

WANTOAT CLAUSES

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Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in the
Department of Linguistics, Indiana University
August 1964

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Wantat clauses

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
0. Introduction.	1
1. Clause Structure.	1 - 13
1.1. Simple-Nucleus Clauses.	1 - 2
1.2. Complex Clauses	2 - 13
2. Clause Constructions.	13 - 30
2.1. Dependent Clause Constructions.	13 - 18
2.2. Independent Clause Constructions.	18 - 28
2.3. Transitive and Intransitive Clauses	28 - 30
3. Phrases	30 - 32
4. Sentences	32 - 33
5. Wartnet Text.	34 - 48
5.1. Cassowary Story	34 - 42
5.2. Yombianana Story.	42 - 48
6. Lexicon	49 - 73
6.1. Words	49 - 66
6.2. Bound Morphemes	66 - 73
6.3. Affix Charts.	74 - 76
Bibliography.	77

VITA

Wantoot Clauses

0. Introduction. A clause-level syntactic study of two Wantoot¹ texts is presented in this paper. The tagmemic approach is followed to discover and describe clause structure. Clause construction types are arranged in matrices showing theoretically possible clause types which do not occur in the two selected texts, and those which do occur.

1. Clause Structure. Clause in Wantoot is defined as that syntactic unit containing a predicate tagmeme and optionally having satellite tagmemes. The predicate tagmeme is the clause nucleus. Clauses may be classified structurally as to simple or complex according to the number and kind of tagmemes which occur.

1.1. Simple-nucleus Clauses. The least complex of all Wantoot clauses consists of a single predicate tagmeme which is manifested either by a predicate adjective, predicate nominative or an inflected verb. The latter is morphemically complex, but syntactically simple.

1.1.1. Inflected verbs as simple-nucleus clauses. Verbal inflection² denotes actor, aspect, mode and personal object/referent (in certain instances). Examples follow:

ndc-pima-ku-t neg.+fall-down-past+3rd-S.-completive-actor³

He didn't fall down.

i-ni-k-ing 3rdS.obj.+tell+past+3rd-Pl.-completive-actor

They told him.

mbita-ng dislike+2nd-S.-immediate-imperative

Dislike it!

ena-ke get-up+series-by-same-actor

Getting up (he) ...

tâ-ngu-tâ^h 3rd-S.-obj.-strike-3rd-Pl.-actor-series-with-
next-action-by-a-different-actor

They strike him, and ...

tuku-yuk rove+simultaneous-action

As he was roving...

1.1.2. Predicate adjective as a simple-nucleus clause. In
Wantoot the predicate adjective and predicate nominative constitute non-
inflected types of clause nuclei. Note the following:

unu-kân that is all

mbyâmban there are many, or it is big

kekokingâ it is strong

1.2. Complex Wantoot clauses vary from those having a complex
nucleus (F+P) to those having a number of satellite tagmemes.

1.2.1. Complex-nucleus clauses. A clause may contain a complex
predicate tagmeme. In such tagmemes the first verbal form has a suffix
indicating 'series with next action by a different actor'. The second
verbal form may have any verbal suffix. An example from sentence 13 of the
Cassowary text follows:

tâ-ngut-na nde-pina-ngga-k

3rd.-S.-obj.-strike-1st.Pl.-series neg.-fall+contin.+3.s.-actor

we-strike-him he-doesn't-fall-down

We didn't (succeed in) knock(ing) him down (just now).

1.2.2. Clauses consisting of two tagmemes, predicate and one
satellite.

1.2.2.1. In some clauses both tagmemes are manifested by a simple

filler, e.g. a single word. Eight different types occur in the texts.

(1) Predicate plus Conjunction. Phonologically the conjunction closes the clause in which it occurs.

tâsitukusikngâ ngânâ having-done-it-everywhere but

Although (he) had been doing it everywhere...

(2) Manner plus Predicate. Some Manner tagmemes are manifested by quotation closers while others are adverbial.

nga inikut thus he-told-him He told him like that.

nbuyâmbam sikut plentiful it-became It multiplied (itself).

(3) Connective plus Predicate.

ngge ko so/then going-up Then (he) went up and...

(4) Subject plus Predicate. As shown in 1.1.1. the actor is sometimes indicated by verbal inflection within the Predicate tagmeme. Whether or not this is the case in a given instance a separate subject tagmeme may occur as in the following illustrations:

itâ kwaiwân he he-keeps-on-planting-it, -and...

wakenbamu puyukut the-big-one he-finished-(it)

nggâtâ ndotanguyâ you you-won't-be-hitting-him

(5) Object plus Predicate.

katâptatâk nzipsândâkngake

tree-leaf ripping-them-up

Having ripped up some tree leaves (he....)

(6) Location plus Predicate.

unekân apânâ there-only after-having-come

After having assembled...

(7) Question plus Predicate. niâsi tâsinia

4

what we-will-do-it What shall we do?

(8) Instrument plus Predicate. Since instrument and subject tagmemes are identified by the same nominal suffix it is possible to separate them only by an examination of the context, unless the actor indicated in the verbal inflection is other than third person. The fillers of the instrument tagme constitute a subclass of the fillers of the subject tagme. Examples follow: ngganndâ wapit with-sorcery-materials
I-will-wrap I'll wrap it with sorcery materials.

mbaenggâ yainggâtânggak with-his-foot he-spreads-it-
around He spreads it around with his foot.

1.2.2.2. In some clauses at least one of the two tagmemes has a complex filler, e.g. more than one word.

(1) Complex Subject plus Predicate.

knawi waakesimu iniwân

bird that-one he-tells-him (Aspect is ambiguous.)

That bird told him, and...

waakesiandâ kusiâne nggâmanu tekut

that-little-one on-its-head red he-quit-it

That little red-headed one quit it.

waakesimu nait ngai yayuk ndosukukut

that-little-one 'nait' thus he-is-called he-didn't-roam

That little one called Nait didn't roam (around).

(2) Complex Object plus Predicate.

Object manifested by Noun plus Noun.

ngwânâm kopap yâua Cassowary story I'll-tell

I'll tell (the) Cassowary Story.

katâtâpâ mîâm nzipmândâkngake

leaf niam-bush ripping-up

Ripping up some niam-bush leaves...

Object manifested by Noun + Adj + Verbal modifier.

kolngga wa kwawiyô pâko

your-feces those you-will-defecate taking-them

Taking those feces of yours which you will defecate...

Object manifested by a large number of elements.

kwaitmbam mâtokmâteknga takwâk takwâtnaimbât

big-bird little-one those with-those

kut siknga yâwauân

also very he-goes-on-calling-for

He keeps on calling for every single bird, both

large and small:(and...)

(3) Complex Manner Tagmeme + Complex Predicate Tagmeme.

unzânggân unzânggân tâsinggawâ tâsinggawâ

just-the-same just-the-same they-keep-on they-keep-on

They all keep on doing it in the same way (one after the
other, and...)

(4) Complex Referent + Predicate.

tupâ siknga yukutnggwende yaking

first very about-the-one-who-was they-talked

They talked about the one who had been (there) at the very
first.

(5) Complex Location + Predicate.

ngwânâm wanggwenu pekum ko

cassowary that-one which-sat going-up

Going up to that cassowary which was sitting...

nanamin nanangâatang yambâtnine

our-food in-that-for-eating in-our-yambat-leaves

lakngâninkâtang kuwawân

in-our-edible-leaves it-keeps-on-going

It keeps on going into our food which is to eat and into

our yambat-leaves and into our edible leaves (,and...)

1.2.2.3. Summary of two-tagmeme clauses. Clauses listed above

may be represented by their tagmeme formulas as follows:

P + Conjunction
 H + P
 C + P (C = Connective)
 S + P
 L + P
 O + P
 Q + P (Q = Question)
 I + P
 R + P (R = Referent)

A formula representing relative order and co-occurrence restrictions of Tagmemes may be constructed as follows:

$\pm (\text{Conn./Q/S/L/I/R/M/O})_1 + P \pm (\text{Conj.})_2$

Slant lines in $(\dots)_1$ indicate that only one of these tagmemes may occur, in view of the fact that we are here dealing only with two-tagmeme clauses. This also leads to the restriction that if $(\dots)_1$ is + then $(\dots)_2$ is -, and vice versa. It is noted that Predicate is obligatory, and the only obligatory tagmeme in the clause, and that it occurs clause final unless a conjunction occurs. Such P+Conj. clauses are not the most common type.

1.2.3. Three-Tagmeme Clauses. Special attention is given here to the relative order in which the satellite tagmemes occur.

1.2.3.1. Clauses with Subject, Object and Predicate Tagmemes.

(1) Tagmeme order S O P.

kwaitsbamu yuanggâ poit tâsike

the-big-bird which-remain conference holding

As the big birds which remained held conference...

kwaitsbamu wain nayuk yuaing

big-bird those as-(they)-eat they-remain

The big birds (still) eat those.

(2) Tagmeme order O S P.

waâpâsimun kwaitsbamndâ nakaing

that the-big-birds they-are-eating

The big birds are eating that.

1.2.3.2. Clauses with Subject, Location and Predicate Tagmemes
in that order.

kwaî matakngâ silngâ taketusim undang yuak

bird small very that-one there it-is

That tiny bird is there.

kwaî waâkosimu enen katâptâpane katâp kaingkapâno mbuyâ

bird that-one up-high in-a-tree tree in-its-branches fruit

katâpnggoune nga une kwâke

of-the-tree thus there defecating

That bird was defecating there way up high in the top branches

and on the fruit of the tree (and...)

1.2.3.3. Clauses with Subject, Manner and Predicate Tagmemes.

(1) Tagmeme order S M P.

kupaban unzâkân pinatning

all in-the-same-way they'll-fall-down

They will all fall down just like that.

ngwânânu mbuyâmbam sikut

the-cassowary many it-became

The cassowary multiplied (itself).

(2) Tagmeme order M S P.

tupânun mbuyâmbamngwenggwenda kunong

as-the-first-one the-big-one you-all-go

You big ones go first!

1.2.3.4. Clauses with Reference, Predicate and Subject Tagmemes in that order. This order, with Subject last, is an inversion of the normal order, and it occurs only to clarify an otherwise ambiguous construction. In this case the context and lexical items leave the actor ambiguous, so the speaker uses this order with the actor specified in an after thought. That this is an after thought is clear from the phonology of the clause with a clause-final falling intonation on the last syllable of the Predicate. The Subject tagmeme is in phonological isolation.

unc natânde kut nsit tâkesim

about-that he-thought nsit-(bird) that-one

That nsit-bird thought about that.

1.2.3.5. Clauses with Subject, Predicate and Conjunction Tagmemes.

A predicate adjective fills the P tagmeme:

ninu kekângâpâ ngânâ

we strong-ones but

Although we are strong...

or

We are the strong ones but...

1.2.3.6. Clauses with Object, Location and Predicate Tagmemes.

(1) Tagmeme order O L P.

musiâ une peke egg there putting

Putting (its) eggs there...

kokingâ enen ndâkwawân feces on-high he-defecates

As he was defecating his feces up high...

(2) Tagmeme order L O P.

keune aninu yuakingu piânâ

on-ground person they-who-live their-garden

tâsikakingu yâmbatkâtang waitnââtang

which-they-make in-yambat-trees in-their-sugar

puyââtang kokingân tâsiawân

in-garden only-feces he-keeps-on-doing

He keeps on doing his feces on the ground where people

live, in their gardens which they make, in the yambat

trees, in their sugar cane and in the gardens, (and...)

1.2.3.7. Clauses with Object, Predicate and one other Tagmeme.

(1) Object + Predicate + Conjunction.

mbaengâ tângotewân ngânâ

his-calf he-hit-him but

Although he struck him on his calf...

or

He hit him on his calf but...

(2) Manner + Predicate + Conjunction

ngai yanggânâtâwân ngânâ

thus he-keeps-crying-out but

Although he keeps on crying out...

1.2.3.8. Clauses with a complex nucleus and other tagmeme.

- (1) Tagmeme order O P+P L.

koknga kwâwi pimapik kaunin

your-feces you-defecate it-will-fall on-ground

You will drop your feces on the ground.

This instance of the Location Tagmeme following the Predicate Tagmeme is like 1.2.3.4. in which the subject Tagmeme followed the Predicate Tagmeme as an afterthought.

- (2) Tagmeme order O P(L)P.

aminu waspâ tena kspndâkano pimapik

person that-one we-put on-ground he-will-fall

We'll cause that person to fall to the ground.

A disjunctive predicate tagmeme occurs only, but not always, when the tagmeme is manifested by a complex filler (P + P), as in 1.2.1.

1.2.3.9. Summary of three-tagmeme clauses. Clauses listed in section 1.2.3. may be represented by their tagmeme formulae as follows:

S O P
O S P
S L P
S M P
R P S
S P Conj.
O L P
L O P
O P Conj.
M P Conj.
O P L
O P (L) P

In three-tagmeme clauses it is still clear that the Predicate tagmeme is the clause-final unit except when a conjunction occurs. Subject-Object order is reversible as is also Location-Object order.

Relative order of satellite tagmemes is not governed by clause structure. Since each tagmeme bears its own identification marks in suffixes or word clauses or both the relative order is not rigid. Emphasis is postulated as the factor which governs the order, with the clause-initial tagmeme being emphasized.

A formula may be devised to set forth the ordering and co-occurrence possibilities of tagmemes when just three different ones occur in a given clause. In the following formula the brackets { } indicate that one of the items (....) is obligatory. It must be noted that when the first item in the bracket is + the post-predicate Conj. tagmeme is also +. Otherwise C is - in the clauses under study.

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + (S/O/X) \\ + (S L/H) \\ + (C S/L) \\ + (S/L C) \end{array} \right\} + P \pm \text{Conj.}$$

1.2.h. Clauses containing four or more Tagmemes.

1.2.h.1. Tagmeme order T S O P.

tupâ ngwânâmu kwaitngwen ndâlongake
long-ago cassowary a-bird being-like

Long ago when the cassowary was like a bird...

1.2.h.2. Tagmeme order S M L P.

ngwânâmu siâkânde kepndâkane pinakut
cassowary truly on-ground he-fell-down

The cassowary actually fell to the ground.

1.2.4.3. Tagmeme order O S R P.

ua naitndâ nzainge tasinggak

that nait-bird for-seedling does-it

The nait-bird does that for (to the end of) seedlings.

1.2.4.4. Tagmeme order M S H L P.

nga ngwanâmu enen tukukaku aggatu kepndakans tukunwanâ

thus cassowary high which-roamed again on-ground he-roams

This is how the cassowary which used to roam up high
(now) roams on the ground.

1.2.4.5. Summary of clauses having four or more tagmemes. Clauses listed in section 1.2.4. may be represented by their tagmeme formulas as follows:

T S O P
S H L P
O S R P
M S H L P

It is clear again that the Predicate tagmeme is clause-final, and that relative order of the satellite tagmemes is not fixed. A formula may be devised to represent the above tagmeme occurrences as follows:

$$\pm \left\{ \begin{array}{c} M \\ T \\ O \end{array} \right\} + S \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{c} M + L \\ O \\ R \end{array} \right\} + P$$

In reading this formula each Tagmeme in the brackets must maintain its own level so that M in the first bracket does not co-occur with R in the second bracket, etc. This restriction is necessary only to accommodate the limited data. Fewer restrictions are noted in the next section.

1.2.5. Summary of multiple-tagname clauses. Due to the fluctuation of tagname order two formulas are required to represent all the ordering and co-occurrence possibilities found in the data used for this paper. In the first formula the items found in parentheses are simply reverse orderings of the same set of tagnames. The second formula differs from the first only to permit the Subject tagname to be preceded by other satellite tagnames.

Formula I: basic tagname order - S O P.

$$\pm S \pm H \pm I \pm (L/T \pm O) / (\pm O \pm L/T) \pm R \pm P \pm C$$

The order of H and I is arbitrary in the formula. Also, the items in the set of parentheses may immediately follow S.

Formula II: basic tagname order - O S P.

$$\pm O/M/T \pm S \pm P \pm C$$

2. Clause Constructions. Verbal inflections determine clause construction types. Primary distinction is between dependent and independent clauses. These clause types are marked by the occurrence of a 'non-final' or 'final' verbal suffix. Other affixes mark a variety of modal clause sub-types.

2.1. Dependent Clause Constructions. Dependent clauses are marked by their occurrence in the non-final sentence position with the accompanying phonological feature, and by the occurrence of a sentence-medial verbal suffix. These clauses are of three types. In the first type the actor-person is the same as in the succeeding clause. In the second type the actor-person is not the same as in the succeeding clause. In the third type the actor-person may be either the same as or different from that of the

succeeding clause, and the actions of the two predicates involved are viewed as being simultaneous.

2.1.1. Same-Actor Sentence-Medial Clauses. Three types of sequential clauses and motivational clauses are distinguished by the occurrence of four verbal suffixes.

2.1.1.1. Sequential Clauses. Simple sequential clauses differ from punctiliar and continuative sequential clauses in that the verbal suffixes of the latter indicate an aspect of the action as well as the sequential nature of the clause.

(1) Continuative sequential clauses. The occurrence of the verbal suffix *-sikang* (or the dialectal variant *-sikngâ*) in the predicate indicates continuative aspect as well as sequential relation. The action takes place over a period of time. An independent sentence-final clause follows the continuative clause in the following illustrations:

yatukusikngâ yaking having-discussed-thoroughly they-talked

When they had discussed (it) thoroughly they remarked, ("...")

amâtake epusikngâ ngai epu...kumâ anaking.

fighting-along coming-down thus coming-down...furiously

they-fought

They fought as they kept coming down, and having come down like

that...they fought furiously.

(2) Punctiliar sequential clauses are marked by the occurrence of the verbal suffix *-ke* (or *-keng* in some dialects) in the predicate. This suffix indicates a punctiliar aspect as well as a sequential relation. The action is viewed as taking place in a point of time in contrast with the continuative aspect of *-sikang* clauses, though the effects of the punctiliar

action may overlap into succeeding clauses in the series. Examples follow showing a punctiliar clause followed by an independent sentence-final clause:

ngwânânu kwaitngwen ndâkngake onen mbopmakut.

the-cassowary a-bird become-like up-high it-flew.

When the cassowary had become like a bird it flew up high.

mâtekâtekngâ inâtâ yuke katasiking.

all-little-ones different being they-watched

All the little ones being in different places watched.

(3.) Sequential Clauses. The occurrence of the verbal suffix -ku ~ -u (-ku following a stem-final vowel; -u following a stem-final consonant) in the predicate marks the clause as sequential in which the action is viewed as immediately preceding the action of the succeeding clause. Sequential clauses are often sentence-initial serving as a link with the last clause of the preceding sentence. In the following examples the sequential clause is followed by more than one clause of various types:

apu wâpâ une tēwan enakut

coming that-one there leaving he-got-up.

As they came they went past that one there, and he got up.

wâpâ tâku mâkâke...âkâke naking

that-one taking cutting...cooking they ate.

They took that one and cut him up and...they cooked and ate him.

2.1.1.2. Motivational Clauses. The occurrence of the verbal suffix

-nangge in the predicate marks the clause as motivational. An alternative analysis is found in section 2.2.2.1. (8) where the motivational clause and the succeeding independent clause are said to constitute a single purposive clause with a complex nucleus. The suffix -nangge may also indicate a future aspect in a complex 'effective' clause (see 2.2.3.).

Examples of motivational clauses follow:

naipnangge⁵ yâwaking

wanting-to-kill-them they-chased-them

They chased them in order to kill them. Or Because they wanted to kill them they chased them. Or They chased them to kill them.

nggeya² naipnangge kaking

salt-water wanting-to-extract they-went

They went to extract salt water.

2.1.2. Different-Actor Sentence-Medial Clauses. The occurrence of one of the <-wa> suffixes marks the clause as one in which the actor is different from the actor of the succeeding clause. Though sometimes ambiguous the <-wa> suffix indicates the actor-person of the clause in which it occurs. Causal and sequential clauses are distinguished only by contextual clues, but simultaneous clauses are identified by the occurrence of certain sequences of two of the <-wa> suffixes.

2.1.2.1. Causal Clauses. The causal clause gives the cause of the action in the succeeding clause. Examples follow:

katâp tepa kupik fire I-take it-will-die

I'll cause the fire to die. Or I'll put out the fire.

waâpâ tena kâpnâkânâ pimâpik

that-one we-take to-the-ground it-will-fall

We'll cause that one to fall to the ground. Or We'll knock him down to the ground.

tāngowān kupān he-strikes-him he-dies

He caused him to die. Or He killed him.

amimbamu yauwā kuking the-crowd they-spoke they-went

The crowd sent them off. Or The crowd caused them to go (by telling them to go).

2.1.2.2. Sequential Clauses. Some clauses having the verbal suffix <-wa> do not express a causal relationship, but are simply sequential.

Examples follow:

itā kmaiawān kwaitkwait...naking

he he-plants all-the-birds...they-ate-(it)

He plants it and (then) all the birds ate it.

yāwambān kundu ndatakunawā

they-chase-them some they-run-away

They chased them, and some of them escaped.

sakot pasiawā kwem mitawān

arrow they-sharpen bow they-string

They sharpened arrows and strung bows...

2.1.2.3. Simulfactive Clauses. Certain sequences of two <-wa> suffixes may occur in the verbal nucleus indicating that the action is simultaneous with that of the succeeding clause. Examples follow:

kuwāwa nak I-go he-ate As I was going he ate.

kuwatna nānggak we-go he-is-eating As we go he eats.

2.1.3. Sentence-Medial clauses which may be either "same-actor" or "different-actor" type are marked by the occurrence of the verbal suffix -yuk. The action of the predicate in a -yuk clause is simultaneous with the action of the following predicate. Examples follow:

mbepmake takuyuk kokngâ ndâkngawân

flying roam-as his-feces he-defecated

As he flew and roamed about he defecated...

wakesimû mbepmâyuk ndotukngawân iniking

that-one flew-as he-didn't-roam they-told him

As that one flew without roaming about they spoke to him.

2.2. Independent Clause Constructions. Independent clauses are marked by their occurrence in sentence-final position (or as complete sentences) with the accompanying phonological sentence-closure feature, i.e. falling intonation on the last syllable of the clause.

Three major independent clause constructions are identified by features of the clause nucleus: (1) stative and equative clauses are marked by the occurrence of a predicate nominative or a predicate adjective as the clause nucleus; (2) modally classified clauses are marked and distinguished by verbal inflections in the clause nucleus; and (3) effective, terminative and emphatic clauses are identified by the occurrence of certain verbal stems in the nucleus. There is a partial overlap between (2) and (3) because the verbal stems of (3) are subject to the inflections of (2), but by natural selectivity they exhibit a severe restriction in their inflection.⁶

2.2.1. Stative and Equative Clauses. A clause nucleus may be a

non-verbal form, i.e. one which is not inflected for actor-person, mode, aspect, etc. A clause having such a nucleus may be either stative with predicate adjective, or equative with predicate nominative.

2.2.1.1. Equative clauses consist of two nominals, and they may have other optional elements. Examples follow:

umana Yembianana his-name Yembianana

His name is/was Yembianana.

ninu kekekngapâ we strong-one

We are/were the strong ones.

2.2.1.2. Stative clauses consist of a nominal and a predicate as in the following example: yet mbyâmban house big The house is big.

2.2.2. Modally Classified Clause Constructions. Certain verbal inflections in the clause nucleus mark a variety of clause constructions. Seven major types of constructions are determined by verbal suffixes indicating narrative, imperative, obligative, prohibitive, apprehensive, interrogative and intensive modes.

+ gamu
and
-wan

2.2.2.1. Narrative Clauses. Narrative verbal suffixes indicate actor-person and aspect. They mark the close of sentences, and thus are a mark of an independent clause. The narrative suffixes may co-occur with three other suffixes and/or three prefixes forming a variety of complex clause constructions, i.e. negative-narrative, assertative-narrative, completive-narrative, indefinite-narrative, benefactive-narrative, desiderative-narrative. Purposive-narrative clauses have a complex nucleus consisting of a -nangge 'desiderative' verb plus a narrative verb. Although possible combinations of these features would result in over

sixty different clause constructions not all of them actually occur.

(1) Simple Narrative Clauses. The nucleus of simple narrative clauses consists of a verb with a <-mâk> suffix indicating actor-person and aspect. No other affixes occur with the verb in these clauses except that certain classes of verbs take an obligatory person object/referent prefix which does not affect the construction. (Transitive vs intransitive will be discussed later in this paper.) Optional satellite tagmemes do not affect the construction type. Examples follow:

enen mbepmâkut up-high he-flew He flew up high.

amo kitatokngâ tâsinggak fight furious he-makes
He fights furiously. Or He puts up a furious fight.

(2) Negative-Narrative Clauses. The nucleus of a narrative clause may contain the verbal prefix ndo- indicating negative mode. Examples follow:

ndopimkut She didn't fall down.

ndombepmâkut He didn't fly.

amo ndoamâkaking They didn't used to fight battles.

(3) Assertative-Narrative Clauses. The assertative prefix ât- ~ âp- ~ âk- ~ âs- ~ â- may co-occur with a narrative suffix in the nucleus of a clause marking it as an assertative clause. Illustrations follow:

sitâ âtnakut sweet-potato he-did-eat-(it)

He did eat a sweet potato!

âsepunggak He is coming down!

(4) Completive-Narrative Clauses. The verbal suffix which marks a clause as narrative also indicates an aspect of completedness. However, this aspect is drawn into relief by the co-occurrence of the completive pre-

fix nggwa-. Examples follow:

nggwanzoknggak It has already become dark.

nggwarak He has already eaten. Or He finished eating.

(5) Indefinite-Narrative Clauses. The clause nucleus may contain mbá as a free particle following the verb or as a prefix to the verb. The clause is thus marked as being indefinite as in the following illustrations:

sakot yapit mbá arrow I'll-shoot perhaps

Maybe I'll shoot an arrow. Or Should I shoot an arrow?

waápá nggwambákuk that-one perhaps-he-already-left

Maybe that one already left.

(6) Benefactive-Narrative Clauses. One of a set of suffixes indicating benefactive person, or beneficiary, together with a mutually obligatory suffix indicating benefactive mode may co-occur with a narrative suffix in a clause nucleus marking the clause as benefactive-narrative. Beneficiary suffixes vary for person and number while the benefactive suffix following it remains constant, i.e. -nu-. Examples follow:

tâsinganukut He worked for me.

sânimakut He cooked for us.

mbepmâyemukut He flew for them.

(7) Desiderative-Narrative Clauses. In the clause nucleus the desiderative suffix -nangge may co-occur with a narrative person-actor suffix marking the clause as desiderative-narrative. Examples follow:

kwenna mitânanggekum my-bow I-wanted-to-string

I wanted to string my bow.

kunanggemang We all wanted to go.

(8) Purposive-Narrative Clauses. The nucleus of a narrative clause

may contain more than one verb. In such cases when the first verb is suffixed only by the desiderative suffix and the second verb is suffixed only by one of the narrative suffixes the complex construction is purposive-narrative. Note the following illustrations:

nggandupnangge apmbum want-to-see-you-I-came

I came to see you. Or I came because I wanted to see you.

nânanngge pâkapmbut want-to-eat-(it) he-brought-it

He brought it (in order) to eat it.

A second type of purposive-narrative clause with the same meaning as the first type also has two verbal forms in the nucleus. However, the first verb is inflected by a narrative suffix plus -ngge ~ -nde indicating intention. Examples follow:

napitnde kukum I-will-eat-intention I-went

I went (in order) to eat.

kupikngge tangokamâng he-will-die-intention we-are-hitting-him

We are hitting him so that he will die. Or

We are trying to beat him to death.

These eight basic narrative clause construction types may be arranged in three matrices to show every structurally possible narrative clause type (not including transitive vs intransitive, discussed below). Matrix A shows those clause constructions having three of the eight features, Matrix B those having four features, and Matrix C those having more than four features. Those in Matrix C never occur in text, but the informant accepts them as being grammatical. Those in Matrix B rarely occur, some of them never. Matrix A clauses are fairly common with a few exceptions. There is no significance to the order in which the items are arranged in the

matrices. Examples follow the first two matrices and may be located in their respective matrix by the number in the box.

Matrix A, Clauses with three features.

	Benef.	Purp.	Desid.	Neg.	Assert.	Compl.
Indef.				1		2
Compl.						
Assert.			3			
Neg.						
Desid.	4					
Purp.						

Examples:

1. Negative-indefinite. ndo-mbâ-ku-k neg.-indef.-go-he did
Maybe he didn't go.
2. Completive-indefinite. nggwa-mbâ-ku-k compl.-indef.-go-he did
Maybe he already went.
3. Desiderative-assertative. ât-ku-nangge-ngga-k assert.-go-
desid-continu.-he did He certainly wants to go.
4. Benefactive-desiderative. tâsi-ni-mu-nangge-ngga-k do-us-for-
desid-continu.-he did He wants to do it for us.

Matrix B

	Benef- desid.	Benef- purpose	Desid- purpose	Benef- indef.	Desid- indef.	Purpose- indef.
Negative	1					
Assertative				2		
Completive					3	
Indefinite						

Examples:

1. Negative-benefactive-desiderative. ndo-tasi-ni-mu-nangge-nagga-k
neg.-do it-us-for-desid-contin-he did He doesn't want to do it
for us.
2. Assertative-benefactive-indefinite. at-mba-tasi-ni-mu-k assert.-
indef.-do-us-for-he did He may have done it for us.
3. Completive-desiderative-indefinite. nggwa-mba-ku-nangge-ngga-k
compl.-indef-go-desid.-contin-he did He might already want to go.

Matrix C

	Benef-desid-purposive
Negative- indefinite	
Assertative- indefinite	
Completive- indefinite	

2.2.2.2. Imperative Clauses. The verbal inflection which marks imperative clauses is a set of suffixes which vary for number, person and aspect, i.e. <-yo>. Any of these suffixes may co-occur with benefactive or desiderative suffixes marking complex clause constructions.

(1) Simple Imperative Clauses. Suffixes indicating imperative clauses are of two types. Some denote future (or possibly 'polite') imperative, and the others denote immediate (or 'strong') imperative. These two imperative clause constructions are exemplified as follows:

Future - kuyo Go! Or Go ahead!
 nāpso Eat! Or Go on and eat!
 Immediate - kung Go! Or Get going!

tâng Take it!

(2) Benefactive-Imperative Clauses. Any of the imperative suffixes which co-occur with the benefactive suffix thus mark benefactive-imperative clauses. Note the following examples:

sânimuyo You must cook for us!

kunimunong You all must go for us!

(3) Desiderative-Imperative Clauses. The desiderative suffix -nangge may co-occur with some imperative suffixes thus marking desiderative-imperative clause constructions. Examples follow:

matânanggeyo You must want to cut it!

nimunanggeonong You all must want to give (it) to us!

2.2.2.3. Obligative Clauses. Obligative verbal suffixes indicate actor-person and obligative mode. Examples follow:

une kumâm there I-ought-to-go I ought to go there.

waâpâ tâwambim that-one you-ought-to-chase-him

You ought to chase that one.

nzipmâtam massacre We-two-ought-to We two ought to massacre them.

2.2.2.4. Prohibitive Clauses. Prohibition is marked by the prefix ma- and any of the immediate future interrogative suffixes <-wim>. Examples follow:

makumâm You must not go!

matâmbim You must not touch it! (idiom: Quit it!)

2.2.2.5. Apprehensive clauses. The verbal suffix <-yât> occurring in the clause nucleus marks it as a construction of apprehension. These clauses are almost always contingent upon some other factor, either verbal

*Neg.
+ Subjunctive
with goma*

or non-verbal. For instance, when approaching a tethered animal the owner will often say nggasiyak It might bite you! The non-verbal context, if verbalized, would be 'Don't come any closer, because if you do my dog might bite you.' using the prohibitive clause just discussed in 2.2.2.4. Note also the following illustrations:

kuyak He might go!
 kupsat I might die!
 pinansa You might fall!
 nisipsak He might bite me!

2.2.2.6. Interrogative Clauses. An interrogative pronoun optionally introduces an interrogative clause if the nucleus contains a verb inflected by any of a set of second person interrogative suffixes, i.e. <-ya>. Interrogative clauses are also marked by a rising intonation on the clause-final syllable, by the indefinite particle (as illustrated in 2.2.2.1.(5)), or by both. Otherwise an interrogative pronoun is obligatory. Examples follow:

ndasi tasinim what we-will-do What'll we do?
 nggwapunggayak Have you just arrived?
 nsane kunggayak where you-are-going Where are you going?
 minas tasiya what you-will-do What'll you do?

2.2.2.7. Intentive Clauses. When the clause nucleus contains a verb inflected by a first or second person form of the different-actor sentence-medial suffixes, and no other verbal forms occur in the nucleus, the clause is marked as intentive. In first person plural and dual situations the intentive assumes the force of hortatory. In second person the intentive assumes an imperative force. Examples follow:

1st S. kuma I'll be going.

1st Pl. Pl. kuta We two will be going.

kuma We all will be going. or Let's go!

2nd person.

kuwi You'll be going. or Go on!

kuwat You two/all will be going. or Go on!

2.2.3. Effective, Terminative and Emphatic Clauses. Certain verbal stems occur as the second element in some complex clause nuclei. These stems themselves determine clause types as being terminative or emphatic without reference to any other element in the clause. The stem si-become marks a clause as being 'effective', and occurs as the only element in the nucleus.

2.2.3.1. Effective Clauses. The verb stem si- indicates an effect which is produced by the actor.

ngwanamu mbuyambam sikut cassowary big/many it-became

The cassowary became many. Or The cassowary multiplied.

nggawaknga siknga sikaing odorous very they-are-becoming

They are becoming very stinky.

2.2.3.2. Terminative Clauses. The verb stem puyu- finish indicates a termination of the action of the preceding verb in the clause nucleus.

Examples follow:

akopo puyukut coming-up it-finished

(He) came clear on up (right to the top).

une nzipna puyuknggak there let's-kill-them it-finishes

Let's kill them all off (every one) there.

2.2.3.3. Emphatic Clauses. The verb stem nai- sick indicates an

emphasis of the action of the preceding verb in the clause nucleus.

Examples follow:

yuke maikut waiting it-was-sick

(I) waited for a terribly long time.

wakum taiku maikut drum singing it-was-sick

(We) sang until we were tired of it.

2.3. Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. Every clause which has an inflected verbal form in its nucleus is either transitive or intransitive. This third dimension in clause construction types may be illustrated by Matrix D which shows only a few of the possible clause types. Examples following the Matrix may be found by numbers in the appropriate boxes.

Matrix D

	Transitive				Intransitive			
Narrative				1		2		
Interrogative		3						
Purposive							4	
				Desid- erative				
				Benefactive				
				Benefactive-Desid.				
				Negative/Assert./ Completive				

Examples:

1. Narrative-transitive-desiderative.

yot tasi-nangge-ngga-k house make-desid-contin-he did He is making a house.

2. Narrative-intransitive-benefactive.

kunga-ni-au-ku-t die-us-for-past-he did He died for us.

3. Interrogative-transitive-benef.-desid.

yot tasi-ni-ma-nangge-yâ house make-us-for-desid.-will you

Will you make a house for us?

4. Purposive-intransitive-negative.

(This might also be purposive-intransitive-assertative or purposive-intransitive-completive.)

ndo-pima-nangge tasi-k neg.-fall-desid.

do-he did He did it so that he might not fall.

2.3.1. Transitive Clauses. The occurrence of an object or personal referent, either overt or understood, marks a clause as transitive.

2.3.1.1. A few verb stems obligatorily take a personal object/referent prefix. When one of these verb stems occurs in the nucleus a clause is transitive. Examples follow:

nggandupit I'll see you.

nandupik He'll see me.

nasiwik He'll bite me.

tangokut He struck him.

nanukut He struck me.

nanikut He told me. Or He said/talked to me.

2.3.1.2. A few verb stems are neutral as to transitive vs intransitive. When an overt object occurs in the clause it marks a transitive construction. When no such object occurs the context may indicate either an understood object or the lack of such object. Examples follow:

kakum I looked/saw.

waapa kakum that-one I-saw I saw that one.

nakum I ate.

Person

nanam nakum food I-ate I ate (the) food.

tāsikum I worked. Or I did/made it.

pāsikum I worked (a lot). Or I did/made them.

yot tāsikum house I-made-s. I made a house.

yot pāsikum house I-made-pl. I made some houses.

2.3.2. Intransitive Clauses. The absence of an object or personal referent, either overt or understood, marks a clause as intransitive. Some of the clauses given as illustrations above in 2.3.1.2. are marked as intransitive in this way, but such clauses are subject to transformation into transitive without violating their grammaticalness. Clauses having verb stems in their mualai which do not permit an object or referent are not transformable into transitive. They are intransitive constructions. Examples follow:

yat I talked.

kut I went.

pimat I fell down.

yut I remained.

apabum I came.

usuking They hid in ambush.

kupik He will die.

tuyukakut It used to be weak.

enat I got up.

kekekakut He strengthened/prepared for battle.

mbepmakut He flew.

3. Phrases. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss phrase structure at length, but a few phrase types may be noted here for the purpose

of illustrating the distinction between Wantoat phrases and clauses.

Phrase may be defined for Wantoat as that complex syntactic unit which represents a single tagmeme other than Predicate. Phrases may contain verbal forms, but such verbals are always modifiers, nominalised or functioning as attributives to a nominal. A few examples follow with simple phrases first and more complex ones last:

N + N, Subject tagmeme - kmaiu ngwendutá bird one one bird
(Suffixes -u and -tá mark Subject tagmeme.)

N + N, Object tagmeme - katátápá miam tree miam-variety
a miam-tree

N + V, Subject tagmeme - kwaitabamu yuaingá many-birds those-
who-remained all the birds which remained

N + L + V, Subject tagmeme - ngwanamu enen takukaku cassowary
up-high the-one-who-used-to-roam-about the cassowary which
used to roam about up high

N + N + V, Object tagmeme - kokngga wa kwaiwiyo your-feces those
which-you-will-defecate
those feces of yours which you will defecate

T + V, Referent tagmeme - tupá sikngá yukutaggwende
long-ago very to-the-one-which-was-there
to the one which was there a very long time ago.

N + L + V, Locative tagmeme - ngwanám wanggwenu pekuun
cassowary on-that-one the-one-which-had-sat-down
on that cassowary which had sat down

L + N + V + L + V + L + L + L, Locative tagmeme -
keuno aminu yuakingu piáná wasikakingu yambatkatang waitnaatang

*Identification
- Demonstrative
Potential*

puyââtang on-the-ground person which-they-live their-garden
 which-they-were-making into-the-yambat-trees into-their-sugar-
 cane into-the-garden on the ground where people were living,
into the gardens which they were making, into the yambat trees,
their sugar cane and the gardens

4. Sentences. In limiting the scope of this paper to clause constructions it is obvious that many sentence types have also been described because of the overlap between independent clauses and sentences. Further sentence types will not be mentioned here. However, it will make clauses appear in a clearer light to discuss a few features of sentences which distinguish them from independent clauses.

4.1. Sentence Constructions. The texts included in this paper have a total of sixty-six sentences. Eleven of these consist of a single independent clause. The other fifty-five contain more than one clause. This illustrates one major difference between clause and sentence in Wantoat, i.e. that a sentence is an expandable unit which may contain two or more clause nuclei.

4.2. Sentence Introducers. About half of all sentences are introduced by the use of a sentence-medial verbal form which is a dependent clause (structurally), but functions as a connector. The most frequent type is a repetition of the verb which closes the preceding sentence. This sometimes includes two verbal forms if the sentence-final clause construction has a complex nucleus, or if the last two clauses are considered to be a single unit. Examples follow:

...andang yusakut. Yusakuh... ...here he-remained. Remaining...

...he remained here. And...

...ngai yake apmbing. Apu...

...thus saying they-came. Coming...

...having said that they came. And...

...nggeya naitnangge kuking. Kusinggawa...

...salt-water want-to-extract they-went. While-going...

...they went to extract salt-water. And...

The next most frequent way of introducing a sentence is by the use of the verb stem si- be, become with a sentence-medial suffix. Examples follow:

Siwân kwai...udang yuak. Being bird...there he remains.

And the bird...remained there.

Siwânâ...katasiking. Having become...they watched.

Then...they watched.

Singgawân...yaking. Having been...they talked.

And then...they talked.

This verbal form also occurs as a coordinate conjunction connecting two independent clauses in the same sentence. This use is defined only by contextual clues.

Other introducers occur infrequently. They are particles such as ngge for/to that and nga thus, which are translated as 'so' or 'so then'.

The last sentence of a narration or story is usually followed by a closure marking expression. The following have been recorded:

un That! Or There!

wanokân only-that That's all!

unukân only-that/there That's it!

any
for
change?
actor?
mon
paraphrase
marker?

5. Wantoat texts. The text material which constitutes the data for this paper is here presented with interlinear literal translation of the words. Morphemes are indicated in the vernacular text by hyphens. A free English translation is given for each section of text. Section 6 contains an alphabetical listing of every word and every bound morpheme which occurs in this section. Affixed forms which occur elsewhere without affixation are also listed here as free forms.

5.1. Cassowary Story.

5.1.1. Ngwânâm kopap yâ-wa. Tupâ ngwânâm-u

Cassowary story I'll tell. Long-ago the-cassowary

kwait-nggwen niâknga-ke enen mbepmâ-ku-t. Mbepmâ-ke tuku-yuk
 a-bird being-like up-high she-flew. Flying as-she-roamed
 kok-ngâ enen niâkwa-wan ke-u-ne amin-u yu-a-k-ing-u
 her-feces up-high she-defecated on-ground person where-they-live
 piâ-nâ wâsi-ka-k-ing-u yâmbât-kâtang wait-nâ-âtang
 their-garden which-they-make-in-yâmbât in-their-sugar cane
 puyâ-âtang kok-nggan tâsi-a-wân yo kwai-wi wa-nggwe-ndâ
 in-garden only-feces she-keeps-on-doing house plant those-there
 tuku-yuk - "Nanin-nâ-nangâ-âtang yâmbât-ni-ne
 while-roaming "our-food in-what-is-for-eating in-our-yâmbât
 iakngâ-nin-kâtang ku-wa-wân nggâwakngâ sikngâ si-ka-ing,"
 in-our-greens it-keeps-on-going odor very they-become,"
 ngai yanggâmâtâ-wa-wâ ngânâ ene mbepmâ-ke tuku-yuk.
 thus they-keep-on-crying-out but up-high flying she-roamed.

I'll tell the Cassowary Story. Long ago the cassowary used to fly up high being like a bird. As she was flying around she defecated on the

ground where people lived, and on their gardens which they were making, and in the yambat-trees, and in their sugar cane clumps. And as she kept on doing her feces in the gardens those who were living there cried out as they roamed about, "A great stink is coming upon our food that we eat, in our yambat-trees (edible leaves) and in our greens." But she kept on flying about way up high.

5.1.2. Yot-nâ kato mbuyâmban-ndâkâ-ndâkâ enen tâsi-yuk

Her-house tree big-long-long up-high she-made

musiâ une pe-ke upu-wa-wân si-a-wân

egg there putting she-kept-on-hatching it-kept-on-being

wakngâ-ne-kân si-yuk ngwânâm-u mbuyâmban si-ku-t.

just-to-that-one it-became the-cassowary many it-became.

Si-ngga-wân tupâ sikngâ yu-ku-t-nggwe-ndo

It-kept-on-being long-ago very to-the-one-who-was

ya-k-ing, "Ndâsingga tâsi-na mbuyâmban wanggwen

they said, "Whatever we-do-and big that-one

mbapu-ne kep-ndâkâ-ne pima-pik si-wân kupabam

to-progenitor to-the-ground she-will-fall it-becomes all

unzâkân pimat-ning," ngai ya-ke kwait-mbam-u

likewise they-will-fall," thus saying the-big-birds

yu-a-ing-gâ peit tâsi-ke ya-k-ing, - kwait

those-who-were-there conference holding they-said, - bird

mâtek-mâtekngâ mbuyâmban-nggwe-nggwen-un uma-nâ unzing

very-small those-very-large-ones their-names thus

ye-ni-ka-mâng 'kambunanang, nayok, motu'. Kwai-u

we-tell-them 'vulture, cockatoo, hornbill'. The-bird

mbuyâmbam-nggwo-nggwen-u ya-wâ une-kân âp-a-na
 the-very-large-ones called-out to-one-place when-they-had-come
 mâtek-mâtekngâ kupmbam ya-wâ apu-ngga-wâ-nâ
 very-small all they-called-for when-they-had-come-and
 ya-ke yande-k-ing.
 remaining they-conferred.

Having built her nest way up high in a very tall tree she laid some eggs there and hatched them. And so that (cassowary) multiplied. So after some time they said about that one who had been there from the beginning, "Whatever is it that we can do so that big grandmother of them all will fall to the ground, and so that all the rest will likewise fall down?" And the large birds who were living there held a conference. We call the little ones and the big ones Vulture, Cockatoo, Hornbill. The large birds summoned them, and when they had come together they summoned all the little ones, and when they had all arrived there they conferred.

5.1.3. "Ndâsi tâsi-nim, tâsi-ke amin-u wa-âpâ te-na

"what we-will-do, doing-it person that-one we-put-it
 kep-dâkâ-ne pima-pik," nga ya-k-ing.
 to-the-ground she-will-fall," thus they-said.

Ya-tuku-sikngâ ya-k-ing,

Having-discussed-it-thoroughly they-said,

"Ah! Mbaenggom tâ-ngo-te-na pima-pik kep-dâkâ-ne,"

"Ah! The-calf we-strike-it she-will-fall to-the-ground,"

ngai ya-keng-â,

thus having-said,

"Ayok, waâkngâ tâsi-nim," ngai ya-wâ

"OK, that we-will-do," thus they-said-and
 kseka-wâ te-keng-â kwait-mban
 they-strengthened-and after-having-quit-it big-birds
 mâtek-mâtekngâ takwâk takwât-nzin-bât kut sikngâ
 small-ones those with-those-little-ones also very
 yâ-wa-wâ une-kân ap-mbing. Apu-ngga-wâ-nâ
 they-kept-on-calling together they-came. After-they-had-gathered
 ya-k-ing, "Ayok, tupân-un mbuyambam-nggwe-nggwe-ndâ
 they-said, "OK, the-first-ones the-very-large-ones
 ku-nong!" ngai ya-wâ-nâ kwai-un usânggi-ko
 you-all-go!" thus after-having-said those-birds deploying
 mbuyambam-nggwe-nggwen-un kata-u inâtâ-ndâkâtu-ne yu-k-ing.
 those-very-large-ones in-tree different-ones they-remained.

They said, "What shall we do to cause that fellow to fall to the ground?" When they had thoroughly discussed it they said, "Ah! We'll strike her on the calf and she will fall to the ground." And they said, "OK, that's what we'll do," and they strengthened themselves, called off the conference and summoned every single bird both large and small. And when they had all arrived they said, "OK, you big ones be the first to go." And those birds deployed while the large ones took up positions in different trees.

5.1.4 Si-wân-â mâtek-mâtekngâ inâtâ yu-ke

After-having-been very-little in-different-places being
 katasi-kwing. Si-wân-â nguânâm-u wa-nggwen-un kato
 watched. After-having-been the-cassowary that-one tree
 mbuyambam-ndâkâ-ne enen-tângân yu-a-wân kwai-u nggwe-ndu-tâ
 in-a-big-one

in-a-big-one in-the-top she-remained a-bird one
 mbepmâ-ke katâp-tatak nzipmândâknga-ke kekekngâ tâsi-ku-t.
 flying tree-leaf ripping-up-and strong he-did-it.
 Ndo-tuku-sikngâ ap-u mbae-nggâ ngwanam wa-nggwe-ne
 Not-having-roamed coming on-the-calf cassowary on-that-one
 tâ-ngu-wân ngânâ ndo-pina-ku-t. Si-wân kwai-u
 he-hit-her but she-didn't-fall-down. Being the-bird
 mbuyâbam-ngwe-ndu-tâ unâkân tâsi-ku-t. Ena-ke
 a-big-one just-like-that he-did-it. Getting-up
 kwâtânû pâ-ku-t. Mbepmâ-tuku-yuk katâ-tâpâ miam
 fatigue he-held. As-he-flew-all-around a-tree miam-kind
 nzipmândâknga-ke tâsi-tuku-sikngâ ngânâ ap-i tâ-ngu-wân
 ripping-up he-did-it-all-over-and but coming he-hit-her
 ndo-pina-ku-t. Unâ-nggân unâ-nggân
 she-didn't-fall-down. In-the-same-way in-the-same-way
 tâsi-ngga-wâ tâsi-ngga-wâ kwait-mbam-u
 they-kept-on-doing they-kept-on-doing the-big-bird
 puku-ku-t.
 it-finished.

So after that the little ones watched from their scattered positions.
 That cassowary was still in the top of a high tree, and one bird ripped up
 tree leaves as he flew thus strengthening himself. Without having flown
 all over everywhere he came and struck that cassowary's calf but she didn't
 fall down. Then another big bird did the same thing. Getting up he prepared
 for battle. He flew all over ripping up miam-bush leaves, and after having
 done it everywhere he came and struck her, but she didn't fall down. They

all kept on doing this in the same way one after the other until all the big birds had done it.

5.1.5. Si-vân kwai mâtekngâ-sikngâ-tâketu-sim undang

Being bird that-very-small-one there

yu-a-k. Wa-âke-sim-u nsit nga ye-ni-ka-mâng. Ka-mâng
it-is. That-one 'Nsit' thus we-say-to-them. We-saw
wa-âke-sim-ndâ kuziâ-ne nggâmân-u te-ku-t. Te-ke
that-little-one on-head red-one he-left. Leaving
wa-âke-sim-u mbepmâ-yuk ndo-tuku-wa-wân i-ni-k-ing,
that-little-one as-he-flew didn't-keep-roaming-and they-told-him,

"Ngga-tâ ndo-tâ-ngu-yâ. Ngga-mbingâ ndu.

"You you-won't-hit-her. Like-you not.

Nin-u kekekngâ-âpâ ngânâ tâ-ngut-na ndo-pima-ngga-k.

We strong-one but we-struck-her-and she-didn't-fall-down.

Ngga pâ-ko mbita-ng!" ngai i-ni-k-ing.

You holding-it dislike-it!" thus they-told-him.

I-ni-wâ ngânâ wa-âke-sim-u nsit ngai ya-yuk

They-told-him but that-little-one 'nsit' thus it-is-called

ndo-suku-ku-t. Tuku-sikngâ apu ngwânâm wa-nggwen-u

he-didn't-roam-around. Having-roamed coming cassowary that-one

pe-ku-un ko mbae-ngâ tâ-ngote-wân ngânâ ngwânâm-u

which-had-sat going-up her-calf he-struck-her but the-cassowary

siâkâ-nde kep-ndâkâ-ne pima-ku-t. Wa-âke-mbam-u pima-ke

in-truth to-the-ground she-fell-down. That-big-one falling

i-ni-ku-t,

she-said-to-him,

"Na-nuk-ngga-yák nga nása-nde apmi ngga-nda-wa

"You-struck-me so afterwards later I'll-see-you

kokngá kwa-ri pima-pik, kaunin. Si-wánpá
feces you'll-defecate it-will-fall, on-ground. After-having-been
kek-ngga wa kwa-wi-yo pá-ke nggan-nda
your-feces those you-will-defecate taking-them with-sorcery
wa-pit," nga i-ni-ku-t.
I'll wrap," thus she-told-him.

And there was a very tiny bird there. We call that little one
Hait. We saw that little one with red on its head go away. Then he flew
without roaming all over, and they said to him,

"You won't strike her. Not anyone like you. Even though we strong
ones struck her she didn't fall down." But that little one called Hait
didn't roam around. He came and went up to that cassowary which was
sitting and struck her on the calf, and the cassowary truly fell to the
ground. As that big one fell she said to him,

"Because you have struck me later on I'll see you when you defecate
on the ground, and I'll take your feces which you will defecate and make
sorcery (against you).

5.1.6. I-ni-ke nga ngwanán-u enen

Having-told-him thus the-cassowary up-high

tuku-ka-ku nggátu kep-ndáká-ne tuku-wa-wán-d
who-used-to-roam-about again on-the-ground after-having-roamed
kwawi wa-áke-sim-u i-ni-wán u-ne natande-ku-t,
bird that-little-one she-said-to-him about-that he-thought,
nxit-táke-sim. Ngge ko kwait wa-áke-sim-u enen

the-little-Nzit. So going-up bird that-little-one up-high
 katâp-tâpâ-ne katâp kaing-kâpâ-ne mbyâ katâp-nggomu-ne
 in-a-tree tree in-branches big in-a-whopper-of-a-tree
 nga une kwâ-ke mbae-nggâ yainggatâ-ngga-k.
 thus there defecating with-his-foot he-spreads-it-around.
 Si-a-wân kau-ne ndo-pima-k-ngâ si-wân wa
 Being-it on-ground that-which-didn't-fall it-becomes that
 kok-ngâ wa kwâ-ngga-k-nggâ tapmâ-ka-ing-u
 his-feces those which-he-keeps-on-defecating those-which-split
 unin kato-un ndeeng ngai ye-ni-ka-mâng, wa-âpâ-sim-un
 there that-tree 'ndeeng' thus we-tell-them, that-little-one
 kwait-mbam-ndâ na-ka-ing. Wa nzit-ndâ nzak-nge
 the-big-birds they-eat-it. Those the-nzit for-sprouts
 tâsi-ngga-k. I-ta kwai-a-wân kwait-kwait kwai-âpâ-sim-ne
 he-makes-it. He he-plants-it-and all-birds to-that-little-bird
 na-ka-ing - nggam-ne nggwayo-ke enen ku-wa-wân
 they-eat - to-sorcery fearing up-high as-he-was-going
 kwait-mbam-u wanin na-yuk yu-a-ing. Unu-kân.
 the-big-bird that as-they-eat they-remain. That-only.

Because of what she told him the cassowary which used to roam
 around up high now goes about on the ground, and that little bird thought
 about what she had told him - that little Nzit. So that little bird went
 up high in the branches of an immense tree and defecating there he spreads
 it with his foot. So after a while that which came up through the feces
 which didn't fall to the ground which she defecates there on that tree
 we call Ndeeng, and the big birds eat those little (Ndeengs). The Nzit-

bird does it for those sprouts. He plants them, and all the birds eat from that little bird. Because he feared sorcery and went up high the big birds still eat that. That's all.

5.2. Yembianana, Eaten at Kwara.

5.2.1. Tupa sinknga opatang-nana-ta, na-ta
 Long-ago very those-from-across-the-way, I
 yu-a-t-komba-atang, nggeya nait-nangge ku-k-ing.
 where-I-live salt-water want-to-extract they-went.
 ku-si-ngga-wa Wapu ami-nda umu-ke nzip-nangge
 As-they-were-going Wapu the-person ambushing want-to-massacre
 yawa-k-ing. Yawa-mban kundu ndata-ku-wa-wa
 they-chased-them. The-chase-them some they-keep-running away
 tapa-tu-sim-u tawa-ngga-wan ndame-ndaka-tu Ngwanggun
 one-of-them they-chase-him a-cliff Ngwanggun
 nga i-ni-ka-ing. Unda ku-wan tawa-ngga-wan ndame
 thus they-tell-him. There he-goes they-chase-him cliff
 wa-ndaka-atang pima-ku-t. Ta-pu ta-ngo-wan ku-pan
 onto-that-one he-fell-down. Taking-him they-hit-him he-dies
 amunzing keu take-kom-patang puku-ke undangga ako
 below ground into-that-one going-down from-there going-up
 nggumu-ke amin-u wa-apa ta-ku ku-k-ing. Wa-apa
 carrying-on-shoulder person that-one taking they-went. That-one
 ta-ke ku-k-ing-u umu-na Yembianana. Wa-apa ta-ku
 taking they-went-one his-name Yembianana. That-one which-taking
 mata-ke i keu-kom-ndu Kawai ngai i-ni-ka-ing. Opatangu
 cutting that the-ground Kawai thus they-tell-him. In-that-place
 kwai-u mbyamban. Nga kwaiwa pasi-ke mata-ke uno
 bamboo much. Thus bamboo cutting-down cutting in-there

pamu-ke sa-ke na-k-ing. Sa-ke na-ke wakum-u
 putting-in cooking they-ate. Cooking eating drum-song
 taknga-tu anzing tai-k-ing. Nga wakum-u tai-ngga-wa
 one thus they-sang. Thus drum-song they-kept-singing
 kwaka-wah, kwaka-nangge si-a-wan ngwena minga-e
 it-was-dawn, want-to-be-dawn it-becomes almost to-his-mother
 ta-ngo-ka-ing wayaknga-an. Anzing, Yembiananooooooooo,
 they-struck-him that-one. Like-this, Yembiananooooooooo,
 Nggwanggo-nda ndamendameeeeeee Yembianana. Nggwando-nda
 the-nggwanggo cliff Yembianana. The-Nggwando
 mendameeeeeee Yembiananooooooooo. Nggwanggo-nda
 cliff Yembianano. The-Nggwanggo
 mendamee eee eee eee eee. Yembiananooooooooo
 cliff (chant). Yembianano
 kwaru-neee eee eee. Yembiananooooooooo kwaru-neee eee eee.
 in-the-kwaru-bamboo. Yembianano in-the-kwaru-bamboo.
 Yembiananooooooooo kwaru-neee eee eee eee. Waskngan tai-ka-ing.
 Yembianano in-the-kwaru-bamboo (chant). That-one they-sang.

A very long time ago those from across the way where I live went to
 extract salt water. As they were going along the Wapu people ambushed them
 and chased them wanting to kill them. And as they were chasing them some
 escaped but they chased one of them to a cliff called Nggwangum. When he
 went there they kept on chasing him and he fell down that cliff. When he
 hit he died, and they went down below to that place and carried him back
 up on their shoulders and they took that person away. His name was
 Yembianana. They cut up that one which they had taken at a place called

Kawai. There was a lot of bamboo in that place. So cutting down some bamboo tubes, and they cooked and ate him. Then they sang a drum song. They kept on singing and singing until it was nearly dawn, and the remainder of it they sang to his mother because of having struck that one. They sang like this,

Yembiananoooooooo, Yembianana at the cliff nggwanggon.

At the cliff nggwanggon Yembiananoooooooo.

At the cliff nggwanggon.

Yembiananoooooooo in the kwaru bamboo.

Yembiananoooooooo in the kwaru bamboo.

Yembiananoooooooo in the kwaru bamboo.

They sang that one.

5.2.2. Amin-u wa-âpâ tâ-ko tâ-ngo-ke na-ke

The-person that-one whom-taking striking eating

kusiâ-nggwon-u nanzân-ndâka-ne onen to-k-ing. To-a-wân
the-head in-a-nanzan-tree up-high they-put-it. They-put-it
Wandôat opâtang-nanâ not-ne ku-k-ing. Ku-ku
Wandôat from-over-there for-their-friend they-went. Going
tâkap-u une-tâ tâsi-wân, yo wa-nggâpsâ-ndâ-ne
bringing from-there he-does-it village belong-to-that-village
amin-u kwao tuyukngâ si-wik-ngge sângâ tupâ
person bone weak that-it-will-become custom long-ago
tâsi-ka-k-ing-tâkungâ-ne tâsi-k-ing. Tâsi-wân tuyu-ka-ke
one-which-they-used-to-do they-did-it. It-works becoming-weak
yu-wa-wâ-nâ, apu-a-wân andang-nanâ
after-having-united they-kept-coming those-from-there

anâk-nggâ-ne sângâ pādānu-k-ing. Sakot pasi-a-wâ
 belong-to-fight things they-gathered. Arrow they-whittle
 kwem mita-a-wân nga tândāknga-sikngâ-nga amin-abam-u
 bow they-string thus after-having-gotten-ready the-big-men
 ya-wâ ku-k-ing. Ku-ku undang kupitâ-k-ing.
 they-say they-went. Going there they-went-stealthily.

The head of that man whom they had killed and eaten they put up high in a nansam tree. Then those from over the way at Wantost went for their friend. As they were going along from there they did something which they used to do long ago in order to make the bones of the people of that village become weak. So they waited until they had caused them to become weak, and as they were coming those from here gathered weapons for a fight. They whittled arrows, strung bows, and in this way they made full preparations. Then the leaders said to go. As they went they crept there stealthily.

5.2.3. Wepndâ-kân ku-wa-wân ku-wa-wân

Only-slow they-kept-going they-kept-going
 nggwa-nso-wân onsumâ-ne teta-wâ
 it-had-already-become-dark in-that-place they-laid-in-wait
 ka-wân kwakâ-nange si-a-wân-â kop-b-ing
 they-see want-to-become-light after-it-had-been they-went-up,
 yo-u wa-nggâpmâ-âtang-un. Ko yo wa-nggâpmâ
 village to-that-village. Going-up village that-village
 wa-ke amin undang yu-a-ing-u nzi-pâ puyu-wân
 rasing person there those-who-live they-kill it-finishes
 mângayâ, wâwi, watndâkâ, amin-âke-sim, nga nggâtukânde nzi-pâ
 woman, man, child, old-person, thus completely they-kill

puyu-ku-t. Nzi-pâ puyu-wa-wân amin-u tâpâ-tu
 it-finished. They-kill until-it-finishes a-person one
 une-nanâ kekakngâ sikngâ-âpâ an-o kitatokngâ tâsi-ngga-k.
 from-there strong a very-one a-fight furious he-makes.
 Wa-âpâ pâ-ko yo inâtâ-kân nggwe-ndu mitâ-ke undang
 That-one taking house in-another-place one building there
 yu-a-k. Wa-âp-o uma-nâ Tângguma. Wa-âpâ natâ-wân
 he-lives. That-one his-name Tângguma. That-one he-listens
 nggâkngâ-e an-o tâsi-wân natâ-ke ku-ku kapi umu-ke
 to-a-noise a-fight they-do hearing going trail ambushing
 andang yu-a-ku-t. Yu-wa-wân yo-u buyâ wa-nggâpmâ
 here he-kept-waiting. As-he-waits village stuff that-village
 wo-ke nzi-pâ puyu-wân "Une nzip-na puyuk-ngga-k",
 razing they-kill it-finishes "There we-kill it-is-finished-off",
 ngai ya-ke ap-mb-ing. Ap-u kapi-ne apu-sika ngânâ ap-u
 thus saying they-came. Coming on-road coming but coming
 wa-âpâ une te-wân ena-ku-t. Ena-wân i-at
 that-one there they leave. he-got-up. He-gets-up with-them
 kapi wa-opâtang-u amâta-ke ep-mb-ing. Amâta-ke
 trail on-that-one fighting they came down. Fighting
 epu-sika ngai ep-u Wandicat-âpâ-ne ap-u
 coming-down thus coming-down to-Wantoot-river coming-down
 ndo-keng-â une wopâtang kumâ amâ-k-ing.
 having-filled-up there in-a-place furiously they-fought.
 Amâ-wa-wâ ngânâ andang-nanâ ku-k-ing amin-u
 They-kept-fighting but those-from-here they-went person

an sa-u awa-ke atuwak ako-keng-â
 those bridge crossing on-other-side after-having-gone-up
 undangâ sakot-ndâ amin-u kekekngâ wa-âpâ-an Tangguma i
 from-there with-arrow person strong that-one Tangguma him
 mutâwa-k-ing, sakot-ndâ.
 they-shot-at, with-arrow.

They kept going and going very stealthily. It had already become dark, so they laid in wait until they saw that it was almost light. Then they went up to that village. They went up to that village and razed it killing everyone who lived there, man, woman, child and old people. They killed every single one. As they were massacring everyone there was a man from there who was very strong and a ferocious fighter. He had built a house in a different place and lived there. His name was Tangguma. He heard the noise of battle and went into ambush by the trail and waited there. They were razing that whole village and massacring everyone and saying "Let's kill off everyone there!" And they came away. As they were coming along down the trail they passed by that one and he stood up. He got up and they fought together on that road as they came down. As they fought down the trail they came down to the Wantoot River, and having filled up a clearing they fought furiously there. As they kept on fighting those from here who had gone crossed the bridge and climbed up the other side, and from there they shot arrows at that strong man, that Tangguma.

5.2.4. Si-wân i-e upê-wa-wân not-mâ mâts-u nzet-nggâman

It-becomes to-him he-is-in-need his-friend few quickly

sa-u awa-ke kaotdu-kan ako-po puyu-ku-t. Ako-pu
 bridge crossing other-part coming-up it-finished. Coming-up

puyu-wân-â māsānde wa ako-wa-wân undangā
 having-finished afterwards that as-he-went-up from-there
 sakut-ndā muta-wā nga tāsī-ke upeā-wân ako sa-u
 with-arrow they-shoot thus doing he-is-in-need going-up bridge
 wa-âpā tā-ke yanggā-ne mute-wān ku-wa-wân, Tangguma.
 that-one taking in-water he-throws it-goes, Tangguma.
 "Nānggwak kopit!" nga upeā-ke atuwāknggā-kān
 "which-place I'll go up?" thus being-in-need on-the-other-side
 ya-ke "Sakot-ndā ya-pit-ābā?" nga tāsī-wān
 being "with-arrow maybe-I'll-shoot?" thus he-does
 mai-ngga-wān, te-ke ko-wa-wān Wandōat-nanā puku-k-ing
 he-is-being-ill leaving he-goes-along from Wantōat they-went-down
 amin-u atopātang-nanā puku-k-ing amin-u akop-ab-ing,
 person those-from-here they-went-down person they-came-up,
 nggātuna yot-nā. Unu-kān.
 again their-village. That's all.

And so he was in need because of it, and a few of his friends quickly
 crossed the bridge and went up the other side clear to the top. After they
 had gone clear up that one came up afterwards, and they shot arrows from
 there while he was in need and coming up he took that bridge and threw it
 away into the river, that Tangguma. In his need he said, "Which way shall
 I go up?" And as he remained on the other side he said, "Maybe I'll shoot
 arrows." And when he was exhausted from it he quit and went away, and the
 people from here at Wantōat who had gone down came up to their village.
 That's all.

6. Lexicon. Every word found in both texts is listed in the first section below. Bound forms are listed in the second section. A brief gloss is given for each word and bound form sufficient to indicate the area of meaning found in the text.

6.1. Words: phoneme sequences which may occur in isolation and between pauses.

ah exclamation, with affirmative force

akokengâ after having come up

akoo having come up

akopabing they came up

akopu/akopo having come up (alternate of / akoo/)

akowawân having been in the process of coming up, 3rd. s.

amak a fight

amâking they fought

amâknggâne something belonging to a fight, weapons

amâtake having pursued the battle, fought a running battle

amâwawâ having been in the process of fighting, 3rd. pl.

amin a person

aminâkesin an old person (diminutive)

amindâ a person (actor)

aminmbamu an important person/big person (actor)

aminu a person (actor)

~~amâmbamufight; battle (from amâmbam - u)~~

amunzing below, on lower level (topography)

an that one (the immediate personal antecedent)

andang here (nearby)

andang-nanâ those from here, belonging to this village
 anzing like this, in this way
 apânâ after having come, 3rd.s. or pl.
 api having come
 apmbing they came
 apmi later, afterwards (alternate: apmâ)
 apu having come (alternate form of /api/)
 apuawân having been in the process of coming, 3rd. pl.
 apunggawânâ after having been in the process of coming, 3. s.
 apusika (ng) having come (alternate form: apusikngâ)
 atopâtang-nanâ s.o. from across the way
 atuwak on the opposite side
 atuwaknggakan quite on the opposite side
 awake having crossed over (on a bridge)
 ayok alright, OK
 enako having gotten up, risen
 enakut ~~he~~ ~~has~~ ~~got~~ ~~up~~ ~~across~~
 enawân having gotten up, 3rd. s.
 ene up high
 enen up high (alternate form of /ene/)
 enentângân up on a high place, on top
 epmbing they came down
 epu having come down
 epusika(ng) having come down (alternate form: epusikngâ)
 i perpetual pronoun, 3rd. s. he, she, it
 lakngâ edible greens

iskn̄g̃an̄ink̄atang into our edible greens
 iat̄ (together) with s.o.
 ie to, toward, for, because of someone or something
 inat̄ a different one, different
 inat̄akan quite different
 inikaing/inikang they tell/are telling him/her/it
 inike having told him/her/it
 iniking ~~the~~ they told him/her/it
 iniw̄an having told him/her/it, 3rd.s.
 it̄ personal pronoun, 3rd.s. actor
 kain̄g̃ap̄ane in the branches
 kan̄ang we saw, noticed
 kaot̄ndu half, part
 kaot̄ndukan quite half, just/only half
 kat̄ap tree, fire
 kat̄apnggomune in a large tree
 kat̄apt̄ap̄ane in a tall tree
 kat̄apt̄atak tree leaf
 kat̄asiking they watched
 kat̄at̄ap̄a a tree, a pole
 katau a tree, (part of a discontinuous construction: katau inat̄ nd̄akat̄une,
 meaning in different trees)
 kato a tree (part of a discontinuous construction: kato mbuȳamban
 nd̄ak̄and̄ak̄a, meaning in a big tree)
 katoun in that tree
 kaw̄an having seen, 3rd.s.
 Kaw̄īa a proper name

kekakawân having strengthened himself, 3rd.s.
 kekakngâ strong
 kekakngâapa a strong one
 kep ground, land
 kepi ground, road, leg, foot
 kepiakâne on the ground
 ken to a plot of ground
 keukomdu to a plot of ground (with class marker + numeral)
 keune on the ground
 keunin on our land
 kitatokngâ furious, formidable
 kok feces
 kokngâ his/hers/its feces
 kokngga your feces
 koknggân only/just feces
 kombunanang vulture
 kopap story, tale
 kopit I'll go up
 kopabing they went up
 kou having gone up
 komawân having been in the process of going up
 kuking they went
 kukingu those who went, those who had gone
 kuku having gone
 kusa loudly, noisily, furiously, heatedly
 kundu some

kunong you all go (imperative)
 kupân he dies (series-generating different-actor verb)
 kupitâking they went stealthily
 kupmbam all, every one
 kusîane on his head
 kusiânggwen the head (person's)
 kusinggâwân he was in the process of going
 kut also, too
 kuwân he goes
 kuwawân he is in the process of going
 kwate bone
 kuse bone (referent form)
 kwai bird (see kwait)
 kwaiâpâsime to that bird
 kwaiawân he was in the process of planting
 kwait bird (dialect alternate to kwai)
 kwaitkwait all the birds, a lot of birds
 kwaitmbam big bird(s)
 kwaitmbamda big bird(s) (actor)
 kwaitmbamu big birds(s) (actor)
 kwaitngwen the bird (with noun-class marker)
 kwaiu bird (actor)
 kwaiu bamboo (short form of kwaiwai)
 kwaiun that bird
 kwaiuna bamboo (alternate form of kwaiu/kwaiwai)
 kwaiwi as they walked (aberrant form of kuwawâ)

kvakanangge it was almost light, dawn
 kvakawân it was dawning, dawn was breaking
 kwake defecating
 kwamndâ (nggoyâ) salt water (dialectal differences)
 kwânggaknggâ that which he was defecating
 kwaru bamboo (a variety)
 kwarunesee in a kwaru bamboo (chant song form)
 kantânu weary, out of breath
 kwawi bird (variant form)
 kwâwiyo you will defecate
 kven bow
 natake cutting
 mâtekngâsikngâtaketusin a very small one
 mâtekâmâtekngâ very small
 mâten small, few (from mâtekngâ + -u)
 mbaengâ calf of the leg (his)
 mbaengga your calf
 mbaenggon the calf (+ noun-class marker)
 mbapune progenitor (referent form)
 mbepmâkakut he used to fly
 mbepmâke flying
 mbepmâtuknyuk he flew all over (simulfactive form)
 mbepmâyuk he flew (simulfactive form)
 mbitâng you must dislike it! (imperative)
 mbuyâ essence, that which was worth or 'body'
 mbuyâmban big, many

mbuyâmbamndâkândâkâ very big, esp. inferring highth
 mbuyâmbamndâkâne in a big one
 mbuyâmbamnggwendutâ a big one (actor)
 mbuyâmbamnggwengwendâ a big one (actor)
 mbuyâmbamnggwengwenun that big one
 mbuyâmbamu a big one (actor)
 mendâmeese at mendamo cliff (chant song form)
 miâm a bush having edible leaves
 mingâ his mother
 mingâe to his mother (referent form)
 mitaawân he used to string (as a bow), hang up
 mitake stringing (a bow), hanging
 motu a horn bill bird
 musiâ egg, stomach
 mutâwâ they shoot (as arrows)
 mutâwaking they shot (arrows) after him
 mutewâ he throw away
 nakaing they used to eat, they are eating (alternate: nakang)
 nake eating
 naking they ate
 nanam food (dialectal variant: nam)
 nanamin our food
 nânangâatang into what is for eating, into edibles
 nanuknggayâk you have struck me
 nanzam an edible leaf, and the tree on which it grows
 nanzamndâkâne in a nanzam tree

natá I (Pronoun - actor)
 nataka knowing, hearing
 natândekut he thought about it
 natawân he heard it, he knew (about) it
 nayek a cockatoo
 nayuk he ate (simultaneous form)
 ndâkâtune in/on one (class marker-one-referent)
 ndâkngake being like, becoming like, turning into
 ndâkrawân he used to defecate
 ndâne a cliff, steep place
 ndâmendâseee a cliff (referent form in chant/song)
 ndâsi what (question)
 ndâsingga whatever (question)
 ndatakunawâ they kept running away, escaping
 ndokengâ after having filled up
 ndeeng a variety of tree
 ndopinakngâ that which didn't fall (down)
 ndopinakut he didn't fall (down)
 ndopinanggak he doesn't fall (down)
 ndosukukut he didn't roam about (variant: ndotukukut)
 ndotanguyâ you won't strike him
 ndotuknailngâ not having roamed about
 ndotakunawân not having been in the process of roaming
 ndu(â) not (as in 'not you')
 nga thus (connective)
 ngânâ but (conjunction)

ngai	thus (quotation introducer and closure)
nggâ	you (2nd s. Personal pronoun)
nggâkngâe	a noise (referent form)
nggâkngât	a noise
nggâmbingâ	like you
nggâmdâ	sorcery (materials)
nggânnâ	sorcery (referent form)
nggândumâ	I see you
nggâpâ	village, flat place
nggâtâ	you (actor form of personal pronoun)
nggâtu	again
nggâtukânde	completely, utterly, fully
nggâtumâ	again
nggâwâkngâ	odorous, evil smelling
ngge	connective
nggeyâ	salt water (dialect alternate: kwamkâ)
nggwanake	carrying (on the shoulder)
nggwanggondâ	a proper name (actor form)
nggwanggun	name of a cliff
nggwanzowân	it had already become dark
nggwayoke	being afraid of, fearing
nggwendu	one (class marker + numeral)
nggwendutâ	one (of them) (actor form)
ngwânâ	cassowary
ngwânâmu	cassowary (actor form)
ngwênâ	the remainder, just a little left

nin us (1st. pl. personal pronoun)
 nini ours (literally - to us, referent form)
 ninu us (actor form)
 notná his friend(s)
 notne their friend (referent form)
 nsaknge for a sprout (referent)
 nsánggwák where ever (question)
 nsot quickly, immediately
 nsotngánán very quickly
 nzipá they massacre them
 nzipándákgake ripping apart, ripping up
 nzipna let's massacre them
 nzipnangge wanting to massacre them
 nsit a variety of very small bird
 nsitnangge wanting to extract
 nsitákesim that little nsit-bird
 nsitná the nsit-bird (actor form)
 opátang-naná those from over there
 opátang-nanáta those from over there (actor form)
 opátangu over there (across the way)
 páke taking them
 pákut he took them
 pámake putting them into (something)
 pándámkíng they prepared everything
 pánsánsá they kept on sharpening
 páke putting them, leaving them

pekuan the one who had sat down
piâ garden, work
piânâ their garden(s)
pinakut he fell down
pinapik he will fall down
pimatning they will fall down
poit a conference, discussion, visit
pukuke going down
pukuking they went down
puyââtang in the/a garden
puyuknggak it finishes
puyukut it finished
puyunân he/it finishes
puyunânâ after having finished
puyunawân having been in the process of finishing
sarak a bridge
sâko cooking
saket arrow
sakutadâ with arrow(s) (instrumental)
sângâ a possession, a thing
sau a bridge (from sarak u)
siakande truly, of a truth
siawân it used to be, was
siawânâ after having been
sikang they became (alternate: sikaing)
sikngâpâ (from the phrase: kekeknga sikngaapa a very strong one)

sikut it became/was
 sikinga very (superlative)
 singgawan he was in the process of becoming/being
 siwan he becomes/it becomes/is
 siwikngge in order that it will/might become
 siyuk while he became/was
 taiking they danced/sang
 tainggawa they were in the process of dancing/singing
 takapu bringing it (idiom: as they went/came along)
 take taking it/him
 take good (adj.)
 takekompatang in a good one (used of a plot of ground)
 takngatu one (numeral: class marking prefix + one)
 taku the one which they took
 takwak those
 takwatnambat with those little ones
 tansikngasiknganga after having made preparations
 tangguma a man's name
 tangokaing they struck him (alternate form: tangokang)
 tangotena let's strike him, let's knock him away
 tangotowan he hit him, he knocked him away
 tangutna let's strike him
 tanguna they struck him
 tangunan/tangowan he struck him
 tapatu one (numeral)
 tapatusian the little one, one of the little ones

tapmâkangu/tapmâkaingu that which stuck (plural actor)
 tâpu the one which they took (from: tapa + -u)
 tâsiawân he was in the process of doing/making it
 tâsikakingtâkngânê a thing which they used to do/make
 tâsiking they did it/made it
 tâsinggak he is doing/making it
 tâsinggawâ he was in the process of doing/making it
 tâsike doing/making it
 tâsikut he did/made it
 tâsina let's do/make it
 tâsinim we will do/make it
 tâsitukusikngâ having done it all over everywhere
 tâsiyuk as he was doing/making it
 tâwanggawân he was in the process of chasing him
 teawân he/they left/put it (number is ambiguous)
 teke putting/leaving it/him
 tekengâ after putting/leaving it/him
 teking they left/put it/him
 tekut he left/put it/him
 tena let's leave/put it/him
 totawâ they climb
 towâ they leave/put it/him
 tukukaku the one who used to roam about (actor)
 tukusikngâ having roamed about
 tukusawân after he had been roaming about
 tukuyuk as he was roaming about

tupâ before, previously, long ago
 tupânun first, the first/previous one
 tukukake continuing to become weak
 tuyukngâ weak (adj.)
 umani his name
 unike lying in ambush
 unda/undang there
 undangâ from there
 une there, in that place
 unenanâ belonging to that place, people from there
 unekân only there, at that very place
 unetâ from there
 unin in there
 unukân that's all
 unzâkan just like that, in the same way
 unzânggân in the same way over and over/one by one
 unzing in that way, like that
 upeâke being hard pressed/ in a bad way
 upeâwân he was in a bad way/hard pressed
 upeâwawân he continued to be hard pressed
 upuwawân he continued to hatch out
 usânggike deploying
 wa that one, him, those
 wââkambanu that big one (actor)
 wââkesimndâ that little one (actor)
 wââkesinu that little one (actor)
 wââkngâ that (also means: his son)

waakngân that one
 waakngânekân just to that one
 waâpâ that one (ref. to an antecedent)
 waâpân that one
 waâpâsimun that little one
 waâpo that one (actor)
 wait sugar cane
 waitnâatang into their sugar cane
 wakun a drum, a song
 wandâkâtang into that place
 wandoât Wantoat (Government spelling)
 wandoâtâpâne to the river Wantoat
 wandoâtânânâ people from/belonging to Wantoat
 wanggâpâ that village
 wanggâpââtângun into that village
 wanggâpâândânâ belonging to that village
 wanggwên that one
 wanggwendâ that one (actor)
 wanggwênâ that one (actor)
 wanggwênun that one (previously spoken of)
 wanin those very ones
 waopâtangu on that one there
 wapit I'll wrap up/fasten
 wâpu proper name for a dialect area
 wasikakingu that which they were making (alternate: tásikakingu)
 watndâkâ youth, a child

wāwi a man (especially a married one)
 wayāknān that one
 weke razing, tearing apart, untying
 wepndā slow, quiet
 wepndākan very slowly, quietly
 wopātang in that place
 yainggātanggak he spreads it around
 yake talking
 yakengā after having talked
 yaking they talked
 yāmbāt a tree having edible leaves
 yāmbātātang into the yambat tree(s)
 yandeking they held conference
 yanggāmātawān he/they continued to shout/scream
 yanggā water
 yanggāne to (the) water
 yapit I'll shoot
 yatukusikngā having talked it all over
 yāwa I'll tell
 yawā they said
 yāwaking they chased them
 yāwambān he/they chase them
 yawānā after they said
 yāuwān he continued to say
 yayuk as he was saying/talking
 yembānānā a proper name of a man