The local cases in Menggwa Dla
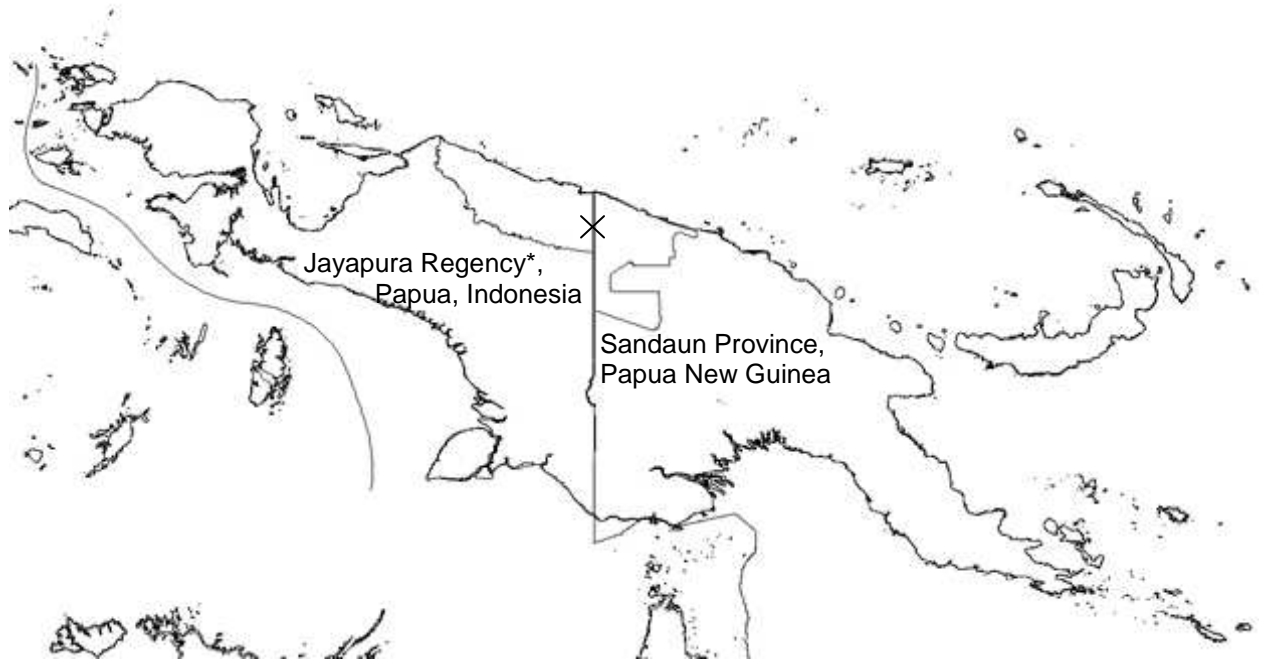
— from a Papuan perspective

Hilário de Sousa — Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics
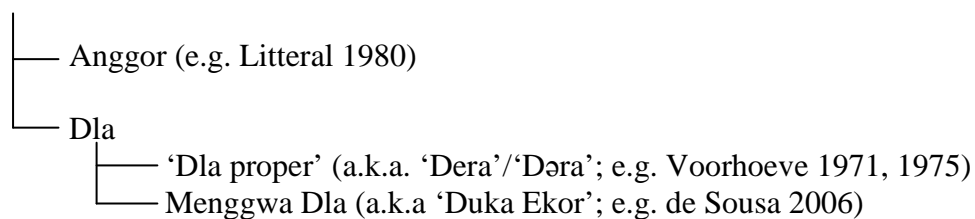
hilario.desousa@mpi.nl

Location of Dla territory in New Guinea

Jayapura Regency*,
Papua, Indonesia

Sandaun Province,
Papua 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

object case [P,R]	=mbo	inessive case	=mbe
genitive case	=la	adessive case	=hi/ =sehi
comitative case	=lofo	allative case	=na ~ =nambo
proprietive case	=mbi	ablative case	=hya
abessive case	=mboka	perlative case	=roŋgo

Perlative =*roŋgo*

'along'/ 'through' a path:

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

"through" with interlocutors

2.   *wara yo apa   dahoni ane=roŋgo   wa   hoho-mba-la-mbo.*
       so   1   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)*

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

Static locations

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Interior</td><td colspan="2" align="center">'Exterior'</td></tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>

wuli=mbe
house=INS
'from inside/ into / in the house'

</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>

wuli=hi
house=ADS
'at the exterior of the house'

</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td><td></td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>

wuli   wami(=hi)
house top(=ADS)
'on top of the house'

</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td><td></td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>

gwafu=hi
village=ADS
'at/in the village'

</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td><td></td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>

heli=hi
singsing=ADS
'at a traditional ceremony'

</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td><td></td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>

tumbaiŋgi=hi
worship=ADS
'at Mass'

</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>

hwi=mbe
water=INS
'inside the pool/ lake/ river'

</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>

hwi=hi
water=ADS
'on the bank/ shore'

</td>
</tr>
</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.'

13.   Mosbi=*hi*   *homba-ha-pa-hwa.*
       Port.Moresby=ADS   see-1SG-N1DU:O-PAST
       'I saw the two of them in Port Moresby.'

14.   *wanu=na   [tebolu=hi/ alu=mbe]   no.*
       money=TOP   [table=ADS/ string.bag=INS] COP:3FSG
       'The money is on the table/ inside the string bag.'

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
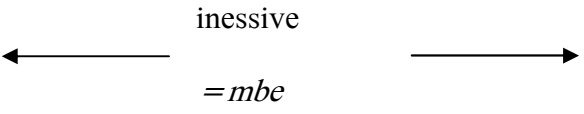   'We left (from the inside) home, and…'

22. *mamblu=hya   hof-ei-mbi.*
    Bambol=ABL   come-N1FPL-PRES
    'They came from Bambol.'

Temporal locations

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

24. *miŋgu=hi   homba-mba-mbo   tumbaiŋgi=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:

	motion from	static location	motion to
exterior	ablative *=hya*	adessive *=hi*	allative *=na(mbo)*
interior	←	inessive *=mbe*	→

Humans:

	motion from	static location	motion to
exterior	ablative *=hya*	adessive *=sehi*	(no allative)
interior		(no inessive)	

27. *wihwala=hya   amtali   sami-aha-mbi.*
    children=ABL   flu   take-1SG-PRES:STAT
    'I have gotten the flu from the children.'

28. Jenny=*na*   Tom=*sehi*   *fa-hi-a-hwa.*
    Jenny=TOP   Tom=ADS   leave-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST
    'Jenny got married with Tom.' (*lit.* 'they left Jenny on Tom.')

('Inside someone':)
29. *ahala   fi/   hambala/   sufwa=mbe*
    3SG:GEN   body/   stomach/   liver=INS
    'Inside his/her/its body/ stomach/ liver'

(Recipients:)
30. Benedict <u>sista=*mbo*</u>   *ayamu   wuli   nafi-Ø-ti-hwa.*
    Benedict <u>nun=OBJ</u>   chicken   house   show-3SG-<u>N1FPL:O</u>-PAST
    'Benedict showed the nuns the chicken coup.'

31. *wuli=mbe   <u>yoambo</u> wanu   sa-mba-<u>i</u>-hwa.*
    house=INS   <u>1SG:OBJ</u>   money   give-3SG-<u>1SG:O</u>-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. *palaŋgi=nambo   hyela   numuli-Ø,*
    machete=ALL   skin   remove-DEP
    '(People) remove the bark ('tree skin') with machete, and…'

34. *imbu safo   tamako=nambo   kikifi   nuŋgu-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-yehi fa-hwa-a   Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*
    three=only   sago=ALL   eat-1DU   COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O   CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP
    'After we have eaten only three (birds) with sago…'

36. *pitu=na   fuŋgifi-Ø.*
    knife=ALL   stab-IMP
    'Stab (it) with a knife.'

37. *gwatina twaŋgi   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*

5

Subject topicalised:
38. *[yo]=na* *[Jane=la* *wamla]* *[John]=mbo* *sa-niŋga-wa-hwa*
[1]=TOP [Jane=GEN betel.nut] [John]=OBJ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST
'As for me, I gave Jane's betel nuts to John.'

First object topicalised:
39. *[John]=na* *[yo] [Jane=la* *wamla]* *sa-niŋga-wa-hwa*
[John]=TOP [1] [Jane=GEN betel.nut] give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST
'As for John, I gave Jane's betel nuts to him.'

Second object topicalised:
40. *[Jane=la* *wamla]=na* *[yo]* *[John]=mbo* *sa-niŋga-wa-hwa*
[Jane=GEN betel.nut]=TOP [1] [John]=OBJ give-1SG-3SG:D-PAST
'As for Jane's betel nuts, I gave them to John.'

Oblique object topicalised:
41. Amanab=*nambo*=*na* *bakwa*=*mbi* *no.*
Amanab=ALL=TOP road=PROP COP:3FSG
'To Amanab there is a road.'

42. *hwi=mbe=na* *sa-ya-a* *Ø-han-u-mbo,*
water=INS=TOP take-3SG-3FSG:O CR-go.down-3MSG-DEP
'Into the water, he took them and went back, and…'

43. *ye wuli=mbe=na* *galali=hi* *hwama-Ø-i-Ø,*
then house=INS=TOP hook=ADS hang.up-CR-3MSG-3FMG:O-DEP
'Then inside the house he hung him at the hook, and…'

Multiple topics:
44. *bohoni [amamo=na]* *[sini=mbe akani=mbe=na]* *awe.*
before [moon=TOP] [sky=INS there=INS=TOP] be.not
'Once upon a time the moon was not there in the sky.'

Copular sentences:
45. *[yowala dya]=na* Rita *no.*
[1SG:GEN name]=TOP Rita COP:3FSG
'My name is Rita.'

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

46. *ani a [num-wa-mbi] fla=mbe numu-a=mbe Ø-ser-u-Ø,*
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,'
ser-u *Ø-num-u-la-mbona,*
eat-3MSG CR-sit-3MSG-LIG-DEP
'he eats and lives, and'
suŋgu amni=la *afila ai Ø-hof-u-Ø,*
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.'

48. *numuŋgwa-Ø-hi*   *hihifu-aha-hi.*
     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 indenpendent verbs

Realis suffixes	Corresponding case clitics
present transitional/ stative -*mbi*	proprietive case =*mbi*
present continuous -*hi*	adessive case =*hi* / =*sehi*
past -*hwa*	(no corresponding case clitic)
past with focus -*hya*	ablative case =*hya*

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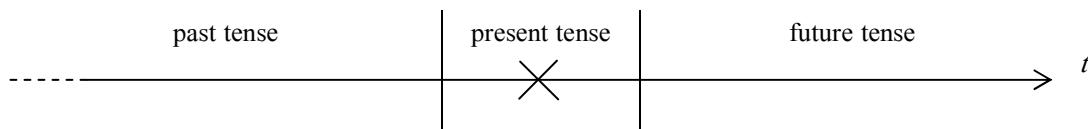

Dynamic: present transitional -*mbi* and present continuous -*hi*
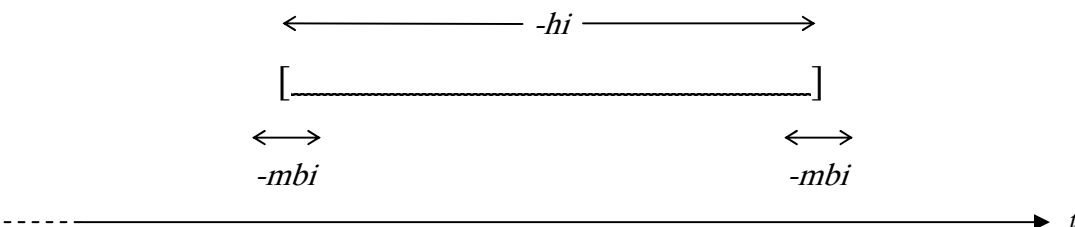
51. *pi-aha-mbi.*
     go-1SG-PRES:TRNSN
     'I am going (now).'

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　*humbli-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-N1FPL-PRES:CONT
　　　'They are going down to the stream to bathe.'　(e.g. seeing them walking down
　　　towards the stream)

58.　*dafumbo　hiniŋgiafe (<　　hiniŋgi-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*
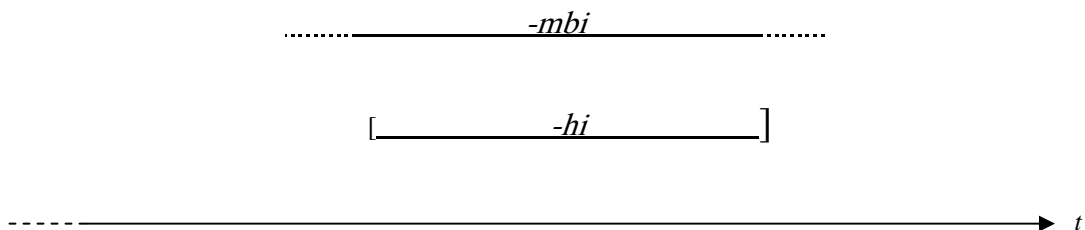
-mbi: inchoation and/or completion point(s) unclear or unknown to speaker:
59.　*hufwehambi (<　hufwe-aha-mbi).*
　　　　　　　　　　　　be.hot-1SG-PRES:STAT
　　　'I feel hot.'　(*hufwa* (*hufwe-*) 'be hot' class I)

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   kunaŋ-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   lapaŋgani 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 numuŋgwa-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-niŋga-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 numuŋgwa-Ø-hwa?*
        when   die-3MSG-PAST
        'When did he die?'
     b. *saftu   simbu   numuŋgwa-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*	*nuŋ-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 1PL: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]	hwaŋgu=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.	<u>*yani(*=mbo)*</u>	*[si homba-i-Ø-hya]=na*
	<u>man</u>(*=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.'

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