

Chapter 3 Word Classes

There are three open word classes in Menggwa Dla — nouns, adjectives and verbs (§3.1). Other than the major open word classes, Menggwa Dla also has the following minor closed classes:

- Nominal 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/ miscellaneous (§3.2.9).

3.1 Major word classes: nouns, adjectives and verbs

Nouns, adjectives and verbs are the major word classes in Menggwa Dla. Verbs typically carry most — if not all — affixes in a clause, while nouns and adjectives typically carry no affixes. Nouns head noun phrases (i.e. a head noun and its modifiers must be contiguous with each other; §4.3), and a noun phrase as a whole can carry one or more case clitics (§4.5). The following sentence exemplifies a prototypical noun, a prototypical adjective and a prototypical independent verb. The noun *akwani* ‘snake’ is morphologically simple; the topic clitic =*na* is an

enclitic of the noun phrase rather than a suffix to a particular noun, as shown by the fact that the head noun and the topic clitic can be intervened by modifiers like the adjective *tikyawi* ‘small’. As an adjective, *tikyawi* ‘small’ is free to occupy any positions within the noun phrase; *tikyawi* ‘small’ can either precede or follow the head noun *akwani* ‘snake’. The independent verb *yafukyauyahwa* is morphologically agglutinative; it has a past tense suffix *-hwa* and two cross reference suffixes: *-Ø* (N1SG) and *-ya* (1SG:O).

3-1. *[akwani tikyawi]=na yafukyau-Ø-ya-hwa.*

[snake small] = TOP bite-N1SG-1SG:O-PAST

‘A/ the small snake bit me.’

Independent verbs are always fully inflected. Different types of dependent verbs are deverbalised to various degrees. Even more deverbalised are the verbal nouns (i.e. nominalised verbs). The more salient morphosyntactic properties of verbs, verbal nouns and nouns are discussed in §3.1.1. Property words are not all adjectives; although the adjective word class is not closed, a lot of property words are verbs, and some are nouns; see §3.1.2. Copulas form a subgroup of verbs; see §6.4 on copulas.

3.1.1 Nouns and verbs

Nouns and verbs can be clearly distinguished by the following three morphosyntactic criteria: a) nouns can have noun modifiers and nouns project noun phrases (i.e. a head noun and its modifiers have to be contiguous; §4.3), verbs can have complements but verbs do not project phrases (i.e. a verb and its complements

do not have to be contiguous; §5.4); b) nouns can be cross-referenced on verbs (§5.2) or resumptive pronouns (§4.6.3), verbs cannot be cross-referenced on other words; and c) nouns require copulas to function as predicates (§6.4),¹ verbs do not require copulas to function as (syntactic) predicates.

Based on their level of verbal properties, three types of dependent verbs can be distinguished: subordinate verbs (§7.1), chain verbs (§7.3) and non-finite chain verbs (§7.3.1). In comparison with independent verbs which have the full range of verbal properties, subordinate verbs have a slightly reduced range of verbal properties, chain verbs are more deverbalised than subordinate verbs, and non-finite chain verbs have the smallest range of verbal properties amongst all verbs. Even more deverbalised than the non-finite chain verbs are the verbal nouns (§7.3.2). Verbal nouns are formally very similar to the non-finite chain verbs, but they satisfy the three criteria of being noun and verbs — respectively — as outlined above. The level of verbal and nominal properties of the various types of verbs and nouns can be measured against three contrastive features of independent verbs and (full) nouns (§4): d) independent verbs carry tense-mood affixes, nouns do not; e) independent verbs take cross-reference suffixes (§5), nouns do not; and f) noun phrases headed by full nouns can be attached with a range of case clitics (§4.5), independent verbs do not head phrases.² The level of verbal and nominal properties of various types of verbs and nouns are summarised in the following table.

¹ However, copulas are not obligatory in present tense.

² There is only one situation where verbs can be the phonological host of case clitics: the last word of a noun phrase can be a relative clause verb, in which case the case clitic will have the relative clause verb as its host. See §7.1.1 on relative clauses.

Table 3.1 Levels of verbal and nominal properties

	d)	e)	a), b), c)	f)
Independent verbs	full range	yes	no	none
Subordinate verbs	slightly reduced	yes	no	none
Chain verbs	basically no	yes	no	none
Non-finite chain verbs	no	no	no	none
Verbal nouns	no	no	yes	limited
Nouns	no	no	yes	full

a) phrase projecting;

b) can be cross-reference on verbs and resumptive pronouns;

c) require copulas to function as predicates

d) carry tense-mood affixes

e) take cross-reference suffixes

f) the range of case clitics of phrase projected by the word can take

As shown in the table above, there is a gradual decrease in the level of verbal properties from independent verbs to (full) nouns. However, the level of nominal properties is not increasing gradually correspondingly; there is a sharp difference between non-finite chain verbs, which do not have any nominal properties (properties a, b and c), and verbal nouns which have nearly a full range of nominal properties. One property which set verbal nouns and full nouns apart is that noun phrases projected by verbal nouns can only take a limited range of case clitics (see §7.3.2), whereas noun phrases projected by full nouns can take a full range of case clitics.

The following are discussions on some of the main morphosyntactic properties of independent verbs, dependent verbs, verbal nouns and full nouns. Full

discussions on nouns can be found in §4, and full discussions on verbs and verbal nouns can be found in §5-§7.

Nouns in Menggwa Dla are not inflected; the person, number (§4.2) and gender (§4.1) features of a noun are not marked on the noun itself; person, number and gender features of a noun are only manifested by the cross-reference suffixes (§5) on verbs or pronouns (e.g. *efya* in example 3-6 below; §4.6) which cross-reference with the noun.

3-2. *hwalfēhi (mamo) hof-wa-hwa.*

woman (one) come-3FSG-PAST

‘(One) woman came.’

3-3. *hwalfēhi (mafwa) hof-ei-hwa.*

woman (all) come-N1FPL-PAST

‘(All) women came.’

3-4. *yani (imbu) hof-afa-hwa.*

man (two) come-N1MDU-PAST

‘(The) two men came.’

3-5. *yani (mafwa) hof-uma-hwa.*

man (all) come-N1MPL-PAST

‘(All) men came.’

3-6. *hwalfehi efya hof-efye-hwa.*

woman N1FSG:RSUMP come-N1FSG-PAST

‘The women themselves came.’

Nouns head noun phrases, and noun phrases can be encliticised with various nominal clitics like case clitics, topic clitics and focus clitics (§4.5).

3-7. [*iplwa mamu*]=*mbo homba-Ø-hya-a-mbo...*

[fish one]=OBJ see-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP

‘I saw one fish, and...’

Nouns themselves do not carry any inflections. When functioning as (semantic) predicates, nouns require copulas to carry verbal inflections. However, copulas are not obligatory in present tense (§6.4).

3-8. *dani=na [tebulu/ toko/ nyewi/ ayamu] (no).*

this=TOP [table shop person chicken] (COP:3FSG)

‘This is a [table/ shop/ person/ chicken].’

3-9. *ai=na glu Ø-hwa.*

3=TOP teacher COP:3MSG-PAST

‘He was a teacher.’

Nouns can be modified by a range of modifiers like nouns, genitive phrases and relative clauses (see §4.3).

Common to independent verbs, subordinate verbs and chain verbs are their finite verb stems (§5.1)³ and cross-reference suffixes (§5.2). Cross-reference suffixes agree with the person, number, and sometimes gender features of the subject or object of the clause. There are many different sets of cross-reference suffixes, and verbs are classified into verb classes based on the sets of cross-reference suffixes they can take. There are five verb classes: class I and IH verbs have one subject cross-reference suffix, and class IIB, II and III verbs have one subject cross-reference suffix plus one object cross-reference suffix (both cross-referencing and case marking follow an accusative-secundative alignment; §5.3.2). The following are examples of verbs from each of the five verb classes in independent past tense form.

3-10. *ap-aha-hwa.*

sleep-1SG-PAST

‘I slept.’ (*apu* (*ap-*) ‘sleep’ class I)⁴

3-11. *ser-ihā-hwa.*

eat-1SG-PAST

‘I ate.’ (*seru* (*ser-/ det-*) ‘eat’ class IH)

³ Despite being used in chain verbs, which are non-finite, finite verb stems are called ‘finite verb stems’ because they are the verb stem forms which are used in finite verb forms. The verb stem forms which are used in verbal nouns and non-finite chain verbs are called ‘non-finite verb stems’ (§5.1).

⁴ A verb lexeme is quoted first by its non-finite verb stem, and then its finite verb stem(s) if it has finite verb stem(s) distinct from the non-finite verb stem (§5.1). If a verb lexeme has separate non-future versus future finite verb stems (§5.1.2), the non-future form(s) is/are quoted first. For the verb lexeme *apu* (*ap-*) ‘sleep’ (class I), *apu* is the non-finite form, and *ap-* is the finite verb stem form (§5.1.1). For the verb lexeme *seru* (*ser-/ det-*) ‘eat’ (class IH), *seru* is the non-finite form, *ser-* is the non-future finite verb stem and *det-* is the future finite verb stem (§5.1.2). For the verb *homba* ‘see’ (class II), *homba* is both the non-finite form and the finite verb stem.

3-12. *dukwa-hya-a-hwa.*

wake.up-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘I woke up.’ (*dukwefi* (*dukwa-*) ‘wake up (monovalent)’ class IIB)⁵

3-13. *homba-ha-a-hwa.*

see-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘I saw her/it.’ (*homba* ‘see’ class II)

3-14. *sa-niŋga-wa-hwa.*

give-1SG-3SG:O-PAST

‘I gave (it) to him/her/it.’ (*sefi* (*sa-/ da-*) ‘give’ class III)

Verbs also carry inflections other than cross-referencing. Independent verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, status and/ or polarity (see §6). The status and polarity categories of a verb determine the overall morphological structure of the verb. There are three statuses in Menggwa Dla: realis (R; §6.1), semi-realis (SMR; §6.2) and irrealis (IR; §6.3). See §6.1-3 for the formation of independent verbs in the six polarity-status combinations, and §5.2 on the cross-reference suffixes. The following are examples of independent verbs in each of the six status-polarity combinations.

Positive realis:

⁵ The object cross-reference suffix *-a* (3FSG:O) here is semantically empty; see §5.3.2.2.

3-15. *yari-nya-a-hi.*

stir.sago-N1DU-3FSG:O-PRES:CONT

‘They two are stirring sago.’ (*yarifi* (*yari-*) ‘stir sago’ class IIb)

3-16. (*aihafumbo*) *na-hi-Ø-hwa.*

(3SG:OBJ) shoot-1SG-3MSG:O-PAST

‘I shot him.’ (*nefi* (*na-*) ‘shoot’ class II)

Negative realis:

3-17. *yarifi bokefyehi (< boke-efye-hi).*

stir.sago NEG:R-N1FDU-PRES:CONT

‘They two are not stirring sago.’ (*boke* NEG:R class I)

3-18. *nefi boka-hi-Ø-hwa.*

shoot NEG:R-1SG-3MSG:O-PAST

‘I did not shoot him.’ (*boka* NEG:R class II)

Positive semi-realis:

3-19. *yari-nya-a samby-efi.*

stir.sago-N1DU-3FSG:O POS:SMR-N1FDU

‘They two will stir sago.’

3-20. *na-hi-Ø-mby-a.*

shoot-1SG-3MSG:O-POS:SMR-1SG

‘I will shoot him.’

Negative semi-realis:

3-21. *ga yari-nya-a.*

NEG:SMR stir.sago-N1DU-3FSG:O

‘They two will not stir sago.’

3-22. *ga na-hi-Ø.*

NEG:SMR shoot-1SG-3MSG:O

‘I will not shoot him.’

Positive irrealis:

3-23. *yari-wa-a-Ø!*

stir.sago-2SG-3FSG:O-IMP

‘You stir sago!’

3-24. *(aiahafumbo) na-o-Ø-Ø!*

(3SG:OBJ) shoot-2SG-3MSG:O-IMP

‘You shoot him!’

Negative irrealis:

3-25. *yari-ma-nya-a-naho.*

stir.sago-NEG:IR-N1DU-3FSG:O-CNTF

‘They would not have stirred sago.’

3-26. *na-ma-hi-Ø-naho.*

shoot-NEG:IR-1SG-3MSG:O-CNTF

‘I would not have shot him.’

There are three types of subordinate verbs (§7.1): relative clauses, *-hwani* ‘if/when’ clauses and *-hi* simultaneous clauses. A lot of subordinate verbs are formally indistinguishable from independent verbs. With the exception of *-hwani*, all affixes used in subordinate verbs are also used in independent verbs. Nevertheless, the range of tense-mood affixes available to subordinate verbs is smaller, and the function of the tense-mood affixes may be slightly different from the ones used on independent verbs (see §7.1). In this sense subordinate verbs are slightly deverbalised. In the following example, the object head noun is modified by the relative clause *dani bukumbo pahyahya*.

3-27. *[[dani buku = mbo pa-hya-a-hya] nyewi(= mbo)]*

[[this book = OBJ write-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST] person(= OBJ)]

yo homba-hi-Ø-hya.

1 see-1SG-3MSG:O-PAST:FOC

‘I saw the person who wrote this book.’

The following examples demonstrate a *-hwani* ‘when/ if’ clause and a *-hi* simultaneous clause.

3-28. *numungwa-wa-hwani, ilo-hya-ni-mby-a.*

die-3FSG-if work-1SG-2SG:O-POS:SMR-1SG

‘If she dies I will kill (‘work’) you.’

3-29. *Fakfak = hi ilo-Ø-a-hi,*

Fakfak = ADS work-3SG-3FSG:O-SIM

ehala hwila = na numungwa-wa-hwa.

3SG:GEN mother = TOP die-3FSG-PAST

‘While s/he was working in Fakfak, his/her mother died.’

More deverbalised than subordinate verbs are the chain verbs (§7.2). Like independent and subordinate verbs, chain verbs carry cross-reference suffixes. Chain verbs are void of tense and mood specifications;⁶ they carry a syntactic dependence suffix *-Ø ~ -mbo ~ -mbona* (§7.5) which indicate that they depend on the independent or subordinate verb at the end of the clause chain for tense and mood specifications. One grammatical category which is only marked on finite chain verbs is switch-reference (CR: coreferential subjects; DR = disjoint-referential subjects). In the following examples, the first clauses are chain clauses, and second clauses are independent clauses.

3-30. *hofahi-Ø-a-mbo, sumbu-aha-hwa.*

fall-CR-1SG-DEP laugh-1SG-PAST

‘I tripped over and I laughed.’

⁶ The only exceptions are the small number of verb lexemes which have separate non-future versus future finite verb stems: a non-future verb stem is used when the clause chain is in past or present tense, and a future verb stem is used when the clause chain is in future tense (see §5.1.2). Other than these non-future and future finite verb stems, chain verbs are void of tense marking.

3-31. *hofahi-ma-aha-mbo, sumbu-wa-hwa.*

fall-DR-1SG-DEP laugh-3FSG-PAST

‘I tripped over and she laughed.’

More deverbalised than chain verbs are the non-finite chain verbs (§7.3.1).⁷ Non-finite chain verbs are formed by suffixing a syntactic dependence suffix *-Ø ~ -mbo ~ -mbona* (§7.5) to a non-finite verb stem (§5.1.1). Unlike chain verbs, non-finite chain verbs do not carry cross-reference suffixes. There is the ‘posterior’ suffix *-mba* which is used on non-finite chain verbs (and verbal nouns, see below) but not on other types of verbs. When used with a non-finite chain verb, the posterior suffix *-mba* signifies that the situation of the clause happens after the situation of the preceding clause, and that the situation of the *-mba* clause has a longer temporal span (the function of *-mba* on verbal nouns is different; see below). The subjects of non-finite chain clauses are usually indefinite, generic, low in animacy and/ or low in discourse salience. In the following example, the first two clauses are non-finite chain clauses, and the last clause is a subordinate clause, which is the final clause of the clause chain.

3-32. *alani-mbo, wuli=na pi-mbo, haf-wa-hwani,*

cry-DEP house = ALL go-DEP arrive-3FSG-when

‘(People) cry, and go to the house, and when they arrive...’

⁷ Both chain verbs (§7.2) and non-finite chain verbs (§7.3.1) are non-finite; non-finite chain verbs are only called ‘non-finite chain verbs’ because of their non-finite verb stems (§5.1.1).

Verbal nouns (§7.3.2) are formally very similar with non-finite chain verbs. Both verbal nouns and non-finite chain verb has a non-finite verb stem. Like non-finite chain verbs, verbal nouns can also take the posterior suffix *-mba*. Verbal nouns with a posterior suffix *-mba* is like a ‘future gerund’: the posterior suffix *-mba* signifies that the situation of the verbal noun phrase occurs after (or is imagined to occur after) the situation of the clause in which the verbal noun phrase exists. (This is different from the non-finite chain verb *-mba*: with a non-finite chain verb, the posterior suffix *-mba* signifies that the situation of the clause happens after the situation of the preceding clause, and that the situation of the *-mba* clause has a longer temporal span.) Other than this difference in the meaning of the posterior suffix *-mba*, another difference between verbal nouns and non-finite chain verbs is that verbal nouns have a nominalising suffix which freely alternates between $-\emptyset \sim -mbo$, whereas non-finite chain verbs have a syntactic dependency suffix which freely alternates between $-\emptyset \sim -mbo \sim -mbona$ (see also §7.5 on the dependency suffix). Verbal noun phrases headed by verbal nouns depict propositions; in this respect verbal noun phrases are similar to complement clauses or sometimes adverbial clauses in other languages. Nevertheless, verbal noun phrases are phrases rather than clauses because: a) the non-head constituents within a verbal noun phrase (e.g. ones which refer to the actor or undergoer) do not take nominal clitics, similar to prototypical noun modifiers (§3.1.2);⁸ and b) the verbal noun phrase as a whole can take certain nominal clitics.⁹ At the same time, verbal nouns are not full nouns as: a)

⁸ This also means that the genitive clitic is also not used within NPs headed by verbal nouns, unlike English where gerunds can be modified by possessive phrases, e.g. *she approved their handling of political dissidents* (§7.3.2).

⁹ Although a lot of verbal tense-aspect-mood (TAM) affixes in Menggwa Dla are grammaticalised from and still has the same form as the nominal clitics (§4.5), and nominals in some languages are known to be inflected with TAM categories (e.g. Nordlinger & Sadler 2004a,b), the nominal clitics attached to verbal noun phrases in Menggwa Dla are nominal clitics rather than verbal TAM affixes (§6) as: a) some of the nominal clitics which can be used with verbal nouns (e.g. *=pa* ‘only’ (§4.5.7), *=nambo* ALLATIVE (§4.5.3)) have no equivalent verbal TAM affix forms (unlike — e.g. — *=hi* ADESSIVE (§4.5.3))

the range of case clitics available to the verbal noun phrase is limited and the case clitics attached to the verbal noun phrase still convey meanings typically associated with verbal categories (e.g. the adessive case clitic =*hi* conveys simultaneity); and b) verbal nouns cannot take complex modifiers like relative clauses or genitive phrases. If verbal nouns are cross-referenced on the verbs, they are always cross-referenced as third person feminine singular. In the following examples, verbal noun phrases are put in square brackets.

3-33. [hwi ti-Ø] fā-hya-a Ø-*numb-a-mbo*,
 [water get.rid-NOML] finish-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP
 ‘After I finished getting rid of the water...’ (B)

3-34. [nimi wami pi-mba-mbo] sa-hwa-a-mbo, pi-ehye-hya.
 [mountain above go-POST-NOML] think-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP go-1DU-PAST:FOC
 ‘We thought of going up the mountain, and we went.’ (N)

Verbal nouns can also be cross-referenced on the verb, and very occasionally, verbal noun phrases can function as predicates and be followed by a copula like nouns; see §7.3.2.

which has grammaticalised to *-hi* PRESENT CONTINUOUS (§6.1.1) and *-hi* SIMULTANEOUS (§7.1.3)); and b) like nominal clitics used with noun phrases, certain nominal clitics used in verbal noun phrases can cooccur (e.g. =*mboka=hi* (=ABSSIVE=ADESSIVE; §4.5.5, §4.5.3) with verbal noun phrases mean ‘while not V-ing’), unlike verbal TAM affixes which never cooccur on the same verb. See §7.3.2 for examples of verbal noun phrases attached with nominal clitics.

3.1.2 Adjectives, property nouns and property verbs

3.1.2.1 Predicative usage of adjectives, property nouns and property verbs

In Menggwa Dla, property words which denote speed, human propensity and temperature ('hot'/'cold') are verbs. Other property words are mostly adjectives, or nouns in some instances (see below). The following are examples of property verbs used as predicates; being verbs, they carry cross-reference suffixes.

3-35. *(yo = na) gihalfi-aha-mbi.*

(1 = TOP) be.cold-1SG-PRES:STAT

'I feel cold.' (*gihalfi* 'be cold')

3-36. *hwi(=na) (tikyaw) hufwe-wa-mbi.*

water(= TOP) (little) be.hot-3FSG-PRES:STAT

'The water is (a little bit) hot.' (*hufwa (hufwe-)* 'be hot')

3-37. *[anyapaluku/ sungwani]-wa-hi.*

[be.tired be.sick]-3FSG-PRES:CONT

'She is [tired/ sick].'

(*anyapaluku* 'be tired'; *sungwani* 'be sick')

3-38. *wi = na [gihali/ sihi]-Ø-hi.*

child = TOP [be.hungry stink]-3MSG-PRES:CONT

'The child [is hungry/ stinks].'

(*gihali* 'be hungry'; *sihi* 'stink')

3-39. *snanga-l-Ø-a!*

be.slow-LIG-N1SG-3FSG:O

‘Slow down!’ (e.g. walking, speaking, eating)

The following are examples of adjectives used as predicates. When used predicatively, adjectives require a copula like nouns. (However, copulas are not obligatory in present tense).

3-40. *yaflei=na [amani/ tite/ humbahu/ humbutu/ numbala] (no)*

dog=TOP [good bad blind deaf black] (COP:3FSG)

‘The dog is [good/ bad/ blind/ deaf/ black].’

Property nouns are nouns which are attached with a proprietive case clitic =*mbi* or an abessive case =*mboka* when used as predicates (except in equational copular sentences, in which case the property noun is not attached with a case clitic).

3-41. *wali=na imbalkwa=mbi (no).*

pig=TOP weight=PROP (COP:3FSG)

‘The pig is heavy.’

3-42. *ai=na ginya=mbi (no/ nu).*

3=TOP strength=PROP (COP:3FSG/ COP:3MSG)

‘S/he is strong.’

3-43. *akwani = na hali = mbi* (no).

snake = TOP sharpness = PROP (COP:3FSG)

‘The snake is fearsome.’

3-44. *akwani = na hali = mboka* (no).

snake = TOP sharpness = ABSS (COP:3FSG)

‘The snake is harmless.’

3.1.2.2 Attributive usage of adjectives, nouns and verbs

The following are examples of attributive property nouns. Like other noun modifiers, these proprietive phrases and abessive phrases (nouns attached with a proprietive phrase = *mbi* or abessive case = *mboka*) are grammatically free to precede or follow the head noun.

3-45. *hali = mbi* *akwani*

sharpness = PROP snake

‘fearsome snake’

3-46. *hali = mboka* *akwani*

sharpness = ABSS snake

‘harmless snake’

3-47. *imbalkywa = mbi* *yafli*

weight = PROP dog

‘heavy dog’

3-48. *ginya = mbi* *hwalfehi*

strength = PROP woman

‘strong woman’

Nouns in their citation forms can also be used as noun modifiers. However, such bare nouns have a genitive meaning, i.e. they can be attached with a genitive case clitic with no change in meaning.¹⁰

3-49. ***hwalfchima(=la)*** *hwila*

girl = GEN mother

‘the mother of the girl’

3-50. ***gluhwi(=la)*** *anihwalfi*

pond = GEN bottom

‘the bottom of the pond’

These sequences of two bare nouns are different from noun-noun compounds, in which the order of the two noun constituents is fixed, and the noun constituents cannot take any case clitics (see §4.3 on noun compounds).

3-51. ***toko*** *seru*

shop food

‘food from shop’/ ‘shop food’

3-52. ***ulua*** *hwi*

fat liquid

‘oil’

3-53. ***ayamu*** *koko*

chicken faeces

‘chicken faeces’

Adjectives in their citation forms can be used attributively. An adjective is free to precede or follow the head noun. (However, there are preferences of whether an adjective precedes or follows the head noun; see §4.3). Adjectives are in bold in the following examples.

¹⁰ In these sequences of two bare nouns, the first is interpreted as having a genitive meaning and the second is interpreted as being the head noun. See §4.3 for NP internal syntax.

3-54. *amani* *ayamu*
good chicken
'good chicken'

3-55. *tite* *ayamu*
bad chicken
'bad chicken'

3-56. *waplu tikyawi*
bucket small
'little bucket'

3-57. *humbahu nyewi*
blind person
'blind person'

3-58. *humbutu nyewi*
deaf person
'deaf person'

3-59. *numbala tebulu*
black table
'black table'

3-60. *ihu ini*
mango ripe
'ripe mango'

3-61. *yulu ati*
leg right
'right leg'

3-62. *ifali tamnia*
spear small:MASS
'small spears'

Property verbs can be used as noun modifiers in the form of relative clauses (§7.1.1).

3-63. *[gihalfi-wa-mbi]* *yari*
 [be.cold-3FSG-PRES:STAT] sago.jelly
 ‘Sago jelly which is cold’

Alternatively, a property verb can act as a noun modifier in its non-finite form (i.e. the citation form). These non-finite verbs can be called verbal adjectives.¹¹ Like other adjectives, verbal adjectives are grammatically free to precede or follow the head noun. Nevertheless the pre-head position is much more common for verbal adjectives.

3-64. *hufua* *hwi*
 be.hot water
 ‘hot water’

3-65. *gihalfi* *hwi*
 be.cold water
 ‘cold water’

3-66. *anyapaluku nyewi*
 be.tired person
 ‘tired person’

3-67. *sunḡwani* *yani*
 be.sick man
 ‘sick man’

3-68. *gihali* *wi*
 be.hungry child
 ‘hungry child’

3-69. *sihi* *safa*
 be.smelly meat
 ‘smelly meat’ (i.e. rotten)

¹¹ These verbal adjectives are not verbal nouns as verbal nouns carry a nominalising suffix which freely alternates between $-\emptyset$ and $-mbo$ (§7.3.2). Nor are the verbal adjectives dependent verbs as verbal adjectives do not take cross-reference suffixes (§5.2) nor the syntactic dependence suffix $-\emptyset \sim -mbo \sim -mbona$ (§7.5).

3-70. *inginambo oto*

be.fast car

‘fast car’

3-71. *snanga oto*

be.slow car

‘slow car’

3.1.2.3 Adjectives as verb modifiers

Adjectives (including verbal adjectives) and property nouns can also be used as modifiers of verbs (‘adverbs’). Verb modifiers need not be adjacent with the verb they modify.

3-72. *amani (yo) walambani-aha-mbi.*

good (1) swim-1SG-PRES:STAT

‘I swim well.’

3-73. *kwangi = nambo snanga-Ø kaku-Ø-afani-mbo,*

cassowary = ALL be.slow-ADJ walk-CR-N1MDU-DEP

‘They two walked slowly towards the cassowary, and...’

3-74. *ginya = mbi hwafo-wa-hwa.*

strength = PROP speak-3FSG-PAST

‘She spoke strongly.’

3-75. *iro-Ø a hwatu-Ø-mu-mbo,*

be.like.so-ADJ ah search-CR-3MSG-PAST

‘They searched like so, and...’ (A)

3.2 Minor word classes

3.2.1 Nominal clitics

Syntactically speaking, nominal clitics are independent words. The position of nominal clitics is syntactically determined: they are always placed at the last positions in noun phrases (there can be more than one clitic within a noun phrase). Phonologically speaking, nominal clitics are not independent words, as they are phonologically dependent on the host that they are encliticised to (§4.5).

The topic clitic =*na* marks a nominal or pronominal as the topic of the sentence (§4.5.6). The focus clitics =*pa* ‘only’ and =*amba* ‘too’ mark a nominal or pronominal as focused (§4.5.7). There are two grammatical case clitics: object case clitic =*mbo* (§4.5.1) and genitive case clitic =*la* (§4.5.2); subjects and ditransitive second objects are not case-marked (§4.5.1; §5.3.1). Lastly, there are the following seven semantic case clitics:

- inessive case =*mbe* (§4.5.3);
- adessive case =*hi/* =*sehi* (§4.5.3);
- allative/ instrumental case =*na(mbo)* (§4.5.3);
- ablative case =*hya* (§4.5.3);
- perlative case =*rongo* (§4.5.4);
- comitative case =*lofo* (§4.5.4);
- proprietive case =*mbi* (§4.5.5); and
- abessive case =*mboka* (§4.5.5).

See §4.5 for more discussions on the nominal clitics.

3.2.2 Personal pronouns

In Menggwa Dla, pronouns are not obligatorily used; clauses often consist of a single verb which carries at least one cross-reference suffix (§5.4). The personal pronouns in Menggwa Dla tend to be used only in referring to high animate noun phrases (e.g. humans, dogs, pigs). There are different types of pronouns. The simplest of them are the citation pronouns (§4.6.1). There are only three citation pronouns, one for each person, and number is not distinguished: *yo* first person ‘I/we’, *si* second person ‘you’ and *ai* third person ‘s/he/it/they’. Citation pronouns are used in positions which cannot be case marked: in isolation, in topic position, or in subject position. (Ditransitive second objects, i.e. theme/ ‘gift’, are also not cased marked, but second objects cannot be pronominalised.)

3-76. *ai=na* *sista* *niwi*.

3 = TOP sister COP:N1FPL

‘They are nuns.’

If the speaker wishes to emphasise the person-number-gender features of the subject, a subject resumptive pronoun can be used (§4.6.3). Subject resumptive pronouns are basically independent words in the shape of class IA cross-reference suffixes (sometimes with minor changes in their phonological shapes; see §5.2.1). Sometimes a subject resumptive pronoun together with a citation pronoun can contribute to a finer person specification than a subject resumptive pronoun alone. For instance, in example 3-77 below, the citation pronoun *ai* (3) and the subject resumptive pronoun *afa* (N1MDU) together give the person-number-gender

combination of third person masculine dual (3MDU), while the citation pronoun *si* (2) and the subject resumptive pronoun *afa* (N1MDU) together give the person-number-gender combination of second person masculine dual (2MDU). In example 3-78 below, the citation pronoun *si* (2) and the subject resumptive pronoun *efa* (1PL) together indicate inclusive first person, while the citation pronouns *yo* (1) and the subject resumptive pronoun *efa* (1PL) together indicate exclusive first person. Citation pronouns on their own or subject resumptive pronouns on their own cannot distinguish inclusive versus exclusive first person.

3-77. [*ai/ si*] *afa* *wuli* *buki-na-a-hwa*.

[3/ 2] N1MDU:RSUMP house build-N1DU-3FSG:O-PAST

‘[They/ you] two built the house.’

3-78. [*si/ yo*] *efa =na* *numbala nyewi nyefu*.

[2/ 1] 1PL:RSUMP = TOP black people COP:1PL

‘We (including you/ not including you) are black people.’

Case pronouns are used in case-marked grammatical relations (§4.6.2).¹²

There are two types of case pronouns: object pronouns and genitive pronouns.

There are fifteen object pronouns and fifteen genitive pronouns, each marking person, number, and sometimes gender. These case pronouns consist of a citation pronoun suffixed with a string of suffixes, one of which is a cross-reference suffix which is in most cases identical to a class I cross-reference suffix (§5.2.1). An

¹² Or rather, ‘case-markable’ positions as the object case clitic is not obligatorily used (§4.5). Grammatical relations other than subjects and ditransitive second objects are case-marked (§5.3.1). Second objects cannot be pronominalised; second objects (‘theme’/ ‘gift’) are most usually inanimate.

inclusive-exclusive distinction is made for first person references: exclusive pronouns have a first person citation pronoun with a first person cross-reference suffix, while inclusive pronouns have a second person citation pronoun with a first person cross-reference suffix. The following are some examples with citation pronouns (encliticised with the topic clitic =*na* in these examples), object pronouns (OBJ) and genitive pronouns (GEN).

3-79. *yo = na sihafumbo hwahwa-ha-nya-hi.*

1 = TOP 2SG:OBJ know-1SG-2SG:O-PRES:CONT

‘I know you (SG).’

3-80. *yo = na sihafumbo hwahwa-na-nya-hi.*

1 = TOP 2SG:OBJ know-1DU-2SG:O-PRES:CONT

‘We two know you (SG).’

3-81. *yo = na siheimbo hwahwa-ha-ti-hi.*

1 = TOP N1FPL:OBJ know-1SG-N1FPL:O-PRES:CONT

‘I know you (PL).’

3-82. *si = na yoambo hwahwa-Ø-ya-hi.*

2 = TOP 1SG:OBJ know-N1SG-1SG:O-PRES:CONT

‘You (SG) know me.’

3-83. *ai=na yohwehimbo hwahwa-Ø-mua-hi.*

3 = TOP 1DU:EXCL:OBJ know-N1SG-1NSG:O-PRES:CONT

‘S/he knows the two of us (EXCL).’

3-84. *ai=na sihehimbo hwahwa-Ø-mua-hi.*

3 = TOP 1DU:INCL:OBJ know-N1SG-1NSG:O-PRES:CONT

‘S/he knows you and me.’

3-85. *si=na yowala dya=mbo hwahwa-afa-hi.*

2 = TOP 1SG:GEN name = OBJ know-2SG-PRES:CONT

‘You (SG) know my name.’

3-86. *yo=na sihafa dya=mbo hwahwa-aha-hi.*

1 = TOP 2SG:GEN name = OBJ know-1SG-PRES:CONT

‘I know your (SG) names.’

3-87. *yo=na sihei dya=mbo hwahwa-aha-hi.*

1 = TOP N1FPL:GEN name = OBJ know-1SG-PRES:CONT

‘I know your (PL) names.’

The other case clitics are attached to either object pronouns or genitive pronouns, e.g. comitative case is attached to object pronouns, ablative case is attached to genitive pronouns (see §4.6.2.)

3.2.3 Interrogative words

The position of an interrogative word in a clause is the same as in the corresponding non-interrogative counterpart (i.e. *in situ*), albeit intraclausal syntax is rather free (§5.4). These interrogative words occur by themselves, not being part of another phrase ('interrogative pronouns'). Two of them, namely *dahala* ~ *da = la* 'whose' and *naho* 'which' can also act as modifiers of head nouns ('interrogative adjectives'). On par with personal pronouns (§3.2.2; §4.6), the interrogative word for 'who' also has a citation form *da* 'who', an object form *dafumbo* 'whom' and a genitive form *dahala/ dala* 'whose'.

<i>da</i>	'who'
<i>dafumbo</i>	'whom' (who:OBJ)
<i>dahala/ da = la</i>	'whose' (who:GEN/ who = GEN)
<i>ga</i>	'where'
<i>guku</i>	'how'
<i>naho</i>	'what'/'which'
<i>nahombo</i>	'why' (but <i>naho = mbo</i> (what = OBJ) 'what')
<i>nungni</i>	'when'
<i>nungwi</i>	'how many'/'how much'

There are also special interrogative copulas: *de* 'who be' and *ke* 'where be' (§6.4.1). The following are examples of the interrogative words and some interrogative copulas.

3-88. *ai=na [da] de-u?*

3 = TOP [who] who.be-3MSG

‘Who is he?’

3-89. *[da] homba-Ø-nya-hwa?*

[who] see-N1SG-2SG:O-PAST

‘Who saw you?’

3-90. *ai=na [dafumbo] ingufu-Ø-a-hwa?*

3 = TOP [who:OBJ] attack-N1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘Whom did s/he attack?’¹³

3-91. *[da=la (yamogwamo)] no?*

[who = GEN (penis.gourd)] COP:3FSG

‘Whose (penis gourd) is this?’

3-92. *si=na [ga] k-afu?*

2 = TOP [where] where.be-2SG

‘Where are you?’

3-93. *dani [guku] ser-o-mbi no?*

this [how] eat-3FSG-PRES:STAT COP:3FSG

‘How does one eat this?’

¹³ People of unknown gender are cross-referenced as feminine (§4.1).

3-94. [naho] kefi-ya-a-hwa?

[what] break-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘What broke?’ (kefi ‘break (intr.)’; class IIB)

3-95. [naho = mbo] hwafo-afa-hwa?

[what = OBJ] say-2SG-PAST

‘What did you say?’

3-96. [naho = nambo] ilo-Ø-a-hwa?

[what = ALL] work-N1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘With what did you do that?’ (=nambo allative-instrumental case; §4.5.3.2)

3-97. [naho (sihafa wuli) = na] bukwa no?

[which (2SG:GEN house) = TOP] big COP:3FSG

‘Which (of your houses) is big(ger)?’

3-98. [nahombo] (rani = mbo) hwafo-afa-hwa?

[why] (DEM = OBJ) say-2SG-PAST

‘Why did you say (that)?’

3-99. [nungni] po-ma-a?

[when] go:FUT-NEG:IR-1SG

‘When should I go?’

3-100. [nyawi nungwi] hof-wa-hwa?

[people how.many] come-3FSG-PAST

‘How many people came?’¹⁴

3.2.4 Demonstratives

There are two spatial demonstratives: *dani* ‘this’/ ‘here’, *akani* ‘that’/ ‘there’, and one discourse demonstrative *rani* ‘the aforementioned’. There are separate citation forms and bound forms of the demonstratives: the bound form is only used when it is followed by a noun, locative word (§3.2.7) or a nominal clitic (§3.2.1; §4.5); a citation form can be used whether or not it is followed by other constituents within the phrase.¹⁵

Table 3.2 Demonstratives in Menggwa Dla

	‘this’/ ‘here’	‘that’/ ‘there’	‘the aforementioned’
citation form:	<i>dani</i>	<i>akani</i> ~ <i>ani</i>	<i>rani</i>
bound form:	<i>da-</i>	<i>aka-</i>	<i>ra-</i>

There are two spatial demonstratives which refer to the location of an entity or the location itself: *dani* / *da-* ‘this’/ ‘here’ refers to a location close to the speaker, and *akani* ~ *ani* / *aka-* ‘that’/ ‘there’ refers to a location not close to the speaker.

¹⁴ This *-wa* (3FSG) is functionally number-neutral (see §5.2.4).

¹⁵ The cognates of the three demonstratives in Dla proper are *dan*, *a(ka)n* and *yan*. In Anggor, there are the demonstratives of *nda* ‘this’ and *ra* ‘that’ (Litteral 1980:82). See also §1.4.2-3 on historical phonology.

3-101. *yo dani=hi dani=mbe misin=la=mbe da=mbe*

1 here = ADS this = INS mission = LIG = INS this = INS

ilo-ha-a-hi,

work-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM

‘I am working here in this in the mission station, and...’ (S)

3-102. *“o dani da-tupam dewahi”=na Ø-ah-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*

“oh this this-thing must.be” = TOP CR-think-3SG-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP

“‘Oh it must be this thing,” he thought, and...’ (A)

3-103. *yohwefa ulua hwi numami aya saku-ya-a-hya akani=mbe.*

1PL:GEN fat liquid above father put-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC there = INS

‘Father put our oil up in there.’ (A)

3-104. *ani=mbe kitaki-Ø-hi-a-Ø,*

there = INS season:MASS-CR-3FSG-3FSG:O-DEP

‘They sprinkle (the moon oil) there (amongst the food), and...’ (A)

3-105. *akani sea=hi num-afu-Ø.*

that chair = ADS sit-2SG-IMP

‘Sit on that chair.’/ ‘Sit on the chair there.’¹⁶

¹⁶ If *akani* is also encliticised with *=hi*, *akani* does not form a noun phrase with *sea* ‘chair’ and it can only mean ‘there’.

3-106. *aka-bena(=hi) no.*

that-side(= ADS) COP:3FSG

‘It is on that side.’

The discourse demonstrative *rani* refers to an entity or location which has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. In the following example, the antecedent of *ra = mbe* ‘inside that’ in the second clause is *sini = mbe akani = mbe* ‘in the sky there’ of the first clause.

3-107. *bohoni amamo = na sini = mbe akani = mbe = na awe.*

before moon = TOP sky = INS there = INS = TOP be.not

numami ra = mbe pe-mboke-wa-hya no.

above DEM = INS be.gone-R:NEG-3FSG-PAST:FOC COP:3FSG

‘Once upon a time the moon was not there in the sky. The moon has not gone up there.’ (A)

In the following example, the object phrase *rani = mbo* (DEM = OBJ) refers to the topic of the section — the moon (see the text *Amamola Hwafo* in appendix 1).¹⁷

3-108. *ani = mbe rani = mbo hwatu-ma-hi ambya,*

that = INS DEM = OBJ sit-3MPL-SIM hole

‘They were searching for that (*rani = mbo*) in the hole there (*ani = mbe*), and...’ (A)

¹⁷ The postverbal noun phrase *ambya* ‘hole’ clarifies the referent of the demonstrative *ani* ‘that’. See §6.4 on postverbal noun phrases and intraclausal syntax in general.

The expression *ra-rani* is similar to ‘so on and so forth’ or ‘*etcetera*’ in English.

3-109. “awe” *ra-rani ma-r-efu-mbo*,

“no” DEM-DEM DR-say-1PL-DEP

“‘nothing really’ and so on and so forth we said, and...’ (A)

Demonstratives — the discourse demonstrative *rani* in particular — can occur many times within the same clause (see also example 3-101 above). In the following example, *rani=hya rani* at the beginning refers to the situation of the previous clause (the previous clause is an independent clause), while the following two instances of *rani* are modifiers of the head noun which they precede.

3-110. *rani hya rani, rani amni=la afile ahu rani amamo*

DEM EMPH DEM DEM garden=GEN father self that moon

sa-i-Ø Ø-hahuf-u-mbo,

take-3MSG-3MSG:O CR-go.up-3MSG-DEP

‘Then, the garden’s father himself took the moon back home, and...’ (A)

For temporal references, *dani* ‘this’ refers to the current time, while non-current is referred to by *akani* or *rani* (see §3.2.8).

The spatial demonstratives *dani* and *akani ~ ani* and the discourse demonstrative *rani* are in paradigmatic opposition. The spatial demonstratives *dani* and *akani ~ ani* can also be used as discourse demonstratives: while *rani* is neutral

towards the entity's distance in relation to the speaker, *dani* and *akani* ~ *ani* can also be used as discourse demonstratives if the speaker wishes to stress the relative location of a previously-mentioned entity. In the following example, the spatial demonstrative *ani* 'there' is also used as a discourse demonstrative. As a spatial demonstrative, *ani* 'there' in the second clause conveys the distal position of spatial setting in relation to the speaker; as a discourse demonstrative, *ani* 'there' in the second clause either refers to *hwimbe* 'in the water' of the last clause, or *numuambe* 'in the abode' which was mentioned earlier in the text.

3-111. *hwi = mbe = na sa-Ø-ya-a -han-u-mbo,*

water = INS = TOP take-CR-3SG-3FSG:O -go.down-3MSG-DEP

ani a ... numu-a = mbe Ø-ser-u-Ø,

there ah ... live-place = INS CR-eat-3MSG-DEP

'Into the water he took them and went down, and there he eats at (his) abode, and... ' (A)

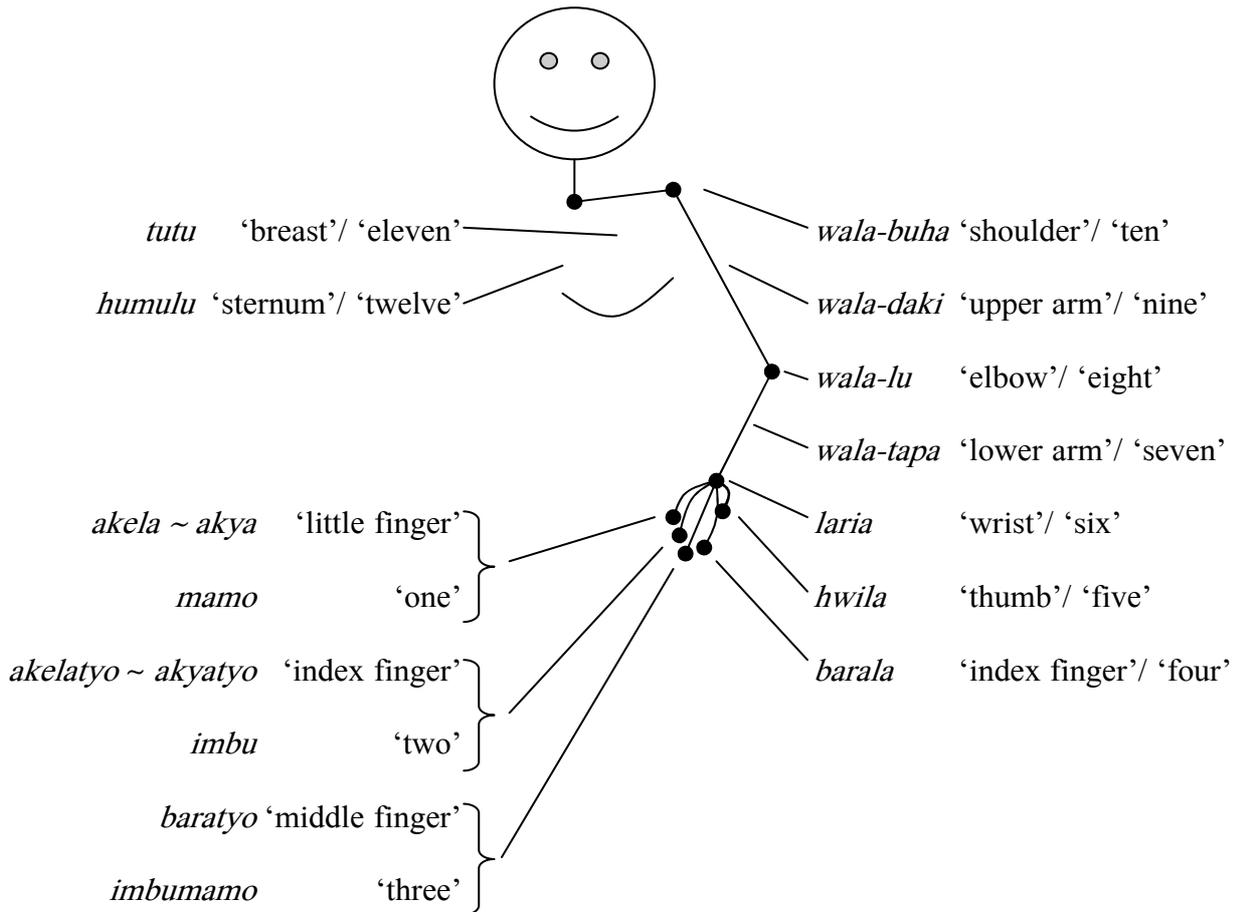
3.2.5 Quantifiers

3.2.5.1 Numerals

There are native numerals from one to twelve. The first three numerals are 'pure' numerals (i.e. numerals which have no other meanings): *mamo* 'one', *imbu* 'two' and *imbu-mamo* (two-one) 'three' (the Dla proper numeral *gumu* 'three' is also sometimes used by Menggwa Dla speakers). Numerals can also be represented non-verbally by using the right hand index finger to point at certain parts of the left-hand-side of the upper body, in other words, a body part tally system. The numeral *mamo* 'one' is represented by pointing at *akya* ~ *akela* 'little finger', *imbu* 'two' by

pointing at *akyatyo* ~ *akelatyo* ‘ring finger’, and *imbumamo* ‘three’ by pointing at *baratyo* ‘middle finger’. The names of the numerals from four to twelve are the same as the body parts they are represented by in the body part tally system.

Figure 3.3 Names of numerals and corresponding body parts



The ‘pure’ numerals can act as modifiers of nouns on their own. The body-part numerals, however, have to be encliticised with the adessive case =*hi* (§4.5.4) when acting as modifiers. Like other nominal modifiers, numerals are grammatically free to precede or follow the head noun (§4.3).

3-112. *ayamu mamō*

chicken one

‘One chicken’

3-113. *ayamu imbumamō*

chicken three

‘Three chickens’

3-114. *ayamu barala=hi*

chicken index.finger = ADS

‘Four chickens’

3-115. *ayamu tutu=hi*

chicken breast = ADS

‘Eleven chickens’¹⁸

Ordinal numerals do not exist distinctly from cardinal numerals; cardinal numerals (without the adessive clitic =*hi*) can also be used ordinally. Both cardinal and ordinal numerals are grammatically free to precede or follow the head noun (§4.3). Nevertheless, cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals can sometimes be distinguished by the fact that cardinal numerals determine the number category of the noun phrase whereas ordinal numerals do not, and this difference in the number category of the noun phrase may be reflected by the cross-reference suffixes on the verb or pronoun which cross-reference with the noun phrase.

3-116. *rani [mamo/ imbu/ imbumamō/ barala] sumbani no.*

DEM [one two three four] day COP:3FSG

‘That is the [first/ second/ third/ fourth] day.’

¹⁸ The expression *ayamu tutu=hi* (chicken breast=ADS) can also be interpreted as ‘at the chicken’s breast’. However, numerals can also precede the modified noun, e.g. *tutu=hi ayamu* ‘eleven chickens’, in which case the body-part word can only be interpreted as a numeral as nominal clitics must occur in the last position of a noun phrase.

3-117. *imbu buku yowala no.*

two book 1SG:GEN COP:3FSG

‘The second book is mine.’

‘First born’ is *amungwa* and ‘last born’ is *akya* (which also means ‘little finger’).¹⁹ The other children are referred to using cardinal numbers.

3-118. *yowala [amungwal imbu/ imbumamo ... akya] (no/ nu).*

1SG:GEN [first.born two three last.born] (COP:3FSG COP:3MSG)

‘S/he is my [first born/ second born/ third born... last born].’

On the whole, native numerals above five are not much used these days; people born as early as 1970s typically do not know the native numerals above three or five. People generally use Malay and/or Tok Pisin numerals in most domains in daily life. Malay and Tok Pisin ordinal numerals are especially popular, as Menggwa Dla does not have ordinal numerals distinct from cardinal numerals.²⁰ Numerals in Dla proper, Menggwa Dla, Bahasa Indonesia and Tok Pisin are given below for reference.

¹⁹ This is interesting considering that people point to their *akya* ‘little finger’ (left hand) when they refer to the numeral *mamo* ‘one’.

²⁰ In Malay, ‘first’ is *pertama*, and the rest of the ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing *ke-* to the cardinal numerals, e.g. *ketiga* ‘third’. In Tok Pisin, ordinal numerals are formed by preposing *namba* ‘number’ to cardinal numerals, e.g. *namba wan* ‘first’, *namba tri* ‘third’. When used attributively, the cardinal numerals in Tok Pisin are suffixed with the adjectivising suffix *-pela*, e.g. *wanpela pig* ‘one pig’.

Table 3.4 Numerals in Dla, Bahasa Indonesia and Tok Pisin

Dla proper ²¹	Menggwa Dla	Bahasa Indonesia	Tok Pisin	
		<i>kosong, nul</i>	<i>jiro</i>	‘zero’
<i>mamo</i>	<i>mamo</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>wan</i>	‘one’
<i>imbu</i>	<i>imbu</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>tu</i>	‘two’
<i>gumu</i>	<i>imbumamo</i>	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tri</i>	‘three’
<i>betandei</i>	<i>barala</i>	<i>empat</i>	<i>fô/ po</i>	‘four’
<i>hwindei</i>	<i>hwila</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>faif/ paip</i>	‘five’
<i>yati</i>	<i>laria</i>	<i>enam</i>	<i>siks/ sikis</i>	‘six’
<i>wala-tapa</i>	<i>wala-tapa</i>	<i>tujuh</i>	<i>seven</i>	‘seven’
<i>wala-du</i>	<i>wala-lu</i>	<i>delapan</i> ²²	<i>et</i>	‘eight’
<i>wala-daki</i>	<i>wala-daki</i>	<i>sembilan</i>	<i>nain</i>	‘nine’
<i>wala-buha</i>	<i>wala-buha</i>	<i>sepuluh</i>	<i>ten</i>	‘ten’
<i>tutu</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>sebelas</i>	<i>ileven</i> ²³	‘eleven’
<i>humundu</i>	<i>humulu</i>	<i>dua belas</i>	<i>twelf</i>	‘twelve’
<i>(tutu)</i>		<i>tiga belas</i>	<i>tetin</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>(wala-buha)</i>		<i>empat belas</i>	<i>fotin</i>	‘fourteen’

²¹ Some older speakers of Dla proper suggest that the body part tally system, but not the numerals, actually extends beyond *humundu* ‘sternum’ = ‘twelve’; the body parts are mirrored on the right hand side of the body, e.g. pointing at the left breast means ‘eleven’ and the right breast mean ‘thirteen’, left shoulder means ‘ten’ and the right shoulder means ‘fourteen’. The whole body part tally system thus begins at the left hand little finger (= one), passes through the sternum (= twelve), and ends at the right hand little finger (= twenty-three). This seems to be confirmed by the fact that both ‘twenty’ and ‘four’ are recorded as *batenda* in the Dla proper (‘Dera’) word list in Galis (1955). However, according to older speakers whom I have consulted, the numerals above twelve are not usually expressed verbally; the forms of the Dla proper numerals from thirteen to twenty-three are really names of the corresponding body part.

²² In Papuan Malay, Bahasa Melayu and many other varieties of Malay, ‘eight’ is *lapan*.

²³ Older Tok Pisin expressions for tens-plus-units like *wanpela ten wan* (one ten one) ‘eleven’ or *tupela ten tri* (two ten three) ‘twenty-three’ are only used these days in air traffic announcements in Papua New Guinea.

<i>(wala-daki)</i>	<i>lima belas</i>	<i>fifin</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>(wala-du)</i>	<i>enam belas</i>	<i>sikstin</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>(wala-tapa)</i>	<i>tujuh belas</i>	<i>seventin</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>(yati)</i>	<i>delapan belas</i>	<i>etin</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>(hwindei)</i>	<i>sembilan belas</i>	<i>naintin</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>(betandei)</i>	<i>dua puluh</i>	<i>twenti</i>	‘twenty’
<i>(betatyo)</i>	<i>dua puluh satu</i>	<i>twenti wan</i>	‘twenty one’
<i>(akyatyo)</i>	<i>dua puluh dua</i>	<i>twenti tu</i>	‘twenty two’
<i>(akya)</i>	<i>dua puluh tiga</i>	<i>twenti tri</i>	‘twenty three’
	<i>dua puluh empat</i>	<i>twenti fo</i>	‘twenty four’
	<i>seratus</i>	<i>wan handred</i>	‘one hundred’
	<i>dua ratus</i>	<i>tu handred</i>	‘two hundred’
	<i>seribu</i>	<i>wan tausen</i>	‘one thousand’
	<i>dua ribu</i>	<i>tu tausen</i>	‘two thousand’
	<i>sejuta</i>	<i>wan milian</i>	‘one million’
	<i>dua juta</i>	<i>tu milian</i>	‘two million’

Lastly, ‘half’ is *safo* in Menggwa Dla, *stanga ~ stenga* in Papuan Malay, *setengah* in Bahasa Indonesia and *hap* in Tok Pisin. The word *safo* ‘half’ can function as a head noun and be modified by a numeral.

3-119. *ahala = na = pa hya imbu safo tamako = nambo kikifi nungu-mbo,*

root = ALL = only EMPH two half axe = ALL chop SEQ-DEP

‘(From the top) to the root they chop the sago palm into two halves with an axe, and...’ (B)

3.2.5.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

There are two ‘pure’ non-numeral quantifiers: *mafwa* ‘all’ and *aflambli* ~ *aflambe* ‘many’.²⁴ The concept of ‘a few’ or ‘some’ is usually conveyed by *imbumamo* ‘three’. These words can be used referentially on their own, or used as a modifier of another noun.

3-120. *yo [mafwa/ aflambli/ imbumamo](=mbo) (iŋginambo) ser-ihā-hwa.*

1 [all/ many/ three](=OBJ) (fast) eat-1SG-PAST

‘I ate [all/ lots/ {three/ some}] (quickly).’

Due to the flexibility of constituents within noun phrases, sometimes a quantifier is ambiguously at the end of one noun phrase and at the beginning of a following noun phrase.

3-121. *[wali mafwa] hwatumali ser-yei-hwa.*

[pig all] vegetable eat-N1FPL-PAST

‘All the pigs ate the vegetables.’

3-122. *wali [mafwa hwatumali] ser-yei-hwa.*

pig [all vegetable] eat-N1FPL-PAST

‘The pigs ate all the vegetables.’

²⁴ The form *aflambli* is typically used in the western villages, and *aflambe* is typically used in eastern villages. The Dla proper word *maflambli* ‘many’ is also sometimes used.

Sometimes a quantifier is separated from a modified noun which is topicalised with a topic clitic *=na* (§4.5.2). When a nominal is topicalised, quantifiers are interpreted as having scope over the topicalised nominal.

3-123. *hwatumali =na wali mafwa ser-yei-hwa.*

vegetable = TOP pig all eat-N1FPL-PAST

‘As for the vegetables, the pigs ate them all.’

Sometimes a quantifier occupies the post-verbal position (§5.4).

3-124. *wangu mambutya-Ø-hwa-a-Ø aflambli,*

sparrow stick.hit:MASS-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP many

‘We caught lots of sparrows, and...’ (N)

However, any constituents — not just quantifiers — can exist in the post-verbal position (see §5.4).

3-125. *aflambli mambutya-Ø-hwa-a-Ø wangu,*

many stick.hit:MASS-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP sparrow

‘We caught lots of sparrows, and...’

When there is only one noun phrase in the clause, the post-verbal quantifier has scope over that noun phrase.

3-126. *wangu bukwa mambutya-Ø-hwa-a-Ø* *aflambli,*

sparrow big stick.hit:MASS-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP many

‘We caught lots of big sparrows, and...’

However, when there are more than one noun phrases in the clause, it is ambiguous as to which noun phrase the post-verbal quantifier modifies.

3-127. *wihwala dufua = mbo dofo-wi-hya* *mafwa.*

children egg = OBJ hide-N1FPL-PAST:FOC all

‘The children hid all the eggs.’/ ‘All children hid eggs.’ (50II)

3.2.6 Conjunctions

Conjoined noun phrases are usually simply juxtaposed (e.g. example 3-130 below; the position of the two noun phrases can be switched without any change in meaning). There does not seem to be a native disjunctive word. Tok Pisin and Malay conjunctions and disjunctions are sometimes used: *na* ‘and’ and *o* ‘or’ in Tok Pisin, and *dan* ‘and’ and *atau* ‘or’ in Malay.

The conjunctions *wara* ~ *wa* ‘so’ and *ye* ‘then’ indicate logical progression of the situations between clauses. These conjunctions are placed at the beginning of clauses.

3-128. *ye me-wa-mbona,*

then finish:DR-3FSG-DEP

‘Then after that is finished ...’ (B)

3-129. *wara e bani=mbe o hwatumali o naho sama-Ø-hi-a-mbo,*

so 3 sago=INS or leafy.vege or what cook-CR-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP

‘So people cook sago or greens or other things, and ...’ (A)

The conjunction *gwa* ‘but’ indicates an unexpected progression of situations between clauses. This conjunction can be placed at the beginning of clauses or at the end of clauses.

3-130. *gwa [afila] [hwila] ... efya ra=na po-me-efya-mbo,*

but [father] [mother] N1FDU:RUMP that=ALL go:DR-DR-N1FDU-DEP

‘But father and mother ... the two of them went to that, and...’ (A)

3-131. *“naho no”=hya tutu-me-Ø-mbona gwa,*

“what COP:3FSG”=EMPH ask-DR-3MSG-DEP but

“‘What is it?’ he asked, but...’ (A)

3.2.7 Locative words (and locative nouns)

The following locative words exist in Menggwa Dla. The forms including the parenthesised segments are the citation forms; case clitics are attached to the forms without the parenthesised segments.

numami ‘above’/ ‘upward’

wami ‘top’/ ‘on’

anihwalfi ‘below’/ ‘downward’

<i>rewambi</i>	‘bottom’/ ‘under’
<i>ruhwa</i>	‘down below’
<i>runḡu</i>	‘inside’/ ‘inward’
<i>safa = mbe</i>	‘inside’ (<i>safa = mbe</i> flesh = INS)
<i>ambloa(na)</i>	‘outside’/ ‘outward’
<i>hulumbu(na)</i>	‘front’
<i>gihyamu(na)</i>	‘back’
<i>yamala</i>	‘left’/ ‘left-hand side’
<i>ati</i>	‘right’/ ‘right-hand side’
<i>murua</i>	‘middle’
<i>benā ~ senā</i>	‘side’
<i>baya</i>	‘foragable side’
	(the side where foodstuff can be hunted or collected)

Locative words can be used as verb modifiers or noun modifiers. When used as verb modifiers, locative words cannot be case-marked, as that would indicate that the locative word would be part of a noun phrase.

3-132. *numami pi-wa-hwa.*

upward go-3FSG-PAST

‘She went upward.’

3-133. *mni ambloana =pa hya [hwatu-seru-mbo] pa*
 just outside = only EMPH [find-eat-NOML] only
hri-Ø-ya-a -fa-ya-a -kaku-u-Ø,
 come.out-CR-3SG-3FSG:O -leave-3SG-3FSG:O -walk-3MSG-DEP
 ‘He only came out to search for food, and...’ (A)²⁵

Locative words can also be noun modifiers. In this case, the locative word must be part of a noun phrase, and if it is the last word of a noun phrase, it can be attached with a case clitic.

3-134. *yulu yamala =hi potapo-wa-hi.*
 leg left = ADS hop-3FSG-PRES:CONT
 ‘(A bug is/ bugs are) hopping on the left leg.’

Sometimes the head noun which is modified by a locative word can be ellipted, as in the example below. With the inessive case clitic =*mbe* (§4.5.3), the interpretation is necessarily that the locative word *wami* ‘top’ is modifying an ellipted head noun which denotes some kind of enclosed space.

3-135. *wami =mbe saha-ya-a-hwa.*
 top = INS put-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST
 ‘S/he put (it) in the top (e.g. shelf).’

²⁵ The word *mni* ‘just’ does not modify *ambloana* ‘outside’; this *mni* ‘just’ is a sentential adverbial which means something like ‘only’.

In a lot of instances, locative words actually function as nouns. These locative nouns commonly form a noun phrase on their own and are attached with a case clitic.

3-136. *yamala = hi nuŋg-wa-hi.*

left = ADS stand-3FSG-PRES:CONT

‘She is standing on the left hand side.’

3-137. *wami = na pi-wa-hwa.*

top = ALL go-3FSG-PAST

‘She went to the top (e.g. of the mountain).’

Sometimes locative nouns are modified by another noun. In such cases, the modifying noun can be thought of as a genitive phrase with an optional genitive case clitic.

3-138. *nimi(=la) wami = na pi-wa-hwa.*

mountain(=GEN) top = ALL go-3FSG-PAST

‘She went to the top of the mountain.’

3-139. *hupla(=la) murua = mbe dufwa = mbo safa-wa-a-hwa.*

container(=GEN) middle = INS egg = OBJ put-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘S/he put the egg into the middle of the pot.’

3.2.8 Temporal words (and temporal nouns)

The following temporal words exist in Menggwa Dla.²⁶

<i>simbu</i>	‘morning’
<i>sumblufu</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>sumbli</i>	‘night’
<i>sumbani</i>	‘day’
<i>mingu</i>	‘week’ (BI: <i>minggu</i> ‘week’/ ‘Sunday’ < Portuguese <i>domingo</i> ‘Sunday’)
<i>amamo</i>	‘month’ (<i>amamo</i> ‘moon’)
<i>humbani</i>	‘year’
<i>hama</i>	‘few days ago’
<i>hamani</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>apa</i>	‘today’
<i>kyambe</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>ahya</i>	‘few days ahead’
<i>bohoni</i>	‘before’/ ‘ago’
<i>dahoni</i>	‘now’
<i>sunḡu</i>	‘after’/ ‘afterward’/ ‘later’

Temporal words are most usually used as sentential adverbial. When used as sentential adverbials, temporal words can be (but rarely) attached with a local case clitic (§4.5.3).

²⁶ For proper name temporal words, see §4.4.

3-140. *sumblufu(=hi) ap-ah-hwa.*

afternoon(= ADS) sleep-1SG-PAST

‘I slept in the afternoon.’

3-141. *sunḡu(=hi) pi-mba-mbo.*

later(= ADS) go-POST-DEP

‘Let’s go later.’²⁷

Except *bohoni* ‘before’, *dahoni* ‘now’ and *sunḡu* ‘later’, the temporal words can function as nouns. These temporal nouns can be the head noun of a noun phrase (example 3-142), or a noun modifier in the form of a genitive phrase (with an optionally ellipsed genitive case clitic; example 3-143).

3-142. *apa = na saftu no.*

today = TOP Saturday COP:3FSG

‘Today is Saturday.’

3-143. *[hamani(=la) seru]=mbo ser-ihahi.*

[yesterday(= GEN) food] = OBJ eat-1SG-PRES:CONT

‘I am eating yesterday’s food.’

For temporal nouns which depict a period of time which is not unique in relation to the present moment, ‘current’ is expressed by *dani* ‘this’, e.g. *dani amamo* ‘this month’, and ‘ago’ and ‘ahead’ are expressed by *bohoni* ‘before’ and *sunḡu*

²⁷ The word *pimbambo* is a verbal noun, and this sentence is literally ‘there will be future-going later’; see §7.3.2 on verbal nouns.

‘after’ respectively, e.g. (*mamo*) *mingu bohoni* ‘(one) week ago’, (*imbumamo*) *humbani sungu* ‘(three) years later’. See §3.2.4 on demonstratives.

3.2.9 Interjections, greeting phrases and miscellaneous would classes

Interjections are words which are semantically not related to the rest of the utterance. All of the following words except *hya* can form utterances on their own.

<i>a</i>	‘ah’
<i>o</i>	‘oh’
<i>wu</i>	‘oh’
<i>hya</i>	INTJ
<i>yambi</i>	‘OK’ (example 3-160 below)
<i>ai</i>	‘ai!’ (exclamation of surprise/ accidents/ forgetfulness)
<i>ini</i>	‘yes’
<i>awe</i>	‘no’

The interjection *a* ‘ah’ can be used utterance initially (example 3-144 below) or medially (example 3-75 above), *o* ‘oh’ is used utterance-initially (example 3-102 above), and *wu* ‘oh’ is used utterance-medially (example 3-145 below).

3-144. *a yanu.*

ah enough

‘Ah, (that is) enough.’ (N)

3-145. *ye bani safa aflambe wu ma-ek-wa-mbo,*

then sago meat plenty oh DR-exist-3FSG-DEP

‘Then there would be a big pile of sago starch, and...’ (B)

The interjection *hya* — homophonous with the ablative case clitic =*hya* (§4.5.3) — is a frequently used space filler which is used after noun phrases or direct quotes.

3-146. *ahala =na =pa hya imbu safo tamako =nambo kikifi nungu-mbo,*

root = ALL = only INTJ two half axe = ALL chop SEQ-DEP

‘People chop (the trunk) into two halves along the length of the trunk (‘only to the root’), and...’ (B)

3-147. *yaplu hya Ø-numb-a-mbo,*

coconut.stalk INTJ CR-stand-1SG-DEP

‘I put the coconut stalk up, and...’ (B)

3-148. *wara rani hya rani sa-ya-a pi-Ø-Ø-mbo,*

so that INTJ that take-3SG-3FSG:O go-CR-3MSG-DEP

‘so then he took it away, and...’ (A)

3-149. *“naho ni” hya hya tutu-Ø-ni gwa,*

what TENT INTJ INTJ ask-3MSG-TENT but

‘maybe he asked (them) “what is it”, but’ (A)

Other than forming utterances on their own, the words *ini* ‘yes’ and *awe* ‘no’ can also be followed by *gwa* ‘but’ (§3.2.6), the exclamatory particle *ke* or the cautionary particle *we* (see below)). The word *ini* ‘yes’ is used to indicate agreement or existence (*ini* ‘yes’ is used in agreement with a negatively-polarised question), whereas *awe* ‘no’ is used to indicate non-agreement or non-existence (in example 3-151 below, *awe* ‘no’ signifies non-existence rather than non-agreement to a statement raised by someone).

3-150. “*ga po-l-afa?*” “*ini, (ga po-l-aha.)*”
 “NEG:SMR go:FUT-LIG-2SG” “yes (NEG:SMR go:FUT-LIG-1SG)”
 “You will not go?” “Yes, (I will not go.)”

3-151. *awe, munika hof-ehye-mbi.*
 no nothing come-1DU-PRES
 ‘No, we are coming back with nothing.’ (N)

In addition, *awe* ‘no’ can also be used in an independent clause as a predicate meaning ‘be not’. Unlike verbs, the predicate *awe* is not inflected, and unlike nouns, *awe* cannot be followed by a copula.

3-152. *awe, ai=na dani=hya awe.*
 no 3=TOP here=ABL be.not
 ‘No, s/he is not from here.’

3-153. *bohoni amamo=na sini=mbe akani=mbe=na awe.*

before moon=TOP sky=INS there=INS=TOP be.not

‘Once upon a time the moon was not there in the sky.’

(repeated from example 3-107 above; A)

Another invariant predicate is the word *hwambo* ‘be the case’. The following example shows that *hwambo* can take an object argument. The phrase *imbumamo waplumbi ekwahya* is a zero-headed relative clause (§7.1.1.3): *-hya* is the only past tense suffix available to relative clauses, and the only *mbo* morph which can follow *-hya* is the object case clitic *=mbo* (§4.5.2).²⁸

3-154. [*imbumamo waplum=mbi ek-wa-hya*]=*mbo hwambo*

[three bucket=PROP exist-3FSG-PAST]=OBJ be.the.case

pi-Ø-a-Ø,

go-CR-1SG-DEP

‘With there being three buckets I go, and...’ (B)

The following is another example of *hwambo*; the object case clitic *=mbo* is not obligatorily used in Menggwa Dla (§4.5.1).

²⁸ The dependency suffix *-mbo* (§7.5), which marks a verb as a dependent verb and lacking in tense-mood information, is mutually exclusive with the past tense suffix *-hya*. The nominalising suffix *-mbo* (§7.3.2) is also mutually exclusive with the past tense suffix *-hya*.

3-155. [*afila hwila aniŋgi-Ø-hi-a-Ø, seri-hi-a-hya*](= *mbo*)

[father mother use-CR-N1FPL-3FSG:O-DEP eat-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST](= OBJ)

hwambo,

be.the.case

ye yaflei huri “amamo huri” s-efu-hu-a-mbi rani.

then cloud dew “moon dew” call-1PL-1PL-3FSG:O-PRES:STAT DEM

‘Like how father and mother have been using and eating it, we call cloud

dew “moon dew”.’ (A)

The word *hwambo* often takes *ilo-Ø ~ ilo-mbo ~ iro-Ø ~ iro-mbo* (be.like.so-NOML) as its argument (*ilo ~ iro* ‘be so’ class II).

3-156. ... *gihali me-Ø-wa-mbo,*

hungry COMPL-CR-3FSG-DEP

ilo-mbo hwambo tamako semi nungu-mbo...

be.like.so-NOML be.the.case axe take SEQ-DEP

bani numu-a = nambo pi-mba-mbo.

sago sit-place = ALL go-POST-NOML

‘(People) are hungry, and so they take axes, and ... go to the place where the sago palms exist.’ (B)

The following example shows a variant of *hwambo* — *hwahwambo*. The last clause in the following example also shows that *hwambo* can occur without any argument expressions. (The copula *no* which follows *hwambo* in the last clause

does not indicate that *hwambo* is a noun: copulas can be placed after any predicates, including verbs, to indicate that the whole clause is in focus; see §6.4.3.)

3-157. *awe gwa,*

no but

yohwefa ulua hwi numami aya saku-ya-a-hya akani = mbe.

1PL:GEN fat liquid above father put-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC there = INS

iro-Ø hwahwambo aningi-Ø-hu-a-Ø, Ø-ser-yefu-Ø,

be.like.so-NOML be.the.case use-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP CR-eat-1PL-DEP

hwambo no.

be.the.case COP:3FSG

‘Nothing really, father put our oil up there. Like so we use it and eat, and that is the case.’ (A)

There are the cautionary particle *we* and the exclamatory particle *ke*. The cautionary particle *we* can be used on its own meaning ‘beware!’ or ‘watch out!’, or placed after a verbal noun or noun in predicate position indicating prohibition. The exclamatory particle *ke* is used in sentence final positions and conveys positive exclamation. The cautionary particle *we* can be thought of as the negative counterpart of the exclamatory particle *ke*.

3-158. *we! akwani yafu-kyau we!*

CAUT snake tooth-bite CAUT

‘Watch out! Be cautious of the snake biting.’

3-159. *amani no ke!*

good COP:3FSG EXCL

‘It is real good!’

3-160. “*yambi ke!*” *sa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*

“OK EXCL” think-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP

“‘That’s OK!’ we thought, and then...” (N)

There is also the ‘reflexive’ word *ahu*. The ‘reflexive’ word *ahu* is not itself a pronoun, but it can — in some instances — indicate coreference within a clause.

See §4.6.4.

There is the all-purpose greeting phrase *amani nu!* (good COP:POS) ‘It is good!’ (notice that the copula has to be in the non-finite form). There are also the following time specific greetings:

simbu amani good morning

sumbani amani good day (used in day time except early morning)

sumblufu amani good afternoon/ evening

sumbli amani good evening/ night

These phrases can be followed by the non-finite copula *nu* and/ or an exclamatory particle *ke* (see above), e.g. *sumbani amani nu ke!* ‘absolutely good day!’.