

4 *A grammar sketch of Sougb*

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1 Introduction

In the eastern part of the Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, there are three major languages spoken. Hatam, with approximately 16,000 speakers, covers the area in the Arfak mountains, north of the Anggi lakes to Manokwari. Sougb, with approximately 12,000 speakers, is spoken in the area between the Anggi lakes and the Bintuni Bay. To the east of these two languages, one finds Meyah, spoken by approximately 12,000 speakers, and the smaller language group Moskona (about 6,000 speakers), which is closely related to Meyah. Moskona is spoken around Merdey. Meyah stretches from Merdey around Hatam to the area north of Manokwari (see Map 3).

Earlier data on these languages is found in Cowan (1953), who gives some lexical items, pronominal sets and a few small sentences of Mansibaber and Manton-Manikion. These names are exonyms for Meyah and Sougb, respectively. Cowan recognises Manikion and Manton as dialects of the same language, Manton being the variant spoken around Bintuni, while Manikion is the more northern dialect. Voorhoeve (1975) first classified Manton (Manikion) and Meyah (Meax in his spelling) as families of an East Bird's Head phylum-level stock. Later (Voorhoeve 1987, 1989), he recognised Moskona as a dialect of Meyah, which formed the East Bird's Head Family together with Manikion, on the basis of 28% shared cognates. While Cowan (1953) did not have data on Hatam, Voorhoeve (1975) classified it with Borai as a stock-level family, and in his later publications, since he could not locate Borai, Hatam figures as a phylum-level isolate.

This confusing picture could be clarified considerably as a result of recent research.¹ Comparative data are published in Reesink (1996, 1998). Hatam is described in Reesink (1999). Data on Meyah can be found in Gravelle (1998) and this volume. This sketch will present data on the third major language, formerly known as Manikion (Mantion was considered to be a dialectal variant). The language is now known by the endonym Sougb.

The description presented here is based mainly on data collected during a stay of three and a half weeks (March 1998) in Sururei, a newly (since January 1998) established *Kecamatan* (sub-district) on the western shore of the western Anggi lake.² The western lake is called *Anggi giji* 'the male Anggi' and the eastern one is *Anggi gihida* 'the female Anggi'. Previously, I had collected a wordlist and two brief texts from a Sougb speaker from the village Catoubou, who was resident in the Hatam village Minyambou. My main consultants in Sururei were Urias Ahoren and Petu Saiba. Both had been involved, with the missionary Dan Lunow (of The Evangelical Alliance Mission), in the translation of the New Testament into Sougb. The New Testament had been published in 1996 by the *Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia* (Indonesian Bible Society) with the title *Allah men Gos Dou Menau*.³ During a visit of ten days in November 1999, when I collected three more texts, various issues could be checked and clarified with the appreciated help of Petu Saiba, Yakonias Ahoren and Dan Lunow.

My fieldwork consisted in collecting wordlists and isolated sentences from various people. In addition I recorded a few texts: Jonathan Ahoren told me about the *kain timur*, the ceremonial cloths, widely traded throughout the Bird's Head, and how the Sougb people obtained *sougoub* (in Indonesian referred to by *budak* 'slave' or *hambah* 'servant'), while the headmaster of the primary school, Mesak Ahoren, told me an origin story. Both these texts were transcribed with the help of Urias Ahoren and Petu Saiba. The text of the New Testament being available, I tried to read and analyse what I found there and checked a number of constructions with Petu Saiba, which greatly helped my understanding of Sougb. Some further help I received from a Sougb-English wordlist of about 1,000 entries, compiled by Dan Lunow, which Gilles Gravelle had supplied me. This list suggests three contrastive tones: high, mid and low. It also suggests an opposition voiced-voiceless for the stops. A number of entries are clearly polymorphemic. The number of entries with initial consonants is considerably lower than vowel-initial items. These issues will be dealt with in the phonology and morphology sections.

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² I would like to express my gratitude to the authorities in Jayapura, Manokwari, and the *Kecamatan* Sururei. There I enjoyed the hospitality of Pak Jandi and Pak Samallo, both teachers at the primary school. They not only shared their house with me during the three and half weeks of my stay in Sururei, but also cooked wonderful meals every day, which we enjoyed in the cosy kitchen.

³ The meaning of this phrase is:

<i>Allah</i>	<i>m-en</i>	<i>g-os</i>	<i>dou</i>	<i>menau</i>
God	3SG-POS	NOM	hold	for new
God's new promise				

The verb *os* 'hold' together with the preposition *dou* 'to, for' denotes the verb 'to promise'.

The language is spoken in three dialects (see Map 3) between the Anggi Lakes and the Bintuni Gulf: (i) *Sougb misen* ‘the true Sougb’ is spoken in the sub-districts (*Kecamatan*) Anggi, Sururei, Merdey, Ransiki and Oransbari, and includes the *leng hota*, a dialect group mentioned by Haenen (1998:239), translated as ‘those of the cold area’; (ii) *Bohon*, a name also mentioned by Voorhoeve (1989:92) and Haenen (1998:239) is slightly different from *Sougb misen*, and is spoken along the coast, around Ransiki; (iii) *Leng lou* ‘those of the warm area’ refers to the southern dialect. This dialect is also mentioned by Voorhoeve and Haenen. The dialect *Leng cicir*, as mentioned by Haenen (1998:239), is a southern expression for what I recorded as *Sre*. It is a minor dialect group, in the far western corner of the *Lou* area, around Tembuni. It is quite distinct from the other dialects. Finally, the term *Sougwir*, as given by Voorhoeve (1989:92) presumably refers to all the Sougb, since it is made up of the noun *sougb* and the plural suffix *-ir*. Even though these three main dialects are recognised, they cause no problem for mutual intelligibility. Perhaps, this would not hold for the small group of the *Cicir* or *Sre*.

Catubou is a major village where the three languages, Hatam, Meyah and Sougb, meet. I found little or no differences between the data collected in 1995 from a speaker from Catubou and the material collected in Sururei.

Needless to say, a fieldwork period of just a few weeks in one village is not enough to be able to give a valid description of the various dialects. Nor does it provide enough exposure to a language to learn all the details of its phonology, morphological complexities or syntactic possibilities. The description I offer is meant as a preliminary account of but one of the dialects, with still a number of problems to be solved. I follow the practical orthography as used in the Sougb New Testament.

One of the first things one learns in a fieldwork location is how people meet and greet each other. While in the Hatam area I could do with endlessly repeating the same item *acemo* (with the word *cem* ‘also’ clearly present) to whoever I met, in the Sougb area I immediately had to start counting the number of people I met. The greeting consists of inflected forms of the inalienably possessed noun ‘eye’. One is forced to choose between the three number categories the language distinguishes:

<i>ab-aires</i>	2SG-eye
<i>mej-aires</i>	2PL-eye
<i>maj-aires</i>	2DU-eye

The greetings have an additional (utterance-final) vowel *-o*, and the resulting penultimate syllable is shortened; /ai/ > /i/, or elided altogether: *abaireso* has the variants: *abireso*, *abires*, *abres(o)* with analogous changes for the dual and plural forms.

One day, a group of visitors from the neighbouring village Trikdaga, came by and supplied me with alternative pronunciations of *dougwo* ‘block.off’ as [tougwo] and [Drikdaga] for the name of their village, providing evidence that the voicing opposition does not exist. One of them was a Meyah speaker who gave me the Meyah equivalent for *abaireso*: *bitejo* ‘your eye’.

Leave-taking was done with the following phrases:

<i>Emen</i>	<i>em-eda-nga</i>	<i>kaba</i>	<i>ab-ires-o</i> .
we.EXC	1EXC-go-that	then	2SG-eye-IND
We’re going now, so goodbye.			

Yen y-eda-nga, mej-ires-o.
 you.PL 2PL-go-that 2PL-eye-IND
 You go, goodbye.

The forms of greeting are not the only similarities between Sougb and Meyah. Their lexicons show at least 30% cognates, showing a rather close genetic relationship. A comparison of the languages of the eastern Bird's Head is provided in Chapter 1 of this volume. Here, it will suffice to state that comments in an origin story (given by Mesak Ahoren) suggest a close connection between the Sougb, Meyah and Hatam. The origin of these three ethnolinguistic groups, according to this story, is found between Bintuni and Merdey. This location agrees with the area specified by Pouwer (1958:50), around the Sebyar river.

The names used by Sougb people to refer to their own language and those of other groups are:

<i>Sougb mer</i>	the Sougb language
<i>Sana mer</i>	the Meyah language
<i>Ijom mer</i>	the Hatam language
<i>Morei mer</i>	the Borai (Mansim) language
<i>Bei mer</i>	the Indonesian language
<i>Bomjouw mer</i>	the language of Timor

2 Phonology

Sougb has at least ten phonemic consonants and five vowels. The orthography used for the published New Testament suggests that there is an opposition between voiced and voiceless stops. This impression seems to be confirmed when eliciting words in isolation. However, there are three reasons to doubt the validity of this opposition. Firstly, the responses given in isolation are not consistent. Secondly, items which in isolation are given with voiced stops, appear in connected speech frequently as voiceless. Thirdly, Sougb speakers do not maintain the voiced-voiceless opposition when speaking the local variant of Indonesian.

2.1 Consonants

A provisional inventory of Sougb consonants is given in Table 1. Since the voicing distinction for the stops is questionable, voiced and voiceless variants have been listed. Similarly, no phonemic contrast between *r* and *l* could be established.

Table 1: Consonants

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	laryngeal
stops	<i>p ~ b</i>	<i>t ~ d</i>	<i>c ~ j</i>	<i>k ~ g</i>	
fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
liquids		<i>r ~ l</i>			
approximants	<i>(w)</i>		<i>(y)</i>		

Whether the two approximants /w/ and /y/ can be assigned consonantal status, will be discussed separately. Also, the status of *gb* will be discussed in a separate section, after the consonants and vowels are presented.

/b/ is realised as [b] word-initially and intervocalically:

[ba]	bird
[ban]	you (SG)
[bɔŋɔ]	sky, heaven
[besa]	bird of paradise
[tɛbej]	star
[taiba]	above

[p] word-finally:

[dep]	on top
[ɔp]	to put
[ɛp]	to cry

/d/ is realised as [d] word-initially and intervocalically:

[dan]	I
[dou]	to, for
[dep]	on top
[dik]	towards
[ɔdɔ]	to carry (in hand)
[ɛda]	to go
[gida]	female

[t] word-finally:

[ɔt]	to fold (cloth)
[ɛt]	to eat
[deit]	again

In isolation, a contrast seems to exist between [tɔua] 'also' and [dou] 'to, for', although the latter form in connected speech is sometimes [tɔu]. Another problem is that [atɔu] 'to sleep, lie down' is never realised as [adɔu]. And [ɔti] 'to demolish' is realised as [ɔt] in connected speech, but not as [ɔdi]. Word-finally, I have not encountered a voiced alveolar stop, in spite of the spelling *lusud* 'people', and other items.

/c/ Although in isolation a difference between [eica] 'hit' and [ɛija] 'to call' is suggested, or between [ɛcic] 'to tell, count' and [ɛcij] 'to return', I have not been able to ascertain a clear opposition for the palatal series either. For example, there are alternative realisations of [ouci] and [ouji] for 'to gather s.t.', or [cicir] and [jijir] for 'sleep(y)'.

initial:

[cum]	in a while
[cinɔŋɔ]	land, place
[cabe]	day after tomorrow

medial:

[eica]	hit
[eica] ~ [eija]	call
[ouci] ~ [ouji]	gather
[ucina]	road

final:

[eic]	take
[indɔc̣ʰ] ~ [indɔc]	my front

Word-finally, the palatal stop may be released or checked: [ɛc] or [ɛcʰ] 'to sneeze; to shoot (with gun); walk; peel'. Following the first person possessive prefix, some opposition seems to occur, as suggested by:

[injɛmowa]	for <i>in-jemowa</i> '1SG-grandfather'
[incɛmaga]	for <i>in-cemaga</i> '1SG-brains'

But I have also recorded [inctɛmaga] for the latter item. Clearly, more data, with carefully monitored contexts is necessary before definite statements regarding the status of these sounds can be made.

/k/: word-initially and finally the voiceless variant is preferred:

[kaba]	and then
[ɛk]	to drink
[mɔk]	sharp (point), thorn
[arek]	which (relative clause marker)

Intervocally the voiced velar stop occurs, freely alternating with the voiced fricative:

[maga]	body
[sɔgɔ]/[sɔɣɔ]	tree
[mɔɣut]	empty

Words like [gida] 'female', [giji] 'male' are spelled with <g> and indeed are often pronounced with a voiced stop, but realisations such as [kita] and [kiji] are also attested.

The two nasals occur in all positions:

/m/	[maga]	body
	[ɛmɛn]	we (EXC)
	[ouma]	to buy
	[deiŋɔm]	enough
	[ɔmɔm]	to die
/n/	[naugw]	for, in order to
	[nanan]	we two (INC)
	[mɛn]	mountain

The palatal and velar nasals are phonetically attested, but do not seem to have phonemic status. The palatal nasal [ɲ] occurs only following the vowel sequence [ei] or the high front vowel,⁴ as in:

[eiɲana]	many
[iɲɔmus]	bow
[iɲɔmda]	lightning

Since the bilabial nasal does occur in the same position [eimiman] 'to be amazed', and [aimo] 'to follow', I assume it is the alveolar nasal that is assimilated to the palatal position.

The velar nasal occurs before a velar stop:

[eŋgesrougw]	to make a feast
[daŋga]	thus
[iŋga]	this one which
[aŋgi]	name of lake

In the section on morphology (see §3.1.4) evidence is given that the velar nasal can also be an assimilation of the alveolar variant with the nominaliser /g/.

Another instance of [ŋ] is found when words ending with /gb/ (see below) are followed by a nasal: *se Sougb mer* 'with Sougb language' = [sɛsouŋmer]. The only other instance of [ŋ] in the word *aingmo* 'get into (canoe, car, etc.)' could be explained by invoking a compounding of *aigb* and *mo*, whose meanings are not clear.

Of the fricatives in Sougb, /s/ and /h/ occur in all positions, while /f/ does not occur word-initially:

/s/ word-initially:

[sougwʰ]	name of the language group
[sɛ]	at, (in)to
[su]	bee

medially:

[eisaugwʰ]	to ascend
[ousa]	to help
[ɛsic]	to hit, to be near

finally:

[mɔs]	skin
[dous]	only
[ɛs]	to shoot, to plant

/h/ word-initially:

[haŋ]	thus
[hwej]	pig
[hinɔgɔ]	snakes

⁴ The only exception I have noted is [einesa] 'to enter'.

medially:

[aha]	to look after, to raise (animals)
[ɔhɔma]	to pull out weeds
[ɛhi]	to fell

finally (sometimes alternating with [x]):

[erɔh] ~ [erɔx]	dry
[ɔh] ~ [ɔx]	to fly
[mih]	dog

/f/ is bilabial voiceless fricative [ɸ], which is not attested in word-initial position;

medially:

[ouɸɔɔhɔ]	intelligent, wise
[ouɸɔ]	to buy a bride
[ɔgouɸu]	white

finally:

[ouɸ]	to close (door, wall)
-------	-----------------------

It is at least suspect that [ɸ] occurs only following [ou]. There are no instances in my data of this sound next to other vowels.

The liquid [l] and the trill [r] are freely interchangeable, with maybe a preference for [l] in word-initial position and [r] intervocally and finally.

initial:

[len]	they
[lɔ]	garden
[lɔna]	day

medial:

[ara]	what
[marij]	breast
[ɛhirɔn]	to search

final:

[mer]	voice, word, language
[eiktɔr]	to lean against

Normally, the subject prefix for third person plural is pronounced as [l], as in [l-ɛsa] 'they stand', and the plural suffix on human nouns as [r], as in [ind-ihɪ-r] 'my-child-PL', but in connected speech one can hear unpredictable alternatives, as in Jonathan's account of the *kain timur*: [ka r-eija] 'and they call' and both [timur] and [timul] 'east'.

Given the lack of opposition between the two liquids (quite unremarkable for a Papuan language), the recording of [erleic] 'zest, industrious' poses a question with regard to its morphological constituents. In other contexts, final [r] and initial [l] are merged into one [r]. Why a form as [erleic] can surface is not clear.

Consider the elicited examples (1)–(3). The word for 'garden' is [lo], the negative is sentence-final [ero], with the initial vowel elided, when the preceding word ends on a vowel.

- (1) *Ban b-ahan lo.*
 you 2SG-cut garden
 Clear the garden.
- (2) *Ban b-em-ahan ro.*
 you 2SG-IRR-cut not
 Don't cut (grass, weeds).
- (3) *Ban b-em-ahan lo ro.*
 you 2SG-IRR-cut garden not
 Don't cut the garden.

This last utterance is rendered as [bɛmahanlɔɔ] or [bɛmahanlɔɔ]. Presumably, it could also have been [bɛmahanrɔɔ].

2.2 Vowels

Sougb has five vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/. A restriction on the distribution is that the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are not found in initial position of verb stems, see §3.2.

/i/ is in most positions realised as a high close vowel [i]. In unstressed syllables, the quality may be slightly more open, as [ɪ].

[ititogɪni]	now
[ij]	canoe
[mih]	dog
[ɪndihi]	my child
[dik]	towards
[mɪsɛn]	right (hand), true

/e/ is a mid open front vowel [ɛ]:

[ɛp]	to cry
[ɛba]	to plant
[ɛn]	to come, to say
[ɛsɪnsɛn]	to repair (fence, bridge, car)

/a/ is an open central vowel, which in closed syllables is realised as somewhat more closed ɐ:

[ahɐn]	to cut (grass)
[dɛk]	like
[mɛkto]	younger brother
[maga]	body

/o/ is a mid open back vowel [ɔ]:

[ɔp]	to put
[sɔgɔ]	tree
[ɔkdɔɔ]	to stop

/u/ is a high back vowel:

[uɸ]	thatch
[lusut]	people
[su]	bee

2.3 Vowel sequences

The vowel sequences allowed in Sougb involve only the high vowels /i/ and /u/ as second elements to any of the three lower vowels, but the combination has to agree in front or backness. Thus, [eu] and [oi] are unattested. The lower vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] may change their quality to somewhat higher [e] and [o] in these contexts.

/ei/

[deyt] / [deit]	again
[eya]	to see
[eysa] / [ɛysa]	to get up

/ou/

[owan]	to want
[owma]	to buy
[dow]	to, for
[towa]	also

/ai/

[aynyɛs]	visible
[tayba]	above
[aysɛr]	crocodile

/au/

[awcir]	butterfly
[ahaw]	to be afraid
[daw]	from

At least in the case of some items, such as [deit] 'again' and [oun] 'to press', the high vowels may receive full pronunciation. This is also the case in the morphologically motivated sequence [ao] in forms like [d-a-os] '1SG-INS-hold' (see verb paradigm in §3.2.2.4).

In the virtual absence of word-initial approximants (I have no instances of words beginning with [w]; and the words with [y] involve exclusively the second person plural (or dual)), I am inclined to deny these approximants the status of consonant. The high vowels in the sequences as a matter of course tend to be non-syllabic (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:323).

2.4 The problem of /gb/

Just as the name of the language group, many other words are spelled with final *gb*. In isolation these words are pronounced with a checked bilabial-velar stop, which I transcribed

as [gw^ʔ]. Characteristic for this sound is a clear rounding of the lips, while the back of the tongue has to touch the velum. Consider:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| (4) | <i>ougb</i> | [ougw ^ʔ] | to run, flee |
| | <i>esrougb</i> | [esrougw ^ʔ] | warm, hot |
| | <i>smougb</i> | [smougw ^ʔ] | fire |
| | <i>arougb</i> | [arougw ^ʔ] | to push, to command |
| | <i>naugb</i> | [naugw ^ʔ] | for, in order to |
| | <i>eisaugb</i> | [eisaugw ^ʔ] | to ascend |

Speakers are not content with a pronunciation [ouw] or [auw], that is, without velar closure with the back of the tongue, for these items. There is indeed a contrast between [arouw] 'centipede' and [arougw^ʔ] 'to push, command', even though the velar is hardly noticeable. Moreover, some speakers explicitly commented that their language was hard to learn for outsiders because of the [gebɛ]. To what extent they are now influenced by the orthography for such items, is difficult to ascertain, but in some cases my suspicion is that *gb* is claimed to be present, when in fact it is not. I will present the facts as I have gathered them, and suggest a preliminary conclusion to what seems to be an interesting topic for further careful phonetic and phonological research.

Firstly, notice that *gb* only occurs word-finally and only following the high back vowel, mainly when it is an offglide to the lower back vowel /o/ or /a/. There are a few words, which are claimed to have the same final sound, following only the high back vowel, as in:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------|
| (5) | <i>ucugb</i> | return |
| | <i>etugb</i> | deaf |
| | <i>cugb</i> | connecting beam in house |

But the phonetic realisations I have recorded for these items are clearly [up], with the final bilabial stop either checked or released. But a form such as *ecicugwen*, orthographically for 'he returns again' (*ecij* 'return' + *ucugb* 'return' + *en* 'come') suggests that *ucugb* 'return' does indeed end with a labiovelar stop, whose labial component is realised before a vowel. This would mean that *gb* is indeed (phonologically) present in forms with the single high back vowel.

Secondly, intervocally there are instances of [gw], [gbw], or even of [ɣw], but not of [gb], as in [bougwena] 'fly (insect)' and [emaugbwan] or [ɛmaugwan] or [ɛmauɣwan] 'we (EXC) all', and when the items in (4) are followed by a vowel, they are realised with [gw], as in:

- | | | |
|-----|------------|------------------|
| (6) | [naugwara] | for what (= why) |
| | [ougwɪn] | to run hither |

Thirdly, when these forms are followed by a stop, I have obtained both a plosive and a fricative realisation:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------|--------------|
| (7) | <i>ougb</i> | [ouhda] | to run away |
| | | [oukdau] | to move from |

Fourthly, even for isolated forms there is considerable variation (as is the case for voiced and voiceless stops). For example, for *naugb* I recorded both [naugw^ʔ] and [naukw^ʔ]. Similarly, for 'fire' *smougb* [smougw^ʔ] and [smoukw^ʔ], while for *esrougb* 'warm', the same

two speakers agreed in their realisation of [esloupʰ], with no trace of the velar, but with the bilabial stop either checked or released, just as in the case of words with single /u/.

Fifthly, when *gb*-items are followed by a (bilabial) nasal, the final consonant becomes a phonetic velar nasal, as in:

- (8) *se Sougb mer* = [sesouŋmɛr]
 in Sougb language
 in Sougb
- (9) *Naugb maman ma-t-a?* = [nauŋmamənmata]
 for we.INC 1INC-eat-Q
 For us to eat?

Given (1) the variants of realisation in isolation, (2) the assimilation of *gb* preceding a vowel to [g(b)w] or [ɣw], (3) the assimilation to [ŋ] preceding a nasal, and (4) the restricted distribution, namely following a high back vowel, whether as only vowel or as second element in a vowel sequence, I interpret this sound as a phonetically conditioned allophone of the velar stop. This stop is labialised as a result of persevering rounding from the preceding high back vowel. As yet another example, consider the realisation of *hugahani* 'the name of an expensive type of *kain timur*'. In the second line of *Sogoubg* (see Appendix 2), the speaker labialises the velar stop, which in isolation is [hugahani]: [d-oume sɛ hukwahanəhəm] '1SG-buy with cloth one'.

That labialisation only occurs on the velar stop may be explained by the natural affinity between lip rounding and backness (see Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:292, 356). What is peculiar about this phenomenon in Sougb, is that this language, apparently, forms an exception to the generalisation that labialisation is more frequently conditioned by following vowels than by preceding ones. And that 'in many languages with labialised consonants the set of syllable-final consonants, if any, does not include labialised ones' (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:357). This is exactly the position, however, where the labialised velar stop is so characteristic for Sougb. This language then, can be quoted as another example, besides Pohnpeian, for the rare occurrence of final labialisation.

2.5 Tone

Sougb has most likely a pitch-accent system. There are a number of monosyllabic lexical items which contrast in tone. But even in the case of multiple homophones, I could only detect two tone levels, as illustrated in:

- (10) *mog* meat, flesh (*ind-ug* '1SG-flesh'; *me-ug* '3SG-flesh' > [mɔk])
mog cup (loan from Dutch)
mog thorn, sharp

The first two items do not distinguish in pitch, but both contrast with the third item. Three speakers pronounced short test sentences, which unanimously were realised as [mɔk] 'thorn' with high pitch, and both other items with low pitch.

- (11) *Dàn d-éicà móg.* [low-high-low-high]
 I 1SG-hit thorn
 I got stung by a thorn.

- (12) *Dàn d-èic móg.* [low-low-high]
 I 1SG-take thorn
 I take a thorn.
- (13) *Dán d-èt mòg.* [high-low-low]
 I 1SG-eat meat
 I eat meat.
- (14) *Dàn d-éc mòg.* [low-high-low]
 I 1SG-take cup
 I take the cup.

The consistent realisation of (15) and (16) by three speakers suggests that *ou* 'to wear' has low tone, and *ou* 'to greet' has lexically high.

- (15) *Dan d-ou un.* [dò-ún] = [low-high]
 I 1SG-wear loincloth
 I wear a loincloth.
- (16) *Dan d-ou yen.* [dóu-yèn] = [high-low]
 I 1SG-greet you.PL
 I greet you.

Also, small test sentences for the great number of meanings obtained for the form *-ec* did not yield more than two pitch differences. The meanings of 'to pick' (17) and 'to walk' (18) were both realised with low pitch:

- (17) *Dan d-éc tram.*
 I 1SG-pick corn
 I picked corn.
- (18) *Dan d-éc.*
 I 1SG-walk
 I am walking.

The meanings of 'to peel' (19), 'to open' (20), 'to sneeze' (21), 'to light' (22), and 'to shoot (with gun)' (23) all yielded high pitch:

- (19) *Dan d-éc mos dau.*
 I 1SG-peel skin from
 I peel (a banana).
- (20) *Dan d-éc misis.*
 I 1SG-open door
 I open a door.
- (21) *Dan d-éc.*
 I 1SG-sneeze
 I sneezed.
- (22) *Dan d-éc smough.*
 I 1SG-light fire
 I light a fire.

- (23) *Dan d-éc ugwodi.*
 I 1SG-shoot cuscus
 I shot a cuscus.

While my consultants suggested a difference in voicing for the palatal affricate/stops, I suspect the main difference may be in pitch-accent, as the test utterances of the three speakers indicate. As mentioned before, in isolation it is possible to record a contrast in voicing, but in natural speech the opposition is much less clear. I have instances of both voiced and voiceless realisations of stops of every articulatory position. Consider the contrasts between *ecic* 'to tell (a story)' and *ecij* 'to return' and *eica* 'to be hit by/touch something' and *eija* 'to call'. One speaker repeated the items in isolation, and gave both [dɛcic] and [dɛcij] for 'I return'. The contrast seems to be that *ecic* 'to tell, count' has a lower pitch on the first syllable than *ecij* 'to return' (as also suggested by Lunow's wordlist: 'to tell, count' has [mid-mid] and 'to return' is marked as [high-mid]). The following examples suggest that the pitch on the free pronoun and the final syllable of *eic/ja* is irrelevant, with the contrastive pitch located on the first syllable of the verb. The three speakers are consistent in the realisation of low pitch on both syllables of *eija* 'to call' and high pitch on the first syllable of *eica* 'hit', while there is variation between speakers with respect to the other syllables, indicated by low/high or low/low in (24) and (25).

- (24) *Dan d-eica ...* [dàn deí.ca] = [low-high-low/high]
 I 1SG-hit
 I am hit by ...⁵
- (25) *Dan d-eija.* [dán deì.ja] = [high-low-low/low]
 I 1SG-call
 I am calling.

It is obvious that much more detailed research would be needed to make a definitive statement on the relevance of tone in Sougb. At this moment, all that can be said is that Sougb has at least two contrastive tones, which operate as a pitch-accent system. On polysyllabic words, only one syllable is required to carry the contrastive pitch. This leaves the possibility that the language has in fact more than two contrastive pitch levels.

2.6 Elision of intervocalic /h/ and the high front vowel /i/

As a final comment on the phonology a ubiquitous process of elision needs to be mentioned. Quite frequently intervocalic /h/, which is present in items given in isolation, is elided in running speech. For example, *ohut* 'weave' (also by metonymy 'build a house') becomes [out], as in:

⁵ The verb *eica* 'hit' is used, for example, in the answer to my question as to how someone's arm got broken:

Sogo eica en me-sra.
 wood hit 3SG 3SG-arm
 A piece of wood hit his arm.

One of the bystanders said that in this sentence, one could also use the verb *ogod* 'hit', which is the more usual transitive 'hit', while *eica* seems to be used for accidentally being hit by something (in Indonesian translated as *kena*).

- (26) *Len l-ouwan l-out tu menau.*
 they 3PL-want 3PL-build house new
 They want to build a new house.

The vowel following /h/ may also be elided, especially when it is identical to the preceding vowel (in the latter case it is, of course, indeterminate which one is elided). For example, I recorded [ɔbɔgougw] for 'to tear' or 'to be torn'; but in Appendix 1 ((62)) it is given as [ɔbɔhoukougw]. Other examples are:

- (27) [aŋgi mohu] [aŋgimou] Lake Anggi
 [lɔnehibi] [lɔnebi] tomorrow
 [tatehebi] [tatebi] shortly

Another example is *m-ohora* '3SG-leg' + *beda* '?' meaning 'knee'; it is pronounced as [mɔhɔrbedə], [mɔrbedə] or [mɔhɔbrɛdə]. The latter variant shows some metathesis, which seems to have some wider application (see §3.1.2).

Not only /h/, but also the high front vowel /i/ is easily elided, yielding consonant clusters. Consider:

- (28) *ecinaga* [ɛcnaga] to know
dagiro [dagrɔ] how
me-sira [mɛsra] 3SG-hand
eihiweda [eihwɛdə] to go, leave
sirebed [srɛbet] I am hungry (*sir* is used for 'famine', see §3.2.2.6.)

Elision may involve whole syllables, as in:

- (29) *ind-ihī g-iji* [indisi]
 1SG-child NOM-male
 my son

Especially, final /i/ is either rendered voiceless, or completely elided, with the result that some lexical items become virtual homophones: *iji* 'sugarcane' is often pronounced as [ij], which is the lexical form *ij* 'canoe'; likewise third person possessor for 'child' or 'offspring' is *mehi*, but it is often realised as [mehɪ] or [meh], especially in the sense of 'leaf'. It then forms a minimal contrast with *mih(i)* 'dog' (compare Meyah *efeyi* 'leaf' and *mes* 'dog', data from Gravelle pers. comm.; see also this volume)

3 Morphology and word classes

In this chapter I report the morphological phenomena which I observed, along with a classification of lexical categories. Firstly, some morphophonological processes are presented, including the forms of the free pronouns, which will be needed to appreciate the bound pronominal forms on verbs and inalienable nouns. For most categories it seems appropriate to include some syntactic information at the same time. For example, when discussing the question words that figure in content questions, the possible syntactic positions are illustrated right away. Since this sketch is a preliminary account of the Sougb language, I have included some sections on some morphological patterns, whose validity is rather uncertain. Interpretations are, of necessity, speculative.

3.1 Morphophonological processes

There are a few observations regarding some morphophonological features which can be best presented before the various word classes with more specific morphological processes are discussed.

3.1.1 Connecting /e/

In isolation, many verbs and nouns are given with a final *-a*. When these forms figure in connected speech, that is, when they are not followed by a pause, this vowel changes to the open front vowel [ɛ]. Thus:

(30) *lona hom* = [lɔnehɔm]
 day one
 one day

(31) *L-ouma minc.* = [loumɛmɪnc]
 3PL-buy cloth
 They are buying cloth.

Given that the preposition *se* 'at' is realised as *sa* when its nominal object is not expressed, the actual process could be reversed. That is, the vowel /e/ could be part of the lexical item, which is being replaced by /a/ indicating some phrase boundary (see also §3.7). The realisation of Indonesian *piara babi* 'look.after pig' as [biarebabi] would, however, argue for the first analysis (see also the vowel change in verbs with object clitics in §3.2.2.5).

3.1.2 Metathesis

Besides the form [mɔhɔbrɛda] for 'knee', given in §2.6, I have recorded a few more instances of what appears to involve metathesis. I will give a few instances.

(a) Where some informants had given *ouci* for 'to gather, collect', one informant produced:

(32) *Dan d-oic-odo sansun.*
 I 1SG-gather-carry clothes
 I collect clothes.

(b) A short answer to a question about the location of something is given as [skwada] 'it's overthere' from *suk-ada* 'at-up/west'. Similarly, a less polite form to refer to a 'woman' *gihida*, which phonetically is [gihida] or [gida], is [skwida], which I suspect is *suk g-ihida* 'at NOM-female'.

To what extent metathesis is a general feature of the language is difficult to say on the basis of the limited data, but see for another example *gaih* ~ *gahi* 'down there, towards the east' in (149), §3.5.

3.1.3 Reduplication

There are a number of items which exhibit reduplication, conveying the sense of intensification. There are instances of full reduplication as in: *mohumohu* 'wet', clearly from

m-ohu '3SG-liquid'; and *mena mogmog* 'evil spirit' (from *mog* 'sharp, pointed'). Other items exhibit partial reduplication with some morphological adjustment in some cases. On the basis of the limited data, it is not possible to formulate a precise rule.

(33)	<i>menau</i>	new	<i>menenau</i>	very new
	<i>ogoufu</i>	white	<i>ogou(f)goufu</i>	very white
	<i>eigo(uh)</i>	good	<i>degigo(uh)</i>	very well ⁶
	<i>mohon</i>	old	<i>mohonon</i>	very old
	<i>ogom</i>	heavy	<i>ogomgom</i>	very heavy
	<i>ogor</i>	black	<i>ogorgor</i>	very black
	(no single form attested)		<i>ebetbet</i>	to explain

3.1.4 Nominalising g-

The prefix *g-*, regularly pronounced as [k], is labelled 'NOMinaliser'. It is used to mark adjectives or verbs which have a specifying function. For example:

(34) *gida omomtom*
 woman wrinkled
 a wrinkled woman

(35) *gida g-omomtom*
 woman NOM-wrinkled
 the woman who is wrinkled

(36) *Sijo eisaugb lohos # g-eigou / b-eic dou emen #*
 thanks ascend warm.day NOM-good 2SG-take to 1EXC
 Thank you for the nice day. The good one you give to us.
 (from a prayer Urias offered at the beginning of one of our sessions)

Some nominalised forms function as elements in complex verbs, as discussed in §3.2.5.5. It also appears on forms such as *g-iji* 'male' and *g-i(hi)da* 'female' (see (124) in §3.3.2). It seems to be obligatory on demonstratives (see §3.5), and very likely it is present in the conjunction *kaba* 'then', as in (39), given the attested form *aba* 'still, yet', which occurs in (37) and (38).

(37) *Dan d-en-en aba.*
 I 1SG-come-RED just
 I have just come.

(38) *Ind-ihida godeh m-aga ogom aba.*
 1SG-daughter child 3SG-body heavy still
 My younger daughter is still pregnant.

(39) *Cum kaba en eic kepta a-(e)tkwa en m-en hwej.*
 shortly then 3SG take machete INS-cut.up 3SG 3SG-POS pig
 In a little while he'll take the machete and cut up his pig.

⁶ The adjective *eigo* 'good' is variously realised as [eigouh] or [eigo]. It clearly forms the basis for the adverb *degigo* with the same alternative pronunciation of the final syllable.

Consider the differentiation of 'eyebrow' and 'eyelash'. The generic term is *-icicip modi*, in which *modi* or *mot* means 'hair', and *-icicip* is not clear ('eye' is *-aires*). Now, when *eb taiba* means 'being above', the expressions for 'eyebrow' and 'eyelash' can be interpreted as containing relative constructions:

(40) a. *me-cicip k-eb taiba*
 3SG-? NOM-do above
 eyebrow

b. *me-cicip k-eb tainya*
 3SG-? NOM-do below
 eyelash

This nominaliser apparently does not just occur as a prefix to verbs, but it may also be suffixed to pronouns or the noun *ara* 'something' to mark relative pronouns (see also §4.3.4 on relative clauses). The relative pronoun based on *ara* is *areg* (note that the second vowel /a/ is replaced by the front vowel [ɛ], according to the rule in §3.1.1). The alternative expressions of a relative clause (41a) and (41b) are given as equivalent in meaning. In case the relative pronoun is present, the possibility of *g-* prefixed to the verb is explicitly denied, suggesting that indeed the final element of the relative pronoun is the very same nominaliser as the verbal prefix. Attached to the third person plural pronoun *len* the result is a final velar nasal [lɛŋ], as in (42).

(41) a. *godeh hom g-ougb-da dau m-ena*
 child one NOM-run-go from 3SG-father
 a son who ran away from his father

b. *godeh hom are-g ougb-da dau m-ena*
 child one what-NOM run-go from 3SG-father
 a son who ran away from his father

(42) *Len-g timur l-en l-odo minc se Manukwar habi*
 they-NOM Timor 3PL-come 3PL-carry cloth to Manokwari then

len-g Sougb l-em-ouma.
 they-NOM Sougb 3PL-IRR-buy

After the (people) of Timor brought the cloths to Manokwari, the Sougb bought (them).

3.1.5 Certainty -s

There is some evidence for a clitic *-s*, which seems to convey a sense of certainty. It occurs on a few verbs, as well as sentence-finally, following whatever constituent. Whether we are dealing with an identical morpheme in these cases is not more than a conjecture. I suspect that *-s* on the verbs *en* 'say' (43) and *edi* 'throw' (44) adds an element of certainty, changing the meaning of the verbs into 'reveal' and 'transgress' respectively. In (45) the certainty *-s* is a sentence-final clitic, attached to the noun phrase *hosei ingma* 'some fish', yielding the spelling *hosei ingmes*, apparently due to the connecting /e/. My consultant's metalinguistic comment with regard to (45) was that *-s* made the event more certain. In the case of a sentence-final *-s*, the verb has to be marked with the irrealis prefix *em-*.

- (43) *Dan d-en-s ind-ug ainyes.*
 I 1SG-say-CERT 1SG-body visible
 I reveal myself.⁷
- (44) *Ban b-edi-s dau Allah m-en gomomna.*
 you 2SG-throw-CERT from God 3SG-POS law
 You transgress God's law.
- (45) *Yen y-em-a(e)ic hosei ingma-s.*
 you 2PL-IRR-INS-take fish some-CERT
 You will definitely catch some fish with (it). (from John 21:6)

The same marker occurs also on topical demonstratives in non-verbal clauses (see §4.3.1).

3.1.6 Pronouns

The free pronouns (as well as the bound pronominal forms clearly related to them) distinguish three number categories and four persons, because for first person plural and dual the opposition inclusive-exclusive is observed. The dual forms clearly consist of the plural pronouns with the diagnostic vowel /a/ in stead of /e/. Some peculiarities of the inclusive first person pronouns cannot be explained as yet. In isolation all pronouns are given with a final *i*, which in natural speech hardly ever surfaces. The free pronouns can be suffixed with *-(i)n*, depending on whether the high vowel belongs to the pronoun stem or to the suffix. The meaning is either reflexive or, more generally, emphatic (translated by Indonesian *sendiri* 'self'):

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------|----------------|
| (46) | 1SG | <i>dan(i)</i> | <i>danin</i> |
| | 2SG | <i>ban(i)</i> | <i>banin</i> |
| | 3SG | <i>en(i)</i> | <i>enin</i> |
| | 1DU.EXC | <i>aman(i)</i> | <i>amanin</i> |
| | 1DU.INC | <i>nanan(i)</i> | <i>nananin</i> |
| | 2DU | <i>yan(i)</i> | <i>yanin</i> |
| | 3DU | <i>lan(i)</i> | <i>lanin</i> |
| | 1PL.EXC | <i>emen(i)</i> | <i>emenin</i> |
| | 1PL.INC | <i>maman(i)</i> | <i>mamanin</i> |
| | 2PL | <i>yen(i)</i> | <i>yenin</i> |
| | 3PL | <i>len(i)</i> | <i>lenin</i> |

The related bound forms will be presented in the paradigms showing verbal and nominal inflection (see tables in §3.2.2.4 and §3.3.1).

⁷ The form *ainyes* means 'visible', as in:

Trikdaga em-eb ainyes ero.
 Trikdaga IRR-do visible not
 Trikdaga is not visible.

3.2 Verbs

Sougb verbs form a distinct word class on the basis of some clearly morphological criteria, as well as syntactic properties. Verbs in Sougb are restricted with regard to their initial phoneme. There are no verbs whose stem begins with a consonant, and of the five phonemic vowels only vowels specified for [-HIGH] are allowed, that is, /e/, /o/ and /a/ (see §2.2).

A second morphological criterion involves the person-number prefixes which have a different shape from those employed on inalienably possessed nouns and the possessive pronouns required for alienably possessed nouns (see §3.3.1).

Thirdly, verbs allow two other inflectional categories, expressed by prefixes: *em-* indicates irrealis, and *a-* signals that an instrument is used.

3.2.1 Transitivity

On the basis of syntactic valency a distinction needs to be made between transitive and intransitive verbs. While the former may feature in a clause without an explicitly identified object, the latter may not have a direct object. While all verbs may be marked with irrealis *em-*, it seems only transitive verbs can have the instrument prefix *a-*. But the exact range of applicability of this category is still an open question. There are just a few verbs which appear to be used both transitively and intransitively. Whether more verbs need to be included in the subclass of hybrid verbs would require further research.

3.2.1.1 Hybrid verbs

The three verbs given in (47) can be used both transitively, as in (48a), and intransitively, (48b):

- (47) *ous* break (stick, arm, etc.)
 obrugb break (glass, other brittle stuff)
 obogough tear (cloth)

- (48) a. *Dan d-obogough sansun.*

I 1SG-tear clothes
 I tore my clothes.

- b. *Minc obogough hob.*

cloth torn already
 The *kain timur* is already torn.

This does not hold for *ekris* 'tear (paper)', which is only transitive:

- (49) *D-ekris surat.*
 1SG-tear paper
 I tore the paper.

3.2.1.2 Intransitive verbs and adjectival notions

Some typical intransitive verbs are:

- (50) *obohuba* to laugh
ekeka to groan
ebrera to fall (of leaves)

Most of the items expressing adjectival notions would be included in the class of intransitive verbs. The initial vowel is diagnostic. Most items obey the general rule for verbs, that is, only the vowels *e*, *o* and *a* are permitted, as in (51):

- (51) *eigo* good *ecgu* bad
agas long, tall *agarougb* short
oumerema thick *ecincuwa* thin
ogom heavy *eijoh* light
esrougb warm *emtreta* cold
ogor black *ogoufu* white

Some 'adjectives' begin with *m(e)-*, suggesting that these forms are basically nominal with third person singular prefix (see §3.3.1). For example, while *eroh* 'dry (of clothes)' follows the verbal pattern, its antonym, 'wet', is *mohumohu*, which may well be formed on the basis of a stem *uhu*, as it occurs in *duhu* 'water', and in *mes mohu* 'nose liquid' = 'snot'. Similarly, 'slippery' is *edeskwesi*, while its antonym 'rough (of surface)' is *mosmos*, which is probably a reduplication of '3SG-skin' (1SG-skin = *ind-us*, 2SG-skin = *ab-us*, etc., see §3.3.1). Some other adjectives beginning with *m(e)-* are:

- (52) *medagam* big *mougrei* small
meneisa deep *metbo* shallow

Some verbal notions, those referring to physiological states and mental (or emotional) states, are not expressed by simple verbs. They require some complex constructions which involve both a noun and a verb. These are presented later (§3.2.2.6) to show how they relate morphologically and syntactically to simple verbs.

3.2.1.3 Transitive verbs

As mentioned above, transitive verbs may feature in a clause without an explicit object. But when they are given in isolation, or when an object is unspecified, they require an object. This object is then the generic noun *ara* 'something' (see also §3.2.2.5 on object clitics and §4.3.2). For example:

- (53) *L-egip* *l-em-en-ara* *dou-r buma.*
 3PI-unmarried.male 3PL-IRR-say-thing to-3PL not.yet
 (When) the unmarried men are not yet speaking to them (= women).
 (Appendix 2, (26))

3.2.2 Verbal inflection

3.2.2.1 Subject prefixation

When a verb functions as predicate in a clause, it requires a prefix to indicate the person-number category of the subject. These are different from the possessive prefixes, given in

§3.3.1. As is the case for the free pronouns, the dual number has the diagnostic vowel *a*, which for some reason is also present on the first person plural inclusive. The column [stem] in Table 2 (see §3.2.2.4) shows that the stem vowel of *e*-verbs is elided under the dominance of this vowel.

3.2.2.2 *Irrealis*

The verbal prefix *em-* seems to be best glossed as 'IRRealis'. The exact meaning of this category is not easily determined. There are contexts in which the use of *em-* is obligatory, while in other contexts, having to do with some future reference, there is apparently a (pragmatic) choice, but the conditions are not quite clear. I present the evidence to hand.

The verb is obligatorily prefixed with irrealis *em-* when it is negated, compare:

- (54) *Dan d-ecinaga hob.*
 I 1SG-know already
 I already know (it).
- (55) *Dan d-em-ecinag-ero.*
 I 1SG-IRR-know-not
 I don't know it.
- (56) *Dan d-em-ecinag-ebma.*
 I 1SG-IRR-know-not.yet
 I don't know (it) yet.

In §4.3.6 I discuss how the presence of *em-* can help to determine the scope of negation in complex sentences.

With respect to the use of *em-* in affirmative main clauses, the information is not very clear. A sentence like (57) was rejected, because, as my consultant explained, *em-* is only used to express *nanti* 'shortly', that is, when referring to the immediate future on the same day.

- (57) *Ari gac-in dan d-em-ecic (u)cugb se Manokwari.*
 week that-COME I 1SG-IRR-return return to Manokwari
 Next week I will return to Manokwari.

But also when I tried (58), I was corrected. The use of *em-* is OK in a question (59), but not in a definite statement, I was told. However, this seems to contradict the facts in (45), where the clause-final clitic =*s* was actually explained as strengthening an expectation.

- (58) *?Cum kaba na-m-aulo deit.*
 shortly then 1DU.INC-IRR-continue again
 Shortly we'll continue again.
- (59) *Cum kaba na-m-aulo deid e?*
 shortly then 1DU.INC-IRR-continue again Q
 Shortly we will continue, right?

In other words, the extent to which the irrealis can be marked on verbs in utterances with a future reference cannot be made explicit on the basis of my restricted data.

Secondly, in clauses that follow a sequential connective, the verb seems to be obligatorily marked with *em-*, as in:

- (60) *Lone hom deit habi nanani na-m-ecic are deit.*
 day one again then we.DU.INC 2DU.INC-IRR-tell thing again
 Another time we'll talk again.
- (61) *Igde erba m-ohora esij dan in-sra m-os ogoufu habi*
 sun throw 3SG-leg hit I 1SG-arm 3SG-skin white after
em-eb gahani.
 IRR-do red
 After the sun has burned the white skin of my arms, it has turned red.

3.2.2.3 Instrument

Transitive verbs may be marked for instrument (I have no evidence of this marker on intransitive verbs). The instrument marker is a prefix *a-*, which is dominant vis-à-vis the stem vowel. Recall that verb stems can only begin with [-HIGH] vowels /e/, /o/ and /a/. The front vowel *e* elides when the verb is marked for instrument, but *o* remains. The coalescence of /a/ + /a/ assumes the elision of one. The result is not a long vowel. An instrument cannot be expressed as a clausal constituent (but see §3.7 for an example in which *dara* 'with' is used to mark an instrument).

- (62) *Ban b-eic argoufu hosa naugb b-a(o)uma radio geni?*
 you 2SG-take money how.much for 2SG-INS-buy radio this
 For how much money did you buy this radio?

A verb normally receives the instrument marker *a-*, when a previous predicate has introduced an instrument or an accompaniment, compare:

- (63) *Dan d-eic kepta d-a(e)hi sogo.*
 I 1SG-take machete 1SG-INS-fell tree
 I cut the tree with a machete.
- (64) *Dan d-et roti d-a(e)k kopi.*
 I 1SG-eat bread 1SG-INS-drink coffee
 I eat bread and drink coffee.

3.2.2.4 Verb classes: *e-*, *o-* and *a-* stems

From the paradigm of an *e*-verb in Table 2 it is clear what the order of these prefixes is. The instrument marker is closer to the verb stem than the irrealis, with the result that the stem vowel is elided, compare columns [+INS] and [+IRR+INS]. Since the /a/ of the dual category has the same effect, a number of homophonous forms are the result, compare columns [stem] and [+INS]. Strictly speaking, my morpheme breaks for the dual forms in the column showing the instrument prefix are somewhat arbitrary. The vowel *a* could represent the dual category as well as the instrument.

Table 2: *-et* 'to eat'

	Subject	Stem	+ IRR	+ INS	+ IRR + INS
1SG	<i>dan</i>	<i>d-et</i>	<i>d-em-et</i>	<i>d-a-t</i>	<i>d-em-a-t</i>
2SG	<i>ban</i>	<i>b-et</i>	<i>b-em-et</i>	<i>b-a-t</i>	<i>b-em-a-t</i>
3SG	<i>en</i>	<i>∅-et</i>	<i>∅-em-et</i>	<i>∅-a-t</i>	<i>∅-em-a-t</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>aman</i>	<i>ama-t</i>	<i>ama-m-et</i>	<i>am-a-t</i>	<i>am-em-a-t</i>
1DU.INC	<i>nanan</i>	<i>na-t</i>	<i>na-m-et</i>	<i>n-a-t</i>	<i>na-m-a-t</i>
2DU	<i>yan</i>	<i>ya-t</i>	<i>ya-m-et</i>	<i>y-a-t</i>	<i>ya-m-a-t</i>
3DU	<i>lan</i>	<i>la-t</i>	<i>la-m-et</i>	<i>l-a-t</i>	<i>la-m-a-t</i>
1PLE.EXC	<i>emen</i>	<i>em-et</i>	<i>em-em-et</i>	<i>em-a-t</i>	<i>em-em-a-t</i>
1PL.INC	<i>maman</i>	<i>ma-t</i>	<i>ma-m-et</i>	<i>mam-a-t</i>	<i>ma-m-a-t</i>
2PL	<i>yen</i>	<i>y-et</i>	<i>y-em-et</i>	<i>y-a-t</i>	<i>y-em-a-t</i>
3PL	<i>len</i>	<i>l-et</i>	<i>l-em-et</i>	<i>l-a-t</i>	<i>l-em-a-t</i>

The same prefixes on *o*-verbs have some surprising outcomes, as illustrated in Table 3. The fifth column, which shows the forms with the instrument prefix, shows that there is no phonetic inhibition on the vowel sequence [ao], yet the dual category in column [stem] does not allow its diagnostic vowel to surface, so that for second and third person the distinction plural-dual is neutralised, when the verb is not inflected for irrealis or instrument. As the other columns show, there are no other homophonous forms in the paradigm of *o*-verbs.

Table 3: *-os* 'to hold'

	Subject	Stem	+ IRR	+ INS	+ IRR + INS
1SG	<i>dan</i>	<i>d-os</i>	<i>d-em-os</i>	<i>d-a-os</i>	<i>d-em-a-os</i>
2SG	<i>ban</i>	<i>b-os</i>	<i>b-em-os</i>	<i>b-a-os</i>	<i>b-em-a-os</i>
3SG	<i>en</i>	<i>∅-os</i>	<i>∅-em-os</i>	<i>∅-a-os</i>	<i>∅-em-a-os</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>aman</i>	<i>am-os</i>	<i>ama-m-os</i>	<i>am-a-os</i>	<i>ama-m-a-os</i>
1DU.INC	<i>nanan</i>	<i>n-os</i>	<i>na-m-os</i>	<i>n-a-os</i>	<i>na-m-a-os</i>
2DU	<i>yan</i>	<i>y-os</i>	<i>ya-m-os</i>	<i>y-a-os</i>	<i>ya-m-a-os</i>
3DU	<i>lan</i>	<i>l-os</i>	<i>la-m-os</i>	<i>l-a-os</i>	<i>la-m-a-os</i>
1PLE.EXC	<i>emen</i>	<i>em-os</i>	<i>em-em-os</i>	<i>em-a-os</i>	<i>em-em-a-os</i>
1PL.INC	<i>maman</i>	<i>m-os</i>	<i>ma-m-os</i>	<i>m-a-os</i>	<i>ma-m-a-os</i>
2PL	<i>yen</i>	<i>y-os</i>	<i>y-em-os</i>	<i>y-a-os</i>	<i>y-em-a-os</i>
3PL	<i>len</i>	<i>l-os</i>	<i>l-em-os</i>	<i>l-a-os</i>	<i>l-em-a-os</i>

When the vowel /a/ signals both dual and instrument, it is not surprising that the paradigm of *a*-verbs, see Table 4, contains a number of homophonous forms. The column [stem], giving the person-number inflections on the stem, and the column [+INS], which presents the stem with instrument marker, are completely identical. Redundantly, I have indicated instrument by /∅/. Comparison of the inflection for irrealis on the one hand and forms containing both irrealis and instrument on the other suggests that the order of these categories is reversed on *a*-verbs.

If the order were the same as for *e*- and *o*-verbs, one would expect the same homophonous forms in columns [+IRR] and [+INS+IRR] as are found between columns [stem] and [+INS]. However, when both irrealis and instrument are marked on the verb, the basic vowel of the irrealis morpheme is elided, giving way to the more dominant *a* of the instrument. Consider, as a further argument, the first person dual exclusive. The person prefix is clearly derived from the free pronoun *aman*. In the *e*- and *o*-verbs, its second vowel wipes out the irrealis *e*: *ama-m-et* and *ama-m-os*. But on *a*-verbs the irrealis *em* is allowed to remain intact, as also in the second and third person dual categories. But when an *a*-verb is inflected for all categories, these forms do exhibit instrument *a*, but now preceding the irrealis prefix.

Table 4: *-ahan* 'to cut (grass)'

	Subject	Stem	+ IRR	+ INS	+ INS + IRR
1SG	<i>dan</i>	<i>d-ahan</i>	<i>d-em-ahan</i>	<i>d-∅-ahan</i>	<i>d-a-m-ahan</i>
2SG	<i>ban</i>	<i>b-ahan</i>	<i>b-em-ahan</i>	<i>b-∅-ahan</i>	<i>b-a-m-ahan</i>
3SG	<i>en</i>	<i>∅-ahan</i>	<i>∅-em-ahan</i>	<i>∅-∅-ahan</i>	<i>∅-a-m-ahan</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>aman</i>	<i>am-ahan</i>	<i>am-em-ahan</i>	<i>am-∅-ahan</i>	<i>am-a-m-ahan</i>
1DU.INC	<i>nanan</i>	<i>n-ahan</i>	<i>na-m-ahan</i>	<i>n-∅-ahan</i>	<i>n-a-m-ahan</i>
2DU	<i>yan</i>	<i>y-ahan</i>	<i>y-em-ahan</i>	<i>y-∅-ahan</i>	<i>y-a-m-ahan</i>
3DU	<i>lan</i>	<i>l-ahan</i>	<i>l-em-ahan</i>	<i>l-∅-ahan</i>	<i>l-a-m-ahan</i>
1PLEXC	<i>emen</i>	<i>em-ahan</i>	<i>em-em-ahan</i>	<i>em-∅-ahan</i>	<i>em-a-m-ahan</i>
1PL.INC	<i>maman</i>	<i>m-ahan</i>	<i>ma-m-ahan</i>	<i>m-∅-ahan</i>	<i>m-a-m-ahan</i>
2PL	<i>yen</i>	<i>y-ahan</i>	<i>y-em-ahan</i>	<i>y-∅-ahan</i>	<i>y-a-m-ahan</i>
3PL	<i>len</i>	<i>l-ahan</i>	<i>l-em-ahan</i>	<i>l-∅-ahan</i>	<i>l-a-m-ahan</i>

3.2.2.5 Pronominal objects

It is possible for at least some verbs (and prepositions) to have cliticised pronominal objects. These forms are also clearly related to the free pronouns. In fact, the first person plural and dual categories have to be expressed by full pronouns. As a preliminary analysis of the morphological process affecting object clitics, I take the verb-final vowel *-a* as basic. This vowel is clearly present when the object has to be a full pronoun. Since the connecting vowel *e* substituting the word-final *-a* is attested in other contexts as well (see §3.1.1), the same process appears to be at work here. This leaves the pronominal object clitics without a vowel. Only the second person plural and dual categories syllabify the initial palatal approximant /y/, eliding the stem-final or connecting vowel. Consider the verb 'to call' with objects in Table 5. The last column gives a broad phonetic representation.

Table 5: Pronominal objects of the verb *eija* 'to call'

Person-number of object	<i>eija</i> 'to call'	Object	Phonetic realisation
1SG	<i>eija-</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>eijet</i>
2SG	<i>eija-</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>eijep</i>
3SG	<i>eija-</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>eijen</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>eija</i>	<i>aman</i>	<i>eija aman</i>
1DU.INC	<i>eija</i>	<i>nanan</i>	<i>eija nanan</i>
2DU	<i>eija-</i>	<i>iyān</i>	<i>eijyan</i>
3DU	<i>eija-</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>eijera</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>eija-</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>eijemen</i>
1PL.INC	<i>eija</i>	<i>maman</i>	<i>eija maman</i>
2PL	<i>eija-</i>	<i>iyen</i>	<i>eijiyen</i>
3PL	<i>eija-</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>eijer</i>

3.2.2.6 Experiential verbs

Now that we have seen the pronominal objects on regular transitive verbs, it is clear that a number of verbs referring to some physiological states are built the same way. The experiencer of such a verb is expressed as object with some inanimate item functioning as third person subject, which has zero marking. In the case of experiential verbs all person-number categories can be cliticised, including first person plural and dual. But also instances of the full verb, ending on *-a*, followed by a full pronoun have been attested. Consider the inflection of the verb 'to be sick' in Table 6. Again, the final column gives a broad phonetic representation.

Table 6: *areba* 'to be sick'

	Experiencer	'be sick'	Object	Phonetic realisation
1SG	<i>dan</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>arebet</i>
2SG	<i>ban</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>arebep</i>
3SG	<i>en</i>	<i>areba</i>	<i>(en)</i>	<i>areben</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>aman</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>am-a</i>	<i>arebama</i>
1DU.INC	<i>nanan</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>n-a</i>	<i>arebena</i>
2DU	<i>yan</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>j-a</i>	<i>arebeja</i>
3DU	<i>lan</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>r-a</i>	<i>arebera</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>emen</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>arebem</i>
1PL.INC	<i>maman</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>arebema</i>
2PL	<i>yen</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>arebej</i>
3PL	<i>len</i>	<i>areba-</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>areber</i>

The verb *areba* itself is morphologically complex. The form *ara* occurs with the meaning 'what, something' and the form *eba* is the verb 'to do' (see also §3.2.4). So, the notion 'X is sick' is expressed by a construction of the type 'something-does/affects-X', in which the verb

functions as a transitive verb marked zero for 3SG subject and cliticised with a pronominal object (for coreference between experiencer and subject of following verb, see example (258) in §3.11.1). The inanimate subject and the verb are in fact separable, for when an experiential verb is inflected for irrealis, the prefix *em-* occurs on the verb *eba*. It cannot precede the inanimate subject. Thus:

- (65) *Dani ar-em-ebe-d-ero.*
 I thing-IRR-do-1SG-not
 I am not sick.

Other experiential verbs are built on the same morphological template, even if it is not always clear whether the subject is an independently occurring lexical item. Consider the examples in (66), which includes at least one example without the verb *eba* 'do/affect'.

- (66) *dukurij-ebe-d* I am cold
mus-ebe-d I have a cold (am coughing)
cicir-ebe-d I am sleepy
s(I)r-ebe-d I am hungry
meric-ebe-d I am thirsty
eice-d I am satisfied (with food)⁸

This list is not meant to be exhaustive. At least for two of these verbs I have evidence that the form functioning as grammatical subject can occur by itself in other contexts:

- (67) *Atou deb-in cicir.*
 sleep keep-come sleep
 S/he is asleep.

And the noun *sir* 'hunger' appears in the expression for 'famine'. At least one more construction is similar, albeit that the object was given as a free pronoun:

- (68) *Ikdebes ebe dani.*
 shame do me
 I am ashamed.

But this may be just a matter of preference, since an alternative to *eice-d* 'I am satisfied' was given as *eica dan hob* 'I already have (eaten) enough'.

3.2.3 Mental states

Mental and emotional states and processes in Sougb are expressed by constructions which have as their subjects an inalienably possessed body part (see §3.3.1). The experiencer is indicated by the person-number prefix on the noun. Most of these expressions make use of *-doc* 'front', as it occurs in (complex) lexical items for 'heart' and 'liver' and the spatial orientation 'in front of' (see also (159) in §3.6):

- (69) *me-doc g-orough*
 3SG-front NOM-?
 heart (Indonesian *jantung*)

⁸ Most likely, this is the verb *eica* that is explained by Sougb speakers as Indonesian *kena* 'to hit, touch'.

- (70) *me-doc mei*
3SG-front under
liver
- (71) *in-doc mes*
1SG-front 3SG-hole
my insides ((Indonesian *hati*) refers to the seat of emotions)
- (72) *Ban b-eigtou se bormei me-doc.*
you 2SG-sit at table 3SG-front
You sit in front of the table.

The complex of possessed body part and verb (or adjective) appears to function as a single verb. Some expressions are probably intransitive, some can have a direct object, other expressions require a preposition, either *an* 'with respect to' or *sa* 'at'.

(i) Intransitive:

- (73) *Dan in-doc momogo.*
I 1SG-front ?
I have sorrow.
- (74) *In-doc eptou.*
1SG-front do-to
I am satisfied. (I suspect the form *eptou* to be *eb(a)* 'do'+ *dou* 'to'.)
- (75) *Me-doc arjaga.*
3SG-front weak
S/he is humble, unassuming.

with *an*: *me-doc arjaga an* = 's/he is generous towards s.o.'

(ii) With direct object:

- (76) *En me-doc g-orougb en me-hi-r namcir.*
s/he 3SG-front NOM-? s/he 3SG-child-PL very
S/he loves her/his children very much.
- (77) *Dan in-doc ediseic en an aremough.*
I 1SG-front ? 3SG concerning goods
I envy him/her his/her possessions.

(iii) With the preposition *an* 'with respect to (w.r.t), concerning' (see also §3.7):

- (78) *Me-doc eigo an.*
3SG-front good concerning
S/he is happy about s.t/s.o.
- (79) *In-doc erij an.*
1SG-front pain concerning
I have pity on s.o.
- (80) *En me-doc ecgu an.*
s/he 3SG-front bad concerning
S/he hates s.o.

- (81) *Dan in-doc esrougb an.*
 I 1SG-front hot concerning
 I am angry about s.t./s.o.
- (82) *Dan in-doc eb deb-in an.*
 I 1SG-front do keep-come concerning
 I trust s.o.; I believe (in) s.o.

(iv) With the preposition *sa* 'at, with' (see also §3.7):

- (83) *Dan in-doc eskraha sa bani.*
 I 1SG-front clear at you
 I am very happy with you.
- (84) *En me-doc eije-sa.*
 s/he 3SG-front call-at
 S/he is sad, worried.

(v) With the verbal adjunct *dougwo* (see also §3.9):

- (85) *Dan in-doc moc dougwo.*
 I 1SG-front ? block
 I have forgotten (s.t.).

The structure of *-doc* as subject and following verb or adjective as its predicate is confirmed by the inflection for irrealis. The prefix *em-* is attached to the verb, not to the body part:

- (86) *En me-doc em-esrougb deit-ero.*
 s/he 3SG-front IRR-hot again-not
 S/he is no longer angry.

Some expressions have a rather different structure. A regularly inflected verb has *-doc* as its object:

- (87) *En eije me-doc esa.*
 s/he call 3SG-front stand
 S/he is confused, worried
- (88) *Dan d-aha-da in-doc namcir.*
 I 1SG-?-go 1SG-front very
 I regret very much.⁹

Some other 'body parts' figure in similar constructions, expressing mental states: *ind-u* '1SG-mind', *mo-u* '3SG-mind', etc. refer to 'thought'; *ind-ina*, *me-na*, '1SG-, 3SG-soul' refers to 'shadow, reflection' (forming a tonal minimal pair with *ind-ina*, etc. 'my father'). The exact meaning of these terms is way beyond the scope of this sketch. But it seems significant that both items are related to items with and without a final *a*, respectively. *Ind-ua moughb* expresses 'I am industrious', which cannot be expressed with *ind-u*, while *ind-in*, same tone as *ind-ina* 'reflection' but without the final *a*, refers to the space in front of me, which is not visible, nor can it be touched. All these items inflect as inalienable nouns (see §3.3.1). What

⁹ This verb is probably related to *aha* 'to look after, raise (animals)'.

exactly the role of this final *a* is on these terms is unclear, but in both cases the addition of it seems to give some more tangible or visible meaning: *-u* 'thought' > *-ua* 'behaviour'; *-in* 'front (aura?)' > *-ina* 'shadow, reflection'.

- (89) *Mo-u oforoho.*
3SG-mind smart
S/he is intelligent, smart.
- (90) *Dan ind-ina eiseis an in-si.*
I 1SG-soul ? concerning 1SG-friend
I remember my friend.

3.2.4 The verb *eba*

In §3.2.2.6 I showed how the verb *eb(a)* 'to do' is part of the experiential verbs. As a main verb it has a generic meaning of 'to do'. It could be homophonous with the verb *eb* 'to cry'. When *eba* is followed by a vowel, the final /a/ is elided. When it is followed by a consonant, the final /a/ becomes [ɛ].

- (91) *Len l-eb ara?*
they 3PL-do what
What are they doing?
- (92) *Len l-eb an ar-ed.*
they 3PL-cry w.r.t what-eat
They are crying for food.
- (93) *Y-eb ara ingga? [ye'bareŋga]*
2PL-do what that
What do you want?
- (94) *Nosa pasar em-eb-ero.*
past market IRR-do-not
In the past there was no market.

The verb *eba* 'do' is highly productive in adapting Indonesian loan words to function as verbs in Sougb. For some of the attested loans I have obtained true Sougb verbs as well. But in many cases the Sougb equivalent consists of a compound or phrase, whose meaning seems to be more specific. The following have been attested.

(95)	Indonesian	Gloss	Loan	Gloss	Sougb
	bantu	help	<i>ebe-bantu</i>	help	<i>ousa</i>
	bayar	pay	<i>ebe-bayar</i>	pay	<i>ouma</i>
	gunakan	to use	<i>ebe-gunakan</i>	use	<i>eic + INS</i>
	lebar	wide	<i>ebe-lebar</i>	be wide	<i>ebehibera</i>
	mahal	expensive	<i>ebe-mahal</i>	be expensive	<i>mera eisaugb</i>
	musuh	enemy	<i>ebe-musu</i>	be enemy with	<i>ed-im</i>
	pakai	use	<i>ebe-pake</i>	use	<i>eic + INS</i>
	piara	look after	<i>ebe-piara</i>	look after	<i>(ouw)aha</i>

pindah	move	<i>ebe-pindar</i>	move (home)	<i>eihwe dig</i>
tambah	add	<i>ebe-tamba</i>	increase	
tukar	exchange	<i>ebe-tukar</i>	trade	<i>ouhw</i>
tuntut	demand	<i>ebe-tuntut</i>	demand compensation	

The list in (95) requires a few comments. Firstly, I suspect the items *ouma* and *ouhw* to be related: *ouhw* is translated as *bagi* 'to divide, give out' and *ouma* is explained as *membeli* 'to buy'. But in Appendix 1, (38) and (39), for example, *ouhw* is explained as *bayar* 'to pay'. Concepts from a cash economy are not easily transferred into a lexicon designed for a bartering system. For example, the word *oufo*, glossed as *tutup* 'to close (a door)' is also glossed as *tutup*, when it denotes the exchange of a brideprice, consisting mainly of *kain timur*, and a woman. In other words, the concepts of 'giving', 'receiving', 'payback' or 'compensation', which used to be associated with specific actions have to be reinterpreted, and receive general glosses in the contact language when they are explained to a foreign linguist. Needless to say, I lack the data to give a clear account of these lexical items, whether they be Sougb originals or loan words.

Secondly, the term *ebehibera* itself seems to be a compound of *eba* + *hibera*.

Finally, the concept 'to use some instrument' is expressed in Sougb by a serial verb construction: the instrument is introduced as an object of the verb *EIC* 'to take' and referred to in a second clause by the instrument marker (see §3.2.2.3). The contexts in which *ebe-gunakan* and *ebe-pake* are used convey a less instrumental sense (see Appendix 1, (3) and (10)).

3.2.5 Some other morphological processes on verbs

There are a few morphological processes involving verbs, which need to be signalled, even though it is not quite clear as yet what their exact function is, or how extensive their applicability. I will briefly give examples and offer some possible explanation, which is of necessity rather speculative.

3.2.5.1 Nominal marking -ingga

Verbs may be encliticised with what is most likely the demonstrative *ingga* 'that', to signal an event which is about to happen. The initial vowel elides after a vowel or is replaced by a connecting *e*, following a consonant. I am not certain about the exact form or its internal structure. It may be *in-g-a* in which the directional *en~in* 'hither' functions together with the nominaliser /k/ (see §3.1.4), and the citation marker *a*, or it may constitute a monomorphemic form *ingga* 'that'. Compare *yebarengga* 'what do you want?' in (93). A similar form seems to occur as part of some conjunctions such as *hang(ga)* 'so', or its near synonym *dangga* 'so', given in §3.11.2.

- (96) *D-eihw-eda-ngga.*
 1SG-away-go-that
 I'm leaving now.

3.2.5.2 *Vowel substitution for emphasis*

I have obtained a few instances of *e*-verbs, which change the stem vowel to *i* when an imperative mood is present. A similar vowel change is not possible on *o*- and *a*-verbs. The verb 'to close (door)' is *ec misis*, but an order to close a door is given as:

- (97) *B-ic misis!*
 2SG-close door
 Close the door!

This does not mean that *b-ec misis* is unacceptable. Both forms are possible, but the *i*-form seems to suggest some stronger illocution. My consultant made the metalinguistic comment with regard to (98), that the forms *b-in* '2SG-come' and *b-id-eya* '2SG-go-see' are used for an order or for an invitation. The verb stems are *en* 'to come' and *eda* 'to go'.

- (98) *Ban b-in naugb b-id-eya se ab-ires habi.*
 you 2SG-come for 2SG-go-see with 2SG-eye then
 You come to go see (him) with your own eyes first. (from John 1:46)

Since the vowel substitution is also possible in first person forms (see (99)) it probably signals something more general than just a command.

- (99) *Dan d-id-eya.*
Dan d-ed-eya.
 I 1SG-go-see
 I went to see.

My data are not sufficient to indicate the difference, as both options are explained with the same gloss in Indonesian. However, when further checking such forms it was confirmed that the substitution of *e* by *i* is indeed only allowed with first and second person categories, regardless of number. In other words, only when the subject refers to one of the speech participants is it appropriate to indicate the heightened illocutionary force. The absence of this phenomenon on *o*- and *a*- stems seems to be due to phonetic constraints.

3.2.5.3 *Verbs ending with -an*

There are a number of verbs ending with *an*, which is homophonous with the preposition *an*, glossed as 'with respect to, concerning' (see §3.7). These verbs seem to be in fact bimorphemic, especially since in some cases the form without *an* also occurs. An attested difference can be found in *eihweda* 's/he went away' and *eihwedan* 's/he went away with something (mentioned earlier)'. Whether similar meaning differences exist for *ogo* 'cook' versus *ouguan* 'cook' and other suspected pairs, is not clear.

- (100) *eimiman* to be amazed
ouguan to cook (*ogo* 'to cook')
ouman to hear
ouwan to want, desire

I suspect *ou(w)* to be a speech verb, as it is used in (101), which I obtained through elicitation in response to (102), found in Titus 3:15 in the Sougb New Testament.

- (101) *Dan d-ou yen yab-an mej-ires-o.*
 I 1SG-say you.PL 2PL-POS 2PL-eye-CIT
 I greet you.¹⁰
- (102) *Emen em-augwan em-ou ban.*
 we.EXC 1EXC-all 1EXC-greet you.SG
 We all greet you.

Given the general affinity between verbs of speech and expressions of intention, especially in Papuan languages, my assumption is that *ouwan* 'want, desire' is in fact this verb *ou(w)* plus the preposition *an* 'concerning'. Possibly, it also figures in the gloss I obtained for 'to think, guess', *oudesa*. This could be composed of *ou* plus connective clitic *d* and the verb *esa* 'to stand' (see §3.11.1 for connective clitic *d*-).

3.2.5.4 Verbs ending with -ro/-lo

A number of verbs end with *ro* (no phonemic contrast between [r] and [l]). This morpheme most likely is the same as the word for 'garden'. The specific meaning 'garden' for *lo* seems to have developed from a more generic reference to the 'world', 'environment', since it also figures in *lonog* '(firm) ground' as opposed to 'water', and in temporal words like *lona* 'day', *loba* 'night'. In (103) it does not refer to 'garden' but to 'everything'.

- (103) *En eiya lo asesa ucugh.*
 3SG see ground true return
 S/he sees everything clearly again.

When attached to a verb, it seems to convey some duration or intensity, as the glosses for these verbs suggest. Compare *atro* 'throw down forcefully' (Indonesian *banting*) in (104) and the verb *at* in (105).

- (104) *Dan d-eic ikdebir d-atro obrugh.*
 I 1SG-take plate 1SG-throw.down it.break
 I take the plate and throw it in pieces.
- (105) *Ban ab-ir b-at in-doc mes.*
 you 2SG-speech 2SG-hit 1SG-front hole
 Your words touch my heart.

Other candidates for possibly complex verbs with 'intensifying' suffix *-ro* are:

- (106) *ogmacro* to spy (Indonesian *memata-matai*)
osloslo to feel, rub
amuhunlo to lie on one's belly
esulo(u) to give advice
aihiro to put s.t. to dry in the sun

¹⁰ I do not understand why this example contains *yab-an*; the possessive pronouns are *mej-en* 'your.PL' and *maj-an* 'your.DU' (see §3.3.1).

3.2.5.5 Verbs containing a nominalised form

There are a number of polysyllabic verbs with an internal consonant cluster of which the second consonant is the velar stop. I suspect these to be complex forms, consisting of two verbs of which the second is a nominalised form with the velar stop being the nominaliser, discussed in §3.1.4. Consider the verb *omom* meaning 'to die'. When a clearly complex form such as *enic gomom* is given for 'to kill', I suggest that its components are 'take/give NOM-die', that is 'to give death (to someone)'. Such a construction is even more transparent in the causative of 'to be courageous'. The mental state 'to be courageous' is expressed by the verb *enic* 'to take/give' and the inalienable noun *mos* 'skin', so that *enic mos* means 'he is courageous' and *d-enic ind-us* 'I am courageous'. 'To encourage someone' is then expressed as in (107). The main verb *enic* 'take, give' has as its object a nominalised instance of the same verb plus its object.

- (107) *D-enic g-enic m-os dou en.*
 1SG-take NOM-take 3SG-skin to him
 I encourage him. (lit. I take taking skin to him.)

Very likely, other verbs with an internal consonant cluster of which the second consonant is the velar stop, have a similar internal structure. Some instances apparently have the same lexical item twice, as *enic g-enic* in (107), others have a different verb nominalised, as *enic g-omom* 'give death'. Some examples are given in (108). Not all components have been identified, and the spelling partly reflects the established orthography, but at this stage, this is enough to signal a possible morphological derivation.

- (108) *acgecim* to be wound up (Indonesian *bergelung*) [ackecim]
acgeic to request [ackeic]
atgeic strong (as in *enic me-doc atgeic an* 'he is stingy towards s.o.')
- eiya garij* to ask for help (with the verb *eiya* 'to see')
- ocgonei* to hide s.t./s.o.
otkot to demolish
oto goto to refuse

3.2.5.6 Reciprocal

Verbs or their accompanying prepositions may be encliticised with *-im* 'RECIPROCAL', which takes the place of a pronominal object, as in (109).

- (109) *Len l-ogod-im debinbin.* [l'en logɔ'tim de'bimbin]
 they 3PL-hit-RECIP all.the.time
 They are fighting all the time.

Recall the arguments in §3.1.1 for connecting *e*. If the verb indeed ends on /-a/ and the clitic *-im* is attached, the resultant assimilation is [ɛ], as in (110) and (111).

- (110) *Em-a(o)usa-im.* [ɛ'mausem]
 1EXC-INS-help-RECIP
 We helped each other using it.

- (111) *Maman ma-eya-im ucugb.* ['maman ma'yem u'cup]
 IINC IINC-see-RECIP again
 We will meet again.

The reciprocal clitic can also be attached to loan words, as in (112), and prepositions (113).

- (112) *Tau la-(e)be-menghadap-im.*
 or 2DU-do-oppose-RECIP
 Or the two of them were opposite each other.
- (113) *Emen em-ebe moc dou-m.*
 IEXC IEXC-do ? to-RECIP
 We were hostile to each other.¹¹

3.3 Nouns

3.3.1 Alienable–inalienable nouns

Sougb distinguishes alienable and inalienable nouns. Inalienable nouns are obligatorily prefixed to indicate person-number of the possessor, which are distinct from the verbal subject prefixes, except for 1PL (see Tables 2–4 in §3.2.2.4). The inalienably possessed nouns comprise the terms for body parts and kinship relations. Alienable nouns occur without such a prefix. When they are possessed, the possessor is expressed by a possessive pronoun. The possessor prefixes that are required on inalienably possessed nouns are the same as those on the possessive pronouns used for alienable nouns, as illustrated in Tables 7 and 8. In both cases a free pronoun may, and frequently does, precede the possessive marker, hence they are included in the exemplifying tables.

Table 7: Possessing an inalienable noun: *-ums* 'ear'

	Possessor	Prefix	Stem
1SG	<i>dan</i>	<i>ind-</i>	<i>ums</i>
2SG	<i>ban</i>	<i>ab-</i>	<i>ums</i>
3SG	<i>en</i>	<i>m(e)-</i>	<i>oms</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>aman</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>ums</i>
1DU.INC	<i>nanan</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>ums</i>
2DU	<i>yan</i>	<i>maj-</i>	<i>ums</i>
3DU	<i>lan</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>ums</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>emen</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>ums</i>
1PL.INC	<i>maman</i>	<i>mam-</i>	<i>ums</i>
2PL	<i>yen</i>	<i>mej-</i>	<i>ums</i>
3PL	<i>len</i>	<i>mer-</i>	<i>ums</i>

¹¹ The word *moc* clearly has to do with expressions of emotion, normally involving *-doc* 'front'; compare *-doc moc* 'to forget' (see §3.2.3). Possibly, it is the result of some elision affecting *em-doc* '1PL.EXC-front', so that the expression could be *emen em-ebe em-doc dou-m* 'we do our fronts to each other'.

Table 8: Possessing an alienable noun: *tu* 'house'

	Possessor	Prefix	Verb	'house'
1SG	<i>dan</i>	<i>ind-</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tu</i>
2SG	<i>ban</i>	<i>ab-</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tu</i>
3SG	<i>en</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>tu</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>aman</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tu</i>
1DU.INC	<i>nanan</i>	<i>nan-</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tu</i>
2DU	<i>yan</i>	<i>maj-</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tu</i>
3DU	<i>lan</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tu</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>emen</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>tu</i>
1PL.INC	<i>maman</i>	<i>mam-</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>tu</i>
2PL	<i>yen</i>	<i>mej-</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>tu</i>
3PL	<i>len</i>	<i>mer-</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>tu</i>

Notice that the third person singular prefix is *me-*.

In contrast to verbs, which may have only [- HIGH] vowels as their initial segment (see §3.2.2.4), the stem of an inalienable noun may begin with any of the five phonemic vowels. A concomitant contrast is that verbs may appear with an initial vowel, due to the 3SG-prefix being zero, while inalienable nouns are always inflected for person-number of the possessor. The default form is marked for 3SG. When items with an initial high vowel are marked for a third person singular possessor, however, the vowels are lowered front or back. Thus, *i*-stems are given in (114) and *u*-stems in (115).

- (114) *ind-ih* my-child *ind-idgo* my-back *ind-ir* my-voice
ab-ih your-child *ab-idgo* your-back *ab-ir* your-voice
m-eh his/her-child *m-edgo* his/her-back *m-er* his/her-voice
- (115) *ind-unyo* my-mother's.brother *ind-ug* my-flesh
ab-unyo your-mother's.brother *ab-ug* your-flesh
m-onyo his/her-mother's.brother *m-og* his/her-flesh

The other vowels remain unchanged, with the prefix vowel elided, consider the *a*-stems in (116), *o*-stems in (117), and an *e*-stem in (118).

- (116) *ind-aga* my-body *ind-agto* my-younger.brother
ab-aga your-body *ab-agto* your-younger.brother
m-aga his/her-body *m-agto* his-younger brother
- (117) *ind-oho* my-name *ind-ohora* my-leg
ab-oho your-name *ab-ohora* your-leg
m-oho his/her-name *m-ohora* his/her-leg
- (118) *ind-ebehito* my-grandchild
ab-ebehito your-grandchild
m-ebehito his/her-grandchild

A number of kinship terms apparently have consonant-initial stems, in which case the final consonant of the possessive prefix either elides or coalesces with the stem consonant. I have no clear data to show what happens in each case. In the next section I list the kinship terms with the forms for both first and third person singular.

3.3.2 Kinship terms

In order to show the basic stems, I give the various forms for both first and third person possessors. For some consanguinal and affinal relations, sex of Ego is a determining factor. First the terms for consanguinal relations of various generations will be given.

3.3.2.1 Consanguinal relations

(119)	Ego is male		Ego is female
a.	<i>ind-agona</i>	1SG-elder.brother	<i>ind-igbegena</i> 1SG-elder.brother
	<i>m-agona</i>	3SG-elder.brother	<i>m-egbegena</i> 3SG-elder.brother
b.	<i>ind-agto</i>	1SG-younger.brother	<i>in-jemeito</i> 1SG-younger.brother
	<i>m-agto</i>	3SG-younger.brother	<i>me-jemeito</i> 3SG-younger.brother

Terms for older and younger sister can be used by Ego of either sex:

(120) a.	<i>in-damowa</i>	1SG-elder.sister, whether male or female Ego
	<i>me-damowa</i>	3SG-elder.sister, whether male or female possessor
b.	<i>in-damehito</i>	1SG-younger.sister (male or female possessor)
	<i>me-damehito</i>	3SG-younger.sister (male or female possessor)

The terms in (119) and (120) are not only used for 'father's brother's children' and 'mother's sister's children', but also for 'father's sister's children' and 'mother's brother's children', that is, for parallel and cross-cousins.

For terms referring to individuals of an older generation, sex of Ego is not relevant:

(121) a.	<i>ind-ina</i>	1SG-father (father's brother, etc.)
	<i>m-ena</i>	3SG-father
b.	<i>ind-im</i>	1SG-mother (mother's sister, father's sister, etc.)
	<i>m-em</i>	3SG-mother
c.	<i>ind-unyo</i>	1SG-mother's.brother
	<i>m-onyo</i>	3SG-mother's.brother

Again, sex of Ego is irrelevant, when grandparents are referred to:

(122) a.	<i>in-jemowa</i>	1SG-grandfather
	<i>me-jemowa</i>	3SG-grandfather
b.	<i>ind-awa</i>	1SG-grandmother
	<i>m-awa</i>	3SG-grandmother

Parents of either sex use the generic term in (123) to refer to their children:

- (123) *ind-ih* 1SG-child
m-eh 3SG-child

The generic term can be specified for sex with the forms *giji* 'male' and *gihida* 'female', both of which appear to be prefixed with the nominalising /g-/ (see §3.1.4). The compounds are often further contracted (see §2.6), as follows:

- (124) a. *ind-ih* *g-iji* [indisi]
 1SG-child NOM-male
 my son
me-ih *g-iji* [meisi]
 3SG-child NOM-male
 her/his son
- b. *ind-ih* *g-ihida* [indihida]
 3SG-child NOM-female
 my daughter
me-ih *g-ihida* [meihida] ~ [meida]
 3SG-child NOM-female
 her/his daughter

The terms in (124) are also used for 'brother's children', whereas 'sister's child' is referred to by (125).

- (125) *ind-ebehito* 1SG-sister's child [indebeito]
m-ebehito 3SG-sister's child [mebeito]

The term *ebehito* is identical to the term used for consanguinal relations two generations down (i.e. 'grandchildren'), which is borne out by the equivalents in Indonesian. When Sougb people refer to 'sister's child' or 'grandchild' in Indonesian they use *cucu* 'grandchild', which is considered the appropriate translation for both senses of *-ebehito*.

3.3.2.2 Affinal relations

For terms referring to affinal relations, sex of Ego and related individual are both relevant factors. Sougb does not have a generic term for 'spouse'

- (126) a. *in-sowa* 1SG-wife *me-sowa* 3SG-wife
 b. *in-suwa* 1SG-husband *me-suwa* 3SG-husband

Terms for affinal relations of Ego's generation are determined by sameness or difference of sex. Women use (127) for their sisters-in-law, men use (128) for their brothers-in-law. The term in (129) is used by men to refer to their sisters-in-law and by women to their brothers-in-law.

- (127) *ind-uhuba* 1SG-husband's sister; brother's wife (female possessor = female in-law of same sex, same generation)
m-ohoba 3SG-husband's sister; brother's wife

- (128) *ind-usba* 1SG-sister's.husband; wife's.brother (male possessor = male in-law of same sex, same generation)
m-osba 3SG-sister's.husband; wife's.brother
- (129) *ind-uma* 1SG-husband's.brother; sister's.husband (female possessor)
 1SG-brother's.wife; wife's.sister (male possessor)
m-oma 3SG-husband's.brother
 3SG-wife's.sister

In other words, *-uma* means 'in-law of opposite sex of same generation'. But this same term can also be used by male Ego for one generation up, 'wife's father'. That is not possible for a female Ego. A woman would refer to her husband's father with the term given in (130), which is equivalent to what either a man or a woman use to refer to their daughter's husband.

- (130) *ind-aba* 1SG-husband's.father; 1SG-daughter's.husband (Ego is either male or female)
m-aba 3SG-husband's.father; 3SG-daughter's husband (Ego is either male or female)

In reference to a female affinal relation one generation up, the same term is used regardless of sex of Ego:

- (131) *ind-imba* 1SG-wife's.mother; 1SG-husband's.mother; in other words, 'mother-in-law' (regardless of sex of Ego)
me-mba 3SG-mother-in-law

A female affinal relation one generation down is referred to by a term (132) which is slightly different from (131) in the case of first person possessor. But for third person possessor I recorded *memba*, as in (131). Possibly a mistake was made, and the first person forms are interchangeable, making the same term applicable to 'female in-law of different generation'.

- (132) *ind-ebeba* 1SG-son's.wife; in other words, 'daughter-in-law'
me-mba 3SG-son's.wife

3.3.3 Plural marking

Kinship terms and nouns referring to social relations may be inflected for plurality by the suffix *-ir*. Although in many instances the vowel of this suffix has another quality, the basic vowel seems to be the high front one, as suggested by the spelling of (133) and the phonetic realisation of this morpheme on a loan word in (134).

- (133) *Yahudi mer-en mougt-ir.*
 Jew 3PL-POS head-PL
 The leaders of the Jews. (John 7:45)
- (134) *L-oho saboku l-ed-a(o)uma dau timur-ir.*
 3PL-carry tobacco 3PL-go-INS-buy from Timor-PL
 They brought tobacco and bought (cloth) with that from the Timorese.

Attested instances of plural social relation terms exhibit vowel elision following stem vowels other than /a/, as in (135). When the stem ends on -a, the two vowels coalesce to /e/, as in (136).

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (135) | <i>ind-ih</i> | 1SG-child | <i>ind-ih-r</i> | 1SG-child-PL |
| | <i>in-si</i> | 1SG-friend | <i>in-si-r</i> | 1SG-friend-PL |
| | <i>m-agto</i> | 3SG-younger.brother | <i>m-agto-r</i> | 3SG-younger.brother-PL |
| (136) | <i>me-sowa</i> | 3SG-wife | <i>me-sowe-r</i> | 3SG-wife-PL |
| | <i>ind-usba</i> | 1SG-male.in.law | <i>ind-usb-er</i> | 3SG-male.in.law-PL |
| | <i>ind-uma</i> | 1SG-female.in.law | <i>ind-um-er</i> | 3SG-female.in.law-PL |

There is one term, obviously taken from the body part term -us 'skin', which expresses 'relative', which assimilates the plural suffix vowel to the vowel of the stem. This fact, plus the substitution of connecting /e/ for stem-final -a, might be arguments for positing an unspecified vowel for this morpheme, -(V)r.

- (137) *ind-us* 1SG-skin
ind-us-ur 1SG-skin-PL = 'my relatives'
- (138) *Danga l-ouhwo danga hob / kaba dou gida mos-or-i.*
 thus 3PL-buy thus already then to woman skin-PL-LNK
 Thus they traded like that, then to the woman's relatives.
 (see Appendix 2, (31))

Affinal relations, such as *usba* and *uma* in (136), are not included in the category of *ind-us-ur* 'my relatives'. 'One's skin' only includes consanguinal relations, except 'mother's brother'.

Another plural marker, the short form of the third person plural pronoun, can be procliticised to human nouns and quantifiers. Here again, it is not quite clear whether the vowel is unspecified, or basically /i/ or /e/, since some vowel harmony appears to occur, as illustrated in (139). The forms in (140) appear to contain the nominaliser /g/ (see §3.1.4). These items suggest that the basic morpheme is *li-*. Through metathesis it could be related to the plural suffix on social relation terms.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|---------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| (139) | <i>sud</i> | person | <i>lu-sud</i> | people |
| | <i>godeh</i> | child | <i>lo-godeh</i> | children (also [lokdeh]) |
| | <i>gi(hi)da</i> | female | <i>le-gida</i> | women |
| | <i>giji</i> | male | <i>li-giji</i> | men |
| (140) | <i>ima</i> | other | <i>l-ima</i> | others (also [likma] or [ligma]) |
| | <i>lik-bum</i> | (an)other person(s) | (this form is unmarked for number, apparently) | |
| | <i>li-k</i> | <i>dohu-r</i> | | |
| | 3PL-REL | water-PL | | |
| | the (people) who bathe | | | |

3.4 Counting

The word in Sougb for 'to count' or 'to read' is *ecic* (also for 'to tell'). The number system is clearly quintenary, based on digits of hands and feet, although the numbers are not clearly etymologically related to body parts. One starts with *hom* 'one', while pushing the thumb of the left hand down, followed by the index finger, *hwai*, until the left hand is a fist for *sergem* 'five'.

The numbers 'six' to 'nine' are compounds of *seng* 'five' + *g* + forms for 'one' to 'four'. The linking velar /g/ may well be the same morpheme as the nominaliser.

The terms for 'five', 'ten' and 'fifteen' are unexplained, although it is quite possible that some morphological variant of 'hand' [sɪr], as in *in-sra* '1SG-hand', *me-sra* '3SG-hand' (Lunow's spelling is <mesira>) is present in the numbers 'five' to 'nine'. The term *sorama* 'fifteen' may well be related to *ohora* 'leg', through an *s ~ h* correspondence, which is present throughout the eastern Bird's Head.

Once the fingers of two hands are counted, the higher numbers apparently refer to toes: *hop* means 'already', but *jer* is unexplained. (Note, however, that neighbouring Meyah has a preposition *jera* 'with' (Gravelle 1998, and this volume, example (95), although this is not used in numbers.) For 'eleven' to 'fourteen' the numbers 1–4 are used again.

The reference to the human body is transparent in the numbers twenty, thirty, forty, etc., as now 'skins' are counted.

The term *untun* 'hundred' is most likely of Austronesian origin, specifically Numfor-Biak, which has *utin* (van Hasselt & van Hasselt 1947:268). It is found in many if not all languages of the Bird's Head and the Moluccas.

(141)	one	<i>hom</i>	
	two	<i>hwai</i>	
	three	<i>homoi</i>	
	four	<i>hogu</i>	
	five	<i>sergem</i>	
	six	<i>senggem</i>	
	seven	<i>senggai</i>	
	eight	<i>senggomoi</i>	
	nine	<i>senggogu</i>	
	ten	<i>sisā</i>	
	eleven	<i>hop-jer-em</i>	(also <i>sisen-hom</i>)
	twelve	<i>hop-jer-ai</i>	(also <i>sisen-hwai</i>)
	thirteen	<i>hop-jer-omoi</i>	
	fourteen	<i>hop-jer-ogu</i>	
	fifteen	<i>sorama</i>	
	sixteen	<i>sorama-hop-jer-em-nama</i>	
	seventeen	<i>sorama-hop-jer-ai-nama</i>	
	eighteen	<i>sorama-hop-jer-omoi-nama</i>	
	nineteen	<i>sorama-hop-jer-ogu-nama</i>	
	twenty	<i>sudā-hom</i>	(also <i>mosā-hwai</i>)
	thirty	<i>mos-homoi</i>	
	forty	<i>mos-hogu</i>	

fifty	<i>mos-sergem</i>
sixty	<i>mos-senggem</i>
seventy	<i>mos-senggai</i>
eighty	<i>mos-senggomoi</i>
ninety	<i>mos-senggogu</i>
hundred	<i>untun hom</i>
thousand	<i>untun sisa</i>

Counting humans or higher animals requires the use of a classifier, which is the inalienably possessed noun *-ug* 'flesh, body':

- (142) *aman am-ug hwai*
 1DU.EXC 1DU.EXC-flesh two
 the two of us
- (143) *emen em-ug homoi*
 1EXC 1EXC-flesh three
 the three of us
- (144) *Ban b-eic hobu mer-ug hosa?*
 you 2SG-take pig 3PL-flesh how.many
 How many pigs did you get?
- (145) *Le-giji mer-ug hogu l-ousa Tuan Lunow.*
 PL-male 3PL-flesh four 3PL-help Mister Lunow
 Four men helped Mister Lunow.

3.5 Spatial deixis

Sougb appears to signal cardinal directions: north, south, east and west. The directions 'east' and 'west' are also glossed as 'down' and 'up', respectively, which could be the basic meaning of the forms *gac* and *gaba*. The basic forms appear in attributive demonstratives, which could be polymorphemic, with the velar consonant as 'NOMinaliser', in analogy to alternative realisations of attributive adjectives. However, forms without the initial consonants are not attested. Consider:

- (146) a. *tu gaba* (also [tu gwa])
 house that.north
 that house to the north
- b. *tu gac*
 house that.south
 that house to the south
- c. *tu gada*
 house that.west
 that house to the west (or: that house up there)
- d. *tu gaih*
 house that.east
 that house to the east (or: that house down there)

These far deictics are in opposition to the deictics *gini* 'this' and *ingga* 'that', which indicate distance in relation to speech participants. For example, when the question is 'which one' *monggro*, or 'where is so-and-so?' one can receive the following answers:

- (147) *monggani* this one; (it) is here
mongga that one; (it) is there
monggaih that one (down, to the east)
monggada that one (up, to the west)
monggaba that one (to the north)
monggac that one (to the south)¹²

The far deictics can also figure as prepositional objects. In response to questions about 'I carry something to ...', I obtained the items in (148). The adverbial deictics have a cliticised directional attached, with the connecting /e/ substituting final -a.

- (148)a. *D-odo dig gabe-da.*
 1SG-carry to north-go
 I carried (it) in a northern direction.
- b. *D-odo dig gac-da.*
 1SG-carry to south-go
 I carried (it) in a southern direction.
- c. *D-odo dig gade-da.*
 1SG-carry to west-go
 I carried (it) in a western direction/going up.
- d. *D-odo dig gahi-da.*
 1SG-carry to east-go
 I carried (it) in an eastern direction/down.

Possibly, the directional [da] is in fact *eda* 'to go', as in the main verb *d-eda* '1SG-go', *b-eda* '2SG-go', etc. This low front vowel would then elide in [digaida] 'to the east' and the final /a/ of *gada* would elide in [digadeda] 'to the west'. The form *gaih* 'down there, towards the east' undergoes metathesis (see §3.1.2), when further suffixed for direction, and the high vowel *i* of *dig* 'towards' would be elided, according to the general process described in §2.6.

- (149) a. *Eskwa dig gahi-da.* [ɛskwatgahida]
 jump to down-go
 S/he jumps down.
- b. *Eskwa dig gada-da.* [ɛskwatgadɛda]
 jump to up-go
 S/he jumps up.

That the final syllable -da in (148) and (149) is a directional, from the verb *eda* 'go', receives supporting evidence from contrasting constructions with -en (most likely from the verb 'come' *en*), as in (150). The same elements are attached to the object in (151).

¹² Actually, when informants make metalinguistic comments, they agree with the spelling used in the published New Testament, by specifying that these forms should have a long vowel: [moonggro, moonggani, moongga, moonggaih, etc.]

- (150) a. *Dan d-en dau gab-en.*
 I 1SG-come from north-come
 I came from a location north.
- b. *Dan d-en dau gac-en.*
 I 1SG-come from south-come
 I came from the south.
- c. *Dan d-en dau gah-in.*
 I 1SG-come from east-come
 I came from the east, down there.
- d. *Dan d-en dau gad-en.*
 I 1SG-come from west-come
 I came from the west, up there.

Thus, one can have either direction, depending on which side of the river the addressees are, as in:

- (151) a. *Yen y-aiga duhu-da.*
 you 2PL-cross water-go
 Cross the river.
- b. *Yen y-aiga duhu-in.* [yaigaduhwin]
 you 2PL-cross water-come
 Cross the river (towards me).

Further evidence is provided by (152a), taken from the published New Testament, for which I elicited the hypothetical variant (152b) with Jesus as speaker. Thus, if the motion would be towards the speaker, it is not *da* which specifies the direction but *in*.

- (152) a. *En esogw-esa se duhu aud en-da.*
 he jump-stand at water to him-to
 He jumped into the water towards him. (John 21:7)
- b. *En esogw-esa se duhu aud dan-in.*
 he jump-stand at water to me-come
 He jumped into the water towards me.

3.6 Spatial orientation

As many other languages (e.g. Hatam, Maybrat, Abun in the Bird's Head), Sougb uses spatial nouns to specify the location of an object. The spatial nouns are found in post-nominal position to the noun referring to the object. Most spatial nouns are prefixed with the third person possessive marker *m(e)-* (see §3.3.1). The construction is thus quite similar to a possessive phrase. This phrase is then governed by a preposition, in most cases *se* 'at'.

- (i) 'inside' *m-es* '3SG-hole'

The word *mes* is generic for any 'hole'. Thus, we have *ind-is* '1SG-arse', *ab-is* '2SG-arse', *m-es* '3SG-arse' which is more polite than *ind-is m-es* 'my arsehole'. It can be combined with 'nose', 'ear', 'ground', 'clothes', etc., as in (153).

- (153) a. *ind-ebes m-es*
1SG-nose 3SG-hole
my nostril
- b. *ind-ums m-es*
1SG-ear 3SG-hole
the inside of my ear
- c. *cinogo m-es*
ground 3SG-hole
a hole in the ground
- d. *sansun m-es*
clothes 3SG-hole
a hole in clothes

The same form is used to specify a location 'inside' a house, for example:

- (154) *En eigtou se tu m-es.*
s/he sit at house 3SG-hole
S/he is sitting inside the house.

(ii) 'under(neath)' *m-eniha*

The spatial noun *meniha* can be used to specify an area under some object, as in (155). I have not been able to obtain some literal meaning for *-eniha*.

- (155) *En atou se bormei m-eniha.*
s/he sleep at platform 3SG-under
S/he is lying under the table.

If a tree has the form of an umbrella, *m-eniha* can be used. If the canopy is not wide, or not in focus, it is *meiyo*¹³ (see also (171) below).

- (156) *Emen em-esa se sogo meiyo.*
1EXC 1EXC-stand at tree under
We are standing under the tree.

The form *mei* is also used for 'under water, under the ground': *se duhu mei* 'under the water', *se cinogo mei* 'under the ground'. It also appears to function in the following items:

- (157) *ind-ir-go mei*
1SG-voice-? under
my neck
- m-er-go mei*
3SG-voice-? under
his/her neck¹⁴

¹³ I assume that the final vowel *-o* of *meiyo* is a phrase- or clause-final clitic.

¹⁴ Although I cannot as yet give an adequate gloss for *-go*, this element seems to carry some meaning of 'surface'. It is found in items such as *ab-ir-go* '2SG-face' (with *-ir-* referring to 'voice', 'sound', 'language'; possibly, the response to my elicitation prompt *leher* 'neck' triggered 'face' instead); *mei-go* 'vulva', *med-go* 'back'. And when *ind-us eihino* is given for 'my skin is peeling' (due to the sunburn of my white skin), the word *hino-go* for 'snake' I suspect to be polymorphemic, as also *cino-go* 'ground, place'.

ind-ir-s mei
 1SG-voice-? under
 my jaw (*m-ers mei* 'his/her jaw')

in-doc mei
 1SG-front under
 my liver (*me-doc mei* 'his/her liver')

(iii) 'at the back of' *medgo*, realised as [mɛtkɔ] or [mɛdɔgɔ]

This word refers to the human or animal body part: *ind-idgo* 'my back', *ab-idgo* 'your-back', *m-edgo* 'his/her-back'.

- (158) *En esa se tu m-edgo.*
 s/he stand at house 3SG-back
 S/he is standing behind the house.

(iv) 'in front of' *me-doc* '3SG-front'

Compare the items 'heart', 'liver' and the expressions for emotions, given in §3.2.3. This inalienable noun specifies the spatial relation of one object to another:

- (159) *se bormey me-doc*
 at table 3SG-front
 in front of the table

It can be used in relation to humans as well, as shown by (160). Both (159) and (160) can also be expressed by what is apparently a verbal element *deseino* 'opposite' (see §3.11.1 below) preceding the object, as in (161).

- (160) *Pak guru ese logodeh sekolah mer-doc.*
 mister teacher stand children school 3PL-front
 The teacher is standing in front of the schoolchildren.
- (161) *Pak guru ese deseino logodeh sekolah.*
 mister teacher stand opposite children school
 The teacher is standing before the schoolchildren.

But, in relation to a house, *me-doc* may not be used. An expression which lacks the lexical reference *tu* 'house' is used:

- (162) *En esa se iktia.*
 3SG stand at front.of.house
 S/he is standing in front of the house.¹⁵

(v) 'corner' of a space is *m-ougwo*:

- (163) *se tu m-ougwo*
 at house 3SG-corner
 in the corner of a house

¹⁵ This expression is reminiscent of Hatam *ig* 'house'.

The space 'between' is expressed by *-oufu*, which behaves as an inalienable noun. That is, it is inflected for dual (164a) or plural (164b).

- (164) a. *se sogo mar-aufu*
 at tree 3DU-between
 between two trees
- b. *se lu-sud mer-oufu*
 at PL-person 3PL-between
 in the midst of people

The orientations *medgi* 'left' (165) and *misen* 'right' (166) also contain the possessive prefix. The word *misen* also means 'right, correct, true' see §3.8.3).

- (165) *tu g-ese dig me-sra m-edgi*
 house NOM-stand to 3SG-hand 3SG-left
 the house which stands on the left
- (166) *tu g-ese dig me-sra m-isen*
 house NOM-stand to 3SG-hand 3SG-right
 the house which stands on the right

There are two (or three) spatial relations that do not use terms marked for third person singular possession. These forms, significantly, are found in prenominal position. 'Above' and 'on top of' are both expressed by a form which lacks the third person possessive marker, *taiba*. For *taiba* both pre- and post-nominal positions have been obtained:

- (167) *se meja taiba*
 at table top
- se taiba bormei*
 at above table
 on top of the table

But, with the meaning 'above' *taiba* is only found prenominally:

- (168) *Ba oh taiba sogo mon.*
 bird fly above tree top
 The bird(s) fly above the tree top.
- (169) *Lampu eb taiba bormei.*
 lamp do above table
 The lamp is hanging above the table.

'Around' is expressed by prenominal *acec*:

- (170) *Len l-esa acec bormei.*
 they 3PL-stand around table
 They are standing around the table.

In the next example it is accompanied by post-nominal *meiyo* (see also (156) above).

- (171) *L-esa acec sogo m-eiyo.*
 3PL-stand around tree 3SG-under
 They are standing around the tree.

The expression for ‘opposite each other’ contains the reciprocal marker *-im*, given in §3.2.5.6, following an apparent reduplicated form:

- (172) *Tu hwai esa irir-im.*
 house two stand opposite-RECIP
 The two houses stand opposite each other.
- (173) *Aman am-eigtou irir-im.*
 1DU.EXC 1DU.EXC-sit opposite-RECIP
 The two of us are sitting opposite each other.

3.7 Prepositions

At various places we have already encountered a number of prepositions. I’ll give a list here, with a brief characterisation of their meanings, illustrated by an example. First, some locative prepositions, of which *sa* seems to be the most generic, meaning ‘at, in(to)’. Since, as we have already seen, word-final *-a* is replaced by connective */e/* (see §3.1.1), this preposition is often realised as [se], and spelled accordingly (also in the Sougb New Testament). When followed by vowel-initial words, the vowel of the preposition is elided, as in (174).

- (174) *Ban b-eihw-eda s(a) ab-an tu e?*
 you 2SG-go-go to 2SG-POS house Q
 You’re going to your house, right?

As example (175) shows, *se* does not only govern locative phrases, but also temporals. That example also shows a related form *sug*, which is required with spatial deictics. Recall the metathesised form *skwada* in §3.1.3 above, as alternative for *sug gada* ‘at up there, in a western direction’. By itself *sug* introduces conditional or temporal protases, as in (176) (see also §4.3.7).

- (175) *Dan d-ouwan d-eigtou sug geni se ari hogu.*
 I 1SG-want 1SG-sit at here at week four
 I want to stay here for four weeks.
- (176) *Sug ab-an hwej einesa ind-an lo kaba ban*
 at 2SG-POS pig enter 1SG-POS garden then you
b-oh dou dan.
 2SG-pay to me
 If your pig goes into my garden you pay (a fine) to me.¹⁶

There are two locative prepositions that differ with *sa* in the sense that *sa* implies a sense of ‘being at a location’, whereas *dig* and *aud* both convey only the motion ‘towards’, excluding the actual state of being there. Native speakers characterise the difference between *dig* and *aud* in terms of their object, the former is used for non-human objects, the latter means ‘toward humans’:

¹⁶ It seems likely that *einesa* ‘enter’ is actually polymorphemic, with at least the preposition *sa* as final element. It cannot have another instance of the preposition following it.

(177) *Ban b-ouwan b-aimo dani dig cinogo.*
 you 2SG-want 2SG-follow me to land
 You want to accompany me to the ground/village.

(178) *En esogwesa se duhu aud en-da.*
 he jump at water towards him-go
 He jumped in the water towards him.

The opposite direction, that is, indicating 'source', is expressed by the preposition *dau* 'from', regardless of whether its object is human or non-human.

(179) *Dan d-en dau ang-giji mebera.*
 I 1SG-come from Anggi-male coast
 I come from the coast of Lake Anggi giji.

(180) *meijouhuda dau Saiba dara Ahoren*
 descendants from Saiba with Ahoren
 the descendants of Saiba and Ahoren

(181) *L-a(o)uma dau len-g timur-timur se Kokas.*
 3PL-INS-buy from 3PL-NOM Timor-east at Kokas
 They bought (*kain timur*) with (tobacco and birds of paradise) from the
 people of East Timor at Kokas.

The preposition *dau* 'from' can also occur without an explicit object, as in:

(182) *Cum kaba udara eihweda dau habi nanan*
 shortly then plane go.away from first 1DU.INC
n-aulo deit.
 1DU.INC-continue again
 In a while, after the plane has left, we continue again (our session).

Although the locative prepositions can also be used for non-locative relations, there are a number of prepositions that can only be used for non-locative notions. These include *dara* 'comitative', *dou* 'to, for', *naugb* 'for', *an* 'concerning, with respect to', *dag* 'like'.

The preposition *dara* 'with, and' functions as a conjunction in noun phrases, as in (183), but it also expresses a manner adverbial with a nominalised adjective as its object, as in (184).

(183) *dan dara akeina*
 I with father
 I and father

(184) *Ban b-atou dara g-eigo e?*
 you 2SG-sleep with NOM-good Q
 Did you sleep well?

Just as the locative preposition *sug* 'at', *dara* can also function as a clausal conjunction (see §3.11.2). In one (elicited) instance, *dara* 'with' expresses an instrument relation, (185), but I suspect this to be a calque of Indonesian *dengan* 'with'.¹⁷ Given the way instrument is morphologically marked by a verbal prefix, it seems that the canonical expression of the

¹⁷ Actually, a similar calque on Indonesian or Malay may be at work in (184).

instrument relation in Sougb is by means of a serial verb construction, as illustrated in §3.2.2.3.

- (185) *Dan d-etkwa hwej dara kepta.*
 I 1SG-cut pig with machete
 I cut up the pig with a machete.

The preposition *dou* 'to' is used for recipient and beneficiary relations. As in other Bird's Head languages, the concept 'give to someone' is expressed with the verb which means 'take, get' and the preposition 'to', as in (186).

- (186) *En eic ar-et dou hwej.*
 s/he take what-eat to pig
 S/he gives food to the pig.
- (187) *Tuhan b-eic m-ou g-ouforoho dou ab-an sogoub*
 lord 2SG-take 3SG-mind NOM-smart to 2SG-POS servant
 Lord, give wisdom to your servant.¹⁸
- (188) *En erei-ara dou dani.*
 s/he deceive-thing to me
 S/he deceived me.

With the verb *-os* 'hold' *dou* seems to form a compound with an idiomatic meaning 'to promise', as in (189). See also footnote 3, explaining the title of the Sougb New Testament.

- (189) *Dan d-os dou ban dag lonebi kaba dan d-ecicugb deit.*
 I 1SG-hold to you like tomorrow then I 1SG-return again
 I promise you that tomorrow I will return again.

The difference between *dou* 'to, for' and *naugb* 'for' may at times be rather subtle. But the latter expresses more a purpose relation than recipient. Whereas I have no instances of *dou* with a clausal object, *naugb* seems to prefer this, as in (190) and (191).

- (190) *Ban b-arautut dan naugb d-ec Sougb m-er.*
 you 2SG-teach I for 1SG-speak Sougb 3SG-sound
 You teach me to speak the Sougb language.
- (191) *Dan d-ouwan naugb len l-en.*
 I 1SG-want for they 3PL-come
 I want them to come.

But *naugb* can have a noun (phrase) as its object, as in (192), and even the reciprocal clitic (see §3.2.5.6), which is phonetically fused, eliding the final consonant of the preposition, as in (193).

- (192) *Len l-en lega naugw-ara?*
 they 3PL-make fence for-thing
 Why are they making a fence?

¹⁸ This example is from a prayer said in church (8/3/98). Notice that the term *sogoub* 'slave' is used here to refer to the preacher who is seen as God's servant. *Mou* is explained as *pikiran* 'thoughts' and the adjective is nominalised. The same expression, without the nominaliser /k/ is used to express that someone is intelligent.

- (193) *L-ebe-simpan aregwa nau-m.*
 3PL-do-put poison for-RECIP
 They place poison for each other.

The preposition *an* is best translated with 'concerning, with respect to, about'. It occurs with a few expressions of emotion, consisting of inalienable noun plus adjective (see examples (78)–(82), as illustrated in (194)).

- (194) *In-doc eigo an ban.*
 1SG-front good about you
 I am happy with you. (= I like you.)

More generally, we could say that *an* introduces the reason for an event expressed by an intransitive verb, as in (195), or by a transitive verb (consisting of inalienable noun plus verb or adjective) plus (pronominal) object, as in (196). Such a relationship accounts for 'having a good heart' concerning someone, as in (194).

- (195) *Lo-godeh l-eb an ar-et.*
 PL-child 3PL-cry for what-eat
 The children are crying for food.
- (196) *Dan in-doc ediseic en an m-en tu.*
 I 1SG-front envious he about 3SG-POS house
 I envy him his house.¹⁹

It can also express that a certain action is done with someone or something previously mentioned, as referred to in §3.2.5.3, and illustrated in (197).

- (197) *En od(o) en b-ec an da hob.*
 3SG carry 3SG RES-walk with go already
 S/he had already taken him and walked off with (him).
 (See §3.11.1 for a discussion of the conjunction *b-*.)

The preposition *dag* 'like' often introduces a quote, sometimes with the element *ai* (see §3.12). An example is:

- (198) *Siba arougb me-sowe-r en dag-ai: ya-gigda ya-(e)ihw-eda*
 Siba order 3SG-wife-PL say like-it 2DU-woman 2DU-go-go
sa tu meniha.
 at house under
 Siba ordered his wives: you two women, go under the house.

It is optional when introducing a name:

- (199) *Ind-oho (dag) Ger.*
 1SG-name (like) Ger
 My name is Ger.

¹⁹ I have not been able to determine the morphological complexity of *ediseic*. The sentence was given as an example for the Sougb equivalent of *irihati* 'being envious'.

Finally, I include two items which function like prepositions, but which are verbal, definitely in the case of *eisaugb* 'ascend', as in (200), possibly in the case of *ijira* 'about', as in (201).

- (200) *Len l-en-ara eisaugb are-m-er.*
 they 3PL-say-thing ascend thing-3SG-speech
 They discuss a problem.
- (201) *Dan d-en-ara goji dou dan ind-ih-r ijira*
 I 1SG-say-thing large to I 1SG-child-PL about
mer-en g-eic-ara.
 3PL-POS NOM-take-thing
 I scold my children for their behaviour.

A number of prepositions, in particular the locative ones, figure in question words (see §3.10).

3.8 Adverbials

I will present the adverbials in seven subclasses. The first three classes comprise other word classes, like nouns (or noun phrases) and adjectives, functioning adverbially. The other four classes consist of true adverbs. This categorisation is preliminary, and mainly based on semantic grounds: (i) temporal adverbials, (ii) locative adverbials, (iii) manner adverbials, (iv) focus adverbs, (v) aspectual adverbs, (vi) negative adverbs, and (vii) intensifiers.

3.8.1 Temporal adverbials

The list given in (202) contains both adverbs and adverbials which are either nouns or noun phrases. I have not been able to determine all possible morphemes.

- (202) *(e)jittogini* now(adays)
lonemen morning (possibly from *lona* 'day' + *m-en* '3SG-POS')
lonemen greb this morning
losog afternoon
loba night
lonehibi tomorrow *giya* yesterday
cabe day after tomorrow *gibeca* day before yesterday
cimobi three days from now *cugubi* three days ago
lone hogu four days from now *gamo* four days ago²⁰
nosa earlier, first
mohon long ago

Temporal adverbials seem to prefer a clause-initial position, but they can also be expressed as a preposition phrase clause-finally, as illustrated in:

²⁰ In Lunow's wordlist: *gamo* 'three days ago' and *cugubi* 'four days ago'.

- (203) *B-esa melaikat l-erbacec emen se loba greb*
 2SG-send angel 3PL-surround 1EXC at night recent
dara lonemen gini kaba emen em-eisa hob.
 with morning this then 1EXC 1EXC-get.up already
 You have sent (your) angels to surround us last night, and this morning we
 have already got up.²¹

3.8.2 Locative adverbials

Some locative adverbials have already been given in §3.5, on spatial deixis.

3.8.3 Manner adverbials

- (204) *misen* true, right (hand),²² (see also (166) in §3.6).
asesa true
indeic true

The difference between the items in (204) is not easily determined. At least *asesa* and *misen* are basically adjectives. One can say (205), in which *indeic* and *misen* are not possible.

- (205) *meijouhw asesa*
 meaning true
 the true meaning

On the other hand, *asesa* cannot be used when asking the question if something is indeed true, as in (206), being the equivalents of Indonesian *betul kah?*. Thus, *indeic* is probably the only true adverb.

- (206) *Indeic e?*
Misen e?
 true Q
 Is that true?

Some other manner adverbs seem to involve reduplication:

- (207) *dedemeda* fast, quickly
deciciji slowly
debimbin all the time

²¹ This sentence comes from a prayer, said at the beginning of an elicitation session. The verb which is explained as *mengelilingi* 'surround' contains the spatial orientation *acec* 'around', possibly with the verb *erba* 'throw'. The adjectival *greb* is explained as *tadi* 'recent past'. The difference with a similar element *graga* 'the one just now' is not quite clear. Both forms appear to have the nominalising prefix *k-*.

²² I have recorded both [mesen] and [misen]; the official spelling is *misen*.

3.8.4 Focus adverbs

Provisionally I list three adverbs, (208), under this heading, since their syntactic positions seems to depend on the scope of their application. Whether all three are equally mobile in a sentence is not clear as yet.

- (208) *deit* again
 dous only
 toua also

In many cases, these adverbs occur in clause-final position, as in (209), but they can also be placed immediately following the predicate, (210), or directly after a nominal constituent which is focussed on, (211).

- (209) *Ban b-en-s kata-kata meijouhw asesa dou emen toua*
 you 2SG-say-CERT word-word meaning true to 1EXC also
 Show us also the true meanings of words.²³

- (210) *Dan d-ecicugb se ind-an tu naugb d-ouman deit*
 I 1SG-return to 1SG-POS house for 1SG-hear again
areg nanan na-(o)gu graga.
 REL 1DU.INC 1DU.INC-write just.now
 I go back to my house in order to listen again to what we have just written.

- (211) *Dan d-en dau Branda ari hwai dous aba.*
 I 1SG-come from Holland week two only still
 I came from Holland just two weeks ago.

Possibly, the suffix to some adjectives is from *toua* 'also', for example, *mougrei-to* 'small'; *deinyor-to* 'near', *gurei-to* 'a few', which would then represent an adverb, as in:

- (212) *Ind-an argouf gurei-to.*
 1SG-POS money little-also
 I have but little money.

3.8.5 Aspectual adverbs

Two adverbs always occur sentence-finally: *hob* 'already' and (*g*)*ebma* or *buma* 'not yet' express a phasal aspect. They are mutually exclusive with the negative adverb *ero*. Consider:

- (213) *Sug dan in-sowa hob kaba ...*
 at I 1SG-wife already then
 When I already had a wife, then ...

Possibly, the form *hob* should be *ohob*, because this vowel or a more reduced, more central, schwa-like vowel is realised, whether this adverb follows a vowel or consonant.²⁴

²³ The verb *en* 'say, speak' can be suffixed with *-s* to convey the sense of 'show, reveal'. I gloss it as 'CERTainty' because this morpheme seems to have a function of making actions or objects more certain (see §3.1.6).

²⁴ In the New Testament *hob* is always spelled with a connecting vowel to whatever precedes it.

The meaning 'not yet' is expressed by either (*g*)*ebma* or *buma*, which may be alternative realisations of (*g*)*ebuma*, the morphological constituents of which are not quite clear. In either case, the verb needs to be marked with irrealis *-em*, as in:

- (214) *Dan d-em-ecinag(a) (g)ebma.*
Dan d-em-ecinaga buma.
 I 1SG-IRR-know not.yet
 I don't know yet.

3.8.6 Negative adverbs

The negative adverb is (*e*)*ro* 'not', always occurring in sentence-final position. Its initial vowel is elided when following a word ending with a vowel. For its syntactic behaviour, see §4.3.6. When a negator is necessary as independent utterance, the form *naro* 'no' is used.

3.8.7 Intensifiers

There are at least two adverbs conveying the sense of 'very'. These are *namcir* 'very', as in (215), and *meyah* which I have only heard in conjunction with the adjective *eigo(uh)* 'good': *eigo meyah* 'very good'.

- (215) *En me-doc gorougb en m-ehi-r namcir.*
 s/he 3SG-front heart s/he 3SG-child-PL very
 S/he loves her/his children very much.

3.9 Verbal adjuncts

Sougb shares with its neighbouring languages Hatam and Meyah the phenomenon of two adverbial elements which deserve some special status. The items *dougwo* and *deb(in)* collocate with many different verbs yielding specific meanings, but a precise meaning for these words is not easily determined. *Dougwo* is glossed as 'block' or 'keep out', and *deb(in)* is provisionally glossed as 'hold onto'. These terms are equivalent to Hatam *ser* 'keep out' and *kep* 'hold onto' and Meyah *joug* and *keing*, respectively (Reesink 1999:73; Gravelle 1998:566, and this volume).

The basic meaning of *dougwo* 'blocking off, keeping out' is best illustrated by (216).

- (216) *Dan d-oho sudga dougwo los.*
 I 1SG-carry raincape block rain
 I wear a raincape against the rain.

When *dougwo* is used with the position verbs *esa* 'stand' and *eigtou* 'sit', the meaning of 'guard, protect' is realised, as in (217), with an extension to 'comfort', when relatives 'sit *dougwo*' a person who has lost a loved one, as in (218).

- (217) *En esa dougwo en m-eh.*
 s/he stand keep.out 3SG 3SG-child
 S/he protects her/his child.

- (218) *Len l-eightou dougwo en me-doc m-es.*
 they 3PL-sit keep.out 3SG 3SG-front 3SG-hole
 They are comforting him/her.

The latter example could be a calque of Hatam (219), or vice versa, of course.

- (219) *Yoni i-gwam ser ni-ngon-ti.*
 they 3PL-sit keep.out 3SG-heart-NOM
 They are comforting him/her.

With a perception verb, like *eya* 'see', the adjunct *dougwo* expresses a sense of 'checking', as in (220), which again runs parallel to Hatam (221).

- (220) *Dan d-eya dougwo ind-an surat.*
 I 1SG-see block 1SG-POS letter
 I check my letters.
- (221) *Dani di-ngat ser dit-de surat.*
 I 1SG-see block 1SG-POS letter
 I check my letters.

The adjunct *deb* has a more aspectual sense, when it collocates with position verbs, as illustrated in (222).

- (222) *Dan d-eightou deb.*
 I 1SG-sit keep
 I'm sitting. (translated as *saya tinggal saja* 'I'm just staying')

It occurs in the phrase expressing 'to expect' or 'to hope':

- (223) *Len l-od mer-na deb sa.*
 they 3PL-fold 3PL-soul keep at
 They are (strongly) hoping for (something).

There are a few instances where *deb* is suffixed with *-in*, which I suspect to be the directional 'towards speaker', as in (224). The form *debin* is explained as 'solid, firm' in the phrase translating 'to believe, to have faith':

- (224) *Dan in-doc eb deb-in an en.*
 I 1SG-front do keep-DIR concerning 3SG
 I believe him/her.

A more intensifying meaning, rather than a continuative aspect, seems to be present in the following examples:

- (225) *Dan d-ouci buku-buku deb-in-im.*
 I 1SG-gather books keep-DIR-RECIP
 I stacked the books.
- (226) *Dan d-ed-erba diara deb-in hosei.*
 I 1SG-go-throw net keep-DIR fish
 I am going fishing.

As a conjecture I would suggest that both *dougwo* and *deb(in)* contain a connective *d-*, which is discussed in §3.11.1.

3.10 Questions

3.10.1 Polar questions

Polar questions marked with *e*, as in (227), seem to convey some presupposition on the part of the speaker, expecting a positive answer.

- (227) *Akeinya ban b-en mohon hob e?*
 daddy you 2SG-come long already Q
 Sir, you came a long time ago, right?²⁵

I have no evidence for polar questions with the marker *a*, which occurs on (many) content questions.

3.10.2 Content questions

3.10.2.1 Inanimate object questions

The question word for 'what' is identical to the word for 'something': *ara*, as (228) and (229) show.

- (228) *D-ouwan d-et ara.*
 1SG-want 1SG-eat something
 I want to eat something.
- (229) *Len l-en lega naugb ara?*
 they 3PL-make fence for what
 What do they make the fence for?

How statements such as 'we are doing something' and questions such as 'what are we doing?' are distinguished is not totally clear. On the basis of my limited data, it seems that a question is formed with more accent (i.e. higher pitch on the final syllable), while a statement has the main accent on the main predicate, as illustrated by:

- (230) *Em-e'cic ara.*
 1EXC-talk what
 We are talking.
- (231) *Y-ecic a'ra?*
 2PL-talk what
 What are you talking (about)?

But in general, the difference between a statement with an indefinite object and a content question seems to be resolved by pragmatic factors.

When the question is specifically about one possible item out of a known set, the head noun is followed by *grong*, as in:²⁶

²⁵ *Akeinya* is the vocative for 'father'; the sentence is explained by Malay *Bapak, su lama kesini kah?*

²⁶ The question word *grong* could contain the element (*i)ro*, which also occurs on the locative question words (see §3.10.2.3) with some nominalising. A precise account of its morphology is not possible on the basis of my data.

- (232) *Hwej grong ban b-eic naugb maman ma-t a?*
 pig which you 2SG-take for 1INC 1INC-eat Q
 Which pig do you get for us to eat?

An answer to the question in (232) would be as in (233), which shows a suffix *-es* indicating some certainty or definiteness on the first deictic (see §3.1.6).

- (233) *G-in-es naro doba ingga dous.*
 NOM-this-one not but that.one only
 Not this one but only that one.²⁷

3.10.2.2 Animate object questions

When the referent is human the form *ara* is prefixed with the nominaliser /g/: *gara*, as in:

- (234) *Gara m-en ij gada?*
 who 3SG-POS canoe that.West
 Whose canoe is that one? (pointing to the west)

Asking for someone's name can be done with *gara* 'who' or *dag(i)ro* 'how':

- (235) *Ab-oho gara?*
 2SG-name who
 What's your name?
- (236) *Ab-oho dag(i)ro?*
 2SG-name how
 What's your name?

The form *dagiro* in (236) obviously contains the preposition *dag* 'like', with some question word *iro*, which figures in a few other questions words, asking for locations. The initial vowel *i* is hardly ever heard in these items (see §2.6 for elision of high front vowel).

3.10.2.3 Locative questions

Question words referring to location or direction are based on the form *(i)ro*. This is attached to a locative preposition, almost always without the initial vowel realised (in spite of the spelling used in the New Testament). Thus, we have: *dauro* 'from where', *sug(i)ro* 'at where', *dig(i)ro* 'towards where'. These items always take the position of the locative constituent, as in:

- (237) *Ban b-eic saboku dau-ro?*
 you 2SG-take tobacco from-where
 From where did you get the tobacco?

²⁷ What exactly goes on in various deictic forms, when they are used in relative, attributive or substantive function, is not quite clear as yet. Invariably they are either prefixed or suffixed with a velar stop, which I have identified as 'nominaliser' (see §3.1.5).

3.10.2.4 Temporal questions

Time question words differentiate between past and future: *aiseba* 'when (referring to the future)' and *aisa* 'when (referring to the past)' (see §3.12 for a tentative morphological analysis). Both question words may occupy various positions in the clause, apparently without great differences in meaning.

(i) Clause-initial:

- (238) *Aiseba ban b-eihwe-de dau?*
 when you 2SG-go-go from
 When are you going away?
- (239) *Aisa ban b-en dau Nenei a?*
 when you 2SG-come from Nenei Q
 When did you come from Nenei?

(ii) Pre-predicate (i.e. between subject and predicate):

- (240) *Ban aiseba b-eihwe-de dau?*
 you when 2SG-go-away from
 When are you leaving?
- (241) *Ban aisa b-en dau Nenei a?*
 you when 2SG-come from Nenei Q
 When did you come from Nenei?

(iii) Clause-final:

- (242) *Ban b-eihwe-de dau sug-(g)ena aiseba?*
 you 2SG-go-away from at-here when
 When are you leaving from here?
- (243) *Ban b-en dau Nenei aisa?*
 you 2SG-come from Nenei when
 When did you come from Nenei?

(iv) Post-predicate (I lack explicit evidence for *aiseba* in this position):

- (244) *Ban b-en aisa dau Nenei a?*
 you 2SG-come when from Nenei Q
 When did you come from Nenei?

3.10.2.5 Quantity questions

Questions about quantity use the question word *hosa*. A preliminary analysis would suggest that *hosa* 'how many' can be part of a noun phrase, preceded by a classifier, as in (245). Or that it may be positioned clause-finally, as in (246), where the quantity of the items of the object is questioned, and not that of the person of the beneficiary preposition phrase.

- (245) *Ban b-eiya ba mer-ug hosa ya?*
 you 2SG-see bird 3PL-body how.many Q
 How many birds did you see?
- (246) *Ban b-ouhw hwej dara limogo dara minj dou ab-sowa hosa?*
 you 2SG-pay pig with beads with cloth to 2SG-wife how.many
 How many pigs, beads and *kain timur* did you pay for your wife?

3.10.2.6 Reason questions

Reason is questioned with the generic noun *ara* 'what, something' attached to either the preposition *naugb* 'for' (247) or the preposition *an* 'concerning, with respect to', as in (248). The phonetic realisation of *naugb-ara* is always [naugwara].

- (247) *Len l-en naugw-ara?*
 they 3PL-come for-thing
 What do they come for? = Why are they coming?

More causal is the composition *an-ara* 'with respect to what'. This appears the interrogative parallel to the the reason conjunction *an-ai* 'because'.²⁸

- (248) *An-ara hang len l-em-en iro-gen ero?*
 concerning-what then they 3PL-IRR-come day-this not
 Why didn't they come today?

3.11 Conjunctions

3.11.1 Cliticised conjunctions

There is some evidence for two connective clitics in Sougb, which at first glance look like pronominal prefixes: *b-*, homophonous with '2SG' and *d-*, homophonous with '1SG'. But when different person categories are used, it appears that these forms are independent of person. They are restricted to verbs which follow a main verb.

Firstly, I present some examples in which *d-* seems to function. In (249) it seems that both verbs are marked for first person singular.²⁹

- (249) *D-arges d-oc an dan g-eic-ara*
 1SG-leave CONN-? concerning I NOM-take-thing
 I stopped with my work.

²⁸ The Indonesian equivalents of the two ways Sougb has for asking 'why' show a similar distinction: *naugb-ara* is translated as *untuk apa* 'for what', and *an-ai* is explained as *kenapa* 'why'. In other words, the former question may also refer to a purpose, whereas the latter wonders what has preceded that could have caused the event being questioned.

²⁹ If indeed *oc* is a verb. Possibly, it is what Lunow's unpublished wordlist gives as *oc* 'wear sarong, tie thatch', which also seems to surface in *oc moms* 'put ears' for 'to listen'. Of course, it could be that *doc* is just a monomorphemic form. It appears in *og-doc*, translated as 'according' (Indonesian *melalui*), and in *g-ouwe-doc* 'the last one'. The verb *ouw(e)*, whose final vowel is uncertain, figures in *ouwe hob* 'it's finished'.

But when the subject is third person, the second verb maintains its 'prefix':

- (250) *En arges d-oc an m-en g-eic-ara.*
 s/he leave CONN-? concerning 3SG-POS NOM-take-thing
 S/he stopped his/her work.

The form *esij* means 'to be near'. It receives the clitic *d-* in:

- (251) *En eigtou d-esij.*
 s/he sit CONN-near
 S/he is sitting nearby.

And in the expression for 'to agree', the clitic *d-* on the second verb, *eisa* 'get up', is metalinguistically explained as a connecting device to emphasise the linkage

- (252) *Maman ma-(o)usa d-eisa hob.*
 IINC IINC-help CONN-stand.up already
 We have already agreed.

- (253) *Sug ban b-ousa d-eisa ...*
 at you 2SG-help CONN-stand.up
 If you agree ...

Possibly, the same clitic figures in *deseino* 'opposite', which could be further broken up into *d-es(a)-eino* 'CONN-stand-before', since *eino* by itself can figure as a main verb meaning 'going in front of someone, going ahead':

- (254) *Ban b-eigtou d-eseino dan.*
 you 2SG-sit CONN-opposite I
 You are sitting opposite me.

As a final comment on the possibly connecting function of *d-*, consider the word *duhu* 'water'. I suspect this is formed with this connective, since the form *mohu* exist for 'liquid' as in (255), which is given for 'snot', while the reduplicated form *mohu-mohu* is given as equivalent for 'wet'.

- (255) *are m-es m-ohu*
 thing 3SG-hole 3SG-liquid
 nasal mucus

The existence of forms *duhu* and *mohu*, both referring to 'liquid, water', suggests that there is a basic form *uhu*, whose initial vowel is lower due to the vowel of the 3SG possessive prefix, as is usual for inalienably possessed nouns,³⁰ (see §3.3.1). These comments are rather speculative, of course, and they should not be taken to imply that the cliticised connective is still productive.

The second cliticised connective can be presented with some more certainty. The clitic *b-* is independent of a second person singular. It appears on the second verb in a series. It seems similar to Hatam *bV-* 'purposive or resultative' (Reesink 1999:102). Hence, I have glossed it as such. Consider:

³⁰ Possibly, Sougb *uhu* and Meyah *mei* for 'water' are arguments to suggest an ancient link to languages far towards the east: *Ok* and *Mek* languages, both named after their predominant word for 'water'.

- (256) *En od(o) en b-ec an da hob.*
 s/he carry s/he RES-walk concerning go already
 S/he had already carried her/him off.

This sentence, taken from a recorded story, can be opposed to (257), when the direction is not away from, but towards the deictic point of reference:

- (257) *En od(o) en b-ec an in hob.*
 s/he carry s/he RES-walk concerning come already
 S/he had already carried her/him hither.

The resultative connector *b-* can only occur on verbs marked for third person singular, which lacks an explicit subject marker. The Indonesian glosses given for the instances in my data all indicate some resultative or purposive meaning. In conjunction with experiential verbs the behaviour of *b-* clearly shows the person categories and the restriction on its occurrence. Consider (258) in which the first predicate is formed by an experiential verb and the second does not allow *b-*. It requires co-reference with the experiencer object of the first. In contrast, (259) has an experiential verb as second predicate, on which *b-* does occur linking the inanimate object or the full predication to the second predicate.

- (258) *Sir-eb-ed d-ahauwa namcir.*
 hunger-do-me 1SG-fear extremely
 I am dying of hunger.
 **Sir-eb-ed b-ahauwa namcir.*

- (259) *D-et-ara b-eice-d dau.*
 1SG-eat-what RES-satisfy-1SG from
 I ate until I was satisfied.
 **D-et-ara d-eice-d dau.*

Finally, the verb *ouw(e)* 'be finished' (Indonesian *habis*), which allows only a third person subject, is prefixed with *b-*, when it figures as a second predicate in a series, as in:

- (260) *En es lo b-ouwə hob.*
 s/he plant garden RES-finish already
 S/he has finished planting the garden.

3.11.2 Lexical conjunctions

A few prepositions, given in §3.7, can also function as conjunctions, such as *dara* 'with' and *sug* 'at'. Some conjunctions seem to contain the nominaliser /g/. As mentioned in §3.1.4, *kaba* 'then' seems related to an adverb *aba* 'still, yet', but the morphemic structure of *hang* 'so' and *dangga* (also realised as *danga*) is not clear. Then there are a few other conjunctions which do not seem to have elements from other word classes. I will simply give a list here. Most of them are illustrated in examples throughout this description or in the texts in the appendices.

- (261) *dara* with, and
kaba then
sug if, when

<i>doba</i>	but
<i>era</i>	or
<i>hang</i>	so
<i>danga</i>	so that
<i>dauntoba</i>	in order that
<i>dobnaro</i>	but not

3.12 The particle *ai*

Various phrases contain a form *ai*, which is not easily translated by itself. The closest equivalent, which I think captures the meaning reasonably well, is anaphoric or cataphoric 'it' or 'that'.

It figures in the formulaic quote introducer:

- (262) *L-eija m-oho en dag-ai.*
 3PL-call 3SG-name say like-this
 They call it like this. (Appendix 1, (12))

It is also found in the time question words (see §3.10.2.4), for which I propose the following morphemic structure:

- (263) *ai-sa*
 that-at
 when, referring to past events
- (264) *ai-s(a)-eb-a*
 that-at-do-Q
 when, referring to future events

I suspect that the conjunction *anai* 'because' is in fact a compound of the preposition *an* 'with respect to' and this same particle *ai*: 'with respect to that' is 'because of this', as in:

- (265) *En em-eic kepta gin ero anai okta hob.*
 3SG IRR-take machete this not because blunt already
 S/he doesn't take this machete for it is blunt.

Apparently it may function as a verb. The expression I obtained for 'stupid' while eliciting a wordlist is clearly polymorphemic:

- (266) *Mou em-ai-ero.*
 thoughts IRR-it-not
 S/he has no thoughts.

In a few recorded texts, *ai* is used as an anaphoric or cataphoric filler. When establishing the correct wording and meaning of such texts, reference by the consultant to *ai* is absent, as if it had no meaning. Given the occurrences illustrated so far, I suggest that it has some rather generic anaphoric function in (267) as well.

- (267) *Doba / indan-ai / atug g-edag ingga gia ingga ro.*
 but my-it comb NOM-like that yesterday that not
 But, mine, the comb is not like the one of yesterday.

4 Syntax

4.1 Noun phrase

Like all other languages of the Bird's Head, Sougb has the basic word order: Noun + Adjective + Numeral + Determiner in the noun phrase, as in:

- (268) *ketmei mougrei hwai gac*
 knife small two those
 those two small knives

When the head noun is animate, the inalienable noun 'flesh' may be used as a classifier with numerals other than 'one' and the number question word *hosa* 'how many'. But this is not obligatory.

- (269) *Ban b-eya ba mer-ug hosa ya?*
 you 2SG-see bird 3PL-flesh how.many Q
 How many birds do you see?
- (270) *Dan d-eya ba (mer-ug) hogu.*
 I 1SG-see bird 3PL-flesh four
 I see four birds.

Coordination of (pro)nominal elements in a noun phrase is expressed by the conjunction *dara* 'and, with', as in:

- (271) *Dan d-ouhw minc homoi dara hwej hwai dara limogo*
 I 1SG-pay cloth three and pig two and bead.string
sud hom dou in-sowa m-ena.
 person one to 1SG-wife 3SG-father
 I paid three ceremonial cloths and two pigs and twenty bead strings to my wife's father (as brideprice).

4.2 Possessive noun phrase

The possessor always precedes the possessee in a possessive phrase. Consider the possessive pronoun with an alienably possessed noun and the free pronoun preceding the inalienable noun *oho* 'name' in (272). The free pronoun is likely to be present in the case of inalienably possessed nouns, as shown in both (272) and (273), although this does not seem to be strictly obligatory, as *in-sowa m-ena* 'my-wife her-father' in (271) illustrates.

- (272) *D-ouwan d-acgeic ab-an cinogo m-oho dara ban ab-oho.*
 1SG-want 1SG-ask 2SG-POS ground 3SG-name with you 2SG-name
 I want to ask your address and your name.
- (273) *Igde erba m-ohora esij dan in-sra m-os ogoufu.*
 sun throw 3SG-leg hit I 1SG-arm 3SG-skin white
 The sunrays hit the white skin of my arm.

4.3 Clause

The limited data from just over three weeks of fieldwork do not allow an extensive discussion of the syntax. I will simply give a few examples of clauses with a nominal predicate, followed by the basic structure of verbal clauses. Sougb, like other languages of the Bird's Head, allows some tight sequences of verbs, which I illustrate under the heading of 'serial verbs' without any theoretical discussion of this phenomenon. The chapter on the clause will be closed by a brief exposition of complex clause constructions: clausal objects, relative clauses, and a first attempt to determine the scope of negation. This last topic was triggered by the apparent obligation to mark the verb with the irrealis prefix in a negative sentence.

4.3.1 Nominal predicate

In non-verbal clauses the predicate can be either a noun (phrase), or items such as numerals, question words, and so on. In examples (274) and (275), the 'topic' is the question word with the possessive pronoun,³¹ and the comment, that is the nominal predicate, is formed by the second noun phrase. The answer to the latter question, (276), illustrates the use of 'certainty' *-(e)s* on the topical demonstrative: *gin(i)* becomes *gin-es*. The nominal predicate is the noun phrase 'Koni's canoe'. There is no evidence in my data for an order in which the nominal predicate is in initial position.

- (274) [Gare m-en] [tu gac?]
 [who 3SG-POS]_{Topic} [house that]_{Comment}
 Whose house is that?
- (275) [Gare m-en] [ij gin-a?]
 [who 3SG-POS]_{Topic} [canoe this-Q]_{Comment}
 Whose canoe is this?
- (276) [Gin-es] [Koni m-en ij.]
 [this-CERT]_{Topic} [Koni 3SG-POS canoe]_{Comment}
 This is Koni's canoe.

The following examples show a question word (277), a numeral (278) or an inalienably possessed noun, functioning as classifier (279), as nominal predicate.

- (277) [Ban ab-ih] [hosa?]
 [you 2SG-child] [how.many]
 How many children do you have?
- (278) [Ind-ebehito] [homoi.]
 [1SG-grandchildren] [three]
 I have three grandchildren.
- (279) [Lusud gus] [mer-ug ero] kaba lotna namcir.
 [people other] [3PL-body not] then quiet very
 There are no people so it is really quiet.

³¹ In both cases the final *a* of *gara* 'who' is substituted by the connecting *e* (see §3.1.1).

The structure as indicated for (278) is only a guess, suggested in analogy to (275). It could well be that predicative possessive structures are actually single noun phrases functioning as a comment on an unexpressed topic. For example, (213), here repeated as (280), suggests that a possessive noun phrase by itself is a well-formed clause, with a final aspect adverb.

- (280) *Sug dan in-sowa hob kaba ...*
 at I 1SG-wife already then
 When I already (had) a wife, then ... (Appendix 1, (9))

Whereas predicative possession apparently can be expressed by non-verbal predication, as in (281), both personal relations and possessions appear to be preferably expressed by some verbal predicate, as illustrated in (282) and (283).

- (281) *Ind-ihida sud me-isi hom.*
 1SG-daughter oldest 3SG-son one
 My oldest daughter has one son.
- (282) *Me-isi hom em-eic me-sowa ebma.*
 3SG-son one IRR-take 3SG-wife not.yet
 One of her sons has not taken a wife yet (is not married yet).
- (283) *Ind-an aregoufu ingm(a) em-eb(a) ero.*
 1SG-POS money some IRR-do not
 I don't have any money. (Acts 3:6)

4.3.2 *Verbal predicate*

Minimal clauses consist of just a verbal predicate, that is an inflected verb, as in:

- (284) *D-ekinei.*
 1SG-thin
 I am thin.

But more frequently (at least during the few weeks I tried to communicate using Sougb) a free pronoun is used, as in:

- (285) *Ban b-einesa!*
 you 2SG-enter
 Come in!

In simple clauses with a transitive verb, an object is expressed, as in (286) and (287).

- (286) *L-et ara l-et ara ...*
 3PL-eat what 3PL-eat what
 They ate and they ate ...

Sentence (286) is from a story telling about many groups of people coming to a big feast. The speaker repeats this small clause many times. The object of 'eating' is not specified. There are other verbs which require this generic noun *ara* when no specific object is available. In such cases a transitive verb cannot be used without an object. When the referent of an object is retrievable from the context, however, objects do not need explicit mentioning, as illustrated in the texts in the appendices.

- (287) *Dan d-eisaugb men-mod.*
 I 1SG-ascend mountain-top
 I climb a mountain.

While the verb *eisaugb* 'ascend' apparently can have a direct object, its antonym *owada* 'descend' requires a preposition:

- (288) *Dan d-owada dau men-mod.*
 I 1SG-descend from mountain-top
 I descend from the mountain.

Oblique objects (i.e. prepositional phrases) follow direct objects, as in the exchange in (289) and (290). See also lines (40) and (41) of the text in Appendix 1.

- (289) *Ban b-ouhw hwej dara limogo dara minc dou ab-sowa hosa?*
 you 2SG-pay pig and necklace and cloth to 2SG-wife how.many
 How many pigs, necklaces and ceremonial cloths did you pay for your wife?
- (290) *Dan d-ouhw minc homoi dara hwej hwai dara limogo sud*
 I 1SG-pay cloth three and pig two and necklace man
hom dou in-sowa me-na.
 one to 1SG-wife 3SG-father
 I paid three ceremonial cloths, and two pigs and twenty necklaces to my wife's father.

In the section on content question words I have already illustrated that time question words may be placed at different positions in the clause: initially, between subject and predicate or finally (see §3.10.2.4). Preferably, temporal adverbs or adverbial phrases are positioned clause-initially, as in (291) and (292). That position is then easily separated from the clause by a conjunction *habi* 'after, first' or *kaba* 'then', illustrated in (293) and (294).

- (291) *Nosa giji dau branda l-en l-eightou se Disihu.*
 before man from Holland 3PL-come 3PL-sit at Irai
 In the past people from Holland came and lived at Irai.
- (292) *Lonebi dan d-ehi sogo.*
 tomorrow I 1SG-fell tree
 Tomorrow I am going to cut down a tree (trees).
- (293) *Lone hom deit habi nanani na-m-ecic are deit.*
 day one again after we.DU.INC 1DU.INC-IRR-tell thing again
 Some other time we'll talk again.
- (294) *Cum kaba n-aulo deit.*
 shortly then 1DU.INC-continue again
 In a little while we'll continue again.

While clause-initial temporals provide a time frame for the event expressed by the predication, temporals in clause-final position are adverbial modifiers of the predicate itself. The latter then specify the duration of the event, as illustrated by the exchange I was taught the first day of my stay at Sururei:

- (295) *Ban b-eightou sug gini se ari hosa?*
 you 2SG-sit at here at week how.many
 How many weeks will you stay here?
- (296) *Dan d-ouwan d-eightou sug gini se ari hogu.*
 I 1SG-want 1SG-sit at here at week four
 I want to stay here for four weeks.

4.3.3 Serial verbs

As already suggested by (296), simple clauses can contain a sequence of inflected verbs. Although such sequences have not been researched in any detail, it seems that they would qualify as serial verb constructions. Provisionally, it seems safe to stipulate the following restrictions: the verbs in such sequences fall within the intonation contour of one clause, they share their subject, obligatorily marked on each verb, and no conjunction or pause may intervene.

- (297) *Dan d-ouwan d-ec d-eiya cinogo.*
 I 1SG-want 1SG-walk 1SG-see land
 I want to walk around to see the place.
- (298) *Ban b-ouwan b-aimo dani dig cinogo.*
 you 2SG-want 2SG-follow me to land
 You want to follow me to the place.
- (299) *Len l-eic-ara l-arses eni.*
 they 3PL-take-thing 3PL-disturb him
 They are disturbing him.

Although I cannot give a good gloss for the verb *at*,³² consider the variants in (300) and (301), suggesting that here again the verbs are closely linked.

- (300) *Dan d-en-ara d-at me-doc m-es.*
 I 1SG-say-thing 1SG-hit 3SG-front 3SG-hole
 I comfort him. (lit. I say something I hit the inside of his front.)
- (301) *En en-ara at enin me-doc m-es.*
 s/he say-thing hit 3SG-self 3SG-front 3SG-hole
 S/he comforts her/himself.

There is at least one verb which is attached to the bare stem of the following verb, contradicting the general rule that all verbs in a series require their own subject prefix. The verb *eda* 'to go' forms a compound with (any?) other verb. It still seems to convey the sense of movement and not just an inchoative aspect:

- (302) *Dan d-ec d-ed-eiya camat.*
 I 1SG-walk 1SG-go-see administrator
 I am going to visit the administrator.

³² The Malay gloss obtained is *kena* 'hit, impinge'; recall the verb *atro* glossed as 'forcefully throw down' in §3.2.5.4. Hence, some meaning in the area of 'hit' would seem appropriate for *at*.

- (303) *Len l-ed-eigtou.*
 they 3PL-go-sit
 They went to stay.

Since the sense of motion is still present in compounds consisting of inflected *eda* and bare stem of the following verb, one would expect that its antonym *en* 'to come' is also possible. But this is not the case, (304) is not acceptable.

- (304) **Ban b-en-eiya*
 you 2SG-come-see

Not only are verbs in a tight sequence inflected for subject person-number, if irrealis marking is called for, as is the case in negative sentences (see further §4.3.6), both verbs require the *em*-prefix:

- (305) *Dan d-em-en d-em-atou se Sururei terimd-ero.*
 I 1SG-IRR-come 1SG-IRR-sleep at Sururei long-not
 I haven't come to stay at Sururei long.
- (306) *Dan d-em-eic kepta d-em-a(e)hi sogo mougrei gi-n*
 I 1SG-IRR-take machete 1SG-IRR-INS-fell tree small NOM-this
ero anai ogta hob.
 not because blunt already
 I do not use this machete to fell this small tree, because it is blunt.

Similarly, the expression obtained for 'to be impatient' (307) is a negated series. The second verb is obviously a reduplicated form of a verb whose meaning I don't know:

- (307) *En em-eigtou em-atei-teij-ero.*
 s/he IRR-sit IRR-?-RED-not
 He is not being patient.

4.3.4 Relative clauses

The construction of a (restrictive) relative clause makes use of the nominaliser /g/, which often is realised as a voiceless [k] (see §3.1.4). When subjects are relativised, the nominaliser *g-* is either a proclitic to the verb of the relative clause, or an enclitic to the head noun or pronoun. For example, when discussing the alternative realisations of a relative clause (308), it was explicitly stated that the proclitic on the verb is not present when it is already expressed on either of the relative pronouns, in (308b) and (308c). The relative pronoun *gedig* is found in the New Testament, and therefore included in the discussion. While I do have instances of the (a) and (b) variants in text and other elicited material, I have not encountered *gedig*. This may be a dialectal variant.

- (308) a. *godeh hom g-ougb-de-dau m-ena*
 child one NOM-run-go-from 3SG-father
 a son who ran away from his father
- b. *godeh hom are-g ougb-de-dau m-ena*
 child one what-NOM run-go-from 3SG-father

- c. *godeh hom gedig ougb-de-dau m-ena*
 child one that run-go-from 3SG-father

The final alveolar nasal of the free pronoun coalesces with the velar stop to a velar nasal, as in (309). The stem-final *-a* of the noun *gi(g)da* 'woman' in (310) is substituted by connecting /e/. The relative clause seems to be obligatorily linked to the main clause by the conjunction *kaba* 'then'.

- (309) *Len-g l-auwoho dan kaba dan d-eic g-omom dou*
 they-NOM 3PL-accuse I then I 1SG-take NOM-die to
len namcir.
 they very
 Those who accuse me falsely I will certainly kill them.³³

- (310) *Gide-g ougw-an-ara dou dan gini kaba dan*
 woman-NOM cook-concerning-thing for I this then I
in-sowa me-si.
 1SG-wife 3SG-friend
 The woman who cooks for me is my wife's friend.

When the head noun has an object function in the relative clause, it is preposed and linked to the main clause with a relative pronoun, consisting of the noun *ara* 'what, something' suffixed with the nominaliser /g/. This means that the final vowel of *ara* is substituted by connecting /e/: *areg*.

- (311) *Hwej m-eh areg dan d-ouma gibeca kaba*
 pig 3SG-child which I 1SG-buy day.before.yesterday then
en omom se lonemen greb hob.
 it die at morning recent already
 The piglet I bought the day before yesterday, has already died this morning.

When the head noun has the function of instrument in the relative clause, the structure is the same as for object relativisation, with the proviso that the verb is marked for instrument by the prefix *a-*:

- (312) *Keita areg dan d-a-(e)hi lo kaba dan d-acgeic*
 axe which I 1SG-INS-fell garden then I 1SG-ask
dau ind-agona.
 from 1SG-older.brother
 The axe with which I cut the garden, I borrowed from my older brother.

When a beneficiary is relativised, a pronoun copy appears to be obligatory as object of the preposition, as in:

³³ The verb *auwoho* means 'to accuse falsely'. To accuse someone of a true fact is expressed by the verb *en* 'say' suffixed with the certainty marker *-s*. Thus, when the accusation is true, the relative clause of (309) would be as follows:

len-g l-en-s dan se misen kaba
 they-NOM 3PL-say-CERT I at true then
 those who accuse me rightly

- (313) *Giji areg dan d-esinsin ij dou en gin kaba*
 male which I 1SG-construct canoe for him this then
dan ind-ebehito.
 I 1SG-sister's.child
 The man I built a canoe for is my sister's son.

4.3.5 Clausal objects

A number of verbs allow or require clausal objects. Perception verbs such as *eya* 'to see', *ouman* 'to hear', and speech verbs, such as *aroub* 'to order' can have a full clause as their object.

- (314) *Dan d-eiya hwej einesa ab-an lo.*
 I 1SG-see pig enter 2SG-POS garden
 I saw the pig enter your garden.
- (315) *Len l-ouman maman ma-(e)n-ara.*
 they 3PL-hear 1EXC 1EXC-say-thing
 They heard us talking.
- (316) *Dan d-aroub Urias es tuhan hom.*
 I 1SG-order Urias shoot mister one
 I order Urias to shoot a foreigner.

4.3.6 Scope of negation

The verbal prefix *em-* has been labelled 'irrealis'. It can be used optionally when the speaker refers to a future event (see §3.2.2.2). The precise import is not quite clear. Informants use the Indonesian term *akan* 'will, about to' to explain its meaning, but when many future references happily do without the prefix, its meaning must be more generic, more attitudinal. As stated in §3.2.2.2, it conveys a sense of uncertainty when a future event is referred to. There is at least one condition which makes inflection with *em-* obligatory. Any verb under the scope of a sentence-final negative *ero* requires it. This fact allows for some clear delimitation of the scope of negation. Let us consider a few examples of verbs with clausal objects. In (317), the main verb lacks the irrealis inflection, because it is not the 'ordering' which is denied. Only the content of the order is a negated clause.

- (317) *Dan d-aroub ban dauntoba ban b-em-d-es ab-an*
 I 1SG-order you in.order you 2SG-IRR-go-plant 2SG-POS
lo (e)ro.
 garden not
 I ordered you that you do not go and plant your garden.

Even though the negative adverb has a strictly sentence-final position, it is possible to include the main predicate under its scope, by inflecting it with *em-*. In (318), both the preposition *naugb* 'for' and the irrealis marker *em-* in the second clause are optional.

- (318) *Dan d-em-aroub (naugb) b-(em)-ehi sogo gac ero.*
 I 1SG-IRR-order for 2SG-IRR-fell tree that not
 I did not order you to fell that tree.

The optionality of irrealis marking on the second clause seems to allow differentiation as to whether the event took place or not. In the case of *b-em-ehi* the addressee did in fact not fell the tree, whereas if the verb form *b-ehi* is chosen, the meaning seems to be that although the speaker did not order it, the addressee did cut the tree down. This seems to be borne out by the next examples:

- (319) *Dan d-em-eiya hwej einesa ab-an lo (e)ro.*
 I 1SG-IRR-see pig enter 2SG-POS garden not
 I did not see that the pig went into your garden.

- (320) *Dan d-eiya doba hwej em-einesa ab-an lo (e)ro.*
 I 1SG-see but pig IRR-enter 2SG-POS garden not
 I saw that the pig did not enter your garden.

In (320), the scope of the negative is limited by the connective *doba*, and the irrealis is marked only on the negated verb. Presumably, when the negative is explicitly applied to the main predicate (i.e. when it is inflected with *em-*), the speaker has a choice with regard to the subordinate predicate. A final example has to suffice for this preliminary account of the scope of negation in Sougb. For (321) I have no evidence for the semantic difference between presence or absence of *em-* on the verb *aimo* 'follow', but I suspect that absence of this marker may imply that the scope of negation is exclusively on the first verb.

- (321) *Ban b-em-ouwan naugb b-(em)-aimo dan ero e?*
 you 2SG-IRR-want for 2SG-IRR-follow me not Q
 You don't want to come with me, do you?

4.3.7 Conditional sentences

Finally, I present a few examples of conditional sentences. The protasis is invariably introduced by the preposition *sug* 'at', and the apodosis by the conjunction *kaba* 'then', as is the case with the relative clause constructions I obtained. Negation is obviously possible on either conjunct, as illustrated in (322) and (323). Counterfactuals, as in (324) clearly allow negation of both conjuncts.

- (322) *Sug los medam kaba dan d-em-en ero.*
 at rain big then I 1SG-IRR-come not
 If it rains hard, I won't come.

- (323) *Sug dan ar-em-eba dan ero kaba dan toua d-aimo*
 at I thing-IRR-do I not then I also 1SG-follow
dan in-si naugb aman am-iheron hwej.
 I 1SG-friend for 1DU.EXC 1DU.EXC-look.for pig
 If I am not sick I also go with my friend to hunt pigs.
 If I had not been sick, I would also have gone with my friend to hunt pigs.

- (324) *Sug ban b-em-en-s minc mejouhw dou dan ero*
 at you 2SG-IRR-say-CERT cloth meaning to I not
kaba dan d-em-ecinaga eisaugb minc gin tou ero.
 then I 1SG-IRR-know ascend cloth this also not
 If you had not shown me the meaning of *kain timur*, I would not have known
 about these cloths.

But, because Jonathan Ahoren told me the text on the *kain timur* reproduced in the appendices, we do know a little about its function in Sougb society. Moreover, because he and others were willing to teach me how to understand the recorded texts and how to say things, we do know a little about this language.

Appendix 1

The use of *kain timur*

Told by Jonathan Ahoren, Sururei, 11 March 1998

After Jonathan had told this text I transcribed it from the tape and then checked my attempt with Urias Ahoren. I tried to read it back from my (broad) phonetic transcription, which Urias then provided with slow, careful pronunciation and the meaning in Indonesian. Occasionally he needed to listen to the tape himself when I had not been able to hear what was said, due to the fast speed of deliverance. The text is given here, as much as possible in the established orthography. Loan words from Indonesian are printed in **bold**. At various places I indicate Jonathan's pronunciation, illustrating the variation between voiced and voiceless stops and between the two liquids [l] and [r], and transitional [e] instead of final /a/ which is heard in isolation and before pauses. There are other transitional vowels, which I gloss as linkage (LNK). Items in parentheses reflect their presence in isolated speech and their absence in connected flow of speech. Where I feel it is appropriate I give a broad phonetic transcription of a phrase, to show which phonemes or sequences are elided in connected speech. Slashes indicate a non-final pause, which is signalled by a brief silence and concomitant absence of a falling intonation on the final syllable.

- (1) [sukdaninjomower / loumeminc]
Sug dan in-jemow-er / l-ouma minc / kain timur /
 about I 1SG-grandfather-PL 3PL-buy cloth cloth eastern
ka(ba) l-oho saboku / l-oho besa.
 then 3PL-carry tobacco 3PL-carry bird.of.paradise
 When our ancestors bought *kain timur* (= expensive cloth, mainly used for
 brideprice), then they brought tobacco and birds of paradise.
- (2) [laumedarenga]
L-a(o)uma dau len-g / timur-timur / se Kokas.
 3PL-INS-buy from 3PL-NOM Timor-east at Kokas
 With that they bought (*kain timur*) from the East Timorese people, at Kokas.

- (3) [ackunoks¹ckinjomower]
Acgunog se in-jemow-er / dangaba /
 happen at 1SG-grandfather-PL so.then
 [injomow¹erohminckIni]
in-jemow-er l-oho minc gi-ni /
 1SG-grandfather-PL 3PL-carry cloth NOM-this
 [ka¹terImdenaugwa / lebegunakan / naujmersower]
ka terimda naugb-a / l-ebe-gunakan naugb mer-sow-er /
 then continue for-LNK 3PL-do-use for 3PL-wife-PL
 [naujmerihirmersower] / [naugwøŋgesrougw¹]
naugb mer-ihir mer-sow-er /
 for 3PL-son-PL 3PL-wife-PL
naugb len-g g-esrougb.
 for 3PL-NOM NOM-wedding.feast
 It happened to my ancestors, then, my ancestors brought these *kain timur* and continued using them for their wives, for their sons' wives, for those who would have a wedding feast.
- (4) *Kaba / l-eic l-a-be-tukar-im. l-a(o)um-em.*
 then 3PL-take 3PL-INS-do-exchange-RECIP 3PL-INS-buy-RECIP
 Then they took and used (*kain timur*) to trade with each other, they traded with each other,
- (5) *dauntoba l-a(o)um-em be-deinyom o-hob.*
 in.order 3PL-INS-buy-RECIP RES-enough LNK-already
 in order that they had traded until it was enough (i.e. to everyone's satisfaction).
- (6) [kaba / indani / dandectowindusur]
Kaba / ind-an-i / dan d-eic dou ind-us-ur.
 then 1SG-POS-LNK I 1SG-take to 1SG-skin-PL
 Then, mine, I gave them to my relatives.
- (7) *Ind-us-ur len l-eihw-an-da / dan ind-us-ur mer-en-i /*
 1SG-skin-PL they 3PL-go-w.r.t-away and 1SG-skin-PL 3PL-POS
 [karenlarkestoudandep]
ka(ba) len l-arges dou dan deb.
 then they 3PL-leave for I HOLD
 My relatives they went away with them and those (*kain timur*) of my relatives, they would leave for me to keep.
- (8) [naukdandauhwo / daninsowa]
Naugb dan d-a(o)uhwo / dan in-sowa.
 for I 1SG-INS-pay I 1SG-wife
 So that I could use them to pay for my wife.

- (9) *Sug dan in-sow(a) o-hob / dan eh / ouw o-hob kaba /*
 at I 1SG-wife LNK-already I eh finish LNK-already then
 [dandebegunakandeyit / kadeptododane / indakto.indaktomesowa]
dan d-ebe-gunakan deit / kaba deb-dodo dan-e / ind-agto.
 I 1SG-do-use again then HOLD-? I-LNK 1SG-younger.brother
ind-agto me-sowa.
 1SG-younger.brother 3SG-wife
 When I already had a wife, after I, eh was finished then, I used (those *kain timur*)
 again and I put them to my younger brother, for my younger brother's wife.³⁴
- (10) *Kaba len l-eic mer-en-e / minc ucina-hon / g-ebe-rogor.*
 then they 3PL-take 3PL-POS-LNK cloth road-old NOM-do-black
 Then they gave theirs, the old *kain timut*, the black ones.
- (11) [keberorkaba / leijemohondaga / sirboughweij]
G-ebe-rogor kaba / l-eija m-oho en dag sirboughbeij.
 NOM-do-black then 3PL-call 3SG-name say like name.mountain
 The black ones are called *sirboughbeij*.
- (12) [kahani / kareijemohondagai / ikdouwoho]
G-ahani / ka l-eija m-oho en dag-ai / igdouho.
 NOM-red then 3PL-call 3SG-name say like-it *ikdouho*
 The red ones are called *ikdouho*.
- (13) [keberogorkaba / leijemohondagai / anebemhironjmhohop]
G-ebe-rogor kaba / l-eija m-oho en dag-ai /
 NOM-do-black then 3PL-call 3SG-name say like-it
an-e bemehirongmohob.
 REL-LNK *bemehirongmohob*
 The black ones are called *bemehirongmohop* (explained as *bemehi* 'hawk' and
mohop 'claw'; the form *rong* is not explained. Presumably it is a possessive form.).
- (14) [kahani / kaleijemohondaga / anowæ / maroujmena]
G-ahani / ka l-eija m-oho en dag-ai /
 NOM-red then 3PL-call 3SG-name say like-it

³⁴ The expression *deb dodo* is explained as 'a kind of inheritance, something that one can keep, or that stays'. Informants would claim it is one word. At any rate, it seems to contain the verbal adjunct *deb*, which I translate as 'HOLD' (see §3.9), and perhaps a form related to the verb *odo* 'to carry'. Neither form contains a subject prefix, as is clear from (i) and (ii). See also line (20) below.

(i) *Dan d-ohw dou ban deb dodo.*
 I 1SG-give to you 'keep'
 I gave (it) to you to keep.

(ii) *Ban b-ohw dou dan deb dodo.*
 you 2SG-give to me 'keep'
 You gave (it) to me to keep.

ara-noba / maroungmena.

what-and maroungmena

The red ones are called *maroungmena* (explained as *magaroub* 'look for' and *mena* '3SG-father').

- (15) [hakeni / kareicabetukarIm]

Hang gi-ni / ka l-eic l-a-be-tukar-im.

REL NOM-this then 3PL-take 3PL-INS-do-exchange-RECIP

Those are the ones they took and used to exchange with each other.

- (16) *L-a(o)ume-m / l-eic g-ahani / l-a(o)uma / k-ebe-rogor.*

3PL-INS-buy-RECIP 3PL-take NOM-red 3PL-INS-buy NOM-do-black

They paid each other with them. They took the red ones, they used (them) to buy black ones.

- (17) *G-ebe-rogor / l-a(o)um-em.*

NOM-do-black 3PL-INS-buy-RECIP

The black ones, they used to pay each other.

- (18) *G-ahani / l-a-oum-em.*

NOM-red 3PL-INS-buy-RECIP

The red ones they used to pay each other.

- (19) *Dauntoba / ind-an-i / dou-a / dan ind-us-ur / l-eihw-an-da.*

in.order 1SG-POS-LNK to-LNK I 1SG-skin-PL 3PL-go-w.r.t.-away

In order that mine were for my relatives, and they went away with them.

- (20) ['daramere'nilohu'dout dep'todo / 'dauɸwan'dakto'mesowa]

Dara mer-en-i l-ouhw dou-d deb-dodo /

and 3PL-POS-LNK 3PL-give to-1SG HOLD-?

d-a-oufo ind-agto me-sowa.

1SG-INS-buy 1SG-younger.brother 3SG-wife

And theirs, they gave to me to keep, with which I would buy my younger brother's wife.

- (21) *Sug dan in-sow(a) omom-o hob /*

at I 1SG-wife die-LNK already

ka(ba) dan d-eic minc gi-ni /

then I 1SG-take cloth NOM-this

[kabadaumarukwa]

kaba d-a(o)um(a) aregwa.

then 1SG-INS-buy poison

After my wife had died, I took this *kain timur* and I bought poison with it.

- (22) *Dan d-eic minc gi-ni ka d-a-ouma aregwa /*

I 1SG-take cloth NOM-this then 1SG-INS-buy poison

[dauntobarokwa / katahuda / sutəhomdeyit]

dauntoba aregwa / ka d-a-ogod sud hom deit /

in.order poison then 1SG-INS-hit man one again

- debin dan in-sowa.*
 payback I 1SG-wife
 I took these *kain timur* and bought poison with them in order that the poison ...
 then I killed someone in exchange for my wife.
- (23) *Kaba / len l-eic minc-e / hwai / len l-a-eic dou dan.*
 then they 3PL-take cloth-LNK two they 3PL-INS-take to I
 Then they gave *kain timur*, two (of them), they gave to me.
- (24) *Dauntoba dan (in)d-oc eigouh an minc gi-ni.*
 in.order I 1SG-heart good w.r.t cloth NOM-this
 In order that I would be happy on account of this *kain timur*.
- (25) *Kaba / dan d-eic minc gi-n deit /*
 then I 1SG-take cloth NOM-this again
kaba d-a-(e)hi men-i deit.
 then 1SG-INS-fell mountain-LNK again
 Then I took this *kain timur* again and then I felled a mountain again.³⁵
- (26) [kaba / lenlohuda / limesaredeyt]
Kaba len l-ogod-a / lima dara deit.
 then they 3PL-hit-LNK five with again
 Then they killed five more (people).
- (27) *Kaba / len l-eic hugahani.*
 then they 3PL-take *kain.toba*
 Then they got *kain toba*.³⁶
- (28) [hugwaginggaba / mogreyto / dobmenhargisaugwu]
Hugahani gi-n kaba / mougrei-to /
kain.toba NOM-this then little-?
doba m-en harga eisaugwu.
 but 3SG-POS price ascend
 The *kain toba* is smaller, but its price is higher.
- (29) *Do kain timur / kaba ebe-lebar ebe-hibera.*
 but *kain timur* then do-wide do-wide
 But the *kain timur* is wide, large.
Ebe-hibera dan agas gugwa.
 do-wide and long very
 It is wide and very long.
- (30) *Doba / ke-hugahani / ka(ba) mera / eb-a / eb / eh / mougrei-to.*
 but NOM-*kain.toba* then price do-LNK do eh little-?
 But as for the *kain toba*, its price is, eh, eh, it is little (i.e. not the price, but its size).

³⁵ 'To fell a mountain' is explained as an idiom meaning 'to bribe some strong men to do some killing on one's behalf'.

³⁶ *Hugahani* is possibly (*du*)*hu* 'water' + *k-ahani* 'NOM-red'. It is the name for a more precious trading cloth than *kain timur*, in local Malay *kain toba*.

- (31) *Ya / hugahan(i) gi-n mera / sorama.*
 yes *kain.toba* NOM-this price fifteen
 Yes, the price of a *kain toba* is fifteen (*kain timur*).
- (32) [eh / dandiceŋəp / kacuŋgaba]
Eh / dan d-eic ing hob / ka cum kaba /
 eh I 1SG-take this.NOM already then later then
 After I had got these, then later,
- (33) [tohwahangeni / lecimera / sorama]
d-ouhw hugahani gi-ni / l-edi mera / sorama /
 1SG-sell *kain.toba* NOM-this 3PL-throw price fifteen
 I sold this *kain toba*, they threw the price, fifteen (*kain timur*).
 (= They paid me fifteen *kain timur* for one *kain toba*.)
- (34) *Ka d-eic sergem / deb-dodo ka /*
 then 1SG-take five HOLD-? Q
dan d-a(e)hi men-ə deit.
 I 1SG-INS-fell mountain-LNK again
 Then I took five, it was my property, right, (and) I used them to fell a mountain
 (= pay for henchmen) again.
- (35) *Dan-eh / sisa / ka naugb d-a(o)uf(o) in-sowa menau deit.*
 and-eh ten then for 1SG-INS-buy 1SG-wife new again
 And eh, ten, (were) for me to buy a new wife with.
- (36) *Ya / minc gi-ni / ucinohon gi-ni m-en meijouhwa dangga.*
 yes cloth NOM-this old.cloth NOM-this 3SG-POS meaning thus
 Yes, the *kain timur*, the old cloth's function is like that.
- (37) *Minc ucinohon-ə m-en meijouhwa dangga.*
 cloth old.cloth-LNK 3SG-POS meaning thus
 Thus is the function of the old *kain timur*.
- (38) *Dang-aba / l-ouhw minc ucinohon gi-ni terimda /*
 thus-then 3PL-buy cloth old.cloth NOM-this continue
 [teremdeyaba / səmouhwecwedebin]
terimda kaba smoug bait tu-e debin.
 continue then fire burn house-LNK altogether
 Like that then they would trade with *kain timur* in the past until fires had
 burned houses and everything in them (i.e. including *kain timur*).
- (39) [lesara / kareiclahuyayau / lesaradaya]
L-es-ara / ka l-eic l-a-ouhw g-agau /
 3PL-shoot-thing then 3PL-take 3PL-INS-buy NOM-unripe
l-es-ara dag-ai /
 3PL-shoot-thing like-it
 (When) they fight, then they take and they buy people to be killed, they fight
 like this:

- (40) *Dan d-arougb / urias / es tuhan hom gi-ni*
 I 1SG-order Urias shoot mister one NOM-this
dau Branda / dou dani /
 from Holland to I
ka dan d-eic minc ucinohon gi-ni /
 then I 1SG-take cloth old.cloth NOM-this
sis dou Urias.
 ten to Urias
 I order Urias to shoot this man from Holland for me, then I would give this *ucinohon* cloth, ten pieces to Urias.
- (41) *Dang Urias en eica / sisa / ucugb dou dani.*
 thus Urias he take ten in.return to I
 So Urias, he would give ten in return to me.
- (42) *Ne daunto(ba) dan (in)d-oc eigouh an / tuhan hom gi-ni.*
 ? in.order I 1SG-heart good w.r.t mister one NOM-this
 This in order that I would be happy with respect to this man.
- (43) *En en dau Branda / doba /*
 he come from Holland but
 [enemebararimuskinero]
en em-eb-ara ara ima sug gi-n ero.
 he IRR-do-thing thing other at NOM-this not
 He has come from Holland but he hasn't done anything for me.³⁷
- (44) *Dang dan d-es en augwo dan d-eic minc ucinohon*
 thus I 1SG-shoot he freely I 1SG-take cloth old.cloth
dan d-a(e)ic en.
 I 1SG-INS-take he
 Thus I can kill him with impunity, I give *ucinohon* cloth to him.
- (45) *Eh / danga minc ucinohon gi-ni mer(a) eisaugb*
 eh thus cloth old.cloth NOM-this price ascend
m-en meijouhwa dangga.
 3SG-POS meaning thus
 Eh, thus the price of the *ucinohon* cloth is high, its meaning is like that.
- (46) *Minc ucinohon gi-ni m-en meijouhwa dangga.*
 cloth old.cloth NOM-this 3SG-POS meaning thus
 Thus is the function of the *ucinohon* cloth.
- (47) *Ititogini / eh / minc ucinohon / kaba /*
 now eh cloth old.cloth then

³⁷ Lines (43) and (44) are delivered in very fast tempo, without any pause.

m-en meijouhwa g-aimo kaba / bomjougb m-er.
 3SG-POS function NOM-follow then Timor.people 3SG-speech
 Nowadays, eh, the *ucinohon* cloth, then, its function which follows the language of the people from Timor.

(48) [bomjoumerkinikabenmera /]

Bomjougb m-er gi-ni kab(a) en mera /
 Timor.people 3SG-speech NOM-this then say price

dag-a(i) / seratus libu.
 like-it hundred thousand

In the language of the people from Timor its price is like one hundred thousand.

(49) *Eh / minc ucinohon en mera eh / anam latus.*
 eh cloth old.cloth he price eh six hundred
 Eh, (some) *ucinohon* cloths are six hundred (thousand rupiah).

(50) *En-g mera hom-e deit-i / ka sadu juda.*
 3SG-NOM price one-LNK again-LNK then one million
 There is one whose price is (different) again, then it is one million.

(51) *Ya / danga eititogini kaba em-ebe-pake / menau /*
 yes thus now then 1EXC-do-use new
dau-ə / timul-timul l-ogo(n) mene-nau gi-n deit-i /
 from Timor-east 3PL-sew new-RED NOM-this again-LNK
kaba em-ebe-pake gi-n deit okeni /
 then 1EXC-do-use NOM-this again but

len mer(a) em-eisaugb ero.
 they price IRR-ascend not

Yes, thus now, then we use new (cloths) from the East Timorese people they sew new cloths again, and we use these also but their price is not high.

(52) [kenimeremeisaugwejero]
Gi-ni mer(a) em-eisaugb ero.
 NOM-this price IRR-ascend not
 These are not expensive.

(53) *Danga hangga l-ebe-pake mohon mer(a) eisaugw-e dous.*
 thus that 3PL-do-use old price ascend-LNK only
 That's because it's only the old ones that are expensive.

(54) *Ya / dara / meijouhw-e hom deit-i / ka minc g-ahani.*
 yes with meaning-LNK one again-LNK cloth east NOM-red
 Yes, and, there's one feature more, the red *kain timur*.

(55) *Minc g-ahan(i) gi-n tou-a seratus ribu.*
 cloth NOM-red NOM-this also-LNK hundred thousand
 These red cloths also are one hundred thousand (rupiah).

- (56) *Bogometko / bogometko / kaba anam pulu.*
 k.o.cloth k.o.cloth then six ten
 The *bogometko*, it costs sixty (thousand).³⁸
- (57) *L-ouma s(e) argoufu / kaba mos-e senggem / ya /*
 3PL-buy with money then skin-LNK six yes
 They buy (them) with money, then it is sixty (thousand), yes.
- (58) *Se sougb m-er. m-os-e senggem.*
 with Sougb 3SG-speech 3SG-skin six
atau se bahasa merayu / kab(a) anam pulu.
 or with language Malay then six ten
 In the Sougb language it is *mos senggem* 'six skins', or in Malay then it is *enam puluh* 'sixty'.
- (59) *Eh / minc ucinohon / mera / anam latus / mougrei.*
 eh cloth old.cloth price six ten little
 The old cloth costs six hundred, not much.
- (60) *Se bahasa merayu / kaba / yang setan / anam ratus.*
 with language Malay then REL middle six hundred
 In Malay, the middle-sized, are six hundred.³⁹
- (61) *Doba / en-g harka / dua / kaba / sadu juda.*
 but 3SG-NOM price two then one million
 But there are with the price (of) two, then they cost one million.
- (62) *Dob(a) (i)titogini kaba / en obohokoug-wo hob.*
 but now then 3SG torn-LNK already
 But nowadays they are all torn.⁴⁰
- (63) *Doba / l-ebe-pake mene-nau / yang baru / harka turun.*
 but 3PL-do-use new-RED REL new price descend
 But they use the new ones, the new ones are cheap.
- (64) [danyaŋlama / kabamereisaunmedam]
Dan yang lama / kaba mera eisaugb medam.
 and REL old then price ascend big
 And the old ones are very expensive.
- (65) *En-g mohon ka mera eisaugb medam / ya.*
 3SG-NOM old then price ascend big yes
 The old ones are very expensive, yes.⁴¹

38 Both instances of *bogometko* are pronounced as [wo:metko]. The word is explained as *kain cita*, that is, a more expensive type of *kain timur*, which in Sougb is called *minc duhu* 'cloth water'.

39 Malay *sedang* 'middle size' is pronounced as [setan].

40 *Obhokoug* is also pronounced as [obowougw] (see §3.1.2).

41 The phonetic realisation of *mera eisaugb medam* is as in line (64).

- (66) *Danga l-ebe-pake / minc gi-n kaba / nosa kaba /*
 thus 3PL-do-use cloth NOM-this then past then
 Thus they used the cloth (*kain timur*), then, in the past,
- (67) *d-ebe-tambe k-raga deit / em-jemowe-r (l)-oho saboku.*
 1SG-do-add NOM-just again 1EXC-grandfather-PL 3PL-carry tobacco
 I'll add to what I just (told) again, our grandfathers they brought tobacco.
- (68) *L-oho saboku len l-a-(o)uma dau timur-ir.*
 3PL-carry tobacco they 3PL-INS-buy from Timor-PL
 They brought tobacco with which they bought (*kain timur*) from the Timorese.
- (69) *L-agacin saboku m-os-i / m-os-e dag gi-ni /*
 3PL-wrap tobacco 3SG-skin-LNK 3SG-skin-LNK like NOM-this
hwai / kaba / menau ucinohon-a hom.
 two then new old.cloth-LNK one
 They wrapped tobacco, tobacco leaves like this, two, then, one new old cloth
 (i.e. they would trade two wrappings of tobacco for one *kain timur*).
- (70) *Hwai danga deit-i menau (u)cinohon-a hom jadi saboku*
 two thus again new old.cloth-LNK one so tobacco
m-os hogu / ka l-a-ouma minc ucinohon hwai.
 3SG-skin four then 3PL-INS-buy cloth old.cloth two
 (For) two (wrappings) again one old cloth, so that for four wrappings they
 would buy two old cloths.
- (71) *Minc ucinohon / saboku m-os hogu danga deit-i /*
 cloth old.cloth tobacco 3SG-skin four thus again-LNK
ka l-a-(o)ume minc ucinohon hwai deit. ya.
 then 3PL-INS-buy cloth old.cloth two again yes
 The old cloth, with four wrappings of tobacco they'd buy two old cloths in return.
- (72) *Dang hangga / lu-sut len l-ot mer-na dep sa*
 thus that PL-person they 3PL-fold 3PL-soul HOLD at
minc ucinohon gi-n namcir.
 cloth old.cloth NOM-this very
 Because of that, the people craved/desired *kain timur* a lot.⁴²
- (73) *Ititogini lu-sut l-omom dau / em-ne-r (l)en l-ouhw.*
 now PL-person 3PL-die from 1EXC-father-PL they 3PL-buy
 At the time that people had died, our fathers they traded (*kain timur*).
- (74) *Em-ne-r (l)-omom dau / emen gi-ni em-ouhw deit.*
 1EXC-father-PL 3PL-die from we.EXC NOM-this 1EXC-buy again
 After our fathers had died, we in turn traded them.

⁴² The expression *-ot -ena dep sa* is explained as 'hope for', but the meaning seems quite a bit stronger than just 'hoping'.

- (75) *Doba iitogini kaba kurang namcir hob. Gurereito dous.*
 but now then less very already little only
 But nowadays there are already much less. (There are) just a few.
- (76) *Gus kaba etataha / kaba obogougb /*
 other then ruined then torn
smougb ait-i / ka g-augwan hob.
 fire burn-LNK then NOM-all already
 Some are ruined, (others) are torn, or burned, and so they are all finished.
- (77) *Doba / g-eb gi-ni kaba ito gurereito /*
 but NOM-do NOM-this then just little
doba len-g mer-soho(mougb) dous / en-g le l-ouhw.
 but they-NOM 3PL-rich only 3SG-NOM they 3PL-buy
 But, the ones that are still here are just a few, but it is only the rich people who trade.
- (78) *Len-g mer-sohomougb l-op mer-ei hom-hom deb /*
 they-NOM 3PL-rich 3PL-put 3PL-POS one-one HOLD
iren l-ouhw. Ya.
 they 3PL-buy yes
 It is the rich people who have stored a few, they trade. Yes.
- (79) *Dang hangga / minc ucinohon gi-n kaba l-a-ouma aregwa.*
 thus that cloth old.cloth NOM-this then 3PL-INS-buy poison
 So then, those old cloths they used to buy poison.
- (80) *Minc ucinohon gi-n kaba l-a-(o)uma aregwa /*
 cloth old.cloth NOM-this then 3PL-INS-buy poison
dang iitogini kaba / emen Kristen /
 thus now then we.EXC Christian
emen em-eineg dau aregwa hob.
 we.EXC 1EXC-turn from poison already
 Those old cloths they used to buy poison, but nowadays, we have become Christians, we have already turned away from poison.
- (81) [dangaba / emenemohukamaumugwey]
Danga kaba / emen em-ouhw em-a-ouma hwej.
 thus then we.EXC 1EXC-buy 1EXC-INS-buy pig
 Thus then we trade (*kain timur*) to buy pigs.
- (82) *Em-a-ouhwo / em-ehi-r mer-sowa(-r) / gi-n dous,*
 1EXC-INS-trade 1EXC-son-PL 3PL-wife-PL NOM-this only
ya g-in dous.
 yes NOM-this only
 We only use them to buy wives for our sons, yes, that only.
- (83) *En-g-a han emen em-(ebe-)pake.*
 3SG-NOM-LNK w.r.t we.EXC 1EXC-do-use
 That's what we use them for.

- (84) *Dara / eh / bogometko / kaba / se bein m-er*
 with eh *kain.cita* then with foreign 3SG-speech
en dag anam pulu doba /
 say like six ten but
Sougb m-er kaba / m-os-o hogu /
 Sougb 3SG-speech then 3SG-skin-LNK four
m-os-o hwai / m-os-o homoi / ya.
 3SG-skin-LNK two 3SG-skin-LNK three yes
 And eh, the *kain cita* then in Indonesian it is sixty but in Sougb then it is forty, twenty, thirty, yes.
- (85) *Aimo dau g-agas-i / g-agaroub.*
 follow from NOM-long-LNK NOM-short
 Depending on its length, its shortness.
- (86) *Ya / g-in engga emen-g Sougw-e eme-pake danga.*
 yes NOM-this this.NOM we.EXC-NOM Sougb-LNK 1EXC-use thus
 Yes, that's how we who are Sougb use them.
- (87) *Dara / sug l-es-im / l-omom-i /*
 and at 3PL-shoot-RECIP 3PL-die-LNK
kab(a) em-ebe-gunakan minc gi-ni /
 then 1PLE.EXC-do-use cloth NOM-this
ka naugw-a em-a-ouhw len-g l-omom.
 then for-LNK 1EXC-INS-trade 3PL-NOM 3PL-die
 And if they fight with each other and they die, then they use these *kain timur* in order to pay for those who have died.
- (88) *Dag-a / Urias en-e / en-ara dou dan /*
 like-LNK Urias 3SG-LNK say-thing to I
kaba / dan d-es-ai /
 then I 1SG-shoot-it
dan d-es tuhan hom dau Branda gi-n dou Urias.
 I 1SG-shoot mister one from Holland NOM-this for Urias
 Like if Urias would tell me, then I would kill, I'd kill this man from Holland for Urias.
- (89) *Kaba / ya / Urias en eic-a minc-e sergem /*
 then yes Urias he take-LNK cloth-LNK five
ucinohon sergem dou dan /
 old.cloth five to I
kaba dan d-eic sisa dou en-i.
 then I 1SG-take ten to he-LNK
 Then yes, Urias he would give five cloths, five *kain timur* to me and I'd give him ten.

- (90) *Danga kaba / sug dan ind-ih(i-r) l-omom /*
 thus then at I 1SG-son-PL 3PL-die
ka(ba) dan d-ebe-tuntut deit.
 then I 1SG-do-demand again
 So then, if my sons would die, then I would demand (compensation) again.
- (91) *Dan d-ebe-tuntut dou Urias / dang (k)aba Urias en-e /*
 I 1SG-do-demand to Urias thus then Urias he-LNK
ebe-bayar-e / in-sowa (e)ra ind-ih(i) g-omom deit /
 do-pay-LNK 1SG-wife or 1SG-son NOM-die again
ind-agto g-omom deit.
 1SG-younger.brother NOM-die again
 I would demand (compensation) from Urias, so that Urias he then would pay for my wife, or my son who would have died, or my younger brother who would have died in return.
- (92) *Kaba en edrek kaba / eic-a-m sud sergem.*
 then he surpass then take-LNK-? person five
 Then he would give more, he'd give fifty.
- (93) *Sud sergem gi-ni / se Sougb m-er /*
 person five NOM-this with Sougb 3SG-speech
doba se bei m-er / bahasa merayu / kaba / lima ratus.
 but at foreign 3SG-speech language Malay then five hundred
 This fifty, that's using Sougb, but in the Malay language it is five hundred.
- (94) *Atau se Sougb m-er / kaba sud sergem. Ya.*
 or with Sougb 3SG-speech then person five Yes
 Or in Sougb (we'd say) five persons (= fifty). yes.
- (95) *Hangga emen em-ebe-pake dangga / kaba / len lu-gus-(g)us /*
 so we.EXC 1EXC-do-use thus then they PL-other-RED
len lu-gus-(g)us toua / len l-eya dangga / kaba /
 they PL-other-RED also they 3PL-see thus then
len mer-nuhw(a) ecgu an dani-ngga.
 they 3PL-stomach bad w.r.t I-this.NOM
 So, we used them like this, then other people, other people also, they see like this, if they'd be angry with me.
- (96) *Len mer-uhwa ecgu an dani / kaba / len toua*
 they 3PL-stomach bad w.r.t I then they also
len l-es-a minc naugb dan toua dangga deit.
 they 3PL-shoot-LNK cloth for I also thus again
 If they'd be angry with me, then they too, they'd shoot cloth for me again (i.e. they'd use *kain timur* in order to pay others to kill me).

- (97) *Da(u)ntoba l-es dan deit. Ya.*
 in.order 3PL-shoot I again yes
 In order that they would shoot (kill) me. Yes.
- (98) *Minc ucinohon g-in m-en meijouhwa dangga.*
 cloth old.cloth NOM-this 3SG-POS meaning thus
 Such is the function of the old *kain timur*.
- (99) *L-a(o)uma b(r)imogo / b(r)imogo / se / sougb m-er*
 3PL-INS-buy gun gun with Sougb 3SG-speech
en da(k) b(r)imo(go) g-agas.
 say like gun NOM-long
 They'd use them to buy guns, that's what we call them in Sougb, 'long guns'.
- (100) *Toba / bahasa merayu / kaba / senapan aer pambu.*
 but language Malay then weapon water bamboo
 But in the Malay language they're called *senapan air bambu*.
- (101) *Ya / danga l-eic-a / kain timur ki-n sisa /*
 yes thus 3PL-take-LNK cloth east NOM-this ten
l-a(o)uma / brimogo hom.
 3PL-INS-buy gun one
 Thus with ten *kain timur* they'd buy one gun.
- (102) *Danga len l-eic brimogo gi-ni /*
 thus they 3PL-take gun NOM-this
ka l-a(o)ufo dan ind-ihida hom /
 then 3PL-INS-trade I 1SG-daughter one
kaba l-eic kain timur gi-n / minc ucinohon
 then 3PL-take cloth east NOM-this cloth old.cloth
sud hom / kaba / brimogo / brimogo hom dara. Ya.
 person one then gun gun one with yes
 Thus they gave (me) this gun, then they traded one of my daughters, they gave (me) this *kain timur*, twenty old cloths, and then, with one gun. Yes.
- (103) *Gi-ni d-ec(ic)-ar(a) (e)isaugb minc-a / m-en meijouhw ingga /*
 NOM-this 1SG-tell-thing ascend cloth-LNK 3SG-POS meaning this.NOM
dang-e ebeij su-nggwa / su-ng-e habi
 thus-LNK until at-NOM-there at-NOM-LNK first
 This is what I tell about the function of the *kain timur*. This is it for the moment.

Appendix 2

Sougoub 'slave'⁴³

Told by Jonathan Ahoren, Sururei, 11 March 1998

- (1) *Sougoub kaba / emen-g Sougb / em-ouma / sogoub*
 slave then we.EXC-NOM Sougb 1EXC-buy slave
hom dau sud hom / me-sowa / kaba la-(e)ic-im
 one from man one 2SG-wife then 3DU-take-RECIP
mar-ihī hwai /
 2DU-child two
 As for slaves, we who are Sougb, we buy one *sougoub* from someone, his wife,
 (that is if) the two are married and they have two children.
- (2) *Kaba dan d-ouwan / dan d-ed-ouma hom kaba /*
 then I 1SG-want I 1SG-go-buy one then
la-eic gida dou-d ka(ba) dan d-ouma
 3DU-take female to-1SG then I 1SG-buy
sa hugahan hom.
 with *kain.toba* one
 Then (if) I want to, I (can) go and buy one, and they give me a girl I'll pay
 with a *kain toba* (= an expensive type of ceremonial cloth = *kain timur*).
- (3) *D-ouma se hugahani hom / hugahan gi-ni /*
 1SG-buy with *kain.toba* one *kain.toba* NOM-this
harga limabelas. Atau mera sorama. Ya.
 price fifteen or price fifteen yes
 I (would) pay with one *kain toba*, the price of this *kain toba* is fifteen (*kain timur*).
 Or (now repeated in Sougb) the price is fifteen. Yes.
- (4) *Dan d-ouma / gida hom /*
 I 1SG-buy female one
ka lan la-(o)uhw dou dan d-ebe-piara.
 then they.DU 2DU-trade to I 1SG-do-look.after
 I would buy one girl and they'd trade her to me and I would look after her.⁴⁴
- (5) *Dan d-ebia- / d-ouwaha. D-ouwaha terimda /*
 I 1SG-do 1SG-look.after 1SG-look.after continue

⁴³ At first I had glossed *sougoub* with 'adopted child', thinking that 'slave' would have too many connotations not fitting the concept of the Sougb, or indeed in general of the Bird's Head. Since I learned, however, that a true adoption requires marking a child with a drop of one's own blood, and calling such a child *induhwihi mogo* 'my blood's drop' (Dan Lunow, pers. comm.) I think 'slave' will do as general gloss, provided this English term is allowed to have different definitions depending on which culture and which time it is referring to.

⁴⁴ The original recording of the last clause is not quite clear: I cannot identify the final compound of Sougb elements with the Indonesian loan *piara* 'look.after:

[ka-ra-lauh-dou-dan-deneribiara] 'then-3DU-3DU-trade-to-me- ...'.

- kaba / d-eihwe-de se moskona /*
 then 1SG-go-go to Moskona
- kaba dan ind-u eigo ihi g-iji hom dara deit.*
 then I 1SG-thought good child NOM-male one with again
 I would look after her. I looked after her for a long time and then I'd go to
 Moskona, if I wanted a boy as well⁴⁵
- (6) *D-ed-ouma g-iji hom dara deit-i / kaya d-ouma se /*
 1SG-go-buy NOM-male one with also-LNK ? 1SG-buy with
hugahani hom deit-i / kaba sorama danga deit.
kain.toba one again-LNK then fifteen thus again
 I'd go buy a boy as well, I'd buy with a *kain toba* again, that's fifteen (*kain timur*)
 again.⁴⁶
- (7) *Atau limabelas / harga.*
 or fifteen price
 Or fifteen (*kain timur*), (that was the) price.
- (8) *Ya dan tou dan d-oho lani d-em-ouwaha /*
 yes I also I 1SG-carry they.two 1SG-IRR-look.after
kaba / dan d-ouhw g-ida dou me-suwa /
 then I 1SG-give NOM-female to 3SG-husband
dau ind-an le(n-g) Sougb.
 from 1SG-POS 3PL-NOM Sougb
 Yes, I also I carry them, I look after them and then, I'd buy a girl for her
 husband, from my Sougb people.
- (9) *Dara d-ouhwo g-ida hom dau len-g Sougb dou g-iji.*
 with 1SG-buy NOM-female one from 3PL-NOM Sougb to NOM-male
 I'd buy a girl from the Sougb people for the boy.
- (10) *Dauntoba len l-eic mer-ihir / kaba /*
 in.order they 3PL-take 3PL-child-PL then
l-eij(a) en da(g) sogoub me-h(i).
 3PL-call say like slave 3SG-child
 In order that (when) they get children, then, they will call (them) child of a
 slave (*sogoub mehi* is explained as *hambah* = servant).
- (11) *Sohoub me-h(i) / arti / eh / bukan anak / anak-e betul /*
 slave 3SG-child meaning eh not child child-LNK true

⁴⁵ In line (5) the speaker starts off with a mistake: he begins with an Indonesian loan, prefixed with Sougb *eba* 'do', but then repairs with the Sougb equivalent *d-ouwaha* '1SG-look after' which contrasts with *aha* 'look after (animals)'.

⁴⁶ After the first pause, the speaker utters *kaya* which is left untranslated during the transcription. I suspect it is an instance of *ka(ba)* 'then', rather than Indonesian *kaya* 'rich'. This line is followed by an explanation in Indonesian: the price for a boy was one *kain toba*, the equivalent of fifteen *kain timur*.

tapi / anak yang pinjam atau beli / sohoub me-hi.

but child REL borrow or bought slave 3SG-child

(The expression) *sougoub mehi* means, eh, it is not a child, a true child, but a child which has been borrowed or bought, a servant.⁴⁷

- (12) *G-ihida sohoub me-h(i) / g-iji sohoub me-hi. Ya.*
 NOM-female adopt.child 3SH-child NOM-male slave 3SG-child yes
 Whether a woman or a man, they're both called *sougoub mehi* (= servant). Yes/⁴⁸
- (13) *Dauntoba / len-g sogoub gi-ni kaba mer-uwa moub /*
 in.order 3PL-NOM slave NOM-this then 3PL-behaviour shine
mer-uwa moub terimda.
 3PL-behaviour shine continue
 In order that the slaves will be industrious, industrious all the time.⁴⁹
- (14) *Mer-uwa moub l-es-ara d-eig-eigou / l-ahan lo /*
 3PL-behaviour shine 3PL-do-s.t. CONN-good-RED 3PL-cut garden
l-ehi lo.
 3PL-fell garden
 They will be hard working, they will work well, weed the gardens, fell the gardens.
- (15) *L-ahan lo gi-ni / bikin bikin bersih rumput*
 3PL-cut garden NOM-this make make clean weeds
dan l-ehi lo gi-ni tebang kayu.
 and 3PL-fell garden NOM-this fell tree
 This (expression) they weed the gardens (means in Indonesian) make (REPAIR) make clean the grass (i.e. weeding, but cutting the long grass and brush), and (the expression) they fell the gardens (is in Indonesian) fell the trees
- (16) *Ya / l-ehi lo d-eig-eigou. Dauntoba l-aha hwej.*
 yes 3PL-fell garden CONN-good-RED in.order 3PL-look.after pig
 Yes, they fell gardens really well. In order that they raise pigs.
- (17) *L-aha hwej gi-ni / se bei m-er*
 3PL-look.after pig NOM-this with foreign 3SG-speech
en dag biare babi.
 say like look.after pig
 They raise pigs; that's called in Indonesian *piara babi*.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The expression *sougoub mehi* is explained by my consultant as *hambah* 'servant'. The phrase is given in the established orthography, agreeing with the pronunciation during slow speech. In this text, the speaker quite consistently pronounces it as [sohoumeh] or [soumeh], occasionally ended with a voiceless high front vowel.

⁴⁸ Note: Sougb /g-ihida/ 'NOM-female' is pronounced as [kita].

⁴⁹ See §3.2.3 for *mer-u* 'their thoughts' versus *mer-uwa* 'their behaviour'. Compare also footnote 56.

⁵⁰ Note that the pronunciation of the Indonesian phrase *piara babi* 'raise pigs' is affected by the speaker's Sougb phonology: /p/ becomes [b], and the final /a/ is assimilated to the transitional Sougb [e]: [biarebabi].

- (18) *Ah / l-es lo d-eig-eigou / la / l-ouwaha lu-sud.*
 eh 3PL-plant garden CONN-good-RED ? 3PL-look.after PL-person
 Eh, they work in the garden well and look after people.
- (19) *L-agau-esa lu-sud / eh / ini /*
 3PL-look.after PL-person eh this
 They take care of people, eh, this:⁵¹
- (20) *Kaba orang lajin masa / untuk / eh damu-damu yang latan.*
 then people industrious time for eh guest-guest REL come
 Then they are industrious when, for, eh, visitors who come.
- (21) *Se bei m-er dangga.*
 with foreign 3SG-speech thus
 That's how it is in Indonesian.
- (22) *Doba se Soung m-er /*
 but with Sougb 3SG-speech
ka(ba) mer-uwa mougb l-a-(o)uwaha se / mer-us-ur.
 then 3PL-behaviour shine 3PL-INS-look.after with 3PL-skin-PL
 But in Sougb it is: they will be hard working looking after their relatives.
- (23) *Ya / jadi / len-g Sougb / mer-en meijouhw.*
 yes so they-NOM Sougb 3PL-POS behaviour
 Yes, so, this is the behaviour (custom) of the Sougb people.
- (24) *Kaba l-eic minj ucinohon gi-ni l-a-(o)ufo l-einyana.*
 then 3PL-take cloth old.cloth NOM-this 3PL-INS-buy 3PL-many
 Then they used these *kain timur* to pay for marriage a lot.⁵²
- (25) *L-a-(o)ufo mer-sow-er-i / ka mer-sow-er ki-n*
 3PL-INS-buy 3PL-wife-PL-LNK then 3PL-wife-PL NOM-this

⁵¹ The words used in (19) and (22) have been recorded as [lahauesudusut] and [lahauese], respectively. During the transcription (19) was dictated as *l-agauwesa* and glossed with *jaga-jaga* 'look after, protect', while (22) became *l-a-(o)uwaha* and glossed as '*mereka piara*' = 'they look after'. Lunow's wordlist has an entry *agauwisa* 'to oversee; to protect; to take care of, by feeding'. Thus, the general meaning of the items in (19) and (22) is clear, but the actual morphemic structure eludes me.

⁵² The verb *oufo* is explained by my consultants as '*Itu pakai barang tutup dengan isterinya, atau ganti*' = 'that means one takes some goods and holds these close to the wife, or to exchange'. The verb refers to the (old) marriage custom where a young man's father and/or mother's brother takes the brideprice, mainly consisting of the old cloths (*kain timur*), and presses these goods against the bride (= *tutup* 'to close' in local Malay) to signify the exchange of goods and a woman. I suspect the verb being identical to the verb 'to close a door' which has the same lexical form in both Sougb and local Malay: *ouf(o) misis* = *tutup pintu*. Lunow's wordlist distinguishes *oufò* 'to shut, close door, or gate' with a low tone on the final syllable, from *oufo* 'to bring prospective bride to groom's house to live, to marry, to whistle, to sing', with mid tones on both syllables. I have not been able to ascertain a pitch difference. Moreover, I listed *oufo* 'to whistle' just as *oufo* 'to close' with high-low over the two syllables.

l-ehisai l-igdob. L-igdob namcir.
 3PL-'live' 3PL-unmarried 3PL-unmarried very
 They'd use (*kain timur*) to buy their wives, that is when the wives are still really unmarried (virgin). They were really virgins.⁵³

(26) *L-egib gus l-em-en / l-em-en-ara dou-r buma.*
 3PL-unmarried other 3PL-IRR-say 3PL-IRR-say-thing to-3PL not.yet
 When the young men have not spoken with them yet.

(27) *Ah / se bei m-er / kab en dag / le-gida gi-ni*
 eh with foreign 3SG-speech then say like PL-female NOM-this

masih utuh.

still intact

Eh, in Indonesian it would be called, these women are still virgin.

(28) *Do(ba) se Sougb m-er / ka le-gida gi-ni /*
 but with Sougb 3SG-speech then PL-female NOM-this

l-eitou (de)si(j) mer-n-er mer-im / namcir.

3PL-sit close.to 3PL-father-PL 3PL-mother very

But in Sougb it is: when the women are still exclusively living with their parents.

(29) *L-em-en-a(ra) dou le-giji gus-gus ero.*
 3PL-IRR-say-thing to PL-male other-RED not
 When they are not communicating with men.

(30) *Dang (k)aba / me-suwa / m-ohwei g-ehi / eic arouler medam.*
 so then 3SG-husband 3SG-desire NOM-fell take brideprice big
 If that is the case, then the husband, if he desires her, gives a large brideprice.⁵⁴

(31) *Eic arouler einyana / a-(o)ufo. Ya.*
 take brideprice many INS-buy yes
 He takes (= gives) many goods to buy her. Yes.

(32) *Danga / l-oufo danga hob / kaba / dou gida m-os-er-i.*
 so 3PL-close so already then to female 3SG-skin-PL-LNK
 So they closed (= traded) like that, then, to the woman's relatives.

(33) *Sug eh / gida m-os-er len l-eiya doba /*
 at eh woman 3SG-skin-PL they 3PL-see but

la-(e)ic mara-isi hom hob / ka gid(a) acgeij m-onyo.

2DU-take 2DU-child one already then woman request 3SG-mother's.brother

If eh, the women's relatives, they see that they already have a child, then the woman asks (help) from her mother's brother.

⁵³ A few comments on this line: I have not been able to find a specific meaning for *ehisai*. The phrase *l-ehisai l-igdob* was translated as *mereka masih bujang* 'they are still unmarried'. The word *-igdob* is itself inflected as a verb and denotes 'unmarried female'. Its male counterpart is *-egib*, as in the next line. It would seem, from the next lines, that these expressions, ideally, mean not just unmarried, but virgin.

⁵⁴ The glosses for *mohweigei* are rather speculative; the whole phrase was rendered as *ingin* 'want, desire'. The term *arouler* is most likely polymorphemic as well, it denotes 'goods especially used for a bride price'.

- (34) *Kit / godeh gi-n m-onyo / gida me-igbegena.*
 female child NOM-this 3SG-mother's.brother female 3SG-older.brother
 The woman, the child's mother's brother, the woman's older brother.
- (35) *Yaitu arti / eh / sa pen isteri / dia punya kaka laki-laki.*
 that.is meaning eh I POS wife she POS older.sibling male
 That is, my wife, her older brother.
- (36) *Dauntoba / ebe-bantu me-ikbegena ebe-bantu / me-damowa*
 in.order do-help 3SG-older.brother do-help 3SG-older.sister
naugb oufo swgida dou me-debehito deit.
 for buy woman to 3SG-sister's.child again
 In order that he would help, (that) her older brother would help, his older sister
 to buy a woman for his sister's son in turn.
- (37) *Eh / arti-nya eh / de-punya kaka laki-laki bantu*
 eh meaning-its eh 3SG-POS older.sibling male help
dia punya saudara itu / dengan dia punya ana /
 3SG POS relative that with 3SG POS child
supaya / eh / antar dia punya isteri.
 in.order eh mediate 3SG POS wife
 Eh, that means, her older brother helps his relative (presumably his sister), with
 her child, in order that, eh, he brings along (mediates) his (sister's son's) wife.
- (38) *Dia kase maskawin lagi.*
 he give brideprice again
 He gives a brideprice in return.
- (39) *Eh / en eic aremoug deit. Ya.*
 eh he take goods again yes
 Eh, he will give goods again. Yes.⁵⁵
- (40) *Emen Sougb / emen meijouhw dangga.*
 we.EXC Sougb we.EXC custom like.that
 We Sougb, that's our custom.

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⁵⁵ The word *aremoug* is glossed by *barang* 'cargo, goods'; it is polymorphemic, a compound of *ara* 'something', whose final vowel changes to /e/, and *moug* 'shine'. I suspect it is the same form which occurs in the expression for 'industrious' *-uwa moug* (see line (13) with footnote 49 above), and which has been explained by consultants as *menyala* 'burning with a flame'; compare also 'fire' = *smoug*. Thus, 'goods' or 'cargo' is shining or powerful stuff. It is pronounced here as [aremougwe-deit], another argument for the analysis of final labiovelar (see §2.4).

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