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      - 6.2.2.2.1 Direct/Indirect Speech
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1. Introduction

1.1 General Information
This paper contains the grammar essentials for the Wipi language. The Wipi(Gidra/Jibu) language is a member of the Eastern Trans-Fly Family, of the Trans-Fly Stock, Trans-Fly-Balaka River Subphylum-Level, Trans New Guinea Phylum Languages. The other members of the Eastern Trans-Fly Family are quite similar in basic features and in quite a few structural details, though Gizra and Miriam on the one hand, and Bine and Gidra on the other, contrast with each other to some extent in details. The lexical relationship between the four languages is on the very low to medium family level (Wurm 1982:132-135; 180-196).

The language group is located in the Oriomo-Bituri division of the Daru district in the Western Province of Papua New Guinea. The Wipi language is spoken by approximately 2,500 people in fourteen main villages located in the eastern plains between the Fly River and the Coral Sea. Rual and Kapal, the two northern-most villages, are located south of the Binaturi River. Villages located mid-way between the Fly River and the Coral Sea are Wipim, Podare, Yamega, Wonie, and Kuru. Villages located on the Oriomo river include Wuroi, Woigi, Abam, and Peawa. On the Binaturi River are the villages Ume and Gamaewe, and on the south coast across from Daru is Dorogori village.

In the early 20th century, the Wipi people were known as Jibu, from the name of a bush village located at head waters of the Binaturi River; another name was Oriomo. Later the people were called Gidra, meaning ‘bush people’ or ‘inlanders,’ by the Bine people, who looked down on them. The eleventh edition of the Ethnologue (Grimes 1992) lists the name of the language as Gidra [GDR]. Now, however, many of the people do not want to be called Gidra due to its derogatory connotation.

There are two main dialects of the Wipi language, a southern dialect and a northern dialect. The southern dialect is spoken in villages on the Oriomo River from Wuroi, Oigi, Abam and Peawa down to Dorogori and Ume and Kuru on the Binaturi River. The northern dialect is spoken in all the other northern villages. The probable cognate percentages among the villages in the southern dialect are between 81 and 91%, and among the northern villages they are between 84 and 97%. The percentages between the two dialects are between 67 and 84%, according to the various villages. However, all people in the area said that the Wipi language originally came from Wipim village, and suggested to use the Wipim dialect for our language work.

This analysis is based on around 25 months of field work done between October 1991 and December 1995. The data for this paper came primarily from more than 450KB of natural texts collected in several different genres from three different villages (Wipim, Podare and Yamega) of the northern dialect area. The principal language helpers who helped to work on interlinearizing the texts were Andiwa Messa, Sanigiri Mike and some others from Yamega village.

Anne Dondorp helped me to analyze and write up this paper. I want to give great appreciation for her.

Jae-Wook Shim
1.2 Conventions Used
1. All Wipi words and morphemes are in italics throughout this paper.
4. The word(s)/morpheme(s) being discussed in any particular example is/are underlined.
5. All Wipi spellings are based on the Organized Phonological Data of Wipi (Shim & Shim 1993), except for a few changes to the semi-vowels as mentioned in section 2.1.
6. Ungrammatical sentences are marked with an asterisk (*).

1.3 Abbreviations
Following is a list of abbreviations used throughout this paper, including a short description:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABBREVIATION</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>ABBREVIATION</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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<td>Ablative</td>
<td>NSG</td>
<td>Non-singular</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Absolutive</td>
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<td>Adjective</td>
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<td>Port manteau</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>invis</td>
<td>invisible</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>NMLZ</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
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<td>PRED</td>
<td>Predicate Marker</td>
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<td>Prohibitive</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Pronoun</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>QNT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
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<td>Question particle</td>
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<td>Relativizer</td>
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<td>REAL</td>
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<td>REFL</td>
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<tr>
<td>RM</td>
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<td>YD</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>inflectional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morpheme break</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Phonological Description

2.1 Tentative Orthography

There are 21 phonemes which are written in / / brackets below, and there are 22 tentative lower case and 22 tentative upper case which are written in < > brackets below, according to the Organized Phonological Data of Wipi (Shim & Shim 1993).

/a b b̩ d e ɛ ɪ ɔ ə z k l m n ɲ o p r s t u w/
/<a b b’ d e ɛ ɪ,y ɔ ə z k l m n ng o p r s t u w>
/<A B B’ D E G I,Y Ö J K L M N Ng O P R S T U W>

The phoneme charts for the consonants and vowels are shown below:

**Table 2.1: Wipi Consonant Chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>b’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.2: Wipi Vowel Chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed-high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ő</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are many diphthongs in Wipi, where the semivowels [i] and [u] combine with any of the other vowels; [ya, ay, ye, ey, yi, yō, őy, yo, oy, yu, uy, wa, aw, we, wi, iw, wō, öw, wo, and ow]. In this paper, we will write the initial semivowels as consonants <y> and <w>, and final semivowels as vowels <i > and < u >. At this time it seems best to analyze them as such. If a different analysis seems better later, it can be changed.
2.2 Morphophonemics
There are several morphophonemic processes in Wipi. For the benefit of the reader some of the main processes are described here. As the scope of this paper is the grammar and not the phonology, we will not describe them in great detail here.

2.2.1 Epenthesis
Wipi has an obligatory process of vowel insertion when there is a illegitimate cluster of two or more consonants. The inserted vowel is the high, central vowel /ö/. This process is summarized in the following phonological rule.

\[(2.1) \quad \text{RULE: } \emptyset \rightarrow \text{ö} / (C)C_C\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[omŋ]} & \rightarrow \text{omöŋ} & \text{'he does'} \\
\text{[örk]} & \rightarrow \text{örök} & \text{'he writes'}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.2 Deletion
Wipi has several rules of phonological deletion.
When there are two identical or similar consonants in a sequence, the first one gets deleted. Similar means that the two consonants do not differ in more than one point.

\[(2.2) \quad \text{RULE: } t \rightarrow \emptyset / _t\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[omittondam]} & \rightarrow \text{omitondam} & \text{'they sat' (RM.PST)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[(2.3) \quad \text{RULE: } n \rightarrow \emptyset / _d\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[konda]} & \rightarrow \text{koda} & \text{'I also'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[(2.4) \quad \text{RULE: } d \rightarrow \emptyset / _t\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[angandtondam]} & \rightarrow \text{angantondam} & \text{'we/you (pl) ate them'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Co-occurrence of the 3rd person absolutive prefix [y-] and the irrealis prefix [t-] results in deletion of both.

\[(2.5) \quad \text{RULE: } y\text{-}t\text{-} \rightarrow \emptyset\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[y-t-omnöken]} & \rightarrow \text{omnöken} & \text{'I will make it'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.3 Assimilation
Assimilation is a very common phonological process in Wipi.
There is assimilation with respect to the point of articulation as is shown in the following example:

\[(2.6) \quad \text{RULE: } n \rightarrow m / b_#\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[öbn]} & \rightarrow \text{öbm} & & \text{[öböm]} & \text{'he stays'}
\end{align*}
\]
(2.7) RULE: \( n \rightarrow n /_d \)

\[ \text{[amisi}_{\text{ndam}} \rightarrow \text{[amisindam]} \] ‘we put them down’

There is also assimilation with respect to the manner of articulation:
(2.8) RULE: \( j \rightarrow s /_k \)

\[ \text{[ujke]} \rightarrow \text{[uske]} \] ‘from the dead’

### 2.2.4 Metathesis

A metathesis process takes place when the absolutive prefixes co-occur with the irrealis prefix [t-]. To avoid an unpronounceable word initial consonant cluster, the irrealis prefix [t-] switches place with the first vowel of the verb. \( C_1C_2C_3 \)

(2.9) RULE: \( C_1-C_2-VC_3 \rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3 \)

\[ \text{[m-t-omisön]} \rightarrow \text{[motmisön]} \] ‘I will set you down’

\[ \text{[n-t-omnökaet]} \rightarrow \text{[notmnökaet]} \] ‘you will make it for me’

### 2.2.5 Fusion

Wipi has a process of fusion across inflectional morpheme breaks. The vowel [i] of the present and yesterday past tense morpheme and of the plural absolutive suffix gets absorbed into the preceding consonant when it is [+alveolar] and [-continuant], otherwise it gets absorbed into the vowel of the subject suffix, changing its quality. Thus we have the following rules:

(2.10) RULE: \{ \( t \) + i (infl) \( \rightarrow \) s \}

\{ \( d \) + i (infl) \( \rightarrow \) j \}

\{ \( n + i \) (infl) \( \rightarrow \) n \}

\[ \text{[omit-i-ön]} \rightarrow \text{[omisön]} \] ‘sit-PRS-1SG.SBJ’

\[ \text{[omit-im-a]} \rightarrow \text{[omisma]} \] ‘sit-YD.PAST-DL.SBJ’

\[ \text{[yokund-i- ø]} \rightarrow \text{[yokunj]} \] ‘live-PRS-3SG.SBJ’

\[ \text{[omm-i-öt]} \rightarrow \text{[ommööt]} \] ‘do-PRS-2SG.SBJ’

\[ \text{[amit-in-i-ön]} \rightarrow \text{[amisiön]} \] ‘set.PL-ABS.PL-PRS-1SG.SBJ’

(2.11) i (infl) + õ \( \rightarrow \) e

\[ \text{[omnik-i-ön]} \rightarrow \text{[omniken]} \] ‘make-PRS-1SG.SBJ’

\[ \text{[nipou-i-öt]} \rightarrow \text{[nipouët]} \] ‘hit-PRS-2SG.SBJ’

The consonants resulting from the fusion are considered as just the regular /s/, /j/ and /ø/ phonemes. We see epenthesis happening when any of these fused phonemes occurs in an illegitimate consonant cluster, see also Section 2.2.1.

\[ \text{[omit-im- ø]} \rightarrow \text{[omisöm]} \] ‘sit-YD.PST-3SG.SBJ’

\[ \text{[yokund-im- ø]} \rightarrow \text{[yokunjöm]} \] ‘live-YD.PST-3SG.SBJ’

\[ \text{[amit-in-im- ø]} \rightarrow \text{[amisipöm]} \] ‘set.PL-ABS.PL-YD.PST-3SG.SBJ’
When preceding a low vowel [a], the fused phoneme /s/ is clearly palatal [ç], which makes sense because of the absorption of the vowel [i] into the [i]. The fusion of [d] and [i] and [n] and [i] also results in their palatal allophones [j] and [n]. It is strange however, that the fused phoneme /s/ is not palatal when preceding the high vowels [i], [ö] and [u]. The reason might be that when the tongue has to go down for the low vowel [a], the absorbed [i] gets audible in the palatalization of the [s], whereas this does not happen when the tongue stays in its high position going from [s] to the high vowels.

| [amit-i- a]      | [amiça]      | 'set.NSG-PRS-DL.SBJ' |
| [akund-i-a]      | [akunja]     | 'live.NSG-PRS-DL.SBJ' |
| [amit-i-u]       | [amisu]      | 'set.NSG-PRS-IPL.SBJ' |
3. Word Level

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Noun Stem

3.1.1.1 simple noun stem
Most monomorphemic nouns consist of one or two syllables, as is shown in the following examples:

- so ‘nose’
- kak ‘bone’
- röga ‘man’
- tungg ‘village’
- kemba ‘banana’
- ganggam ‘broom’

There are some simple nouns that have three syllables but they are definitely in the minority.

- aitörang ‘pineapple (sp)’
- gugolam ‘noise’
- bereta ‘insect name (sp)’
- görola ‘rooster’s crown’

3.1.1.2 complex noun stems
Wipi has many complex nouns, formed by derivation or compounding.

3.1.1.2.1 Derivation
Nouns can be reduplicated which results in an intensification of the meaning.

**N + redup → N**

- wönga ‘shadow’
- wöngawönga ‘spirit’
- diam ‘meal’
- diamdiam ‘feast’
- ara ‘voice/sound’
- arara ‘voice’
- kera ‘tail’
- kerakera ‘insect with two tails’

Nouns can be derived from verbs by the nominalizing suffix –a:

**V + -a → N**

- omnök ‘make’
- omnök-a ‘making’
- akök ‘trim’
- akök-a ‘trimming’
- obblend ‘arrive’
- obblend-a ‘arriving’
Actor nouns (The one who does X) are formed by attaching the suffix -iam/-am to either verbs nominalized with the suffix –a, or to irregularly nominalized verbs.

**V-a + -iam/-am → N**

- omnök-a ‘making’ → omnök-a-iam ‘the making man’
- akök-a ‘trimming’ → akök-a-iam ‘the trimming man’
- obblend-a ‘arriving’ → obblend-a-iam ‘the arriving man’
- ow ‘eating’ → ow-am ‘the eater’
- iyoi ‘bringing’ → iyoi-am ‘the bringing man’

Nouns denoting a person can also be derived from other nouns by adding the suffix -iam/-am:

**N + -iam/-am → N**

- tungg ‘village’ → tungg-iam/am ‘villager’
- Yamega ‘Yamega village’ → Yamega-iam ‘Yamega man’
- wala ‘work’ → wala-iam ‘worker/farmer’
- pinangg ‘hunting’ → pinangg-am ‘hunter’
- bage ‘message’ → bage-iam ‘messenger’

When the suffix -iam/-am attaches to adjectives (or the adjectival phrases) or verbs, it functions as a nominalizer:

**ADJ + -iam → N**

- timtim ‘black’ → timtim-iam ‘the black one’
-'intim ‘black’ + jog ‘very’ → timtim-jog-iam ‘the very black one’
- ukoii ‘big’ → ukoii-iam ‘the big man’
- ukoii ‘big’ + jog ‘very’ → ukoii-jog-iam ‘the biggest one’
- pembpemb ‘hot’ → pembpemb-iam ‘the hot one’
- pönpönt ‘long’ → pönpönt-iam ‘the long one’
- b’ogöl ‘good’ → b’ogöl-iam ‘good one’
- negör ‘bad’ → negör-iam ‘bad one’
- kölköl ‘dirty’ → kölköl-iam ‘dirty one’

The suffix -iam can also be attached to the past participle form of the verb.

**V-i + -iam → N**

- omnök-i ‘made’ → omnök-i-iam ‘the made one’
- akök-i ‘trimmed’ → akök-i-iam ‘the trimmed one’
- obblend-i ‘arrived’ → obblend-i-iam ‘the arrived one’
- oramit-i ‘was put’ → oramit-i-iam ‘thing which was put on’
Another derivational suffix is the locativizer -pu, which converts a general noun to a specific temporal or spatial location.

**N + -pu**

- **sana** ‘sago’
  - **sana-pu** ‘the sago making place’
- **wala** ‘work’
  - **wala-pu** ‘the working place’
- **öwöu** ‘food’
  - **öwöu-pu** ‘the eating place’
- **önyöön** ‘middle’
  - **önyöön-pu** ‘in the middle time/place’
- **ogn** ‘cook’ + -a ‘NMLZ’
  - **ong-a-pu** ‘the cooking place’
- **ung** ‘sleep’ + -a ‘NMLZ’
  - **ung-a-pu** ‘the sleeping place’
- **otom** ‘start’ + -a ‘NMLZ’
  - **otom-a-pu** ‘the starting time/place’
- **unduat** ‘finish’ + -a ‘NMLZ’
  - **unduat-a-pu** ‘the finishing time/place’
- **lomölit** ‘sun rise’ + -a ‘NMLZ’
  - **lomölit-a-pu** ‘the sun rising time/place’

The suffix -mad indicates a reciprocal relationship to the addressee, as in the following examples. These words indicate close friendship between people who cannot call each other by their proper names because of cultural taboo.

**N + -mad**

- **yöt** ‘word’
  - **yöt-mad** ‘friend’
- **baleg** ‘friend’
  - **baleg-mad** ‘friend’
- **nyö** ‘name’
  - **nyö-mad** ‘namesake’
- **kemba** ‘banana’
  - **kemba-mad** ‘friends who ate twin banana together’
- **inggöp** ‘fruit (sp)’
  - **inggöp-mad** ‘friends who ate twin ‘inggöp’ together’

### 3.1.1.2.2 compound nouns

Most compound nouns in Wipi consist of two noun stems. The order is Modifier Head. Usually the meaning of a compound noun follows from the combined meaning of its components. However, there are also cases where the meaning of the compound noun seems arbitrary.

Noun stem + noun stem \(\rightarrow\) compound stem

**N + N**

- **kobör** ‘ghost’ + göm ‘skin’ \(\rightarrow\) **kobörgöm** ‘clothes, corpse’
- **öle** ‘east wind’ + met ‘house’ \(\rightarrow\) **ölemet** ‘east’
- **kemba** ‘banana’ + met ‘house’ \(\rightarrow\) **kembamet** ‘kemba garden’
- **gou** ‘ground’ + ngöi ‘hair’ \(\rightarrow\) **goungöi** ‘weed’
- **uj** ‘death’ + göm ‘skin’ \(\rightarrow\) **ułgök** ‘corpse’
- **wör** ‘centipede’ + mog ‘mother’ \(\rightarrow\) **wörmbmog** ‘scorpion’
- **gigi** ‘casowary’ + dor ‘chest’ \(\rightarrow\) **gigidordor** ‘plant (sp)’
- **ul** ‘tree’ + mop ‘head’ \(\rightarrow\) **ulmop** ‘tree base’
- **kok** ‘joint’ + mop ‘head’ \(\rightarrow\) **kompok** ‘joint’
- **yör** ‘eye’ + mop ‘head’ \(\rightarrow\) **yörmop** ‘big eye’
Names for ‘hard’ body parts are quite often compound nouns with *kak* ‘bone’ as the second component.

**N(body part) + *kak***

- **ana** ‘face’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **anakak** ‘face’
- **so** ‘nose’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **sokak** ‘nose’
- **pös** ‘leg’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **põskak** ‘leg’
- **mop** ‘head’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **mopkak** ‘head’
- **or** ‘tooth’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **orkak** ‘tooth’

Some other hard objects also have *kak* ‘bone’ as second component.

**N(hard object) + *kak***

- **ul** ‘tree’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **ulkak** ‘stick’
- **pingg** ‘bamboo’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **pinggkak** ‘bamboo stick’
- **aïön** ‘iron’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **aiönkak** ‘a piece of iron’
- **sana** ‘sago’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **sanakak** ‘sago stalk’
- **gujo** ‘coconut’ + *kak* ‘bone’ → **gujokak** ‘coconut shell’

Soft and round shaped body parts have compound names with *rom* ‘leaf’ as their second component.

**N(soft and round body part) + *rom***

- **yöpia** ‘ear’ + *rom* ‘leaf’ → **yöpiarom** ‘outer ear’
- **köd** ‘heart’ + *rom* ‘leaf’ → **ködrom** ‘heart’

Ball shaped body parts have compound names with *köp* ‘fruit’ as their second component:

**N(ball shape) + *köp***

- **öpa** ‘testicle’ + *köp* ‘fruit’ → **öpaköp** ‘testicle’
- **yör** ‘eye’ + *köp* ‘fruit’ → **yörköp** ‘eyeball’
- **mop** ‘head’ + *köp* ‘fruit’ → **mopteköp** ‘head’
Compound nouns can also be composed of N + ADJ but we only have a few examples so far.

**N + ADJ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gou</td>
<td>‘ground’ + ukoi ‘big’</td>
<td>gouukoi ‘world’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gou</td>
<td>‘ground’ + mijag ‘big’</td>
<td>goumijag ‘world’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gujo</td>
<td>‘coconut’ + raka ‘dry’</td>
<td>gujoraka ‘dry coconut’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.1.3 Loan words/borrowed words

Borrowed nouns from English and other languages follow Wipi phonological rules.

**From English**

- baiko ‘bag’
- botol ‘bottle’
- ama ‘hammer’
- elt ‘health’
- eapot ‘airport’

**From other languages**

- aneru ‘angel’ from Kiwai
- areto ‘Lord’s supper’ from Kiwai
- gaguma ‘yam house’ from Mawam

### 3.1.2 Noun Class

Wipi nouns can be classified into common nouns and proper nouns because of their behaviour in the clause. Common nouns can be further classified according to gender and possessive relationships.

#### 3.1.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns can fill any noun slot in the clause.

Wipi common nouns can be divided into two subclasses: alienable and inalienable, based on how they handle possession. However, this distinction is not very strict; it is more a preference than a rule. Kinship terms and body parts fall into the inalienable class and prefer possessors in the dative case. The other nouns prefer possessors in the genitive case. Inalienable nouns can also occur with possessors in the genitive case, and alienable nouns can also occur with dative possessors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATIVE PRONOUN + N</th>
<th>GENITIVE PRONOUN + N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kor b’u ‘my father’</td>
<td>(koina b’u ‘my father’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mor nany ‘your elder brohter’</td>
<td>(moina nany ‘your brother’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti mög ‘his/her mother’</td>
<td>(tiina mög ‘his/her mother’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor yöm ‘my hand’</td>
<td>(koina yöm ‘my hand’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mor pös ‘your leg’</td>
<td>(moina pös ‘your leg’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kor met ‘my house’)</td>
<td>koina met ‘my house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mor kemba ‘your banana’)</td>
<td>moina kemba ‘your banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ti pen ‘his/her pen’)</td>
<td>tiina pen ‘his/her pen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sua tumg ‘our village’)</td>
<td>suaina tumg ‘our village’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Count nouns and mass nouns do not differ in the way they are modified for size or quantity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count Nouns</th>
<th>Mass Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>opima nyö</strong></td>
<td>‘there is much water(amount)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DX.EX.PL. water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>opima gujo</strong></td>
<td>‘there are many coconuts(quantity)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DX.EX.PL. coconut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jogjog nyö</strong></td>
<td>‘much water(amount)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jogjog gujo</strong></td>
<td>‘many coconuts(quantity)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much coconuts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ukoi nyö</strong></td>
<td>‘big water(amount)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ukoi gujo</strong></td>
<td>‘big coconut(size)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big coconut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sobijog nyö</strong></td>
<td>‘little water(amount)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sobijog gujo</strong></td>
<td>‘little coconut(size)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little coconut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mass nouns can be specifically counted by countable quantity.

(3.1) **yepa kapo nyö**
one cup water
‘a cup of water’

(3.2) **noa tômo öwöu**
three heap food
‘three heaps of food’

(3.3) **nömog kôpol sana**
two bundle sago
‘two bundles of sago’

(3.4) **poa kôb b’angga**
four piece meat
‘four pieces of meat’

Animate nouns (people, animals, and plants) differ from inanimate nouns in their behavior within locative postpositional phrases (ABL, ALL, and LOC), see also Section 3.9. There does not seem any further distinction between animate and inanimate nouns.

3.1.2.2 proper nouns
There is at least one restriction on the occurrence of proper nouns in their behavior with equative clauses; proper nouns cannot occur in equative clauses with predicate marker jö (See Section 5.1.1. on equative clauses). But apart from this, Wipi proper nouns do not seem to be treated differently than common nouns.

(3.5) **Röga pailet e jö.**
man pilot ABS.SG PRED
‘The man is a pilot.’
(3.6) *Andiwa pait e jò.
Andiwa pilot ABS.SG PRED
‘Andiwa is a pilot.’

**names of people**
Andiwa Messa
Sanigiri Maik
Mune Wöbiro

**names of dogs**
Bala ‘friend’
Undoikisa ‘without a sister’
Öngarkisa ‘without shame’
Midam ‘clan’s name’

**names of places**
Yamega ‘Yamega (village)’
Somogi ‘Somogi (place)’
Oriomo ‘Oriomo (river)’

### 3.1.3 Gender
There is gender distinction in Wipi, but it is not marked on the noun. It shows up in demonstratives, absolutive markers and agreement on the verb.

(3.7) Öto kongga w-iik tungg-wa.
DX.SG.F woman ABS.3SG.F-go village-ALL
‘That woman is going to the village.’

(3.8) Seg mid öte, til yönggan, ik-o-ø.
finish old.man DX.SG.DAT younger.brother come-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Then this old man, his younger brother, he came.’

(3.9) Röga kopa e.
Man sick ABS.3SG.M
‘That man is sick.’

(3.10) Kongga kopa o.
woman sick ABS.3SG.F
‘The woman is sick.’

(3.11) Kon yepa röga y-omis-ön.
1SG.NOM one man ABS.3SG.M-set-1SG.SBJ
‘I set one man.’

(3.12) Kon yepa kongga w-omis-ön.
1sg.NOM one woman ABS.3SG.F-set-1SG.SBJ
‘I set one woman.’
3.1.4 Number
Number is usually not marked on the noun. It can be told from the context, agreement on the verb or the absolutive or nominative markers.

However, there are a few nouns that use reduplication to mark plural.

mid ‘old man’       midmid ‘old men’
moleg ‘old woman’    molegmoleg ‘old women’

Some nouns can optionally take the suffix -war to indicate plural. The group of nouns that can take -war is not very homogenous. They are mostly nouns referring to people but there are also plants, some animals, stones and even chicken waste places.

There are some restrictions on the use of -war. The suffix -war can only appear on non-human nouns in the allative case.

(3.13)  Kemba-war wa n-ek-en.
        banana-PL ALL ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
        ‘I am going to the banana place.’

(3.14)  Kon yongg-war wa n-ek-en.
        ISG.NOM dog-PL ALL ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
        ‘I go to the dogs.’

(3.15)  B’ōga paurolia-war wa iik.
        child chicken.faeces-PL ALL go
        ‘The child went to the chicken waste place.’

(3.16)  Gōmo-war wa n-ek-en.
        stone-PL ALL ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
        ‘I go to the stones.’

Human nouns must refer to a specific kinship relation to take the plural suffix-war in a subject position. This means they have to be either kinship terms themselves or have a possessive pronoun with them.

(3.17)  Rōga, ti yōnggan-war, tua kongga-war, dōde tua b’ōga-war
        man 3.SG.DAT younger.brother.PL 3NSG.DAT woman.PL and 3NSG.DAT child-PL
        ui Daru-wa.
        go.PL Daru-ALL
        ‘The man, his younger brothers, their wives and their children went to Daru.’

(3.18a)  rōga ake tua kongga-war
        man and 3NSG.DAT woman-PL
        ‘men and their wives’

(3.18b)  *rōga ake kongga-war
        man and woman-PL
        ‘men and their wives’

3.2 Case
Wipi uses case to mark some of its grammatical relations. We distinguish between core case markers and peripheral case markers.
3.2.1 Core Case Markers
The core case markers are used to mark the subject and the undergoer of the clause. Wipi is a split ergative language; it can mark both nominative and absolutive case. The main function of the core case markers is to mark focus on the discourse level. Hence they are optional on the clause level, except for a few cases.

3.2.1.1 absolutive marker
The absolutive markers are used to mark the undergoer of the clause. The absolutive marker agrees with the undergoer in number (and in the singular also in person and gender) in the present tense. There is only one form of the absolutive marker for the past tense.

Table 3.1: Wipi Absolutive Case Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In clauses with future tense, the existential deictic markers (ötalosiyalopima) can be used as absolutive markers to indicate that the action will definitely take place.

The absolutive marker is obligatory in clauses without an inflected verb and optional elsewhere. Where it is optional, the absolutive marker functions as a focus marker on the discourse level.

The absolutive marker agrees with the subject of equative, intransitive or absolutive clauses. In equative clauses, the normal position of the absolutive marker is directly following the adjectival phrase or noun phrase which forms the predicate. In non-verbal equative clauses, the absolutive marker functions as a copula (examples (3.13) and (3.20)).

(3.19)  X be sick
a. Kon kopa en. I am sick.
    1SG.NOM sick ABS.1SG
b. Man kopa et. You (sg) are sick.
    2SG.NOM sick ABS.2SG
c. Ton kopa e. He is sick.
    3NOM sick ABS.3SG.M
d. Ton kopa o. She is sick.
    3NOM sick ABS.3SG.F
e. Sön kopa i. We (dl) are sick.
    1NSG.NOM sick ABS.DL
f. Ton kopa im. They (pl) are sick.
    3NOM sick ABS.PL
g. Kon kopa na. I was sick.
    1SG.NOM sick ABS.PST
h. Sön kopa na. We were sick.
    1NSG.EXCL.NOM sick ABS.PST

(3.20)  X be a pilot
a. Kon pailen en. I am a pilot.
   1SG.NOM pilot ABS.1SG
b. Man pailen e. You (sg) are a pilot.
   2SG.NOM pilot ABS.2SG
c. Ton pailen e. He is a pilot.
   3NOM pilot ABS.3SG.M
d. Ton pailen o. She is a pilot.
   3NOM pilot ABS.3SG.F
e. Son pailen i. We (dl) are pilots.
1NSG.NOM pilot ABS.DL
f. Ton pailen im. They (pl) are pilots.
   3NOM pilot ABS.PL
g. Kon pailen na. I was a pilot.
   1SG.NOM pilot ABS.PST
h. Son pailen na. We were pilots.
   1NSG.EXCL.NOM pilot ABS.PST

In equative clauses with a verb, the absolutive marker is optional, except in first and second person singular present tense, where it cannot appear at all (example (3.21)).

(3.21) X be sick

a. Kon kopa na n-öbnym-ön. I was sick.
   1SG.NOM sick ABS.PST ABS1-stay-YD.PST-1SG.SBJ
b. Man kopa na m-öbnym-öt. You (sg) were sick.
   2SG.NOM sick ABS.PST ABS.2SG-stay-YD.PST-2SG.SBJ
c. Ton kopa na y-öbnym. He was sick.
   3NOM sick ABS.PST ABS.3SG-stay-YD.PST
d. Ton kopa na w-öbnym. She was sick.
   3NOM sick ABS.PST ABS.3SG.F-stay-YD.PST

(3.22) Ton pailen (e) t-au dem. ‘He will become a pilot.’
   3NOM pilot (ABS.3SG.PRED) IRR-become RM.FUT

(3.23) Kongga ke pailen (o) au-wo-nj. ‘The woman became a pilot.’
   woman PRF pilot (ABS.3SG.F.PRED) become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

In all other types of clauses, the position of the absolutive marker is rather free. Apart from appearing directly on the subject in intransitive (example (3.24)) and absolutive clauses (example (3.25)), or on the object in intransitive clauses (example (3.26)), it can also appear on adverbial phrases (examples (3.27)-(3.31)). There are also cases in which the absolutive marker cliticizes to the nominative marker (examples (3.32)-(3.33)).

(3.24) Kibam-im erbend-anj. ‘The sticks break.’
   stick-ABS.PL break-PM.PRES3
(3.25) **Yepa-e Yamega-wa iik, paiβ-im Daru-wa ui.**
one-ABS.SG Yamega-ALL go five-ABS.PL Daru-ALL go.PL
‘One went to Yamega, five went to Daru.’

(3.26) **Kon kibam-im arbenj-in-yön.**
1SG.NOM stick-ABS.PL break.PL-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
‘I break sticks.’

(3.27) **Ton met-wa-e omit-i y-öböm.**
3NOM house-ALL-ABS.SG sit-PAS ABS3SG-stay
‘He is sitting in the house.’

(3.28) **Ton Yamega ka-im tui.**
3NOM Yamega ABL-ABS.PL come.PL
‘They came from Yamega.’

(3.29) **Ton b’ua nas-i ek-ia.**
3NOM bush inside-ABS.DL GO-DL.SBJ
‘They(dl) went into the bush.’

(3.30) **Sömana-e dor kon n-ek-en Yamega-wa.**
afternoon-ABS.SG TD.FUT 1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ Yamega-ALL
‘In the afternoon I will go to Yamega.’

(3.31) **Nangga pe-na man b’om y-onganj-öt?**
what reason-ABS.PST 2SG.NOM pig ABS3SG-kill-2SG.SBJ
‘Why did you kill the pig?’

(3.32) **Bebög rön-s-im1 ra auk-a ui dor...**
heavy which-NOM.SG-ABS.PL if.FUT become-NMLZ.go.PL TD.FUT
‘Whatever problem may come up...’

(3.33) **Man-s-im wewa omnök-a einy-öt dor.**
2SG.NOM.NOM.SG-ABS.PL light MAKE-NMLZ BRING-2SG.SBJ TD.FUT
‘You will make them light.’

### 3.2.1.2 nominative marker

The subject of the clause can be marked by an optional nominative marker. Both transitive and intransitive subjects can get this nominative marker. This shows again that Wipi is a split ergative language, being able to mark both absolutive and nominative case.

The nominative marker is optional except in cases where it is used to prevent confusion. It operates on the discourse level and probably marks Focus and/or new information (see (Fleischmann, Grammatical Focus in Bine, no date)).

The nominative markers agree with the subject in number (singular/non-singular). It appears as a clitic on the noun phrase that is the subject.

There are two different types of subject markers. The first type is the default nominative marker. The second type not only marks the subject but also emphasizes that the action or state described by the clause is still going on (imperfect aspect).

---

1 The underlying form of the nominative marker is /t/. Preceding [i] it changes to [s].
The combinations of subject marker and absolutive marker (as described above in section 3.2.1.1) could be viewed as a third type.

**Table 3.2: Wipi Nominative Case Markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Default</th>
<th>Imperfect Aspect</th>
<th>Combined NOM-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG.M</td>
<td>SG.F</td>
<td>DL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-(ö)t</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>-(ö)p</td>
<td>-pia</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.34a) **Ton-öt** b’om y-ipou.

3NOM-NOM.SG pig ABS.3SG-hit

‘He hit the pig.’

(3.34b) **Ton-te** b’om y-ipou.

3NOM-NOM.SG pig ABS.3SG-hit

‘He is hitting the pig.’

(3.35) **Yongg migag timtim-öp röga y-ong-i.**

dog big black-NOM.NSG man ABS.3SG-bite-3PL.SBJ

‘The big black dogs bit the man.’

(3.36a) **Kon-öt** omis-ön.

1SG.NOM-NOM.SG sit-1SG.SBJ

‘I sat (there).’

(3.36b) **Kon-te** omis-ön.

1SG.NOM-NOM.SG sit-1SG.SBJ

‘I am sitting there.’

(3.37) **Öwöupa-t öta men n-ötwakis-iny?**

hunger-NOM.SG here.DX.SG 1NSG.INCL.ACC ABS1-separate.IRR-ABS.PL

‘Will hunger separate us?’

(3.38) **Sö röga-p ket soro aukö-to.**

so man-NOM.NSG PRF angry become-PRED.RM.PST.3PL

‘So the men became angry.’

(3.39) **Kon-öt** **Yamega-wa n-ek-en.**

1SG.NOM-NOM.SG Yamega-ALL ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ

‘I go to Yamega.’

(3.40) **God-te ara n-imok.**

God-NOM.SG voice ABS1-trim

‘God has called me.’

(3.41) **Kon-te** t-owöns-ön tua-nöm.

1SG.NOM-NOM.SG IRR-stand-1SG.SBJ 2NSG.DAT-DAT

‘I will stand up for them.’
(3.42) *Man-sim gidap t-amnök-iny-öt dem mep.
2SG-NOM.ABS.PL thing IRR-make-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ RM.FUT tomorrow
‘You will make things tomorrow.’

The nominative marker is obligatory in cases where there is confusion to who is the subject:

(3.43) *Kwa yepa b’eat yongg-öp y-okas-m-i.
again one wallaby dog-NOM.NSG ABS.3SG-take-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ
‘The dogs caught another wallaby.’

(3.44a) *B’öga-pia b’om na epou-ranj.
child-NOM.NSG pig ABS.PST hit-PRED.PRES3
‘The children have been hitting the pigs.’

(3.44b) *B’öga b’om na epou-ranj.
child pig ABS.PST hit-PM.PRES3
‘They hit the young pigs/piglets.’

(3.45a) Kon-öt y-omis-ön.
1SG.NOM-NOM.SG ABS.3SG-set-1SG.SBJ
‘I set (him) down.’

(3.45b) *Kon y-omis-ön.
1SG.NOM ABS.3SG-set-1SG.SBJ
‘I set (him) down.’

(3.45c) Kon(-öt) tin y-omis-ön.
1SG.NOM-(NOM.SG) 3SG.ACC ABS.3SG-set-1SG.SBJ
‘I set him down.’

(3.45d) Kon(-öt) omis-ön.
1SG.NOM-(NOM.SG) sit-1SG.SBJ
‘I sit.’

The default nominative marker cannot occur in equative clauses without an inflected verb:

(3.46a) *Ton-pia kopa-im
3NOM-NOM.NSG sick-ABS.PL
‘They are sick.’

(3.46b) *Ton kopa-im.
3NOM sick-ABS.PL
‘They are sick.’

(3.46c) *Ton-pia kopa au-ranj.
3NOM-NOM.NSG sick become-PRED.PRES3
‘They became sick.’

The imperfect nominative marker and the combined nominative-absolutive marker can occur in non-verbal equative clauses:
Kon-te pailet.
1SG.NOM-NOM.SG-ABS.SG pilot
'I am the pilot.'

(3.48) Sön-p-im pailet.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM-NOM.NSG-ABS.PL pilot
'We are the pilots.'

The nominative marker can occur in non verbal existential clauses:

(3.49) Makwa òta òmunjog yepa ròga-t.
NEG DX.EX.SG true one man-NOM.SG
'There is really not one honest man.'

The nominative marker can occur in the same clause with an absolutive marker marking the undergoer.

(3.50) Ton-te b’om-e y-ipou.
3NOM-NOM.SG pig-ABS.SG ABS.3SG-hit
'He is hitting the pig.'

(3.51) B’òga-pia b’om na epou-ranj.
child-NOM.NSG pig ABS.PST HIT-PRED.PRES3
'The children have been hitting the pigs.'

However, the absolutive marker cannot occur in clauses with a question word subject carrying a nominative marker.

(3.52a) Ye-t b’om y-ipou?
who-NOM.SG pig ABS.3SG-hit
'Who hit the pig?'

(3.52b) *Ye-t b’om na y-ipou?
who-NOM.SG pig ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit
'Who hit the pig?'

(3.52c) B’òga-t b’om na y-ipou.
child-NOM.SG pig ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit
'The child hit the pig.'

(3.52d) B’òga-t ye na y-ipou?
child-NOM.SG who ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit
'Whom did the child hit?'

(3.53a) Nangga-t b’òga y-ipou?
what-NOM.SG child ABS.3SG-hit
'What hit the child?'

(3.53b) *Nangga-t b’òga na y-ipou?
what-NOM.SG child ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit
'What hit the child?'

(3.53c) Gujo-t b’òga na y-ipou.
coconut-NOM.SG child ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit
'The coconut hit the child.'

(3.53d) Gujo-t nangga na y-ipou?
coconut-NOM.SG what ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit
'What did the coconut hit?'
3.2.2 Peripheral Case Markers

Some of the oblique nominal relations in the clause are expressed by peripheral cases. Other oblique relations are expressed by postpositions (see Section 3.9).

The peripheral case markings are phonologically bound, unstressed monosyllabic particles which cliticize to the NP. The peripheral cases are shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-mna</td>
<td>possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>possession, recipient, benefactive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The GENITIVE case -mna is used to mark possession, as in the examples below. As was stated above, kinship terms and body parts prefer dative case to express the possessive relation. See discussion below:

(3.54)  
Onggöt röga-mna kongga köm ke w-iik.  
this man-GEN wife before.TD PRF ABS.3SG.F-go  
‘This man’s wife already went before (in the morning).’

(3.55)  
Dawid iik-o-ø God-mna met-wa  
David go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ God-GEN house-ALL  
‘David went to God’s house.’

The DATIVE case -m marks various grammatical relations. It is used to mark the recipient of a ditransitive clause.

(3.56)  
Ton-öt röga-m kemba y-oka-wo-ø.  
3NOM-NOM.SG man-DAT banana ABS.3SG-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
‘He gave the man a banana.’

(3.57)  
Ton yapa ti kongga-m w-okai-ø dor.  
3NOM axe 3SG.DAT wife-DAT ABS.3SG.F-give.SG-3SG.SBJ TD.FUT  
‘He will give an axe to his wife.’

Related to this is its use to mark the benefactive.

(3.58)  
Kon pingg kor b’öga-m y-omnök-a-wo-nd.  
1SG.NOM bow 1SG.DAT child-DAT ABS.3SG-make.SG-BEN-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ  
‘I made a bow for my son.’

(3.59)  
Ton moleg-øm met y-orang-a-wo-ø.  
3NOM old.woman-DAT house ABS.3SG-build.SG-BEN-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
‘He built a house for the old woman.’

An interesting use of the dative case marking is shown in the following example. The thing that is asked for receives dative case. Note that English marks this relation with the preposition ‘for’, which also fits the grammatical relation marked by dative.
Another use of the dative case is to mark possession of kinship terms and body parts. Although the genitive can also be used to express possession of these nouns, the dative is definitely the preferred case marker here.

(3.61) Misinari-m kongga met-önd w-öböm-ø.
  pastor-DAT wife house-LOC ABS.3SG.F-stay-3SG.SBJ
  ‘The pastor’s wife is staying at the house.’

Dative case is also used to express ‘to have’ as in the following examples (see also Section 5.1.3 on Possessive Clauses).

Kinship
(3.62) Röga-m paib b’öga im.
  man-DAT five child ABS.PL
  ‘He has five children.’

Ownership
(3.63) Ti b’öga-m nömog met i.
  3SG.DAT child-DAT two house ABS.DL
  ‘His son has two houses.’

Finally, the dative case is also used to mark purpose.

(3.64) B’öga ui gony-öm.
  child go.3PL bath-DAT
  ‘The children went to wash.’

### 3.3 Verbs

#### 3.3.1 Verb Classes

Basically, we can distinguish between verbs that follow an ACCUSATIVE pattern and verbs that follow an ABSOLUTIVE pattern. This distinction is purely based on verbal morphology. There does not seem to be any semantic distinction between these two verb classes. All the absolute verbs are intransitive of course. But in the accusative class, we also have intransitive verbs. Absolutive verbs can be stative (ex. ‘live,’ ‘stay’) and active (ex. ‘go,’ ‘come’). But there are also static verbs in the accusative class like (ex. ‘sit,’ ‘stand’). Transitive accusative verbs take the absolutive prefix agreeing with the object in person and number. Absolutive verbs have that same prefix agreeing with the subject (or rather undergoer). Besides, both accusative and absolutive verbs have a suffix agreeing with the subject in person and number.

The accusative class is the more regular of the two classes. Transitivity within the accusative class is indicated by verbal morphology. We will deal with this in more detail in section 3.3.3.2.4.
Examples of absolutive verbs:

- n-ek-en  ABS.1-go-1SG.SBJ  ‘I go’
- m-ek-et  ABS.2SG-go-2SG.SBJ  ‘you go’

Examples of accusative verbs:

- m-ipou-en  ABS.2SG-hit.SG-1SG.SBJ  ‘I hit you’
- n-ipou-et  ABS.1-hit.SG-2SG.SBJ  ‘you hit me.’

The reason we do not use the term ‘ERGATIVE’ for the accusative verbs is because the accusative verbs have intransitive counterparts which do not have the absolutive prefix agreeing with the undergoer.

- omis-ën  ‘I sit down’
- omis-öt  ‘you sit down’

Thus we can conclude that Wipi is a split ergative language. This is also shown by the nominative-accusative pattern on the pronouns in combination with the absolutive markers (see Sections 3.2.1 and 3.6.1).

### 3.3.2 Verb Root

#### 3.3.2.1 simple verb root

Simple verbs in Wipi consist of a single verb root and obligatory agreement affixes.

(3.65)  
\(K\on\text{omis-ën.}\)  
1SG.NOM  sit.down-1SG.SBJ  
‘I sit down.’

(3.66)  
\(K\on\text{men m-omis-ën.}\)  
1SG.NOM  2SG.ACC  ABS.2SG-hit.SG-1SG.SBJ  
‘I set you down.’

(3.67)  
\(K\on\text{b’om y-ipou-en.}\)  
1SG.NOM  pig  ABS.3SG-hit.SG-1SG.SBJ  
‘I hit the pig.’

### 3.3.3 Agreement

#### 3.3.3.1 subject agreement

The verb agrees with the subject in person and number. The subject suffix is the last suffix in the verbal string. The subject suffixes for singular and plural agree with the subject in person. The dual subject suffixes are the same for all persons. The remote past has different suffixes for all forms, as is shown in the table below.

The plural subject suffixes also reflect the number of the object of the verb. Thus Wipi has different forms for the plural subject suffix of a verb with a singular or dual object, and for the plural subject suffix of a verb with a plural object.
Since the indication of the plural object (undergoer) also deviates from the regular form -in- (see Section 3.3.3.2.3) when the subject is plural, it is probably best to analyze the combination of plural object and plural subject as portmanteaux suffixes. Since these portmanteaux suffixes also differ according to tense, we have to include tense as well. Thus we have five different portmanteaux suffixes. -ranj for present 3PL subject plus plural undergoer; -omam for yesterday past, 1 or 2PL subject plus plural undergoer, -tondam for remote past, 1 or 2PL subject plus plural undergoer, and -to for remote past, 3PL subject plus plural undergoer.

These same portmanteaux suffixes (combining plural subject and plural object (undergoer)) appear as plural subject suffixes on intransitive verbs. See also Section 3.3.3.2.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.4: Wipi Subject Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.SBJ+1SG/DL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.SBJ+2SG/DL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.SBJ+3SG/DL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.SBJ+1PL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.SBJ+2PL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.SBJ+3PL.OBJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms marked with an asterisk(*) are portmanteaux suffixes which combine plural subject, plural object and tense. The portmanteaux suffixes are glossed by PM followed by indication of person and tense, so -ranj is glossed PM.PRES3.

y-onganj-ö̅n ‘I killed it’
y-onganj-m-öt ‘you killed it(YD.PST)’
y-onganj-ø ‘he killed it(PRES)’
y-onganj-o-nd ‘I killed it(RM.PST)’
y-onganj-o-t ‘you killed it(RM.PST)’
y-onganj-o-nj ‘he killed it(RM.PST)’
y-onganj-a ‘we/you/they(dl) killed it(PRES)’
anganj-iny-m-a ‘we/you/they(dl) killed them (pl) (YD.PST)’
anganj-in-o-nda ‘we/you/they(dl) killed them (pl) (RM.PST)’
y-onganj-u ‘we(pl) killed it(PRES)’
y-onganj-m-a ‘you(pl) killed it(YD.PST)’
anganj-m-l ‘they(pl) killed them(dl)(YD.PST)’
y-onganj-o-nda ‘we/you(pl) killed it(RM.PST)’
y-onganj-o-ø ‘they(pl) killed it(RM.PST)’

² The suffixes for first and second person singular -ön and -öt have allomorphs -en and -et. The morphophonemic rules for this are discussed in Section 2.2.5.
³ The initial [r] of the suffixes -ranj and -rom (PRED.YD.PST.3PL) gets deleted following a nasal, and it is optional when following other consonants. It is obligatory between vowels.
3.3.3.2 absolutive agreement

3.3.3.2.1 vowel alternation
Transitive and ditransitive verbs indicate the number (SG vs NON-SG) of the direct object or indirect object respectively by an alternation of the first vowel of the verb root. This vowel alternation does not take place with first person objects.

**TRANSITIVE**

- m-anganj ‘he hit *you*(sg)’
- y-anganj ‘he hit *him*’
- anganj-iny ‘he hit *you*(pl)’
- anganj ‘he hit *them*(dl)’
- anganj-iny ‘he hit *them*(pl)’
- n-ongan ‘he hit me’
- n-onganj-iny ‘he hit us’

**DITRANSITIVE**

(3.68) Ton mor yepa ngel m-oka-wo-nj.
3NOM 2SG.DAT one sweet.potato ABS.2SG-give.SG.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘He gave you one sweet potato.’

(3.69) Ton ti jogjog ngel y-oka-in-o-nj.
3NOM 3SG.DAT many sweet.potato ABS.3SG-give.SG-ABS.PL.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘He gave him many sweet potatoes.’

(3.70) Ton tua yepa ngel aka-wo-nj.
3NOM 3NSG.DAT one sweet.potato give.NSG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘He gave them one sweet potato.’

The absolutive verbs utilize this vowel alternation to agree with the number of the undergoer. Absolutive verbs usually have a suppletive form for plural undergoers⁴, thus leaving the vowel alternation to mark dual forms.

---

⁴ These suppletive forms have singular subject suffixes. The reason behind this could be that we should analyze these suffixes just as person suffixes which are unmarked for number and hence singular by default. Since these suppletive forms already indicate the plurality of the subject in the stem, these forms don’t need plural subject suffixes.
So far we have not been able to deduce a single rule for the various vowel changes. However we can distinguish at least three different conjugations. It looks like verbs fall into the different conjugations by pure idiosyncrasy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation</th>
<th>singular vowel</th>
<th>plural vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conjugation 1</td>
<td>e-, o-, o-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjugation 2</td>
<td>i-, o-</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjugation 3</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.5: vowel alternation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation 1</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erbek</td>
<td>erbek</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esopa</td>
<td>asopa</td>
<td>‘touch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēdar</td>
<td>ēdar</td>
<td>‘find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēramis</td>
<td>ēramis</td>
<td>‘put on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēsk</td>
<td>ēsk</td>
<td>‘dig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēmnök</td>
<td>ēmnök</td>
<td>‘make’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation 2</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēpök</td>
<td>ēpök</td>
<td>‘smash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēpou</td>
<td>ēpou</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēpsek</td>
<td>ēpsek</td>
<td>‘weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēdrök</td>
<td>ēdrök</td>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēgekis</td>
<td>ēgekis</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēslek</td>
<td>ēslek</td>
<td>‘mix’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation 3</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ētkunj</td>
<td>ētkunj</td>
<td>‘hear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētarök</td>
<td>ētarök</td>
<td>‘peel skin of tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēsailis</td>
<td>ēsailis</td>
<td>‘repeat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is probably best to take the singular stem as default. The intransitive verb which could be viewed as the basic form in the accusative class has the ‘default’ vowel for all its forms.

omis-ön  ‘I sit down’
omis-ia  ‘we/you/they(dl) sit down’
omis-indam  ‘we/you(pl) sit down’

The verbal present and past participles also choose the ‘default’ vowel.

(3.72) Met orang-i e y-öböm.
        house build-PAS ABS.SG ABS.3SG-stay
        ‘The house is being built.’

(3.73) Met orang-a bebög e.
        house build-NMLZ hard ABS.SG
        ‘The building of houses is difficult.’

However, the hortative, and in most cases the reflexive too, are exceptional in that they take the plural vowel for all their forms.

y-angand-ön  ‘let me kill him’ (cf. y-anganj-ön ‘I kill him’)
raangand-ön  ‘let me kill them(dl)’ (cf. anganj-ön ‘I kill them(dl))
b’anganj-ø  ‘he killed himself.’

3.3.3.2.2 absolutive prefixes
Apart from the vowel alternation discussed in the previous section, transitive and absolutive verbs have prefixes for the undergoer of the action. For ditransitive verbs, this absolutive prefix agrees with the indirect object.

The prefixes are shown in the table below. Note that the first person prefix n- applies to both singular and non-singular forms, whereas the second and third person prefixes only apply to the singular. Non-singular second and third person undergoers do not have a prefix in this slot. Also note the distinction in gender for the third person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.6: Absolutive Prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG, 1 NSG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 NSG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 For some verbs the reflexive has the singular form in all cases.
(3.74)  
\[ B'om-öt \quad ken \quad n-ong-öm. \]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
pig-NOM & 1SG.ACC & ABS1-bite.SG-YD.PST & \\
\end{tabular}
'A pig bit me.'

(3.75)  
\[ Kon \quad men \quad umör \quad m-omm-yön \quad komöniti \quad wöko \quad gatab. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
1SG.NOM & 2SG.ACC & knowledge & ABS:2SG-do.SG-1SG.SBJ & community work & about & \\
\end{tabular}
'I am informing you about the community work.'

(3.76)  
\[ Ton \quad ti \quad b'öga \quad na \quad w-ipou-o-nj. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
3NOM & 3SG.DAT child & ABS.PST & ABS:3SG.F-hit.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'He hit his daughter.'

(3.77)  
\[ Ton \quad yepa \quad ul \quad y-ög. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
3NOM & one & tree & ABS:3SG-cut.SG & \\
\end{tabular}
'He cut a tree.'

(3.78)  
\[ Ton \quad kor \quad yepa \quad gujo \quad köp \quad n-oka-o-nj. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
3NOM & 1SG.DAT one & coconut fruit & ABS1-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'He gave me a coconut.'

(3.79)  
\[ Ton \quad sua \quad yepa \quad gujo \quad köp \quad n-oka-o-nj. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
3NOM & 1NSG.DAT one & coconut fruit & ABS1.DAT-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'He gave us a coconut.'

(3.80)  
\[ Kon \quad gujo \quad m-oka-en. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
1SG.NOM & coconut & ABS:2SG-give.SG-1SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'I give you a coconut.'

(3.81)  
\[ Ton \quad ti \quad kongga-m \quad gujo \quad w-oka-o-nj. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
3NOM & 3SG.DAT & wife-DAT & coconut & ABS:3SG.F-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'He gave a coconut to his wife.'

(3.82)  
\[ Ton \quad wa \quad gujo \quad aka-o-nj. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
3NOM & 2NSG.DAT & coconut & give.NSG-RMPST-3SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'He gave you (nsg) the coconut.'

That Wipi has a split ergative system becomes very obvious in the absolutive verbs, since these verbs actually have double agreement. They have both an absolutive prefix and a subject suffix agreeing with the same core argument (as in the following examples). Thus they combine the ergative system (the prefix) with the accusative system (the suffix).

(3.83)  
\[ Kon \quad n-ek-en. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
1SG.NOM & ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'I am going.'

(3.84)  
\[ Man \quad m-ek-et. \]
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
2SG.NOM & ABS:2SG-go-2SG.SBJ & \\
\end{tabular}
'You are going.'
3.3.3.2.3 absolutive suffix

In addition to the two absolutive agreement devices mentioned above, Wipi has a verbal suffix -\textit{in} \(^6\) indicating plural undergoer.

(3.85) \textit{amis-iny-ôn}

\begin{verbatim}
set.SG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
'I set them down'
\end{verbatim}

This suffix -\textit{in}- is used for all plural undergoers except for the verbs which have a portmanteaux suffix, which combine plural subject, plural object and tense inseparably. These portmanteaux suffixes are shown in the table of subject suffixes in Section 3.3.3.1.

The intransitive verbs also use this suffix -\textit{in}- to agree with first and second person plural undergoers in the present tense. The other plural subject suffixes are actually portmanteaux morphemes which inherently agree with both subject and undergoer. Thus the plural forms of these intransitive verbs also have double agreement, like the absolutive verbs (see above).

(3.86) \textit{men omis-in-dam.}

\begin{verbatim}
1NSG.INCL.NOM sit-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ
'we (all) sit down.'
\end{verbatim}

(3.87) \textit{Kibam im erbend-ani.}

\begin{verbatim}
stick ABS.PL break-PM.3.PRES
'The sticks break.'
\end{verbatim}

In ditransitive verbs this suffix -\textit{in}-(or its counterpart absorbed in the portmanteaux suffixes) agrees with the direct object. The other absolutive agreement devices(vowel alternation and prefix) agree with the indirect object.

(3.88) \textit{Kon jogjog peba ti y-oka-iny-ôn.}

\begin{verbatim}
1SG.NOM many book 3SG.DAT ABS.3SG-give.SG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
'I gave him many books.'
\end{verbatim}

(3.89) \textit{Kon yepa peba tua aka-ô-ôn.}

\begin{verbatim}
1SG.NOM one book 3NSG.DAT give.NSG-NPL-1SG.SBJ
'I gave them one book.'
\end{verbatim}

3.3.3.2.4 Summary

These three devices together make it possible to distinguish between singular, dual and plural undergoers of the transitive verb. Singular undergoers have an agreement prefix on the verb and trigger the single vowel in the verb root. Dual undergoers have vowel alternation in the stem indicating non-singular undergoer, but no agreement affixes. Plural undergoers have the plural vowel in the verb root plus an agreement suffix.

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{w-ipou-en} 'I hit her'
\textit{epou-en} 'I hit \textit{them}(dl).'
\textit{epou-iny-ôn} 'I hit \textit{them}(pl).'
\end{verbatim}

\(^6\) -\textit{in}- has an allomorph -\textit{iny}- preceding -\textit{i}. See discussion in Section 2.2.5.
It is actually also by these devices that the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is made. In a way we could say that the transitive verbs are derived from their intransitive counterparts by these absolutive agreement devices. But since there are also many transitive verbs that do not have an intransitive counterpart, it is more likely that the transitive and intransitive forms exist parallel to each other.

The intransitive verbs do not have absolutive prefixes, nor do they utilize vowel alternation to mark plural undergoers. However, the intransitive plural forms do have the absolutive suffixes, as was stated above. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-omis-ø</strong></td>
<td>‘he set me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.ABS-sit-3SG.SBJ</td>
<td>sit-1SG.SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>omis-ön</strong></td>
<td>‘I sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set.NSG-1SG.SBJ</td>
<td>sit-dlSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>amis-in-dam</strong></td>
<td>‘we set them(pl)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ</td>
<td>sit-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some intransitive verbs have an interesting use of the absolutive agreement devices. They apply the vowel alternation and the absolutive affixes to indicate the number of times the action described by the verb takes place.

| Kon | **y-imangis-ön** | ‘I dive one time’ |
| 1SG.NOM | ABS.3SG-dive-1SG.SBJ |
| Kon | **emangis-ön** | ‘I dive two times’ |
| 1SG.NOM | dive.NSG-1SG.SBJ |
| Kon | **emangis-iny-ön** | ‘I dive many times’ |
| 1SG.NOM | dive.NSG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ |

3.3.4 Tense

Wipi distinguishes three different tenses, PRESENT, YESTERDAY PAST and REMOTE PAST. The tense suffix fills the antepenultimate slot in the verbal string.

3.3.4.1 present tense

The unmarked form, with a zero morpheme, could be called PRESENT or possibly TODAY’S PAST. Because of the phonological variation in the preceding and following morphemes, we can assume that this zero morpheme (-ø) for the present tense is underlingly an -i-. See the discussion in Section 2.2.5.

The PRESENT TENSE is also the unmarked form in the sense that it is used as default tense. It is used when it does not really matter when the action took place. The background information to some stories is all in this unmarked tense (See the ‘Bobosim’ story in the Appendix).
Stawar-ønd kon b’om y-ipou-a-en.
‘This morning I hit a pig.’

3.3.4.2 yesterday past
The suffix -m indicates yesterday past tense (YD.PST).
Note the portmanteaux suffixes for plural subject plus plural undergoer plus tense in examples (3.91) and (3.92); see also Section 3.3.3.1.

(3.91) Söm kon n-ek-m-øn Wipim wa.
Yesterday 1SG.NOM ABS-1-go-YD.PST-1SG.SBJ Wipim ALL
‘Yesterday I went to Wipim.’

(3.92) Söm kon kasa y-omnök-m-øn.
yesterday 1SG.NOM table ABS.3SG-make- YD.PST -1SG.SBJ
‘Yesterday I made a table.’

(3.93) Man kasa amnök-iny-(ø)m-øt.
SG.NOM table make.NSG-ABS.PL- YD.PST -2SG.SBJ
‘You made tables (yesterday).’

(3.94) Ton ke umör y-okas-m-i kor gatab.
3.NOM PRF knowledge ABS.3SG-take- YD.PST -3PL.SBJ 1SG.DAT about
‘They already knew about me (yesterday).’

(3.95) Sön söm pingg na amnök-omam.
1NSG.NOM yesterday bow ABS.PST make.NSG-PM.1/2PL. YD.PST
‘Yesterday we made bows.’

(3.96) Ton jogjog b’eat na edörk-om.
3NOM many wallaby ABS.PST kill.NSG-PM.3PL.YD.PST
‘They killed many wallabies (yesterday).’

3.3.4.3 remote past
The remote past morpheme is –o (RM.PST). Note that the subject suffixes are different for this tense. (See Table 4 in Section 3.3.3.1) Also note the portmanteaux suffixes for plural subject and plural undergoer.

(3.97) Plen ik-a-nj pumb-ønd ara köma.
airplane come- RM.PST -3SG.SBJ high-LOC sound with
‘The airplane came in the sky with noise.’

(3.98) Tungg ke iwattondam.
village ABL leave-PM.1/2PL.RM.PST
‘We left (from) the village.’

7 Because of the phonological variation in the preceding phonemes, we can assume that the underlying form of the YD.PST suffix is -im. The vowel /i/ gets absorbed into the preceding consonant by a process of fusion; see Section 2.2.5. When the YD.PST suffix -m- follows a consonant, vowel insertion takes place; see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.5.
3.3.4.4 Future

Wipi does not have a real future tense. To express future, Wipi uses the irrealis form of the verb plus the modality particles *dor* for today’s future or *dem* for tomorrow’s future and beyond. See Section 3.3.6.

(3.100) *Kon t-owönis-ön dor b’eoma-nd.*
   1SG.NOM IRR-stand-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT meeting-LOC
   ‘I will stand (speak) in the meeting.’

(3.101) *Mep t-amnök-in-dam dem.*
   tomorrow IRR-make.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL RM.FUT
   ‘Tomorrow we will make it.’

(3.102) *Man kaen ti pölke gidap ø-okas-öt dor.*
   2SG.NOM later 3SG.DAT ABL thing IRR-get-2SG.SBJ TD.FUT
   ‘You will get the thing from him later.’

3.3.5 Aspect

3.3.5.1 Frozen forms

Wipi has various aspect morphemes which operate on the verb root to bring about changes in meaning. It is difficult to actually pin down the meaning of many of these aspectual morphemes, since the changes in meaning can be very slight. It is also difficult to find out the meaning because some combinations of verb root and aspect morphemes seem to be frozen forms which cannot be separated any more. This is a matter of productivity (the less productive a morpheme is the harder it is to pin down its meaning). We can treat these frozen forms as lexicalized verb roots which carry their own meaning. In many of these cases we can still see relations in meaning because of the shared verb root, but we cannot deduce a regular pattern from it. Wipi etymology is beyond the scope of this paper. The frozen morphemes are -*it*; -*at*; -*kit*; -*ur* and -*mar*.

*imang-* *it*  ‘dive’
*imang-* *ur*  ‘fill a hole’
*isöp-k-* *it*  ‘explain’
*isöp-* *mar*  ‘explain’

3.3.5.2 Intensive and mitigative aspect

There are two more productive morphemes -*end*- and -*k*- These also occur in frozen forms where it is hard to assign a meaning to them.

*oblend*-  ‘arrive’
*ösend*-  ‘drop’
*osisk*-  ‘dig’
*ösek*-  ‘wash’
*otoend*-  ‘peel skin’
*otorök*-  ‘peel skin’
However, -end and -k can appear as independent aspect morphemes too, expressing MITIGATIVE and INTENSIVE aspects respectively. The MITIGATIVE morpheme –end (allomorph –enj) indicates that the object of the action is slightly or partly affected.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{oj}- & \quad \text{‘climb a tree’} & \text{ojend}- & \quad \text{‘cross over a log bridge’} \\
\text{owaras}- & \quad \text{‘cleave the head’} & \text{owarend}- & \quad \text{‘hit on the head’} \\
\text{op}- & \quad \text{‘shoot’} & \text{opend}- & \quad \text{‘cut a little bit’} \\
\text{osas}- & \quad \text{‘rob/snatch’} & \text{osend}- & \quad \text{‘loose/drop’}
\end{align*}
\]

The INTENSIVE morpheme -k indicates that the object is totally affected or that the action takes place intensively. Hence it is also used to indicate plurality of the undergoer (cf. examples 3.103a and 3.103b.); an action with plural undergoers is more intense than an action with a single undergoer.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{omn}- & \quad \text{‘do’} & \text{omnök}- & \quad \text{‘make’} \\
\text{ogen}- & \quad \text{‘count’} & \text{ogenök}- & \quad \text{‘read’} \\
\text{ögmær}- & \quad \text{‘pour’} & \text{ögmærök}- & \quad \text{‘pour with force’} \\
\text{öjöb}- & \quad \text{‘bind’} & \text{öjöbök}- & \quad \text{‘bind strongly’} \\
\text{ösam}- & \quad \text{‘plan’} & \text{ösamök}- & \quad \text{‘decide/conclude’}
\end{align*}
\]

(3.103a) \text{Röga } \text{obl-end-o-nj.} \\
\text{man } \text{arrive-MIT-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘The man arrived.’} \\
(3.103b) \text{Jogjog } \text{röga oble-k-to.} \\
\text{many man } \text{arrive-INT-PM.3PL.RM.PST} \\
\text{‘Many people arrived.’}

Since -k and -end are opposite in meaning they cannot be combined. They can however be combined with other aspect morphemes. The following examples show the contrast between -end and -k.

(3.104a) \text{Ton } \text{sana } \text{y-ipkas-ø-ø.} \\
\text{3NOM sago } \text{ABS.3SG-tear-PRES-3SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘He tore the sago.’} \\
(3.104b) \text{Ton } \text{sana } \text{y-ipk-enj-ø-ø.} \\
\text{3NOM sago } \text{ABS.3SG-tear-MIT-PRES-3SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘He tore the sago partly.’} \\
(3.104.c) \text{Ton } \text{sana } \text{y-ipk-ök-ø-ø.} \\
\text{3NOM sago } \text{ABS.3SG-tear-INT-PRES-3SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘He tore the sago in pieces.’}

(3.105a) \text{Ton } \text{kapo } \text{y-ösambas-ø-ø.} \\
\text{3NOM cup } \text{ABS.3SG-break-PRES-3SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘He broke the cup.’} \\
(3.105b) \text{Ton } \text{kapo } \text{y-ösamb-enj-ø-ø.} \\
\text{3NOM cup } \text{ABS.3SG-break-MIT-PRES-3SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘He broke the cup partly.’} \\
(3.105c) \text{Ton } \text{kapo } \text{y-ösamb-ök-ø-ø.} \\
\text{3NOM cup } \text{ABS.3SG-break-INTNS-PRES-3SG.SU} \\
\text{‘He shattered the cup.’}
In this case we see that the frozen morpheme -as- (the a. examples) seems to carry the neutral meaning of the verb.

### 3.3.5.3 benefactive aspect

The BENEFACTIVE morpheme -a can be attached to any verb, giving it a benefactive meaning. (The verb *oka* - ‘to give’ is probably a lexicalized combination of the verb root *ok* - ‘to get’ plus the benefactive morpheme -a).

(3.106) *Kon pingg mor m-omnök-a-en.*

1SG.NOM bow 2SG.DAT ABS.2SG-make-BEN-1SG.SBJ
‘I am making a bow for you.’

(3.107) *Ti b’u ke ti ngel sobijog aka-iny-öm.*

3SG.DAT father PRF 3SG.DAT sweet.potato little give.NSG-ABS.PL-YD.PST
‘His father already gave him some sweet potatoes.’

### 3.3.5.4 repetitive aspect

The REPETITIVE morpheme -en can also be put on any verb. This morpheme expresses that the action is done repeatedly.

(3.108) *Kon tin umör y-omn-eny-ön onggöt gatab.*

1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC knowledge ABS.3SG-do-REP-1SG.SBJ DEM about
‘I have told him about this repeatedly.’

(3.109) *Öta piro t-ösok-emy dor sömana.*

DX rain IRR-fall-REP TD.FUT afternoon.
‘Rain will come in this afternoon.’

(3.110) *Dad moleg ken n-ögekit-enj onggöt gatab-öm.*

grandmother old.lady 1SG.ACC ABS1-ask-REP-RM.PST.3SG DEM about-DAT
‘Grandmother kept on asking me about this.’

The repetitive morpheme -en can be reduplicated to indicate duration of the repetition. Since the repetition of an action can also indicate that someone does something habitually, we see that the repetitive suffix -en is also used to express HABITUAL aspect.

(3.111) *Sö röga b’-ipou-enn-to.*

and man RFL-fight-REP-PM.3pl.RMPST
‘And people used to fight with each other all the time.’

(3.112) *Ton naska ita taim odede yöt na apuren-enen-in-o-nj.*

3SG.NOM before every time like.this word ABS.PST speak-REP-ABS.PL-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Before he spoke this kind of words every time.’

### 3.3.5.5 combination of aspects

The BENEFATIVE and the REPETITIVE can co-occur with the INTENSIVE aspect; the MITIGATIVE aspect or with each other:
3.3.5.6 continuous aspect

For stative verbs of the non-absolutive type, CONTINUOUS aspect can be expressed by the past participle plus a form of the verb öbn- ‘stay’. The past participle is formed by adding the suffix -i to the verb root.

3.117 Kon omit-i n-öbn-o-nd.
1SG.NOM sit-PSS ABS1-stay-RMPST-1SG.SBJ
‘I was sitting.’

3.118 Rorte ötlit-i y-öböm.
post plant-PSS ABS3sg-stay
‘The post is standing.’

For all other verbs continuous aspect can be expressed by the present participle plus a direction verb (go, bring, take). The present participle is the nominalized form of the verb, formed by adding the suffix -a to the stem. The present participle can be repeated for emphasis.

3.119 Kon omnök-a omnök-a n-ek-en.
1SG.NOM make-NMLZ make- NMLZ 1ABS-go-1SG.SBJ
‘I continue to make.’

3.120 JeWuk wöngawönga ke imd-a n-ii-en-o-nj.
Jaewook camera ABL take- NMLZ 1ABS-bring-REP-ABS.PL.RM.PST-3SG.AU
‘JaeWook was taking pictures of us with the camera.’

3.121 Sön b'-auyain-a ui-ön dor.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM RFL-study- NMLZ GO.NSG-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT
‘We will be studying.’

3.122 Röga b'-angonjen-a ien-to.
man RFL-prepare- NMLZ bring-PM.REM.3PL
‘People were preparing.’
3.3.6 Mood

3.3.6.1 Status (realis/irrealis)
Realis mood is unmarked. Irrealis mood is expressed by the prefix *t*. Its position is immediately preceding the verb root. When this prefix is present, it indicates that the action has not happened (yet). Hence Future is expressed by the IRREALIS mood in combination with the auxiliaries *dor* (today’s future) and *dem* (remote future). Irrealis mood is also used in conditional sentences.

When the irrealis prefix co-occurs with the absolutive or reflexive prefix, the first vowel of the verb root is placed in between those two prefixes by a metathesis rule (CtV->CVt); see Section 2.2.4. The combination of the third person absolutive prefix *y-* and the irrealis prefix *t-* results in deletion of both.

(3.123)  
\[ \text{T} \text{o} \text{n} \quad \text{t-}\text{o} \text{w}\text{ ön} \text{i} \text{s} \quad \text{d} \text{o} \text{r}. \]  
3NOM IRR-stand TD.FUT  
‘He will stand.’

(3.124)  
\[ \text{K} \text{o} \text{n} \quad \text{n-} \text{o} \text{tk} \text{u} \text{n-j-ö} \text{n} \quad \text{d} \text{e} \text{m} \quad \text{d} \text{o} \text{k} \text{ö} \text{n} \text{d}. \]  
1SG.NOM 1ABS—live.IRR-1SG.SBJ REM.FUT here  
‘I will live here.’

(3.125)  
\[ \text{M} \text{a} \text{n} \quad \text{m-} \text{o} \text{tk} \text{u} \text{n-j-ö} \text{t} \quad \text{d} \text{e} \text{m} \quad \text{d} \text{o} \text{k} \text{ö} \text{n} \text{d}. \]  
2SG.NOM ABs.2SG—live.IRR-2SG.SBJ REM.FUT here  
‘You will live here.’

(3.126)  
\[ \text{M} \text{a} \text{n} \quad \text{m-} \text{e} \text{t} \quad \text{o} \text{r} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g}-\text{e} \text{t} \quad \text{d} \text{e} \text{m}.(\text{y-t-or} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g}-\text{e} \text{t}) \]  
2SG.NOM house build-2SG.SBJ RM.FUT  
‘You will build a house.’

(3.127)  
\[ \text{T} \text{o} \text{n} \quad \text{b'}\text{-} \text{a} \text{t} \text{o} \text{ng} \text{a} \text{n-j} \quad \text{d} \text{o} \text{r}. \]  
3NOM RFL-kill.IRR-3SG.SBJ TD.FUT  
‘He will kill himself.’

(3.128)  
\[ \text{K} \text{o} \text{n} \quad \text{m} \text{e} \text{n} \quad \text{u} \text{m} \text{o} \text{r} \quad \text{m-} \text{o} \text{m} \text{n}-\text{ö} \text{n} \quad \text{d} \text{a} \quad \text{‘R} \text{a} \quad \text{k} \text{e} \text{mb} \text{a} \text{.} \]  
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC knowledge ABs.2SG—do’1SG.SBJ that if banana  
t-\text{aw-}\text{i} \text{n} \text{y}-\text{ö} \text{t} \quad \text{d} \text{e} \text{m} \quad \text{p} \text{a} \text{i} \text{e} \text{t} \quad \text{o} \text{k} \text{a} \text{s}-\text{ö} \text{t} \quad \text{d} \text{e} \text{m}’ \quad (\text{y-t-o} \text{ka} \text{s}-\text{ö} \text{t}). \]  
IRR—eat.NSG—ABS.PL—2SG.SBJ RM.FUT sickness take-2SG.SBJ RM.FUT  
‘I told you that if you would eat bananas you would get sick.’

3.3.6.2 Infinitive
The INFINITIVE or PURPOSEful suffix is *-am*. It attaches directly to the verb root, which appears in its singular (or rather unmarked) form. This infinitive morpheme *-am* can be analyzed as the nominalizing suffix *-a* plus the dative suffix *-m*. It is not unusual for the dative case to get used to mark purpose.

(3.129)  
\[ \text{K} \text{o} \text{n} \quad \text{k} \text{a} \text{s} \text{a} \quad \text{om} \text{n} \text{k}-\text{am} \quad \text{n}-\text{ek}-\text{en}. \]  
1SG.NOM table make-INF ABs.1G—go-1SG.SBJ  
‘I am going to make a table.’

(3.130)  
\[ \text{K} \text{o} \text{n}-\text{ö} \text{t} \quad \text{y-} \text{i} \text{ng} \text{a}-\text{en} \quad \text{t} \text{i} \text{n} \quad \text{b'}\text{om} \quad \text{o} \text{ng} \text{a} \text{n-d} \text{a} \text{m}. \]  
1SG.NOM-NOM.SG ABs.3SG—command-1SG.SBJ 3SG.ACC pig kill-INF  
‘I commanded him to kill a pig.’
The absolutive verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ have an irregular form for the infinitive. Both verbs use the forms menamenam or menonöm.

(3.131) Ton singi e ulköp, Daru-wa menamena-m.  
NOM want ABS.SG money daru-ALL going/coming-PUR  
‘He wants money to go to Daru.’

(3.132) Röga b’angonjen-a ien-to, tungg-wa menamena-m b’ua-ke.  
man prepare-NMLZ bring-PM.3.RM.PST village-ALL coming-PUR bush-ABL  
‘People were preparing(made preparations) to come to the village from the bush.’

3.3.7 Illocutionary Force

3.3.7.1 Imperative

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix -e for second singular subject and -a for second plural subject to the verb. The imperatives with a plural undergoer (either intransitive subject or transitive object) have an optional -m following the imperative endings. The verb appears in the realis mood and all the absolutive agreement devices are available.

Note that intransitive imperatives also have the absolutive suffix –in agreeing with the undergoer in number for the plural forms.

INTRANSITIVE

(3.133a) Omit-e de kasa-nd.  
sit-IMP.SG DX chair-LOC  
‘You(sg) sit on the chair!’

(3.133b) Omit-a de kasa-nd.  
sit-IMP.DL DX chair-LOC  
‘You(dl) sit on the chair!’

(3.133c) Omis-in-am de kasa-nd.  
sit-ABS.PL-IMP.PL DX chair-LOC  
‘You(pl) sit on the chair!’

TRANSITIVE

(3.134a) Yepa lamiap y-ikat-e  
one papaya ABS.3SG-pick-IMP.SG  
‘You(sg) pick one papaya!’

(3.134b) Nöömog lamiap eakat-e.  
two papaya pick.NSG-IMP.SG  
‘You(sg) pick two papayas!’

(3.134c) Jogjog lamiap eakas-in-am.  
many papaya pick.NSG-ABS.PL-IMP.PL  
‘You(pl) pick many papayas!’

ABSOLUTIVE

(3.135a) Man m-öbn-e dökönd Yamega tungg-önd.  
2SG.NOM ABS.2SG-stay-IMP.SG here Yamega village-LOC  
‘You(sg) stay here at Yamega village!’

(3.135b) Wön ebn-a dökönd Yamega tungg-önd.  
2NSG.NOM stay.DL-IMP.DL/PL here Yamega village-LOC  
‘You(dl) stay here at Yamega village!’
The imperative can be negated by the special illocutionary force negator goro. Goro usually appears clause initial.

(3.136) **Goro omit-e.**
  don’t sit-IMP.SG
  ‘Don’t sit down!’

(3.137) **Yu goro kasa y-omnök-e.**
  today don’t table ABS.3SG-make-IMP.SG
  ‘Don’t make a table today!’

(3.138) **Goro ek-a b’ua-wa.**
  don’t go-IMP.NSG bush-ALL
  ‘Don’t go to the bush!’

### 3.3.7.2 Prohibitive

Wipi also has a PROHIBITIVE form which is stronger than the negated imperative. For the prohibitive, the verb appears in the irrealis mood and all the absolutive agreement devices are available. The verb is always accompanied by the illocutionary force negator goro, which appears clause initially. The prohibitive suffixes are -öm for second singular subject, -a for second nonsingular subject, and -am for plural subject plus plural object.

(3.139) **Goro ötre gidap okat-öm, sabi e.**
  don’t DX.REL.SG thing take-PROH.SG law ABS.SG
  ‘Don’t take this thing, it is law.’

(3.140) **Goro wön odede t-amnök-in-am.**
  don’t 2NSG.NOM like.this IRR-make.NSG-ABS.PL-PROH.PL
  ‘Don’t make them like that!’

### 3.3.7.3 Hortative

The hortative is encoded by the suffixes shown in the table below in combination with the various absolutive agreement devices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person and Number</th>
<th>Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-öń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL, 3DL</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-u (-um for plural undergoer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-e (-em for plural undergoer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Absolutive and transitive verbs show agreement with the undergoer in number and person by the absolutive prefixes as described in section 3.3.3.2.2. In the hortative there is also an absolutive agreement prefix for non-singular undergoers: r-. Normally there is no prefix for plural undergoers. This r- also shows up as prefix for all the undergoers of intransitive verbs that normally do not have an absolutive prefix.

As far as the vowel alternation is concerned, it is the ‘non-singular’ vowel that shows up in all cases, except for in the intransitive verbs. Thus, absolutive and transitive verbs appear in their ‘non-singular’ form for both singular and plural undergoers.

The absolutive suffix agrees with plural undergoers of the accusative verbs, in its normal pattern.

Overview of hortative affixes:

**Table 3.8: Hortative forms of transitive verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>verb Stem</th>
<th>absolutive suffix</th>
<th>hortative suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>w-, n-, m-, y-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ön, -ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>plural vowel</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-u(m), -e(m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.9: Hortative forms of intransitive verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>verb Stem</th>
<th>absolutive suffix</th>
<th>hortative suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ön, -ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>singular vowel</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-u(m), -e(m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.10: Hortative forms of absolutive verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>hortative suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>-ön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>plural vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>plural vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>suppletive plural stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.141) *Kasa yepa y-amnök-ön.*

table one ABS.3SG-make.NSG-HORT.1SG

‘Let me make a table.’

(3.142) *Kon kasa nömog r-amnök-ön.*

1SG.NOM table two HORT.NSG-make.NSG-HORT.1SG

‘Let me make two tables.’

(3.143) *Kon jogjog kasa r-amnök-in-ön.*

1SG.NOM many table HORT.NSG-make.NSG-ABS.PL-HORT.1SG

‘Let me make many tables.’

(3.144) *Ton jogjog kasa r-amnök-in-em.*

3NOM many table HORT.NSG-make.NSG-ABS.PL-HORT.3PL
‘Let them make many tables.’

(3.145) **Ton kasa r-amnök-in-a.**
3NOM table HORT.NSG-make.NSG-ABS.PL-HORT.1/3DL
‘Let them make (many) tables.’

(3.146) **Timtim m-ang-ö dor.**
black.snake ABS.2SG-bite.NSG-HORT.3SG TD.FUT
‘Let the Papuan black bite you. = The Papuan black will (speaker insists) bite you.’

(3.147) **Yör r-opumis-in-um.**
eye HORT.NSG-pray-ABS.PL-HORT.1PL
‘Let us pray.’

(3.148) **Yör r-opumit-ön.**
eye HORT.NSG-pray-HORT.1SG
‘Let me pray.’

(3.149) **R-omis-in-em.**
HORT.NSG-sit-ABS.PL-HORT.3PL
‘Let them sit down.’

(3.150) **Kon n-ek-ön.**
1SG.NOM ABS 1-go-HORT1SG
‘Let me go.’

(3.151) **W-ek de b’ua-wa.**
ABS.3SG.F-go DX bush-ALL
‘Let her go to the bush.’

(3.152) **Tinta y-eböm de tungg-wa.**
3SG.alone ABS.3SG-stay DX village-ALL
‘Let him stay alone at the village.’

(3.153) **Men komkisa weken-ön dökkind Mör-önd.**
INSG.INCL.NOM ALL stay.PL-HORT1 here Mör-LOC
‘Let us stay here at Mer.’

### 3.3.8 Voice

#### 3.3.8.1 Passive

Passive is encoded by the past participle in combination with the absolutive marker and optionally a form of verb öbön ‘to stay’. The past participle is formed by adding the suffix -i to the verb, which always appears in its singular form.

The agent phrase is marked with the ablative postposition ke, or genitive case.

(3.154) **Met orang-i e y-öböm.**
house build-PAS ABS.SG ABS.3SG-stay
‘The house is built.’
(3.155) *Met orang-i im wekeny.*
 house build-PAS ABS.PL stay.PL
 ‘The houses are built.’

(3.156) *B’om rōga ke ongand-i na y-ōbn-o-nj.*
 pig man ABL kill-PAS ABS.PST ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
 ‘The pig was killed by the man.’

(3.157) *B’om tiina ongand-i na y-ōbn-o-nj.*
 pig 3SG.GEN kill-PAS ASP ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
 ‘The pig was killed by him.’

### 3.3.8.2 middle voice

Most verbs can be made reflexive by the prefix *b’-*, which appears in the absolutive prefix slot. It is the same prefix for all persons in all numbers. Reflexive verbs do not utilize vowel alternation in the stem to indicate the number of undergoers. Most verbs go with the ‘plural’ vowel for all the numbers, some choose the singular vowel for all the different forms. The choice of the vowel seems arbitrary.

(3.158a) *Ton b’-angand-o-nj.*
 3NOM REFL-kill-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
 ‘He killed himself.’

(3.158b) *Ton b’om y-angand-o-nj.*
 3NOM pig ABS.3SG-kill-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
 ‘He killed the pig.’

(3.159) *Kon b’-epenj-ön.*
 1SG.NOM REFL-cut-1SG.SBJ
 ‘I cut myself.’

(3.160) *Ton b’-ipou.*
 3NOM REFL-hit
 ‘He hit himself.’

(3.161) *Ton b’-ipou-ranj.*
 3NOM REFL-hit-PM.3PL.PRES
 ‘They hit themselves.’

(3.161b) *Ton epou-ranj.*
 3NOM hit.NSG-PM.3PL.PRES
 ‘They hit them.’

The reflexive is also used to express reciprocal actions which results in ambiguity between the reflexive and reciprocal meaning for the plural forms.

(3.162) *Ton tualinggiam b’-ep-k-anj.*
 3NOM 3NSG.REFL REFL-cut.NSG-INTNS-PM.PRES
 ‘They cut themselves/each other.’

(3.163) *Sön sualinggiam b’-epk-in-dam.*
 1NSG.EXCL.NOM 1NSG.REFL REFL-cut.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ
 ‘We cut ourselves/each other.’
To avoid this ambiguity an adverb like mörämöra, “reciprocally” can be put in the clause to make clear the action is reciprocal.

The reflexive can also occur in the passive form, as is made clear in the following examples.

There are some verbs that show middle voice morphology but that do not have reflexive meaning. These might be frozen forms.

b’ök- ‘run’
b’ösk- ‘throw away’

3.3.9 Summary
The following table summarizes all the different verbal affixes. We filled the table with ten exemplifying verb forms. Glosses and translations of these verb forms directly follow the table. The forms in the table are the underlying forms. We marked the morphemes that undergo phonological changes with an asterisk.

### Table 3.11: Wipi Verb Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>mood</th>
<th>verb-root</th>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>aspect (redup)</th>
<th>absolutive suffix</th>
<th>tense</th>
<th>subject suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG, DL, PL</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>vowel</td>
<td>frozen</td>
<td>intensive</td>
<td>mitigative</td>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>REP</td>
<td>plural only</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>YD PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3SG reflexive plural only for hortative</td>
<td>unrealis</td>
<td>vowel</td>
<td>alternation</td>
<td>form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agrees with undergoer or recipient for absolutive and transitive verbs</td>
<td>agrees with</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>recipient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) m-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>omn</td>
<td>-ök</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-in*</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ön</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) -</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>omit*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-dam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) b’- ø- aks -- -ök -- -en -- -o -nd
4) b’- t-* angand* -- -- -- -- -- -ø -ø
5) - ø- epou -- -- -- -- -to -- --
6) r- -- amn -ök -- -- -- -in -- -- -um
7) y- ø- ipk -- -end -- -- -- -- -ø -ön
8) - ø- emang -ur -k -- -en-en -anj -- --
9) y- ø- imang -it* -- -- -- -- -- -m -öt
10) - t- amit* -- -- -- -a -- -- -in* -ø -ön

1) m-omnök-a-en-iny- ø-ön
   ABS.2SG-make-BEN-REP-ABS.PL-PRES-1SG.SBJ
   ‘I make them for you repeatitively’

2) omis-in- ø-dam
   sit-ABS.PL-PRES-1/2PL.SBJ
   ‘we/you(pl) sit down’

3) b’-aks-ök-en-o-nd
   REFL-scratch- INTNS- REP-RM.PST- 1SG.SBJ
   ‘I scratched myself again and again intensively’

4) b’-atnganj- ø-ø-dor
   REFL-IRR.kill.NSG-PRES-3SG.SBJ-TD.FUT
   ‘he will kill himself’

5) epou-to
   hit.NSG- PM.RM.PST.3PL
   ‘they hit them’

6) r-ammök-in-um
   HORT.NSG- make- PL-HORT.1PL
   ‘let us make them’

7) y-ipk-enj-ön
   ABS.3SG-tear- PART-1SG.SBJ
   ‘I tore (the sago) once’

8) emangur-k-en-en-anj
   fill.up- INTNS- REP- REP-PM.3PL.PRES
   ‘they fill (the holes) up again and again’

9) y-imang-is-m-öt
   ABS.3SG-dive.SG-??-YD.PST-2SG.SBJ
   ‘you dove (one time)’

10) t-amit-a-iny-ön
    IRR-put.NSG-BEN-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
    ‘I will put them down for you’

3.4 Adjectives

3.4.1 Simple Stem Adjectives

There is a small closed class of undervived adjectives.

wewa ‘light’
bebög ‘heavy’
ukoi ‘big’
neköpod ‘little’
tuko ‘thick’
pata ‘thin’
b’ogöl ‘good’
nerg ‘bad’
pön ‘long’
kut ‘short’
pemb ‘hot’
The adjectives can occur attributively in the noun phrase to modify the noun, or predicatively in equative clauses.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\text{ukoi} & \text{met} & \text{big} & \text{house} \\
\text{neköpod} & \text{nya} & \text{small} & \text{road} \\
\text{met} & \text{ukoi} & e & jö & \text{the house is big} \\
\text{nya} & \text{neköpod} & e & jö & \text{the road is small} \\
\end{array}
\]

\subsection{3.4.2 Reduplicated Adjectives}

The adjectives can be reduplicated to emphasize their meaning.

\begin{itemize}
\item bebög ‘heavy’ bebögbebög ‘very heavy’
\item kut ‘short’ kutkut ‘very short’
\item pemb ‘hot’ pembpemb ‘very hot’
\end{itemize}

There is a class of adjectives that are obligatory reduplicated when used attributively. Reduplication is not grammatical in predicative use, neither is the single stem allowed in attributive use.

\begin{itemize}
\item (3.168) a.\textit{Ton} kutkut röga e. \textit{He is a short man.} \\
\quad 3SG.NOM short man ABS.SG \\
\quad b. \textit{Ton} kut e. \textit{He is short.} \\
\quad b. \*\textit{Ton} kutkut e. \\
\quad d. \*\textit{Ton} kut röga e. \\
\item (3.169) a.\textit{Ukarumpa} göböl göböl tungg e. \textit{Ukarumpa is a cold place.} \\
\quad \textit{Ukarumpa} cold village ABS.SG \\
\quad b. \textit{Ukarumpa} göböl e. \textit{Ukarumpa is cold.} \\
\quad c. \*\textit{Ukarumpa} göböl göböl e. \\
\quad d. \*\textit{Ukarumpa} göböl tungg e. \\
\end{itemize}

\subsection{3.4.3 Derived Adjectives}

Adjectives can be derived from nouns by reduplication, as below:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{N} & \rightarrow \text{ADJ} \\
\text{tim} & \text{timtim} & \text{black} \\
\text{mul} & \text{mulmul} & \text{yellow} \\
\text{sal} & \text{salsal} & \text{green} \\
\text{kus} & \text{kuskus} & \text{red} \\
\end{array}
\]
Adjectives can be derived from verbs by adding the suffix -i, which actually can be analyzed as the past participle. See section 3.3.8.1.

\[\text{aköki pingg} \quad \text{‘trimmed bow’} \quad (\text{akök-'to trim'})\]
\[\text{ungi panyap} \quad \text{‘ripe pineapple’} \quad (\text{ung-'to ripen'})\]
\[\text{omnöki kasa} \quad \text{‘made table’} \quad (\text{omnök-'to make'})\]

The adjectival notion can also be expressed by attaching the suffix -a to the verb, which can be analyzed as the present participle.

\[\text{b’ökena dia} \quad \text{‘the running deer’} \quad (\text{b’ök-en- ‘to run REP’})\]
\[\text{omnöka röga} \quad \text{‘making man’} \quad (\text{omnök- ‘to make’})\]

### 3.4.4 Gender, Number, and Case Agreement

Adjectives are not marked for gender, number or case on themselves. Only when used predicatively, gender and number are marked in the absolutive marker.

\[\text{(3.170a) Ton} \quad \text{kut e} \quad \text{He is short.}\]
\[\text{3NOM short ABS.SG.M}\]

\[\text{(3.171b) Ton} \quad \text{kut o.} \quad \text{She is short.}\]
\[\text{3NOM short ABS.SG.F}\]

\[\text{(3.171c) Ton} \quad \text{kut i.} \quad \text{They(dl) are short.}\]
\[\text{3NOM short ABS.DL}\]

\[\text{(3.171d) Ton} \quad \text{kut im.} \quad \text{They are short.}\]
\[\text{3NOM short ABS.PL}\]

### 3.5 Adverbs

Adverbs function as an optional element in the verb phrase or clause. Semantically we can distinguish between adverbs of manner, adverbs of time and adverbs of location. The only grammatical distinction is that there are more adverbs of manner, which are derived from other categories, than there are adverbs of time and location, which are mostly underived.

#### 3.5.1 Adverbs of Manner

#### 3.5.1.1 underived adverbs of manner

There is a small closed class of pure adverbs of manner which are not derived from any other category. They usually consist of two syllables:
These adverbs can be reduplicated with an emphasis in meaning as result.

**gojagoja** ‘very quickly’

**muskemuske** ‘very slowly’

### 3.5.1.2 derived adverbs of manner

Many adverbs of manner are derived from other word classes by reduplication. Reduplication of a noun stem can produce an adverb.

- **mōra** ‘compensation, wage’
- **mōramōra** ‘reciprocally’
- **wisa** ‘wage’
- **wisawisa** ‘reciprocally’
- **gugolam** ‘noise’
- **gugolamgugolam** ‘noisily’
- **buru** ‘heap’
- **buruburu** ‘heapy’
- **moga** ‘fear’
- **mogamoga** ‘fearfully’

(3.172) *Röga mogamoga b’ök.*

man fearfully run

‘The man ran fearfully.’

(3.173) *Sön umör amn-omam da öwöu buruburu omnökam.*

INSG.EXCL.NOM information do-PM.YD.PST1/2PL that food heapy make-INF

‘We told (them) to put the food in heaps.’

Manner adverbs can also be derived from adjectives by reduplication. This may be the reduplication of the whole adjective or only of the first syllable.

- **b’ogöl** ‘good’
- **b’ogölbogöl** ‘well’
- **b’obogöl** ‘well’

(3.174) *Yepa b’ogöl ngel n-oka-e.*

one good sweet.potato ABS1-give.SG-IMP.SG

‘Give me a good sweet potato!’

(3.175) *Men b’ogölbogöl t-amnök-in-dam.*

INSG.INCL.NOM well IRR-make.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL..SBJ

‘We will make them well.’

(3.176) *Men b’obogöl t-amnök-in-dam.*

INSG.INCL.NOM well IRR-make.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL..SBJ

‘We will make them well.’
Numbers can also be reduplicated to produce an adverb:

**yepa** ‘one’ **yepayepa** ‘rarely, one by one’ (cf: Tok Pisin ‘wanwan’)

(3.177)  
*Tuny yepayepa pok ōlk-anj.*  
seed one-by-one shoot come.up-PM.PRES3  
‘The seeds came up one by one.’

Adverbs can also be derived from adjectives by the suffix -kana ‘degree’. So far only three examples were found, so this might not be a very productive process.

**ukoi** ‘big’ **ukoikana** ‘greatly’
**sobijog** ‘small’ **sobijogkana** ‘in a small way’
**bokta** ‘more/intense’ **boktakana** ‘intensively’

(3.178)  
*Ton uko-i-kana ōwōu aw-in-o-nj, sō kopa y-okat-o-nj*  
3 NOM BIG-degree food eat.SG-ABS.PL-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ so sick ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
‘He ate food in a big way and he got sick.’

(3.179)  
*Yesu bokta-kana y-opulit-o-nj.*  
Yesu loud-degree ABS.3SG-speak.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
‘Jesus spoke loudly.’

### 3.5.1.3 Other ways to encode adverbial notions of manner

Apart from these manner adverbs mentioned above, the adverbial notion of manner can also be expressed in a postpositional phrase with kōma ‘with’;

**moga** ‘fear’ **moga kōma** ‘with fear/fearfully’
**sam** ‘joy’ **sam kōma** ‘with joy/happily’
**nony** ‘thought’ **nony kōma** ‘with thought/carefully’
**ngōngar** ‘shame’ **ngōngar kōma** ‘with shame/shamefully’
**bebög** ‘weight’ **bebög kōma** ‘heavily’

(3.180)  
*Kon moga kōma e n-ek-en.*  
1SG.NOM fear with SG ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ  
‘I am going fearfully.’

(3.181)  
*Men b’ogôle nony kōma t-ammōk-in-dam dor.*  
INSG.INCL.NOM good.SG thought with IRR-make.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ TD.FUT  
‘OK, we will make them carefully.’

### 3.5.2 Time Adverbs

There are several adverbs of time which can be put in every position in the clause except for the subject, object or verb slot.
yu ‘today’
söm ‘yesterday’
sömdasöm ‘the day before yesterday’
mepe ‘tomorrow’
mepe damep ‘the day after tomorrow’
yöto ‘several days ago’
bila ‘long time ago’
war ‘far away in the future’
yata ‘the first time’
yakatam ‘the last time’
odenja ‘soon/immmediately’
köm ‘earlier.TD’
kaen ‘later.TD’
yömta(ke) ‘later’

(3.182) Söm kon n-ek-mön Yamega-wa.
yesterday 1SG.NOM ABS1-go-YD.PST-1SG.SBJ Yamega-ALL
‘Yesterday, I went to Yamega.’

(3.183) Kor b’u tungg-wa ötend-o-nj sömdasöm.
1SG.DAT father village-ALL return-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ day.before.yesterday
‘My father came back to the village two days ago.’

(3.184) Kon mep n-ek-en dem Yamega-wa.
1SG.NOM tomorrow ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT Yamega-ALL
‘I will go to Yamega tomorrow.’

(3.185) Kon yömtake n-ek-en dor.
1SG.NOM later ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT
‘I will go later.’

The ordinal numeral naska ‘first’ can be used adverbially. It can either be reduplicated or get the suffix -ke to emphasize the meaning.

(3.186) Naska men wu-yön yap-m ö sömana diam
first INSG.INCL.NOM go.PL-1PL.SBJ grassland-BEN and afternoon feast
t-a-in-dam dor.
IRR-become-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ TD.FUT
‘First we are going to hunt(grassland) and then we will have feast in the afternoon.’

(3.187) Man naskanaska m-ek-e, kon yömtayömta n-ek-en.
2SG.NOM first ABS.2SG-go-IMP.SG 1SG.NOM later ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
‘You go first and I will go later.’

(3.188) Ton-te naskake metmet kamba y-okes
3NOM-NOM.SG first sweet banana ABS.3SG-take
‘He took the sweet banana first.’
The adverbial notion of time can also be expressed by nouns, e.g. *wön* ‘time’, *stawar* ‘morning’, and *sömana* ‘afternoon’. These can occur by themselves but usually come with the postposition -*nd*. The same goes for the days of the week, months and years, which are all borrowed from English.

(3.189) **Sömana b’om onganj-u dor.**

afternoon pig kill.SG-1PL.SBJ TD.FUT

‘We will kill a pig in the afternoon.’

(3.190) **Yepa wön-önd ton ket menon y-okat-o-nj**

one time-LOC 3NOM PERF going ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ Galilea sea side-LOC

‘One time he went to the side of the Galilea sea.’

(3.191) **Sön wu-yön dem sua tung-wa 1996-önd**

1PL.EXCL.NOM go.PL-1PL.SBJ RM.FUT 1PL.EXCL.DAT village-ALL 1996-LOC

‘We will go to our village in 1996.’

3.5.3 Adverbs of Location

The undervived adverbs of location are dealt with in Section 3.7.1. on adverbial deictic markers. The adverbial notion of location can also be expressed by postpositional phrases. In these cases the postpositional phrase consists of a noun describing a place plus a locative postposition.

(3.192) **Ton wör agn-iny met-önd.**

3NOM taro cook.NSG-ABS.PL house-LOC

‘He/She is cooking taro at the house.’

(3.193) **Köm tungg röga komkisa wui de b’ua-wa.**

early.TD village man all go.PL DX bush-ALL

‘Early today village people went to the bush.’

(3.194) **Nyö tum-önd jogjog pogo w-eken-o-nj.**

water surface-LOC many frog ABS.3SG.F-stay.PL-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

‘There were many frogs on the water surface.’

(3.195) **Goro tungg önyöny-önd m-ek-eny-öt.**

don’t village middle ABS.2SG-go-REP-2SG.SBJ

‘Don’t go to middle of the village repeatedly.’

3.6 Pronouns

3.6.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are marked for person, number and case, as is shown in the following table. Number marking on the pronouns distinguishes singular and non-singular forms. Non-singular forms are used for dual and plural referents. We chose the term ‘non-singular’ rather than plural since verbal inflection and other predicative number marking do make a three way distinction between singular, dual and plural. There is no number distinction for the third person in the nominative case (both singular and non-singular expressed by *ton*). Wipi has two different forms for first person non-singular, one including the addressee and one excluding addressee. Wipi pronouns distinguish four cases: nominative, genitive, dative and accusative.
Table 3.12: Wipi Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>DAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>kon</td>
<td>ken</td>
<td>koina</td>
<td>kor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>moina</td>
<td>mor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>tiina</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG.INCL</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>meraina</td>
<td>mera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG.EXCL</td>
<td>sön</td>
<td>sön</td>
<td>suaina</td>
<td>sua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NSG</td>
<td>wön</td>
<td>wen</td>
<td>waina</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NSG</td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>tuaina</td>
<td>tua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominative pronouns are used in the subject slot of both transitive and intransitive clauses.

(3.196) **Ton**  

| 3NOM | pig | ABS.PST | ABS.3SG-kill.SG.RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
|------|-----|---------|---------------------------------|

'He killed a pig.'

(3.197) **Ton**  

| 3NOM | PRF Daru-ALL | go.SG.RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
|------|---------------|-----------------------|

'He already went to Daru.'

Accusative case is marked on pronouns that carry the theme or patient role of the clause and occur in the object slot of transitive and ditransitive clauses.

(3.198) **Men**  

| 1NSG.NOM | 3NSG.ACC | IRR-hit.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ | RM.FUT | Mande-nd.  
|-----------|----------|-------------------------------|--------|-------------|

'We will fight them coming Monday.'

(3.199) **Kon**  

| 1SG.NOM | 2SG.DAT | 3SG.ACC | ABS.2SG-IRR.give-1SG.SBJ | RM.FUT | take-PAS | child-DAT  
|----------|---------|---------|--------------------------|--------|----------|-----------|

'I will give him to you for an adopted child.'

Genitive pronouns are used to mark possession and in that way function as possessive pronouns. Kinship terms and body parts can be possessed by genitive pronouns, but they prefer the dative case.

**tiina met**  

(3SG.GEN + house) 'his house'

**suaina tungg**  

(1NSG.EXCL.GEN + village) 'our village'

**koina b’u**  

(1SG.GEN + father) 'my father'

**tiina yöm**  

(3SG.GEN + hand) 'his hand'

Pronouns can be marked for genitive case when they refer to the agent of a passive construction.

(3.200) **B’om tiina ongand-i na y-öbn-o-nj.**  

| pig | 3SG.GEN | kill-PAS | ASP | ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  
|-----|---------|----------|-----|-------------------------------|

'The pig was killed by him.'
(3.201) *Kemba koina ogn-i met im.*
banana 1SG.GEN cook-PAS sweet ABS.PL
‘The bananas cooked by me are sweet.’

The **Dative** case marks pronouns that carry the recipient or benefactive role in ditransitive clauses.

(3.202) *Kon ti beag nena y-oka-wo-nd.*
1SG.NOM 3SG.DAT vegetable only ABS.3SG-give.SG-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ
‘I gave him only vegetables.’

(3.203) *Ton wa peba t-eörk-a-iny dem.*
3NOM 2NSG.DAT book IRR-write.NSG-BEN-ABS.PL RM.FUT
‘He will write books for you(nsg).’

The Dative case is also the preferred way to mark possession of kinship terms and body parts.

- **kor b’u** (1SG.DAT + father) ‘my father’
- **ti yönggan** (3SG.DAT + younger brother) ‘his younger brother’
- **ti yöm** (3SG.DAT + hand) ‘his hand’
- **kor mop** (1SG.DAT + head) ‘my head’

Dative pronouns can sometimes be used to express the possession of alienable nouns.

(3.204) *Kon n-ek-en kor met wa.*
1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ 1SG.DAT house ALL
‘I go to my house.’

Another use of the dative case is to express the notion “to have”.

**Kinship:**

(3.205) *Kor nömog böga i.*
1SG.DAT two child ABS.DL
‘I have two children.’

**Ownership:**

(3.206) *Ti noa met im.*
3SG.DAT three house ABS.PL
‘He has three houses.’

Some postpositions trigger dative case on the personal pronouns.

(3.207) *Ötre kapo kor ma jö.*
DX cup 1SG.DAT GEN PRED
‘The cup is for me.’
(3.208) Kon ti pölwa gidap einy-ön.
1SG.NOM 3SG.DAT ALL thing bring-1SG.SBJ
'I am bringing things to him.'

(3.209) Ton soro au-k-o-nj mor-nöm.
3NOM anger become-INTNS-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ 2SG.DAT-DAT
'He became angry at you.'

The personal pronouns can be suffixed by -da(ka) meaning ‘also’ or by -ta meaning ‘only’. The final [n] of the personal pronouns is deleted when the suffix -da(ka) follows.

(3.210) Tua-da(ka) b’angga ingg dem.
3NSG.DAT-also meat share RM.FUT
'They will also get a share of meat.'

(3.211) Ke-da ingg n-otön-yöt dem.
1SG.ACC-also share ABS1-SG-IRR.make-2SG.SBJ RM.FUT
'You will make a share to me also.'

(3.212) Ko-da(ka) ingg m-otön-yön dem.
1SG.NOM-also share ABS2-SG-IRR.make-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT
'I also will make a share to you.'

(3.213) Kon-ta n-ek-o-nd tungg-wa.
1SG.NOM-only ABS1-GO-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ village-ALL
'Only I went to the village.'

3.6.2 Emphatic and Reciprocal Pronouns
Reflexivization is marked on the verb with the prefix b’-; See Section 3.3.8.2. on reflexive verbs. Hence Wipi does not have real reflexive pronouns. However, it does have emphatic pronouns that indicate that the action is performed by the subject alone without any help. This is translated in English by the phrase ‘by oneself’. These pronouns agree with the subject in person and number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.13: Wipi Emphatic Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>emphatic pronoun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG.INCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG.EXCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NSG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NSG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.214a) Ton b’-ipou-ʃi.
3NOM REFL-hil.SG-3SG.SBJ
'He hit himself.'
Reciprocity is expressed by the reflexive form of the verb in combination with a reduplicated emphatic pronoun or with the adverbs möramöra or wisawisa ‘reciprocally’.

3.6.3 Interrogative Pronouns

The normal position for question words in Wipi is clause initially. Wipi has underived and derived question words. The underived forms are stated below.

rö ‘when’
ye ‘who’
nangga ‘what’
rokat/rot ‘where’

(3.219) **Rö-e**  **ton**  **iik**  **dor**  **de**  **Wipim-wa?**
when-ABS.SG 3NOM go.3SG TD.FUT DX Wipim-ALL
‘When will he go to Wipim?’

(3.220) **Nangga nangg e  jö?**
what plant ABS.SG PRED
‘What plant is it?’

(3.221) **Rot-e**  **tiina**  **ngöngki?**
where-ABS.SG 3SG.GEN garden
‘Where is his garden?’

(3.222) **Rokas-im**  **ton**  **ngel**  **aramis-iny?**
where-ABS.PL 3NOM sweetpotato put.NSG-ABS.PL
‘where he(sg) put sweetpotatos(pl)’
When the question words ye ‘who’ and nangga ‘what’ function as subject, they come with the nominative marker. When they function as undergoer of the clause, they get the absolutive marker. Ye ‘who’ also has a genitive form (yaina) and a dative form (ya).

(3.224) **Ye-te** singi kon kōma menon yap-wa?
who-NOM.SG want 1SG.NOM with going grassland-ALL
‘Who wants to go to the grassland with me?’

(3.225) **Yaina** met e jō?
who.GEN house ABS.SG PRED
‘Whose house is it?’

(3.226) **Ya ma jō pen?**
who.DAT for PRED pen
‘Whose pen is it?’ (for whom)

(3.227) **Ye-na** man y-ipou-et?
who-ABS.PST 2SG.NOM ABS.3SG-hit.SG-2SG.SBJ
‘Whom did you hit?’

(3.228) **Ya pōlwa man kemba aka-in-o-t?**
who.DAT all 2SG.NOM banana give.NSG-ABS.PL-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ
‘To whom did you give bananas?’

(3.229) **Ye-pia** b’om y-ipou-m-i?
who-SBJ.PL pig ABS.3SG-hit.SG-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ
‘Who(pl) hit the pig?’

(3.230) **Nangga-p-im** n-ong-anj?
what-NOM.NSG-ABS.PL ABS1-bite.SG-do.PL.SBJ
‘What(pl) bit us(pl)?’

(3.231) **Nangga-im** aw-in-yōt?
what-ABS.PL eat.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ
‘What do you eat?’

When asking for the cause or reason of something the question word nangga ‘what’ is used in combination with the causative postposition pa or the purposive postposition ma. As such they function as adverbial phrases. When the past absolutive marker na is added to pa or ma they change to pena and mena.

(3.232) **Nangga pe-na** ton ulbagbag y-okat-o-nj?
what CAUS-ABS.PST 3NOM cross ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Why (what reason) did he take the cross?’
The derived question words form a much bigger group. They are derived from adverbs or demonstratives by adding the interrogative prefix r-. Some of these question words also get the absolutive marker attached to them indicating the number of the undergoer of the action. See section 3.2.1.1.

Some of those forms can be reduplicated.

(3.233) **Nangga me-na** ton ulbagbag y-okat-o-nj?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>what</th>
<th>PURP-ABS.PST</th>
<th>3NOM</th>
<th>cross</th>
<th>ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Why (what purpose) did he take the cross?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.234) **Man röja-e** y-omnök-et?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG.NOM</th>
<th>how-ABS.SG</th>
<th>ABS.3SG-make.SG-2SG.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘How do you make it?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.235) **Man röja-i** amnök-et?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG.NOM</th>
<th>how-ABS.DL</th>
<th>make.NSG-2SG.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘How do you make them(DL)?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.236) **Man röja-im** amnök-iny-öt?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG.NOM</th>
<th>how-ABS.PL</th>
<th>make.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘How do you make them(PL)?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.237) **Rökönd onggöt gasa ouk-o-nj?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>where</th>
<th>DX</th>
<th>thing</th>
<th>become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Where did this thing happen?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of those forms can be reduplicated.

(3.238) **Röjaröja e** pingg aköka?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>how</th>
<th>ABS.SG</th>
<th>bow cutting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘How is the bow cutting going?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.239) **Röjaröja-im** wön pingg akök-enen-in-dam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>how-ABS.PL</th>
<th>2NSG.NOM</th>
<th>bow</th>
<th>cut.NSG-HAB-ABS.PL-2PL.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘How do you cut bows?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, there are the quantity question words *liamog* ‘how many/much’ [± animate] and *liapós* ‘how many’ [+animate].

(3.240) **Liamog** im pingg de met-wa?
how many ABS.PL bow DX house-LOC
‘How many bows are there at the house?’

(3.241) **Liamog** pingg na aka-in-o-t?
how many bow ABS.PST give.NSG-ABS.PL-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ
‘How many bows did you give?’

(3.242) **Liapós** rōga im dōkōnd b’eoma-pu-ōnd?
how many man ABS.PL certain.place meeting-place-LOC
‘How many people are here at the meeting place?’

### 3.7 Deixis Markers

Wipi has many different words to express deixis. For a non-native speaker it is very hard to distinguish between the finer nuances in meaning.

For deixis marking in Wipi, distance from the speaker does not seem to play a role. The dimensions that are important in most cases are [± visible] and [± specific].

Deixis is used extensively on the discourse level. More discourse study is necessary to determine which form is used when. For now we can make the following tentative statements.

#### 3.7.1 Adverbial Deictic Markers

The adverbial deictic markers agree in number and gender with the person or thing that is at the place referred to. There are eleven different forms in this set, which are shown in the table below. They can be translated with ‘here’ or ‘there’ depending on the context. However, note that the visible/invisible distinction almost naturally leads to translation with ‘here’ for visible and ‘there’ for invisible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>visible</th>
<th>invisible</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG.M</td>
<td>öte</td>
<td>ade</td>
<td>önte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG.F</td>
<td>öto</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>önto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>osi</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>önsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>opim</td>
<td>amim</td>
<td>önsim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.243) *Mop* gouukoi yörkokar öte bebög e.
reason earth life DX.SG heavy ABS.SG
‘Because life on earth here is hard.’

(3.244) *Önte* moina pensöl y-ösenj-öüt.
DX.SP.SG 2SG.GEN pencil ABS.3SG-drop-2SG.SBJ
‘You dropped your pencil right here.’
Apart from the deictic markers in table 14, Wipi has some locative adverbs that do not fit in a set. Those are:

de  ‘there’
dökönd  ‘here’
oman(a)  ‘right here’
öng  ‘here (certain place/thing)’
öndama  ‘here’
amade  ‘here (directional)’

All these deictic markers can get the suffix -ta to indicate that it is somewhere around the place referred to.
3.7.2 Demonstratives

There are four ways to express demonstratives in Wipi. The most straightforward demonstratives are *onggöt* and *önggöt* which both can be translated with ‘this’ or ‘that’. At the moment it is not clear which contexts choose *onggöt* and which choose *önggöt*; both are used in similar contexts. There does not seem to be a close/far or visible/invisible distinction. In texts the word *onggöt* occurs more frequently than *önggöt*. It could very well be that there is only one underlying form with two surface forms in free variation here. The fact that some speakers seem to use the one more than the other supports this idea.

The most common use of the demonstratives *onggöt* and *önggöt* is modifying the noun phrase, making it specific. Their normal position is preceding the head of the NP.

(3.254) *Mari önggöt koliji-wa y-öbn-o-nj.*

Mari this college-ALL ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

‘Mari graduated(stayed) from this college.’

(3.255) *Sön n-itk-ia dökönd onggöt stawar-önd.*

1NSG.EXCL,NOM ABS.1-come-DL.SBJ here this morning-LOC

‘We came here this morning.’

(3.256) *Seg ket, yör opumit-a omnök onggöt röga uy gatab.*

finish PERP eye close-NMLZ MAKE.SG this man dead about

‘Then he will make prayer over this dead man.’

(3.257) *Met orang-i onggöt ujmet rörör.*

house build.SG-3PL.SBJ this grave enough

‘They will build a house (that is big)enough for this grave.’

(3.258) *Yepa röga y-öbn-o-nj dökönd onggöt Podar gou-önd.*

one man ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ here this Podar land-LOC

‘One man lived here at this Podar land.’

The demonstratives can also be used independently as a pronoun:

(3.259) *Onggöt kake röga-p ujgöm gou bora-wa oramis-i.*

this after man-NOM.NSG corpse ground hole-ALL put-3PL.SBJ

‘After that people will put the corpse into the ground hole.’

(3.260) *Sö, seg jö toda önggöt gatab.*

and finish PRED 3SG.also this about

‘And then, it is also finished about this.’

Besides *onggöt* and *önggöt*, Wipi also utilizes the deitic markers from Table 3.14 as attributive demonstratives. Table 14 is repeated here for the reader’s benefit as Table 3.15.
Table 3.15: Wipi Deictic Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>generic</th>
<th>specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visible</td>
<td>invisible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG.M</td>
<td>öte</td>
<td>ade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG.F</td>
<td>öto</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>osi</td>
<td>ami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>opim</td>
<td>amim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These deictic markers can either precede or follow the head noun.

(3.261) Öto kongga w-iik tungg-wa.
DX.SG.F woman ABS.3SG.F-go village-ALL
‘That woman is going to the village.’

(3.262) Seg mid öte, ti yönggan, ik-o-nj.
finish old.man DX.SG 3SG.DAT younger.brother come-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Then this old man, his younger brother, came.’

(3.263) Önsim negör mule t-erark-iny-öt.
DX.PS.PL bad behavior IRR-leave.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ
‘You will leave those bad behaviors.’

(3.264) Önte peba y-orak-et?
THIS.SPC.SG book ABS.3SG-find-2SG.SBJ
‘Are you looking for this book?’

(3.265) Opim peba örök-a m-im.
DX.PL paper write-NMLZ PURP-ABS.PL
‘These papers are for writing.’

These deictic markers can also occur as demonstrative pronouns with or without the nominalizing -iam.

(3.267) Ami Ukarumpa wa ebn-ya.
DX.INVIS.DL Ukarumpa LOC stay-DL.SBJ
‘Those two(people) stay there at Ukarupa.’

(3.268) Öte nangga e jö?
DX.SG what ABS.SG PRED
‘What is that?’

(3.269) Önte-iam ma y-orak-et?
DX.PS.SG-NMLZ for 3SG.ABS-look-2SG.SBJ
‘Are you looking for this one?’

Thirdly, the relative pronouns can be used as a demonstratives. (The relative pronouns are formed by combining the deixis markers from table 14 with the relativizer re). When these relative pronouns are used demonstratively they indicate that the NP has been mentioned before. The relative clause that should
follow the relative pronoun is left unstated because that is presupposed information (cf. Fleischmann 1981:7). The relative pronouns that can be used as demonstratives are shown in the table below.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG.M</td>
<td>ötre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG.F</td>
<td>ötro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>osire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>opire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.270) Ötro kongga b’om y-ipou.
DX.REL.SG.F woman pig ABS.3SG-hit
‘That woman(that you know about) hit a pig.’

(3.271) Osire peba öröki i.
DX.REL.DL paper write-PAS ABS.DL
‘These two papers(that you see here) are written on.’

Finally there is the pronominal demonstrative nok ‘this’.

(3.272) Nok ma-na n-etàk-en.
this GEN-ABS.PST ABS1-come-1SG.SBJ
‘I came for this.’

(3.273) Nok e jö pen.
this ABS.SG PRED pen
‘This is a pen.’

3.7.3 Existential Deictic Markers

3.7.3.1 Existential deixis
Table 3.17 shows the markers that are used for existential deixis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>generic</th>
<th>specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visible</td>
<td>invisible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>öta</td>
<td>ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>osiya</td>
<td>amiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>opima</td>
<td>amima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far we have only seen these four ‘relative pronouns’ used as demonstratives. But as there does not seem to be any reason why the invisible and specific deictic markers would not occur as well, we will probably come across them in the future.
(3.274) Kon öta en.
1SG.NOM DX.EX.SG ABS1
‘I am here.’

(3.275) Man öta et.
2SG.NOM DX.EX.SG ABS2SG
‘You are here.’

(3.276) Ton öta met-wa.
3NOM DX.EX.SG house-ALL
‘He/She is at the house.’

(3.277) Sön osiya dem de dor tungg-wa.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM DX.EX.DL TD.FUT DX mountain village-ALL
‘We will be there at the highland village.’

(3.278) Ton amima wekeny sön kōma.
3NOM DX.EX.INVIS.PL stay.PL 1NSG.EXCL.NOM with
‘They are there staying with us.’

(3.279) Makwa öta ömunjog yepa rōga.
NEG DX.EX.SG honest one man
‘There is really not one honest man.’

3.7.3.2 existential markers used as absolutive markers
These existential deictic markers can also be used as absolutive markers in future clauses. In such cases, the existential markers indicate that the action definitely will take place.

(3.280) Ton öta b’om onganj-i dor sōmana.
3NOM DX.EX.SG pig kill-3PL.SBJ TD.FUT afternoon
‘They will (definitely) hit a pig in the afternoon.’

(3.281) Ton opima b’om t-epou-ranj dor sōmana.
3NOM DX.EXPL pig IRR-hit-PM.PRES3 TD.FUT afternoon
‘They will (definitely) hit pigs in the afternoon.’

(3.282) Sön önta sana komb y-op-u.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM this.EX.SG sago leftover ABS.3SG-take-1PL.SBJ
‘We are taking this (specific) leftover sago.’

(3.283) “Öta man Yamega-wa m-ek-et dor sōmana?” “öta.”
DX.EX.SG .2SG.NOM Yamega-ALL ABS.2SG-go-2SG.SBJ TD.FUT afternoon DX.EX.SG
‘Are you going to go to Yamega in the afternoon? Yes, I am.’
(3.284) *Ton opima Yamega-wa ui dor sōmana? Opima.*
3NOM DX.EX.PL Yamega-ALL go.PL TD.FUT afternoon DX.EX.PL
‘Are they going to go to Yamega in the afternoon? Yes, they are.’

Note that the affirmative answer for the questions in (3.283) and (3.284) takes the form of the existential deictic marker.

### 3.7.3.3 negation of existential markers
The existential deictic markers can be negated by *ma*, or *makwa*.

1SG.NOM NEG DX.EX.SG ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT
‘I will (really) not go.’

(3.286) *Makwa ōta negör rōga de pumb tungg-wa.*
NEG DX.EX.SG bad man DX on.top village-LOC
‘There is really not a bad man there in heaven.’

There are also negative existential deictic markers.

### Table 3.18: Negative Existential Deictic Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Negative Existential Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG.NEUT</td>
<td>awör</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG.M</td>
<td>aure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG.F</td>
<td>auro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>auri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>aurim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.287) *Gou awör, wub awör, gasatagasata awör.*
ground nothing sky nothing everything nothing
‘There was no land, no sky and no thing.’

(3.288) *Gujo aure.*
coconut nothing.SG
‘There is no coconut.’

(3.289) *Molkongga auri met-wa.*
couple nothing.ABS.DL house-ALL
‘The couple is not at the house.’

(3.290) *Aurim ti orkak.*
nothing.PL 3SG.DAT tooth
‘It does not have teeth.’
3.7.3.4 special use of the existential deictic markers

The existential deictic markers öta and ama can get the suffix -ra to form the words ötara and amara. The words ötara and amara are used in combination with motion verbs to indicate continuity, and as such they can be glossed with 'until'. These words ötara and amara are usually reduplicated.

(3.291) Ton iik-o-nj amaramaramara Dorogori.
   3NOM go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ until Dorogori
   ‘He went and arrived at Dorogori.’

(3.292) Sön yöt weg-o-nda ötaraötaraötara stavar au-o-nj.
   1NSG.EXCL.NOM word sleep-RM.PST-1DL.SBJ until morning become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
   ‘We slept and slept until the daybreak.’

3.8 Negators

There are six negator words in Wipi.

ma  ‘not’
maka  ‘not’
makwa  ‘really not’
maike  ‘not yet’
makaya  ‘not yet’
goro  ‘don’t’

The negator ma ‘not’ is used for NP negation in existential and equative clauses, and also for contrast.

(3.293) Ma opima gujo.
   NEG DX.EX.PL coconut
   ‘There is no coconut.’ (existential)

(3.294) Ma metmet kemba e jö.
   NEG sweet banana ABS.SG PRED
   ‘It is not a sweet banana.’ (equative)

(3.295) Kemba öte ma met e jö.
   banana DX.SG NEG sweet ABS.SG PRED
   ‘The banana is not sweet.’ (equative)

(3.296) Ton ma pail e jö.
   3NOM NEG pilot ABS.SG PRED
   ‘He is not a pilot.’ (equative)

(3.297) Ma b’om na y-ipou ajö yongg na.
   NEG pig ABS.PST ABS.3SG-hit but dog ABS.PST
   ‘He did not hit a pig but a dog.’ (contrast)
(3.298) Sön ma sobijog na sam auköntondam.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM NEG little ABS.PST happy become-PM.RM.PST1/2PL
‘We became not little happy. = We became very happy.’

NEG all-ABS.PL sadi IRR-pound-INTNS-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ
‘You will not pound all of the sadi (but leave some).’

(3.300) Wön ma sön wala-nd yör n-ong-in-dam.
2NSG.NOM NEG 1NSG.EXCL.ACC garden-LOC eye ABS1-bite-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ
You did not see us at the garden (but somebody else).’

(3.301) Ma ode da bobo omn-am.
NEG like.this that heap do-INF
‘Not like this to make a heap.’

The negator makwa ‘really not’ (literal meaning ‘not again’) is a strong negator and can be used for NP negation. It can also be used for predicate negation in equative or existential clauses.

(3.302) Ton makwa pailét e jö. Bailel engend-en-a röga e jö.
3NOM not pilot ABS.SG PRED bible turn-REP-NMLZ man ABS.SG PRED
‘He really is not a pilot, he is a Bible translator.’

(3.303) Makwa metmet kemba e jö.
not sweet banana ABS.SG PRED
‘It is really not a sweet banana.’

(3.304) Kon makwa öta n-ek-en dém Daru-wa.
1SG.NOM not DX.EX.SG ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT Daru-ALL
‘I am really not going to Daru.’

(3.305) Ton makwa yepa lamýap y-ou-öm.
3NOM not one papaya ABS.3SG-eat.SG-YD.PST
‘He really did not eat a papaya.’

The negator maka ‘not’ is the regular, unmarked negator used to negate the clause. Its position is immediately following the subject.

(3.306) Kon maka y-ow-o-nd.
1SG.NOM NEG ABS.3SG-eat.SG-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ
‘I did not eat.’

(3.307) Ton maka ti b’u ma yöt utkund-eneny.
3NOM NEG 3SG.DAT father GEN word hear-REP
‘He is not obeying for his father’s instructions repeatedly.’
**(3.308)** Sön maka n-ek-o-nda egomend-a-pu-wa.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM NEG ABS1-termin-PST-DL.SBJ land-NMLZ-place-ALL
‘We did not go to the landing place.’

*Maike* and *makaya* are used to express the meaning ‘not yet’. It is hard to determine which is used when. They are clause negators and their normal position is like *maka*, following the subject. *Makaya* is the singular and dual form, indicating singular/dual undergoer of the action. It can be analyzed as *maka*-e-a for singular and *maka*-i-a for dual, since the plural form is *maka*-im-a. These -e,-i,-im endings are the singular, dual and plural forms of the absolutive marker.

**(3.309)** Kon makaya(maike) y-ou-en.
1SG.NOM NEG.NEG yet ABS.3SG-eat.SG-1SG.SBJ
‘I did not eat yet.’

*Goro* ‘don’t’ is the negator for all illocutionary forms. Its normal position is clause initial.

**(3.310)** Goro m-ek-e!
don’t ABS.2SG-go-IMP.SG
‘Don’t go!’

**(3.311)** Goro okat-öm!
don’t take.SG-IMP.NEG
‘Don’t take it!’

**(3.312)** Goro onggöt gasa t-amnök-in-dam.
don’t this thing IRR-make.NSG-ABS-PL-1/2PL.SBJ
‘Don’t make this thing!’

### 3.9 Postpositions

Wipi has a number of monosyllabic postpositions that are used to express oblique relations in the clause. With Anderson (in Shopen 1985. III:186) we can also say for Wipi that “these elements have a tendency to be destressed and turn into clitics.” As clitics they can be reinterpreted as case markers. This process of reinterpretation is probably happening right now in Wipi.

For now we interpret the following forms as postpositions. Some of them might actually be bound case forms already, for example the locative -nd and the instrumental -ke. One of the reasons we treat all of them as postpositions, is that they trigger the dative case on the pronouns. It would be strange for a case marker to trigger another case, but it is not strange for a postposition, as many languages do that.

The postposition *ma* is similar to the genitive case marker -mna in marking possession, but different in that it is also used to mark PURPOSE.

We can list the following postpositions. (We use case terminology to ‘translate’ them since it is easier to cover all the meanings.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ö)nd</td>
<td>Locative, ‘at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>Locative, Allative, ‘to, at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka/ke</td>
<td>Ablative, Instrumental, ‘from, with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ma Genitive, Purposive ‘of, for’
pa Causal ‘because of’
map Causal ‘because of, for’
pöp Causal ‘because of’
nöm Dative ‘for, of’

(3.313) Röga jogjog wekeny de aspital-önd.
man many stay-PL DX hospital-LOC
‘Many people stay at the hospital.’

(3.314) Ton ket iik-o-nj de ti tungg-wa.
3NOM PRF go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ DX 3SG.DAT village-ALL
‘He had already gone to his village.’

garden ABL ABS1-come-1SG.SBJ
‘I came from the garden.’

2NSG.NOM axe ABL-ABS.PL tree cut-INTNS-ABS.PL-RM.PST-1/2PL.SBJ
‘You cut trees with axes.’

(3.317) Kon gony ma n-ek-en.
1SG.NOM bath PURP ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
‘I am going for a bath.’

(3.318) Man misinari ma met-wa m-ek-m-öt.
2SGNOM pastor GEN house-ALL ABS2G-go-TD.PST-2SG.SBJ
‘You went to the house of the pastor.’

(3.319) Onggöt pa-e ton maka y-omnök.
that CAUS-ABS.SG 3NOM NEG ABS.3SG-make
‘Because of that he did not make it.’

(3.320) Yesu mera map ulbagbag-önd uj aw-o-nj.
Yesu 1NSG.INCL.DAT CAUS cross-LOC dead become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Jesus died on the cross because of us.’

(3.321) Ton mor nöm moga au.
3NOM 2SG.DAT DAT fear become
‘He became afraid of you.’

The monosyllabic postpositions wa, kalke and (ö)nd cannot follow animate referents directly. The word pöl ‘body’ needs to be in between. The animate nouns and pronouns appear in their dative form.

(3.322) Men ui-ön ti pöl-wa.
1NSG.INCL.NOM go.PL-1SBJ 3SG.DAT ‘body’-ALL
‘We go to him.’
(3.323) Ti pöl-önd y-oramis-ön.
   3SG.DAT  'body'-LOC   ABS.3SG-put-1SG.SBJ
   'I put it on him.'

The other monosyllabic postpositions cause the pronouns to appear in their dative case.

(3.324) Mera-map Yesu ulbagbag y-okat-o-nj.
   1NSG.INCL.DAT-CAUS  Jesus  cross  ABS.3SG-take-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
   'Jesus took the cross for us.'

(3.325) Öte-emb kor ma jö omnök-am.
   DX.SG-INTNS  1SG.DAT  GEN  PRED  make-INF
   'It is for me to make.'

(3.326) Man ke ti nöm umörumör yöt y-oramis-öt.
   2SG.NOM  PRF  3SG.DAT  DAT  information word  ABS.3SG-put-2SG.SBJ
   'You already give the information to him.'

The monosyllabic postpositions frequently combine with locative appositional noun phrases. These combinations express very concrete locational notions, which is in line with what Foley says about postpositions in his book on Papuan languages (Foley, 1986:93).

(3.327) Ton ita taim met wöngör-wa y-öböm.
   3NOM  every time  house  inside-ALL  ABS.3SG-stay
   'He is always staying inside the house.'

(3.328) Kon nyö-tengk b'öga mettou kumb-önd y-oramit-o-nd.
   1SG.NOM  watertank  child  house.top  top-LOC  ABS.3SG-put-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ
   'I put a little water tank on top of the house.'

Apart from these monosyllabic postpositions, Wipi has some polysyllabic postpositions too.

köma  'with'
kisa  'without'
nata  'through'
gatab  'about'
kake  'after'

(3.329) Abu ag köma köm Wipim-wa iik.
   father  mother  with  already.TD  Wipim-ALL  go
   'Father went to Wipim with mother in this morning.'

(3.330) Yu komkisa tunggiam b'angga kisa wekeny.
   today  all  villager  meat  without  stay.PL
   'Now, all village people live without meat.'
The locative postpositions are also used in temporal adverbial phrases. In these cases they go with time nouns, or with nominalized verbal phrases.

3.10 Numerals

3.10.1 Cardinal Numerals

Traditionally the numerals are based on the fingers of both hands and the toes of both feet. Thus we have a mathematical base of 20, subdivided into four sections of five for each hand and foot.

- yepa: ‘one’
- nómg: ‘two’
- noa: ‘three’
- nöndanönda: ‘four’ (nönda ‘couple’)
- yepayömdati: ‘five’ (yöm ‘hand’ + unduati ‘complete’)
- tab ke yepa: ‘six’ (tab ‘other side’ + ke ABL + one)
- tab ke nómg: ‘seven’ (tab ‘other side’ + ke ABL + two)
- tab ke noa: ‘eight’ (tab ‘other side’ + ke ABL + three)
- tab ke nöndanönda: ‘nine’ (tab ‘other side’ + ke ABL + four)
- yöm nóño: ‘ten’ (yöm ‘hand’ + nóño, related to nómg ‘couple’)
- yongön ke yepa: ‘eleven’ (yongön ‘foot’ + ke ABL + one)
- yongön ke nómg: ‘twelve’ (foot + ke + two)
- yongön ke noa: ‘thirteen’ (foot + ke + three)
- yongön ke nöndanönda: ‘fourteen’ (foot + ke + four)
- yongön yepa unduati: ‘fifteen’ (foot + one + complete)
- yongön tab ke yepa: ‘sixteen’ (foot + other side + ke + one)
yongön tab ke nömog ‘seventeen’ (foot + other side + ke + two)
yongön tab ke noa ‘eighteen’ (foot + other side + ke + three)
yongön tab ke nöndanönda ‘nineteen’ (foot + other side + ke + four)
yepa rōga jō unduati ‘twenty’ (one + rōga ‘man’ + jō ‘body’ + complete)
yepa rōga jō unduati ö yepa ‘twenty one’ (twenty and one)
yepa rōga jō unduati ö yongön tab ke yapa ‘thirty six’ (twenty and sixteen)
noa rōga jō unduati ‘sixty’ (three + man + body + complete)

Since this system is rather complicated, the people tend to use the Wipi numerals for one, two and three and the English words for any numeral higher than three. Thus (1) yepa, (2) nömog, (3) noa, (4) poa, (5) paib, (6) siks etc, but also yepa andred ‘one hundred’, nömog andred ‘two hundred’, noa andred ‘three hundred’, etc.
The cardinal numbers can occur attributively as modifiers in the noun phrase, or predicatively in non-verbal clauses.

(3.336) **Siks** rōga Ukarumpa ke ui.
six man Ukarumpa ABL GO.PL
‘Six men went from Ukarumpa.’

(3.337) **Sanigiri-m** yongg **paib-im**.
Sanigiri-DAT dog FIVE-ABS.PL
‘Sanigiri has five dogs.’

The cardinal numbers can function by themselves as subject or objects of clauses when it is known what is being talked about.

(3.338) **Yepa** Yamega-wa-e iik, **paib** Daru wa-im ui.
one Yamega-ALL-ABS.SG go five Daru ALL-ABS.PL GO.PL
‘One man went to Yamega, five men went to Daru.’

(3.339) **Ton** **paib** na akas-in-o-nj ai man **yepa** nena
3NOM five ABS.PST TAKE.NSG-ABS.PL-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ but 2SG.NOM one only
y-okat-o-t.
ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ
‘He took five, but you took only one.’

Numerals can get the suffix -piam to indicate something happened a number of times. As such they function as an adverbial phrase.

(3.340) **Ton** ke **noa-piam** iik-en-o-nj de Mosbi-wa.
3NOM PRF three-time go-REP.RM.PST-3SG.SBJ DX Moresby-ALL
‘He has already been to Moresby three times.’

### 3.10.2 Ordinal Numerals

The ordinal numerals are derived from the cardinal forms by the addition of the suffix -m (which is the dative case marker). As such, they function as modifiers of the noun. The ordinal numeral **naska** ‘first’
and *kikitum* ‘last’ are not derived. It seems normal for languages to have an irregular form for ‘first’ and ‘last’.

*naska* ‘first’

*nömögöm* ‘second’

*noam* ‘third’

*poam* ‘fourth’

*tab ke yepam* ‘sixth (but also *siksöm*)’

*kikitum* ‘last’

(3.341) *Kon paib-öm b'öga en.*

1SG.NOM five-DAT child ABS1

‘I am the fifth child.’

These ordinal numerals can also be used predicatively:

(3.342) *Kon-t-en paib-öm.*

1NOM-NOM.SG-ABS1 five-DAT

‘I am the fifth.’

The ordinal numerals can be nominalized by the suffix-*iam/am*:

*nömögöm-iam/am* ‘the second one’

*noam-iam/am* ‘the third one’

*poam-iam/am* ‘the fourth one’

(3.343) *Poa-m-iam-öt b'om y-ipou.*

five-DAT-one-NOM.SG pig ABS.3SG-hit.SG

The fourth one hit the pig.

*Naska-iam* ‘the first one’ is directly derived from the word *naska*, and *kikitum-am* is derived from the word *kikitum* ‘last,’ without the morpheme *-m*.

(3.344) *Ton naska-iam b'öga e.*

3NOM first-NMLZ child ABS.SG

‘He is the first child.’

(3.345) *Kon kikitum-am b'öga en.*

1NOM last-NMLZ child ABS1

‘I am the last child.’

### 3.11 Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a closed class in Wipi.
**jogjog**  ‘many’ (predicative form is jog)
**nönda**  ‘a couple’ with extended meaning ‘some’
**komkisa**  ‘all’
**yepayepa**  ‘each’
**nena**  ‘only’
**auôr**  ‘no, none, nothing’
**rauôr**  ‘no, none, nothing’
**makwa yepa**  ‘no-one’
**be**  ‘any’
**ita**  ‘every’

(3.346) **Nönda**  rôga  tomba  kip  na  auk-om.

some  man  post  hole  ABS.PST  DIG.NSG-PM.YD.PST.3PL

‘Some people dug post holes (yesterday).’

(3.347) **Wô-da**  **yepayepa**  y-okat-a.

2SG.NOM-also  each  ABS.3SG-take.SG-IMP.DL

‘You too take one each.’

(3.348) **Kon**  gujo  **nena**  m-ieny-ôn.

1SG.NOM  coconut  only  ABS.2SG-bring-1SG.SBJ

‘I brought you only coconuts.’

(3.349) **Ton**  noa  **nena**  n-oka-iny.

3NOM  three  only  ABS1-give-ABS.PL

‘He gave me only three.’

(3.350) **Be**  liamog  rôga-im.

any  how many  man-ABS.PL

‘However many people.’

(3.351) **Be**  ye-t-e?

any  who-NOM.SG-ABS.SG

‘Whoever?’

The quantifiers can modify the noun, attributively and predicatively.

(3.352) **Ton**  **jogjog**  b’om  angaj-iny.

3NOM  many  pig  kill.NSG-ABS.PL

‘He killed many pigs.’

(3.353) **Gujo**  **jogjog**  im

coconut  many  ABS.PL

‘There are many coconuts.’
The quantifier *jogjog* can be combined with the negator *ma* to express the meaning ‘a few’, literally ‘not many’. The quantifying notion of ‘many’ can also be expressed by the numeral *yepa* ‘one’ in combination with the negator *ma*.

(3.354) *Gujo ma jogjog im.*
   coconut NEG many ABS.PL
   ‘There are not many coconuts.’

(3.355) *Röga ma yepa im.*
   man NEG one ABS.PL
   ‘There are many people.’

The adjectives *sobijog* ‘small’ and *ukoi* ‘big’ can be used with the non-count nouns to express the meaning of ‘a small amount’ or ‘a big amount’, respectively.

(3.356) *Nyö sobijog isk-a m-ii-ön.*
   water small draw-NMLZ ABS.2SG-bring.SG-1SG.SBJ
   ‘I am bringing a little water for you.’

The quantifiers can also occur by themselves in the subject or object slot in the clause if it is known what the quantity is that is talked about.

(3.357) *Yepa yongg nena uj, ai komkisa ilo im wekeny.*
   one dog only dead but all alive PL stay.PL
   ‘Only one dog died but all(dogs) are alive(staying alive).’

(3.358) *Kon ke jogjog akas-in-yön.*
   1SGNOM PRF many take.NSG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
   ‘I already took many.’

(3.359) *Ma öta yepa iik de b’ua-wa.*
   NEG DX.EX SG one go DX bush-ALL
   ‘No one will go to bush.’

Quantifiers can also occur in existential clauses, as is exemplified by the following sentences.

(3.360) *Opima jogjog/nönda.*
   DX.EXS.PL many/some
   ‘There are many/some.’

(3.361) *Aur e.*
   none ABS.SG
   ‘There are none.’

(3.362) *Jogjog im ngel.*
   many ABS.PL sweet.potato
   ‘There are many sweet potatoes.’
3.12 Conjunctions

3.12.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

ö  ‘and’
ake  ‘and’
döde  ‘and’
o  ‘or’
ajö  ‘but’
ai  ‘but’
sö  ‘so/then’
ita  ‘then/so’

The additive conjunctions ö, ake, and döde are used for phrasal conjunction.

(3.363) Ötre tutar-iam ake ti b’öga ek-ia.
the story-one and 3SG.DAT child go.SG-DL.SBJ
‘The story teller and his child are going.’

(3.364) Yesu-öt y-orang-o-nj rüga kongga döde b’öga komkisa.
Yesu-NOM.SG ABS3SG-build-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ man woman and child all
‘Yesu made all men, women and children.’

(3.365) Wui yat sua wöp-önd u-en-o-nj ö suaina
honey bee 1NSG.EXCL.DAT face-LOC go.PL-REP-RM.PST-3SBJ and 1NSG.EXCL.GEN
yöpiar-önd
EAR-LOC
‘Honey bees came around our faces and our ears.’

The conjunctions ö and döde can also be used for clausal conjunction.

(3.366) Makwa sön tui-ön ö makwa gidap wa amnök-a-in-dam.
NEG 1NSG.NOM come.PL-1SBJ and NEG thing 2NSG.DAT make-BEN-ABS.PL-1PL.SBJ
‘We are not coming and are not making you (pl) things.’

(3.367) Köristiam-im wekeny-ön döde ket yu yötkak wöko-e y-omnök-u.
Christian-ABS.PL stay.PL-1SBJ and PRF today language work-ABS.SG ABS3.SG-make-1PL.SBJ
‘We, Christians, are staying and now we are working on language.’

The alternative conjunction o ‘or’ is used as a phrasal or clausal conjunction.

(3.368) Y-okat-e yepa nena, kembä o lamiap.
ABS.3SG-take.SG-IMP.SG one only banana or papaya
‘Take only one, banana or papaya!’
(3.369) Sokak köma e, o yörköp köma e, o möndarka opima ti orkak?
nose with ABS.SG or eye with ABS.SG or lest DX.EXPL 3SG.DAT tooth
‘Does it have a nose, or eyes, or does it have teeth?’

The contrastive conjunctions ajö and ai ‘but’ occur only clausally.

(3.370) Ke ton yöt guglam y-utkunj ajö ton öjana nony
PRF 3NOM word noise ABS.3SG-hear but 3NOM like this thought
ainy da ma röga-im b'-ipou-ranj.
become that NEG man-ABS.PL RFL-fight-PM.PRES3
‘Already he heard the noisy words(fighting) but he thought that it was not men fighting.’

(3.371) Ton singi e ai kon ma singi en.
3NOM want ABS.3SG but 1SG.NOM NEG want ABS 1
‘He wants it but I don’t want it.’

The result conjunctions occur sentence initially or clause initially and encode the notion of ‘so/then/and
then/therefore’. They are sô and ita.

(3.372) Kor taim öte-mb ket n-ik-ao, sô kon
1SG.DAT time DX.SG-INTNS PRF ABS1-come-BEN SO 1SG.NOM
t-erar-iny-ön ket.
IRR-leave.NSG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ PRF
‘My time is coming, and I am going to leave you.’

(3.373) Re Yesu ouyain-a seg au-o-nj, ita iuwat-o-nj ket.
REL.PST Jesus teach-NMLZ finish become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ then leave-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ PRF
‘When Jesus finished the teaching, then he left.’

3.12.2 Subordinating Conjunctions
The subordinating conjunctions are listed below. For a discussion of these see Section 5.3.2.
du ‘that (complementizer)’
re ‘when’
ra ‘if’ conditional
rako ‘if’ conditional
kiako ‘then’ contrafactual
marako ‘then’ contrafactual
ngörpu ‘until’
deda ‘so that, because (complementizer)’

(3.374) Man ra m-ek-et koda n-ek-en.
2SG.NOM IF ABS.2SG-GO-2SG.SU 1SG.NOM ALSO ABS1-GO-1SG.SU
‘If you go, I also will go.’
If you eat many fruits you will become sick.

If you would have eaten the bananas, you would have become sick.

If you would have broken your leg, you would not have been in the house.

Then he told us that “Now I am leaving you”.

The Game will go on in the night until daybreak.

### 3.13 Intensifiers

The following words make up the class of intensifiers:

- **jog** ‘true, very’
- **emb** ‘very’
- **oba** ‘very’
- **noma** ‘best’
- **moge** ‘much more’
- **naskake** ‘best’ (literally first)

The word **jog** ‘true, very’ functions as a modifier to nouns, adjectives and some adverbs. Its normal position is following the word it modifies. When modifying a noun, **jog** indicates that the noun is true, pure, etc.

#### N + INTNS (–jog)

- **rōga** ‘man’
- **rōgajog** ‘mature man who got married’
- **tungg** ‘village’
- **tunggjog** ‘main village’
- **tunggiam** ‘villager’
- **tunggiamjog** ‘true village man’
- **yōt** ‘word’
- **yōtjog** ‘true word’
- **nyō** ‘water’
- **nyōjog** ‘pure water’

It can indicate specificness, exactly like English does with the intensifier ‘very’. In this sense **jog** is also used to intensify pronouns (**tiina-jog** ‘his very own’).
When the intensifier *jog* is attached to an adjective, it indicates the meaning ‘true/pure/real/very.’

**ADJ + INTNS (–jog)**

- *b’ogöl* ‘good’  
  - *b’ogöljog* ‘very good’
- *ukoi* ‘big’  
  - *ukojog* ‘very big’
- *mulmul* ‘yellow’  
  - *mulmuljog* ‘true/pure/real yellow’
- *sobijog* ‘little’  
  - *sobijogjog* ‘very little’

(3.382) Ötre ngel **mulmul-jog e.**  
the sweet.potato yellow-INTNS ABS.SG  
‘The sweet potato is real yellow(colour).’

‘The suffix -jog can also intensify some adverbial nouns.

**ADV + INTNS (–jog)**

- *stawar* ‘morning’  
  - *stawarjog* ‘early in the morning’
- *sömana* ‘afternoon’  
  - *sömanajog* ‘late in the afternoon’
- *yuru* ‘edge’  
  - *yurujog* ‘the very end of the edge’
- *pumb* ‘high’  
  - *pumbjog* ‘very high’

(3.383) Röga ma opima menon **stawar-jog-önd o sömana-jog-önd.**  
man not DX.EX.PL going morning-INTNS-LOC or afternoon-INTNS-LOC  
‘People do not walk early in the morning or late in the afternoon.’

The intensifier is also found on adverbs formed with the locative adverbializer *pu.*

**ADV(locative) + INT (-jog)**

- *walapu* ‘garden place’  
  - *walapujog* ‘right in the garden’
- *ognapu* ‘cooking place’  
  - *ognapujog* ‘right in the cooking place’
- *unduatapu* ‘finishing place’  
  - *unduatapujog* ‘real finishing time’

The word -emb/mb intensifies pronouns, deixis markers, and modality particles.

(3.384) **Ton-t-emb jö röga.**  
3NOM-NOM.SG-INTNS PRED man  
‘He is the very man.’
3.14 Relativizer

The relativizer is *re*. The relativizer either directly follows the noun or pronoun which is relativized or it combines with a deixis marker or interrogative pronoun referring to the noun which is relativized. For a more detailed discussion see sections 4.1.4 and 5.3.2 on relative clauses.

3.15 Modality Particles

The following list shows the modality particles in Wipi. They indicate the aspect of the clause. Their position is either preceding or following the subject, or preceding or following the verb. The subjunctive particles can go with irrealsis verb forms.

- *ke~ket* ‘perfect’
- *dor* ‘near future’
- *dem* ‘remote future’
- *yama* ‘subjunctive’ (potential)
- *rako* ‘subjunctive’ (obligation)
- *pop* ‘unsuccessful’
‘He ate the sweet potato already.’

‘When finished (then) we came to the village.’

‘I will go in this afternoon.’

‘I will go tomorrow.’

‘Mine may be around here.’

‘If a boat comes, I might to to Daru.’

‘If you will sit, I will sit too’

‘You should go to Daru.’

‘We tried to give him medicine, but he said that "Don't give me medicine.'

The perfect aspect particle \textit{ke} can be reduplicated to express continuation.

‘They continually ate food (until) they were full.’

\subsection*{3.16 Predicate Marker}

Equative predicates optionally get the predicate marker \textit{jö} as their final element. The equative predicate marker \textit{jö} may not occur when the subject is a proper noun.
3.17 Pro verb
Wipi has one pro-verb \textit{seg}, which literally means ‘finish’. It does not get inflected but it can come in a clause accompanied by an aspect marker. It is used in tail-head linking on the discourse level. It summarizes the previous sentence, indicating that that action was completed and that we are now moving on to the next action. The pro-verb often comes by itself and functions as an adverbial clause. In such cases it can be translated by ‘then’ or ‘and then’.

\begin{verbatim}
(3.405) Seg yam b'ögä to-daka soro au-to tua b'u-war pölwa.
finish uninitiated child 3SG.NOM-also anger become-PM.RM.PST3PL 3NSG.DAT father-PL ALL
'And then those small children also became angry to their fathers.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(3.406) Seg tua mog-war tua b'u-war erark-öto, b'ua nata
finish 3NSG.DAT mother-PL 3NSG.DAT father-PL leave-PM.RM.PST3PL bush inside.SG
u-en-o-ŋi ii kōma, döde ger kōma ogen-a-ya
go.PL-REP-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ cry with and song with name-BEN-NMLZ
da Sagur ger.
CNJ Sagur song
Then they left their fathers and their mothers, wandered around the bush while crying and singing a song named Sagur.
\end{verbatim}

3.18 Interjections
The following list shows the interjections that are commonly used. These may occur in isolation or adjacent to a longer utterance. They may be emphasized by high lengthened voice or by reduplication.

\begin{verbatim}
ôwö \quad \text{‘yes’}
öö \quad \text{‘yes, agreed’}
nai \quad \text{‘no’}
ka \quad \text{‘no’}
ömunje/ömunjoge \quad \text{‘true’}
ötemb \quad \text{‘it is’ (affirmative answer)}
simesime \quad \text{‘welcome’}
manoo/mada emboo \quad \text{‘so long/good bye .2SG’}
wönoo/wöda emboo \quad \text{‘so long/ good bye. 2NSG’}
sötek \quad \text{‘thanks’}
wöy \quad \text{‘exclamation of fright’}
kö \quad \text{‘exclamation of surprise’}
nömæ \quad \text{‘wonderful’}
sebore \quad \text{‘hello/welcome,’ borrowed word from Bine language}
yawö \quad \text{‘so long/good bye,’ borrowed word from Kiwai language}
\end{verbatim}
(3.407) **Owö, kon ke n-etk-m-ön söm sömana.**  
Yes 1SG.NOM PERF ABS1-come-YD.PST-1SG.SBJ yesterday afternoon  
‘Yes, I came yesterday afternoon.’

(3.408) **Ka, kon ma singi-en.**  
No 1SG.NOM NEG love-1SG.SBJ  
‘No, I do not want.’

(3.409) **Söteket, moina b’ogöl mule.**  
Thanks 2SG.GEN good action  
‘Thanks for your good action.’

### 3.19 Question Particle

Questions optionally get the question marker *(w)öi*. This question marker can come both clause initially and clause finally.

(3.410) **Nangga e *(wöi)*?**  
what ABS.SG (QUES)  
‘What is this?’

(3.411) **Wöi, liamog kom na erar-iny-öt-öi?**  
QUES how many leftovers ABS.PST leave-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ-QUES  
‘How many did you leave the rest?’

(3.412) **Man ke wöko seg y-omn-öt-öi?**  
2SG.NOM PRF work finish ABS.3SG-do-2SG.SBJ-QUES  
‘Did you finish the work?’
4. Phrase Level

4.1 Noun Phrases

4.1.1 Modified Noun Phrase
The noun phrase functions as subject, object or indirect object on the clause level. The noun phrase consists of a pronoun or a noun which can be modified. We can posit the basic structure of the noun phrase as in [4.1]:

[4.1] NP \(\rightarrow\) \{ (Mod)* N (Mod)* \} 
\{ Pronoun \}

There are some restrictions on what modifiers can precede and what modifiers can follow the head of the phrase. Some modifiers can come in either slot. The preceding modifier is underlined in [4.1] to indicate that most modifiers precede the noun. Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of modifiers that precede the noun. The number of modifiers following the noun seems to be limited to two. A more specified structure is found in [4.2].

[4.2] NP \(\rightarrow\) (DEM) (POSS) (NUM) (ADJP)* N (ADJP)* (POSS) (QUANT) (INTS) (PP)

This expansion of the noun phrase is rather artificial of course. The normal number of modifiers in a noun phrase does not exceed two or three. The order of the modifiers generally follows the order in [4.2], but it is not rigid; the numeral, adjective and possessive can swap positions.

It seems like all adjectives can either precede or follow the head noun (the choice of position is probably dependent on focus and/or emphasis). So far we found only one exception; the adjective \textit{ukoi} ‘big’, can only occur preceding the head noun.

There does not seem to be any restriction on the order of the adjectives among themselves. Quality, colour and size can be combined in any order. The adjective \textit{ukoi} ‘big’, is again an exception; it cannot follow a color adjective.

\begin{verbatim}
(4.3) ôtre koina ukoi nòmog timtim otomanti yongg
      DX.REL.SG 1SG.GEN big two black good dog
      ‘those two good big black dog of mine’

(4.4) opi noa b’ogôl ukoi timtim yongg koina
      DXPL three good big black dog 1SG.GEN
      ‘Those three good big black dogs of mine’
\end{verbatim}

\(^{9}\) The asterisk indicates that these modifiers are recursive, i.e. more than one is possible.
(4.5) osi nömog sobijog udureni öröki peba
donog small striped written paper
‘those two small lined written papers’

(4.6) PNG ma gou komkisa
PNG GEN ground all
‘the whole country of PNG’

(4.7) b’ogöl metmet öwöu kököp
good sweet food INTNS
‘really good tasty food’

(4.8a) ukoi yongg
big dog
‘big dog’

(4.8b) *yongg ukoi

(4.9a) ukoi timtim yongg
big black dog
‘big black dog’

(4.9b) *timtim ukoi yongg

(4.10a) paib yongg
five dog
‘five dogs’

(4.10b) *yongg paib

(4.11) timtim yongg mijag koina
black dog big 1SG.GEN
‘my big black dog’

(4.12) koina yongg mijag timtim
1SG.GEN dog big black
‘my big black dog’

(4.13a) koina ukoi timtim yongg
1SG.GEN big black dog
‘my big black dog’

(4.13b) *yongg mijag timtim koina
4.1.2 Coordinate Noun Phrases

Noun phrases can be coordinated by simple apposition, by a coordinating conjunction or by a combination of both.

NP*  (CNJ)  NP

Coordinating conjunctions are döde, ö, ake, odede, and o.

4.1.2.1 conjoined NP

Noun phrases can be conjoined by just putting them next to each other in a simple apposition:

(4.14)  tua  mog-war,  tua  b’u-war
       3NSG.DAT  mother-PL  3NSG.DAT  father-PL
‘their mothers and their fathers’

(4.15)  ngong,  wòba,  auam
laughter  game  shouting
‘laughter, game, (and) shouting’

(4.16)  b’eat,  dia,  b’om,  t-edrök-anj.
wallaby  deer  pig  IRR-kill.NSG-PM.PRES3
‘They will kill wallabies, deer, pigs.’

(4.17)  komkisa  röga,  kongga,  b’öga
all  man  woman  child
‘all men, women, and children’

(4.18)  Kon  singi  nömog  gidap,  koina  pen,  koina  peba.
1SG.NOM  want  two  thing  1SG.GEN  pen  1SG.GEN  paper
‘I want two things; my pen and my paper.’

(4.19)  öte  röga,  ti  kongga,  b’öga
DX.SG  man  3SG.DAT  woman  child
‘that man, his wife and child’

Besides apposition, NPs can be conjoined by a coordinating conjunction which comes in between the NPs it conjoins. The phrasal conjunctions are döde, ake and ö.

Döde is the regular, unmarked conjunction, used for conjoining any combination of two NPs.

(4.20)  Sani  döde  ti  b’öga
Sani  and  his  child
‘Sani and his child’
The conjunction *ake* is used for set pairs/combinations that always go together in a fixed order.

(4.23) *rōga ake kongga*

man and woman

‘man and woman’

(4.24) *b’u ake mog*

father and mother

‘parents(father and mother)’

(4.25) *ngömngai ake kewar*

girl and boy

‘girl and boy’

The conjunction *ö* is used in lists, usually in combination with apposition. The conjunction *ö* occurs in between the last two NPs of the list.

(4.26) *minj, b’iena, kal ö nönda*

sorcery, adultery, ritual and some

‘sorcery, adultery, ritual and some others’

(4.27) *Ara kip, Podar kip, Mungguar kip, Ikaru kip, ö Ibangör kip*

Ara well, Podar well, Mungguar well, Ikaru well and Ibanger well

‘The Ara well, the Podar well, the Mungguar well, the Ikaru well and the Ibanger well’

4.1.2.2 alternative NP

The alternative conjunction is *o* ‘or’.

(4.28) *Misinari o nönda rōga yör opumit-a omnök dor.*

pastor or some man eye pray-NMLZ make TD.FUT

‘Pastor or some man will pray.’

(4.29) *Rōga, ton b’eat, dia, b’om o wiya t-edörk-anj.*

man 3NOM wallaby, deer, pig or cassowary IRR-kill.NSG-PM.PRES3

‘People they will kill wallabies, deer, or cassowaries.’

4.1.2.3 ellipsis of modifiers

Ellipsis can take place when two (or more) coordinate NPs have identical modifiers. In such a case the modifiers of the second (and following) NPs get omitted.
(4.30) \textit{B’ogöl stawar o sōmana}

\begin{itemize}
\item good morning or afternoon
\item ‘Good morning or good afternoon.’
\end{itemize}

\subsection*{4.1.3 Appositional Noun Phrases}

An appositional Noun Phrase consists of an obligatory Noun Phrase, the Head, preceded by a Noun Phrase which modifies the head.

\begin{itemize}
\item NP $\rightarrow$ NP N (Head)
\end{itemize}

\begin{enumerate}
\item (4.31) \textit{b’ōga b’om}
\begin{itemize}
\item child
\item pig
\item ‘piglet’
\end{itemize}

\item (4.32) \textit{Yamega tungg}
\begin{itemize}
\item Yamega village
\item ‘Yamega village’
\end{itemize}

\item (4.33) \textit{ukoi nyō rōga}
\begin{itemize}
\item big
\item name
\item man
\item ‘big man’
\end{itemize}

\item (4.34) \textit{met orang-a rōga}
\begin{itemize}
\item house
\item build-NMLZ
\item man
\item ‘house builder’
\end{itemize}

\item (4.35) \textit{mor yōnggan Sanigiri}
\begin{itemize}
\item 2SG.DAT younger.brother
\item Sanigiri
\item ‘your younger brother Sanigiri’
\end{itemize}

\item (4.36) \textit{kon mor apa Andiwa,}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT in-law
\item Andiwa
\item ‘I, your in-law, Andiwa,’
\end{itemize}

One use of the appositional phrase is to express comparative and superlative relations. The adjective that is compared appears in its nominalized form as a modifying NP to the head.

\begin{enumerate}
\item (4.37) \textit{kemba, metmet-iam}
\begin{itemize}
\item banana
\item sweet-one
\item ‘the banana, the sweet one (the sweeter banana; implying that the others are not as sweet)’
\end{itemize}

\item (4.38) \textit{kemba, metmet-iam-jog}
\begin{itemize}
\item banana
\item sweet-one-INT
\item ‘the banana, the very sweet one (the sweetest banana)’
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

Nouns describing places frequently occur in appositional phrases with the following locational nouns as heads.
**4.1.4 Relativised Noun Phrases**

The relativised NP consists of an obligatory NP followed by an obligatory relative clause.

\[
\text{NP REL.CL} \\
\]

The relative clause is always marked by some form of the relativizer *re*. For details on relative clauses see Section 5.3.2.

\[(4.41)\]  
\[
[\text{Yongg mijag timtim}] \text{ [ötre rõga y-ong]} \text{ Yamega-wa ke iik.} \\
\text{dog big black DX.REL.SG man REL-bite Yamega-ALL PRF go} \\
\text{‘The big black dog that bit the man already went to Yamega.’} \\
\]

\[(4.42)\]  
\[
[\text{nggamog wóko omnök-a opi-re wör, wala, odede gasa}.].. \\
\text{what work make-NMLZ REL.PL taro garden like.this thing} \\
\text{‘any kinds of working which are taro, garden like things...’} \\
\]

\[(4.43)\]  
\[
[\text{Rõga}] \text{ [ye-pia re u-eny b’enga tungg-ke], öwöu ötre wa ma jö.} \\
\text{man who-NOM.NSG REL GO.REP other village-ABL food REL.SG 2NSG.DAT PURP PRED} \\
\text{‘People who came from other village, this food is yours.’} \\
\]

\[(4.44)\]  
\[
[\text{peba}] \text{ [rõna-re man n-ötmukit-o-t]}... \\
\text{paper which-REL 2SG.NOM ABS1-send-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ} \\
\text{‘paper(letter) which you sent me...’} \\
\]
4.2 Verb Phrases

4.2.1 Simple Verb Phrase
A simple verb phrase consists of a verb. The verb can appear as present or past participle in combination with a fully inflected directional or stative verb to express continuous aspect. The verb phrases can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive, depending on what sort of verb they have.

\[ \text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{Participle})* \text{V} \]

(4.45)  
\[ \text{Kon Yamega-wa } n\text{-ek-en} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM Yamega-ALL } 1\text{ABS-go-1SG.SBJ} \]
'\text{I am going to Yamega}'

(4.46)  
\[ \text{Kon omnök-a omnök-a n\text{-ek-en}.} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM make-NMLZ make-NMLZ } 1\text{ABS-go-1SG.SBJ} \]
'I continue to make.'

(4.47)  
\[ \text{JeWuk wöngawönga ke imd-a n\text{-ii-en-o-nj}.} \]
\[ \text{JaeWook camera ABL take-NMLZ } 1\text{ABS-bring-REP-ABS.PL-RM.PST-3SG.AU} \]
'\text{JaeWook was taking pictures of us with the camera.}'

(4.48)  
\[ \text{Rorte ötlit-i y\text{-öböm}.} \]
\[ \text{post plant-PAS ABS.3SG-stay} \]
'The post is standing.'

4.2.2 Complex Verb Phrase

4.2.2.1 adjunct verb phrase
Wipi has many complex verb phrases which consist of an adjunct plus a verb. Usually the verb has a generic meaning like ‘do’, ‘make’ etc. The adjunct precedes the verb immediately. The only things that can come in between the adjunct and the verb are the absolutive marker and a negator. Usually the meaning of the adjunct verbs can be derived by combining the meaning of both components.

\[ \text{uj omöny death + do} \rightarrow \text{‘kill’} \]
\[ \text{uj omnök death + make} \rightarrow \text{‘kill’} \]
\[ \text{yöt omöny word + do} \rightarrow \text{‘inform’} \]
\[ \text{umör omöny knowledge + do} \rightarrow \text{‘inform, say’} \]

(4.49)  
\[ \text{Ton umör n-omn-o-nj da “kon n\text{-ek-en.”}} \]
\[ 3\text{SG.NOM knowledge ABS1-do-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ that } 1\text{SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ} \]
'He told me “I will go.”'

(4.50)  
\[ \text{Ton ke yepa b’om uj y-omöny.} \]
\[ 3\text{NOM PRF one pig death ABS.3SG-do} \]
'He already killed the pig.'

(4.51)  
\[ \text{Kon men uj maka m-omny-en.} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM 2SG.ACC death NEG 2ABS-do-1SG.SBJ} \]
‘I did not kill you’

(4.52) Kon kasa mulmul e y-omny-en.
1SG.NOM table yellow ABS.SG 3ABS-do-1SG.SBJ
‘I made the tables yellow’

Usually the adjuncts are nouns or adjectives which can stand alone. However, some adjuncts do not carry meaning in isolation.

sap-otenj  ??? + come.back ‘fall down’

(4.53) Yöto ton sap otend-o-nj onggöt pöpmet-önd.
before 3NOM ??? come.back-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ this place-LOC
‘Before he fell down at this place.’

Wipi also has some adjunct verbs where the verb does not have a meaning on its own and only occurs in combination with the adjunct.

yöt weg word + ??? ‘sleep’(sg/dl subject)
yör opumis eye + ??? ‘pray/worship’

(4.54) Yu ton b’ua-nd yöt t-eg dor.
today 3NOM bush-LOC word IRR-??? TD.FUT
‘Today he will sleep in the bush.’

(4.55) yör r-opumis-in-um.
eye HORT.NSG-pray-ABS.PL -1PL.SBJ
‘Let us(pl) pray!’

Wipi also has some adjunct verbs where both components can occur in isolation, but where the meaning does not automatically follow from the combination of the components.

yör ong eye + bite ‘see’
yöt ungen word + ripen ‘sleep’(pl subject)
ara ömok voice + trim ‘call’

4.2.2.2 complex equative verb phrase
Besides the adjunct verb phrase there is another type of complex verb phrase; the complex equative verb phrase. The complex equative verb phrase consists of a noun or an adjective plus a form of the verb öbn ‘to stay’ or the verb ‘to become’. The complex equative verb phrases are like the adjunct verbs except that the noun or the adjective of the complex equative VP describes a characteristic of the subject of the clause, whereas the noun or adjective in the adjunct verb phrase adds meaning to the verb.

(4.56) Ton kopa na y-öbny-öm.
3NOM sick ABS.PST ABS.3SG-stay-YD.PST
‘He was sick’
4.3 Adjectival Phrases

The adjectival phrase consists of an obligatory adjective, the head of the phrase, preceded or followed by an optional modifier. The modifiers are intensifiers or adverbs, and in some cases modifying nouns (example (4.60e)).

\[\text{AdjP} \rightarrow (\text{Mod}) \text{ Adj} (\text{Mod})\]

The adjectival phrase functions as an attribute in the noun phrase or as predicate in equative clauses.

\[(4.60)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{ukoi-jog} & \text{big + INTNS} & \rightarrow & \text{‘very big’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{sobijog-jog} & \text{little + INTNS} & \rightarrow & \text{‘very small’} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{mulmul-jog} & \text{yellow + INTNS} & \rightarrow & \text{‘real yellow’} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{b’ogol mulmul-jog} & \text{good + yellow + INTNS} & \rightarrow & \text{‘good very yellow’} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{ngömbla-jog} & \text{cool + INTNS} & \rightarrow & \text{‘very cool’} \\
\text{f.} & \quad \text{kemba baram b’ogà} & \text{banana + little + child} & \rightarrow & \text{‘very little banana’} \\
\text{g.} & \quad \text{ukoi kököp b’ögà} & \text{big + big + child} & \rightarrow & \text{‘very big child’} \\
\text{h.} & \quad \text{oba uski röga} & \text{very + tall + man} & \rightarrow & \text{‘very tall man’}
\end{align*}
\]

Wipi does not have comparative or superlative morphology. These relations can be expressed by intensifying the adjective or by the use of a comparative or superlative clause (see the section on clause level). The exclusive sense of the superlative cannot be expressed in the adjectival phrase. The closest approach is using the nominalized form of the adjective in an appostional NP; cf Section 4.1.3.

\[(4.61)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{kemba baram} & \text{‘small banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana small} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{kemba baram b’ögà} & \text{‘very small banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana small child} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{kemba baram b’ögà-jog} & \text{‘very, very small banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana small child-very}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(4.62)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{kemba metmet} & \text{‘sweet banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana sweeter} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{kemba metmet-iam} & \text{‘sweeter one banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana sweet-one} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{kemba metmet-jog} & \text{‘very sweet banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana sweet-very} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{kemba metmet-iam-jog} & \text{‘the sweetest banana’} \\
& \quad \text{banana sweet-one-very}
\end{align*}
\]
4.4 Adverbial Phrase

AdvP → ADV (INT)

The adverbial phrase consists of an obligatory adverb, optionally followed by an intensifier. The adverbial phrase can fill any slot in the clause except for the subject, object or verb slot. The adverbial phrase can function as a locative phrase, temporal phrase or manner phrase.

Locative

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Kon} & \text{öndama emb} & \text{seg} & \text{t-a-en.}
\end{array}
\]

1SG.NOM here INTNS finish IRR-become-1SG.SBJ

‘I will finish(die) right here.’

Temporal

(4.64)

a. \text{stawar} + \text{jog} \rightarrow \text{stawarjog} ‘very early in the morning’

b. \text{bila} + \text{jog} \rightarrow \text{bilajog} ‘really old time’

c. \text{mep} + \text{jog} \rightarrow \text{mepjog} ‘real tomorrow’

Manner

(4.65)

a. \text{muskemuske} + \text{jog} \rightarrow \text{muskejog} ‘very slowly’

b. \text{mogamoga} + \text{jog} \rightarrow \text{mogamogajog} ‘very fearfully’

c. \text{gojagoja} + \text{jog} \rightarrow \text{gojagojajog} ‘very quickly’

4.5 Postpositional Phrase

The postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory postposition, the head of the phrase, preceded by a noun phrase or demonstrative phrase.

PP → \{ NP \} POST

\{DP\}

Postpositional phrases can occur in any position of the clause. The postpositional phrase can function as a locative phrase, temporal phrase, manner phrase, accompaniment phrase, purpose phrase, or instrumental phrase.

Locative

(4.66)

a. \text{met} + \text{önd} \rightarrow \text{metönd} ‘at the house’

b. \text{met} + \text{wa} \rightarrow \text{met wa} ‘to the house’

c. \text{met} + \text{ke} \rightarrow \text{met ke} ‘from the house’

d. \text{ag} + \text{önd} \rightarrow \text{agönd} ‘at the mother’
Kon met wa n-ek-en.
1SG.NOM house ALL ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
'I go to the house.'

Kon met-önd y-oramit-o-nd.
1SG.NOM house-LOC ABS,3SG-put-RM,PST-1SG.SBJ
'I put it at the house.'

**Temporal**

(4.69)

a. stawar + önd → stawarönd ‘in the morning’
   morningLOC
b. yepa wön + önd → yepa wönönd ‘at one time’
   one time LOC
c. Desemba + nata → Desemba nata ‘in December’
   December in

**Manner**

(4.72)

a. moga + köma → moga köma ‘with fear’
   b. sam + köma → sam köma ‘with happiness’

(4.73) Ton moga köma b’ökenab’ökena ötenj ti tungg-wa.
   3NOM fear with running return 3SG.DAT village-ALL
   ‘He ran back to his village with fear.’

(4.74) Men b’ogl-e sam köma woko t-amnök-in-dam.
   1NSG.INCL good-ABS.SG happiness with work IRR-make-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ
   ‘We must work with happiness.’

**Accompaniment**

(4.75)

a. abu + köma → abu köma ‘with father’
   b. Yesum nyö + köma → Yesum nyö köma ‘with Jesus’ name’

(4.76) Kon abu köma n-ik-o-nda de bod-wa gony-öm.
   1SG.NOM father with ABS1-go-RMPST-DLSU DX stream-ALL bath-DAT
   ‘I went to the stream for bathing with my father.’
(4.77) Sön nyō m-uas-u Yesu-m nyō köma.
INSG.EXCL.NOM name ABS.2SG-ask-1PL.SBJ Jesus-DAT name with
‘We pray in the name of Jesus.’

**Purpose**

(4.78)

a. gony + ma → gony ma ‘for washing’
b. òwòu +ma → òwòu ma ‘for food/ for eating food’

(4.79) Sön gony ma n-ik-ia.
INSG.EXCL.NOM bath PURP ABS1-go-DL.SBJ
“We are going for washing.”

(4.80) Molkongga òwòu ma ek-m-a sopapu-wa.
couple food PURP go-YD.PST-DL.SBJ garden-ALL
‘The couple went to garden for food.’

**Causative**

(4.81)

a. moga + pöp → mogapöp ‘because of fear’
b. rōga + map → rōga map ‘because of the man’
c. omna + map → omnōka map ‘because of doing it’
d. onggöt mop +pöp → onggöt mopöp ‘because of this reason’

(4.82) Kon moga-pöp sana b’-öskan-t-o-nd kaktötö köma.
1SGNOM fear-CAUS sago REFLL-throw-ABS.PL-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ trembling with
‘I threw the sago away trembling because of the fear.’

(4.83) Onggöt rōga map kon n-ek-en met-wa.
DEM man CAUS 1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ house-ALL
‘I am going to the house because of this man.’

(4.84) Yesu merina negör awör omn-a map uj a-o-nj.
Jesus INSG.INCL.Gen sin nothing do-NMLZ PURP dead become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Jesus died for taking away our sins.’

(4.85) Onggöt mop pöp ton iik-o-nj.
DEM reason CAUS 3NOM go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘Because of this reason he went.’

**Instrumental**

(4.86) yapa + ke → yapa ke ‘with axe’

(4.87) Ton yapa ke na ul y-ög-o-nj.
3NOM axe with ABS.PST tree ABS3SG-cut-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘He cut the tree with the axe.’
4.6 Demonstrative Phrase

The demonstrative phrase consists of an obligatory deictic marker that functions as a demonstrative. The DP can fill the subject or object slot in the clause, or can function as a complement in a postpositional phrase.

\[ \text{DP} \rightarrow \text{deictic marker [+DEM]} \]

(4.88) \( Önte-iام \ y-orak-et? \)
\[ \text{DX.SP.SG-NMLZ ABS.3SG-find-2SG.SBJ} \]
‘Do you find this one?’

(4.89) \( \text{Onggöt kake kon n-ek-o-nd met-wa.} \)
\[ \text{this after 1SG.NOM ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ house-ALL} \]
‘After this I went to the house.’

4.7 Numeral Phrase

The numeral phrase consists of an obligatory numeral. The numeral phrase can fill the subject or object slot in the clause. This could also be analyzed as a noun phrase consisting of a modifying numeral and a non-overt noun.

\[ \text{NumP} \rightarrow \text{Numeral} \]

(4.90) \( \text{Yepa Yamega-wa iik ö siks Daru-wa ui.} \)
\[ \text{one Yamega-ALL go and six Daru-ALL GO.PL} \]
‘One went to Yamega and six went to Daru.’

(4.91) \( \text{Kon ke paib akas-iny-ён.} \)
\[ \text{1SG.NOM PRF five take.NSG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ} \]
‘I already took five.’
5. Clause Level

5.1 Non-verbal Clauses

5.1.1 Equative Clause
The equative clause consists of an obligatory equative predicate, optionally preceded by a noun phrase functioning as subject. This is the normal order. However, it is also possible for the subject to follow the predicate for emphasis purposes. The other optional elements are locative or temporal adverbial or postpositional phrases and the perfect aspect particle *ke*, which can either precede or follow the predicate.


Equative Predicate → {NP } + Absolutive Marker (Equative Predicate Marker)
   {AdjP}
   {DemP}
   {NumP}
   {PP}

The absolutive marker agrees with the subject of the clause in person, number and gender. Tense can be expressed in equative clauses but then they need to have a fully inflected verb and they classify as intransitive clauses. See section 5.2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPs</th>
<th>Equative Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(5.1)</em> Goumijag meraina gejaröga e.</td>
<td>world 1NSG.INCL.GEN enemy ABS.SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The world is our enemy.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(5.2)</em> (NPs) Equative Predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.NOM happy ABS1</td>
<td>‘I am happy.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(5.3)</em> Otade ton kopa e.</td>
<td>now 3NOM sick ABS.3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He is sick now.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(5.4)</em> Kon Yamega ka-en.</td>
<td>1SG.NOM Yamega ABL-ABS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I am from Yamega.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(5.5)</em> Ton sam e jö.</td>
<td>3NOM happy ABS.SG PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He is happy.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The equative predicate marker *jö* is obligatory absent when the subject is a proper noun.

5.1.2 Existential Clause

The existential clause consists of an obligatory existential deictic marker. It is optionally preceded by a noun phrase functioning as subject. The subject can be left out depending on the context. This is the normal order. However, it is also possible for the subject to follow the predicate for emphasis purposes. The other optional elements are locative or temporal Adverbial or Postpositional Phrases and the perfect aspect particle *ke* which can either precede or follow the predicate.


The existential deictic marker agrees with the subject in person and number. Some existential deictic markers are inherently negative.

5.1.3 Possessive Clauses

Possession is expressed by non-verbal clauses. There are two ways of expressing possession. The first is by a dative construction where the possessed item is the subject of the clause and the possessor appears in the dative case. There is an absolutive marker or an existential deictic marker which agrees with the subject (the possessed item).

The second way has the possessor as the subject and the possessed item in a postpositional phrase with *köma* ‘with’. The absolutive marker then agrees with the possessor.
In both cases the clauses can have locative, temporal adverbial or postpositional phrases, either clause initially or clause finally.

**Poss.Cl →**

a) \[(AdvP/PP)\] Possessor (Dat) Possessed \(\text{(Subj)}\), Abs Marker

b) \[(AdvP/PP)\] Possessor (Subj), Possessed (PP) Abs Marker

\[(5.12)\] Yu kor eit yongg im.
today 1SG.DAT eight dog ABS.PL
‘Today I have eight dogs.’

\[(5.13)\] Opima ti orkak?
DX.EX.PL 3SG.DAT tooth
‘Does it have teeth?’

\[(5.14)\] God öta singi mera-nöm.
God DX.EX.SG love 1NSG.DAT-DAT
‘God has love for us.’

\[(5.15)\] Yu kon eit yongg köma en.
today 1SG.NOM eight dog with ABS1
‘Today I have eight dogs.’

These possession clauses can be negated by using the negative form of the existential deitic marker.

\[(5.16)\] Aurim ti orkak.
nothing.PL 3SG.DAT tooth
‘It does not have teeth.’

### 5.2 Verbal Clauses

#### 5.2.1 Word Order And Grammatical Relations in the Clause

The basic word order in Wipi is SOV. Wipi is not rigidly verb final, as adverbial phrases can easily follow the verb. But also the order SOV itself is not very strict. The object can be fronted for focus or emphasis. It can also appear following the verb. At this point it is not quite clear what the motivations for these object movements are.

Grammatical relations are indicated by word order in the regular clauses and by agreement on the verb. Pronouns always carry case, thus showing how they relate in the clause. Nominative and absolutive case markers are available to subject and object nouns to indicate the grammatical relations when necessary.
5.2.2 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses consist of an obligatory Intransitive VP, preceded and/or followed by optional elements. An intransitive VP is a VP with an intransitive or absolutive verb as head. The following formula gives the basic word order for the intransitive clause, with the optional elements in brackets. The aspect marker usually precedes or follows the VP or the subject. The absolutive marker appears either directly following the subject or following an adverbial or postpositionial phrase. The absolutive marker agrees with the subject of the intransitive clause.

\[
\text{S} \rightarrow (\text{AdvP/PP})^* (\text{Asp}) (\text{NPsubj}) (\text{Asp}) (\text{Abs}) (\text{AdvP/PP}) (\text{Abs}) (\text{Asp}) \ V_{\text{intr}} (\text{Asp}) (\text{AdvP/PP})^*
\]

(5.7) \[N\text{-ek-en.} \]
\[
\text{ABS1-go-1SGSU} \quad \text{‘I am going.’}
\]

(5.18) \[\text{Yepa wön-önd ton ket iik-o-nj Galilia sòpa yuru-önd.} \]
\[
\text{one time-LOC 3NOM PRF go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ Galileee sea side-LOC} \quad \text{‘One time he went to the side of the Galilee sea.’}
\]

(5.19) \[\text{Kibam-im erbend-anj.} \]
\[
\text{stick-ABS.PL break-PM.PRES3} \quad \text{‘The sticks break.’}
\]

(5.20) \[\text{Yepa-e Yamega-wa iik, paib-im Daru-wa ui.} \]
\[
\text{one-ABS.SG Yamega-ALL go five-ABS.PL Daru-ALL go.PL} \quad \text{‘One went to Yamega, five went to Daru.’}
\]

(5.21) \[\text{Ton met-wa-e omit-i y-öböm.} \]
\[
\text{3NOM house-ALL-ABS.SG sit-PAS ABS.3SG-stay} \quad \text{‘He is sitting in the house.’}
\]

(5.22) \[\text{Kon n-ek-en dem de Ukarumpa-wa, kor kongga ake b’öga köma.} \]
\[
\text{1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT DX Ukarumpa-ALL 1SG.DAT wife and child with} \quad \text{‘I will go to Ukarumpa with my wife and children.’}
\]

(5.23) \[\text{Ton Podemar-wa na y-öbn-o-nj} \]
\[
\text{3NOM Podemar-ALL ABS.PST ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ} \quad \text{‘He was living at Podemar.’}
\]
Equative intransitive clauses are regular intransitive clauses where the VP is a complex equative VP.

\[
\text{S} \quad \text{V}
\]

(5.24)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Ton} & \quad \text{pailet (e)} \\
3\text{NOM} & \quad \text{pilot (ABS.3SG.PRED)} \\
\text{t-au} & \quad \text{IRR-become} \\
\text{dem.} & \quad \text{RM.FUT}
\end{align*}

‘He will become a pilot.’

\[
\text{S} \quad \text{V}
\]

(5.25)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Ton} & \quad \text{kopa na} \\
3\text{NOM} & \quad \text{sick} \\
\text{w-òbny-òm.} & \quad \text{ABS.PST} \quad \text{ABS.3SG.F-stay-YD.PST}
\end{align*}

‘She was sick.’

5.2.3 Transitive Clauses

Transitive Clauses consist of an obligatory Transitive VP, preceded and/or followed by optional elements. The following formula gives the basic wordorder for the transitive clause, with the optional elements in brackets. The Aspect marker usually precedes or follows the VP or the subject. The Absolutive marker appears either directly following the object or a Adverbial or Postpositional phrase. The absolutive marker agrees with the object of the transitive clause.

\[
\text{S} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{V}
\]


(5.26)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Y-okat-o-nj.} & \\
\text{ABS.3SG-take-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ}
\end{align*}

‘He took it.’

(5.27)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Kewar} & \quad \text{b’öga-p yepa b’eat y-òp-m-i.} \\
\text{boy} & \quad \text{child-NOM.PL one wallaby} \\
\text{ABS.3SG-shoot-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ}
\end{align*}

‘The boys shot a wallaby.’

(5.28)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Onggöt} & \quad \text{kake röga-p ujgöm gou bora-wa oramis-i.} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{behind man-NOM.PL corpse ground} \\
\text{hole-ALL put-3PL.SBJ}
\end{align*}

‘After that people will put the corpse in the hole of the ground.’

(5.29)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Sō} & \quad \text{ton ket bodō nata tein-iny-ò.} \\
3\text{NOM} & \quad \text{PRF stream through} \\
\text{bring-ABS.PL-3SG.SBJ}
\end{align*}

‘And he already brought them at the stream.’

(5.30)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Nangga} & \quad \text{pe na man b’om y-onganj-òt?} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{CAUSE ABS.PST 2SG.NOM pig} \\
\text{ABS.3SG-kill-2SG.SBJ}
\end{align*}

‘Why did you kill the pig?’
The object can be fronted for emphasis:

(5.31)  Kwa yepe b’eat yongg-öp  y-okas-m-i.
again one wallaby dog-NOM.NSG ABS.3SG-take-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ
‘The dogs caught another wallaby.’

(5.32)  Sö tiina yötkak men t-utkunj-u.
so 3SG.GEN word 1NSG.INCL.NOM IRR-hear-1PL.SBJ
‘So we will hear his word.’

(5.33)  Timba ke trak-öt tein-o-nj Wuroi ke de moina met-wa.
timber PRF truck-NOM.SG bring-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ Wuroi ABL DX 2SG.GEN house-ALL
‘The truck brought the timber to your house from Wuroi.’

Non-pronominal objects can also follow the verb.

(5.34)  kongga wa agn-omam b’angga komkisa.
woman 2NSG.DAT cook-PM.YD.PST.2PL meat all
‘Women cooked all the meet.’

(5.35)  Kiar mijag kon yepaina nena y-omnök-en Jenesis nömo göm
sorry big 1SG.NOM one only ABS.3SG-make-1SG.SBJ Genesis second
sapta.
chapter
‘Very sorry, I did only one, Genesis chapter two.’

(5.36)  Man ukoi umör-et nya.
2SG.NOM big KNOW-2SG.SBJ way
‘You know the way well.’

5.2.4 Ditransitive Clauses
Diransitive clauses consist of an obligatory ditransitive VP, preceded and/or followed by optional elements. The following formula gives the basic word order for the transitive clause, with the optional elements in brackets. The normal position for the indirect object is preceding the direct object, but it can also follow the direct object or appear clause initially or clause finally. Pronominal indirect objects cannot follow the verb. The indirect object is either a noun phrase in the dative case or a postpositional phrase. The aspect marker usually precedes or follows the VP or the subject. The absolutive marker appears either directly following the object or following an adverbial or postpositional phrase. The absolutive marker agrees with the direct object.
(5.37)  
Y-oka-en.  
ABS.3SG-give-1SG.SBJ  
'I give it to him.'

(5.38)  
Ti b'u ke ti ngel sobijog aka-iny-öm.  
3SG.DAT father PRF 3SG.DAT sweet.potato little give.NSG-ABS.PL-YD.PST  
'His father already gave him some sweet potatoes.'

(5.39)  
Kon röga-nd kemba y-oka-en.  
1SG.NOM MAN-LOC banana ABS.3SG-give-1SG.SBJ  
'I gave the banana to the man.'

(5.40)  
kon kasa m-omnök-a-en.  
1SG.NOM table ABS.2SG-make-BEN-1SG.SBJ  
'I made a table for you.'

(5.41)  
Kor nany-war wa öwöu ei-aw-tondam.  
1SG.DAT older-PL 2NSG.DAT food take-BEN-PM.RM.PST.1/2PL  
'We took your (their) food to my older brothers.'

(5.42)  
Ton-öt kemba y-okao röga-m.  
3NOM-NOM.SG banana ABS.3SG-give MAN-DAT  
'He gave the man the banana.'

(5.43)  
Ton-öt y-okao kemba röga-m.  
3NOM-NOM.SG ABS.3SG-give banana MAN-DAT  
'He gave the man the banana.'

(5.44)  
B'ogla, yepa röga ton òta okay yöm mor-pölwa.  
good one man 3NOM DX.EX.SG give hand 2SG.DAT-ALL  
'Good, somebody will give a hand to you(help you).'

(5.45)  
Mep stawar wala wōko m-otmk-a-en dem.  
tomorrow morning garden work ABS.2SG-IRR.do-BEN-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT  
'Tomorrow morning, I will make you a garden.'
5.3 Clause Modification

5.3.1 Interrogative Clauses

5.3.1.1 polar questions

Polar questions are marked by rising intonation.

(5.48) Opima ti orkak?
DX.EX.PL 3SGDAT tooth
‘Does it have teeth?’

Besides, clauses can explicitly be made into polar questions by the question particle wöi. The particle wöi appears clause initially, clause finally or both.

(5.49) Wöi, man ke wöko seg y-omn-öt-öi?
QUES 2SG.NOM PRF work PRF 3SG-do-2SG.SBJ-QUES
‘Did you finish the work?’

(5.50) Wöi, man gou y-osk-et?
QUES 2SG.NOM ground 3SG-dig-2SG.SBJ
‘Do you dig a well?’

(5.51) Ton-ta omnök dem-öi?
3SG.NOM-only make RM.FUT-QUES
‘Will he only make it?’

The perfect aspect ke also occurs clause initially in polar questions. In a statement with perfect aspect, the marker ke must follow the subject, cf. example 5.53.

(5.52) Ke ton ötenj?
PRF 3NOM RETURN
‘Did he return?’

(5.53) Ton ke ötenj.
3NOM PRF return
‘He returned already.’
(5.54) Ke mor mog w-iik-o-nj Daru-wa?
   PRF 2SG.DAT mother ABS.3SG.go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ Daru-ALL
   ‘Did your mother go to Daru?’

(5.55) Ke m-etk-m-öt?
   PRF ABS.2SG-go-YD.PST-2SG.SBJ
   ‘Did you come back?’

Apart from the two devices above, clauses can also be made into a polar question by adding the question tag *o maka* ‘or not’ and *o ma (öta)* ‘or not exist’.

(5.56) Ton öta iik Wipim-wa, o ma öta?
   3NOM DX.EX.SG go Wipim-ALL or NEG DX.EX.SG
   ‘Is he going to Wipim, or not?’

(5.57) Ton kasa y-omnök, o maka?
   3NOM TABLE ABS.3SG.make or NEG
   ‘Did he make the table, or not?’

### 5.3.1.2 Content Questions
A content question is formed from a declarative clause by replacing the questioned element with an interrogative pronoun and moving it to clause initial position.

(5.58) Rö-e ton iik dor de Wipim-wa?
   when-ABS.SG 3NOM go.3SG TD.FUT DX Wipim-ALL
   ‘When he will go to Wipim?’

(5.59) Ye-t-e singi kon kōma menon yap-wa?
   who-NOM.SG-ABS.SG want 1SG.NOM with going grassland-ALL
   ‘Who want to go to the grassland with me?’

(5.60) Ye-na man y-ipou-et?
   who-ABS.PST 2SG.NOM ABS.3SG-hit.SG-2SG.SBJ
   ‘Whom did you hit?’

(5.61) Nangga-im aw-in-yöt?
   what-ABS.PL eat.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ
   ‘What do you eat?’

(5.62) Nangga-p-im n-ong-anj?
   what-NOM.NSG-ABS.PL ABS1-bite-PM.PRES3
   ‘What(pl) bit us(pl)?’

### 5.3.2 Relative Clauses
Relative clauses all start with the relativizer *re*, optionally preceded by an interrogative pronoun or a demonstrative deixis marker. The relativizer *re* usually combines with the deixis marker to form one phonological word, which functions as a relative pronoun. Relative clauses follow the element that is
relativised. The optional interrogative pronoun or deixis marker preceding the relativizer refers back to and agrees with the relativized element.

(5.63) Röga, [ye-pia-re u-eny b’enga tungg-ke], öwöu ötre wa ma jö. man who-NOM.NSG-REL go.REP other village-ABL food REL.SG 2NSG.DAT PURP PRED ‘People who came from other village, this food is for you.’

(5.64) peba, [röna-re man n-ötmukit-o-t...] paper which-REL 2SG.NOM ABS1-send-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ ‘paper(letter) which you sent me...’

(5.65) Yongg mijag tintendo, [ötre röga y-ong], Yamega-wa ke iik. dog big black DX.REL.SG man REL-bite Yamega-ALL PRF go ‘The big black dog which bit the man already went to Yamega.’

(5.66) Kongga [ya ma na re kon b’om w-oka-en], sam o. woman who PURP.SG ABS.PST REL 1SG.NOM pig ABS3.SG.F-give-1SG.SBJ happy ABS3.SG.F ‘The woman to whom I gave the pig is happy.’

Relative clauses can function as temporal adverbial clauses. In such cases the relativised element (eg. ‘the time’) is omitted and there is no interrogative pronoun or deixis marker. The relativizer re can be translated with ‘when’ in these clauses.

(5.67) [Re bod-wa n-ek-o-nd], kon nony-menamena omnök-a REL stream-ALL ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ 1SG.NOM thinking-wandering make-NMLZ EIN-O-ND. bring-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ ‘When I went to the stream, I continued to think about it.’

(5.68) Kon ukoi gar sam au-o-nd [re yör y-ong-o-nd] 1SG.NOM big heart happy become-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ when eye ABS.3SG-bite-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ ‘When I saw it, I was very happy in my mind.’

Relative clauses can undergo ellipsis when they contain presupposed information. The relativizer re is the only element of the relative clause that is stated in such cases. The function of the relativizer is to clarify to the hearer that the preceding element is known information. A similar ellipsis happens in Bine (Fleischmann 1981:7).

(5.69) Ukarumpa [re] dor tungg e. Ukarumpa REL mountain village ABS.SG ‘Ukarumpa (which we are talking about now) is a highlands village.’

(5.70) Sua b’u ke yöt röja na [röga re] gop auk-en-to. 1NSG.DAT father ABL word how ABS.PST man REL grave dig-REP-PM.RM.PST.3PL ‘The story from our fathers, how people (the people we just talked about; our ancestors) made graves.’
5.3.3 Comparative Clauses
Comparison can be expressed by various constructions on the clause level. One way of comparing is saying that the ‘better’ thing is not like another thing. The typical construction is shown in the following formula.

\[ X \text{ ma } \ddot{o}ja Y \text{ redöde} \quad \text{‘}X \text{ is not like } Y\text{’} \]

(5.71) Koina met ma öja e tiina redöde.
1SG.GEN house NEG like.this ABS.SG REL like.this
‘My house is better than his(My house is not like his house)’

(5.72) Kor ma öja e sam ti redöde.
1SG.DAT NEG like.that ABS.SG happy 3SG.DAT like.this
‘I am happier than he is’ (Mine is not like his happiness).

The superlative can be expressed by intensifying the adjective of the compared element and adding the phrase ‘from all people’ or ‘in the village’, as in the following example.

(5.73) Ti otmanti-jog met e komkisa röga pölke.
3SG.DAT beautiful-INTNS house ABS.SG all man ABL
‘His house is the best’ (His house is very beautiful from all the people)

5.4 Clause Operators
5.4.1 Modality Particles
Wipi expresses the aspect of the clause by separate modality particles. More discourse study is necessary as their function is not fully clear yet. They all have something to do with the definiteness of the action described by the clause. Their position is either directly preceding or following the verb or preceding or following the subject.

The particle ke(t) is used in clauses that describe actions or states that have taken place. Since the actions have already happened, we can be sure about their definiteness. Native speakers of the Wipi language often translate ke(t) with ‘already’ in English. The action has already taken place or the state has already begun. Since ke(t) indicates definiteness, it is also used in habitual clauses, describing actions that always happen.

(5.75) Sö röga-p ket soro aukö-to.
so man-NOM.NSG PRF angry become-PM.RM.PST.3PL
‘So the men became angry.’

(5.76) Ton ke ngel y-ou.
3SG.NOM PRF sweet.potato ABS.3.SG-eat
‘He ate the sweet potato already.’

(5.77) Re ket seg sön tu-o-nd tøngg-wa.
REL PRF PRF 1NSG.EXCL.NOM come.PL.RM.PST-1SBJ village-ALL
‘When finished (then) we came to the village.’
The particles *dor* and *dem* indicate a lower degree of definiteness since they are talking about the future. Both of them usually accompany a verb that is in the irrealis mood. The particle *dor*, which indicates that the action will happen today, has a higher degree of definiteness than the particle *dem* which indicates that the action will take place tomorrow or beyond.

(5.78)  
*Kon sömana n-ek-en dor.*  
1SG.NOM afternoon ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT  
‘I will go in this afternoon.’

(5.79)  
*Kon mep n-ek-en dem.*  
1SG.NOM tomorrow ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT  
‘I will go tomorrow.’

The particle *yama* indicates potential mood, a very low degree of definiteness. There is a possibility that the action might happen or that the described state is true, but we do not know for sure. *Yama* is usually translated with ‘may’ or ‘might’.

(5.80)  
*Koina öta yama dökönd.*  
1SG.GEN DX.EX.SG may here  
‘Mine may be here around.’

(5.81)  
*Kon öta yama n-ek-en Daru-wa ra göga ik.*  
1SG.NOM DX.EX.SG may ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ Daru-ALL if boat come  
‘If a boat comes, I might to to Daru.’

The particle *rako* indicates obligation. In a sense *rako* indicates a high degree of definiteness since the action should happen. But since nobody knows if the obligation will be fulfilled, there is not a 100% definiteness.

(5.82)  
*Man rako m-ek-et Daru-wa.*  
2SG.NOM SBJ ABS.2SG-go-2SG.SBJ Daru-ALL  
‘You should go to Daru.’

(5.83)  
*Rako jö man ötre kapo y-ösek-et.*  
SUBJ PRED 2SG.NOM DX.REL.SG cup ABS.3SG-wash-2SG.SBJ  
‘You should wash this cup.’ (It should be that you wash this cup)

The particle *pop* indicates an unsuccessful attempt.

(5.84)  
*Ton pop iik-m Daru-wa ajö piro mena maka iik-m.*  
3NOM WISHED GO-YD.PST Daru-ALL but rain CAUS.PST NEG go-YD.PST  
‘He tried to go to Daru but because of rain he did not go.’
5.4.2 Negation

The negators for the non verbal clauses are *ma* and *makwa*. The position of the negator in non verbal equative clauses is directly preceding the predicate. In existential clauses, the negator precedes the existential deictic marker.

(5.85) *Kemba öte ma met e jö.*
banana DX.SG NEG sweet ABS.SG PRED
‘The banana is not sweet.’

(5.86) *Ton ma pail e jö.*
3NOM NEG pilot ABS.SG PRED
‘He is not a pilot.’

(5.87) *Ton makwa pail e jö, Baibel engend-en-a röga e jö.*
3NOM NEG pilot ABS.SG PRED bible turn-REP-NMLZ man ABS.SG PRED
‘He really is not a pilot, he is a Bible translator.’

(5.88) *Ma opima gujo.*
NEG DX.EX.PL coconut
‘There is no coconut’

(5.89) *Makwa öta ömunjog yepa röga.*
NEG DX.EX.SG honest one man
‘There is really not one honest man.’

The negators for the verbal clauses are *maka*, *maike* and *makaya*. Their normal position is directly following the subject.

(5.90) *Kon maka y-ow-o-nd.*
1SG.NOM NEG ABS.3SG-eat.SG-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ
‘I did not eat.’

(5.91) *Ton maka ti b’u ma yöt utkund-eneny.*
3NOM NEG 3SG.DAT father POSS word hear-REP
‘He usually does not obey his father’s instructions.’

(5.92) *Sön maka n-ek-o-nda egomend-a pu-wa.*
1NSG.EXCL.NOM NEG ABS1-GO-RM.PST-DL.SBJ land-NMLZ place-ALL
‘We did not go to the landing place.’

(5.93) *Kon makaya(maike) y-ou-en.*
1SG.NOM NEG yet ABS.3SG-eat.SG-1SG.SBJ
‘I did not eat yet.’

Clauses with an illocutionary form of the verb are negated by the negator *goro*, which fills the clause initial position.
(5.94)  **Goro**  m-ek-e!
        NEG   ABS.2SG-go-IMP.SG
        'Don’t go!'

(5.95)  **Goro**  okat-öm!
        NEG   take.SG-IMP.NEG??
        ‘Don’t take it!’
6. SENTENCE LEVEL

6.1 Simple Sentence
A simple sentence consists of just one clause. Simple sentences do not occur frequently in texts.

(6.1)  Sö ton ket bod nata tein-iny.
     so 3NOM PRF creek inside.SG bring-ABS.PL
    ‘And he already brought them to the stream.’

6.2 Complex Sentence

6.2.1 Coordination
Clauses can be joined together into complex sentences by coordination. Clauses can be coordinated by simple apposition or by a coordinating conjunction.

When conjoined by simple apposition, the clauses just follow each other without an overt conjunction. Conjoining clauses by simple apposition indicates immediate sequentiality of the actions described by the clauses. The verbs in the apposited clauses all carry the same inflection. Change of subject is not possible, hence the subject can be omitted from the second and following clauses.

(6.2)  Seg röga uw-o-nj ket pingg emd-öto, uw-o-nj
     finish man go.PL-RM.PST-3SBJ PRF bow take-PM.RM.PST.3PL go.PL-RM.PST-3SBJ
de Podemar-wa.
     DX Podemar-ALL
    ‘Then the men went and took bows and arrows and they went to Podemar.

Clauses can also be joined together by the coordinating conjunctions ö or döde. The conjunction ö is used for the conjunction of clauses that follow each other chronologically in an immediate sequence. The conjunction döde is used for simultaneous actions.

(6.3)  Sön ui-öm-ôn de eastrip-wa, ö kewar b’öga-p yepa
     1NSG.NOM go.PL-YD.PST-1SBJ DX airstrip-ALL and boy child-NOM.PL one
     b’eat y-öp-m-i, ö kwa yepa b’eat yongg-öp
     wallaby ABS.3SG-shoot-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ and again one wallaby dog-NOM.PL
     y-okas-m-i, ö kwa b’om yepa y-ödrök-m-u
     ABS.3SG-take-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ and again pig one ABS.3SG-kill-YD.PST-1PL.SBJ
     us tama.
    ‘We went to airstrip and the boys shot a wallaby, and the dogs caught another wallaby, and we also killed a pig.’
The alternative conjunction ő ‘or,’ which is used as a phrasal conjunction, can also be used as a clausal conjunction.

The contrastive conjunctions ajö and ai ‘but’ are used to join clauses that contrast with each other.

The consequential conjunction sö is used to indicate that the clause following is a direct consequence of the preceding clause or sentence.

The conjunction ita is mainly a temporal conjunction which can be translated by ‘and then’.

‘Then we collected the honey from their place and put it in a saucepan.’

‘We, Christians, are staying and now we are working on language.’

‘Does it have a nose, or eyes, or does it have teeth?’

‘Already he heard the noisy words (fighting) but he thought that it is not men fighting.’

‘He wants it but I don’t want it.’

‘My time is coming, so I am going to leave you.’

‘When Jesus finished the teaching, then he left.’
6.2.2 Complementation

6.2.2.1 finite complements

Finite complement clauses are regular clauses that are introduced by a subordinating conjunction of the complementizer type (See section 3.12.2). These finite complement clauses follow the verb they are a complement to. Verbs that take a finite complement are perception verbs, cognition verbs, speech verbs, desiderative verbs and command verbs.

(6.11) *Kon singi da kasa-im t-amnök-iny-ön.*
1SG.NOM want that table-ABS.PL IRR-make-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
‘I want to make tables.’

(6.12) *Ton singi deda tiina komkisa wöngawönga iik dem de yörkokar pupmet-wa*
3NOM want that 3SG.GEN all spirit go RM.FUT DX life life-ALL
‘He desires that all his spirits will go to the life place.’

6.2.2.1.1 Direct/Indirect Speech

Direct and indirect speech complement clauses do not differ structurally. Both types carry the complementizer *da*, which for indirect speech can be translated with ‘that’ and for indirect speech with quotation marks. The only difference between direct speech and indirect speech clauses is the choice of the pronouns and/or the inflection on the verb. Ambiguity with respect to whom the pronouns are referring is possible, since both constructions are so similar. Direct speech occurs much more frequently in texts.

**Direct Speech:**

(6.13) *JeWuk, y-inj da kon, Yamega-wa neken dor.*
JaeWook ABS.3SG-say that 1SG.NOM Yamega-ALL ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT
‘JaeWook said: “I will go to Yamega”. (or ‘JaeWook said that I will go to Yamega’)

(6.14) *N-omn-o-nj da, “B’ogl-e ma öta m-otöng”.*
ABS.1-do-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ that good-ABS.SG not DX.EX.SG ABS.2SG-IRL.bite
‘She said to me “Good it will not bite you.”

(6.15) *Kon nony menamena omnök-a ein-o-nd da,*
1SG.NOM thinking walking make-NMLZ bring-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ that
"Ka, röng-ma plen jö wöp?"
no what-POS.SG plane PRED face
‘I thought “what shape is the plane?”’

**Indirect Speech:**

(6.16) *Anne, w-inj da ton, Yamega-wa w-iik dor.*
Anne ABS.3SG.F-say that 3NOM Yamega-ALL ABS.3SG.F-go TD.FUT
‘Anne said that she will go to Yamega.(or ‘Anne said: “She will go to Yamega”’).
6.2.2.2 Infinite Complements

Infinite complement clauses are clauses with the verb in its infinitive form. The infinite complement clause as a whole can either precede or follow the verb it is a complement to. It is also possible that the subject or object of the complement clause precedes the main verb while the rest of the complement clause follows the main verb. Infinite complements following the verb optionally get the conjunction *da* in clause initial position.

Verbs that take infinite complements are desiderative verbs, command verbs, causative verbs and intention verbs.

(6.17) Kon *kasa omnök-am sing-en.*

1SG.NOM table make-INF want-1SG.SBJ

'I want to make a table.'

(6.18) Kon *sing-en kasa omnök-am.*

1SG.NOM want-1SG.SBJ table make-INF

'I want to make a table.'

(6.19) Kon *kasa singen omnök-am.*

1SG.NOM table want-1SG.SBJ make-INF

'I want to make a table.'

(6.20) Ton-öt *ken omit-am n-omöny.*

3NOM-NOM.SG 1SG.ACC sit-INF ABS1-do

'He made me sit.'

(6.21) Kon-öt *y-inga-en tin b'om ongand-am.*

1SG.NOM-NOM.SG ABS.3SG-command-1SG.SBJ 3SG.ACC pig kill-INF

'I commanded him to kill the pig.'

(6.22) Kon-öt *tin y-inga-en kasa omnök-am.*

1SG.NOM-NOM.SG 3SG.ACC ABS.3SG-command-1SG.SBJ table make-INF

'I commanded him to make the table.'

(6.23) Röga-p *kongga umör amn-om da öwöu buruburu omnök-am.*

man-NOM.PL woman information do-PM.YD.PST.3PL that food heap make-INF

'The men told the women to make foods in heaps.'

There are two types of infinite complement clauses, those where the subject is identical to the subject of the main clause and those where the subject is different from the main clause subject.

6.2.2.1.1 Same Subject Infinite Complements

The subject of infinite complement clauses is obligatorily absent when it is identical to the subject of the main clause. The absolutive agreement devices of the verb in the main clause agree with the object of a transitive complement clause. The infinite verb seems to have lost its agreement potential.

(6.24) Kon *kasa-e omnök-am y-otonkis-ön.*

1SG.NOM table-ABS.SG make-INF ABS.3SG-try-1SG.SBJ

'I am trying to make a table.'
6.2.2.2 different subject infinite complements

When the subject of the infinite complement clause is not identical to the subject of the main clause, it carries accusative case. The absolutive agreement devices of the verb in the main clause agree with the subject of the complement clause. The infinite verb seems to have lost its agreement potential.

(6.26)  *Ton-öt ken omit-am n-omöny.*
3NOM-NOM.SG  1SG.ACC  sit-INF  ABS1-do
‘He made me sit.’

(6.27)  *Kon-öt tin y-inga-en kasa omnök-am.*
1SG.NOM-NOM.SG  3SG.ACC  ABS:3SG.M-command-1SG.SBJ  table  make-INF
‘I commanded him to make a table.’

6.2.3 Complex Sentences With Adverbial Clauses

Besides coordination and complementation, sentences can also be complex because of the presence of adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses function as a modifier to the sentence. The adverbial clauses have a subordinating conjunction in clause initial position. They quite often are relative clauses which relate when, where, why or how the main clause happens.

6.2.3.1 temporal adverbial clauses

Relative clauses can function as temporal adverbial clauses. In such cases the relativised element is omitted and there is no interrogative pronoun or deixis marker. The relativizer *re* can be translated with ‘when’ in these clauses. See also Section 5.3.2.

(6.29)  *Kon ukoi gar sam au-o-nd re yör y-ong-o-nd.*
1SG.NOM big  heart  happy  become-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ  REL  eye  ABS:3SG-bite-RMPST-1SG.SBJ
‘I became very happy in my mind when I saw it.’

(6.30)  *Re bod-wa n-ek-o-nd, kon nony-menamena omnök-a.*
REL  stream-ALL  ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ  1SG.NOM  thinking-wandering  make-NMLZ
bring-RMPST-1SG.SBJ
‘When I went to the stream, I continued to think about it.’

Another way of forming a temporal adverbial clause is with the subordinating conjunction *ngirpu* ‘until’.

(6.31)  *Tungg ke iwat-tondam, u-wo-nd ngörpu Keketa oblend-tondam.*
village  ABL  leave-PST.RM.PST.1PL-PL.go-PST.RM.PST.1SG  until  Keketa  arrive-PST.RM.PST.1PL
‘We left and went until we arrived at Keketa.’
Mother held me like this with hand until the plane took off.'

6.2.3.2 Locative Adverbial Clause

Relative clauses can also function as locative adverbial clauses. The relativizer re is used as conjunction, with or without a locative interrogative pronoun preceding it.

They went there, where we took care of him and we discussed things.'

6.2.3.3 Reason Clause

Reason in Wipi is usually expressed in a postpositional phrase, with the postposition pa. However, it is possible to express reason in an adverbial clause. The reason clause is introduced by the conjunction noköp ‘because’, which is optionally preceded by the word mop ‘reason’. The complementizer da can follow the conjunction noköp.

I did not go because I was sick’

6.2.3.4 Conditional Clause

A conditional clause is encoded by the conditional conjunction ra in combination with the irrealis form of the verb optionally accompanied by the future aspect markers. The consequence clause (the main clause) follows the conditional clause. The verb in the consequence clause also appears in its irrealis form and can also be accompanied by the future aspect markers.

If you will sit, I will sit too.’

6.2.3.5 Conditional Clause

If you will eat bananas, you will get sick’
6.2.3.5 contrafactual clause

Contrafactual clauses are encoded by the contrafactual conjunction *rako* in combination with remote past tense on the verb. The consequence clause is introduced by *kiako* ‘then’ or *marako* ‘then not’. The verb in the consequence clause is also inflected for remote past tense.

(6.38) *Rako* man *kemba* aw-in-o-t, *kiako* kopa y-okat-o-t.

if 2SG.NOM banana eat.NSG-ABS.PL-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ then sick ABS.3SG-take-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ

‘If you would have eaten bananas, you would have become sick’

(6.39) *Rako* man *kak* onygend-o-t, *marako* man *met-wa*

if 2SG.NOM bone break-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ then.not 2SG.NOM house-ALL

ABS.2SG-stay-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ

‘If you would have broken your leg, you would not have been at home’

6.2.3.6 potential clause

The potential clause is encoded by the hortative form of the verb in combination with the aspect marker *ke*. A potential clause like this describes something that should not happen and can be translated with a ‘lest...’ clause in English. The opposite, a desired possibility, is expressed by negating the potential clause as in example 6.41.

(6.40) *Ke* kopo r-ösambök, y-ururukit-e kasa önyöny-wa.

PRF cup HORT.NSG-break ABS.3SG-move-IMP.SG table middle-ALL

‘Lest the cups break, move them to the middle of the table’

(6.41) *Kon* ag-önd w-omn-o-nd da, “Y-öböm egomend-a-pu-wa

1SG.NOM mother-LOC ABS.3SG.F-make-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ CNJ ABS.3SG-stay land-NMLZ-place-ALL

menon, ke n-akat-ø dor, döde n-ang-ø dor.”

going PRF ABS1-take-HORT.3SG TD.FUT and ABS1-bite-HORT.3SG TD.FUT

‘I said to mother “Leave the going to the landing place, lest it will take me and eat me”.’

(6.32) Sö önggöt mop pa-emb da kon-t-e t-owönis-ön

so this reason CAUS.SG-INTS CNJ 1SG.NOM-NOM.SG-ABS.SG IRR-stand-1SG.SBJ

tua-nöm, koina röga-m, *ke maka* God-ömna wanakana b’ogil

3NSG.DAT-DAT 1SG.GEN man-DAT PRF NEG God-GEN quickly good

v-akat-e,

ABS.3SG-take-HORT.3PL

‘So, because of this very reason, I will stand in for them, my people, so that they might receive God’s blessing fast.’
7. Discourse Considerations

7.1 Text Genres
More discourse study is necessary to find out how the different text genres are handled. The texts that have been collected and interlinearized up till now cover the following genres: narrative (both legends and recent happenings), letter, procedural and a sermon. So far no clear differences between the text genres have emerged.

7.2 Tail-Head Linkage
Tail-head linkage is very common in narrative and procedural texts. This is done by use of the pro-verb *seg*, which summarizes the previous clause. It indicates that that action was completed and that we are now moving on to the next action. It can be seen in sentence 003, 006, 009, 012, 014, 015 and 017 of the Bobosim story in the appendix.

7.3 Topic And Focus
Elements that are in focus can be marked by the nominative or absolutive markers. See section 3.2.1. More discourse study is necessary to find out when which marker is used.

7.4 Modality Particles
The modality particles which are clause operators do also seem to have a function on the discourse level. Again, more study should be done to clarify their different functions.

7.5 Deixis Markers
The deixis markers also function on the discourse level. They are extensively used in anaphoric reference. More study is needed.
8. Lexical Considerations

8.1 Idioms

Idioms are quite common in Wipi. A lot of the complex adjunct phrases are idiomatic. But there are also others which are worth mentioning.

- **yör ong**- ‘eye bite (meaning: see)’
- **yör ung**- ‘eye ripe (meaning: wait)’
- **yöt weg**- ‘word cut (meaning: sleep)’
- **yör opumit**- ‘eye close (meaning: pray)’
- **umör omn**- ‘knowledge do (meaning: tell)’
- **yöm oka**- ‘give hand (meaning: help)’
- **omnöka öböm** ‘making will stay (meaning: I will make it later)’
- **oraka öböm** ‘finding will stay (meaning: I will find it later)’

The third person feminine absolutive marker gets used idiomatically to appear humble. In the following example the feminine marker is used to say that they only made a little bit of food, while they actually mean that they had an enormous amount of food.

(8.1) Söm sön re sobijog öwöu na w-omnök-m-u.

yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.NOM REL little food ABS.PST ABS.3SG.F-make-TD.PST-1PL.SBJ

‘Yesterday we made little food.’

8.2 Figures Of Speech

Comparisons:

(8.2) röga pöla yongg
man like dog
‘man-like dog (meaning: an intelligent dog)’

(8.3) Ton yongg pöla b'ök.
3NOM dog like run
‘He runs like a dog. (meaning: He runs very fast.)’

(8.4) Yönggan öija na ti nany pöla tōb na y-öpök.
younger like.this ABS.PST 3SG.DAT older like grass ABS.PST ABS.3SG-cut
‘The younger one also cut grass like his older brother.’

(8.5) Ton mor wöp pöla e.
3NOM 2SG.DAT face like ABS.SG
‘He is like you.’
(8.6) Gömo póla e.
stone like ABS.SG
‘It is like stone.’

Metaphor:

(8.7) Sön ket kak b'-ipou-tondam.
1NSG.EXCL.NOM PRF bone REFL-fight-PM.RM.PST.1/2PL
‘We were fighting our bones (meaning; we were frightened).’

Rhetorical Questions:

Rhetorical questions can be used as greetings. It is quite common to greet someone by questioning him what he is doing in a polar question.

(8.8) Ke m-ëtk-et?
PRF ABS.2SG-come-2SG.SBJ
‘Did you come already?’ (meaning: Welcome back.)

Rhetorical questions can also be used as a rebuke.

(8.9) Ma sön wala-nd yór n-ong-in-dam?
not 1NSG.EXCL.ACC garden-LOC eye ABS1-bite-ABS.PL-2PL.SBJ
‘Don’t you see us in the garden?’ (meaning; how can you be so lazy while we are working so hard?’)
9. Bibliography

Appendix List

Appendix A. Verb Paradigms

Table 1. Transitive Verb Paradigm: ongand- ‘to kill’
Table 2. Transitive Verb Paradigm: omit- ‘to set/put down’
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Appendix B. Example Texts

Text 1. The first time when I saw an airplane
Text 2. A story of a crocodile and lakes
Text 3. Cutting honey tree
Text 4. Feast for starting a rugby club
### Appendix A. Verb Paradigms

**Table A.0.1: transitive verb paradigm ongand - ‘to kill’**

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**Participle:** ongandi  **Infinitive:** ongandam
Table A.2: transitive verb paradigm *omit- ‘to set/put down’*

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