# Chapter 1   Introduction

This thesis is primarily a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Menggwa dialect of the Dla language, a Papuan language spoken on both sides of the vertical 141°E borderline between Papua New Guinea and Papua Province of Indonesia (also known as *Papua Barat* West Papua)[1] at around 3°40′S, about a hundred kilometres inland from the northern coast. There are two dialects of Dla: Menggwa Dla is the minority dialect, and it is spoken by around 200 people; the majority dialect, which I call Dla proper, has around 1000 speakers. The '×' in map 1.1 below shows the approximate centre point of Dla territory in New Guinea. (see also map 1.2 in §1.2.1 and map 1.14 in §1.4.4).

Map 1.1   Location of Dla territory in New Guinea

Jayapura Regency, Papua, Indonesia (West Papua)

Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea

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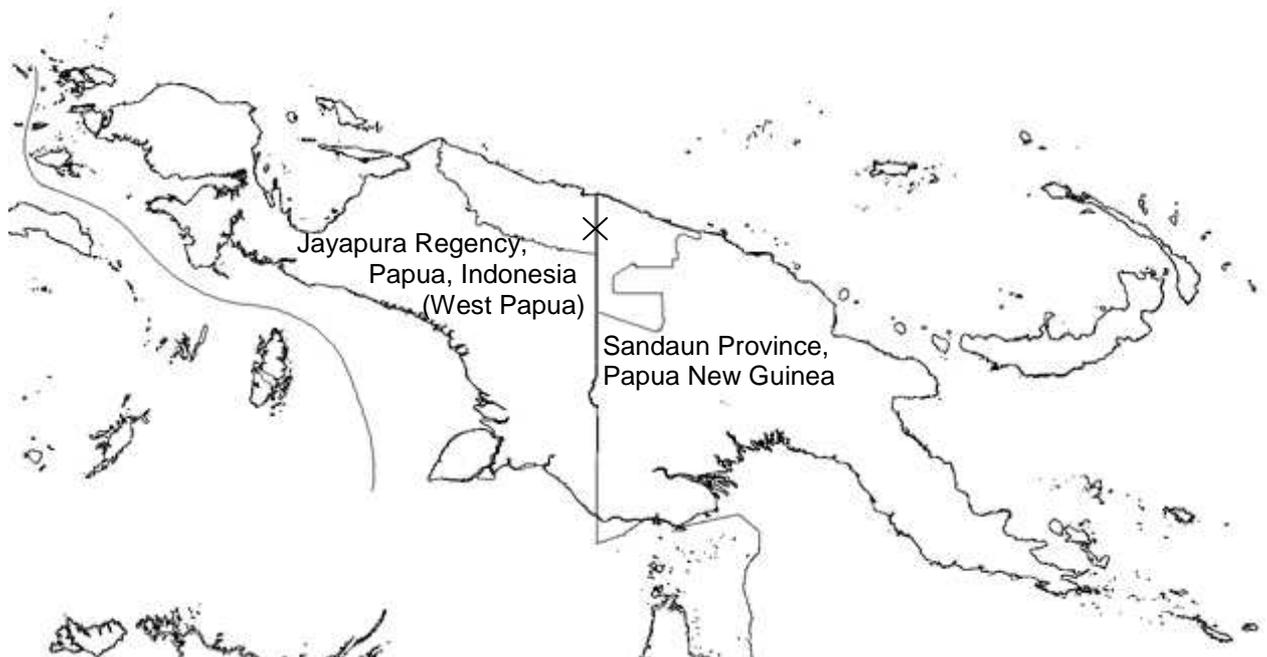
[1] Papua New Guinea is pronounced as ['**pa**pua niu'**gi**ni] in Tok Pisin/ English, while Papua is pronounced as [pa'**pu**a] in Papuan Malay/ Indonesian.

The term 'Papuan languages' — as used by linguists[2] — refers to a group languages spoken in New Guinea and surrounding areas; most languages native to New Guinea are Papuan languages, and there are also some Papuan languages spoken in the Louisiade, Bismarck and Solomon Islands to the east, Torres Strait Islands to the south, and Halmahera and Timor-Alor-Pantar islands to the west. Papuan languages do not form one single genealogically-defined language family; in fact there are many genealogically unrelated language families of various sizes and isolates amongst Papuan languages. The only commonality amongst all these diverse language families and isolates is that they are spoken in the New Guinea areas but are not part of the Austronesian language family. With more than a thousand languages all related genealogically, Austronesian is one of the largest language families in the world in terms of number of languages. On mainland New Guinea, Austronesian languages are found mainly in pockets of coastal areas on the northern coast of New Guinea and on the southern coast of Papuan Tip (the 'bird's tail' in southeastern New Guinea). Otherwise, except Australia and some of the Torres Strait Islands to the south,[3] and pockets of Papuan language to the east and west, areas surrounding New Guinea — as far as Sumatra, *Madagasikara* Madagascar, Taiwan, Marianas, and Hawai'i, *Rapanui* Easter Island and *Aotearoa* New Zealand — are all indigenously settled by Austronesian speakers.

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[2] In Papua New Guinea, the term 'Papuan' usually refers to the people of the southern portion of Papua New Guinea, i.e. the ex-Australian territory of Papua. In Indonesia, *Papua* either refers to the whole of Indonesian New Guinea, or the current Papua province which is the whole of Indonesian New Guinea minus the West Irian Jaya province which was carved out of the original Papua province in 2003. *Bahasa-bahasa Papua* 'Papuan languages' in Indonesian usually refers to the indigenous languages of the whole of Indonesian New Guinea. See §1.2.2-3 for the history and politics of colonial and post-colonial New Guinea.

[3] The western Torres Strait language — Kala Lagaw Ya — is usually classified as a Pama-Nyungan Australian language. The eastern Torres Strait language — Miriam Mir — is usually classified as a Papuan Language of the Eastern Trans Fly family.

New Guinea is the largest island in the tropics (793,000 km²).[4] New Guinea

has an indigenous population of around 6 million.[5] With more than a thousand

languages spoken in (mainland) New Guinea,[6] New Guinea is one of the most

linguistically-diverse areas on earth. Most languages in New Guinea have no more

than a few thousand speakers. Within New Guinea, North-Central New Guinea

(Donohue & Crowther 2005) — roughly the area north of the highlands around the

141°E international border (§1.4.4) — has the highest level of linguistic diversity; a

lot of the small Papuan families and isolates are found in this area (see map 1.14 in

§1.4.4).[7]

Dla belongs to the Senagi language family, one of the numerous small

language families found in North-Central New Guinea. The Senagi language family

consists of only two members: Dla, and Anggor (R. Litteral 1980), which is spoken

towards the southeast of Dla territory. The genealogical relationship between the

two languages is apparent: sound correspondences are quite regular, case clitics are

similar in both form and function, and the complex sets of subject and object cross-

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[4] The next two larger land masses are *Kalaallit Nunaat* Greenland (2,176,000 km²) and mainland Australia (7,527,000 km²). The next two smaller land masses are Borneo (725,000 km²) and *Madagasikara* Madagascar (587,000 km²).

[5] West Papua has a population of 2,233,530, according to the Indonesian census in year 2000 (*Badan Pusat Statistik Povinsi Papua*; www.papua.go.id/bps/). Papua New Guinea has a population of 5,190,786 in the census conducted in 2000 (National Statistical Office of Papua New Guinea; www.spc.int/prism/country/pg/stats/). Minus the population of Manus, West New Britain, East New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville (North Solomon) provinces which do not occupy the New Guinea mainland, the population of the mainland provinces of Papua New Guinea is 4,719,248. There are no reliable data on the ethnicity of the population; summarising rumoured estimates, the percentage of indigenous population is more than 95% in Papua New Guinea and around 60% in West Papua.

[6] Around 800 Papuan and 250 Austronesian languages as listed in Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

[7] With around thirty Papuan language families (Foley 2000, Ross 2005), thirteen of them are represented in Sandaun Province of Papua New Guinea and neighbouring *Kabupaten* Jayapura of West Papua: Trans New Guinea, Sepik, Torricelli, Macro-Skou, Kwomtari, Border, Senagi, Amto-Musian, Left May, Sentani, Nimboran, Tor-Kwerba, and Lakes Plain. There are also a number of isolates in this area. In addition, a lot of areas in *Kabupaten* Jayapura are still poorly explored. Another area of high linguistic-diversity is the lower reach of Sepik and Ramu rivers: there are the Trans New Guinea, Sepik, Lower Sepik, Ramu, Yuat, Piawi languages, plus the isolate Gapun in this relatively small area.

reference suffixes in Dla and Anggor are near identical (especially considering that documented languages nearby are all poor in verbal cross-referencing; §1.4.4).

The rest of the chapter is organised as follows: salient linguistic features of Menggwa Dla are summarised in §1.1; the geographical environment and the history of the Dla territory since colonisation are discussed in §1.2; published data on the two varieties of Dla and orthographical issues are outlined in §1.3; the Senagi language family, neighbouring languages and the *lingue franche* of Malay and Tok Pisin are discussed in §1.4; some ethnographic notes on Dla people are outlined in §1.5; the fieldwork which this thesis is based on and the collection of data are discussed in §1.6.

1.1 Overview of Menggwa Dla grammar

Menggwa Dla has a phonological inventory of 15 consonants and 5 vowel phonemes (§2.1), which is average for New Guinea. Except the palatal approximant /j/ and the labiodental approximant /w/, the consonants are realised at three places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar (§2.1.3.1-6). At each of the three places of articulation is a voiceless plosive phoneme (/p t k/), a voiced plosive phoneme (/b d g/) and a voiceless fricative phoneme (/ɸ s x/). There is bilabial nasal phoneme /m/ and an alveolar nasal phoneme /n/, but there is no velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/.[8] There are two liquid phonemes in Menggwa Dla: /l/ and /r/ (whereas there is only one liquid phoneme in both Dla proper and Anggor; §1.4.2-3).

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[8] However, [ŋ] occurs as the prenasalised portion of [ᵑg], which is an allophone of /g/ (§2.1.3.2).

There are five vowel phonemes: /i e a ʊ u/ (§2.1.3.7-9). The usual phonetic realisations of /ʊ/ [ʊ] and /u/ [u] in Menggwa Dla overlap to a large degree, and their average realisations are very close. The realisations of /ʊ/ [ʊ] and /u/ [u] are so close in older speakers' speech that most younger speakers have merged /ʊ/ into /u/ in most or all vocabularies.

Syllables most usually have the shape of V, CV or CCV (§2.2.1). In a consonant cluster, the second consonant can be /n/, /r/, /l/, /j/ or /w/ (§2.2.2). Codas of /ɸ/, /l/ or /m/ exist in some exceptional syllables (§2.2.3). There are only six monomorphemic vowel sequences: /ai/, /au/, /ia/, /ʊa/, /ua/ and /ei/ (§2.2.4). Morphophonological transparency in Menggwa Dla is high; morpheme boundaries are only blurred by two morphophonemic rules concerning adjacent vowels: vowel degemination rule (two adjacent identical vowel phonemes become one) and *a*-deletion rule (/a/ is deleted next to /e/; §2.3). Stress placement is fully predictable: primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a polysyllabic word, except that verbs have the primary stress within the verb stem (see §2.4.1). Clausal intonations are sensitive to clause type, word boundaries and the existence of certain grammatical affixes; the stress patterns of individual words are disregarded by the clause melody. For instance, in connected speech, a stressed syllable at the beginning of a word may have a lower pitch than a neighbouring unstressed syllable (§2.4.2).

There are three open word classes in Menggwa Dla: nouns, adjectives and verbs (§3.1). Verbs always carry affixes, whereas nouns and adjectives are mostly morphologically simplex (§3.1.1). Words which denote properties are mostly

adjectives, but there are also property verbs and property nouns. Adjectives can modify a head noun in its citation form, but nouns must be attached with a nominal clitic to function as noun modifiers (§3.1.2). There are the following minor word classes: nominal clitics (case clitics, topic clitics, focus clitics; §3.2.1), personal pronouns (§3.2.2), interrogative words (§3.2.3), demonstratives (§3.2.4), quantifiers (§3.2.5), conjunctions (§3.2.6), locative words (§3.2.7), temporal words (§3.2.8), interjections and miscellaneous words which form classes of their own (§3.2.9).

Nouns are classified into one of two grammatical genders: feminine and masculine (§4.1). The gender of a noun is not indicated within the noun phrase; the gender feature of a noun is only realised by cross-reference suffix(es) on verbs and pronouns. Semantics is the only deciding factor in gender assignment. For animates, males are cross-referenced as masculine; females, groups including both sexes, or participants of unknown sex are cross-referenced as feminine. Most inanimate nouns are feminine; there is a small number of nouns which are deemed as 'light in weight' (i.e. gravity defying) and they are masculine, e.g. *hufu* 'sun', *amamo* 'moon', *kapali* 'aircraft', *tu* 'bird'. Nouns are not marked for grammatical number (§4.2).

A noun phrase can be encliticised by a case clitic, and/or a topic or focus clitic (§4.5). Menggwa Dla has a range of semantic case clitics, with the local cases having an internal versus external distinction. A head noun and its modifiers must be contiguous with each other to form a noun phrase. However, within a noun phrase, the word order is basically free (§4.3). Proper names in Menggwa Dla are not morphologically distinguished from common nouns (§4.4).

Personal pronouns are only used for human (or sometimes high animate) referents, and there are different paradigms of personal pronouns (§4.6). There are three 'citation pronouns': *yo* FIRST PERSON, *si* SECOND PERSON and *ai* THIRD PERSON. These three citation pronouns do not mark number and gender features; for instance, *ai* can be translated as 'he', 'she', 'it' or 'they' in English. Citation pronouns are used in isolation or when it is the subject of the clause. In contrast to the citation pronouns, the object and genitive pronouns carry a cross-reference suffix which marks person, number and sometimes gender features. While there are only three citation pronouns, there are as many as fifteen object pronouns and fifteen genitive pronouns. For instance, when referring to two male referents using a pronoun, a citation pronoun *ai* 's/he/it/they' is used when it is the subject, but a (much more feature-specific) object pronoun *aiahafanimbo* 'them two (masculine)' is used when it is the object.

There are five verb classes in Menggwa Dla; verbs are classified into verb classes based on the sets of cross-reference suffixes which the verb can take (§5.2). There are eleven paradigms of cross-reference suffixes in Menggwa Dla, some cross-reference with the subject, and some cross-reference with the object. A verb lexeme may have more than one verb stem form. The basic form of a verb lexeme is called the 'non-finite verb stem'; a lot of verb lexemes also have a separate 'finite verb stem' which is used in finite verb forms (§5.1.1). A small number of verbs have special a 'future finite verb stem' which is used only in future tense (§5.1.2).

Core grammatical relations are organised in an accusative-secundative alignment (subject [S A], object [P R], second object [T]; §5.3.1). Subjects and

objects can be expressed as cross-reference suffixes or (pro)nominals; second objects and oblique relations can only be expressed as nominals (§5.3.2). There are no voice oppositions, and there are also no 'real' valence changing operations in Menggwa Dla (see §5.3.3).

Independent verbs carry cross-reference suffixes (§5.2) and other affixes which indicate tense, mood, status, polarity, and sometimes aspect (§6). There are three tenses: past, present and future. Three statuses are distinguished: realis (§6.1), semi-realis ('certain future'; §6.2) and irrealis (§6.3). Morphology associated with the three statuses is markedly different, especially the way negatives are formed (negativity is independent from status in Menggwa Dla; §6.1.3, §6.2.2, §6.3).

There are three types of dependent clauses in Menggwa Dla: subordinate clauses (§7.1), chain clauses (§7.2) and non-finite chain clauses (§7.3.1). Subordinate verbs are least deverbalised of the three types of dependent verbs; they carry cross-referencing suffixes and a limited set of tense-mood affixes. There are three types of subordinate clauses: relative clauses (§7.1.1), -*hwani* 'if/when' clauses (§7.1.2), and -*hi* simultaneous clauses (§7.1.3); relative clauses exist within noun phrases, and the other subordinate clauses precede their matrix clause.

More deverbalised than subordinate verbs are the chain verbs. Chain verbs carry cross-reference suffixes, but they are basically devoid of tense-mood specifications. Chain clauses (§7.2) are linearly chained together with one independent or subordinate clause at the end of the clause chain, and the chain clauses are dependent on the final independent/ subordinate clause for tense-mood-

status information. Chain verbs are marked for switch-reference (§7.2.2): coreferential (CR) chain verbs indicate that their subject is coreferential with the subject of a following clause in the clause chain, and disjoint-referential (DR) chain verbs indicate that their subject is disjoint-referential with the subject of a following clause in the clause chain. (However, see §7.2.2 on the use of the switch-reference system by younger speakers which is markedly different from the traditional switch-reference system used by older speakers.)

More deverbalised than chain verbs are the non-finite chain verbs. Non-finite chain verbs lack both cross-referencing and tense-mood information. Non-finite chain clauses (§7.3.1) are like an impersonal version of chain clauses; non-finite chain verbs do not carry cross-reference suffixes, and non-finite chain clauses are used when the subject is generic, low in animacy, or low in discourse salience. Non-finite chain clauses are not marked for switch-reference. Nevertheless, it is a requirement that the subject of a non-finite chain clause must be coreferential (or referentially overlapping) with the subject of a following clause.

Even more deverbalised than non-finite chain verbs are the verbal nouns (§7.3.2); they function as grammatical relations and can take certain case clitics.

Intraclausal syntax does not play a large role in Menggwa Dla (§5.4). Clauses are predominantly verb-final; phrases in front of the verb can be scrambled to any order. Sometimes a focused phrase can be placed after the verb.

1.2   The Border and its effects on Menggwa Dla people and language

1.2.1   Geographical location

Dla is one of the nine ethno-linguistic groups which are dissected by the straight-line border between Papua New Guinea and West Papua.[9] The Dla territory is centred around the 141°E borderline [10] and 3°40′S, approximately 100 kilometres inland from the northern coast (see map 1.1 in §1 above, map 1.2 below and map 1.14 in §1.4.4). There are around 300 Dla people on the West Papuan side, including around 60 Menggwa Dla people, and around 900 people on the Papua New Guinean side, including around 140 Menggwa Dla people. In the past more Dla people lived on the West Papuan side; there have been eastward migrations into Papua New Guinea in the 1970s and 1980s due to political unrest in West Papua (§1.2.3). Other than Dla people who reside in their traditional territory, there are also some Dla people residing in nearby towns and cities, especially in the provincial capitals of Jayapura (West Papua) and Vanimo (Papua New Guinea) on the coast. Other than the high schools in Jayapura and Vanimo, a lot of Dla

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[9] There are a number of other indigenous languages spoken near the border, like Wutung (on the northern coast) and Wopkaimin/ Kauwol (the language at Ok Tedi-Tabubil), but their populations are not dissected by the border, i.e. all Wutung and Wopkaimin people traditionally live on the Papua New Guinean side. The nine transborder ethnolinguistic groups which have intimate intratribal crossborder ties are (from north to south) Waris, Waina-Sowanda, Dla, Ngalum, Ninggerum, Yonggum, Boazi, Yey and Kanum (Blaskett 1989: 45; Pula & Jackson *et.al.* 1984: 14, 22).

[10] The border does not actually run through 141°E all the way (see map 1.3 below). From the northern coast near Wutung, the border follows 141°E until it reaches the Fly River, and then follows the river sea-bound (southward) until it reaches 141°01′E, and then along 141°01′E until it reaches the southern coast near the mouth of Bensbach River. The Fly River is a major navigable river in New Guinea. Nearly the entire length of the river lies to the east of 141°E. Nevertheless, a small section of the Fly River between 6°S and 7°S lies to the west of 141°E, which was the official border between British New Guinea (east) and Netherlands New Guinea (west) in the colonial days. The British wanted full access to the Fly River, and Netherlands New Guinea compromised by altering the border to run along the Fly River, and then pushing east the borderline south of the Fly river to 141°01′E. The post-colonial Papua New Guinea and Indonesia acknowledge the same borderline. To the north, a small section of the Sepik River also lies to the west of 141°E between 4°S and 5°S. Nevertheless, no such compromise is being made to the borderline at the two points where Sepik River crosses 141°E; that section of the Sepik River is not navigable.

teenagers go to school in Senggi and Arso in West Papua, and Green River in Papua New Guinea (see map 1.14 in §1.4.4).

There are three major localities with Dla territory: Kamberatoro Mission (3°36′S 141°03′E; 1299 feet) in Papua New Guinea, Amgotro Mission (3°38′S 140°58′E; 1969 feet) in West Papua, and Komando village in West Papua, which was an ex-Dutch border post.[11] People in these three localities speak Dla-proper, the majority dialect. Menggwa Dla — the minority dialect — is spoken in five villages between Kamberatoro Mission and Komando village: Menggau, Wahai, Ambofahwa (also known as Wahai № 2), Wanggurinda (3°34′59″S, 141°01′41″E) in Papua New Guinea, and Menggwal (3°33′53″S, 140°59′04″E) in West Papua. Other Dla proper-speaking villages are (not exhaustive): Tamarbek, Akamari, New Kamberatoro; Old Kamberatoro, 'Border Village', Nimberatoro, Nindebai, Mamamora, Yamamainda, Orkwanda, Lihen in Papua New Guinea; Amgotro, Komando, Indangan, Mongwefi, Buku, Agrinda in West Papua. See map 1.2 below.

On the West Papuan side, Dla territory is located in *Kecamatan* Web (administrative centre: Amgotro) and *Kecamatan* Senggi (administrative centre: Senggi) of *Kabupaten* Jayapura in Papua, Indonesia (Menggwal village is located in *Kecamatan* Senggi).[12] On the Papua New Guinean side, Dla territory is located wholly within Dera Census Division (administrative centre: Kamberatoro) of

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[11] Latitude, Longitude and altitude information on the airstrips (underlined) are from Australian Defence Force (2006). Positional information on other localities is my own data.
[12] A law change in November 2002 (*Undang-undang 26/2002*) carved *Kabupaten* Keerom out of the old *Kabupaten* Jayapura. *Kecamatan* Web and *Kecamatan* Senggi of *Kabupaten* Jayapura became *Distrik* Web and *Distrik* Senggi of *Kabupaten* Keerom. Nevertheless, legal changes in sub-national administrative entities in Indonesia are often not implemented immediately, and most local people have not heard of these new names.
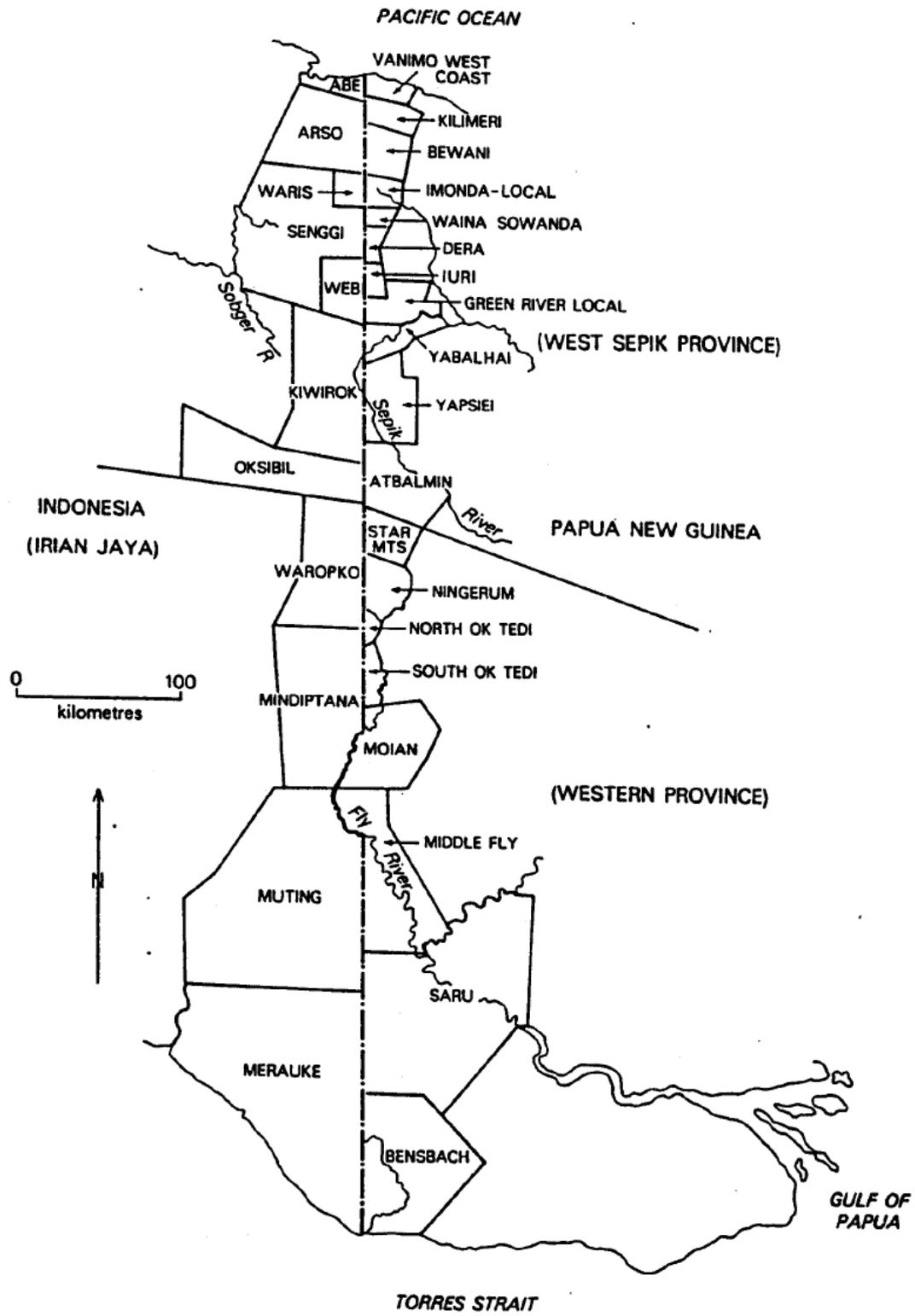
Amanab District of Sandaun (West Sepik) Province, Papua New Guinea. See map

1.3 below.

Map 1.2   Menggwa Dla villages and selected neighbouring localities
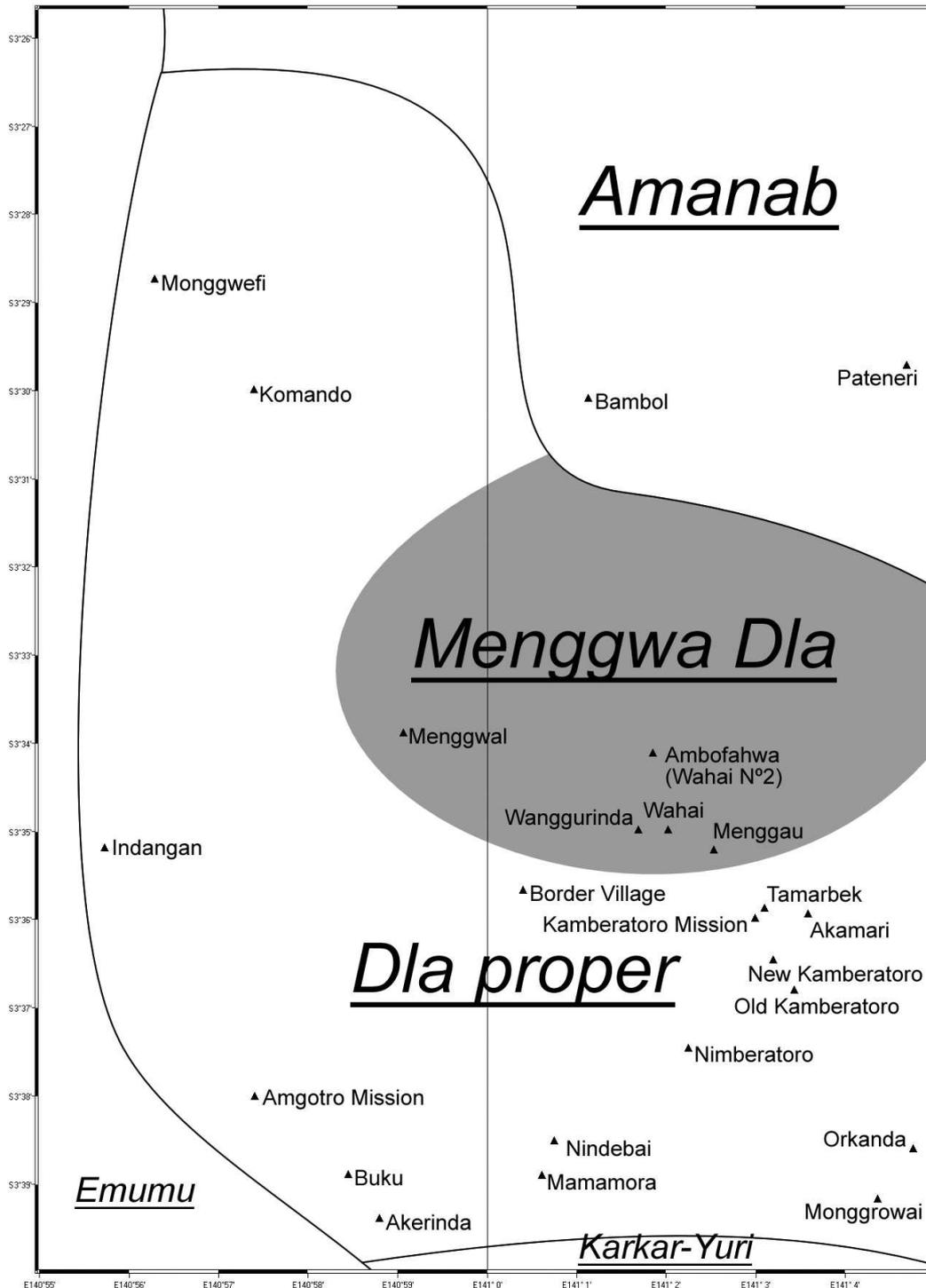
(Based on Galis (1956) and my own data; locations are approximate)

Map 1.3   Border *Kecamatan* in Papua, Indonesia and border Census Divisions

in Papua New Guinea (Blaskett 1989:42)

There is no road access in and out of Dla territory. There is an airstrip at Amgotro and Kamberatoro, but the airstrip at Amgotro has apparently been decommissioned due to the dangerous surrounding terrain (in addition to the less-than-safe gradient of the airstrip itself: 5% down south). Two other airstrips near Amgotro are Yuruf (3°56′S 140°56′E) and Ubrub (3°41′S 140°53′E), both within the territory of Emumu language immediately west of Dla territory (there are also some Dla people living in Yuruf). On a Cessna it takes around forty-five minutes to fly from Vanimo to Kamberatoro.

The nearest road access is at Senggi (3°27′S 140°47′E), the administrative centre of *Kecamatan* Senggi; Senggi is currently the southern end of the Jayapura road network. It takes at least one and a half days to walk from Dla territory to Senggi. In Papua New Guinea, there used to be a road between Kamberatoro and Amanab (3°35′S 141°13′E), the administrative centre of Amanab District (that road was not connected to any other road networks). Build in 1960s, the road and the numerous bridges between Kamberatoro and Amanab are no longer serviceable due to disrepair. It takes seven to eight hours for people to walk the path from Amanab to Kamberatoro.

Dla territory lies within the Border Mountains. The Border Mountains are rugged, but not too rugged by New Guinea standards (after all it has not acted as a barrier to human movements). The terrain is thickly forested, and jungle tracks link different villages. It is wettest in December/ January, and driest in August; the airstrips in Dla territory, none of which are sealed, become unsuitable for aircrafts to land in wet season.

There are no navigable rivers anywhere near Dla territory. Dla territory lies in the watershed of Taritatu River and Sepik River, the two major river systems in Northern New Guinea. Most streams in Dla territory flow north- or westward into Keerom and Pauwasi Rivers, which are tributaries of Taritatu River (Taritatu River joins Tariku River downstream to form the Mamberamo River). Only in the southeastern part of Dla territory near the villages of Nimberatoro, Mamamora and Yamamainda do streams flow south- or eastward into Faringi and Green Rivers, which continues southeastward into Anggor territory and eventually joining the Sepik.

1.2.2   The border: colonial and post-colonial history of New Guinea

Modern Dla history and language development revolve around the international border. The first Europeans who visited New Guinea were Portuguese and Spanish sailors in the sixteenth century. Other Europeans followed. In the nineteenth century, three European nations — Netherlands, Germany and Britain — formally colonised New Guinea. In 1828 western New Guinea was claimed by Netherlands via the sultanate of Tidore (the last sultan reigned till 1905, after which Netherlands gradually formally annexed the sultanate and its claim on Western New Guinea). Netherlands New Guinea was governed as part of the Netherlands East Indies, which was based in Batavia (modern day Jakarta). In 1884, Germany and Britain annexed Eastern New Guinea: Germany annexed the north-eastern portion (including islands to the immediate east as far as Bougainville and Nukumanu),[13] and

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[13] Germany's claim to New Guinea also included all of Micronesia to the north except American Guam and Wake Islands, and British Gilbert Islands.

Britain the south-eastern portion. In 1895 the borderline between Netherlands New Guinea and British New Guinea was set at 141°E,[14] and in 1910 the borderline between Netherlands New Guinea and German New Guinea was also set at 141°E. By then much of the interior of New Guinea was still unknown to European explorers and colonisers. (What we now know as the Highlands of New Guinea was assumed to be a range of uninhabited mountains by the Europeans, when in fact the Highlands is the most densely populated part of New Guinea.) The British portion of New Guinea became the Australian Territory of Papua in 1906.

Map 1.4   New Guinea and environs in 1910
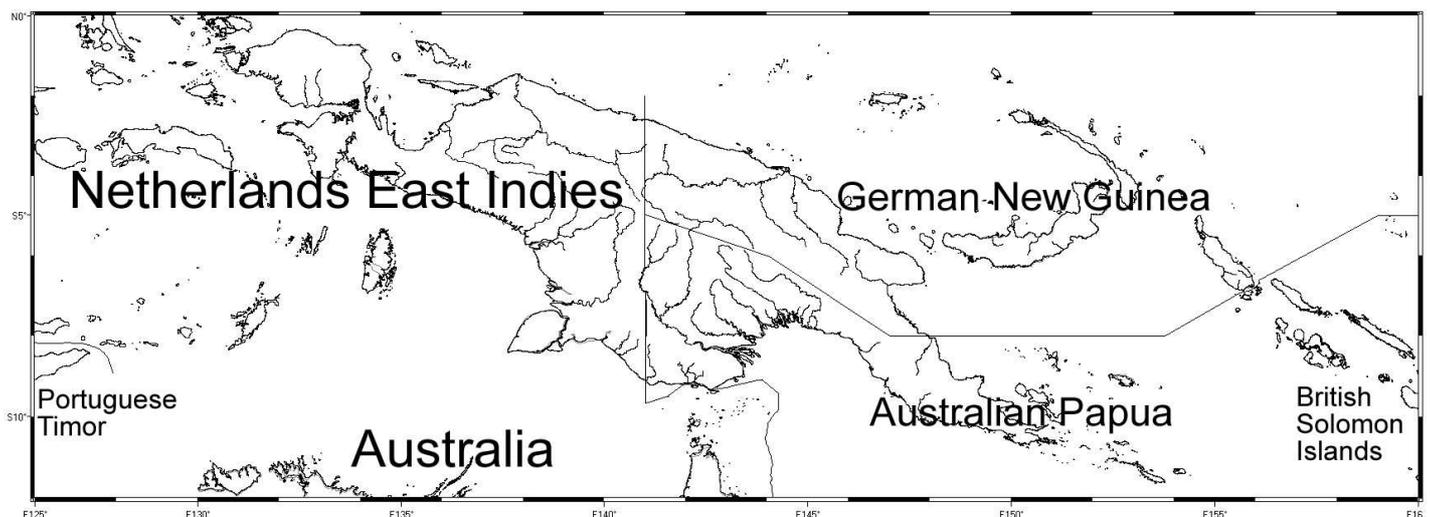
Australia annexed German New Guinea in 1914 at the beginning of the First World War. The ex-German portion of New Guinea became a League of Nations Mandate of Australia in 1921,[15] and the United Nations Trust Territory of New Guinea in 1949, still administered by Australia. The administration of the two

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[14] See footnote 10 in §1.2.1.
[15] German Nauru also became a mandate of Australia; all other German Micronesian islands became a mandate of Japan.

Australian portions of eastern New Guinea was combined in 1942. The two Australian portions of New Guinea gained independence in 1975 as one nation: Papua New Guinea. As for Netherlands New Guinea, Dutch East Indies to the west of New Guinea gained independence in 1949 as Indonesia. However, it was not Netherlands' intention for Netherlands New Guinea to be part of the newly independent state of Indonesia. The Dutch administration re-based themselves in Hollandia (present day Jayapura), and Netherlands was preparing for Netherlands New Guinea's eventual independence as *Papua Barat* West Papua. However, through military action and international diplomacy by the Indonesians, the Dutch administration was evicted from West Papua in 1962, West Papua was placed under United Nations administration, and Indonesians gained control of West Papua in 1963. Indonesia officially annexed West Papua in 1969. Through several name changes, Indonesian New Guinea became Irian Jaya Province, and then Papua Province in 2001 (Moore, 2003: 181-182; 195-201). In 2003, the Bird's Head and the 'Bird's Neck' (Bomberai peninsular and neighbouring areas) of the original Papua Province was carved out to form the new Irian Jaya Barat (West Irian Jaya) Province.

1.2.3   Modern Dla history: torn apart by the border and two *lingue franche*

War planes flew over Dla territory during the Pacific War in the 1930s. However, Dla people were not aware of the fighting that occurred in the coastal areas. Dla people's first encounter with non-New Guineans happened in the early 1940s when Australian patrol officers visited the Kamberatoro area.[16] Nevertheless,

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[16] There are no legends of encounter with Malay-speaking people (e.g. bird-of-paradise traders) before their encounter with the Australians.

there were no significant interactions between the Australian authority and Dla people in 1940s and 1950s. In 1950s, Dutch patrol officers and Franciscan missionaries arrived in Dla territory, bringing with them Christianity, a western-style education system and the Malay language, the administrative language of Netherlands New Guinea. Malay loanwords rapidly entered the Dla language (§1.4.1).[17] The portion of Dla territory currently in Papua New Guinea was *de facto* under the jurisdiction of Netherlands New Guinea. For instance, Kamberatoro Mission Station in Papua New Guinea was opened by the Dutch Franciscan missionaries. Other than the Dla enclave, Netherlands New Guinea also administered two other enclaves — Waris and Waina-Sowanda enclaves — to the north of Dla territory which is today within the boundary of Papua New Guinea (van der Veur 1966). (Both Waris and Waina-Soawanda languages belong to the Border language family; §1.4.4). To the south, the Dutch border stations like Mindiptanah and Tanah Merah also asserted strong influence over the border area. In general, the Dutch paid more attention to the development of the border area; this allowed the Dutch to assert more influence over the border region (Blasket 1989: 48).[18] In the past, people of the border region were in general more Dutch-leaning than Australian-leaning; Malay words were rapidly borrowed en mass into a lot of languages of the border region, including Dla.

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[17] In Dutch documents the Dla tribe was referred as *Děra*. In Dla proper, *dla* [d(ɨ)ɭa] means 'name'. In Dutch-Malay orthography, *ě* represents a schwa [ə]; the *ě* in *Děra* is a rendition of the epenthetic vowel in Dla proper, which ranges from [ɨ] to [ə] (§1.4.2). The *r* in *Dera* is a rendition of the liquid phoneme in Dla proper, which is usually realised as an alveolar lateral flap [ɺ].

[18] It is not the case that the Dutch authority did not know the location of the borderline. For instance, the hand-drawn map in Galis (1956) shows correctly which villages fall on which side of the border. Both the Dutch and Australian administrations turned a blind eye to each other patrolling and setting up border posts on the wrong side of the borderline in 1950s.

In early 1960s, Australia started aerial-mapping the border area between Australia New Guinea and Netherlands New Guinea for the purpose of properly demarcating the borderline (Verrier, 1986: 36). In 1962, the Dutch administration left West Papua. In 1963, the Australian authority took over the administration of the Dla enclave, and Kamberatoro Mission Station was transferred to the Australian Passionist missionaries. The Australian administrators and missionaries brought with them Tok Pisin, the dominant *lingua franca* in the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and today one of the three national languages of Papua New Guinea (the other two are English and Hiri Motu). Today, most Dla people are fluent in Tok Pisin. However, Tok Pisin loanwords in Dla are not as phonologically nativised as Malay loanwords, which entered the Dla language earlier (§1.4.1).

Dla people's world was connected to the wider world, and came under the immense pressure of two invasive *lingue franche* of Malay and Tok Pisin within the two decades of 1950s and 1960s. What happened in the 1970s and 80s was even more disastrous to Dla people. In 1964, the political organisation/ militia of OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka* Free Papua Organisation) was established to counter Indonesian rule in West Papua. Fighting between the OPM and TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* Indonesian National Army) has lead to mass streams of West Papuan civilians seeking refuge in Papua New Guinea in separate incidents during 1970s and 80s. Dla territory was one of the major funnels for refugees from West Papua crossing into Papua New Guinea. Two major incidents happened in May 1978 and February 1984 when 750 refugees and 250 refugees, respectively, crossed the border and sought refuge in Kamberatoro (Carman 1999: 139-141). These refugees, some walked from as far as Baliem Valley (Wamena region) in the

highlands of West Papua, carried with them diseases which wiped out around a fifth of the Dla population, most of them the elderly. Also in the troublesome decades of 1970s and 80s, a lot of Dla people in West Papua migrated eastward into Papua New Guinea.

According to Galis (1956: 14), the *Doeka-Ékor* [Menggwa Dla] speaking villages have a population of 230, and the *Děra* [Dla proper] speaking villages have a population of 1271. Laycock (1973: 49) lists the population of *Duka-Ekor* [Menggwa Dla] as 230, and *Dera* [Dla proper] as 1474. About a fifth of the Dla population died from the diseases brought in by the West Papuan refugees in 1970s and 80s. In 2006, the population of Menggwa Dla speakers is approximately 200, and the population of Dla proper speakers is approximately 1000; around 60 Menggwa Dla speakers live in West Papua, and around 140 Menggwa Dla speakers live in Papua New Guinea.

Other than the human toll, the Dla language is also dying due to the invasiveness of the two *lingue franche*, known as *Malai Fafo* 'Malay language' and *Twaŋgi Fafo* 'White people's language (Tok Pisin)' in Menggwa Dla. Since 1960s nearly all Dla adults, both women and men, have become fluent in Tok Pisin and/ or Malay. (There are also a lot of Dla people with good command of English.) The variety of Malay spoken by Dla people is usually Papuan Malay (e.g. Silzer, 1979; Roosman, 1982; Burung 2005), the Malay dialect spoken natively by a lot of New Guineans, rather than Bahasa Indonesia, the standardised form of Malay which functions as the national language of Indonesia. Most adult Dla people currently living on the West Papuan side know at least some Tok Pisin due to the fact that

most have lived in Papua New Guinea as refugees in the turbulent years of 1970s and 80s. Conversely, a lot of Dla people on the Papua New Guinean side know at least some Papuan Malay/ Bahasa Indonesia, either due to Dutch education/ employment in 1950s, or Indonesian education/ employment in West Papua since 1990s (Jayapura has always been more prosperous than Vanimo). These days more than half of Dla children have Malay and/ or Tok Pisin as their first language(s). From my observation, young children (those born in 1990s or later) who are educated in Indonesia have virtually no oral command of Dla, and children who are educated in Papua New Guinea can usually only manage simple sentences in Dla. Even Menggwa Dla people born as early as the 1970s are showing signs of attrition typically associated with language death, some of which include: the merger of /u/ and /ʊ/ (§2.1.7), ignorance of native numerals above three or five (there are twelve native numerals; §3.2.5), ignorance of most of the object cross-reference suffixes (using the class II third person feminine singular object (3FSG:O) suffix -*a* as an all purpose object suffix; §7.2.2) and the collapse of the switch-reference system (§7.2.2).

1.3   Orthography and Previous Research on Dla

The only published data on Menggwa Dla is a word list of the *Doeka-Ékor* [Menggwa Dla] language collected in *Monggowar* [Menggwal] by Galis (1956). A grammar sketch and word-list of 'Dəra' [Dla proper] is published in Voorhoeve (1971: 73-77; 99-109) based on Dla proper spoken in Amgotro. My research is also benefited by Marmion's (2000) grammar sketch of Dla proper as spoken in Kamberatoro, and Laycock's (n.d.) field notes on Dla proper.

Different linguists differ in their opinion as to whether Menggwa Dla is a separate language or a dialect of Dla. Galis (1955, 1956), Voorhoeve (1971) and Laycock (1973) consider Menggwa Dla a separate language from Dla proper. Voorhoeve (1975) considers *Duka-Ekor* [Menggwa Dla] a dialect of *Dəra* [Dla]. Loving & Bass's language map (1964) indicate that the area around Menggau village speaks a distinct dialect within the *Kamberatoro* [Dla] language. Würm & Hattori's language map (1981) shows *Duka-Ekor* [Menggwa Dla] as a dialect of *Dera* [Dla]. I regard Menggwa Dla and Dla proper dialects of the Dla language as they are mutually intelligible; see §1.4.2 on the relationship between Menggwa Dla and Dla proper.

No orthography has been devised for Menggwa Dla. Nevertheless, most Menggwa Dla people are literate in Malay and/ or Tok Pisin, and Menggwa Dla can be easily rendered using existing Malay or Tok Pisin orthography. There are very few inconsistencies in native speakers' spelling of Menggwa Dla words. In this thesis, I follow the orthographic practise of my language teachers, except that: a) /wa/ [o̞a] is consistently rendered as *<wa>* (some people write word-medial /wa/ [o̞a] as *<oa>*; §2.1.3.6); and b) word medial /g/ [ᵑg] is rendered as *<ŋg>* ([ŋg] is rendered *<ngg>* in Malay orthography, but *<ng>* in Tok Pisin orthography; §2.1.3.2). In addition, a lot of younger people have merged /ʊ/ with /u/, and hence /ʊ/ in older speakers' speech (e.g. *yo* /jʊ/ [jʊ] 'I/ we') is usually spelt as *<u>* by younger speakers (e.g. *yu* /ju/ [ju] 'I/ we'; §2.1.3.7). The graphs used in this thesis and the corresponding phonemes in Menggwa Dla are as follow: /p t k/ *<p t k>*, /b d g/ *<b/mb d g/ng>*, /ɸ s x/ *<f s h>*, /m n/ *<m n>*, /l r/ *<l r>*, /j w/ *<y w>*, and /i e a ʊ u/ *<i e a o u>*. See §2.1 for more information.

As for Dla proper, a SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) Alphabet Workshop was held in May 1997 to devise a draft-orthography of Dla proper as spoken in Kamberatoro. The workshop resulted in two manuscripts: *Fafo Nomunda* [Our Language] (SIL 1997a), a book introducing the draft orthography, and *Dla ninda da fafo* [Dla people's stories] (SIL 1997b), a story book written in the draft orthography. In 1992, *Nɨmonɨndalyambo Wando Mafwa Tɨplamo* [The beginning of all things] (BTA 1992), a Dla proper translation of the creation story in the Book of Genesis in the Bible, was published by Bible Translation Association, an organisation related to the Papua New Guinea branch of SIL. The orthography used in BTA (1992) is the same as that in SIL (1997a,b). The graphs used in the SIL orthography and the corresponding phonemes in Dla proper are as follow: / p t k/ <*p t k*>, /b d g/ <*b/mb d/nd g/ng*>, /ɸ x/ <*f h*>, /m n/ <*m n*>, /l/ (lateral flap) <*l*>, /j w/ <*y w*>, /i e a o u/ <*i e a o u*>, and <*ɨ*> represents what I analyse as the epenthetic vowel. Nevertheless, speakers of Dla proper are unsatisfied towards the SIL orthography mainly because of the use of <*ɨ*> 'barred i', which is not found in Malay, Tok Pisin and English orthography.

Written correspondence between Dla people are mainly done in Malay and/ or Tok Pisin. Most Dla people enjoy writing one or two sentences in Dla as a sign of solidarity with the addressee. However, most Dla people do not feel the need to read and write extensively in their native language as they, and everyone they know, have competence in Malay and/ or Tok Pisin. When prompted with the question of why they do not use Dla for written correspondence, most people give responses like

'I know how to write in my language, but it is quicker to write in Malay/ Tok Pisin'. Most Dla people do not sense the endangerment of their language.

1.4   Languages in North-Central New Guinea

1.4.1   *Lingue Franche*: Malay and Tok Pisin

The vast majority of Dla people are fluent in Malay and/ or Tok Pisin. Out of the two trade languages, Malay had more influence on Dla. This could be attributed to the fact that in the colonial days, Dutch administrators in West New Guinea, who used Malay as a *lingua francha*, paid much attention to the development of the border area, whereas the Australian administrators in East New Guinea neglected the border area until 1960s (for the colonial history of Dla territory see §1.2.3). Languages on the Papua New Guinean side of the border all have at least some Malay loanwords, even for languages spoken comparatively far away from the border, e.g. Imonda (Seiler 1985). Contrastively, Tok Pisin has not made any inroads into West Papua.

Malay is an Austronesian language originally spoken by the Malay people in Sumatra. Through migration and trade, the Malay language is now spoken as a native or non-native language by people all across insular Southeast Asia south of Mindanao and in Malay peninsula. Different forms of the Malay language are spoken natively in areas from New Guinea in the east to Sumatra and Cocos Islands in the west (there is also a Malay Creole spoken further west in Sri Lanka). There are two standardised forms of Malay: *Bahasa Melayu* (BM) and *Bahasa Indonesia*

(BI). BM is the national language of Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore;[19] BI is the

national language of Indonesia. The two standard varieties of Malay are mutually

intelligible.

The form of Malay language with which Dla people have the most contact

with is *Melayu Papua* Papuan Malay (PM) (e.g. Silzer, 1979; Roosman, 1982;

Burung 2005), the form of Papuan Malay spoken by New Guineans (around the

Jayapura area in particular). Papuan Malay loan words were borrowed into the Dla

language together with new things and ideas which were brought into Dla society by

the Dutch missionaries in 1950s. Most Malay loanwords in Menggwa Dla came

through Dla proper. One evidence is that Papuan Malay words with /s/ [s] and /r/ [r]

are rendered as /t/ [t] and /l/ [l] respectively in Menggwa Dla; this is the case

because Menggwa Dla borrowed these Papuan Malay words through Dla proper

which lacks /s/ [s] and /r/ [r] (§1.4.2), and /s/ [s] and /r/ [r] in Malay are rendered as

/t/ [t] and /l/ [l] respectively in Dla proper. An example of this is *bras* 'uncooked

rice' in Papuan Malay versus *blat* 'rice' in Dla proper and *blati* 'rice' in Menggwa

Dla. The following is a list of some Malay loan words in Menggwa Dla. 'Malay'

below refers to words which are common to PM, BM and BI; other varieties of

Malay have not been consulted. Some of these 'Malay' words exist in all varieties

of Malay but may be in common use only in certain varieties. In Malay orthography,

e is [ə] or [e], *ng* is [ŋ] and *ngg* is [ŋg].[20]

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[19] Singapore has four official languages: English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil. Nonetheless, Singapore has only one national language: Malay. For instance, the national anthem *Majulah Singapura* is only in Malay.

[20] There is also the word *aya* 'one's own father' (versus *afila* 'someone else's father') in Menggwa Dla which may or may not be a Malay loanword (*ayah* 'father' in Malay). Forms similar to *aya* are found throughout the Border region (Baron 1983: 39). In the languages surveyed by Baron, the form *ay(X)* for 'father' is found in Skou of the Macro-Skou family on the coast, most languages of the Border and Kwomtari families, some dialects of One and Olo languages of Torricelli family to the east, the two Senagi languages (Dla and Anggor), all documented isolates nearby (Karkar-Yuri, Busa, Yalë

Table 1.5   Some Malay loanwords in Menggwa Dla

lapaŋgani 'airstrip'   Malay: *lapangan* 'field'; *lapangan terbang* 'airport'

kapali 'aircraft'   Malay: *kapal* 'ship' < Tamil கப்பல் *kappal* 'ship'

oto 'car'   PM: *oto* 'car' < Dutch *auto* [ɔːto] 'car'

                                (BI: *mobil* 'car'; BM *kereta* 'car')

toko 'shop'   PM, BI: *toko* 'shop' (BM: *kedai* 'shop')

bli 'buy'   Malay: *beli* 'buy'

glu 'teacher'   Malay: *guru* 'teacher' < Sanskrit: गुरु *guru* 'teacher'[21]

tuhala 'school'   PM: *skoula*/ BM,BI: *sekolah* 'school'

                                < Portuguese: *escola* [iʃˈkɔlɐ] 'school'

twaŋgi 'European'   Malay: *tuan* 'mister'

galamu 'salt'   Malay: *garam* 'salt'

katpi 'cassava'   PM: *kasbi* 'cassava' (BI: *kaspe* 'cassava')

blati 'rice'   PM: *bras* 'rice' (BI, BM: *beras* [bəras] 'uncooked rice')

pitu 'knife'   PM: *pisu* 'knife' (BI, BM: *pisau* 'knife')

palaŋi 'machete'   Malay: *parang* 'machete'

galiti '(fire) match'   PM: *geret* 'match'(BI: *geret* 'scratch', *geretan* 'match')

ayamu 'chicken'   Malay: *ayam* 'chicken'

wanu 'money'   Malay: *wang* 'money' (BM: *wang*, BI: *uang*)

tirati 'letter'   Malay: *surat* 'letter'

titili 'comb'   Malay: *sisir* 'comb'

tumbaiŋgi 'Mass'   Malay: *sembahyang* 'worship/ pray'

(Nagatman)), Abau in upper Sepik, some dialects of Namie in Yellow River, and Amto of the Amto-Musian family. To the west of Dla, the word for 'father' in Yafi of Pauwasi family is *ap* (Voorhoeve 1971: 101-103). See map 1.6 in §1.4.4 for the locations of these languages.
[21] There are many meanings of *guru* in Sanskrit and Pali, some of which include 'father' and 'spiritual guide'.

ufati 'medicine'   PM: *ubat* 'medicine' (BM: *ubat*, BI: *obat*)

saftu 'Saturday'   Malay: *Sabtu* 'Saturday' < Arabic: السبت *as sabt*

miŋgu 'Sunday'/ 'week'   PM, BI: *Minggu* 'Sunday'/ 'week'

              < Portuguese: *domingo* [duˈmiŋgu] 'Sunday'

(BM: *minggu* 'week', *ahad* 'Sunday' < Arabic الأحد *al ʔaħad*)[22]

These early Papuan Malay loan words in Menggwa Dla (and their equivalents in Dla Proper) are phonologically totally nativised. Even younger Dla people born in the 70s or later in Papua New Guinea with no knowledge of Papuan Malay/ Bahasa Indonesia use these words when speaking Dla.

There are also newer Bahasa Indonesia loanwords into Dla, but their usage are usually restricted to people who have undergone Indonesian education (which include Dla young people from both sides of the border). These newer words are not nativised phonologically. Some examples of these newer words are *es em a* 'senior high school' (*SMA sekolah menegah atas* 'upper middle school'), *vetsin* 'monosodium glutamate' (< Shanghainese brand name 味精), *korupsi* 'corruption' (< Dutch: *corruptie*). Some of these newer Bahasa Indonesia words break Menggwa Dla phonological rules, like having *s* morpheme-medially and having word-final consonant (e.g. *vetsin*).

Papua New Guinea has three official languages: Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu and English. Tok Pisin is an English-lexifier creole spoken natively by many Papua New Guineans. Tok Pisin was originally only used in the northern part of Papua

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[22] In Menggwa Dla, the other days of the week from Monday to Friday are named after the names of the fingers from the little finger to the thumb; see §4.4.

New Guinea, i.e. the ex-Trust Territory of New Guinea. Nowadays, Tok Pisin is
spoken all throughout northern Papua New Guinea, and spreading rapidly in
southern Papua New Guinea, in the expense of Hiri Motu, a creole lexified from
Motu proper (Motu proper is the indigenous Austronesian language spoken in the
Port Moresby area). Hiri Motu was spread around the ex-Australian territory of
Papua by policemen in ex-Australian Papua who were trained in Port Moresby. Hiri
Motu is currently mainly spoken in Southern Highlands, Gulf, Central and Oro
Provinces in southern Papua New Guinea.

Tok Pisin started its life as an English-lexifier pidgin which is closely related
to Pijin of the Solomon's, Bislama of Vanuatu, Yumpla Tok of the Torres Strait and
various cane-field pidgins historically used in Queensland and Samoa. Tok Pisin
and English were first institutionally taught to Dla people by Australian
administrators who took over the Kamberatoro area in 1963. Since then, through
education and religion, Tok Pisin has dominated lives of Dla people east of the
141°E border. Most Dla people west of the border in West Papua have also been in
Papua New Guinea during the turbulent years of 1970s and 80s, and all of them
have acquired some Tok Pisin. Some of these Dla people from West Papua stayed
in Papua New Guinea, and some went back to West Papua.

In comparison with the earlier Papuan Malay loanwords, there are
comparatively fewer Tok Pisin/ English loan words in Dla. Tok Pisin/ English
loanwords are not as phonologically-nativised as the earlier Papuan Malay
loanwords, but they tend to be a bit more nativised than the newer Bahasa Indonesia
loanwords. Take the example of the Tok Pisin loanword *nesi* 'nurse' (< Tok Pisin:

nes 'nurse'). Menggwa Dla basically prohibits words ending in a consonant (see §2.2.3 for the very rare exceptions), and hence the loanword *nesi* has a vowel inserted at the end of the word. Nevertheless, in native words [s] does not occur morpheme-medially (§2.1.3.4), and no alteration to the *s* consonant in the loanword *nesi* has been made to accommodate this fact. Some other examples of Tok Pisin/ English loanwords are *patulu* 'priest' (< Tok Pisin: *pater* 'priest' < Latin: *pater* 'father'), *ti bi si* 'TBC' ('Traditional Border Crossing/ Crosser'), *tamako* 'axe' (< Tok Pisin: *tamiok* 'axe'), and *moni* 'money' (< Tok Pisin: *moni*/ *mani* 'money').[23]

1.4.2   Dla: Menggwa Dla versus Dla Proper

The two dialects of Dla are mutually-intelligible, albeit Menggwa Dla is not immediately intelligible to unaccustomed Dla proper speakers living further away from the Menggwa Dla villages.[24] Menggwa Dla speakers and Dla Proper speakers nearby are well aware of the differences between the two dialects. However, they do not have names to distinguish the two dialects except using names of the villages where the dialects are spoken, e.g. *Meŋgau-Wahai Fafo* 'Menggau-Wahai Language', *Kamberatoro Fafo* 'Kamberatoro Language'. Dla proper and Menggwa Dla people have a concept that 'they belong to the same tribe, but are different nonetheless'. Menggwa Dla people sometimes consider themselves Dla and claim that they speak Dla. However, at other times they do not consider themselves Dla, and refer to Dla proper language and its speakers using the term 'Dla'. Menggwa Dla people do not have an autonym which refers specifically to Menggwa Dla and its speakers. I have

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[23] There are also the native word *yama* '(shell) money' and the Malay loanword *wanu* 'money' in Menggwa Dla.
[24] Subjectively speaking, the level of mutual intelligibility between Menggwa Dla and Dla Proper is like that between Standard English and Northern English dialects.

chosen the term 'Menggwa Dla' to refer to this dialect of the Dla language: 'Menggwa' is a contraction of the names of the villages where this minority dialect is spoken: <u>Mengg</u>au, <u>Wa</u>hai (no.1 and no.2), <u>Wa</u>nggurinda and <u>Menggwa</u>l. Some Menggwa Dla people have also adopted the name 'Menggwa Dla' when referring to their language. None of the Menggwa Dla people whom I have consulted have heard of the term 'Doeka-Ékor' which Galis (1956) uses to refer to what I call Menggwa Dla.

There are apparently no syntactic differences between Menggwa Dla and Dla proper. Grammatical morphemes differ in their phonological shapes in some cases, e.g. the present tense suffix /-bi/ [ᵐbi] in Menggwa Dla (§6.1.1) versus /-bl/ [ᵐbl̩ə] in Dla proper, but their semantics seem to be the same (more research is needed). The major differences between Menggwa Dla and Dla proper are phonological and lexical.

Menggwa Dla has two more consonant phonemes than Dla proper; the phonemes of /t/, /s/ and /r/ in Menggwa Dla all correspond with /t/ in Dla proper, [25] except that word initial /r/ in Menggwa Dla corresponds with /j/ in Dla proper. In this instance, Menggwa Dla is more conservative; the consonants in Menggwa Dla correspond more closely to Anggor than Dla proper (§1.4.3). The following are some examples of correspondence between /t/, /s/ and /r/ in Menggwa Dla and /t/ in Dla proper.

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[25] Lihen, the eastern most Dla proper-speaking village, has /s/ instead of /t/. Further east of Lihen is the Anggor territory; Anggor has both /s/ and /t/ (§1.4).

Table 1.6   Word-medial /r/, /s/, /t/ in Menggwa Dla versus word-medial /t/ in

Dla proper

	Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
/r/: /t/	*bara*	/bara/	[bara]	*bata*	/bata/	[bata]	'run'
/r/: /t/	*yari*	/jari/	[jari]	*yat*	/jat/	[jatə]	'sago jelly'
/s, r/: /t, t/	*seru*	/seru/	[seru]	*tat*	/tat/	[tatə]	'eat'
/s/: /t/	*simbu*	/sibu/	[siᵐbu]	*timbu*	/tibu/	[tiᵐbu]	'morning'
/s/: /t/	*sini*	/sini/	[sini]	*tunu*	/tunu/	[tunu]	'sky'
/s/: /t/	*suŋgwani*	/sugwani/	[suⁿgo̝ani]	*tuŋgwan*	/tugwan/	[tuⁿgo̝anə]	'sick'
/t/: /t/	*tikyawi*	/tikjawi/	[tikjawi]	*tkawai*	/tkawai/	[təkawɐi]	'small'
/t/: /t/	*tite*	/tite/	[tite]	*tite*	/tite/	[tite]	'bad'

The following are examples of word-initial /r/ (§2.1.3.5) in Menggwa Dla
and the cognates in Dla proper with word-initial /j/.

Table 1.7   Word-initial /r/ in Menggwa Dla versus word-initial /j/ in Dla proper

	Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
/r/: /j/	*ruhwa*	/ruxwa/	[ruɣo̝a̝]	*yuhwa*	/juxwa/	[juɣo̝a̝]	'down below'
/r/: /j/	*rani*	/rani/	[rani]	*yan*	/jan/	[janə]	discourse demonstrative (§3.2.4)

Word-medial /d/ [ⁿd] in Dla proper corresponds with /l/ in Menggwa Dla. In
this instance, Dla proper is more conservative; /d/ occurs in both morpheme-initial
and morpheme-medial in both Dla proper and Anggor (§1.4.3), whereas /d/ only
occurs morpheme-initial in Menggwa Dla.

Table 1.8   Word-medial /l/ in Menggwa Dla versus word-medial /d/ in Dla

proper

	Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
/l/: /d/	*sela*	/sela/	[sela]	*tenda*	/teda/	[te^{n}da]	'tail'
/l/: /d/	*gumla*	/gumla/	[gumla]	*gumnda*	/gumda/	[gum^{n}da]	'roof'
/l/: /d/	*wamla*	/wamla/	[o̥amla]	*wamnda*	/wamda/	[o̥am^{n}da]	'betel nut'
/l/: /d/	*barala*	/barala/	[barala]	*batandei*	/batadei/	[bata^{n}dei]	'index finger'
/l/: /d/	*hyemla*	/xjemla/	[xjemla]	*hyemnda*	/xjemda/	[xjem^{n}da]	'bone'
/l/: /d/	*humulu*	/xumulu/	[xumulu]	*humundu*	/xumudu/	[xumu^{n}du]	'sternum'

Both Dla proper and Anggor have a non-phonemic epenthetic vowel. In Dla proper, the epenthetic vowel is realised as a high central vowel [ɨ] in Amgotro in the west and a central vowel [ə] in Kamberatoro in the east. In Anggor, the epenthetic vowel is realised as [ə] (which is different from the high central vowel phoneme /ɨ/ in Anggor). The epenthetic vowel in Dla proper is sometimes optional (e.g. after word final nasals), but when an epenthetic vowel is compulsory (to break up prohibited consonant clusters or after word final consonants with low sonority), the same position is usually filled by /i/, or sometimes /u/ in Menggwa Dla. For instance:

Table 1.9   Word-medial /i/, /u/ in Menggwa Dla versus word-medial Ø in Dla
proper

	Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
/i/: /Ø/	*gihali*	/gixali/	[giɣali]	*ghal*	/gxaɭ/	[gəɣaɭə]	'hungry'
/u/: /Ø/	*hufu*	/xuɸu/	[xuβu]	*hfu*	/xɸu/	[xəɸu]	'sun'
/i/: /Ø/	*imbali*	/ibali/	[ʔiᵐbali]	*imbal*	/ibaɭ/	[ʔiᵐbaɭə]	'thorn'
/i/: /Ø/	*nimi*	/nimi/	[nimi]	*nmai*	/nmai/	[nəmɐi]	'stone'
/i/: /Ø/	*bani*	/bani/	[bani]	*ban*	/ban/	[banə]	'sago'
/i/: /Ø/	*yari*	/jari/	[jari]	*yat*	/jat/	[jatə]	'sago jelly'
/i/: /Ø/	*kwaŋgi*	/kwagi/	[ko̥aŋgi]	*kwaŋg*	/kwag/	[ko̥aŋgə]	'cassowary'

Word-finally, /ai/ in Dla proper corresponds with /i/ in Menggwa Dla (except *hai*
/xai/ [xai] 'fire' in both Dla proper and Menggwa Dla), e.g.:

Table 1.10   Word-final /i/in Menggwa Dla versus word-final /ai/ in Dla proper

	Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
/i/: /ai/	*nimi*	/nimi/	[nimi]	*nmai*	/nmai/	[nəmɐi]	'stone'
/i/: /ai/	*wi*	/wi/	[wi]	*wai*	/wai/	[wɐi]	'child'
/i/: /ai/	*tikyawi*	/tikjawi/	[tikjawi]	*tkawai*	/tkawai/	[təkawɐi]	'small'

Based on Voorhoeve's seventy-item word list (1971: 99-109), *Amgotro* [Dla
Proper] and *Monggowar* [Menggwa Dla] share a 75% cognate rate. Comparing the
Kamberatoro Dla proper word list in SIL (1997a) (which I have rechecked with
people in Kamberatoro) and my own Menggwa Dla data, there are 85 cognates out
of a list of 108 items (cognate rate: 79%). There are slight differences in vocabulary

in all semantic fields including 'basic' semantic fields like numerals (e.g. *imbumamu* 'three' and *laria* 'six' in Menggwa Dla versus *gumu* 'three' and *yati* 'six' in Dla Proper) and body parts (e.g. *damulu* 'nose' in Menggwa Dla versus *gutufu* 'nose' in Dla Proper). The following is a table of selected items showing various forms which are not cognates or words which do not follow the usual sound correspondence rules between Menggwa Dla and Dla proper. Data in the columns titled 'Monggowar (Galis 1956)' and 'Amgotro (Voor. 1971)' are from Galis (1956) and Voorhoeve (1971) respectively; the rest of the data are collected by me. Data presented here are phonetic rather than phonological unless indicated otherwise.

Table 1.11   Some non-cognates and words with irregular sound correspondence
              between Menggwa Dla and Dla proper

	Menggwa Dla		Dla proper		
	Monggowar (Galis 1956)	Menggwal/ Wanggurinda	Amgotro (Voor. 1971)	Amgotro/ Mamamora	Kamberatoro/ Akamari
'big'	buka	buko̝a	eɣandu/ wanara	eɣɨndɨ	ho̝anda
'bird'	tu	tu	du	du	du
'cloud'	jobeli	jaɸlij (/jaɸlei/)	namba	abunu	aɸnu
'dry'	sepale	japala	naɣamnda	namba.la	hwana.la
'fish'	spola	iplo̝a	daβona	daɸna	daɸno̝a
'head'	bapale	babli	boa	A: bo.la/ M: b.loa	bu.lo̝a
'name'	dia	dja	—	d(ɨ).la	d(ə).la
'nose'	damor	damlu	gutubu	gutuɸ	gutuɸu
'sand'	gətia	xutnja	gərəɣə	gɨ.lɨhɨ	gə.ləhə
'skin'	kiaba	xjela	kuera	hwɨ.la	hwe.la
'white'	goŋgwa	xuŋgo̝a	ore	ole	u.li

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Lastly, concerning the autonym 'Dla'. The Dla tribe is known by the governments of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea as 'Dera'. The word 'Dera' is a Malay rendition of the Dla Proper word *dla* [dəˌla] 'name'; [ə] is an unstressed epenthetic vowel, and the *<e>* in 'Dera' represents a schwa in Malay orthography (*<e>* represents [ə] in unstressed syllables). In Malay, *Dera* is pronounced [dəˈla]. These days Dla people may also call themselves 'Dera' [ˈdɛɹa] with an anglicised pronunciation following the practise of English-speaking Papua New Guinea officials. Some Dla people call their language *Awe* after the word for 'no' in the language (§3.2.9). It is a common in New Guinean (and also some Australian Aboriginal) societies to name a language after the word for 'no' in that language. Dla people call the language of the neighbouring Amanab people *Awai* based on the same principle: *awai* is 'no' in Amanab language.

1.4.3 Senagi language family: Dla versus Anggor

Dla has one sister language: Anggor. Together Dla and Anggor form the Senagi language family. The Senagi language family is named after the Anggor-speaking village of Senagi; Anggor was referred to as the 'Senagi language' in older Australian government records (similarly, Dla was referred to as the 'Kamberatoro language'; Loving & Bass 1964). Würm (1975) and Voorhoeve (1975) consider the Senagi language family as part of their Trans New Guinea phylum. Ross (2005) tentatively considers Senagi and all surrounding families (except Pauwasi to the west) as not part of the Trans New Guinea family. I currently see no strong evidence of genealogical relationships linking the Senagi family with other language families (see also §1.4.4).

R. Litteral (1980) is an account of discourse features in Anggor; it also includes a small chapter on the phonology and morphosyntax of the language. Other published works on Anggor include R. Litteral (1972, 1981) and S. Litteral (1972, 1981). Anggor is analysed as having the following eighteen consonant phonemes: *p, t, k, b, d, g, mb, nd, ngg* /ŋg/, *f* /ɸ/, *s, h* /x/, *m, n, ng* /ŋ/, *r, w, y* /j/, and the following seven vowel phonemes: *i, e, a, o, u, ü* /ɨ/, *ɨ* /ə/ (R. Litteral 1980: 41-42). More investigation is needed to work out the sound correspondences between Anggor and Dla comprehensively. Nevertheless, the following are some preliminary observations of the phonological features in Anggor in relation to features which differ between Menggwa Dla and Dla proper:

- /ɨ/ in Anggor usually corresponds with the epenthetic vowel in Dla proper (e.g. Anggor: *mbanɨ* [mbanə] 'sago', Dla proper: *ban* [banə] 'sago', Menggwa Dla *bani* [bani] 'sago'). The /ɨ/ vowel in Anggor is probably an epenthetic vowel; other than being very frequent, it is also deleted when followed by a suffix which begins with a vowel. For instance, compare the following two examples (R. Litteral 1980: 152):

1-1. *nggoafɨ-nɨpeodɨ kus-u*	*1-2.* *nggoaf-ambe nɨmar-u*
village-from come.down-3MSG	village-in sit-3MSG
'he came down from the village'	'he sat down in the village'

- Anggor has one liquid phoneme like Dla proper, but unlike Menggwa Dla which has two. The phoneme /r/ also seems to be quite rare word-initially in Anggor; /r/ in word initial position in Anggor sometimes corresponds with /r/ in Menggwa Dla, and sometimes /j/ in Menggwa Dla:

Table 1.12   Word-initial /r/in Anggor versus word-initial /r/, /j/ in Menggwa Dla versus word-initial /j/ in Dla proper

Anggor			Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
ra	/ra/	[ra]	*rani*	/rani/	[rani]	*yan*	/jan/	[janə]	'that'
ro	/ro/	[ro]	*yo*	/jʊ/	[jʊ]	*yo*	/jo/	[jo]	'I'/ 'we'

- However, word-medial /r/ in Anggor corresponds with /l/ in Menggwa Dla and /l/ in Dla proper; word-medial /s/ in Anggor corresponds with word-medial /r/ in Menggwa Dla and /t/ in Dla proper.[26]

Table 1.13   Word-medial /r/, /s/ in Anggor versus word-medial /l/, /r/ in Menggwa Dla versu /l/, /t/ in Dla proper, respectively

Anggor			Menggwa Dla			Dla proper			
yasɨ	/jas/	[jasə]	*yari*	/jari/	[jari]	*yat*	/jat/	[jatə]	'sago jelly'
sesɨ	/ses/	[sesə]	*seru*	/seru/	[seru]	*tat*	/tat/	[tatə]	'eat'
worɨ	/wor/	[worə]	*wuli*	/wuli/	[wuli]	*olo*	/oˌlo/	[oˌlo]	'house'
warɨ	/war/	[warə]	*wala*	/wala/	[o̥ala]	*wala*	/waˌla/	[o̥aˌla]	'hand'

Both Dla and Anggor are predominantly agglutinative and suffixal, although both have some prefixes and discontinuous morphemes. Both languages lack valence changing morphemes. Both languages are predominantly verb final, heavily clause-chaining, and verb-serialising to a smaller extent. The following are examples of serial verb constructions in Anggor and Menggwa Dla.

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[26] I follow the orthographical forms of Anggor as used in R. Litteral (1980); the phonological forms of Anggor are my own interpretation.

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980:60):

1-3.   <u>waki̵</u>-m-a-ri̵-Ø-ri̵-<u>mind</u>-o.

bear-PAST-IND-TRNS-3FSG-3MSG:O-hold-3FSG

'She bore him.'

Menggwa Dla:

1-4.   <u>hwama</u>-i-Ø   <u>fa</u>-i-Ø-hi,

hang-3MSG-3MSG:O leave-3MSG-3MSG:O-SIM

'While he hang and left him there…' (A)

Most of the nominal clitics (case clitics, focus clitics and topic clitics; §4.5) in Anggor and Dla are clearly cognates. The following is an example of the topic clitics in Anggor and Menggwa Dla (R. Litteral (1980) calls *ana* in Anggor a 'conditional' suffix).

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980:90)

1-5.   *Ausi̵ti̵rariy-ana hi̵fi̵   afi̵ndi̵ saf-an-e.*

Australia-COND ground much very-STAT-3FSG

'Australia is a very large land.'

Menggwa Dla

1-6.   *Ostrelia═na   mayana n-o.*

Australia═TOP far   COP:PRES-3FSG

'Australia is far away.'

The following is an example of the object clitics in Anggor and Menggwa Dla (R. Litteral (1980) calls *mbo* in Anggor a 'prominent' suffix). In ditransitive clauses, the recipient receives the *mbo* case and the theme is left unmarked in both Anggor and Dla. (However, all three grammatical relations are cross-referenced in Anggor, but only the agent and the recipient are cross-referenced in Dla.)

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980: 105):

1-7.   wetao-mbo   sesɨ   sa-ba-pu-du.

Wetao-PROM food give-2SG-3PL:O-3SG:IO

'give all the food to Wetao.' [*-pu* (3PL:O) = theme; *-du* (3SG:IO) = recipient]

Menggwa Dla:

1-8.   Wauni=mbo seru   sa-mba-u-Ø.

Wauni=OBJ   food   give-2SG-3SG:O-IMP

'Give all the food to Wauni.' [*-u* (3SG:O) = recipient]

A lot of semantic case markers are also similar. The following is an example of the allative case *=na(mbo)* in Menggwa Dla and its cognate *-na(-mbo)* in Anggor.

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980: 114):

1-9.   … nggoafɨ-na-mbo   a-h-efɨ.

villagle-to-PROM   IND-go-1PL

'… we go to the village.'

Menggwa Dla:

1-10.   *gwafu=nambo pi-efa-hi.*

village=ALL   go-1PL-PRES:CONT

'We go to the village.'

The complex sets of verbal and pronominal cross-reference suffixes in
Anggor are similar to those in Dla. Not only are the forms very similar (slightly less
so for the object cross-reference suffixes), the person-number-gender combinations
marked by the cross-reference suffixes are also identical in nearly every single set of
cross-reference suffixes (see appendix A in Litteral 1980 for tables of pronouns and
verbal cross-reference suffixes in Anggor). Both Dla and Anggor have a very small
set of verbs where the formation of future tense involves verb stem alteration (see
§5.1.2):

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980: 70-71):

1-11.   <u>*ses*</u>-*ü.*   1-12.   <u>*ded*</u>-*ü.*

eat-3MSG 'he ate'   eat:FUT-3MSG 'he will eat'

Menggwa Dla:

1-13.   <u>*ser*</u>-*u-hwa.*   1-14.   <u>*det*</u>-*ya-ah-u-mb-i.*

eat-3MSG-PAST   eat:FUT-3SG-3-3MSG-SMR:POS-3MSG

'he ate'   'he will eat'

As seen in the examples above, the major difference between Dla and
Anggor is the marking of tense-aspect-mood-status. Another major difference

between Dla and Anggor are their switch-reference systems (§7.2). In Anggor, past tense indicative mood is indicated by a past tense affix *m* followed by an indicative affix *a/ e/ ay/ ey* (the use of these affixes is not obligatory, as shown in examples 1-11 and 1-12 above). These affixes are either prefixed or suffixed to the verb stem, depending on the class membership of the verb. These *mV* markers in Anggor are cognates with the disjoint-referential (DR) affixes in Menggwa Dla (§7.2); in Menggwa Dla the DR affixes indicate that the subject of its own clause is disjoint-referential ('different person') with the subject of a clause following in the clause chain. The DR affixes in Menggwa Dla come in the phonological shapes of *ma* or *me*; whether they are prefixed or suffixed to the verb stem depends on the class membership of the verb. As far as I know, the prefixal or suffixal position of these *mV* affixes in Anggor and Dla matches in most instances. The following are some examples of the *mV* affixes in Anggor and Menggwa Dla.

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980:54-55):

1-15. **m-a**-*sün-u.*

  PAST-IND-come.down-3MSG

  'He came down.' (*sünimbo* 'come down' class II)

1-16. *arani-**m-ey**-u.*

  cry-PAST-IND-3MSG

  'He cried.' (*aranimbo* 'cry' class III)

Menggwa Dla:

1-17. **<u>ma</u>**-*han-u-mbo,*   *alani-Ø-hwa.*

<u>DR</u>-come.down-3MSG-DEP   cry-3MSG-PAST

'He ⱼ came down and he ₖ cried.' (*hanu* 'come down' class IH)

1-18. *alani*-**<u>me</u>**-*Ø-mbo,*   *han-u-hwa.*

cry-<u>DR</u>-3MSG-DEP   come.down-3MSG-PAST

'He ⱼ cried, and he ₖ came down.' (*alani* 'cry' class I)

Anggor (R. Litteral 1980:54-55):

1-19. *hoe*-**<u>m-a</u>**-*rɨ-heya-purɨ.*

see-<u>PAST-IND</u>-TRANS-1SG-N1MPL:O

'I saw them (masculine).' (*hoembo* 'see' class V)

1-20. **<u>m-a</u>**-*sa-ga-do.*

<u>PAST-IND</u>-give-3SG-3SG:O

'S/he gave it to him/her.' (*sembo* 'give' class X)

Menggwa Dla:

1-21. *homba*-**<u>ma</u>**-*hi-ma-mbo,*   *sa-ka-wa-hwa.*

see-<u>DR</u>-1SG-N1MPL:O-DEP   give-3SG-3SG:D-PAST

'I saw them, and s/he gave it to him/her.' (*homba* 'see' class II)

1-22. **ma**-*sa-ka-wa-mbo,*   *homba-hi-ma-hwa.*

DR-give-3SG-3SG:O-DEP   see-1SG-N1MPL:O-PAST

'S/he gave it to him/her, and I saw them.' (*sefi* 'give' class III)

(In contrast, the coreferential (CR) affix in Menggwa Dla is zero (§7.2); the cross-reference suffixes also change from subset A to subset B (see §5.2), e.g. compare the DR chain verb *ma-sa-ka-wa-mbo* in example 1-22 above with the CR chain verb *Ø-sa-ka-u-mbo* in example 1-23 below:

1-23. **Ø**-*sa-ka-u-mbo,*   *homba-i-ma-hwa.*

CR-give-3SG-3SG:O-DEP   see-N1SG-N1MPL:O-PAST

'S/he $_j$ gave it to him/her $_k$, and s/he $_j$ saw them.' (*sefi* 'give' class III))

Dla has a different set of tense-aspect-mood markers, some of which are obviously grammaticalised from the case markers (§4.5; §6). For instance, present tense continuous aspect *-hi* (§6.1.1) is grammaticalised from the adessive case clitic =*hi* (§4.5.3).

Menggwa Dla:

1-24. *numu*=*hi num-u-hi.*

tree=ADS sit-3MSG-PRES:CONT

'He is sitting at the tree.' (*numu* (*num-*) 'cry' class I)

Anggor has a switch-reference system utilising a combination of morphemes already available in the language. The switch-reference markers in Anggor are

portmanteau with morphemes of interclausal simultaneity (SIM) versus sequentiality (SEQ).

coreferential, simultaneous (*-ühɨ*; R. Litteral 1980: 277):

1-25.　… ro　herɨ-nd-ef-__ühɨ__

　　　1　dance-FUT-1PL-__SIM__

sɨhambo hohoanɨmo-nd-embo-i-efɨ.

you　　think-FUT-PROM-IND-1PL

'… While we are dancing we will be thinking about you.'

coreferential, sequential (*-a m-ay-o-a*; R. Litteral 1980: 277):

1-26.　… ho-rɨ-heya-nd-__a__　　　　　__m-ay-o-a__

　　　see-TRAN-1SG-3FSG:O-and PAST-IND-3FSG-and

m-a-hepin-ahɨ.

PAST-IND-amaze-1SG

'… I saw these things for a while and then I was amazed.'

disjoint-referential, simultaneous (*-an-e*; R. Litteral 1980:279):

1-27.　… nɨmboad-ef-__an-e__

　　　stand-1PL-__STAT-3FSG__

mamɨ　dokta　ai　sɨf-u …

change　doctor　he　come.up-3MSG

'… while we were standing there the doctor came up …'

The disjoint-referential sequential (DR:SEQ) markers also carry subject anticipatory markers ('interclausal cross-referencing': cross-reference affixes which cross-reference with the subject of the next clause). In some cases there are also object anticipatory markers. In the following example, -*amboyo* is a disjoint-referential sequential marker; *rɨrɨ* is an auxiliary which carries a subject anticipatory marker -*ɨ* (which cross-references with the 3SG subject 'someone' of the next clause) and an object anticipatory marker -*rɨ* (which cross-references with the 3MSG object 'pig' of the next clause).

disjoint-referential, sequential (-*amboyo*; R. Litteral 1980: 276):

1-28. *tüki-m-e-fi-u-a-mbo-y-o*   *r-ü-ri*,

arrive-PAST-IND-CS-3MSG-and-PROM-N:IND-3FSG TRNS-3SG-3MSG:O

ngar-i   safoa-r-i-r-a,

shoot-3SG hit-TRNS-3SG-3MSG:O-and

'He (pig) came up and (someone) shot and hit him [the pig] and…'

1.4.4   Languages in North-Central New Guinea: Senagi's neighbours

North-Central New Guinea is defined in Donohue & Crowther (2005) as the area in New Guinea bounded by the Torricelli Mountains to the east, the Sepik area and the Highlands to the south, and the Lakes Plain area (Taritatu River) and Tor area to the west. The area shown in map 1.14 below corresponds roughly to the North-Central New Guinea area described in Donohue & Crowther (2005). This is the area where a lot of the small Papuan language families and isolates are spoken. The language groups in this region are considered 'small' because the region is surrounded by language families which have much larger geographical spread. The

larger families are Tor-Kwerba family, Lakes-Plain family and Kaure branch of the Trans New Guinea family to the west, the Ok branch and Mek branch of the Trans New Guinea family in the highlands to the south, and languages of the Sepik and Torricelli families to the east.

North-Central New Guinea is the area with the highest level of linguistic diversity within New Guinea, which is itself already highly linguistically-diverse. Not only is there a high level of linguistic diversity in North-Central New Guinea, culturally there is also a lack of homogeny in the region, no large-scale patterns of trade such as in the highlands, and a lack of contact with Austronesian populations. The high level of linguistic diversity in North-Central New Guinea can be attributed to the relative lack of interaction within this region. To the west is the Mamberamo River, and to the south and east is the Sepik River. Extensive trade is conducted along these big navigable rivers. The Highlands to the south is a major valley corridor for migration and the transmission of technology across the east-west backbone of New Guinea. Even the Torricelli Mountains to the east of North-Central New Guinea have major valleys where regular trading is conducted. North-Central New Guinea lacks large navigable rivers and large valleys to encourage sustained interaction between different groups of people (Donohue & Crowther 2005). As a result there are many small language families and isolates which are highly dissimilar to each other in North-Central New Guinea.

Map 1.14   Senagi and neighbouring language families
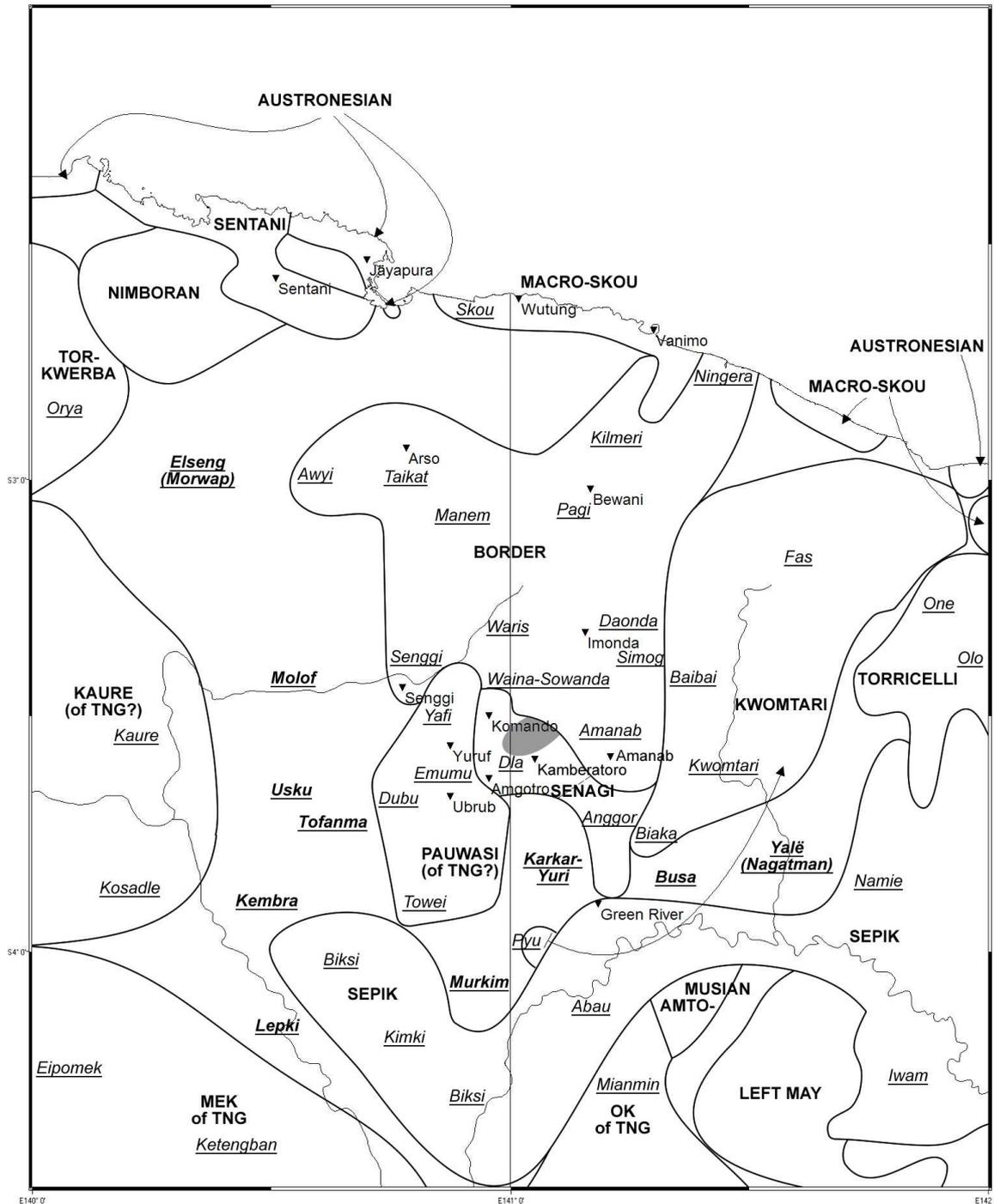
▼Kamberatoro   Locality

    Menggwa Dla territory

Dla   Language

SENAGI   Language family; except **of TNG** = Branch of the Trans New Guinea family

Elseng, Molof, Usku, Tofanma: Isolates? ('sub-phylum level isolates' of TNG phylum in Würm 1975)

Kembra, Lepki, Murkim: Unclassified (Silzer & Clouse 1991; Gordon 2005)

Karkar-Yuri, Busa, Yalë: Isolates

(Compiled from Galis 1956, Loving & Bass 1964, Würm & Hattori 1981, Silzer & Clouse 1991;

Gordon 2005, Donohue & Crowther 2005, Ross 2005 and Matthew Dryer p.c.)

Grammatical descriptions of all the languages immediately surrounding Dla and Anggor are available except for the Pauwasi languages to the west. The only data available on the Pauwasi languages is the word list in Galis (1966). There are supposedly four languages belonging to the Pauwasi family: Yafi and Emumu to the west of Dla, and Dubu and Towei to the west of Emumu. For the rest of this subsection, the term 'languages surrounding Dla and Anggor/ Senagi languages' excludes the Pauwasi languages due to lack of data.

One major difference between the Senagi languages and the surrounding languages is that Senagi languages are heavily into clause-chaining whereas the surrounding languages are not, except Karkar-Yuri. All surrounding languages have simple verbal cross-reference systems, typically cross-referencing only with the number of the subject; this contrasts with the Senagi languages which have multiple sets of cross-reference suffixes for both subject and object, marking number, person and sometimes gender features. Comparing with surrounding languages, the Senagi languages have a richer inventory of case markers.

To the north of Dla and Anggor are the languages of the Waris branch of the Border language family. North of Anggor and northeast of Dla is the Amanab language (also known as the Awai language to Dla people), the southern most member of the Border family (e.g. G. Graham 1968, 1980; D. Graham 1969; Minch 1992). Amanab is the language of Amanab Town, the administrative centre of Amanab District of Sandaun Province in Papua New Guinea. To the north of Dla and Amanab is the Waina-Sowanda language. To the north of Waina-Sowanda is Waris (e.g. Brown 1981, 1988). Other languages of the Waris branch include

Manem to the northwest of Waris, Imonda (Seiler 1985), Daonda and Simog to the east of Waris, Senggi to the west of Waina-Sowanda and Punda to the east of Waina-Sowanda.[27] Amanab have five vowels /i e a o u/ and fourteen consonants /p t k b g m n ŋ f s r w j h/ (Minch 1992); Imonda has ten vowels /i e ɛ æ a ɒ ɔ o u ə/ and twelve consonants /p t k b d g m n l f s h/ (Seiler 1985).[28] Both languages mark tense, aspect and mood by suffixes and/ or pre-verbal particles, and verbs only agree with the number of the subject. Dual number of the subject is usually indicated by a prefix to the underived (singular) verb stem, and plural number is most commonly indicated by raising the last vowel of the verb stem (at least for transitive verbs). For instance, in Imonda (Seiler 1985: 82):

Table 1.15   Singular versus plural verb stems in Imonda

singular   plural (derived)

fe	*fi*	'made, do'
pos	*pus*	'dig out'
la	*læ*	'light fire'
nagla	*naglɛ*	'see'
ɒ	*ɔ*	'speak, talk'
səh	*sih*	'search'

And in Amanab (Minch 1992: 107):

Table 1.16   Singular versus plural verb stems in Amanab

singular   plural (derived)

tige	*tigi*	'hit'
faka	*faki*	'put'

The following is an example from Imonda (Seiler 1985: 211).

1-29.   *e-uagl-ual. iɛf-ia-m   e-uagl-ual-na-ba,   si-nam-fa-iaha-fna.*

DU-go-DU   house-LOC-GOAL DU-go-DU-PAST-TOP night-DER-TOP-die-PROG

si-nam   iaha-na-ba   təla-l   sabeha-na   kowal-e.

night-DER   die-PAST-TOP husband-NOML   magic-INSTR cut-D

toad-m   abɒ   fe-na-ɒ   mugɒ   fe-na-ɒ   mugɒ   defɒ fe.

boys-GOAL simply do-PAST-D completely do-PAST-D completely die   do

'They went. Having gone home, at night she was dying. She having died at night, her husband worked magic. The boys simply did, completely did, completely died.'

The following is an example from Amanab (Minch 1992: 168).

1-30.   *ka ahbru (< ah-bro)   wana-yi   ah-pugu-g*

1   DU-bring here＝LOC DU-arrive-PAST

hiafɛna angwag-m   sihi-nag.

3:GEN   woman-DAT tell-BEN

pe   bro-g   nangu-g, ka bru (<bro)   fahi-g   fefri-g.

down come-PAST see-PAST 1   bring examine-PAST hold-PAST

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'We brought (it) here, arrived (and he) told his wife. (She) came down and saw (the possum), I brought (it) to be examined.'

To the east of Anggor is the Biaka language, which belongs to the Kwomtari family. The only data available on Biaka seems to be Baron's (1983) survey on the Kwomtari family. Not a lot can be deduced from that brief survey, but on the whole there do not seem to be any major similarities between Biaka and Anggor except typological ones. The following are some examples from Biaka.

1-31. *Sakrami-lo itiɛ(lɛ)*

'Sakrami's house'

1-32. *nagi   toro   dofway*

anger CHAR man

'Man given to anger'

1-33. *kwɔsabru   toro   inari*

copulation CHAR woman

'Woman who sleeps around'

1-34. *imikau   takaro*

bush   something

'Something of/in the bush'

1-35. *amaru   itiɛ*

big   house

'a big house'

1-36. *Sakrami   fwɔri   frəβiə*

Sakrami pig   shot

'Sakrami shot a pig'

1-37. *itiɛ-y   turuena*

house-LOC is

'He is in the house'

1-38.   *Sakrami itiɛ-ma   βria*   *1-39.   pina-to   toβotia*

Sakrami house-ALL goes   knife-INSTR cut

'Sakrami goes to the house'   'He cut with a knife'

To the south of Anggor along the Sepik River is the territory of the Abau

language (e.g. Laycock 1965, Bailey 1975, Laycock and Z'graggen 1975, Lock &

Lock 1985). Abau is the western-most member of the Upper Sepik branch of the

Sepik language family. Other languages of the Upper Sepik branch include Iwam,

Amal, Chenapian and Wogamusin spoken towards the east (downriver). To the west

of Abau are the little known languages of Biksi/ Yetfa and Kimki in West Papua

which seems to be part of the Sepik family. Abau has a phonemic inventory of /p ɹ

k m n s h j w i ɛ a ɒ o u eʲ aʲ aʷ ɒʷ oʷ/ (Bailey 1975: 8). According to Bailey

(1975), each syllable carries an underlying tone of H (high) or L (low). Through

various complex tone sandhi rules the underlying tones can be surfaced as H, L, HL

(falling) or LH (rising) (Bailey 1975: 32-37).

Tense and aspect are marked by both suffixes and preceding particles, and

verbs only agree with the number of the subject (Laycock and Z'graggen 1975: 742).

A characteristic of the Sepik family languages is having a two-gender noun-class

system (e.g. Foley 2005). Abau also has a two-gender system. Like other Sepik

languages downriver like the Ndu languages, gender is not manifested on the noun

itself. In Abau, gender is manifested in: a) the singular verbal cross-reference

markers (Laycock & Z'graggen 1975: 742); b) the third person singular pronouns

(3MSG *hi(kwe)* versus 3FSG *hɔ(kwe)*); and c) the singular prefixes of case

postpositions which agree with the number and gender of the noun (MSG *s*-, FSG *k*-; PL *m*-) (Laycock & Z'graggen 1975: 745).[29]

Dla and Anggor also have a two-gender system, which could be diffused from (or to?) the Sepik language families. However, in the two Senagi languages, grammatical gender is only manifested in the cross-reference suffixes on verbs and pronouns. In Abau and many languages in the Sepik area (including lower Sepik), the number markers exhibit -*m* for plural number and -*f* for dual number (Foley 2005). Traces of the same phenomenon can also be found in Anggor (R. Litteral 1980: 352) and Dla. In Menggwa Dla, *m* is exhibited in non-first person masculine **plural** suffixes (N1MPL), and *f* is exhibited in the non-first person **dual** suffixes (N1MDU and N1FDU) in class I and IH cross-reference suffixes.[30] The following are the class I and class IH cross-reference suffixes in Menggwa Dla (see also §5.2.1).

Table 1.17   Class IA/ IHA cross-reference suffixes

SUBJ→		1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	3MSG	3FSG	**N1MDU**	**N1FDU**	**N1MPL**	N1FPL
IA:	V_ C_	-*aha*	-*ehye*	-*efa*	-*afa*	-*Ø* -*u*	-*wa*	-*afa*	-*efye*	**-*ma*** **-*uma***	-*wi* -*ei*
IHA:	C_	-*iha*	-*yehye*	-*yefa*	-*ufa*	-*u*	-*wa*	-*ufa*	-*yefye*	**-*uma***	-*yei*

[29] In addition to the two-gender system, Abau also has another noun-class system which is only manifested in the choice of numerals from one to three (numerals four and above are invariant). Laycock and Z'gragen (1975: 746) record twelve different sets of numerals from one to three which agree with noun-class membership of the noun, and 'further rare classes may still exist in the language' (1975: 746). For instance, class I nouns are all human beings and class II nouns are predominantly animates; the numerals for class I are *prin pris prumni* 'one two three' and the numerals for class II are *kamən krɛs krumni* 'one two three' (1975: 746). Iwam, the next genealogically related language spoken downstream, also has separate two-gender and multiple noun-class systems. Laycock and Z'graggen (1975: 743) record five sets of numerals from one to four in Iwam (numerals five and above are invariant). Both Wogamusin and Chenapian are recorded to have five sets of numerals from one to four. In addition, the numerals in Wogamusin for 'one' in each set of numerals have variants for masculine versus feminine gender. e.g. class III M *bid* 'one' versus class III F *bidin* 'one'; class V M *ŋgwad* 'one' versus class V F *ŋgwed* 'one' (1975: 744).
[30] However, *f* is also exhibited in the 1PL and 2SG class I/IH suffixes.

Table 1.18   Class IB/ IHB cross-reference suffixes

SUBJ→		1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	3MSG	3FSG	**N1MDU**	**N1FDU**	**N1MPL**	N1FPL
IB:	V_ / C_	*-a*	*-ehi*	*-efu*	*-afu*	*-u*	*-o*	**-afani**	**-efi**	**-mu** / **-umu**	*-wi* / *-ei*
IHB:	C_	*-i*	*-yehi*	*-yefu*	*-ufu*	*-u*	*-o*	**-ufani**	**-yefi**	**-umu**	*-yei*

Nevertheless, class I and IH are only two out of five classes of cross-reference suffixes in Menggwa Dla, and none of the other classes exhibit this phenomenon. Cross-linguistically, pronominals also tend to favour a restricted set of phonemes (Nichols 1992). Currently there is not a lot of evidence linking the Senagi languages with other Papuan language families.

To the south of Dla and west of Anggor is the Karkar-Yuri language (e.g. Rigden 1978, 1986a,b; Price 1987), which is an isolate. Karkar-Yuri has complex phonology; it has the following vowel phonemes: /i e ɛ a ɒ ɔ o u ɨ ə ʌ/ (Price 1987: 58) and the following consonant phonemes: /p t k mp nt ŋk m n f s j w ʔ mpw nkw pw fw kw mw kk pp/ (Price 1987:62-63).[31]

In Karkar-Yuri, cross-referencing is only indicated in the final clause of a clause-chain (Rigden 1986a: 15), and cross-referencing is not obligatory. The past tense markers are: *amp* 1SG, *ap* 2SG, *omp* 3SG; *emp* 1DU, *ep* N1DU; *omp* 1PL, *ap* N1PL. For present tense there is an extra *n-* prefix for non-past tense (e.g. 1SG *n-amp*). For future tense, there is an extra future tense suffix before the *n-* non-past prefix which

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[31] /mp nt ŋk/ lose their oral component when they occur word-finally. Word-medially, /p/ and /k/ are voiced. Word-medial voiceless [p] and [k] are analysed as /pp/ and /kk/ underlying.

is sensitive to the number of the subject: SG *na-* (e.g. 1SG:FUT *na-n-amp*), DU *ni-*, PL

mwa-. Karkar-Yuri is the only documented language adjacent to Dla and Anggor

with a switch-reference system. In the switch-reference system in Karkar-Yuri

(Rigden 1986a: 19-20), interclausal coreference of actors is indicated by a zero

morph *Ø* and interclausal disjoint-reference is indicated by the suffix *-nko*. The

disjoint-referential suffix *-nko* is preceded by *e-* for dual actors, *a-* for first person

(singular?) actors and *o-* for non-first person singular and plural actors; an extra *n-* is

prefixed to *e-*, *a-*, or *o-* if the sentence is in present tense.[32] The following is an

example sentence in Karkar-Yuri from Rigden (1986a:19).

1-40.   *korop   n-o-nko   ək   rə*

       come   NPAST-N1-DR come.down SEQ

      wunɛ   fik nar   fɒnkwek tank

      nearby at transfer.to.this at.thigh sat

      'When she had come, it came down (from the wood rack, its sleeping place)

      and went along and sat near her at her thigh.'

In Roberts' (1997) survey of switch-reference in Papua New Guinea, all

languages with switch-reference systems in mainland Papua New Guinea are

contiguous to each other except the Senagi plus Karkar-Yuri area (Roberts 1997:

118-119). Within Papua New Guinea, they are separated from the nearest switch-

reference language Mianmin of Ok branch of Trans New Guinea family by the Sepik

language Abau to the south. To the west of Dla there are no grammatical data of the

Pauwasi languages; to the southwest the nearest languages with switch reference are

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[32] It is not clear from Rigden (1986a:19) whether *e-* includes first person dual, and is *a* only for first
person singular.

the Mek languages and Dani languages, which lie to the west of the Ok languages. Switch-reference systems are commonly diffused over genetically diverse languages. The phenomenon of switch-reference languages all being contiguous to each other is also attested in Australia (Austin 1981) and North America (Jacobsen 1983).

1.5   Brief ethnographic notes on Dla society

Dla people are hunter-gatherers traditionally. The staple diet is sago (*bani*). Sago starch is either stirred into sago jelly (*yari*) (see *Banila fafo* 'Story of Sago' in appendix 1), or fried into sago pancakes (*bani hyela* (sago skin)). The collecting of sago starch from sago palm is the job of both men and women, but the processing and cooking of sago is usually women's job. Sago starch is basically pure carbohydrate; the amount of other types of nutrients sago starch has is minute. People's diet is supplemented by food acquired in the bush: fruits like breadfruits (*barufu*), mango (*ihu*) and bananas (*tambi*) are collected from trees, small aquatic creatures like fish (*iplwa*) and shrimp *(uti)* are caught from the streams, and larger animals like pigs (*wali*), snakes (*akwani*), cuscuses (*yu*), bandicoots (*hofowali*), flying birds (*tu*) and sometimes cassowaries (*kwaŋgi*) are hunted in the bush (there are no crocodiles in Dla territory). Most families are also involved in garden agriculture. Root crops like cassava (*katpi*), taro (*mawa*), sweet potato (*bufi*), and various types of leaf vegetables (*hwatmali*) are grown in people's gardens (*amni*). Recently there are also trials of rice-growing (rice: *blati*) with reasonable results. There is also small scale domestication of animals like chickens (*ayamu*) and pigs (*wali*).

Unfortunately, with no road access there are no cost-effective ways for people to transport excess products to markets in towns. The majority of people in Dla territory do not participate in the cash economy. On the one hand people want their children to seek education and employment elsewhere to improve their quality of life. On the other hand people who have left seldom come back to live in Dla territory and this results in the loss of language and culture.

Common throughout New Guinea is betel nut chewing. When a New Guinean is learning another New Guinean language, very often it is the vocabularies and phrases related to betel nut chewing which are learnt first (out of necessity). Betel nut chewing creates a mild narcotic effect. Children would start play-chewing betel nut as young as two, and would chew betel nut properly within one or two years of going to primary school.

Unripe betel nut (Menggwa Dla: *wamla*; Dla proper: *wamnda*; Malay: *pinang*; Tok Pisin: *buai*) are collected from betel palm (Areca palm). A betel nut is a bit shorter in length than one's thumb, green, and shaped like an egg. Bet nut is actually a kind of seed rather than a kind of nut: inside the fibrous husk is a small fleshy meat of creamy-white colour. Unlike the practise in South East Asia (including Taiwan and non-Sinitic southern mainland China) where the fleshy meat is dried and diced, in New Guinea people chew the fleshy meat as it is. The meat is chewed, sometimes together with a little bit of husk, together with a small section of mustard (Dla: *wafa*; Malay: *sirih;* Tok Pisin *daka*) dipped in powered lime (Dla: *nitufu*; Malay: *kapur*; Tok Pisin: *kambang*; made from crushed coral or limestone). Some people put the betel meat inside their mouths first, and then the limed mustard.

Other people put the limed mustard within the betel meat and then put the combination into their mouths. The level of salivation increases rapidly, and the saliva turns red. After some chewing the oozes of red saliva are spat out. The red saliva is very staining, and even streets of Jayapura and Port Moresby are stained with betel nut spit. Often unfortunate passers-by or animals are stained with betel nut spit (*hamblu* 'become red' class I) from people spitting irresponsibly. 'Chewing' betel nut is *seru* (*ser-/ det-*) 'eat' (verb class IH), and the following is heard many times in a day.

1-41.   [wamla/   wafa/   nitufu] sa-mba-i-Ø!

        [betel.nut/   mustard/   lime]   give-2SG-1SG:O-IMP

        'Give me [betel nut/ mustard/ lime]!'

Traditionally, teenage boys would spend a long period of time (sometimes years) away from home and live in the bush with male relatives to learn hunting skills and men-only ceremonies. No contacts with women would be made during this time. However, with the emphasis on formal education these days, this initiation process has been shortened considerably. Most young men are still keen on the occasional hunting trip (for instance, see *Nimiwami Kaku* 'Hunting in the mountain' in appendix 1). Male cult houses, which Middle and Lower Sepik societies are famous for, are absent in Dla and other Upper Sepik societies. Traditionally villages are headed by an older male person. Clans are patrilineal; Dla society in general is quite male-dominated. Nevertheless, mothers and female elders are respected, and wives are not usually badly treated. Marriages are mostly

monogamous; there are also some polygenious relationships. Families usually live in the same house, but husbands and wives usually sleep in separate rooms.

Dla people have never had major interactions with neighbouring groups. This is typical in North-Central New Guinea, as reflected by the acute linguistic diversity in the area (§1.4.4). Each Menggwa Dla village is inhabited by one clan, but other Dla villages can be inhabited by more than one clan. Traditionally, relationships between villages are lukewarm at best. Relationships are relatively harmonious amongst the Menggau Dla speaking villages. Bow-and-arrow fights happen from time to time between Dla proper speaking villages. After Kamberatoro Mission was built, the mission was sometimes the scene of failed negotiations between villages which sometimes escalated into bow-and-arrow warfare. Traditional bows are not very accurate at shooting long distance, and they are usually not designed to propel the arrow far enough to hit the opposite group of villagers, and arrows typically land in the middle of the mission station or on the mission buildings. Real harm was rarely done, as 'fights' are mostly display of humiliation.

Dla people living in Dla territory have relatively short life expectancy. People die early from malnutrition, malaria or congenital disorders. Heart or kidney failures are a common cause of death even amongst younger people. Traditionally, the idea of natural death does not exist; in people's minds people only die of murder, sorcery, or maltreatment. Someone from another clan has to be blamed for a person's death, and compensation has to be sort from that person's clan.

Like most other New Guineans, Dla people express grief by loud melodious verbal crying, and other non-verbal audio means like banging one's fist or palm on any bang-able surfaces like walls and doors. People would start to congregate at the house of the deceased to express grief together at the first hearing of such grieve-crying. Alternatively, if the person died in hospital in town and the body is being flown back to Dla territory, people would congregate at the airstrip, and would start grieve-crying at the sight of the aircraft. Those who accompany the dead body from town would start grieve-crying when the coffin is carried on board, and would continue grieve-crying the whole way (it takes around forty minutes to fly from Vanimo to Kamberatoro).

These days people wear western type clothing (*hyela* 'skin'; *numu* 'wear' class IIB) like shirts, t-shirts, dresses, shorts, trousers, flip-flops and shoes, which people acquire in towns. In Greater Jayapura and Vanimo people buy clothing in market stalls or supermarkets. In Vanimo people can also acquire assorted second-hand clothing by weight. Traditionally, clothing is minimal: Women wear grass-skirts (*wimu*; *kikifi* 'wear' class II), and men wear penis-gourds (*yamogwamo*; *kafefi* 'wear' class IIB). The type of penis-gourd worn by Dla men is not the same as the big penis-gourds worn in the Highlands in West Papua and far west Papua New Guinea (Sandaun and Western Provinces). In the Highlands, men wear large penis-gourds which are held tightly upward (e.g. Baliem valley) or loosely forward (e.g. Oksapmin) by thick waistbands or thin strings; penis-gourds in the Highlands are either long-thin-conical or wide girth-shorter-cylindrical. From Dla-Anggor territory all the way to the Bewani Mountains to the north, penis-gourds are about the size of one's palm, shaped like a rugby ball, and with a small hole cut at the top

just large enough to fit and to be held on by the glans penis (held inside the foreskin for uncircumcised men). This type of penis-gourd used in North-Central New Guinea is not held onto the torso by any means; the penis-gourd is left hanging down. In certain traditional dance-ceremonies, men thrust their penis-gourds back and forth all the way, hitting their torsos rapidly and repeatedly (and it is painful even to accustomed penises).

1.6   Fieldwork and the collection of data

Five fieldtrips were conducted between August 2002 and November 2005; the time spent in the field amounts to fourteen months accumulatively. The research on Menggwa Dla was conducted with the cooperation of informants living in the Menggwa Dla villages, and also one each in Kamberatoro Mission Station, Vanimo and Jayapura. For comparative purposes, a small amount of research was also done on Dla proper, mainly on the variety spoken in Kamberatoro, Tamarbek and Akamari villages. I have never been to the Dla proper speaking areas in West Papua, as the border area on the Indonesian side is out of bounds for foreigners. However, some encounters and brief elicitation sessions were made with people from Amgotro living in Jayapura and Vanimo; Dla proper spoken in Amgotro is minimally different from Dla proper spoken in Kamberatoro.

A lot of data presented in this thesis were from spontaneous speech of native speakers. A small amount of elicitation was also done, especially for verbal and pronominal paradigms. Some oral texts were recorded digitally and four of them transcribed and presented in this thesis (appendix 1). Unfortunately, due to the lack of electricity (and the comparatively poor quality of Indonesian batteries available in

Jayapura and Vanimo), only a limited amount of recordings were done. Examples cited from texts carry one of the following labels: (A) is from *Amamola Hwafo* 'The Story of the Moon', (B) is from *Banila Hwafo* 'The Story of Sago', (N) is from *Nimi Wami Kaku* 'Hunting on Top of the Mountain', and (S) is from *Saimon Korela Hwafo* 'The Story of Simon Kore' (appendix 1). Other examples may carry a label like (50I) or (80II); this label indicates that the example comes from the spontaneous speech of teacher number I who was born in 1950s/ teacher number II who was born in 1980s. None of my language teachers wanted to be named for the spontaneous speech examples. (All of my language helpers were happy in helping me in learning their language, but all were shy in getting themselves named and recorded.)

Amongst the many Dla people whom I have consulted with, there were six main consultants of Menggwa Dla. I met Donald Yawa (born in 1980) on my first plane ride from Vanimo to Kamberatoro in August 2002. He became my first language teacher. He spoke excellent English, which was of great assistance as my command of Tok Pisin was rudimentary then. My second and third language teachers were David Yawa (born in 1950s, Donald's father) and Simon Kore (born in 1950s). I learnt a great deal from both David and Simon. Unfortunately, Simon, the manager of Kamberatoro Mission Station, died suddenly of acute malaria on Friday 23rd April 2004. Amongst many things that he left on this world was his short oral text which was recorded on 19th April 2004 (*Simon Korela Hwafo* 'The story of Simon Kore, appendix 1), which was yet un-transcribed. I first met Stanis Kore (born in 1970s), Simon Kore's cousin, in Vanimo in August 2004. He was working at the Department of Works depot in Vanimo. I lot of assistance were also given by Andrew Lambuwe and Issac Yawa, both of them born in 1970s. The two

of them were most willing to talk to me only in Menggwa Dla, and they also keenly

translated nearly every sentence I said in Tok Pisin into Menggwa Dla.