

Chapter 4

Nouns, Pronouns and Noun phrases

In Menggwa Dla, nouns denote entities (real or imagined), abstract ideas and properties. A noun phrase consists of a head noun on its own, or a head noun plus one or more modifiers, all of which must be contiguous to each other (with exceptions; see §4.3).

Three nominal categories are grammaticalised in Menggwa Dla grammar: person, genders (§4.1) and number (§4.2). However, these nominal categories are not marked within the noun phrases. Instead, the person, gender and number categories of a nominal are manifested by cross-reference suffixes (§5.2).

Nouns can be modified by various modifiers: adjectives, genitive phrases, proprietive/ abessive phrases, demonstratives, degree qualifiers, quantifiers and relative clauses (§4.3). There are no morphological differences between proper names and common nouns (§4.4). On the noun phrase level there are the numerous case clitics and other nominal clitics like the topic clitic and focus clitics (§4.5). Different sets of pronouns are used in different positions (§4.6). There are the ‘citation pronouns’ which are used in topic/ subject positions or in isolation, and there are only three of them, each marking only a person category: *yo* first person (‘I/ ‘We’), *si* second person (i.e. ‘you’) and *ai* third person (‘s/he/it/they’). There are also the object pronouns, genitive pronouns and subject resumptive pronouns which have fifteen or sixteen members, each marking different person, number and

gender combinations. These pronouns also mark a distinction of inclusive versus exclusive first person; nowhere else in Menggwa Dla (and Dla proper) grammar is the distinction of exclusive versus inclusive first person grammaticalised (see §4.6).

4.1 Gender

Menggwa Dla can be described as having a ‘feminine’ versus ‘masculine’ gender system. However, there are important differences between the gender system in Menggwa Dla and the gender systems in European languages. In European languages with masculine-feminine gender systems (e.g. Romance languages), the quantity of masculine nouns and the quantity of feminine nouns are not too imbalanced, and the grammatical gender of a noun is in some cases reflected in the phonological shape of the noun. In Menggwa Dla, however, the vast majority of nouns are feminine, and the criteria used in determining the gender of a noun are purely semantic. The grammatical gender of animate nouns (humans in particular) basically corresponds with biological sex; for inanimate nouns, all but a handful of them are feminine.

Semantically speaking, feminine is the unmarked gender; even with animates, nouns are masculine only when they are specified as being male in biological sex. Based on the huge bias towards the feminine gender, the terms ‘masculine’ versus ‘non-masculine’ (feminine plus ‘neuter’) could have been chosen for the two genders. Nevertheless, the term ‘feminine’ has been chosen over ‘non-masculine’ due to typographical ease. The abbreviations of ‘F’ are also easier to decipher than

the abbreviations of ‘NM’.¹ The semantics of gender for human references is introduced in §4.1.1; the semantics of gender for non-human references is introduced in §4.1.2.

The gender category of a nominal is only manifested by verbal cross-reference suffixes which cross-reference with the nominal (§5.2). (Nevertheless, not all cross-reference suffixes mark gender.) For instance, the phonological shape of the noun *kapali* ‘aeroplane’ gives no indication of its gender category; without knowledge of the semantic criteria on which gender-assignment is based, one can only tell the gender of that noun by the verbal cross-reference suffix which cross-references with it.

4-1. *kapali hof-u-mbi.*

aeroplane come-3MSG-PRES:TRANSN

‘The plane is coming/ has just arrived.’

One can deduce that *kapali* ‘aeroplane’ is masculine in Menggwa Dla because of the cross-reference suffix *-u*, which is the class IA cross-reference suffix (§5.2.1) for third person masculine singular (3MSG). The corresponding (class IA) third person feminine singular suffix is *-wa*.

¹ The abbreviation N is already used for non-first person (N1) and non-singular number (NSG) cross-reference suffixes (§5.2). Luckily no cross-reference suffixes are both non-first person and non-singular; imagine an abbreviation with 3 N’s: N1NSGNM.

4.1.1 Gender of human references

For humans, references which denote a male person or a group of males are masculine.

4-2. *patulu hamani han-u-hya.*

priest yesterday go.down-3MSG-PAST:FOC

‘The priest went down yesterday.’

4-3. *patulu hamani han-ufa-hya.*

priest yesterday go.down-N1MDU-PAST:FOC

‘The two priests went down yesterday.’

References which denote a female person, a group of females or a group with at least one male and one female are feminine.

4-4. *twangi hamani han-yefye-hya.*

white.person yesterday go.down-3FDU-PAST:FOC

‘The two white people went down yesterday.’

(two women or one women plus one man)

A person or a group of people of whom the biological sex is unknown or unspecified are also feminine.

4-5. *newi yama =mboka ni-wi.*

people money = ABSS COP:PRES-3FPL

‘People are without money.’

4-6. *da monani-wa-hi?*

who sing-3FSG-PRES:CONT

‘Who is singing?’

Interrogative words (§3.2.3) can be cross-referenced as masculine if the referent is known or assumed to be male.

4-7. *da monani-Ø-hi?*

who sing-3MSG-PRES:CONT

‘Who is singing?’ (e.g. the singer’s voice is low in pitch)

4-8. *da sihafà aru n-u?*

who 2SG:GEN dad.bro COP:PRES-3MSG

‘Who is your uncle?’

4.1.2 Gender of non-human references

Higher animates like *yafli* ‘dog’ and *wali* ‘pig’ are cross-referenced as masculine only when they are specified as biologically male. If the biological sex of (at least one of) the individuals is female, or the biological sex is unknown or not highlighted, the animate noun is cross-referenced as feminine.

4-9. *yowala wali (dulua) (imbu) pi-afa-hwa.*

1SG:GEN pig (male) (two) go-N1MDU-PAST

‘My two male pigs have gone.’ (The pigs are specified as male)

4-10. *yowala wali pi-efye-hwa.*

1SG:GEN pig go-N1FDU-PAST

‘My two pigs have gone.’

(Two female pigs, or one female pig plus one male pig)

4-11. *pusi hwila = na aflambli ser-wa-mbi.*

cat mother = TOP plenty eat-3FSG-PRES:STAT

‘The mother cat eats a lot.’

4-12. *yafli = na imbalkwa = mbi no.*

dog = TOP weight = PROP COP:3FSG

‘The dog is heavy.’

(The sex of the dog is not highlighted; the dog could be male or female.)

Animals and insects of which the biological sex is difficult to determine are cross-referenced as feminine, e.g. *mani* ‘louse’, *akwani* ‘snake’ (example 4-13). The vast majority of inanimate things are feminine in gender (example 4-14).

4-13. *rani akwani kelia mafwa(=mbo) ser-wa-hwa.*

DEM snake cockroach all(=OBJ) eat-3FSG-PAST

‘That snake ate all the cockroaches.’

4-14. *oto me-ek-wa-mbo = na hof-aha-hwa.*

car DR-exist-3FSG-DEP = TOP come-1SG-PAST

‘The car was here when I came.’

(*lit.* ‘The car was here and then I came here.’)

There are actually some animals and some inanimate things which are specifically masculine; certain things which are considered *blaha* ‘light’ are masculine. ‘Light’ things are things which are perceived as ‘light’ enough to defy the earth’s gravity, and most ‘light’ things are masculine, e.g. *amamo* ‘moon’, *hufu* ‘sun’, *yaflei* ‘cloud’, *kapali* ‘aeroplane’ and other flying birds and animals like *ambuha* ‘cockatoo’, *bahu* ‘flying fox’ and *manyafra* ‘fruit bat’.² (However, flightless or poor-flying birds like *kwangi* ‘cassowary’ and *ayamu* ‘chicken’, flying insects like *walkni* ‘mosquito’, *mupi* ‘star’, and flying birds and animals which are specified as female are cross-referenced as feminine; *mupi* ‘star’ and flying insects are feminine probably because they are too small for its gender to be ‘significant’.) All other animates and inanimates are cross-referenced as feminine because they are *imbalkwa* ‘heavy’, i.e. they stay on the ground or in the water.

4-15. *rani bohoni amamo rani hwi = mbe Ø-num-u-mbona,*

that before moon that water = INS CR-sit-3MSG-DEP

‘Once upon a time the moon existed in the water, and...’ (A)

² The sun and moon are also masculine beings in traditional mythology.

4-16. *wangu mamu=pa homba-hi-Ø-hwa.*
 sparrow one = only see-1SG-3MSG:O-PAST
 ‘I only saw one sparrow.’

4-17. *bahu barufu Ø-ser-ufani-mbo,*
 flying.fox breadfruit CR-eat-N1MDU-DEP
 ‘The two flying-foxes ate the breadfruits, and...’

4-18. *(rani kapali) Sentani=hya n-u.*
 (that aeroplane) Sentani = ABL COP:PRES-3MSG
 ‘(That aeroplane) is from Sentani.’

However, when there are three or more (plural in number) of these ‘light’ non-human entities, the ‘light’ non-human entities may be considered to have ‘become heavy’, and thus cross-referenced as feminine.

4-19. *tu mafwa pi-Ø-wi-mbo,*
 bird all go-CR-N1FPL-DEP
 ‘All the birds flew away, and...’

(On the other hand, plural masculine human nouns must be cross-referenced as masculine:

4-20. India *patulu mafwa pi-Ø-mu-mbo*,

India priest all go-CR-N1MPL-DEP

‘All the Indian priests left, and...’)

These ‘light’ masculine non-human nouns are increasingly cross-referenced as feminine (even when the noun is singular or dual) by younger speakers, in analogy with other feminine non-human nouns.

Another noteworthy point is that this ‘light’ versus ‘heavy’ distinction also extends to folk phonology. Speakers of Menggwa Dla often comment that the high vowels of *i* /i/ and *u* /u/ ‘sound light’, whereas the mid vowels of *e* /e/ and *o* /o/ ‘sound heavy’. One pair of examples demonstrating this ‘sound-weight-gender’ correspondence is the words *hufu* ‘sun’ (masculine) and *hofò* ‘ground’ (feminine). Another pair of examples is the class IB and class IHB cross-reference suffixes for third person singular: *-u* for masculine and *-o* for feminine (§5.2.1). Some semi-realised positive verb forms (§6.2.1) take a masculine suffix *-i* or a feminine suffix *-e*, e.g. *lahumbi* ‘he will be’ versus *lahombe* ‘she will be’. The masculine suffix *-i* and the feminine suffix *-e* are used more frequently in Anggor (Litteral 1990:53-54), e.g. *an-i* ‘he is’ versus *an-e* ‘she is’.

See also §5.2.4 on how sometimes third person nominals are cross-referenced as third person feminine singular when they are of low discourse prominence (regardless of their inherent person-number-gender features).

4.2 Number and person

Three numbers are distinguished in Menggwa Dla: singular (SG), dual (DU) and plural (PL). Singular means one of a kind, dual means two of a kind, and plural means three or more.

Similar to gender (§4.1), the category of number is not marked on the nouns themselves. The number of a noun is only exhibited by a cross-reference suffix which cross-references with it (§5.2). Cross-reference suffixes mark singular versus dual versus plural number, or in some instance singular versus non-singular number (i.e. dual and plural marked by the same form).

There are a small number of nouns which denote a group of entities rather than single individuals, e.g. *wihwala* ‘a group of children’ (c.f. *wi* ‘child’), *oloha safya* ‘community’ (etymology unknown). There is the adjective *tannia* which means ‘a mass of small things’. A group of three or more entities is often cross-referenced as singular rather than plural, especially when the entity is low in discourse prominence (§5.2.4). In such cases the group of entities is viewed as one single mass rather than many individuals. In addition, there are the ‘mass undergoer’ verbs which indicate that the undergoer is viewed as a single mass rather than plural individuals (see §5.1.4).

There are three person categories in Menggwa Dla: first, second and third. A first person reference has the speaker or a group including the speaker as its referents. A second person reference has the addressee or a group including the addressee but not the speaker as its referents. A third person reference has referent

or referents which are neither the speaker nor the addressee (except in certain circumstances, see below).

The grammatical category of person is marked in cross-reference suffixes (§5.2) and pronouns (§4.6). Some cross-reference suffixes (§5.2) and subject resumptive pronouns (§4.6.3) only distinguish between first person and non-first person, i.e. second person and third person are expressed by the same form, e.g. the first person dual subject resumptive pronoun *ehya* (1DU:RSUMP) ‘we two’ versus the non-first person feminine dual subject resumptive pronoun *efya* (N1FDU:RSUMP) ‘you/ they two’. For dual and plural first person references, an inclusive-exclusive distinction is made by the object pronouns (§4.6.2), and genitive pronouns (§4.6.2).

Except when coordinated or marked with a comitative case (§4.5.5) in relation with a first or second person reference (which can be covert), all nouns are cross-referenced as third person. It is not quite accurate to say that third person references always have referents which are neither the speaker nor the addressee. For instance, a mother — when addressing her child — can say something like example 4-21 below where the noun *mi* ‘mother’, which is cross-referenced as third person, refers to the speaker herself.³

4-21. *mi = na hihifu-mboke-wa-hi.*

mother = TOP happy-NEG:R-3FSG-PRES:CONT

‘Mother is not happy.’

³ There are two words for ‘mother’: *mi* and *hwila*. Usually *mi* refers to one’s own mother and *hwila* refers to someone-else’s mother. In example 4-21 *mi* ‘mother’ can refer to the speaker herself only because *mi* is here referring to the mother of the addressee and the speaker is the addressee’s mother.

A more accurate statement would be that first person references have one referent which is specified for the discourse role of speaker, second person references have one referent which is specified for the discourse role of addressee (but none of the referents is the speaker), and third person references have referents which are not specified for their discourse role. Nevertheless, the speaker/ addressee are most usually referred by a first/ second person reference respectively, while instances where a third person reference can refer to the speaker or addressee are highly restricted.

4.3 Noun modifiers, word order in NP and noun compounds

Noun phrases can be clearly identified in Menggwa Dla, as the head noun and its modifiers are always contiguous to each other. The syntactic positions of nominal clitics (§4.5) also testify to the existence of noun phrases — nominal clitics have the last independent word in a noun phrase as their host.

4-22. [*wuli bukwa imbu = mbi/ wuli imbu bukwa = mbi*] *ni-wi*.

[house big two = PROP/ house two big = PROP] COP:PRES-N1FPL

‘They have two big houses.’

A head noun can be modified by one or more of the following modifiers:

- adjectives (§3.1.2);
- demonstrative (§3.2.4);
- quantifier (§3.2.5);

- genitive phrase (§3.1.2; §4.5.3);
- proprietive/ abessive phrase (§3.1.2; §4.5.5); and/ or
- relative clause (§7.1.1).

Grammatically speaking, the order of modifiers in relation to the head noun is rather free; constituents in a noun phrase can be scrambled to any order and still be grammatical (except for certain genitive phrases with ellipted genitive clitic, in which case the genitive phrase must precede the head noun; §4.5.3). However, there are tendencies as to whether a modifier precedes or follows the head noun:⁴

- Relative clauses nearly always precede head nouns;
- There is a weak tendency of possessive phrases being placed in front of the head noun;
- Demonstratives are nearly always at the left or right edge of the noun phrase;
- There are weak tendencies for non-numeral quantifiers and lower numerals ('three' and below) to follow the head noun;
- Adjectives (§3.1.2) tend to be closer to the head noun than other noun modifiers within the same noun phrase; adjectives which denote dimensions (e.g. *bukwa* 'big', *tikyawi* 'small', *blufa* 'short') tend to follow the head noun; other adjectives tend to may precede the head noun.

⁴ 'Tendencies' presented here are based on subjective evaluations: 'nearly always' means more than 90% occurrence rate; 'tend to' means around 75% occurrence rate; 'weak tendency' means around 60% occurrence rate.

The following are some examples of complex noun phrases which may or may not follow the word-order tendencies outlined above. It is grammatical to scramble the order of a head noun and its modifying phrases to any order, hence it is impossible for noun phrases with three or more constituents to consist of hierarchies of binary noun phrases. The noun modifiers are in bold in the following examples.

4-23. *[imbumamo]* *waplu*

[three] bucket

‘three buckets’ (B)

4-24. *yari* *[blufa]* *[imbu]*

sago [short] [two]

‘two short (pieces of) sago’ (N)

4-25. *[yowala]* *hwafò* *[blufa]* *[ilomo=la]*

[1SG:GEN] story [short] [creator = GEN]

‘my short mythical story’ (A)

4-26. *[rani]* *hwi* *[aningi]*

[DEM] liquid [useable]

‘that useable liquid’ (A)

4-27. *bani* *[safa]* *[aflambe]*

sago [meat] [plenty]

‘plenty of sago fibre’ (B)

4-28. *[yowala] ifali [tamnia]*

[1SG:GEN] spear [small:MASS]

‘my small spears’ (N)

4-29. *sumbli [rani] [murua]*

night [DEM] [middle]

‘middle of that night’ (N)

4-30. *[tikyawī tite] hambakwala [yowala]*

[little ___ bad] eye [1SG:GEN]

‘my slightly bad eye’

4-31. *[wanu=mbi] [tite] newi*

[money = PROP] [bad] person

‘wealthy bad person’

4-32. *[petwa] [hwalfēhi=mboka] yani*

[old] [woman = ABSS] man

‘old wife-less man’

4-33. *[[hoho-hia-hya] [amamo=la] hwafo] (hoho-mba-Ø.)*

[[tell-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST] [moon = GEN] story] (tell-POST-DEP)

‘(I will tell you) the moon’s story which they told.’ (A)

- 4-34. [*yani [si homba-i-Ø-hya]](=na Julius nu.)*
 [man [2 see-N1MSG-3MSG:O-PAST]](= TOP Julius COP:3MSG)
 ‘The man whom you saw (is Julius).’

Multiple-embedded genitive phrases are right headed.

- 4-35. [*ehala hwila = la glu*
 [[3SG:GEN] mother = GEN] teacher
 ‘his/her mother’s teacher’

Noun compounds differ from modified noun phrases in that the positions of the components in a noun compound are fixed. Endocentric noun compounds are always right-headed. A modified noun phrase differs from a noun compound in its pitch pattern (§2.4.2): in a modified noun phrase, each component has its own pitch domain (e.g. [[MH...]_{NP} MH...]_{NP}), whereas noun compounds are covered by a single pitch domain (e.g. [MHH....]_{NP} pitch pattern) (see also examples in §3.1.2).

Common noun-noun compounds:

- 4-36. *yulu sinala*
 leg digit ‘toe’
- 4-37. *gni hwi*
 fat liquid ‘oil’
- 4-38. *tumbaingi wuli*
 worship house ‘church/ chapel’

4-39. *sunḡwani wuli*
sickness house 'clinic'

4-40. *tirati pepa*
letter paper 'letter paper'

Proper name-noun compounds:

4-41. *Malai fafo*
Malay language 'Malay language'

4-42. *Indonesia hwalfehi*
Indonesia woman 'Indonesian woman'

4-43. *Ostreliā wanu*
Australia money 'Australian dollar'

Verbal noun-noun compounds:

4-44. *pifi pepa*
writing paper 'writing paper'

4-45. *humufi hutumu*
wrapping leaf 'wrapping leaf'

4-46. *funḡifi pitu*
stabbing knife 'stabbing knife'

4-47. *simi hupla*
drinking container 'cup'

4-48. *homba kwala*
see seed 'eye'

In exocentric noun compounds, the ‘head-like’ component also exists to the right of the other component.

4-49. *hamblu hwila*
red mother ‘red mother fowl’

Lastly, noun phrases are coordinated by juxtaposition; see §3.2.6.

4.4 Proper names versus common nouns

A piece of discourse has its temporal settings, spatial settings, participants and props. Some of these, especially human participants, are given uniquely identifiable names. These names are called proper names.

Morphologically speaking, no morphosyntactic properties distinguish proper names and common nouns in Menggwa Dla; both proper names and common nouns do not take inflectional morphology, and phrases headed by either proper names or common nouns take the same nominal clitics (§4.5). Syntactically speaking, both proper names and common nouns tend to occur on their own (unlike English where common nouns are often preceded by an article). Both proper names and common nouns can be modified by various kinds of noun modifiers (§4.3). However, contexts where proper names are modified are much more restrictive (similar to English).

4-50. [*yani imbumamo*] *hof-uma-hwa*.

[man three] come-N1MPL-PAST

‘Three men came.’

4-51. [*Peter imbu*] [*John mamu*] *hof-uma-hwa*.

[Peter two] [John one] come-N1MPL-PAST

‘Two Peters and one John came.’ (?)

The difference between them really lies in the semantics of bare proper names and bare common nouns: without context, a common noun on its own is not specified for definiteness and specificity;⁵ on the other hand, proper names are by default specific and usually definite (proper names are only non-specific or indefinite in highly marked situations).

Common noun — not specified for definiteness and specificity:

4-52. *buku(=mbo) sufua-aha-mbi*.

book(=OBJ) want-1SG-PRES:STAT

‘I want [the specific/ a specific/ any] book.’

Proper name — specific by default and usually definite:

4-53. *John(=mbo) sufua-aha-mbi*.

John(=OBJ) want-1SG-PRES:STAT

‘I want John.’

(a specific John whom the speaker assumes the addressee knows)

⁵ However, the syntactic relation or the semantic role of a reference may influence the specificity of the reference. For instance, subjects tend to be specific.

The following are some comments on personal names, spatial names and temporal names relevant to modern Menggwa Dla society.

Since the coming of Dutch missionaries in 1950s and Australian missionaries in 1960s, every person has a European given name. These days children are given a European name, and sometimes also a native name. These European names are usually names of Biblical figures, popes or saints. Biblical names come from the English or Indonesian versions of the bible (biblical names in Indonesian tend to be more Latin-sounding).

These days not all people have a native name. Native names are usually two or three syllables long. Typically people introduce themselves using their European name plus their family name (i.e. clan name); people seldom mention their native name to strangers. Speakers of Dla proper and speakers of Menggwa Dla basically share the same set of native personal names, but the phonological forms of them maybe different between Dla proper and Menggwa Dla, e.g. *Foan* and *Nangn* in Dla proper versus *Foani* and *Nangani* in Menggwa Dla. Menggwa Dla people may have the Dla proper version of native Dla names, but the reverse has not been observed.

Each Menggwa Dla village is traditionally inhabited by only one extended patrilineal family, or clan. The following are the names of the five Menggwa Dla-speaking villages, followed by the clan-family names associated with each of the villages:

<i>Menggau</i>	— <i>Kore</i>
<i>Wahai (Wahai N^o 1)</i>	— <i>Lambuwe</i>
<i>Ambofahwa (Wahai N^o 2)</i>	— <i>Kine</i>
<i>Wanggurinda</i>	— <i>Yawa</i>
<i>Menggwal⁶</i>	— <i>Maflī</i>

4-54. *yowala gwafu = na wahai (no).*

1SG:GEN village = TOP Wahai (COP:3FSG)

‘My village is Wahai.’ (i.e. ‘I come from Wahai.’)

4-55. *menggwal = na tikyawi mayana gwa menggau = na mayana awe.*

Menggwal = TOP little far but Menggau = TOP far be.not

‘Menggwal is a little bit far away but Menggwa is not far away (from Kamberatoro).’

Whole villages often shift to another location, but the names of the villages usually remain constant. Sometimes one village fissions into two villages, with one group staying at the original site and the other setting up a new village at another site. The new village may be called the *namba tu* (Tok Pisin) or *nomor dua* (Malay) ‘number 2’ of the old village, e.g. *Wahai N^o 2* is a ‘derivative’ of the original Wahai village (now also called *Wahai N^o 1*). In addition, new villages may also acquire a new name, e.g. Wahai N^o 2 is also known as *Ambofahwa*.

⁶ *Menggwal* is /megwali/ underlyingly. People from the western villages of Menggwal and Wanggurinda may delete underlying /i/ at word-medial or word-final positions (§2.1.3.8). People from the eastern villages of Menggau and the two Wahai’s always pronounce *Menggwal* with the final /i/: [me⁹gɔali].

Sometimes villages merge back due to dwindling population, e.g. *Akamari* N^o 1 and N^o 2, to the east of Kamberatoro airstrip has merged back to form a single Akamari (these are in Dla proper-speaking area). Kamberatoro is the mission station on the Papua New Guinean side, and Kamberatoro is often referred to as *Kamby* by English speaking missionaries and government officials, usually with an Anglicised pronunciation of [kæmbi] ~ [kɛmbi]. These days Dla people also refer to Kamberatoro as [ke^mbi]. In Vanimo, Dla people from the Papua New Guinean side usually say that they come from *Kamby* [kɛmbi]. In analogy, Nimberatoro (another Dla proper-speaking village) is also often referred as *Nimby*.

Streams, caves, mountains and valleys all have names. Places names typically do not bear indication of the type of location they denote, e.g. *Humlali* is the name of the stream which flows near Wanggurinda, *Dulufu* is a cave on the Papua New Guinean side northwest of Wanggurinda and northeast of Menggwai. However, the type of location can also be specified by adding a common noun denoting the kind of location: *Humlali hwi* ‘Humlali water’, *Dulufu ambya* ‘Dulufu hole’. Some place names give vague hints to the type of location, e.g. *Galuhomba* is the name of a mountain: *galu* ‘lookout’ and *homba* ‘see’ (some of these place names are featured in the text *Nimi Wami Kaku*; see appendix 1).

Dutch and Australian missionaries have introduced the Western calendar system, which for religious, educational and career purposes has become an integral part of life of people even in the most-remote villages. People use Indonesian and/or Tok Pisin names for dates, months and years. The names for months in

Indonesian and Tok Pisin are slightly different as they are borrowed from Dutch and English respectively, both of which have Latin-based names of month.

Table 4.1 Names of months in Bahasa Indonesia and Tok Pisin

Indonesian:	<i>Januari</i>	<i>Februari</i>	<i>Maret</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>Mei</i>	<i>Juni</i>
Tok Pisin:	<i>Janueri</i>	<i>Februeri</i>	<i>Mas</i>	<i>Epril</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>Jun</i>
Indonesian:	<i>Juli</i>	<i>Agustus</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Oktober</i>	<i>November</i>	<i>Desember</i>
Tok Pisin:	<i>Julai</i>	<i>Ogas</i>	<i>Septemba</i>	<i>Oktoba</i>	<i>Novemba</i>	<i>Desemba</i>

4-56. Indonesia independens dei *hwambo*,

Indonesia independence day due.to

yo efa Ogas = *hi* Arso = *na*

1 1PLEXCL:RSUMP August = ADS Arso = ALL

[futbol pilai-*mbo*] *pi-mba-Ø* *no*.

[football play-DEP] go-POST-DEP COP:3FSG

‘Because of Independence Day of Indonesia, all of us are going to Arso to play football in August.’ (80II)⁷

For days of the week, people use ‘native’ names of the week or the ones from Tok Pisin or Indonesian. The native names of the week from Monday to Friday are the names of digits from the little finger to the thumb (see below). The names for Saturday and Sunday are borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia. In Bahasa Indonesia, *Senin* ‘Monday’, *Selasa* ‘Tuesday’, *Rabu* ‘Wednesday’, *Kamis*

⁷ All foreign words are in Tok Pisin except *Arso* which is a town in West Papua south of Jayapura.

‘Thursday’, *Jumat* ‘Friday’ and *Sabtu* ‘Saturday’ are borrowed from Arabic (الاثنين *al iθnain* ‘Monday’, الثلاثاء *aθ θala:θa* ‘Tuesday’, الأربعاء *al ʔarbaʔa* ‘Wednesday’, الخميس *al xamis* ‘Thursday’, الجمعة *al dʒumʔa* ‘Friday’, and السبت *as sabt* ‘Saturday’), while *Minggu* ‘Sunday’ (which also means ‘week’) is from Portuguese *domingo* ‘Sunday’. The days of the week in Tok Pisin are from English: *Fraide* ‘Friday’, *Sarere* ‘Saturday’, *Sande* ‘Sunday’ and *Mande* ‘Monday’ are from the corresponding English names; *Tunde* ‘Tuesday’, *Trinde* ‘Wednesday’ and *Fonde* ‘Friday’ are from English ‘two day’ ‘three day’ and ‘four day’ respectively (with the *d* of ‘day’ prenasalised in the Tok Pisin version).

Table 4.2 Names of days in Bahasa Indonesia, Menggwa Dla and Tok Pisin

Indonesian ⁸	Menggwa Dla	Tok Pisin	
<i>Hari Senin</i>	<i>Akya ~ Akela</i>	<i>Mande</i>	‘Monday’
<i>Hari Selasa</i>	<i>Akyatyo ~ Akelatyo</i>	<i>Tunde</i>	‘Tuesday’
<i>Hari Rabu</i>	<i>Baratyo</i>	<i>Trinde</i>	‘Wednesday’
<i>Hari Kamis</i>	<i>Barala</i>	<i>Fonde</i>	‘Thursday’
<i>Hari Jumat</i>	<i>Hwila</i>	<i>Fraide</i>	‘Friday’
<i>Hari Sabtu</i>	<i>Saftu</i>	<i>Sarere</i>	‘Saturday’
<i>Hari Minggu</i>	<i>Mingu</i>	<i>Sande</i>	‘Sunday’

4-57. *wi hwila Jumat(=hi) numungwa-wa-hwa.*

child mother Friday(=ADS) die-3FSG-PAST

‘The child’s mother died on Friday.’⁹

⁸ *Hari* ‘day’.

⁹ The word *hwila* is polysemous: *hwila* ‘thumb’/ ‘mother’ → *hwila(=hi)* ‘five’/ ‘Friday’.

Hours are given in a twelve-hour system. Coincidentally, native numerals extend from one till twelve (§3.2.5.1). Time-telling involving only hours is conducted in Menggwa Dla, Tok Pisin or Papuan Malay, whereas time telling involving minutes is conducted in Tok Pisin or Papuan Malay. The following is an example of hour-telling in Menggwa Dla. Notice that for numerals from four to twelve, the forms with the adessive case =*hi* are used, e.g. *hwila =hi* (thumb = ADS) ‘five’, *walabuha =hi* (shoulder = ADS) ‘ten’ (see §3.2.5.1).

4-58. *hwila =hi* *yamo-wa-hi* *no.*
thumb = ADS (< five) be.time-3FSG-PRES:PROG COP:3FSG
‘It is five o’clock now.’

4.5 Case and other nominal clitics

Comparing with languages from neighbouring families, the Senagi languages have rich repertoires of case, topic and focus markers in the form of enclitics. One salient feature which sets Dla and Anggor apart is that in Dla, some verbal affixes have the same form as certain nominal clitics, whereas in Anggor, verbal morphology and nominal morphology show much less similarity in their forms.

There are two grammatical case clitics in Menggwa Dla: object case =*mbo* (§4.5.1) and genitive case =*la* (§4.5.2); subjects and second objects are zero case-marked. There are four local cases: inessive case =*mbe* (‘in’/ ‘from inside’, ‘to inside’), adessive case =*hi*/ =*sehi* (‘on’), allative case =*na(mbo)* (‘to’) and ablative case =*hya* (‘from’) (see §4.5.3). There is actually another local case: perlativity case =*ronggo* (‘through’). However, it is also often used to mean ‘together’, similar to

the comitative case =*lofo* (see §4.5.4). There are also the proprietive case =*mbi* and abessive case =*mboka*, meaning ‘have’/ ‘exist’ and ‘not have’/ ‘not exist’ respectively (see §4.5.5). There are three non-case nominal clitics: the topic clitic =*na* (§4.5.6) and the focus clitics =*amba* ‘also’ and =*pa* ‘only’ (§4.5.7). The following is a table summarising the nominal clitics, and any corresponding verbal affixes in Menggwa Dla. See also §6.1 for discussions on the grammaticalisation of certain case clitics into verbal suffixes and grammatical verbs.

Table 4.3 Nominal clitics and corresponding verbal suffixes

nominal clitics	verbal suffixes/ grammatical verb
object case = <i>mbo</i> (§4.5.1)	dependency - \emptyset ~ - <i>mbo</i> ~ - <i>mbona</i> (§7.5)
genitive case = <i>la</i> (§4.5.2)	
inessive case = <i>mbe</i> (§4.5.3)	
adessive case = <i>hi</i> / = <i>sehi</i> (§4.5.3)	present continuous - <i>hi</i> (§6.1.1) simultaneous - <i>hi</i> (§7.1.3)
allative case = <i>na(mbo)</i> (§4.5.3)	
ablative case = <i>hya</i> (§4.5.3)	past tense (with focus) - <i>hya</i> (§6.1.2; §7.1.1)
perlative case = <i>rongo</i> (§4.5.4)	
comitative case = <i>lofo</i> (§4.5.4)	
proprietive case = <i>mbi</i> (§4.5.5)	present (stative/ transitional) - <i>mbi</i> (§6.1.1; §7.1.1)
abessive case = <i>mboka</i> (§4.5.5)	realis negative verb <i>bokel/ boka</i> (§6.1.3; §7.1; §7.2; §7.3.1)
topic = <i>na</i> (§4.5.6)	
focus = <i>amba</i> ‘also’ (§4.5.7)	
focus = <i>pa</i> ‘only’ (§4.5.7)	

There are several reasons why the nominal clitics are clitics rather than particles or affixes. Firstly, the nominal clitics are attached to the last independent word in a noun phrase (or other clitics if the noun phrase has more than one clitic); the clitics are not attached to words of any particular word classes. (Unlike the corresponding verbal suffix which is always attached to verbs.)

4-59. *wali imbu = na/ imbu wali = na*

pig two = TOP two pig = TOP

‘As for the two pigs’¹⁰

Secondly, case clitics which begin with /b/ are prenasalised [ʰb], which indicates that the phoneme /b/ in these clitics is considered word-medial rather than word-initial (§2.1.3.2). Thirdly, the case clitics (sometimes) form part of the stress and pitch domain of their phonological host (see §2.4).

Two or more nominal clitics can sometimes cooccur:

- Oblique relations can be topicalised, in which case the oblique case clitic precedes the topic clitic (see §4.5.6);
- The focus clitics = *amba* ‘too’ and = *pa* ‘only’ can follow any nominal clitics (see §4.5.7); and
- The genitive case can precede any nominal clitic (§4.5.2).

¹⁰ See §4.3 on word order within noun phrases.

4.5.1 Object case clitic

The object case clitic =*mbo* marks the transitive object or the ditransitive first object of a clause; subjects and ditransitive second objects are not case-marked. See §5.3 on grammatical relations and semantic roles in Menggwa Dla.

The use of the object case clitic =*mbo* is not obligatory; =*mbo* is seldom used when the cross-reference suffixes are sufficient in determining the grammatical relationships, or when the semantic roles of the arguments are unambiguous. In the following example, real-world knowledge tells us that humans cook bandicoots and bandicoots are incapable of cooking; *hofowali* ‘bandicoot’ is without doubt the undergoer, and hence it is the object (there are no voice oppositions in Menggwa Dla; §5.3). In such cases the object case clitic =*mbo* is generally not used.

4-60. *hofowali(=mbo) sama-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*

bandicoot(=OBJ) cook-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP

‘S/he cooked the bandicoot, and...’

In the following example, the quantifier in the noun phrase *wi imbu* ‘two children’ matches the number feature of the object cross-reference suffix but not the subject-cross-reference suffix; *wi imbu* is most probably the object.¹¹

4-61. *wi imbu aftafefi-ya-pu-hwa.*

child two bathe-3SG-N1DU:O-PAST

‘S/he bathed the two children.’

¹¹ Another possible scenario is the *imbu* ‘two’ is not the modifier of *wi* ‘child’, in which case the child would be interpreted as the subject, and *imbu* would be interpreted as ‘the two of them’.

In the first clause of the following example, the person-number-gender features of the cross-reference suffixes fail to disambiguate the semantic roles of the human participants. Without contexts, both human participants are equally likely to be the actor or the undergoer. In such cases, the norm is for the object to be marked with an object case clitic =*mbo*. The subject is also likely to be marked with a topic clitic =*na* if it is also the topic (see §4.5.6).

4-62. Jason =*na* Jacobus =*mbo* *ifali-ma-i-Ø-mbona,* *hlua-Ø-mbi.*
 Jason = TOP Jacobus = OBJ attack-DR-3MSG-3MSG:O-DEP bleed-3MSG-PRES
 ‘Jason hit Jacobus and (Jacobus) is bleeding.’

The following example shows a ditransitive first object (the recipient) with the object case clitic =*mbo*.

4-63. [*Jayapura = hi tupam bli-mbo*]
 [Jayapura = ADS thing buy-NOML]
Greg = mbo se-ratus ribu rupiah *Ø-sa-ka-u-mbo,*
 Greg = OBJ one-hundred thousand Rupiah CR-give-3SG-3SG:O-DEP
 ‘S/he gave Greg one hundred thousand Rupiah to buy things in Jayapura...’

The following sentences exemplify =*mbo* being encliticised to objects with a stimulant semantic role.

4-64. *hof-afu!* *nius = mbo* *humbli-afu!*

come-2SG news = OBJ hear-2SG

‘Come (now)! Listen to the news (on radio)!’

4-65. *ambya bena wangu = mbo sa-Ø-hwa-a-mbo,*

hole side sparrow = OBJ think-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP

‘We were thinking of the sparrows in the cave, and...’¹²

Pronouns in object position carry cross-reference suffixes; see §4.6.2 for the paradigm of object pronouns. Related to the object case clitic are the syntactic dependence suffix *-Ø ~ -mbo ~ -mbona* which is used in chain verbs and non-finite chain verbs (§7.2; §7.3.1; §7.5), and the nominalising suffix *-Ø ~ -mbo* which is used in verbal nouns (§7.3.2).

4.5.2 Genitive case clitic

The genitive case clitic *=la* marks the nominal as being a possessor¹³ or a beneficiary. The possessive usage of *=la* is introduced first.

When used as a modifier to a head noun, the genitive phrase usually precedes the head noun (see §4.3 on word order within noun phrases).

¹² The sparrows in this example are considered as a single mass rather than plural individuals, and hence agreed as singular. See §5.2.4.

¹³ ‘Possessor’ is used here as a cover term for the possessor in a possessive relationship (e.g. *Peter’s dog*), the ‘whole’ of a part-whole relationship (e.g. *the handle of the door*), and the ‘relator’ in an associative relationship (e.g. *Simon’s country*).

4-66. *katakis =la buku*

catechist = GEN book

‘The catechist’s book’

4-67. *newi =la sufua*

people = GEN feeling

‘People’s feeling’

4-68. *hufu =la hwafu*

sun = GEN talk

‘The sun’s story.’

4-69. *Hilari =la glu*

Hilari = GEN teacher

‘Hilari’s teacher’

4-70. *yani imbu =la gwafu*

man two = GEN village

‘The two men’s village’

The genitive case clitic *=la* is generally not needed when the head noun refers to:

- a relative of the referent of the modifier;
- the location of an object in relation to another object (locative words are mostly nouns; §3.2.7);
- the natural outcome or produce of something; or
- a part of the modifier.

In these instances the head noun and the modifier are usually simply juxtaposed, with the bare modifier noun immediately preceding the head noun. Such modifiers can be understood as a genitive phrase with an ellipted genitive clitic, as the genitive case clitic *=la* can still be used with such modifier nouns.

4-71. Salome(=*la*) *hwila*

Salome(=GEN) mother

‘Salome’s mother’

4-72. *waplu(=la) safá*

bucket(=GEN) interior

‘The interior of the bucket’

4-73. *tu(=la) koko*

bird(=GEN) faeces

‘The bird’s faeces’

4-74. *tebulu(=la) ilu*

table(=GEN) leg

‘The leg of the table’

The possessum need not be overt, as shown in the following examples.

4-75. *da=la (no)?*

who=GEN (COP:3FSG)

‘Whose is it?’

4-76. *Helen=la (n-o).*

Helen=GEN (COP:3FSG)

‘It is Helen’s.’

4-77. *Yohanes=la=na imbalkwa-mbi (no).*

Yohanes=GEN=TOP weight-PROP (COP:3FSG)

‘Yohanes’ (one) is heavy.’

With the genitive case =*la*, the possessor is marked in relation to the possessum head noun. In some situations, the reverse marking pattern is possible: a possessum can sometimes be marked with a proprietive case =*mbi* (or the negative counterpart the abessive case =*mboka*) in relation to a possessor head noun. See §4.5.5 on the proprietive and abessive case clitics.

[[possessum] = *mbi* possessor]:

4-78. [tutuhi wi=*mbi* yani] Ø-hof-u-mbo,

[eleven child = PROP man] CR-come-3MSG-DEP

‘The man with eleven children came, and...’

[[possessor] = *la* possessum]:

4-79. dani=*na* [Wauni=*la* nomola] (niwi).

this = TOP [Wauni = GEN children] (COP:N1FPL)

‘These are Wauni’s children.’

Other than marking possessors, the genitive case clitic =*la* also marks beneficiaries.

4-80. [patulu=*la*] fimi-aha-hi,

[priest = GEN] fetch.water-1SG-SIM

‘While I was fetching water for the priest...’

4-81. [Stanis=*la*] bibi-ha-a-mby-a.

[Stanis = GEN] hold:MASS-1SG-3FSG:O-POS:SMR-1SG

‘I will hold them for Stanis.’

Sometimes a beneficiary phrase is ambiguously a possessive phrase which modifies an ellipsed head noun. For instance, example 4-81 above can also be interpreted as ‘I will hold Stanis’ things’. If the possessive meaning is intended, an object case clitic =*mbo* (§4.5.1) can be added if the noun phrase is an object.

4-82. *[[Stanis = la] = mbo] bibi-ha-a-mby-a.*

[[Stanis = GEN] = OBJ] hold:MASS-1SG-3FSG:O-POS:SMR-1SG

‘I will take Stanis’ things.’

Pronouns have special genitive forms which carry cross-reference suffixes; see §4.6.2 for the paradigm of genitive pronouns.

4.5.3 Inessive case, adessive case, ablative case and allative case clitics

The local cases of inessive, adessive, ablative, and allative are introduced in §4.5.4.1. The allative case also marks instruments; the instrumental use of the allative case is introduced in §4.5.4.2.

4.5.3.1 Local cases

Local cases signify the static location or dynamic location (origin, path or destination) of the marked nominal. In English, these functions are fulfilled by prepositions like *in*, *on*, *at*, *through*, *from* and *to*. A marker of dynamic location can be further specified for the nature of its origin, path and/ or destination, e.g. the ‘in’ morpheme in *into* (*in-to*) marks the destination as being the interior of some enclosed space.

Languages with big repertoires of cases — like most Uralic languages and Dagestani languages — typically have a lot of local cases. The local cases in these languages are portmanteau morphemes covering at least the dimensions of 1) static location versus different kinds of motions (e.g. motion in, out, through), and 2) the

nature of the origin/ path/ destination (e.g. inside, outside, on the surface). Estonian has a comparatively straightforward paradigm of local cases amongst Uralic languages. There are six local cases, three indicating ‘interior locations’ and three indicating ‘exterior locations’.

Table 4.4 Local cases in Estonian

	motion from	static location	motion to
interior	elative <i>-st</i>	inessive <i>-s</i>	illative <i>-sse</i>
exterior	ablative <i>-lt</i>	adessive <i>-l</i>	allative <i>-le</i>

For instance, the illative case *-sse* indicates motion to the interior of something (‘into’ in English), and ablative case *-lt* indicates motion from the exterior of something (no comparable English preposition).

The local cases in Menggwa Dla also mark interior versus exterior locations. However, the system is quite rudimentary: there are three exterior cases, but only one interior case; the inessive case *=mbe* usually mark an interior static location, but it can also mark motion from or to an interior location.

Table 4.5 Local cases in Menggwa Dla

	motion from	static location	motion to
interior	←	inessive <i>=mbe</i>	→
exterior	ablative <i>=hya</i>	adessive <i>=hi/=sehi</i>	allative <i>=na(mbo)</i>

The form of the allative case clitic freely alternates between =*na* and =*nambo*, (whereas the topic clitic has one invariable form of =*na*; §4.5.6). For the adessive case clitic, the form is most usually =*hi*; =*sehi* is only used for human locations (see below).

‘Interior’ refers to a location inside an enclosed or contained space.

‘Exterior’ refers to a location at the exterior of an enclosed space, or a location which is not enclosed. Houses are enclosed: *wuli = mbe* (house = INS) signifies ‘inside the house’, ‘into the house’ or ‘from the interior of the house’, contrasting with *wuli = hi* (house = ADS) which means ‘at the exterior of the house’.

Geographical locations like villages and towns are considered non-enclosed, so the inessive case =*mbe* cannot be used with nouns denoting villages or towns:

gwafu = hi (village = ADS) ‘in/ at the village’. Ceremonies are not spatially enclosed: *tumbaingi = hi* (worship = ADS) ‘at Mass’, *heli = hi* (dance = ADS) ‘at a traditional ceremony’. Bodies of water are considered to have an interior, so *hwi = mbe* (water = INS) means ‘inside the pool/ lake/ river’ and *hwi = hi* (water = ADS) means ‘at the bank’ or ‘shore of the pool/ lake/ river’ or ‘on the surface of the water’. The sky also is considered to have an interior: *sini = mbe* sky = INS ‘in the sky’.

The following are examples with the inessive case =*mbe* or the adessive case =*hi* indicating static locations.

4-83. [Kembu = *hi* *numb-aha-hya*] *no.* haus sik = *mbe*.
 [Kamberatoro = ADS stand-1SG-PAST:FOC] COP: 3FSG house sick = INS
 ‘I was born in Kamberatoro. In the clinic.’

4-84. *Mosbi =hi homba-ha-pa-hwa.*

Port.Moresby = ADS see-1SG-N1DU:O-PAST

‘I saw the two of them in Port Moresby.’

4-85. *wanu =na [tebolu =hi/ alu =mbe] no.*

money = TOP [table = ADS/ string.bag = INS] COP:3FSG

‘The money is on the table/ inside the string bag.’

4-86. *waplu =mbe hutinya =mbi no.*

bucket = INS sand = PROP COP:3FSG

‘There is sand inside the bucket.’

4-87. *waplu =hi hai koko =mbi no.*

bucket = ADS fire faeces = PROP COP:3FSG

‘There is ash next to the bucket.’

4-88. *akwani =na hwi =mbe num-wa-hi.*

snake = TOP water = INS sit-3FSG-PRES:CONT

‘The snake is in the water.’

Motion to and from the interior is conveyed by the inessive case =*mbe*, motion from the exterior is conveyed by the ablative case =*hya* (‘from’) and motion to the exterior is conveyed by the allative case =*na(mbo)* (see above for definitions of ‘interior’ and ‘exterior’). The following are a few examples.

4-89. *wuli = mbe fa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*

house = INS leave-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP

‘We left (from the inside) home, and...’ (N)

4-90. *wuli = na pi-Ø-ehi-Ø,*

house = ALL go-CR-1DU-DEP

‘We went (towards) home, and...’ (N)

4-91. *wuli = mbe Ø-hah-yehi-mbo,*

house = INS CR-go.up-1DU-DEP

‘We went inside the house, and...’

4-92. *mamblu = hya hof-ei-mbi.*

Bambol = ABL come-N1FPL-PRES

‘They came from Bambol.’

4-93. *hutumu = hi humu-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*

leaf = ADS tie-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP

alu = mbe saku-Ø-ya-a-Ø,

string.bag = INS put.in-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP

‘He wrapped them with leaves, and put them inside the string bag, and...’

(N)¹⁴

¹⁴ Although an enclosed space is created by folding the leaves, *hutumu* ‘leaf’ is marked with adessive case =*hi* because leaves are inherently interior-less.

For temporal locations, the adessive case =*hi* is more common than the inessive case =*mbe* (there is no obvious difference in meaning; =*mbe* is more common with younger speakers). Common-noun temporal locations like *mingu dani* ‘this week’ and *hamani* ‘yesterday’ are not usually case-marked, whereas proper-name temporal locations like *hwila* ‘Friday’, *mingu* ‘Sunday’ and *April ~ Epril* ‘April’ are usually case-marked.

4-94. *rani amamo(=hi) newi aflambli numungwa-wi-hwa.*

DEM month(=ADS) people many die-3FPL-PAST

‘A lot of people died that month.’

4-95. *mingu =hi homba-mba-mbo tumbaingi =hi.*

Sunday = ADS see-POST-NOML Mass = ADS

‘I will see you on Sunday at Mass.’

4-96. *ogas =hi Arso =nambo pi-wi-hwa.*

August = ADS Arso = ALL go-N1FPL-PAST

‘They went to Arso in August.’

4-97. *saftu =mbe nu-mbo, simbu ye wuli =nambo pi-ehye-hwa.*

Saturday = INS COP-DEP morning then house = ALL go-1DU-PAST

‘On Saturday, in the morning we went home.’ (N)

Local cases are rarely found with human nouns. Amongst the four local cases, human nouns are only found with ablative =*hya* and adessive =*sehi*. With

human nouns, the form of the adessive case clitic is =*sehi* instead of the usual form of =*hi*.

4-98. *wihwala=hya amtali sami-aha-mbi.*

children = ABL flu take-1SG-PRES:STAT

‘I have gotten the flu from the children.’

4-99. *Domitela =na Tony =sehi fa-hi-a-hwa.*

Domitela = TOP Tony = ADS leave-3FPL-3FSG:O-PAST

‘Domitela got married with Tony.’ (*lit.* ‘they left her on Tony.’)

The other two local cases of inessive =*mbe* and allative =*na(mbo)* are not found with human nouns. Recipients are marked with the objective case clitic =*mbo* (§4.5.1). Irregularly spaced attempts by me to attach an inessive case clitic to human nouns were immediately corrected to non-human versions by my language teachers. For instance, attempts by me to say *inside him/her* were corrected as something like the following.

4-100. *ahala fi/ hambala/ sufwa =mbe*

3SG:GEN body/ stomach/ liver = INS

‘Inside his/her body/ stomach/ liver’¹⁵

When pronominalised, ablative case =*hya* is attached to a genitive pronoun, while adessive case =*sehi* is attached to an object pronoun (see §4.6.2). The

¹⁵ The seat of emotion in Dla is *sufwa* ‘liver’, which also means ‘feeling’ and ‘to feel’ (class I). The seat of emotion is also the liver in Malay (*hati* ‘liver’) and Tok Pisin (*lewa* ‘liver’).

adessive case clitic =*hi* is homophonous with the present continuous suffix -*hi* (§6.1.1) and simultaneous suffix -*hi* (§7.1.3). The ablative case clitic =*hya* is homophonous with the past tense with focus suffix -*hya* (§6.1.2).

4.5.3.2 Instrumental use of the allative case

The allative case clitic =*nambo* can also mark instruments or means which are used to aid the realisation of a situation. Instrumental phrases are always oblique; there is no applicative morphology which turns an instrumental phrase into an argument.

4-101. *ra =nambo hwi fri-Ø-mu-mbo,*

DEM = ALL water get.rid-CR-N1MPL-DEP

‘They got rid of the water with that, and...’ (A)

4-102. *palangi =nambo hyela numuli-Ø,*

machete = ALL skin remove-DEP

‘(People) remove the bark (‘tree skin’) with machete, and...’ (B)

4-103. *imbu safo tamako =nambo kikifi nungu-mbo,*

two half axe = ALL chop SEQ-DEP

‘(People) chop (the trunk into) two halves with an axe, and then...’ (B)

4-104. *imbumamo =pa yari =na ser-yehi fa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*

three = only sago = ALL eat-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP

‘After we have eaten only three (birds) with sago...’ (N)

4-105. [pitu]=na fungifi-Ø.

[knife] = ALL stab-IMP

‘Stab (it) with a knife.’

4-106. gwatina twangi fafo=na tutu-ya-i-mbo,

again white.people language = ALL ask-3SG-1SG:O-DEP

‘S/he asked me again in Tok Pisin, and...’

The allative-instrumental case is also =*na(mbo)* in Dla proper and Anggor (Litteral 1980: 81-82). In Karkar-Yuri, the southern neighbour of Dla, instruments are either marked by *-an*, which also marks recipients, or *fək*, which also means ‘on/ at/ to’ (but not ‘in’) (Rigden 1986c).¹⁶ Amongst other Papuan languages, syncretism of the allative and instrumental cases is also observed in Manambu and neighbouring Ndu languages in Middle Sepik (Aikhenvald, 2005), and also in Watam and neighbouring Lower Ramu languages (W. Foley, p.c.).

4.5.4 Comitative case and perlative case clitics

The comitative case clitic =*lofo* marks a participant as accompanying another participant in performing the same action or undergoing the same state or action. Alternatively, =*lofo* marks a participant as the reciprocal partner of the subject in performing or undergoing the action denoted by the verb. When attached

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that in Amanab, the Border family language spoken to the north and east of Dla, the instrumental case is syncretised with the genitive case but not the allative case. However, the form of the genitive-instrumental case in Amanab is also *-na* (allative is *-gam*; Minch 1992: 134). The genitive marker is also *na* in many Sepik and Lower Sepik languages (W. Foley p.c.).

to a pronoun, =*lofo* is preceded by an object pronoun (§4.6.2), e.g. *sihehimbo = lofo* (1:INCL:DU:OBJ=COM) ‘with the two of us’.

In some situations the comitatively-marked participant is cross-referenced on the verb, and sometimes not. When the comitatively-marked participant is viewed as equally agentive as the subject in performing or undergoing an action or state, both are cross-referenced together on the verb with a single subject cross-reference suffix.

4-107. *gwi sumbani*

another time

aya = lofo wuli = mbe Ø-num-ehi fâ-hwa-a-mbo,

father = COM house = INS CR-sit-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP

‘Once I was at home with father, and then...’ (N)

(1DU = ‘I’ and ‘father’)

4-108. *gwafu = hi hwafo pi-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*

village = ADS talk go-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP

[mafwa oloha safâ] = lofo Ø-han-umu-mbo,

[all community] = COM CR-go.down-3MPL-DEP

‘He went to talk in the village, and he went down with all the men, and...’

(A) (3MPL = ‘he’ and ‘all the men’)

Sometimes the comitatively-marked participant is doing the same action as denoted by the verb with the subject, yet only the subject is cross-referenced. In

such cases, the speaker is focusing on the subject's volition towards the situation and/or the subject is taking the initiation of the situation, whereas the comitatively-marked participant is considered not to have such volition and/or is the passive partner in the situation. The following are some examples.

4-109. *bi =lofo dukumi =hi klo-Ø-hya-a-Ø,*
 mum.bro = COM valley = ADS separate-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP
 'I parted with uncle at the valley, and...'

4-110. *sihafumbo =lofo kro-l-a-mby-a.*
 2SG:OBJ = COM come.down-LIG-1SG-POS:SMR-1SG
 'I will come down with you.'

4-111. *ai Ø-hof-o-mbo, yohwefumbo =lofo*
 3 CR-come-3FSG-DEP 1PL:OBJ = COM
hwafo-o fa-ya-mu Ø-nung-o-mbo,
 talk-3FSG COMPL-3SG-1NSG:O CR-SEQ-3FSG-DEP
 'She came, talked with us, and...'

Instances where a nominal is marked with a comitative case clitic =*lofo* in relation to an object are very rare. In all encountered cases, either the predicate does not carry any cross-reference suffixes (i.e. non-finite chain clauses; §7.3.1), or the object is cross-referenced on the verb as third person feminine singular because the object lacks pragmatic prominence (§5.2.4). Hence it is indeterminable as to

whether the comitatively-marked nominal is ever cross-referenced on the verb. The following are two examples.

4-112. *hwi=lofo yarifi-Ø,*

water = COM stir.sago-DEP

‘Stir the sago with water, and...’

4-113. *wari hwatumali=lofo sama-Ø-hya-a-Ø,*

pig leafy.vegetable = COM cook-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP

‘I cooked the pork with vegetables, and...’

Based on the fact that none of the other oblique relations can be cross-referenced on the verb, it can be assumed that the construction where the comitatively-marked relation is not cross-referenced is the comitative construction-proper. On the other hand, the construction where the comitatively-marked relation is cross-referenced is an ‘inclusory construction’, and more specifically a ‘split inclusory construction’ (e.g. Lichtenberk 2000; Singer 2001). In an inclusory construction, within the same clause there is a reference (either free or bound) of which the set of referents properly includes that of another free reference; this included free reference may be unmarked or marked as conjunctive or comitative. Lichtenberk (2000) classifies inclusory constructions into ‘phrasal inclusory constructions’ and ‘split inclusory constructions’. In a phrasal inclusory construction, the including reference and the included reference form a phrase. One example — from Toqabaqita — of such a phrase is the noun phrase *kamareqa doqora-ku* (1DU:EXCL brother-1SG) ‘I and my brother’ (Lichtenberk 2000:10). In

this noun phrase, the referent of *doqora-ku* ‘my brother’ is one of the referent of the pronoun *kamareqa* ‘the two of us’. On the other hand, the inclusory construction in Menggwa Dla is a ‘split inclusory construction’. In a split inclusory construction, the including and included reference do not form a phrase. In the case of Menggwa Dla, the including reference is the non-singular cross-reference suffix, and the included reference is the comitatively-marked (pro)nominal. In the following example (which a repeat of example 4-107 above), the referent set of cross-reference suffixes *-ehi* and *-hwa* (1DU) properly includes the referent of the comitatively-marked noun phrase *aya = lofo* ‘with father’.

4-114. *gwi sumbani*

another time

aya = lofo wuli = mbe Ø-num-ehi fa-hwa-a-mbo,

father = COM house = INS CR-sit-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP

‘Once I was at home with father, and then...’ (N)

(1DU = ‘I’ and ‘father’)

The perlicative case *=rongo* usually describes a path which a participant travels along or a place which a participant travels through; another function of the perlicative case *=rongo* is indicating ‘volitionless-accompaniment’, i.e. similar to cases where a comitatively-marked nominal is not cross-referenced (see above).

4-115. *yangga = rongo bara-Ø-u-mbo,*

bush = PER run-CR-3MSG-PAST

‘He ran through the bush, and...’

4-116. *yo lohama =rongo pi-aha-hwa.*

1 ridge = PER go-1SG-PAST

‘I went along the ridge.’

4-117. *wara yo apa dahoni ane =rongo wa hoho-mba-la-mbo.*

so 1 daytime now friend = PER oh tell-POST-LIG-NOML

‘So now in this daytime I will tell you (‘friend’) this story.’ (A)

4.5.5 Proprietary case and abessive case clitics

The proprietary case clitic =*mbi* marks an entity as existing (existential meaning), or being possessed, either physically or metaphorically, by some other participant (possessive meaning). The abessive case clitic =*mboka* is the negative counterpart of the proprietary case clitic =*mbi*: the abessive case clitic =*mboka* indicates an entity as absent (non-existential) or lacking by a possessor (non-possessive).

There is no verb of possession (‘have’) or non-possession (‘not have’) in Menggwa Dla; predicative possession (non-possession) is indicated by the possessum in proprietary case (abessive case) as the predicate followed by a copula (which is optional in present tense; §6.4).

4-118. *ten toea =mbi =pa nya.*

ten Toea = PROP = only COP:1SG

‘I only have ten Toea.’

4-119. *tafko = mboka nya.*

cigarette = ABSS COP:1SG

‘I do not have cigarettes.’

4-120. *wuli = mboka niwi.*

house = ABSS COP:N1FPL

‘They do not have a house/ houses.’

The proprietive and abessive cases can also be used attributively: proprietive phrases and abessive phrases can be used as noun modifiers (§4.3) meaning ‘with’ and ‘without’ respectively.

4-121. *[[wamla = mbi] alu(= mbo)] sa-wa-a hof-afu-Ø.*

[[betel.nut = PROP string.bag(= OBJ)] carry-2SG-3FSG:O come-2SG-IMP

‘Bring me (‘carry come’) the string bag with betel nut in it.’ (80I)

With the attributive use of proprietive case, the proprietive phrase denotes a possessum, and is embedded within the noun phrase which is headed by the possessor noun. The reverse is true for genitive phrases: the genitive phrase denotes a possessor, and is embedded within the noun phrase which is headed by the possessum noun.

[[possessor = GEN] possessum]

4-122. *yani = la wi*

man = GEN child

‘The man’s child’

[[possessum = PROP] possessor]

4-123. *wi = mbi yani*

child = PROP man

‘The/a man with a child’

Another difference between proprietive phrases and genitive phrases is definiteness, as shown by the translations of the examples above; proprietive phrases (the modifying possessum) are always indefinite, whereas genitive phrases (the modifying possessor) are most usually definite (except when the genitive phrase denotes the genus in general:

4-124. *wari = la ilu = na apa = mbi no.*

pig = GEN leg = TOP sweetness = PROP COP:3FSG

‘Pigs’ legs are tasty.’)

Nouns modified by a genitive phrase have to be definite in Menggwa Dla, e.g. the whole noun phrase in example 4-122 above has to be definite. Because of the definiteness restrictions outlined above, it is not possible for a genitive phrase to be embedded within a proprietive phrase, as the definiteness requirements of the inner and outer phrase contradict: the outer proprietive case requires the proprietive clause to be indefinite, but the inner genitive phrase requires the outer proprietive phrase definite.

*[[[possessor = GEN] possessum = PROP] possessor]

4-125. *[[*hwalfehi = la*] *hutamu = mbi*] *wi*

[[woman = GEN] rope = PROP] child

‘The child with [a rope of the woman]’

On the other hand, it is possible to have a proprietive phrase embedded within a genitive phrase as proprietive phrases do not place a restriction on their head noun’s definiteness.

[[[possessum = PROP] possessor = GEN] possessum]

4-126. [[*wi = mbi*] *hwalfehi*] = *la* *hutamu*

[[child = PROP] woman] = GEN rope

‘[The woman with a child]’s rope’

Proprietary case can also denote a container which has various things in it. For instance, *alu = mbi* (string.bag = PROP) in the following example means ‘the string bag and the various things inside it’; *alu = mbi* (string.bag = PROP) does not modify *ifali* ‘spear’ as neither can be contained within each other and they do not have a possessive relation with each other (nominals are coordinated by juxtaposition; §3.2.6).

4-127. *hwangu = hi* *alu = mbi* *ifali* *ku-hwa-a* *Ø- numb-ehi-mbo,*

cave = ADS string.bag = PROP spear leave-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP

‘At the cave we left the string bag, including the things in it, and the spears, and...’ (N)

The proprietive case =*mbi* and abessive case =*mboka* can also denote existential and non-existential meanings.

4-128. [*Kamberatoro =hya Amanab =nambo*]=*na bakwa =mbi wahwa*.

[*Kamberatoro = ABL Amanab = ALL*]=TOP road=PROP COP:PAST:3FSG

From *Kamberatoro* to *Amanab* there used to be a road.'

4-129. *dani =hi toko =mboka no*.

this =ADS shop =ABSS COP:3FSG

'There are no shops here.'

The use of =*mbi* and =*mboka* to convey (non-)existential meaning is only grammatical for inanimates. With humans, the verb *numu* 'sit' or *nunggu* 'stand' is used; whether *numu* 'sit' or *nunggu* 'stand' is used depends on the posture of existence, but *numu* 'sit' also conveys long term existence. The existence or non-existence of non-humans can also be conveyed by *numu* 'sit' or *nunggu* 'stand' if their horizontal or vertical 'posture' is emphasised.

4-130. *Amgotro =hi tentara num-uma-mbi*.

Amgotro =hi army sit-N1MPL-PRES:STAT

'There are army personal stationed ('sit') at *Amgotro*.'

4-131. *nomo=hi tuhala nomola Ø-numb-ei-mbo,*

tree = ADS school children CR-stand-N1FPL-DEP

‘There are school children standing next to the tree, and...’/

‘The school children are standing next to the tree, and...’

4-132. *akani(=hi) laulau nomo nung-o-mbi.*

that(= ADS) Malay.apple tree stand-3FSG-PRES:STAT

‘There are Malay apple trees there.’ (Tok Pisin: *laulau* ‘Malay apple’)

4.5.6 Topic clitic

The topic clitic =*na* marks a (pro)nominal as a topic expression. Topic expressions are placed at the beginning of a clause, except when they are preceded by a locative word (§3.2.7), temporal word (§3.2.8; example 4-136 below), or conjunction (§3.2.6; example 4-145 below), in which case the topic expression would follow these constituents immediately (also see below for clauses with two topic expressions). Alternatively, a topic phrase may be not clause-initial because it is preceded by another topic phrase (see towards the end of this §4.5.6). Topic expressions are most usually also the grammatical subject of the clause; subjects are zero case-marked in Menggwa Dla (§4.5.1; 5.3.1), and the topic clitic =*na* is attached directly at the end of the topic expressions. The following are examples of topic expressions are also the subject of the clause.

4-133. *wali=na ga ke-o?*

pig=TOP where COP:where-3FSG

‘Where is the pig?’

4-134. *bahu =na pi-wa-hwa.*

flying.fox = TOP go-3FSG-PAST

‘The flying fox flew away.’

4-135. *ai =na tumali hupla ambya rungu pipa-me-Ø-mbo,*

3 = TOP pandanus container hole inside hide-DR-3MSG-DEP

‘He was hiding in an empty pandanus trunk, and...’ (A)

4-136. *hamani yo =na popo-Ø-ha-a-mbo,*

yesterday 1 = TOP collect.egg:MASS-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘Yesterday I collected eggs, and...’

Nevertheless, the topic clitic is not obligatorily used; the topic clitics in the examples above can be omitted freely. The clause-initial position is also not ‘reserved’ for topic expressions. For instance, a topic phrase can be preceded by a locative/ temporal word as in example 4-136 above. Focused expressions, e.g. interrogative words (§3.2.3), can also be in clause-initial position, as shown in the example below. As expected, the topic clitic =*na* cannot be attached to question words, as question words are always focused and cannot be topicalised. In the example below, =*na* is an allative case clitic (§4.5.3) and not a topic clitic. This can be established by the fact that allative case clitic can freely alternate between =*na* and =*nambo*, whereas the topic clitic has only one form: =*na*.¹⁷

¹⁷ The topic clitic is not homophonous with the allative case clitic in Dla proper and Anggor. In Dla proper the topic clitic is =*nya* and the allative clitic is =*na(mbo)*. In Anggor, the topic clitic is =*ana* and the allative clitic is =*na(mbo)* (Litteral 1980: 79-80).

4-137. *ga = na(mbo) pi-afê (< pi-afâ-hi)?*

where = ALL go-2SG-PRES:CONT

‘Where are you going?’

A non-subject can also be topicalised. When an object is topicalised, only the topic case clitic =*na* is used, and the object case clitic =*mbo* (§4.5.1) is not used. This is rather similar to Korean and Japanese where the topic particle (Korean *은/는* *nun/nun*; Japanese *は* *wa*) always suppresses the subject case particle (Korean *이/가* *ka*; Japanese *が* *ga*) or the object case particle (Korean *을/를* *lul*; Japanese *を* *o*) when a subject or object is topicalised. In Menggwa Dla, when a pronominal is topicalised, it is always in its citation form (§4.6.1). As shown in example 4-139 below, a noun phrase cannot be marked with both an object case clitic =*mbo* and a topic clitic =*na*.¹⁸

4-138. *dani = na yo ilo-ha-a-hya.*

this = TOP 1 work-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC

‘As for this, I made it.’

4-139. * *dani = mbo = na yo ilo-ha-a-hya.*

this = OBJ = TOP 1 work-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC

Topicalised ditransitive second objects have never been observed in natural discourse. The following are a few constructed examples showing different core

¹⁸ Nevertheless, =*nambo* is one of the free variants of the allative-instrumental case (§4.5.3).

grammatical relations being topicalised. The following examples all mean ‘I gave John Jane’s betel nuts’, but they all have different pragmatic prominence patterns, as shown by the rough English translations.

Subject topicalised:

4-140. *[yo]=na [Jane=la wamla] [John]=mbo sa-ninga-wa-hwa*

[1]=TOP [Jane=GEN betel.nut] [John]=OBJ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST

‘As for me, I gave Jane’s betel nuts to John.’

First object topicalised:

4-141. *[John]=na [yo] [Jane=la wamla] sa-ninga-wa-hwa*

[John]=TOP [1] [Jane=GEN betel.nut] give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST

‘As for John, I gave Jane’s betel nuts to him.’

Second object topicalised:

4-142. *[Jane=la wamla]=na [yo] [John]=mbo sa-ninga-wa-hwa*

[Jane=GEN betel.nut]=TOP [1] [John]=OBJ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST

‘As for Jane’s betel nuts, I gave them to John.’

When oblique relations are topicalised, the topic clitic follows the case clitic.

The following are three examples.

4-143. *Amanab =nambo =na bakwa =mbi no.*

Amanab = ALL = TOP road = PROP COP:3FSG

‘To Amanab there is a road.’

4-144. *hwi = mbe = na sa-ya-a Ø-han-u-mbo,*

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

‘Into the water, he took them and went back, and...’ (A)

4-145. *ye wuli = mbe = na galali = hi hwama-Ø-i-Ø,*

then house = INS = TOP hook = ADS hang.up-CR-3MSG-3FMG:O-DEP

‘Then inside the house he hung him at the hook, and...’ (A)

There can be two topic expressions within a clause, as shown in the example below. The first of the two topic expressions is called primary topic, it has scope over more than one clause, i.e. there are a number of clauses which comment on the referent of the primary topic expressions. The second of the two topic expressions is called secondary topic, and it has scope only over its own clause (Lambrecht 1994: 147). In other words, there is only one clause, the clause where the topic expressions exist, which comments on the second topic referent. In the following example, *amamo = na* is the primary topic expression, and *sini = mbe akani = mbe = na* is the secondary topic expression.

4-146. *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.’ (A)

In equative sentences (§6.4.2) the topic clitic is usually present, probably because the clitic =*na* is also effectively dividing the two parts of the equative sentence in linear speech.

4-147. [*yowala dya*]=*na* Rita *no*.

[1SG:GEN name]=TOP Rita COP:3FSG

‘My name is Rita.’

4.5.7 Focus clitics

There are two clitics which mark a nominal as focused: =*amba* ‘too’ and =*pa* ‘only’. The focus clitics can co-occur with any case clitics (e.g. object case in examples 4-150 and 4-151 below; oblique cases in examples 4-152 and 4-153 below). When co-occurring with case clitics, the focus clitics follow the case clitic (§4.5.1-5). The focus clitics do not co-occur with the topic clitic =*na* (§4.5.7) as focuses and topics are mutually exclusive, and the focus clitics do not co-occur with each other. The following are examples of =*amba* ‘too’ and =*pa* ‘only’.

4-148. *amani yo=amba po-ma-a?*

good 1=too go:FUT-IRR:NEG-1SG

‘Should I go too?’ (*lit.* ‘Is it good that I go too?’)

4-149. *ahu si=pa.*

self 2=only

‘Up to you.’/ ‘Only yourself (should make this decision).’

4-150. *yapali = mbo = pa* *hwatu fa-Ø-hwa-a-Ø,*

tree.kangaroo = OBJ = only search finish-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP

gan-yehi-Ø.

go.down:FUT-1DU-JUS

‘We will only search of tree kangaroos and after that is finished, we will go down.’ (N)

4-151. *yoambo = amba buku sa-ka-ya-hwa.*

1SG:OBJ = too book give-3SG-1SG:O-PAST

‘He gave a book to me as well.’

4-152. *mni amblwa = na = pa* *hya hwatu seru-mbo = pa*

just outside = ALL = only INTJ search eat-NOML = only

hri-ya-a *fa-ya-a* *kaku-Ø-u-Ø,*

come.out-3SG-3FSG:O leave-3SG-3FSG:O walk-CR-3MSG-DEP

‘He only comes out just to search for food, and...’ (A)

4-153. *imbumamu = mbi = pa nya.*

three = PROP = only COP:1SG

‘I only have three.’

4.6 Personal pronouns and the reflexive word *ahu*

Personal pronouns are only used to refer to animates, or sometimes higher animates like *yafli* ‘dog’ or *wari* ‘pig’. Personal pronouns are not obligatorily used in any positions; clauses often consist simply of a verb which most usually carries at

least a subject cross-reference suffix (see examples in, e.g., §5.4 on intraclausal syntax and §5.2 on cross-referencing). Personal pronouns are not even obligatory in rare cases where the verb is not cross-referenced (see examples in, e.g., §7.3.1 on non-finite chain verbs).

There are three types of pronouns: citation pronouns, case pronouns and subject resumptive pronouns. Two factors distinguish the three sets of pronouns: whether they carry cross-reference suffixes or not, and in what grammatical relations/ pragmatic positions they are used. Case pronouns and subject resumptive pronouns carry cross-reference suffixes; their cross-reference suffixes mark person, number and sometimes gender categories. Citation pronouns, on the other hand, do not carry cross-reference suffixes. In fact there are only three citation pronouns, one for each person category. Case pronouns are used for grammatical positions which require overt case marking in Menggwa Dla (§4.5), i.e. oblique positions and first objects which are not topicalised. Citation pronouns and subject resumptive pronouns are used in other positions, i.e. in isolation, topics, or subjects. Personal pronouns are not used for second objects, i.e. the theme/ ‘gift’ in a ditransitive clause. The following is a matrix of the three types of pronouns against the two distinguishing factors.

Table 4.6 Morphosyntactic differences between types of pronouns

Type of pronoun:	citation	case	subject resumptive
cross-reference suffix	no	yes	yes
case-marked positions	no	yes	no

Citation pronouns, case pronouns and subject resumptive pronouns are discussed in §4.6.1, §4.6.2 and §4.6.3 respectively. In addition, there is also the ‘reflexive’ word *ahu*. Although *ahu* itself is not a pronoun, it often affects the interpretations of the pronouns. The ‘reflexive’ word *ahu* is discussed in §4.6.4.

4.6.1 Citation pronouns

There are three citation pronouns. They mark person, but not number and gender.

yo first person

si second person¹⁹

ai third person

The citation pronouns are used in isolation or when the pronoun is the subject or topic. The citation pronouns can be attached with a topic clitic (§4.5.6) or a focus clitic (= *pa* ‘only’ and = *amba* ‘too’; §4.5.7), but not a case clitic (§4.5.1-5).

4-154. *yo! yo!*

‘Me! Me!’

¹⁹ The second person citation pronoun *si* on its own can only signify second person. However, when followed by a first person dual or plural subject resumptive pronoun (§4.6.3), the combination signifies inclusive first person. Nowhere else in Menggwa Dla grammar is inclusive versus exclusive first person distinguished.

4-155. *si=na dani=hi Ø-hof-afu-mbo,*

2=TOP here=ADS CR-come-2SG-DEP

‘You came here, and ...’

4-156. *ai=na yo sufua boka-hi-Ø-hi.*

3=TOP 1 like NEG:R-1SG-3MSG:O-PRES:CONT

‘Him I do not like.’

4-157. *si=pa hofu boke-afâ-hwa.*

2=only come R:NEG-2SG-PAST

‘Only you did not come.’

4-158. *yo=amba gan-i-mby-a.*

1=too go.down:FUT-1SG-POS:SMR-1SG

‘I will go down too.’

4.6.2 Case pronouns

There are two paradigms of case pronouns: genitive pronouns and object pronouns. Genitive pronouns are pronominalised versions of genitive phrases, and object pronouns are used in object positions; all object pronouns have an inbuilt object case *mbo* (§4.5.1). The following are the forms of the object pronouns and the genitive pronouns.

Table 4.7 Object pronouns

		1 EXCL	1 INCL	2	3
SG		<i>yo-Ø-a-mbo</i>		<i>si-h-afu-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-afu-mbo</i>
	M			<i>si-h-afani-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-afani-mbo</i>
DU		<i>yo-hw-ehi-mbo</i>	<i>si-h-ehi-mbo</i>		
	F			<i>si-h-efi-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-efi-mbo</i>
	M			<i>si-h-umu-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-umu-mbo</i>
PL		<i>yo-hw-efu-mbo</i>	<i>si-h-efu-mbo</i>		
	F			<i>si-h-ei-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-ei-mbo</i>

(*ai* can be omitted; *ai-a* is also pronounced as *e*, *aiahafumbo* → *ehafumbo*)

Table 4.8 Genitive pronouns

		1 EXCL	1 INCL	2	3
SG		<i>yo-w-a-la</i>		<i>si-h-afà</i>	<i>ai-ah-a-la</i>
	M			<i>si-h-afà</i>	<i>ai-ah-afà</i>
DU		<i>yo-hw-ehya</i>	<i>si-h-ehya</i>		
	F			<i>si-h-efya</i>	<i>ai-ah-efya</i>
	M			<i>si-h-ama</i>	<i>ai-ah-ama</i>
PL		<i>yo-hw-efà</i>	<i>si-h-efà</i>		
	F			<i>si-h-ei</i>	<i>ai-ah-ei</i>

(*ai* can be omitted; *ai-a* is also pronounced as *e*, *aiahala* → *ehala*)

The case pronouns are morphologically complex. They begin with what is formally a citation pronoun, but the person category they mark is slightly different: *yo* for first person exclusive, *si* for first person inclusive and second person, and *ai* for third person (citation pronouns on their own do not mark the exclusive versus inclusive distinction; §4.6.1). The citation pronouns are then followed by another person marking morpheme: *yo* is followed by *-hw*, *si* is followed by *-h*, and *ai* is followed by *-ah*. After the two person morphs, genitive pronouns take a class IA

cross-reference suffix, whereas object pronouns carry a class IB cross-reference suffix (§5.2.1), with the exception that a) any *e* at the end of the class IB suffix is changed to *a*, e.g. the N1FDU suffix *-efye* becomes *-efya* when used in a genitive pronoun, e.g. *ai-ah-efya* (3-3-N1FDU); and b) the N1MPL suffix used in genitive pronouns is *-ama* instead of *-uma*. The object pronouns have an object case suffix *-mbo* following the class IB cross-reference suffix. The *-mbo* suffix of the object pronouns cannot be omitted, in contrast with the nominal object case clitic *=mbo* which is optional in most circumstances (see §4.5.1). The pronouns for first person singular and third person singular are irregular in both paradigms:

- the *-hw* (1) suffix is replaced by *-w* for the 1SG genitive pronoun and \emptyset for the 1SG object pronoun;²⁰
- the 1SG and 3SG genitive pronouns unexpectedly have a genitive suffix *-la* (c.f. genitive clitic *=la*; §4.5.2);
- the 3SG object pronoun unexpectedly has *-afu* (2SG) as its cross-reference suffix rather than the usual *-u* (3MSG) or *-o* (3FSG); and
- the 1SG and 3SG genitive pronouns unexpectedly have *-a* as their cross-reference suffix.

The *ai* morpheme of the third person pronouns can be omitted, e.g. *aiahala* (3SG:GEN) ‘his/her/its’ freely alternates with *ahala*. Some speakers pronounce the initial *aia* portion of the third person pronouns as *e*, e.g. *ehala* (3SG:GEN) for *aiahala*. The 2SG and 2MDU genitive pronouns are homophonous, as the 2SG and N1MDU class IA cross-reference suffixes are also homophonous: *-afa* (§5.2.1).

²⁰ Although both \emptyset and *-w* are preceded by *o* and followed by *a*, the [w] in *yowala* (1SG:GEN) is clearly audible, whereas the [w] is only very faint between the two vowels in *yoambo* (1SG:OBJ).

The corresponding object and genitive forms of *da* ‘who’ are *dafumbo* ‘who’ and *dahala* ~ *da=la* ‘whose’ (see §3.2.3). The following are a few examples of the case pronouns.

4-159. *yohwefà ulua hwi numami aya saku-ya-a-hya akani=mbe.*

1PL:GEN grease liquid above father put-3SG-3SG:O-PAST:FOC that=INS

‘Father put our oil up in there.’ (A)

4-160. *ai! sihafà tongs hwi=mbe hofahi-wa-mbi!*

ai 2SG:GEN thongs water=INS fell-3FSG-PRES:TRANSN

‘Ai! Your thongs fell into the river!’

4-161. *(ai=na) sihehimbo homba-Ø-mu-naho.*

(3=TOP) 1INCL:DU:OBJ see-N1SG-1NSG:O-CNTR

‘S/he would have seen you and me.’

4-162. *yoambo hwafo-ya-i Ø-nung-u-mbo,*

1SG:OBJ talk-3SG-1SG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP

‘He talked with me, and then...’ (N)

When attached to pronouns, the ablative case clitic =*hya* (§4.5.3) is attached to a genitive pronoun, e.g. *sihafà=hya* (2SG:GEN=ABL) ‘from you’, while the comitative case clitic =*lofo* (§4.5.5) and adessive case clitic =*sehi* (§4.5.3) are attached to an object pronoun, e.g. *sihafumbo=lofo* (2SG:OBJ=COM) ‘with you’, *ahafumbo=sehi* (3SG:OBJ=ADS) ‘on him/her’. The other semantic case clitics are

not used with pronouns as pronouns are only used to refer to higher animates (see §4.5.3-5).

4-163. *aiahala =hya tite sungwani sami-aha-mbi.*

3SG:GEN = ABL bad sick take-1SG-PRES:STAT

‘I got the deadly sickness from him/her.’ (-*mbi* = ‘I am still sick’)

4-164. *ai =na yoambo =sehi fa-hi-a-hwa.*

3 = TOP 1SG:OBJ = ADS leave-3PL-3FSG:O-PAST

‘She got married with me.’ (*lit.* ‘They (her_j family/clan) left her_j on me.’)

4-165. *aiaheimbo =lofo menggau =nambo pi-Ø-a-mbo,*

3FPL:OBJ = COM Menggau = ALL go-CR-1SG-DEP

‘I went to Menggau with them, and...’

4.6.3 Subject resumptive pronouns

Subject resumptive pronouns are used only in the presence of an overt subject nominal (sometimes a series of conjoined nominals) or subject pronominal (i.e. citation pronoun; §4.6.1) in the same clause. In contrast to citation pronouns which only mark person, subject resumptive pronouns mark person, number and sometimes gender categories. Subject resumptive pronouns serve one or both of the following functions:

- emphasising or further specifying the number and sometimes also the gender features of its antecedent (this is especially the case when its

antecedent is a citation pronoun as citation pronouns only mark number; §4.6.1); and

- indicating that the subject is focused.

Formally, subject resumptive pronouns are independent words with the same phonological shapes as the class IA cross-reference suffixes (§5.2.1), except that any final *e*'s becomes *a* (e.g. the N1FDU cross-reference suffix is *-efye* whereas the N1FDU subject resumptive pronoun is *efya* 'you/ they two'), and the 3MSG subject resumptive pronoun is *u* rather than \emptyset . Subject resumptive pronouns are independent words; a subject resumptive pronoun need not be adjacent with its subject antecedent. When a subject resumptive pronoun co-occurs with a citation pronoun (§4.6.1), first exclusive, first inclusive, second and third person distinctions can be made, similar to the case clitics (see §4.6.2).

Table 4.9 Citation pronouns plus subject resumptive pronouns

		1 EXCL	1 INCL	2	3
SG	M			<i>si afa</i>	<i>ai u</i>
	F	<i>yo aha</i>			<i>ai wa</i>
DU	M			<i>si afa</i>	<i>ai afa</i>
	F	<i>yo ehya</i>	<i>si ehya</i>	<i>si efya</i>	<i>ai efya</i>
PL	M			<i>si ma</i>	<i>ai ma</i>
	F	<i>yo efa</i>	<i>si efa</i>	<i>si wi</i>	<i>ai wi</i>

The following are examples of subject resumptive pronouns cooccurring with citation pronouns. When the antecedent of a subject resumptive pronoun is a

citation pronoun, they are usually linearly close to each other. The subject in example 4-166 below is focused as indicated by the focus clitic =*amba* ‘too’ (§4.6.7) and maybe also by the subject resumptive pronoun *aha*. In example 4-167 below, the subject resumptive pronoun *u* further specifies the third person singular subject (as indicated by both the citation pronoun *ai* (3) and the subject cross-reference suffix -*Ø* (3SG)) is masculine gender.

4-166. *yo = amba aha yowala ifali tamnya kwami-Ø-a-mbo,*
 1 =too 1SG:RSUMP 1SG:GEN spear small:MASS take:MASS-CR-1SG-DEP
 ‘I too took my small spears, and...’ (N)

4-167. *ai u rani nafi-Ø-ya-hwa.*
 3 3MSG:RSUMP DEM show-3SG-1SG:O-PAST
 ‘He himself showed me that.’

In the following example, the antecedent of the subject resumptive pronoun *efya* (N1FDU:RSUMP) is the conjoined noun phrase *afile hwila* ‘father and mother’. The resumptive pronoun *efya* is used here to indicate contrastive focus: the clauses immediately in front and behind this clause (in the text *Amamola Fafo* ‘The story of the moon’; appendix 1) mention of what the children did instead: they stayed behind.

4-168. *afila hwila ra=na dofo heli=hi o naho=nambo*

father mother DEM=ALL secret dance=ADS or what=ALL

efya ra=na po-me-efya-mbona,

N1FDU:RSUMP DEM=ALL go-DR-N1FDU-DEP

‘Father and mother the two of them went to a secret ceremony or somewhere, and...’ (A)

4.6.4 The ‘reflexive’ word *ahu*

The prototypical notion of reflexivity involves one grammatical position expressed as coreferential with another grammatical position within the same clause, and that the two grammatical positions have different semantic roles. This type of reflexivity cannot be expressed in Menggwa Dla, i.e. the core and oblique relations within a clause cannot be coreferential with each other. For example, reflexive cross-reference suffix combinations — i.e. first person subject with first person object and second person subject with second person object — do not exist (§5.3.1). Similarly, if both a subject and an object pronoun (i.e. a citation pronoun (§4.6.1) and an object case pronoun (§4.6.2) respectively) are used in a clause, they cannot be both first person or both second person.

Nevertheless, there is a ‘reflexive’ word *ahu* in Menggwa Dla. It functions to indicate: a) reflexive possession; or b) exclusive focus (‘emphatic reflexive’). However, the word *ahu* is not itself a pronoun. We will have a look at examples of reflexive possession first.

The following is the translation given to me when I attempted to elicit ‘I saw myself in the photo’ (Bahasa Indonesia: *saya melihat saya sendiri dalam foto* ((1SG see 1SG self in photo), Tok Pisin: *mi lukim mi yet long foto*).

4-169. *yo ahu hombafluma(=mbo) foto =hi homba-ha-a-hwa.* .

1 self face(=OBJ) photo=ADS see-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘I saw my face in the photo.’ (50II)

First of all, notice that the object is expressed as a third person entity; expressing both the subject and the object as first person is simply not possible in Menggwa Dla. Secondly, the word *ahu* indicates that there is a possessive relation between two grammatical relations in the clause (based on the semantics, the object *hombafluma* ‘face’ is possessed by the subject *yo* ‘I’), but the word *ahu* is not part of the object noun phrase *hombafluma(=mbo)* ‘face(=OBJ)’. This can be established by the fact that the word *ahu* can exist in positions which are explicitly not within any case-marked phrases:

4-170. *yo hombafluma(=mbo) foto =hi ahu homba-ha-a-hwa.* .

1 face(=OBJ) photo=ADS self see-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘I saw my face in the photo.’

Another related fact is that the word *ahu* cannot take a case clitic (§4.5). For instance, the following examples involve a constituent occupying the post-verbal position (any one constituent can occupy the post-verbal position; see §5.4). No

matter whether *hombafluma* ‘face’ or *ahu* occupies the post-verbal position, it is always *hombafluma* ‘face’ and not *ahu* which (can) take the object case clitic =*mbo*.

4-171. *yo ahu foto =hi homba-ha-a-hwa hombafluma(=mbo).*

1 self photo=ADS see-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST face(=OBJ)

‘I saw my face in the photo.’ (50I)

4-172. *yo hombafluma(=mbo) foto =hi homba-ha-a-hwa ahu.*

1 face(=OBJ) photo=ADS see-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST self

‘I saw my face in the photo.’

The reflexive word *ahu* is also not mutually exclusive with genitive phrases. In example 4-173 below, *ahu* specifies that the genitive pronoun *ahala* (3SG:GEN) is coreferential with the subject *Saimonu* ‘Simon’. Without *ahu*, the possessor is not specified as being coreferential or disjoint-referential with the subject, as in example 4-174.

4-173. *Saimonu ahu ahala bani kaha-ya-a-hwa.*

Simon self 3SG:GEN sago.palm chop-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘Simon_j chopped his own_{j/*k} sago palm.’

4-174. *Saimonu ahala bani kaha-ya-a-hwa..*

Simon 3SG:GEN sago.palm chop-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST

‘Simon_j chopped his_{j/k} sago palm.’

Another function of *ahu* is indicating exclusivity, i.e. exhaustive listing focus or ‘emphatic reflexive’. This is similar to the use of reflexive pronouns in English where the reflexive pronoun indicates that only the referent(s) of the reference concerned acted or underwent the situation.

4-175. *amni = la afile ahu rani amamo*

garden = GEN father self DEM moon

sa-i-∅ ∅-hahof-u-mbo,

take-N1MSG-3MSG:O CR-go.up-3MSG-DEP

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

The previous discourse of example 4-175 mentions that the ‘garden father’ went to see the moon together with a group of men; *ahu* here indicates that amongst all the men, only the garden father took the moon.