The local cases in Menggwa Dla
— from a Papuan perspective

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Location of Dla territory in New Guinea

* has since been dissected into smaller regencies; Dla territory is now in Keerom Regency.

Senagi language family

- Anggor (e.g. Litteral 1980)
- Dla
  - 'Dla proper' (a.k.a. 'Dera'/'Dəra'; e.g. Voorhoeve 1971, 1975)
  - Menggwa Dla (a.k.a 'Duka Ekor'; e.g. de Sousa 2006)

Case clitics in Menggwa Dla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>object case</td>
<td>=mbo</td>
<td>inessive case</td>
<td>=mbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive case</td>
<td>=la</td>
<td>adessive case</td>
<td>=hi/ =sehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative case</td>
<td>=lofo</td>
<td>allative case</td>
<td>=na ~ =nambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proprietive case</td>
<td>=mbi</td>
<td>ablative case</td>
<td>=hya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abessive case</td>
<td>=mboka</td>
<td>perlative case</td>
<td>=ronggo</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Perlative =roŋgo
‘along’ / ‘through’ a path:

1. yo lohama=roŋgo pi-aha-hwa.
   ridge=PER go-1SG-PAST
   ‘I went along the ridge.’

“through” with interlocutors

2. wara yo apa dahoni ane=roŋgo wa ho ho-mba-la-mbo.
   daytime now friend=PER well tell-POST-LIG-NOML
   ‘So now in this daytime I will tell you (‘friend’) this story.’

Inessive =mbe, ablative =hya, adessive =hi/=sehi and allative =na(mbo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>motion from</th>
<th>static location</th>
<th>motion to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>exterior</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=hya</td>
<td>=hi/=sehi</td>
<td>=na(mbo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interior</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>=mbe</td>
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Static locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>‘Exterior’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. wuli=mbe</td>
<td>4. wuli=hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house=INS</td>
<td>house=ADS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘from inside/ into / in the house’</td>
<td>‘at the exterior of the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. wuli wami(=hi)</td>
<td>6. gwafu=hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house top(=ADS)</td>
<td>village=ADS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘on top of the house’</td>
<td>‘at/in the village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. heli=hi</td>
<td>8. tumbaingi=hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singsing=ADS</td>
<td>worship=ADS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘at a traditional ceremony’</td>
<td>‘at Mass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. hwi=mbe</td>
<td>10. hwi=hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water=INS</td>
<td>water=ADS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘inside the pool/ lake/ river’</td>
<td>‘on the bank/ shore’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. *sini=mbe*
    sky=INS
    ‘in the sky’

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

    Port.Moresby=ADS see-1SG-NUD:O-PAST
    ‘I saw the two of them in Port Moresby.’

    money=TOP [table=ADS/ string.bag=INS] COP: 3FSG
    ‘The money is on the table/ inside the string bag.’

15. akwani=na hwi=mbe num-wa-hi.
    snake=TOP water=INS sit-3FSG-PRES:CONT
    ‘The snake is in the water.’

16. waplu=mbe hutinya=mbi no.
    bucket=INS sand=PROP COP: 3FSG
    ‘There is sand inside the bucket.’

17. waplu=hi hai koko=mbi no.
    bucket=ADS fire faeces=PROP COP: 3FSG
    ‘There is ash next to the bucket.’

18. hutumu=hi humu-Ø-ya-a-mbo,
    leaf=ADS tie-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP
    alu=mbe saku-Ø-ya-a-Ø,
    string.bag=INS put.in-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP
    ‘He wrapped them with leaves, and put them inside the string bag, and…’

Motions to/from

19. wuli=na pi-Ø-ehi-Ø,
    house=ALL go-CR-1DU-DEP
    ‘We went (towards) home, and…’

20. wuli=mbe Ø-hah-yehi-mbo,
    house=INS CR-go.up-1DU-DEP
    ‘We went inside the house, and…’

21. wuli=mbe fa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,
    house=INS leave-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP
    ‘We left (from the inside) home, and…’
22. mamblu=hya hof-ei-mbi.
   Bambol=ABL come-N1FPL-PRES
   ‘They came from Bambol.’

Temporal locations

23. rani amamo(=hi) newi aflambli numungwa-wi-hwa.
   DEM month(=ADS) people many die-3FPL-PAST
   ‘A lot of people died that month.’

24. mingu=hi homba-mba-mbo tumbaiŋi=hi.
   Sunday=ADS see-POST-NOML Mass=ADS
   ‘I will see you on Sunday at Mass.’

25. ogas=hi Arso=nambo pi-wi-hwa.
   August=ADS Arso=ALL go-N1FPL-PAST
   ‘They went to Arso in August.’

26. saftu=mbe nu-mbo, simbu ye wuli=nambo pi-ehye-hwa.
   Saturday=INS COP-DEP morning then house=ALL go-1DU-PAST
   ‘It was during Saturday, in the morning we went home.’

Human locations: =hya ABL and =sehi ADS

Non-humans:

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Humans:

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<td>=sehi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interior</td>
<td></td>
<td>(no inessive)</td>
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</table>
27. wihwala=hy a amtali sami-aha-mbi.
   children=ABL flu take-1SG-PRES:STAT
   ‘I have gotten the flu from the children.’

   Jenny=TOP Tom=ADS leave-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST
   ‘Jenny got married with Tom.’ (lit. ‘they left Jenny on Tom.’)

   (‘Inside someone’):
29. ahala fil/ hambala/ sufwa=mbe
   3SG:GEN body/ stomach/ liver=INS
   ‘Inside his/her/its body/ stomach/ liver’

   (Recipients:)
   Benedict nun=OBJ chicken house show-3SG-N1FPL:O-PAST
   ‘Benedict showed the nuns the chicken coup.’

31. wuli=mbe yoambo wanu sa-mba-i-hwa.
    house=INS 1SG:OBJ money give-3SG-1SG:O-PAST
    ‘S/he gave me the money inside the house.’

   Allative-instrumental =na(mbo)
32. ra=nambo hwi fri-Ø-mu-mbo,
    DEM=ALL water get.rid-CR-N1MPL-DEP
    ‘They got rid of the water with that, and…’

33. palangi=nambo hyela numuli-Ø,
    machete=ALL skin remove-DEP
    ‘(People) remove the bark (‘tree skin’) with machete, and…’

34. imbu safo tamako=nambo kikifi nungu-mbo,
    two half axe=ALL chop SEQ-DEP
    ‘(People) chop (the trunk into) two halves with an axe, and then…’

35. imbumamo=pa yari=na ser-ye hi fa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,
    three=only sago=ALL eat-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP
    ‘After we have eaten only three (birds) with sago…’

36. pitu=na fungifi-Ø.
    knife=ALL stab-IMP
    ‘Stab (it) with a knife.’

37. gwatina twanggi fafo=na tutu-ya-i-mbo,
    again white.people language=ALL ask-3SG-1SG:O-DEP
    ‘S/he asked me again in Tok Pisin, and…’

   Topic marker =na
Subject topicalised:
38. \[\text{[yo]}=\text{na} \text{ [Jane=la wamla]} \text{ [John]=mbo sa-ninga-wa-hwa} \]
\[[1]=\text{TOP} \text{ [Jane=GEN betel.nut]} \text{ [John]=OBJ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST}\]
‘As for me, I gave Jane’s betel nuts to John.’

First object topicalised:
39. \[\text{[John]=na} \text{ [yo] [Jane=la wamla] sa-ninga-wa-hwa} \]
\[[1]=\text{TOP} \text{ [Jane=GEN betel.nut]} \text{ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST}\]
‘As for John, I gave Jane’s betel nuts to him.’

Second object topicalised:
40. \[\text{[Jane=la wamla]=na} \text{ [yo] [John]=mbo sa-ninga-wa-hwa} \]
\[[1]=\text{TOP} \text{ [Jane=GEN betel.nut]} \text{ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST}\]
‘As for Jane’s betel nuts, I gave them to John.’

Oblique object topicalised:
41. \[\text{Amanab=nambo=na} \text{ bakwa=mbi no.} \]
\[\text{Amanab=ALL=TOP road=PROP COP:3SG}\]
‘To Amanab there is a road.’

42. \[\text{hwi=mbe=na} \text{ sa-ya-a} \text{ Ø-han-u-mbo,} \]
\[\text{water=INS=TOP take-3SG-3FSG:O CR-go.down-3MSG-DEP}\]
‘Into the water, he took them and went back, and…’

43. \[\text{ye wuli=mbe=na} \text{ galali=hi hwama-Ø-i-Ø,} \]
\[\text{then house=INS=TOP hook=ADS hang.up-CR-3MSG-3FMM:O-DEP}\]
‘Then inside the house he hung him at the hook, and…’

Multiple topics:
44. \[\text{bohoni [amamo=na]} \text{ [sini=mbe akani=mbe=na] awe.} \]
\[\text{before [moon=TOP] [sky=INS there=INS=TOP] be.not}\]
‘Once upon a time the moon was not there in the sky.’

Copular sentences:
45. \[\text{[yowala dya]=na} \text{ Rita no.} \]
\[[1SG:GEN name]=\text{TOP} \text{ Rita COP:3SG}\]
‘My name is Rita.’

Chain clause verbs (medial verbs): dependent suffix -Ø ~ -mbo ~ -mbona
(c.f. OBJ =mbo, TOP/ALL =na)

46. \[\text{ani a [num-wa-mbi]} \text{ fla=mbe numu-a=mbe} \text{ Ø-ser-u-Ø,} \]
\[\text{there ah [sit-3FSG-PRES] place=INS sit-place=INS CR-eat-3MSG-DEP}\]
‘(The moon) eats at the place where he lives, at his abode,’
\[\text{ser-u} \text{ Ø-num-u-la-mbona,} \]
\[\text{eat-3MSG CR-sit-3MSG-LIG-DEP}\]
‘he eats and lives, and’
\[\text{sungu amni=la} \text{ afila ai Ø-hof-u-Ø,} \]
\[\text{later garden=GEN father 3 CR-come-3MSG-DEP}\]
‘later the garden’s father (i.e. owner) he came, and…’
Subordinate verbs: simultaneous -hi (c.f. ADS =hi)

47. *hwafo-ha-nya-hi homba-Ø-i-Ø.*
talk-1SG-2SG:O-SIM look-N1SG-1SG:O-IMP
‘Look at me while I am talking to you.’

be.dead-3MSG-SIM be.happy-1SG-PRES:CONT
‘I am glad that he is dead.’

49. *hambalafe (< hambala-afa-hi), sihafa afila hwahwa-Ø-hi.*
be.pregnant -2SG-SIM 2SG:GEN father know-3MSG-PRES:CONT
‘You father knows that you are pregnant.’

50. *ilohe (< ilo-ha-a-hi), num-aha-hi.*
work-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM sit-1SG-PRES:CONT
‘I work and live (here).’

Realis verbal markers on indepenfedent verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis suffixes</th>
<th>Corresponding case clitics</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present transitional/stative -mbi</td>
<td>proprietive case =mbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present continuous -hi</td>
<td>adessive case =hi / =sehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past -hwa</td>
<td>(no corresponding case clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past with focus -hya</td>
<td>ablative case =hya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present tense: near-past time + present time + near-future time

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past tense</th>
<th>present tense</th>
<th>future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
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Dynamic: present transitional -mbi and present continuous -hi

```
- mbil
   - hi
   [------------------]
   - mbil
```

51. *pi-aha-mbi.*
go-1SG-PRES:TRNSN
‘I am going (now).’
52. pater pitpit  hof-u-mbi.
   Father Pitpit  come-3MSG-PRES:TRNSN
   ‘Father Pitpit has just arrived/ is arriving very soon.’

53. kufru-aha-mbi!
   vomit-1SG-PRES:TRNSN
   ‘I am going to vomit now!’

54. radio news  humbl-a-aha-mbi.
   radio news  listen-1SG-PRES:TRNSN
   ‘I am going to listen to the radio news now.’

55. mi=la      tirati  pa-hya-a-hi.
   mother=GEN  letter  write-1SG-3FSG:O-PRES:CONT
   ‘I am writing a letter for mother.’

56. kapali    green river=na pi-Ø-hi.
   aeroplane  Green River=ALL go-3MSG-PRES:CONT
   ‘The aeroplane is going to/ towards Green River.’
   (e.g. seeing the aeroplane still high up in the sky)

57. afta-mba-mbo  hwi=na han-yei-hi.
   bathe-POST-NOML water=ALL go.down-NIFPL-PRES:CONT
   ‘They are going down to the stream to bathe.’
   (e.g. seeing them walking down towards the stream)

58. dafumbo hini  ŋ giafe (< hini  ŋ gi-afa-hi).
   who:OBJ wait-2SG-PRES:CONT
   ‘Who are you waiting for?’
   (seeing the addressee seemingly waiting for someone)

‘Non-dynamic’: present stative -mbi and present continuous -hi

- mb i
----------

[ - h i ]

-mbi: inchoation and/or completion point(s) unclear or unknown to speaker:
59. hufwehambi (< hufwe-aha-mbi).
   be.hot-1SG-PRES:STAT
   ‘I feel hot.’
   (hufwa (hufwe-) ‘be hot’ class I)
60. *mi, gihali(=mbo) sufwa-aha-mbi.*
   mother hunger(=OBJ) feel-1SG-PRES:STAT
   ‘Mother, I am hungry.’

61. *hambala(=mbo) kakalu-aha-mbi.*
   stomach(=OBJ) ache-1SG-PRES:STAT
   ‘I have a stomach ache.’

62. *safa sihi-wa-mbi.*
   meat stink-3FSG-PRES:STAT
   ‘The piece of meat stinks.’

63. *hwi hof-wa-mbi.*
   water come-3FSG-PRES:STAT
   ‘It is raining.’

64. *efi-ya-a-mbi.*
   become.dark-3SG-3FSG:O-PRES:STAT
   ‘It is becoming dark (sunset).’

65. *hyela kunang-wa-mbi.*
   clothe be.hung.up:MASS-3FSG-PRES:STAT
   ‘The clothes are hung up (there).’

66. *ihu kia-wa-mbi.*
   mango bear.fruit-3FSG-PRES:STAT
   ‘The mango tree is bearing fruits.’

-**mbi:** no conceivable completion point/ permanent state:

67. *Sentani=hi lapaŋani bukwa ek-wa-mbi.*
   Sentani=ADS airport big exist-3FSG-PRES:STAT
   ‘There is a big airport in Sentani.’

68. *ye sini=mbe pe-u-mbi rani.*
   then sky=INS be.gone-3MSG-PRES:STAT that
   ‘(The moon) went into the sky and stayed there (ever since).’

-**hi:** clear inchoation and/or completion points

69. *aiahafumbo hwahwa-hi-Ø-hi.*
   3SG:OBJ be.acquainted-1SG-3MSG:O-PRES:CONT
   ‘I know him.’

70. *ai numungwa-Ø-hi.*
   3 be.dead-3MSG-PRES:CONT
   ‘He is dead.’

71. *ai hambala-wa-hi.*
   3 be.pregnant-3FSG-PRES:CONT
   ‘She is pregnant.’
72. *hwilahi* (< *hwila=hi*) *yamo-wa-hi.*
   `five thumb=ADS be.time-3FSG-PRES:CONT`
   `The time is five.'

73. *tumbaiŋgi* *wuli=mbe* *num-uma-hi.*
   `worship house=INS sit-N1MPL-PRES:CONT`
   `They are sitting inside the church.'

Past -*hwa* and ‘past with focus’ -*hya*

74. *tikyewi* *ap-ehye-hwa.*
   `small sleep-1DU-PAST`
   `We slept a little bit.'

75. *kapali* *imbu na-Ø-pa-hwa.*
   `tree.kangaroos two shoot-3SG-N1DU:O-PAST`
   `S/he shot two tree kangaroos.'

76. *mi=lofo* *klo-hya-a-hwa.*
   `mother=COM separate-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST`
   `I parted with my mother.'

77. *hamani* *tiga puluh ribu* *sa-nigga-wa-hwa.*
   `yesterday three ten thousand give-1SG-3SG:O-PAST`
   `Yesterday I gave him/ her thirty thousand (rupiah).'`

78. a. *nahombo* *fa-wa-hya?*
   `why leave-2SG-PAST`
   `‘Why did you leave?’`

   b. *bapli kakalu-aha-hya.*
   `head ache-1SG-PAST:FOC`
   `(Because) I had a headache.'

79. a. *nuŋgni* *numuŋgwə-Ø-hwa?*
   `when die-3MSG-PAST`
   `‘When did he die?’`

   b. *saftu simbu numuŋgwə-Ø-hya.*
   `Saturday morning die-3MSG-PAST:FOC`
   `‘He died on Saturday morning.’`

80. a. *hihiri-mbo* *homba-i-Ø-hwa?*
   `steal-NOML see-N1SG-3MSG:O-PAST`
   `‘Did you see him stealing?’`

   b. *ini* *homba-hi-Ø-hwa.*  [? *homba-hi-Ø-hya]*
   `yes see-1SG-3MSG:O-PAST`
   `‘Yes, I saw him (stealing).’`

   b’. *ini* *homba-hi-Ø-hya*  no.
   `yes see-1SG-3MSG:O-PAST:FOC COP:3FSG`
   `‘Yes, I did see him (stealing).’`
81. Vanimo haus sik=mbe nuŋg-wa-hya.
Vanimo house sick=INS stand-3FSG-PAST:FOC
‘She was born in Vanimo hospital.’

82. awe gwa yohwefa ulua hwi numami aya
no but IPL:GEN fat liquid above father
saku-ya-a-hya akani=mbe.
put-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC there=INS
‘Nothing really, father put our oil up in there.’

-hwa is not used in relative clauses:
83. [hari-wu-a-hya] hwanggu=mbe=na
[enter-N1MSG-3FSG:O-PAST] cave=INS=TOP
imbumamo hwalfehi Ø-numb-ei-mbo,
three woman CR-sit-N1FPL-DEP
‘In the cave which they entered lived three women, and…’

84. yani(*=mbo) [si homba-i-Ø-hya]=na
man(*=OBJ) [2 see-N1MSG-3MSG:O-PAST]=TOP
yowala aru nu.
3SG:GEN dad.bro COP:3MSG
‘The man [whom you saw] is my uncle.’

Bibliography
—. 1975. Central and western Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages. In Würm (ed.): 345-459