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A WASKIA GRAMMAR SKETCH AND VOCABULARY

by
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. GENERAL

Waskia is a non-Austronesian language belonging to what Z'graggen (1971) has termed the Kowan language family, a member family of the Isumrud Stock. The only other member of the Kowan Family is Korak. The Isumrud Stock is a part of the Madang-Adelbert Range sub-phylum, which in turn belongs to the Trans-New Guinea phylum which occupies the larger part of mainland New Guinea.

Waskia today has about 10,000 speakers, most of them living in the northern part of Karkar Island, and some 200-300 in Tokain village on the mainland coast to the west. The area is geographically compact and there is little dialect variation.

Apart from its genetic and typological classification, Waskia has received very little previous discussion (Z'graggen, 1975a). Capell (1969) placed it in his typological category Biv(a) of languages which prefix the pronoun object to the verbal complex, but as this study will indicate, it properly belongs to his category Biv(d), in which subject, object and tense markers and all suffixal.

This study originated in the work of John Natu Paol, then a student at the Goroka campus of the University of Papua New Guinea, who during the 1975-76 vacation collected data in Waskia, his native language, at his home village of Tokain. His role has far exceeded that of an informant in that he spent many hours during 1976 not only providing data, but also assisting in glossing and analysing, and compiling most of the vocabulary appended to this study. He spent much of the 1976-77 vacation checking data at Tokain. Without his determined interest in his language and the punctiliousness of his work, this study would not exist.

The orthography used here is also the result of his work. As far as can be ascertained (Franklin, 1975), no previous orthographic work on Waskia has been done, and the orthography is therefore based on that of

New Guinea Pidgin. There are five vowel phonemes, i, e, a, o, u, and fourteen consonants:

r is voiced alveolar vibrant contrasting with voiced alveolar lateral I: ng represents a voiced velar nasal. The phonemic status of w and y is in some doubt, but the use of the symbols in a practical orthography of Waskia for writers literate in Pidgin appears essential.

Syllables in Waskia are open, except in morpheme-final position, where they may be closed. Any consonant except the voiced stops b, d, g and the semi-vowels w and y may close a syllable. The only consonant sequence occurring within a morpheme is a voiced stop preceded by its homorganic nasal: mb, nd, ngg. These combinations occur only medially. Of the consonants, only r does not commence a syllable.

The vowel e occurs at the beginning of a morpheme only in borrowed words (e.g. Pidgin edpos 'aid-post'). Apart from this restriction, all vowels occur in initial, medial, and final positions. Vowel sequences are limited to ae, ai, ao, au, ia, ie, iu, ua, ue, ui.

Waskia is a syllable-counting language with weak, non-contrastive stress, the rules governing which need further investigation. In general, however, stress falls on the last syllable of a noun, a personal pronoun, a verb (i.e. on its subject-tense-mood suffix), an adjective or an adverb, as long as this syllable is not an enclitic (i.e., subject marker, limiter, dependent clause connective, short postposition, or the determiner mu).

1.2. PRESENTATION

With a number of additions and alterations, the organisation of this study follows that used by Dutton (1975) in his grammar sketch of Koita. The main additions to his framework are a section on topicalisation, and various notes on the probable history of certain features at relevant points in the sketch. These have been included in the hope that they will make a very small contribution to the history of non-Austronesian languages on the north coast of New Guinea.

In the examples and text, spaces separate free forms, hyphens (-) mark morpheme boundaries, and full-stops (.) separate words in multi-word English glosses of single Waskia words or morphemes. Where clause

constituents such as Subj, Obj, VP are shown under a Waskia sentence, they are printed so as to mark the initial boundary of each constituent. Sentence constituents marked with a small stroke (') refer to an embedded clause. Thus in

ane kadi / anega buruk usag-am / mu arig-em
Subj Obj VP
(Subj)' Obj' VP'

Obj indicates that kadi anega buruk usagam mu is the Object of the independent clause, whilst, for example, Obj' indicates that anega buruk is Object of the embedded clause. Long strokes (/) indicate clause boundaries, in this case the boundaries of the embedded clause.

Other conventions and abbreviations are:

connective

C

```
11
         sentence boundary
         ungrammatical form or historical reconstruction
         zero morpheme
         (in morphophonemic rules) word-/morpheme-final vowel
         (in morphophonemic rules) word-/morpheme-initial vowel
         becomes
         is derived from
         plus
         (in Waskia examples) optional; (around sentence constituent)
         indicates word/phrase with double function
a/b
         either a or b
         enclose phonetic manifestations deviating from normal
F
   1
         orthography
         first person
1
2
         second person
3
         third person
         agent
A
         classifying adjective
ad.jc
adje
         epithet adjective
adin
         adjective of nationality
AdvP
         adverb phrase
Advpd
         adverb phrase of duration
AdvP1
         adverb phrase, instrument
AdvP1
         adverb phrase of location
AdvPm
         adverb phrase of manner
AdvPt
         adverb phrase of time
В
         beneficiary
         consonant
С
```

cd connective, different subject

Cmt complement (of verb)

Comp completion
COM comment
cond conditional
conj conjunction

cs connective, same subject

dep
dependent simple
deph
dependent habitual

des desiderative
det determiner
ditr ditransitive
E experiencer
emph emphatic
erg ergative
fut future

g given information

I instrument
ij interjection
imp imperative

IObj indirect object

irr irrealis
itr intransitive
L locative

lim limiting pronoun

lit literally

n new information

nadj noun used as adjective

neg negative nn noun

nni inalienable noun

num numeral

nwh 'whole' noun in partitive noun phrase

Obj object

op plural object marker

P patient p plural

ph past habitual tense posn possessor noun phrase poss possessive pronoun

pp postposition
pres present tense

pron pronoun

ps past simple tense

P. TOP primary topic

q question marker

qt question tag

refl reflexive pronoun

s singular

sm subject marker

stm subject-tense-mood marker

S.TOP secondary topic

Subj subject

TP Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)

tr transitive

V vowel

vn verbal noun
VP verb phrase
vr verb-root

2. GRAMMAR SKETCH

2.1. SENTENCES

Waskia sentences are of four kinds: simple, fragmentary, compound and complex.

A simple sentence is one which contains only one clause. For example:

kadi mu yu luku-so

Subj Obj VP

man the water drink-pres.3s

The man is drinking water

naur mu ali ti bage-san

Sub.j AdvP VP

coconut the ground on stay-pres.3p

The coconuts are on the ground

naur pamu anega i?

Subj Comp

coconut this mine a

Is this coconut mine?

Fragmentary sentences are reduced simple sentences, which will be discussed in section 2.11, and utterances such as greetings and farewells, expressions of emotion, short answers to questions, and so on,

which are incomplete in that they lack (at least) a verb phrase or a completion. The latter are of little grammatical interest and will not be discussed further. Examples are:

ao! yes
ai! Hey!
ye Hallo
munganingala Good morning

Good day

Compound and complex sentences contain more than one clause and are derived by combining two or more simple sentences. These will be described in sections 2.12 and 2.13.

2.11. Simple Sentences

idala

Simple sentences are of two types: verbal sentences and completion sentences. Completion sentences are in general verbless, but also include some with the verb 'become', which are therefore excluded from the verbal category.

2.11.1. Verbal Sentences

The 'normal', i.e. unmarked (see section 2.13.) item order in verbal sentences is:

where brackets indicate that all items except the verb phrase may occur optionally. However, there is a considerable flexibility in the positioning of adverb phrases in the slots between subject and indirect object and between object and verb phrase. An adverb phrase may also follow the verb phrase; this is particularly common where an adverb phrase of location co-occurs with a verb of motion.

Three major categories of verbal sentence are distinguishable: intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive sentences.

2.11.11. Intransitive Sentences

Intransitive sentences are those which have neither Object nor Indirect Object and therefore have the basic structure:

(Subj)VP

with or without adverb phrases. Examples are:

namer-uko!
VP
go-imp.3s

go-Imp.3s
He must go

ane n-ako

Sub.1 VP

I eat-des

I want to eat

nu kawam nungi anir-am bage-so

Subj AdvP VP

he house inside sleep-ps.3s stay-pres.3s

He is sleeping inside the house

2.11.12. Transitive Sentences

Transitive sentences have an object and the basic structure:

(Subj)Obj VP

For example:

kadi mu aga umo-so

Subj Obj VP

man the me hit-pres.3s

The man is hitting me

aga kawam ke ka-te mu kiar-am

Subj Obj VP

my house sm you-to the exceed-ps.3s

My house is bigger than yours

(lit. My house has exceeded yours)

Gagi itakta bangia-bangia bamban arak se ningola t-am

Subj AdvP^t Obj AdvP¹ AdvP^m VP

Gagi now afternoon fish net with well catch-ps.3s

Gagi skilfully caught some fish with a net this afternoon

nu kuera i ta-uki ?

Subj Obj VP

he sickness q get-fut.3s

Will he become sick?

(lit. Will he get a sickness?)

2.11.13. Ditransitive Sentences

Ditransitive sentences have an indirect object and an object. The indirect object is not specially marked but occurs, if a noun, before the object, and, if a pronoun, after the object. It co-occurs most often with verbs of giving (section 2.22.24.).

Examples:

kadi mu ke naur anenga id-uki Subj Obj IObj VP man the sm coconut us p.give-fut.3s

The man will give us a coconut

anenge ali yu tui-man Subj IObj Obj VP we.sm ground water 3s.give-ps.Ip

We made the ground wet
(lit. We gave the ground water)

The internal structure of the phrases and words making up these examples will be discussed in later sections. However, certain points need to be made here.

In unmarked sentences like those above, the subject is not normally omitted from delaratives and questions, but is often deleted from imperatives. It is also missing in all impersonal sentences (discussed in the next section).

As the examples above indicate, Waskia transitive and ditransitive sentences often encode meanings for which English employs a different structure.

2.11.14. Impersonal, Ergative, and Resultative Sentences

These three sentence-types are transformationally derived from a transitive sentence in which the transitive verb denotes a process involving change of state in the object, and the subject is the agent or instrument causing the change of state (e.g. 'John/the wind shut the door').

An impersonal sentence is one in which the subject of the transitive sentence is deleted, and the verb takes a third person plural suffix. It is the approximate equivalent of the English passive, where the transitive 'Someone opened the door' is transformed with subject-deletion to 'The door was opened'.

In ergative sentences, the object of the transitive sentence becomes the subject, with which the (now intransitive) verb agrees in person and number, and the subject of the transitive sentence is again deleted (as in the English 'The door opened'). A few verbs have forms used in ergative but not in transitive sentences (see section 2.410.), whilst others are used only in ergative sentences and are so marked in the vocabulary.

Whereas impersonal and ergative sentences denote the process involving a change of state in the object (impersonal) or subject (ergative), resultative sentences denote the result of the change. The form of a resultative sentence is identical to that of an impersonal or ergative sentence with the verb in the past simple tense, and the meaning is determined contextually. Impersonal resultative and ergative resultative sentences are approximately equivalent to the English present perfect structures exemplified by 'The door has been opened' and 'The door has opened', with their implication 'The door is open'.

The following examples illustrate:

Transitive: Samena na kamir-am

> Ob.1 VP Sub.i

Samena food cook-ps.3s

Samena cooked/has cooked the food

Impersonal n a kamir-un

(or VP Obj Resultative):

food cook-ps.3p

The food was cooked/Someone cooked the food

The food has been/is cooked (lit. They cooked the food)

Ergative kamir-am na

(or

Resultative): Subj VP

food cook-ps.3s

The food was cooking/The food has/is cooked

Transitive: Gagi arak mu mait se batag-am

> AdvP1 VP Subj Obj

Gagi net the knife with tear-ps.3s

Gagi tore/has torn the net with a knife

Impersonal arak mu batag-un

(or

VP Obj

Resultative):

net the tear-ps.3p

The net was torn/Someone tore the net

The net has been/is torn (lit. They tore the net)

Ergative arak mu batiy-am

(or VP Subj Resultative):

net the tear-ps.3s

The net tore/The net has/is torn

Transitive: Gagi maresang pamu kara-nd-am

Subj Obj VP

Gagi vegetable this heat-op-ps.3s

Gagi heated/has heated these vegetables

Impersonal maresang pamu kara-nd-un (or

Resultative):

Ob.j

vegetable this heat-op-ps.3p

These vegetables were heated/Someone heated these vegetables/These vegetables have been/are heated

(lit. They heated these vegetables)

Ergative

maresang pamu karar-un

(or

Subj

VP

Resultative): vegetable this heat-ps.3p

These vegetables heated/have been heated/are hot

2.11.2. Completion Sentences

These sentences contain a completion which denotes a state of the subject. In most cases they are verbless, but some have the verb ar-Their basic structure is:

Subj Comp (VP)

Completion sentences are classified according to the kind of completion they have: adjective, noun, pronoun, postpositional phrase.

2.11.21. Adjective Completions

Those few adjectives which have a plural form (section 2.403.) assume this form if the subject is plural. Thus:

> kawam mu ititi

Comp Subj

house the new.p

The houses are new

2.11.22. Noun Completions

For example:

kawam omu digo

Subj Comp

house that men's. house

That house is the 'men's house'

aga bawa taleng duap

Subj Comp

my brother mushroom stem

My brother is a policeman

(lit. My brother is a mushroom stem)

aga bawa taleng duap ar-am

Subj Comp

my brother mushroom stem became-ps.3s

My brother became a policeman

2.11.23. Pronoun Completions

In our recorded examples, all pronoun completions consist of a possessive or demonstrative pronoun:

VP

naur pamu <u>nika</u>

Subj Comp

coconut this yours

This coconut is yours

naur pamu

Subj Comp

coconut this

Here is a coconut

(lit. A coconut is this)

Note that verbless completion snntences with noun or pronoun completions are often ambiguous with regard to whether the subject is singular or plural. The examples above could in context mean 'These coconuts are yours' and 'Here are some coconuts'.

2.11.24. Postpositional Phrase Completions

For example:

ane naur karo

Subj Comp

I coconut with

I have a coconut

(lit. I am with a coconut)

Postpositional phrase completions with karo 'with' often express possession (English 'have' sentences), but this is not always so (see section 2.23.2.):

nu guria <u>karo</u> Subj Comp he anger with

He is angry

(lit. He is with anger)

ali mu yu <u>karo</u> ar-am

Subj Comp VP

ground the water with become-ps.3s

The ground became wet

(lit. The ground became with-water)

Other completions observed have the postpositions wam 'like' and ko 'of, belonging to':

nuko koma kidi <u>wam</u> (ar-am) Subj Comp (VP)

his 3.face blood like (become-ps.3s)

His face is/became red

(lit. His face is/became like blood)

kulak munta Simbu <u>ko</u>

Sub.j Comp

boy that Chimbu of

That boy is from Chimbu

Note that in Waskia, locative sentences of the type 'The man is in the house' are not completion sentences, as the verb bager- 'stay' is used, giving an intransitive sentence with an adverb phrase:

kadi mu kawam se bage-so Subj Adv P^1 VP man the house in stay-pres.3s

The man is in the house

2.11.3. Question Variants of Simple Sentences

These are of two kinds: yes-no questions and information questions.

2.11.31. Yes-No Questions

All Yes-no questions are marked by a rising intonation. Some are not otherwise marked:

imet mu bamban na-so?

Subj Obj VP

woman the meat eat-pres.3s

Is the woman eating the meat?

nu talr-ukl?

Sub. J VP

he come-fut.3s

Is he going to come?

Yes-no questions may also be marked by the question-marker I, which precedes or follows the verb (without apparent difference in meaning), or follows the completion:

kadi mu yu Itakta na-so <u>i</u> ?

Subj Obj AdvP VP

man the water now drink-pres.3s q

Is the man having a drink of water now?

kulak omu kuera <u>l</u> ta-uki ?

Subj Obj VP

boy that sickness q get-fut.3s

Is that boy going to get sick?

naur pamu anega <u>i</u> ?

Subj Comp

coconut this mine q

Is this coconut mine?

Where the speaker makes a presupposition, then questions it, the question-tag ayi is used:

Gagi Madang suie se bage-so, ayi ?

Subj AdvP AdvP VP

Gagi Madang school at stay-pres.3s qt

Gagi is at school in Madang, isnt't he?

The answer to a yes-no question is usually either ao 'yes' or mela 'no', with nothing attached.

2.11.32. Information Questions

In these questions an interrogative word (see 2.419.) replaces an item in the sentence. No change takes place in the unmarked item order.

For example:

Gagi ikelako <u>aweri</u> ko bamban tagir-am ?

Subj AdvP IObj Obj VF

Gagi yesterday who for fish catch-ps.3s

Who did Gagi catch fish for yesterday?

ni <u>anape</u> ta-sam ? nu <u>apago</u> ?

Subj Obj VP Subj Comp

wow what do-pres.2s he where

you what do-pres.2s he where

Where is he?

kam awukala ni Wewlak namer-em ?

AdvP Subj AdvP VP

time how.many you Wewak go-ps.2s

How many times have you been to Wewak?

nu naur mu <u>awuk</u> purug-am ?

Subj Obj AdvP VP

What are you doing?

he coconut the how pick-ps.3s

How did he get that coconut?

kadi mu aweri umo-so ?

Subj Obj VP

man the who hit-pres.3s

Who is that man hitting?

2.11.4. Negative Variants of Simple Sentences

Waskia has only one negative marker me, which is placed before the verb phrase or the completion in all sentence-types:

me no-ko! munta me kadi neg VP Subj neg Comp

not eat-imp.2s this not man

Don't eat! This isn't a man

ane yu <u>me</u> na-la bage-sam

Sub.j Ob.j neg VP

I water not drink- stay-pres.ls

I never drink water

anenga inongi ko kadi bo uda se me namer-am

Subj AdvP neg VP

our village of man any singsing to not go-ps.3s

No one from our village went to the singsing

(lit. Any man from our village did not go to the singsing)

Fragmentary replies to information questions which require a negative but have no verb use the the negative mela 'no':

pamu awiri ko naur ? kadi bo ko meia Subj Comp Comp neg this who of coconut man any of no Whose coconut is this? It isn't anyone's John buk awukala karo bage-so ? buk mela nu VP Sub.1 AdvP Subj AdvP neg John book how. many with staybook no he How many books does John have? None (lit. John stays with how many books?) (lit. He (is with) no books)

Note that other single-word negative forms such as never, nowhere, nobody, nothing, etc. do not exist in Waskia.

2.12. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are formed by joining two or more simple sentences together, either by simple juxtaposition or with a free form used as a conjunction. Frequently the second sentence of the compound omits elements already mentioned in the first.

2.12.1. Juxtaposition

Only one type of compound sentence formed by juxtaposition, the report sentence, has been found, but it is probable that other types also occur. The report sentence consists of a simple sentence containing a verb of saying or thinking, followed by a simple sentence giving the content of the report. There is no 'sequence of tenses': the verb tense of the report remains as it would be in direct speech. Examples:

nu adewar-am / mukolase nu Madang namer-uki Subj VP / AdvP Subj AdvP VP he say-ps.3s tomorrow he Madang go-fut.3s He said he would go to Madang the next day (11t. He said: he will go to Madang tomorrow)

2.12.2. Conjunction

Two types of compound sentence joined by a free form used as a conjunction have been found: adversative and alternative.

2.12.21. Adversative

Adversative sentences are those in which a contrast (marked in English by but or although) is made. Three sub-types occur, according to what is being contrasted.

Where both halves of the sentence have the same subject, but the verb phrase of the second contradicts the expectations of the first, the conjunction tamu 'but' is used:

ane ulang kaly-em / tamu me na-em Subj Obj VP / conj neg VP I yam cook-ps.ls but not eat-ps.ls

I cooked the yam, but didn't eat it

Where the halves of the compound have different subjects and the whole of the second half contradicts the expentations of the first, mu or mu mela is used as a conjunction. mu mela 'but no' is used if the negative marker me does not occur in the second half, and mu if it does occur:

udia mer-am / mu mela laun ke dunur-am
Subj VP / conj Subj VP
younger refuse-ps.3s but elder sm force-ps.3s

The younger (brother) refused but the elder (brother) forced him

their 3.mother-father village come-ps.3p but.cd boy

itelala munta me bager-un neg VP

two that.g not stay-ps.3p

Their parents came to the village, but those two boys weren't there

Where both halves of the compound have the same subject and verb, but the verb of the second half is negated, the negative marker me (which normally precedes the verb phrase) is used as a conjunction:

kausik mu aga buruk usir-am / me nika-te mu Subj Obj VP / conj Obj dog the my pig bite-ps.3s not you to the The dog bit my pig, not yours

2.12.22. Alternative

These are sentences presenting alternatives, marked in English by ('either'...)'or'. All instances found to date have the same subject in both halves of the sentence. In alternative declarative sentences, each alternative is introduced by Ito 'or', and the first alternative is also marked with the question marker I:

mukolase ane Ito ingam | urat biter-lki | / Ito taun AdvP Subj conj AdvP Obj VP / conj AdvP tomorrow I or garden in work do-fut.ls q or town se namer-lki VP to go-fut.ls

Tomorrow I shall either work in the garden or go to town

Alternative question sentences are formed by juxtaposition rather than conjunction, in that each alternative is marked only by the question-marker I. In other words, two simple question sentences (discussed in 2.11.31.) are juxtaposed:

ni itakta na-sam <u>i</u> / inongi <u>l</u> name-sam
Subj AdvP VP / AdvP VP
you now eat-pres.2s q village q go-pres.2s
Are you eating now or are you going home?

2.13. Complex Sentences

A complex sentence is conventionally defined as one which contains one independent or main clause and one or more dependent or subordinate clauses. Because of this convention we group together as complex sentences two types of construction in Waskia which are quite different from each other: subjoining and embedding.

2.13.1. Subjoining

A dependent clause in a subjoining sentence in Waskia expresses similar meanings to adverbial clauses of time, reason, condition, purpose and so on in English. However, whereas English adverbial clauses are often regarded as clauses filling an adverb 'slot' in the independent clause, the Waskia dependent clause is not part of the independent clause. It normally precedes the independent clause (which, as in compound sentences, may omit elements mentioned in the preceding clause), and is in many cases connected to the independent clause by a connective suffix attached to its verb. This suffix translates roughly into

English as the conjunction and; indeed, the connective suffix -se appears to have been a conjunction (see section 2.420.).

Waskia subjoining sentences are examples of what Longacre (1972:1ff) has called 'clause chaining', common in Trans-New Guinea phylum languages. The label 'chaining' is not used here, however, as Waskia only infrequently joins more than two or three clauses in subjoining sentences.

Subjoining sentences fall into three main categories: connected action sentences, purpose sentences, and condition sentences.

2.13.11. Connected Action

In connected action sentences (as in compound sentences) the form of the connection between the two clauses is determined by whether they have the same subject or different subjects.

Waskia classifies connected actions into simultaneous actions (i.e. both actions take place at one time) and successive actions (i.e. one action takes place after the other). However, the Waskia conceptalisation of what actions are simultaneous and what are successive differs at times from the English. For example, all reason sentences (because) are successive in Waskia.

The dependent clause in a simultaneous action sentence usually has the dependent form of the verb (which has no subject-tense-mood suffix; see section 2.412.2.); if the subjects of the two clauses are different, then the different-subject connective -se is suffixed to the dependent verb.

The dependent clause in a successive action sentence has an independent verb form (that is, one with a subject-tense-mood suffix, as used in an independent clause), but has a connective suffixed to the subject-tense-mood suffix of the verb. If the subjects of the two clauses are the same, this is the same-subject connective -ale; if they are different, it is the different-subject connective -se.

This state of affairs is summarized in Chart 1.

CHART 1
Dependent Clause Constructions in Connected Action Sentences

	Simultaneous action	Successive action
Same subject	dependent verb (no connective)	independent verb
Different subject	dependent verb + -se	independent verb

These categories, and certain subcategories within them, are illustrated below.

(a) Simultaneous Action

Only a few cases of simultaneous action sentences have been found: it seems that most simultaneous actions are regarded as durative (see below) or are conceptualised as successive. Most simultaneous action/same subject sentences contain the dependent verb-form nama 'go' in their dependent clause:

```
Gagi beng se nama / manga san t-am
Subj AdvP vp / Obj vP
Gagi bank to go.dep money some get-ps.3s
Going to the bank, Gagi got some money
```

All recorded examples of simultaneous action/different subject sentences have an imperative verb in the independent clause, and entail a change from singular to plural subject between clauses. The two examples below both have three clauses, and therefore two clause connections, one of which is a different-subject connection (underlined), the other a same-subject connection:

A more common category of simultaneous action sentence is the durative sentence (English 'while'..., 'as'...) where one action lasts over a period of time and another action takes place while the first is going on. The duration of the first action is expressed by a complex (durative) verb-phrase consisting of the dependent form of the verb followed by a form of bager- 'stay' used as an auxiliary verb. In same-subject sentences, bager- predictably has the dependent form baga, but in different-subject sentences it has an independent form plus the different-subject connective -se.

Examples:

```
/ yu
                                     na-em
ane
    na
          kami
                   baga
                             / Ob.1
                                     VP
Sub.j Ob.j
          VP
     food cook.dep stay.dep water drink-ps.1s
While I was cooking the food, I drank some water
                                   / ane
                                          kasili ariq-em
                    bager-am-se
nu
     lage se nama
                                                 VP
Subj AdvP
             VP
                                   / Subj Obj
     road on go.dep stay-ps.3s-cd
                                          snake
                                                 see-ps.1s
```

Durative sentences are also used in cases where English uses 'until':

```
kadi mu urat <u>bita baga</u> / kuer-am
Subj Obj VP / VP
man the work do.dep stay.dep die-ps.3s
```

As he was going along the road, I saw a snake

While the man was working, he died

= The man worked until he died

```
Inong bagera Ingam i urat bita bager-un-se /
Subj AdvP Obj VP /
village dweller garden in work do.dep stay-ps.3p-cd
bangi-am
VP
get.dark-ps.3s
```

While the villagers were working in the garden, it got dark = The villagers worked in the garden until it got dark

```
kadi mu no bager-un-se / nun-tago paiy-am
Subj VP / Subj VP
man the eat.dep stay-ps.3p.-cd 3p-stomach get.full-ps.3s
While the men were eating, their stomachs got full
```

= The men ate until they were full

(b) Successive Action

Successive action sentences occur with greater frequency than simultaneous action sentences. In rapid speech the same-subject connective -ale is sometimes omitted, but it is often replaced when the speaker is asked to repeat slowly what he has said.

Examples:

```
/ inong i namer-iki
 ane na-ik-aie
                    / AdvP VP
 Sub.j VP
      eat-fut.1s-cs village to go-fut.1s
 When I have eaten, I shall go home
 ane Madang me-sam-ale / Suaruni
                                             name-sam
                              / AdvP
                                             VP
 Sub.j AdvP VP
      Madang leave-pres.3s-cs Karkar. Island go-pres.3s
 Leaving Madang, I am going to Karkar Island
= I am travelling from Madang to Karkar Island
      ulang kaiy-am-se / ni na-em
 Subj Obj
                          / Subj VP
          VP
      yam cook-ps.3s-cd you eat-ps.2s
 he
  He cooked the yam and you ate it
= When he had cooked the yam, you ate it
  ane puler-em / tai-sam
                   / VP
  Sub.i VP
      return-ps.1s come-pres.1s
  I, having returned, am coming
= I am coming back
  gerekma ke sumatin nunga <u>amapir-am-se</u> / dawamala urat biter-un
                          VP
                               / AdvP
                                                   Ob.j VP
            Ob.j
  teacher sm student them cause-ps.3s-cd
                                          hard
                                                   work do-ps.3p
  The teacher made the students work hard
  (lit. The teacher caused the students, and they worked hard)
  Samena Gagi arigam-se
                          / name-so
                            VP
  Subj
        Ob.i VP
  Samena Gagi see-ps.3s-cd
                            go-ps.3s
  Samena saw Gagi go
  (lit. Samena saw Gagi and he went)
```

The adverb ari, roughly translatable as 'after', is inserted in a dependent clause to emphasize that one action took place before the other:

anena naur ta-man-ale ari / tebol kuali bite-man VP AdvP / AdvP VP Sub.j Ob.j coconut take-ps.1p-cs after table on we put-ps.lp We took the coconut and then put it on the table inong i tair-am-se / Kaimkadi ke umor-am Gagi ari Subj AdvP AdvP VP / Sub.i VP Gagi after village to come-ps.3s-cd Kaimkadi sm hit-ps.3s After Gagi had come home, Kaimkadi hit him

The adverb muse, here translatable as 'so, for this reason', is inserted after the verb of the dependent clause to show causal connection between two actions:

muse / me tair-uki kadi mu ani-so-le Subj VP AdvP / neg VP man the sleep-pres.3s-cs so not come-fut.3s The man is sleeping, so he will not come odem kani-so-se muse / anena ameting i dagi-nako Sub.i VP AdvP / Subj AdvP VP sun burn-pres.3s-cd so we outside at sit-imp.lp The sun is shining, so let's sit outside aneman sasi. muse / anena inong i name-naki VP Subj AdvP / Subj AdvP VP 1p.breath block.up-pres.3s-cd so village to go-fut.lp we We are going to go home because we are tired (lit. Our breath is blocking up so we shall go to the village)

It is also acceptable Waskia to reverse the order of clauses in examples like the above, so that muse falls at the end of the sentence. e.g. anena Inong I name-naki/aneman sasi-so-se <u>muse</u>.

2.13.12. Purpose

Purpose sentences are similar in form to connected action sentences with muse. However, the distinction between same-subject and different-subject connection is neutralized, for reasons not understood at present. There are two forms of purpose sentence, used regardless of whether clauses have the same or different subjects: the verb phrase of the dependent clause is

either (a) the desiderative form of the verb, plus connective -se; or (b) a desiderative verb phrase, consisting of an irrealis

verb form and an independent form of the verb ma- 'want to', plus connective -ale.

Examples:

nu manga <u>t-ako-se muse</u> / urat bite-so
Subj Obj VP AdvP / Obj VP
he money get-des-c so work do-pres.3s

He is working in order to earn money
(lit. He wants to get money, so he is doing work)

nuna urat bite-nak ma-un-ale muse / taun se bage-san
Subj Obj VP AdvP VP
they work do-irr.p want-ps.3p-c so town to stay-pres.3p

They live in town in order to work
(11t. They want to do work, so they stay in town)

nu sule se <u>namer-ako-se muse</u> / nuko nuet ke Subj AdvP VP AdvP / Subj

he school to go-des-c so his 3.father sm

taun se biter-am AdvP VP

town to put-ps.3s

His father has sent him to town so that he can attend school (lit. He wants to attend school, so his father put him into town)

2.13.13. Condition

Like purpose sentences, condition sentences do not differentiate between same-subject and different-subject connection. The verbs in both clauses are independent forms. If they have a realis (i.e. present, past habitual or past simple) form, then the connective -ale is added to the subject-tense-mood suffix of both verbs. If they have an irrealis (i.e. future, imperative, or desiderative) form, no connective is added.

The condition marker -mu is added to the verb of the dependent clause; it is suffixed to the connective -ale of realis forms, and to the subject-tense-mood suffix of irrealis forms. The dependent clause may also be preceded by the adverb ito 'if, on this condition'.

Examples:

nina den Ik-ako-<u>mu</u> / pala talr-anko
Subj Obj VP / AdvP VP
you.p word hear-des-cond here come-imp.2p
If you want to hear a story, come here

ito ane ikelako inela na-em-ale-mu / kuer-em-ale / VP VP AdvP Sub. AdvP Ob.j yesterday too.much eat-ps.ls-c-cond if Idie-ps.ls-c If I had eaten too much yesterday, I would have died ito nu kida-kiso-le-mu / ane no-kisam-ale AdvP Sub.1 VP Sub.1 VP if he cook-ph.3s-c-cond I eat-ph.ls-c If he cooked, I used to eat ane / taun se namer-ako-mu / lage karo Subj / AdvP VP / Comp road with I town to go-des-cond It is possible for me to go to town (lit. I, if I want to go to town, have a way) / kuera ito nu ineia na-uk-mu ta-uki VP / Ob.1 VP AdvP Subj Obj if he too.much eat-fut.3s-cond sickness get-fut.3s If he eats too much, he will become ill

2.13.2. Embedding

Embedding sentences differ from subjoining sentences in that the dependent clause in an embedding sentence is embedded in (i.e. is a part of) the independent clause. Although their English equivalents include both noun and adjective clauses, Waskia embedded clauses always fill a noun 'slot' in the independent clause.

We distinguish two main categories of embedded clause: those with the determiner mu, roughly English 'the', and those without it.

2.13.21. Embedding with mu

The determiner mu follows its noun in Waskia. Similarly, it follows a dependent clause occupying a noun slot (it is not clear whether there is any connection between the determiner mu and the conditional marker -mu). Such dependent clauses clearly have an independent clause as their origin, as illustrated below.

Three types of embedding with mu have been found: relative, 'object' of postposition, and reported question.

(a) Relative

A sentence containing a (dependent) relative clause is derived from two independent clauses. It corresponds roughly to the English restrictive relative clause. Thus the sentence
 ane
 kadi
 / anega buruk usag-am
 / mu
 arig-em

 Subj
 Obj
 VP

 (Subj)'
 Obj'
 VP'

 I
 man
 my
 pig
 kill-ps.3s
 the see-ps.1s

I saw the man who killed my pig

derives from two independent clauses (i.e. simple sentences):

ane kadi mu arig-em kadi anega buruk usag-am Subj Obj VP VP ' Sub.1' Ob.1' man the see-ps.1s kill-ps.3s man my pig I saw the man A man killed my pig

The second sentence is embedded in the first between the noun kadi 'man', which the dependent clause refers to, and its determiner mu 'the':

ane kadi / kadi anega buruk usagam / mu arigem

and the repeated kadi is deleted from the dependent clause, to give the sentence in the example above. Because of this deletion (in English the deleted noun is replaced by 'who'), kadi serves both as the object of the independent clause and as the subject of the dependent clause. It is thus the sequence kadi anega buruk usagam 'man killed my pig' which is qualified by mu 'the', and is therefore regarded as a noun clause.

Where the embedded clause refers to a noun in the dependent clause which is not the subject of the embedded clause, a shift in item order takes place in the embedded clause. For example, the sentence:

ane kadi / aga ke III tair-am net Sub.j AdvP VP' (Ob.j)' Sub.j' I father sm him.with come-ps.3s man my 111 den bai-em 0b.1 VP

him. with word speak-ps.1s

I spoke with the man whom my father had come with derives from the two independent clauses:

ane kadi mu ill den baiem I spoke with the man aga net ke kadi ill tairam My father came with a man

Here kadi 'man' is the object of the second sentence. It shifts to the front of the embedded clause, where it also serves as a constituent of the dependent clause.

Further examples of sentences containing relative clauses are:

namar-ko <u>kadi /ingam i urat bita bage-so / mu</u> ko-te
VP AdvP

(Subj)' AdvP' Obj' VP'

go-imp.2s man garden in work do.dep stay-pres.3s the him-to

Go to the man who is working in the garden

 kurlang
 nunge
 na
 / kamir-un
 / mu
 na-un

 Subj
 Obj
 VP

 (Obj)'
 VP'

children they.sm food cook-ps.3p the eat-ps.3p

The children ate the cooked food

= The children ate the food which was cooked

naur /ali tibage-san / mu mopar-un Subj VP

(Subj)' AdvP' VP'

coconut ground on stay-pres.3p the ripen-ps.3p

The coconuts (which are) on the ground have ripened

<u>augi / awar mela pipengita / mu</u> ugi-nako Obj VP

(Subj)' Comp'

mango far not close.by the take-imp.lp

Let us take the mangoes which are close by, not far away

(b) 'Object' of postposition

The 'object' of a postposition is always followed by mu + post position. Often this combination is muse (< mu 'the' + se 'at', 'in', 'to', 'from') which serves as a pro-form adverb phrase with a number of meanings, including 'there' and 'for this reason'.

Examples:

nu / <u>kadi mu den balu bager-un / mu-se</u> sangami bager-am Subj AdvP VP

Subj' Obj' VP'

he man the word speak.dep stay-ps.3p there stand.dep stay-ps.3s

He was standing where the men were talking (lit. He was standing at (the spot where) the men were talking)

The sentence above derives from two simple sentences:

nu muse sangami bageram He stood there (lit. at it) kadi mu den balu bagerun The men were talking

the second of which becomes the object of the postposition se in the first.

/ Kaimkadi tam se dagul-am / muse ane name-sam Sub. J VP AdvP Subj' AdvP' VP' I go-pres.ls Kaimkadi tree at fall-ps.3s there I am going to where Kaimkadi fell from the tree Gagi ke / God bage-so / mu ko den Iki-so Subj AdvP Obj VP Subj' VP' Gagi sm God stay-pres.3s the about word hear-pres.3s Gagi believes that God exists (lit. Gagi hears the words about the (fact that) God exists)

(c) Reported questions

In these sentences, the dependent clause is a question which functions as object of the verb of perception in the independent clause:

ane / awiri tair-am / mu me arig-em Subj Obj neg VP Subj' VP' whocome-ps.3s the not see-ps.1s I did not see who came n u kawima-so / ni anape ta-sam Subj VP 0b.1 Subj' Obj' VP' know-pres.3s you what do-pres.2s the He knows what you are doing / nu ane me kawima-sam Se Subj neg VP 0b.1 Subj' AdvP' VP' not know-pres.1s he at stay-pres.3s the I don't know where he is

In the final example above, the interrogative apago 'where' (in the question nu apago bageso? 'Where is he?') is replaced by the post-position se 'at'. The reason for this requires further investigation.

Where the dependent clause is a yes-no question, Ito 'if' precedes it:

ane me kawimar-em / ito nu tair-ik m-am / mu
Subj neg VP Obj

I not know-ps.ls if he come-irr.s want-ps.3s the
I didn't know whether he wanted to come

2.13.22. Embedding Without mu

Three types of embedding without mu have been found. In the first type the embedded clause is the object of a postposition. The dependent verb has the form of the verbal noun; this type of embedding has been found in purpose phrases with the postposition ko 'for' and in manner phrases with the postposition wam 'like'. In manner phrases with wam the dependent clause is introduced by the adverb ito, roughly translatable here as 'as if'.

Examples:

/ kadi bo ariga / ko tair-am nu VP Sub.i AdvP VP' Ob.1' man some see-vn for come-ps.3s He came to see someone (lit. He came for seeing some man) muse anir-am / ito kuera / wam nu AdvP Sub.j AdvP VP VP ' there lie-ps.3s if die-vn like he He lay there as if he was dying sangamir-am / ito kaem arig-a / wam AdvP Subj AdvP VP Obj' VP' there stand-ps.3s if spirit see-vn he like

He stood there as if he had seen a ghost

The other two types of embedding without mu are verbal complements. The first is the complement of the verb mer- 'stop', where the dependent verb phrase is a durative verb phrase in its dependent form (discussed in section 2.22.21.):

 mukolase ane / urat bita baga
 / mer-iki

 AdvP
 Subj
 Cmt
 VP

 Obj' VP'
 tomorrow I
 work do.dep stay.dep
 stop-fut.ls

 Tomorrow I shall stop working

The second is the complement of the verbs iingisuwur- 'forget', tota- 'try', or the phrase kamin tugum- 'intend'. The dependent verb has the desiderative form (see section 2.312.1.), expressing intention:

ane itakta munganingala / yu ut-ako / lingisuwur-em VP Sub.j AdvP Cmt Obj' VP' today morning water fetch-des forget-ps.1s I forgot to fetch the water this morning Gagi / urat biter-ako / nu-mi Subj Cmt VP Obj Obj' VP' Gagi work do-des him-refl try-ps.3s Gagi tried to work (lit. Gagi tried: he wanted to work) Gagi / Bogia namer-ako mukolase / kuamin tugu-so Obj VP Sub. Cmt AdvP' VP AdvP Gagi Bogia go-des tomorrow 3.mind fill-pres.3s Gagi intends to go to Bogia tomorrow (11t. Gagi is filling his mind: he wants to go to Bogia tomorrow)

2.14. Topicalisation

Most of the sentences presented as examples in the sections above have their items in 'unmarked' order (described in section 2.11.1.). However, many Waskia sentences, especially in continuous discourse, do not adhere to this order. In order to gain some understanding of 'marked' orders of items in Waskia sentences, it is necessary to look at the matter of topicalisation, although insufficient data have been collected to allow more than a tentative outline. The analytical concepts employed in this section are due most directly to Hope (1974), and somewhat more indirectly to Lyons (1968), Fillmore (1968, 1971), and Chafe (1971).

The topic of an utterance is defined by Lyons (1968:335) as 'that element which is given in the general situation or in some explicit question to which the speaker is replying.' To this we may add that the topic may also be an element to which the speaker has referred in preceding discourse. The comment is 'that part of the utterance which adds something new (and thus communicates something to the hearer)'.

The basic topicalisation rule of Waskia is that the topic is the first element of the sentence.

2.14.1. Primary Topicalisation

According to Hope (1974:50), 'the rules of primary topicalisation apply in the event that none of the arguments of the main proposition are presupposed.' In the case that none of the elements of the utterance is given in the preceding discourse, rules operate to determine which shall be the topic of the utterance. Since the unmarked item order in Waskia begins with the subject, and the topic is the first item in a Waskia sentence, the rules of primary topicalisation in Waskia determine which item is both subject and topic in the unmarked sentence.

The order of precedence for primary topicalisation in Waskia is :

- 1. Agent (A)
- 2. Instrument (I)
- 3. Experiencer (E) or Beneficiary (B)
- 4. Patient (P)

In other words, if the sentence is to contain an agent, then this will be the subject. If it is not to contain an agent, but is to contain an instrument, then the instrument will be the subject, and so on. For example, the English sentence 'Gagi tore the net with a knife' has three noun-phrase elements: 'Gagi' (A), 'net' (P), 'knife' (I). When translated into Waskia, the sentence must take 'Gagi' (A) as subject:

A P I
Gagi arak mait se batagam
Subj Obj AdvP VP
Gagi net knife with tore

If there is no agent, as in 'The net was torn with a knife', then the instrument becomes subject, i.e. 'A knife tore the net':

I P
mait ke arak batagam
Subj Obj VP
knife sm net tore

If the instrument is also omitted, then the patient is subject and we have the ergative sentence (see section 2.11.14.) 'The net tore':

P
arak batiam
Subj VP
net tore

Where a sentence is to contain an experiencer, this takes precedence over the patient:

E P
Gagi kasili arigam
Subj Obj VP
Gagi snake saw
Gagi saw a snake

Further rules order the remaining elements in the sentence after primary topicalisation: the instrument becomes an instrumental post-positional phrase, the experiencer or beneficiary becomes indirect object; the patient becomes object. There are a few instances of itemordering in our data which these rules do not adequately explain, and for the investigation of which more data are necessary.

It appears that the locative in Waskia is always realised as a locative postpositional phrase, never as subject. The nearest approach made by Waskia to the locative subject of 'The box contains coconuts' is to make the patient 'coconuts' the subject ('Coconuts are in the box') or, rather uncomfortably, to change the sense and make 'box' the beneficiary subject, parallel to a human beneficiary:

B P
bogis mu naur karo Gagi manga mu karo
Subj Comp
box the coconut with Gagi money the with
The box has coconuts Gagi has the money

This restriction is characteristic of the organisation of roles (Fillmore's 'cases') in Waskia sentences. English is flexible as to which roles co-occur with a particular verb (Fillmore's 'case-frames'): for example, in the sentence below, agent, patient and beneficiary co-occur with the verb 'cook':

A P E

Gagi cooked the fish for Kaimkadi

As Fillmore (1971) points out, such a sentence is probably best interpreted as a 'conflation' of two sentences. The Waskia evidence supports this view, as the more natural Waskia translation reads as a complex sentence: 'Gagi cooked the fish and gave it to Kaimkadi':

A P / B
Gagl bamban kaiyam-ale / Kalmkadi tuam
Subj Obj VP / IObj VP
Gagi fish cooked-cs Kaimkadi to.him.gave

The Waskia verb kaly- 'cook' does not co-occur with a beneficiary indirect object. Instead, the beneficiary occurs as indirect object of a verb of giving (described in section 2.22.24.).

Similarly, agent, patient and locative co-occur with the verb 'hit' in English 'Gagi hit the ball over the fence', but in Waskia only agent and patient co-occur with umor- 'hit', whilst the locative co-occurs with a verb of motion:

A P / L

Gagi bal umoram-se / kar kuali nameram

Subj Obj VP / AdvP VP

Gagi ball hit-cd fence over went

Gagi hit the ball and it went over the fence

2.14.2. Secondary Topicalisation

Secondary topicalisation rules 'apply in the event that one or more of the arguments are part of the presupposition of the sentence concerned' (Hope, 1974:53). Where one or more elements of a sentence have been 'given' in preceding discourse, i.e. are presupposed, they become the topic(s) of the sentence.

In Waskia (unlike Lisu, the Tibeto-Burman language on which Hope worked) the rules of primary topicalisation and consequent item-ordering assign roles to the grammatical function 'slots' of subject, object, indirect object and adverb phrase. Waskia rules of secondary topicalisation operate 'after' primary topicalisation. The major rule of secondary topicalisation is that the presupposed item becomes the topic and is brought to the front of the sentence. However, this does not disturb the assignments of roles to subject, object, and so on; the subject remains subject, and the verb agrees in person and number with it.

We saw above, for example, that primary topicalisation gave an unmarked item order with agent 'Gagi' as subject in Gagi arak mait se batagam 'Gagi tore the net with a knife'. However, if arak 'net' has been mentioned in previous discourse, it becomes the topic by secondary topicalisation and moves to the front of the sentence, whilst Gagi remains the subject. This gives 'marked' item orders:

S.TOP COM

arak Gagi ke mait se batag-am

Obj Subj AdvP VP

net Gagi Sm knife with tore

or less commonly:

S.TOP COM

arak mait se batagam Gagi ke

Obj AdvP VP Subj

net knife with tore Gagi sm

The examples below illustrate marked item orders arising from secondary topicalisation. In each case a lead-in sentence is given in order to establish the presuppositions for topicalisation in the following settence(s). Note that where the secondary topic is in any case subject, no change occurs in the unmarked order.

(a) // S.TOP COM Gagi buruk tatarar-am-ale / usag-am // Gagi Kaimkadi ke VP / VP // Obj Subj Obj Sub.f Gagi pig steal-ps.3s-cs kill-ps.3s Gagi Kaimkadi sm Gagi stole a pig and killed it. Kaimkadi hit // S.TOP COM 11 tam // Gagi itakta munganingala edpos se namer-am // AdvP VP // Subj AdvP AdvP VP stick with hit-ps.3s Gagi now morning aidpost to go-ps.3s Gagi with a stick. This morning Gagi went to the aidpost. (b) // S.TOP COM // ane Kaimkadi ke naur Gagi ke naur as-am Sub.j Ob. VP // IOb.1 Sub.1 Gagi sm coconut me.give-ps.3s Kaimkadi sm coconut me Gagi gave me a coconut, and I also received a coconut 11 as-am 11 VP 11 me.give-ps.3s from Kaimkadi (lit. ... and to me Kaimkadi gave a coconut) (c) // S.TOP // tam Kaimkadi nuko nuwut tam mu VP // AdvP Subj Ob.I AdvP Kaimkadi his 3.wife stick with hit-ps.3s stick the with Kaimkadi hit his wife with a stick, and with that stick S. TOP COM 11 nu ke ane karo aga umor-am // Subj Obj VP sm me.emph also me hit-ps.3s

he hit me (too).

Further examples are to be found in the Text (section 6.).

A secondary topic is not only presupposed, but, especially in dialogue, contextually dispensable. For this reason, secondary topics are frequently deleted in discourse. In the examples below, deleted items are shown in brackets; different speakers are denoted by A and B.

```
(d)
                                                                     11
     A: Gagi ikelako nika bamban san tagi
                                                  kis-am
                                                                 ayi? //
        Subj AdvP
                   IObj Obj
                                        VP
        Gagi yesterday you fish some catch.dep you.give-ps.3s qt
        Gagi caught some fish for you yesterday, didn't he?
              S.TOP(S.TOP)
                               (S.TOP)
                                             COM
                   (ikeiako)
                               (bamban san) nuko kulak-imet nunga
        neg
              Subj (AdvP)
                               (Obj)
                                             IObj
              he (yesterday) (fish
                                       some) his family
        no
                                                             them
        No, (yesterday) he caught (some fish) for his family.
                                  11
        tagi
                   id-am
                                  11
        VP
                                  11
        catch.dep them.give-ps.3s
```

```
(e)
                                                     11
                                           ugi-nako! //
      A: tai-se
                     / nama
                              / augi
                                      san
         VP
                     / VP
                              / Obj
                                           VP
                                                     11
         come.dep-cd
                       go.dep mango some take-imp.2p
         Come, let's go and take some mangoes!
         (S.TOP) S.TOP
                        COM
      B: (anena)augi
                        awugamu (ugi-naki) ? //
         (Subj) Obj
                                (VP)
         (we)
              mango
                        which
                                (take-fut.2p)
         (Let us take) which mango?
         (S.TOP) (S.TOP) COM
                                            11
      A: (anena) (augi) omu (ugi-nako)
                                            11
         (Subj) (Obj)
                              (VP)
                                            11
         (we)
                 (mango) that (take-imp.2p)
         (Let us take) that (mango).
```

```
(S.TOP)(S.TOP)/COM
                     /COM
                                                              11
(anena)(augl) /nama /kamkam
                                 uqi-san
                                             /mu (ugi-nako) //
               VP'
                     / AdvP'
                                 VP'
                                                   (VP)
(Sub.j) (Ob.j)
                                              1
      (mango) go.dep day-day on take-pres.lp the (take-imp.lp)
(Let us take the mangoes) which we go and get every day.
(S.TOP)(S.TOP)/COM
                                                    11
(anena)(augi) /awar mela pipengita/mu
                                         (ugi-nako) //
                                         (VP)
(Sub.j) (Ob.j) /Comp'
                                                    11
(we)
       (mango) far
                     not close.by the (take-imp.lp)
```

(Let us take the mangoes) which are close by, not far away.

Note that in the last two sentences of (e) only the relative clauses remain after the detetion of secondary topics.

Deletion of the topic subject commonly takes place in narrative discourse, when a dependent clause is used to 'pick up' action from the previous sentence and to lead into the independent clause which introduces the new action. The two clauses together often form a same-subject simultaneous action sentence (described in section 2.13.11.(a)). In the three underlined cases below, the subject is deleted from the 'pick-up' clause, leaving the dependent verb phrase to function as topic of the sentence. In a freer English version these 'pick-up' topics would not be translated:

```
(f)
                               //(S.TOP)S.TOP
                                                / COM
              manang nagur-am // (nu)
                                                / manga nungi namer-am //
         alt
                                         nama
                                                               VP
                     VP
                               // (Subj) VP
                                                / AdvP
        Subj
        bird this.g flee-ps.3s
                                  (he)
                                         go.dep
                                                  stone inside go-ps.3s
                                  (He), going, went inside a cave.
         The bird ran away.
         (S.TOP)S.TOP
                                          / COM
                              namer-am-se / laun
                                                          wadiqi
         (nu)
                                                  udia
                manga nungi
                              VP
                                          / Sub.j
         (Sub.j) AdvP
                 stone inside go-ps.3s-cd
                                            elder younger
         (he)
         (He) went inside the cave, and the elder and the younger
                                    // (S.TOP)S.TOP / (S.TOP)COM
                         / namer-un // (nuna) nama
                                                     / (ait)
                                                              uli-nak
         kadog-un-ale
         VP
                         / VP
                                    // (Sub.j) VP
                                                     / (Obj) VP
         follow-ps.3p-cs go-ps.3s (they) go-dep (bird) catch-irr.p
         followed behind it and went in. (They) going in, wanted to
```

(S.TOP)COM // mu mela (ait) kulu-nd-am-aie ma-un / som nungi // conj (Sub.1) VP / AdvP but-cd (bird) trick-op-ps.3s-cs want-ps.3p far inside catch (the bird). But (the bird) tricked them and went further namer-am // nlng VP 11 right go-ps.3s right inside.

The example above shows the importance of the same-subject/different-subject distinction in Waskia. The deleted secondary topic is always clear from the context, as it is usually the subject of the previous clause. However, the different-subject conjunction mu meia makes it clear that the subject of the final sentence is not nuna 'they' (the subject of the previous clause) but a different subject. Context dictates that this must be ait 'bird', although has not been explicitly referred to in the previous three sentences.

2.14.3. Subject-Marker ko

The subject-marker ke is intimately related to topicalisation. It occurs after the subject noun phrase in declarative and interrogative sentences in the following circumstances:

- (1) with a human subject
 - (a) if the subject is not the first noun phrase in the sentence but has been shifted as a result of secondary topicalisation:

S.TOP COM

arak mait se batagam <u>Gagi ke</u>
Obj AdvP VP Subj

net knife with tore Gagi sm

Gagi tore the net with a knife

- = The net was torn with a knife by Gagi
- (b) if the subject is the first noun phrase but constitutes new information, e.g. in the answer to a question or in contrastive focus: aweri 'who' always takes ke if it is the subject:

FOCUS

aweri kebamban tagiram ?Gagi keSubjObjVPSubjwhosm fish caughtGagi sm

Who caught the fish?

Gagi (did)

FOCUS

nu ke taleng duap
Subj Comp
he sm policeman

He is a policeman (i.e. not someone else)

FOCUS

mela, Gagi ke Madang urat biteso neg Subj AdvP Obj VP no Gagi sm Madang work does

No, it is Gagi who works in Madang

(c) if the subject is the first noun phrase, but there is a possible ambiguity leading to confusion of subject and another constituent:

launkeudiamanagamSubjObjVPeldersmyoungertold

The elder (brother) addressed the younger

(2) with a non-human subject, if it is the agent or instrument of the sentence, but not if it is beneficiary or patient:

Δ

buruk ke patete naso
pig sm potato eats

A pig is eating the sweet potatoes

Ι

Gagi ko kuera ke agemang kulukam *Gagi ko kuera
Gagi his death sm my.heart broke

Gagi's death broke my heart

Т

yugar ke kawam kodang kagagam wind sm house door opened *yugar kawam kodang kagagam

*buruk patete naso

The wind opened the house-door

P

naur mu ali ti dagulun coconut the ground to fell

*naur mu ke ali ti dagulun

The coconuts fell to the ground

R

bogis mu naur karo box the coconut with

*bogis mu ke naur karo

The box has coconuts (in it)

2.2. PHRASES

Five kinds of phrase are described:

noun phrases
verb phrases
postpositional phrases
adverb phrases without postpositions
intensifier phrases

Postpositional phrases are separated from adverb phrases without postpositions for descriptive convenience; most, but not all, postpositional phrases function as adverb phrases.

2.21. Noun Phrases

Three major types of noun phrase are identified: common noun phrases, partitive noun phrases and possessive noun phrases. They occur in sentences as Subject, Object, Indirect Object, 'object' of postposition in a postpositional phrase, and possessor in a possessive noun phrase.

2.21.1. Common Noun Phrases

Simple common noun phrases have the following structure: (adjective of nationality) (noun used as adjective) noun (classifying adjective) (epithet adjective) (numeral) (determiner).

Examples:

nn man kadi mu
nn det
man the

A man/Some men

The man/The men

kulak gotetek mu
nn adjc det
child small. the
The small children

kulak <u>kadi</u> mu nadj nn det child man the The boy/The boys inong bagera
nadj nn
village dweller

Village dweller(s)

buruk kumbur-kumbur mu
nn adjc det
pig black.p the

The black pigs

kadi iiim omu
nn num det
man all that

All those men

kadi kuareng yawara itelala mu
nn adjc adje num det
man old good two the

The two good old men

Waskia <u>kadi</u> adjn nn Waskia man

Waskia man/men

imet kuera
nn adjc
woman dead

A dead woman/Some dead women

Takia <u>kadi</u> kuareng-kuareng pamu adjn nn adjc det Takia man old.p this

These old Takia men

Note that number is indicated in the above examples only where a numeral or an adjective with a plural form (see section 2.403.) is present, and that number is only indicated once in a phrase: an adjective remains singular in form if it is followed by a numeral.

If a noun phrase has a collective head noun (see section 2.31.3.), then its plurality is indicated (optionally if it is subject, and apparently obligatorily in other positions) by adding the third person plural pronoun nunge ('they'.sm) or nunga ('them, their') as appropriate:

Gagi nuko <u>kuiak-imet nunga</u> kawam uiiwam
Gagi his family them house built

Gagi built a house for his family

sumatin (nunge) nundoleng se Madang namerun
student (they.sm) their.foot on Madang went

The students went to Madang on foot

Compound noun phrases conjoin two nouns or pronouns. These phrases have two constructions: simple juxtaposition, and noun plus postpositional phrase with karo 'with' (see section 2.32.2.):

laun udla nn nn elder younger

The elder and the younger

nuam-net kadimet iiim nn nn num 3.parents people all

Their parents and all the people

nu agaro
pron pron.pp
he me.with

He and I

ane kadi mu iii
pron nn det pron.pp
I man the him.with

The man and I

Dolara Gambu iii

nn nn pron.pp Dolara Gambu him.with

Dolara and Gambu

2.21.2. Partitive and Possessive Noun Phrases

Partitive noun phrases have the structure:

whole noun + part noun (determiner)

Possessive noun phrases have the structure:

possessor + possessed noun (determiner)

Partitive noun phrases denote a part-whole relationship:

possessive noun phrases a relationship of possessed to possessor.

Where the 'whole' or possessor is a possessive pronoun, there is no difference in structure between a partitive and a possessive noun phrase. If the part noun or possessed noun belongs to the inalienable category (see section 2.31.1.), then it takes the third person form when preceded by a third person pronoun. The combination of possessive pronoun (whether first, second, or third person) plus inalienable noun is frequently elided into one word (see section 2.31.2.).

Examples:

Partitive Possessive anenga biring aga buruk poss nn poss nn our back pig my Our backs My pig ko-tuago nuko nuet poss-nni poss nni his-3.stomach his 3.father His stomach His father aninde alwut poss.nni poss.nni my.wife our.ear Our ears My wife

Where the 'whole' in a partitive noun phrase is a noun, the structure of the phrase is simply noun + noun (determiner).

Where the possessor in a possessive noun phrase is a noun or noun phrase, a third person possessive pronoun (ko with a singular possessive noun; nunga with a plural possessor noun) intervenes between the possessor and the possessed noun.

If the part noun or possessed noun belongs to the inalienable category, then it takes the third person form when preceded by a 'whole' noun or a possessor noun.

Examples:

Partitive

kausik mom tam kawunang omu nwh nn det nwh nn tree branch that dog tail That tree-branch A dog's tail kawam koma aga diduk mone nni nwh poss nwh nn house 3.front head hair

Possessive

The front of the house

buruk ko na pamta kadi mu ko kawam posn poss nn det posn poss nn pig his food this man the his house This pig's food The man's house (= This food of a/the pig) (= A/the house of the man)

My (head-) hair

Inong motam munta \underline{ko} nup posn poss nn village small that his name

The name of that small village

kulak itelala manang <u>nunga</u> nuam-net
posn poss nni
child two this their 3.parents

These two children's parents

Partitive noun phrases are particularly common in Waskia as a means of vocabulary extension:

Partitive Phrase Literal Meaning Translation yagor gawa canoe leaf 8ail yagor doieng canoe 3.leg outrigger float taleng duap mushroom stem policeman diduk mone head fur hair (of head) ait mone bird fur feathers kaem guang person covering clothing tam guang tree covering bark tam kuting tree bone stick kawam kodang house opening door kuting nuam bone 3.mother thumb brain bone moke kuting skull naur kidi coconut blood coconut-milk water 3.mother yu nuam river

2.22. Verb Phrases

These are either simple or complex.

2.22.1. Simple Verb Phrases

The elements of a simple independent verb phrase combine into one word. Their structure is:

verb root (plural object marker) subject-tense-mood suffix.

The plural object marker is present when the object of the clause is plural. If the object is a noun or noun phrase without plural marking (described in section 2.21.1.), then the plural object marker or its absence is the only indicator of the number of the object.

Similarly, the subject-tense-mood suffix is often the only indicator of the number of the subject. All subject-tense-mood suffixes except the desiderative distinguish between singular and plural subjects.

Examples:

arig-em namer-uko vr-stm vr-stm see-ps.1s go-imp.3s (I) 8 aw (He) must/should go n-ako kida-nd-ani vr-stm vr-op-stm eat-des cook-them-fut.2p (He) intends to eat (You.p) will cook (them) kanu-nd-iso
iuku-kisan
vr-stm
vr-stm
tie-them-pres.3s
drink-ph.p
(He) is tying (them)
(We/you.p/they) used to drink

The morphology and semantics of these forms are discussed in sections 2.410.-2.412.

Where the subject is a compound noun phrase formed with a post-position (described in section 2.21.1.), the subject-tense-mood suffix of the verb may be either singular or plural:

ane kadi mu iii den bai-iman
-ps.ls
I man the with word speak-ps.lp

The man and I talked

Waskia has four verbs of giving which semantically incorporate the number of the indirect object and, if the latter is singular, its person:

asi
kisi
to me give

to you.s give

tuw- (or tuiy-)

to him/her give

to us/you.p/them give

With the first three of these verbs, a pronoun indirect object is either deleted or represented by an emphatic personal pronoun (described in section 2.402.2.):

kadi mu $\frac{i \, \text{met}}{IObj}$ naur $\frac{t \, uw-am}{VP}$ Man the woman the coconut 3s.give-ps.3sThe man gave the woman a coconut

kadi mu (ane) naur as-am
Subj (IObj) Obj VP
man the (me.emph) coconut 1s.give-ps.3s
The man gave me a coconut

kadi nunge ninga id-uni
Subj Obj IObj VP
man them you.p p.give-fut.3p
The men will give them to you

Simple dependent verb phrases are formed either with the simple dependent form of the verb (described in section 2.412.2.) or by adding the connective -ale or -se and/or the conditional marker -mu to the

subject-tense-mood suffixes of independent verb forms. The use of dependent verb phrases in the dependent clauses of complex sentences is discussed and illustrated in section 2.13. Their morphology is discussed in section 2.413.

2.22.2. Complex Verb Phrases

These are of four kinds; durative, habitual, desiderative, and benefactive.

The structure of a complex independent verb phrase is:

dependent verb-form + auxiliary verb.

Complex dependent verb phrases are formed from complex independent verb phrases by adding the connective -ale or -se and/or the conditional suffix -mu to the subject-tense-mood suffixes of independent auxiliary verbs, or by putting the auxiliary verb into the simple dependent form, as illustrated in section 2.13.

2.22.21. Durative Verb Phrases

The structure of durative verb phrases is:

dependent simple verb-form + auxiliary bager- 'stay'.

Certain stative verbs (anir- 'sleep', dagi- 'sit', sangamir- 'stand', berasi- 'be awake') occur in the past simple tense (subject-tense-mood suffix agreeing in person and number with the subject) instead of the dependent simple form.

The meaning of the durative verb phrase corresponds roughly in meaning to that of the continuous tenses in English: 'I am working', 'he was standing', etc.

Dependent durative verb phrases are used in durative sentences (described in section 2.13.11.(a)) and as complement of the verb mer'stop' (section 2.13.22.).

Independent durative verb phrases are illustrated below:

mukolase ane urat bita bager-iki

tomorrow I work do.dep stay-fut.ls

Tomorrow I shall continue working

kadi mu kawam nungi anir-am bage-so
man the house inside sleep-ps.3s stay-pres.3s

The man is sleeping in the house

2.22.22. Habitual Verb Phrases

The structure of the habitual verb phrase is:

dependent habitual verb_form + auxiliary bager- 'stay'.

It expresses habitual action, and corresponds in meaning roughly to the English 'all-time' use of the simple tenses: 'I work (habitually)', 'I (always) worked': and in the past to 'used to': 'I used to work'.

Examples:

kulak omu urat biter-ala bage-so
boy that work do-deph stay-pres.3s
That boy always works
kadl pamu yu n-ala bager-am
man this water drink-deph stay-ps.3s
This man always used to drink water

Note that in such contexts, Waskia requires no word for 'always'. In the past tense, the meaning of the habitual verb phrase does not appear to differ greatly from that of the past habitual tense, so that no-kiso ('drink'-ph.3s) could be substituted for the verb phrase in the example above. Occasionally a habitual verb phrase is formed with the past habitual tense of the auxiliary, giving in the example above n-ala

2.22.23. Desiderative Verb Phrases

baga-kiso ('drink'-deph 'stay'-ph.3s).

These have the structure:

dependent irrealis verb-form + ma- 'want'

Their meaning corresponds roughly to 'want to...', 'intend to...', 'be about to...' in English.

Dependent desiderative verb phrases are used in purpose sentences (section 2.13.12.). Independent forms are illustrated below:

nu den <u>bal-ik m-am</u>
he word speak-irr.s want-ps.3s

He is/was about to speak

kulak mu alt <u>uli-nak ma-un</u>
boy the bird catch-irr.p want-ps.3p

The boys want(ed) to catch the bird

Note that the auxiliary ma- takes past tense suffixes, even when the intended meaning is present.

2.22.24. Benefactive Verb Phrases

These have the structure:

dependent simple verb-form + verb of giving where the verb of giving is one of the four listed in section 2.22.1.

Benefactive verb phrases arise from the co-occurrence restrictions of Waskia verbs (briefly described in section 2.13.1.), which cannot freely take a beneficiary as indirect object, and therefore require a verb of giving in order to express the beneficiary role:

Examples:

Gagi Kalmkadi kaem-guang dla tuw-am
Subj IObj Obj VP
Gagi Kaimkadi clothing buy.dep 3s.give-ps.3s
Gagi bought Kaimkadi a laplap
(11t. Gagi, buying a laplap, gave it to Kaimkadi)

Gagl nika bamban san tagi kls-ukl
Subj IObj Obj VP
Gagi you.s fish some catch.dep 2s.give-fut.3s
Gagi will catch you some fish
(11t. Gagi, catching some fish, will give them to you)

2.23. Postpositional Phrases

These have the structure:

noun phrase + postposition.

Waskia has only a limited number of postpositions, some of which are used in several senses (described in section 2.418.). However, it is convenient to differentiate locative, manner, instrumental, referential and purpose phrases.

2.23.1. Locative Phrases

Locative phrases mostly occur as adverb phrases, and occasionally as completions (see 2.11.24.). Waskia does not distinguish between position and motion in locative phrases, so that kar kuali may either mean '(be) on the fence' or '(go) over the fence'.

Locative phrases are either simple or complex.

Simple locative phrases express simpler locative relations and, with non-human nouns, consist of a noun and a postposition:

lage se	on/along the road		
taun se	in/to town		
Inong 1	to the village, homewards		
ingam i	in/to the garden		
kawam se	at/to the house		
kawam i	in the house		
kawam te	to the house		

dilisan i on the other side sor bo se somewhere else

(lit. at/to some place)

tebol kuali on the table
kawam nungi inside the house
Simbu ko from Chimbu

Simple locative phrases involving a human being and the postposition to 'to' suffix the postposition to a possessive pronoun (described in section 2.402.). For example:

 aga-te
 kadi mu ko-te

 poss-pp
 nn det poss-pp

 me-to
 man the him-to

 To me
 To the man

Simple locative phrases involving a human being and the postposition se 'at, by, near' employ a partitive noun phrase consisting of a possessive pronoun and the inalienable noun gemang 'heart' as 'object' of the postposition. The partitive noun phrase is normally elided (as described in section 2.31.2.):

agemang se kulak nungomang se poss.nni pp nwh poss.nni pp boy their.heart at Near me Near the boys

The corresponding construction with the postpositions kuali 'on' and nungi 'inside' employs the inalienable noun kimik 'body', 'skin':

imet kumik kuali anengimik kuali nwh poss.nni pp poss.nni pp woman her.body on our.body on

On the woman On us

kadi mu nungumik nungi kimik nungi nwh det poss.nni pp poss.nni pp man the their.body inside your.s.body inside

Inside the men Inside you

Complex locative phrases express less simple locative relations by using a 'part' noun of location with a postposition:

ameting i outside (lit. at exterior)
bowa nungi under (lit. inside (the) underside)
biring ko/se behind (lit. at (the) back)
kema ko/se in front of (lit. at (the) front)

The addition of a 'whole' noun (human or non-human) or possessive pronoun in front of the 'part' noun forms a partitive phrase (described in section 2.21.2.) plus postposition. The 'part' nouns biring and kema both elide with possessive pronouns, and kema is inalienable and has a third-person form koma.

Examples:

kawam ameting i aga bowa nungi nwh nn pp poss nn qq house outside at underside inside Outside the house Under me kawam biring ko kadi kobiring se nwh nn nwh poss.nn pp pp house back man his.back at at Behind the house Behind the man kawam koma anengema ko se nni nwh pp poss.nni pp house 3. front at our. front at In front of the house In front of us

Note that place-names do not occur in postpositional phrases (see section 2.415.).

2.23.2. Manner Phrases

Manner phrases are used as adverb phrases, as the second element in a compound noun phrase (described in section 2.21.1.), and frequently as completions (described in section 2.11.24.), and are formed with the postpositions karo 'with' and wam 'like'. The latter also takes embedded dependent clauses as its 'object' (see 2.13.22.).

Examples:

kidi wam like blood (= red) with water (= wet) yu karo siding karo with smell (= smelly) with sorrow (= sorrowful(ly)) usengara karo with anger (= angry, angrily) guria karo dolara karo with fear (= fearful(ly)) with heat (= hot) kar karo lugang karo with joy (= cheerful(ly)) with another (= again) bo karo

A common use of manner phrase completions with karo is the expression of possession:

nu ilot karo

he sore with

he dream with

He has a sore

He has a dream/is dreaming

The postposition karo is suffixed to a personal pronoun if a human being is involved in the phrase. The possessive pronoun and karo elide (as described in section 3.4.), and the morpheme II is substituted in the third person singular form:

a karo > agaro with me

kakaro > karo with you.s

(ko karo) > iii with him/her

anena karo > anengaro with us

nina karo > ningaro with you.p

nuna karo > nungaro with them

2.23.3. Instrumental Phrases

These are formed with the postposition se, e.g.

pilangls se with an axe nundoleng se (their.3.foot with) on foot kar se by car

2.23.4. Referential Phrases

Referential phrases are formed with the postposition ko (roughly English 'about') and occur either as adverb phrases with certain verbs (e.g. waiar- 'look for'; usengar- 'regret, mourn'; nagur- and dolar- 'fear', managi- 'tell') or as an adjunct to the noun den 'word(s)':

ane kasili ko walasam snake about look. for I am looking for a snake Kaimkadi Gagi ko kuera ko Kaimkadi Gagi his death about mourns Kaimkadi is mourning over Gagi's death Gagl kaemkasik ko naguso Gagi evil.spirit about fears Gagi fears the evil spirit Kaimkadi ke Gagi uda ko Kaimkadi sm Gagi singsing about told Kaimkadi told Gagi about the singsing Gagi God ko den ikiso Gagi God about word hears Gagi believes in God (lit. Gagi hears the words about God)

2.23.5. Purpose Phrases

These are formed with the postposition ko and are discussed in section 2.13.22.

2.24. Adverb Phrases Without Postpositions

These are time phrases, e.g.,

baras itelala for two years
ikelako munganing last night (lit. yesterday night)
itakta bangla-bangla this afternoon (lit. now afternoon)
itakta munganingala this morning (lit. now morning)
itakta bangla-nungi this evening (lit. now evening)

2.25. Intensifier Phrases

These have the structure:

adjective/adverb + intensifier

where the intensifier (in the data collected) is either mimenge 'bad', kasik 'wild', or kaia (no accurate gloss available),

Examples:

Gagi ko kuera biga mimenge
Gagi his sickness big bad
Gagi's sickness is very great
kasili pamu maya kasik
snake this long very
This snake is/was very long
ait koma yawara kala mu
bird 3.face good very(?) the
The bird's very beautiful face

2.3. WORDS

Only nouns will be dealt with here, since all verbs are for reasons of descriptive convenience treated as phrases (see 2.22.).

2.31. Nouns

2.31.1. Alienable and Inalienable Nouns

Waskia nouns fall into two categories, alienable and inalienable. Neither category makes any formal difference between singular and plural, and number is signalled by adjectives or a personal pronoun (see section 2.21.1.) and by markers in the verb phrase (see section 2.22.1.).

Inalienable nouns denote parts of the body and kinship terms, and

have a special third-person form employed with third-person singular or plural possessive pronouns, 'whole' nouns and possessor nouns (described in section 2.21.2.). All other nouns belong to the alienable category and undergo no morphological changes; it should be noted that this category also includes a number of nouns which semantically we might expect to be inalienable.

The change in inalienable nouns affects the first vowel in the word. In monosyllables e > ue:

1st, 2nd person	3rd person	
net	nuet	father
de	due	ear
ne	nue	mother's brother
In polysyllables e > o		
gemang	gomang	heart
kema	koma	fact, front
deleng	doleng	foot, leg
neman	noman	breath, heart
kedang	kodang	mouth
i > u		
kimik	kumik	body, skin
niwut	nuwut	wi fe
nikum	nukum	buttocks
nIngatak	nungatak	grandparent
a > ua		
kamuru	kuamuru	nose
kamung	kuamung	hand, arm
kadi	kuadi	husband
kamin	kuamin	mind, brain
tago	tuago	stomach
kamiiik	kuamilik	tongue

Inalienable nouns whose first vowel is o undergo no change: korat 'sibling', motam 'eye', kore 'tooth', kowan 'father's sister'.

One inalienable noun has three forms:

1st person 2nd person 3rd person ina niam nuam mother

2.31.2. Elided Inalienable Nouns

Inalienable nouns tend to elide with a preceding possessive pronoun to form a single word. The second person singular form in each case (ka 'your' + noun) is the noun form given in the left-hand column in the listing above. The third person singular form (ko 'his/her' + noun) is the noun form given in the centre column above. For nouns

with the vowel o the form above serves as both second and third person singular. Elided forms occur in the first person singular and in all three plural forms.

root(2s)	ls	lp	2p	3p	
	a + nn	anena + nn	nina + nn	nuna + nn	
tago	atago	anentago	nintago	nuntuago	stomach
deleng	adeleng	anendeleng	nindeleng	nundoleng	foot, leg
de	ade	anende	ninde	n un de	ear
kamiiik	agamilik	anengamiiik	ningamilik	nungamiiik	tongue
kamin	agamin	anengamin	ningamin	nungamin	mind
kamung	agamung	anengamung	ningamung	nunguamung	hand, arm
kamuru	agamuru	anengamuru	ningamuru	nungamuru	nose
kadi	agadi	aningadi	ningadi	nungadi	husband
kedang	agedang	anengedang	ningedang	nungodang	mouth
kema	agema	anengema	ningema	nungoma	face, front
gemang	agemang	anengemang	ningemang	nungomang	heart
kimik	agimik	anengimik	ningimik	nungimik	body, skin
korat	agorat	anogorat	nogorat	nugorat	sibling
kore	agore	anogore	nogore	nugore	tooth
kowan	agowan	anegawan	nogowan	nugowan	father's sister
neman	aiman	aneman	neman	noman	breath
nikum	aikum	anikum	nikum	nukum	buttocks
niwut	aiwut	ani (ni) wut	ni(ni)wut	nu(nu)wut	wife
motam	amotam	anomotam	nomot am	numotam	eye

Most of the forms above are derived by regular morphophonemic processes (outlined in section 3.4.). Note that some of the third-person plural forms do not manifest the vowel change characteristic of third person forms.

There are two semantically inaleniable nouns which do not undergo vowel change but do undergo elision:

bidang	abidang	anibidang	nibidang	nubidang	lip
biring	abiring	anibiring	nibiring	nubiring	back

2.31.3. Collective Nouns

Collective nouns are nouns which denote groups of human beings and are therefore semantically plural. Their plurality is indicated by a third person plural personal pronoun in common noun phrases (described in 2.21.1.).

Those identified are:

kuriang children sumatin students (< TP)

niam-net parents (< niam 'mother' + net 'father')
kadimet people (< kadi 'man' + imet 'woman')
kulak-imet family (< kulak 'child' + imet 'woman')

Note that niam-net is an inalienable noun, composed of two inalienable nouns, but its third person singular form is nuam-net, i.e. the second consituent does not undergo change.

2.4. MORPHEME CATEGORIES

For morphophonemic purposes, Waskia morphemes are classified into roots, enclitics and suffixes. Roots include nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives, determiners except mu, numerals, verb-roots, and conjunctions. Enclitics include the subject marker ke, limiters, dependent clause connectives, short postpositions, the determiner mu, and the question marker i. Suffixes include the plural object marker, subject-tense-mood suffixes. However, as this organisation of morpheme categories cuts across syntactic categories and links, it is not used here. Instead we deal first with morphemes associated with noun phrases (2.401-2.408), then with those associated with the verb phrase (2.409-2.413) and adverb phrase (2.414-2.418) and finally with interrogatives (2.419) and conjunctions (2.420).

2.401. Nouns

The main features of noun morphology are described in section 2.31. Nouns may also be derived from verbs (see section 2.412.2.).

2.402. Personal Pronouns

2.402.1. Forms

There are six personal pronouns in Waskia which assume various forms in different syntactic positions. An overview of the forms is given in Chart 2.

All pronoun forms are historically derived from a single set (described in section 3.4.). The two principal sets derived from this are set out below. 2

	Set 1	Set 11
ls	ane	anega, aga
2s	ni	nika, ka
3s	nu	nuko, ko
lp	anena	anenga
2p	nina	ninga
3p	nuna	n un ga

The forms aga, ka, ko are the 'short forms' of Set 11. Usually there is no distinction between exclusive ('I and they') and inclusive ('I and you'.p) first person plural forms. Where the distinction is required, anena and anenga serve as exclusive forms, or the form ane-ilim-ia ('I-all-together') is used to avoid ambiguity. The inclusive forms are, for Set 1, niane ('you-I'), and, for Set 11, aneninga ('I-you'.p). All these forms, exclusive and inclusive, take the first person plural subject-tense-mood suffixes on their verbs.

CHART 2
Personal Pronouns

Person/ Number	Urmarked Subject/ Emphatic Object	Marked Subject	Object	Indirect Object	Possessive	Limiting	Reflexive
ls	ane	anege	aga	anega	anega,aga	ageta	ami
2s	ni	nike	ka	nika	nika	keta	nimi
3s	nu	nuke	- 1		nuko,ko	kueta	numi
lp	anena	anenge	anenga	anenga	anenga	anengeta	ami
2p	nina	ninge nininge	ninga	ninga	ninga	ningeta	nimi
3p	nuna	nunge	-	-	nunga	nungeta	numi

Dual forms are also used at times to avoid ambiguity, and are derived from amalgamations of Sets 1 and 11 pronouns. They are tabulated below:

	Set 1		
	Juxtaposed	Conjoined	Set 11
l excl	ane ili	nualila	nualila-anenga
incl		nialila	nialila-anenga
2	ni ili	nilila	nilila-ninga
3	nu ili	nuilila	nuilila-nunga

The juxtaposed and conjoined versions above appear to be simple alternatives for Set 1. The juxtaposed set is derived from the Set 1 singular pronouns plus ili 'with him' (see 2.32.2.). The conjoined forms are composed of ni 'you'.s or nu 'he/she', plus ali 'with me' or ili 'with him', plus limiter -aia (see 2.407.).

Dual subject pronouns take the corresponding plural subject-tense-mood suffixes on verbs.

There is no gender distinction in personal pronouns.

2.402.2. USES

The main use of Set 1 is as subject of the sentence:

ane yogariki I can swim

ni yogari you.s can swim

nu yogaruki he/she can swim

anena yoganaki we can swim

nina yagarani you.p can swim

nuna yogaruni they can swim

In the circumstances outlined in section 2.14.3., the subject marker ke follows the subject pronoun and elides with it in accordance with rules set out in section 3.4. The resulting marked subject pronoun forms are:

ls	anege	(<	ane-ke)
2s	nike	(<	ni-ke)
3s	nuke	(<	nu-ke)
lp	anenge	(<	anena-ke)
2p	ninge/nininge	(<	nina-ke)
3p	nunge	(<	nuna-ke)

Example:

nunge sia kuali dagiyun they. chair on sat

They sat on chairs

First and second person Set 11 pronouns serve as objects and indirect objects. The short forms aga and ka are more often object, the long forms anega and nika indirect object.

Third person Set 11 forms do not occur as object or indirect object; the number of a third-person object is indicated by the absence or presence of the plural object marker attached to the verb-root (see section 2.411.), and of a third-person indirect object by the choice of verb of giving (which incorporates the indirect object as described in section 2.22.1.).

First and second person singular indirect objects are also often omitted because of their incorporation in the verb of giving.

Examples:

Gagi <u>ninga</u> arigam
Subj Obj VP
Subj Obj VP
Gagi you.p saw
Gagi saw you (p)
Gagi (anega) bamban san tagi asam

Subj(IObj) Obj VP

Gagi(me) fish some catching me.gave

Gagi caught some fish for me

Where the pronoun object or indirect object is to be emphasised, Set 1 forms are used. Where the Set 11 pronoun is omitted, the Set 1 form appears alone; otherwise it appears in addition to the Set 11 form. Since Set 1 forms may therefore serve as subject, object, or indirect object, the subject is marked with the subject marker ke where ambiguity might otherwise arise.

Examples:

kadi mu nu umuso man the him.emph hits

The man is hitting him

kadi mu ane aga arigiso man the me.emph me sees

The man sees me

imet mu ke ane naur asam woman the sm me.emph coconut gave

The woman gave me a coconut

The second major use of the Set 11 pronouns is as possessive pronouns, both in possessive noun phrases and as completions. The short form aga is used in phrases, anega as a completion. The long forms nika and nuko are used in both positions, except where a possessive noun phrase has a noun possessor, which is then followed by ko (as illustrated in section 2.21.2.).

Examples:

aga pllangls my axe

nuko pilangls his axe

Gagi ko pllangis Gagi's axe

nialila-anenga pllangis The axe belonging to you and me
naur pamu anega this coconut is mine
naur pamu nika this coconut is yours

The only postposition which follows personal pronouns without elision (see section 2.23.1.) is to 'to'; it follows the Set 11 forms, as follows:

aga-te to me

nlka-te/ka-te to you.s

ko-te to him/her

anenga-te to us

nlnga-te to you.p

nunga-te to them

These forms are also used as object of the verb klar- 'exceed' in comparisons:

aga kawam ke kate mu kiaram
my house sm yours the exceeds
My house is bigger than yours
(lit. My house exceeds the to-you)

2.402.3. Limiting and Reflexive Pronouns

Limiting pronouns express subjects of the type 'I only' or 'I myself'. The forms are (except in the third person singular) derived from the marked subject forms plus the limiter -ta (see section 2.407.):

1s ageta 1p anengeta
2s keta 2p ningeta
3s kueta 3p nungeta

They follow the subject noun phrase, and where the subject is a plural personal pronoun, the plural pronoun form is replaced by the singular form:

1pane anengetawe ourselves2pnl ningetayou yourselves3pnu nungetathey themselves

Examples:

kulak itelala munta nungeta bagerun
boy two that they.lim stayed
Only the two boys stayed behind

awlri ke nika pen kulukam? <u>mu kueta</u> kiliyam
who sm your pen broke it it.lim broke
Who broke your pen? It broke by itself

ane anengeta kulukuman

I we. broke

We broke it ourselves

There are three reflexive pronouns which serve both as singular and plural object and indirect object:

- 1 ami
- 2 nimi
- 3 numi

These are used where English uses 'each other' or a form with '-self/
selves'. Where the subject of a reflexive sentence is a personal pronoun, it is expressed by the limiting pronoun form:

nuna <u>numi</u> den manandisan they 3.refl words speak

They are talking to each other

ane ageta ami umoriki

I we.lim l.refl shall.kill

I shall kill myself

2.403. Adjectives

Waskia adjectives fall into two main categories: adjectives of nationality, which precede the noun they qualify, and all other adjectives, which follow it (illustrated in section 2.21.1.). The latter category includes classifying adjectives, denoting objective qualities such as size, age, and colour, and epithet adjectives, expressing subjective evaluations.

A few adjectives form a plural by syllable reduplication or complete reduplication:

Singular	Plural	
Iti	ititi	new
biga	bibiga	big
iru	iruru	unripe
gotek	gotetek	<i>small</i>
kuareng	kuareng-kuareng	old
kumbur	kumbur-kumbur	black

The plural forms are used both in noun phrases and as adjective completions (see section 2.11.21.).

Adjectives may also be derived from verbs. The two verb forms which serve as adjectives are the verbal $_{
m noun}$ and the third person singular form of the past simple:

lage ulalara path widen-vn wide path
kadi kuera man die-vn dead man
tam iwira wood rot-vn rotten wood
kaem-guang marenga clothing dry-vn dry clothing
tam yager nama-puleram tree-trunk go.dep-return-ps.3s round
tree-trunk

Only one adjective derived from a noun has been found: yula 'watery', from yu 'water'.

2.404. Determiners

A determiner occurs as the last item in a noun phrase and is a free form. There are three classes of determiners in Waskia. The first consists of the item mu, roughly corresponding to English 'the', but used far less frequently: whereas the main use of 'the' is to refer to something which is contextually 'given' in the discourse, Waskia mu appears to be used only when there is a need to point out a particular item and means approximately 'this one and no other'. mu is also used to mark a noun clause (described in section 2.13.21.) and occasionally occurs proniminally as 'it'.

The second class of determiners distinguishes between two or more objects in terms of their location in relation to the speaker:

pamu this (near speaker)
omu that (nearer to speaker than obumu)
obumu that (further from speaker)

The pronominal form pamta 'this one' has also been observed.

The third class of determiners distinguishes between items in terms of whether they are 'given' or 'new' in discourse (these terms are explained in section 2.14.2.):

bo 'a certain, another' (introducing a 'new' item, i.e. an item of the comment); also used in negative sentences with the sense 'some', 'any' (see section 2.11.14.); manang 'this' (referring to a more recently 'given' item, i.e. a secondary topic); munta 'that' (referring to a less recently 'given' item, also a secondary topic).

Of these, only munta has been observed as a pronoun.

2.405. Numerals

Numerals are definite or indefinite. They follow the noun they qualify.

2.405.1. Definite Numerals

Waskia has a mixture of Pair Counting and Body Counting systems (see Z'graggen, 1971:142-3).

The Pair Counting system is manifested in the fact that numbers up to eight are based on the morphemes toke 'one' and tel 'two':

- 1 itoketa (< i-toke-ta)
 2 itelala (< i-tel-ala)
 3 iteltoke (< i-tel-toke)
- 4 itelala-itelala
- 5 itelala-itelala-itoketa
- 6 iteitoke-iteitoke
- 7 iteitoke-iteitoke-itoketa
- 8 iteitoke-iteitoke-iteiaia

The prefix i- is apparently a numeral marker. The suffixes -ta and -ala are considered in section 2.407. New Guinea societies with pair counting systems traditionally counted by cutting notches in a stick: hence the Waskia word for 'count' is the verb kaur- 'cut'.

The Body Counting system is manifested in the morphemes kuting 'bone' and dilisan 'other side', reflecting the practice of pointing to various parts of the body as a means of counting:

- 9 kuting dilisan se itelala-itelala
- 10 kuting dilisan-dilisan

Distributive numerals ('one each, two each') are formed by repeating the numeral:

John Gagi ili naur awukala karo bagesan ? John Gagi with.him coconut how.many with they.stay

How many coconuts do John and Gagi have

nuna they three three

They have three each

2.405.2. Indefinite Numerals

Those observed are:

ilim all ine many

inela too much, too many

inemela few, not many (< ine-mela many-no)

san some, a few

nupse many mela none, no

The numeral IIIm 'all' may be modified by the limiter -ta 'only', in which case it precedes the rest of the noun phrase.

2.406. Subject Marker

The use of the subject marker ke is discussed in section 2.14.4.

2.407. Limiters

Two limiters have been found in Waskia, -ta and -ala. They are suffixed to numerals, nouns or noun phrases to underline more clearly how many actors are involved.

The limiter -ta 'only' appears to be a productive form, but also occurs in a number of 'set' contexts:

- (i) limiting pronouns, e.g. age-ta 'I only, I myself'
- (ii) the numeral 'one': Itoketa
- (iii) the demonstrative pamu: pamta 'this particular one'
- (iv) certain adverbs: pata 'here', bota 'there' (the place
 'given' by previous discourse), itakta 'now' (< itak 'today'),
 itaktata 'just now'.</pre>

The limiter -aia 'of them, together' no longer appears to be productive and seems only to occur in set contexts:

- (i) compound personal pronouns, e.g. nuill<u>la</u> 'the two of them' (discussed in section 2.402.1.)
- (ii) the numeral 'two': itelala
- (iii) indefinite numeral | Inela 'too many' (< ine 'many'),
 ilimtala 'all of them' (< illmta 'all-only')</pre>
- (v) the negative mela 'no, none' (< me 'not')
- (vi) certain adverbs: pala (the morpheme pa also cccurs in pamu 'this') 'here'; mukolala 'already' (cf. mukola-se 'tomorrow'); girakola 'long ago' (< gira ko 'in the past'); munganingala 'morning' (cf. munganing 'night').

The suffix -ala also occurs as an adverb formative (see section 2.414.) and as the formative of the dependent habitual verb form (described in section 2.412.2.). The former is probably historically the limiter -ala, as it obeys the morphophonemic rule for enclitics (section 3.1., Rule 4); the latter follows the rules for suffixation and the similarity is probably accidental.

2.408. Intensifiers

Three have been observed, and are described in section 2.25.

2.409. Negative

There is only one negative, me 'not'. Its use and that of its derivative mela 'no, none' are described in section 2.11.14.

2.410. Verb-roots

Verb-roots are tentatively divided into basic and derived. Basic roots are those which do not appear to be derived from non-verb roots or compounded from other roots³; derived roots come from non-verb sources or are compounds.

Roots such as na- 'eat, drink', ma- 'cry', ta- 'get' appear to be basic.

Derived roots from non-verb sources are formed:

(i) from nouns:

karar-	heat(tr)	< kar heat
kariwur-	heat(tr)	< kar heat
katingar-	spit	< kating spittle
kanir-	burn	< kani oven

(ii) from adjectives:

kawimar-	know	< kawim knowing
mlpar-	cool(tr)	< mipl cold
blgar-	grow(itr)	< biga <i>big</i>
pipengar-	approach	< pipengi nearby
iwir-	rot(itr)	< wi rotten, excrement

(iii) from the negative:

```
mer- refuse < me not
```

The root kawimar- 'know' is probably a compound of the adjective kawim 'knowing', and the verb ar- 'become'. How many other verb-roots in -ar- have a similar origin is open to question.

A number of verb-roots are transparent compounds entailing at least one independently occurring verb root. They are formed:

(i) from verb + verb, where the first verb has the dependent simple form:

ari-kadogi-	stare	(see-follow)
tagi-saper-	shoot	(pull-throw)
uii-bat agi-	mend	(hold-cut)
uli-tuly-	shake (hands)	(hold-aive)

(ii) from noun + verb:

wash(tr) yu-duwur-(water-wash) neman-ikifeel, taste (breath-hear) sigenang-kalogi wrap (leaf-tie up) kidi-kaperbleed (blood-come down) diduk-patawur- comb (head-lift) siding-tagirsmell(tr) (smell-pull) kamin-tugumintend (mind-fill) yu-kiarcross(river) (water-exceed) mutim-tugumbury (hole-fill)

(iii) from adverb + verb:

karo-tair- bring (together-come)

For morphological purposes, verb-roots are classified according to the vowels and/or consonants in which their stems end. Each root has two or three stems to which the plural object marker and subject-tense-mood suffixes are added in accordance with certain morphological (see section 2.412-3.) and morphophonemic rules (described in sections 3.1. and 3.2.). The stems, labelled Stem 1 and Stem 11 (and, in the case of some verbs, Stem 11a) are not completely predictable from each other. Verb-root classes are either vowel (V) classes or consonant (C) classes.

Vowel-class roots have only two Stems, 1 and 11. The stem-final vowels, with examples, are tabulated below 4:

Class	Stem 1	Stem 11	Gloss
V 1	-a-	-0-	
31.045	na-	no-	eat, drink
V2	-0-	-a-	
	kide-	ki da-	cook
V3	-1-	-u-	
1	iki-	i ku-	hear
V 4	-1-	-u-	
	bali-	baiu-	speak
V5	-0-	-ow-	
	kaio-	kalow-	tie

Classes V3 and V4 have the same stem vowels. However, when a suffix beginning with a consonant is added to Stem 1 of a class V4 verb, the

stem-final vowel changes optionally from -i- to -u-. This does not happen to Class V3 verbs.

Consonant-class verbs have three stems, 1, 11, and 11A, where Stem 11A as a derivative of Stem 11 and performs certain of the functions performed by Stem 11 of vowel-class verbs. The stem-final vowel-consonant combinations of consonant-class verbs, with examples, are set out below 4:

Class	Stem 1	Stem 11	Stem 11A	Gloss
C1	-ar- alar-	-ar- alar-	-a ala	walk
C2	-ar⊷ yogar-	-er- yoger-	-a yoga	ธ <i>พ</i> im
C3	-er- bager-	-er- bager-	-a baga	8 t a y
C4	-er- saper-	-ar_ sapar-	-a sapa	throw
C5	-or- umor-	-ar- umar-	-a uma	hi t
C6	-ir- isir-	-ir- isir-	-1 !si	cut
C 7	-ur- kaur-	-ur- kaur-	-u kau	cut, coun
C8	-ul- dagui-	-ui- dagul-	- u dagu	fall
C9	-um- iukum-	-um- lukum-	-u luku	drink
C10	-iw- uliw-	-Iw- uliw-	-I uli	hold
C11	-uw- kanuw-	-uw- kanuw-	- u kanu	tie
C12	-ly- dagiy-	-iy- dagiy-	-I dagi	sit

There are a few 'irregular' verbs which belong completely to none of the above classes. The most common is mer- (C3) 'refuse', which has Stem 11A mia (for expected ma) from me-a by regular change

(section 3.1, Rule 1), due to derivation from me 'not'. 'Irregular' verbs are indicated in the vocabulary (section 4.).

A subset of irregular verbs is made up of vowel-class verbs which form an alternative Class V4 verb by adding respectively -gi- and -gu-to the original Stem 11. However, these verbs are 'defective' in that each subject-tense-mood suffix 'chooses' either the original or the alternative (or sometimes either) stem, in a manner which seems quite unpredictable. The verb stems are tabulated below:

	Class	Stem 1	Stem 11	Gloss
Original	V2 (a)	bate-	bata-	cut (erg)
Alternative	V4	batagi-	batagu-	cut (tr)
Original	V2	kage-	kaga-	open (erg)
Alternative	V 4	kagagi-	kagagu-	open (tr)
Original	Irreg (b)	mani-	mana-	tell (ditr)
Alternative	V 4	managi-	managu-	tell (ditr)
Original	V 5	kalo-	kaiow-	tie (tr)
Alternative	V4	kalogi-	kalogu-	tie (tr)
Original	V5	kado-	kadow-	follow (tr)
Alternative	V 4	kadogi -	kadogu-	follow (tr)

- (a) There is also a transitive verb bati- (V4) 'cut'.
- (b) Stem 1 mani- behaves as Class V4; Stem 11 mana- as Class V2.

Since the plural object marker -ndi-/-ndu- is always added to Stem 11 of the original verb, never to the alternative form, it seems likely that -gi-/-gu- was historically a singular object marker. This likeli-hood is supported by the fact that its addition turns two ergative verbs bate- and kage- into transitives.

A few other ergative/transitive pairs have been found, but their morphological relationship is less transparent: e.g. gire- (V2) 'turn round' (erg) and gurugi- (V4) 'turn round' (tr); kile- (V2) 'break' (erg) and kuluki- (V4) 'break' (tr).

2.411. Plural Object Marker

The plural object marker -ndi- occurs in verbs with plural objects. Where the object is third person and contextually dispensable, the plural object marker alone marks the number of the object.

The infix -ndi- is added to Stem 11 of vowel-class verbs and to Stem 11A of consonant-class verbs. Where a verb has original and alternative forms, -ndi- is added only to Stem 11 of the original verb (see above). The addition of -ndi- to Stem 11 itself creates a new root of Class V4 (regardless of the class of the original verb), and subject-tense-mood suffixes are added to the newly-formed root. The newly-formed root has two stems, Stem 1 in -ndi-, Stem 11 in -ndu-.

The only exceptions to this are verb-roots of Class V1, to which the plural object marker is never added. Instead, the object is marked with a plural object pronoun.

Examples:

Class	Singular Object	Plural Object
V 1	nu buruk n-am	nu buruk nunga n-am
	he pig eat-ps.3s	he pig them eat-ps.3s
	He ate the pig	He ate the pigs
V2	nu buruk kidi-am	nu buruk kida-nd-am
	he pig cook-ps.3s	he pig cook-op-ps.3s
	He cooked the pig	He cooked the pigs
V4	nu naur ukur-am	nu naur ukuru-nd-am
	he coconut shake-ps.3s	he coconut shake-op-ps.3s
	He shook the coconut	He shook the coconut
V4/V5	nu age kalog-am	nu anenge kaio-nd-am
	he me tie-ps.3s	he us tie-op-ps.3s
	He tied me up	He tied us up
	(the left-hand example is of an	alternative verb form;
	see section 2.410.)	
C4	nu tagi-saper-am	nu tagi-sapa-nd-am
	he pull-throw-ps.3s	he pull-throw-op-ps.3s
	He shot (an arrow)	He shot (some arrows)

2.412. Subject-Tense-Mood Suffixes

Under this heading are collected together all those suffixes to the verb-root which indicate any semantic feature of subject, tense and mood, although by no means all the suffixes involved indicate all three.

Each suffix is added to one of the stems of the verb-root (described in section 2.410) or to the verb-root formed by the addition of the plural object marker (described in section 2.411.). The stem to which each suffix is added is indicated in Charts 3 and 4 by 1, 11, and 11A. In the case of vowel-class verb-roots, Stem 11A is replaced by Stem 11. The morphophonemic rules governing suffixation are given in sections 3.1. and 3.2.).

Subject-tense-mood suffixes are of two kinds: independent and non-independent.

2.412.1. Independent Subject-Tense-Mood Suffixes

These are added to the verb-root to form independent verb-forms (which, as noted in section 2.13.11., also occur in dependent clauses). There are morphological grounds for dividing these forms into 'realis' and 'irrealis' subgroups.

The 'realis' suffixes are tabulated in Chart 3.

CHART 3
'Realis' Subject-Tense-Mood Suffixes

	Pr	esent	Past	habitual	Pa	st simple
ls	1	~sam	11A	-kisam	1	-em
2s	1	-sam	11A	-kisam	1	-em
3s	1	-so	11A	-ki so	1	-am
1p	1	-san	11A	-kisan	1	-man
2p	1	-san	11A	-kisan	1	-man
3p	1	-san	11A	-kisan	1	-un

The set of final consonants common across the three sets of suffixes (except past simple, third person singular) indicates a probable historical connection between the three sets. However, only in the past habitual is it possible to break the suffixes into two parts; since Stem 11A is the dependent simple verb form (see section 2.412.2.), it is likely that kI- was originally an independent auxiliary verb taking the present tense suffixes and that the present-day forms were originally complex verb phrases (cf. section 2.22.2.).

The present tense suffixes indicate actions going on at the present, but without emphasising their duration or repetition, e.g. ane Itakta yu na-sam 'I am drinking water now'.

The past simple tense suffixes indicate actions which took place at some point of time (specified) in the past:

The past habitual tense suffixes indicate actions which used to take place habitually or frequently over some period of time in the past. In meaning they do not differ substantially from habitual verb phrases in the past simple tense, discussed in section 2.22.22.:

Note that the use of the three 'realis' tenses in habitual and durative verb phrases (discussed in sections 2.22.21. and 2.22.22.) considerably expands the resources of the Waskia system of tenses.

Chart 4 below shows the 'irrealis' suffixes, the three tenses of which refer to actions which have not taken place and are not taking place at the moment of speaking.

CHART 4
'Irrealis' Subject-Tense-Mood Suffixes

	Future	Imperative	Desiderative
ls	1 -iki	1 -iko	1 -ako
2s	11 -i /11A -Ø	11 -ko	1 -ako
3s	1 -uki	1 -u ko	1 -ako
lp	1 -naki	1 -nako	1 -ako
2p	1 -ani	1 -anko	1 -ako
3р	1 -uni	1 -un ko	1 -ako

The morphological connection between future and imperative is transparent. Each suffix consists of two elements. The first is an irrealis subject referent $(-ik, -\emptyset, -uk, -nak, -an, -un)$. The second is, for the future, the suffix -i, for the imperative, the suffix -ko. The desiderative set, which does not differentiate person and number, also has the -ko element. Before dependent clause connectives -aie and -se (see section 2.13.1.), the second element of the future (-i) and imperative (-ko) suffixes is deleted, and the future second person singular assumes the alternative form $(11A - \emptyset)$ shown in Chart 4.

The future tense has two meanings, related in that they are both 'indicative' in mood and give no guarantee that the actions denoted actually take place. Firstly, the future tense indicates actions expected to take place at some point of time in the future; secondly it denotes the ability to perform an action, whether past, present or future. Hence, for example, ane yogar-iki means, according to context, 'I shall swim', 'I could swim', 'I can/am able to swim', 'I shall be able to swim'.

The imperative is also timeless and denotes not only the imperative as in English:

ull-ko! (you.s) take it!
ull-nako! Let us take it!
uliw-anko! (you.p) take it!

but also concepts expressed in the English modal verbs 'must', 'should', 'ought to':

With appropriate adverbs, these forms also express probability and certainty:

nu misese urat biter-uko labo
he today work do-imp.3s perhaps
He will probably/possibly work today
nu misese urat biter-uko kobo
he today work do-imp.3s certainly
He will certainly work today

With the adverb mese (for which we have no definite gloss), first and third person forms become more specifically imperative:

mese namer- \underline{uko} ! Let him go! as opposed to namer- \underline{uko} he should go.

The desiderative suffixes are similar in meaning to desiderative verb phrases (discussed in section 2.22.23.) and express desire or intention:

ane n-ako I want/intend to eat nu n-ako He wants/intends to eat

2.412.2. Non-Independent Subject-Tense-Mood Suffixes

These include four suffixes which fill the subject-tense-mood slot but do not form independent verbs. The label is not altogether appro-

priate, as some of these forms give no indication of subject, tense or mood. Three of them are strictly dependent verb forms: the dependent simple, the dependent habitual, and the dependent irrealis. The fourth is the verbal noun, which can function as a dependent verb or as a noun.

The suffixes are shown below:

Dependent	simple	11	A -ø		
Dependent	habitual	1	-ala		
Dependent	irrealis	s	1 -1k	p:1 -nak	
Verbal no	un	1	-a		

Morphological notes follow:

- (i) the dependent simple form is Stem 11A with no suffix:
- (ii) the dependent irrealis is the only dependent form to agree in number with the subject of the verb phrase in which it occurs; the suffixes are identical with the first person irrealis subject of independent 'irrealis' suffixes (see section 2.412.1. above).

The uses of the dependent forms are noted only briefly here, as they are mostly described and exemplified in other sections:

- (1) the dependent simple occurs as a dependent verb in simultaneous action sentences (see section 2.13.1.) and as part of durative verb phrases with the auxiliary bager- 'stay' (see section 2.22.21.);
- (ii) the dependent habitual form occurs as a part of a habitual verb phrase with bager- 'stay' (see section 2.22.22.);
- (iii) the dependent irrealis form occurs as part of a desiderative verb phrase with ma- 'want' (see section 2.22.23.)
- (iv) the verbal noun occurs as a dependent verb form in certain embedded clauses (described in section 2.13.22.).

The verbal noun also functions syntactically as a noun. A common use is as 'object' of the postposition karo 'with' in a manner phrase (described in section 2.23.2.). Occasionally the verbal noun also has an adjectival function, e.g. kadi kuera 'dead man'.

Examples of verbal nouns are:

kuera	sickness, death	< kuer-	be sick, die
guria	anger	< gure-	be angry

dolara	fear	< dolar-	frighten
nagura	fear	< nagur-	fear
usengara	sorrow	< usengar-	regret, mourn
iselara	shouting, shouts	< iseiar-	shout
namangkira	pain	< namangkir-	have a pain
kakatira	itch	< kakatir-	itch, scratch
mipingara	a dream	< mipingar-	dream
utuwura	wind, drought	< ut uwur-	blow
kidia	pudding	< kide-	cook, boil
kaiya	pancake	< kaiy-	bake, fry
bagera	dweller	< bager-	8 t ay
uliwa	finger	< uliw-	hold
na (< na-a)	food	< na-	eat
uda	dance, singsing	< udi-	dance

2.413. Dependent Clause Connectives

There are three of these, the syntax of which is discussed in section 2.13.1., -aie, -se, and -mu.

2.414. Adverbs of Manner

These are mostly formed from other morpheme categories by the addition of the suffix -aia (see 2.407.):

From adjectives:

dawamaia	firmly, hard	< dawam	firm
mimingtala	slowly	< mimingta	slow
pasakala	quickly	< pasak	quick
gidimela	quickly	< gidime	quick
ningola	nicely	< ningo	nice, skilful
mimengela	badly	< miminge	bad
gurmetala	quickly	< gurmeta	quick
sigamaia	directly	< sigam	direct

From nouns (mostly verbal nouns):

iugangala	cheerfully	< lugang	joy
guriala	angrily	< guria	anger
usengarala	sorrowfully	< usengara	sorrow
dolarala	fearfully	< dolara	fear
nagurala	fearfully	< nagura	fear

Examples:

gidimela sirasaparko! Run quickly!

sumatin urat <u>dawamala</u> biterun *The students worked hard* nu bamban <u>ningola</u> tam *He skilfully caught fish*

2.415. Adverbs of Place

The following forms, some of them historically compounds, are used to denote the place of an action:

muse there (place already referred to, i.e. part of topic)

bota there (in a certain place, i.e. part of comment)

pata, pala here

awar far away

som far, a long way

The form muse can also mean 'for this reason' (see section 2.13.11.).

Note that place names such as Madang, Bogia, Wewiak (Wewak),

Suaruni (Karkar Island), Tukenini (Tokain) are treated as adverbs of place in their own right and are not followed by postpositions:

nu Suaruni nameram He went to Karkar Island

nu Wewiak urat biteso He works in Wewak

2.416. Adverbs of Time

The following forms, some of them historically compounds, are used to denote the time of an action:

itakta now itak today

ikelakoyesterdaymukolasetomorrowmukolalaalreadygirakoin the pastgirakolalong agokamkamevery day

kambose one day butak frequently

som 800n

bangla-bangla in the afternoon
bangla-nungl in the evening
munganingala in the morning
munganing at night, tonight

2.417. Adverbs of Probability

Two have been found: lobo 'possibly, perhaps, probably' and kobo 'certainly'. Their use is described in section 2.412.1.

2.418. Postpositions

The use of these is discussed in section 2.23., where examples are given. Those postpositions observed are listed below. They are generally difficult to gloss in English as their meanings appear to overlap with each other, and differ from dialect to dialect. Examples below are from Tokain dialect, unless marked 'Karkar'. Comprehensive rules for the co-occurrence of postpositions with various categories of noun cannot be worked out from the available data.

Postpositions are divided into 'short' (se, i, te, ko, karo, wam) and 'long' (nungi, kuali).

se location: on, at, to, near, along
e.g. lage se along the road (Karkar: lage te)

kawam se to/near the house

se never directly follows a human noun; a body-part always intervenes (see section 2.23.1.). It appears to be the only short locative postposition used with words recently introduced from non-Waskia sources:

taun <u>se</u> to/in town (TP)
beng <u>se</u> to/at the bank (TP)
maket <u>se</u> to/at the market (TP)
sule se to/in/at school (German)

instrument: with
e.g. arak se with a net

pilangis so with an axe tam so with a stick

location: to, at, in (never used with human nouns)

e.g. inong \underline{i} to the village, homewards

ingam <u>i</u> to the garden

mutim 1 in a hole

dilisan \underline{i} on the other side

kawam <u>i</u> in a house (Karkar: kawam <u>se</u>)

The allomorph ti follows a vowel:

e.g. all ti on the ground (Karkar: all se)

te location: to (used with personal pronouns: cf. section 2.23.1.)

e.g. ko-te to him

I met ko-te to the woman kawam te to the house

ko origin: from

e.g. Bogia ko from Bogia

location: at (with 'part' nouns only: cf. section 2.23.1.)

e.g. biring ko at the back (of...)

reference: about (cf. section 2.23.4.)

e.g. uda ko about the singsing nuko kuera ko about his death

karo accompaniment: with, together with ((cf. sections 2.11.24, 2.23.3.)

wam manner: like

e.g. katege wam white (lit. like a white parrot)

The two 'long' postpositions kuaii 'on, upon, over' and nungi 'inside' appear historically to have been combinations of 'part' noun plus postposition I in complex locative phrases (described in section 2.23.1.). For example:

However, the part-nouns *kal and *ning have apparently been lost (although we do find nungi ning 'right inside'), and the resulting long postpositions themselves function as postpositions in complex locative phrases as well as simple ones:

e.g. tebol kuall on the table
sia kuall on the chair
tam bowa nungi under the tree (lit. Inside the underside
of the tree)

2.419. Interrogatives

The uses of these forms are discussed in section 2.11.3. They fall into two categories: question-markers and interrogative words.

Question-markers are:

- yes-no question-marker (q) used to form a yes-no question
- ayi question-tag (qt) used to convert a declarative sentence
 into a question

Interrogative words are pro-forms which replace elements in declarative sentences to convert them into information questions. Note that

all of them begin with a-, apparently an interrogative morpheme:

aweri ke $who(ext{subject})$? aweri $whom(ext{object})$?

aweri ko for whom(indirect object)? whose?

anape ke what(subject)?
anape what(object)?

anape ko why?
apeia, apago where?
adamula when?

awuk how? which(adjectival)?

awukala how many?

awugamu which(adjectival)?

2.420. Conjunctions

Except for e 'or', Waskia conjunctions conjoin only independent clauses (as described in section 2.12.2.), not phrases or words. Their use is intimately related to secondary topicalisation, in which connection they are briefly discussed in section 2.14.2. The conjunctions observed are:

se and (followed by different subject; may also commence discourse in the sense Now...)

tamu but (followed by same subject)

mu but (followed by different subject + negative)

ito...ito... either...or...

The use of e 'or' is exemplified below:

ni gagi yagor se i <u>e</u> lage yagor se name-sam ?

Subj AdvP conj AdvP VF

you sea canoe in q or road canoe in go-pres.2s

Are you going by boat or by car?

John ke i e nike i name-sam?

Subj conj Subj VP

John sm q or you.sm q go-pres.2s

Is John going or are you?

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Unless otherwise mentioned, the coalescence rules described below apply across the boundary of root and suffix, or suffix and suffix, and of two roots joined by elision, but not across word boundaries or across

boundaries between root and eclitic or between suffix and enclitic.

Where coalescence does occur across a word boundary, this is not reflected in the orthography used in this study.

3.1. VOWEL COALESCENCE

Rule 1: e becomes I before a vowel (including e)

Rule 2: like vowels except e coalesce across all boundaries

Rule 3: i, o disappear before a vowel

Rule 4 (applies to root or suffix + enclitic):

enclitic-initial a disappears after a vowel

```
ni-lii-ala > niilia (see section 2.402.1.)
ningo-ala > ningola nicely
lne-ala > lnela too much
```

Vowel pairs not covered by Rules 1-4 either do not occur in the contexts root or suffix + suffix or root + root (these appear to be ao, eo, lo, ua, ue, ul, uo) or do not coalesce (ae, al, au, ul):

3.2. CONSONANT COALESCENCE

Rule 5: like consonants coalesce

i.e.
$$C_1 + C_1 \rightarrow C_1$$

e.g. | lukum-man > | lukuman (we/you.p) drink

Rule 6: m, w, y disappear before k, s, m, n;
r disappears before s, m, n but is retained before k

Rule 6 has been observed only in verb-root + suffix combinations.

3.3. VOWEL DELETION

Rule 7: an enclitic-final vowel disappears before a morpheme-initial consonant in compounds.

```
e.g. pa-mu-ta > pamta this one
ane-ili-mu-ala > (by Rule 4) ane-ili-mu-la >
ane-ilimia all of us
```

Rule 7 is also exemplified in personal pronoun elision (see section $3.4.\ below)$.

3.4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Reconstruction of the development of personal pronoun forms and their elisions (described in sections 2.23.2. and 2.31.2.) indicates that at an earlier stage of Waskia there were three singular pronoun forms:

1s. a 2s. ni 3s. nu

Of these, ni and nu are preserved in Set 1 (see section 2.402.1.) and a is preserved in the reflexive pronoun a-mi 'myself, ourselves' (see section 2.402.3.) and in elided inalienable nouns such as a-de 'my ear' (see section 2.31.2.). The modern Set 1 pronoun ane was formed by the addition of a marker -ne whose function is unclear².

The plural forms of Set 1, anena, nina, and nuna, result from the addition of a plural enclitic -na to the singular forms of Set 1.

Set 11 results from suffixation of the enclitic -ka⁵ to Set 1 (giving two forms, aga (< *a-ka) and anega (< *ane-ka) in the first person singular. The following morphophonemic rules operated on this suffixation:

Rule 8: medial k became g after a or e (but not after u or I)

e.g. *a-ka > aga but *ni-ka > nika.

By Rule 7, -a of the enclitic -na was dropped when the pronouns amena, nina, and nuna were prefixed to another morpheme, leaving amen-, nin-, and nun-.

Rule 9: medial -nk- became -ng-,

e.g. *anen-ka > anenga.

The change of -ka to -ko in Set 11 third person singular nuko (and of ke to kue in limiting third person singular kueta- see section 2.402.3.) is apparently related to the vowel-rounding which occurs in the first syllable of inalienable nouns in the third person form (see section 2.31.1.).

The suffixation of the subject-marker ke to Set 1 pronouns (see section 2.402.1.) is affected by the same rules as the suffixation of -ka (Rules 7, 8, and 9).

The next historical change appears to have been the abbreviation of the long Set 11 forms nika and nuko to their short forms ka and ko.

This was evidently followed by the elision of personal pronouns with postposition karo (see section 2.23.2.) and with inalienable nouns (see section 2.31.2.). The prefixed forms were 6 :

1s	a	lp	anena
2s	ni	2p	nina
3s	nu	39	nuna

Rule 7 operated invariably with the plural pronouns; Rules 8 and 9 in the cases of karo and inalienable nouns with initial k-:

In the cases of inalienable nouns beginning with ko- in their original (non-third-person) form, Rule 9 was modified by Rule 10:

Rule 10: medial -ng- became -g- before o,

Further rules operated on inalienable nouns with initial consonants other than k-:

Rule 12: medial -n- disappeared before b, m:

The vowels e and i in personal pronouns were assimilated to the first vowel of an inalienable noun where this was o or I:

Rule 13: prefix vowel e or I became o where the noun-initial syllable was Co,

Rule 14: prefix vowel e became i where the noun-initial syllable was Ci,

Waskia eliminates a syllable where two initial syllables have the same initial consonant:

- e.g. *anen-neman > (by Rule 5) *aneneman > (by Rule 15) aneman our breath
 - *nin-neman > (by Rule 5) *nineman > (by Rule 15) neman your.p breath
 - *nun-nuwut > (by Rule 5) *nunuwut > (by Rule 15) nuwut their wives

Rule 15 is apparently still active in Waskia: thus the sequence biteruko kobo 'he will certainly do (it)' reduces to [biterukobo]. This rule apparently accounts also for the fact that although we find katago 'your.s stomach' and kotuago 'his/her stomach' as alternatives to tago and tuago, we do not find *kakema 'your face' or *kokoma 'his/her face' as alternatives to kema and koma. By analogy ka- and kohave also been dropped from most elided inalienable nouns.

Since the operation of Rules 5 and 15 gives the forms aneman 'our breath' and aniwut 'our wives', which would also result from *a-neman'my breath' and *a-niwut 'my wife', a specialised rule drops the -n-of the first person singular forms, giving *aeman > aiman and aiwut.

It is probable that further research would lead to abbreviation and re-ordering of these rules.

4. A WASKIA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

The vocabulary below was compiled in the main by John Natu Paol, who also classified the verb-roots. Grammatical data and examples were added by the writer. The list contains approximately 800 items, excluding cross-references and sub-entries.

Conventions employed in addition to those in section 1.2. are as follows:

- free forms precede bound forms
- ng is treated as a separate item for alphabet purposes and follows n
- verb-roots are marked with their verb class; irregular forms are shown in brackets
- inalienable nouns are marked nni and alphabeticised by their basic form (second person singular); variations from the basic form are shown in brackets, and also listed alphabetically if their prefixes are other than anen- nin- and nun-, with a cross-reference to their basic form; further information on the morphology of inalienable nouns is found in section 2.31.2.

Lexical data in Trans-New Guinea phylum languages related to Waskia is so sparse as to prohibit much etymological study of Waskia vocabulary, but a comparison of a 400-word list in Dimir, another member of the Isumrud Stock, with a corresponding Waskia list revealed few obvious cognates. Mager (1952) lists a number of words borrowed by Waskia from Gedaged and other languages of the Bel sub-family of Oceanic (Austronesian). These were checked and the majority found not to be current in the Waskia of Tokain village. Although we might expect Waskia borrowings from Takia, the Bel language of Karkar Island, many recognisably Bel words in Waskia have a form which suggests borrowing either from the coastal Bel languages Megiar and Matukar or from an earlier stage of Bel. Hence Bel borrowings are thus marked, without any attempt to identify precisely the language of origin. Waskia also contains a number of Oceanic borrowings which come either from the west (perhaps Medebur or Manam) or from an earlier stage of Oceanic. These are marked OC.

McElhanon and Voorhoeve's (1970) list of Trans-New Guinea cognates was checked against the Waskia vocabulary, and entries cognate (or apparently cognate) with their listing are marked TNG together with the number allocated to the cognate set in their work. It is noteworthy that several of these cognates in Waskia have accreted a prefix kV-; the large number of noun entries under K below suggests that this was once some kind of noun formative or marker.

Α

agaro with me (see section -a verbal noun formative (see 2.23.2.) section 2.412.2.) abidang see bidang agedang see kedang abiring see biring agema see kema adamula when? agemang see gemang ageta pron lim I only, I myself ade see de agimik see kimik adeleng see deleng agorat see korat adewar- C2 say, report agore see kore aga see anega agamilik see kamilik agowan see kowan aguw-Cll plant agamin see kamin see nikum aikum agamung see kamung alman see neman agamuru see kamuru

air- C6 call out; dig (a hole):
nu mutim ai bageram he was digging a hole

ait bird ait mone feathers

alwut see niwut

-ako stm: desiderative (see section 2.412.1.)

-ala stm: dependent habitual (see section 2.412.2.)

-aia limiter together, all of them(see section 2.407.)

alar- Cl walk, dive den alar- talk, converse

-ale dependent clause connective, same subject (see section 2.13.1.)

all ground, earth
all ti on the ground, down
below; all ti ko downwards

-am stm: past simple 3s (see section 2.412.1.)

amapir- C6 cause

ameting exterior; ameting | outside

ami pron refl myself; ourselves (see section 2.402.3.)

amin TNG3 breast amin yu milk

amu post, stake

anape what(object)? anape ke
 what(subj)?

ane pron Set 1 I; ane iii we two, he/she and I

ane ilimia we, I and you all

anega (short form aga) pron Set 11 me, my

anege pron marked subject I

aneman see neman

anen- poss prefix our (see section 2.31.2.)

anena pron Set 1 we

aneninga pron Set 11 we, you and I

anenga pron Set 11 us, our

anengaro with us (see section 2.32.2.)

anenge pron marked subject we

anengeta limiting pron we only, we ourselves

-ani stm: future 2p (see section 2.412.1.)

anibiring see biring

aningadi see kadi

anir- C6 sleep

aniwut see niwut

-anko stm: imperative 2p (see section 2.412.1.)

anogorat see korat

anogore see kore

anomotam see motam

angatar- C2 beg

angung beetle

ao Bel yes

apago where?

apela where?

ar- C2 become

ara reed

arak fishing net

arati- V4 come out, be born, arrive, appear, form (itr); kulak aratam a baby was born

ari after (see section 2.13.11(b))

arigi- Irreg (11 arig-, 11A ari) ari-kado- V5 look at, stare at

asi- V4 *give to me* (see section 2.22.24.)

asir- C6 sneeze

asuri- V4 dig (with a digging stick for planting)

atago see tago

atum- C9 shoot, spear, prick, stab

augi mango

awang aunt, father's sister

awar far away

aweri who(object)? aweri ke who(subject) aweri ko whose? for whom?

awing adze

awugamu adj which?

awuk how?

awukala how many? kam awukala how often?

awur- C7 gather, pile up

ayi question tag (see section
2.11.31.)

R

badim areca palm

badim platform

bager- C3 stay, live, exist; nu inong pamta se bageso He lives in this village; also auxiliary verb (see sections 2.22.21. and 2.22.22.)

bagera dweller; inong bagera villager

bagur- C7 shut, close

bakom elbow

bai TP ball

bali- V4 talk, speak; den balispeak, converse

bamban prey, meat, fish; bamban ko walar- hunt

ban outrigger boom

baner large drum: slitgong

bani- V3 fish (with a net)

bange V2 get dark; bangam it
got dark, night came
bangia night, darkness
bangia-bangia afternoon
bangia-nungi evening

bangur- C7 erect (a post)

barabaramar- C2 tremble

baragot bruise(nn)

baram salt

bararem leeward side

baras ?Bel star

barat Bel year

baren mountain

barungi- V4 cut open (e.g. a coconut)

basi- V3 grow (of a plant)(itr)

bat high tide

batagi- V4 cut into (e.g. a tree), tear (e.g. a net)(tr)
bate- V2 tear (erg)

bati- V4 cut into, tear (tr)

bawa brother

bawe hand-drum

bawedugu brown lizard

bega betel pepper leaf or catkin, chewed with betelnut

berasi- V4 awake, arise, begin, start

bibiga see biga

bibinang shoulder

bidir- C6 mend (clothes), sew

biga (p bibiga) big

bigar- C2 grow, develop

bidang nni (1s abidang, 2s/2p nibidang, 3s/3p nubidang) lip

bililingar- C2; bililingur-C7 split (wood along the grain) (tr)

binton pigeon

birigar- C2 shiver, be cold birigara vn cold

biring nni (1s abiring, 2s kabiring, 3s kobiring, 1p anibiring, 2p nibiring, 3p nubiring) back; kawam biring se behind the house

biter- C4 put (something in a place), attend (school, meeting)

urat biter- work, do work

bo another, a certain, some or other; (with negative) any bo karo again bota there (place already referred to)

bogis TP box

bowa underneath, underside; tam bowa nungi under the tree (see section 2.23.1.)

bular- C1 get wet

bulu Bel squid

bunang swing, rocker

bunge V2 fly

buruk OC pig

butak frequently; thus; yam butak somehow

D

dagiy- C12 (irreg: ps ls/2s
 dagem) sit down

dagor rabbit

dagui- C8; daguii- V4 fall (erg)

darangir- C6 squat

daro breadfruit (without thorns)

darur scraper (for coconuts)

dawam strong, firm; dawamala firmly; nu dawamala urat biteso he is working hard

dawur bamboo

de TNG4 nni (ls ade, 3p due,
 lp aninde, 2p ninde, 3p nunde)
 ear

deb ?Bel tuna fish

deleng nni (1s adeleng, 3p doleng, 1p anendeleng, 2p nindeleng, 3p nundoleng) leg, foot

den speech, words, story; uda
 ko den words about the singsing
 den-digu legend

diar- V1 buy

didiwur- C7 push

didogaren jaw, gills; didogaren
kuting jawbone

didu turtle

diduk TNG7 head; diduk mone hair (of head)

digo men's house

dilisan other side; dilisan i on the other side

ding netbag

dinge- V2 TNG46 wander dingla straight

dobub ornaments on a G-string

dolar- C2 fear, be frightened of; Gagl kaemkasik ko dolaso Gagi is frightened of the evil spirit

dolara vn fear; dolara karo fearful, frightened; dolarala fearfully

doleng see deleng

dom hunting spear

dop hunting net

duap stem, trunk

due see de

dugotak TNG12 neck

duia Bel south-east monsoon

dunuri- V4 force, persuade

dunguri- V4 touch

duwur- C7 wash (tr); nu kulak yu duwuso she is washing a child

Ε

e or

edpos TP aid-post, local clinic

-em stm: past tense 1/2s (see section 2.412.1.)

erar- C2 lean (itr); ane sia se dagemale erarem I leaned against the chair (I sat on the chair and leaned)

G

gagi Bel salt, sea

gagor lazy

galisik (kind of) liana, tree creeper

galuk banana; galuk mio ripe banana

galuk luan banana tree

garagara Bel dry

gauk tobacco plant

gemang nn1 (ls agemang, 3s
 gomang, 1p anengemang, 2p
 ningemang, 3p nungomang) heart
gemang kakok chest

gerekma teacher

gidagad Bel crazy

gidima quick; gidimala quickly

gilang pearlshell

gira old; kawam gira old house girako in the past; girakola long ago

gire- V2 turn round, look over one's shoulder (erg)

God TP God

gomang see gemang

gotek (p gotetek or tetek) little

guang TNG13 covering
kaem guang grass-skirt, laplap
tam guang bark

guera widow

guk smoke; tama guk fire-smoke;
sor guk fog

guragi- V4 stop (something from happening)

gure- V2 get angry, quarrel; Gagi Kaimkadi ili guriun Gagi and Kaimkadi quarrelled

guria anger; guria karo angry;
guriala angrily

gurmeta quick; gurmetala quickly

gurugi- V4 turn, move (tr) (cf.
gire-); nu numi guruguso he
turns round

gurum thick; sor gurum forest
 (lit. thick place)

gusur- C7 laugh at; Kaimkadi
 Gagi gusuram Kaimkadi laughed
 at Gagi

I

question-marker (see section 2.11.31.)

in, at, on

-i stm: future 2s (see section 2.412.1.)

idala greeting good day

idi- V4 give to us/you.p/them

igir- C6 fight; light (fire)

-ik stm: irrealis s (see section 2.412.2.)

ikelako yesterday; ko ikelako day before yesterday

iker- C3 be ashamed

iki- V3 (additional irreg
forms: past simple 1/2s ikiem,
3s ikiam) listen, hear, believe,
obey; Gagi God ko den ikiso
Gagi believes in God; sumatin
mu gerekma ko den me ikiam
The student did not obey the
teacher

neman iki- feel, taste; ane paenap neman ikem I tasted the pineapple

-iki stm: future 1s (see section 2.412.1.)

-iko stm: imperative ls (see section 2.412.1.)

iii with him/her (see section
2.23.2.)

illm all; ilimta all; ilimtala all of them together

iiot Bel sore; nu iiot karo he has a sore

imet woman

inang taro

ina my mother (cf. niam)

ine much, many; inela too much,
 too many; ine-mela few, not
 many

inong village; inong i to the village, homewards

ingam garden; ingam i to/in the garden

ingindi- V4 swear, swear at

ire V2 climb up

iru (p iruru) unripe

iruru green; green lizard

isagi- V4 ask

iseiar- C2 shout

iselara vn shouts, shouting

isir- C6 cut (meat)

itak today

itakta now; itaktata just now; itakta munganingala this morning; itakta bangia-bangia tonight

Ite V2 hit (an object to alter its shape or break it open)

itelala two

itelala-itelala four; itelala-itelala-itoketa five

iteitoke three

iteltoke-iteltoke six; Iteltoke-iteltoke-itoketa seven; Iteltoke-iteltoke-itelala eight

iti (pititi) new

ito if (see section 2.13.13.);
ito.... wam as if (see section
2.13.22.); ito.... ito either
.... or (see section 2.12.22.)

itoketa one

iwi excrement, faeces
iwir- C6 rot (itr); iwiram
rotten

K

ka pron Set 11 short form you(s)
 (cf.nika)

kadi 1. man

2.nni (3s kuadi, 1p aningadi, 2p ningadi, 3p nungadi) husband kadimet person, people

kado- V5; kadogi- V4 chase, follow

kadugam wallaby

kaem ancestor spirit; European person (the connection between

the two senses is that ancestor spirits were thought to be white; the first Europeans seen were believed to be ancestor spirits)

kagagi- V4 open (tr); Gagi kawam kodang kagagam Gagi opened the door of the house kage- V2 open (erg); kawam kodang kagiam The door of the house opened/is open

kagar hot (of food)

kager Bel angry, hostile, enemy

kagot young

kaiy- C12 bake, burn, melt (tr) kaiya pancake

kakatir- ?OC itch, scratch
 (erg, tr); ane kakatisam I am
 itching; aga kakatiso I have
 an itch

kakatira vn itch

kal black crow

kala intensifier, gloss uncertain (see section 2.25.)

kalalok spider

kalamer arrow

kalepar- hide (itr); ane Gagi ko kaleparem I hid from Gagi

kalo- V5; kalogi- V4 tie up
sigenang kalogi- wrap up (a
parcel)

kalog- Irreg (11, 11A kalo-)
laugh

kaloga vn laughter

kalung Bel tail feathers

kam time, occasion; kam awukala how often?

kamkam daily, every day; kambo one day, once upon a time; kam karo karo sometimes

kambor black ant

kamilik TNG16 nni (1s agamilik, 3s kuamilik) tongue kamung TNG1 nni (1s agamung, 3s kuamung, 1p anengamung, 2p ningamung, 3p nungamung) hand, arm

kamir- C6 cook (tr, erg)

kamuru TNG14 nni (1s agamuru, 3s kuamuru, 1p anengamuru, 2p ningamuru, 3p nungamuru) *nose*

kani cooking pot, oven; ali kani earth oven, mumu pit
kanir- C6 burn (of fire);
shine (of sun); odem
kaniso the sun is shining

kanuw- Cll tie; mal kanuw- tie a knot

kangar Bel Tahitian chestnut, Canarium polyphyllum

kaper- C4 climb down; fall,
 descend, land; nu lang i kapeso
he lands on the beach;
kidl-kaper- bleed

kapir- C6 vomit

kar Bel fence

kar heat, warmth; kar karo warm
karar- C2 heat up (tr); be
hot (erg)

kar TP car, automobile

karar basket

karengar- C2 creep

kariwur- C7 become hot, heat up
 (erg) (cf. kar, karar-)

karo with; with you(s); agaro
with me; anengaro with us;
ningaro with you(p); nungaro
with them (see section 2.23.2.)

karut dirt; karut karo dirty

kasik wild; intensifier (see section 2.25.)

kaslli snake

kaslm mosquito

katege large white cockatoo; katege wam white

katew- Irreg (11, 11A kata-)
 erase, rub out; ane nup
katesam I am erasing the name

kating TNG15 spittle katingar- C2 spit

katitup swamp

kaur OC lime (added to betelnut for chewing)

kaur- C7 cut, chop, decorate, count up

kausar OC cassowary

kausik TNG34 dog; kausik mom dog's tail

kawam house

kawelar- C2 lie, tell lies

kawim knowing (adj); ane kawim I know

kawimar- C2 know; nu kawimaso ni anape tasam mu he knows what you are doing

kawunang branch; tam kawunang branch of a tree

ke subject marker (see section
2.14.3.)

kedang nni (ls agedang, 3s
kodang) mouth, opening
kawam kodang door

kema nni (1s agema, 3s koma, 1p anengema, 2p ningema, 3p nungoma) face, front; kawam koma se in front of the house kema sangam forehead

kemak sugarcane

keta limiting pronoun you(s)
 only, you yourself (see section
 2.402.3.)

kiar- C1 exceed, be more than; aga kawam ke kate mu kiaram my house is bigger than yours yu kiar- cross, swim across river

kiat OC outrigger float

kidang short yam

kide- V2 cook, boil(tr)
kidla pudding; ti kidla sago
pudding

kidi blood; kidi wam red

kikina thorn

kiie- V2 break (erg) (cf.
kuiuki-)

kimbam peg, hook

kimik nni (ls agimik, 3s kumik, lp anengimik, anigimik, 2p ningimik, 3p nungimik, nugumik) body, skin; anengimik kuali on top of us (see section 2.23.1.)

kingisi- V4 hate

-klsam stm: past habitual 1/2s
 (see section 2.412.1.)

-kisan stm: past habitual 1/2/3p
 (see section 2.412.1.)

kisi- V4 give to you(s) (see section 2.22.24.)

kisir- C6 sharpen, carve

-kiso stm: past habitual 3s (see section 2.412.1.)

kiti gall, bile

kitik narrow

kiwolar- C2 write

ko 1. to, from, for2. pron Set 11 short form he, his/she, her (cf. nuko)

-ko stm: imperative 2s (see section 2.412.1.)

kobo certainly, definitely

kodang see kedang

kol chin

kolar C2 play

koma see kema

korat nni (1s agorat, 1p anogorat, 2p nogorat, 3p nugorat) sibling; korat kadi brother; korat Imet sister; korat Iaun older sibling; korat wadigi younger sibling; korat kadi Iaun older brother

kore nn1 (ls agore, lp anogore,
 2p nogore, 3p nugore) tooth;
 kore duap molar tooth

kos widower

kotaket frog

kotamar- C2 possess

kowan aunt: father's sister

kua Triton shell, conch

kuadi see kadi

kuagi seed

kuali on, on top of, over (see section 2.23.1.); kuali ko upwards

kuamilik see kamillk

kuamin see kamin

kuamung see kamung

kuamuru see kamuru

kuareng (p kuareng-kuareng)
 old (of people)

kuasir- C6 light (a fire); nu
anega tama kuasiram he lit me
a fire

kuer- C3 suffer, be sick, hunger, die

kuera vn sickness, death; kadi kuera dead man

kueta limiting pron he/she
only, he himself, she herself
(see section 2.402.3.)

kukonda nape, back of head

kukunang ?Bel little finger

kulak child, baby; kulak kadl
boy; kulak lmet girl kulaklmet
family

kulingkuling rubbish

kulir- C6 sew

kulisi freshwater prawn

kuluki- V4 break (tr) (cf kile-);
Gagi ko kuera ke agemang kulukam
Gagi's death broke my heart

kuluri- V4 deceive, trick

kumbur (p kumbur-kumbur) black, dark

kumik see kimik

kumin soup

kunekunek tortoise

kupiy- C12 (Irreg form: future
 ls kupiki) remove (outer covering of betlenut or sugarcane)

kuriang children

kuriring scale (of fish)

kurita OC octopus

kurum plant, bush; kurum i in the bush

kusu OC rat

kusugum navel

kuting TNG2 bone; tam kuting
stick;

kuting masiring fingernail

kuting nuam thumb

kuting melmur se uliwa little finger

kuting dilisan se itelalaitelala *nine*

kuting dilisan-dilisan ten

kutir- C6 scratch, scrape

kutuwur- C7 hang up (tr); nl
 ding pamu kutuwusuko hang up
 that netbag

kuweram eel

kuwukup ?Bel dust

kuwuling nn fly

1

-la see -ala limiter

labo perhaps, possibly, probably

lage path, road

lager- C3 grow, develop

lag!wur- C7 feed (tr); Gag!
buruk patete se lag!wuso Gagi
is feeding the pig with potato

lair- C6 swell (of skin)
lairam full

laliwur- C7 erase, rub off

iang Bel beach, sand

lapi high seas

lauga breadfruit (thorny)

laun older (of brothers, sisters,
etc.); right-hand

laus dolphin

liat OC coral, limestone

liket nit, louse's egg

Illiki pus

lingisuwur- C7 forget; nu de ikiam mu lingisuwuruki he will forget the words he has heard; ane yu utako lingisuwurem I forgot to fetch the water

liwung dew

luan ?Bel plant, stem, tree

lugang nn joy; lugang karo
 cheerful; lugangala cheerfully
lugang kalog- laugh (cf.
 kalog-)

lukum- C9 drink, swallow

lukunar- C2 cough

M

ma- V1 cry, want (see section 2.22.23.)

madalok worm

madar bandicoot

magaret tree bearing an edible nut, Terminalia catappa

magiy- C12 bend down

magiwur- C7 spoil (tr)

maingara weak

mait Bel knife

maket TP market

mai knot

malapuput OC bat

malin OC calm, low tide

maiong Bel Jungle fowl

maiu seagull

maluwulang tapioca, cassava

-man stm: past simple, 1/2p (see section 2.412.1.)

managi- V4; mani- V4 (Irreg 11, 11A mana-); Kaimkadi ke Gagi uda ko managam Kaimkadi told Gagi about the singsing; manandiki I shall tell them about it

manang this (referring to something already given in the discourse) (see section 2.404.)

manga stone, money; manga kuting money, coins

mar alang-alang grass (Imperata arundinacea), sword grass

marekareng coral tree (Erythrina indica)

marengi- Irreg (11 marenger-, 11A marenga) dry (erg) marengam adj dry

maresang vegetables, greens

mariap Bel evil spirit

maror Bel village headman

masiring TNG11 fingernail

maur- ?OC C7 yawn

maya long

me not

meia no, none (see section
2.11.14.)

mel thing; mel bo something

memek bad

mengasin soft

mer- C4 (Irreg 11A mia)
 refuse, stop (doing something),
 leave, depart

mese imperative morpheme (see section 2.412.1.)

mimenge bad; mimengeia badly

mimingta slow; mimingtala slowly

mininggam mucus, snot

mio ripe

mipar- C2 cool (erg)

mipi cold

mipingar- C2 dream

mipingara vn dream; nu mipingara karo he is having a dream

misese today

mok calophyllum tree (Calophyllum inophyllum)

moke brain

moke kuting skull

moli Bel citrus fruit, lemon

mone hair; diduk mone hair of head; ait mone feathers

mopar- C2 ripen (itr)

mot thigh

motam nni (lp anomotam, 3p numotam) eye

mukolala already

mukolase tomorrow; ko mukolase day after tomorrow

mu determiner (see section 2.404.)

mu but (negative clause with
 different subject following);
 mu meia but (non-negative
 clause with different subject
 following) (see section 2.12.21.)

-mu conditional suffix (see section 2.13.13.)

muning bee

munta that (referring to something already given in the discourse) (see section 2.404.)

munganing night

munganingala morning; (greet ing) good morning

muri areca nut, betelnut; muri tarap betel chew (mixture of betelnut, lime, and betel pepper)

muse for this reason, so (see
 sections 2.13.11(b) and 2.13.
12.); there (see section 2.13.
2(b))

musisik a shrub: cordyline, victory leaf (Taetsia fructicosa)

mutim hole; kadi mutim tugumbury a dead man

mutuwur- C7 drown (tr); ni buruk gotek bo yu mutuwurko (you) drown a small pig!

N

na- Vl TNG49 eat, drink
na vn food

-na pronoun plural suffix (see section 2.402.1.)

nadawur throat

nagur- C7 fear, flee, run away; Gagi Kaimkasik ko naguso Gagi is afraid of the evil spirit nagura vn fear; nagurala fearfully

- -nak stm: irrealis plural (see section 2.412.1.)
- -naki stm: future 1p (see section 2.412.1.)
- -nako stm: imperative lp (see section 2.412.1.)
- namangkira C6 be in pain
 namangkira vn pain; kumik
 namngkira karo he has a pain
 (lit. his body is with pain)
- namer- C2 go; o namarko goodbye; o ningola namarko bon voyage, have a good journey nama-puleram round (lit. going-returned)

nana louse

- naulit intestines
- naur OC coconut; naur merang ripe coconut; naur na ningo green drinking coconut (lit. coconut drink good)

 naur kidi coconut milk

 naur luan coconut palm

 naur nungonang coconut flesh, copra

 naur welang coconut cream (for (for cooking)

 naur-dugulak liver
- -ndi- V4 plural object marker (see section 2.411.)
- ne nni (3s/3p nue) mother's
 brother
- neman nni (ls aiman, 3s noman, lp aneman, aneneman, 2p neman, nineman, 3p noman) breath
- net nni (3s/3p nuet) father
- ni pron Set 1 you(s); ni Ili you two, you and he
- nialila pron Set 1 we two, I and you; nialila-anenga Pron Set 11 us two, belonging to the two of us (see section 2 2.402.1.)
- niam TNG22 nni (ls/lp ina, 2s/2p niam, 3s/3p nuam) mother,

- mother's sister; yu nuam river; kuting nuam thumb
- nlamnet nni (3s/3p nuamnet)
 parents
- nlane pron Set 1 we, you(p) and
 I (see section 2.402.1.)
- nibidang see bidang
- nibiring see biring
- nika pron Set 11 you(s) (short
 form: ka) (see section 2.402.1.)
- nike pron marked subject you(s)
 (see section 2.402.2.)
- nikim torch
- nikum nni (1s aikum, 3s nukum)
 buttocks
- nilila pron Set 1 you two; nilila-ninga pron Set 11 you two, belonging to the two of you (see section 2.402.1.)
- nimi pron reflexive yourself, yourselves (see section 2.402.3.)
- nin- possessive prefix your(p)
 (see section 2.31.2.)
- nina pron Set 1 you(p) (see section 2.402.1.)
- nininge see ninge
- ninga pron Set 11 you(p) (see section 2.402.1.)
- ningaro with you(p) (see section 2.23.2.)
- ningatak nni (3s/3p nungatak) grandparent
- ninge pron marked subject you(p)
 (see section 2.402.2.)
- ningeta limiting pron you(p)
 only, you yourselves (see section 2.402.3.)
- ningo 1. egg
 2. nice, skilful; ningola skilfully
- niwut nni (1s aiwut, 3s nuwut, 1p aniwut, aniniwut, 2p niwut, niniwut, 3p nuwut, nunuwut) wife

nogorat see korat

nogore see kore

noman see neman

non OC Morinda citrifolia, plant giving yellow dye from roots

nu pron Set 1 he/she (see section 2.402.1.)

nu III they two, he and she

nualila pron Set 1 we, I and he/she; nualila-anenga pron Set 11 our, his and mine; us, him/her and me

nuam see niam

nubiring see nibiring

nue see ne

nuet see net

nugorat see korat

nugowan see kowan

nui cloud

nuillia pron Set 1 they two

nullila-nunga pron Set 11 them two, belonging to the two of them (see section 2.402.1.)

nuke pron marked subject he/
she (see section 2.402.2.)

nuko pron Set 11 (short form:
 ko) his (see section 2.402.1.)

nukum see nikum

numai wing

numi pron relexive himself/
themselves (see section 2.402.3.)

numotam see motam

nun- possessive prefix their
 (see section 2.31.2.)

nuna pron Set 1 they (see section 2.402.1.)

nunga pron Set 11 they (see section 2.402.1.) nungaro with them (see section 2.23.2.)

nungatak see ningatak

nunge pron marked subject they
 (see section 2.402.2.)

nungeta limiting pron they only,
 they themselves (see section
2.402.3.)

nungi inside (see section 2.23.1.)

nungonang meat, flesh

nup name

nuwut see niwut

NG

ngam Bel crocodile

ngamal shark

ngasuri- V4 show, inform, teach;
Kalmkadi ke Gagi kasili
ngasuramse arigam Kaimkadi
showed Gagi the snake (and he
saw it); anena nuna naur mu
ngasurundunaki we shall show
them the coconut

ngat Bel left-hand

0

obumu that (far away) (see section 2.404.)

odem ?OC sun

omu that (nearby) (see section 2.404.)

Р

paenap Engl pineapple

pagi- V4 tear, break, chop

pagiwur- C7 miss (tr)

paly- Irreg (11 pa) become full; nuntago palyam their stomachs got full pakelar- Cl go zigzag pakela-pakela zigzag

pala here

pale- V2 finish; kadl mu namse pallam the man finished eating

palengpaleng smooth

pamu determiner this (see section 2.404.)

pamta pron this one

parapar Bel platform

pasak quick; pasakaia quickly

pasok fishing spear

pata here

patawur- C7 lift; diduk patawur- comb hair

pater- C3 drift

patete Engl sweet potato

patungi- V4 bend (e.g. wire)(tr)

pliangis axe

pipengar- C2 draw near, approach; ni tal pepengerko come closer! (lit. you(s), coming, approach)

pipengi adv near; pipengita adv close by

pipisi vein

pitang bow (and arrow)

pitipitik lightning

posar- C2 grope

pot wall (of house)

puler- C3 return, come back

pure sky, thunder pure nui cloud

purugi- V4 pick (e.g. coconut from tree), weed

sale Bel hiding-place

salopi spoon, ladle

-sam stm: present 1s/2s (see section 2.412.1.)

san some, a few; bamban san some fish

-san stm: present 1p/2p/3p (see section 2.412.1.)

sangamir- C6 stand up (erg)

saper- C4 throw; kalamer tag!
saper- shoot arrow (lit. pulling,
throw arrow)

sar Bel sawfish

sarak mangrove

sare V2 excrete

sarek mat

sarengar- C2 sink (itr)

sasir- C6 block up (itr); aiman
sasiruki I shall get tired
(lit. my breath will block up)

sayang fish-trap

se 1. and (see section 2.420.)
2. at, to (see sections 2.23.1.
and 2.418.)

-se dependent clause connective, different subject (see section 2.13.1.)

sekolar- C2 waste; ni na me sekolerko don't waste the food

seksegar- C2 hurry

seng weaver-bird

sewur- C7 lick

sia TP chair

sibedang knee

siding nn smell; siding karo smelly

siding tagir- smell (tr)

sigam adj direct; sigamala
 directly

sige moon

sigenang leaf

siken stockade

silasir- C6 share; destroy

sima magic, sorcery

Simbu place-name *Chimbu* (province in the New Guinea Highlands)

singi fibre

singir bird's nest, spider's web

sipingar- C2 bundle together

sirasaper- C4 run

sirisir grass

sisik flower

siwogiwok butterfly

-so stm: present 3s (see section 2.412.1.)

som 800n

sor place; sor guk fog; sor
gurum forest

Suaruni placename Karkar Island (home of most Waskia-speakers)

sugagurum crayfish

sugarugar kind of bamboo, bamboo flute

sugur- C7 praise

sule German school

sum weed

sumatin TP schoolboy, student

surar- Cl jump

suwur- C7 urinate

Τ

ta- Vl get, receive; Kaimkadi manga mu Gagi kote tam Kaimkadi received the money from Gagi ulengam ta- perspire, sweat neman ta- breathe

-ta limiter only (see section 2.407.)

tagir- C6 pull, suck, catch (fish (fish)

siding tagir- smell (tr)

tago nni (1s atago, 3s tuago, 1p anentago, 2p nintago, 3p nuntago, nuntuago) stomach; nu tuago karo she is pregnant

tair- C6 come; nu puleram taiso he is coming back (lit. he, having returned, comes)

karo-tair- bring

taleng mushroom
 taleng duap mushroom stem,
 policeman

tam tree, wood
tam gawa leaf
tam guang bark
tam kuting stick
tam yager root, trunk

tama *fire*tama guk *smoke*tama malanguru *ashes*

tamu but (see section 2.12.21.)

tamuri- V4 wait

tata uncle, father's brother, father

tatarar- C2 steal

taun TP town

tawir OC wooden bowl

te to (see section 2.418.)

tebol TP table

ti sago

ti kaiya sago pancakes

ti kidia sago pudding

ti lapak sago pith

ti iuan sago palm

tinan red ant

titeng OC ladder

tiwik rain

tom boundary

tota- V1 try; ane urat biterako ami totaem I tried to work

tuago see tago

tuar crocodile

tugal island

tugum- C9 bury, fill up (with solid); nuna kadi kuera mutim tugumun they buried the dead man

kamin tugum- remember, intend,
decide (lit. fill the mind);

Gagi kuamin tuguso Bogla namerako *Gagi intends to go to Bogia*

tuly- C12; tuw- C11 give to him/her (see section 2.22.24.)

bala tuiy- decorate

Tukenini placename Tokain village (Waskia village on mainland coast)

tukunang short

tuw- see tuiy-

II

udi- V4 dance

uda vn dance, singsing, celebration

udla younger (of brothers, sisters)

ugly- C12 (Irreg forms: past simple 1/2s ugem, future 1s

ugiki) carry, pick (from tree) pick up

-uki stm: future 3s (see section 2.412.1.)

-uko stm: imperative 3s (see section 2.412.1.)

ukuri- V4 shake (tr)

ulalar- C2 widen

ulalara wide; lage ulalara wide path

ulang yam

ulengam perspiration, sweat; ulengam ta- perspire, sweat

uii-batagi- V4 fix, mend

uiituw- Cll shake; kuting uiituw- shake hands

uliw- ClO hold, catch, take; weave (a mat), build (a house) uliwa finger

umor- C5 fight, hit

-un stm: past simple 3s (see section 2.412.1.)

-uni stm: future 3p (see section 2.412.1.)

-unko stm: imperative 3p (see section 2.412.1.)

ungiy- C12 sweep

urakurak rib

urat Bel work; urat biter- do
 work, work(v)

ure- V2 fall

urungi- V3 unfasten, take off (clothes); nu kaemguang urungam he took off his clothes; ane kulak ko kaemguang urungem I took off the child's clothes

usagi- V4 kill

usengar- C2 regret, mourn, be sorry; Kalmkadi Gagi ko kuera ko usengaso Kaimkadi is mourning over Gagi's death usengara vn sorrow, grief; usengara karo sorrowful; usengarala sorrowfully

usinang cherry

usir centipede

usir- C6 bite

ut TP Derris root (Derris uglinose)

uti- V4; utuw- Cll fill (with liquid)

utuwur- C7 blow (of wind)
utuwura vn wind

W

wa garden

wadigila once again

wagi- V4 pour (liquid), spend (money), throw (stone)

wal fish

walar- C2 look for, hunt; ane
kasiki ko walaso I am looking
for/hunting for a snake

wam like (see section 2.23.2.)

wasek sorcery

wasir- skin (an animal)

Waskia adjn Waskia

wellang fat (on a person), cream, oil

Wewlak placename Wewak

wingar- C2 be daylight

wosigam OC paddle (for canoe)

wuta- Vl sing

Υ

yagor canoe; lage yagor car, automobile (lit. road canoe)

yagor doleng outrigger float yagor gawa sail of canoe

yalek flying fox, fruit bat

yambo TP guave (psidium guajava)

yangl kind of lily (Liliaceae), gives yellow dye

yangi wam yellow

yasir- C6 embrace

yat pandanus

yat luan pandanus tree yat kuagi pandanus fruit

yawara good, beautiful

yawir- C6 choose

yaya uncle, mother's brother

ye greeting hello

yogar- C2 swim

yu Bel water; yula watery
yu nuam river (lit. water's
mother)

yu motam lagoon (lit. water's eye)

yugar north-west monsoon
lapi ko yugar north wind (lit.
wind from the high seas)

5. AN ENGLISH-WASKIA FINDER LIST

This list is intended to serve only as an index to the preceding vocabulary; it does not attempt to give detailed information on meanings or forms, for which the reader is referred to the vocabulary.

Α

a bo

accompaniment karo

adult (male) kadi; (female) imet

adze awing

afraid (to be) dolar- nagur-

afternoon bangla-bangla

again bo karo

aid-post edpos

all ilim, ilimta, ilimtala

already mukolala

ancestor spirit kaem

and -ale, -se, se

and so -ale muse, -se muse

anger guria

angry (to be) gure-

another bo

ant (black) kambor; (red) tinan

appear, to arati-

approach, to pipengar-

areca nut muri

areca palm badim

arm kamung

arrive, to erati-

arrow kalamer

as if ito ... wam

ashamed (to be) iker-

ask, to isagi-

at i se

attend, to biter-

aunt (= father's sister) awang, kowan; (mother's sister) niam

automobile kar, lage yagor

awake, to berasi-

axe pilangis

B

baby kulak

back biring

bad memek, mimenge

bake, to kaly-

ball bai

bamboo (general) dawur; (kind

of) sugarugar

banana gaiuk

bandicoot madar

bark (of tree) quanq

basket karar

bat malapuput; (flying fox,

fruit-bat) yalek

beach lang

beautiful yawara

become, to ar-

bee muning

beetle angung

beg, to angatar-

begin, to berasi-

behind biring

believe, to iki-

bend, to (tr) patungi-; (down-

itr) magiy-

betelnut muri

betel pepper bega

big biga

bile kiti

bird alt

bite, to usir-

black kumbur

block up, to sasir-

blood kidi

blow, to utuwur-

body kimik

bone kuting

born, to be arati-

boundary tom

bow (and arrow) pitang

bowl (wooden) tawir

box bogis

brain moke

branch kawunang

breadfruit (without thorns) daro; (thorny) lauga

break, to kile-, kuluki-, pagi-

breast amin

breath neman

breathe, to neman ta-

brother korat, bawa

brown lizard bawedugu

bruise baragot

build, to uliw-

bundle together, to sipingar-

burn, to (of fire) kanir-; (tr)

kaiy-

bury, to tugum-

bush kurum

but mu, mu meia, tamu

butterfly siwogiwok

buttocks nikum

buy diar-

C

calm maiin

Calophyllum tree mok

Canarium tree kangar

canoe yagor

car kar lage yagor

carry, to ugiy-

carve, to kisir-

cassowary kausar

catch, to uliw-; (fish) tagir-

cause, to amapir-

centipede usir

certain, to bo

certainly kobo

chair sia

chase, to kado-, kadogi-

cheerful lungang karo

cherry usinang

child kulak

children kuriang

chin kol

choose, to yawir-

chop, to kaur-, pagi-

citrus fruit moli

climb up, to ire-

cloud nui, pure nui

cockatoo (white) katege

coconut naur; (ripe) naur
 merang; (green drinking) naur
 na ningo; (palm) naur luan;
 (flesh, copra) naur nungonang;
 (milk) naur kldi; (cream) naur
 welang

cold mipi, birigara; (to be
____) birigar-

comb, to (hair) diduk patawur-

come, to tair-; (____back)
puler-; (___out) arati-

conch shell kua

conditional marker -mu

connective, dependent clause
 (different subject) -se; (same
 subject) -ale

cook, to kide-, kamir-, kani-

cooking pot kani

cool, to mipar-

coral (limestone) liat

coral tree marekareng

cordyline musisik

cough, to lukunar-

count, to kaur-

covering guang

crayfish sugagurum

crazy gldagad

creep, to karengar-

creeper (kind of) gallsik

crocodile tuar, ngam

cross, to (e.g. river) kiar-

crow kal

cry, to ma-

cut, to (notch) kaur-; (open)
barungi-; (meat) isir-; (tree)
bati-, batagi-

D

dance, to udi-

dark kumbur; (to get ____) bange-

day (not night) (to be ____) wingar-; (good ____) idala

death kuera

deceive, to kuluri-

decide, to kamin tugum-

decorate, to bala tuly-

dependent verb-forms see section 2.412.2.

Derris root ut

descend, to kaper-

desiderative stm -ako

destroy, to silasir-

develop, to bigar- lager-

dew liwung

die, to kuer-

dig, to asuri- air-

direct sigam

dirt karut

dive, to alar-

do, to (e.g. work) biter-

dog kausik

dolphin laus

dream, to mipingarfaeces iwi drift, to paterfall, to kaper-, ure-, daguildaguldrink, to na-, lukumfar away awar drown, to mutuwurfamily kulakimet drum (hand-drum) bawe; (slitgong) baner fat (on person) welang dry garagara, marengam; (to father net, tata) marengifear, to nagur-, dolardust kuwukup feathers ait mone; (tail ____) kalung E feed, to (tr) lagiwurfeel, to neman ikiear de fence kar eel kuweram few, a san egg ningo fibre singi either...or ito...ito fight, to umor-, igirelbow bakom fill, to (with liquid) uti-, elder laun utuw-; (with solid) tugumembrace, to yasirfinger uliwa; (little kukunang; (____ nail) masiring enemy kager finish, to paleerase, to katew-, lailwurfire tama erect, to (e.g. a post) bangurfirm dawam European person kaem firstly gira evening bangla-nungi fish wal; (to ___) bani-; evil spirit mariap (____ trap) sayang exceed, to klar-, merfive itelala-itelala-itoketa excrement iwi fix, to ulibatagiexcrete, to sareflee, to nagurexist, to bagerflower sisik eye motam fly kuwuling fly, to bunge-F flute (bamboo) sugarugar face (of person, animal, object) flying fox yalek

areen iruru fog sor guk grope, to posarfollow, to kado-, kadogifood na grow, to bigar-, lager-, basifor ko ground all guava yambo force, to dunurifront kema Н forest sor gurum forget lingisuwurhair mone four itelala-Itelala hallo ye fowl (jungle ___) maiong hand kamung frequently butak hang up, to kutuwurfrightened, to be dolar-, nagurhate, to kingisifrog kotaket he nu, nuke; (____only,_ himself) kueta from ko head diduk fruit kuagi headman, village maror full lairam; (get ____) palyhear, to Ikifuture stm see section 2.412.1. heart gemang heat kar; (to ____) karar-, G gall kitl her nuko, ko; (____ self) numi garden Ingam, wa here pala, pata hide, to kalepargather, to awurhiding-place sale get, to tahim nuko, ko; (himself) numi gills didogaren give (to me) asi-; (to you(8)) his nuko, ko kisi-; (to him/her) tulytuw-; (to us/you(p)/them) idihit, to (to alter shape or break open) Ite-; (a person or animal) go, to namerumor-God God hold, to uliwhole mutim good yawara grandparent ningatak hook (for hanging things on) kimbam grass sisisir; (alang-alang) mar; (____skirt) kaem hot kagar guang

house kawam; (men's) digo knife sibedana how? awuk; (many?) awukala; knot mait (often?) kam awukala know, to kawimar-; (knowing) hunt, to walarkawim hurry, to seksegarhusband kadi L ladder titeng ladle saiopi I ane, anege; (____only, _ laugh, to kaiog-; (___ at) myself) ageta qusurif ito lazy gagor imperative stm see section 2.412.1. leaf sigenang; tam gawa imperative morpheme mese see lean, to erarsection 2.412.1. leave, to merin i, se, te leeward side bararem inform, to adewar-, ngasurileft-hand ngat inside nungi leg deleng intend, to kamin tugumliama (kind of) gallsik intestines naulit lick, to sewurirrealis stm see section 2.412.1. lie, to (= tell lies) kaweiarisland tugai lift, to patawuritch kakatira; (to ____) kakatirlight, to (a fire) kausir-, igirlightning pitipitik J like (conj) wam lily (kind of) yangi jαw didogaren lime (betel ___) kaur jump surarjust now Itaktata lip bidang listen, to iki-K little gotek live, to bager-Karkar Island Suaruni liver naur-duquiak kill, to usagilizard (brown) bawedugu; (green) knee sibedang iruru

long maya; (____ ago) girakola mushroom taleng look at, to ari-kadomy anega, aga; (myself) ami look back, to girelouse nana; (____egg) liket name nup M nape kukonda narrow kitik magic(nn) sima man kadi navel kusugum mango audi near, pipengi, pipengita; (to come _____ pipengarmangrove sarak neck dugotak many ine; (too) inela; (not ___) ine mela nest singir market maket netbag ding mat sarek net (fishing ____) arak; (hunting) dop me anega, aga new iti meat nungonang night bangla; munganing melt, to kaiynit liket mend, to uii-batagi-; (clothes) nose kamuru bidirmilk amin yu not me miss, to pagiwurnow itakta; (just ____) itaktata monsoon (north-west) yugar; (south-east) dula moon sige obey, to Iki-Morinda citrifolia non octopus kurita morning munganingala old (of objects) gira; (of people) mosquito kasim kuareng mother niam; (my ____) ina on kuali mountain baren one itoketa mourn, to usengaronce again wadigila mouth kedang only -ta move, to (tr) gurugiopen, to (tr) kagagi-; (erg) kagemuch ine; (too ____) inela

opposite dilisan I ornaments (on a G-string) dobub other side dilisan our anenga; (selves) ami outrigger (_____ boom) ban; (_____float) klat yagor doleng outside ameting i oven kani; (earth ___) aii kani paddle (for canoe) wosigam pain (nn) namangkira; (to be in) namangkirpaint, to baia tulypalm-tree (all kinds) luan pandanus yat parents niamnet past tense stm see section 2.412.1. path lage pearlshell gliang person kadimet perspiration ulengam perspire, to ulengam tapersuade, to dunuripick, to (coconut etc.) purugi-, ugiypig buruk pigeon binton pile, to awurpineapple paenap

place sor

plant (nn) kurum; (to) aguwplatform parapar, badim play, to kolarplural object marker -ndipossess, to kotamarpost (= stake) amu potato, sweet patete pour, to wagipraise, to sugurprawn (freshwater) kulisi present stm see section 2.412.1. prey bamban prick, to atumprobably labo pull, to tagirpus Illiki push, to didiwurput, to biter-

Q

quarre1, to gurequestion marker |
question tag ay!
quick gurmeta, gidima, pasak

R

rabbit dagor

rain tlwlk

rat kusu

reason, for this muse

receive, to ta-

red kidi wam reed ara refuse, to merremember, to kamin tugumremove, to kupiyreport, to adewarreturn, to pulerrib urakurak right-hand laun ripe mio ripen, to moparrise, to berasiroad lage rocker bunang rot, to iwirrotten iwiram round nama-puleram rubbish kulingkuling run, to sirasaper-

S

sago ti; (

_ palm) ti iuan;

(____ pancakes) ti kaiya; (___ pith) +1 pith) ti lapak; (_ pudding) ti kidia sail yagor gawa salt baram sand lang sawfish sar say, to managi-, maniscale (of fish) kuriring school sule scrape, to kutirscraper darur scratch, to kutirsea gagi; (high ___s) lapl; (____gull) maiu see, to arigiseed kuagi sew, to kulirshake, to (tr) ukuri-; (_ hands) kuting ulituwshark ngamal share, to silasirsharpen, to kisirshe nu, nuke; (____only, herself) kueta shine, to (of sun) kanirshiver, to birigarshoot, to atumshort tukunang shoulder bibinang shout, to iselarshut, to bagursibling korat sick, to be kuersickness kuera sing, to wutasingsing uda sink, to sarengarsit down, to dagiysix iteitoke-iteitoke skilful ningo skin kimik; (to ____) wasirskull moke kuting sky pure

sleep anirslow mimingta small gotek smell (nn) siding; (to (tr)) siding tagirsmoke tama guk smooth palengpaleng snake kaslil sneeze, to asirsnot mininggam soft mengasin some san; somehow yam butak soon som sorcery wasek sore liot sorrow usengara; (to usengarsoup kumin speak balispear (fishing) pasok; (hunting) dom; (to ____) atumspeech den spend, to (money) wagispider kalalok spirit (ancestor) kaem; (evil) mariap spit, to katingarspittle kating split, to (wood along grain) bililingar-, bililingurspoon salopi spoil, to (tr) magiwursquat, to darangirsquid bulu

stand, to sangamirstar baras stare, to (at) ari-kadostay, to bagersteal, to tatararstem duap, luan stick tam kuting stockade siken stomach tago stone manga stop, to guragistory den dendigu straight dingla strong dawam student sumatin subject marker ke suck, to tagirsugarcane kemak sun odem swamp katitup swear, to ingindisweep, to ungiswell, to (of skin) swim, to yogar-

T

table tebol

Taetsia fructicosa (cordyline, victory leaf) musisik

Tahitian chestnut kangar

take, to ugly-; (to ____ off) urungi
talk, to bali-, den bali-, den umor-

tapioca maluwulang taste, to (tr) neman ikiteach, to ngasurteacher gerekma tear, to (tr) pagi-, bati-, batagi-; (erg) batetell, to managi-, mani-Terminalia catappa magaret that (determiner) ('given') munta; (nearby) omu; (far away) obumu the mu them nunga; (_____selves) numi; (_____two) nullila-nunga there bota they nuna, nunge; (____ only, themselves) nungeta; two) nuilila thick gurum thigh mot thing mel; (some ____) mel bo this (determiner) ('given') manang; (nearby) pamu; (_ one) pamta thorn kikina throat nadawur throw, to saper-; wagithus butak tide (high) bat; (low) malin tie, to kalo-, kalogi-, kanuwtime (= occasion) kam; (some _____8) kam karo karo tired, to be neman sasirto 1, se, te tobacco plant gauk today misese, Itak

together with karo Tokain village Tukenini tomorrow mukolase tongue kamilik tooth kore; (molar ___) kore duap torch nikim tortoise kunekunek touch, to dunguritown taun tree tam tremble, to barabaramartrick, to kuluri-Triton shell kua trunk (of tree) duap, yager try, to tota tuna deb turn round, to (erg) gireturtle didu two itelala

U

uncle ne; (= father's brother)
 tata; (= mother's brother) yaya

underside bowa; (on the ____ =
 under) bowa nung!

unripe iru

upwards kuail ko

urinate, to suwur
us anenga; (inclusive) aneninga;
 (____ two, incl) niailia-anenga;
 (____ two, excl) nuaiila-anenga

V

vegetables maresang
vein pipisi
verbal noun suffix -a
very kala
village inong
vomit kapir-

W

wait, to tamuriwalk, to alarwall (of house) pot
wallaby kadugam
wander, to dingewant, to mawash, to (tr) yu duwurWaskia Waskia
waste, to sekolarwater yu

we anena, anenge; (___ourselves, ___only) anengeta; (inclusive) niane; (exclusive) ane ilimia; (___two, incl) niailia; (___two, excl) nuailia

weak maingara
weave, to uliwweaver-bird seng
web (spider's) singir
weed (nn) sum; (to ____) purugiwet, to get bular-

Wewak Wewlak
what? anape
when? adamula

where? apela, apago which? awugamu who? aweri wide ulalara widen, to ulalarwidow guera widower kos wife imet, niwut wild kasik wind utuwura wing numai with karo words den work urat worm madalok wrap, to sigenang kalogiwrite, to kiwolar-

Y

yam (long) ulang; (short) kidang
yawn mauryear barat
yellow yangi wam
yes ao
yesterday ikelako; (day before
_____) ko ikelako
you (s) ni, nike, nika; (p) nina,
ninge, ninga; (_____you) nilila,
ni ili; (____yourself,
only) keta; (___yourselves,
____(p) only) ningeta
young

younger

your (s) nika, ka; (p) ninga;

(_____two) nilila-ninga; (_____
self, _____selves) nimi

Z

```
zigzag (in a ____ manner)
pakela-pakela; (to go ____)
pakelar-
```

6. TEXT

LAUN UDIA elder younger

The elder and the younger

```
/ COM
    P. TOP COM
                                               / COM
se
    nina den ik-ako-mu / pala tair-an-aie
                                               / dendigu
conj Subj Obj VP
                         / AdvP VP
                                               / Ob.1
now you.p word hear-des-cond here come-imp.2p-cs legend
Now, if you want to hear a story, come here and listen to
              // S.TOP
                              COM
                                                     11
             // dendigu manang kulak bo ke aga manag-am //
bo ik-an
  VP
             // Ob.j
                              Subj
                                          IObj VP
a hear-imp.2p legend this.g boy a sm me
                                              tell-ps.3s
a legend. A certain boy told me this legend.
            COM
                                         11
S. TOP
kulak manang anega iii sule
                                bite-san //
Subj
            AdvP
                        Obj
                                VP
                                         11
     this.g me him.with school attend-pres.lp
boy
This boy attends school with me.
                    / COM
S.TOP
            COM
                                     // S.TOP
                                                         COM /
kulak munta Simbu ko
                     / nuko nup Mambu // dendigu manang butak /
                       / Subj
                                  Comp // Subj
Subj
            Comp
boy that.g Chimbu from his name Mambu legend this.g thus
That boy is from Chimbu, and his name is Mambu. This legend is thus:
P. TOP
        COM
girakola inong motam bo se kulak itelala bager-un //
AdvP
       AdvP
                           Subj
                                        VP
long.ago village small a in boy two
                                        live-ps.3p
long ago in a certain small village lived two boys.
```

```
S. TOP
                    COM
kulak itelala munta nunga nup Dolara Gambu iii //
Sub 1
                               Comp
                                               //
           that.g their name Dolara Gambu him.with
These two boys' names were Dolara and Gambu.
                                S.TOP COM
S. TOP COM
Dolara laun mu ko nup / se
                                Gambu udla ko nup //
                         / conj Comp Subj
Comp
      Sub.i
Dolara elder the his name / and Gambu younger his name
The elder one's name was Dolara, the younger's Gambu.
P. TOP
          COM
kam bo se nunga nuamnet kadimet iiim urat ko namer-un ingam i //
                                     AdvP
                                             VP
                                                     AdvP
                                                               11
Advp
          Sub.i
day a on their parents people all work to go-ps.3p garden to
One day their parents and all the people went to work in the garden,
                         COM
                                              / COM
                                                                  11
    kulak itelala munta nungeta bager-un-ale / inang ko kuer-un //
se
                                  VP
conj Subj
                                              / AdvP
                                                          VP
         two that.g they.lim stay-ps.3p.-cs food for be.sick-ps.3p
and the two boys, staying behind alone, were hungry.
    S. TOP
                     COM
                              // COM
                                            / COM
                     manag-am //'tai-se / nama
    laun ke udia
                                                     / augl san
                               // VP
                                            / VP
conj Subj
             0b.1
                                                     / Ob.1
and elder sm younger speak-ps.3s come.dep-cd go.dep
So the elder said to the younger: 'Come on, let's go and get some
           // S.TOP
                         COM
                                  // S.TOP COM
                                                       // COM / COM
                                  // 'augi awugamu ?' //'omu / nama /
ugl-nako' // udia
                      ke isag-am
                         VP
                                                       // Obj / Obj
VP
           // Sub.j
                                  // Obj
                                      mango which
                                                          that
                                                                 go.dep
take-imp.lp
             younger sm ask-ps.3s
                                      'Which mangoes?' 'The ones
mangoes. The younger asked:
                                                    // S.TOP
                             COM
kamkam ko ugl-san mu / awar mela pipengita mu'// se
AdvP'
          VP'
                           / Comp'
                                                    // con.i Sub.i
                                                       and elder
day.day on take.pres.lp the far not close.by
which we go and get every day: the ones which are close by, not far away!
                      / COM
                                 // S.TOP / COM
       COM
                    / namer-un // nama / augl duap se / augl
    beras-un-ale
udla
                      / VP
                                 // VP
                                       / AdvP
younger start-ps.3p-cs go-ps.3p
                                   go.dep mango stem on
                                                            mango
So the elder and the younger started and went. Walking, they saw many
```

```
11
duap se namer-un / mu augl nupse arl-nd-un //
       VP'
             0b.1
                                VP
stem to go-ps.3s the mango many see-op-ps.3p
mangoes on the mango tree, to which they had gone.
    S.TOP
             COM
                              // P.TOP
                                          / COM
                    manag-am // 'ira
    laun ke udia
                                           / augl ukuru-se
             0b.1
                    VP
                               // VP
                                           / Ob.j
                                                   VP
conj Subj
and elder sm younger speak-ps.3s climb.dep mango shake.dep-cd
So the elder told the younger: 'Climb up and shake the mangoes and
                       11
ugl-nako' // m-am
                       11
VP
        // VP
                       11
take-imp.2p cry-ps.3s
let us take them, ' he cried.
S.TOP COM
                                                    11
laun augl / kuall motam biter-am / mu alt arlg-am //
                  Obj' VP'
                                      Ob.1 VP
Sub.j AdvP
                      put-ps.3s the bird see-ps.3s
elder mango on eye
The elder saw a bird on the mango on which he had his eye.
                                    // S.TOP
S.TOP COM
                                              COM
                                                         11
ait
            yawara kala mu arig-am // udla
                                              manag-am
                                                         11
      koma
                                    // Ob.1
Ob.1
bird 3.face good very the see-ps.3s younger speak-ps.3s
He saw the bird's very beautiful face. He said to the younger:
    P.TOP COM
                                  // COM
'ai ni
          ait omu arlgi-sam i ? // gidimela gidimela ira-ie
                                  // AdvP
                                                     VP
1.1
    Subj Obj
                   VP
hey you
          bird that see-pres.2s q quickly quickly climb.1mp.2s-cs
'Hey, do you see that bird?
                                     Quickly, quickly, climb up and
S.TOP
          COM
                      // S.TOP
                                     / COM
                      // uii-se / name-nako inong i' //
ait
          uii-ko
     omu
                      // VP
                                     / VP
                                                AdvP
0b.1
bird that catch-imp.2s catch.dep-cd
                                       go-imp.lp village to
catch that bird. Catch it and let's go home.'
                              S.TOP
                                                 // S.TOP
S.TOP
udla
       mer-am // mu meia laun ke dunur-am // dunur-ala
                // conj
                                      VP
                                                 // VP
                              Subj
younger refuse-ps.3s but.cd elder sm force-ps.3s force-deph
The younger refused, but the elder forced him. He continued
```

```
COM
             / S.TOP
                       COM
                                     / COM
                                                              //
bager-am-se / udla
                       biras-am-ale
                                     / augl laun kadog-am
                                                              11
             / Subj
                       VP
                                     / Ob.
stay-ps.3s-cd younger start-ps.3s-cs mango stem follow-ps.3s
to force him, and the younger started to approach the mango tree.
COM
                      11
                                S. TOP COM
ir-Ik
                      // mu mela ait
                                      pit-ik
                                                  m-am-ale
VP
                      // conj
                                Subj VP
climb-irr.s want-ps.3s
                       but.cd bird hurry-irr.s want-ps.3s-cs
He was going to climb it, but the bird wasn't going to wait,
COM
           11
                     COM
                                                  // S.TOP
                                                                COM
beras-am
           // tamu
                     gurmetala all ti kaper-am // udla
                                                             ke laun
           // conj
                     AdvP
                              AdvP
                                        VP
                                                  // Subj
start-ps.3s but.cs quickly ground on fall-ps.3s younger sm elder
            But it quickly landed on the ground. The younger said
and rose.
           // COM
                                     / COM
                                              / COM
         // 'gldimela sirasapar-ale / nama
                                              / uli-ko
           // AdvP
                        VP
                                     / VP
                                              / VP
speak-ps.3s quickly
                       run.imp.2s-cs go.dep catch-imp.2s
to the elder: 'Run quickly, go and catch it.
COM
          // S.TOP COM
                                   / COM / COM
                                                                   11
          // laun sirasaper-am-ale / nama
                                            / uliw-lk
                                            / VP
VP
          // Subj VP
                                   / VP
go-pres.3s
            older run-ps.3s-cs
                                     go.dep
                                             catch-irr.s want-ps.3s
It's going.' The elder ran, and, going, wanted to catch it.
       COM
                      / COM
                                          / COM
                                                                    11
mu mela kulur-am-ale / pakela-pakela nama / dillsan i arat-am
                                                                    11
con.i
                      / AdvP
                                     VP
                                          / AdvP
but.cd trick-ps.3s-cs
                      zigzag
                                    go.dep other.side at arrive-ps.3s
But it tricked, and running zigzag, got away.
S.TOP
       COM
                 / S.TOP COM
                                              // COM
                 / laun wadigi kadog-am
udia
       kaper-am
                                             // Isela
                                                          isela
Sub.j
                 / Subj Obj
                                 VP
                                             // VP
                                                          VP
younger fall-ps.3s elder younger follow-ps.3s shout.dep shout.dep
The younger came down, and the elder followed. He kept shouting as
COM
                       // COM
        // COM
                                   11
                                              S.TOP / S.TOP
                    // ma-kiso // mu mela nama
namer-am // 'ull-ko'
                                                    / alt manang
      // VP
                       // VP
                                   // conj
                                             VP
                                                    / Subj
go-ps.3s catch-imp.2s
                          cry-ph.3s
                                      but.cd go.dep bird this.g
he went. 'Catch it!' he kept crying but, going, the bird fled.
```

```
COM
           // S.TOP / COM
                                            // S.TOP
                     / manga nungi namer-am // manga nungi namer-am-se/
nagur-am
           // nama
                    / AdvP
           // VP
                                   VP
                                            // AdvP
                                                            VP
flee-ps.3s
                      stone inside go-ps.3s
             go.dep
                                               stone inside go-ps.3s-cd
              Going, it went into a cave.
                                               As it went into the cave,
COM
                                   / COM
                                             // S.TOP / COM
laun udia wadigi
                   kadog-un-ale
                                   / namer-un // nama
                   VP
                                   / VP
Subj Obj
                                                        / VP
                                             // VP
elder younger
                  follow-ps.3p-cs
                                    go-ps.3p
                                                go.dep
                                                         catch-irr.p
the elder and the younger followed and went in. Going in, they wanted
                      COM
                                       / COM
                                                                     11
ma-un
           // mu mela kulu-nd-am-ale
                                        / som nungi
                                                      ning namer-am //
           // conj
                      VP
                                       / AdvP
                                                            VP
want-ps.3p
            but.cd trick-op-ps.3s-cs
                                         far inside right go-ps.3s //
to catch it, but it tricked them, and went further, right inside.
S. TOP / COM
                                                           // S.TOP
nama
       / sor
               kumbur muse namer-am-se / nuna karo namer-un // sor
       / AdvP
                           VP
                                      / Subj AdvP VP
go.dep place dark there go-ps.3s-cd they with go-ps.3p
                                                             place in
Going on, it went into a dark place, and they went in with it. Once in
COM
                           / COM
                                       11
                                                   COM
wadiglia
                           / arat-ako
                                       // mu meia awuk arat-uni
                                                                     17//
           pule-nak-ale
AdvP
                           / VP
                                                   AdvP VP
                                                                       //
                                       // conj
once.again return-irr.p-cs
                            arrive-des
                                         but.cd how arrive-fut.3p q//
this place they wanted to return and get out, but how could they get out?
S.TOP COM
                                      11
                 / COM
                                              COM
                                                         11
manga tair-am
                 / numi
                                     // se
                           bagur-am
                                              bugotek
                                                         11
                 / Obj
Subj VP
                           VP
                                      // conj AdvP
                   it.refl shut-ps.3s
stone come-ps.3s
                                         and that's.all
                                      And that's all.
The cave came and shut itself.
S. TOP
             COM
                                                        / COM
                                                                       //
      munta kaem
ait
                         kasik ke nunga kulu-nd-am-aie
                                                        / nunga n-am
                                                                       //
Subj
                                  Obj
                                        VP
                                                        / Ob.1
                                                                       //
                                                                VP
bird that.g evil.spirit wild sm them trick-op-ps.3s-cs them
                                                                eat-ps.3s
That bird, a wild evil spirit, tricked them, and ate them.
S. TOP
                      COM
                                   / COM
                                                           //
nunga nuamnet kadimet puler-un
                                  / inong
                                             i tair-un
                                                           11
Subj
                                   / AdvP
                                                           //
their parents people return-ps.3p village to come-ps.3p
Their parents and the people returned and came to the village.
```

S.TOP // COM kulak tetek itelala munta me bager-un // bugotek neg VP conj Subj // Comp but boy small.p two that.g not stay-ps.3p that's.all That's all But those two small boys were not there. 11 dendigu manang // 11 Subj legend this.g there is to the legend.

NOTES

- 1. The terms used here are borrowed from Chafe (1971) rather than from Fillmore (1968), because (i) Chafe's terms are a little more self-explanatory than Fillmore's; (ii) Chafe makes a distinction between Experiencer and Beneficiary which is relevant to Waskia. It is recognised that the foundations of 'case grammar' are weak, as the disagreements among its proponents show, but it provides an explanation of certain features of Waskia which would otherwise require far more complex explanatory devices.
- 2. The pronouns nu and ni are cognate with corresponding pronouns in many other Madang-Adelbert Range sub-phylum languages (Z'graggen, 1975b: 592-4) and belong to Wurm's (1975) Set 111 pronouns. Z'graggen classifies ane (which he gives as ani) as Set 1, but it seems likely that a is cognate with the common Adelbert Range forms ye and ya, which are also Set 111. The attachment of a suffix with a nasal consonant to personal pronouns is also common in these languages: among those closest to Waskia, Dimir has $-\eta$, Bunabun -ne, and Korak -m. The Waskia suffix -ne may well be cognate with these.
- 3. The division of verb-roots into basic and derived is very tentative, since it is very possible that apparently 'basic' roots are in fact derived from an undetected source. Historical evidence (McElhanon and Voorhoeve, 1970) currently allows us to label only na- 'eat, drink' as definitely basic. There is some evidence that all verb-roots in -r were originally derived.
- 4. Stem-final -ow- (V5 Stem 11), -uw- (C11 Stems 1 and 11), and -iy- (C12 Stems 1 and 11) are interpreted as having a final semi-vowel (w, y) rather than a final vowel (o, u, i) because the latter interpretation

gives vowel combinations across root-suffix boundaries which are disallowed by vowel coalescence rules operating elsewhere in Waskia (described in Section 3.1.). Thus kalo-iki (Stem 1 - fut.ls) becomes kaliki; therefore Stem 11 - fut.ls is better interpreted as kalowi, not kaloi (since kalo-i gives expected *kali). Similarly, since -i + u-becomes -u- elsewhere, dagly-un is a more satisfactory interpretation of Stem 1 - ps.3p than daglun. Again, since like vowels coalesce elsewhere, kanuw-un is a better interpretation of Stem 1 - ps.3p than kanuun. This last interpretation is supported by the parallel and unambiguous uliw-un.

- 5. The marker ka may well be an archaic postposition which underwent vowel change when suffixed to a third person 'object' and became ko, since the postposition ko survives, and -ko is also the form assumed by -ka when suffixed to the third person singular pronoun nu. It is also possible that ka is present in karo 'with', which has no third person singular form: ||| is substituted for expected *koro.
- 6. It is quite possible that the prefixed plural forms were the -ka forms anenga, ninga, nunga (i.e. parallel to niko and nuko) rather than the Set 1 forms (parallel to a). There is, however, no way of being certain about this, and the -ka forms would require only minor emendations to the rules given in this section.

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