NOTES ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE INANWATAN LANGUAGE¹

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Whereas the languages of the western and eastern parts of the Bird's Head have rather simple morphologies, Inanwatan, spoken on the south coast of the Bird's Head, has a relatively complex morphology.

Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, tense, mood, aspect, negation and gender. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. The most frequent order in the clause is S O V.

Gender is a pervasive feature of the morphology, affecting all major wordclasses. Gender in nouns seems to be determined by the last vowel, with as a general rule, nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) being masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/ and /a/) feminine.

1 Introduction

Inanwatan (or: Bira) is a Papuan language of the Inanwatan family spoken on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Voorhoeve (1975: 440) and the survey reports of Gravelle (1986), Berry and Berry (1987) and Kempf (n.d.) contain some rudimentary information about the language.²

The Inanwatan language is spoken in three places. Firstly, in the village Inanwatan on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula, where the Siganoi waters into the MacCluer Gulf. Inanwatan is the main village of the Inanwatan district (*Kecamatan Inanwatan*). Secondly, at the southern entrance of Sele Strait which separates Salawati island from the Bird's Head peninsula. And finally in the Jalan Ferry area of the city of Sorong, the capital of the Sorong regency. These three communities maintain intensive contacts and I have not been able to detect dialectal differences when I visited those communities. The Sele Strait and Sorong communities consist of migrants from the village Inanwatan.

The Inanwatan language is dying out. Generally speaking, only people older than fifty speak and understand it well. Children of elementary school age do not know the language; they speak Indonesian. Whereas the Inanwatan people as an ethnic group number about 3000, I estimate the number of people fluently speaking Inanwatan to be no

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² I should thank Bert Voorhoeve for giving me his unpublished notes on the Inanwatan language based on work with an Inanwatan informant in Bintuni, Irian Jaya, in 1982.

higher than 800. The great majority of these 800 is also fluent in local varieties of Indonesian. Very extensive code-mixing and code-switching between Indonesian and Inanwatan occurs.

The Inanwatan language belongs to the Inanwatan family, one of the sixty odd families of Papuan languages. The Inanwatan family has two member languages, Inanwatan and Duriankari (also called Duriankere). It is very doubtful whether Duriankari, reported by Voorhoeve (1975: 440) as spoken on the island of Duriankari at the southern entrance of Sele Strait, still exists.³ When I visited the Inanwatan speaking community of the village Seget, situated at the southern entrance to the Sele Strait, in March 1994, the Inanwatan people there claimed that the Duriankari language was no longer used.

The name Inanwatan originates from a Patipi expression meaning 'sago only' or 'it is all sago' (inan 'sago' and sewatan 'one'). The Inanwatan people call their language the Irárowataro language, an adaptation of this Patipi expression to the sound patterns of the Inanwatan language. Neither final consonants nor consonant clusters are allowed. In loan words vowels are added to maintain the licit pattern (Inanwatan>Inanowatano). Also, the phoneme /n/ has [r] as its intervocalic allophone resulting in the pronunciation [irárowata-ro].

The Patipi name Inanwatan reflects both the landscape and the political history of the Inanwatan area. The Inanwatan landscape is dominated by immense sago swamps which inspired Patipi traders to call the area Inanwatan ("it is all sago"). As far as the political history is concerned, Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. The North-Moluccan Sultans of Tidore had their 'middle men' in the Onin area, who established trade monopolies on the Bird's Head south coast, especially where major rivers watered into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These 'middle men' had the Malay title raja 'king'. There were raja's in Rumbati, Patipi, Ati-Ati and Fatagar and each raja had his own section of the Bird's Head south coast where he had some influence through representatives who settled near river mouths (see Vink 1932: 41). The raja of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. To get slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for the slaves, they received cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. Although these raja's of Patipi never established a regular government in the Inanwatan area, the Patipi colonists in Inanwatan married local women and Patipi words were borrowed by the Inanwatan language.4

With the arrival of the Dutch colonial administration in Inanwatan in 1908, the Patipi influence diminished, although the Dutch initially ruled the Inanwatan area through appointed Patipi *raja* who were called *raja-commissie* (kówisi in the Inanwatan language). Old Inanwatan people told me that the first protestant evangelists in Inanwatan (from 1908 on) used a mixture of Patipi and Malay in their sermons.

The relationship with Onin and Patipi is strongly reflected in the oral tradition of the Inanwatan people. For example, I recorded a story about Naworae, the first raja of

³ In one of the flood myths of the Inanwatan, the Duriankari speakers are regarded as Inanwatan people who in ancient times were carried off to the Sele Strait area by a flood.

⁴ To confirm the Patipi origin of the name Inanwatan and to investigate lexical links between Inanwatan and Patipi, an Austronesian language, I visited the Patipi speaking village Kokas in October 1995. Examples of Inanwatan words with Patipi origin: náti 'raja (king)' (>Patipi nati), nóto 'cloth; sarong' (>Patipi not), pásao 'rice'(>Patipi pasa), sósorao 'forked fishing spear' (>Patipi sosona), pípiso 'money' (>Patipi pitis).

Inanwatan who came from Patipi. He became the father of the Inanwatan clan Nawora. This clan name also occurs in the Onin area, in the village Puar, and the Inanwatan Naworae people and the Onin Namora people regard each other as kinsmen.

Apart from the migrant communities of Sele Strait and Sorong, all speakers of Inanwatan live in one village, Inanwatan. To the east and north of Inanwatan, the Puragi language is spoken in the villages Saga, Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Puragi belongs to the South Bird's Head family to which Arandai also belongs (Voorhoeve 1985). Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family, spoken in the villages Mugim and Yahadian, is the western neighbour of the Inanwatan language.

In initial survey work, I found only 8% possible cognates between Yahadian and Inanwatan (16 cognates in 202 items) whereas I found 25% cognates between Inanwatan and Puragi (52 cognates in 199 items). Furthermore, Inanwatan shows many correspondences with Puragi in phonology and morphology whereas the Yahadian phonology and morphology are strikingly different from Inanwatan and Puragi. Since cognate percentages tend to turn out much higher in later research than revealed by initial surveys, the results of my survey shed doubt on a separate status of the Inanwatan family. Of course, further research is needed to establish Inanwatan as a member of the South-Bird's Head family.

The following chart gives the tentative consonant phoneme inventory with allophones between square brackets⁵:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives vl. vd.	p [p] b [b]	t [t] d [d]		k [k] g [g]	q [q]
Fricatives	$\Phi \ [\Phi,p\Phi]$	s [s,ts]			
Nasals	m $[m,\beta,w]$	n [n,r]			
Semi-vowel	S		(j [j])		

The tentative vowel phonemes are:

	Front	Central	Back
Close Half-close	i [i,ι] e [ε,e]		u [u] o [⊃,o]
Open		a [a]	

⁵ For practical reasons, I use the graphemes q for the glottal stop phoneme /q/, f for / Φ /, y for /j/. The phoneme /m/ is realised as follows. The allophone [m] occurs word-initially, [w] medially adjacent to rounded vowels (i.e. followed and/or preceded by /o/ or /u/) and [β] elsewhere. Examples: [múwur \supset] 'river'; [na $\beta\epsilon$] 'me (object)'. For intervocalic non-nasal allophones of /m/, I use the grapheme w, for the word-initial [m] I use m. The phoneme /n/ has two allophones [n] and [r]. The allophone [n] occurs only word-initially and [r] only word-medially. For word-medial (intervocalic) realisations of /n/, the grapheme r is used in the morphological data.

Inanwatan syllables can be subsumed under one type of syllable: (C)V(V). Neither word-final consonant nor consonant clusters occur. Stress is phonemic.

2 Nouns

2.1 Inflection

Number (singular and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine) are distinguished in nouns. In the plural, the gender distinctions are neutralised.

Gender in nouns seems to be determined by the last vowel, with as a general rule, nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) being masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/ and $/a/^6$) feminine. Some nouns ending in a front vowel are feminine but I have not found nouns ending in a non-front vowel which were masculine. The great majority of nouns is feminine. Examples:

- (1) méqaro i-ówo-i house ATTR-that.F-SG⁷ 'that house'
- (2) suqére i-óso-i sago ATTR-that.M-SG 'that sago'

In a minority of nouns, gender has a semantic basis (male and female). This class comprises nouns denoting humans (for example qotoqówaro 'daughter', qotoqóware 'son'), domesticated animals (for example mewáqoto 'female dog', mewáqote 'male dog') and a number of inanimate nouns such as human body-parts and body-fluids (for example áruqo 'blood (of a female)', áruqi 'blood (of a male))', orientational nouns which take the human body as point of reference (for example edúduro 'left (of a female)', edúduri 'left (of a male)', the noun néro 'name (of a female)', néri 'name (of a male)' and other nouns associated with the body (for example awúwuro 'strength (of a female)', awúwuri 'strength (of a male)'. Consider the following examples:

- (3) *itigi mír-i mé-tutú-rita-bi* he belly-M 3.S-ache-DUR-M.SG 'he has pain in his belly'
- (4) *itigo mír-o mé-tutú-rita* she belly-F 3.S-ache-DUR 'she has pain in her belly'.

This minority of nouns has a high profile in the language because body-related nouns are used in the expression of a wide range of lexical and grammatical meanings such as

⁶ I have not yet encountered nouns ending in /u/.

⁷ Abbreviations are listed at the end of the paper.

reflexivity, spatial orientation, cognition, emotion and experiential expressions. Examples:

- (5) ira-gír-i me-wutáu-sa-bi body(GEN)-skin-M 3.S-kill-FUT-M 'He wants to kill himself.'
- (6) náwe a-qer-ó ígo-ra me.O your-ear-F think-IMP.SG 'You (female) must remember me!'
- (7) n-awira-sow-o írowo-soi me-badá-rita-be my-belly(GEN)-stomach-F body-this.M.SG 3.S-bad-DUR-HOD 'I(female) hate him.'

The Inanwatan language has borrowed many nouns, especially from Patipi, Dutch and Indonesian. Loans denoting humans have /e/ or /i/ added when they denote males and /o/ when they denote females, for example Indonesian *pendeta* '(protestant) minister', Inanwatan *páditao* '(female) minister', *páditae* '(male) minister'.

The other loans are assigned a gender on the basis of their final vowel, if they end in a vowel. When they end in a consonant, they are assigned a gender by the addition of /o/ or /e,i/. Examples: éwero 'pail' (<Dutch emmer), pípiso 'money' (>Patipi pitis), kómpasi 'compass' (<Dutch kompas), káparo 'ship' (<Indonesian kapal), pótoroti 'pencil' (<Dutch potlood). The addition of vowels is done arbitrarily, that is, I have not (yet) been able to find a semantic criterion determining the gender-integration of such inanimate nouns.⁸

Plurality is marked by a suffix -o, which replaces the last vowel of the noun stem, (8) and (9). This means that for the majority of nouns (which have /o/ as stem-final vowel) there is no formal distinction between singular and plural forms. Sometimes, reduplication of the noun is used, (10). Some nouns, especially kinship nouns, have suppletive plural forms, (11). Examples:

- (8) dáre 'fern'
- (9) dáro 'ferns'
- (10) *méqaro-wéqaro* house-house 'houses'
- (11) *nówi* 'mother's brother' nótatabo 'mother's brothers'

Feminine nouns have a genitival form in which the final vowel of the noun-stem is replaced by /a/. Masculine nouns remain unchanged in genitival position. Examples:

⁸ In Puragi, the neighbouring language to the north and east of Inanwatan, the vowel opposition which expresses the feminine/masculine opposition in human nouns (final /o/: female, final /i/: male), expresses size/quantity in inanimate nouns, e.g. amepuri 'wind', amepuro 'strong wind'.

- (12) bído 'pig'
- (13) bidá érasoe pig(GEN) fat 'pig's fat'
- (14) qégedi 'sun'
- (15) qégedi órewo sun woman 'daughter of the sun'

The genitival relation may also be expressed by the associative morpheme aga(o):

(16) Ariqiware agao séro-wai
Ariqiware ASS story-this.F.SG
'the story of Ariqiware'

Coordination of nouns (and verbs) is done with -(e)re:

(17) mírago-ere náto-ere machete-and knife-and 'a machete and a knife'

2.2 Derivation

Nouns referring to humans characterized by a quality X can be derived by adding -ewi (M), -ewo (F) and -ewe (PL) to the noun denoting X, with its final vowel elided, as follows:

- (18) náto 'wound'
 nátewi 'wounded man'
 nátewo 'wounded woman'
 nátewe 'wounded people'
- (19) qówe 'penis'
 qówewi 'man' (polite)
 óro 'vagina'
 órewo 'woman' (polite)
- (20) mído 'snot' mídewi 'snotty nose(M)' (abusive)
- (21) igo 'tinea' '(male)sufferer from tinea' 'sufferers from tinea'

Nouns referring to humans characterized by an action X can be derived from the habitual aspect form of the verb denoting X, which is X-rita. The derivational suffixes are -we (M), -wo (F) or -(ra)saru (PL). Examples:

- (22) buqá-rita-we 'writer'
 buqá-rita-wo '(female) writer'
 buqá-rita-saru 'writers'
- (23) neqódi-rita-we 'thief'
- (24) mutau-rita-we 'killer'

The feminine forms of this derivation are also used for nominalization of the verb:

(25) mutau-rita-wo-wai bada-o-wo kill-HAB-F-this.F.SG bad-F-be.3.SG.F 'killing is bad'

3 Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns of Inanwatan are differentiated for subject, object and emphatic subject positions:

subject	object	emphatic(subject)
ná-iti/ná-ri	ná-we	né-wa
á-iti/á-ri	á-we	é-wa
íti-gi	(-sai)	mé-wa
íti-go	(-wai)	mé-wa
ní-iti	ní-we	ní-de-wa-wa-ro
dá-iti	í-we	de-wa-wa-ro
í-ti	í-we	de-wa-wa-ro
íti-ga	(-wasu)	mé-wa-wa-ro
	ná-iti/ná-ri á-iti/á-ri íti-gi íti-go ní-iti dá-iti í-ti	ná-iti/ná-ri ná-we á-iti/á-ri á-we íti-gi (-sai) íti-go (-wai) ní-iti ní-we dá-iti í-we í-ti í-we

The enclitic forms for third person objects are demonstrative forms (see (36)) functioning as personal pronouns.

3.2 Possessive pronouns

Inanwatan has both free and bound possessive pronominal forms:

(27)	Free	Bound
1SG.M	náre-so	na-
1SG.F	naridó-wo	na-
2SG.M	áre-so	a-
2SG.F	aridó-wo	<i>a</i> -
3SG.M.male	tigidáe-so	-
3SG.M.female	tigáe-so	-
3SG.F.male	tigidá-wo	-
3SG.F.female	(tigu)a-wo	-
1PL.IN.M	dáe-so	da-
1PL.IN.F	dáro-wo	da-
1PL.EX.M	níri-so	ni(da)-
1PL.EX.F	nírido-wo	ni(da)-
2PL.M	íri-so	i(da)-
2PL.F	írido-wo	i(da)-
3PL.M	tigáe-so	-
3PL.F	(tig)a-wo	_

The free forms express gender of the possessor. The third person singular free forms express double gender: male or female possessor plus the cross-referenced gender of the possessed noun (masculine: -so; feminine: -wo). Examples:

- (28) tigidáe-so suqére his-M sago 'his sago'
- (29) tigae-so suqére her-M sago 'her sago'

The bound forms, used for body parts and kinship terms, do not differentiate gender. These inalienably possessed nouns indicate gender by the stem-final vowel (see above). The bound forms occur only in the first and second person. When possession is not expressed on inalienably possessed nouns, third person possessors are understood. Examples:

- (30) ná-wir-i me-tutú-rita-bi my-belly-M 3.S-hurt-DUR-M 'I (male) have pain in my belly.'
- (31) mír-o me-tutú-rita belly-F 3.S-hurt-DUR 'She has pain in her belly.'

(32) mír-i-sai me-tutú-rita-bi belly-F-this.M.SG 3.S-hurt-DUR-M 'He has pain in his belly.'

The final vowel of the bound forms is elided before noun-initial vowels (na-ep-e > n-ép-e 'my-foot-M') except before noun-initial /o/ in which case the first /o/ of the noun is elided (for example $na-or-o > n\acute{a}-r-o$ 'my-vagina-F').

3.3 Reflexive pronouns

The noun *ira-gir-o/i* 'body' (lit. body.GEN-skin-M/F) is used as a reflexive pronoun, as follows:

(33) reflexive forms

1SG.male n-íragir-i
1SG.female n-íragir-o
2/3SG.male íragir-i
2/3SG.female/3PL íragir-o
1PL.EX níd-iragir-o
1PL.IN/2PL d-íragir-o

Examples:

- (34) *n-íragir-i nó-ura-bi* my-body-M 1SG.S-see-HOD.M 'I see myself.'
- (35) *iragir-o túpo mé-ri-be*body-F poisonous.vine 3.S-drink-HOD
 'She poisoned herself'

4. Demonstratives

In (36), the demonstrative forms are presented.

The postclitic forms also function as third person object markers (with verbs, see (39)) and as definite articles (with nouns, see (40)). Singular is marked by -i; plural is optionally, but usually, marked by -su. The consonant opposition /m/ (intervocalic allophone written as w) versus /s/ marks feminine versus masculine. The vowel opposition /a/ versus /o/ marks proximate versus distal. Notice that the feminine forms are also used as plural forms. The attributive use is distinguished by e- in the proximate and i- in the distal attributive forms.

(36)	Free form		Clitic
	substantive	attributive	
proximate			
F.SG	ma-i	e-wá-i	-wa-i
M.SG	sa-i	e-sá-i	-sa-i
PL	má(-su)	e-wá(-su)	-wá(-su)
distal			
F.SG	owó-i	i-ówo-i	-wo-i
M.SG	osó-i	i-óso-i	-so-i
PL	owó(-su)	i-owó(-su)	-wo(-su)

Instead of the attributive singular forms of (36), sometimes the forms úra-wai, úra-sai, úra-woi and úra-soi are used. Examples:

- (37) mewáqot-e úra-sa-i áida-so dog-M ATTR-this.M-SG big-be.3SG.M 'This dog is big.'
- (38) owó-i nárido-wo méqaro-wo that.F-SG my-F house-be.3SG. 'That is my house.'
- (39) ne-wutáu-ge-sai 1SG.S-kill-PAST-this.M.SG 'I killed him'
- (40) *Tégi-sai* me-tára-rita-bi sun-this.M.SG 3.S-shine-HAB-M

iraroi-biyai mi-ráwo-rita-bi-re mé-i-rita-bi quick-very 3.S-come.up-HAB-M-and 3.S-descend-HAB-M' 'When the sun shone, it rose and set very quickly'.

Demonstrative based forms like *máiwa* and *ewáiwa*, *owóiwo* are also used as spatiotemporal adverbs meaning 'here/now' and 'there/then'. In addition to this, *máiwa* and *ewáiwa* very frequently occur as discourse-conjunctions meaning 'and' or 'next', especially in narratives following tail-head linkages (see the text in section 12 for examples).

5 Verbs

5.1 Inflection

Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, tense, aspect, negation and gender. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. A sizeable minority of verbs have suppletive plural stems, for example *uwu* 'to sit', with plural stem *te*.

The verb occupies the last position in the S O V clause, but the order S V O also occurs frequently.

5.1.1 Subject and object prefixes

The set (41) gives the subject and object cross-reference prefixes of verbs:

(41)	subject	object
1SG	ne-	na-
1PL	nige-	ni-
1PL.IN/2PL	ge-	i-
2SG	e-	<i>a</i> -
3SG/PL	me-	Ø

The subject and object prefixes of the first and second person have clear formal correspondences with the sets of personal pronouns (27) and possessive prefixes (29) but the 3SG/PL subject prefix *me*- is completely different from the personal and possessive forms. There are no object prefixes for the third person. Instead, the demonstrative enclitics of (36) are used (see for example (39)).

Whereas the possessive prefixes of (29) undergo vowel-elision before noun-initial vowels, the final vowels of the subject and object prefixes of (41) as a rule do not undergo elision. Instead, vowel sequences are formed, including double vowels, phonetically realised as long vowels, for example /né-era-re/ 'I said' contrasting with /né-ra-re/ 'I held'. The final /e/ of the subject prefixes assimilates to /o/ when the verb stem has an initial /o/ or /u/. Examples: /né-opo-re/ > [nóopore] '1SG.S-take a bath-PAST', /mé-uwu-ge/ > [móuwuge] '3.S-sit-PAST'. The prefix-final /e/ dissimilates⁹ to /i/ before verb-initial /a/, for example /ne-átu-ge/ > [niátuge] '1SG.S-board (the canoe)-PAST'.

The notions subject and object are used here in the (semantic) sense of first argument and second argument of the verb. Object prefixes are only used to cross-reference human objects which may have various semantic roles, such as goal, recipient, addressee. Examples of verbs taking object prefixes are me 'to give', $m\acute{e}igo$ 'to deceive', $\acute{e}ra$ 'to say', $m\acute{a}aki-ge^{10}$ 'to abuse', $ad\acute{o}$ 'to raid'. For example:

⁹ The phoneme /o/, the other half-close vowel of Inanwatan, undergoes an analogous closing dissimilation before the open vowel /a/.

This verb consists of the Indonesian verb-stem maki 'to abuse' plus the Inanwatan verb stem ge 'to do' which is used to integrate Indonesian verbs into the Inanwatan lexicon.

(42) Iwáa-go suqére né-i-we-re yesterday-CIRC sago 1SG.S-2PL.O-give-PAST 'Yesterday I gave you(PL) sago.'

Verbs with object marking sometimes also allow the object to be marked by an independent personal pronoun in its object form as in (44):

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- (43) ni-á-weigo-re
 1SG.S-2SG.O-deceive-PAST
 'I deceived you.'
- (44) áwe ne-wéigo-re you(SG.O) 1SG.S-deceive-PAST 'I deceived you.'

5.1.2 Past, Hodiernal-Present and Future suffixes

Inanwatan has three tenses, a Past tense for events which took place before yesterday's sunset, a Hodiernal-Present tense for events taking place at the moment of utterance or before that moment but after yesterday's sunset¹¹ and a Future tense for events after utterance-time.

The Past is expressed by the suffix -re, with the phonologically conditioned allomorphs -de after verb stems ending in /i and -ge after verb stems ending in /u. In 3SG masculine forms, the Past suffix is -i.

In verbs which do not have suppletive plural stems, the 3PL forms are identical to the 3SG feminine forms. Examples of the Past paradigms of *opo* 'to take a bath' and *uwu/te* 'to sit; to stay; to live':

uwu/te 'sit'	opo 'take a bath'
nó-uwu-ge	nó-opo-re
ó-uwu-ge	ó-opo-re
mó-uwu-i	mó-opo-i
mó-uwu-ge	mó-opo-re
nigé-te-re	nigó-opo-re
gé-te-re	gó-opo-re
mé-te-re	mó-opo-re
	nó-uwu-ge ó-uwu-ge mó-uwu-i mó-uwu-ge nigé-te-re gé-te-re

The Hodiernal-Present is expressed by the suffix -be. In 3SG masculine forms, the Hodiernal suffix is -bi. An example paradigm of uwu/te 'to sit':

(46)	1SG	nó-uwu-be
	2SG	ó-uwu-be
	3SG.M	mó-uwu-bi
	3SG.F	mó-uwu-be

The Inanwatan seem to consider the previous sunset as the termination of 'yesterday' and as the start of 'today'.

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1PL.EX nigé-te-be
2PL/1PL.IN gé-te-be
3PL mé-te-be
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The Future forms (which also express modal meanings like intentionality) have the suffix -sa. The Future forms have subject suffixes in the third person singular forms, -bi for 3SG.M and -be for 3SG.F. An example Future paradigm of uwu/te 'to sit':

(47)	1SG	nó-uwu-sa
	2SG	ó-uwu-sa
	3SG.M	uwú-sa-bi
	3SG.F	uwú-sa-be
	1PL.EX	nigé-te-sa
	2PL/1PL.IN	gé-te-sa
	3PL	té-sa-be

5.1.3 The habitual-durative suffix

Thus far I have found only one aspectual distinction expressed inflectonially, with the habitual-durative suffix -rita. These forms are used for events presented as occurring habitually, repeatedly or prolongedly. In stories, the forms with -rita often seem to loose their aspectual meaning and seem to function as narrative forms. The 3SG masculine forms have the gender suffix -bi. An example habitual-durative paradigm of uwu/te 'to sit':

```
(48) 1SG nó-uwu-rita
2SG ó-uwu-rita
3SG.M mó-uwu-rita-bi
3SG.F mó-uwu-rita
1PL.EX nigé-te-rita
2PL/1PL.IN gé-te-rita
3PL mé-te-rita
```

5.1.4 Adhortative and imperative suffixes

The suffix -ra marks imperative; in plural imperative forms, a plural suffix -e is added:

- (49) ná-wi-ra 1SG.O-give-IMP.SG 'give me!'
- (50) ná-wi-ra-e 1SG.O-give-IMP-PL 'give me!'

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For the negative imperative, Future forms with -sa are used in combination with the negative imperative adverb egábara. Examples:

- (51) egábara é-se-sa NEG.IMP 2SG.S-walk-FUT 'do not walk!'
- (52) egábara gé-reqa-sa¹²
 NEG.IMP 2PL.S-walk-FUT
 'do not walk (PL)!'
- (53) egábara suqére ge-rá-wi-sa NEG.IMP sago 2PL.S-1SG.O-give-FUT 'You (PL) must not give sago to me!'

The suffix -bido marks the plural adhortative:

(54) *mé-bido* 'let us give' give-1PL.ADH

5.1.5 The counterfactual mood

The counterfactual mood, expressed by the suffix -d, has its own set of subject person and number suffixes. An example paradigm of mo 'to come':

- (55) 1SG mó-d-eqo 'I would have come'
 2SG mó-d-ero 'You would have come'
 3SG.M mó-d-io
 3SG.F/3PL mó-d-ewo
 1PL.EX mó-d-iro
 2PL mó-d-ido
- (56) iwáa-go dókter-e náwe úra-y-aigo yesterday-CIRC doctor-M me.O see-TR-NEG

máiwo-go nú-d-eqo now-CIRC die-CF-1SG 'If the doctor had not helped me, I would be dead now.'

5.1.6 Negation

Negative imperative forms with the negative imperative adverb egábara have already been given, see (51), (52) and (53). The other negative verb forms found thus far have a

¹² The element reqa in (50) is the plural stem of se 'to walk'.

negative suffix -aigo. Optionally, negative verb forms are preceded by the negative adverb náwo. Examples:

(57) (náwo) né-se-sa-aigo (not) 1SG.S-walk-FUT-NEG 'I am not going to walk'

The future and counterfactual forms add -aigo without any neutralization but in the other paradigms, negation leads to neutralization of person-number distinctions resulting in non-finite negative forms, for example:

(58) iwáa-go náiti mo-y-áigo yesterday-CIRC I come-TR-NEG 'Yesterday I did not come.'

The words éise 'yes' and (qe)qido 'no' can stand on their own¹³ as complete utterances in conversations but (qe)qido is also used as an interclausal conjunction in disjunctive questions, for example:

(59) kófido é-ri-sa qeqído téro é-ri-sa? coffee 2SG.S-drink-FUT or tea 2SG.S-drink-FUT 'Do you want coffee or tea?'

When the scope of the negation is a noun or a pronoun, the negative adverb *ógora* must be used:

(60) ógora ítigi (ago) náiti ne-wága-rita not he (but) I 1SG.S-make-HAB 'Not he but I usually make it.'

5.1.7 Non-finite forms

When two events occur simultaneously, a non-finite verb form consisting of just the reduplicated verb stem is used. This reduplicated form may either precede or follow the main predicate.

- (61) áreto ni-ri séro me-qé-rita food eat-eat word 3PL.S-speak-DUR 'They are eating and talking.'
- (62) né-se-rita íwe úra-w-ura 1SG.S-walk-DUR you(PL.O) see-TR-see 'While I walk, I am watching you.'

¹³ Sometimes (qe)qído combines with -aigo to form (qe)qiduaigo (e.g. 12. Text, no.9).

The second non-finite form found thus far is a purposive infinitival form consisting of the verb stem plus the suffix *-beqewu* with singular subjects and *-birowu* with plural subjects:

(63) né-i-rita opó-beqewu
1SG.S-descend-DUR take.a.bath-to(SG)
'I am going down to take a bath.'

mé-i-rita-bi opó-beqewu 3.S-descend-DUR-M take.a.bath-to(SG) 'He is going down to take a bath.'

mé-i-rita opó-birowu 3.S-descend-DUR take.a.bath-to(PL) 'They are going down to take a bath.'

5.2 Derivation of verbs

Adjectives are productively verbalised by affixing verbal morphology to the masculine form of the adjective (see 6). For example:

- (64) sówato 'good'
- (65) me-sówate-be3.S-good-HOD'she is good/she becomes good'

With the suffix -ego, causative verbs can be derived from adjectival, nominal and verbal bases, for example sówato 'good', sówatego 'to repair', ópo 'to take a bath', ópoego 'to make someone take a bath'.

There is an intransitivising prefix *ide*-, for example *óu* 'to fell (trees)' and *ide-ou* 'to fall (of trees)'.

Causative and continuative verbs are productively derived from verbs by forming compound verb stems with ge 'to do' and se 'to walk; to go'. Examples: úwu 'to sit', úwu-ge 'to cause to sit', úwu-se 'to sit continuously'.

5.3 The verb 'to be'

For locative-existential 'to be', Inanwatan uses a combination of the invariable element *i* and the demonstrative enclitics of section 4 above. Consider the following examples:

- (66) á-qide í-sai méqaro? your-father be-this.M.SG house 'Is your father at home?'
- (67) *i-wosu* Sóru be-those Sorong 'They are in Sorong.'

- (68) Dáwerae í-sai
 God be-this.M.SG
 'God exists.'
- (69) *i-wasu mésida-o?* be-these people-PL 'Are there people?'

With first and second subjects, there is no predicative element:

(70) *náiti Soru*I Sorong
'I am in Sorong.'

For property-assigning or predicative 'to be', the verb *na* is used, a special verb with irregular forms which express only person, number and gender. The verb cliticizes to predicative adjectives and nouns, as follows:

```
sówat-e-ra-ra 'I (male) am good'
(71) 1SG.M
     1SG.F
                                 'I (female) am good'
                   sówat-o-ra-ra
                                  'You (male) are good'
     2SG.M
                   sówat-i-a-ra
                   sówat-u-a-ra<sup>14</sup>
     2SG.F
                                     etc.
     3SG.M
                   sówat-e-so
     3SG.F/3PL
                   sówat-o-wo
     1PL.EX
                   sówat-o-ri-ra
     2PL/1PL.IN sówat-o-i-ra
```

The person and number suffixes of the first and second person correspond to the possessive prefixes of (29) and the object prefixes of (41).

The negative verb form *eri-aigo* 'not be' is used for the negative of both existential-locative and predicative 'to be':

- (72) Dáwerae eri-áigo
 God not.be-NEG
 'God does not exist.'
- (73) níiti sówat-o-eri-aigo we.EX good-PL-not.be-NEG 'we are not good'

6 Adjectives

The adjective shows gender agreement with the noun it qualifies in both attributive and

¹⁴ The /i/ and /u/ in the 2SG forms are the result of the morphophonemic dissimilation rule which changes the half-close vowels /e/ and /o/ into the close vowels /i/ and /u/ before /a/.

predicative uses. When the noun is masculine, the adjective ends in /e/, when feminine the adjective ends in /o/. Examples:

- (74) *méqaro sówat-o* house good-F 'a good house'
- (75) méqaro e-wái sówat-o-wo house ATTR-this.F.SG good-F-be.3SG.F 'This house is good.'
- (76) fúgi e-sái ápew-i-so banana ATTR-this.M.SG delicious-M-be.3SG.M 'This banana is delicious.'

Some adjectives have unpredictable masculine and feminine forms, for example si 'empty (M)' and *isido* 'empty (F)'. The adjective *áida* 'big' has only one form, used for both genders. The feminine form of the adjective is also used as the plural form. Some adjectives have reduplicated plural forms. In such cases, the feminine form is the basis for the reduplicated form. Examples: qíqe 'new (M)', qíqo 'new (F)', qíqiqo 'new (PL)'; isido 'empty (F)', isisido 'empty (PL)'.

There is no morphological comparative or superlative. Periphrastic constructions are used in these contexts:

(77) Mésida-e-sai íragir-i áida-so person-M-this.M.SG body-M big-be.3SG.M

agó-soi mésida-e náge nésiror-i-so but-that.M.SG person-M other thin-M-be.3SG.M 'This man is bigger than that man.'

7 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of invariable adverbs usually occurring immediately before the verb, like *áwoge* 'again', *náwo* 'not', *mádei* 'already'. By adding the circumstantial postposition -go to adjectives and nouns, they become adverbial elements (cf. (78) and (80)). The place deictics of (36) function adverbially when suffixed with the postpositions of section 9, for example in (79).

8 Numerals

The Inanwatan count on hands and feet. Counting starts on the left little finger. The numerals from 1 to 4 reveal a binary system (3=2+1; 4=2+2). The numerals 5 (one hand), 10 (both hands), and 20 (one body) are body-part based and combine with the numerals for 1-4 and with each other to form additive numeral phrases. Gestures tend to

accompany the use of the numerals. The system is rapidly being replaced by Indonesian numerals.

```
1 mútero/nagiáre/naguáre (bending the little finger)
2 éri-wo (bending the ring finger)
 two-F
3 éri-naguáre (bending the middle finger)
 two-one
4 éri-eri-dáre (bending the index finger)
 two-two-?
5 néwo-gáago (clenching left fist)
 hand-side
6 néwo-gáago
               nagiáre (bending the right little finger)
 hand-side
               one
7 néwo-gáago
               éridare (bending right ring finger)
 hand-side
               two
8 néwo-gáago éri-naguare (bending right middle finger)
9 néwo-gáago éri-éri-dare (bending right index finger)
 hand-side
               two-two
10 néwo-wa sugéri (clapping two hands in front of the breast)
   hand-PL both
11 néwo-wa sugéri mútero (touching left little toe)
   hand-PL both
                    one
15 néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago (touching left big toe)
   hand-PL both
                    hand-side
16 néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagiáre (touching right little toe)
   hand-PL both
                    hand-side
                                one
20 nágia ga íragiro
   one ASS body
               íragiro mútero
21 nágia ga
          ASS body
   one
                        one
30 nágia ga
               íragiro néwo-wa sugéri
                        hand-PL both
   one
          ASS body
40 eridá ga
               iragíro
          ASS body
   two
100 néwo-gáagua ga
                        íragíro
                   ASS body
     hand-side
100 natído-rago
     bundle.of.hundred.sticks-one
200 natído
                             éri-wo
     bundle.of.hundred.sticks two-F
1000 nipído-rago
     bundle.of.ten.natído-one
2000 nipído
                          ériwo
     bundle.of.ten.natído two
```

9 Postpositions

A number of postpositions express nominal case relations. Thusfar I have found -qai(de) 'in/at' (locative), -wai 'to(wards)' (direction), -woide 'from' (direction), -(u)ru '(together) with' (comitative), -wo 'in, at' and -go, a general circumstantial case suffix occurring with time, instrument, manner and place nominals. Examples:

- (78) irarói-go sé-ra quick-CIRC go-IMP.SG 'go quickly!'
- (79) ma-qái negó-ra here-in put-IMP.SG 'Put here!'
- (80) abásido-go bído ne-wutáu-be morning-CIRC pig 1SG.S-kill-HOD 'This morning I killed a pig.'

10 Conjunctions

There is a subordinating conjunction -qe which cliticizes to the verb, the last word of the clause. Clauses with this clitic are interpreted either as an adverbial or as an relative clause. Consider the examples (81) and (82):

- (81) sídepa-o mé-i-de-qe nári nésiror-i-go Japanese-PL 3.S-descend-PAST-SUB I little-M-CIRC 'When the Japanese came, I was a little boy.'
- (82) qóqora-o né-ri-be-qe áwete-wa mé-iba-be chicken-F 1SG.S-eat-HOD-SUB who-this.F 3.S-sell-HOD 'Who sold the chicken which I ate?'

The coordinating clitic -(e)re which coordinates nouns (see 2.1) is also used as an interclausal coordinator:

(83) nó-opo-be-re né-ri-be-re né-re-be
1SG.S-take.a.bath-HOD-and 1SG.S-eat-HOD-and 1SG.S-sleep-HOD
'I took a bath, ate and slept.'

Three rather frequent coordinating conjunctions, especially in narrative texts, are ago 'and, but', the Indonesian loan baru 'and' and ewáiwa 'and; next'. Ewáiwa is a proximate demonstrative ('here; now'; see (36)). See the text in 12 for examples of these discourse conjunctions.

Two temporal conjunctions are -de for (partially) overlapping events and -dara 'until' when the first event goes on until the second starts, for example:

(84) Suqó-wai gé-rawe-rita-re sago-this.F.SG 1PL.IN-go-HAB-and

go-ú-rita go-ú-rita-de 1PL.IN-fell-HAB 1PL.IN-fell-HAB-still

suqó-wai mú-uwe-rita sago-this.F.SG 3SG-become.dark-HAB

'We would go to fell sago and while still felling the sagotree, it would become dark'.

11 Concluding remarks

The relatively complex verb morphology of manwatan, where verbs can have up to five affixes, is in contrast with the rather simply verb morphologies of the languages of the western and eastern parts of the Bird's Head (I'ke Moi, Maybrat and Sough). Medial verbs and switch-reference morphology seem to be absent in Inanwatan. There does not seem to be a complex place deictic system in Inanwatan as in some western Bird's Head languages (Moi, Maybrat).

Phonological gender systems (in the sense of Corbett 1991: 51), as found in Inanwatan, have been found elsewhere in New Guinea (in Torricelli and Lower Sepik families, for example Yimas, see Foley 1986, 1991). Although in itself not very complex, the gender system is a pervasive feature of the Inanwatan language, used for syntactic cohesion within NPs and clauses and for referential cohesion within the discourse.

12 Text

This text is from the oral tradition of the Inanwatan, recorded in February 1994 in the house of the narrator Bernard Mitogai (born 1931 in Inanwatan). Dominggus Muray helped me with the transcription of the text.

It is an example of the genre *túgarido séro* ('inheritance-story'), sacral texts which are the possession of the clan. This text is 'owned' by the Erepa clan and has the link between the ancestors and the sun as its theme. A typical characteristic of these *túgarido* texts is the combination of narrative and magic chant of a type called *deriyó* (see line (29)). In the course of the narrative, one of the characters in the text sings such a *deriyó* song or at the end of the narrative the narrator sings the magic chant which goes with the narrative. The song is accompanied by *góuto* music. The *góuto*, called *gambus* in Indonesian, is a three-stringed bamboo idiochord found only along the MacCluer Gulf. Chordophones being rare in New Guinea, the *góuto* probably betrays Malay influence (cf. Kunst 1967: 130; van Hille 1907: 547).

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(1) Ariqíwari¹⁵ agao séro-wai qé-bidó Ariqíware ASS story-this.F.SG tell-1PL.ADH 'Let us tell the story of Ariqíware.'

(2) Ariqíware-sai awéra-qaqábo-wa Ariqíware-this.M.SG grandfather-grandmother-these

mírago méwo-wo wé-ge-re¹⁶ machete hand-in 3.S-do-PAST

mé-era-re sé-ra 3.S-say-PAST go-IMP.SG

'As for Ariqiware, the forefathers put a machete in his hand and they told him to go'.

(3) Tégi-sai me-tára-rita-bi íraroi-biyai sun-this.M.SG 3.S-shine-HAB-M quick-very

mi-ráwo-rita-bi-re mé-i-rita-bi
3.S-come.up-HAB-SG.M-and 3.S-descend-HAB-M
'When the sun shone, it used to rise and set very quickly'.

(4) Suqó-wai gé-rawe-rita-re go-ú-rita sago-this.F.SG 1PL.IN-go.up-HAB-and 1PL.IN-fell-HAB

go-ú-rita-de suqó-wai mú-uwe-rita 1PL.IN-fell-HAB-still sago-this.F.SG 3.S-become.dark-HAB 'We would go to fell sago and while still felling the sagotree, it would become dark'.

(5) Mú-uwe-rita ewáiwa¹⁷ áwoge mó-weidi-rita 3.S-become.dark-HAB and again 3.S-become.light-HAB

g-íqore-rita-de áwoge mú-uwe-rita 1PL.IN-peel.off-HAB-still again 3.S-become.dark-HAB

'It would become dark and then become light again, when still removing the bark, it would become dark again.'

(6) Mái-raqa-re séro-wai awéra-qaqabo-wa this-for-and word-this.F.SG grandfather-grandmother-these

séro me-qé-re ewáiwa me-bái-de word 3.S-speak-PAST and 3.S-send-PAST

¹⁵ As this examples shows, the dissimilation process mentioned in 5.1.1, is operative also across word-boundaries.

¹⁶ In fast speech, the phonemes /m/ are /n/ may be realised by their intervocalic allophones [w] and [r] following wordfinal vowels across word boundaries.

¹⁷ Like many other Papuan languages, Inanwatan uses tail-head linkage recapitulation to connect sentences. The recapitulated clause is usually followed by the discourse conjunction *ewáiwa*.

mé-era-re sé-ra-re

3.S-say-PAST go-IMP.SG-and

qégedi órewo káawe-ra¹⁸

sun woman marry-IMP.SG

'Therefore the forefathers spoke this word and sent (him away) and they told him to go and to marry the daughter of the sun.'

(7) Mé-se-i ewáiwa oo gíre-wo-wo

3.S-go-PAST.M and oh long-be.3.SG.F-CONN

éra¹⁹ we-qáwa-re mé-se-i-dara-wo

for.him 3.S-wait-PAST 3.S-go-PAST.M-until-CONN

mé-se-i mé-se-i

3.S-walk-PAST.M 3.S-walk-PAST.M

mé-se-i ewáiwa nóe-we-id-i

3.S-walk-PAST.M and go.out-3.S-stand-PAST.M

'And he went and oh a very long time they waited and waited and he went on and on and he arrived.'

(8) *Nóe-we-id-i* ewáiwa mó-ura-i qido-terusi-go²⁰ go.out-3.S-stand-PAST.M and 3.S-see-PAST.M not-continue-CIRC

noe-áigo mé-rabu-i-re m-agé-i-de

go.out-NEG 3.S-hide-PAST.M-and 3.S-keep.still-PAST.M-while

mó-ura-i mungkin²¹ sáro qidó 3.S-see-PAST.M possibly multitude NEG

'He arrived and he saw and he stopped, and hid himself and keeping still he saw whether there were many people or not.'

SG/PL 3M/F era(dara) 'to/for/from him/her/them'

¹⁸ From local Indonesian kawin 'to marry'.

¹⁹ Inanwatan has a paradigm of 'oblique' forms of the personal pronouns which are used for personal pronouns with recipient, addressee, source and beneficiary roles. These 'oblique' forms need further study. They seem to have developed from combinations of personal pronouns and -ra 'for, to' and the associative morpheme (a)ga; éra (or: erádara) is the third person (SG/PL, M/F) 'oblique' form containing -ra 'to, for'. 'Oblique' pronouns found thus far:

SG 1 naga(dara) 'to/for/from me'

2 aga(dara) 'to/for/from you'

PL 1EX niga(dara) 'to/for/from us (not you)'

2/1IN iga(dara) 'to/for/from you/us'

²⁰ Based on Indonesian terus 'continuous'.

²¹ Loan from Indonesian.

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(9) Qeqídu-aigo mó-ura-i-wo órewo-wai médur-ew-o not.be-not 3.S-see-PAST.M-CONN woman-this.F.SG wing-person-F

*órewo-wai mé-i-de ewáiwa buka-wé-ge-re*²² woman-this.F.SG 3.S-go.down-PAST and open-3.S-do-PAST

awo méduro ógo ró-rita-wo me-regó-re síiwo-qai her wing to(?) fly-HAB-CONN 3.S-put.down-PAST grass-in

sáraba-wétoro-qai atau²³ mura wétoro-qai wó-uwu-ge-re spring-side-at or river(GEN) side-at 3.S-sit-do-PAST

'There were not and he saw the woman with wings and the woman went down and put off her wings to fly and laid them in the grass at the side of the spring or the river and there they (the wings) stayed.'

- (10) Qére mé-i-de-re mó-opo-re and 3.S-go.down-PAST-and 3.S-take.a.bath-PAST 'Thus she went down and took a bath.'
- (11) Mó-opo-re búsido-wai mó-opo-re
 3.S-take.a.bath-PAST naked-this.F.SG 3.S-take.a.bath-PAST 'She took a bath, naked she took a bath.'
- (12) Agó $irowo^{24}$ $we-ge-i^{25}$ duu^{26} and body 3.S-do-PAST.M oh.dear

gébo-qaide íro we-ge-i ewáiwa underside-from body 3.S-do-PAST.M and 'And he watched her "oh, my" from down he watched her and...'

(13) mó-opo-re ísido²⁷ me-rái-re-re 3.S-take.a.bath-PAST empty.F 3.S-ascend-PAST-and

Indonesian verbs (like buka 'to open') are productively combined with the verb ge 'to do' in a tight verb series, so tight in fact that one is inclined to analyse the combination as one compound verb, with the subject and object markers becoming infixes. Phonologically, the Indonesian verb and the verb ge with its prefixes and suffixes are integrated under one stress contour and the first /m/ of the subject prefix /me-/ is always realised by the intervocalic allophone [w]. Thus buka-wé-ge-re (open-3.S-take-PAST) instead of buka mé-ge-re. This type of complex verb predicate also occurs with combinations of Inanwatan verbs, like mógo 'to carry' and mo 'to come', e.g. sugére mogo-wé-wo-re (carry-3.S-come-PAST) 'she brought sago'.

²³ Atau 'or' is a loan from Indonesian.

²⁴ The noun *iro(wo)* 'body' is frequently used as a general (SG/PL, M/F) third person personal pronoun and as a reflexive pronoun.

²⁵ Literally, 'he did her', that is, he followed her movements from under the bushes.

²⁶ Interjection borrowed from Indonesian aduh.

²⁷ This adjective is used also as a conjunction ('after') and as a negation.

mái-ra we-se-re dóqe²⁸ órewo ewáiwa agó-wai²⁹ this-for 3.S-go-PAST oh.dear woman and and-that.F.SG

eráqa mé-rabu-ego-i méduro éwai from.her 3.S-hide-CAUS-PAST.M wing that.F.SG 'And she took a bath and after that she ascended and searched but "Oh", the woman, he had hidden her wings.'

(14) Ah baru mésidai-sai éra wé-se-rita-riyaigo ah and man-this.M.SG for.it 3.S-go-HAB-while

*írowo Ariqiware írowo me-rúsaside-i*body Ariqiware body 3.S-show-PAST.M
'And the man, while she was searching, Ariqiware showed himself.'

(15) Irowo me-rúsaside-i ewáiwa a sudah órewo-wa body 3.S-show-PAST.M and ah thus woman-this

wé-era-re mó-ra áwe káawe-ré-ge-sa 3.S-say-PAST come-IMP.SG you marry-1SG.S-do-FUT

egábara náwe e-sée-sa NEG.IMP me 2SG.S-cut-FUT

'He showed himself and, ah, thus, the woman said: "Come, I shall marry you, do not cut me.'

(16) Jadi sudah³⁰ órewo-wa tígo séro-wai era mé-qe-re therefore thus woman-this thus word-this.F to.him 3.S-speak-PAST

i-sái na-qíde-sai ná-qide-wa be-this.M.SG my-father-this.M.SG my-father-this

mógo-wé-se-rita-bi tégi esái agó-iri ga carry-3.S-walk-HAB-M.SG sun this.M.SG and-you(PL) ASS

gó-ura-rita ewái ná-qide 2PL.S-see-HAB this.F.SG my-father

jadi nóe-bido ewáiwa méqaro-wo therefore go.out-1PL.IN.ADH and house-in

²⁸ From Indonesian aduh.

²⁹ Very frequently, demonstrative clitics which function as personal pronouns (see (36)), cliticise to the conjunction *ago*. See also example (77).

³⁰ Jadi 'therefore' and sudah 'already' are loans from Indonesian. Especially the loan sudah has many discourse-functions in Inanwatan texts.

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na-qíde-sai bíisa-wo³¹ úra-ra my-father-this.M.SG can-CONN see-IMP.SG

'Therefore the woman spoke to him in this way: "My father is there, he carries the sun and what you use to see is my father, therefore, let us show ourselves and you can see my father in the house."'

(17) séro-wai tábeqatori-we-ge-re mé-era-re word-this.F.SG agree-3.S-do-PAST 3.S-say-PAST

kalau méqaro sampai-gé-ge-be³² náwo qediara if house arrive-1PL.IN-do-HOD not yet

írowo é-rusaside-sa-ido tíderiya-ra ná-qide-sai body 2SG.S-show-FUT-NEG be.silent-IMP.SG my-father-this.M.SG

mé-se-rita-bi-dere nebái-bido-qe máiwa 3.S-walk-DUR-M.SG-still ascend-1PL.IN.ADH-ADH next qáqo-wo náwaru room-in me.with

'They agreed and she said: "When we have arrived at the house, you shall not yet show yourself, be silent, if my father is still underway, let us go up and you stay with me in my room".

(18) jadi sudah órewo agá aibá séro íko-we-ge-i³³ therefore allright woman ASS voice(GEN) word follow-3.S-do-PAST.M

qegí-sai mé-se-rita-i-daigo tégi-sai father-this.M.SG 3.S-walk-DUR-PAST.M-still sun-this.M.SG 'Therefore he followed the word of her voice and the father was still underway, the sun.'

(19) me-réba-i me-reba-i-re ewáiwa 3.S-ascend-PAST.M 3.S-ascend-PAST.M-and and

terusi-we-ge-re qáqo-wai continuous-3.S-do-PAST room-this.F.SG 'And he went up and they stayed in the room.'

(20) qáqo-wai-ooo gíre-wo-wo níra room-this.F-PAUSE long-be.3.SG.F-CONN day

³¹ Based on Indonesian verb bisa 'can'

³² In this line there are three loans from Indonesian: *kalau* 'if', *sampai* 'to arrive' and *tábeqatori*, from the local Indonesian *atur tabé* 'to agree on a plan'.

³³ ikowegei: ge-derivation based on Indonesian ikut 'follow'.

e-wái éite wé-re-re ATTR-this.F.SG many 3.S-sleep-PAST 'They slept a long time in this room, many days.'

(21) ágo qégi-wa mé-se-rita-i ewáiwa mé-rai-rita next father-this 3SG-walk-DUR-M and 3.S-ascend-DUR

méqaro me-popó-rita-i árawu-ge-i house 3.S-knock-DUR-PAST.M you.with-do-Q

*mé-era-rita-re no-óte-be*3.S-say-DUR-PAST 1SG-be.ill-HOD

'Having walked, the father came to the house and knocked, "are you there?" and she said, "I am ill".

(22) tígo máge mé-era-rita-re mé-se-rita-i therefore thus 3SG-say-DUR-PAST 3.S-go-DUR-PAST.M

mágerere mágerere³⁴ a ógora thus thus ah Q

soqúwai mo-óte-be ewáiwa long 3.SG-be.ill-HOD next

mé-era-i áreqaro náwe-ídio-ra

3.S-say-PAST.M door open-stand-IMP.SG

'Because she said so, he went and having thought "oh, how long is she ill!", he said, "open the door!".

- (23) nawe-we-idio-i órewo Ariqíware-sai urúqu open-3.S-stand-PAST.M woman Ariqíware-this.M.SG together 'He opened and the woman and Ariqíware were together.'
- (24) jadi³⁵ mé-era-re órewo-wa therefore 3SG-say-PAST woman-this

egábara nápaigo-i e-sée-sa NEG.IMP divide-ADV 2SG-cut-FUT

épe-gáage-ra sée-ra nápaigo-i e-sée-sa leg-one.side-for cut-IMP.SG divide-ADV 2SG-cut-FUT

³⁴ Mage(rere) 'thus' probably derives from mai 'here, this.SG.F', the generic verb ge 'to do', the Past suffix -re and the coordinator -re 'and'. The form has a general discourse-connective function in narratives.

³⁵ From Indonesian jadi 'therefore'.

níroro-go giáta-sa íwaqe épe-sai darkness-CIRC be.continuous-FUT allright foot-this.M.SG 'Therefore the woman said, "do not cut through, cut off just one leg, if you cut him through, it will be dark for ever, his leg is allright".

(25) erá wé-idio-i áreqaro baru to.them 3.S-open-PAST.M door and

qetáiraro-go mé-qobo-i nágo-go rattan-CIRC 3.S-hit-PAST.M one.time-CIRC

mé-qobo-i áwoge nágo-go áwoge nágo-go-wa 3.S-hit-PAST.M again one.time-CIRC again one.time-CIRC-this

terus³⁶ míogago-i me-sée-i next in.return-ADV 3.S-cut-PAST.M

épe-sai-ra me-sée-i baru sóbaro-wai foot-his-? 3.S-cut-PAST.M next bamboo-this.F.SG

mé-iwiw-i-re qai-w-eró-i-wai 3SG-take-PAST.M-and put.in-3.S-put-PAST.M-thus

'She opened the door and he (the sun) hit one time with a rattan, and then another time, and another time and next he (Ariqíware) in his turn cut him, his leg he cut off and put it into a bamboo.'

(26) qai-w-eró-i ewáiwa sudah put.in-3.S-put-PAST.M and allright

sóbaro mó-uwe bamboo 3.S-sit.PAST 'He put in into the bamboo and there it sat.'

(27) éra we-qawa-re níra é-wai éite-wo for.it 3.S-wait-PAST day ATTR-this.F.SG many-CONN

mú-uwege-re úrago e-wái

3.S-be.dark-PAST world ATTR-this.F.SG

mú-uwege-re tégi náwo i-yaigo sebab³⁷ épe-ra 3.S-be.dark-PAST sun not rise-NEG because foot.M-for

³⁶ The Indonesian word *terus* 'continuing; continuous' is used in Inanwatan narratives as a discourse connective meaning 'and; next'.

³⁷ From Indonesian sebab 'because'.

we-sée sai-ara mógo mó-uwu-i sampai 3.S-cut this.M-? wounded(?) 3.S-sit-PAST.M until

épe-sai-wa sudah bái-we-ge-re³⁸ kelúari-we-ge-i leg.M-this.M.SG-this already good-3SG-do-PAST go.out-3.S-do-PAST.M 'They waited a long time and it was dark, the whole world was dark, the sun did not rise because he (Ariqíware) had cut off his leg and he (the sun) sat wounded until his leg had recovered and he went out again.'

(28) kelúari-we-ge-i ewáiwa-qo mó-ura-re woiwi go.out-3.S-do-PAST.M and-? 3.S-see-Past thus

sówat-e-go tiráseretira-i³⁹ baru gágowo-wé-ge-re good-M-CIRC slowly(?)-ADV and compose-3.S-do-PAST

dériyo éwai téga-qóre-sai chant this.F.SG sun(GEN)-shine-this.M.SG

me-ráwo-ida-i máge wé-era-re 3.S-rise-?-PAST.M thus 3.S-say-PAST

'He (the sun) went out again and they could see that he went slowly in the right fashion and they composed this *deriyó* chant⁴⁰ which they utter when the sun rises:

(29) ábo-ábogáawo Dewárusi awéro-wo morning-morning.light Dewárusi high-at

mé-re-bi-yo Erepau awéro-wo mé-re-bi-yo 3.S-shine-HOD-EMP Erepau high-at 3.S-shine-HOD-EMP

níro dádore níro-riro dádore night many night-night many

níro dádore tégo tégo dádore tégo dádore night many day day many day many

'The morning light shines over Dewarusi land, over Erepau⁴¹ land it shines; many nights, many nights, many days, many days.'

³⁹ The role of the suffix -i when it occurs on non-finite verb forms, needs further study. Tentatively, I have analysed it as an adverbialiser.

³⁸ Based on Indonesian baik 'good'.

⁴⁰ Recorded March 14, 1994, in the house of Bernard Mitogai in Inanwatan, the lead singer and *góuto* player is Augus Yawae, the *deriyó* specialist of Inanwatan; Dominggus Muray and Bernard Mitogai also joined the singing.

⁴¹ Erepau and Dewarusi are the names of two adjacent ancestral territories of two sub-clans of the Erepa clan, situated along the headwater of the Siganoi river. This *deriyó* used to be sung before sunrise to make the sun rise, the lines of the song were repeated over and over until the sun had risen.

Abbreviations

first person 2 second person 3 third person ADH adhortative ADV adverbializer ASS associative **ATTR** attributive **CAUS** causative CF counterfactual CIRC circumstantial

DUR durative **EMP** emphasis EX exclusive F feminine **FUT** future **GEN** genitive HAB habitual HOD hodiernum **IMP** imperative IN inclusive M masculine **NEG** negative 0 object PL plural

Q question-marker

S subject
SG singular
SUB subordinator

TR transitional sound

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