Wipi Grammar Essentials

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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.

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Map 1. Wipi Area
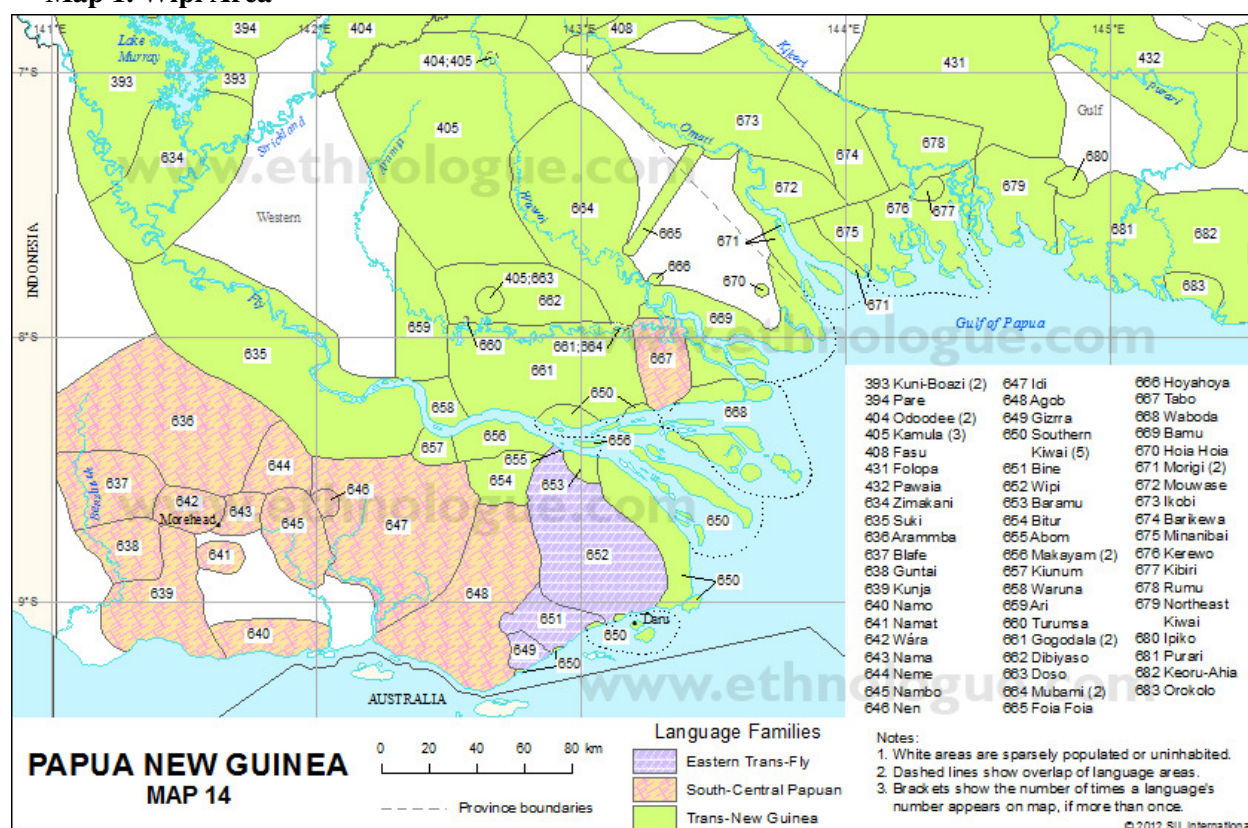
Source: Ethnologue.com

1.2 Conventions Used

1. All Wipi words and morphemes are in italics throughout this paper.

2. Morpheme glosses appear in normal type.

3. Free English translations appear with single quotation marks.

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:

ABBREVIATION	DESCRIPTION	ABBREVIATION	DESCRIPTION
ABL	Ablative	NSG	Non-singular
ABS	Absolutive	OBJ	Object
ACC	Accusative	PL	Plural
ADJ	Adjective	PM	Port manteau
ADV	Adverb	POST	Postposition
BEN	Benefactive	POSS	Possessive
CNJ	Conjunction	PAS	Passive
DAT	Dative	PST	Past
DEM	Demonstrative	PRS	Present

ditr	Ditransitive	PRF	Perfect
DO	Direct Object	PRED	Predicate Marker
DU	Dual	PROH	Prohibitive
DX	Deixis	PRON	Pronoun
EMPH	Emphatic	PURP	Purpose
EXCL	Exclusive	QNT	Quantifier
EX	Existential	Q	Question particle
F	Feminine	REL	Relativizer
FUT	Future	REAL	Realis
GEN	Genitive	REFL	Reflexive
HAB	Habitual	RM	Remote
HORT	Hortative	REP	Repetitive
IMP	Imperative	SBJV	Subjunctive
INCL	Inclusive	SG	Singular
INF	Infinitive	SP	species
INT	Intensifier	SBJ	Subject
intr	Intransitive	TD	Today
invis	invisible	tr	Transitive
IRR	Irrealis	YD	Yesterday
LOC	Locative	1	first person
M	Masculine	2	second person
MIT	Mitigative	3	third person
N	Noun	--	inflectional
NEG	Negator		morpheme break
NOM	Nominative		
NPL	Non-Plural		
NMLZ	Nominalizer		

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   ɓ   d   e   g   i     ö   z   k   l     m   n   ŋ     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>
<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

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	p b	t d		k g
Nasals	m	n		ŋ
Flaps		r		
Fricatives		s	ɟ	
Approximant	w			
Laterals		l		
Implosive	b'			

Table 2.2: Wipi Vowel Chart

	Front	Central	Back
Closed-high	i	ö	u
Closed-mid	e		o
Open-low		a	

There are many diphthongs in Wipi, where the semivowels [i] and [u] combine with any of the other vowels; [ya, ay, ye, ey, yi, yö, öy, yo, oy, yu, uy, wa, aw, we, wi, iw, wö, 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)   RULE: ø → ö / (C)C_C

[omɲ]   [omöɲ]   'he does'

[örk]   [örök]   'he writes'

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)   RULE: t → ø / _t

[omittondam]   [omitondam]   'they sat' (RM.PST)

(2.3)   RULE: n → ø / _d

[konda]   [koda]   'I also'

(2.4)   RULE: d → ø / _t

[angandtondam]   [angantondam]   'we/you (pl) ate them'

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

(2.5)   RULE: y-t- → ø

[y-t-omnöken]   [omnöken]   'I will make it'

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)   RULE: n → m / b_#

[öbn]   [öbm]   [öböm]   'he stays'

(2.7)   RULE: ɲ → n / _d
         [amisiɲdam]   [amisindam]   'we put them down'

There is also assimilation with respect to the manner of articulation:

(2.8)   RULE: j → s / _k
         [ujke]   [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_2C3

(2.9)   RULE: C_1-C_2-VC_3 → $C_1VC_2C_3$
         [m-t-omisön]   [motmisön]   'I will set you down'
         [n-t-omnökaet]   [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) →   s}
                  {d   +   i (infl) →   j}
                  {n   +   i (infl) →   ɲ}
         [omit-i-ön]   [omisön]   'sit-PRS-1SG.SBJ'
         [omit-im-a]   [omisma]   'sit-YD.PAST-DL.SBJ'
         [yokund-i- ø]   [yokunj]   'live-PRS-3SG.SBJ'
         [omn-i-öt]   [omɲöt]   'do-PRS-2SG.SBJ'
         [amit-in-i-ön]   [amisiɲön]   'set.PL-ABS.PL-PRS-1SG.SBJ

(2.11)   i (infl) + ö → e
         [omnik-i-ön]   [omniken]   'make-PRS-1SG.SBJ'
         [nipou-i-öt]   [nipouet]   'hit-PRS-2SG.SBJ'

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

         [omit-im- ø]   [omisöm]   'sit-YD.PST-3SG.SBJ'
         [yokund-im- ø]   [yokunjöm]   'live-YD.PST-3SG.SBJ'
         [amit-in-im- ø]   [amisiɲöm]   '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 [t]. The fusion of [d] and [i] and [n] and [i] also results in their palatal allophones [j] and [ɲ]. 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-1PL.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)'
gugölam	'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'
oblend	'arrive'	*oblend-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'
oblend-a	'arriving'	*oblend-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'
imtim	'black' + *jog* 'very'	*timtim-jog-iam*	'the very black one'
ukoi	'big'	*ukoi-iam*	'the big man'
ukoi	'big' + *jog* 'very'	*ukoi-jog-iam*	'the biggest one'
pembpemb	'hot'	*pembpemb-iam*	'the hot one'
pönpön	'long'	*pönpön-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'
oblend-i	'arrived'	*oblend-i-iam*	'the arrived one'
oramit-i	'was put'	*oramit-i-iam*	'thing which was put on'

ogn-i	'cooked'	*ogn-i-iam*	'cooked one'
ösek-i	'washed'	*ösek-i-iam*	'washed one'

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'
önynyön	'middle'	*önyönyön-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 → compound stem

N + N

kobör	'ghost'	+ *göm* 'skin'	→	*kobörgöm*	'clothes, corpse'
öle	'east wind'	+ *met* 'house'	→	*ölemet*	'east'
kemba	'banana'	+ *met* 'house'	→	*kembamet*	'kemba garden'
gou	'ground'	+ *ngöi* 'hair'	→	*goungöi*	'weed'
uj	'death'	+ *göm* 'skin'	→	*ujgöm*	'corpse'
wör	'centipede'	+ *mog* 'mother'	→	*wörmogmog*	'scorpion'
gigi	'casowary'	+ *dor* 'chest'	→	*gigidordor*	'plant (sp)'
ul	'tree'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*ulmop*	'tree base'
kok	'joint'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*kokmop*	'joint'
yör	'eye'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*yörmop*	'big eye'

so	'nose'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*somop*	'anger'
döng	'thorn'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*döngmop*	'anger'
jö	'body'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*jömop*	'upper stream'
kum	'knee'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*kumop*	'knee ball'
pokör	'shoulder'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*pokörmop*	'shoulderjoint'
ngömdor	'breast'	+ *mop* 'head'	→	*ngömdormop*	'nipple'
nony	'neck'	+ *kok* 'joint'	→	*nonykok*	'mind, thinking'

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'	→	*pöskak*	'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'
aiön	'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

gou	'ground'	+ *ukoi* 'big'	→	*gouukoi*	'world'
gou	'ground'	+ *mijag* 'big'	→	*goumijag*	'world'
gujo	'coconut'	+ *raka* 'dry'	→	*gujoraka*	'dry coconut'

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.

DATIVE PRONOUN + N		GENITIVE PRONOUN + N	
kor b'u	'my father'	(*koina b'u*	'my father')
mor nany	'your elder brohter'	(*moina nany*	'your brother')
ti mog	'his/her mother'	(*tiina mog*	'his/her mother')
kor yöm	'my hand'	(*koina yöm*	'my hand')
mor pös	'your leg'	(*moina pös*	'your leg')
(*kor met*	'my house')	*koina met*	'my house'
(*mor kemba*	'your banana')	*moina kemba*	'your banana'
(*ti pen*	'his/her pen')	*tiina pen*	'his/her pen'
(*sua tungg*	'our village')	*suaina tungg*	'our village'

Count nouns and mass nouns do not differ in the way they are modified for size or quantity.

opima   *nyö*   'there is much water(amount) '
DX.EX.PL water
opima   *gujo*   'there are many coconuts(quantity)'
DX.EX.PL coconut
jogjog   *nyö*   'much water(amount)'
much   water
jogjog   *gujo*   'many coconuts(quantity)'
much   coconuts
ukoi   *nyö*   'big water(amount)'
big   water
ukoi   *gujo*   'big coconut(size)'
big   coconut
sobijog   *nyö*   'little water(amount)'
little   water
sobijog   *gujo*   'little coconut(size)'
little   coconut

Mass nouns can be specifically counted by countable quantity.

(3.1)   *yepa*   *kapo*   *nyö*
        one   cup   water
        'a cup of water'
(3.2)   *noa*   *tömo*   *öwöu*
        three   heap   food
        'three heaps of food'
(3.3)   *nömog* *köpol*   *sana*
        two   bundle   sago
        'two bundles of sago'
(3.4)   *poa*   *köb*   *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   pailet   e   jö.
        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 3SG.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.*
1SG.NOM   dog-PL   ALL   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
'I go to the dogs.'

(3.15) *B'öga* ***paurolia-war***   *wa*   *iik.*
child   chicken.faeces-PL   ALL   go
'The child went to the chicken waste place.'

(3.16) ***Gömo-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) *Röga, ti*   ***yönggan-war***,   *tua*   ***kongga-war***, *döde* *tua*   ***b'öga-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) *röga ake   tua*   ***kongga-war***
man   and   3NSG.DAT woman-PL
'men and their wives'

(3.18b) **röga   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

	Present	**Past**
1SG	-en	
2SG	-et	
3SG.M	-e	-na
3SG.F	-o	
DL	-i	
PL	-im	

In clauses with future tense, the existential deictic markers (*öta*/*osiya*/*opima*) 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*	*pailet*	***en***.	I am a pilot.
	1SG.NOM	pilot	ABS.1SG	
b.	*Man*	*pailet*	***et***.	You (sg) are a pilot.
	2SG.NOM	pilot	ABS.2SG	
c.	*Ton*	*pailet*	***e***.	He is a pilot.
	3NOM	pilot	ABS.3SG.M	
d.	*Ton*	*pailet*	***o***.	She is a pilot.
	3NOM	pilot	ABS.3SG.F	
e.	*Sön*	*pailet*	***i***.	We (dl) are pilots.
	1NSG.NOM	pilot	ABS.DL	
f.	*Ton*	*pailet*	***im***.	They (pl) are pilots.
	3NOM	pilot	ABS.PL	
g.	*Kon*	*pailet*	***na***.	I was a pilot.
	1SG.NOM	pilot	ABS.PST	
h.	*Sön*	*pailet*	***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-öbny-öm-ön.*	I was sick.
	1SG.NOM	sick	ABS.PST	ABS1-stay-YD.PST-1SG.SBJ	
b.	*Man*	*kopa*	***na***	*m-öbny-öm-öt.*	You (sg) were sick.
	2SG.NOM	sick	ABS.PST	ABS.2SG-stay-YD.PST-2SG.SBJ	
c.	*Ton*	*kopa*	***na***	*y-öbny-öm.*	He was sick.
	3NOM	sick	ABS.PST	ABS.3SG-stay-YD.PST	
d.	*Ton*	*kopa*	***na***	*w-öbny-öm.*	She was sick.
	3NOM	sick	ABS.PST	ABS.3SG.F-stay-YD.PST	

(3.22) *Ton*   *pailet*   *(e)*   *t-au*   *dem.*
         3NOM   pilot   (ABS.3SG.PRED)   IRR-become   RM.FUT
         'He will become a pilot.'

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

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.*
         stick-ABS.PL   break-PM.PRES3
         'The sticks break.'

(3.25) *Yepa-e*   *Yamega-wa* *iik,* *paib-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   ABS.3SG-kill-2SG.SBJ
    'Why did you kill the pig?'

(3.32) *Bebög*   *rön-s-im*[1]   *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).

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[1] The underlying form of the nominative marker is /t/. Preceding an [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

	Default	Imperfect Aspect	Combined NOM-ABS			
			SG.M	SG.F	DL	PL
singular	-(ö)t	-te	-te	-to	si(a)	sim
non-singular	-(ö)p	-pia	-	-	-	-pim

(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*   *mijag*   *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-ötwaikis-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-owönis-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:

(3.47) *Kon-**t-e**   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 öta   ömunjog   yepa röga-**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'öga-**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'öga-**t**   b'om **na**   y-ipou.*
       child-NOM.SG   pig   ABS.PST   ABS.3SG-hit
       'The child hit the pig.'

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

(3.53a) *Nangga-<u>t</u>   b'öga   y-ipou?*
       what-NOM.SG   child   ABS.3SG-hit
       'What hit the child?'

(3.53b) *∗Nangga-<u>t</u>   b'öga   <u>na</u>   y-ipou?*
       what- NOM.SG   child   ABS.PST   ABS.3SG -hit
       'What hit the child?'

(3.53c) *Gujo-<u>t</u>   b'öga   <u>na</u>   y-ipou.*
       coconut- NOM.SG   child   ABS.PST   ABS.3SG -hit
       'The coconut hit the child.'

(3.53d) *Gujo-<u>t</u>   nangga   <u>na</u>   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 3.3: Wipi Peripheral Case Markers

CASE	FORM	FUNCTION
Genitive	-mna	possession
Dative	-m	possession, recipient, benefactive

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-**öm**   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.

(3.60) *Kon   men   kemba-**m**   m-erkis-ön.*
       1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC banana-DAT   ABS.2SG-ask.SG-1SG.SBJ
       'I asked you for a banana.'

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 absolutive 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 stative 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 <u>not</u> have the absolutive prefix agreeing with the undergoer.

omis-ön   '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) *Kon*   **omis**-*ön.*
         1SG.NOM   sit.down-1SG.SBJ
         'I sit down.'

(3.66) *Kon*   *men*   *m-**omis**-ön.*
         1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC   ABS.2SG-sit.down.SG-1SG.SBJ
         'I set you down.'

(3.67) *Kon*   *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 3.4: Wipi Subject Suffixes

	Present	Yesterday's Past	Remote Past
1SG.SBJ	*-ön*[2]	*-ön*	*-nd*
2SG.SBJ	*-öt*	*-öt*	*-t*
3SG.SBJ	*-ø*	*-ø*	*-nj*
1DL.SBJ	*-a*	*-a*	*-nda*
2DL.SBJ	*-a*	*-a*	*-nda*
3DL.SBJ	*-a*	*-a*	*-nda*
PL.SBJ+1SG/DL.OBJ	*-u*	*-u*	*-nda*
PL.SBJ+2SG/DL.OBJ	*-a*	*-a*	*-nda*
PL.SBJ+3SG/DL.OBJ	*-i*	*-i*	*-ø*
PL.SBJ+1PL.OBJ	*-dam*	*-omam**	*-tondam**
PL.SBJ+2PL.OBJ	*-dam*	*-omam**	*-tondam**
PL.SBJ+3PL.OBJ	*-(r)anj**[3]	*-(r)om**	*-to**

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-**ön***	'**I** killed it'
*y-onganj-m-**öt***	'**you** killed it(YD.PST)**'**
*y-onganj-**ø***	'**he** killed it(PRES)**'**
*y-ongand-o-**nd***	'**I** killed it(RM.PST)'
*y-ongand-o-**t***	'**you** killed it(RM.PST)'
*y-ongand-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-**i***	'**they(pl)** killed them(dl)(YD.PST)'
*y-ongand-o-**nda***	'**we/you(pl)** killed it(RM.PST)'
*y-ongand-o-**ø***	'**they(pl)** killed it(RM.PST)'

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[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.

| *anganj-**a*** | '**you(pl)** killed them(dl)(PRES)' |
| *angand-o-ø* | '**they(pl)** killed them(dl)(RM.PST)' |

*anganj-in-**dam***	'**we/you(pl)** killed **them**(pl)(PRES)'
*angand-**anj***	'**they(pl)** killed **them(pl)**(PRES)'
*angand-**omam***	'**we/you(pl)** killed **them(pl)**(YD.PST)'
*angand-**om***	'**they(pl)** killed **them(pl)**(YD.PST)'
*angand-**tondam***	'**we/you(pl)** killed **them(pl)**(RM.PST)'
*angand-**to***	'**they(pl)** killed **them(pl)**(RM.PST)'

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-**o**nganj*	'he hit **you(sg)**'
*y-**o**nganj*	'he hit **him**'
***a**nganj-iny*	'he hit **you(pl)**)
***a**nganj*	'he hit **them(dl)**'
***a**nganj-iny*	'he hit **them(pl)**)'
n-onganj	'he hit me'
*n-**o**nganj-iny*	'he hit us'

DITRANSITIVE

(3.68) *Ton*   ***mor***   *yepa*   *ngel*   *m-**o**ka-wo-nj.*
3NOM   2SG.DAT   one   sweet.potato   ABS.2SG-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
'He gave you one sweet potato.'

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

(3.70) *Ton*   ***tua***   *yepa*   *ngel*   ***a**ka-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 undergoers[4], thus leaving the vowel alternation to mark dual forms.

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[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.

(3.71a) **kon** **n**-**o**kunj-ön
1SG.NOM ABS1-live-1SG.SBJ
'I am staying'

(3.71b) **wön** **a**kunj-ya.
2NSG.NOM live-DL.SBJ
'you(dl) are staying'

(3.71c) wön **ung**-et.
2NSG.NOM live.PL-2SG.SBJ
'You(pl) are staying.'

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 3.5: vowel alternation

conjugation	singular vowel	plural vowel
conjugation 1	*e-, ö-, o-*	*a-*
conjugation 2	*i-, ö-*	*e-*
conjugation 3	*u-*	*u-*

conjugation 1

Singular	**Non-singular**	
e̱rbek	*a̱rbek*	'break'
e̱sopa	*a̱sopa*	'touch'
ö̱dar	*a̱dar*	'find'
o̱ramis	*a̱ramis*	'put on'
o̱sk	*a̱sk*	'dig'
o̱mnök	*a̱mnök*	'make'

conjugation 2

Singular	**Non-singular**	
i̱pök	*e̱pök*	'smash'
i̱pou	*e̱pou*	'hit'
i̱psek	*e̱psek*	'weave'
ö̱drök	*e̱drök*	'shoot'
ö̱gekis	*e̱gekis*	'ask'
ö̱slek	*e̱slek*	'mix'

conjugation 3

Singular	**Non-singular**	
u̱tkunj	*u̱tkunj*	'hear'
u̱tarök	*u̱tarök*	'peel skin of tree'
u̱sailis	*u̱sailis*	'repeat'

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*   **o***rang-i*   *e*   *y-öböm.*
         house   build-PAS   ABS.SG   ABS.3SG-stay
         'The house is being built.'

(3.73)   *Met*   **o***rang-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,[5] are exceptional in that they take the plural vowel for all their forms.

*y-**a**ngand-ön*   'let me kill him'   (cf. *y-**o**nganj-ön* 'I kill him')
*r-**a**ngand-ön*   'let me kill them(dl)'   (cf. **a***nganj-ön* 'I kill them(dl))
*b'-**a**nganj-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 3.6: Absolutive Prefixes

Person	Prefixes
1SG, 1 NSG	n-
2SG	m-
3SG.M	y-
3SG.F	w-
2/3 NSG	ø-

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[5] For some verbs the reflexive has the singular form in all cases.

(3.74) *B'om-öt* **ken** *n-ong-öm.*
      pig-NOM.SG   1SG.ACC   ABS1-bite.SG-YD.PST
      'A pig bit me.'

(3.75) *Kon* **men** *umör* **m**-*omn-yön* *komöniti wöko gatab.*
      1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC knowledge ABS.2SG-do.SG-1SG.SBJ community work about
      'I am informing you about the community work.'

(3.76) *Ton* *ti* **b'öga** *na* **w**-*ipou-o-nj.*
      3NOM 3SG.DAT child   ABS.PST ABS.3SG.F-hit.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
      'He hit his daughter.'

(3.77) *Ton* **yepa ul** *y-ög.*
      3NOM   one   tree   ABS.3SG-cut.SG
      'He cut a tree.'

(3.78) *Ton* **kor** *yepa gujo köp* **n**-*oka-o-nj.*
      3NOM 1SG.DAT one   coconut fruit   ABS1-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
      'He gave me a coconut.'

(3.79) *Ton* **sua** *yepa gujo* *köp* **n**-*oka-o-nj.*
      3NOM   1NSG.DAT one coconut   fruit ABS1.DAT-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
      'He gave us a coconut.'

(3.80) *Kon* *gujo* **m-**oka-en.
      1SG.NOM coconut   ABS.2SG-give.SG-1SG.SBJ
      'I give you a coconut.'

(3.81) *Ton* **ti** **kongga-m** *gujo* **w**-*oka-o-nj.*
      3NOM 3SG.DAT   wife-DAT   coconut ABS.3SG.F-give.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
      'He gave a coconut to his wife.'

(3.82) *Ton* **wa** *gujo* **a**ka-o-nj.
      3NOM 2NSG.DAT coconut   give.NSG-RMPST-3SG.SBJ
      '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* **n**-*ek*-**en.**
      1SG.NOM   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
      'I am going.'

(3.84) *Man* **m**-*ek*-**et.**
      2SG.NOM   ABS.2SG-go-2SG.SBJ
      '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 -*in*-[6] indicating plural undergoer.

(3.85)   *amis-**iny**-ön*
       set.SG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
       'I set them down'

This suffix -*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 -*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)   *men*   *omis-**in**-dam.*
       1NSG.INCL.NOM   sit-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ
       'we (all) sit down.'

(3.87)   *Kibam* *im*   *erbend-anj.*
       stick   ABS.PL break-PM.3.PRES
       'The sticks break.'

In ditransitive verbs this suffix -*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)   *Kon*   **jogjog** **peba** *ti*   *y-oka-**iny**-ön.*
       1SG.NOM many   book   3SG.DAT   ABS.3SG -give.SG-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
       'I gave him many books.'

(3.89)   *Kon*   **yepa peba** *tua*   *aka-ø-ön.*
       1SG.NOM one   book   3NSG.DAT give.NSG-NPL-1SG.SBJ
       'I gave them one book.'

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.

w-*i*pou-en   'I hit **her**'
epou-en   'I hit **them**(dl).'
epou-*iny*-ön   'I hit **them**(pl).'

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[6] -*in*- has an allomorph -*iny*- preceding -*i*. See discussion in Section 2.2.5.

met y-o*rang-en*	'I build **a house**.'
met a*rang-en*	'I build **houses**(dl).'
met a*rang-**iny**-ön*	'I build **houses**(pl).'

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 absolute 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:

TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE	
_n_-_o_mis-_ø_	'he set me'	**_o_**mis-_ön_	'I sit'
1SG.ABS-sit-3SG.SBJ		sit-1SG.SBJ	
_a_mis-_ön_	'I set them(dl)'	**_o_**mis-_ia_	'they(dl) sit'
set.NSG-1SG.SBJ		sit-dlSU	
_a_mis-_in-dam_	'we set them(pl)'	**_o_**mis-_in-dam_	'we/you(pl) sit'
set.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ		sit-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ	

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	**_e_**mangis-*ön*	'I dive two times'
1SG.NOM	dive.NSG-1SG.SBJ	
Kon	**_e_**mangis-**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 underlyingly 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).

(3.90)   *Stawar-önd   kon   b'om   y-ipou-**ø**-en.*
        morning-LOC   1SG.NOM   pig   ABS.3SG-hit.SG-PRES-1SG.SBJ
        'This morning I hit a pig.'

3.3.4.2 yesterday past

The suffix *-m*[7] 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**-ön   Wipim   wa.*
        Yesterday   1SG.NOM   ABS1-go-YD.PST-1SG.SBJ   Wipim   ALL
        'Yesterday I went to Wipim.'

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

(3.93)   *Man   kasa   amnök-iny-(ö)**m**-öt.*
        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-o**m**am.*
        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-o**m**.*
        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-**o**-nj   pumb-önd   ara   köma.*
        airplane   come- RM.PST -3SG.SBJ   high-LOC   sound   with
        'The airplane came in the sky with noise.'

(3.98)   *Tungg   ke   iwat-**tondam**.*
        village   ABL   leave-PM.1/2PL.RM.PST
        'We left (from) the village.'

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[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.

(3.99) *Sö   n-ek-**o**-nda*   *amara-amara   de   Dorogori.*
       and   ABS1-go-RM.PST-1/2DL   until-until   DX   Dorogori
       'And we(dl) went until the Dorogori village.'

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.

*obl**end**-*   'arrive'   *os**k**-*   'dig'
*ös**end**-*   'drop'   *ös**ek**-*   'wash'
*oto**end**-*   'peel skin'   *otorö**k**-*   '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.

öj-	'climb a tree'	*öj**end**-*	'cross over a log bridge'
owaras-	'cleave the head'	*owar**end**-*	'hit on the head'
öp-	'shoot'	*öp**end**-*	'cut a little bit'
ösas-	'rob/snatch'	*ös**end**-*	'loose/drop'

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.

omn-	'do'	*omn**ök**-*	'make'
ogen-	'count'	*ogen**ök**-*	'read'
ögmar-	'pour'	*ögmar**ök**-*	'pour with force'
öjöb-	'bind'	*öjöb**ök**-*	'bind strongly'
ösam-	'plan'	*ösam**ök**-*	'decide/conclude'

(3.103a) *Röga   obl-**end**-o-nj.*
       man   arrive-MIT-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
       'The man arrived.'

(3.103b) *Jogjog   röga   oble-**k**-to.*
       many   man   arrive-INT-PM.3PL.RM.PST
       '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) *Ton   sana   y-ipk**as**-ϕ- ϕ.*
       3NOM   sago   ABS.3SG-tear-PRES-3SG.SBJ
       'He tore the sago.'

(3.104b) *Ton   sana   y-ipk-**enj**- ϕ - ϕ.*
       3NOM   sago   ABS.3SG-tear-MIT-PRES-3SG.SBJ
       'He tore the sago partly.'

(3.104.c) *Ton   sana   y-ipk-**ök**- ϕ –ϕ.*
       3NOM   sago   ABS.3SG-tear-INT-PRES-3SG.SBJ
       'He tore the sago in pieces.'

(3.105a) *Ton   kapo   y-ösamb**as**- ϕ - ϕ.*
       3NOM   cup   ABS.3SG-break-PRES-3SG.SBJ
       'He broke the cup.'

(3.105b) *Ton   kapo   y-ösamb-**enj**- ϕ - ϕ.*
       3NOM   cup   ABS.3SG-break-MIT-PRES-3SG.SBJ
       'He broke the cup partly.'

(3.105c) *Ton   kapo   y-ösamb-**ök**- ϕ - ϕ.*
       3NOM   cup   ABS3sg-break-INTNS-PRES-3sgSU
       '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   ak**a**-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.*
      1SGNOM   3SGACC   knowledge ABS.3SG-do-REP-1SG.SBJ   DEM   about
      'I have told him about this repeatedly.'

(3.109) *Öta   piro   t-ösok-**eny**   dor   sömana.*
      DX   rain   IRR-fall-REP   TD.FUT   afternoon.
      'Rain will come in this afternoon.'

(3.110) *Dad   moleg   ken   n-ögekit-**en**-onj   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-**enen**-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 BENEFACTIVE and the REPETITIVE can co-occur with the INTENSIVE aspect; the MITIGATIVE aspect or with each other:

(3.113) *Kon   ita   bibör   ti   sana   y-ip-**ök-a-en**-yön.*
1SG.NOM every   day   3SG.DAT sago   ABS.3SG-tear-INT-BEN-REP-1SG.SBJ
'I tear the sago in pieces for him every day.'

(3.114) *Ton   ul   na   kor   n-okang-**end-a**-wo-nj.*
3NOM   tree   ABS.PST 1SG.DAT   ABS1-split-MIT-BEN-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
'He split the tree for me.'

(3.115) *Ton   ul   okang-**ök-eny**-ø.*
3NOM   tree   split-INT-REP-3SG.SBJ
'He split the tree again and again.'

(3.116) *Ton   b'eat   göm   m-otor-**end-a**-iny-ø   dem.*
3NOM   wallaby skin   ABS.2SG-peel-MIT-BEN-ABS.PL-3SG.SBJ   RM.FUT
'He will skin the wallabies for you.'

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.*
1sgNOM   sit-PSS ABS1-stay-RMPST-1sgSU
'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-in-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) *Ton*   ***t**-owönis*   ***dor***.
         3NOM   IRR-stand   TD.FUT
         'He will stand.'

(3.124) *Kon*   *n-otkunj-ön*   ***dem***   *dökönd.*
         1SG.NOM   1ABS –live.IRR-1SG.SBJ   REM.FUT   here
         'I will live here.'

(3.125) *Man*   *m-otkunj-öt*   ***dem***   *dökönd.*
         2SG.NOM   ABS.2SG-LIVE.IRR-2SG.SBJ   REM.FUT   here
         'You will live here.'

(3.126) *Man*   *met*   ***orang-et***   ***dem***.*(y-t-orang-et)*
         2SG.NOM   house   build-2SG.SBJ   RM.FUT
         'You will build a house.'

(3.127) *Ton*   *b'-atönganj- ø*   ***dor***.
         3NOM   RFL-kill.IRR -3SG.SBJ   TD.FUT
         'He will kill himself.'

(3.128) *Kon*   *men*   *umör*   *m-omny-ön*   *da*   *'Ra*   *kemba*
         1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC knowledge   ABS.2SG-do-1SG.SBJ   that   if   banana
         t**-aw-iny-öt'*   ***dem   *pailet*   ***okas-öt***   ***dem***' *(y-t-okas-öt).*
         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 PURPOSIVE 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) *Kon*   *kasa*   *omnök-**am***   *n-ek-en.*
         1SG.NOM   table   make-INF   ABS.1G-go-1SG.SBJ
         'I am going to make a table.'

(3.130) *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 a pig.'

The absolute 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**.*
3NOM   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 absolute agreement devices are available.

   Note that intransitive imperatives also have the absolute 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-iakat-**e***
        one   papaya   ABS.3SG-pick-IMP.SG
        'You(sg) pick one papaya!'
(3.134b) *Nömog   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   e*bn-**a***   *dökönd   Yamega   tungg-önd.*
        2NSG.NOM   stay.DL-IMP.DL/PL   here   Yamega   village-LOC
        'You(dl) stay here at Yamega village!'

(3.135c) *Wön   weken-**e**   dökönd Yamega   tungg-önd.*
       2NSG.NOM   stay.PL   here   Yamega   village-LOC
       'You(pl) 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 illocationary 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 3.7: Hortative Subject Suffixes

Person and Number	Marker
1SG	-ön
3SG	-ø
1DL, 3DL	-a
1PL	-u (-um for plural undergoer)
3PL	-e (-em for plural undergoer)

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

	absolutive prefix	verb Stem	absolutive suffix	hortative suffix
SG	w-, n-, m-, y-		-ø	-ön, -ø
DL	r-	plural vowel	-ø	-a
PL	r-		-in	-u(m), -e(m)

Table 3.9: Hortative forms of intransitive verbs

	absolutive prefix	verb Stem	absolutive suffix	hortative suffix
SG	r-		-ø	-ön, -ø
DL	r-	singular vowel	-ø	-a
PL	r-		-in	-u(m), -e(m)

Table 3.10: Hortative forms of absolutive verbs

	absolutive prefix	verb stem	hortative suffix
1SG	n-		-ön
3SG.M	y-	plural vowel	-ø
3SG.F	w-		-ø
1DL	n-	plural vowel	-a
3DL	r-		-a
1PL	ø-	suppletive plural stem	-ön
3PL	ø-		-ø

(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(dl) make (many) tables.'

(3.146) *Timtim*   ***m-ang-ö***   *dor.*
black.snake   ABS.2SG-bite.NSG-HORT.3SG   TD.FUT
'Let the Pauanblack bite you. =The Papuanblack 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   ABS1-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***   *dökind   Mör-önd.*
1NSG.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   röga   **ke**   ongand-**i**   na   y-öbn-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-öbn-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'-a**ngand-o-nj.*
    3NOM   REFL-kill-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
    'He killed himself.'
(3.158b) *Ton   b'om   y-**o**ngand-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.PRES3
    '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.'

(3.164) *Ton*   ***b'-ipou-ranj.***
       3NOM   REFL-hit-PM.3PL.PRES
       'They hit themselves/each other.'

To avoid this ambiguity an adverb like *möramöra,* "reciprocally' can be put in the clause to make clear the action is reciprocal.

(3.165) *Ton*   ***möramöra***   ***b'-ipou-ranj.***
       3NOM   reciprocally   REFL-hit-PM.PRES3
       'They hit each other.'

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

(3.166) *Röga-ke*   *yongg*   *nyö*   *ngor*   ***owam-i***   *e*   *jö.*
       man-ABL dog   water inside   keep-PAS   ABS.SG   PRED
       'The dog was drowned by the man.'

(3.167) *Yongg*   *nyö*   *ngor*   ***b'awam-i***   *e*   *jö.*
       dog   water   inside   REFL-keep-PAS ABS.SG   PRED
       'The dog was drowned by itself.'

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

absolutive prefix	mood	verb-root	aspect	aspect	aspect	aspect (redup)	absoluti-ve suffix	tense	subject suffix
1SG, DL, PL 2,3SG reflexive plural only for hortative	realis irrealis	vowel alternation	frozen form	intensive mitigative	BEN	REP	plural only	present YD PST RM.PST	
agrees with undergoer or recipient for absolutive and transitive verbs		agrees with undergoer or recipient					agrees with undergoer		agrees with S_{tr} S_{intr}
1) m- 2) -	-- ø-	omn omit*	-ök --	-- --	-a --	-en --	-in* -in	-ø -ø	-ön -dam

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*   'I make them for you repeatitively'
        ABS.2SG-make-BEN-REP-ABS.PL-PRES-1SG.SBJ

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

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

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

5)   *epou-to*   'they hit them'
        hit.NSG- PM.RM.PST.3PL

6)   *r-amnök-in-um*   'let us make them'
        HORT.NSG- make- PL-HORT.1PL

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

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

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

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

3.4 Adjectives

3.4.1 Simple Stem Adjectives

There is a small closed class of underived adjectives.

wewa   'light'
bebög   'heavy'
ukoi   'big'
neköpod   'little'
tuko   'thick'
pata   'thin'
b'ogöl   'good'
negör   'bad'
pön   'long'
kut   'short'
pemb   'hot'

göböl   'cold'

The adjectives can occur attributively in the noun phrase to modify the noun, or predicatively in equative clauses.

ukoi	*met*			'**big** house'
big	house			
neköpod	*nya*			'**small** road'
small	road			
met	***ukoi***	*e*	*jö*	'the house is **big**'
house	big	ABS.SG	PRED	
nya	***neköpod***	*e*	*jö*	'the road is **small**'
road	small	ABS.SG	PRED	

3.4.2 Reduplicated Adjectives

The adjectives can be reduplicated to emphasize their meaning.

bebög	'heavy'	***bebögbebög***	'very heavy'
kut	'short'	***kutkut***	'very short'
pemb	'hot'	***pembpemb***	'very hot'

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.

(3.168) a.*Ton*   ***kutkut***   ***röga***   *e.*   'He is a short man.'
       3SG.NOM   short   man   ABS.SG
       b. *Ton*   ***kut***   *e.*   'He is short.'
       b. *∗Ton **kutkut** e.*
       d. *∗Ton **kut röga** e.*

(3.169) a.*Ukarumpa*   *göbölgöböl*   *tungg*   *e.*   'Ukarumpa is a cold place.'
       Ukarumpa   cold   village   ABS.SG
       b.*Ukarumpa*   *göböl*   *e.*   'Ukarumpa is cold.'
       c. *∗Ukarumpa göbölgöböl e.*
       d. *∗Ukarumpa göböl tungg e.*

3.4.3 Derived Adjectives

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

N → ADJ

tim	'soot'	***timtim***	'black'
mul	'brain'	***mulmul***	'yellow'
sal	'moss'	***salsal***	'green'
kus	'blood'	***kuskus***	'red'

bul	'unripe one'	***bulbul***	'white'
gou	'ground'	***gougou***	'brown'
met	'taste'	***metmet***	'sweet'
göm	'skin'	***gömgöm***	'thick'
ngöi	'hair'	***ngöingöi***	'hairy'
gog	'holiness'	***gogog***	'holy'

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.

aköki	*pingg*	'trimmed bow'	(*akök-*	'to trim')
ungi	*panyap*	'ripe pineapple'	(*ung-*	'to ripen')
omnöki	*kasa*	'made table'	(*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.

b'ökena	*dia*	'the running deer'	(*b'ök-en-* 'to run REP')
omnöka	*röga*	'making man'	(*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.

(3.170a)	*Ton*	*kut*	***e***	He is short.
	3NOM	short	ABS.SG.M	
(3.171b)	*Ton*	*kut*	***o***.	She is short.
	3NOM	short	ABS.SG.F	
(3.171c)	*Ton*	*kut*	***i***.	They(dl) are short.
	3NOM	short	ABS.DL	
(3.171d)	*Ton*	*kut*	***im***.	They are short.
	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;

goja	'quickly'
möske	'slowly'
öde	'like this'
öja	'like this'
bea	'again'
busa	'again'

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.

möra	'compensation, wage'	***möramöra***	'reciprocally'
wisa	'wage'	***wisawisa***	'reciprocally'
gugölam	'noise	***gugölamgugölam***	'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.*
1NSG.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.*
1NSG.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.*
1NSG.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* *ölk-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* ***ukoi-kana*** *öwöu aw-in-o-nj,* *sö* *kopa* *y-okat-o-nj*
       3NOM 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 postpostional phrase with *köma* 'with';

moga 'fear' ***moga köma*** 'with fear/fearfully'
sam 'joy' ***sam köma*** 'with joy/happily'
nony 'thought' ***nony köma*** 'with thought/carefully'
ngöngar 'shame' ***ngöngar köma*** 'with shame/shamefully'
bebög 'weight' ***bebög köma*** 'heavily'

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

(3.181) *Men* *b'ogöle* ***nony*** ***köma*** *t-amnök-in-dam* *dor.*
       1NSG.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'
mep	'tomorrow'
mepdamep	'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-m-ön*   *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   1NSG.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*   *kemba*   *y-okas*
         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* *Galilia* *söpa* *yuru-önd*
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* *tungg-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 underived 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

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

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

(3.196) ***Ton***   *b'om*   *na*   *y-ongand-o-nj.*
      3NOM   pig   ABS.PST   ABS.3SG-kill.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
      'He killed a pig.'

(3.197) ***Ton***   *ke*   *Daru-wa*   *iik-o-nj.*
      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*   ***ten***   *t-epou-in-dam*   *dem*   *mep*   *Mande-nd.*
      1NSG.NOM   3NSG.ACC   IRR-hit.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PLSBJ   RM.FUT   tomorrow   Monday-LOC
      'We will fight them coming Monday.'

(3.199) *Kon*   *mor*   ***tin***   *m-otka-en*   *dem*   *okat-i*   *b'öga-m.*
      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.

<u>*kor b'u*</u>   (1SG.DAT + father)   'my father'
<u>*ti yönggan*</u>   (3SG.DAT + younger brother)   'his younger brother'
<u>*ti yöm*</u>   (3SG.DAT + hand)   'his hand'
<u>*kor mop*</u>   (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**   <u>*ma*</u>   *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   ABS.2SG-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 3.13: Wipi Emphatic Pronouns

	emphatic pronoun	meaning
1SG	kolönggiam	by myself
2SG	molönggiam	by yourself
3SG	tilönggiam	by himself
1NSG.INCL	meralinggiam	by ourselves
1NSG.EXCL	sualinggiam	by ourselves
2NSG	walönggiam	by yourselves
3NSG	tualinggiam	by yourselves

(3.214a) *Ton*   ***b'-ipou-ꞁ***.
         3NOM   REFL-hit.SG-3SG.SBJ
         'He$_i$ hit himself$_i$.'

(3.214b) *Ton*   ***tilönggiam***   ***b'-ipou-ø.***
        3NOM   3SG.EMPH   REFL-hit-3SG.SBJ
        'He hit himself.'

(3.215) *Kon*   ***kolönggiam***   *met*   *y-orang-o-nd.*
        1SG.NOM 1SG.EMPH   house   ABS.3SG-build-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ
        'I built the house by myself.'

(3.216) *Ton*   *tin*   *y-ipou.*
        3NOM   3SG.ACC   ABS.3SG-hit.SG
        'He$_i$ hit him$_j$.'

Reciprocality is expressed by the reflexive form of the verb in combination with a reduplicated emphatic pronoun or with the adverbs *möramöra* or *wisawisa* 'reciprocally'.

(3.217) *Sön*   ***sualinggiam-sualinggiam*** *b'-epk-in-dam.*
        1NSG.EXCL.NOM   1NSG.EMPH -1NSG.EMPH   REFL-cut.NSG-ABS.PL-1/2PL.SBJ
        'We cut each other.'

(3.218) *Ton*   <u>*möramöra*</u>   *b'-epk-anj.*
        3NOM   reciprocally   REFL-cut.NSG-PM.PRES3
        'They cut each other.'

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)?'

(3.223) **Rokas-im**   *ton*   *ui?*
       where-ABS.PL   3NOM   go.PL
       'Where are they going?'

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*   *köma*   *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*   *jö?*
       who.GEN   house   ABS.SG   PRED
       'Whose house is it?'

(3.226) **Ya**   *ma*   *jö*   *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**   *pölwa*   *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-yöt?*
       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 postpostion *ma*. As such they functiion 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?'

(3.233) **Nangga me-na**   *ton*   *ulbagbag*   *y-okat-o-nj?*
       what   PURP-ABS.PST   3NOM   cross   ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
       'Why (what purpose) 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.

rönggöt	'which'	(*önggöt* 'this/certain one')	
rönte	'which'	(*önte* 'only this one'):present tense	
röna	'which'	(*öna* 'only this one'):for past tense	
rökönd	'where'	(*dökönd* 'here/certain place')	
röta	'where'	(*öta* 'here')	
rödnat	'when'	(*ödnat* 'certain time')	
röng ma	'for what'	(*öng ma* 'for certain thing')	
röng ka	'from where'	(*öng ka* 'from certain place')	
röng ke	'from where'	(*öng ke* 'from certain place')	
rödede	'how'	(*ödede* 'like this')	
röja	'how'	(*öja* 'like this')	

(3.234) *Man*   **röja-e**   *y-omnök-et?*
       2SG.NOM   how-ABS.SG   ABS.3SG-make.SG-2SG.SBJ
       'How do you make it?'

(3.235) *Man*   **röja-i**   *amnök-et?*
       2SG.NOM   how-ABS.DL   make.NSG-2SG.SBJ
       'How do you make them(dl)?'

(3.236) *Man*   **röja-im**   *amnök-iny-öt?*
       2SG.NOM   how-ABS.PL   make.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ
       'How do you make them(pl)?'

(3.237) *Rökönd*   *onggöt*   *gasa*   *ouk-o-nj?*
       where   DX   thing   become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
       'Where did this thing happen?'

Some of those forms can be reduplicated.

(3.238) **Röjaröja** *e*   *pingg*   *aköka?*
       how   ABS.SG   bow   cutting
       'How is the bow cutting going?'

(3.239) **Röjaröja-im** *wön*   *pingg*   *aNök-enen-in-dam.*
       how-ABS.PL   2NSG.NOM   bow   cut.NSG-HAB-ABS.PL-2PL.SBJ
       'How do you cut bows?'

Finally, there are the quantity question words *liamog* 'how many/much' [± animate] and *liapös* '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) **Liapös**   *röga*   *im*   *dökönd*   *b'eoma-pu-önd?*
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 3.14: Wipi Deictic Markers

	generic		specific
	visible	invisible	
SG.M	öte	ade	önte
SG.F	öto	--	önto
DL	osi	ami	önsi
PL	opim	amim	önsim

(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-öt.*
DX.SP.SG   2SG.GEN   pencil   ABS.3SG-drop-2SG.SBJ
'You dropped your pencil right here.'

(3.245) **Öto** *kongga w-öböm.*
DX.SG.F woman ABS.3SG.F-stay
'Here is a woman.'

(3.246) **Ade** *Bala Yamega-wa ukend-o-nj.*
DX.INVIS.SG Bala Yamega-ALL born-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
'Bala was born there in Yamega.'

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'
omand(a) 'right here'
öng 'here (certain place/thing)'
öndama 'here'
amade 'here (directional)'

(3.247) *Kon n-ek-en dor* **de** *Yamega-wa.*
1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT DX Yamega-ALL
'I will go to Yamega.'

(3.248) *Y-oramit-e* **dökönd** *kasa kumb-önd!*
ABS.3SG-put-IMP.SG here table on.top-LOC
'Put it on the table!'

(3.249) *Köd re* **omanda** *ködtor y-öpend-o-nj.*
heart REL here heart.string ABS.3SG-cut-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
'The heart stopped right here.'

(3.250) *Gimodo iik-o-nj* **öng** *kek amade Podar-wa.*
Gimodo go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ here ABL there.EX.SG Podar-ALL
'Gimodo went there to Podar from here.'

(3.251) *Kon* **öndama** *emb seg t-a-en.*
1SG.NOM here INTNS finish IRR-become-1SG.SBJ
'I will finish(die) right here.'

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

(3.252) *Pensöl ade-**ta** esenj-öm.*
pencil DX.INVIS.SG-DIR drop-YD.PST
'The pencil dropped around there.'

(3.253) *Öte-**ta*** *yama* *y-oramit-o-nd.*
       DX.SG-DIR   may   ABS.3SG-put-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ
       'I might have put it around here.'

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   ABS1-come-DL.SBJ   here   this   morning-LOC
       'We came here this morning.'

(3.256) *Seg* *ket,* *yör* *opumit-a* *omnök* ***onggöt*** *röga* *uj* *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

	generic		specific
	visible	invisible	
SG.M	öte	ade	önte
SG.F	öto	--	önto
DL	osi	ami	önsi
PL	opim	amim	önsim

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.[8]

Table 3.16: Wipi Demonstratives

Number	Demonstrative
SG.M	ötre
SG.F	ötro
DL	osire
PL	opire

(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*   *örök-i*   *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-etk-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 3.17: Wipi Existential Deictic Markers

	generic		specific
	visible	invisible	
SG	öta	ama	önta
DL	osiya	amiya	önsiya
PL	opima	amima	önsima

---

[8] 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 specfic 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*   *köma.*
3NOM   DX.EX.INVIS.PL stay.PL 1NSG.EXCL.NOM with
'They are there staying with us.'

(3.279) *Makwa* ***öta***   *ömunjog* *yepa* *röga.*
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*   *sömana.*
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*   *sömana.*
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*   *sömana?"* "***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*   *sömana?*   **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*.

(3.285) *Kon*   **ma**   **öta**   *n-ek-en*   *dor.*
         1SG.NOM   NEG   DX.EX.SG   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ   TD.FUT
         'I will (really) not go.'

(3.286) **Makwa**   **öta**   *negör*   *röga*   *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

Number	Negative Existential Marker
SG.NEUT	awör
SG.M	aure
SG.F	auro
DL	auri
PL	aurim

(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***   *stawar*   *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**   *pailet*   *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*   *aukötondam.*
1NSG.EXCL.NOM   NEG   little   ABS.PST   happy   become-PM.RM.PST1/2PL
'We became not little happy.= We became very happy.'

(3.299) ***Ma***   *komkisa-im*   *sadi*   *t-epang-ök-iny-öt.*
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) W*ön*   **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**   *pailet*   *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*   *dem*   *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*   *lamyap*   *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-go-RM.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.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 postpostions 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.)

(ö)nd   Locative   'at'
wa   Locative, Allative   'to, at'
ka/ke Ablative, Instrumental 'from, with'

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.'

(3.315) *Walapu   **ke**   n-etk-en.*
garden   ABL   ABS1-come-1SG.SBJ
'I came from the garden.'

(3.316) *Wön   yapa   **ka**-im   ul   ep-k-in-o-nda.*
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   ABS.2SG-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*, *ka*/*ke* 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-ormais-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.'

(3.331) *Sön*   *b'ua*   ***nata***   *tu-o-nd*   *tungg-wa.*
1NSG.EXCL.NOM   bush   through   come.PL-RM.PST-1PL.SBJ   village-ALL
'We came to the village through the bush.'

The locative postpositions are also used in temporal adverbial phrases. In these cases they go with time nouns, or with nominalized verbal phrases.

(3.332) *Söm*   *sömana-**nd***   *ukoi*   *b'eoma*   *y-okas-m-i.*
yesterday   afternoon-LOC   big   meeting   ABS.3SG-take-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ
'Yesterday afternoon they took big meeting.'

(3.333) *Kon*   *n-ek-o-nd*   *tiina*   *gujo*   *orak-a-**nd***.
1SG.NOM   ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ   3SG.GEN   coconut   find.SG-NMLZ-during
'I went (to him) while he was finding coconut.'

(3.334) *Ton*   *röga*   *nömog*   *erar-o-nj*   *gör*   *ongönjena-**nd***   *göga-nd.*
3NOM   man   two   leave.NSG-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ   net   mending-LOC   boat-LOC
'He left the two men while they were mending the net in the boat.'

(3.335) *Sötawar*   ***ke***   *sömana*   *ton*   *sopa*   *wöko-im*   *amnök-iny.*
morning   ABL   afternoon   3SG.NOM   garden   work-ABS.PL   make.NSG-ABS.PL
'From morning until afternoon he is doing garden work.'

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'	
nömog	'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 nömog	'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 nönö	'ten'	(*yöm* 'hand' + *nönö*, related to *nömog* 'couple')
yongön ke yepa	'eleven'	(*yongön* 'foot' + *ke* ABL + one)
yongön ke nömog	'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	'eightteen'	(foot + other side + *ke* + three)
yongön tab ke nöndanönda	'nineteen'	(foot +other side + *ke* + four)
yepa röga jö unduati	'twenty'	(one + *röga* 'man' + *jö* 'body' + complete)
yepa röga jö unduati ö yepa	'twenty one'	(twenty and one)
yepa röga jö unduati ö yongön tab ke yapa	'thirty six'	(twenty and sixteen)
noa röga jö 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** *röga* *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 subjectsor 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'
nömogöm   '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*:

nömogöm-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'
auör	'no, none, nothing'
rauör	'no, none, nothing'
makwa yepa	'no-one'
be	'any'
ita	'every'

(3.346) ***Nönda*** *röga* *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) *Wö-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-ön.*
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* *röga-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   röga 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, kemba **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 ABS1
'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 *sö* and *ita*.

(3.372) *Kor taim öte-mb ket n-itk-ao, **sö** 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.

da 'that (complementizer)'
re 'when'
ra 'if' conditional
rako 'if' conditional
kiako 'then' contrafactual
marako 'then' contrafactual
ngörpu 'until'
deda 'so that, because (complmentizer)'

(3.374) *Man **ra** m-ek-et koda n-ek-en.*
2SG.NOM IF ABS.2SG-GO-2SG.SU 1SG.NOMALSO ABS1-GO-1SG.SU
'If you go, I also will go.'

(3.375) **Ra**   *man*   *jogjog köp*   *t-au-iny-öt,*   *kopa*   *t-a-et.*
         if   2SG.NOM many   fruit   IRR-eat.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ   sickness   IRR-become-2SG.SBJ
         'If you eat many fruits you will become sick.'

(3.376) **Rako**   *man*   *kemba*   *au-in-o-t*   **kiako**   *man*   *kopa*
         IF   2SG.NOM   banana   eat.NSG-ABS.PL-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ   then   2SG.NOM   sick
              y-okat-o-t.
              ABS.3SG-take.SG-RM.PST-2SG.SBJ
         'If you would have eaten the bananas, you would have become sick.'

(3.377) **Rako**   *man*   *kak*   *y-onygenj-öt*   **marako**   *man*   *met-wa*   *m-öbny-öt.*
         IF   2SG.NOM bone   ABS.3SG-break.-2SG.SBJ   then.not 2SG.NOM   house-ALL   ABS.2SG-stay-2SG.SBJ
         'If you would have broken your leg, you would not have been in the house.'

(3.378) *sö*   *n-omn-in-o-nj*   **da**   **"Sö**   **ka-emb**   **t-erar-iny-ön".**
         so   ABS1-do-ABS.PL-REM.PST-3SG.SBJ   that   so   soon-INTNS   IRR-leave-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
         'Then he told us that "Now I am leaving you".'

(3.379) *Wöba*   *emb*   *ton*   *yepa*   *söwöny,*   **ngörpu**   *ötara*   *öspar-iny.*
         game   INTNS   3NOM   one   night   until   until   overnight-ABS.PL
         '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'
nöma	'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*)

röga	'man'	*röga**jog***	'mature man who got married'
tungg	'village'	*tungg**jog***	'main village'
tunggiam	'villager'	*tunggiam**jog***	'true village man'
yöt	'word'	*yöt**jog***	'true word'
nyö	'water'	*nyö**jog***	'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').

(3.380) *Ton   iik   de   met-**jog**-wa.*
         3NOM   GO   DX   HOUSE-INTNS-ALL
         'He is going to the very house.'

(3.381) *Man   m-ek-et   ket   ti   b'öga-**jog**,   Gimodom   umör*
         2SG.NOM ABS.2SG-go-2SG.SBJ then   3SG.DAT child-INTNS Gimodo.DAT knowledge
         ötmukt-am   ket.
         send-INF   then
         'You go to his blood child, Gimodo, then to send him the knowledge.'

When the intensifier *jog* is attached to an adjective, it indicates the meaning 'true/pure/real/very.'

<u>ADJ + INTNS (-*jog*)</u>

b'ogöl	'good'	*b'ogöl**jog***	'very good'
ukoi	'big'	*ukoi**jog***	'very big'
mulmul	'yellow'	*mulmul**jog***	'true/pure/real yellow'
sobijog	'little'	*sobijog**jog***	'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.

<u>ADV + INTNS (–*jog*)</u>

stawar	'morning'	*stawar**jog***	'early in the morning'
sömana	'afternoon'	*sömana**jog***	'late in the afternoon'
yuru	'edge'	*yuru**jog***	'the very end of the edge'
pumb	'high'	*pumb**jog***	'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 <u>**-pu**</u>.

<u>ADV(locative) + INT (-*jog*)</u>

*wala**pu***	'garden place'	*walapu**jog***	'right in the garden'
*ogna**pu***	'cooking place'	*ognapu**jog***	'right in the cooking place'
*unduata**pu***	'finishing place'	*unduatapu**jog***	'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.'

(3.385) *Sö   opim-**emb**   mera   b'u-war.*
       then DX.PL-INTNS   1NSG.INCL.DAT father-PL
       'So right there were many our fathers.'

(3.386) *Öte-**emb**   mera   otobark-i   tungg.*
       DX.SG-INTNS   1NSG.INCL.DAT   start-PAS   village
       'That very one is our original village.'

(3.387) *Sö   öja-na-**mb**   jö   umena   r-ebn-ao.*
       so   like.this-ABS.PST-INTNS   PRED   living   HORT.NSG-stay-BEN
       'Let their lives be just like this.'

(3.389) *Sköl   ket   ik,   oman   **demb**   jö   umör   sisöl   b'öga-p   emj-i.*
       school PRF   come   here   DX.INTNS   PRED   knowledge new   child-NOM.PL take-3PL.SBJ
       'School came and right here the new generation is taking knowledge.

(3.390) *Seg   öng-ke-na-**emb**   Wipim   sköl   y-oramit-o.*
       finish this-ABL-ABS.PST-INTNS   Wipim   school ABS3SG-put-PM.REM.PST3
       'And then at this very spot they put the Wipim school.'

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.

(3.391) *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   DX.REL.SG   2NSG.DAT PURP   PRED
       'People who came from other village, this food is yours.'

(3.392) *Yongg   mijag   timtim,   [**ötre**   röga   y-ong],   Yamega-wa   ke   iik.*
       dog   big   black   DX.REL.SG   man   REAL-bite   Yamega-ALL   PRF   go
       'The big black dog which bit the man already went to Yamega.'

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 irrealis verb forms.

ke~ket   'perfect'
dor   'near future'
dem   'remote future'
yama   'subjunctive'(potential)
rako   'subjunctive'(obligation)
pop   'unsuccesful'

(3.393)   *Ton*   **ke**   *ngel*   *y-ou.*
          3SG.NOM   PRF   sweet.potato   ABS.3SG-eat
          'He ate the sweet potato already.'

(3.394)   *Re*   **ket**   *seg*   *sön*   *tu-o-nd*   *tungg-wa.*
          REL   PRF   finish   1NSG.EXCL.NOM   come.PL-RM.PST-1SBJ   village-ALL
          'When finished (then) we came to the village.'

(3.395)   *Kon*   *sömana*   *n-ek-en*   **dor**.
          1SG.NOM   afternoon   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ   TD.FUT
          'I will go in this afternoon.'

(3.396)   *Kon*   *mep*   *n-ek-en*   **dem**.
          1SG.NOM   tomorrow   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ   RM.FUT
          'I will go tomorrow.'

(3.397)   *Koina*   *öta*   **yama**   *dökönd.*
          1SG.GEN DX.EX.SG   SBJ   here
          'Mine may be around here.'

(3.398)   *Kon*   *öta*   **yama** *n-ek-en*   *Daru-wa*   *ra*   *göga*   *ik.*
          1SG.NOM   DX.EX.SG   SBJ   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ   Daru-ALL   if   boat   come
          'If a boat comes, I might to to Daru.'

(3.399)   **Rako**   *man*   *t-omis-öt,*   *ko-da*   *t-omis-ön*   *dor*
          if   2SG.NOM   IRR-sit-2SG.SBJ   1SG.NOM-also   IRR-sit-1SG.SBJ   TD.FUT
          'If you will sit, I will sit too'

(3.400)   *Man*   **rako** *m-ek-et*   *Daru-wa.*
          2SG.NOM   SBJ   ABS.2SG-go-2SG.SBJ   Daru-ALL
          'You should go to Daru.'

(3.401)   *Marasin-im*   **pop**,   *ton*   *da*   *"Goro*   *marasin".*
          medicine-ABS.PL   wished   3NOM   that   NEG   medicine
          'We tried to give him medicine, but he said that "Don't give me medicine.'

The perfect aspect particle *ke* can be reduplicated to express continuation.

(3.402)   *Ton-p-im*   *öwöu*   *au-to*   **kekeke**   *ngor*   *auk-öto.*
          3NOM-NOM.PL-ABS.PL   food   eat.NSG-PM.RM.PST.3PL   PRF.PRF.PRF   full   become-PM.RM.PST.3PL
          'They continually ate food (until) they were full.'

3.16 Predicate Marker

Equative predicates optionally get the predicate marker *jö* as their final element. The equative predicate marker *jö* may not occut when the subject is a proper noun.

(3.403) *Ton*   *sam*   *e*   ***jö***
      3NOM   happy   ABS.SG   PRED
      'He is happy.'

(3.404) *Andiwa* *kopa*   *e*   **(jö)*.
      Andiwa   sick   ABS.SG   PRED
      'Andiwa is sick.'

3.17 Pro verb

Wipi has one pro-verb *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'.

(3.405) ***Seg***   *yam*   *b'öga*   *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.'

(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-nj   *ii*   *köma,*   *döde*   *ger*   *köma*   *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.'

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.

owö   'yes'
öö   'yes, agreed'
nai   'no'
ka   'no'
ömunje/ömunjoge   'true'
ötemb   'it is' (affirmative answer)
simesime   'welcome'
manoo/mada emboo   'so long/good bye .2SG'
wönoo/wöda emboo   'so long/ good bye. 2NSG'
söteket   'thanks'
wöy   'exclamation of fright'
kö   'exclamation of surprise'
nömae   'wonderful'
sebore   'hello/welcome,' borrowed word from Bine language
yawö   'so long/good bye,' borrowed word from Kiwai language

(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 →   {(<u>Mod</u>)* N (Mod)*[9]}
                 {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 → (DEM) (POSS) (NUM) (ADJP)* <u>N</u> (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 *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 *ukoi* 'big', is again an exception; it cannot follow a color adjective.

	DEM	POSS	ADJ	NUM	ADJ	ADJ	N
(4.3)	*ötre*	*koina*	*ukoi*	*nömog*	*timtim*	*otomanti*	**_yongg_**
	DX.REL.SG	1SG.GEN	big	two	black	good	dog
	'those two good big black dog of mine'						

	DEM	NUM	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	N	POSS
(4.4)	*opi*	*noa*	*b'ogöl*	*ukoi*	*timtim*	**_yongg_**	*koina*
	DXPL	three	good	big	black	dog	1SG.GEN
	'Those three good big black dogs of mine'						

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[9] The asterisk indicates that these modifiers are recursive, i. e. more than one is possible.

	DEM	NUM	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	**N**
(4.5)	*osi*	*nömog*	*sobijog*	*udurureni*	*öröki*	***peba***
	DX.DL	two	small	striped	written	paper

'those two small lined written papers'

		POSS	**N**	QUANT
(4.6)	*PNG*	*ma*	***gou***	*komkisa*
	PNG	GEN	ground	all

'the whole contry of PNG'

	ADJ	ADJ	**N**	INTNS
(4.7)	*b'ogöl*	*metmet*	***öwöu***	*kököp*
	good	sweet	food	INTNS

'really good tasty food'

	ADJ	N
(4.8a)	*ukoi*	***yongg***
	big	dog

'big dog'

| (4.8b) | *yongg ukoi* |

	ADJ	ADJ	N
(4.9a)	*ukoi*	*timtim*	***yongg***
	big	black	dog

'big black dog'

| (4.9b) | *timtim ukoi* | *yongg* |

	NUM	N
(4.10a).	*paib*	***yongg***
	five	dog

'five dogs'

| (4.10b) | *****yongg** paib* |

	ADJ	N	ADJ	POSS
(4.11)	*timtim*	***yongg***	*mijag*	*koina*
	black	dog	big	1SG.GEN

'my big black dog'

	POSS	N	ADJ	ADJ
(4.12)	*koina*	***yongg***	*mijag*	*timtim*
	1SG.GEN	dog	big	black

'my big black dog'

	POSS	ADJ	ADJ	N
(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,   wöba,   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'

(4.21) *kor* *ngömör* ***döde*** *moina* *b'öga*
1SG.DAT sister and 2SG.GEN child
'my sister and your child'

(4.22) *moina* *gar* ***döde*** *koina* *gar*
2SG.GEN heart and 1SG.GEN heart
'your mind and my mind'

The conjunction *ake* is used for set pairs/combinations that always go together in a fixed order.

(4.23) *röga* ***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* *röga* *yör* *opumit-a* *omnök* *dor.*
pastor or some man eye pray-NMLZ make TD.FUT
'Pastor or some man will pray.'

(4.29) *Röga,* *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) *B'ogöl   stawar   o   sömana*
      good   morning   or   afternoon
      'Good morning or good afternoon.'

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.

NP →   NP   N (Head)

(4.31) *b'öga   b'om*
      child   pig
      'piglet'

(4.32) *Yamega tungg*
      Yamega village
      'Yamega village'

(4.33) *ukoi   nyö   röga*
      big   name   man
      'big man'

(4.34) *met   orang-a   röga*
      house   build-NMLZ   man
      'house builder'

(4.35) *mor   yönggan   Sanigiri*
      2SG.DAT   younger.brother   Sanigiri
      'your younger brother Sanigiri'

(4.36) *kon   mor   apa   Andiwa,*
      1SG.NOM   2SG.DAT   in-law   Andiwa
      'I, your in-law, Andiwa,'

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.

(4.37) *kemba,   metmet-iam*
      banana   sweet-one
      'the banana, the sweet one (the sweeter banana; implying that the others are not as sweet)'

(4.38) *kemba,   metmet-iam-jog*
      banana   sweet-one-INT
      'the banana, the very sweet one (the sweetest banana)'

Nouns describing places frequently occur in appositional phrases with the following locational nouns as heads.

wöngör	'inside'
önyön	'middle'
bau	'outside'
ngor	'inside'
pumb	'top'
kumb	'top'
wöra	'space underneath something'
us	'vicinity'
wöp	'face, front'
kak	'back'
yuru	'edge, side'
tum	'surface'

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

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

4.1.4 Relativised Noun Phrases

The relativised NP consists of an obligatory NP followed by an obligatory relative clause.

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) *[Yongg mijag timtim] [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 that bit the man already went to Yamega.'

(4.42) *[nanggamog   wöko   omnök-a   opi-re   wör, wala, odede   gasa.]..*
        what   work   make-NMLZ REL.PL taro garden like.this thing
        'any kinds of working which are taro, garden like things...'

(4.43) *[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 yours.'

(4.44) *[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...'

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.

VP → (Participle)* V

(4.45) *Kon* *Yamega-wa* ***n-ek-en***
1SG.NOM Yamega-ALL 1ABS-go-1SG.SBJ
'I am going to Yamega

(4.46) *Kon* ***omnök-a*** ***omnök-a*** ***n-ek-en***.
1SG.NOM make-NMLZ make-NMLZ 1ABS-go-1SG.SBJ
'I continue to make.'

(4.47) *JeWuk* *wöngawönga* *ke* ***imd-a*** ***n-ii-en-in-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.'

(4.48) *Rorte* ***ötlit-i*** ***y-öböm***.
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.

uj *omöny* death + do -> 'kill'
uj *omnök* death + make -> 'kill'
yöt *omöny* word + do -> 'inform'
umör *omöny* knowledge + do -> 'inform, say'

(4.49) *Ton* ***umör*** ***n-omn-o-nj*** *da* *"kon* *n-ek-en."*
3SG.NOM knowledge ABS1-do-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ that 1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
'He told me "I will go."'

(4.50) *Ton* *ke* *yepa b'om* ***uj*** ***y-omöny***.
3NOM PRF one pig death ABS.3SG-do
'He already killed the pig.'

(4.51) *Kon* *men* ***uj*** *maka* ***m-omny-en***.
1SG.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

(4.57) *Kongga ke **pailet** (o) **au-wo-nj**.*
woman PRF pilot ABS.3SG.F.PR become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
‘The woman became a pilot.’

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)).

AdjP → (Mod) Adj (Mod)

The adjectival phrase functions as an attribute in the noun phrase or as predicate in equative clauses.
(4.60)
a.	**ukoi-jog**	big + INTNS	→ ‘very big’
b.	**sobijog-jog**	little + INTNS	→ ‘very small’
c.	**mulmul-jog**	yellow + INTNS	→ ‘real yellow’
d.	*b’ogöl* **mulmul-jog**	good + yellow + INTNS	→ ‘good very yellow’
e.	**ngömbla-jog**	cool + INTNS	→ ‘very cool’
f.	*kemba* **baram** *b’öga*	banana + little + child	→ ‘very little banana’
g.	**ukoi kököp** *b’öga*	big + big + child	→ ‘very big child’
h.	**oba uski** *röga*	very + tall + man	→ ‘very tall man’

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)
a.	*kemba*	*baram*		‘small banana’
	banana	small		
b.	*kemba*	*baram*	*b’öga*	‘very small banana’
	banana	small	child	
c.	*kemba*	*baram*	*b’öga-jog*	‘very, very small banana’
	banana	small	child-very	

(4.62)
a.	*kemba*	*metmet*	‘sweet banana’
	banana	sweeter	
b.	*kemba*	*metmet-iam*	‘sweeter one banana’
	banana	sweet-one	
c.	*kemba*	*metmet-jog*	‘very sweet banana’
	banana	sweet-very	
d.	*kemba*	*metmet-iam-jog*	‘the sweetest banana’
	banana	sweet-one-very	

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.

<u>Locative</u>

()	*Kon*	*öndama*	*emb*	*seg*	*t-a-en.*
	1SG.NOM	here	INTNS	finish	IRR-become-1SG.SBJ

'I will finish(die) right here.'

<u>Temporal</u>

(4.64)

a.	*stawar*	*+ jog*	→ *stawarjog*	'very early in the morning'
b.	*bila*	*+ jog*	→ *bilajog*	'really old time'
c.	*mep*	*+ jog*	→ *mepjog*	'real tomorrow'

<u>Manner</u>

(4.65)

a.	*muskemuske*	*+ jog*	→ *muskejog*	'very slowly'
b.	*mogamoga*	*+ jog*	→ *mogamogajog*	'very fearfully'
c	*. gojagoja*	*+ jog*	→ *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 postpostional phrase can function as a locative phrase, temporal phrase, manner phrase, accompaniment phrase, purpose phrase, or instrumental phrase.

<u>Locative</u>

(4.66)

a.	*met*	*+ önd*	→ *metönd*	'at the house'
	house	LOC		
b.	*met*	*+ wa*	→ *met wa*	'to the house'
	house	ALL		
c.	*met*	*+ ke*	→ *met ke*	'from the house'
	house	ABL		
d	*. ag*	*+ önd*	→ *agönd*	'at the mother'
	mother	LOC		

(4.67) *Kon*   *met*   *wa*   *n-ek-en.*
      1SG.NOM   house   ALL   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ
      'I go to the house.'

(4.68) *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

(4.70) **Mep**   **stawar-önd**   *komkisa*   *ui-ön*   *dem*   *b'ua-wa*   *ngörang-öm.*
      tomorrow   morning-LOC   all   GO.PL-1SBJ   RM.FUT   bush-ALL   hunting-DAT
      'Tomorrow morning all of us will go to the bush for hunting.'

(4.71) **Yepa**   **wön-önd**   *kon*   *n-ek-o-nd*   *de*   *Ume-wa.*
      one   time-LOC   1SG.NOM   ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ   DX   Ume-ALL
      'One time I went to Ume.'

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**   *wöko*   *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*   *nyö*   *m-uas-u*   **Yesu-m**   *nyö*   **köma**.
      1NSG.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.   *öwöu* +*ma*   → *öwöu ma*   'for food/ for eating food'

(4.79) *Sön*   **gony**   **ma**   *n-ik-ia*.
      1NSG.EXCL.NOM bath   PURP   ABS1-go-DL.SBJ
      'We are going for washing.'

(4.80) *Molkongga* **öwöu**   **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.   *röga*   + *map*   → *röga map*   'because of the man'
c.   *omna*   + *map*   → *omnöka 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   REFL-throw-ABS.PL-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ   trembling   with
      'I threw the sago away trembling because of the fear.'

(4.83) **Onggöt**   **röga**   **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   1NSG.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.

DP   → deictic marker [+ DEM]

(4.88)   ***Önte-ia**m*   *y-orak-et?*
         DX.SP.SG-NMLZ   ABS.3SG-find-2SG.SBJ
         'Do you find this one?'

(4.89)   ***Onggöt*** *kake*   *kon*   *n-ek-o-nd*   *met-wa.*
         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.

NumP → Numeral

(4.90)   ***Yepa***   *Yamega-wa*   *iik*   *ö*   *siks*   *Daru-wa*   *ui.*
         one   Yamega-ALL   go   and   six   Daru-ALL   GO.PL
         'One went to Yamega and six went to Daru.'

(4.91)   *Kon*   *ke*   ***paib***   *akas-iny-ön.*
         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 Clause → (AdvP/PP) (NPs) (Asp) (AdvP/PP) <u>Equative Predicate</u> (Asp) (AdvP/PP)

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.

	NPs	Equative Predicate

(5.1)   *Goumijag   meraina   gejaröga   e.*
        world   1NSG.INCL.GEN enemy   ABS.SG
        'The world is our enemy.'

	(NPs)	Equative Predicate

(5.2)   (*Kon*)   *sam   en.*
        1SG.NOM   happy   ABS1
        'I am happy.'

(5.3)   *Otade   ton   kopa   e.*
        now   3NOM   sick   ABS.3SG
        'He is sick now.'

(5.4)   *Kon   Yamega   ka-en.*
        1SG.NOM   Yamega   ABL-ABS1
        'I am from Yamega.'

(5.5)   *Ton   sam   e   jö.*
        3NOM   happy   ABS.SG   PRED
        'He is happy.'

(5.6) | *Sö* | *seg* | *jö* | *to-da* | *önggöt* | *gatab.*
| so | finish | PRED | 3SG.NOM-also | this | about

'And it is also finished about this.'

The equative predicate marker *jö* is obligatory absent when the subject is a proper noun.

(5.7) | *Andiwa* | *kopa* | *e* | **jö.*
| Andiwa | sick | ABS.SG | PRED

'Andiwa is sick.'

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.

Existential Clause → (AdvP/PP) (NPs) (Asp) (AdvP) <u>Existential deictic marker</u> (Asp) (AdvP/PP)

The existential deictic marker agrees with the subject in person and number. Some existential deictic markers are inherently negative.

(5.8) | *(Ton)* | **öta** | *met-wa.*
| 3NOM | DX.EX.SG | house-LOC

'He/She is at the house.'

(5.9) | *Sön* | **osiya** | *dem* | *de* | *dor* | *tungg-wa.*
| 1NSG.EXCL.NOM | DX.EX.DL | TD.FUT | DX | mountain | village-LOC

'We (dl) will be there at the highlands village.'

(5.10) | *Gou* | **awör,** | *wub* | **awör,** | *gasatagasata* | **awör.**
| ground | NEG.EX | sky | NEG.EX | everything | NEG.EX

'There was no land, no sky and no thing.'

(5.11) | *Molkongga* | **auri** | *met-wa.*
| couple | NEG.EX.DL | house-LOC

'The couple is not home.'

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 (Subj)$_i$ Abs Marker$_i$ (AdvP/PP)

          b)   (AdvP/PP) Possessor (Subj)$_i$ Possessed (PP) Abs Marker$_i$ (AdvP/PP)

(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.

$$\text{S} \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{V}$$

Intr Cl → (AdvP/PP)* (Asp) (NPsubj) (Asp) (Abs) (AdvP/PP) (Abs) (Asp) $\underline{\text{VP}}_{\text{intr}}$ (Asp) (AdvP/PP)*

      V

(5.17) *N-ek-en.*
      ABS1-go-1SGSU
      'I am going.'

              S   **V**

(5.18) *Yepa wön-önd ton ket iik-o-nj   Galilia söpa yuru-önd.*
      one   time-LOC 3NOM PRF go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ Galilee sea side-LOC
       'One time he went to the side of the Galilee sea.'

      S   **V**

(5.19) *Kibam-**im** erbend-anj.*
      stick-ABS.PL break-PM.PRES3
      'The sticks break.'

      S   **V**   **S**   **V**

(5.20) *Yepa-**e** Yamega-wa iik, paib-**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.'

          S   **V**

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

      S   **V**

(5.22) *Kon   n-ek-en   dem de Ukarumpa-wa, kor kongga ake*
      1SG.NOM ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ RM.FUT DX Ukarumpa-ALL 1SG.DAT wife and
           b'öga köma.
           child with
      'I will go to Ukarumpa with my wife and children.'

      S   **V**

(5.23) *Ton Podemar-wa na   y-öbn-o-nj*
      3NOM Podemar-ALL ABS.PST ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
      'He was living at Podemar.'

Equative intransitive clauses are regular intransitive clauses where the VP is a complex equative VP.

	S		**V**	
(5.24)	*Ton*	*pailet*	*(e)*	*t-au*	*dem.*

(5.24)
Ton	*pailet*	*(e)*	*t-au*	*dem.*
3NOM	pilot	(ABS.3SG.PRED)	IRR-become	RM.FUT

'He will become a pilot.'

S   **V**

(5.25)
Ton	*kopa*	***na***	*w-öbny-öm.*
3NOM	sick	ABS.PST	ABS.3SG.F-stay-YD.PST

'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 Postpostionial phrase. The absolutive marker agrees with the object of the transitive clause.

                              S   **O**   **V**

Transitive Cl→(AdvP/PP)* (Asp) (NPsubj) (Asp) (AdvP/PP) (NPobj)(Abs) (Adv/PP)(Asp) $\underline{VP}_{tr}$ (Asp) (AdvP/PP)*

V

(5.26)
Y-okat-o-nj.
ABS.3SG-take-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

'He took it.'

                S   **O**   **V**

(5.27)
Kewar	*b'öga-p*	*yepa*	*b'eat*	*y-öp-m-i.*
boy	child-NOM.PL	one	wallaby	ABS.3SG-shoot-YD.PST-3PL.SBJ

'The boys shot a wallaby.'

S   **O**   **V**

(5.28)
Onggöt	*kake*	*röga-p*	*ujgöm*	*gou*	*bora-wa*	*oramis-i.*
that	behind	man-NOM.PL	corpse	ground	hole-ALL	put-3PL.SBJ

'After that people will put the corpse in the hole of the ground.'

S   **V**

(5.29)
Sö	*ton*	*ket*	*bodö*	*nata*	*tein-iny-ø.*
So	3NOM	PRF	stream	through	bring-ABS.PL-3SG.SBJ

'And he already brought them at the stream.'

S   **O**   **V**

(5.30)
Nangga	*pe*	*na*	*man*	*b'om*	*y-onganj-öt?*
what	CAUSE	ABS.PST	2SG.NOM	pig	ABS.3SG-kill-2SG.SBJ

'Why did you kill the pig?'

The object can be fronted for emphasis:

	O		**S**	**V**
(5.31)	*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.'

	O		**S**	**V**
(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.'

	O	**S**	**V**
(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.

	S	**V**	**O**
(5.34)	*kongga wa*	*agn-omam*	*b'angga komkisa.*
	woman 2NSG.DAT	cook-PM.YD.PST.2PL	meat all

'Women cooked all the meet.'

	S	**O**	**V**	**O**
(5.35)	*Kiar mijag kon*	*yepaina nena*	*y-omnök-en*	*Jenesis nömogöm*
	sorry big 1SG.NOM	one only	ABS.3SG-make-1SG.SBJ	Genesis second
	sapta.			
	chapter			

'Very sorry, I did only one, Genesis chapter two.'

	S	**V**	**O**
(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 postpostionial phrase. The absolutive marker agrees with the direct object.

| | **S** | | | | **IO** | **O** | | | | **V** | |
Ditr Cl→(AdvP/PP)* (Asp) (NP) (Asp) (AdvP/PP) (NPio) (NPo)(Abs) (Adv/PP) (Asp) <u>VP</u>_{ditr} (Asp) (AdvP/PP)*

        V

(5.37) *Y-oka-en.*
        ABS.3SG-give-1SG.SBJ
        'I give it to him.'

        S   **IO**   **O**   **V**

(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.'

        S   **IO**   **O**   **V**

(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.'

        S   **O**   **V**

(5.40) *kon*   *kasa*   *m-omnök-a-en*.
        1SG.NOM table   ABS.2SG-make-BEN-1SG.SBJ
        'I made a table for you'

            IO   **O**   **V**

(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.'

        S   **O**   **V**   **IO**

(5.42) *Ton-öt*   *kemba*   *y-okao*   *röga-m.*
        3NOM-NOM.SG banana   ABS.3SG-give   MAN-DAT
        'He gave the man the banana.'

        S   **V**   **O**   **IO**

(5.43) *Ton-öt*   *y-okao*   *kemba*   *röga-m.*
        3NOM-NOM.SG ABS.3SG-give banana   MAN-DAT
        'He gave the man the banana.'

            S   **V**   **O**   **IO**

(5.44) *B'ogla,* *yepa* *röga* *ton* *öta*   *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).'

            O   **V**

(5.45) *Mep*   *stawar*   *wala*   *wöko* *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.'

	IO	**IO**	**V**

(5.46) *JeWuk-öm* *ti-da* *y-oka-o-nda*
 JaeWook-DAT 3SG.DAT-also ABS.3SG-give-RM.PST-1PL.SBJ
 'We gave JaeWook his share too.'

	S		**IO**	**O**			**V**

(5.47) *Ton* *ti* *mog-öm* *kasa* *yepa* *b'obogöl* *w-omnök-a-o-nj.*
 3NOM 3SG.DAT mother-DAT table one well ABS3SG.F-make-BEN-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ
 'He made his mother a table well.'

5.3 Clause Modification

5.3.1 Interrogative Clauses

5.3.1.1 polar questions

Polar queation are marked by rising intonaion.

(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 ABS.3SG-do-2SG.SBJ-QUES
 'Did you finish the work?'

(5.50) ***Wöi,*** *man* *gou* *y-osk-et?*
 QUES 2SG.NOM ground ABS.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.F-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   ABS3SG-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   köma 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 timtim, [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 ma öja Y redöde*   'X is not like Y'

(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 ABS3.SG-eat
    'He ate the sweet potato already.'

(5.77) *Re   **ket**   **seg**   sön   tu-o-nd   tungg-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**   *pailet*   *e*   *jö.*
        3NOM   NEG   pilot   ABS.SG   PRED
        'He is not a pilot.'

(5.87)   *Ton*   **makwa** *pailet*   *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   NEGyet   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-ön   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.
               death   with
       'We went to airstrip and the boys shot a wallaby, and the dogs caught another wallaby, and we also killed a pig.'

(6.4) *Re   sön   wui   mogjö   y-okat-o-nda   tiina*
       REL   1NSG.EXCL.NOM honey   content ABS.3SG-take-RM.PST-1PL.SBJ 3SG.GEN

     *pupmet ke,   **ö**   ket   y-öramit-o-nda   sospen-wa.*
     place   ABL   AND   PRF   ABS.3SG-put-RM.PST-1PL.SBJ   saucepan-ALL

     'Then we collected the honey from their place and put it in a saucepan.'

(6.5) *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   ABS.3SG-MAKE-1PL.SBJ

     'We, Christians, are staying and now we are working on language.'

The alternative conjunction *o* 'or,' which is used as a phrasal conjunction, can also be used as a clausal conjunction.

(6.6) *Sokak köma   e,   o   yörköp köma e,   o   möndarka opima   ti   orkak?*
       nose   with   ABS.SG or   eye   with ABS.SG or   lest   DX.EX.PL 3SG.DAT tooth

     'Does it have a nose, or eyes, or does it have teeth?'

The contrastive conjunctions *ajö* and *ai* 'but' are used to join clauses that contrast with each other.

(6.7) *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 is not men fighting.'

(6.8) *Ton   singi e   **ai**   kon   ma   singi en.*
       3NOM   want   ABS.3SG but   1SG.NOM   NEG   want   ABS1

     'He wants it but I don't want it.'

The consequential conjunction *sö* is used to indicate that the clause following is a direct consequence of the preceding clause or sentence.

(6.9) *Kor   taim   öte-mb   ket   n-itk-ao,   **sö**   kon*
       1SGDAT   time   DXSG-INTNS   PRF   ABS1-come-BEN   so   1SGNOM

     t-erar-iny-ön   ket.
     IRR-leave.NSG-ABSPL-1SGSU   PRF

     'My time is coming, so I am going to leave you.'

The conjunction *ita* is mainly a temporal conjunction which can be translated by 'and then'.

(6.10) *Re   Yesu   ouyain-a   seg   au-o-nj,   **ita** iuwat-o-nj   ket.*
       REL.PST Jesus teach-NMLZ end   become-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ   then   leave-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ   PRF

     '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   <u>da   kasa-im   t-amnök-iny-ön.</u>*
          1SG.NOM want   that   table-ABS.PL   IRR-make-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
          'I want to make tables.'

(6.12)   *Ton   singi <u>deda tiina   komkisa   wöngawönga iik   dem   de   yörkokar   pupmet-wa</u>*
          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.

<u>Direct Speech:</u>

(6.13)   *JeWuk$_i$ y-inj   **da**   kon$_i$ Yamega-wa   neken   dor.*
          JaeWook ABS.3SG-say that 1SG.NOM Yamega-ALL   ABS1-go-1SG.SBJ TD.FUT
          'JaeWook$_i$ said: "I$_i$ will go to Yamega". (or 'JaeWook$_i$ said that I$_k$ 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-POSS.SG   plane   PRED   face
                  'I thought "what shape is the plane?"'

<u>Indirect Speech:</u>

(6.16)   *Anne$_i$ w-inj   **da**   ton$_i$ Yamega-wa w-iik   dor.*
          Anne   ABS.3SG.F-say that   3NOM Yamega-ALL ABS.3SG.F-go TD.FUT
          'Anne$_i$ said that she$_i$ will go to Yamega.(or 'Anne$_i$ said: "She$_k$ 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.

6.2.2.2.1 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 absolute 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.'

(6.25) *Kon*   <u>*kasa-im*</u>   <u>*omnök-am*</u>   *atonkis-iny-ön.*
1SG.NOM table-ABS.PL   make-INF   try.PL-ABS.PL-1SG.SBJ
'I am trying to make tables.'

6.2.2.2.2 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*   <u>*ken*</u>   <u>*omit-am*</u>   <u>*n*</u>-*omöny.*
3NOM-NOM.SG 1SG.ACC   sit-INF   ABS1-do
'He made me sit.'

(6.27) *Kon-öt*   *tin*   <u>*y-inga-en*</u>   <u>*kasa*</u>   <u>*omnök-am*</u>.
1SG.NOM-NOM.SG 3SG.ACC   ABS.3SG.M-command-1SG.SBJ   table   make-INF
'I commanded him to make a table.'

(6.28) *Röga-p*   *kongga umör*   *amn-om*   <u>*da*</u>   <u>*öwöu*</u>   <u>*buruburu*</u>   <u>*omnök-am*</u>.
man-NOM.PL woman   information do.PL-PM.YD.PST.3PL that   food   heap   make-INF
'The men told the women to make foods in heaps.'

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*   <u>*re*</u>   *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) <u>*Re*</u>   <u>*bod-wa*</u>   <u>*n-ek-o-nd,*</u>   *kon*   *nony-menamena*   *omnök-a*
REL   stream-ALL ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ 1SG.NOM   thinking-wandering make-NMLZ
          ein-o-nd.
          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*   <u>*ngörpu*</u>   <u>*Keketa*</u>   <u>*oblend-tondam.*</u>
village   ABL   leave-PM.RM.PST.1PL go.PL-RM.PST-1SBJ until   Keketa   arrive-PM.RM.PST.1PL
'We left and went until we arrived at Keketa.'

(6.32) | *Ag* | *öja* | *na* | *yöm-önd* | *n-oam-o-nj* | | *ngörpu* | *plen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mother | like.this | ABS.PST | hand-LOC | ABS1-keep-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ | | until | plane |

y-ulit-o-nj.
ABS.3Sg-take.up-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

'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.

(6.33) | *Ton* | *u-o-nj* | *ket* | *de* | *re* | *y-iwagönd-enen-o-nda,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3NOM | go.PL-RM.PST-3SBJ | PRF | DX | REL | ABS.3SG-nurse-REP-RM.PST-1PL.SBJ |

yötnono *a-en-tondam* *ket.*
discuss become-REP-PM.RM.PST.1PL PRF

'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*.

(6.34) | *Kon* | *maka* | *n-ek-o-nd* | *(mop)* | *noköp* | *kon* | *kopa* | *na* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.NOM | NEG | ABS1-go-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ | (reason) | because | 1SG.NOM | sick | ABS.PST |

n-öbn-o-nd
ABS1-stay-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ

'I did not go because I was sick'

(6.35) | *Sö* | *ii* | *tui-eny-ön* | *noköp* | *da* | *sö* | *kikitum* | *e.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| so | crying | come.PL-REP-1SBJ | because | that | so | last | ABS.SG |

'Then we will cry because this is the last. '

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.

(6.36) | *Ra* | *man* | *t-omis-öt,* | *ko-da* | *t-omis-ön* | *dor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| if | 2SG.NOM | IRL-sit-2SG.SBJ | 1SG.NOM-also | IRL-sit-1SG.SBJ | TD.FUT |

'If you will sit, I will sit too.'

(6.37) | *Ra* | *kemba* | *t-aw-iny-öt* | *dor,* | *kopa* | *ø-okas-öt* | *dor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| if | banana | IRL-eat.NSG-ABS.PL-2SG.SBJ | TDFUT | sick | IRL-take-2SG.SBJ | TD.FUT |

'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
m-öbn-o-t.
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 kapo 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
y-akat-e.
ABS.SG-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   öja   na   ti   nany   pöla   töb   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   pöla   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-etk-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   yör   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?)'

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Appendix List

Appendix A. Verb Paradigms

Appendix B. Example Texts

Appendix A. Verb Paradigms

Table A.0.1: transitive verb paradigm *ongand-* 'to kill'

SUBJ		OBJ	PRESENT		YD.PST	REM. PST	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE		
			REALIS	IRREALIS			IMPERATIVE	PROHIBITIVE	HORTATIVE
	1	3sg	yonganjön	onganjön	yonganjmön	yongandond	-	-	yangandön
	2	3SG	yonganjöt	onganjöt	yonganjmöt	yongandot	yongande	ongandöm	-
SU SG		1SG	nonganj	notnganj	nonganjöm	nongandonj	-	-	nangand
		2SG	monganj	motnganj	monganjöm	mongandonj	-	-	mangand
		3SG	yonganj	onganj	yonganjöm	yongandonj	-	-	yangand
		3SGF	wonganj	onganj	wonganjöm	wongandonj	-	-	wangand
		1DL	nonganj	notnganj	nonganjöm	nongandonj	-	-	nangand
		2/3DL	anganj	tanganj	anganjöm	angandonj	-	-	rangand
		1PL	nonganjiny	notnganjiny	nonganjinyöm	nonganjinonj	-	-	nanganjiny
		2/3PL	anganjiny	tanganjiny	anganjinyöm	anganjinonj	-	-	ranganjiny
DL	1,2,3						(2DL SUBJ)	(2DL SUBJ)	(1/3DL SUBJ)
		3SG	yonganja	onganja	yonganjma	yongandonda	yonganda	onganda	yanganda
		3DL	anganja	tanganja	anganjma	angandonda	anganda	tanganda	ranganda
		3PL	anganjinya	tanganjinya	anganjinyma	anganjinonda	anganjina	tanganjina	ranganjina(m)
PL	1	3SG	yonganju	onganju	yonganjmu	yongandonda	-	-	yangandu
		2/3DL	anganju	tanganju	anganjmu	angandonda	-	-	rangandu
		2/3PL	anganjindam	tanganjindam	angandomam	angantondam	-	-	ranganjinum
	2	3SG	yonganja	onganja	yonganjma	yongandonda	yonganda	onganda	-
		2/3DL	anganja	tanganja	anganjma	angandonda	anganda	tanganda	-
		1PL	nonganjindam	notönganjindam	nongandomam	nongantondam	nanganjinam	tanganjina	-
		2/3PL	anganjindam	tanganjindam	angandomam	angantondam	anganjinam	tanganjina	-
	3	3SG	yonganji	onganji	yonganjmi	yongando	-	-	yangande
		2/3DL	anganji	tanganji	anganjmi	angando	-	-	rangande
		1PL	nongandanj	notöngandanj	nongandom	nonganto	-	-	nanganjine(m)
		2/3PL	angandanj	tangandanj	angandom	anganto	-	-	ranganjine(m)

Participle : ongandi   Infinitive : ongandam

Table A.2: transitive verb paradigm *omit-* **'to set/put down'**

SUBJ		OBJ	PRESENT		YD.PST	REM. PST	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE		
			REALIS	IRREALIS			IMPERATIVE	PROHIBITIVE	HORTATIVE
	1	3sg	yomisön	omisön	yomismön	yomitond	-	-	yamitön
	2	3SG	yomisöt	omisöt	yomismöt	yomitot	yomite	omitöm	-
		1SG	nomis	notmis	nomisöm	nomitonj	-	-	namit
		2SG	momis	motmis	momisöm	momitonj	-	-	mamit
	SU SG	3SG	yomis	omis	yomisöm	yomitonj	-	-	yamit
		3SGF	womis	wotmis	womisöm	womitonj	-	-	wamit
		1DL	nomis	notmis	nomisöm	nomitonj	-	-	namit
		2/3DL	amis	tamis	amisöm	amitonj	-	-	ramit
		1PL	nomisiny	notmisiny	nomisinyöm	nomisinonj	-	-	namisiny
		2/3PL	amisiny	tamisiny	amisinyöm	amisinonj	-	-	ramisiny
DL	1,2,3						(2DL SUBJ)	(2DL SUBJ)	(1/3DL SUBJ)
		3SG	yomisia	omisia	yomisma	yomitonda	yomita	omita	yamita
		3DL	amisia	tamisia	amisma	amitonda	amita	tamita	ramita
		3PL	amisinya	tamisinya	amisinyöma	amisinonda	amisina	tamisina	ramisina
PL	1	3SG	yomisu	omisu	yomismu	yomitonda	-	-	yamitu
		2/3DL	amisu	tamisu	amismu	amitonda	-	-	ramitu
		2/3PL	amisinyu	tamisinyu	amitomam	amitondam	-	-	ramisinum
	2	3SG	yomisia	omisia	yomisma	yomitonda	yomita	omita	-
		2/3DL	amisia	tamisia	amisma	amitonda	amita	tamita	-
		1PL	nomisinya	notmisinya	nomitomam	nomitondam	namisinam	n/tamisinam	-
		2/3PL	aminsinya	taminsinya	amitomam	amintondam	amisinam	tamisinam	-
	3	3SG	yomisi	omisi	yomismi	yomito	-	-	yamite
		2/3DL	amisi	tamisi	amismi	amito	-	-	ramite
		1PL	nomisindam	notmisindam	nomitomam	nomito	-	-	namitem
		2/3PL	amisindam	tamisindam	amitomam	amito	-	-	ramitem

Participle : omiti   Infinitive : omitam