

IV. A Preliminary Survey of Awa Noun Suffixes

RICHARD and ARETTA LOVING

1. INTRODUCTION

Awa nouns may be defined as those word bases which may occur with suffixes to indicate number and size.¹ Other suffixes which occur with nouns may or may not occur with other parts of speech, but analysis is not yet complete enough for details. This paper does not purport to be a complete analysis of Awa nouns. As the title indicates, it is only a preliminary survey of the suffixes which may occur with nouns, indicating their structural categories, their morphophonemic variants, and their distribution as related to the word base. Prefixes (indicating obligatory possession and used in general with body parts and kinship terms) are covered in Chapter V. Person names seem to act more like pronouns than nouns, and are also left to a later discussion of that phase of the language.² It is felt, however, that sufficient information is at hand to give a preliminary picture of the structure indicated by noun suffixes.

¹ This paper was originally published as pp. 28-43 in *Studies in New Guinea Linguistics*, Oceania Linguistic Monographs No. 6 (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1962). It is reissued here in this format by permission.

The material for this paper was gathered by the authors during 1960-61 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The main informant was Iera, a monolingual young man approximately nineteen years old from the village of Mobuta. The paper was first drafted in early 1961 for an SIL workshop, and included in a series of mimeographed papers designated as '1961 Workshop Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, New Guinea Branch, Ukarumpa, Territory of New Guinea.' We are indebted to colleagues of SIL, New Guinea, for help with this draft. In late 1961 the paper was completely revised and rewritten under the guidance and editorship of Howard McKaughan.

² Person names are distinguished from other nouns in that they occur with the vocative suffix (-o): *paetao* 'Peta!'

2. STRUCTURAL CATEGORIES MARKED BY NOUN SUFFIXES

Those suffixes in Awa which indicate listlike relations, that is, class membership, are said to mark 'internal relations'. Such suffixes include those which mark size, number, place, and so on. Pittman prefers to describe such under morphology.³ In contrast to this, certain other noun suffixes in Awa show a relation between the noun and other word bases in the sentence. These indicate 'sequence' relations, and are syntactic in nature. Such suffixes mark the subject, instrument, or location, and so forth, of an action; or they mark possession, similarity, or conjunction, and so forth, between nouns. A complete description of Awa grammar would treat the latter suffixes at the same time all sequence relations involving nouns were described. It seems important here, though not describing all sequence relations involving nouns, to distinguish between those noun suffixes that mark internal relations, and those that mark external relations.

2.1. *Internal Relations*

2.1.1. *Size*. Three suffixes affixed to Awa nouns indicate the size of the noun base involved: (-*daba*)⁴ indicates that the base is 'large', (-*kadaN*)⁵ indicates that the base, a small object, is 'elongated', and (-*daniyahq*) indicates that the base, a larger object, is 'very long'. Examples: *poedah-daba* 'large pig', *pakada* 'stick used for handling sweet potato in fire', *nahgadaniyahq* 'long vine'.

2.1.2. *Number*. Awa nouns may occur with dual, trial, or plural suffixes, (-*tade*), (-*tado*), and (-*madiN*) respectively. Thus *iyaN* 'dog' may be inflected to indicate that two dogs are in view, *iyatade*; or to indicate that three dogs are involved, *iyatado*; or that more than three are indicated, *iyamadi*.

2.1.3. *Place*. The fact that the noun base is a location or a place is indi-

³ Pittman (1959) suggests that the morphology of a language may be defined as 'the set of structural signals which relates its word roots (and/or their expansions) to one another in substitutions.' He further suggests that the syntax of a language is 'the set of structural signals which relates its word roots (and/or their expansions) to one another in sequence.'

⁴ Awa phonemes include consonants /p, t, k, q, b, d, g, s, m, n, y, and w/. In general voiced plosives are stops following front vowels, fricative or the alveolar flap elsewhere; /n/ is velar before velar phonemes, alveolar elsewhere; /y/ is a retroflexed grooved fricative before /i/, the nonsyllabic semivowel elsewhere. Vowels include /i, e, eh/, high mid and low front vowels; /u, o, ah/, high mid and low back vowels; and /a/, the low central vowel. Tone has not been indicated in the paper since it carries no grammatical functional load, and since its analysis is not yet settled.

⁵ Awa forms enclosed in parentheses are citation forms and indicate that the suffix has various allomorphs. Such citation forms are considered primary. Final *N* on both suffixes and words is a morphophoneme, retained as a phoneme only when /s/, /k/, or a vowel follows it (see Sec. 3). Suffixes are listed with the final *N* when enclosed in parentheses, but not in the examples since these are given in their phonemic shape. Words are also listed with final *N* only if in citation form.

cated by the suffix (-*peq*). Thus *naho*, an allomorph of *nahN* 'house', plus *-peq* becomes literally 'house-place' and may be translated by 'at', 'to', or 'in the house'; or *nahopeq* may refer specifically to the small house where women go to bear children. Village names optionally occur with (-*peq*): *mobutapeq* 'Mobuta'.

2.1.4. *Predicative*. The existence of the noun base is expressed by the suffix (-*mideN*): *iyamide* 'It is a dog.'

2.1.5. *Emphasis*. The suffix (-*de*) emphasizes the noun base. This may be the slight emphasis of mere repetition. In answer to the question 'What did you say?' the answer may be a repetition of the noun plus the emphatic marker followed by 'I said': *poedahde uge* 'A pig, I said.' Additional emphasis may be given by laying extra stress on the suffix: *poedahde* (with the *-de* receiving strong stress) 'A pig!' This suffix may occur twice with the same base; in such cases, it emphasizes the suffix immediately preceding it. Example: *poedahq* 'pig' plus (-*madiN*) plural plus (-*de*) emphasis plus (-*po*) question marker plus (-*de*) emphasis, yields *poedahmadineboe* 'Is it many pigs?!' Here the allomorph of the emphasis marker, *-e*, augments the plural, 'many pigs', and then emphasizes the question.

2.1.6. *Endearing term*. The suffix (-*moneN*) indicates endearment and occurs with kinship terms when possessed by first persons: *nanibaqmone* 'my dear younger brother' (male speaking); *itedibaqmone* 'our dear younger brother' (male speaking).

2.1.7. *Kinship indicator*. The suffix (-*kawa*)⁶ optionally occurs with certain nouns to indicate that such are kinship terms: *wenabakawa* 'his younger brother'. This affix does not occur when such terms are possessed by first person.

2.2. External Relations

2.2.1. Certain suffixes mark a sequence relationship between noun and verb. These suffixes indicate that the noun is the subject, instrument, location, causation, or purpose of the action.

A. *Subject*. The suffix (-*kaN*) indicates that the noun is the subject of the action expressed by the verb: *poedahka nehde* 'The pig is eating.'

B. *Instrument*. The instrument by which the action of the verb is accomplished is shown by the suffix (-*tateN*): *sogitaten amuduwedede*⁷ 'With a knife he cut.'⁸

C. *Location*. Certain suffixes indicate that the noun is related to the verb as the location of the action. Included in this category are affixes to indicate

⁶ When (-*kawa*) occurs, the resulting combination must be classified with pronouns and person nouns. This suffix may be related to (-*moneN*).

⁷ Though the word boundary follows final /n/, syllable division precedes it.

⁸ Translation equivalents are sometimes given in the order of Awa to assist the reader.

morphs is the primary allomorph occurring with Class I and Class II. The second allomorph listed occurs with Class III forms: *keweseq keweninseq* 'a widow and a widower'; *wehdeq* 'and a married man'.

D. The plural suffix (-*madiN*)¹⁴ has a number of allomorphs: *so* ~ -*mahq* ~ -*ba* ~ -*sonso* ~ -*do* ~ -*go* ~ -*madi*.

-*so* occurs with the following nouns of Class I: *keweq* plus -*so* becomes *keweso* 'widows'; *nanwehq* plus -*so* becomes *nanwehso* 'my husbands'; *nanibaq* plus -*so* becomes *nanibaso* 'my young brothers' (male speaking). In the last example, the alternant -*madi* may also occur: *nanibaqmadi* 'my young brothers'. Allomorph -*so* also occurs with the following nouns of Class II: *ibainiN* plus -*so* becomes *ibaininso* 'brides'; *keweniN* plus -*so* becomes *keweninso* 'widowers'; *menahweN* plus -*so* becomes *menahwenso* 'grooms'.

-*mahq* occurs with one noun of Class I: *naniyoqmahq* 'my brothers' (female speaking); and three nouns of Class II: *nanahnimahq* 'my sons', *nanidahmahq* 'my sons-in-law' (female speaking), *naniyahumahq* 'my daughters'.

-*do* occurs with one noun (Class III): *ahdedo* 'wives'.

-*go* occurs with the following (Class III): *ahdadigo* 'girls', *mahbiggo* 'teen-age boys', *animaigo* 'little boys'.

-*ba* occurs with the suffix (-*daba*) 'large': *poedahdababa* 'large pigs'.

-*sonso* occurs with the suffix (-*daniyahq*) 'very long': *nahgadaniyahsonso* 'very long vines'.

-*madi* has the widest distribution and occurs with nouns of Classes I and II not listed above. Another allomorph related to -*madi* has the shape -*wadi*-*adi* when occurring with all nouns of Class III not listed above: *poedahqmadi* 'pigs', *animadi* 'children', *idawadilidaadi* 'firewood' (plural).

4. DISTRIBUTION OF SUFFIXES

4.1. Relative Order

The following illustrates the relative order of the suffixes.

	1		2
(- <i>daba</i>)	'large'	(- <i>tada</i>)	dual
(- <i>kadaN</i>)	'elongated'	(- <i>tado</i>)	trial
(- <i>daniyahq</i>)	'very long'	(- <i>madiN</i>)	plural
(- <i>kawa</i>)	kinship indicator	(- <i>sahq</i>)	purposive collective
(- <i>so</i>)	'on top'	- <i>deh</i>	conjunctive plural

with three bound stems, *mah*- 'this way', *se*- 'that way', and *mi*- 'that before-mentioned way'; and (B) with three village names: *kahinehtu*, *kahimidahi*, and *ponah*. Of the latter, Kainantu is introduced, Kaimirai is a Fore village, and Pona is an Awa village.

¹⁴ (-*madiN*) is a Class II morpheme as indicated by final *N*. Allomorphs in this section are given without final *N* since all examples occur before silence. When these allomorphs occur before /s/, /k/, or a vowel, the final nasal is retained: *mahgigonseq* 'and a teenager'.

	3		9
(-tateN)	instrumental	(-teN)	'from'
(-paN)	personal 'to, at'		
(-seq)	personal dual		10
(-moneN)	endearment	(-sabe)	causational
	4		11
(-ka)	subjective	(-tehnsaN)	'like'
-ne	possessive		
	5		12
(kakaq)	conjunction	(-po)	question
		(-pomo)	emphatic question
	6	(-popoq)	'maybe, or'
(-taq)	'to, at'	(-dabidamo)	serious doubt
(-tabaN)	'over, across'	(-dabidapomo)	serious doubt
		(-dabido)	veracity
	7	(-mideN)	predicative
(-piq)	'in, inside'	(-meN)	identificational
	8		13
(-peq)	'place'	(-de)	emphasis

4.2. Limitations

Although we have listed thirteen orders, rarely do more than four or five suffixes occur with one base at the same time. Usually only two or three suffixes so occur.

4.2.1. *Mutually obligatory suffixes.* Suffix (-so) 'on top' is always followed by (-taq) 'to, at' and (-peq) 'place' taking the form (-sodapeq) 'at a place on top', 'on top'. Note that this combination is mutually exclusive with the size suffixes. If an Awa wishes to indicate something big or long, he uses a free form when -sodapeq occurs: *anotah nahnsodapeq kehde* (big house-on-top-it is) 'It is on top of the big house.'

The suffix (-piq) 'in, inside' is always followed by (-peq) 'place'. Primarily this combination occurs with nouns that have an inside such as bamboo or a container: *kabadapipeq* 'inside the bamboo'.

The suffix (-teN) 'from' is always preceded by either (-taq) 'to, at', (-peq) 'place', or (-paN) 'to, at' (personal): *sotapete* or *sotate* 'from the garden', *unapipete* 'from within the bag', *naniyopate* 'from my brother' (female speaking).

4.2.2. *Mutually exclusive suffixes.* Any suffix occurring in the same order is of course mutually exclusive with any other suffix listed in that order.

VI. Awa Verbs, I: The Internal Structure of Independent Verbs

RICHARD LOVING and HOWARD MCKAUGHAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Verbs in Awa¹ are central to the clause. When inflected, they may stand alone manifesting the clause with its obligatory grammatical relations of subject and predicate. No other part of speech may occur as the predicate of a clause, nor indicate these two relations. When occurring as predicate, a verb must contain morphemes to indicate subject and tense. Morphemes to indicate an object and the categories of aspect and mode may also occur with verb bases.

The present paper deals only with the internal structure of independent verbs. It is meant as a preliminary survey to set the direction of research rather than as a definitive statement. Research is not yet complete.² Further investigation may modify present results, and will most certainly add to them. However, sufficient data are at hand to give a good picture of the complications encountered in the verb structure of a New Guinea language.

The independent verb has the following characteristics: (A) It contrasts with dependent verbs in that it may not contain morphemes to anticipate following clauses, nor may it occur subordinate to other verbs. (B) The independent verb must always contain morphemes to indicate the subject of the clause, and the tense of the verb base. (C) This verb occurs as the

¹ For classification of New Guinea Highland languages, see Wurm (1960, 1961 a,b,c, and 1962a,b,c,d).

² Loving is responsible for preliminary analysis, while McKaughan has been responsible for the theoretical framework and presentation. The paper was first published as pp. 31-44 in *Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages*, Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No. 10, 1964, and is reissued here in its present format with permission.

predicate of independent clauses; that is, those clauses which may occur as a sentence, independent of other constructions. (D) Its general internal structure includes, besides the stem, a direct or indirect object (obligatory with some stems, optional with others), certain optional aspectlike morphemes, obligatory tense-subject affixes, and optional modelike affixes, generally in the order given here.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following is a summary of some of the general morphophonemic facts. Variation in individual morphemes will be mentioned when the particular morpheme is discussed. Additional research will be necessary before we can give a complete study of the morphophonemic variation within the verb structure.

2.1. Verb Stems

We define a verb stem as a nuclear morpheme or morphemes which potentially occurs with markers to indicate a subject referent (and sometimes an object referent) as well as other grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, and mode.

2.1.1. Verb stems fall into two major classes. Affixes are morphophonemically different for each class. In general, Class I includes stems whose last vowel is /a/, and Class II those stems whose last vowel is /i/, /u/, /e/, /eh/, or /ah/.³ Certain stems do not follow this phonological classification and must therefore be listed. The last vowel of some stems may be followed by a consonant (usually alveolar nasal or glottal stop). For purposes of description, we set up as basic, or as a point of reference, consonant-final forms or vowel-final forms in cases where a final consonant may not occur. Morphophonemic statements are therefore related to the basic forms. The following are a few examples of the two classes. Class I: *pehbeq-* 'to turn', *pugeq-* 'to untie', *súq-* 'to throw away', *suga-* 'to sleep', *taga-* 'to look, see it', *táhtog-* 'to hold'; Class II: *idad-* 'to say', *kekí* 'to burn', *kogahn-* 'to sew', *paban-* and *suehq-* both meaning 'to split', *pagun-* 'to shove' *s-* 'to come', *subiq-* 'to hit', *sáhnsáh-* 'to count', *úq-* 'to plant', *widé-* 'to laugh'.

2.1.2. All verb stems with initial /m/, /s/, or voiceless stops (/p/ /t/ /k/) when following morphemes basically ending with a vowel, have alternants beginning with /w/, /y/, or a voiced obstruent (/b/ /d/ /g/), respectively: *mewe* + *mado* > *mewe wado* 'Take and put it!'; *suga-* + *suga* + *iq* > *sugàyugàiq* 'He kept sleeping', *animài* + *pokiq* > *animài bokiq* 'The boy went', *taga* + *taga* + *iq* > *tagadagaiq* 'He kept looking.'

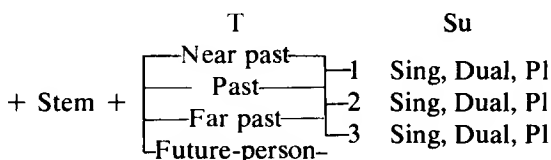
2.1.3. Verb stems which may occur with final glottal stop have

³ See footnote 4, Chap. IV, for a statement of the phonemes of Awa, used as a basis for the transcription here. In addition, we have marked tones here as high (´), low (no mark), rising (ˆ), and falling (˘).

The following illustrate further the future portmanteaus: *keki(oyèh)* 'We two will burn it', *sug(anèhedà)* 'They will sleep', *pok(onèheq)* 'We but not you will go', *tag(agèh)* 'You two or more will see it', 'They will see it', 'They two will see it.'

3.5. Summary

The verb structure with (T)ense-(Su)bject complexes may be represented in summary by the following diagram. Commas are to be read as 'or,' and lines may be followed from left to right and up or down.



4. NONSUBJECT PERSON MORPHEMES

Besides the subject, Awa independent verbs may contain a nonsubject referent morpheme. With some verbs it is obligatory. The nonsubject referents may be related to the action as the indirect object, or as a possessed direct object, that is, something possessed by the subject.

4.1. Possessed Direct Object Morphemes

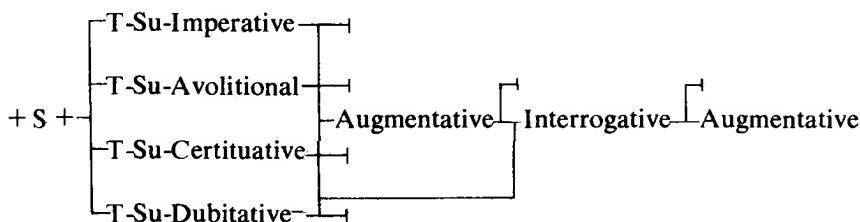
All verb stems which semantically may take an object (transitive stems), and which do not obligatorily occur with such, optionally contain a possessed direct object. The following morphemes indicate an indefinite object and the person to whom that object belongs.

<i>-nuw</i>	'that which is mine'	<i>-yuw</i>	'that which is ours or yours'
<i>-auw</i>	'that which is yours or his'	<i>-duw</i> ¹²	'that which is theirs'

In most verbs, these morphemes occur directly following the stem: *keki(nuw)éhq* 'He burned that which is mine' or 'He burned mine.' This sentence may be expanded: *wegà néne sòn keki(nuw)éhq* (he my garden burn-(mine) he-near-past) 'He burned my garden.'

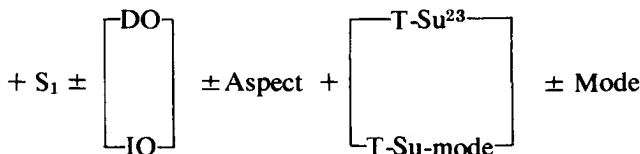
Two verb stems, *-ahb-* 'to please, like', and *-ahdi-* 'to displease, not like',

¹² One could assign person to the first consonant, and direct possessed object, or indefinite object to *-uw*. Similarities occur with the indirect objects (Sec. 4.2), but we prefer to treat these sequences as one morpheme, saving descriptive complications when treating the indirect objects. The status of *w* following */u/* and *y* following */i/* is not clear. Since vowel sequences with other than high vowel initials may be interrupted by */w/* or */y/*, we suspect that some contrasts may occur such as */iya/* and */ia/*, or */uwa/* and */uah/*. However, such have not been clearly located. We have written *w* and *y* in this paper where clearly heard.



7. SUMMARY OF INDEPENDENT VERB STRUCTURE

We have indicated specific distributions as we have discussed the various morpheme sequences and complexes. In general, the direct or indirect object morphemes occur contiguous to the stem (preceding or following depending on the stem). Aspect morphemes may follow the object morphemes, or the stem. The obligatory tense-subject complexes may follow the stem, the object morphemes or the aspect morphemes. Mode morphemes follow the tense-subject complex, occurring with objects and/or aspects optionally. A summary diagram representing in general the internal structure of the Awa independent verb follows:



²³ Dubitative mode, being mutually exclusive with mode compounds, follows only tense-subject compounds, not mode compounds.

VIII. An Outline of Awa Grammatical Structures

RICHARD LOVING

1. INTRODUCTION

Four levels of Awa grammatical structure, the clause, sentence, phrase, and word, are described in this paper.¹ Previous papers have described the noun suffixes, noun prefixes, independent verb affixes, and dependent verb affixes. This paper is intended to complete the grammar outline of the Awa language describing the four grammatical levels mentioned, including their interrelationships.

2. CLAUSE STRUCTURES

Awa clauses are grammatical units with one and only one predicate tagmeme, manifested by verbs and verb phrases, and filling slots on the sentence, clause, and phrase levels. Awa clauses are either transitive, intransitive, stative, or quotative; and either independent, dependent, or included. Though included clauses as defined in this paper are in some sense dependent because they never occur in isolation, they are formally different from both independent and dependent clauses and thus treated as a distinct clause type.

2.1. *Independent, Dependent, and Included Clause Distinctions*

On the basis of their internal structure and their distribution in a larger grammatical unit, that is, the sentence, Awa clauses are either independent or dependent.

¹ The material for this paper was gathered during a two-year residence in the village of Mobuta under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Assistance from SIL colleagues at the University of Oklahoma is gratefully acknowledged as is also editorial assistance from Howard McKaughan.

quickly go you-bring! he-(said)-and I ' "It's inside the house. Go and look! Quickly go bring it!" he said, and I . . . '.

I. *Included-transitive clause*. The morphemes or words between solidi in each of the following examples are not part of the included clauses but are rather either relators or fillers of the head tagmeme in modifier-head noun phrases: *kek-i-/taql* (P) (burn-he-/temporal/) 'when he burned'; *we* (S) *nene sotapeq* (L) *kek/taql* (P) (he my garden-place /when/-he-burned) 'when he burned off my garden'; *wehekah* (T) *nene sotapeq* (L) *keki* (P) */lanil* (noon my garden-place he-burned /one/) 'the one who burned off my garden at noon'.

J. *Included-intransitive clause*. *pok-i/dapeql* (P) (go-he-/general-place-marker/) 'where he went'; *we* (S) *metaq* (T) *poki/dapeql* (L) (he a-little-while-ago /where/-he-went) 'where he went a little while ago'; *idasabadahq* (Pu) *poki lanil* (to-get-firewood he-went /one/) 'the one who went to get firewood'.

K. *Included-stative clause*. *k-ehn-/sabel* (R) (inanimate-is-it-/referential/) 'concerning there being'; *ahnte sehgradu* (C) *keh /madakotaql* (L) (many mud-holes is /ground at/) 'the ground where there are many mud holes'; *ide kaweq madako keh-dabete* (L) (not good ground is-/from/) 'from where the poor ground is'.

L. *Included-quotative clause*, *pokuno* (Q) *i-/taql* (you-go! he-(said)-/temporal/) 'when he said, "You go!"'; *menio* (Q) *in/sabel* (R) (you-give-me! he-(said)-/referential/) 'concerning his saying, "You give it to me!"'; *ehsa miahno* (Q) *i lanil* (quiet you-be! he-(said) /one/) 'the one who said, "You be quiet!"'.

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Clause	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V trans} \\ \text{V intrans} \\ \text{V stative} \\ \text{V quot} + \text{quotation} \end{array} \right]$	± Subject ±	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{IO} \\ \circ \\ \circ \end{array} \right]$	±	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{DO} \\ \circ \\ \circ \end{array} \right]$	± Ref ± Time ± Loc ±	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Instrument} \\ \text{Purposive} \\ \text{Complement} \end{array} \right]$
--------	--	-------------	---	---	---	----------------------	--

3. SENTENCE STRUCTURES

Awa sentences are the minimal units which can occur as complete utterances. These range in length from a single word to a complex sequence of many clauses. An independent clause occurring alone in a response situation is a dependent sentence. Thus, at some points in grammatical analysis, clause and sentence structures coincide. However, sentences differ from clauses in their manner of expansion and also in that sentences may: (A) be less than a clause, that is, contain no predicate tagmeme, and (B)

5.2.2. Inalienable nouns occur with prefixes indicating one of six categories of possession. These categories include first, second, third, and nonspecified third person singular; third person plural; and nonthird person plural. Inalienable nouns include kin terms, most body parts, and several other miscellaneous nouns.

5.2.2.1. Only kin terms may occur with the kin indicator *-kawa* alternating with *-wa*: *si-bowa* (their-father) 'their father'; *wena-wehkawa* (her-husband) 'her husband'.

5.2.2.2. Most body parts are inalienable: *i-du* (our-insides) 'our insides'; *aden-ahsa* (your-jawbone) 'your jawbone'.

5.2.2.3. Miscellaneous nouns consist of the following members: *-wi* 'name', *-wa* 'spirit', *-wahpeq* 'village', and *-wahdah* 'relatives'. Examples: *itei-wiq* (our-name) 'our name'; *nanu-wahpeq* (my-village) 'my village'.

5.2.3. A few nouns may occur with the possessive prefixes indicated above or in a possessive noun phrase.

5.2.3.1. Nouns which optionally occur with possessive prefixes are *ani* 'child', *ehweh* 'talk', and *ahde* 'wife': *nen-ani* (my-child) 'my child'; *wen-ehweh* (his-talk) 'his talk'.

5.2.3.2. Most nouns in Awa are alienable and occur without possessive prefixes but are optionally possessed in a possessive noun phrase: *ia* 'dog'; *wene ia* 'his dog'.

5.3. Pronouns

Awa pronouns are words which may either substitute for nouns or occur in apposition to nouns or noun phrases in an appositional phrase. Pronouns manifest the subject, indirect object, complement, object, and quotation tagmemes in clauses and with the appropriate suffixes they occur as the modifier in similitive and possessive noun phrases. Subject to semantic limitations, most of the suffixes which occur with nouns also occur with pronouns. Pronouns, however, never occur as the head of head-modifier noun phrases. Pronouns are either personal or demonstrative.

5.3.1. Personal pronouns are either simple or intensive. In both sets there is a distinction between first, second, and third person singular, and between third and nonthird plural.

5.3.1.1. Simple personal pronouns are the only words which may occur with the suffixes *-tiahdiah* 'alone, by one's self' and *-pataq* 'only, alone'. The five pronouns are listed below.

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing	<i>ne</i>	<i>ade</i>	<i>we</i>
Pl		<i>ite</i>	<i>se</i>

5.3.1.2. Intensive personal pronouns never occur with the two suffixes listed in Section 5.3.1.1. Intensive personal pronouns have more force

and emphasis than do simple personal pronouns. They are formed by reduplication of all or some of the phonemes of the simple personal pronouns. This is illustrated by a comparison of the simple personal pronouns with the intensive personal pronouns below.

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing	<i>nene</i>	<i>adede</i>	<i>wewe</i>
Pl		<i>iteite</i>	<i>seye</i>

5.3.2. Demonstrative pronouns always occur with the pronominalizer *-na* and indicate information concerning the distance and elevation of the referent relative to the speaker. Demonstrative pronouns are either simple or intensive.

5.3.2.1. Simple demonstrative pronouns consist of the five following words: *mina* 'that'; *mahna* 'this'; *insena* 'that down over there'; *idena* 'that up over there'; and *isena* 'that level over there'.

5.3.2.2. Intensive demonstrative pronouns are formed by a reduplication of the demonstrative pronoun stem (but not the pronominalizer) and consist of the following three words: *inseisena* 'that way down over there'; *ideidena* 'that way up over there'; and *iseisena* 'that level way over there'.

5.4. Minor Word Classes

Modifiers, temporals, interrogatives, exclamatory words, hesitation words, response words, and locatives constitute minor word classes in Awa.

5.4.1. Modifiers are a class of words which manifest the modifying tagmemes in noun, verb, and modifier modifier-head phrases. Modifiers are either restricted or unrestricted. Restricted modifiers occur only in noun modifier-head phrases. These modifiers occur not only with noun phrases but also with verbs and modifiers manifesting the head tagmeme in modifier-head phrases. These include the intensives (*anotah*, *ahnte*), the negative (*ide*), and the limiter (*peh*).

5.4.2. Temporals manifest the time tagmeme in clauses: *ahdina* 'the day after tomorrow'; *metaq* 'a little while ago'.

5.4.3. Interrogatives occur with or without the interrogative marker *-bo* as fillers of independent sentences which have nonclause constituents, and without the interrogative marker as fillers of peripheral clause level slots in sentences which have clause constituents: *atahi* 'how'; *aneq* 'what'.

5.4.4. Exclamatory words occur as fillers of independent nonclause exclamatory sentences: *ehneh* 'Oh!'; *uwoibo* 'Whew!'

5.4.5. Hesitation words occur in appositional phrases: *maq* 'er'; *aaa* 'uh'.

5.4.6. Response words occur as nonclause response sentences. Any word may occur in this slot and the following words occur only there and as fillers of the quotation tagmeme in clauses: *kowe* 'Yes'; *ee* 'Yes'; *idekaumo*

'No'; *aqā* 'No'; *atahinabomo* 'Who knows?'; *anetanibo* or *anetaninkahnaq* 'Forget it!'

5.4.7. Locatives manifest the location tagmeme in clauses: *anehe* 'behind'; *awenah* 'beneath'.

The Languages of the Eastern Family of the East New Guinea Highland Stock

Edited by HOWARD MCKAUGHAN

This book is published with the assistance of a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Copyright © 1973 by the University of Washington Press
Printed in the United States of America

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

*Anthropological Studies
in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea*

James B. Watson, *Editor*

VOLUMES PUBLISHED:

I. The Languages of the Eastern Family of the East New Guinea Highland Stock, edited by Howard McKaughan

II. Physical Anthropology of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea, by R. A. Littlewood

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Main entry under title:

The Languages of the eastern family of the east
New Guinea highland stock.

(Anthropological studies in the eastern highlands
of New Guinea, v. 1)

Reports of research by the New Guinea Micro-
evolution Project.

Bibliography: p.

1. Papuan languages. 2. Kainantu region—
Languages. I. McKaughan, Howard, 1922- ed.

II. Title. III. Series.

PL6601.A35 499'.12 72-13131

ISBN 0-295-95132-X

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE AND LONDON