

Mauwake reference grammar

Change your subtitle in
localmetadata.sty

Liisa Berghäll

DRAFT
of Wednesday 9th July, 2014, 17:36

Change backtitle in localmetadata.sty

Change backbody in localmetadata.sty

DRAFT
of Wednesday 9th July, 2014, 17:36

ISBN xxx-x-xxxxxx-xx-x

Liisa Berghäll

Mauwake reference grammar



Series information: ./LSP/lsp-seriesinfo/dummyseries-info.tex not found!

Mauwake reference grammar

Change your subtitle in
localmetadata.sty

Liisa Berghäll

DRAFT
of Wednesday 9th July, 2014, 17:36

Language Science Press
Berlin

Language Science Press
Habelschwerdter Allee 45
14195 Berlin, Germany

langsci-press.org

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/0>

© 2014, Liisa Berghäll

Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY 4.0):

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

ISBN: xxx-x-xxxxxx-xx-x

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Change typesetter in localmetadata.sty

Proofreading: Change proofreaders in localmetadata.sty

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin



Language Science Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables and other factual information given in this work are correct at the time of first publication but Language Science Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.

Change dedication in localmetadata.sty

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several people without whom this description of Mauwake grammar would not have become a reality, and whom I want to thank from my heart.

My colleague for 25 years and a close friend since 1977, Kwan Poh San shared the joys and burdens of life and work with me during the whole of the Mauwake project. We learnt the language together and analysed it together, and although I have written this grammar, she has also contributed significantly towards it. There are many sections where some of the analysis was done by her and some by myself, but since we worked together it is sometimes hard to distinguish who did which part. Her oral command of the language is better than mine, and I have benefitted from her insights and comments during the writing process.

The Mauwake people welcomed Kwan Poh San and myself to live with them in Moro village and the family of Leo Magidar adopted us as their daughters. The people built our house, and brought us food. They taught us their customs and shared their everyday lives with us for those over 20 years that we lived in Moro. Although we naturally had more contact with the people in Moro village, the inhabitants of the other Mauwake villages also showed their hospitality and friendship to us. For this I thank them all.

Several people helped us with language learning and analysis. Saror Aduna first became the main language teacher and later the co-translator for the whole time we were working with the Mauwake people. Others who gave us texts include Kalina Sarak, Balthasar Saakawa, Kululu Sarak, Albert Kiramaten, Alois Amdara, Charles Matuwina, John Meldia, Aduna, Kedem Saror, Bang, Kuumu, Komori, Darawin, and Muandilam. The New Testament checking committee members Balthasar Saakawa, Lukas Miime, Charles Matuwina, Lawrence Alinaw and Leo Nimbulel helped us to understand the language better during our long checking sessions.

Without the encouragement of Professor Fred Karlsson I would have given up many times. He believed in writing descriptive grammars even when it was not fashionable in linguistics, and gave me his unwavering support during the many years that this grammar was in the making.

In my early years in Papua New Guinea, when I was not yet excited about grammar, Bob Litteral and Ger Reesink encouraged me to take up a study program. The numerous discussions with many SIL-PNG colleagues, Cynthia Farr, Larry Lovell, Robert Bugenhagen, Dorothy James, John Roberts, Carl Whitehead, Eileen Gasaway, René van den Berg, Catherine McGuckin and several others, helped me to gain a better understanding both of PNG languages and of linguistics. Betty Keneqa, the librarian in the SIL linguistic library, was always helpful

in locating material and making photocopies. The instruction received from the international linguistics consultants Thomas Payne and David Weber was inspiring and practical.

Others whose teaching, writings and/or personal interaction have shaped my thinking and writing include the late John Verhaar, Bernard Comrie, Talmy Givón, Malcolm Ross and Andrew Pawley, and many others.

The comments from the external readers of the dissertation, Malcolm Ross and Ger Reesink, helped me to clarify, modify and reorganise the text, and even re-analyse some of the data for the final version.

The financial assistance through scholarships from the Finnish Cultural Foundation, SIL International and SIL-PNG are gratefully acknowledged. My employer, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission, allowed some working time to be used for studies, and some of the writing was done as my work assignment.

I thank my husband Jouko for his love and encouragement, and for being there to remind me that there is a lot more to life besides language work.

My greatest thanks go to God, who in his Word gives life, and love, and hope.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ACC	accusative	nn	N	noun
ADD	additive	connective	NP	noun phrase
ADJ	adjective	Np	non-past	
ADV	adverb(ial)	NVP	non-verbal	predicate
AdvP	adverbial	phrase	O	object
AP	adjective	phrase	p, pl	plural
APP	apposition(al)	P	phrase	
ASP	aspect	PA	past	tense
ASSOC	associative	PAT	patient	
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive	
BEN	benefactive	PR	present	tense
BNFY1	beneficiary	1/2singular	QM	question marker
BNFY2	beneficiary	non-1/2singular	QP	quantifier phrase
BPx	bring-prefix	RC	relative	clause
CAUS	causative	RDP	reduplication	
CC	complement	clause	REC	recipient
CF	contrastive	focus	REFL	reflexive
CL	clause	s	singular	
CNJ	connective	S	subject	
CNTF	counterfactual	SEQ	sequential	action
COM	comitative	SIM	simultaneous	action

CMPL completive aspect SPEC specifier
CONT continuous aspect SR switch-reference
COORD coordinate SS same subject following
CTV complement-taking verb TH theme
DAT dative TNG Trans-New Guinea
DEM demonstrative deictic TP topic
DISTR/A distributive: “all” T.P. Tok Pisin
DISTR/PL distributive: “many” UNM unmarked (pronoun)
d dual v, V verb
DS different subject following
EXC exclamation, interjection 1 first person
FC focal (pronoun) 2 second person
FU future tense 3 third person
GEN genitive
HAB habitual * ungrammatical
HN head noun ? questionable
IMP imperative / or
INAL inalienably possessed noun // phonemic transcription
INC inceptive [] phonetic transcription
INCH inchoative () variant; optional
INSTR instrument . syllable break
INTJ interjection - morpheme break
ISOL isolative = clitic break
LIM limiter Ø zero morpheme
LOC locative ' primary stress
MAN manner " secondary stress
NEG negation
NF neutral focus
NMZ nominaliser

0.1 Introduction

0.1.1 Background

“Mauwake used to be a big language. The neighbours knew it too, and it was used as a trade language in the area. But today it is not so important any more.” This is what my colleague Kwan Poh San and I heard when we settled among the

Mauwake people in the late 1970's to do linguistic and Bible translation work. Especially before the second World War everybody, including the Mauwake speakers themselves, knew their neighbours' languages better than nowadays, but it may also be true that Mauwake did have a stronger position among the languages in the area. And it is certainly true that the language is fast losing ground to Tok Pisin (also called Melanesian Pidgin), the trade language *par excellence* in Papua New Guinea today. The process is so strong that Mauwake can be considered an endangered language.

0.1.2 Purpose and theoretical orientation of the study

0.1.2.1 Purpose

My aim is to give a synchronic description of grammatical structures and their functions in Mauwake. Occasionally some attention is given to diachronic aspects as well, when that is considered interesting or helpful for understanding the system at present (? : 20).

This grammar covers mainly morphology and syntax, but a brief overview of phonology is also given, and some pragmatic features are discussed very briefly at the end. A short introduction to typological features and the basic clause structure is given in the introduction to familiarise especially those readers a little with the language who are not reading the grammar from the beginning to the end. The description proper of the morphology and clausal syntax starts from the structures and describes their functions, as the basic structural features need to be understood first to get a good idea of the language (? : 59). But since functional domains increase in importance when one moves higher up in the unit hierarchy, this is reflected in the arrangement of the grammar: the syntax above the clause level starts from functions and describes different structures used for those functions. Another reason for this switch from an analytic (form-based) to a synthetic (function-based) ¹ approach is the desire to make the grammar more useful for typologists (Cristofaro 2006, Evans and Dench 2006:15).

The size of the grammar presents a challenge as to the relative amount of documentation vs. analysis. While documentation is the main purpose of this work, I have attempted to present enough of the analysis to show the reader reasons for certain choices,² even if I may not meet Dixon's (1997:132) requirement of justifying all my choices "with a full train of argumentation".

¹ The analytic approach is also called *onomasiological* and synthetic approach *semasiological*.

² E.g. the status of adjectives as a separate word class and the question of serial verbs have received more discussion than some other topics.

This grammar does not include a vocabulary, as a Mauwake dictionary (Järvinen, Kwan and Aduna 2001) is available electronically.

0.1.2.2 Theoretical considerations

In the analysis and writing I have been following the informal descriptive theory that was only recently given the name Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) by ? and elaborated by him (2010-2012) and by Dryer (2006a, 2006b), who also defends its status as a legitimate linguistic theory. BLT makes use of the cumulative knowledge acquired during decades, and centuries – even millennia – of grammatical studies, and in the writing of descriptive grammars (? : 3). It is largely based on traditional grammar, but in contrast to traditional grammar it aims to describe the ‘essential nature’ of each language rather than fitting the language into a pre-determined formal model³ (? : 211). Each language is seen “as a complete linguistic system” on its own (? : 4). The theory has been modified over time, and is continually being modified, by developments in typological and formal linguistics (Evans and Dench 2006:6, Rice 2006a and 2006b, Dixon 2010:3).

Even if BLT does not try to fit languages into any predetermined formal model, it may borrow formalisms from various models as far as they are appropriate and helpful for the description of a particular language (? : 128-135).⁴ BLT is closely linked with language typology, “[setting] out a typological paradigm, by inductive generalization from reliable grammars” (? : 205). Evans and ? : 6 note that grammars written in this framework tend to stand the test of time better than those following strict formal models. Formal theories have been and are useful in providing useful research questions – both bringing up completely new ones and deepening old ones – and in forcing the descriptions to be more rigorous. In Rice’s (2006b:262) words, “[t]he theory informs and shapes, but does not control”.

My own dislike of formalisms is certainly one reason why they are used so little in this grammar. A more important factor is my desire to make the grammar readable to as many people as possible regardless of their linguistic background. This is also reflected in the use of terminology. I have tried to use widely accepted and transparent terminology as much as possible, to avoid technical terms specific to some particular formalism, and to explain my terminology where necessary (cf. Cristofaro 2006).

³ These models are often called “theories”. For a comment on this, see ? : 131. ? prefers to call them theoretical frameworks.

⁴ Among others promoting the use of BLT, whether they use the name or not, are ? : 354, Rice (2006a and 2006b), Evans and ?, and Payne (1997, 2006).

For the description of Mauwake the following basic concepts familiar from traditional grammar are assumed as given:

Word classes like noun, verb, pronoun, adverb (the status of adjective as a class of its own is discussed separately);

Morphological cases like nominative, accusative, genitive and dative;

Syntactic roles of subject and object;

Semantic/case roles like agent, patient, recipient and beneficiary;

Phrases like NP, AP, AdvP;

Clause as a separate level from sentence.

The concept of medial verbs, as against final/finite verbs, which is generally accepted in Papuan linguistics, is also presupposed.

Since frequency of occurrence is an important and interesting characteristic of grammatical usage, I initially planned to do a fair amount of quantification and frequency counting. But to do an adequate job would have required a much larger corpus, as well as better computer programs and knowledge of corpus linguistics, and much more time, than I had at my disposal. Even though actual percentages are seldom mentioned in the final product, I have occasionally included frequency statements based on whatever frequency counts I have made during the course of the work and on my personal experience with Mauwake.

To my knowledge there are no trained linguists among the Mauwake speakers, so the kind of cooperation between a native and a non-native speaker linguist, together with native speaker non-linguists, that ? advocates, was not possible. Even though I have aimed at checking the material as carefully as possible, there are bound to be mistakes both in the data and in the interpretation. It is necessary to heed Ameka's (ibid. 92) warning that "[o]ne of the most dangerous things about authoritative and influential foundation records ... is that their misanalyses which pertain to some theoretical or typological point are repeated over and over again in the literature. What is even worse is that the theories and generalizations are built on such mistakes".

0.1.2.3 Audience

One can anticipate the readership for a reference grammar of a previously undocumented and endangered language spoken by a couple of thousand speakers to consist mainly of linguists. I especially hope this grammar to be useful for those linguists who work on language typologies and typology-related questions. Naturally the material is also available for those interested in more formal models.

A grammar is expected to describe features that exist in a language, rather than those that do not exist. But for the benefit of typologists I have at times

mentioned the non-existence of certain features that they might be looking for and wondering about, if there is no mention at all (?).

Another readership I want to address are those people particularly in Papua New Guinea who are linguistically somewhat less trained, yet are vitally interested in language development and translation. If this grammar helps any of them to study and understand a language better, or encourages someone to write a grammar of yet another undocumented language, my work has been worthwhile.

It is unlikely that many outsiders would use this grammar to learn Mauwake. It may also be unrealistic to wish that many Mauwake speakers would become familiar with it. Yet it is my desire that it would help the Mauwake speakers in at least two ways: by preserving their language and giving them more pride in it as they realise that it does have a real grammar (? : 255), and also by providing some help for those interested and involved in teaching vernacular literacy.

0.1.2.4 On the data and examples

The bulk of the text data used for this grammar were collected between 1979 and 1985, with some later additions. The basic data of 19 spoken and 7 written texts contain over 8300 words in all (200+ KB in plain text), edited by a native speaker. They consist mainly of narratives, also including traditional stories (60%), but descriptive texts (15%), process descriptions (14%) and one long hortatory text (11%) are included as well, from different speakers and authors.⁵ Many syntactic features were further checked against another set of texts about the same size.

When choosing examples, I have taken as many from text material as possible, especially when the examples consist of a clause or a sentence. Elicited examples were checked for correctness with native speakers.

In the examples the present orthography is used, but with morpheme breaks added. There is no gender distinction in Mauwake pronouns, so in the free translation the third person singular pronoun and verbal suffix are translated as either ‘he’ or ‘she’ whenever justified by either textual or cultural context, otherwise as ‘(s)he’.

Regarding the glosses, the reader will be wise to remember Mosel’s (2006:50) caution that the interlinear glossing is *not* “an accurate form-meaning relationship ... The meaning of words and larger units of grammatical analysis does not equal the sum of the meanings of their component parts ... but results from the interaction of the meaning of the construction as such and the meanings of its

⁵ Appendix 1 provides a list of the texts used.

parts. Thus interlinear glossing should only be seen as a tool to help the reader to understand the examples”.

0.1.3 The Mauwake people, their environment and culture

The Mauwake language is spoken along the North coast of Madang province, about 120 km northwest of Madang town. The area comprises about 100 square kilometres, and there are 15 villages where Mauwake is the main language, seven of them along or near the coast along a stretch of 15 km between the Kumil and Nemuru rivers, and up to 12 km inland from the coast.

0.1.3.1 Geography and administration

The Mauwake area is typical of the Madang North coast: coral reefs off the coast, white sand beaches,⁶ a narrow belt of coastal plain, and hills about 200 to 400 feet in height. The soil is mostly coral limestone, with shallow alluvial soil. The lower hills close to the coast are covered by *kunai* grass (*Imperata cylindrica*), the higher ones deeper inland by rainforest, some of which is garden regrowth (Haantjens et al. 1976:22).

The climate is lowland tropical climate with temperatures varying between 20° and 32° centigrade. Humidity is high, especially during the wet season. The dry season is between May and October with average monthly rainfall of 40 mm, the wet season is between November and April and with average rainfall of 250 mm. The dry season is longer and drier in this area than in many other parts of the country apart from the Port Moresby area. During the last two decades there have been significant climate changes, and the weather patterns are less predictable than they used to be.

The North Coast Highway that was completed in 1973-74 and sealed in 1999 passes close to all the coastal Mauwake villages. Almost all the inland villages are also accessible by a road of some kind.

The two main centres in the area are Ulingan, where there is a Roman Catholic mission station and community school, and Malala, where there is a high school and a community school, a sub-health centre sponsored by the high school, a reasonably well stocked store, and a market.

[Warning: Image ignored] Map 1: Mauwake language area (non-Mauwake speaking villages are in brackets)

⁶ White and black sand beaches alternate on the coast, depending on the existence of coral reefs off the coast and on the closeness of the two volcanic islands of Karkar and Manam.

Administratively the Mauwake people belong to the Bogia sub-province and the Almami (derived from the language names Alam–Mauwake–Miani) local level government area.

There are four primary schools in the area, and one high school. In all of these schools there are students from more than one language area. The Roman Catholic Church was instrumental in getting the schools started, and is still administering the Malala High School. Nearly all of the children go to primary school, but the number of Mauwake students in the high school is not very high. Vernacular preschools were started in the whole Mauwake area in the early 1990s, but many of them have since changed into Tok Pisin preschools.

0.1.3.2 On the history of the Mauwake people

Until fairly recently, little was known about the pre-history of the Papuan-speaking people in Near Oceania (including New Guinea island, Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands), compared with the archaeological information available on the Austronesian-speaking people in the area. By the late 1990's it was established that human occupation on the northern coast of New Guinea island dated back to at least 40 000 years. There are signs of semi-domestication of some tree crops from 20 000 to 10 000 years ago, and of agriculture from about 10 000 years ago, roughly the same time that the Highlands valleys became more habitable after the end of the Ice Age (Pawley 2005a:xi-xvii).

From the great diversity of the languages around Cape Croisilles area across Karkar Island, ? 27 hypothesizes that this probably is where the Croisilles linkage languages, including Mauwake (or its parent language), started spreading from.⁷ He does not provide any dates for the migrations.

Besides some traditional myths we have not been able to obtain stories telling about life earlier than the first half of the 20th century. The majority of the Mauwake people agree that the language group has spread to the coast from inland, and they specify Aketa village as their place of origin. It is commonly believed that long ago the people of the Amiten village, now considered the “heart area” of the language by many speakers, spoke a different language, which has since disappeared.

The hypothesis that the Mauwake people came from inland would at least partially explain the present language situation on the coast, where there are many languages scattered in a small geographical area. If at some point in history the coast did not have permanent inhabitants to defend it from intruders, it would

⁷ See §1.4.1 for a description of the genealogical affiliation.

have been easy for people migrating from various directions and speaking different languages to settle there. One cultural trait that points towards an earlier home area inland is that among the Mauwake speakers fishing is not as important as it is for some other language groups. The coastal villagers mainly catch fish for their own needs, and only occasionally take it to the local market if they happen to have surplus. Gardening, rather than fishing, is the important activity for them.

Possibly the first mention of the larger area where the Mauwake people live is given by the German ? : 338, who mentions “the Tsimbin tribe”, meaning the people of Simbine village,⁸ speaking the Maiani language which borders the Mauwake language area. Höltker (1937:964) calls Maiani and the related languages by the name “Móando languages” based on the word *man* in those languages. He also mentions Mauwake as “Moro-Sapara-Ulingan” – picking names of three coastal villages – as a language deviating from the Móando languages (ibid.).

The written history of the Mauwake area itself began during the German colonial era (ca. 1884-1921) with the report of the killing of two Lutheran missionaries⁹ and an officer of the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie¹⁰, as well as 14 accompanying native people, in Malala Bay in May 1891 (Tranel 1952:454, Wagner and Reiner 1986:106-109). After this the Lutheran church abandoned the plan to establish a mission station in the area, and founded one further southeast in the Bunabun area instead.

The Roman Catholic mission was then given the authority in 1891 to search the area between Ulingan and Bogia for suitable places for the mission (? : 8). The Ulingan-Sapara mission station was established in 1926, and a church big enough for a thousand people was built in Sapara village the same year (? : 21). A tsunami struck the coast in the morning of Christmas Eve, 1930, killing five people and destroying the new church and the priest’s house.¹¹ The mission station was

⁸ Situated 8 km from Moro village, and 5 km from the closest Mauwake village.

⁹ The Rhenish Mission had planned to start the work in the area for some time, but it was blocked by the Neu-Guinea-Compagnie. The reason for the killing of the two missionaries, Wilhelm Scheidt and Friedrich Bösch, was never found out, but it is likely that the local people associated them with the Compagnie and feared that they were in fact planters coming to start plantations in their area (Wagner and Reiner 1986:106-107).

¹⁰ The company had established a big coconut plantation further northwest on an island off Hatzfeldhafen in 1885. It developed quickly despite various problems, but had to be abandoned completely in 1891 because of the hostility of the inhabitants of the area. Within 20 years the site was again covered by rainforest (? : 450-51).

¹¹ Presumably the rest of the Sapara village was destroyed as well, as the church was probably the strongest building in the whole village.

moved to the Ulingan village and a new church was built on top of a hill there (? : 20-21). The Malala church was built in 1958 on land owned by the Moro villagers, and a high school started on the same compound in 1966 (? : 45). Both the high school and all the community schools in the area were established by the Catholic Church. Because of the many missionaries engaged in the work there the local people had a fair amount of contact with Westerners.

In the early years the priests were expected to learn the local language and to become familiar with the culture, especially religious beliefs (? : 25). The liturgy and some preaching were done in Mauwake too, and a few hymns and prayers were composed in it. But whatever written materials there may have been, they were all lost in the Second World War (Z'Graggen 1971:3-4). And already in the 1930s Tok Pisin had started to replace the local languages as the official language for evangelization in the Catholic Church (? : 179). Especially in an area where five different languages are spoken along a 20 km stretch of the road, this is understandable.

The Second World War had a profound influence on the area. In December 1942 thousands of Japanese soldiers landed in Madang and Wewak (ibid. 37). From Wewak the troops marched down towards Madang, and some of them settled in Ulingan. They required the local men to help build bridges, and asked the people for food. The women and also many men from the coastal villages fled to inland villages and to the rainforest, because they were scared of the soldiers. They were suffering from a shortage of food, as they were not able to do their gardening in a normal way. The Japanese apparently did not commit cruelties, as was the case in some other areas, and the relationship between them and the local people was uneasy but not hostile. When the Allied forces started to bomb the Japanese-occupied areas, the people had to keep hiding even more and were not even able to cook, as they were afraid that the smoke from their cooking fires might attract the pilots' attention and cause the area to be bombed. A number of bombs were dropped in the Mauwake language area, and a few people died.

Before the war, the missionaries were almost the only outsiders that the local people met, but during the war they had contact especially with Japanese but also with Allied soldiers. After the war a number of young men went to work on plantations in different parts of the country or had other employment outside their home area, thus gaining knowledge of the wider world. The founding of Malala High School in 1966 and the completing of the North Coast Highway in the mid-70's further widened the people's horizons.

0.1.3.3 Demography

¹² The inhabitants in the 15 Mauwake-speaking villages number about 4000; the number is based on the census figures in 2000. Not all of them speak the language, however, as most of the children now learn Tok Pisin as their first language.

The Mauwake speakers are not a uniform group socially or politically. The basic political unit is a village made up of a few clans. There is usually a main village, with some hamlets attached to it. Recently there has been a tendency towards moving away from the main village and building small hamlets near the family's garden or coconut plot.

A person's main responsibility is towards one's own family and clan. The basic unit is a nuclear family: parents and their children, either their own or adopted. The society is patrilineal: kinship is traced through, and the inheritance handed down from, the father. Adoption is widespread and always takes place within extended family, usually the husband's side of the family. Members of an extended family are expected to assist each other in various ways: providing food at feasts, helping to pay a debt, bride price or some other obligation, and looking after each other in general. The responsibilities towards one's clan are also strong but not quite as strong as to one's extended family. Traditionally the clans used to own all the land, but planting coconuts, and later cocoa, changed the situation. The use of garden land is still decided by the headmen (leaders) of each clan, but now there is rivalry even between members of the same clan about the existing coconut trees and about land where new coconut or cocoa trees can be planted.

Every clan has its own headman, and in earlier times the headman of the most prestigious clan also used to be the headman of the whole village. Decisions were based on consensus after discussions in the village meetings, but the final authority rested on the headmen.

After the establishment of the local level government system the authority of the headmen partly transferred to the local government member (*kaunsil*), to the magistrate and to the leader of the community work (*komiti*). The traditional authority structure has more or less broken down and since it has not been completely replaced by the new structure, this has given way to individualism and even disregard of any authority, especially among the young people. The Catholic Church is a somewhat cohesive force, but it has lost some of its authority with the social breakdown and also with the coming of other churches.

Each village has social ties with other, usually closely situated villages regard-

¹² Much of the contents of the sections 1.3.3-1.3.6 is based on the Mauwake background study written by Kwan Poh San in 1988.

less of the language. Many of the Mauwake villages have close interaction with non-Mauwake-speaking villages. This has also resulted in extensive intermarrying between different language groups, which in the earlier times encouraged bilingualism or trilingualism, but which nowadays strengthens the use of Tok Pisin.

The six languages either bordering the Mauwake area, or inside it, are the Kaukombar¹³ languages Maiani, Miani (Tani)¹⁴ and Mala (Pay)¹⁵, the Tibor language Mawak, the Korak-Waskia group language Amako (Korak), all of which are Trans New Guinea languages; the only Austronesian language is Beteka (Medebur), closely related to Manam language. None of these languages is dominant compared with the others. The Mauwake speakers say that it used to be a prestigious language in the area, but I have not been able to confirm this with speakers of the other languages. Bi- and trilingualism used to be extensive in the whole area especially before the arrival of Tok Pisin.

0.1.3.4 Economy

Subsistence farming is the main activity of the Mauwake people. They get most of their food and building materials from their own land. Traditionally the main staple was taro, supplemented with yam, sweet potato and cooking bananas; sago was used particularly when little other food was available. Especially on the coast yam has recently been replacing taro as the main staple, because there is not enough land for slash-and-burn gardening required by taro. The traditional diet was very balanced, the basic meal including staples, vegetables and some smoked fish or meat, all cooked in coconut milk. Fruit eaten as snacks provided extra vitamins. Nowadays store-bought foods give variety to the diet but do not add much nutritional value, apart from tinned fish and meat, which provide some extra protein.

Hunting and fishing used to be important activities especially for men, but their significance has decreased. Wild pigs are getting scarce, and bandicoots are mainly hunted during the dry season. As the Mauwake people have probably

¹³ I am utilising Ross' 2006 grouping here. For a discussion on the classification of the Madang languages, see §1.4.1 below.

¹⁴ The names without parentheses are what the speakers prefer to use for their languages, the ones in parentheses are those used in linguistic literature especially by Z'Graggen and those utilising his data. Maiani and Miani are mentioned here as separate languages, but they can also be considered different dialects of one language.

¹⁵ Mala has two distinct dialects, Mala and Alam. The latter is spoken in the two villages that have close contact with the Mauwake area.

come from further inland, fishing has not been as important for them as for some other groups on the coast. Both men and women do some fishing, but mainly for their own family's needs.

Any garden produce, fish or bandicoots not needed by the family may be sold at the Malala market, which is the biggest one between Madang and Bogia, or at the smaller Ulingan market.

For a long time coconut has been the main cash crop, but with the falling copra prices the people have diversified into growing cocoa, coffee¹⁶ and recently also vanilla. The cash crops are transported to Madang to sell. During the German colonial era tobacco was introduced in the area, and still in the 1930s Malala area was famous for its tobacco (? : 454). Nowadays the people mainly grow it for their own use, and sell any extra at the local market.

The high school and a logging company provide employment for a few local men. In the area where logging is done landowners also get some royalties from it. Logging has caused controversy among the people.¹⁷ Many of the more educated men, and some women, now in their 40s and 50s have migrated into towns where they work as tradesmen, teachers, or in other occupations.

0.1.3.5 Cultural notes

In the traditional worldview the seen and the unseen are both important parts of the same universe. The unseen world consists of different kinds of spirits: clan spirits and other spirits in nature (*inasina*), spirits of the recently dead (*kukusa*) and spirits of those who have died a long time ago (*sawur*). The spirits need to be treated with respect so that they will not harm but rather help the people. Although the reliance on the spirits has decreased with the coming of Christianity, various rituals are still fairly widely practised to ensure the benevolence of the spirits, especially in connection with birth, death, sickness, hunting and gardening.

Sickness is normally attributed to one's bad relations with other people or disregard of the spirits, the work of a sorcerer, or in some cases to "natural causes". Death is still commonly believed to be caused by sorcery.

Name taboos are a typical feature of the cultures in Oceania. It is forbidden to call one's in-laws by name, or call anyone else by name who has the same

¹⁶ Growing coffee was given up later, because it is very labour-intensive and the *robusta* coffee grown in the lowlands fetches a very low market price.

¹⁷ The first logging company in the 1980s went bankrupt and the landowners received very little money for their timber. Even with subsequent logging the benefits for the local people have been rather modest.

name as the in-laws. In the Mauwake culture both of the parents give a child the name of one of his or her own relatives, which the other parent naturally may not pronounce. In addition to these two names, a child also receives a Christian name at baptism, and may be given other names as well. Thus a person can have even five or six names, which are used by different people to call him or her. And when the person gets married, all those names are forbidden for the in-laws to use. They may use a kinship term or invent a nickname by which to address the person. In general, kinship terms are used widely both to address people and to refer to them.

Passing on the traditional culture and customs is hampered by the lessening use of the vernacular as well as the lack of interest especially among many young people. Grown-ups may deplore the situation, but there is little attempt to actively pass on the cultural heritage or to help the young generation to evaluate, appreciate and renew their own culture.

0.1.3.6 Mauwake kinship system

The kinship system of the Mauwake people is a slightly modified Iroquis system. Both gender and generation are important, but also the distinction of parental siblings of the opposite sex (Chart 1). One's father's brother is also called *auwa* 'father' and his wife is *aite* 'mother'; likewise one's mother's sister is also 'mother' and her husband is 'father'. But mother's brother is called *yaaya* 'uncle', and his wife is *paapan* 'aunt'; father's sister is also 'aunt' and her husband is 'uncle'. The term 'father' is used for the following as well: one's own father's cross-cousins, one's father-in law and, for a female, elder sister's husband. Two generations up from self the grandparents are distinguished by gender: *kae* 'grandfather' and *kome* 'grandmother', but two generations down all the grandchildren are called *iimasip* 'grandchild'.

In one's own generation there are two sets of terms for brothers and sisters. Their use depends on whether relative age or gender is in focus: *paapa* 'older sibling' and *aamun* 'younger sibling' are used for siblings of either sex, whereas *yomokowa* 'brother' and *ekera* 'sister' are gender-bound terms. The latter are more commonly used by siblings of the opposite sex than by those of the same sex. All the parallel cousins are also considered one's siblings, whereas one's cross-cousins, the children of the 'uncles' and 'aunts', are called *yomar/emar* 'cousin', a term used for either sex.

One generation down from self, one's children include not only one's own sons (*muuka*) and daughters (*wiipa*), but also those of one's siblings of the same sex, and those of one's cross-cousins. For the sons and daughters of one's siblings

of the opposite sex there is a single term, *eremena* ‘nephew/niece’. Most of the terms for kin relations are inalienably possessed nouns (§3.2.4).

Mother’s brother is a particularly important relative for performing rites of passage like initiation, marriage and funeral. When a person dies, his/her maternal uncle, together with the deceased person’s male cross-cousins, is responsible for burying him/her and distributing his/her possessions.¹⁸ These men are called *weria* men. *Weria* means ‘planting stick’, and the term is used as a metaphor for burial.¹⁹ An uncle also has an important function as a mediator, if his nephew or niece has serious problems with his/her nuclear family. Although father’s sister’s husband is also called an ‘uncle’, he does not have a similar role to that of mother’s brother.

0.1.4 The Mauwake language

0.1.4.1 Genealogical affiliation and previous research

The name *Mauwake* means ‘what?’²⁰ The Mauwake speakers themselves identify the language by this name, and the speakers of the related Kaukombaran languages use corresponding names to call their own languages. The people have a myth in which the spirit Turamun gives each group their land area, their main staple as well as their language, and the language name originates in this myth.

Before our taking residence in Moro village in 1978, there was only very sketchy research done on the Mauwake language, just enough to classify it.²¹ The name Ulingan was taken from the main mission station in the area, although that is not how the speakers themselves call their language. Sometimes the alternative name Mawake is given in brackets in the earlier language lists.

Mauwake is a Papuan language. ‘Papuan’ is just a cover term for a number of genetically unrelated language families, which are not Austronesian and are spoken in the New Guinea region.²² The Papuan languages consist of several unrelated language families, the biggest of which is the Trans New Guinea (TNG) family.

¹⁸ For an older person whose uncles have already died, nephews (= sons of the siblings of opposite sex) take their place among these men..

¹⁹ It is not unusual to have the same verb for ‘burying’ and ‘planting’ in Papuan languages, but in Mauwake they are different.

²⁰ Actually it consists of the question word *mauwa* ‘what’ and the contrastive focus clitic *-ke*.

²¹ ?, and following him Voegelin and ?, ?, then Z’Graggen (1971, 1975a, Wurm (1975, 1982) and Wurm and ?.

²² The name Papuan has been criticized (Capell 1969, Haiman 1979), but it is widely used instead of its alternative, non-Austronesian.

[Warning: Image ignored] Map 2: New Guinea island language map (? : 34)

The Trans New Guinea hypothesis was originally put forward by McElhanon and ? to account for the similarities between the Finisterre-Huon languages on the one hand, and Central and South New Guinea Stock languages on the other. Later ? argued that a great number of additional languages belong to the phylum. Much of the work relied on lexico-statistical rather than more rigorous application of the standard comparative method, and because many of the claims are not well substantiated, the whole TNG hypothesis received a fair bit of criticism (Lang 1976, Haiman 1979, Foley 1986, Pawley 1995).

Most of the classificatory work done on the languages of Madang Province is based on Z'Graggen's (1971, 1975) groundbreaking research. According to Wurm's (1975) classification following the language family tree model of lexico-statistics, Mauwake²³ belongs to the Madang-Adelbert Range sub-family, Adelbert Range superstock, Pihom stock, and Kumilan²⁴ language family together with two very small languages, Bepour and Moere.

[Warning: Image ignored] MAP 3: Wurm's grouping of Madang-Adelbert languages (Ross 1996:Map 3)

For nearly two decades there was practically no comparative linguistics done on Papuan languages. But in the early 1990s more detailed research started on the Madang-Adelbert Range languages, now renamed the Madang group, and later on other TNG languages as well (?). As a result of that research Pawley (1995, 2001) and ? came to the conclusion that the Trans New Guinea hypothesis is workable but needs modification. They also concluded that the Madang group definitely is part of the Trans New Guinea language family. According to their new classification Mauwake belongs to the Trans New Guinea family, the Madang group and the Croisilles linkage of languages. ? : 21-25 also discusses the relationships between the various languages within the Croisilles subgroup, using the term *Kumil* (Z'Graggen's *Kumilan*) for the family including Mauwake, and *Kaukombar* (Z'Graggen's *Kaukombaran*) for the four languages closest to the Kumil languages. He also does some regrouping within the families based on the pronoun forms in the languages. In the Kumil group he includes not only Mauwake, Bepour and Moere, but also the languages Musar and Bunabun.

[Warning: Image ignored] MAP 4: Ross' 1996 grouping of Madang-Adelbert languages (Ross 1996: Map 4)

²³ In Z'Graggen's (1980) listing Mauwake has the code F2, and the ISO 639-3 code for the language is mhl.

²⁴ Z'? initially called the family Ubean, possibly based on the language names Ulingan and Bepour, but later (1975) changed the name into Kumilan based on the name of the Kumil river.

Apart from Z'Graggen's survey no other linguistic study of any depth has been carried out on the Mauwake language except what has been done by Kwan Poh San and myself (Kwan 1980, 1983, 1988, 1989, 2002; Järvinen 1980, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1990, 1991; Järvinen, Kwan and Aduna 2001, and Berghäll 2006.) The grammatical work published on related languages includes Reesink's grammar of ?, MacDonald's grammar of ? and Ross and Paol's grammar of ?. Two grammars in manuscript form that were also used for reference are Maia grammar by Barbara Hardin and Bargam grammar by Mark Hepner. Both are available electronically and in the SIL-PNG library, Ukarumpa.

The ISO-639 code for Mauwake, based on ?, is mhl, and the Glottolog code is mauw1238 (glottolog.org).

0.1.4.2 Typological overview of morphological and syntactic features

In this section, morphological and syntactic characteristics of the Mauwake language are discussed in relation to the typology of Papuan/Trans New Guinea languages and to the universal word order²⁵ typology. To some extent these two overlap, as TNG languages typically are also SOV languages.

0.1.4.2.1 Mauwake as a Trans New Guinea language Mauwake has many features typical of both Papuan languages in general and Trans New Guinea languages in particular.

The *PHONOLOGY* of the language is simple: there are five vowel and fourteen consonant phonemes, and only a few of them have more than one allophone. Morphology is quite transparent, so there is very little morphophonology.

The *BASIC ORDER OF CLAUSAL CONSTITUENTS* is verb-final. In neutral clauses with both subject and object the order is SOV (1), but it changes into OSV when the object is fronted (2) as a theme (9.1). Adverbials are somewhat less constrained in their ordering. It is also very common to have the verb as the only element in a clause (3).

- (1) [Ona emeria nain=ke]_S [maa]_O wafur-a-k.

3s.GEN woman that1=CF thing throw-PA-3s
'His wife threw things.'

²⁵ As ? : 72 notes, "word order" here should be called "(clausal) constituent order", as it is the ordering of constituents that the typology is based on rather than that of individual words.

- (2) [Wiipa nain]_O [eka=ke]_S mu-o-k.

daughter that1 water=CF swallow-PA-3s
 ‘The daughter was swallowed by the water.’

- (3) Uruf-a-m.

see-PA-1s
 ‘I saw it.’

In *COMPLEX SENTENCES* the subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause. Thus the reason/cause precedes the result/effect, in conditional sentences protasis precedes the apodosis, and in intention/purpose sentences the intention precedes the expected result. When the reason follows the result, it is a very marked order.

Mauwake is clearly a nominative-accusative type language, rather than ergative-absolutive. The agent of a transitive verb (4) is marked in the same way as the actor of an intransitive verb (5), and most experiential verbs have the experiencer as a nominative subject (6).

- (4) Yo mauw-owa nia asip-i-yem.

1s.UNM work-NMZ 2p.ACC help-Np-PR.1s
 ‘I help you with work.’

(7x1524) Yo koka=pa ik-e-m.

1s.UNM jungle=LOC be-PA-1s
 ‘I was in the jungle.’

(8x1525) Yo wailal-i-yem a.

1s.UNM hunger-Np-PR.1s oh
 ‘Oh, I’m hungry.’

VERB MORPHOLOGY in Mauwake is extensive, even if not as extensive and complex as in some other Papuan languages. The morphology is agglutinative, and affixation is mostly very transparent. Suffixes are used for subject, tense and aspect, benefactive, distributive, causative and counterfactual marking. Prefixing is used very little, only for reduplication and to form verbs referring to bringing and taking. It is possible to have several derivational and inflectional affixes in one verb, as shown by the elicited example (9), but in actual usage this is rare.

(5) Muuka wia *arim-ow-omak-om-ek-a-k*.

son 3p.ACC grow-CAUS-DISTR/PL-BEN-BNFI1.CNTF-PA-3s

‘(S)he would have brought up (many) sons for me.’

Mauwake has a clear three-tense system (§3.8.3.4). Even though the tense suffixes only distinguish between past and non-past, the distinction between present and future shows in the subject suffixes, which are different for these two tenses. Aspect marking is optional (§3.8.5.1.1). The auxiliary follows the main verb. There is no passive form in verbs.

A very typical feature in the Papuan languages is a difference between final (§3.8.3.4) and medial verbs (§3.8.3.5). The former are finite verbs with full inflection for tense and subject number and person, and the most typical position for them is at the end of a declarative sentence. The medial verbs indicate whether the subject of a clause is the same as (10), or different from (11), that of the following clause. The same-subject forms also indicate whether the action of the second verb is simultaneous with that of the first verb, or sequential (12) in relation to it. Medial clauses (8.2) are coordinate with, but also dependent on, the following clause. Because of the existence and extensive use of medial clauses, temporal subordinate clauses (8.3.3.1) are used very little in Mauwake.²⁶

(13x662) *Owowa ek-ap, wailal-ep akia ik-e-k*.

village go-SS.SEQ be.hungry-SS.SEQ banana roast-PA-3s

‘He went to the village, was hungry and roasted bananas.’

(6) Mik-*amkun* me um-o-k, wiowa onaiya ikiw-em-ik-*eya*

spear-1s/p.DS not die-PA-3s spear with go-SS.SIM-be-2/3s.DS

Olas=ke war-e-k.

Olas=CF kill-PA-3s

‘When I speared it, it didn’t die, (but) as it was going with the spear Olas killed it.’

Medial verbs are also used in tail-head linkage (8.2.3.5), another strategy common in Papuan languages. The last verb of a sentence is repeated in the first clause of the next sentence, but usually in medial form. In spoken Mauwake this recapitulation device is used to indicate actions that continue on the story line without a major break, but since the development of the written language the

²⁶ Medial clauses in Papuan languages are often translated with temporal subordinate clauses in other languages, even if they are not subordinate in the original language.

tail-head linkage is losing this function and is getting a new function as a marker of the climax in the story.

Another typical feature of many Papuan languages is the lack of a large inventory of verb stems (Foley 1986:127). An extreme case is Kalam with its less than 100 verb stems; consequently, Kalam needs to use serial verb and adjunct plus verb constructions for most actions (Pawley 1987:336-7). Mauwake has a reasonably large verb inventory, but in addition it uses both serial verbs (§3.8.5.1.2) and adjunct plus verb constructions (§3.8.5.2).

There is no inflection on *NOUNS* (§3.2) or *ADJECTIVES* (§3.3), nor are there gender/noun class distinctions. But Mauwake makes a distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns (§3.2.4). Most kinship terms are inalienably possessed, but body parts are not.

The *NOUN PHRASE* (§4.1) most commonly consists of the head noun by itself, or with just one modifier. In a noun phrase a pluralizing (14) unmarked pronoun, a possessive noun phrase, a temporal phrase, or a qualifier noun phrase may precede the head noun; all the other modifiers follow it. A possessive preceding the head noun and an adjective following it (15) is quite common in Trans New Guinea languages (?: 19).

(16x658) **wi emeria teeria nain**

3p.UNM woman group that1

‘that group of women’

(17x660) **yena aamun gelemuta kuisow**

1s.GEN 1s/p.younger.sibling small one

‘my one younger brother’ or ‘one of my younger brothers’

Mauwake exhibits more variation in the *PRONOUN* forms (§3.5) than many other Papuan languages do. There is only singular and plural number, and no inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural. But there are separate sets for unmarked, accusative, dative, genitive, isolative, reflexive-reciprocal and comitative pronouns. Mauwake is a typical Papuan language in that the subject pronoun may be left out; the third person subject pronoun is overt mainly when it is used for a re-activating an earlier topic (§9.2.3). But in imperative clauses a subject pronoun is very common, which is *not* usually mentioned as a typical feature of Papuan languages,²⁷ and is quite rare cross-linguistically.

0.1.4.2.2 Mauwake as an SOV language Mauwake conforms very strongly to the typological patterns found to exist in the SOV, or hence, OV languages. The

²⁷ To my knowledge this particular feature has not been studied much in Papuan languages.

following discussion on various characteristics in Mauwake that correlate with the OV constituent order is based on ?.

Concerning the following sentence level features Mauwake shows itself a typical OV language. The interrogative marker *-i* always occurs sentence-finally in polar questions (§7.2.2).

- (7) Yo emeria efar uruf-a-man=*i*?

1s.UNM woman 1s.DAT see-PA-2p=QM
'Did you see my wife?'

In non-polar, or content questions (7.2.1), the question word or phrase is in the same position that would be occupied by the non-interrogative word or phrase in a statement.

- (8) Ni sira *kamenap* on-a-man?

2p.UNM custom what.like do-PA-2p
'What did you do?'

In complex sentences (§8.3) the subordinate clause usually comes before the main clause.

- (9) Mua imen-ap=*na* feeke wia p-ekap-eka.

man find-SS.SEQ=TP here.CF 3p.ACC Bpx-come-IMP.2p
'If you find the men, bring them here.'

Complement clauses (§8.3.2) behave like other subordinate clauses, preceding the main clause.

(18x675) *Mukuna kerer-e-k nain i me paayar-e-mik.*
fire start-PA-3s that1 1p.UNM not understand-PA-1/3p
'We didn't realise that a fire had started.'

The typical OV order for predicate-copula applies only partly in Mauwake, as a copular verb is not used for the present tense. The OV order does show in the other tenses and the medial forms.

- (10) 3s.UNM song man-(LOC) be-2/3s.DS
'When he was a teacher ...'

Clause and sentence level features that correlate with the OV order are as follows. The position of a complementiser or a subordinator is clause-final:

- a. 1s.UNM woman get-NMR like-CNTF-PA-1s=TP

'If I had liked/wanted to get a wife ...'

Both manner adverbs, postpositional phrases, and non-argument noun phrases precede the verb.

- i. Fikera nain **sira feenap** on-a-mik.

kunai.grass that1 custom like.this do-PA-1/3p

'This is what they did to the kunai grass.'

Typical OV features also manifest themselves in different phrases. In the VPs (or verbal groups, as they are called below in 3.8.5.1), the main verb precedes the auxiliary.

- i. Saa=iw **ir-am-ika-i-mik**.

sand=INST come-SS.SIM-be-Np-PR.1/3p

'They are coming along the sand/beach.'

In basic noun phrases (§4.1.1) the genitive precedes the head noun:

- i. yiena miiwa

1p.GEN land

'our land'

Mauwake does not have articles. When the distal-1 deictic nain 'that' is used, there is often considerable semantic bleaching, and it seems to be becoming more like a definite article, but in many contexts it still clearly retains its deictic function.

Mauwake has postpositional phrases (PP), rather than prepositional phrases.

- i. koor(a) kuenuma=pa

house underside=LOC

'underneath the house'

An OV feature that shows on word level is that Mauwake has suffixes rather than prefixes in the verbs.

- i. Akia ik-**omak-e-mik**.

banana roast-DISTR/PL-PA-1/3p

'We roasted many bananas.'

As there are no comparative forms for adjectives in Mauwake, one OV characteristic that does not apply in Mauwake is the standard of comparison and comparison marker preceding the adjective.

Case marking of transitive arguments with an affix is more common in OV than in VO languages. In Mauwake there are no case suffixes on either the subject or the object, but all human objects require an accusative pronoun (§3.5.3) to occur preceding the verb.

0.1.4.3 Dialects

²⁸ The Mauwake speakers themselves do not identify clearly defined dialects, but they do refer to the speech differences between the inland villages and the coastal villages. Some also separate the Ulingan group from the rest, and the Ulingan group people make a distinction between themselves and those further west along the coast.

The majority of the Mauwake speakers consider Aketa and Amiten as the centre of the language group. People in each village claim that their own way of speaking is the “true” way, but at the same time they credit Aketa as the place where the language originated. The Ulingan and Papur dialect groups do not admit the prestige of Aketa and Amiten quite as willingly.

Comparing the Mauwake data²⁹ lexicostatistically would indicate that there are no distinct dialects in the language at all. The percentage of cognates between all the villages is 100. What variation an earlier survey seemed to show, turned out to be multiple cognates. But the phonostatistic method (Grimes and Agard 1959, modified as in Simons 1977:177-178) yields some dialectal differences. There are pronunciation dissimilarities, on the basis of which the language area can be divided into three main dialect areas: Ulingan (Ulingan, Sikor and Meiwok), Papur (Papur, Tarikapa, Yeipamir) and Muaka (Muaka, Moro, Mereman, Sapara, Aketa, Amiten/Susure/Wakoruma³⁰, and Saramun).

Of the 100 words in the list, 60% are pronounced identically in all the villages. Of the rest, a little over half (i.e. 21% of the whole data) are

²⁸ The data for this section is mainly taken from the Mauwake dialect survey report (Järvinen 1988, ms.).

²⁹ The basic 100-word list by ? : 55-59 was used with four semantically problematic words deleted and four other words added.

³⁰ Susure and Wakoruma were not included in this survey because of their closeness to Amiten both location- and dialectwise.

cases of non-phonemic variation, namely [w]~[β], and [j]~[ʒ]. The first one of these the speakers of the language do not even notice, the second one they notice to some extent.

Map 5 gives the mean degrees³¹ of pronunciation differences between some of the Mauwake villages.

[Warning: Image ignored] MAP 5: Mean degrees of pronunciation difference between some Mauwake villages

The Ulingan dialect is the most homogeneous, and also most clearly a separate group from the others. The mean degree of pronunciation differences between Ulingan and Sikor, and between Sikor and Meiwok is 0.02, which means that in a hundred-word list there are only two differences of one degree. The pronunciation difference between Tarikapa and Sikor or Meiwok is the biggest, 0.17 degrees.

Table 1 gives the mean degrees of pronunciation differences between all the villages.

Muaka

.08 Saramun

.11 .09 Tarikapa

.10 .12 .11 Papur

.10 .11 .08 .03 Yeipamir

.07 .11 .07 .08 .08 Aketa

.07 .07 .10 .08 .09 .09 Amiten

.03 .07 .11 .08 .12 .07 .09 Moro

.07 .08 .14 .10 .15 .06 .08 .04 Mereman

.08 .05 .10 .11 .12 .05 .10 .06 .04 Sapara

.11 .12 .15 .08 .10 .14 .13 .09 .11 .07 Ulingan

.12 .13 .17 .08 .14 .13 .12 .08 .09 .09 .02 Sikor

.15 .14 .17 .09 .14 .13 .16 .10 .09 .06 .03 .02 Meiwok

Table 1: Mean degrees of pronunciation differences between Mauwake villages

Indication of a dialect division similar to that mentioned above, especially setting the Muaka group apart from the others, was also provided by morphemes that were not in the 100-word list but which

³¹ The mean degree of difference between two sounds was calculated by first counting hypothesized minimal steps from one to another, one minimal step given the value of one. These were added up and divided by the number of words in the data, i.e. 100.

were checked during the survey, because they had been found to occur in a fairly clear pattern across the language area. These morphemes are:

inowa vs. unowa ‘many’

urup(-iya) vs. irip(-iya) ‘ascend’

ikiw(-iya) vs. itiw(-iya) ‘go’

unan vs. inuan vs. inon ‘yesterday’

-era vs. -eya/-iya ‘2/3 p. medial verb suffix’

The isogloss map 5 shows the distribution of the pronunciation of these morphemes in the various villages. The only case where the isoglosses would suggest a different dialect grouping from the one presented above is that of Saramun, which would seem to belong more closely to the Papur group than the Muaka group.

[Warning: Image ignored] MAP 6: Distribution of some pronunciation differences

What complicates the dialect division is the fact that sometimes the same pronunciation, deviant from the more common way of pronouncing a word, can be found in villages far apart like Aketa and Meiwok: (imakuna rather than umakuna ‘neck’), or Papur, Moro and Mereman villages and the Ulingan group (epia rather than ipia ‘rain’). Also, there is no clear pattern of pronunciation differences between villages; sometimes the differences are opposite in the case of two vocabulary items. The word for ‘many’ in the Muaka dialect³² is inowa, but the others pronounce it unowa, whereas the word for ‘ascend/go up’ in the Muaka dialect is urupiya but in the other dialects it is iripiya. Likewise, the Ulingan group differs from the rest in the pronunciation of omaiwa ‘tongue’ (vs. omaiwa in others) and awulak ‘sweet potato’ (vs. awuliak in others), so the difference is almost exactly the reverse in the two cases.

No grammatical differences have been found to exist between the dialects. Neither are there social registers, nor special language for restricted uses like rituals.

³² Excluding Amiten/Susure/Wakoruma

0.2 Phonology: a brief overview

0.2.1 Phonemes

The phonological system in Mauwake is quite regular and straightforward, even if not one of the very simplest found in Papuan languages (? : 48-64). It has 14 consonants and 5 vowels in its phoneme inventory. Allophonic variation in Mauwake is very limited, and there is not much morphophonological complexity (§2.3.3) either. In the presentation of the phonology IPA standard phonetic symbols are used.

0.2.1.1 Consonants

The fourteen consonant phonemes in Mauwake are presented in Table 2. Z? : 51 also lists the velar nasal /ŋ/ as a phoneme in Mauwake, but at least synchronically it is not part of the basic inventory. All the words in Mauwake that have the velar nasal are shared with a neighbouring language, so they are likely to be borrowings. For those words there is also a native synonym, although it may not be as frequently used. It is also possible that Mauwake has earlier had the velar nasal, as it is a very common areal feature in the Madang North Coast area (Z'Graggen 1971).

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b	t d		k g
Nasal	m	n		
Fricative	ɸ	s		
Trill		r		
Lateral		l		
Approximant	w		j	

Table 2: Consonant phonemes

Most of the consonant phonemes in Mauwake have only one extrinsic allophone.

The voiceless PLOSIVES are unaspirated in all the word positions where they occur. They contrast as to bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation. Mauwake does not have the glottal stop typical of many Papuan languages.

/paanek/ [ˈpaːnek] ‘it crashed’

/taanek/ [ˈtaːnek] ‘it is full’

/kaanek(e)/ [ˈkaːnek(e)] ‘where?’

/opa/ [o'pa] 'hold!'

/otal/ [o'tal] 'reef'

/oka/ [o'ka] 'hand drum'

/orop/ [o'rop] 'descend.SS.SEQ'

/rotorot/ [ro'torot] 'painted moray eel'

/orok/ [o'rok] 'he/she descended'

The voiceless plosives occur word-initially, -medially and -finally.

/pepek/ [pe'pek] 'enough'

/onap/ [o'nap] 'do.SS.SEQ'

/teteke/ [te'teke] 'take apart!'

/menat/ [me'nat] 'tide'

/koka/ [ko'ka] 'bush, jungle'

/onak/ [o'nak] 'his/her mother'

The voiced plosives only occur word-initially or medially. Besides this distributional restriction, their frequency is also markedly lower than that of voiceless plosives. They are not utilised in the derivational or inflectional morphology, except in reduplication. There is "voicing harmony" affecting the plosives only: when the first two syllables begin with plosives, both of them are either voiced or voiceless.

/bebeta/ [be'beta] 'thin'

/pepena/ [pe'pena] 'strange'

/duduwa/ [du'duwa] 'blunt'

/tutupila/ [tu'tupila] 'tadpole'

/googok/ [go:gok] 'trevally'

/kookalija/ [ko:kalija] 'he/she likes'

/boga/ [bo'ga] 'barren, empty (land)'

/poka/ [po'ka] 'sit down!'

/dabela/ [da'bela] 'cold'

/tapaka/ [ta'paka] 'cake'

/gubagel/ [gu'bagel] 'lizard sp.'

/kupakup/ [ku'pakup] 'sago container'

The only exceptions to the voicing harmony are a few words starting with /k/, for instance:

/kadilam/ [ka'dilam] 'leech'

/kibol/ [ki'bol] 'stinging anemone'

/kuben/ [ku'ben] 'prawn trap'

The two NASALS occur word-initially, medially and finally, and contrast as to bilabial and alveolar points of articulation.

/manar/ [ma'nar] 'forehead decoration'

/nanar/ [na'nar] 'story'

/moma/ [mo'ma] 'taro'

/mona/ [mo'na] 'fruit sp.'

/onam/ [o'nam] 'I did'

/onan/ [o'nan] 'you did'

The FRICATIVES contrast as to bilabial/labio-dental and alveolar points of articulation. They are both voiceless. The voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ [ɸ] occurs word-initially and medially, the alveolar grooved fricative /s/ [s] occurs word-initially, -medially and -finally.

/ɸariar-/ [ɸa'riar-] 'abstain'

/sariar-/ [sa'riar-] 'get well'

/kosija/ [ko'sija] 'it comes out of mouth'

/koɸija/ [ko'ɸija] 'he hammers'

/kawus/ [ka'wus] 'smoke'

A possible reason for the restricted distribution of /ɸ/ is that it is a result of a sound change, which is discussed at the end of the consonant section.

The voiced alveolar TRILL /r/ [r] occurs in free variation with the voiced alveolar flap [ɾ] word-initially, -medially and -finally.

/rowirow/ [ro'wirow] ~ [ro'wirow] 'giant clam'

/ewar/ [e'var] ~ [e'var] 'west wind'

The voiced alveolar LATERAL /l/ [l] occurs word-initially, -medially and -finally.

/lali/ [la'li] 'small reef fish'

/kaul/ [kaul] 'hook'

In many Papuan languages [l] and [r] are allophones of the same phoneme, but in Mauwake they are separate phonemes, contrasting with each other:

/liilin-/ [li:lin-] 'sting, smart (v.)'

/riirin-/ [ri:rin] ~ [ri:rin-] 'quarrel (v.)'

/kalan-/ [ka'lan-] 'have nausea'

/karan-/ [ka'ran] ~ [ka'ran-] 'shake'

/nanal/ [na'nal] 'tree sp.'

/nanar/ [na'nar] 'story'

Yet in a few words the two fluctuate. This seems to be a dialectal difference.

/eliwa/ [e'liwa] ~ [e'riva] 'good'

/saliwija/ [sa'livija] ~ [sa'rivija] '(s)he heals/repairs'

There are two approximants, or SEMIVOWELS: [w] and [j]. They are interpreted as consonants when occurring in syllable onset or coda, and as vowels when forming part of the syllable nucleus.

The alveo-palatal semivowel /j/ [j] occurs word-initially and -medially.

The voiced alveo-palatal grooved fricative [ʒ] is used instead of [j] in the inland (Papur) and Ulingan dialects.

/jakiya/ [ja'kija] ~ [ʒa'kiʒa] '(s)he bathes'

/jaisow/ [jaisow] ~ [ʒaisow] 'I alone'

The bilabial semivowel /w/ has the following allophones:

[w] voiced bilabial semivowel occurs next to a rounded vowel, fluctuating with [v] when between a preceding unrounded and a following rounded vowel;

[v] voiced labio-dental frictionless continuant occurs elsewhere;

[β] voiced bilabial fricative occurs fluctuating with both [w] and [v] in the inland (Papur) dialect, very strongly in the village of Yeipamir.

/wowosa/ [wo'wosa] ~ [βo'βosa] 'bud'

/now/ [now] ~ [noβ] 'stonefish'

/kuwiwi/ [ku'wiwi] ~ [ku'βiβi] 'blue-lined surgeonfish'

/iwoka/ [i'woka] ~ [i'voka] ~ [i'βoka] 'yam'

/iwera/ [i'vera] ~ [i'βera] 'coconut'

/elew/ [e'lev] ~ [e'leβ]³³ 'in-law'

The reasons for analyzing the semivowels as consonants are as follows:

- *There are no unambiguous 3-vowel sequences word-initially;*
- *Both the semivowels have a fricative allophone;*
- *There are no unambiguous glides starting with a mid vowel;*
- *The geminate non-high vowels only occur in initial syllables;*
- *If they were interpreted as vowels, the stress pattern of some words would not follow the otherwise exceptionless stress placement rule.*

/wiwisa/ [vi'visa] ~ [βi'βisa] 'murky'

/jaisow/ [jaisow] ~ [ʒaisow] 'I alone'

³³ All these different optional allophonic variations of /w/ are not listed in the phonetic representations below, unless relevant to the discussion in the main text of the section. The same applies to the variation of /ɸ/, /r/ and /j/.

/marew/ [ma'rev] ~ [ma'reβ] 'none'
 /now/ [now] ~ [noβ] 'stonefish'
 /jakijem/ [ja'kijem] ~ [ʒa'kizem] 'I bathe'
 /uruwa/ [u'ruwa] ~ [u'ruβa] 'loincloth'

The following sets of examples show clear contrasts between the semivowel /w/ and the vowel /u/, and between the semivowel /j/ and the vowel /i/:

/wulinija/ [wu'linija] 'it shines'
 /uusakija/ [ʔu:sakija] 'he/she roasts'
 /wuunija/ [wu:nija] '(wind) blows'
 /uuwunija/ [ʔu:wunija] 'he/she talks'
 /wuwusirap [wu'wusirap] 'name of a month'
 /lalu/ [la'lu] 'parrotfish'
 /diluw/ [di'luw] ~ [di'luβ] 'vine sp.'
 /jena/ [je'na] ~ [ʒe'na] 'my'
 /jiena/ [ji'ena] ~ [ʒi'ena] 'our'
 /iina/ [i:na] 'mosquito'
 /jiiija/ [ji:ja] ~ [ʒi:za] 'he/she gives to me'

In a few words a semivowel is adjacent to a homorganic vowel, but such a contrast as above is not available, and the regular syllable patterns and the stress placement rule allow for two or more interpretations. Also, the pronunciation varies slightly from village to village and between individuals. In these cases the decision how to represent the word phonemically is somewhat arbitrary.

/jaamun/ [ja:mun] ~ [jɹ'amun] 'my/our younger sibling'
 /jaaaja/ [ja:ja] ~ [jaija] 'my/our maternal uncle'
 /waaaja/ [wa:ja] ~ [waija] ~ [wuaija] 'pig'
 /wuija/ [wuija] ~ [waija] ~ [wuaija] 'he/she puts'

The BILABIAL consonants contrast word-initially and -medially; those consonants that can occur word-finally contrast in this position too.

/poka/ [po'ka] 'house post'
 /boga/ [bo'ga] 'empty, barren (land)'
 /moma/ [mo'ma] 'taro'
 /φoma/ [φo'ma] 'ashes'
 /womar/ [wo'mar] 'his cousin'
 /epa/ [e'pa] 'place'
 /bebaura/ [be'baura] 'tree sp.'

Contents

/ema/ [e'ma] 'mountain'
/eɸa/ [e'ɸa] 'me'
/ewar/ [e'var] 'west wind'
/orop/ [o'rop] 'descend.SS.SEQ'
/orom/ [o'rom] 'I descended'
/arow/ [a'row] 'three'

The ALVEOLAR consonants contrast in word-initial and -medial positions, and those that can occur in word-final position contrast in that position as well.

/tawowola/ [ta'wowola] 'rubbish'
/dabela/ [da'bela] 'cold'
/nabena/ [na'bena] 'carrying pole'
/sawur/ [sa'wur] 'spirit'
/raapa/ [ra:pa] 'bag'
/labuela/ [la'buela] 'pawpaw'
/otal/ [o'tal] 'reef'
/odaweleka/ [o'daweleka] 'gill'
/onam/ [o'nam] 'I did'
/osaiwa/ [o'saiva] 'bird of paradise'
/oraija/ [o'raija] 'he/she descends'
/olal/ [o'lal] 'fish species'
/menat/ [me'nat] 'tide'
/konan/ [ko'nan] 'garfish'
/oras/ [o'ras] 'spinefoot (fish)'
/nanar/ [na'nar] 'story'
/nanal/ [na'nal] 'tree sp.'

The VELAR and ALVEO-PALATAL consonants contrast word-initially and -medially. Word-finally /j/ does not occur at all, and /g/ is extremely rare.³⁴

/kia/ [ki'a] 'white'
/gia/ [gi'a] 'baby'
/jia/ [ji'a] 'us'
/magok/ [ma'gok] 'woven band'
/makak/ [ma'kak] 'brown quail'

³⁴ There are only 4 occurrences of word-final /g/ in the lexicon of over 3600 words. Those may all be loans from neighbouring languages.

/majona/ [ma'jona] 'brown-collared bush turkey'

Both the distributional restrictions of some consonant phonemes and some regular sound correspondences between Mauwake and the related Kaukombaran languages point to earlier sound changes. My tentative suggestion is that the voiced plosives /b/ and /g/³⁵ in Mauwake became devoiced at some earlier stage, and the present-day voiced plosives are a later development. In the Kaukombaran languages voiced plosives are much more frequent than in Mauwake, and there is a clear sound correspondence between many cognates:³⁶

Mauwake Miani Maia Pila

paapa³⁷ baba bab mbab 'elder sibling'

pok- bug- buge- buge- 'sit'

perek- bereg- bered- buroaind- 'tear (v.)'

kemena kema goama ngoama 'inside'

kukusa gugun gugut 'shadow, picture'

I suggest that /ɸ/ in Mauwake is a result of a sound change whereby /w/ in certain positions became devoiced and changed into a fricative. This can be seen in the sound correspondences in cognate words in related Kaukombaran languages.³⁸

Mauwake Miani Maia Pila

aɸila abir koawir kuawir 'grease'

aɸura ab kab kap 'lime'

iɸera ibor ibor iwor 'sea'

uruɸ- ruw- uruw- 'see'

ɸar- bar- war- 'call'

uɸ- uw- ube- waguwa- 'dance'

³⁵ There are too few words with /d/ and /t/ in the sample to make a meaningful comparison, and what data is available does not indicate that they participated in the change.

³⁶ The Kaukombaran data is from Loeweke May (unpublished ms.) and Z'?

³⁷ In the comparison the cognates are listed in phonetic form but without the brackets; the phonemic representation is basically the same.

³⁸ Note that within the Kaukombaran group there has also been change from /w/ into /b/. Another possibility is that /b/ has first changed into /w/ and further into /ɸ/ in Mauwake, but that seems less likely because there are numerous other words with /b/ which do not participate in this sound change.

0.2.1.2 Vowels

There is variation in the Papuan languages from the 3-vowel systems in Ndu languages to an 8-vowel system in Vanimo. The basic and a very common one is a 5-vowel system (?: 49-54), also the most common worldwide (?: 126). It is employed by Mauwake as well, and the vowels are the ones that ? : 125 lists as the most common vowels universally.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 3: Vowel phonemes

The five vowel phonemes are voiced and oral. They contrast as to front, central and back points of articulation. Front and back vowels also have a high vs. mid contrast. There is only one set of mid vowels in Mauwake, which are phonetically between the IPA higher and lower mid vowels. For the sake of simplicity, I have represented them with the IPA symbols for higher mid vowels, /e/ and /o/.³⁹ Both the front vowels are unrounded and the back vowels rounded.

The mid vowels could also be analysed as non-high vowels together with the low central vowel /a/, thus simplifying the chart, since there are no front or back low vowels. That grouping is actually used in §2.3.3, where it simplifies the past tense suffix rule. But the distributional fact that there are no vowel glides beginning with either /e/ or /o/ justifies distinguishing them as a separate group of mid vowels.

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ have an open allophone, [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively, following a word-initial consonant and preceding a central vowel /a/. In other positions they have a more closed allophone [i] and [u]. The other vowels do not have allophonic variation.

V → V / _ V

+ high + high +central

+ close + open

/ikina/ [i'kina] 'smell'

/lali/ [la'li] 'small fish'

/mia/ [mi'a] 'body'

/uruwa/ [u'ruwa] 'loincloth'

³⁹ To distinguish the true mid vowels from higher mid vowels ? : 123 writes them with quote marks: "e" and "o".

/lalu/ [la'lu] 'parrotfish'

/mua/ [mυ'a] 'man'

The vowels contrast word-initially, -medially and -finally:

/aφa/ [a'φa] 'flying fox'

/eφa/ [e'φa] 'me'

/iφa/ [i'φa] 'snake'

/oφa/ [o'φa] 'colour'

/uφa/ [u'φa] 'swing (n.)'

/marari/ [ma'rari] 'temporary (shelter)'

/maremuka/ [ma'remuka] 'corn (med.)'

/marija/ [ma'riya] 'he/she scrapes'

/maroka/ [ma'roka] 'prawn'

/saruwa/ [sa'ruwa] 'tree sp.'

/popoka/ [po'poka] 'unripe fruit'

/ooke/ [o:ke] 'follow him!'

/loloki/ [lo'loki] 'plant sp.'

/papako/ [pa'pako] 'some'

/ooku/ [o:ku] 'let's (dual) follow him!'

Phonemic vowel length only occurs in word-initial syllables. Long vowels are interpreted as two vowels of the same quality for the following reasons:

- Other vowel sequences are common in Mauwake;
- The quality of the long and short vowel is the same;
- Economy of description: there are five vowels instead of ten.

Long and short vowels contrast with each other:

/aasa/ [a:sa] 'canoe'

/asa/ [a'sa] 'wild galip nut'

/peela/ [pe:la] 'rotten'

/pela/ [pe'la] 'leaf'

/kiira/ [ki:ra] 'side, shin'

/kira/ [ki'ra] 'wild sugarcane'

/φuura/ [φu:ra] 'steep'

/φura/ [φu'ra] 'knife'

0.2.1.3 Suprasegmentals: stress and intonation

Since Mauwake is not a tonal language, the only suprasegmentals discussed here are stress and intonation.

0.2.1.3.1 Stress *Stress is not phonemic in Mauwake, but three degrees of phonetic stress are discernible in a word. Primary stress is marked by greater intensity, higher fundamental frequency and often, but not always, by non-phonemic lengthening of the vowel. An “unstressed” syllable is considerably weaker, but the vowels still retain their essential quality. A syllable with a secondary stress is weaker than one with primary stress, but stronger than an unstressed syllable. Since stress is a defining factor on the word level, it is discussed further in section 2.3. Stress has a pragmatic function on clause and sentence level. The clausal stress manifests itself in slightly greater loudness and intensity than that of the ordinary word stress, and its default position is the verb or the non-verbal predicate. In a multi-clause sentence the final verb typically receives the strongest clausal stress; this may be called sentence stress if it needs to be distinguished from the clausal stress of the non-final clauses. The position of the clausal stress may be shifted to give added prominence to some element in the clause (9.2.3). When this is done, the loudness and intensity of the stressed syllable are increased, and non-phonemic lengthening of the vowel may take place.*

0.2.1.3.2 Intonation *The three grammatical units important from the point of view of intonation are a phrase, a (non-final) clause and a sentence. All final clauses are here treated as sentences.*

Pitch variations in Mauwake are not very prominent, and in general the register is quite low compared e.g. with English. There is more register variation in the inland than on the coast.

The most common sentence intonation contour is falling. The first stressed syllable is the highest; after it the intonation falls very gradually until the word with the sentence stress, typically the final verb. There is a slight rise at the syllable with the sentence stress, and then a very sharp fall in the terminal contour. This same basic pattern occurs both in statements (19), commands (20), in non-polar questions (21) and certain polar questions (22). (In the following examples, the word with the sentence stress is bolded.)

[Warning: Image ignored]

(23x898) [jo mo'ma **e'nim-i-jem**]

I taro eat-Np-PR.1s

'I (am) eat(ing) taro.'

In commands the intonation contour is very much the same as in a statement, but the pronunciation is phonetically more tense.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(24x1769) [mo'ma **e'nim-eka**]

taro eat-IMP.2p

'Eat (pl.) taro!'

In non-polar questions the sentence-final intonation is also falling. The stressed syllable of the question word carries the sentence stress if it is emphasized (25), but often there is only a slightly higher rise than there would be in other words in the same position, and the sentence stress is placed on the stressed syllable of the final verb (26), (27).

[Warning: Image ignored]

(28x901) ['mu:ka 'nain **mo'ram** o'mom-i-ja]

boy that1 why cry-Np-PR.3s

'Why is that boy crying?'

[Warning: Image ignored]

(29x899) [ma: 'mauwa **e'nim-i-n**]

thing what eat-Np-PR.2s

'What are you eating?'

[Warning: Image ignored]

(30x900) [mv'a 'na:rewe=ke **e'kap-o-k**]

man who=CF come-PA-3s

'Who came?'

The only instance where there can be any rising intonation sentence-finally is a polar question. It is only used when the speaker is uncertain whether the answer is going to be affirmative or negative (31). The rise is on the question clitic -i.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(32x902) ['auwa **e'kap-o-k=i**]

father come-PA-3s=QM

'Did father come?'

If the speaker strongly expects the answer to agree with the polarity of the question, the intonation is falling (33). Since polar questions are

also marked with a question marker =i sentence-finally, a separate intonation pattern is partly redundant.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(34x903) [ʔauwa **eʔkap-o-k=i**]

father come-PA-3s=QM

‘Did father come?’ (Expecting “yes” as an answer.)

The intonation pattern in medial clauses, instead of falling at the end, is either level or slightly rising. The more expected the sequence, the more level the intonation is. In (35) the two clauses are part of an “expectancy chain”, because coconuts are scraped only for preparing food. (In the following three examples, the medial and subordinate clauses are bolded rather than the verb of the finite clause.)

[Warning: Image ignored]

(36x904) [iʔ**wera mu-ʔep** maa ʔuup-i-nen]

coconut scrape-SS.SEQ food cook-Np-FU.1s

‘I will scrape a coconut and cook food.’

But (37) tells about an unexpected event, a person finding a turtle when he had just gone fishing; instead of catching it he might have either chosen to leave it or failed to catch it.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(38x905) [**pon uʔruφ-ap ʔa:w-ep** p-eʔkap-e-m]

turtle see-SS.SEQ take-SS.SEQ BPx-come-PA-1s

‘I saw a turtle, caught it and brought it (here).’

The rising intonation is more common in subordinate clauses; in conditional clauses (39) it is particularly noticeable. As a rule, the more important the speaker considers the clause as a presupposition for the main clause, the more clearly there is an intonational rise clause-finally.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(40x906) [iʔ**φa uʔruφ-i-nen=na** keʔker oʔp-i-nen]

snake see-Np-FU.1s=TP fear hold-Np-FU.1s

‘If I see a snake, I will be afraid.’

A phrase that is fronted as a left-dislocated theme (9.1) also has a rising intonation at the end of the phrase. The phrase, bolded in the following example, occurs at the beginning of the clause. The slash indicates a pause.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(41x907) [ʔ**jos=na**/ oʔwow maʔneka me iʔkiw-i-jem]

1s.FC=TP village big not go-Np-PR.1s

‘As for me, I don’t go to town.’

In listing, the intonation rises very slightly at the final syllable of each non-final phrase listed, or is retained at the same level as the previous syllable(s).

[Warning: Image ignored]

(42x908) [ma: u’nowa se’senar-e-m/ o’wora/ a’*ɸ*ura/ e’pisowa/
a’ria **mo’ma**]

thing many buy-PA-1s betelnut lime tobacco alright taro

‘I bought many things: betelnut, lime, tobacco and taro.’

A polite way of calling a person, of getting someone’s attention, is to call the name or relationship term in such a way that the stressed syllable has a slight rise and a sharp fall in pitch, and following unstressed syllables, if any, have a low pitch.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(43x909) [e’remena]

nephew

‘Nephew!’

An impatient or exasperated call, or a call for someone distant, has a different pattern. The voice is louder, the pitch is retained relatively high and level, and the last syllable gets lengthened and, if unstressed, receives a stress almost as strong as that of the stressed syllable.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(44x910) [’aiteeee]

mother

‘Mother!’

Anger is typically expressed by shouting. The intonation stays fairly level, and the sentence is short and produced in a staccato manner.

Disgust or impatience is expressed by sentence-final interjection yaa [ja:], which retains a fairly level pitch and can be lengthened considerably. An impatient reaction to someone else’s words or actions is expressed by sentence-initial interjection se, which has a very sharp falling intonation.

[Warning: Image ignored]

(45x911) [i’kiw-eka jaaaa]

go-IMP.2p INTj

‘Go, for heaven’s sake!’

[Warning: Image ignored]
(46x912) [se na:p **me** 'ma-e]
INT] thus not say-IMP.2s
'Goodness, don't say like that.'

0.2.1.4 Orthographic symbols

Table 4 shows the orthographic symbols for the phonemes. The semivowel /j/ is written as y due to the influence of Tok Pisin and English. Because the orthography represents the phoneme inventory so closely, it is the orthographic symbols that are used in the vernacular examples throughout this thesis after the phonology chapter.

Consonant phonemes	p	t	k	b	d	g	m	n	ɸ	s	l	r	w
Orthographic representation	p	t	k	b	d	g	m	n	f	s	l	r	w
Vowel phonemes	i	e	a	o	u								
Orthographic representation	i	e	a	o	u								

Table 4: Orthographic symbols for Mauwake phonemes

0.2.2 Syllables and phonotactics

0.2.2.1 Syllable patterns

The syllable in Mauwake consists of one or two vowels forming the nucleus, with optional onset and/or coda of one consonant, CV being by far the most frequent syllable structure.⁴⁰ The syllable patterns are as follows:

- V VC
- CV CVC
- VV VVC
- CVV CVVC

Any vowel can fill the simple nucleus slot of the syllable. The complex nucleus slot is filled either by a geminate vowel or a diphthong. Diphthongs can occur in non-initial syllables too, but geminate vowels cannot.

Any consonant can fill the onset slot, and all consonants except the voiced plosives, /ɸ/ and /y/ can fill the coda slot of a syllable. The

⁴⁰?: 13 gives a short but good overview of syllable-final consonants in a number of TNG languages.

distribution of the voiced plosives and /ɸ/ is also restricted in that they very seldom occur later than in the second syllable of a word and, except for /y/, do not appear in inflectional morphology. Table 5 shows the possible distribution of consonants in a syllable.

CV(V)C CV(V)C

p + + n + +

t + + ɸ + -

k + + s + +

b + - l + +

d + - r + +

g + - w + +

m + + j + -

Table 5: Consonant distribution in a syllable

0.2.2.2 Vowel sequences

Table 6 shows the possible two-vowel sequences in Mauwake. The only possible sequences beginning with the either of the two mid vowels are geminate vowels; no other vowel sequences begin with a mid vowel. The other three vowels may combine with any vowel.

ii	ai	ui
ie ee	ae	ue
ia	aa	ua
io	ao oo	uo
iu	au	uu

Table 6: Vowel sequences

When the second vowel in a vowel sequence is articulatorily the same height or higher than the preceding vowel, the two form a diphthong, i.e. they are part of the same syllable.

/kae/ ['kae] 'my/our grandfather'

/kuina/ ['kui.na] 'woodborer'

/aowa/ ['ao.wa] 'to tie around waist'

When the second vowel is lower than the first, the two vowels form the nuclei of two separate syllables.

/sier/ [si.'er] 'husking stick'

/luaka/ [lu.'a.ka] 'whitebait'

/kia/ [ki.'a] 'white'

The high back vowel /u/ is considered lower than the high front vowel /i/, as it behaves similarly to the non-high vowels when following /i/.

/niuk/ [ni.'uk] 'let them give you'

In an open syllable, all the diphthongs allowed by the language are possible. In a closed syllable, /ao/ is the only diphthong that has not been found; but it is very infrequent in an open syllable too.

Sequences with three vowels are rare: /uau/ and /uai/ are the only ones I have found, and these only occur at morpheme breaks (marked with a hyphen in the examples), and there is a syllable break within the sequence as well.⁴¹

/kua-i-jem/ [kv.'ai.jem] 'I build'

/kua-uk/ [kv.'auk] 'let them build'

0.2.2.3 Consonant sequences

No consonant sequences occur word-initially or -finally. In words with three or more syllables there are some word-medial clusters, which I believe to have resulted from vowel elision. A vowel may be elided from a non-final syllable immediately following a stressed syllable, which is probably the least prominent syllable in the whole word.⁴² It is mainly the high vowels that are dropped, since they are the least sonorant. In the following examples, vowel undergoing elision is underlined in the phonemic representation.

/ikemika/ [i'kemka] 'wound (nn)'

/aakisa/ [a:ksa] 'now, today'

/pisikulaw/ [pi'siklaw] 'grasshopper sp.'

A non-high vowel can also be elided if the adjacent stressed syllable has an identical vowel:

/kerekenam/ [ke'reknam] 'dollar bird'

/toonowaw/ [to:nwaw] 'honey eater'

Occasionally vowel elision takes place in a later syllable than that immediately following the stressed syllable:

/oʔaʔilika/ [oʔaʔilka] 'butterfly'

/aakuniwikin/ [a:kuniwkin] 'talk.2/3p.DS'

⁴¹ A syllable break does not need to coincide with a morpheme break; in the examples above it does not.

⁴² According to ʔ: 11 this is a common process in languages.

In some of these words the original vowel can still be perceived in slow pronunciation, but in others it has disappeared. Consequently, phonemic vowel clusters are currently developing in Mauwake,⁴³ and the distribution of CVC syllables is being extended to include word-medial position as well, and that of VVC and CVVC to include initial position in two-syllable words that have earlier had three syllables (see §2.3.2). No clear rules have been found for the site of the vowel elision, but some tendencies are as follows. Nouns have more elision than verb stems. A vowel is dropped much more often between non-homorganic than homorganic consonants. The voiceless velar plosive /k/ is the most frequent phoneme on either side of the elided vowel.

0.2.3 Word

0.2.3.1 Defining a phonological word in Mauwake

A phonological word is defined on the basis of a primary stress. Words are composed of one or more syllables. The number of syllables seldom exceeds ten, but compound words can be longer. A majority of the words have two or three syllables. Every word has one syllable with a primary stress, and usually one or more unstressed syllables.

In words of two or more syllables, the syllable containing the second vowel is stressed. Thus the first syllable is stressed if it contains a geminate vowel or a diphthong. In all the other cases the second syllable is stressed. When the stressed syllable is long, the stress falls equally on the whole vowel sequence.

/aasa/ [ˈaː.sa] ‘canoe’

/kuija/ [ˈkui.ja] ‘it bites’

/aɸura/ [a.ˈɸu.ra] ‘lime’

/siowa/ [si.ˈo.wa] ‘dog’

/isaimija/ [i.ˈsai.mi.ja] ‘(s)he heats (food)’

Both derivational and inflectional affixes may receive primary stress provided they are in a position where stress is normally placed:

/aw-om-e/ [a.ˈwo.me] ‘weave it for me’

weave-BEN-BNFI1.IMP.2s

⁴³ The present orthography reflects this development in that consonant clusters are written especially 1) where the quality of the elided vowel cannot be established, and/or 2) when the elided form is in very frequent use.

/um-o-k/ [u.'mɒk] 'he/she died'

die-PA-3s

Clitics, on the other hand, never receive stress placement. Grammatically they are words, but phonologically they attach to the preceding word. If the preceding word is monosyllabic and has a short vowel, it still takes the primary stress when a clitic is added. The unmarked pronouns are a case in point: they retain their stress when clitics are added. Some non-phonemic lengthening takes place in the vowel of the pronoun stem.

/jo=ko/ ['jo'.kɔ] 'I'

/jos=ke/ ['jo's.ke] 'I (and not someone else)'

Compound words and some reduplicated words also have a secondary stress. In the second (and third) compound of a compound word, that syllable has a secondary stress which in a single word would receive primary stress:

/soomare-jiawem-ikemik/ ['so:mare-ji'awem-i'kemik] 'we were walking around'

/suuw-orum-ikua/ ['su:w-o'rom-i'kua] 'he is pushing it down'

In those words where a long initial syllable is reduplicated as a whole, the second syllable is also long and receives a secondary stress:

/kui-kuisow/ ['kui.'kui.sow] 'a few'

/suu-suusia/ ['su:.'su:.sia] 'thorny'

0.2.3.2 Distribution of syllables in a word

All syllable types except VC can form a monosyllabic word. In polysyllabic words, the occurrence of a certain syllable type is determined by both its position in the word and the stress.

Table 7 shows what syllable types occur in which positions in a word. A blank space indicates that the syllable type does not occur in that particular word position at all, and parentheses indicate a rare occurrence. Double parentheses indicate new positions for closed syllables formed as a result of vowel elision (see §2.2.3).

Syllable type	Stressed syllables			Unstressed syllables				The only s
	Initial	2nd ⁴⁴	Final	Initial	2nd	3rd-	Final	
V		+	+	+		+	+	+
CV		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
VV	+	(+)	(+)			(+)	+	+
CVV	+	+	(+)			+		+
VC			+				+	
CVC		((+))	+		((+))	((+))	+	+
VVC	((+))		+				+	+
CVVC	((+))		+				+	+

Table 7: Distribution of syllable types

Some distributional characteristics can be summarised as follows. The most frequent syllable type, CV, also has the widest distribution: a stressed initial syllable is the only position where it cannot occur, as an initial syllable with a single short vowel is always unstressed. The same reason accounts for the absence of V syllables in the same position. V syllables also never occur after a geminate vowel or diphthong, so they cannot occupy the second unstressed syllable position. A VV syllable in medial or final position is possible but very rare. The two previous statements may be combined to make the claim that there is some resistance towards VVV sequences in Mauwake. The syllables with a consonant coda only occur word finally, except where vowel elision has changed the syllable structure.

0.2.3.3 Morphophonology

There are not many morphophonological alternations in Mauwake. The most important is the rule system governing the vowel of the past tense suffix and the medial verb same-subject sequential action and simultaneous action suffixes (called the medial verb suffixes⁴⁵ in the discussion below). Others include the change in the verbaliser suffix and the form of the completive aspect marker.

⁴⁴ '2nd' indicates the second non-final syllable, and '3rd-' stands for the third or later non-final syllable in a polysyllabic word.

⁴⁵ There are also other medial verb suffixes, which are not affected by these morphophonological rules.

0.2.3.3.1 Elision of word-final vowel *The phoneme /a/ has a very high frequency as the word-final phoneme, particularly in the nouns and adjectives. It accounts for approximately 85% of all the vowel-final words. In normal and fast speech this /a/ is often dropped from an unstressed word-final CV syllable, especially when followed by a word with an initial vowel.*

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / C_ \# V$

+central

– stress

/koora unowa/ [ko:r u'nowa] 'many houses'

/takira ꜑aara/ [ta'kir '꜑a:ra] 'boys' house'

/siiwa eliwa/ [si:w e'liva] 'good/bright moon'

/ikoka uura/ [i'kok 'u:ra] 'later at night'

In some cases even a stressed /a/ is elided, and the stress moves to the following vowel in the utterance. This mainly happens with the accusative pronouns, which tend towards cliticization (§3.5.3).

/me ne꜑a uru꜑am/ [me ne꜑ 'uru꜑am] 'I didn't see you'

In compound words the final /a/ is dropped from the first constituent even when the second begins with a consonant, except when the final syllable of the first constituent is stressed.

/aara muuka/ [a:r 'mu:ka] 'chick'

/emera tapaka/ [e'mer ta'paka] 'sago cake'

/mera soo/ [me'ra 'so:] 'fish trap'

0.2.3.3.2 Reduplication *There are various patterns of reduplication in Mauwake. With a few exceptions, reduplication takes place at the beginning of the word. The meaning involves plurality in one way or another; with verbs it indicates repeated action and/or the object of the action ending up in several pieces. Occasionally with adjectives it also indicates enhanced quality (§3.3).*

How a word is reduplicated can to some extent be predicted from the phonological shape of the word. Type 1 below is the most common, 2 and 3 are the only possible ones for the words with a short and a long initial vowel respectively. Reduplication process does not always respect syllable boundaries.

Type 1 *Everything up to and including the first vowel of the stressed syllable is reduplicated. Even with the reduplication these words retain the normal stress pattern: the second syllable of the reduplicated form is stressed, because regardless of whether one or two syllables are reduplicated the first syllable in this type is always short. When two of syllables are reduplicated, the originally stressed syllable of the word root gets a secondary stress.*

/pu-puukija/ [pu.'pu:ki.ja] 'cut into pieces'

/pu-puija/ [pu.'pui.ja] 'break into pieces'

/pere-perekija/ [pe.'re.pe."re.ki.ja] 'tear into pieces'

/kiri-kiripija/ [ki.'ri.ki."ri.pi.ja] 'turn round round, mix'

/mane-maneka/ [ma.'ne.ma."ne.ka] '(many) big (things)'

Type 2: $V_1C_1V_1 - V_1C_1V_2C_2V(V_3)X$ *In the words of the second type, the reduplication repeats the initial vowel and consonant of the word root, adding another vowel of the same quality after the consonant. In these words the stress shifts from the second syllable of the root to the final vowel of the reduplicated element. Phonetically this vowel usually merges into one with the following vowel, which always has the same quality. Stresswise this creates an interesting pattern, where a syllable with a primary stress is followed by one with secondary stress. Types 3 and 4 also have this kind of stress pattern.*

/ele-eliwa/ [e.'le."li.wa] '(many) good (things)'

/ara-arow/ [a.'ra."row] 'in threes'

/oko-okaiwi/ [o.'ko."kai.wi] 'this side and that'

Type 3: $V_1V_1C_1 - V_1V_1C_1V_2X$ *A very small group of words has this type of reduplication, where the initial geminate vowel and the following consonant are reduplicated. The result is a word where both the first and the second syllable have a complex nucleus, a word type not allowed in the simple non-reduplicated words. In these reduplicated words the first syllable receives primary stress and the second syllable secondary stress. The first syllable has a syllable pattern (VVC) which is not possible for the first syllable in a non-reduplicated polysyllabic word.*

/iiw-iiwa/ [i: v." i:va] '(many) short (things)'

/iin-iinan/ [i: n." i:nan] '(the things) high up'

Type 4: $C_1V_1V_2 - C_1V_1V_2X$ *In this type the long first syllable is repeated entirely, but nothing else. The two vowels in the initial syllable may be identical or different in quality. This is not a very common pattern.*

/kui-kuisow/ [ˈkui.ˈkui.sow] ‘a few’

/soo-soomarija/ [ˈsoː.ˈsoː.ma.ri.ja] ‘amble, stroll’

Unusual reduplications *The word gelemuta ‘small’ has two unusual reduplicated forms, where the end of the word is changed: gelemutitik and gelemutumut ‘(many) small (things)’. Type 1 reduplication rule can also be applied to these already reduplicated forms, although not to the root.*

/gele-gelemutitik/ [ge.ˈle.ge.ˈle.mu.ti.tik] ‘very small (pl.)’

*/gele-gelemuta/

The verb wafuriya ‘throw’ also has an irregular reduplicated form: only the second syllable is reduplicated.

/waɸuɸurija/ [va.ˈɸu.ɸu.ri.ja] ‘throw around’

The reduplication for the word owowa ‘village’ occurs at the beginning of the word, but it does not follow any of the patterns above. So far it is the only one of its kind found.

/owow-owowa/ [o.ˈwo.woˈwo.wa] ‘(many/all) villages’

Mauwake has a number of nouns of the following the pattern $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ $C_1V_1C_2$, which looks like reduplication, but with the word-final vowel deleted. However, these words do not have any semantic relationship with a corresponding $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ word in cases where the latter may exist. Words of this type are not considered to have resulted from reduplication.

/mulamul/ [muˈlamul] ‘trevally’

/jawejaw/ [jaˈvejav] ‘hunting magic’

Similarly, words of the pattern $C_1V_1 C_1V_1 C_2V_2$ are not considered reduplicated forms. Firstly, there is no semantic relationship with a corresponding $C_1V_1 C_2V_2$ word, even if the latter exists. Secondly, in Mauwake there is a very strong tendency to have the same vowel in the first two syllables of trisyllabic or longer words, whether the consonant is the same or not.

/momora/ [moˈmo.ra] ‘fool(ish)’

/sisina/ [siˈsi.na] ‘edge’

0.2.3.3.3 Past tense and medial verb suffixes ⁴⁶ *There are three past tense verb suffixes for second and third person singular forms, -a, -e and -o. Which one is chosen for which verb is determined mainly by the phonemes in the stem final syllable.*

The two basic allomorphs for the past tense suffix are {-a} and {-E}. /-o/ is a subgroup of the allomorph {-E}. The subgrouping is based on the fact that the -a/-e distinction runs through the whole past tense paradigms and occurs in the medial verb suffixes as well, whereas the -e/-o distinction only occurs in the second and third person past tense forms of some verbs. According to the rounding rule below, {-E} is realized as /-o/ when both following a [+labial] phoneme (either a labial consonant or the high rounded vowel /u/) and preceding a non-labial consonant.

{e} > /o/ / X_{LAB} _ C_{NON-LAB}

aaw-o-k '(s)he got (it)' cf. aaw-e-m 'I got (it)'

mu-o-n 'you swallowed' cf. mu-e-m 'I swallowed'

The discussion below only mentions the past tense suffixes. The vowels in the the medial verb suffixes are the same but do not have the allophonic variation between /-e/ and /-o/.

The morphophonological rules governing the choice of past tense suffixes are listed in their order of relative strength, with regard to the number of cases in the data⁴⁷ as well as the number of exceptions.

RULE 1. With a stem-final high vowel /i/ or /u/, the past tense suffix is always {-E}.

/waki-e-k/ '(s)he fell down'

/nepi-e-k/ '(s)he raised animals'

/mu-o-k/ '(s)he swallowed'

/karu-o-k/ '(s)he ran'

RULE 2. With a stem-final alveolar nasal /n/, the suffix is nearly always /-e/.

/kekan-e-k/ 'it hardened'

/peren-e-k/ 'it tore'

/riirin-e-k/ '(s)he laughed'

/solon-e-k/ 'it glided'

/uuwun-e-k/ '(s)he chatted'

⁴⁶ Most of these rules were originally worked out by Kwan Poh San.

⁴⁷ The count included 273 verbs with the past tense suffix -a, 364 with the suffix -e.

In the data there are 128 verb stems ending in /n/, and only 15 take the suffix {-a}. In some cases there is a conflict between rules 2 and 3 (below), and 13 of those exceptions follow Rule 3.

RULE 3. When the stem final syllable has a low vowel, there is dissimilation between the vowels in the stem final syllable and the past tense suffix. For these morphophonological rules the mid vowels are also considered low, so that there is height distinction only between high and low vowels.

X V (C) + V C

+low +low

α central -α central

The past tense suffix tends to be {-a}, when the last vowel in the stem is /e/ or /o/.

*/aner-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he aimed at’*

*/sirek-**a**-k/ ‘it scratched’*

*/imen-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he found*

*/on-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he did/made’*

*/soop-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he buried’*

In words with /a/ as the last vowel in the stem, the past tense suffix tends to be {-E}.⁴⁸

*/serak-**e**-k/ ‘(s)he wiped’*

*/war-**e**-k/ ‘(s)he killed it’*

*/ma-**e**-k/ ‘(s)he said’*

*/ekap-**o**-k/ ‘(s)he came’*

*/aaw-**o**-k/ ‘(s)he got/took’*

RULE 4. When a high vowel is followed by a stem-final consonant /k/, /t/, /s/, /r/ or /l/, the past tense suffix is {-a}. This group of consonants includes nearly all of the non-labial consonant phonemes; /n/ is handled in Rule 2, the voiced stops never occur stem-finally and /j/ hardly ever does.

*/puuk-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he cut’*

*/mik-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he speared’*

*/itit-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he smashed’*

*/anetir-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he tied’*

*/φuur-**a**-k/ ‘(s)he blew’*

⁴⁸ In the data there are 187 verbs that follow this rule and 19 that do not.

/aɸilil-**a**-k/ 'it was sweet'

With the rest of the verbs, i.e. total of about 25% of all the basic verbs, it is very difficult to find any rules governing the choice of the past tense suffix.

/tiim-**a**-k/ ['ti:mak] '(s)he touched'

/aruɸ-**a**-k/ [a'ruɸak] '(s)he hit'

/oosip-**o**-k/ ['o:sipok] '(s)he sweated'

/ɸiririm-**o**-k/ [ɸi'ririmok] '(s)he squeezed'

/uɸ-**o**-k/ [uɸ'ok] '(s)he danced'

/iw-**o**-k/ [iw'ok] '(s)he gave him/her'

A few verbs apparently have dropped the past tense suffix altogether.

Most of these have the stem ending in the vowel sequence /ua/:

/kua-Ø-k/ 'he built'

/wua-Ø-k/ '(s)he put'

/piipua-Ø-k/ '(s)he left'

Another verb where the past tense suffix vowel seems to have disappeared is /oro-Ø-k/ '(s)he went down'. If the second vowel were to be taken as the suffix this verb would defy the basic rules, since the vowel /o/ is retained right through the past tense paradigm, and with the root vowel /o/ the suffix should be /-a/. Positing /oro-/ as the root solves the question why the present tense form is /ora-/: since /oi/ is not a permitted vowel sequence on Mauwake, the low back vowel /o/ has changed into the low central vowel /a/ when preceding the high front vowel /i/ of the present tense suffix.

The verbs in the Mauwake dictionary are marked as belonging to Class 1 or Class 2, the former taking {-a} and the latter {-E} as the past tense suffix. This is because of the following reasons: 1) the rules are rather complicated, 2) there are a number of exceptions to the main rules, and 3) there are pairs of homophonous verb roots that take a different past tense suffix each.

/iw-**a**-k/ '(s)he went'

/iw-**o**-k/ '(s)he gave him/her'

/miim-**a**-k/ '(s)he heard'

/miim-**o**-k/ '(s)he preceded'

/op-**a**-k/ '(s)he held'

/op-**o**-k/ 'it boiled'

/keen-**a**-k/ 'it touched'

/keen-**e**-k/ ‘it was hot’

0.2.3.3.4 Inchoative suffix *The verbaliser for both adjectives and nouns is the inchoative suffix {-aR}, the root of the verb ‘to become’ (§3.8.2.2.2). In most environments it is realized as /-ar/, but becomes /-al/ when the last syllable of the root contains the lateral consonant /l/. An illustrative example is the word samora/damola ‘bad’, which takes a different verbaliser depending on the root allomorph.*

/supuk-**ar**-e-k/ ‘it got wet’

/duduw-**ar**-e-k/ ‘it became blunt’

/samor-**ar**-e-k/ ‘it broke/spoiled’

/damol-**al**-e-k/ ‘it broke/spoiled’

/memel-**al**-e-k/ ‘it became tame’

In a few cases the inchoative suffix has the form /-al/ although there is no lateral consonant in the root. This might be expected, since there is some fluctuation between the liquids /l/ and /r/ in Mauwake: /eliwa/ ~ /eriwa/ ‘good’, /samora/ ~ /damola/ ‘bad’.⁴⁹

/masi-**al**-e-k/ ‘it became bitter’

0.2.3.3.5 Completive aspect marker *The completive aspect marker (§3.8.5.1.1.1) has its origin in the verb for ‘put’, wua-⁵⁰ but this connection has by now become opaque and the speakers consider it a morpheme on its own, pu-. The initial /p/ results from assimilation with the final /p/ of the same-subject sequential action medial verb form obligatorily preceding the completive morpheme.*

en-ep wu-a-k > enep-pu-a-k ‘(s)he ate’

eat-SS.SEQ put-PA-3s > eat-SS.SEQ-CMPL-PA-3s

0.2.3.4 Loan words

When words are borrowed from other languages, they are usually made to conform to the Mauwake phonology, if they do not originally do so. Thus Tok Pisin kikim ‘kick’ becomes kiikim- in Mauwake; the word retains the original Tok Pisin word-initial stress, and the vowel in the

⁴⁹ In Trans New Guinea, as well as other Papuan, languages it is also very common to have only one liquid, with /l/ and /r/ as allophones of the same phoneme (Wurm 1982:55, Foley 1986:55).

⁵⁰ The verb ‘put’ is commonly used as a completive aspect marker in Papuan languages (§3.8.5.1.1.1).

*first syllable becomes a geminate. The initial glottal fricative /h/ in the original becomes a lengthened vowel in Mauwake, e.g. Tok Pisin *handet* 'hundred' changes into *aandet* in Mauwake.*

The only non-native phoneme regularly retained in the loan word is the velar nasal /ŋ/, particularly prominent in the neighbouring language, Mala, and also used in personal names:

/nadiŋ-ar-e-k/ '(s)he decorated him/herself'

Since consonant sequences are quite rare in Mauwake, loan words with consonant clusters tend to have vowels inserted between the consonants. With the ever-growing influence of Tok Pisin, vowel insertion is getting less common. A combination of a nasal plus a homorganic stop is always retained in a loan word.

Tok Pisin Mauwake English

glas galas glass

trinde tirinde Wednesday

naamba naamba number

handet aandet hundred

0.3 Morphology

0.3.1 Introduction

A grammatical word in Mauwake is defined on the basis of the following main criteria quoted from ? : 12-14:

A grammatical word

- *has as its base one or more lexical roots to which morphological processes apply;*
- *has a conventionalized coherence and meaning.*

When a grammatical word involves compounding or affixation, its component grammatical elements

- *always occur together;*
- *generally occur in a fixed order*

The following supplementary criteria also apply. A word only allows one inflectional affix of any one type (ibid. 15). Also in derivation recursiveness is blocked except in the case of causatives (ibid. 16-17).

Even here the recursion is more ostensible than real, as it does not add another argument into the clause (§3.8.2.3.1). Person/number suffixes act

as word-final boundary markers in finite verbs (ibid. 17). Many words, especially those belonging to the major word classes, “may constitute a complete utterance” (ibid. 19) by themselves.

The boundaries of the grammatical and phonological words coincide, except in the case of clitics. Grammatically a clitic is a word but phonologically it is bound to the preceding word.

The classes of nouns, adjectives, personal pronouns, quantifiers, verbs and adverbials can be reasonably clearly defined both morpho-syntactically and semantically. The classes of question words and deictics include words with heterogeneous syntactic behaviour; question words have semantic and functional, and some morphological similarities as a group, whereas the category of deictics is based on strong morphological and semantic similarities. Connectives share the function of conjoining elements on the same level. As “functor words” postpositions and especially clitics are dependent on the preceding phrase. Interjections are different from all the other word classes in that they operate outside the normal syntax and often constitute a whole expression by themselves.

Nouns are naturally the largest category, but verbs are morphologically the most complex and interesting word class.

Although the great majority of the words in Mauwake can be assigned to one of the categories above, there is some indeterminacy with regard to some words that seem to belong to two or more word classes and the meanings which are clearly related.⁵¹ They are not homonyms, since they are semantically related. Some transitive verbs have been derived by zero derivation from nouns and adjectives, and even from adverbs (§3.8.2.2.1, 3.8.4.4.3). Nominalized verbs (§3.2.6.1) function as nouns or adjectives. At the end of section 3.2.2 there is a list of words that are originally nouns but have become adjectives as well. Some non-numeral quantifiers (§3.4.2) also function as intensity adverbs (§3.9.2). Besides these, there are individual words that function in more than one word class; these are mentioned where they occur.

⁵¹ In Austronesian languages it is common to have pre-categorial stems that may combine with affixation belonging to various word classes; only the whole word may be assigned to a particular word class.

0.3.2 Nouns

0.3.2.1 General discussion

Although the traditional semantic definition of the noun as the “name of a person, place or thing” is not valid as a basis for assigning members to the class, it still gives a good general description of the prototypical members of the class in Mauwake. In Frawley’s (1992:63) words, “when the traditional definition is reversed, the definition turns out to be true. Nouns are not always persons, places or things, but persons, places and things always turn out to be nouns.”⁵² Recognizing the semantic motivation of the class does not eliminate the need to define the class by its formal or functional properties.

No good morphological definition of nouns is possible in Mauwake, as there is no inflection for number (47), gender or class,⁵³ or case, in the noun itself. Especially the lack of plural marking is typical of the nouns in Trans-New Guinea languages (? : 36). The glosses in the following example indicate a singular/plural alternative in the nouns, but the singular form in the glosses of other examples is to be understood as neutral regarding the number.

- i. siowa wiawi

dog(s) father(s)

‘The dog’s/dogs’ owner(s)’

Nouns are usually monomorphemic, with the exception of a small group of inalienably possessed nouns (§3.2.4), nouns derived from verbs (§3.2.6.1), reduplicated nouns (§3.2.6.2) and compound nouns (§3.2.5).

The division into count and mass nouns is not very noticeable. It is mainly shown in the choice between the quantifiers unowa ‘many’ and maneka ‘big, much’, and to some extent in verb agreement morphology (§3.4).

The syntactic function provides the best criterion for defining a noun in Mauwake. Nouns function mainly as the head of a noun phrase, often the head being the only element in the NP.⁵⁴ They can also function as a

⁵² See also Sapir 1921:117, Jespersen 1924:60, Lyons 1977:449 and Schachter 1985:7.

⁵³ Gender or class systems are widespread in Papuan languages (? : 77). Especially in the TNG languages a covert system is common (? : 58), where the noun class determines what existential verb is used with each noun.

⁵⁴ Sometimes an adjective, a quantifier or a genitive pronoun looks like a head of a NP, but those

qualifier or, more rarely, as a modifier in a NP. In (48) NPs, in this case manifested by just nouns, function as subject and object.

- i. Emeria=ke iwera firim-i-mik.

woman=CF coconut gather-Np-PR.1/3p

‘(The) women gather coconuts.’

Hopper and ? : 710 also maintain that “from the discourse point of view, nouns function to introduce participants and ‘props’ and to deploy them”⁵⁵. This is true in Mauwake as well, but it is not used as a criterion for defining the nouns.

0.3.2.2 Nouns and adjectives: one or two word classes?

Since adjectives in Mauwake are phonologically, morphologically and syntactically very similar to nouns, the question must be asked whether the two form just one class of nominals or whether they belong to two separate word classes. In the following discussion they are treated on a semantic basis as if they were separate classes, i.e. certain words are called nouns and others adjectives, but a final conclusion as to their status is not drawn until the end of the section.

A PHONOLOGICALLY interesting feature common to nouns and adjectives is that the majority of both end in the vowel /a/.⁵⁶ Inside noun phrases this vowel, when unstressed, is usually elided preceding a vowel and often also preceding a consonant. In cases like (49), where there are two or more possible places for elision, the vowel most easily drops at the end of an adjective preceding an intensifier. Elision is also acceptable in two or more sites within one NP (50), (51).

(52x3) koora eliw(a) akena, also: koor(a) eliw(a) akena

house good very

‘a very good house’

- i. koor(a) kemena manek(a) akena nain

house inside big very that1

‘the very big room’

cases are elliptical, and the head noun is recoverable.

⁵⁵ Actually this is the function of a NP rather than a noun.

⁵⁶ In the other word classes words ending in /a/ do occur but they are very infrequent.

MORPHOLOGICALLY nouns and adjectives resemble each other in that they lack inflection. There is no number, case, or gender marking in the adjectives, nor is there any inflection for comparison. (For comparison of adjectives, see §6.5).

Both nouns (53) and adjectives (54) may be derived from verbs with the nominaliser suffix -owa.

- i. mua **soop-owa** sira

man bury-NMZ custom

‘the burial custom (lit: the custom of burying men)’

- i. Emi **kekan-owa** nain puuk-a-mik.

taboo be.strong-NMZ that1 cut-PA-1/3p

‘They broke the strong taboo rule.’

Verbs can be derived from both adjectives and nouns by zero verb formation (55), (56) or by the inchoative verbaliser -ar (57). (See §3.8.2.2 for these processes and more examples.)

- i. Miiw-aasa samor-a-k.

land-canoe bad-PA-3s

‘He broke/ruined the car.’

- i. Iwer(a) ififa palis-i-ya.

coconut dry pair.of.coconuts-Np-PR.3s

‘He is tying dry coconuts into pairs.’

- i. Miiw-aasa samor-ar-e-k.

land-canoe bad-INCH-PA-3s

‘The car broke.’

A clear morphological difference between nouns and adjectives is that adverbs may be formed from some adjectives by deleting the word-final /a/, but they cannot be formed from nouns in the same way.

- i. samora > samor

‘bad’ ‘badly’

SYNTACTICALLY there are a few similarities between nouns and adjectives. Both can function as a modifier following the head noun in a NP, although adjectives (58) are much more common in this position. In Hopper and Thompson's (1985:161) terms, it is nouns whose categorial status has been reduced, i.e. nouns that are not fully individuated in the discourse (59), that can function in this modifier position.

- i. aasa **awona** fain

canoe old this

'this old canoe'

- i. mua **sira eliwa**

man manner good

'a well-mannered man (=a good man)'

The intensifier akena 'real(ly), very' can also modify both adjectives (60) and nouns (61).

- i. mua **akena**

man real/true

'a real man'

Complete or partial reduplication of adjectives is a common strategy for indicating plurality in Austronesian languages (? : 62), and it also occurs to some extent in many Papuan languages, including Mauwake.

Reduplication is a more productive process in the adjectives (62), (63), but it is possible for a few nouns too (64), (65) (§3.2.6.2).

- i. ifa **samo-samora**

snake RDP-bad

'bad snakes'

- i. Maa **ele-eliwa** sesek-a-mik.

thing/food RDP-good sell-PA-1/3p

'They sold good foods (different kinds).'

(66x13) Owow-owowa ikiw-e-mik.

RDP-village go-PA-1/3p

'They went to many villages.'

(67x1859) **sira-sira**

custom-custom

‘many customs’, ‘different kinds’

The syntactic DIFFERENCES between nouns and adjectives are as follows. Adjectives do not function as the head of a noun phrase. The cases where they would seem to do so are in fact cases of ellipsis, and the head noun must be recoverable from the context, either linguistic or extra-linguistic.

- i. Ø awona nain p-ekap-e!

Ø old that1 BPx-come-IMP.2s

‘Bring the old one!’

Only a noun may occur as a qualifier in a noun phrase, preceding the head noun (68). In some of these cases it is difficult to decide whether they are really NPs with a qualifier and a head noun, or compound nouns. But if the latter is the case, then the restriction applies that an adjective cannot be the first element in a compound noun.

(69x15) **mera** eka

fish water

‘fish soup’

- i. [[**mera eka**] **en-owa**] sira

fish water eat-NMZ custom

‘the custom of eating fish soup’

An adjective cannot be the only element following a genitive pronoun, but a noun can. Even in elliptical expressions an adjective following a genitive pronoun is not very acceptable (70).

- i. ?Yiena Ø **awona** nain p-ekap-e!

1p.GEN Ø old that1 BPx-come-IMP.2s

‘Bring our old one(s)!’

An exception to this rule is the adjective maneka ‘big’. The expression yiena Maneka ‘our Lord’ (literally: our Big one), is probably formed following Tok Pisin Bikpela bilong yumi.⁵⁷

- i. wi Amerika **maneka**, unuma Magerka

⁵⁷ Non-prototypical adjectives are discussed later in this section; ‘big’ is a prototypical adjective, so its use in a typically nominal position is an exception.

3p.UNM America big name MacArthur

'the leader of the Americans, whose name was MacArthur'

Only an adjective functions as the head of an adjective phrase. In that position it may be modified by intensity adverbs (§3.9.2). Of these, lawisiw 'rather' does not modify nouns at all (71); akena 'very' and pepeke 'enough' may modify nouns as well; wenup 'very' can do that too, but as a noun modifier it has a somewhat restricted use and a different meaning, 'many'.

- i. Mera nain **lawisiw maneka akena**.

fish that1 rather big very

'That fish is rather huge.'

What further obscures the area of nouns and adjectives is the fact that there are a number of words that sometimes function like nouns (72), sometimes like adjectives (73), and also semantically could be like either. (74x20) Pina maneka kamenap?

weight big what.like

'What is the weight like?', 'How big is the weight?'

- i. Maa nain lawisiw **pina**.

thing that1 rather heavy

'The thing is rather heavy.'

The prototype view offers a plausible solution for the problem. Starting from the study of basic colour terms (Berlin and Kay 1969) it has been applied to other areas of semantics and also to linguistic categorization (e.g. Wierzbicka 1986, Taylor 1989 and Frawley 1992). The main idea that categories have more central, or focal, members as well as more marginal members was also recognized by ? in his description of English word classes. The prototype approach allows for stability as well as flexibility (? : 53), both of which are needed in an attempt to describe a human language.

If prototypical linguistic categories are focal, or optimal, instances on a continuum (? : 321) and maximally distinct from one another (? : 709), what are prototypical nouns like as opposed to prototypical adjectives? According to ?, noun indicates CATEGORIZATION: most prototypical nouns identify a certain kind of person, thing or animal. Relative TEMPORAL STABILITY is for Givón what characterizes nouns, and the

most prototypical nouns denote concrete, physical, compact entities (1984:51). Instead of time stability, ? : 66 claims it is relative ATEMPORALITY that makes an entity an entity. Adjectives, or property concepts, indicate DESCRIPTION, and they denote single properties unlike nouns which denote a cluster of properties (?).

In Mauwake, a prototypical noun occurs as a head in a NP, as a pre-modifier or, less frequently, as a post-modifier in a NP, or as any element in a compound noun. It does not occur as the head in an AP. It can be modified by adjectives or genitive pronouns but not by the intensity adverbs *lawisiw* 'rather' and *wenup* 'very'. Prototypical ADJECTIVES occur as the head of an adjective phrase. They do not pre-modify nouns or function as the first element in a compound noun. It turns out that in Mauwake the most prototypical nouns include names of concrete NON-human rather than human objects, when one would expect words referring to human beings to be nouns PAR EXCELLENCE (see Taylor 1989:192). Some human nouns may be used as post-modifiers in a NP: from the cluster of properties denoted by the noun one has been picked out, and the noun is used like an adjective (75), (76). The adjectival use of *mua* 'man' in (77) is particularly interesting, because the adjectives *morena* 'male' and *suwina* 'female' are used for animals.

i. *labuel(a) mua*

pawpaw man
'male pawpaw'

i. *donki takira*

donkey young.person
'young donkey'

The less prototypical status of human nouns also shows in words like *apura* 'widow' and *oosa* 'widower' which may occur by themselves as heads of a NP, but which are most typically used as post-modifiers of *emeria* 'woman' and *mua* 'man', respectively.⁵⁸ As age in human beings tends to be treated as a crucial determinant of KIND, even languages with large adjective classes often have special nouns for

⁵⁸ Other words in this group are *muupera* 'visitor, guest' and especially *weria*, which as a human noun only occurs in the combination *mua weria*, 'uncle/ male cross cousin/ nephew'. The *mua weria*'s are responsible for burying a dead person and dispensing of his/her belongings (1.3.6).

referring to old persons (?: 368). In Mauwake, adjectives that indicate age in humans are non-prototypical, more noun-like than most adjectives: both *iperowa* ‘middle-aged’ and *panewowa* ‘old’ are used as the head of a NP besides the typical adjectival use.

(78x25) **Iperowa** opora wiar miim-i-yen.

middle-aged talk 3.DAT hear-Np-FU.1p

‘We will listen to the talk of the middle-aged (men).’

According to ?: 56, if a language has adjectives at all, words expressing age, dimension, value and colour are likely to belong to the adjective class, however small the class. The most prototypical adjectives in Mauwake belong to these groups, with the exception of adjectives denoting human age, discussed above. In the group of adjectives denoting either physical property or human propensity, some are ambiguous as to their basic category: *anima* is both ‘blade’ and ‘sharp’, and *pina* both ‘weight, burden’ and ‘heavy’. Different groups of adjectives, as well as the use of adjectives, are discussed below in Section 3.3.

With the rules given above it is fairly straightforward to distinguish the nouns and adjectives in Mauwake. But a small group remains that seems to have a membership in both classes. Originally they are nouns that have now been employed as adjectives as well. The claim is based on the fact that the noun category is the more basic and universally recognized, whereas the existence of the adjective category is disputed in some languages; and in Mauwake the noun class is clearly established, large, and more easily definable. Also, there are at least two nouns in Mauwake that currently seem to be in the process of becoming regular adjectives: the meaning of the phrase stays the same with the pre-modifying noun and the post-modifying adjective.

(79x108) **napum(a)** mua

sickness man

‘a sick man’

i. mua **napuma**

man sick

‘a sick man’, also: ‘human (lit: man’s) sickness’

(80x1822) **wadol(a)** opora

lie/false talk

‘a lie’

i. opor(a) **wadola***talk lie/false**'a lie'**Below is a list of the most common of the words functioning both as nouns and as adjectives:**anima 'blade, point, edge' 'sharp'**afila 'grease' 'greasy, sweet'**foma 'ashes' 'grey'**ikina 'smell' 'smelly'**irauwa 'hole' 'deep'**makena 'true' 'truth, essential nature'**napuma 'sickness, corpse' 'sick'**pina 'weight, burden, guilt' 'heavy'**siisia 'design, pattern' 'spotted, patterned'**tumina 'dirt' 'dirty'**wadola 'lie' 'false, fake'***0.3.2.3 Common vs. proper nouns**

There is very little difference between common and proper nouns in Mauwake, and it can be questioned whether the two should be grouped separately as is traditionally often done in language descriptions. Proper nouns are sometimes classified separately because they are said to be unable to have modifiers (? : 152), and in practice, they usually occur without any modifiers. This is related to the fact that they normally only have a referent, but no intension. In most of the cases where a proper noun is modified, "it lacks a unique reference and is being used as a common noun" (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:59):

(81x26) I mean the old and cranky Joe Smith, not the younger one.

The most common type of a proper noun is a name of a PERSON. A proper noun may also become a true common noun, when one or more of the qualities of a person are used to characterise some other being (? : 66). For example, the name of a well-known expatriate, Jooren, was borrowed by Mauwake speakers to mean 'a stingy shopkeeper' (that is, one who does not sell things on credit and does not give discount to relatives).

In Mauwake proper names can be modified without difficulty, especially by the demonstrative nain 'that', but also by adjectives. In a culture

where there are several namesakes, and surnames are rarely used, modifiers are occasionally needed to distinguish between people (82).
(83x27) **Adek panewowa nain** ma-i-yem.

Adek old that1 say-Np-PR.1s

'I am talking about the old Adek.'

But even proper names that have a unique reference and do not need to be distinguished from any other referent can be modified:

(84x106) **Dabe fain** uuw-ow(a) mua=ke.

Dabe this work-NMZ man=CF

'Dabe here is a hard worker.'

In this case the behaviour of proper names is similar to that of the personal pronouns, which also have unique reference, but can be modified nevertheless. Van Valin and LaPolla (ibid. 59-60) note that languages may vary in how freely they allow proper nouns and pronouns to take modifiers.

Name taboos influence the use of personal names in several ways. A person is given many different names: at least one from each parents' side (as in-laws may not mention each others' names), a baptismal name, and possibly others as well. These names are used by different people. Name taboos may be avoided by calling someone by a teknonym like 'Sarak's father', or by calling a wife by the husband's name when she is with the in-laws and the husband is not around. Nicknames, often referring to physical properties, are also very common: buburia 'bald', mua kuuma 'lame' (literally 'stick-man'). The term 'namesake' is very common and even used of people who have been named after different names of the same person. Two boys, Yoli and Wangali, were called namesakes of each other, as they were both named after the same ancestor.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of personal names is DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC: in a text their token frequency is very low.

Especially the main participant, once (s)he has been mentioned by name – if (s)he ever is – (s)he is then usually referred to by other means: a NP, pronoun, or just person marking on the verb.

Besides the names of people, PLACE NAMES form another large group of proper names. In Mauwake, the proper name often modifies a generic noun: Moro (owowa) 'Moro (village), Siburten (ema) 'Siburten (mountain/hill)', Nemuru (eka) 'Nemuru (river)' (§4.1).

The place name is also used when the inhabitants are referred to. When

reference is made to an individual or a select group, the place name is used as a qualifier in the noun phrase:

(85x421) **Amiten** mua oko ekap-o-k.

Amiten man other come-PA-3s

'A man from Amiten came.'

When the whole group is referred to, a plural pronoun is added to the place name:

(86x422) **I Moro=ke** uf-e-mik.

1p.UNM Moro=CF dance-PA-1/3p

'We Moro people danced.'

(87x423) **(Wi) Lasen wia** nokar-e-k.⁵⁹

3p.UNM Lasen 3p.ACC ask-PA-3s

'He asked the Lasen people'

0.3.2.4 Alienable and inalienable possession

The Austronesian languages in Melanesia tend to have very elaborate semantically based possessive systems that indicate the relationship between the "possessor" and the "possession": kin relation, body part, food etc. Inalienable possession is indicated by affixation on the noun, alienable possession by a separate possessive pronoun. Because of this, the simpler inalienable possession marking also evident in many TNG languages could easily be attributed to influence from Austronesian languages. But ? : 28 claims it is likely that even Proto TNG had inalienable nouns before there was any contact with Austronesian languages.⁶⁰ In Mauwake the division into alienably and inalienably possessed nouns is along the lines of kinship terms (see §1.3.6 for a kinship chart). Most kin terms obligatorily indicate who the "possessor" is:

1s/p 2s/p 3s/p possessor

a. auwa niawi wiawi 'father'

b. aite niena onak 'mother'

c. paapa neepe weepe 'elder sibling'

d. (y)aamun niamun wiamun 'younger sibling'

e. yaaya nie wie 'uncle'

⁵⁹ The optional initial pronoun *wi* is part of the object here, not a subject pronoun.

⁶⁰ On the time frames of TNG occupation and Austronesian migration, see e.g. ? : 39-41.

- f. paapan noopan woopan 'aunt'
- g. kae neke weke 'grandfather'
- h. kome nokome wokome 'grandmother'
- i. eremena neremena weremena 'nephew, niece'
- j. emar, yomar nomar womar '(cross-)cousin'
- k. yomokowa nomokowa womokowa 'brother'⁶¹
- l. (y)ekera nekera wekera 'sister'
- m. (y)emi nemi wemi '(man's) brother-in-law'
- n. epua nepua wepua '(woman's) brother-in-law'⁶²
- o. yomora nomora womora 'sister-in-law'
- p. yopariw nopariw wopariw 'husband's brother's wife'
- q. yamekua namekua wamekua 'daughter-in-law'⁶³
- r. yar nar war 'son-in-law'
- s. yookati nookati wookati 'co-wife'⁶⁴
- t. yomawa nomawa womawa 'namesake'

The possessive prefixes y-, n- and w- in the inalienably possessed nouns developed from the first, second, and third person pronouns. These prefixes are in the process of merging with the root. The terms in (a-j) above are somewhat more lexicalized than the ones in (k-s): the first person prefix is mostly lost, and in some cases there is suppletion in the stem. These are some of the socially most important and frequently used kinship terms. The frequent use probably accounts for the omission of the possession prefix in the first person: these terms are used more as terms of address, whereas the other kinship nouns are only needed as terms of reference. Also, there is a tendency to drop the first person prefix before the front vowel /e/ regardless of the closeness of the kinship relation.

The "possessors" are differentiated as first, second or third person but not as single vs. plural. An unmarked (88) or a genitive (89), (90) pronoun

⁶¹ Among siblings, age is more important than sex: *paapa* and *aamun* are used very frequently and for siblings of either gender. When the gender is in focus, *yomokowa* is used for 'my brother' and *ekera* for 'my sister' especially by siblings of the opposite sex.

⁶² A woman calls her elder sister's husband *auwa* 'father', but the other brothers-in-law are *epua*.

⁶³ Some in-law relations are non-symmetrical: even though there are special terms for sons- and daughters-in-law, *auwa* '(my) father' and *aite* '(my) mother' are used for '(my) mother-in-law' and '(my) father-in-law'.

⁶⁴ This term dates back to the time when polygamy was practiced; it was used for the wives of the same man.

may be used to either make this number distinction or to emphasise the kin relationship, when the relationship is used as a term of reference rather than as a term of address.

(91x1311) Kuuten **wiawi** iperowa, **yo auwa** kapa=**ke**.

Kuuten 3s/p.father firstborn 1s.UNM 1s/p.father lastborn=CF

'Kuuten's father was the firstborn, my father the lastborn.'⁶⁵

(92x28) Aakisa **yena auwa** kapa fain=**ke** yia uruf-i-ya.

now 1s.GEN 1s/p.father lastborn this=CF 1p.ACC see-Np-PR.3s

'Now this lastborn of my "fathers" watches over us.'

i. Sa, a **nena nie=ke**, **nena nepua=ke**,

INTJ INTJ 2s.GEN 2s/p.uncle=CF 2s.GEN 2s/p.brother-in-law
niawi=**ke**.

2s/p.father

'(Don't you understand,) those are your uncle(-in-law), your
brother-in-law and father(-in-law).'

When a neutral, "non-possessed", kinship term is needed, the first person form is used. This is interesting, as the third person singular is typically considered the neutral, or unmarked, form. The terms '(my) mother' and '(my) father' are also used as respectful terms of address for almost any stranger regardless of age, or for anyone whose status in the kinship system is uncertain.⁶⁶

Four alienably possessed nouns, namely those for 'man', 'woman', 'boy' and 'girl', have been taken into the kinship system for terms of some nuclear family members:

mua 'man, husband'

emeria 'woman, wife'

muuka 'boy, child, son'

wiipa 'girl, daughter'

Also the term *nembesir* 'ancestor (beyond grandparents)' or 'descendant (beyond grandchildren)' is an alienably possessed noun, possibly because relatives so far removed in time are considered less relevant. It is used both for males and females. But the term for 'namesake', *yomawa*, is included in the inalienably possessed kinship terms, as a child is

⁶⁵ Both of these fathers could be called *auwa* 'my/our father(s)' by the two men.

⁶⁶ I have been addressed as "mother" by an old man who temporarily forgot what my status according to their kinship system was - I was actually his granddaughter!

named after some relatives, and the namesake relation forms an additional bond between them.

0.3.2.5 Noun compounding

The distinction between compound nouns and noun phrases is a problematic area in many languages, including Mauwake. Both are formed by combining independent elements into larger units, and their form and meaning are largely based on the form and meaning of those elements (Anderson 1985a:40). Phonological, morphological, syntactic as well as semantic criteria have been called upon to differentiate between compounds and phrases.

*In many languages, “word accent” (?: 204), i.e. stress and/or pitch, helps to distinguish compounds. In Mandarin Chinese, contrastive stress can only fall on the “stress center” of a word, including compounds (Anderson 1985a:41). In Finnish, the primary stress is on the first, and only on the first, syllable of even very long compound words like *kuluttajansuoja-asiamiesverkostokysymys* ‘the question of consumer ombudsman network’, but even in Finnish there are unclear cases like *valveillaolo* vs. *valveilla olo* ‘being awake’. In the latter, the varying writing convention reflects the ambiguity.*

Linguists differ in their views about the importance of stress placement in interpreting English compounds. ?: 228 and ?: 41 consider it criterial, and so do ?: 1330, although more cautiously. ?: 120 takes it as one premise for his study of compounds while admitting that the case is not very well substantiated. Others, like ?: 31, ? and ? do not consider a single primary stress essential for compounds. According to ?: 105, Lyons’ (1968:202) criteria for judging “wordness” in English, i.e. positional mobility and uninterruptability (or internal stability) do not distinguish between single- and double-stressed compounds.

*Morphology may place constraints on compounding. In English, the genitive is common in phrases but rare in compounds: *duck’s egg* vs. *duck-egg* (Anderson 1985a:41).⁶⁷ In Finnish, the first part of a compound is often in the nominative or genitive case, whereas the other cases are infrequent in this position. In German, certain elements may serve as morphological “glue” between the parts of a compound (ibid. 42).*

The two criteria for wordness by ?: 202 mentioned above are syntactic in

⁶⁷ But note also *women’s lib(eration)*, a compound.

*nature: a word, hence also a compound, is moved as one unit, and cannot be interrupted by other words as a phrase often can. These criteria do not apply to all, and only, compound words, but they are useful in trying to establish the difference between compounds and phrases in a given language. ? : 232 adds another one: a member of a compound generally cannot serve as a constituent in a syntactic construction. One can say a very black bird but not * a very blackbird. The semantic interpretation of phrases is generally quite compositional: the meaning of the whole can be deduced from the meanings of the words. Compounds are more heterogeneous in their interpretation: some are compositional, whereas others involve special interpretive principles not applicable to phrases. Also, compounds as words are subject to changes of meaning, so many compounds may have meanings that are only vaguely or metaphorically related to that which is predicted on the basis of the parts (Anderson 1985a:42). Knowledge of the pragmatics of the situation may be needed for the interpretation of many compound words (Bauer 1983:58). The more fully lexicalized the compounds are, the more the meaning of the whole may deviate from the meaning of the parts. The same compound word may also be fully lexicalized in a certain context, and still be open for other interpretations in other contexts (Andrew Pawley, p. c.).*

While there are languages where it is easy to distinguish between compound nouns and noun phrases, in others there is an intermediate area between the two. Thus ? : 810 doubts that the dividing line is always well-defined, and Quirk et al. (1989:1569) suggest the concept of “partial compounding” to account for the formal and semantic gradience between compounds and phrases in English. Bringing a historical viewpoint to the question, citing developments in English both from phrase to compound and from compound to phrase, ? : 102 offers a very liberal view: “it is of no consequence whether we reckon [the] doubtful cases as one word or two words, for ... a word group (like a single word) may be either primary or an adjunct or a subjunct”.

None of the criteria mentioned above can be easily applied in Mauwake. SEMANTICALLY there is a continuum between fully compositional noun phrases and fully lexicalized compounds. But Bloomfield (1933:227) warns that the greater specialization in meaning in the compound words as against phrases should not be used as a criterion, as “we cannot gauge meanings accurately enough, and many a phrase is as specialized