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### Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
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1. Introduction

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 Super-Stock, 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, 180-186).

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 most northern villages, are located south of the Bituri River.

In the early twentieth century, the Wipi people were known as Jibu, from the name of a bush village located at head waters of the Binaturi River, or Oriomo. Later the people were called Gidra, which means ‘bush people’ or ‘inlander,’ by the Bine people, who looked down on them. The eleventh edition of the Ethnologue (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.

The term ‘serial verb construction’ has been used in many ways to describe a construction in different languages in which a series of verbs conjoin together as the main verb of a clause, as well as expressing different roles in the clause or the discourse.

Dorothy James defines a serial verb construction as consisting “of two or more verbs which occur in series with neither normal coodinating nor subordinating markers, which share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object/goal), and which in some sense function together semantically like a single predication” (James 1983:27-28). She further distinguishes serial structures as being

1. Effected as an entire series by negation, tense/aspect, subject referent, and mode suffixes.
2. Allowing an intervening argument between verbs in the series only in certain types. The scope of the argument is then still the entire series.
3. Limited as to number of possibly occurring verbs (James 1983: 67-68).

In Wipi, there is a construction in which at least two elements combine as a unit to encode a single event or action. The first element in this construction consists of a nominalized verb or an action noun. The second element comes from a class of verbs containing verbs such as ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘take away’, ‘bring’ or ‘stay’. This final verbal element can take all the regular verbal affixes for aspect, number, tense, person, gender, etc. These affixes have scope over the whole construction. The semantic meaning of the final verb is somewhat bleached, but it does still convey certain aspects of a remnant of the meaning; i.e. the use of ‘go’ as a final verb conveys ‘continuing action’. The transitivity is governed by the first element in its original form.

The challenge is what to call or name this construction. It does not follow or conform to the classic definition of serial verb constructions as cited above from James (1983). However, it has some properties of serial verb constructions: 1) the use of a final verb to show aspect, 2) the first element shows the content while the second element is semantically bleached, 3) it encodes a single event, 4) they share a core argument, usually the subject and 5) there are no conjunctive elements allowed between the two
parts. These factors by themselves would not constitute a ‘serial verb construction,’ but in Wipi there is no other construction that could go by this term. So ‘Serial Verb Construction’ seems to be the best term.

The final verb of the Wipi serial verb construction, such as ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘take away’ and ‘bring’, has a certain direction, hitherward or thitherward. The centre of the direction will be the place where the speaker or the actor is, and it also can be the present time when the speaker speaks. Therefore Wipi serial verb constructions work as spatial deixis and/or temporal deixis on the discourse level, as Anderson & Keenan (1987) already noted.¹

This analysis is based on around 9 years of fieldwork done between 1991 and 1999. The data for this paper come primarily from more than 137 pages (non interlinearized text by A4 size) of natural texts collected in several different genres, such as biography, hortatory, explanation, narrative, prayer, poem, conversation and letter, from seven villages: Wipim, Podare, Wonie, Gamaewe, Kuru, Rual and Yamega. The principal language helpers who helped to work on the texts are Simea Wodibo, Andiwa Messa, Mike Sanigiri and some others from five different villages.

In this paper, I would like to write about non-final elements and the final verb separately to show how the serial verb construction works, as well as show how it works in a discourse.

The author would like to thank Eileen Gasway for her insightful suggestions in analyzing, reviewing and correcting the content of this paper.

2. Non-final Element
Nominalized verbs and action nouns can function as the non-final element of the serial verb construction.

2.1 Nominalized verbs
There are three ways of forming nominalized verbs: 1) Adding the nominalizer suffix –a, 2) reduplicating the verb stem or 3) using an irregular fixed nominalized verb.

2.1.1 The usage of nominalized verbs as a noun

2.1.1.1 Nominals by suffixation
Nominals can be derived from verbs by conjoining a verb stem and the nominalizer suffix -a, such as obblend-a ‘arrive-NMLZ’ in examples (1)-(4) and orak-a ‘find-NMLZ’ in examples (5)-(7).²

(1) obblend-a bibör
    arrive-NMLZ day
    ‘the day of arriving’

(2) tina obblend-a
    his arrange-NMLZ
    ‘his arriving’
The nominal obblend-a ‘arriving/arrival’ occurs in noun phrases as a modifier of the head noun bibör ‘day’ in example (1) and as a head noun being modified by tina ‘his’ in example (2), \(^3\) while it occurs as a subject in the clause in example (3) and as an object in example (4).

\(^3\) An appositional noun phrase consists of an obligatory noun phrase, the head preceded by a noun phrase which modifies the head. Ibid. pp120-121
In examples (8) – (11), all nominalized verbs occur as a noun functioning as a subject or an object.

### 2.1.1.3 Fixed nominalization forms of verbs

In some cases the nominalized form has a different fixed form from the verb stem, and also the meaning will change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Nominalized Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>öböm</td>
<td>umena ‘living’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yöt weg</td>
<td>yutunga ‘sleeping’</td>
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(12) roga waina umena

man PL.POSS living

‘people’s living’

(13) Yutunga-t wöko negör yomnök.

sleeping-NOM.SG work bad make

‘Sleeping make the work bad.’

In examples (12) and (13), nominalized verbs are in the head of noun phrases.

### 2.1.2 The usage of nominalized verbs as the non-final element in a serial verb construction

Nominalized verbs are used as the first element of a serial verb construction, preceding the final verb.

#### 2.1.2.1 Nominals by suffixation

(14) Re ket boi seg auk-a yik-o-nj. ö kon ket b’öga ni

when PRF fire finished become-NMLZ go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ and I PRF child DL

orak-a ei-o-nd.

find-NMLZ take.away-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ

‘When the fire was becoming finished, I was finding the two children.’
(15)  \textit{Re moleg ti mog yör yii-eny, ma sobijog sam na au}  \\
when old.woman his mother eye take.away-REP not little happy ABS.PST become  \\
ö moleg ti mog jaba na ti b’ōga Wesōp-ōnd ikonen-a  \\
and old.woman his mother just ABS.PST her child Wesip-LOC embrace-NMLZ yii-eny.  \\
take.away-REP  \\
‘When the old woman, his mother, checked it, she became very happy and the old woman, his mother, was just embracing her son Wesip.’

There are three nominalized verbs in examples (14) and (15), functioning as the first element of a serial verb construction.

2.1.2.2 Nominalization by reduplication

(16)  \textit{Mep sōtawar sōwöny bora-nd, meraina sopapu eskis-ōt dem, noköp}  \\
tomorrow morning night hole-LOC our garden visit-2SG.SBJ will because  \\
B’om-ōp opima wör ouou ei-en-anj.  \\
pig-NOM.PL DX.PL taro eating take.away-REP.PM.PRES.3PL  \\
‘Tomorrow morning early in darkness, go to our garden because pigs are eating many taros.’

(17)  \textit{Sö ötemb jō kip re makwa ke naska dad wa wön-ōnd}  \\
then DX PRF well RL never already before ancestor PL.DAT time-at  \\
konggajogō-p kip yör ongong yi-enen-o ö da maka sobijog o  \\
woman-NOM.PL well eye biuting take-REP.RM.PST and that never little or  \\
yiam b’ōga-p yör ongong yi-enen-o mop noköp re  \\
uninitiated child-NOM.PL eye biing take-REP.RM.PST head because when  \\
gog na y-ōbn-o-nj.  \\
law ABS.PST ABS.3SG-stay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  \\
‘It is the well, before at the ancestor time women were never seeing the well, and also little or uninitiated children were never seeing it, because it was forbidden.’

(18)  \textit{Seg re ket, mid tina yōm ke moleg ma pös nōmognōmog}  \\
finished when PRF old.man his hand with old.woman DAT leg two  \\
w-inkita-o-nj ngörpu moleg ma jō ke sana ögog  \\
ABS.3SG.F-join-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ until old.woman DAT body with sago cutting  \\
yii-en-o-nj, ötarə y-ejbolit-o-nj ö utark-a  \\
take.away-REP.RM.PST-3SG.SBJ until ABS.3SG-lay-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ and peel-NMLZ  \\
yii-en-o-nj.  \\
take.away-REP.RM.PST-3SG.SBJ  \\
‘After that the old man joined two legs of the old woman, until he was cutting the sago tree with the body of the old woman, until fell it down and was peeling the bark.’
His elder, he was digging the garden with a hoe, and he, his younger, was planting taros with a digging stick.

The nominalized forms of the verbs (ouou ‘eating’ from the verb ou ‘to eat’ (16), yör ongong ‘seeing’ from the verb yör ong ‘to see’ (17), ögog ‘cutting’ from the verb ög ‘to cut’ (18) and ötot ‘planting’ from the verb öt ‘to plant’ (19)) take the first place of the serial verb construction.

2.1.2.3 Fixed nominalization forms of verbs

Yongg nömog ade umena yik-en-o-nda Mölap wa.

Dog two there living go-REP-RM.PST-DL.SBJ Melap at.

‘Two dogs were living at Melap village.’

Yongg nömog ade ebn-enen-o-nda Mölap wa.

Dog two there stay-REP-RM.PST-DL.SBJ Melap at.

‘Two dogs had been staying at Melap village.’

In example (20), umena ‘living/staying’ is the non-final element of the serial verb construction. It comes from öbn ‘to stay,’ as shown in example (21). However, when it is nominalized, it takes a different fixed form with a bit different nuance of meaning from öbn.

Ton yöto yöt weg-o-nj de Daru taun-önd.

He before word sleep-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ there Daru town-LOC

‘Some days ago he slept in Daru town.’

Ton yöto yutunga yik-en-o-nj de Daru town-önd.

He before sleeping go-REP-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ there Daru town-LOC

‘Some days ago he was sleeping in Daru town.’

The verb phrase yöt wegønj ‘he slept,’ which occurs in example (22), does not have nominalized form, but the fixed nominalized form yutunga means ‘sleeping,’ as illustrated in example (23). The serial verb construction takes this fixed nominalized form as the non-final element of the construction here.

2.2 Action nouns

There are some nouns which indicate actions rather than objects. For example the noun ara means ‘voice,’ but as it comes from someone’s mouth it indicates a speaking action. An action noun can function similarly to a nominalized verb; it will then be the first element in the construction. If the action noun functions as a nominalization of a transitive verb, then the final verb will be a transitive verb. If it functions as a nominalization of an intransitive verb, an intransitive final verb will occur in the construction.
In example (24) the word wöko ‘work’ takes the first element position of the serial verb construction, and itself functions as a first element, therefore it means ‘working something’. The action noun wöko functions as like transitive verb and takes youth ministry as an object, so that the transitive final verb ‘take away’ occurs in this serial verb construction. However, in example (25), the word wöko ‘work’ combines with the nominalized first element omnök-a ‘do/make-NMLZ,’ and functions as a simple object of the nominalized transitive verb.

The noun nony ‘neck’ has an abstract meaning ‘thinking something’. Therefore nony ‘neck’ can occur as a first element of a serial verb construction.

In example (26) above, nony ‘neck’ occurs as a first element before the final verb t-ei-en-iny in the serial verb construction. The action noun nony ‘thinking something’ functions like a transitive verb, therefore in the first sentence it takes tina röga kak ‘his dead people’ as an object, with a dative marker, and in the second sentence it takes ten ‘them’ as an object as well.

In example (27) the noun nony ‘neck’ takes the position of the first element preceding the final verb of the serial verb construction. In this case, the action noun nony ‘thinking’ functions like an intransitive verb, and therefore the intransitive final verb ‘go’ occurs in this serial verb construction.
(28) Ö onggöt negör wöngawönga bokta irere yik-en-o-nj döde
and that bad spirit high shouting go-REP-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ and
onggöt b'ögä-nd y-uongn-en-o-nj bokta kana.
that child-LOC ABS.3SG-shake-REP-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ high INT

‘And that bad spirit was shouting very high and he shook that child very hard.’

The noun irere ‘shouting’ functions like an intransitive nominalized verb in example (28), and it occurs in the position of a first element of the serial verb construction to show what action is going on. In some cases, a verbal noun can express a few different meanings.

(29) Ngörpu ket ngömngai ara wik-eny ti mog re da “Ag, Mulkipip öte
until PRF girl voice go-REP her mother REL that mother Mulkipip DX.SG
mera met negör y-ommök”, ajö ngömngai-öm mog walapu wa na
our house bad ABS.3SG-make but girl-DAT mother garden at ABS.PST
w-öböm.
ABS.3SG.F-stay

‘Then the girl was shouting to her mother that “Mother, Mulkipip destroys our house”, but the mother of the girl was in the garden.’

(30) Mid Irio damadama ara yii-eny da “Oi oi!” b'ösakauren-a
oldman Irio aimlessly voice take.away-REP that oi oi clean-NMLZ
köma aen-a yik-eny.
with become-NMLZ go-REP

‘The old man Irio was saying aimlessly that “Oi oi!” He was becoming (showing) no guilt.’

There is a word ara ‘voice/ sound’, however it means different things. It takes an intransitive first element form in example (29) because the final verb wikeny ‘she go-REP’ is an intransitive verb and it means ‘calling’ or ‘shouting’. However it takes a transitive first element form meaning ‘saying something’ in example (30) because the final verb yiien y ‘he takes it away’ is a transitive verb.

(31) Ö re seg köpiar oramk-a, ö y-örkit-o-nj da “Kabe
and when finished part put-NMLZ and ABS.3SG-ask-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ that please
yöt m-ek-en-e!” Ö ton ket yöt yik-en-o-nj.
word ABS.2SG-go-REP-IMP.SG and he PRF word go-REP-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

‘And then finished putting body parts, and he asked him that ‘Please, be speaking!’ And then he was speaking.’

(32) Röga-t naska nönda röga köma yöt t-ei-en-iny pinangg
man-NOM.SG first some people with word IRR-take.away-REP-ABS.PL hunting
gatab isöpken-a.
about explain-NMLZ

‘Firstly the man will be discussing/saying them with other people, explaining about hunting.’

The noun yöt ‘word/ language’ means ‘speaking,’ which functions like an intransitive verb in example (31) and ‘discussing/saying something’ which functions like a transitive verb in example (32).
## 2.3 Nominalized complex verb phrase

In some cases, an action will be expressed by a complex verb phrase, combining an adjective or a noun with a verb such as *au/auk* ‘become’ or *omnök/omn* ‘make’.

The intransitive verb *au/auk* ‘become’ combines with an adjective such as *soro* ‘angry’, *moga* ‘fear’, *sam* ‘happy’, *seg* ‘finished’, *awör* ‘nothing’, *b’ogöl* ‘good’, *negör* ‘bad’, *bebög* ‘heavy’, *wewa* ‘light’ etc. or an action noun such as *uj* ‘death’, *ilo* ‘life’, *geja* ‘fighting’, *ena* ‘stopping’, *so* ‘fire’, *gony* ‘washing’ etc. See the examples below.

(33) *Re ket boi seg auk-a yik-o-nj, ö kon ket b’öga ni.*

When PRF fire finished become-NMLZ go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ and I PRF child ABS.DL

*orak-a ei-o-nd.*

find-NMLZ take.away-RM-PST-1SG.SBJ

‘When the fire was finishing, I was finding the two children (men).’

(34) *Omandemb jö sisöl rögap umör au-a wuen-o-nj.*

that.point PrM new people knowledge become-NMLZ go-RM-PST-3PL.SBJ

‘From that point of time young people were understanding/knowing it.’

(35) *Sö re sön diam auk-ötondam, kea sön kwa yötkar.*

then when we meal become-PM.RMPST.1PL already we then joke

*auk-a wuen-o-nd.*

become-NMLZ go-RM-PST-1PL.SBJ

‘Then when we ate meal, we already were joking together.’

The transitive verb *omn/omnök* ‘to make/do,’ like the intransitive verb *au/auk* ‘to become’, combines with an adjective or an action in order to make a transitive verb phrase. See the following examples.

(36) *Ö seg ra ket öspåri ke ton opimemb jö wör olömbi wetaweta*

and finished when PRF daybreak from they DX.PL PrM taro putting separate

*omnök-a teien-anj.*

make-NMLZ take.away-PM.PRES.3PL

‘Then after that, in the daybreak, they will be separating the taro they put.’

(37) *B’öj ake uno ma sobijog bebög köma wöko omnök-a eien-in-ia.*

mosquito and gecko not little heavy with work make-NMLZ take.away-ABS.PL-DL.SBJ

‘The mosquito and the gecko are working with very big heavy.’

(38) *Ö ti menon-önd, nony menamena omnök-a tei-iny da “Röngma*

and his walking-LOC thinking walking make-NMLZ bring-ABS.PL that how

*b’öj not-öny dor?”* mosquito IRR.1-do will

‘And during his going, he is thinking that “How the mosquito will do for me?”’
3. Final verb combination

There are some final verbs in the serial verb construction, such as intransitive verbs yik ‘to go’ and ik ‘to come,’ which combine with non-final elements which are nominalized forms of intransitive verbs. The transitive verbs yii ‘to take away’ and ii ‘to bring’ combine with non-final elements which are nominalized forms of transitive verbs, whereas the stative verb öböm ‘to stay’ combines with a non-final element which is a nominalized form of either an intransitive or a transitive verb.

The final verb has direction hitherward or thitherward, and by this direction it expresses spatial or temporal information in the discourse. The final verb shows deictic functions in the discourse context.4 Anderson&Keenan (XX:279) also said concerning deictics that “A language may have bound verbal morphology indicating whether the action described in a sentence proceeds into or away from the ‘space’ of the Speaker/Adressee. Verbal roots themselves can also have deictic meaning, as in English come, go, bring, take, etc.” In the case of the Abaza language, the prefix Ɂa- is a deictic marker for hitherward to the speaker and the prefix na- is for thitherward from the speaker. Therefore they express spatial information as deictics, as in example (40).

(2) a. 1) Ɂa-gra ‘to bring’
   2) na-gra ‘to take’
   3) gara ‘to carry’

b. 1) Ɂa-yra ‘to come here’
   2) na-yra ‘to come there’

In Wipi, however, mostly the final verbs of the serial verb constructions express spatial and temporal information in the discourse.

3.1 The intransitive verbs yik ‘go’ and ik ‘come’

‘Thither’ type intransitive verbs, such as yik ‘he goes’, and ‘hither’ type intransitive verbs, such as ik ‘he comes’,5 have directions hitherward or thitherward according to the central place or time. When they

4 Anderson&Keenan (1987:279) said “...spatial deictics are items which specify the spatial location of an object relative to the location of the Speaker or the Addressee; and temporal deictics are expressions which identify the time of an event or state relative to the time at which the utterance occurs.”

5 In Wipi yik ‘he goes’ and ik ‘he comes’ are irregular verbs;
   Conjugation of verb ‘to go’: neken ‘I go’, nikya ‘we.pl go’, wuyön ‘we.pl go’, meket ‘you go’, wuyöt ‘you.pl go’, yik ‘he goes’, wik ‘she goes’, ekya ‘we/you.pl go’, and wui ‘they go’
occur as a final verb in a serial verb construction, they express the movement of an action continually in that direction. The center of the direction will be different according to the discourse context and the meaning which the speaker wants to express. However, the basic notion of the central place is close to the speaker or to the actor and the notion will be changed by the speaker’s psychological expression.6

3.1.1 Spatial situation

3.1.1.1 Horizontal space

The center of the direction will be near to the place where the speaker is/was when an action is going on in horizontal space. If the action is coming toward the speaker from somewhere else, the final verb will be a ‘hither’ type verb, such as ik ‘he comes’. In the other way, when the action is going on forward away from the speaker, the final verb of the construction will be a ‘thither’ type verb, such as yik ‘he goes’. See examples (41) and (42) below.

(41) Sö dökönda muma kisa aen, gani dormopönd yoramisön.

then here moving without become.1SG.SBJ gun shoulder.LOC ABS.3SG.put.1SG.SBJ

Da ton öte e öpaböndena ik, ö dökönda ojonyös, seg mop that he DX.SG ABS.SG strut-NMLZ come and here hesitate finished head

ket b’urowas pumb wa, koda gani tunköp yusmulisön, ötra PRF lift.up high to I.also gun center ABS.3SG.move.1SG.SBJ until

yöpokisön puam köma.

ABS.3SG.fire.1SG.SBJ sound with

‘Then at that point I did not moving, I put the gun on my shoulder. Then he was strutting toward me, and he hesitated, then he lifted head up, I also moved the gun point, then I fired with sound.’

Example (41) is in the speaker’s own cassowary hunting story. The speaker was hiding at the place where cassowaries might come, then suddenly a cassowary was coming close to the place where he was. The final verb ik ‘he comes’ expresses the strutting action of the cassowary coming toward the speaker/actor from somewhere else. The first element is the nominalized from of the intransitive verb öpabönden ‘strut’, therefore a hither type intransitive verb, ik ‘he comes’, occurs as a final verb in the serial verb construction.

(42) Ko-daka mor pölwa yör ösok-a n-ek-enen-o-nd.

I-also you to eye drop-NMLZ ABS1-go-REP-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ

‘I also was staring at you.’

In example (42) the staring action was directed at another person than the speaker, and the asking action was directed at a third person from the speaker. Therefore a ‘thither’ type verb, nekenond ‘I went’, occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction, combining with the first element of the construction which is nominalized form of the intransitive verb ösok ‘drop’.

When the speaker emphasizes a place as a starting place of an action, that place will be the central place. In this case, if an intransitive action is going on continually toward the central place, a ‘hither’ type intransitive verb, such as ik ‘he comes’, will occur as a final verb of the serial verb construction to show that the place is the central place in the story. In the other direction, if an intransitive action is continually going forward towards places other than the central place, then a ‘thither’ type intransitive verb, such as

6 See Anderson&Keenan 1987:277-280
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yik ‘he goes’, will occur as the final verb of the serial verb construction. See examples (43) and (44) below.

(43) Seg moleg wîk ama re bod, komkisa imangis ö nyö esk-iny, finished oldwoman go there REL creak all immerse and water draw-ABS.PL
ö göböl b’uongnen-a tik ama re met.
and cold shiver-NMLZ come there REL house

‘Then the old woman went to the creek, went into the water and drew the water, and she was shivering with cold until (she arrived at) the house.’

In example (43), the important central place of the story is the house because the husband of the old woman cheated the old woman and sent her to the creek to wash herself and draw water while he ate up some nice sago grubs in the house. The shivering action of the old woman was ongoing while she was going to the house. The speaker treated the house as the central place of the story. Therefore he used the ‘hither’ type verb Tik ‘she comes’ for the final verb of the serial verb construction.

(44) Ngörpu ket mid nömogöp u döde ara köma bodjog yuru nata until PRF oldman two shouting and noise with creak side through
ek-ya, bebög b’öskena yii-ya. Negör padar-önd, ulmet-önd
go-DL.SBJ heavy throw-NMLZ take.away-DL.SBJ bad place-LOC bush-LOC
döde kaimet nata ek-ya, ö döde yöt b’ugoaten-a ö
and vine.bush through go-DL.SBJ and then word argue-NMLZ and
b’ösamnen-a ek-ya.
fall-NMLZ go-DL.SBJ

‘At last two old men went through the bank of a creek with shouting and voice, and were throwing the heavy thing. They went to the bad place, to the tree bush and through vine bush, and then were arguing and falling down.’

Example (44) is a part of an old legend concerning two old men stuck together with glue. They wanted to separate from each other, and then they went to another place to solve this problem. The speaker emphasizes the places they had left, and the arguing and falling actions are continually going on forward towards the places where they would go. Therefore the ‘thither’ type verb EkyA ‘they go’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction.

3.1.1.2 Vertical space

When an action is going on in vertical space, the center of the direction can be the place where the speaker stays or the surface of the ground on which people are usually living. If the action is coming up towards the central place from a lower place or is coming down toward the central from a higher place, then the final intransitive verb of the serial verb construction will be a ‘hither’ type verb, Ik ‘he comes’. In the other direction, if the action is going down from the central place to a lower place or is going up to a higher place from the central place, then the final intransitive verb of the serial verb construction will be a ‘thither’ type verb, such as yik ‘to go’.

The intransitive final verbs in examples (45), (46) and (47) below express deictic places where Wipi people assume psychologically that the ground surface is the central place of the vertical world, while in example (48) they assume that the surface level is the central place of the water.
In example (45) the flood was coming up from the lower level of the river to the ground level where people are usually staying. The coming up action of the flood is going toward the central place, therefore the ‘hither’ type verb *ik* ‘to come’ occurs as a final intransitive verb of the serial verb construction.

Example (46) above, the turtle was dropping down to the ground from the sky when her teeth lost their grip on the stick which she was holding on to in the sky. Then the turtle dropped from the sky vertically to the ground where people are living. The dropping action is coming toward the central place, therefore the ‘hither’ type intransitive verb *tik* ‘to come’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction.

Example (47) is a part of an old legend about a magic coconut tree. It was not too tall to climb up, however, when a man climbed up it, immediately it was growing up very tall. The heightening action was away from the ground where people stay. Therefore the ‘thither’ type intransitive verb *yikonj* ‘he went’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction. Then when the owner spelled to the coconut tree, immediately it was lowering down toward the ground where people stay from the higher place. Therefore the ‘hither’ type intransitive verb *ikonj* ‘he came’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction in
the clause. These intransitive final verbs express the location of the deictic places which the Wipi people indicate/assume psychologically are the ground surface/central place of the vertical world.

(48)  
Baikurkur  imangena  yik  amara, amara da  ‘Wöi, rokatetöi?’
Baikurkur  dive-NMLZ  go  until  until  that  hey  where-NOM.2SG

‘Baikurkur was diving down deeper and deeper saying ‘Where are you?’

In example (48), the center of the direction is the surface of the water and when Baikurkur was diving down deeper and deeper into the water, he was getting further from the surface of the water. Therefore the ‘thither’ type intransitive verb *yik* ‘he goes’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction. The intransitive final verb expresses the location of the deictic place which the Wipi people indicate/assume psychologically is the central place of the water based world.

### 3.1.1.3 Gathering an action and scattering

When people or things gather to one place from other places or scatter/spread out to other places from one place, then the deictic central place will be the place where they would be together. Therefore when an action of people or things is gathering in one place, then the final verb of the serial verb construction will be a ‘hither’ type verb, *tui* ‘they come’. In the other direction, if an action of people or things is scattering/spreading out to different places from one place, the final verb of the serial verb construction will be a ‘thither’ type verb, *wui* ‘they go’.

(49)  
Sö onggöt wönönd ton komkisa bobo auka tuonj
then that time-LOC they all group become-NMLZ come-3PL.SBJ

Yamega tungg wa möle omnökam.
Yamega village to practice do.INF

‘Then at that time all of them were gathering at Yamega village to do the practice.’

In example (49) people gathered at Yamega village from many other villages to do a certain activity, therefore the central place of the activity/actors/story was Yamega village. Thus the ‘hither’ type verb *tui* ‘they come’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction to indicate the deictic central place is Yamega village.

(50)  
Seg ket sön komkisa b’ogöl söwöny yöt a-en-omam ö
finished PRF we all good night word say-REP-PM.YD.PST.1PL and

ket wetaweta auk-a wu-eny-öm-ön
PRF separation become-NMLZ go-REP-YD.PST-1PL.SBJ

sua met yepayepa wa.
out house each to

‘After that all of us said ‘good night’ and then we were separating to each of our houses.’

In example (50) above, people were scattering out to their own houses from the place where they were gathered (doing a certain activity). Therefore the deictic central place of the activity was the gathering place, and then the ‘thither’ type intransitive verb *wui* ‘they go’ occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction to express that the people were leaving the deictic central place.

### 3.1.1.4 Disappearing and affecting

If an action is affecting the speaker/actor or is disappearing from the speaker/actor to somewhere else, then the deictic central place will be the place where the speaker/actor is. Therefore when an action is
affecting the speaker/actor, a ‘hither’ type intransitive verb, ik ‘come’, will occur as a final verb of the serial verb construction. In the other direction, when an action is disappearing from the speaker/actor to somewhere else, then a ‘thither’ type intransitive verb, yik ‘go’ will occur as a final verb of the serial verb construction. See examples (51) and (52) below.

(51) Tu-o-nd öte re ket-ö, nya-wönd da ket, kor oba göböl come-RM.PST-1PL.SBJ DX.SG when PRF way-LOC that PRF me-DAT very cold

auk-a

become-NMLZ

ik-o-nj. come-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

‘When we came, on the way it was becoming very cold to me.’

In example (51), the cold weather was continually affecting to the speaker on the way coming. Therefore the ‘hither’ type intransitive verb, ikonj ‘he came’, occurs as a final verb of the serial verb construction to express that the deictic center is the place where the speaker is.

(52) Ngörpu re ket lomkongga ipanjök-a yik-o-nj. Simea ken until when sun set-NMLZ go-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ Simea me

n-omin-o-nj da “Niakatam orak-a yii-en-ya.”

ABS1-say-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ that last find-NMLZ take.away-REP-DL.SBJ

‘Until when the sun was setting down, Simea said to me that “We will be finding lastly.”’

In example (52), when the sun was setting, the sun was disappearing from the speaker, therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb of the serial verb construction, yikonj ‘he went’, occurs to express that the deictic central place is the place where the speaker is.

3.1.2 Temporal situation
A constant action can be indicated by a serial verb construction in the temporal situation. In this case, the deictic central time of the story will usually be the present time when the speaker is uttering. However, if the speaker emphasizes a certain time, then the deictic central time will be moved to that time. Therefore the central deictic time can sometimes be in the past, in the present, or in the future. In such instances, the final verb of the serial verb construction will either be a ‘hither’ type verb or a ‘thither’ type verb, according to the deictic central time.

3.1.2.1 Toward the present time
If an action started some time in the past and it continues toward the present time or if the action continues from before until a certain time which the speaker emphasizes, then the central deictic time will be the time when the action is finished. The ‘hither’ type final verb will then occur in the serial verb construction, to express that the action is going toward the central deictic time.

(53) Koda koina umena wöngör-önd röja na gege-pöp I.also my living among-LOC how ABS.PST first.experience-under

auka

become-NMLZ

netk-o-nd ngörpu öte ket.

Lalso my living among-LOC how ABS.PST first.experience-under

come-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ

until DX.SG PRF

‘During my life, everything was becoming/being new for me until here/now.’

In example (53), everything was new to the speaker when he started language committee work in the past and is continued to be new until the time when the speaker uttered this story. Therefore the ‘hither’ type
final verb, *netkond* ‘I came’, occurs in the serial verb construction to express that the central deictic time is the present time.

(54) Gege-pöp, koda ma umör na. gege-pöp  na
first.experience-under  I.also not knowledge ABS.PST first.experience-under ABS.PST
onggötiam b’auyain-a n-etk-o-nd ngörpu ket onggötiam kemp
that learn-NMLZ ABS1-come-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ until PRF that camp
auk-en-o-nj
become-REP-RM.PST-3SG.SBJ

‘Everything was new, I also did not know. I was learning that newly until the camp (crusade) started...

In example (54), the speaker started learning about church ministry when he finished grade six and his learning continued until the time when a crusade happened when he was 18 years old. It was an important time for him when he changed greatly, therefore he emphasizes that time as being the time when he finished his learning. Even if the finishing time of learning was passed more than 15 years ago, it is the deictic central time. Therefore the speaker used the final intransitive verb *netkond* ‘I came’ in the serial verb construction to express that the central time was the time when the crusade happened.

(55) Seg sam köma ket b’angga döde ouou bobo omnök-a
finished happy with PRF meat and food heap make-NMLZ
eiento ngörpu re ket bibör unduat-a
take.away-REP-PM.RM.PST.3PL until when PRF day complete-NMLZ
tu-o-nj.
come-RM.PST-3PL.SBJ

‘After that they were gathering meat and food with gladness until the days (the appointed period) were coming to the end.’

In example (55) people fixed a certain period of time to finish gathering food, after that the current of time was coming toward the last day of the appointed period to complete gathering food. The speaker emphasized the last day as the central time of the story even if it was in the past. Therefore the intransitive verb *tuonj* ‘they came’ occurred as a final verb of the serial verb construction to express that the central time was the last day.

(56) Sö onggöt wöngör-önd ma sobijog sam e okat-eny-u, rögap ket
then that inside-LOC not little happy ABS.SG take-REP-1PL.SBJ people PRF
onggötiam ket tuaina b’aso-a ke röna re wöko omnök-a
that PRF their work.hard-NMLZ from which REL work make-NMLZ
tet-to re, ötemb jö ket köp yör t-ang-öranj da
bring-PM.RM.PST.3PL REL DX.SG PRM PRF fruit eye IRR-bite-PM.PRES.3PL that
‘O ömönj-e, ma sobijog na b’aso-a tu-o-nj ket.’
o true-ABS.SG not little ABS.PST work.hard-NMLZ come-RM.PST-3PL.SBJ PRF

‘Then we will be very happy, while people will see those fruits from their hard work which they were doing work, saying that ‘O it is good (result), they have been working very hard.’
Example (56) is an explanation of a harvesting activity, and the speaker assumes in the first clause that the farmers/actors/speaker(1pl) will be very happy at the harvesting time in the future. Then in the second clause and the third clause, he expressed how people will think back to their hard work of planting until the good harvest. He quoted on the assumption that people were at the time of harvest. Therefore the present time of utterance moved to the harvesting time even if it would be sometime in the future. The speaker emphasizes the harvesting time, the finishing time of the hard work, so that the deictic central time also moves to the harvesting time. Because of that the speaker used the ‘hither’ type intransitive verb tuonj ‘they came’ as a final verb of the serial verb construction to express that the hard work continued from the time before until the present time of utterance.

3.1.2.2 Forward to the future time

If an action starts now and it continues forward in the future, or if the action started at a certain time before the speaker emphasizes a certain later time, then the starting time will be the central deictic time. The ‘thither’ type final verb will then occur in the serial verb construction to express that the action is going forward from the central deictic time.

(57) Seg ö toda ket bojog wa wik, ö kedo b’ösken-a wik-ény. finished and she-also PRF creek to go and fishing.rod throw-NMLZ go-REP

‘After that she also went to the creek, and she was throwing the fishing rod.’

Example (57) above is a part of an old story, and even if the action occurred a long time ago, the speaker uses the present tense to make the story real. The speaker emphasizes the starting time of the fishing, therefore the central deictic time is the starting time of fishing (coinciding with the time when she arrived at the creek). From that central time the fishing action continued forward. Therefore the ‘thither’ type intransitive verb wikeny ‘she goes’ occurs as the final verb of the serial verb construction.

(58) Seg ket muske utnök-a yik ti nöm tor wa oramit-i, ö seg finished PRF slowly stand-NMLZ go his arrow string to put-PAS and finished pingg tor ök b’obogöl uj köpiar tunköp.
bow string pull well death part center

‘After that he will be standing up slowly putting his arrow on the string of the bow, and then he will pull the bow string well aiming the deadly part of it.’

Example (58) is an explanation of a hunting event, and future tense is employed. The starting time of the standing action will be the time when a wallaby will come toward him. From that time his standing action will be going on forward until he will shoot it. However the speaker is more concerned about the starting time, rather than about finishing time. Therefore the final verb of the serial verb construction is a ‘thither’ type verb yik ‘to go’ to express the temporal deictic information.
And my eyes became very big because those birds of paradise were stretching their wings. And then my body was becoming/imitating like/how those birds of paradise were jumping.

In example (59) all events are oriented on a starting time. When the speaker saw the birds of paradise, the action of the stretching wings was already started and it was going on forward, the jumping action of the birds started after that and it was going on forward and then she started imitating and it was going on forward. The speaker continually emphasized the start of every action, but she did not mind the finishing time of those actions. Therefore ‘thither’ type final verbs, twice of wuenonj ‘they went-REP’ and yikenonj ‘it went-REP’, occur in the three serial verb constructions in example (59).

And when he returned, he was pulling/dragging his mother until she died. And the son was grieving and then finished crying.

In example (60), all actions are ordered chronologically, such as the son’s return, the dragging of his mother, the death of his mother, mourning for his mother and finishing crying. The mourning started when his mother died and it was going on until some time later. The speaker emphasized the starting time, but not the finishing time. Therefore the ‘thither’ type verb, yikenonj ‘he went-REP’, occurs as the final verb of the serial verb construction to indicate the action is going on forward from the starting time.

3.2 The transitive verb yii ‘take away’ and ii ‘bring’
‘Thither’ type transitive verbs, such as yii ‘he takes away’ and ‘hither’ type transitive verbs, such as ii ‘he brings’, have directions thitherward or hitherward according to the central place or time. When these words occur as the final verb of a serial verb construction, they express the deictic information that an action continues in a certain direction. The basic notion of the deictic central place or central time would...
be close to the speaker/actor and from that the direction will be decided according to the speaker’s intention. However the deictic central place or time can be moved according to the discourse context and the meaning which the speaker wants to express, similar to how intransitive verbs operate. See Section 3.1.

3.2.1 Spatial situation
The deictic center of the story will be the place close to the speaker/main actor or where the main activity is happening. If the action is going on toward the deictic central place from somewhere else, the final verb will be a ‘hither’ type verb, such as *ii* ‘he brings’. In the other direction when the action is going on forward to somewhere away from the deictic central place, the final verb of the serial verb construction will be a ‘thither’ type verb, such as *yii* ‘he takes it away’. See the examples below.

(61) Ö sō litörüsi wöko wöngör-önd nönda b’öga kwa b’atöuk-öto dökönd, and then literacy work inside-LOC some child again stick-PM.RM.PST.3PL here Damdam ake Maik b’öga b’atöu-o-nda dökönd, ö ton-piamb Damdam and Maik child stick-RM.PST-DL.SBJ here and they-NOM.DL moleg-önd yüm okaw-a t-ii-o-nda old.woman-LOC hand give-NMLZ ABS.3SG.F-bring-RM.PST-DL.SBJ some elementri teksö buk omnök-am.

elementary text book make-INF

‘And then some children joined to the literacy work here, Damdam and Maik, two children (boys) joined here, and they were helping the old woman to make some elementary text books.’

In example (61), the old woman is the main actor in the story, and the helping action of two boys was going to her. Therefore the ‘hither’ type final verb *tiionda* ‘they.dl brought’ occurs in the serial verb construction here to express that deictic central place was the old woman and the action was going towards her.

(62) Mop noköp da midmidöp yömak yöt opurena t-ei-en-anj head reason that old.men advice word speak-NMLZ IRR-take.away-REP-PM.PRES.3PL dor de sisöl röga wa pölwa.

will to new people PL to

‘Because old men will be speaking advice words to the young people.’

In example (62), the old people are the main actors of the story because the speaker emphasizes them, and the speaker assumed that the speaking action will be going on forward to the young people from those old people. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb *teienanj* ‘they will take them away’ occurs in the serial verb construction to express the deictic information.

It also can be explained by temporal deictic information. The starting time of advising would be sometime in future and it would be going on forward until some time in the remote future. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb *teienanj* ‘they will take them away’ occurs in the serial verb construction to express the temporal deictic information of the starting time. See also Section 3.2.2.
In example (63), the speaker emphasizes the old woman. Therefore the deictic central place is the place where the old woman was and the good sound of old woman’s kundu playing was going forward to the place where the tree was. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb yii ‘she takes it away’ occurs in the serial verb construction to express the deictic information.

In example (64) the deictic central place in the story is the place where village people were gathering, and the quarreling was moving to another place than the deictic central place. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb yii ‘he takes it away’ occurs in the serial verb construction to express the spatial deictic information. See also Section 3.1.1 above.

### 3.2.2 Temporal situation

A constant action can be indicated by a serial verb construction. In this case, the deictic central time of the story will usually be the present time when the speaker is uttering. However, if the speaker emphasizes a certain time, then the deictic central time will be moved to that time. Therefore the central deictic time can be sometime in the past, in the present, or in the future. In such instances, the final verb of the serial verb construction will be a ‘hither’ type verb or ‘thither’ type verb according to the deictic central time to indicate that temporal deictic information.

#### 3.2.2.1 Toward the present/finishing time

If an action started some time in the past and it continues toward the present time, or if the action continues from a time before until a certain time when the action is finished, then the central deictic time will be the present time or the finishing time. Therefore the ‘hither’ type final verb, such as ii ‘bring’ will occur in the serial verb construction to express that the action is going on toward the deictic central time.

(65)  *Koda ma umör na God oj’a nya omnëka teiny ngörpu öte.*  
I also not know ABS.PST God like.this way make-NMLZ bring until DX.SG  
‘I also did not know that God is making the way like this until now.’

(66)  *Sö kwa bebög onggöt penamb nönda da noköp sö maemb jö kwa*  
then again heavy that reason some that because then not PRM again  
nönda yörikak re kemb sensi omnëk-a tei-romam.  
some word REL already change make-NMLZ bring-PM.YD.PST.2PL  
‘Therefore there were many heavy things because we were not changing many words yet.’
The deictic central time of example (65) is the present time when the speaker was uttering, and the action of God’s making started beforehand and continued until the present time. To express the temporal deictic information, the ‘hither’ type final verb teiny ‘he brings’ occurs in the serial verb construction.

However, in example (66), the speaker thought back about the translation checking session. They were not changing many words before the checking so that they had a hard time in the checking session. The changing should continue and be finished before the session started. The speaker emphasizes that time as when they should finish the changing, so that is the deictic central time. Therefore he uses the ‘hither’ type final verb teiromam ‘we brought them’ in the serial verb construction.

(67) Ai ton naska re, omnōka teito re só e naska
but they before REL make-NMLZ bring-PM.RM.PST.3PL REL ritual ABS.SG first
omnōki, öngkae kwa otogasi.
make-3PL.SBJ from.that again harvest-3PL.SBJ

‘But before what they (people) were doing was that first they would make a ritual and after that they would harvest.’

Example (67) is talking about the harvesting process of the old time. The old practice was continued until some time in the past and it stopped. The deictic central time is the time when the practice lasted because the speaker emphasizes it. Therefore he uses the ‘hither’ type verb teito ‘they brought them’ to indicate their ancestors/ fathers had continued the practice toward the finishing time.

(68) Sō koda umōr na, ma öta b’ogöl nony, só oggōtiam umōr
then I-also knowledge ABS.PST not DX good thinking then that knowledge
re toda b’a-s-im umōr röja na kon wüp ouyain-a
REL it-also father-NOM-ABS.PL knowledge how ABS.PST I kind teach-NMLZ
rei-in-o-nd.
bring-ABS.PL-RM.PST-1SG.SBJ

‘And I also knew, I do not have good thinking, so about that thing (information), Father (God) knows how I was leading them.’

Example (68) is a biography of a young church leader. He started to join the church ministry around five years ago, and is continuing the ministry until the present time when he is speaking. However the speaker assumed that the action finished some time in the past so that he used remote past tense here. But in the real time when he indicated is the present time so that the deictic central time is the present time. Therefore the ‘hither’ type verb teiinond ‘I brought’ occurs here in the serial verb construction.

3.2.2.2 Forward to the future time

If an action started now and it continues forward to the future time, or if the action started from a certain time before that the speaker emphasizes and it goes on forward to a certain time later, then the central deictic time will be the starting time. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb, such as yii ‘takes away’, will occur in the serial verb construction to express that the action is going forward from the central deictic time.
(69) **Ra** ket kabum ita seg, konggap ton ket kap ötank-a
when PREP fish all finished women they PREP oven _build-NMLZ_
_t-ei-en-aj, döde peseny omnōka
IRR-take.away-REP-PREP.PRES.3PL and wrapping _make-NMLZ_
_t-ei-en-aj.
IRR-take.away-REP-PREP.PRES.3PL

‘When/if all of fishing is finished, then women would be making ovens, and would be wrapping the fish.’

In example (69), the speaker explains about a fishing process step by step. When the fishing is finished, then people would start making ovens, and then they would start wrapping the fish to cook them. The speaker talks about what will happen after fishing, and emphasizes the start of each activity. Therefore the deictic central times are the starting times, and the speaker uses the ‘thither’ type verb _teienanj_ ‘they will take them away’ to express this deictic information.

(70) Ö suaina öröki kwa yör ii-en-o-nda re, Luk peba re,
and our write-PAS again eye bring-REP-PREP.PREP.PST-1PL.SBJ REL Luke book REL
nönđa opimemb yōtāk kwa kea otomanti sam kōma nönđa ongōnken-a
some DX.PL word again PRF nice happy with some _fix-NMLZ_
ei-en-tondam, dōmdōm omnōk-a ei-en-tondam.
take.away-REP-PREP.PREP.PREP.PST.1PL straight _make-NMLZ_ take.away-REP-PREP.PREP.PREP.PST.1PL

‘And when we checked our writing, which was Luke’s gospel, we were fixing many words with very happy, we were making straight.’

The event in example (70) started when they were checking Luke’s gospel in the remote past, and went on forward. The speaker emphasizes the starting time of the event, so that the deictic central time is the starting time. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb _eientondam_ ‘we took them away’ occurs in the serial verb construction to express the deictic information.

(71) Goja mombör bora wa w-oramit-o-nj, ö imanggurk-a
quickly anthill hole to ABS.3SG.F-put-PREP.PREP.PST-3SG.SBJ and _cover-NMLZ_
wii-en-o-nj.
take.away-REP-PREP.PREP.PREP.PST.1PL

‘He quickly put her into the hole of anthill, and he was covering her over.’

Example (71) is a part of an old legend. After he (the father) finished to put her (his daughter) inside the anthill hole, he started covering the hole and continued covering. The speaker emphasizes the starting time of the covering action in the clause, therefore the deictic central time is the starting time of the event. Then the speaker used the ‘thither’ type final verb _wiienonj_ ‘he took away’ in the serial verb construction to express the temporal deictic information.

(72) Yepa wön-önd ket nanyōnggawar wōngōr-önd yepa yik-o-nj
one time-LOC PRF brothers among-LOC one go-PREP.PREP.PST-3SG.SBJ
pinangg-öm remb ket, gigi kököb ii-o-nj, ama demb
hunting-DAT when PRF cassowary huge bring-PREP.PREP.PST-3SG.SBJ DX.SG there
b’ōskanjis, kap öngk-a yii-en-i ötra seg, pil

‘He was hunting, and as he was moving around, he came across a huge cassowary. He was not afraid of it, and decided to bring it back for his daughter.’
There are three serial verb constructions in example (72). The speaker used present tense even though the story started with the remote past tense because he wanted to make hearers more excited. When a hunter brought a huge cassowary, immediately people started making an oven and went on forward until they completed the oven, and after finishing that they started making the cassowary bundles and went on forward until they completed it, and so on. In this context the speaker can emphasize the finishing time, however he emphasizes the starting time, so that the deictic central times are each starting times. Therefore the ‘thither’ type final verb yiieni ‘they took it away’ occurs in the three serial verb constructions in (72) in order to express this temporal deictic information.

3.3 The stative verb öböm ‘stay’

The stative serial verb construction expresses somewhat temporal deictic information, such as holding up/delaying the time of an action to do later or ongoing working action and setting aside an action. There is only one kind of stative final verb, öbn ‘stay’, in Wipi which means ‘stay/hold/live’. The basic meaning of the final verb indicates that an activity is doing or an activity is held to be doing later according to the context. However the former indication occurs most frequently.

In the expressing ‘holding up’ an action to do later, if the tense of the final verb öbn ‘stay’ is future, the holding situation will not be released yet in the present time and it will be released sometime in future. If it is present, the holding situation can be released and the action is being in working, or can not be released while the action will be still in holding at the present time and we do not know if it will be released or not unless the speaker mentions it. Finally if it is past tense, it can be released sometime later from that past time, however, the time will not be known unless the speaker mentions it.

(73) Sō onggötiam gasa ōta omnōka öböm dem mep.
then that thing DX.SG make-NMLZ stay will tomorrow
‘Then that thing will stay/delay doing tomorrow. (That thing will be done tomorrow.)’

In example (73), the action of making a certain thing is not continued for the moment, but it will be done tomorrow. People use this construction for suggesting doing something tomorrow, such as ‘let us do this thing tomorrow’ or ‘we will do it tomorrow’. Therefore the future stative final verb occurs to express this temporal deictic information.

The word öböm ‘stay’ is irregular verb:

Then that thing *stays/is doing* today.’ or ‘That thing *stays/delays still doing* today.’

In example (74), the sentence can be interpreted in two ways, either doing the action today or delaying doing the action today. In both ways, the action is confirmed for being done because the singular deictic predicate öta confirms omnöka ‘making’ to actually happen. We can figure out the meaning by the context.

In example (75), the action of making a certain thing was delayed, but now it is being done. In this case, if the second clause would be omnöka yöböm ‘it stays making’, then the clause could be interpreted in two ways, as in example (74) above. Then we might not know that the action is still delayed or is being doing. However the conjunction ajö ‘but’ show that the delaying situation was ended and the subjects in the second clause are actors/human beings who can do things, so that shows that the action is being done now.

And today it still holds believing among black people.’

Therefore the stative final verb yöböm ‘stay’ in the construction expresses the temporal deictic information that the believing action is ongoing now.

Example (77) is the opposite case of example (76). The speaker planned to go to the airstrip to see the airplane when landed, but when the plane came with big noise he became afraid of the airplane because the big noise made him worried that the airplane may take him and eat him, so he did not want to go to the airstrip. Therefore the stative serial verb construction expresses the deictic information that the action of going to the landing place is delayed for now, but we do not know when the this delay will end. Then in the end of the story, the speaker said that he came back without going to the airstrip. Therefore the delaying of the going action was not ended until the end of the story. As a result he just sets aside the action.
Example (78) above is a story about the ancestor of the speaker. His ancestors were just staying in their own village because of fear of tribal fighting, and people lived and were doing everything in their own villages. Therefore the serial verb construction expresses that the action of doing everything and living were going on in the village at that time rather than delaying the action to do later. He also put a benefactive aspect marker -a on the final verb to indicate actors of whom actions were going on.

3.4 Conclusion
Wipi has a two term deictic system, visible and invisible, adding specific deixis. However there is some other deictic information in the discourse, such as directions in spatial situation or in temporal situation or delaying time. The serial verb construction expresses deictic information in Wipi discourse. The final verb of the serial verb construction expresses spatial or temporal deixis. The ‘hither’ type final verb expresses that the action is going on toward the deictic center spatially or temporally while the ‘thither’ type final verb expresses that the action is moving away from the deictic center. Finally the stative final verb, which only functions as an expressor of temporal deixis, takes in the middle to express the delay of the action until the time the speaker mentions.

Wipi serial verb construction consist of two elements, a first element and a verb, and the distinction between these two elements is shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>element</th>
<th>first element</th>
<th>final verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexical category</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constitution</td>
<td>nominalized verb (-a, reduplication, fixed form)</td>
<td>intransitive verb (go, come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>action noun</td>
<td>transitive (take away, bring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stative (stay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammatical function</td>
<td>deciding transivity</td>
<td>grammatical elements agreements (subject, object, number, gender, tense, aspects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meaning</td>
<td>clause level meaning ; activity</td>
<td>discourse level deictic (spatial, temporal, state)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case the spatial deictic center is close to ego, however, it also can be the place which the speaker emphasizes, or the place where the main activity is happening. When an action moves towards the deictic center, the final verb will be a ‘hither’ type verb, such as ik ‘come’ and ii ‘bring’. In the other direction when an action moves away from the deictic center, the final verb will be ‘thither’ type verb, such as yik ‘go’ and yii ‘take away’. See Table 2.

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Table 2. Serial verb construction & spatial deictic information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Spatial Deictic Center</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Other Spatial Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal situation</td>
<td>place near to the ego, speaker emphasizing place, place where main activity happens</td>
<td>hither ←→ thither</td>
<td>other place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical situation</td>
<td>place near to the ego, surface of the ground or water etc.</td>
<td>hither ←→ thither</td>
<td>higher or lower place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centrifugal/cenripetal situation</td>
<td>gathering place</td>
<td>hither ←→ thither</td>
<td>other places</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case the temporal deictic center is present time, however, it can also be the time which the speaker emphasizes. An action goes on only one way according to the current of time. When an action moves towards the deictic central time from an earlier time, the final verb will be a ‘hither’ type verb, such as *ik* ‘come’ and *ii* ‘bring’. In the other direction, when an action goes to a later time from the deictic central time, then the final verb will be ‘thither’ type verb, such as *yik* ‘go’ and *yii* ‘take away’. See Table 3.

Table 3. Serial verb construction & temporal deictic information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time-oriented earlier time</th>
<th>Final Verb</th>
<th>Temporal Deictic Center</th>
<th>Final Verb</th>
<th>Later Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finishing</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>→ hither</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriented</td>
<td>remote past</td>
<td>→ hither</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earlier</td>
<td>→ hither</td>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>speaker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emphases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starting time-oriented</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>→ thither</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriented</td>
<td>remote past</td>
<td>→ thither</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>→ thither</td>
<td>future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speaker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emphases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stative serial verb construction expresses somewhat temporal deictic information such as delaying the time of an action to do later, or ongoing working action, or setting aside an action. There is only one kind of stative final verb, *öbn* ‘stay’ as mentioned above. According to the tense of final verb, the delay of the action will be different, as in Table 4.
Table 4. Serial verb & stative deictic information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense of the final verb</th>
<th>the time the action taking place</th>
<th>no time given for the action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>sometime in future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>present/sometime in future</td>
<td>setting aside the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past/yesterday past</td>
<td>sometime later</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 Residue
The repetitive marker -en cannot occur on the ‘hither’ type intransitive verb, *ik ‘he comes’, *tik ‘she comes’ *tetkya ‘they.dl come’ and *tui ‘they come’ and the ‘hither’ type transitive verb *ii ‘he bring’ *tei ‘he bring them.dl’ and *teiiny ‘he bring them.pl’. Therefore, if a directional final verb has a repetitive marker -en and the surface form is like a ‘come’ type, then we can deduce that the verb is not a ‘hither’ type verb but a ‘thither’ type verb which has future tense. For example, the verb *meny can be analyzed *tui-eny ‘they come-REP’ or *t-wai-eny ‘IRR-they go-REP’. However, the previous one is ungrammatical so that we can deduce that the later one is the right analysis. Then we can figure out the meaning of the serial verb construction.

(79)  
*Ton  
ogn-a  
etei-en-anj  

ket  
döde  
b’agon-a  
t-u-eny  

they  
cook-NMLZ  
IRR-take.away-REP-PM.PRES.3PL  
PRF and exchange-NMLZ  
IRR-go-REP  

tua  
wöngör-önd  
döde  
ongong  
etei-en-anj.  

them inside-LOC and biting  
IRR-take.away-REP-PM.PRES.3PL  

‘They will be cooking and then will be exchanging among themselves and will be eating them.’  

(80)  
*Ton  
ogn-a  
etei-to  

ket  
döde  
b’agon-a  

they  
cook-NMLZ  
take.away-REP-PM.RM.PST.3PL  
PRF and exchange-NMLZ  

tua  
wöngör-önd  
döde  
ongong  
etei-to.  

them inside-LOC and biting  
IRR-take.away-REP-PM.RM.PST.3PL  

‘They were cooking and then were exchanging among themselves and were eating them.’  

(81)  
*Ton  
ogn-a  
etei-ranj  

ket  
döde  
b’agon-a  
tui  

they  
cook-NMLZ  
bring-PM.PRES.3PL  
PRF and exchange-NMLZ  
come.3PL.SBJ  

tua  
wöngör-önd  
döde  
ongong  
etei-ranj.  

them inside-LOC and biting  
IRR-bring-PM.RM.PST.3PL  

‘They will be cooking and then will be exchanging among themselves (until now) and will be eating them.’  

(82)  
*Ton  
ogn-a  
etei-to  

ket  
döde  
b’agon-a  
t-u-o-nj  

they  
cook-NMLZ  
bring-PM.RM.PST.3PL  
PRF and exchange-NMLZ  
come-RM.PST.3PL.SBJ  

tua  
wöngör-önd  
döde  
ongong  
etei-to.  

them inside-LOC and biting  
IRR-bring-PM.RM.PST.3PL  

‘They were cooking and then were exchanging among themselves (until now) and were eating them.’  

Each of the two examples (79) and (80) has three ‘thither’ type final verbs which have repetitive aspect markers -en, therefore all actions are going on forward. The final verb of example (79) has future tense so that actions will be going on forward to the remote future and the final verb of example (80) has remote past tense so that actions were going on forward to after the starting time.

Examples (81) and (82) have ‘hither’ type final verbs which cannot have a repetitive aspect marker, therefore all actions are going on toward the present time. The final verb of example (81) has future tense.
so that actions should be coming toward the present tense, however no action can be coming toward the present time from some time in the future. Therefore example (81) is ungrammatical. The final verb of example (82) has remote past tense so that actions were moving toward some time in the present.
**Bibliography**


