | too | luke |
| | | tooth | ambla |
| | | torch | anenisi |
| | | toward | iya |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Track</th>
<th>Tīlwa</th>
<th>Tulip greens</th>
<th>Anmopa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trail</td>
<td>Tīlwa</td>
<td>Turn around v.</td>
<td>Tīkli ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trap</td>
<td>Asiya, Ngin, Tukul, Iwa</td>
<td>Turtle</td>
<td>Way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trash</td>
<td>Itīm</td>
<td>Tusk</td>
<td>Wonmbi</td>
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<td>Treaty</td>
<td>Yopa</td>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>Lamndu unduwan</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tree</td>
<td>Im</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Nini</td>
</tr>
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<td>True</td>
<td>Anma</td>
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<td></td>
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**U – u**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uh</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Uproot v.</th>
<th>Angom li</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uh-uh</td>
<td>Mm</td>
<td>Upstream</td>
<td>Ata</td>
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<tr>
<td>Umbilical cord</td>
<td>Unet</td>
<td>Upward</td>
<td>Ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>Yawa, itom</td>
<td>Urine</td>
<td>Minam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under</td>
<td>Imbam</td>
<td>Us</td>
<td>An=, Unan=, Ngan=, Ngunan=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unite v.</td>
<td>Kuk u</td>
<td>Us ourselves</td>
<td>Anawa, Anwe, Unanawa, Unanwe, Nganawa, Ngananwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unwrap v.</td>
<td>Kanaka lumo</td>
<td>Uterus</td>
<td>Ame</td>
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<tr>
<td>Up</td>
<td>Ata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper arm</td>
<td>I name</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper leg</td>
<td>Wutī name</td>
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**V – v**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Various</th>
<th>Nunu</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Wa</th>
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<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Natnat</td>
<td>Vine</td>
<td>Nipil, Angin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veranda</td>
<td>Apa mot</td>
<td>Vital spot</td>
<td>Unda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td>Apka</td>
<td>Vomit v.</td>
<td>Nongan u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very own</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td>Vulva</td>
<td>Inmbi, Iwīl</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**W – w**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waistcloth</th>
<th>An Nambi</th>
<th>We</th>
<th>An, Unan, Una, Ngan, Ngunan, Nguna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waiting for</td>
<td>Andīla, Angla</td>
<td>We ourselves</td>
<td>Anawa, Anwe, Unanawa, Unanwe, Ngananawa, Ngunanwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk v.</td>
<td>Inda</td>
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<td>Wallaby</td>
<td>Wakan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want v.</td>
<td>Kī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>Wananum</td>
<td>Weave v.</td>
<td>Ula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was</td>
<td>-Wap</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Anma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wash v.</td>
<td>Lopo</td>
<td>Were</td>
<td>-Wap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch v.</td>
<td>Limndī ala, Limndī lī</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>Mīnwata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Inim</td>
<td>What?</td>
<td>Angos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Way</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>What’s the matter?</td>
<td>Anjikaka</td>
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521
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chichewa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whatever</td>
<td>angos, angos nji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where?</td>
<td>ango luwa, ango</td>
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<tr>
<td>which?</td>
<td>ango</td>
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<tr>
<td>white ant</td>
<td>kiïka</td>
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<tr>
<td>white of the egg</td>
<td>ya</td>
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<td>who?</td>
<td>kwa, kuma</td>
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<td>whole</td>
<td>wopa</td>
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<td>whose?</td>
<td>kwanji, kumanji</td>
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<td>why?</td>
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<tr>
<td>wide</td>
<td>palmana</td>
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<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>yana, yananu, yena, yenanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild taro</td>
<td>ulumbi</td>
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<tr>
<td>wild yam</td>
<td>pawla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wildfowl</td>
<td>yokomakan, kuman</td>
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<tr>
<td>will be</td>
<td>-piïna</td>
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<td>wind</td>
<td>nonal</td>
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<td>window</td>
<td>mwa</td>
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<td>windpipe</td>
<td>aninokam</td>
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<td>wing</td>
<td>wapa</td>
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<tr>
<td>wipe v.</td>
<td>uta</td>
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<td>wisdom</td>
<td>kalam</td>
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<td>wise</td>
<td>kalam</td>
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<td>with</td>
<td>ul, lu</td>
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<td>woman</td>
<td>yana, yananu, yena, yenanu, inom</td>
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<tr>
<td>woods</td>
<td>wandam</td>
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<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>wombiï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>utal</td>
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<tr>
<td>wound</td>
<td>tawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wring v.</td>
<td>mïmïl u</td>
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### Y – y

<table>
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<tr>
<td>yam</td>
<td>utam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamen (village)</td>
<td>Yetani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaul (village)</td>
<td>Mosombla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawn</td>
<td>mamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>un, un=, ngun, ngun=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeah</td>
<td>iya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>inim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>mïndit, andwana, ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>iyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>awal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>amun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>u, u=, un, un=, ngun, ngun=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you poor thing</td>
<td>ungusuwa, ungusuwata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you poor things</td>
<td>ungusuwa, ungusuwata, ngungusuwa, ngungusuwata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you yourself</td>
<td>uwe, wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you yourselves</td>
<td>unwe, unawa, ngunwe, ngunawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>akinaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young person</td>
<td>amunji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young sago palm</td>
<td>anduwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger</td>
<td>wot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>wot yeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sibling</td>
<td>wot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister</td>
<td>wot yena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>unji, ngunji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your own</td>
<td>ambînji, amblanja, ambinji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yours</td>
<td>unji, ngunji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yourself</td>
<td>ambawa, ambuwe, ambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yourselves</td>
<td>ambla, amblawa, amblawe, ambin, ambinawa, ambinwe</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The following is a list of 100 basic vocabulary items in Ulwa, following Swadesh’s (1971:283) list of 100 words. Where deemed useful, alternate words or clarifications of meaning are provided in footnotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>nî</td>
<td>root ilu</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>bark im nambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>skin nambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>flesh lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>blood anankin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>bone uma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>angos</td>
<td>grease anen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>angō</td>
<td>egg mitīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>wopa</td>
<td>horn wonmbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>tingīn</td>
<td>tail angun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>kwe</td>
<td>feather nambli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>hair wonmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>ambī</td>
<td>head unduwan</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>wutota</td>
<td>ear kīkal</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>njukuta</td>
<td>eye limndī</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>yena</td>
<td>nose ip</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>yeta</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>ankam</td>
<td>tooth ambla</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>wambana</td>
<td>tongue minīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>uta</td>
<td>claw sinananangīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>tīn</td>
<td>foot wutī</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>mimin</td>
<td>knee wonmbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>hand i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>seed</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>belly inapaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>wapa</td>
<td>neck um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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78 This is the 2SG form. 2DU is ngun and 2PL is un.
79 Literally = im ‘tree’ + nambi ‘skin’.
80 This is the 1PL.EXCL form. 1PL.INCL is unan, 1DU.EXCL is ngan, and 1DU.INCL is ngunan.
81 This is the 1SG form. The NSG form is kuma.
82 Also kwe.
83 Also yana.
84 Also yata.
85 This word actually means ‘tusk’ (as a boar’s tusk), the closest known equivalent in Ulwa.
86 This is hair on the top of the head. Hair on the rest of the body is nil.
87 Literally = sinanan ‘nail’ + nangīn ‘tongs’.
88 Literally = wutī ‘leg, foot’ + ambatīm ‘joint’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Ulwa</th>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ulwa</th>
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<td>51</td>
<td>breasts</td>
<td>wol</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>rain&lt;sup&gt;89&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>yom</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>stone&lt;sup&gt;102&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>tana</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>sand&lt;sup&gt;103&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>ini</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>eat&lt;sup&gt;91&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>cloud</td>
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<td>bite&lt;sup&gt;92&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>smoke&lt;sup&gt;104&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>apîn ngîn</td>
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<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>see&lt;sup&gt;93&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>limndî ala</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>apîn</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>hear&lt;sup&gt;94&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>kikal wana</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>ash&lt;sup&gt;105&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>burn&lt;sup&gt;106&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>wo</td>
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<td>wo</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>ni</td>
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<td>asa</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>red&lt;sup&gt;107&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>swim&lt;sup&gt;98&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>inim mo ma</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>green&lt;sup&gt;108&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>wiwila</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>yellow&lt;sup&gt;109&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>inda</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>black&lt;sup&gt;110&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>mbunmana</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>lop ka</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>night</td>
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<td>asi ka</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<td>ta</td>
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<td>ane</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>round&lt;sup&gt;111&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>nali</td>
<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>water&lt;sup&gt;101&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>inim</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>89</sup> This word also means ‘water’.
<sup>90</sup> This word also means ‘eat’ and ‘bite’.
<sup>91</sup> This word also means ‘drink’ and ‘bite’.
<sup>92</sup> This word also means ‘drink’ and ‘eat’.
<sup>93</sup> Literally = limndî ‘eye’ + ala ‘for, from’.
<sup>94</sup> Literally = kikal ‘ear’ + ala ‘for, from’.
<sup>95</sup> Literally = kalam ‘knowing’ + -p ‘be’.
<sup>96</sup> This is the same form as the verb ‘burn’.
<sup>97</sup> Also wali.
<sup>98</sup> Literally, ‘go on the water’ (inim ‘water’ + ma ‘3SG’ + u ‘on’ + ma ‘go’).
<sup>99</sup> Also kî.
<sup>100</sup> This refers to a (perceived) small star. A (perceived) large star is mbomala.
<sup>101</sup> This word also means ‘rain’.
<sup>102</sup> The word tana is more commonly used to refer (metonymically) to the traditional stone axe.
<sup>103</sup> Literally = tana ‘stone’ + isi ‘salt’.
<sup>104</sup> Literally = apîn ‘fire’ + ngîn ‘cloud’.
<sup>105</sup> Literally = apîn ‘fire’ + isi ‘salt’.
<sup>106</sup> This verb is intransitive. It is the same form as the verb ‘sleep’.
<sup>107</sup> This word also refers to a red species of ant, a plant species with red seeds, and a cyclone.
<sup>108</sup> This word also refers to taro.
<sup>109</sup> Also andwana and ane.
<sup>110</sup> Also mbun.
<sup>111</sup> This word actually means ‘ball’, the closest known equivalent in Ulwa.
SWADESH 200-WORD LIST

The following is a list of 200 basic vocabulary items in Ulwa, following Swadesh’s (1952:456f.) list of 200 words. Where deemed useful, alternate words or clarifications of meaning are provided in footnotes.

1 all wopa 21 child\textsuperscript{112} nungol
2 and\textsuperscript{113} ma 22 cloud ngĩn
3 animal mundu 23 cold mĩnoma
4 ashes\textsuperscript{114} apĩnsi 24 to come i
5 at\textsuperscript{15} ka 25 to count\textsuperscript{124} ika uta
6 back mutam 26 to cut\textsuperscript{125} lo
7 bad\textsuperscript{116} tembi 27 day\textsuperscript{126} ane
8 bark\textsuperscript{117} im nambi 28 to die ni
9 because\textsuperscript{118} angwena 29 to dig nki
10 belly inapaw 30 dirty\textsuperscript{127} tembi
11 berry\textsuperscript{119} mu 31 dog tĩn
12 big ambi 32 to drink\textsuperscript{128} ama
13 bird uta 33 dry\textsuperscript{129} wapata
14 to bite\textsuperscript{120} ama 34 dull tambumana
15 black\textsuperscript{121} mbunmana 35 dust itĩtĩl
16 blood anankĩn 36 ear kĩkal
17 to blow\textsuperscript{122} nonalni 37 earth ini
18 bone uma 38 to eat\textsuperscript{130} ama
19 to breathe nonal u 39 egg mĩtĩn
20 to burn\textsuperscript{123} wo 40 eye lĩmndĩ

\textsuperscript{112} Also nungolke, alum, and tawatïp.
\textsuperscript{113} This may be a recent innovation.
\textsuperscript{114} Literally = apĩn ‘fire’ + isi ‘salt’.
\textsuperscript{115} Also u.
\textsuperscript{116} This word also means ‘dirty’.
\textsuperscript{117} Literally = im ‘tree’ + nambi ‘skin’.
\textsuperscript{118} This word actually means ‘why?’, but may be able to function similarly to ‘because’.
\textsuperscript{119} Or ‘fruit’. This word also means ‘seed’.
\textsuperscript{120} This word also means ‘to drink’, ‘to eat’, and ‘to suck’.
\textsuperscript{121} Also mbun.
\textsuperscript{122} Literally nonal ‘wind, breath’ + ni ‘do’.
\textsuperscript{123} This verb is intransitive. It is the same form as the verbs ‘to sleep’ and ‘to swell’.
\textsuperscript{124} Literally ‘rub at the hand’ (i ‘hand’ + ka ‘at’ + uta ‘rub’)
\textsuperscript{125} Also nĩkĩ, nĩkĩ, we u, and won ka.
\textsuperscript{126} This is ‘day’ as opposed to ‘night’. The primary meaning of ane is ‘sun’. The word for ‘day’ as a countable interval of time is ilom.
\textsuperscript{127} This word also means ‘bad’.
\textsuperscript{128} This word also means ‘to bite’, ‘to eat’, and ‘to suck’.
\textsuperscript{129} This word also means ‘old’.
\textsuperscript{130} This word also means ‘to bite’, ‘to drink’, and ‘to suck’.
41 to fall li 66 hand i
42 far ngaya 67 he mî
43 fat anen 68 head unduwan
44 father itom 69 to hear kïkal wana
45 to fear namnap 70 heart yom
46 feather nambli 71 heavy kenmbu
47 few ilum 72 here mbi
48 to fight amblawali 73 to hit wali
49 fire apîn 74 to hold ikali lî
50 fish wambana 75 how? anjikaka
51 five angay 76 to hunt anglalo
52 to float ul watka 77 husband numan
53 to flow ma 78 I nî
54 flower woka 79 ice -
55 to fly wiwina 80 if -ta
56 fog lîngîn 81 in in
57 foot wîti 82 to kill asa
58 four watangiîla 83 to know kalamp
59 to freeze – 84 lake in
60 to give na 85 to laugh atala
61 good amma 86 leaf wapa
62 grass asi 87 left andana
63 green mînal 88 leg wîti
64 guts inji 89 to lie lop ka
65 hair wonmî 90 to live -p

131 Literally = kïkal ‘ear’ + ala ‘for, from’.
132 Literally = nomna ‘afraid’ + -p ‘be’.
133 Literally = ambla ‘PL.REFL.’ + wali ‘hit’.
134 Literally = ‘let atop with’ (ul ‘with’ + wat ‘atop’ + ka ‘let’).
135 For ‘to flow’, the verb ma ‘to go’ is used in Ulwa.
136 There is no cover term for ‘flower’ in Ulwa. This word refers to the flower of the banana plant.
137 This word also means ‘leg’.
138 There is no word that means ‘to freeze’ in Ulwa.
139 This word also means ‘straight’.
140 This word also refers to taro.
141 This is hair on the top of the head. Hair on the rest of the body is nil.
142 Also asa. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.
143 Literally = i ‘hand’ + kali ‘send’ + li ‘put’.
144 Literally = angla ‘awaiting’ + lo ‘go’; also andîlalo.
145 For ‘ice’, the verb ma ‘to go’ is used in Ulwa.
146 There is no word that means ‘ice’ in Ulwa.
147 This is a verbal suffix that signals the apodosis of a condition.
148 Also ka and u.
149 Also wali. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.
150 Literally = kalam ‘knowing’ + -p ‘be’.
151 Literally = inim ‘water’ + pul ‘piece’.
152 This word also means ‘wing’.
153 This word also means ‘foot’.
154 This is a copular suffix.
| 91 | liver       | ina  | 116 | red<sup>155</sup> | ngungun          |
| 92 | long        | wutota | 117 | right (correct) | maw              |
| 93 | louse       | mimin | 118 | right(-hand) | inapum           |
| 94 | man<sup>156</sup> | yeta  | 119 | river | nimal          |
| 95 | many        | tingën | 120 | road | tilwa          |
| 96 | meat        | lam   | 121 | root | ilu            |
| 97 | mother      | inom  | 122 | rope  | nïpïl          |
| 98 | mountain    | inkaw | 123 | rotten<sup>163</sup> | mïnwata         |
| 99 | mouth       | mama | 124 | to rub<sup>164</sup> | uta             |
| 100 | name      | wi    | 125 | salt<sup>165</sup> | isi            |
| 101 | narrow<sup>157</sup> | njukuta | 126 | sand<sup>166</sup> | tana isi       |
| 102 | near       | nu    | 127 | to say<sup>167</sup> | ta             |
| 103 | neck       | um    | 128 | to scratch | ana           |
| 104 | new        | akïnaka | 129 | sea<sup>168</sup> | angumoni nïmal |
| 105 | night      | imba | 130 | to see<sup>169</sup> | limndï ala      |
| 106 | nose       | ip    | 131 | seed<sup>170</sup> | mu             |
| 107 | not        | ango  | 132 | to sew | me          |
| 108 | old<sup>158</sup> | wapata  | 133 | sharp | matamal       |
| 109 | one<sup>159</sup> | kwe  | 134 | short | mundotoma     |
| 110 | other<sup>160</sup> | kwa  | 135 | to sing<sup>171</sup> | kawni          |
| 111 | person     | ankom | 136 | to sit | asi ka       |
| 112 | to play<sup>161</sup> | sini | 137 | skin | nambi         |
| 113 | to pull    | angom lï | 138 | sky | anam        |
| 114 | to push    | si    | 139 | to sleep<sup>172</sup> | wo            |
| 115 | to rain<sup>162</sup> | lopo | 140 | small<sup>173</sup> | njukuta       |

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<sup>155</sup> This word also refers to a red species of ant, a plant species with red seeds, and a cyclone.
<sup>156</sup> Also yata.
<sup>157</sup> This word also means ‘small’ and ‘thin’.
<sup>158</sup> This word also means ‘dry’.
<sup>159</sup> Also kwa.
<sup>160</sup> There is no clear translation for ‘other’ in Ulwa, but kwa ‘one; someone; who’ is close. The plural equivalent of kwa in such cases is ala ‘those’.
<sup>161</sup> Literally = si ‘push’ + ni ‘do’.
<sup>162</sup> This word also means ‘to wash’.
<sup>163</sup> This word also means ‘wet’.
<sup>164</sup> This word also means ‘to wipe’.
<sup>165</sup> Properly this refers to a native ‘salt’ made from the sodium-rich ash of burnt banana leaves.
<sup>166</sup> Literally = tana ‘stone’ + isi ‘salt’.
<sup>167</sup> Also kï.
<sup>168</sup> Literally = angumoni ‘swelling’ + nïmal ‘river’.
<sup>169</sup> Literally = limndï ‘eye’ + ala ‘for, from’.
<sup>170</sup> This word also means ‘berry’ (or ‘fruit’).
<sup>171</sup> Literally = kawni ‘song’ + ni ‘do’.
<sup>172</sup> This is the same form as the verbs ‘to burn’ and ‘to swell.’
<sup>173</sup> This word also means ‘narrow’ and ‘thin’.
141 to smell\textsuperscript{174} nambít wana 165 thin\textsuperscript{175} njukuta
142 smoke\textsuperscript{176} apín ngín 166 to think\textsuperscript{189} inakawana
143 smooth namli 167 this nga
144 snake anmoka 168 thou u
145 snow\textsuperscript{177} – 169 three lele
146 some kuma 170 to throw\textsuperscript{190} kíkê u
147 to spit ngom líí 171 to tie\textsuperscript{191} mop líí
148 to split kol 172 tongue míním
149 to squeeze mímîl u 173 tooth ambla
150 to stab\textsuperscript{178} asa 174 tree im
151 to stand tane líí 175 to turn tikli ka
152 star\textsuperscript{179} nali 176 two nini
153 stick\textsuperscript{180} im nali 177 to vomit nongan u
154 stone\textsuperscript{181} tana 178 to walk inda
155 straight\textsuperscript{182} anna 179 warm wananum
156 to suck\textsuperscript{183} ama 180 to wash\textsuperscript{192} lopo
157 sun ane 181 water\textsuperscript{193} inim
158 to swell\textsuperscript{184} wo 182 we\textsuperscript{194} an
159 to swim\textsuperscript{185} inim mo ma 183 wet\textsuperscript{195} mûnwata
160 tail angun 184 what? angos
161 that anda 185 when?\textsuperscript{196} ango tem
162 there\textsuperscript{186} ando 186 where?\textsuperscript{197} ango luwa
163 they\textsuperscript{187} ndí 187 white waembîl
164 thick\textsuperscript{188} palmana 188 who? kwa

\textsuperscript{174} Literally = nambít ‘smell’ + wana ‘sense’.
\textsuperscript{175} This word also means ‘small’ and ‘narrow’.
\textsuperscript{176} Literally = apín ‘fire’ + ngín ‘cloud’.
\textsuperscript{177} There is no word that means ‘snow’ in Ulwa.
\textsuperscript{178} For ‘stab’, a verb meaning ‘hit’ (asa or wali) is used in Ulwa.
\textsuperscript{179} This refers to a (perceived) small star. A (perceived) large star is mbomala.
\textsuperscript{180} Literally = im ‘tree’ + nali ‘star’.
\textsuperscript{181} The word tana is more commonly used to refer (metonymically) to the traditional stone axe.
\textsuperscript{182} This word also means ‘good’.
\textsuperscript{183} This word also means ‘to bite’, ‘to drink’, and ‘to eat’.
\textsuperscript{184} This is the same form as the verbs ‘to burn’ and ‘to sleep’.
\textsuperscript{185} Literally, ‘go on the water’ (inim ‘water’ + ma ‘3SG’ + u ‘on’ + ma ‘go’).
\textsuperscript{186} Literally = anda ‘that’ + u ‘from, in, at, around, along’.
\textsuperscript{187} This is the 3PL form. 3DU is min.
\textsuperscript{188} This word also means ‘wide’.
\textsuperscript{189} Literally ‘feel in the mind/heart’ (ina ‘liver [the seat of reason]’ + ka ‘in’ + wana ‘feel’).
\textsuperscript{190} Also kuli lî, mune u, and top lî.
\textsuperscript{191} Also ita.
\textsuperscript{192} This word also means ‘to rain’.
\textsuperscript{193} This word also means ‘year’.
\textsuperscript{194} This is the 1PL.EXCL form. 1PL.INCL is unan, 1DU.EXCL is ngan, and 1DU.INCL is ngunan.
\textsuperscript{195} This word also means ‘rotten’.
\textsuperscript{196} Literally = angos ‘which?’ + tem ‘time’ (tem < Tok Pisin taim ‘time’).
\textsuperscript{197} Literally = angos ‘which?’ + luwa ‘place’.
| 189 | wide\(^{198}\) | palmana | 195 | woman\(^{199}\) | yena |
| 190 | wife\(^{200}\) | yenanu | 196 | woods | wandam |
| 191 | wind | nonal | 197 | worm | utal |
| 192 | wing\(^{201}\) | wapa | 198 | ye\(^{202}\) | un |
| 193 | wipe\(^{203}\) | uta | 199 | year\(^{204}\) | inim |
| 194 | with\(^{205}\) | ul | 200 | yellow\(^{206}\) | mïndit |

\(^{198}\) This word also means ‘thick’.

\(^{199}\) Also yana, yenanu, and yanunu. All forms can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’.

\(^{200}\) Also yanunu, yena, and yana. All forms can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’.

\(^{201}\) This word also means ‘leaf’.

\(^{202}\) This is the 2Pl form. 2DU is ngun.

\(^{203}\) This word also means ‘to rub’.

\(^{204}\) This word also means ‘water’.

\(^{205}\) This is a postposition with comitative meaning. For instrumental meanings, the oblique marker =n can be used.

\(^{206}\) Also andwana and ane.
The following is a list of 190 items (170 words and 20 phrases) in Ulwa, based on the standard survey word list used by SIL in Papua New Guinea. The list, developed by Lee and Pence (1962) was revised in 1999 such that the items are grouped according to semantic domains. Where deemed useful, alternate words or clarifications of meaning are provided in footnotes.

1 head unduwan
2 hair\textsuperscript{208} wonmi
3 mouth mama
4 nose ip
5 eye lîmndî
6 neck um
7 belly inapaw
8 skin nambi
9 knee\textsuperscript{209} wutî ambatîm
10 ear kîkal
11 tongue mînîm
12 tooth ambla
13 breast wol
14 hand i
15 foot\textsuperscript{210} wutî
16 back mutam
17 shoulder awi
18 forehead monombam
19 chin nîgînîm
20 elbow inpu
21 thumb\textsuperscript{207} imu unduwan
22 leg\textsuperscript{211} wutî
23 heart yom
24 liver ina
25 bone uma
26 blood anankîn
27 baby alum
28 girl\textsuperscript{212} yenalum
29 boy\textsuperscript{213} yetalum
30 old woman\textsuperscript{214} inom ngata
31 old man\textsuperscript{215} itom ngata
32 woman\textsuperscript{216} yena
33 man\textsuperscript{217} yeta
34 father itom
35 mother inom
36 brother\textsuperscript{218} atma
37 sister anapa
38 name wi
39 bird uta
40 dog tin

\textsuperscript{207} Literally = \textit{i} ‘hand’ + \textit{mu} ‘fruit’ + \textit{unduwan} ‘head’.
\textsuperscript{208} This is hair on the top of the head. Hair on the rest of the body is \textit{nil}.
\textsuperscript{209} Literally = \textit{wutî} ‘leg, foot’ + \textit{ambatîm} ‘joint’.
\textsuperscript{210} This word also means ‘leg’.
\textsuperscript{211} This word also means ‘foot’.
\textsuperscript{212} Also \textit{yena} (or \textit{yana}). Words for ‘child’ (unmarked for gender) are: \textit{alum, nungol, nungolke, and tawatîp}.
\textsuperscript{213} Also \textit{yeta} (or \textit{yata}). Words for ‘child’ (unmarked for gender) are: \textit{alum, nungol, nungolke, and tawatîp}.
\textsuperscript{214} Literally = \textit{inom} ‘mother’ + \textit{ngata} ‘grand’.
\textsuperscript{215} Literally = \textit{itom} ‘father’ + \textit{ngata} ‘grand’.
\textsuperscript{216} Also \textit{yana}.
\textsuperscript{217} Also \textit{yata}.
\textsuperscript{218} There is no cover term for ‘brother’ in Ulwa. This word means ‘older brother’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Namndu</th>
<th>To Die</th>
<th>Ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cassowary</td>
<td>Kalim</td>
<td>To Burn</td>
<td>Wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallaby</td>
<td>Wakan</td>
<td>To Fly</td>
<td>Wiwina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flying Fox</td>
<td>Niplopa</td>
<td>To Swim</td>
<td>Inim mo ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rat</td>
<td>Wala</td>
<td>To Run</td>
<td>Imbam ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frog</td>
<td>Womotana</td>
<td>To Fall Down</td>
<td>Li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Annoka</td>
<td>To Catch</td>
<td>Ikali li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Wambana</td>
<td>To Cough</td>
<td>Utan uta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Ankam</td>
<td>To Laugh</td>
<td>Atala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Sit</td>
<td>Asi ka</td>
<td>To Dance</td>
<td>Wutini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Stand</td>
<td>Tane li</td>
<td>Big</td>
<td>Ambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Lie Down</td>
<td>Lop ka</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Njukuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Sleep</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Anma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Walk</td>
<td>Inda</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Tembi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Bite</td>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Wutota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Eat</td>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Mundotoma</td>
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<tr>
<td>To Give</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Kenmbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To See</td>
<td>Limndi ala</td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>Wiwila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Come</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>Minhoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Say</td>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>Hot</td>
<td>Wananum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Hear</td>
<td>Kikal wana</td>
<td>New</td>
<td>Akinaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Know</td>
<td>Kalamp</td>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Wapata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Drink</td>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Wopaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Hit</td>
<td>Wali</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>Minwata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Kill</td>
<td>Aka</td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>Wapata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

219 Also namndu.
220 Also matlaka and mblandu.
221 This is the same form as the verb ‘to burn’.
222 This word also means ‘to eat’ and ‘to drink’.
223 This word also means ‘to bite’ and ‘to drink’.
224 Literally = limndi ‘eye’ + ala ‘for, from’.
225 Also kï.
226 Literally = kikal ‘ear’ + ala ‘for, from’.
227 Literally = kalam ‘knowing’ + -p ‘be’.
228 This word also means ‘to bite’ and ‘to eat’.
229 Also asa. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.
230 Also wali. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.
231 Also wulo. This verb is intransitive. It is the same form as the verb ‘to sleep’.
232 Literally, ‘go on the water’ (inim ‘water’ + ma ‘3SG’ + u ‘on’ + ma ‘go’).
233 Literally = i ‘hand’ + kali ‘send’ + li ‘put’.
234 Literally = utan ‘cough’ + uta ‘rub’.
235 Literally = atal ‘anus’ + a ‘break’.
236 Literally = wutu ‘leg’ + ni ‘do’.
237 This word also means ‘dry’.
238 This word also means ‘old’.

531
| 91 | full | monop | 119 | horn\textsuperscript{239} | wonmbi |
| 92 | road | tilwa | 120 | wing\textsuperscript{250} | wapa |
| 93 | stone\textsuperscript{240} | tana | 121 | claw\textsuperscript{251} | sinananangin |
| 94 | earth | ini | 122 | tail | angun |
| 95 | sand\textsuperscript{241} | tana isi | 123 | one\textsuperscript{252} | kwe |
| 96 | mountain | inkaw | 124 | two | nini |
| 97 | fire | apin | 125 | three | lele |
| 98 | smoke\textsuperscript{242} | apin ngin | 126 | four | watangimila |
| 99 | ashes\textsuperscript{243} | apinsi | 127 | five | angay |
| 100 | sun | ane | 128 | ten\textsuperscript{253} | angay nini |
| 101 | moon | iwil | 129 | taro | minal |
| 102 | star\textsuperscript{244} | nali | 130 | sugarcane | mil |
| 103 | cloud | ngin | 131 | yam | utam |
| 104 | rain\textsuperscript{245} | inim | 132 | banana | minha |
| 105 | wind | nonal | 133 | sweet potato | nongontam |
| 106 | water\textsuperscript{246} | inim | 134 | bean | yakeka |
| 107 | vine | nipil | 135 | axe\textsuperscript{254} | tana |
| 108 | tree | im | 136 | knife\textsuperscript{255} | yawt |
| 109 | stick\textsuperscript{247} | im nali | 137 | arrow\textsuperscript{256} | wipam |
| 110 | bark\textsuperscript{248} | im nambi | 138 | net bag | ani |
| 111 | seed | mu | 139 | house | apa |
| 112 | root | ilu | 140 | tobacco | sokoy |
| 113 | leaf\textsuperscript{249} | wapa | 141 | morning | umbenam |
| 114 | meat | lam | 142 | afternoon | awal |
| 115 | fat | anen | 143 | night | imba |
| 116 | egg | mitin | 144 | yesterday | awal |
| 117 | louse | mimin | 145 | tomorrow | umbe |
| 118 | feather | nambl | 146 | white | waembil |

\textsuperscript{239} This word actually means ‘tusk’ (as a boar’s tusk), the closest known equivalent in Ulwa.
\textsuperscript{240} The word tana is more commonly used to refer (metonymically) to the traditional stone axe.
\textsuperscript{241} Literally = tana ‘stone’ + isi ‘salt’.
\textsuperscript{242} Literally = apin ‘fire’ + ngin ‘cloud’.
\textsuperscript{243} Literally = apin ‘fire’ + isi ‘salt’.
\textsuperscript{244} This refers to a (perceived) small star. A (perceived) large star is mbomala.
\textsuperscript{245} This word also means ‘water’.
\textsuperscript{246} This word also means ‘rain’.
\textsuperscript{247} Literally = im ‘tree’ + nali ‘star’.
\textsuperscript{248} Literally = im ‘tree’ + nambi ‘skin’.
\textsuperscript{249} This word also means ‘leaf’.
\textsuperscript{250} This word also means ‘wing’.
\textsuperscript{251} Literally = sinanan ‘nail’ + nangin ‘tongs’.
\textsuperscript{252} Also kwa.
\textsuperscript{253} Literally = angay ‘five’ x nini ‘two’.
\textsuperscript{254} Literally ‘stone’.
\textsuperscript{255} Also yot. These words refer to a larger knife (machete). A smaller knife is a sina, traditionally made from sina ‘bamboo’.
\textsuperscript{256} Also nap. ‘Bow and arrow’ is wongita.
He is hungry.  
He eats sugarcane.  
He laughs a lot.  
One man stands.  
Two men stand.  
Three men stand.  
The man goes.  
The man went yesterday  
The man will go tomorrow.  
The man eats the yam.  
The man ate the yam yesterday.  
The man will eat the yam tomorrow.  
The man hit the dog.  
The man didn’t hit the dog.  
The big man hit the little dog.  
The man gave the dog to the boy.  
The man hit the dog and went.  
The man hit the dog when the boy went.  
The man hit the dog and it went.  
The man shot and ate the pig.

Also mbun.  
Also andwana and ane.  
This word also refers to a red species of ant, a plant species with red seeds, and a cyclone.  
This word also refers to taro.  
This is the exclusive (dual) form. The inclusive (dual) form is ngunan.  
This is the exclusive (plural) form. The inclusive (plural) form is unan.  
Literally = angos ‘which?’ + tem ‘time’ (tem < Tok Pisin taim ‘time’).  
Literally = angos ‘which?’ + luwa ‘place’.  
Literally, ‘food hits him’.  
Literally, ‘he laughs often’.  
This and all subsequent translations use yeta for ‘man’. This is very literal. More colloquial Ulwa would more likely use ankam ‘person’ in such sentences.  
The translation of yetalum for ‘boy’ here (and in 188) is very literal. More colloquial Ulwa would use the word nungol ‘child’ in such sentences.  
The order of the clauses in the translation is reversed, reflecting typical Ulwa syntax.
GLOSSARY OF TOK PISIN WORDS ENCOUNTERED IN THIS DISSERTATION

The following is an annotated glossary of Tok Pisin words used in the (otherwise) English glosses and translations of Ulwa, because they more closely capture the meaning of the Ulwa word. In the list below, the Ulwa translation is given in italics, along with an English explanation.

**aibika** (yomal). A leafy green vegetable (*Abelmoschus manihot*) that is harvested in the jungle. Its long, soft leaves are commonly cooked in coconut milk (cf. *tulip*).

**bilum** (ani). A net bag woven of strings and typically worn around the neck; smaller ones are often used to carry items such as tobacco and betel nut. The Ulwa term has come to be applied to modern, factory-made bags as well.

**buai** (aw). The *Areca catechu* palm, whose seed (or ‘nut’, i.e., ‘betel nut’) is chewed as a stimulant, especially when combined with *daka* (wanmbi) and lime (calcium hydroxide). The palm is grown in Manu both for personal consumption and for export. Both the Tok Pisin term and the Ulwa term can also be applied to the nut of the plant or to the combination of the nut with *daka* and lime (together alternatively called red *buai*, or *ansi* in Ulwa).

**daka** (wanmbi). The leaf or flower of the *Piper betle* (‘pepper’) vine, commonly chewed with *buai* (aw) and lime (calcium hydroxide) to make red *buai* (ansi).

**garamut** (numbu). A large slit-drum made from a hollowed log of the ironwood tree (*Vitex cofassus*) (the tree may also be referred to by the same name, either in Tok Pisin or in Ulwa). The drum is struck as a gong to communicate messages or summon people to a location. The drums may be decorated with carvings. In Ulwa, the word *numbu* may also be used to refer to the vertical posts of a house, since these, too, are made from lumber of this tree.

**haus tambaran** (amba). A traditional ancestral worship house (‘men’s house’ or ‘spirit house’). Before being abolished in the latter half of the twentieth century (after the arrival of Christian missionaries), these ‘spirit houses’ were the exclusive domain of Ulwa men who had been initiated with secret rites (including body scarification). The practices of these initiates have largely remained secret, but they are known to have included communal dining...
(sometimes on human flesh), singing, and dancing. In the Sepik area, ‘spirit houses’ are also colloquially referred to as **haus boi**.

**kanda** *(le)*. Several species of climbing palm (rattan cane) that are used to weave the internal walls of houses.

**kaukau** *(nongontam)*. The varieties of sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) that are harvested and consumed in Papua New Guinea. Although more common in the Highlands, some Manu villagers do grow this crop at home in the Sepik lowlands. The varieties grown are typically white sweet potatoes, with lighter flesh and skin than more orange-colored American varieties.

**kunai** *(nipum)*. A blade-like grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) not found directly in the Ulwa area, but in nearby grasslands.

**kundu** *(niïte)*. A small hand drum with a body of wood and vibrating membrane of lizard skin that is struck with the hand. It is used in traditional dances and to accompany singers (who are also usually the ones playing the drum).

**limbum** *(me)*. A species of palm whose stems are split and flattened to be used for flooring and baskets. The term typically refers not to the palm, but to the flattened product derived from it, or—possibly—to a strip of this flattened stem.

**morota** *(ila)*. Sago palm fronds, used in house construction to make thatch roofs. Traditionally, these were also used by the Ulwa people to keep track of time (by breaking a frond for each day that has passed).

**pangal** *(wema)*. Woven sago palm fronds used to make the outside walls of houses.

**tokples** *(na ‘talk’, mïïn ‘egg’, unanji na ‘our [EXCL] talk’, etc.)*. Any of the hundreds of vernacular languages of Papua New Guinea, often contrasted with **Tok Pisin**, the nation’s **lingua franca**. There is no clear equivalent for this word in Ulwa (and it is commonly used as a loan in that language), but *na* ‘talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language’ may convey this meaning, especially when used with a possessive marker. The word *mïïn* ‘egg’ may also be used to mean ‘language’.

**tulip** *(anmopa)*. A leafy green vegetable (*Gnetum gnemon*) that is harvested in the jungle. It has opposite leaf arrangement (hence the name ‘two leaf’, since the leaves are all in pairs). It is commonly cooked in coconut milk (cf. **aibika**).
LIST OF TEXTS USED IN EXAMPLES

The following is a list of all texts from which the examples in this grammar are taken. I recorded these texts in Manu village in 2016 and 2017. The column marked “ELAR” indicates the file numbers for the archived recordings and annotations associated with each text (see https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1035105). Only speakers’ initials are included below; their full names are given following this list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>ELAR</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T01</td>
<td>ulwa001</td>
<td>YK</td>
<td>22.06.2016</td>
<td>Wonmelma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T02</td>
<td>ulwa002</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>16.11.2016</td>
<td>Origins of the Manu people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T03</td>
<td>ulwa003</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>16.11.2016</td>
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T34  ulwa039  AB, AJ  19.06.2017  Murder at Maruat village
T35  ulwa040  AB, AJ  19.06.2017  Discussing what they did yesterday
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Speakers:

AB      Ayndin (aka Joseph) Bram
TG      Tarambi (aka David) Gambri
AJ      Ambasap (aka Christina) Jomia
TK      Tangin (aka Rosa) Kapos
YK      Yanapi (aka Yaka) Kua
GT      Gweni Tungun
THE ULWA COSMOGONY

The Ulwa people have a traditional story that tells of the origin of the universe and the creation of the first people. It runs roughly as follows:

Long ago there was Ambawanam Ngata, a great man who lived in the universe all alone. He built village after village, until finally he built the current village (i.e., our world). Still, he had no wife and no children. Living alone, he set out to build a *garamut* drum. While hacking at the wood with his stone axe to carve the drum, he accidentally cut his leg. When blood begin to pour out, he grabbed a leaf to tie around the wound. After staunching most of the blood, he took half of a split coconut shell, put it under his leg, and let the rest of the blood flow into it. When the bleeding stopped, he took the other side of the coconut shell and enclosed his blood between the two halves. He put the blood-filled coconut under the awning of his house and resumed building his *garamut* drum. Meanwhile, the coconut, which had transformed into an egg, hatched. Inside the egg were a man and a woman.

The man left the egg and headed out to see Ambawanam Ngata working on his *garamut* drum. Shocked to see another human, Ambawanam Ngata asked the man who he was and where he had come from. The man led him back to the awning of the house, whereupon Ambawanam Ngata shot the broken coconut-egg with an arrow, and the woman fell out. Having forbidden the woman to follow him, Ambawanam Ngata went back to work on his *garamut* drum. But disregarding his order, the woman came upon him while he was carving the drum. He shouted at her to leave, as it is taboo for a woman to be present while a *garamut* drum is being made. The woman and the man left together. The woman found a yam and cooked it in the fire. She scraped off the ashes and put the cooked yam in a coconut shell. She gave this to the man, telling him to bring it to their “father”. The man did just that: he went to Ambawanam Ngata and called to him, “Papa!” But Ambawanam Ngata told the man: “I am not your father; I am your grandfather.” And Ambawanam Ngata left for good, flying off to live in the clouds.

In the now-Christian Ulwa-speaking villages, the man and woman who hatched from the coconut-egg are often equated with Adam and Eve, and Ambawanam Ngata is of course seen as an equivalent to (if not the same entity as) the Christian God. Indeed, it is unclear how much (if any) of this story predates Christian influence, or if some aspects of it are derived from Christian mythology.
The Ulwa people have another traditional story that tells of the origins of the peoples of New Guinea and (perhaps) the greater world. It runs roughly as follows:

Long ago, alone in this world were an old man and an old woman, who lived together as husband and wife. The old woman desperately wanted a child, but the couple was unable to conceive one. So the old woman prayed to the gods and—in a dream—was told what to do. She was to gather clay and mold it into the shape of a man; then she was to put the clay man into the fire to bake and take him out once his body had cooked to a fine golden brown.

The next morning, the woman set out to do just that. She gathered some clay, molded it into the shape of a man, and put this clay man into the fire. Having put the clay man in the fire, she headed out to go fishing. She fished and fished, losing track of the time. Meanwhile, the clay man continued to bake, turning brown, then browner, and then—since he was in the fire much too long—black as night. Once fully blackened, the clay man—now a living boy—jumped out of the fire and began to run. The old man, who was home, saw this black child and shrieked in fright. The boy, startled by the old man’s yelling, ran away into the jungle, where he became a jungle spirit. Later it was said that his descendants are the people of the Solomon Islands, whose skin is notably darker than that of the people of the main island of New Guinea.

Eventually, the old woman returned to find the fire having died down, but no child inside. After her husband explained what he had seen, the old woman, not at all deterred, tried again—this time resolving to keep watch by the fire. She gathered more clay, molded it into a second man, and placed this second clay man into the fire. She watched as the clay started to darken. When the clay man had reached a nice golden brown, she removed him from the fire. He came to life, and she considered him her son.

So very pleased with the results, the old woman decided to try to make one final child—only now the fire had died down completely. So she decided to bake this man in the sun instead. She gathered clay, molded the man, and put him out in the sun. He baked and baked, but his color never managed fully to darken. Nevertheless, he too came alive—another son. He was like his two brothers, only white in complexion. The old woman took the two sons that remained and brought them home to introduce them to their father.

The old man was also pleased with new sons, and so he decided then and there to allot to each his inheritance. He called the two boys over. Grabbing a coconut, he split it in two—one side held the eyes of the coconut, the other side the rear. He threw the two halves before the
children, telling the older son (the brown-skinned one) that he may choose first. Foolishly, the older son chose the rear end of the coconut. The younger son was left with no choice but to take the eye side. The father spoke to them as follows: “Ah, my son, you are older, but you have chosen foolishly. For you must hold this closed end of the coconut before your face, unable to see far; you will not have an easy life; you must work hard for your livelihood; but this land here will be yours, and it is good land. And you, my younger son, you have before you the eyes of the coconut; you will hold this side before your face, and you will see far; you will make great advances compared to your brother, but you must live far away from here.”

And with that he sent his sons off into the world. The brown-skinned one was to be the father of all people alive today in the region. Years later, when white people came to New Guinea, they were recognized as the descendants of the white-skinned child.

The village of Manu has an account of its origins as well, extending into the legendary past, which runs roughly as follows:

Long ago, the ancestors of everyone—Ulwa-speakers and everyone else who now lives along the Sepik River—came from far off, in unknown lands lying to the distant west. Eventually, they settled in a place called Kamen (near present-day Kambaramba village). All the clans and all the language groups lived together—Ulwa, Biwat, Ap Ma, Kanda, Mwakai, Pondi, and so on. But the leading clan in this massive village was called Kamen (after which the town was named). One day, the Kamen clan killed a huge crocodile. But, contrary to custom, the leaders of the clan did not share the meat with the other clans. Greatly angered, the other clans declared war on the Kamen clan, killing some of them. In the disorderly fighting that ensued, people from other (bystander) clans were killed as well. Eventually the entire settlement was at war, every clan fighting for itself. With peace no longer tenable at Kamen, all the clans split up.

The Ulwa clan was itself divided into four sub-clans: Nîmalnu (Manu), Mamala (Maruat), Andîmali (Dimiri), and Mosombla (Yaul). The Nîmalnu clan first settled in Dim (near present-day Biwat). But the Biwat clan began to enter this land, and wars ensued between the two groups. (The Biwat are the famously aggressive Mundugumor people of Mead’s 1935 study). Avoiding further warfare, the Nîmalnu clan moved to a second village, Yambul (in the area of the present-day Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul villages).
When the other Ulwa sub-clans moved to this area, too, however, the Nîmalnu clan moved to yet another (third) village, Amali (about five hours away from the current village location, in the direction of the Bun clan).

This proved a very desirable location, but incessant warring with the Bun community (closely related linguistically to the Biwat community) prompted the Nîmalnu clan to move yet again, to the fourth village, which itself was divided into two areas: Yambiwa and Mamanu. This two-part village, about two hours away from the current one, is still known to the people of Manu, and is often visited and used as a base from which to hunt. Its full name is *Wa Wapata* (literally, ‘old village’), but it is usually called by a shortened form, *Wopata*. By the time of its arrival to this fourth village, the Nîmalnu clan had itself grown so large as to consist of seven sub-clans: three clans lived at the Yambiwa part of the village and four clans lived at the Mamanu part of the village. This fourth village, although a refuge from the bellicose Bun people, proved unhygienic. In the swampy climate, the Nîmalnu clan came close to total extinction, as many people died from disease. The sub-clans were reduced in number from seven to four, which is the current number of Manu clans.

It was because of this poor climate, as well as a desire for better access to water and to colonial Australian administrative services, that the Nîmalnu people started moving in the 1960s to their fifth (and current) village, in the area known locally as Bulon, but now commonly referred to as Manu.
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