

WAPAN WA KI'UKA

WUKARI JUKUA

a brief description in English

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## Wapan Grammar: Preface t

W. E. Welmers, on page 74 of his book Jukun of Wukari and Jukun of Takum remarks, "It is not claimed that this description HAS ACCOUNTED for all Jukun morphemes and constructions, but that with few and minor modifications and additions in CAN ACCOUNT for everything essential to the structure of both these languages.

Because I believe his claim is correct, this monograph does not represent a serious departure from the approach and outline suggested by Welmers. But there are reasons for its being written. One is that Wukari Jukun is now striving for a standardized, established orthography. Another is that the Welmers study, done in 1949 within a limited amount of time necessarily overlooked enough material to call for "modifications and additions". A third reason, important perhaps only to me, but I suspect to others also, is that many who might read a description of Jukun find themselves baffled or obstructed by even the basic linguistic terminology used in Welmers' book. In my experience those most interested in approaching the Wapan (or Wukari Jukun, as outsiders call them) are either interested in meeting them in dialogue (such as the encounter between the tribe and missionary enterprises) or in discovering more about the fascinating myths, history and lore which the Wapan possess. Many have no background which permits easy linguistic reading. For them also this work is intended.

It may seem a simplistic approach to today's trained linguist. At the moment I do not apologize for this. Welmers, Shimizu, Rubin, and others have provided or are providing more scholarly works relating to the Wapan. And the material presented here should hopefully lend itself to manipulation and reordering by any who should wish to further systematize what is perhaps too casually presented here. My hope here is to make an approach to Wapan of Wukari which is as easy as possible for the non-trained. But this is an approach only. The serious student should not neglect the more formal studies by others. Though intended to stand on its own, if the book is read as an introduction to others, it may serve a useful purpose.

Contrary to the local reputation regarding Wapan of Wukari, its grammatical description is more simple than that of neighboring languages. This should not detract from the worth of studying it, however. The fact that it is not staggeringly difficult is balanced by the pleasure one can take in noticing orderly simplicities. And of course, once one leaves descriptions behind and wades into the sea of usage, the novice finds he can as easily drown here as elsewhere. This study should serve as water-wings to aid in keeping one afloat in his initial floundering.

Though following roughly the outline of Welmers' work, I treat orthography and phonemics as one unit. This is because to the non-linguist the differentiation between them is confusing and one can best describe the differences if both are before him.



## 2. A System for Writing Wapan

In order to write Wapan one must know two things among others: what are the sounds which Wapan speakers hear as being different from each other, and how are those sounds to be represented in writing. One must know which sounds are important to the Wapan speaker, because some sounds which we may find important, say in English, may not be used in Wapan. For example, a Wapan speaker who has not studied English will not hear my youngest son's name, Thor, as being much different from the sounds of the past tense of the verb tear: tore. This is because the Wapan use no words in which the tongue starts out from between the teeth. Thus th and t are very similar to them but very different to us. On the other hand, the Wapan word for egg, akyen and that for tomorrow, ákyen depend on hearing a tone which contrasts with another in a way not important in English. This chapter is concerned with the sounds the Wapan use in speech and with the way we have chosen to write those sounds. If at all possible, the reader is urged to check these sounds over, either by having a Wapan informant say them, or by listening to taped examples of the words.

3. In Wapan of Wukari almost every word is composed of only one syllable, and therefore we will begin with the syllable and its make up. The Wapan syllable is composed of a consonant and a vowel, plus or minus a few other things. A consonant is a sound formed by one part of the vocal apparatus acting with another to form friction against or a stopping of, air or voice. Some consonants in English are p, d, k, sh. Notice that sh is two letters but only one sound--when we see sh we do not say sih-huh, but rather "sh" as in the signal to keep quiet. A vowel, on the other hand, is formed in the open part of the mouth (the oral cavity). Vowel sounds in English are usually written with the letters a, e, i, o, and u.

4. The vowels in Wapan are written with the same five letters, a, e, i, o, and u. But in Wapan each letter represents only one sound. In English the letter a represents different sounds in mat, fate, loaf. In Wapan a always has a sound similar to the a in father. Similarly the other letters each represent only one vowel sound. Below are the vowels of Wapan and an example sound from English together with a Wapan word illustrating the sound.

5. Vowel in Wapan	Approx. sound in English	Wapan Word
6. a	<u>father</u>	ada (farm)
7. e	<u>they</u> , <u>fate</u>	ape (pot)
8. i	<u>bean</u> , <u>me</u>	bi (to come)
9. o	<u>potatoe</u>	ko (to dip)
10. u	<u>two</u>	abu (a thing)

11. Let us mention here but take up later two qualifications regarding some syllables or words: 1. nouns like da often are preceded by a prefix like a-; along with m, "I", and u "you" they stand outside the description of the syllable as consonant plus vowel. 2. The sounds of the vowels will be altered slightly when a syllable is pronounced "through the nose." We will treat this separately as nasalization.

12. Many of the consonants in Wapan of Wukari are similar to those of English, except for the fact that they occur at the beginning of a syllable and never at the end. In other words they are syllable-initial. Thus you can have a word like ta "throw" but no word like at\* or tat\*. Here we list the consonants much as we did the vowels; those which may be new to strangers' ears receive additional comment. We will follow after a fashion the order of the English alphabet, though a proper linguistic description would list the consonants in groups depending on what parts of the mouth are involved. For example, we will list c after b as in English, but a linguist would list b with p because except for the fact that b uses voice and p does not, in all other respects they are produced the same way.

13. Here is a list of the alphabet, concentrating of the consonants. Along the way we will stop to consider the consonants which seem more unusual to native speakers of English.

Letter	Sound in English	Wapan Example
14. <u>a</u>	(is a vowel, see above)	

15. <u>b</u>	as in <u>boy</u>	bo "arrow"
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16. <u>c</u>	as in <u>choochoo</u> -train	ce "to choose"
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Notice that we do not write ch\* but that ch in English is the sound we want. The reason we need ch in English is that we sometimes use a c where we could perhaps better use a k, as in cat. But in Wapan k always sounds like h in key or like the c in cold. Thus we can simply write c instead of ch\*. There is still more to this c than meets the eye, but we will come to that a bit later.

17. <u>d</u>	as in <u>dough</u>	da "farm"
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18. dz This sound is only one sound even though it is represented by two letters. The z in English zoo is pronounced with the tongue almost at the same place in the mouth as it would be to pronounce English do. But the d requires the tongue to start out pressed against the roof of the mouth, and the z requires the tongue to start out not quite against the roof of the mouth. Thus if you get ready to say zoo but make sure your tongue starts out pressed against the roof of your mouth, you can easily produce a sound like the Wapan word dzu "come".

no English equivalent	dze "to dress"
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19. <u>e</u>	(is a vowel, see above)
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20. f as in father fa "book"
21. g as in go gò "to touch"
22. gb Here is another single sound, represented by two letters, which is not found in English. The letters do make sense, however, because if one pronounces the sound represented by b in English, but at the same time has his tongue in the position for pronouncing g in English, the sound should be the desired sound in Wapan. This is not easy at first, but if you practice saying go in English and then try saying the same thing starting with lips closed, you will eventually get gbo. If you hear something like bigo, you are releasing your lips too soon. If you get gibo instead, you are beginning with your lips open. You must try for one sound, produced starting with the back of the tongue against the back part of the roof of the mouth and the lips closed.
- no example in English gbe "to pull"
23. h as in hay ho "take (plural)"
24. i (is a vowel, see above)
25. j Later we will discuss this letter again, but there should not be much difficulty with the sound; it is very similar to j as often used in English:
- as in juice jé "fish"
26. k as in kill ko "to dip"
27. kp Kp is another single sound with the same qualities as gb above, except that no voice is involved in the production of the sound. Try saying ko instead of go and then attempt it starting with lips closed. If you get kipo it means you started with your mouth open. And if you get something like piko, it means you released your lips too soon. Again it is only one sound which you must try to produce.
- no English example kpa "to move forward"
28. l This is a very uncommon sound in Wapan, but because there are one or two words which employ it along with several words borrowed from other languages, we must include it in our orthography.
- as in low lèmo "orange (Hausa)"
29. m as in man ma "to swallow"
30. mb This is not really difficult as long as one concentrates on making a single sound. Try saying ambush and then say it without the a.
- no English example mbo "hunger"

31. n as in no nu "mouth"
32. nd Another not-too-difficult new sound. Try saying under and then take away the u.  
no English example ndo "compound"
33. ŋ In the past this sound has been written various ways. We choose this way because we believe it will be easiest in the long run, and because there is other work for the letters ng, which we shall treat next. The ŋ sound is, again, not really difficult, because it is present in English, though not, as in Wapan, at the beginning of a word. Try saying the word singing and then subtract the si-. The sound is formed somewhat like an n, but the tongue starts off from the back of the roof of the mouth.  
no English example ŋu "child"
34. ŋg Easy to learn, this sound can be practiced at first by saying anger in English and then taking away the a-. Make sure you do not get the "soft" sound of ŋ above. Here you should definitely hear the g in ng.  
no English example ŋga "to try"
35. o (is a vowel, see above)
36. p as in pot pà "person"
37. r no English example rā "that one"  
Actually the r is quite different from an American pronunciation; here one must remember to begin with one's tongue actually touching the roof of the mouth.
38. s as in sew so "to put"
39. sh as in shoe shè "to run"
40. t as in English toe te "to be next"
41. ts If you say the American English slurred form of "that's a" you will get, "atsa". Then just take away the first a-.  
no English example tsa "to do"
42. u (is a vowel, see above)
43. v as in vat vo "to beg"
44. w as in water wa "to serve"
45. y as in yes ya "to go"



46. z as in zebra ze "to hate"
47. zh as in azure zhen "to plant, to insert"

48. These are the vowels and consonants of Wapan of Wukari and the letters we choose to represent them.

49. We have not finished with the syllable or word in Wapan yet, however. Previously we said a syllable (and also a word) in Wapan is composed of a consonant and a vowel, plus or minus a few other things. One of those things is palatalization. This long word simply means that when you say a syllable or word, in some cases you may have your tongue fairly forward and close to the roof of your mouth. This causes a very noticeable change in the consonant sound of the word; there is a sound of air being impeded as it leaves the mouth. Whenever a word is palatalized in Wapan, we write a y immediately after the consonant. Here are some examples:

50. fe "to fry" not palatalized.
52. fye "to take by force" palatalized.
53. be "to cover" not palatalized.
54. bye "a place" palatalized.
55. hu "to die" not palatalized.
56. hyu "a forest" palatalized.

(This palatalization can occur with many of the consonants, but not all. For instance, there will be no word like tsya\* or gbya\*.

57. A second thing to mention here is that a few of the sounds we introduced above in the alphabet are not really simple consonants, but are consonants already palatalized. These are the sounds we wrote as ɔ, j, sh, and zh. The explanation for this is that if the sound represented by t is palatalized to ty, the sound very closely resembles the sound of c or ch in many other languages. Here is an example:

58. tù means "to lower". If one puts one's tongue up (palatalization) the sound will change to tyù. This means "rain" in Wapan. But anyone who has learned another alphabet (in Hausa, or English, or Tiv) will hear this as cù or chù. We have already explained above why c is preferred to ch in Wapan. Now the question becomes: Why c instead of ty? The answer is that ty would be a more correct spelling in terms of the actual sound

system of Wapan of Wukari, but that there is a strong resistance to such a spelling because it "looks wrong" to any Wapan person who has learned the English, Tiv, or Hausa alphabets. Thus rather than create confusion in the minds of many possible readers of Wapan, we have chosen to depart from an exactly phonemic alphabet here. (An exactly phonemic alphabet would write each sound with a representation of the "fit" into its particular sound system.) In practice this will not be a problem, since only one way is chosen to write the sound. Thus once the decision is made, we never write ty but always c. There then is no way to get symbols confused.

59. The same explanation applies to the consonants ɟ, j, sh, and zh:

60. dò means "to rise up"

61. dyò means "a friend"

62. But dyò will always be written jò "a friend"

63. asi' means "yam"

64. asyi means "hole"

65. But syi will always be written shi "hole"

66. zèn "name"

67. zyenzyen "children"

68. But zyenzyen will always be written zhénzhen "children"

69. Here are two short lists of words. Those of the left are not palatalized. Those on the right are palatalized.

	<u>Not palatalized</u>	<u>Palatalized</u>
70.	abu "thing"	abyu "oil"
71.p	pa "to rub"	pya "to hope"
72.	be "to cover"	bye "a place"
73.	so "to put, place"	shò "running"
74.	ngo "to be angry"	ngyò "to forge"
75.	ni "where"	nyi "tooth, bird"
76.f	fe "to fry"	fye "to take by force"
77.	kèn "war"	kyèn "egg"

78. With practice, you will hear this difference in sounds quite quickly. There is one trio of words that must be practiced particularly by a foreigner. The words are: ki' "located at", ki "death", and kyi "pounded food". In English we always hold the tongue in a palatalized position to say a ki, as in English "key". But the tongue must stay down to say the high-tone ki' or the mid-tone ki. These words may prove a bit more difficult than the others, but they will come with practice.

79. Besides palatalization, mentioned above, there is a possibility of rounding the lips when pronouncing a Wapan syllable. This means that the consonant is pronounced with the mouth in a "o" or "u"-like position. To represent this we will write a w after the consonant.

80. Thus pà is "person" but pwà is "to burst"

81. ban is "to meander" but bwan is "to kill".

82. With some practice this sound feature can easily be mastered by the learner. Here are some pairs of words to compare:

	<u>Not rounded</u>	<u>Rounded</u>
83;	<u>ken</u> "different"	<u>kwen</u> "trial"
84.	<u>se</u> "to prepare (beer)"	<u>swe</u> "fat"
85.	<u>tsa</u> "to do"	<u>tswa</u> "to pierce"

86. It may be comforting to notice that palatalization and lip-rounding are mutually exclusive; one syllable will not have both at once.

87. We can now say a Wapan syllable has a consonant and a vowel and may or may not be either palatalized or rounded. Examples: Consonant+Vowel, pà "to rub"; Consonant+Vowel+Palatalization, pya "to hope"; Consonant+Vowel+Rounding, pwà "to burst". We now go on to treat still another possibility: a Wapan syllable may either be nasal or non-nasal. That is, it may be pronounced while the nasal cavity is open, permitting air to escape from nose and mouth together. Or it may be pronounced with the cavity closed off, permitting air to escape only from the mouth. When it is mouth only, the syllable is called an oral syllable. When it is mouth-and-nose, or nose only, we call it a nasal syllable. You can hear the oral-nasal distinction in English by saying "hen" and "hay". Now pinch your nose shut and say the same words. "Hen" will sound funny because it sounds correct only when it is a nasal vowel. But "hay" can still be said correctly, because the vowel is naturally oral.

88. Most English vowels are nasal only if bordered by a nasal consonant, such as m or n. But in Wapan most syllables can be either nasal or not nasal, along with a corresponding change in meaning. Notice too that in Wapan it is the syllable that is nasal, not just the vowel.

89. Thus oral pà is "person", but if it is pronounced as a nasal syllable, it will mean "to catch, to receive." In order to represent the nasal syllable, we will write an -n after the vowel. Thus "person" is written pà and "to catch, receive" is written pàn.

90. This is relatively easy for a Wapan speaker to handle, but a native English speaker must be careful to not pronounce the final -n. The -n is not representing a sound here, but only the fact that the syllable is nasal. Thus a word spelled hen in Wapan (though I know of no such word) would not be pronounced identically with "hen" in English, but as "hen" would be pronounced if a speaker changed his mind at the last moment and just didn't

get around to pronouncing the -n.

91. Here are a few examples of oral and nasal syllables:

	<u>Oral</u>	<u>Nasal</u>
92.	<u>pà</u> "person"	<u>pàn</u> "to catch"
93.	<u>bè</u> "they"	<u>bèn</u> "marriage"
94.	<u>kò</u> "to dip"	<u>kôn</u> "to guard"
95.	<u>fà</u> "to wander"	<u>fàn</u> "to leave behind"
96.	<u>cò</u> "a road, way"	<u>côn</u> "to want, love"

97. In nasal syllables the sound of i and e, and o and u may closely resemble each other. In some cases they may be indistinguishable, almost in what linguists might call "free variation". Thus kwè "pot" has a vowel sound similar to the vowel in English "ate" but kwèn "mountain" is more likely to have a vowel sound somewhere between the vowel of English "hen" and English "bean". In some areas the words kwìn, "chicken", and kwèn "mountain" may be difficult to distinguish. In Wukari town this is usually not so, and nowhere does this distinction or lack of it cause problems.

98. Similarly pù "hairlock" rhymes with English "two" and pò "open" rhymes with English "row". But áponpon "morning" is nasal and the vowel somewhere between English "bone" and "boon". (Remember not to pronounce the -n's as a final sound.) Thus writing it as ápunpun would not be confusing either to the Wapan or to a stranger. There are some words where the difference between -in and -en are important, as in kwen, "trial" and kwìn "grindstone." There are less instances of pairs of words which differ only in -on/-un.

99. We have said we will write nasal syllables by using a final -n, but there are some cases where we make an exception. These are syllables which begin with a nasal consonant, such as n, m, or ɲ. Such syllables can also be either nasal or non-nasal, but when they are not nasal they sound noticeably different. This is because in order to make a non-nasal syllable begin with a nasal consonant like n, one must first stop the nasal sound of the consonant in order to get an oral sound in the vowel. Wapan na "to sleep" is a nasal syllable; its oral counterpart is nda "to dream". The d sounds like an ordinary consonant; actually it is the stopping of the nasal n's nasality.

100. If we made a rule that all nasal syllables would be written with final -n, then na should be written nan and nda should be written nda. But we modify the rule so that nasal syllables are written with final -n except in the case of syllables beginning with a nasal consonant. Oral syllables beginning with nasal consonants will be written to show the stopping of the nasal consonant. When we presented the consonants above, we already presented them in this fashion. Thus we already introduced n and its interrupted form nd as separate consonants, and we did the same with m and its interrupted form mb, and ɲ and its interrupted form ng. If the reader prefers to consider



these pairs as separate consonants, it will make no real difference to either learning to read or learning to speak the language.

101. But for those interested in the sound system of Wapan, here is a list of some words involving first of all a nasal consonant and then either a nasal vowel (resulting in a complete nasal syllable) or else an oral vowel (resulting in a stopped nasal consonant and a basically oral syllable).

Nasal Consonant + Nasal Vowel =  
Nasal Syllable

Nasal Consonant plus oral  
vowel = Stopped Nasal Consonant

102. na "to sleep"

nda "to dream"

103. ne "to climb"

nde "to take"

104. nu "mouth"

ndú "purse, pocket"

105. ma "to create"

mba "to give birth"

106. mo "to be full"

mbo "hunger"

107. na "to refuse"

nga "to try"

108. no "the base"

ngo "to be angry"

109. For those interested in pursuing the system even further, one can treat the word no "base" as an example of a nasal rounded syllable whose non-nasal counterpart would be wo "to splash". That is if wo is nasalized it will sound like no. Thus Welmers writes wõ where we will write no. If we followed this interpretation (very likely a correct one) we would write no as won, to show a nasal syllable beginning with w-. But this results in awkward orthographical instances where the system would force us to write what our ears hear as the same sound by two symbols.

110. N na na no. "I am resting." would then be written:

111. N na na won. (Or Welmer's N na na wõ.)

112. And Ku na nu-a. "he disowned his son" would be written:

113. ku na wun-a. (Or Welmer's Ku na wũ a.) One could introduce another alteration and write nu as nwu and no as nwo, but there is no need for that because no and nu will not conflict in any way with other words in the language.

114. Thus we write only one rule for expressing the nasal syllable, and only one exception. Nasal syllables are written with -n except in syllables beginning with m, n, or n.

115. We've now expanded our description of the Wapan word (syllable) to include 1.consonant plus 2.vowel plus 3.possible palatalization or lip rounding plus 4.nasal or oral. We now treat tone, and then for our purposes the description will be complete.

There are three tones in Wapan, and one is always present in a syllable. The tones are high-tone, mid-tone and low-tone. These tones are relative to individual speakers as regards pitch; that is, one person's high or low tones may be higher or lower in pitch than another person's, but listening to any one speaker, the student will soon begin to identify the mid-tone and listen "up" for high and "down" for low.

116. In writing Wapan, we have adopted the policy of symbolizing the tone of each syllable except in some cases where the preceeding syllable determines the next tone, and in the writing of proper names and non-Wapan words. We make these exceptions in deference to those who, because of their admiration of writing systems of less tonal languages, resent the "little black marks on top" of some Wapan words. But we maintain that in Wapan, as a general rule, tone must be written and read. The reasons for this will become readily apparant.

117. We will exhibit the tone marks by comparing and contrasting a set of four words which differ only in their tone. The number of words which differ from one or two others only in tone is very great; a set of four is somewhat rarer but useful for our purposes. The structure of the words, not considering tone is:

118. kwin which as we recall means:

119. consonant is k,

120. lips are rounded,

121. vowel is i,

122. syllable is nasal.

123. It is also necessary to know that all four words in this set are nouns and as such can be preceded by a prefix a- (this will be explained again when we treat nouns).

124. We write the high-tone in Wapan with ' above the vowel. Thus the full form for the word "knife" in Wapan is;

125. akwin

This means that the a- prefix is pronounced as mid-tone and the word as high-tone.

126. In akwin "knife" the prefix a- has no mark. This signifies that it is a mid-tone prefix, since we write the mid-tone as no mark at all above the word. Thus the full form for the word "grindstone" in Wapan is:

127. akwin

which means that both the prefix and the word itself are pronounced with mid-tone.

128. The low-tone in Wapan is written with an ` over the vowel. Thus the full form for "chicken" in Wapan is:

129.

a<sup>~</sup>kwìn

This means that the prefix a- is pronounced as mid-tone and the word as low-tone.

130. The a- prefix can also be high-tone, or mid-tone, or low-tone. In this set of words, the full form for "a bottle necked gourd" is

131.

àkwìn

Here both the prefix and the word are low-tone.

132. Thus we have a set of four nouns exhibiting the three major tones in Wapan:

133.

akwìn "knife"

134.

akwìn "grindstone"

135.

akwìn "chicken"

136.

àkwìn "bottle necked gourd"

137. There are only three tones, but they sometimes mesh together in predictable ways to produce two other tones; a high-to-low fall that we will mark ^, and a low-rising tone which we will mark v. These tones usually occur when an integral high-tone or low-tone word or prefix has been omitted in a phrase. Thus one never hears bá wà\* "those who" but instead one hears bâ. One does not hear wà á (signifying a modifying clause), but instead one hears wâ. In instances of reduplication of low-tone transitive verbs (which we treat later) the second syllable is a high-low fall:

138.

hwèn "to count"butso wâ hwènhwên "work of counting!"

139. Besides the marking of the tone we must also insert a rule of tone pronunciation stating that whenever a high-tone precedes a low tone, the low tone is heard as a high-low falling tone. Thus

140.,

Ku bwan á pà bá.

"He did not kill a man." will sound as if it should be written:

141.

Ku bwan á pà bá.

It will not be written this way, however, since all low-tone syllables following high-tone syllables will follow this same pattern.

142. For a clearer idea of how this works, let us look at one sentence and then change it a bit by the use of tone only. We begin with the statement "he bought a chicken."

143.

Ku hwen kwìn.

In its full form, it can be written

144.

Ku hwen akwìn.

But most often in this position the prefix of the noun will be omitted.

145. If we change the word ku "he" to high tone the sentence becomes:

146. Ku hwen kwìn. "He should buy a chicken."

147. If, however, we keep ku as mid-tone and change hwen to hwèn the sentence becomes:

148. Ku hwèn kwìn. "He counted chickens."

149. Quite a change for just one tone! But it is not difficult to explain. There are no plural forms for nouns in Wapan, so akwìn can be one chicken or more than one. And low-tone hwèn means "to count" while hwen means "to buy". Since one counts only when there is more than one, we will read the above as "He counted chickens."

150. Ku hwèn kwìn. "He counted chickens."

151. Let us proceed with this sentence. It has three syllables, the first mid-tone, and the second and third both low-tone.

152. Now, suppose a speaker wanted to answer the question, "What did he count, chickens or eggs?" He would then answer, "he counted chickens", with a special emphasis to show that it was chickens and not something else that he counted. This emphasis in Wapan comes immediately after the verb and results either in a mid-tone verb becoming high, or in a low tone verb being followed by a high-tone before the noun. Thus:

153. Ku hwèn kwìn. "He counted chickens," becomes

154. Ku hwèn kwìn. "It was chickens that he counted."

155. And by the same method

155. Ku hwen kwìn. "He bought a chicken." becomes

156. Ku hwèn kwìn. "It was a chicken that he bought."

157. The sentence for "HE bought a bottle-necked gourd" will follow the same pattern. Remember that such a gourd is akwìn that is low-tone prefix and low-tone noun.

158. Ku hwen kwìn. "He bought a b.-n. gourd." (Even if the a- prefix is omitted its low-tone will be maintained.)

159. Ku hwèn kwìn. "It was a b.-n. gourd that he bought."

160. This is the high-tone emphasis plus the low-tone prefix. Note that the high tone shows itself in the mid-tone verb becoming high.

161. Ku hwèn kwìn. "It was b.-n. gourds that he counted." This is the low-tone verb and then the high-tone emphasis followed by (or joined to) the low tone prefix.

162. Integral high- or low-tone words or prefixes when omitted from a sentence, will remain as far as tone is concerned. Thus these two sentences are possible.

163. Ku ci ba swe. "He has fat."

164. Ku ci ba swe. "He has a guinea fowl."



163. 164.  
165. The difference between and is that aswe "fat" is a mid-tone prefix and mid-tone noun, whereas aswe "guinea fowl" is a low-tone prefix and mid-tone noun. In a sentence, when a low-tone prefix a- is omitted, its tone is retained. We will meet other examples of this in following chapters.

166. In this book all syllables are marked for tone. In other books composed by us we may leave the possessive pronouns, proper names and foreign words unmarked for tone. The possessive pronouns are no great problem, since their tones are easily memorized and do not change. But if at the moment the tone-system seems confusing, proceed with the study of this book keeping in mind that ` = low; ^ = high; ^ = high-low; v = low-high; and that "no tone mark" signifies mid tone. It is practice in the use of such a system rather than memory work that finally overcomes the initial difficulties.

167. Some linguists and many other readers may be reluctant to mark tones in printed versions of Wapan of Wukari, but it would be a crucial error not to do so. Words which differ in tone only are so abundant as to cause immense difficulties when no tone marks are used. Our aim is to produce material that can be read without difficulty the first time through by those who are properly taught to read. A sentence such as the following would not be a fair abstacle to set before a reader of Wapan.

168. He bought a grindstone to grind corn.

In Wapan the words, without tone marks, would be:

169. Ku hwen kwin jiji ku hwa za.  
(he buy grindstone sa-that let-him grind corn)

170. The second part of this sentence, ku hwa za will provide a context for the first part, since jiji will tell a native speaker that ku should be high tone ku, and hwa za would be guessed immediately as to its proper meaning. Thus if you know that "he" wishes to "grind corn" then you won't make the mistake of thinking he bought a knife, or a chicken, or a gourd. Nor would you make the mistake of thinking he counted any of those objects. But without tone marks, a reader here reads through a clause with at least sixteen possibilities and then reads the second clause to eliminate fifteen of them. If the tones are marked (since mid-tone is left unmarked, only two words in this sentence will be affected) there is one meaning clearly established.

171. Ku hwen kwin jiji kú hwa za. "He bought a grindstone to grind corn."

172. The tone marks are a small price to pay for clarity. If this were a rare example, one perhaps would hesitate in marking tones. But examples are numerous:

173. pà wà dà do = a healer pà wà da do = a sick man

174. Ku ta bu dzun. =He threw something. Ku tà bu dzun.=He planted something.

175. Be nya ku. = They praised him. Be nyà ku.=They looked for him.

176. Ku yi be nu.=He gave them permission. Ku yì be nù.=He knew who they were.

177. Omitting tone marks would mean that even an able reader would only read well the second or third time he read a specific book or article through. But our goal is that he should read that book or article the first time with ease. Anything less than that is short-changing the reader, and will lessen the effectiveness of the written form of Wapan of Wukari.

178. We can summarize this chapter by writing a formula to represent the structure of the usual Wapan syllable. This formula is too powerful, that is it produces some combinations which we do not know to exist, but it nevertheless helps a learner in remembering what to listen for when learning Wapan words.

179.  $\text{Syl.} = (+C \text{ } ^{+}y/w \text{ } ) +V \text{ } ^{+}N \text{ } +T$

180. +C means one must choose an initial consonant;

181.  $^{+}y/w$  means one can have palatalization or lip-rounding (but not both), or one may have neither;

182. +W means one must choose a vowel;

183.  $^{+}N$  means one must either nazalize the syllable or not.

184. +T means that a tone must be chosen from the inventory for tones in Wapan.

Note: one item omitted in this chapter concerns the fact that certain sounds in Wapan vary according to their environment or according to the speed with which they are spoken. They are usually written in their standard form here, but the learner should not be surprised to hear what sounds like gu in place of ku "it" or zun in place of dzun "certain" or há in place of ká in wà ká rá "this one here", or dí instead of tí in various positions, or n instead of m "me" before dí (this is treated later). This actually needs little attention, as long as one listens to the words of Wapan spoken in both slowed-down or normal speed. Learning the forms in this book will enable one to speak correctly; practice in speaking will enable one to employ the same slurs and skips as the born speaker of Wapan.

## NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

185. Welmers defines a noun in Jukun as, "a word (or phrase) which may be used before a verb as subject or after a verb as object." This definition works well, but in Wapan of Wukari a noun could also be defined as any word which can take one of the three a- prefixes (á-, a-, à-). In Wapan of Wukari there are no other prefixes or suffixes, and thus a feeling for identifying nouns can be quickly developed.

186. We consider all nouns as monosyllabic here. This means there is one syllable to each word. Actually there are nouns of more than one syllable, but these are considered as combinations of two morphemes (that is two units each having a meaning in itself). Thus abutso is a noun meaning "work." It takes the prefix a-. We do not assert that this two syllable word derives from "things of washing" (Though abu is a noun which means "thing" and tso is a verb meaning "to wash.") This may be true but we treat it as a single noun composed of two un-analysed units of meaning. But in acùnyandè "thunder" we treat the total as a single noun composed of the prefix a- and three morphemes functioning here as one unit: acù, a noun meaning "rain"; nya, a verb meaning "to scatter", and ndè (or andè), a noun meaning "voice".

187. The high-tone noun prefix á- is very uncommon, but does occur in the noun áta "father".

188. áta "father"

189. The mid-tone noun prefix a- is the usual prefix and occurs with most nouns, such as

190. akwín knife

191. acu mat

192. acù rain

193. The low-tone prefix is less common but is of real importance, because if omitted after a mid-tone or high tone, its tone is retained. Examples of low-tone prefix are

194. àdùn sheep

195. àswe guinea fowl

196. àkíshé new bride

197. Such prefixes are usually present when the noun is the first word in a sentence, and is usually omitted elsewhere. However in deliberate speech, or in cases where the particular noun is emphasized, the a- prefix is retained where it would otherwise be omitted. Thus both the following sentences are possible, and both are acceptable.

198. Ku hwen kwín kí' ti. "He bought a chicken at market."  
(he bought chic. loc. market)

199. Ku hwen akwín kí' ti.

200. Nouns can be hi-, mid-, or low-tone.

201. Usually nouns are easy to spot, but in some cases they are not easily distinguished from verbs, since in Wapan nouns are used to express some ideas which the English speaker will expect to be expressed by verbs. For example the sentence, "I'm happy." is expressed in Wapan:

202.	M̃ na fo vya.	(Or) Ñ na fo vya.	This is composed of:
203.	M̃ (or) Ñ	pronoun	"I"
204.	na	aspect	"continuous"
205.	fo	verb	"to feel"
206.	vya	noun	"happiness, well-being"

The word vya can easily be shown to be a noun when the sentence is recast into a negative form. "I don't feel happy." is:

207.	Ñ na fo m' vya bá.	This is composed of:	
208.	Ñ	pronoun	"I"
209.	na	aspect	"continuous"
210.	fo	verb	"to feel"
211.	m'	recapitulating pronoun	"possessed verb"
212.	vya	noun	"health, happiness"
213.	bá	negative	"not"

214. We shall see later that the recapitulating pronoun which signifies verb possession always follows the verb (in negative sentences) and thus separates it from a following noun. This is specially helpful in sentences where the noun resembles the verb such as "He is angry", which in Wapan is:

216.	Ku na ngo ngó.		This is composed of:
217.	Ku	pronoun	"he"
218.	na	aspect	"continuous"
219.	ngo	verb	"to be angry"
220.	ngó	noun	"anger"

One might think that ngo ngó, "to be angry" should be treated as a single verb. but when cast into negative we get:

221. Ku na ngo á ngó bá. This clearly follows the same form as our previous 200; here altered to "He isn't happy."

222. Ku na fo á vya bá. Both follow the same pattern:

223.	Ku	pronoun	"he"
224.	na	aspect	"continuous"
225.	fo/ngo	verb	"to feel/ to be angry"
226.	á	recap.pronoun	"possessed verb"
227.	vya/ngó	noun	"happiness/ anger"
228.	bá	negative	"not"

229. In many instances what may first appear to be a verb will prove to be a noun. Compare these affirmative and negative sentences:



230. Ku ku ndè. "he cried." Ku ku á ndè bá. "He didn't cry."  
 (ku="he" ku=cry ndè=voice) (á=poss.verb bá="not")
231. Ku vyí vyú. "He stole" Ku vyí á vyú bá. "He didn't steal."  
 (vyí="to steal" vyú="theft")
232. Ku na ná. "He slept." Ku na á ná bá. "He didn't sleep."  
 (ná="to sleep" ná="sleep")

233. All the above follow this pattern:

Affirmative: Pronoun+Verb+Noun

Negative: Pronoun+Verb+Redap.Pronoun+Noun+Negative

234. Nouns may form a series when joined by ba, a verb meaning "with". It can but is not usually made negative, and in cases where it means "to have" it is often preceded by ci "is, to be".

An example of nouns joined by ba is:

235. Ku hwen kwín ba pe kí ti. "He bought knives and pots at market."  
 (hwen=bought kwín=knife pe=pot kí=loc. ti=market)

236. Ba may seem to perform a different function in the following:

237. Ku ba bè. "He has money." But ba still means essentially "with". The full form of the sentence is:

238. Ku ci ba bè. "He has money!"  
 (ci=is ba=with bè=money)

And the most common negative form is:

239. Ku ci á ba bè bá. "He doesn't have money."  
 (á=possessed verb bá=not)

240. Ku ba á bè bá. "He doesn't have money" (Literally "he with-he money not") is possible but less frequent, leading one to suspect ba as a rather irregular verb which takes this form only by analogy to other verbs.

241. A noun may be followed directly by a possessive pronoun. The possessive pronouns in Wapan of Wukari are given here with atan "house." They are joined by a hyphen to the noun.

242. atan-<sup>h</sup> "my house"  
 243. atan-<sup>u</sup> "your house"  
 244. atan-a "his house, her house, its house"  
 245. atan-i "our house"  
 246. atan-ni "your (pl) house"  
 247. atan-be "their house"

248. Notice that the tone of "my" and "your", <sup>h</sup> and <sup>u</sup>, is high-low. The pronouns in Wapan of Wukari all have a high-tone á prefix, usually omitted except in the case of the independent pronoun which is often used for emphasis (this will be treated below). <sup>h</sup> and <sup>u</sup> are low tone in themselves but the high prefix results in a high-low fall as mentioned above. Because the prefix is omitted but the tone retained, we write the tone as <sup>h</sup> over these two pronouns.

249. We write no tone mark over the other pronouns since they are mid-tone pronouns, and no such relationship interacts between high-tone and mid-tone syllables. But one must know that if the mid-tone possessive pronouns occur at the end of a phrase (at the place where one pauses for breath or otherwise slows down), they will take <sup>a</sup>tone which falls from their original mid to low. Thus:

250. Ku kà ki' fin tan-i. "He came into our house."  
(kà=to enter, ki=loc., fin=inside) will sound as if the -i starts mid and drops to low tone. But in

251. Atan-i ci' tan wà sànsàn. "Our house is nice."  
(ci=is, wà=relator, sà=good) the ci here is in the middle of a sentence which can be spoken without a pause; it will be pronounced as ordinary mid-tone. All the mid-tone pronouns (possessive) follow the same pattern.

252. The word bu, a prepositional element meaning "of" may be inserted between the noun and the possessive pronoun, resulting in this form:

253. atan bú m "my house" (Atan bú m is also possible)

254. atan bú ù "your house"

255. atan bu a "his house"

256. atan bu i "our house"

257. atan bu ni "Your (pl) house"

258. atan bu be "their house"

259. The same rules still apply, except that often the tone from the omitted a- will be heard in the change from bu to bú before m and ù. The possessive pronouns are not joined to bu by a hyphen.

260. Bu is also used to show possession of one noun by another. Thus

261. Atan bu pà wà ci ká rá "This man's house"  
(bu=of, pà=person, wà=relator  
ci=is, ká=here, rá=context specific)

262. Atan bu wà-a "His wife's house"  
(bu=of, wà=wife)

263. Bu can also be phrase initial. A sentence introduced by Bú m, would be translated: "As for me,..."; Bú ù, would be "You, however,..." etc.

264. When we talk of two nouns linked by bu "with", we are talking of a type of noun phrase. A second type of noun phrase is that of a noun plus a number word or numeral. Number words are usually high-tone words relating to the concept of number. Some of them should perhaps be grouped under the section on ideophones below. Examples are:

265. pàjúkùn ápáná "how many people?"  
(pàjúkùn=people, ápáná=how many?)

266. pàjúkùn fyífyí "few people"  
(fyífyí=few)

267. atan títi "little house"  
(títi=little)

268. pàjúkùn kátá "all the people"  
(kátá=all)

Nouns can be joined similarly in a phrase with numerals. Numerals are mostly low-tone or low-mid (with the exception of 3, 4, 5, and 10.)

All numbers are preceded by a á- prefix.

269. atan ápyìnà (atan'pyìnà) "two houses"  
 270. atan ányeng (tan'nyena) "four houses"  
 271. atan átsùnyù (tan'tsùnyù) "nine houses"

272. Nouns are often followed by a modifying phrase or clause. If a phrase, it will be introduced by wà, following the noun. If a clause, it will be introduced by wá. The plural form of the relators wà and wá is bà.

- pà wà pàn jé "fisherman" Pà bà pàn jé=  
 (pà=person, wà=relator, pàn=to catch, ajé=fish) fishermen

273. pà wá be dan ku cí pà wá baba. "The person they said was a bad man"  
 (be=they, dan=say ku=he, cí=is, baba=bad)

Note the two relators here: wà introducing a phrase pà wá baba and wá introducing a complete clause, wá be dan....

274. These modifying phrases and clauses will be mentioned again in the chapter on verbs.

275. There are no plural forms for nouns in Wapan of Wukari, but there are a few nouns which are only plural in meaning. Ordinarily, unless defined by context as plural, a noun will be considered to have a singular meaning. Below are some of the methods by which nouns may be identified as specifically singular or plural.

276. Generally singular: no plural context:

277. ku hwen kwìn. "he bought a chicken."

278. Specifically singular: singular independent pronoun:

279. (áku=he áku kwìn wà jí "that chicken"  
 kwìn=chicken, wà=relator jí=word specific)

280. Specifically singular by use of a specifier:

281. akwìn rá "that chicken"  
 (rá=context specific)

Such a specifier is not acceptable in Wapan of Wukari unless the item specified has been previously mentioned or is otherwise displayed.

282. Specifically singular by use of a numeral:

283. M hwen kwìn dzun "I bought a certain chicken"

284. M hwen kwìn ádzundzun "I bought one chicken"

285. M hwen kwìn wà dzun "I bought another chicken"

286. Specifically plural: numerals

287. M hwen kwìn ápyìnà. "I bought two chickens"

288. Specifically plural, plural verb (ho):

- U hwen ho kwìn tàma "Buy up the chickens now"  
 (U=let you, ho=affect all, tàma=now)

289. Specifically plural, plural specifier:

- akwìn hórá "these chickens"  
 (hórá=plural context specific)

Again, the use of this specifier only occurs after the first mention of the particular noun.

290. Specifically plural, noun followed by plural phrase/clause relator:
291. Akwin bâ be hwen áná. "The chickens they bought yesterday"  
(bâ=plural relator, áná=yesterday)
292. The particle rá can follow immediately after a noun. It has been suggested that this makes the noun definite. It indeed does that, but in a slightly different way than "the" in English. Let us look at some examples:
293. apà "person" / apà rá "this person"  
Apà rá is a shortened form of apà wà ci ká rá (if plural apà bâ ci ká rá or pájúkùn bâ ci ká rá). The meaning can be described as:
294. apà wà ci ká rá  
person relator is existing here context specific
295. By context specific is meant that the hearer is assumed to know the context in which this particular noun is placed, either by previous mention, by visual display, or by other means.
296. Thus one will normally see rá (context specific) occur as a second reference or in some context where either a gesture or some other element previously or simultaneously identifies the context.
297. Another set of words can function in a similar way : jí "word" and rí "specific". Thus
298. apà wà jí rí / apà wà jí "this person" / "the person"  
can be described as: we are talking about
299. apà wà jí rí (rá can be omitted)  
person relator word specific context specific
300. Another word specifying a known context for a verb or verb phrase, the mid tone ra which can follow a verb or verb phrase, is treated in the following chapter on verbs.

301. Again, regarding verbs, we retain Welmers' definition of a verb stem as "a stem which may be used with the bound morpheme /ri/ before it or /ra/ after it, or with certain other bound morphemes..." By "bound morphemes" he refers to the fact that in

302. Ku ri tsa butso. "He'll work."

ri has a specific meaning of its own (thus it is a morpheme), but it can not occur alone (that is without a verb such as tsa "to do"; thus it is "bound" to the verb). Similarly in

303. Ku tsa ra. "He did it."

ra is an independent meaning unit but can only occur if a verb is present. It, too, is thus a bound morpheme.

304. Welmers goes on to define a verb phrase as "a series of two or more verb stems with a single subject." Though this approach may chill the hearts of some grammarians today, it is a surface description of the language we are concerned about here, and we will stick with this definition. We will also discuss some other definitions of Welmers' below, but we first turn, as he does, to the description of the pronoun system of Wapan of Wukari, since the pronouns are closely linked to the whole system of verbs and their "bound morphemes."

305. Independent pronouns can be used in isolation or as the head word of a clause, usually adding emphasis to the noun it will in such a case precede.

306. An example of use in at least partial isolation is illustrated in this exchange:

307. Akani tsa ri. Ami. "Who did it?" "I."  
(akani=who, tsa=did, ri=specific) (Ami="I")

308. An example of an independent pronoun used as the head word of a clause is illustrated in the sentence:

309. N di con ani pajukun ba ci ka'ra ni gon tson. "I want you people to  
(di=non-complete aspect, con=want, ani=you(pl), listen to me."  
pajukun=people, ba=plural relator, ka=here, ra=context specific, ni=let you, gon=listen, tson=ears)

310. The independent pronouns all have high-tone a- prefix, but the pronouns themselves are mid-tone except for ami, "I" and au, "you", which are low-tone. When used as the subject of a verb, the prefix usually does not appear.

#### Independent

Ami / Am m

"I"

ame

au

"you"

afu

aku

"he"

awu

ai

"we"

ati

ani

"you (pl)"

ani

abe

"they"

aba

#### Subject

m

"I"

u

"you"

ku

"he"

i

"we"

ni

"you (pl)"

be

"they"

311. In a series of clauses, an independent use of the pronoun prefix a- (written a in such a case) can replace the pronoun after its initial use.

Examples:

Ku bi, a ka hwen bu, a ka tswan ku ki'ndo.

He came, bought something, and carried it home.

Be bi, a ka hwen bu, a ka tswan ku ki'ndo.

They came, bought something, and carried it home.

(bi=came, ka=also, tswan=carry, ki=loc.  
ndo=compound)

312. When the first person pronoun is followed by an m, n, or d, it is pronounced (and often written) as n. When it is followed by r, the r changes to d and the m to n. Examples:

313. M na na nè. becomes N na na nè. "I am farming."  
(na=continuous aspect, nè=to hoe, nè=a hoe)

314. M na m̂. becomes N na m̂. "I refused."  
(na=to refuse, m̂=redapitulating pronoun:possessed verb)

Though written N na m̂. it is pronounced as ñ na m̂.

315. M du m̂ ku bá. Becomes N du m̂ ku bá. "I didn't meet him."  
(du=to meet, m̂=possessed verb, bá=not)

316. M ri tsa butso. becomes N di tsa butso. "I'll work."  
(ri=non-complete aspect, tsa=do, butso=work)

317. Object pronouns are the same in form as subject pronouns, but all the mid tones will be falling if the pronoun occurs at the end of a sentence. Thus

318. Be bwan be. is written with no tone marks, since all the ("They kill<sup>ad</sup> them")

syllables are mid-tone. But the sentence will be pronounced as if written Be bwan be.

319. The low-tone m and n do not change when used as objects, but the omitted high-tone prefix is retained as mid-tone verbs raised to high tone. Thus

320. Be ji m̂. "They cheated me." will be written Be ji m̂. while

321. Be ji ku. "They cheated him." will be unchanged.

322. Some sentences occur where one would expect a pronoun to be added in English but where it will be omitted in Wapan of Wukari. Thus both the following sentences are possible in Wapan:

322a. Ndè ku bi yí m̂. "Bring it to me."

322b. Ndè bi yí m̂. "Bring it to me."  
(ndè=take, ku=it, bi=come, yi=give, m̂=to me)

323. An object pronoun can often occur before a noun used as a second object. The object pronoun then becomes a sort of indirect object. Often such sentences are short versions of longer, more formal sentences.

324. Ku ndè bè yí m̂. "He gave me money." can be shortened to:  
(ndè=take, bè=money, yi=give, m̂=to me)

325. Ku yí m̂ bè. "He gave me money."

326. Ki bye-m̂, tsa á bu dzun bá. "As for me, it doesn't matter."  
(ki=loc., bye=place, -m̂=my, tsa=do, á=possessed verb, bu=thing, dzun=one bá=not)

This can be shortened to

327. Tsa á m̂ bu dzun bá. "It's nothing to me."  
(á=possessed verb)

*wogm*  
si-yi irá íki be.

328. The stems of verbs in Wapan of Wukari are monosyllabic. Welmers mentions vin "to finish" as perhaps the single instance of a verb stem of more than one syllable. It is true one can find instances of vin used in the pattern of verb stems, but its essential form is vin ki jini "to finish".  
(vin=to finish, ki=loc. jini=downward)

The negative form "he didn't finish is:

ku vin á jini bá.

Thus we will state that without exceptions all verb stems in Wapan of Wukari are monosyllabic.

329. Verb stems often come in clusters (which we follow Welmers in labelling verb phrases). They are separate stems, however, and with patience each component's meaning can be identified. Some examples of this are the following sentences, each employing a verb phrase where English would normally employ a single verb.

330. Ku pò fan nyakyon. "He opened the door."  
(pò=to open, fan=to leave, nyakyon=gateway)

331. Here the added information in fan is that the door, after being opened, is not presumed to have been reshut.

332. Ku be tsì ken pe wà jì. "He covered the pot."  
(be=to cover, tsì=to close, ken=to suffice, pe=pot wà=relator, jì=word specific)

333. Here too the information in Wapan is typically more detailed than its English gloss. Literally it is "He covered, closed sufficient (to prevent further entrance) the pot under discussion."

334. Verbs are either mid- or low-tone. Welmers treats ki "located at" as a verb. I prefer to treat it as a particle signifying or introducing a locational word or phrase. Ki does not fit the tonal system of verbs, cannot be reduplicated, and appears as an independent verb only where ci "to be, is" has been omitted.

335. Ku ci ki fin kà. "He's in town."  
(ci=is, ki=located at, fin=inside, kà=wall)

336. Ku ci fin kà. (or) Ku ki fin kà. "He's in town."

Both versions of 336. are acceptable alternates to the more formally correct form of 335. But

337. Ku ki á fin kà bá\* is not acceptable for "He isn't in town." The correct form is:

338. Ku ci á ki fin kà bá. "He isn't in town."  
(ci=to be, á=possessed verb, ki=located, bá=not)

339. Thus ki is classed with bu "of" as a sort of prepositional element relating one element to another, in this case the element of location.

340. Since ki is an important function word with a heavy workload in Wapan of Wukari, and since it is treated as a verb in Welmer's study, it is discussed in some detail here.

341. Ki is best considered as a high-tone particle always meaning "located at." It is always immediately followed by the noun or noun phrase denoting the specific location, and thus is always the introducer of a locative phrase. An uncomplicated example of a locative phrase would be:



342. ki'fin kà

"in town/ to town" (depending on whether the phrase is preceded by ci "is" or ya "went")

Literally this phrase is "located inside wall", as ancient Wapan towns were always walled against intruders, afinka is now a fairly common noun meaning "town".

343. The locative phrase can be used in many ways, but is best understood as always possessing the internal structure of ki' plus a noun or noun phrase. Below are exhibited some of the ways in which the ki'-phrase is used.

344. To indicate location:345. Ku ya ki'fin kà.  
(ya=to go)

He went to town.

346. Ku kà ki'fin tən.  
(kà=to enter)

He entered the house.

347. Ku nyà nyò ki'hwan.

He hunted in the bush.

(nyà=to look, seek, nyò=pursuit hunting, hwan=the bush)

348. The ki'-phrase can itself be longer or more complex, such as:

349. Ku ya ki'bye wǎ m̃ dan yi ku dan ra ku'ka'ya ki'yo bǎ.

(he-go-located-at-place-relative-I-say-give-him-say-context specific-  
he-should not-go-located at-there-not)

"He went where I told him not to go."

350. In such a case ki'yo "that place/there" is a locative phrase forming only a part of a complex noun phrase (beginning with the noun bye "place") which together with the first ki' forms a rather complex locative phrase. Using a simple diagram to exhibit major constituents of this sentence, one might describe it thus:

350a. Ku + ya... Subject + Verb

350b.

ya + ki'bye.... Verb + Location phrase containing:

350c. bye + wǎ Clause ... Noun + modifying clause.

351. Of course the modifying clause can be further divided into its major components.

352. Metaphorical location.

A second use of the locative is to represent what I term metaphorical location. The form of the ki'-phrase remains the same, but the type of location involved resembles the sort of meaning relationships which in English might be related by various prepositional phrases or by subordinating conjunctions. As an example let us contrast:

353. Ku ne ki'cin hin.

"He climbed the tree."

(ne=to climb, ki=located at, cin=top, hin=tree)

354. Ku tsa butso ki'cin pà wǎ jǐ.

"He did the work for that man."

(tsa=to do, butso=work, ki=located at, cin=top, pà=man, wǎ=relator, jǐ=word-specific)

355. In the second sentence, the location is metaphorical; that is, the work was not performed on the man's head (cin also means "head"), but rather was performed on the man's behalf. The same structure, however, could be used for a less metaphorical location, such as:

356. Ku tsa butso ki' cin kwèn wà jí.  
(kwèn=mountain)

"He worked on that mountain."

Assuming that this is not an ambiguous sentence (In both languages, for instance, it could mean that he was sculpting a particular mountain, but we do not mean that here) this is a straightforward use of the location phrase.

357. Metaphorical locative phrases are numerous, and the following is only a partial list.

358. Ki' bye...  
(ki=location, bye=place)

"Because, instead of, for"

359. ki' fin...  
(fin=inside, stomach)

"in, inside"

360. ki' cin...  
(cin=head, top)

"about, for"

361. ki' nyàkèn  
(anyàkèn=back)

"after"

362. ki' pyèn  
(pyèn=front)

"before"

363. ki' gò wà ni  
(gò=sidè, wà=relator, ni=where)

"everywhere"  
literally: located at all sides

364. ki' ni  
(ni=where?)

"where?"

365. ki' jìni  
(jìni=ground (cf. ajèn=dirt, land))

"down" (This is used after motion verbs to signify conclusive action, much as some Dutch Americans would attach up to finish and say "He finished up the work.")

366. Many of these locative phrases can be used as a connective phrase between clauses, often effecting a subordinating relationship between them.

367. Ki' nyàkèn wà ká rá  
(located-back-relator-here-specific) Afterwards, .... /after that

368. Ki' nyàkèn wá...  
(wá=clause relator) After...

369. Ki' cin wà ká rá Because of that

370. Ki' cin wá... Because...

371. Ki' bye wà ká rá On behalf of this...

372. Ki' bye wá... Instead, because

373. We have said ki is high tone, but there are a few instances where a change in tone may be perceived. These instances are relatively few and receive individual attention here:

374. Normally, when ki is omitted, its tone is retained, and the preceeding mid-tone verb will take the high tone. Thus:

375. Ku ya ki' fin kà.  
will become "He went to town."

376. Ku yá fin kà.  
(yá=went+locative)

377. Ú bi ki're  
will become "Come here!"

378. Ú bí're.  
(bí=come+locative, 're=here)

379. Similarly sentences in which ki' is almost always omitted except for tone are without exception examples of the same structure. Thus:

380. Ku dzwa' jini. He came down.  
(dzwa=lowerdown, to)  
can be slowed to

381. Ku dzwa ki' jini. , Thus separating the locative phrase marker ki' from the verb.

382. Naturally a ki' phrase most frequently follows ya "to go," and it is helpful to know that ya is as close as Wapan of Wukari comes to having a complicated verb because:

383. ya can be followed by a place noun without a locative marker. Thus

384. Ku ya'ndo. "He went home." conveys the fact of the person's having gone home as an ordinary act. Here there is no intention to specify where he went as vital information. However if one specifically asks where the person went, the location marker will be inserted, giving

385. Ku ya'ndo. or Ku ya ki'ndo.

386. The low tone after ya in (384) is described here as the omitted wà relator which precedes most elements of modification in Wapan. But the sentence Ku ya wà ndo\* would not be acceptable to a native speaker

387. The place words ni "where" and re "here" are preceded by a low tone unless wà is overtly present:

387a. ki' ni "where"

387b. ki' re "here"

387c. ki' bye wà ni "where"

388. Ya also has a second irregularity perhaps also relating to an omitted wà signifying modification. In cases where ya is final, it is followed by a low tone, thus lengthening and falling to low. In cases where ya is followed by a transitive verb, ya either takes low tone or is followed by a low tone (depending on various speaker's habits). Thus

389. Ku yà tsa butso. He went and worked.

is correct, though ya is a mid-tone verb. The above information suggests that whenever ya is not followed by specific place-information, the omission is indicated by an oblique tonal reference to wà. This is not true in the case of bi "come" of course, since place is always established by the speaker or the context.

390. Welmers distinguishes between open and closed verb phrases. "Open phrases are those in which the constituent stems may be separated by an object." Thus

391. Ndè yi' m. Give it to me.  
(ndè=take, yi=give, m=to me)

is an example of an open phrase, since one could insert an object between ndè and yi.

392. Ndè bu wà ci' gwa' hùn yi' m. Give me that thing.  
(bu=thing, wà=relator, ci=is(+locative marker), gwa=side (actually derived from gò "side" and wà "relator") hùn=over there)

393. Closed phrases are those in which an object follows the entire phrase.

394. Ku tsa za pà wà jí yo.

(tsa=do, za=exchange, yo=there)

He helped the man (under discussion).

Here one cannot separate tsa and za by inserting an object between them.

395. One can quickly grasp the difference between these types of verb phrases if one thinks of the underlying relationships between such participants in a sentence as actor, goal, object. In( 391)

396. Ndè yí'm. (391,)

Give it to me.

ndè "take" relates only the person spoken to to the object to be taken, while yí "give" relates the person spoken to and the object he has taken or will take, to the speaker. Thus the relationships which each verb conveys are different. It is as if two or three separate clauses are involved:

397. You take it.

398. You do something. (so that)

399. I get it.

400. Notice that 399. has a person present who is not present in 397.

401. In a closed verb phrase, all the stems will exhibit the same relations between the participants in the clause:

402. Ku vyín pì kàn dī-a.

He turned around.

(vyín=twist, pì=turn, kàn=change(become))

Here the relationships are static, as if the three clauses underlying the above are:

403. He twisted his body.

404. He turned his body.

405. He changed his body.

406. Elegant rules could be constructed to detail the process by which a closed verb phrase can be derived from sets of underlying sentences of certain sorts and open phrases from others. Here we only point out that in verb phrases where the relations between agent, goal, and object are at least partially dissimilar with respect to the several verbs, the phrase is open. Where these relations are similar, the verbs will be in a closed phrase.

407. Possessed Verbs (Term derived from R.Koops' article on possessed verbs in Kutev.) In Wapan of Wukari, one often finds a verb followed immediately by a recapitulation of the subject pronoun raised to high tone. Except for tone these pronouns are the same in form as the subject pronoun, except for a "he", which is the reduplicated form for ku "he". This redap. pronoun signifies verb possession. Thus one could have these two alternate sets of six sentences according to whether the verb is possessed or not.

possessed verb

non-possessed verb

408. M bà m'áta-m̃.

M bà tá-m̃.

I followed my father.

409. Û bà ú'ta-û.

Û bà tá-u.

You followed your father.

410. Ku bà á'ta-a.

Ku bà tá-a.

He followed his father.

411. I bà í'ta-i.

I bà tá-i.

We followed our father.

412. Ni bà ní'ta-ni.

Ni bà tá-ni.

You (pl) followed your father.

413. Be bà bé'ta-be.

Be bà tá-be.

They followed their father.

414. If the á of áta is omitted, the <sup>high-</sup>tone will remain audible only where it is not preceded by another high tone.

415. In the above sentences the difference in meaning is not quickly evident, at least not by means of an English gloss or translation. The difference in fact is a subtle one, and the whole set of the above possessed sentences would very likely be rejected as they stand here by a native speaker. Yet given their context in a discourse, one can without much difficulty gather numerous examples of the type. The context is that such a sentence occur in what I term the unanticipated mode. That is, there is about the sentence the quality of the unexpected, setting it apart from an expected affirmation or declaration. Thus

416. Be ci ~~zhenzhen~~ kù.

They are royalty.

(zhenzhen=children, kù=king)

is a normal affirmation. But

417. Be ci be' zhenzhen kù.

is in unanticipated mode and means: they are royalty where you would have expected them to be commoners like the rest.

418. Be bà be' ta-be. Thus means not only that "they followed their father," but also that one would not have expected it (as for instance in the situation where everyone else was following a certain other chief.)

419. Since a negative sentence is by definition non-affirmative, negative sentences regularly take the possessed verb. We will give examples later in this chapter.

420. It is probable too that certain sentences more rigidly connected with the notion of unanticipated mode regularly employ the possessed verb in a correspondingly more rigid way. Thus in a equative clause referring to a specific person (or persons) ci "is", a mid-tone verb becomes high-tone (thus replacing the recap. pronoun, which is then omitted).

421. Áta-m̃ cí pà wà wa ki.

"My father is a pagan."

(pà=person, wà=relator, wa=serve, ki=ancestral ~~shrine~~)

422. Be cí pàjúkùn bá ndì ci jòkèn-i.

"They are the people who were formerly our enemies."

(pàjúkùn=people, bá=plural relator, ndì=past jòkèn=enemies)

423. Clauses employing the <sup>NOUN</sup> ken "to be different" in an attributive sense (and also the <sup>NOUN</sup> cin in the same sense and with the same meaning) will exhibit the same raising of ci.

423a. Be cí kenken kenken. "They are different from each other."

423b. Be cí cincin cincin. "They are different from each other."

But notice the sentence used to denote that the difference is significant.

423c. Ku ci á ken. "It is different." Here the ci is mid-tone, but the recapitulating pronoun signifying possessed verb is retained explicitly.

424. Aspect markers (and other related particles).

The verb in Wapan of Wukari represents completed action, unless it is modified by aspect markers, which are separate meaning units which can only be used when verbs are present (bound morphemes, again). The following sentences contain no aspect markers and thus are completed action verbs.

425. Ku tsa butso-a. "He did his work."

426. Pà wà jî hwen sí. "That man bought yams."  
(wà jî=under discussion)

427. M̃ ba ku ndè. "I called him."  
(ba=to call, ndè=voice)

428. Ku ci ba za. "He has corn." (ci is completed action in the sense that the equation is complete now)

429. ri. The particle ri inserted before the verb eliminates the completed nature of the verb, but gives no added information regarding the nature of the verbs relation to time. Thus we may call this incomplete action, and distinguish it from the continuous or future aspects. Inserting ri in the above sentences we get:

430. Ku ri tsa butso. "He'll work."

431. Pà wà jî ri hwen sí. "That man will buy yams."

432. Ñ di ba ku ndè. "I'll call him."

433. Ku ri ci ba za. "He'll have corn."

434. Notice that when m̃ "I" immediately precedes ri, the m̃ becomes ñ and the ri becomes di. This m̃ to ñ alternation is frequent in Wapan of Wukari always conditioned by the immediately following sound. Similarly an alternation between r, d, and t is frequent in most speakers' speech.

435. bi. A more definite assertion regarding future action is accomplished in Wukari by inserting the verb "comā" (bi) between the aspect marker ri and the main verb. In this context bi becomes the aspect marker for definite future. The above sentences would thus become:

436. Ku ri bi tsa butso. He (definitely) will do the work.

437. Pà wà jî ri bi hwen sí. That man will (surely) buy yams.

438. Ñ di bi ba ku ndè. I'll (surely) call him.

439. Ku ri bi ci ba za. He'll have corn. (For sure.)

440. na. The aspect of continuous action is na placed before ri in a clause. Because they share the same information of non-completeness, ri can be retained (and often is) but can just as often be omitted when na is present. Thus

441. Ku na ri tsa butso. He is working.

442. Ku na tsa butso. He is working.

443. Pà wà jî na (ri) hwen sí. That man is buying yams.

444. Ñ na (ri) ba ku ndè. I'm calling him.

445. Since Ku ci ba za. "He has corn." is an equative clause, it will not normally appear in continuous aspect.

446. Ability or knowhow is expressed by the insertion of the verb kà "to be able" or yî "to know" most often after the main verb stem, but occasionally after the complete verb phrase and whatever objects may follow.

447. Ku tsa kà butso. He can work. (To make this sentence negative, (or, rarely, ku tsa butso kà.) kà will be the possessed verb.)

449. N di ba kà ku ndè. I'll be able to call him.
450. Ku tsa yi kàratu nh. He knows how to read.  
(tsa= do, yi=able), (nù=knowledge)
451. The particle ma preceeding all other aspect markers mentioned so far, indicates an if-clause. These clauses necessarily demand a resulting clause, which is here omitted.
452. Ku ma ri tsa butso... "If he works..."
453. M ma na ba ku ndè... "If I am calling him..."
454. Û ma hwen kà sí... "If you are able to buy yams..."
455. The particle ri, high tone, preceeding even ma, "if", is used to express hypothetical contrary-to-fact:
456. Ku ri ma tsa butso, ku ri dù bè. "If he had done the work, he would  
(ri=had, ma=if, dù=get, bè=money) have gotten the money."
457. Pa wà jí ri hwen sí, i ri fo vya ba ku.  
"Had that man bought yams, we would have been pleased by him."
458. Post-verb Particles. Most of the above aspects and verbs or verbs plus objects can be modified by certain particles following the verb. Below are listed most of these particles.
459. rè. A low-tone particle directly after the transitive active verb expresses the idea of an action done only once.  
Ku ya kí fin kà, a' bwan rè pà wà jí. "He went to the town and killed that man."  
(a=he, bwan=to kill, rè=once)
460. In Wukari town, with mid tone verbs this rè is often omitted except for its tone, resulting in a falling tone between a mid-tone verb and the next syllable.  
Ku bwan` pà wà jí. "He killed that man."
461. (It would follow that low tone verbs plus omitted rè would be audibly lengthened--this still remains to be checked out.)
462. ra. We previously mentioned the particle ra which identifies a noun or noun phrase as context specific. With respect to verbs and verb phrases and their objects, a similar particle can be employed. This is a mid-tone ra and follows the verb, or the verb and its object in cases where an object is present. In all cases its force of meaning is that the context of the verb (for instance, its antecedent cause in real life) is already understood by the speaker or the hearer of the sentence. Some examples may be helpful here.
463. Ku ya ra. "He left." One employs this sentence in a context where (ya=to go, ra=V.C.S.(verb context specific))  
either speaker or hearer previously knew that the person in question was there.
464. Ajò-m̂ dan ra... "My friend said,...". dan "to say" is almost always context specific, since whoever reports speech has necessarily had specific knowledge of the speech he is about to report.
465. Anùzà-ù vyi vyi' ra. "Your brother stole."  
(nùzà=brother, vyi=to steal, vyi'=theft, ra=v.c.s.)



465.(con't.) This sentence in isolation would not be acceptable, (the ra would be dropped). If said in a context where, for example, a person had previously been warned that his brother would steal something, the sentence will become acceptable.

466. Welmers describes this ra as indicating "that the results of the action continue up to the present." This is not the case, however; the information conveyed is instead that information outside the specific clause in question and often causally related to it is already known by the speaker and possibly the hearer also. Thus the ra indicates that the verb so modified indicates the conclusion of an action or actions of which the "real life" causes are known. For this reason I label this ra the verb-context-specific particle, or v.c.s.

467. The v.c.s. ra may sometimes be confused with a use of the ra which indicates context-specific nouns. This is so because of the word numá, "thus, manner". Numá is often followed by ra indicating that a certain manner is either automatically understood or simultaneously being exhibited by the speaker through non-speech means, such as gesture. Thus:

468. Ku shè shò numá rá.

means

469. (shè=to run, shò=running, numá=manner, ra=context specific)  
He ran like that. or 470. He ran thusly.

471. Because numá is often omitted in casual speech, one hears the clause in two variant forms:

472. Ku shè shò ná. He ran like that.

473. Ku shè shò rá. He ran like that.

474. In either case what is context-specific here is manner only and not the verb itself. Thus

475. Ku shè shò rá. is "he ran thus (in this manner)" while

476. Ku shè shò ra. is "he ran." with the added information that the reasons as to why he should have to do so are already known.

477. rí. rí is a particle which occurs either after the verb ci or after another verb or verb phrase, or at the end of a clause. Because of this it can at first be confused with the particles that modify the verb or verb phrase in some way. For this reason it is mentioned in some detail here rather than in the section on nouns and pronouns where it belongs.

478. This particle can be considered as a combination of the high-tone pronoun marker a plus rí, a low-tone particle denoting (together with either a or simply the high-low fall to signify its omission) exclusive possession of the verb or verb phrase by the subject of the clause. In other words it limits the verb to being relevant to only its particular subject. Compare these three possible sentences:

479. Be ci pajúkùn bâ wa ki. They are pagans.

(ba=plural relator, pajukun=people, ba wa=to serve, ki=ancestral shrine.)

480. Be cí pajúkùn bâ wa ki. It is they who are pagan.

481. Be cí rì pajúkùn bâ wa ki. They are those who are pagan. (to the exclusion of of other possible referents of "they" in this realm of discourse.)

482. Each sentence is a shade more specific, sentence one being an affirmative sentence, sentence two an affirmative sentence in unanticipated mode, and sentence three being an affirmative sentence, subject exclusive.

483. Azènkù bwan agyé.

A lion killed a rabbit.

484. Azènkù bwan agyé rî.

(azènkù=lion, bwan=to kill, agyé=rabbit, rî=subject exclusive)

It was the lion that killed the rabbit (and not the leopard or the jackal, or...)

485. In English a similar difference in meaning is accomplished by placement primary stress, and/or different intonation contours. Thus A lion killed a rabbit with a contour of

486. a lion killed a rabbit.

487. a lion killed a rabbit. is affirmative only, while is close in its exclusive

nature to sentences in Wapan of Wukari involving rî.

488. rî. A mid-tone rî may follow a verb or verb phrase rendering the verb timeless (or static context, as I term it). Thus a sentence such as

489. Aco wà jî tsù ken ri.

The way was now closed.

(co=way, wà jî=under discussion, tsù=close, ken=sufficient, ri=static context.)

490. indicates the conclusive nature of the verb.

499. Ku cí tî ri.

"He's here." also indicates a static condition of the equation.

(cí=is+location

tî=present

rî=static context)

491. This rî, however, is most often not an independent particle, but rather a shortened form of the locative phrase ki jîni which often follows a verb or verb phrase indicating the conclusive nature of the state or action represented by the verb.

Ku dzwá jîni. / Ku dzwa kí jîni.

He descended.

(dzwá=to descend, kí=location marker, jîni=ground(cf. ajèn=earth))

492. Since we have discussed rî before a verb as aspect and rî after a verb as "subject exclusive" and rî after a verb as "static condition (ki jîni)" it may be well to mention that another rî, but high tone, rî', indicates another type of timelessness. It occurs in a number of common attributive phrases which usually modify nouns or pronouns. Examples are:

493. rî pye "new", abà wà rî pye "a new bag"

494. rî ko "old", atan wà rî ko "an old building"

495. rî u "alive", bā rî jú "those who are alive"

496. di/ti. A final particle (clause final, that is) di or ti indicates "change of condition" and is used in conjunction with the unanticipated mode.

Thus

497. U ya u di. "Get out of here."

(U=let you, ya=go, u=possessed verb, di=change of condition)

suggests that up to now the person's presence has been tolerated or even enjoyed, but now a change is desired. In a negative sentence, di occurs before the negative marker;

Be con bé wā bé ya bé di bā. "They didn't want to get out of here."

(Be=they, con=want, bé=possessed verb, wā=clause relator,

bé=let them, ya=to go, bé=possessed verb, di=change of condition, bā=not)

498. "Permissive or obligatory action," says Welmers, "is expressed by a change of tone in the subject pronoun preceeding a verb. All pronouns have high tone: (m, ú, kú, ní, bé)."

499.      Sà'n ká rì m' tsa butso      It's best that I work (or I should work)  
                  kú tsa butso      he  
                  ú tsa butso      you  
                  í tsa butso      we  
                  ní tsa butso      you plural  
                  bé tsa butso      they  
 (sà'n=good, ka=to surpass, rì=subject exclusive, m=let me, tsa=do, butso=work)

500. Such clauses often follow an introductory clause such as

501. Sà'n ká rì... "It's better..." or

502. N di con... "I want..."

503. But the obligatory-permissive pronoun can be used in an independent clause also:

504. Ú bi kí're. "Come here!"

505. Ní' tsa ní' di. "You (pl) go away now!"

506. AGidon kú dò i kyà bye. "May God raise us up tomorrow."  
 (Gidon=God, dò=to raise up, (An evening farewell)  
 i=us, kyà bye=next morn(literally"opening of place"))

507. Negative. The method of forming negative clauses is the same in all aspects except that of obligatory-permissive clauses. For obligatory-permissive clauses the following two rules are applied:

508. The particle ká is inserted before the verb.

509. The clause-final negative particle bá is added.

Thus i in

510. N di con kú tsa butso. "I want him to work."

511. Kú tsa butso is negativized by applying the above two steps. The sentence thus becomes:

512. N di con kú ká tsa butso bá. "I want him not to work."  
 (n=I, di=non-complete aspect, con=to want, kú=let him, ká=shouldn't  
 tsa=to do, butso=work, bá=not)

513. Ú bi kí're. "Come here!" will become

514. Ú ká bi kí're bá. "Don't come here."  
 (ú=let you, ká=shouldn't, bi=to come, kí=locative marker, re=here, bá=not)

515. Since negative obligatory-permissive sentences often omit the 2nd person subject pronoun when the context is clear this sentence 514. can as well be spoken:

516. Ká bi kí're bá. "Don't come here."

517. All other aspects form their negative counterparts by 1.the employment of the possessed verb (unanticipated mode) and 2.the addition of clause-final bá. Thus one always finds the verb in a negative clause followed by the high-tone recaptulating pronoun (the marker for possessed verbs). For example

518. M tsa butso. "I worked." becomes

519. M tsa m' butso bá. "I didn't work."

and similarly

520. Ú tsa butso. Ú tsa ú butso bá. "You didn't work."

521. Ku tsa butso. Ku tsa á butso bá. "He didn't work."

522. I tsa butso. I tsa í butso bá. "We didn't work."

523. Ni tsa butso. Ni tsa ní butso bá. "You (pl) didn't work."

524. Be tsa butso. Be tsa bé butso bá. "They didn't work."

525. Additions of aspect markers do not affect this process of negativization:
526. Ku na ri tsa butso. Ku na ri tsa a' butso bá. "He isn't working."
527. Ku ri' ma tsa butso. Ku ri' ma tsa a' butso bá. "If he hadn't worked..."
528. Nè di con ku' tsa butso. Nè di con ~~ni~~ wá ku' tsa butso bá.  
 "I don't want him to work."

(wá=clause relator. It can follow con in either sentence in 528, but is usually omitted in the affirmative and usually retained in the negative.)

IV  
Attributives

530. Welmers defines an attributive construction as "anything that may be used after a noun with reference to the noun."

531. We have discussed the particle ra, noun-context-specific, and ri, subject-exclusive, above, as well as the use of wà and wǎ to serve as relators of modifying phrases and clauses respectively.

532. Numerals have been mentioned, but a listing of them has not yet been given. In Wukari at present, numbers used in Wapan rarely exceed 100, and as a result most people employ Hausa terms beginning with 200 and on up. Thus where confusion may occur, I have listed Hausa equivalences which will often and perhaps advisedly, be employed.

533. The cardinal numbers in Wapan of Wukari are as follows:

534. ádzundzun	<u>one</u>	
535. ápyìnà	<u>two</u>	
536. átsara	<u>three</u>	
537. ányena	<u>four</u>	
538. átswana	<u>five</u>	
539. áshìzhen	<u>six</u>	
540. átsùpyèn	<u>seven</u>	(átswana+ápyìnà=átsùpyèn)
541. átsùntsa	<u>eight</u>	(átswana+átsara=átsùntsa)
542. átsùnyù	<u>nine</u>	(átswana+ányena=átsùnyù) (fast speech= ántsa)

(In Wapan in cases where common syllables are nasal and joined by a nasal consonant, the consonant is only written once. Thus "nine" could be written átsùn nyù but is written átsùnyù, and the word for "now," tàma, though written with only an-m- could be written tàn ma, etc.)

543/. ádzwe	<u>ten</u>	
544. ádzwe gwà ádzundzun	<u>eleven</u>	
545. ádì dzun	<u>twenty</u>	
546. ádì dzun gwà ádzundzun	<u>twenty one</u>	
547. ádì dzun kyà dzwe	<u>thirty</u>	
548. ádì dzun kyà dzwe gwà ádzundzun	<u>thirty one</u>	
549. ádì pà ápyìnà	<u>forty</u>	
550. ádì pà átsara	<u>sixty</u>	
551. ádì pà átswana	<u>one hundred</u>	
552. ádì pà áshìzhen	<u>one hundred twenty</u>	

or

553. ádì pà átswana ba ádì dzun	<u>one hundred and twenty</u>
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554. Logically and arithmetically two hundred would be

555. ádì pà ádzwe two hundred, and so it is for some speakers. But for many it is the accepted phrase for 1000. Thus at this point many speakers substitute dèri, the Hausa word for hundred. Thus

556. dèri ápyìnà kyà dzwe gwà ádzundzun Two hundred eleven  
(100 two time adding ten plus one)

557. Other words used to represent 100 are ashùkú or jàkár, both meaning "bag" and used in reference to money. ashùkú pyìnà=200 pounds.

558. Others will employ the word ando "unit, compound" to express a

similar concept. Thus:

559. ádì pà átswana ando ápyìnà two hundred  
(twenty times five, units two)

560. The Hausa form dubu (1000) is frequently used in connection with Wapan numerals. Thus:

561. dubu pyìnà ando ádzwe 20,000.  
(one thousand two times units ten)

562. The phrase twenty, ‘dì dzun, is literally the phrase, "certain body". This refers to the four sets of 5 that a man possesses in his fingers and toes. Thus forty is ‘dì pà pyìnà (body-man-two). Counting by fingers is basic to the Wapan, and often a sentence such as "I have three children," will be expressed vocally except for the number, which will be expressed by a mild grunt and a partial fist held up with three fingers extended.

563. The form dzun derives from ádzundzun, "one" and means, "a certain" or "another":

564. Apà dzun ri con bè, wà dzun ri con hwè. "One man will want money, another will want honor."  
(the relator wà substitutes for the omission of pà in the second clause.)

565. Ordinal numbers are formed by a clause formed with wà as introducer:

566. Apà wà kà pyèn the first man  
(pà=man, kà=to enter, pyèn=front)

567. Apà wà hwa pyìnà the second man  
(hwa=to pile up, pyìnà=two)

568. Apà wà kwan tsara the third man  
(kwan=to gather)

569. Apà wà kwan ányena the fourth man

570. hwa connotes placing one of something on top of the previous one.

kwan connotes gathering things together in a group. The two verbs seem to be used according to the speaker's preference, but hwa seems to be more common.

But in a phrase meaning, for example, "twenty-in-all" one will say,

571. Pàjukùn kwan dzun ‘dì dzun.  
(pàjukùn=people, kwan=to gather, ‘dzun=certain, one, ‘dì dzun=twenty)

572. A similar phrase, but not really an ordinal number is wà té yò, "the next". This is often used when listing things in a order of fixed relations, such as brothers from eldest to youngest.

573. nùzà wà té m my younger brother  
(nùzà=brother, wà=relator, té=to be next, m=me)

574. pà wà té yò ku con pam pyìnà. The next man wanted two pounds.  
(té=to be next, yò=there, pam=pound)

575. Welmers classes all attributives as either numeral-like expressions (including expressions like títí "small", sù "a lot", ápána "how many", etc.) and attributives which are introduced by wà and wá. He writes:

"The purpose of this statement is to exclude a class of words which might be called "adjective." Such a class is not needed for Jukun. It is true that there is a residue of expressions not completely explained... There are not enough such constructions to warrant setting up a class of adjectives."

576. There are, however, a number of words which belong to a class other than noun, pronoun, verb, aspect marker, or function word. They all have an adjective-like or sometimes adverb-like quality of supplying additional information regarding quality, quantity, texture, manner, etc. None of them can be made negative as can verbs used in attributive phrases or

clauses. They perhaps can be called ideophones, since they can often follow a descriptive verb and often bear what intuitively seems to be a relation of sound-to-sense. Examples are easy to find in the context of descriptive discourse:

577. Abe-be na kwíkwi númá.

(be=leg, -be=their, na=to exist, kwíkwi=short, númá=manner) Their legs are short.

578. Ahwe di-a ci mbúrúru jan pwápwa nyònyò ná. It's hair is short, smooth, and  
(ahwe=hair, di=body, -a=his, ci=is, mbúrúru=short, reddish,  
jan=smooth, pwápwa=smooth-textured, nyònyò=reddish, númá(ná)=manner)

578. Here three words can be identified by various means as verbs:

579. ci . Ci can be negativized to produce:

Ahwe di-a ci á mbúrúru jan pwápwa nyònyò ná ba.

It's hair is not short smooth and reddish.

One could also say:

580. Ahwe-a jan á pwápwa ná ba.  
(jan=to be smooth)

It's hair is not smooth.

thus identifying jan as a verb.

581. nyònyò "red" would not normally occur in a negative form, but is clearly a verb, since it admits a contrastive reduplication, as is mentioned below.

582. However mbúrúru and pwápwa, and kwíkwi in 577. are not alterable in any way and thus belong to a rather large class of words which I will term ideophones here. They occur in attributive positions, sometimes replacing a verb.

583. Anyi hora fyifyi ná. These birds are small.  
(nyi=bird hora=plural context specific, fyifyi=small, ná(númá)=manner)

584. They can be made negative only by employing a negative equative clause:

Anyi hora ci be fyifyi ba. These birds aren't small.

Some other examples.

585. fyafyfyara.

Atson=a gon ya don fyarafyara númá. "It's ears are pointed."  
(tson=ear, gon=to be long, ya=to go, don=up, fyarafyara=stiffish)

586. kàkyàkàkyà .

Ku ci kàkyàkàkyà. "It's bumpy."  
(ku=it, ci=is kàkyàkàkyà=bumpy)

587. cáncáká

Ku ri gbe yà gà fan ku cáncáká númá. "He'll tear it apart."  
(ri=non-complete aspect, gbe=pull, yà=to tear, gà=to divide, fan=to leave,  
cáncáká=in pieces, númá=manner)

587. No attempt is made to analyze these ideophones as to syllable meaning.

588. The most common attributives are introduced by wà (in hurried speech, à), or wá, and contain a verb stem. Welmers distinguishes the following types:

589. Attributives containing a reduplicated verb stem.

590. A reduplicated verb stem differs in tone depending on whether the verb stem was originally mid or low, and whether the stem is transitive (takes an object) or intransitive. If so, the tone of a reduplicated verb stem can be affected by whether the verb stem is contrastive or non-contrastive. This may all sound



a bit complicated, but it works out rather simply when one follows these steps.

590. Transitive mid-tone stem verbs when reduplicated become high-mid.

591. thus

nwe "to blow" becomes nwénwe in bu wà nwénwe "horn"

592. Ku na nwe bu wà nwénwe.

He is blowing a horn.

(na=continuous aspect, nwe=to blow, bu=thing, wà=relator, nwénwe=of blowing)

593. But intransitive mid-tone verb stems remain mid-tone when reduplicated.

593a. Thus

nwe "to be dry" becomes nwenwe in its reduplicated form.

594. ajèbu wà nwenwe. "dry leaves"  
(jèbu=leaf, wà=relator, nwenwe=dry)

595. Transitive low-tone verb stems when reduplicated become low-highlow.

596. Thus

pèn "to roll, to drive" becomes pènpèn in

597. tukpa wà pènpèn "a rolled-up piece of cloth"  
(tukpa=cloth, wà=relator, pènpèn=rolled-up)

598. Intransitive low-tone verb stems reduplicate as low-low. Thus pè "to be black" becomes pèpè in

599. Ape wà pèpè "a black pot"  
(pe=pot, wà=relator, pèpè=black)

600. Note, however, when an intransitive reduplicated verb is in a contrastive mode, it has the same tone as the transitive reduplicated verb. For example:

601. Ndè tukpa wà pèpè bi. "Bring the black cloth."  
will become

602. Ndè tukpa wà pèpè bi. "Bring the black cloth." in the situation where the hearer must select the black cloth from among many non-black ones.

603. atukpa wà nyenye "clean cloth" will become tukpa wà nyénye when it is in contrast to many non-clean cloths.

604. The negative form of the intransitive verbs employ the stem only. Thus:

605. nwahin wà sànsàn "good fruit" becomes

606. nwahin wà sà n á bá "bad fruit" (literally: fruit which good it not).

607. ajàpè wà nyenye "clean water" becomes

608. ajàpè wà nye a' bá "unclean water" (water which clean it not).

609. The negative form of the transitive reduplicated verb is not used: instead a modifying clause will be substituted. Thus

610. tukpa wà pènpèn "folded cloth" becomes

611. tukpa wá be pèn bé ku bá. "Cloth which they did not fold."

612. and abu wà nwénwe "a horn" (a thing of blowing) becomes

613. abu wá be ri nwe bé ku bá. "a thing which they do not blow."

614. abu wá be ri nwe bé ku nwénwe bá would also be acceptable, emphasising the verbal modifier which is to be negated.

(These reduplicated stems must not be confused with the use of verbs to indicate the continuous nature of certain actions: for instance Ku nwe bu wà nwénwe, nwe nwe nwe. is composed of the transitive verb nwe=to blow + abu wà nwénwe, the reduplicated verb stem as modifier=athing of blowing (a horn) + nwe nwe nwe, a serial repetition of the main verb, indicating that he blew and blew and blew.)

615. Regular verbal constructions can be used as modifiers in two ways:
616. As attributives with the preceeding noun or pronoun as its head. Such an attributive will be introduced by wà and will not have its own internal subject (it will not be a clause).
617. Apà wà nà nè "a farmer"  
(pà=person, wà=relator, nà=to hoe, nè=a hoe)
618. Apà wà tsa butso wà jî "the man who did that work"  
(tsa=to do, butso=work, wà=relator, jî=word-context-specific)
619. ajàpè wà se pyù "hot water"  
(jàpè=water, wà=relator, se=heated, to be hot, pyù=fire)
620. As an attributive making a complete predication relative to the head noun or pronoun. Such an attributive construction has its own subject and, apart from its introducer, which is always wà, it can be treated as an independent clause. (That is, even though it is in a dependent relationship to the head word, its internal structure is in no way different from what it would be were it functioning as an independent clause.)
621. Apà wǎ be con bé' ku bá' "the person they disliked"  
(pà=person, wǎ=clause relator, be=they, con=like, bé=possessed verb, ku=him, bá=not)
622. Ando wǎ apyù jî ku ra "the house which burned down"  
(ndo=house, wǎ=clause relator, pyù=fire, jî=to eat, ku=it, ra=clause-context-specific)
623. Some common attributive phrases drop their antecedent head word and appear as a type of standardized noun-phrase
624. wà sèn ndo "household head"  
(wà=relator, sèn=to own, ndo=compound=)
625. bá'cò "elder (s)"  
(This operates as an independent word, but is simply a quickly spoken form of the phrase bá' cí' hò= plural retator+to be+large)
626. These phrases can also appear in other contexts as regular attributives.
627. áku.pà wà sèn ndo "the owner of the house"
628. pàjúkùn bá' cí' hò "the important people"

V

Adverbs, unique constructions, etc.

629. Welmers in his fifth chapter treats adverbs, morphemes which appear to be unique, and other constructions which fit less than perfectly into the earlier sections of his book. We follow his outline here by presenting the same material with the changes we deem advisable. Some of the material is omitted, however, because it has been incorporated into earlier parts of this monograph.

630. Adverbs in Wapan of Wukari indicate time and manner. (Place words, as noted above are nouns or noun phrases used in locative ki-constructions.)

Adverbs can occur as the first, or last word in a sentence, except for the final negative ba if any. *and (question)*

631. Jína'ku bi.  
(jína=today, ku=he, bi=came)

"He came today."

632. Ku bi jína.

"He came today."

633. Ku bi a' jína ba.

"He didn't come today."

634. Jína'ku bi a' ba.

"He didn't come today."

635. Other time words are:

636. ándi

two days ago,  
in the past

637. áná

yesterday

638. ákyàn

earlier

639. áyó (ayo)

the time when

640. dede

as soon as, when

641. ákyèn

tomorrow

642. áhunu

then

643. ápyínu

then (642. and 643. are both used in phrases following a conditional clause, as "if he comes, then I will go.")

644. ázin

day after tomorrow

645. ázin wà hún

the day after that (third day).

646. The expression for "never" is a verb fo "to experience" in negative following an affirmative verb. fo will of course be a possessed verb and will be context specific--that is ra will be clause-final except for the negative particle.

646. M̃ tsa fo m̃ butso wà jî ra. ba.

"I've never done this particular work."

(tsa=to do, fo=to experience,

m̃=possessed verb, wà jî=under discussion,

ra=clause context specific, ba=not)

The order can be altered to:

647. M̃ tsa butso wà jî fo m̃ da ba.

(da=(the ra of 646.)

648. Welmers gives bāni as "there is none." He suggests it is possibly divisible, and he is correct. This is a phrase composed of ba=to not exist, a=possessed verb, and ni=where?.

647. Ku bā a' ni.

"He's not here/ He's not there."

648. Be bā bé ni.

"They are not here/there."

649. Tukpa bā a' ni.

There's no cloth."

650. "Not yet" is expressed by the verb "to refuse", pà, placed before a verb which is in negative and clause specific (ra). Thus:

651. M pà tsa m' bustso wà jǐ ra bá. I haven't yet done that work.  
(pà=to refuse)

652. Ku pà bi á ra bá. He hasn't yet come.

653. Any sentence in Wapan of Wukari can be interrogative by the addition of the question particle rè. This is always sentence final, even after the negative bá. Thus

654. Ku tsa butso. "He worked." becomes

655. Ku tsa butso rè. "Did he work?"

656. Ku tsa á butso bá. "He didn't work." becomes

657. Ku tsa á butso bá rè. "He didn't work, did he?"

658. Often the question particle rè is deleted in favor of a simple falling tone at the end of the sentence. Thus 655. could also be said:

659. Ku tsa butso.

660. Rather than write this glide in such a fashion, we represent it by using the question mark. Thus the question mark is used only where a glide replaces a question word. In any question-sentence containing other explicit items identifying it as interrogative, the question mark is not used. Thus all the following three sentences are correct according to our writing system:

661. Ku tsa aka ke. "What did he do?" (ke=what?)

662. Ku tsa á budzun bá? "Didn't he do anything?"

663. Ku tsa á bu dzun bá rè. "Didn't he do anything?"

664. pà used as a replacive for rè, "Question" introduces uncertainty as to a questions validity and could be translated as "perhaps."

665. Ku cí nù wà jǐn rá pà. "Perhaps he's the child who was lost."  
(jǐn=to be lost)

But it is basically interrogative in nature. A "perhaps" in an affirmative predication is wà dzun bá, as in:

666. Wà dzun bá ku ri bi jǐn. Perhaps he'll come today.

(wà=relative, dzun=certain, bá=not)

Note: It is hoped that this monograph clarifies certain items in Wapan of Wukari, but it is by no means a complete grammar. However the needs of the literacy program and the scarcity of workers demand that our attentions be focused on other areas of work. Thus we wish to leave this monograph in its first-draftish, tentative form for some time, soliciting from its readers whatever comments and advice for revision they might have. To those who wish for a more elegantly scientific description, we say we concur in such a desire, but the pressing need for literacy material, a literacy program, and much more material designed for Wukari Jukun readers necessitates our putting more formal work off till a later time. It is, however, our hope to produce some further exercise material and study aids key-ed to this monograph by its numbered items.

*Bittere hand*