ALIENABLE AND INALIEANABLE NOUNS IN WANO

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Abstract

*This paper describes structural and distributional properties of alienable and inalienable nouns in Wano, a Trans-New Guinea language spoken in Papua by about 7,000 native speakers. I define differences between alienable and inalienable nouns in §2, where it will be apparent that they can be distinguished in terms of their (i) nominal generalisation (§2.1), (ii) lexical forms (§2.2), (iii) plurality coding (§2.3), (iv) possessive constructions (§2.4), and (v) head-role in a clause (§2.5). Alienable nouns are described in §3. Then in §4, I will demonstrate that inalienable nouns are: (i) restricted on vowel-initial words, and (ii) there is a clear morphosyntax-semantics-pragmatics interface reflected in kin terminologies. The kin term for 'child', for instance, is distinguished with respect to the sex of parents. In expressing the ownership of a child, a father will use the word **nabut** for the English 'my child' (inflection of: {n-abut} \1s-child.of.male\) and a mother will use **nayak** 'my child' (inflection of: {n-ajak} \1s-child.of.female\). Terms for kinship relations, body parts, cultural items, and experiential events are inalienably coded. Finally, words that are inalienably marked will be presented in §5.*

Keywords: *Wano, alienable nouns, inalienable nouns, nabut, nayak*

Abstrak

Makalah ini membahas properti struktural dan distribusional dari nomina *alienable* dan *inalienable* dalam bahasa Wano, salah satu bahasa Trans-New Guinea di Papua dengan penutur asli yang berjumlah kurang-lebih 7.000 orang. Dalam §2, penulis merumuskan perbedaan antara nomina *alienable* dan *inalienable*, di mana akan nampak jelas bahwa keduanya dapat dibedakan berdasarkan (i) generalisasi nominalnya (§2.1), (ii) bentuk leksikalnya (§2.2), (iii) penanda jamaknya (§2.3), (iv) konstruksi posesifnya (§2.4), dan tipologi *head-role*-nya dalam klausa (§2.5). Nomina *alienable* dibahas dalam §3. Dalam §4, akan nampak bahwa nomina *inalienable*: (i) terbatas pada kata-kata yang didahului oleh bunyi vokal, dan (ii) mencerminkan keterkaitan timbal-balik antara morfosintaks, semantik dan pragmatik, di antaranya dalam kosa-kata kekerabatan. Misalnya, istilah untuk 'anak' dibedakan berdasarkan jenis kelamin orangtuanya. Untuk mengungkapkan kepemilikan anak, penutur laki-laki memakai kata **nabut** untuk 'anak saya' (infleksi dari {n-abut} \1s-anak.dari.laki-laki\), sedangkan perempuan menggunakan kata **nayak** untuk 'anak saya' (infleksi dari {n-ajak} \1s-anak.dari.perempuan\). Kosakata yang merujuk pada istilah-istilah kekerabatan, anggota tubuh, benda-benda budaya dan *experiential events* termasuk dalam nomina *inalienable*. Selain itu, masih ada kosakata yang ditandai sebagai nomina *inalienable* namun bukan bagian dari rujukan istilah-istilah tersebut di atas; kosa-kata seperti ini akan diuraikan dalam §5.

Kata kunci: Wano, nomima *alienable*, nomina *inalienable*, nabut, nayak

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper describes structural and distributional properties of **alienable** and **inalienable** nouns in **Wano**. §2 defines the differences between alienably possessed nouns and inalienably possessed nouns, §3 provides a description of alienable nouns, §4 presents a description of inalienable nouns, §5 describes inalienably marked words.

Wano is a Trans-New Guinea language spoken in Papua,[i] a member of the Dani family, which also includes Dani, Walak and Nggem. It is spoken by approximately 7,000 native speakers (Burung 2007b, 2017). The number of speakers is given as 3.000 in Larson (1977:7), 1.500 in Foley (1986:239) and 3.500 in Grimes' *Ethnologue* (1996). Early works that supply some data on Wano are (*i*) Swadesh wordlist by Larson (1977, Iratoi, Turumo), (*ii*) Survey report of Walker and Moxness (1988), on their visit to Iratoi, Turumo, Dagai, Nggweri and Lumo, and (*iii*) Burung's archive (1993, 1994, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2013) and recent work (2017). [ii]
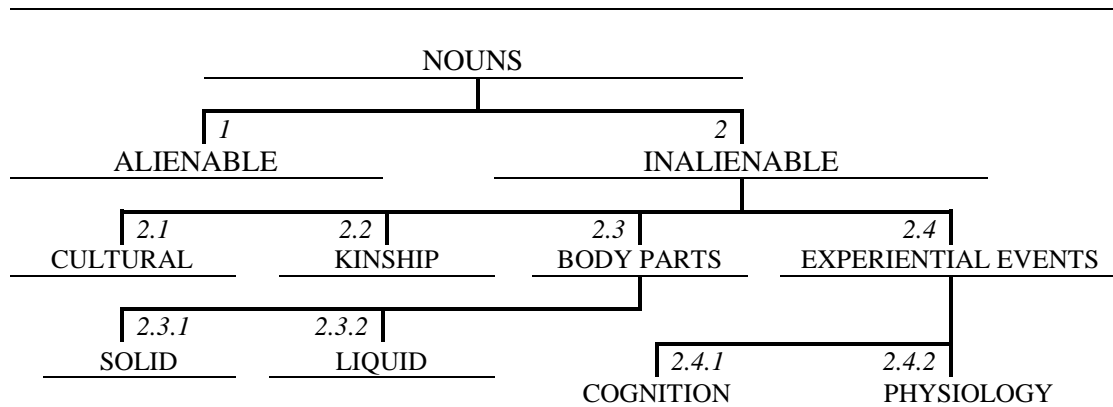
Wano allows both free and bound pronouns, each with a set of six members expressing person/number (1, 2, 3/sg, pl) distinction. There is no inclusive-exclusive distinction. In the free pronouns, there is a correlation of the vocalic phoneme /a/ with singular and /i/ with plural. Both free and bound pronouns have the correlation of the consonantal phoneme /n/ with first person, /k/ with second person and the zero morpheme (indicated by the ø symbol) with the third person. Whilst the vocalic phoneme is not found in the set of inalienable bound pronouns, because all inalienable forms start with a vowel, the plural marker is *iny* {-in} which is immediately suffixed to the person prefixes. This is outlined in Table 1:

Table 1. Wano Personal Pronouns

	SG			PL		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
FREE	*an*	*kat*	*at*	*nit*	*kit*	*it*
BOUND	*n*	*k*	zero	*ninny*	*kiny*	*iny*
	{n-}	{k-}	{ø-}	{nin-}	kin-}	{in-}

This set of personal pronouns do not vary in accordance with grammatical function. In general, free pronouns may take on the role of transitive Subject (A), intransitive Subject (S), transitive Object (DO), or Beneficiary (IO/BEN). Bound pronouns may function as (*i*) DO/IO/BEN, or (*ii*) possessor (POSS). The internal structure of nouns includes possessive prefixes, plural suffixes (PL) and locative suffixes (LOC). In this paper, I will discuss only the first two mentioned (§2).

Figure 1 summarizes the typology of possessive nouns in Wano, whereby nouns are divided into **alienably possessed nouns** (APN) and **inalienably possessed nouns** (IPN) – see Burung (2017: §s3.2-5 and §7.2).

Figure 1. Typology of possessive nouns in Wano

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                              NOUNS
                      1                        2
                  ALIENABLE              INALIENABLE
        2.1           2.2          2.3              2.4
     CULTURAL       KINSHIP     BODY PARTS   EXPERIENTIAL EVENTS
                 2.3.1     2.3.2                2.4.1        2.4.2
                 SOLID     LIQUID            COGNITION    PHYSIOLOGY
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Further subdivisions of inalienably possessed nouns are lexical items denoting cultural and kinship terms, as well as those terms for body parts and experiential events. Terms for body parts are divided into solid and liquid types of properties, while those for experiential events are categorised into terms connected with the cognitive sphere and physiological domain. In this study, hereafter, I will shorten the term *alienably possessed nouns* to **alienable nouns**, and *inalienably possessed nouns* to **inalienable nouns** while retaining their abbreviations: APN and IPN. I will first distinguish these two categories of nouns.

2   ALIENABILITY AND INALIENABILITY

The differences between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns in Wano can be explained as follows.

2.1 Nominal generalisation

The first distinction we can make between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns is by their nominal generalisation. Regarding the abstract-concrete relation, abstract nouns are not found as alienable nouns. Concerning the common-proper relation, proper nouns are not attested as inalienable nouns. This is outlined in Table 2 – for the abbreviations, see endnote ii.

Table 2. Nominal generalisation of alienable nouns (APN) and inalienable nouns (IPN) in Wano

NOUNS	CM	PN	MN	CN	AN	CON
APN	✓	✓	✓	✓	N/A	✓
IPN	✓	N/A	✓	✓	✓	✓

Referring to Table 2, the alienable *yugum* 'stone', and the inalienable *ova* 'his-father' are examples of common, countable and concrete nouns. In terms of mass nouns, we have examples like *i* 'water' for the alienable nouns, and *adian* 'his-blood' for the inalienable nouns. For the abstract nouns in Wano, there are only examples of inalienable nouns, such as *abua* 'his-love' and *anduk* 'his-pain'. Lastly, the proper nouns can only be expressed as alienable nouns, e.g. *mirib* is a clan name in Wano. These examples are outlined in:

(1)	NOUNS		CM	PN	MN	CN	AN	CON
	Alienable:							
	yugum	'stone'	✓			✓	✗	✓
	i	'water'			✓			
	mirib	a clan name		✓				
	Inalienable:							
	ova	'his-father'	✓	✗		✓		✓
	adian	'his blood'			✓			
	abua	'his-love'					✓	

2.2 Lexical forms

The second way to distinguish alienable nouns and inalienable nouns is by looking at their lexical forms. Alienable nouns are both consonant-initial (henceforth: C-initial) and vowel-initial (V-initial), like *tavo* 'tobacco' and *abui* 'possum' (2a, b). Inalienable nouns are restricted to vowel initial, such as *abut* 'his-child' and *indiq* 'his-name' (2c, d).

(2)   **Consonant-initial**

    a.   Alienable nouns: c.   Inalienable nouns:
      1. *tavo*   'tobacco'   N/A
      2. *yugum*   'stone'

    Vowel-initial

    b.   Alienable nouns: d.   Inalienable nouns:
      1. *abui*   'possum'   *1.* *abut*   'his-child'
      2. *indu*   'fire'   *2.* *indiq*   'his-name'

2.3 Plurality coding

The third way to differentiate alienable nouns from inalienable nouns is by observing the way they are pluralised. They are different in their plural coding, with regards to common, countable and concrete nouns. The quantity of alienable nouns is coded by means of nominal modification, i.e. numeral modifier in the [HEAD-MODIFIER] structure, as shown in (3a), whilst inalienable nouns are pluralised by suffixation: [ROOT-plural suffix], as given in (3b).

(3)   Alienable nouns:
    a.   *yugum mbere*   'two stones'
    a'. **yugum-vi*
    Inalienable nouns:
    b.   *ova-vi*   'his-fathers'
    b'. **ova mbere*

The inalienable noun plural suffixes are: *wi* {-wi} ~ *vi* {-vi} 'PL', when the noun is a vowel-final root, otherwise *i* {-i} 'PL', as can be seen in (3c) and (4), for example:

(4)   a.   Vowel-final Root:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
are	*are**vi***
ø-ate	ø-ate-vi
3s-uncle	3s-uncle-PL
'his/her uncle'	'his/her uncles'

b. <u>Consonant-final Root:</u>

SINGULAR	PLURAL
abut	*abu**ri***
ø-abut	ø-abut-i
3s-child.oM	3s-child.oM-PL
'his child'	'his children'
[*lit.* 'his child.of.male']	[*lit.* 'his children.of.male']

Note that the term for 'child' in (4b) is different for a female possessor in (5), where the plural form is suppletive with the plural morpheme.

(5)

SINGULAR	PLURAL
ayak	*acui*
ø-ajak	ø-atjui
3s-child.oF	3s-child.oF.PL
'her child'	'her children'
[*lit.* 'her child.of.female']	[*lit.* 'her children.of.female']

A detailed discussion on the different forms and their uses of *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child' is given in §4.2.

2.4 Possessive constructions

Possessive constructions are another way to distinguish between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. Whilst alienable nouns are those that do not require possessive marking, inalienable nouns cannot occur without possessive marking, cf. §3 and §4.

In Wano, the possessive markers for alienable nouns are prefixal with vowel-insertion, as illustrated in (6) and (7a-c). They are: *nV* {nV-} \1s-\ 'my-', *kV* {kV-} \2s-\ 'your.sg', *V* {V-} \3s-\ 'his-', *ninyV* {ninV-} \1p-\ 'our-', *kinyV* {kinV-} \2p-\ 'your.pl-', *inyV* {inV-} \3p-\ 'their-', cf. Table 3a-a'. The possessive markers for inalienable nouns are prefixal bound pronouns since they involve bound prefixes as apparent in (6) and (7d-f). They are: ***n*** {n-} \1s-\ 'my-', ***k*** {k-} \2s-\ 'your.sg-', **zero** {ø-} \3s-\ 'his-', ***niny*** {nin-} \1p-\ 'our-', ***kiny*** {kin-} \2p-\ 'your.pl-' and ***iny*** {in-} \3p-\ 'their-', cf. Table 3b.

Furthermore, the inflections of the plural forms are: (*i*) *niny* {nin-} < {n-in-} \1s-PL-\ 'my-PL-', (*ii*) *kiny* {kin-} < {k-in-} \2s-PL-\ 'your.sg-PL-' and (*iii*) *iny* {in-} < {ø-in-} \3s-PL-\ 'his-PL-'. Henceforth, I shall present them as single morphemes for the sake of simplicity and practicality. This is outlined in Table 3:

Table 3. Bound possessive pronouns in Wano

a. **Consonant-initial alienable nouns**						
SINGULAR				PLURAL		
1	2	3		1	2	3
nVC	*kVC*	*VC*		*ninyVC*	*kinyVC*	*inyVC*
{nV-C}	{kV-C}	{V-C}		{ninV-C}	{kinV-C}	{inV-C}
\1s-\	\2s-\	\3s-\		\1p-\	\2p-\	\3p-\
'my-'	'your.sg-'	'his-'		'our-'	'your.pl-'	'their-'

a'. **Vowel-initial alienable nouns**

SINGULAR		
1	2	3
nVV	*kVV*	*VV*
{nV-V}	{kV-V}	{V-V}
\1s-\	\2s-\	\3s-\
'my-'	'your.sg-'	'his-'

PLURAL		
1	2	3
ninyVV	*kinyVV*	*inyVV*
{ninV-V}	{kinV-V}	{inV-V}
\1p-\	\2p-\	\3p-\
'our-'	'your.pl-'	'their-'

b. **Inalienable nouns**

SINGULAR		
1	2	3
n	*k*	*zero*
{n-}	{k-}	{ø-}
\1s-\	\2s-\	\3s-\
'my-'	'your.sg-'	'his-'

PLURAL		
1	2	3
niny	*kiny*	*iny*
{nin-}	{kin-}	{in-}
\1p-\	\2p-\	\3p-\
'our-'	'your.pl-'	'their-'

The examples are:

(6)   <u>Alienable nouns</u>:

    a.   *e-tavo*   'his tobacco'   [Table 3a]

    a'   *ne-tavo*   'my tobacco'

    b.   *e-abui*   'his possum'   [Table 3a']

    b'.   *ne-abui*   'my possum'

    <u>Inalienable nouns</u>:

    c.   *ø-ova*   'his-father'   [Table 3b]

    c'.   *n-ova*   'my-father'

    d.   *ø-abut*   'his-child'

    d'.   *n-abut*   'my-child'

The possessive expression of alienable nouns and inalienable nouns can also be coded by using the inalienable *ene* 'his-belonging', as illustrated in:

(7)   <u>Alienable nouns</u>:   <u>Inalienable nouns</u>:

a.	*tavo*	*ene*		c.	*ova*	*ene*
	tavo	ø-ene			ø-ova	ø-ene
	tobacco	3s-belonging			3s-father	3s-belonging
	'tobacco of his'				'father of his'	
b.	*tavo*	*nene*		d.	*nova*	*nene*
	tavo	n-ene			n-ova	n-ene
	tobacco	1s-belonging			1s-father	1s-belonging
	'tobacco of mine'				'father of mine'	

The syntactic expression in (7) is also found for the difference between cultural items and body part nouns as we can see later in the example given in (21) in §4.1. Meanwhile, Figure 2 compares the structures of alienable and inalienable nouns.
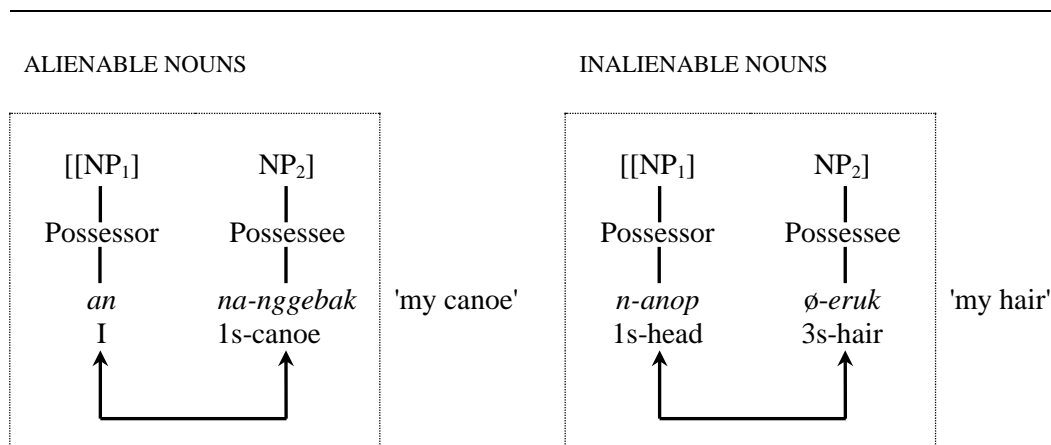
Figure 2. Structures of alienable and inalienable nouns

ALIENABLE NOUNS   INALIENABLE NOUNS

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   [[NP₁]        NP₂]                      [[NP₁]        NP₂]
     |            |                          |            |
  Possessor   Possessee                   Possessor   Possessee
     |            |                          |            |
     an        na-nggebak   'my canoe'     n-anop      ø-eruk    'my hair'
      I        1s-canoe                    1s-head     3s-hair
      └────────────┘                        └────────────┘
```

Figure 2 shows an identical NP structure for alienable and inalienable nouns. Here, *an* 'I' and *nanop* 'my head' take the role of possessors, whilst *nggebak* 'canoe' and *eruk* 'his hair' are the possessees. There is agreement in terms of person/number. In alienable nouns, *nggebak* 'canoe' is '3s' but should bear the prefix *na-* '1s (not *a* for '3s') because the possessor *an* is '1s'. In inalienable nouns, *eruk* is '3s' and should bear the zero prefix '3s' since the possessor *nanop* is '3s'. Furthermore, NP₁ in both types of possession is not obligatory since *nanggebak* and *eruk* alone have phrasal meanings 'my canoe' and 'his-hair'. The difference is that the root of alienable nouns, in this instance, *nggebak* 'canoe', is not a vowel-initial alienable noun, while the root of inalienable nouns, i.e. *eruk* 'his-hair' is a vowel-initial word. This is consistent with our claim earlier that inalienable nouns are vowel-initial words, whereas alienable nouns are not necessarily vowel-initial words. In fact, almost all alienable nouns are consonant-initial. The paradigms in (8) show that alienable nouns require vocalic insertion to mark possession, as *nggebak* 'canoe' becomes *na-nggebak* 'my-canoe', while this is not required for inalienable nouns.

(8)　　　**A distinctive paradigm of alienable and inalienable nouns**

	ALIENABLE NOUNS		INALIENABLE NOUNS	
	Root: ***nggebak*** 'canoe'		Root: ***eruk*** 'his-hair'	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
a.	*nanggebak*	*ninyanggebak*	*neruk*	*ninyeruk*
	na-nkebak	**nina**-nkebak	**n**-etuk	**nin**-etuk
	1s-canoe	**1p**-canoe	**1s**-hair	**1p**-hair
	'my canoe'	'our canoe'	'my hair'	'our hair'
b.	*kanggebak*	*kinyanggebak*	*keruk*	*kinyeruk*
	ka-nkebak	**kina**-nkebak	**k**-etuk	**kin**-etuk
	2s-canoe	**2p**-canoe	**2s**-hair	**2p**-hair
	'your.sg canoe	'your.pl canoe'	'your.sg hair'	'your.pl hair'
c.	*anggebak*	*inyanggebak*	*eruk*	*inyeruk*
	a-nkebak	**ina**-nkebak	**ø**-etuk	**in**-etuk
	3s-canoe	**3p**-canoe	**3s**-hair	**3p**-hair
	'his canoe'	'their canoe'	'his hair'	'their hair'

Since the examples in (8) involve a consonant-initial alienable noun, the difference is apparent between these two types of nouns. Let us now consider (9) that has a vowel-initial alienable noun. There, we contrast the alienable *abui* 'possum' to the inalienable *abut* 'his-child'. Note: ᴏᴍ = of male.

(9) **A distinctive paradigm of alienable and inalienable nouns**

ALIENABLE NOUNS
Root: ***abui*** 'possum'

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
a.	*neabui* **ne**-abui **1s**-possum 'my possum'		*ninyeabui* **nine**-abui **1p**-possum 'our possum'
b.	*keabui* **ke**-abui **2s**-possum 'your.sg possum'		*kinyeabui* **kine**-abui **2p**-possum 'your.pl possum'
c.	*eabui* **e**-abui **3s**-possum 'his possum'		*inyeabui* **ine**-abui **3p**-possum 'their possum'

INALIENABLE NOUNS
Root: ***abut*** 'his-child.ᴏᴍ'

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
d.	*nabut* **n**-abut **1s**-child.ᴏᴍ 'my child'		*ninyabut* **nin**-abut **1p**-child.ᴏᴍ 'our child'
e.	*kabut* **k**-abut **2s**-child.ᴏᴍ 'your.sg child'		*kinyabut* **kin**-abut **2p**-child.ᴏᴍ 'your.pl child'
f.	*abut* **ø**-abut **3s**-child.ᴏᴍ 'his child'		*inyabut* **in**-abut **3p**-child.ᴏᴍ 'their child'

In (9a-c), we note that there is a vowel-insertion process to mark possession of the alienable *abui* 'possum', which is *eabui* {e-abui} 'his-possum' (9c). In (9d-f), however, there is no need for the vowel-insertion process to possess the inalienable *abut* 'his-child', as is apparent in (9f), i.e. *abut* {ø-abut} 'his-child'. In terms of their plural coding (cf. §2.3), we cannot have **abuivi* {abui-vi} for 'possums', but we can have *aburi* {ø-abut-i} for 'his-children'. In this instance, the head-modifier agreement shows a clear distinction between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. In (10a-b), there is no head-modifier agreement in terms of number in the alienable

nouns. In (10a'-b'), however, there is head-modifier agreement in the inalienable nouns, cf. (3c) as well.

(10)   Vowel-initial alienable nouns: *abui* 'possum'
  a. *abui*   *mbere*   'two possums'
      possum   two
  b. **abuivi* {abui-<u>vi</u>} *mbere*   N/A
      Possum<u>s</u>   two

  Inalienable nouns: *abut* 'his-child.oM'
  a'. **abut*   *mbere*   N/A
      his-child.oM   two
  b'. *aburi* {ø-abut-<u>i</u>} *mbere*   'his two children'
      his-<u>children</u>.oM   two

The following is a list of some vowel-initial alienable nouns in Wano.

(11)   Vowel-initial alienable nouns:

  a. *akomi*   'women'
  b. *akut*   'already harvested field'
  c. *ambo*   'k.o. tree'
  d. *en*   'sugar cane'
  e. *ico*   'k.o. tree'
  f. *indu*   'fire' or 'flame'
  g. *inyo*   'bread-fruit'
  h. *ijom*   'grasshopper'
  i. *ongga*   'k.o. palm'
  j. *ap*   'man', 'person', 'people'
  k. *uyak*   'hornbill'
  l. *ut*   'moss'

For the complete list, see Burung (2017: appendix 2). Further description of alienable nouns is detailed in §3, and that of inalienable nouns is given in §4.

2.5 Grammatical relation

Alienable nouns and inalienable nouns can be distinguished in terms of their grammatical relation. In this case, while both alienable and inalienable nouns may be the head of a phrase, only the latter can be the head of a clause. In a noun phrase, for instance, *ap kode* {ap kode} 'old man' constitutes a [HEAD-MODIFIER] structure where the alienable noun is the head. Likewise, *eruk kik* {ø-etuk kik} 'his-dirty-hair' for the same structure. Thus, in a noun phrase, both alienable nouns and inalienable nouns may be the head.

(12)   Alienable nouns:
          HEAD   MODIFIER
  a. *ap*   *kode*
      man   old
      '(an) old man'

Inalienable nouns:

	HEAD	MODIFIER
b.	*eruk*	*kik*
	ø-etuk	kik
	3s-hair	dirty
	'his dirty hair'	

In a clause, however, whilst both types of nouns take the argument (ARG) roles, only inalienable nouns are permitted to function as the head of the clause. I will briefly discuss this in §4.4 on the notion of Experiential Events. A detailed discussion is given in Burung (2017: §7.2). I will now explore these two categories of nouns in turn.

3 ALIENABLE NOUNS

In the previous sections, i.e. §1 and §2, I established the differences between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. Regarding their possessiveness, I pointed out that lexical forms are one of the ways to distinguish alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. The inalienable nouns are restricted to the vowel-initial (V-initial) form, while the alienable nouns are both consonant-initial (C-initial) and V-initial. In terms of vowel insertion for the C-initial alienable nouns, except for the high back vowel, all other vowels can be inserted. However, it is not always easy to predict which vowel a possessee can take. The following guideline may suffice.

When the initial consonant of the posseesee nouns is either an alveolar or palatal, the inserted vowel is *e*. Note that *e* is in variation with *i* in this case.

(13)		ROOT	*i ~ e*-ROOT
	a.	*tavo*	*eravo* {e-tavo} \3s-tobacco\
		'tobacco'	'his tobacco'
	b.	*yanggwi*	*eyanggwi* {e-jankwi} \3s-cockatoo\
		'cockatoo'	'his cockatoo'
	c.	*yavuk*	*eyavuk* {e-javuk} \3s-planted field\
		'planted field'	'his planted field'
	d.	*yarak*	*eyarak* {e-jatak} \3s-harvested field\
		'harvested field'	'his harvested field'

When the initial consonant is bilabial, we have *o*.

(14)		ROOT	*o*-ROOT
	a.	*bato*	*obato* {o-bato} \3s-corn\
		'corn'	'his corn'
	b.	*mboid*	*omboid* {o-mboid} \3s-potato'\
		'potato'	'his potato'
	c.	*mbit*	*ombit* {o-mbit} \3s-moon'\
		'moon'	'his moon'
	d.	*poiya*	*opoiya* {o-poija} \3s-sun'\
		'sun'	'his sun'

Finally, we will have *a* elsewhere.

(15)		ROOT	*a*-ROOT
	a.	*kede*	*agede* {a-kede} \3s-rattan\
		'rattan'	'his rattan'

	b.	*ndok*	*andok* {a-ndok} \3s-reed\
		'reed'	'his reed'
	c.	*nggidivi*	*anggidivi* {a-nkidivi} \3s-lemon\
		'lemon'	'his lemon'
	d.	*nggewo*	*anggewo* {a-nkewo} \3s-nkewo\
		'dog'	'his dog'
	e.	*wom*	*anggwom* {a-nkwom} \3s-pig\
		'pig'	'his pig'

Except for the two nouns *ap* 'man' and *kwa* 'woman', common nouns may be inflected to be possessed, as was illustrated above. There is no plural form for *ap* 'man' as opposed to its counterpart *kwa* 'woman' which has the plural *akomi* 'women', a fossilized form that is derived from an inflection of *ap* {ap} \ap\ 'man' + *komi* {kom-i} \yam-PL\ 'yams'; literally: 'A person who deals with yams or meal\food.' Furthermore, reduplication of *ap* 'man' and *kwa* 'woman' is not possible to express plurality: *ap-ap* {ap~ap}, *kwa-gwa* {kwa~kwa}, while numerals are allowed: *ap mbere* {ap mpete} \man two\ 'two men', and *kwa kena* {kwa kena} \woman three\ 'three women'. This is outlined in:

(16) | | | PLURALITY |
|---|---|---|
| a. | *ap* | **ap-ap* {ap~ap} \man-man\ |
| | | *ap mbere* 'two men', 'two persons', 'two people' |
| b. | *kwa* | **kwa-gwa* {kwa~kwa} \kwa-kwa\ |
| | | *kwa kena* 'three women' |
| c. | *akomi* | **akomi-akomi* {akomi~akomi} \women-women\ |
| | | *akomi kena* 'three women' |

Numerals like *yedogo* 'many' can modify *ap* 'man', as in *ap yedogo* {ap jedoko} \man many\ 'many men' or 'many people'. This is not possible for *kwa* 'woman', but *akomi* 'women' instead. Thus **kwa yedogo*, but *akomi yedogo* {akomi jedoko} \women many\ 'many women'.

(17) | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | *ap* | *ap yedogo* {ap jedoko} \man many\ |
| | | 'many men', 'many persons', 'many people' |
| b. | *kwa* | **kwa yedogo* |
| c. | *akomi* | *akomi yedogo* {akomi jedogo} \women many\ |
| | | 'many women' |

Reduplication may occur on the concrete nouns like *yugum* 'stone' to render plurality, *yugum-yugum* 'stones', or *en-en* for 'pieces of sugarcane'. No inflection appears on mass nouns like *i* 'water' to express plurality. However, possessive expression is possible as in *an ne-i* {I 1s-water} for 'my drink'. This is also true for locative expression, thus: *i-mu* {water-LOC} 'in (the) water/river', *e-me* {wood-LOC} 'in (the) wood/jungle'.

In a noun phrase, nouns precede adjectival words, such as *yedok* 'large', *yedogo* 'many' or *beq* 'small', yields the structure [NP = N Adj]. Thus, *i yedogo* 'a lot of water' (*lit.* 'water many') for the alienable nouns, and *adian yedogo* 'a lot of blood' (*lit.* 'his-blood many') for the inalienable nouns, illustrated in:

(18) Alienable nouns:

	a.	*i yedok*	'flood' (*lit.* 'water large')
	b.	*i yedogo*	'a lot of water' (*lit.* 'water many')
	c.	*i beq*	'a bit of water' (*lit.* 'water small')

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Inalienable nouns:

d.	*adian yedogo*	'a lot of blood' (*lit.* 'his-blood many')
e.	*adian beq*	'a bit of blood' (*lit.* 'his-blood small')

4 INALIENABLE NOUNS

As was outlined in Figure 1 in §1, inalienable nouns are divided into four main categories, which are: *cultural items* discussed in §4.1, *kinship terms*, in §4.2, *body parts*, in §4.3, and *experiential events*, in §4.4.

4.1 Cultural items

Wano includes some cultural items as inalienable nouns. They are *egin* {ø-egin} \3s-bow\ 'his-bow' (19) and *awi* {ø-awi} \3s-awi\ 'his-house' (20):

(19)

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	*negin* {n-ekin} \1s-bow\	*ninyegin* {nin-ekin} \1p-bow\
		'my bow'	'our bow'
	2	*kegin* {k-ekin} \2s-bow\	*kinyegin* {kin-ekin} \2p-bow\
		'your.sg-bow'	'your.pl bow'
	3	*egin* {ø-ekin} \3s-bow\	*inyegin* {in-ekin} \3p-bow\
		'his bow'	'their bow'

and

(20)

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	*nawi* {n-awi} \1s-house\	*ninyawi* {nin-awi} \1p-house\
		'my house'	'our house'
	2	*kawi* {k-awi} \2s-house\	*kinyawi* {kin-awi} \2p-house\
		'your.sg house'	'your.pl house'
	3	*awi* {ø-awi} \1s-house\	*inyawi* {in-awi} \3p-house\
		'his house'	'their house'

Syntactic evidence for the distinction between cultural items and body part nouns is shown in (21). In (21a), Wano allows phrases like *awi at e-ne* 'a house of his', but not **eruk at ene* 'hair of his/its' in (18b).

(21)

	a.	*awi*	*at*	*ene*
		ø-awi	At	ø-ene
		3s-house	he	3s-belonging
		'a house of his'		
	b.	**eruk*	*at*	*ene*
		ø-etuk	at	ø-ene
		3s-hair	he	3s-belonging
		'hair of his'		

4.2 Kinship terms

All kinship terms are vowel-initial, as listed in (22), but items with initial *u* are not attested.

(22)

	a.	Vowel-final Root	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	a1.	*are* {ø-ate} \3s-uncle\	*arevi* {ø-ate-vi} \3s-uncle-PL\
		'his/her uncle'	'his/her uncles'

a2.	*icawo* {ø-itjawo} \3s-aunt\ 'his/her aunt'	*icawowi* {ø-itjawo-wi} \3s-aunts\ 'his/her aunts'
a3.	*omba* {ø-ompa} \3s-grandpa\ 'his/her grandfather'	*ombavi* {ø-ompa-vi} \3p-grandpa-PL\ 'his/her grandfathers'
a4.	*owe* {ø-owe} \3s-older sibling oSS\ 'his/her older brother/sister'	*owewi* {ø-owe-wi} \3s-older sibling oSS-PL\ 'his/her older brothers/sisters'
a5.	*iri* {ø-iti} \3s-sibling oDS\ 'his/her sister/brother'	*irivi* {ø-iti-vi} \3s-sibling oDS-PL\ 'his/her sisters/brothers'
b.	<u>Consonant-final Root</u>	
b1.	*awot* {ø-awot} \3s-younger sibling oSS\ 'his/her younger brother/sister'	*awori* {ø-awot-i} \3s-younger sibling oSS-PL\ 'his/her younger brothers/sisters'
b2.	*abut* {ø-abut} \3s-child.oM\ 'his child'	*aburi* {ø-abut-i} \3s-child.oM-PL\ 'his children'
b3.	*ayak* {ø-ajak} \3s-child.oF\ 'her child'	*acui* {ø-atjui} \3s-children.oF\ 'her children'

In the nuclear family, that includes parents, spouses, children and siblings, I will describe the terms used in the parent-child, spousal and sibling relationship (cf. Foley 1997:133-149).

In the **parent-child** relationship, the terms for ego's father and mother do not depend on ego's sex – cf. Burung (2017: §5.2, 2018) for discussion on deixis.

(23)		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	a.	*ova* {ø-ova} \3s-father\ 'his/her father'	*ovavi* {ø-ova-vi} \3s-father-PL\ 'his/her fathers'
	b.	*ica* {ø-itja} \3s-mother\ 'his/her mother'	*icavi* {ø-itja-vi} \3s-mother-PL\ 'his/her mothers'

When ego is a parent, the term for 'child' is determined by the sex of ego, regardless of the sex of the child. In English, the sex of a child is clear by the terms 'son' and 'daughter'. In Wano, however, the sex of a parent is clear by the terms ***abut***, i.e. 'child of male person', and ***ayak***, i.e. 'child of female person'. (24a) is the term for a child of a male ego, while (24b) is for a female ego – cf. (22b). Note that this also holds for other languages in the Dani language family, as observed by Bromley (1973: 9). He writes, "The kinship terminologies in these languages group a woman's children with a man's children; the terminologies in the Western Dani and Grand Valley areas distinguish them."

(24)   a. **<u>Male</u>** ego forms: **'his** child'

SINGULAR	PLURAL
abut	***aburi***
ø-abut	ø-abut-i
3s-child.oM	3s-child.oM-PL
'his child'	'his children'

b. **<u>Female</u>** ego forms: **'her** child'

SINGULAR	PLURAL
ayak	***acui***
ø-ajak	ø-atjui
3s-child.oF	3s-children.oF
'her child'	'her children'

The distribution of (24) is outlined in (25-26).

(25)   SINGULAR TERMS
      abut {ø-abut} \3s-child.oM\ <3s.M>SG 'his child'
      ayak {ø-ajak} \3s-child.oF \ <3s.F>SG 'her child'

	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	
		Male	Female
a1.	Father	i. ***ninyabut***	j. *ninyabut
			jj. kayak
a2.	Mother	i. *ninyayak	j. ***ninyayak***
		ii. kabut	
a3.	Non-parents	i. kabut	j. kayak
		ii. kabut-ayak	jj. kayak-abut

	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	
		Spouse (husband-wife)	Other
b1.	Father	i. ***ninyayak-ninyabut***	j. ayak-nabut
		ii. ninyayak-nabut	
b2.	Mother	i. ***ninyabut-ninyayak***	j. abut-nayak
		ii. ninyabut-nayak	
b3.	Non-parents	i. kinyabut-kinyayak	j. inyayak-inyabut
		ii. kinyayak-kinyabut	jj. inyabut-inyayak

The plural forms of *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child' in (25) are given in (26).

(26)   PLURAL TERMS
      aburi {ø-abut-i} \3s-child.oM-plural\ <3s.M>PL 'his children'
      acui {ø-atjui} \3s-child.oF:plural\ <3s.F>PL 'her children'

	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	
		Male	Female
a1.	Father	i. ***ninyaburi***	j. *ninyaburi
			jj. kacui
a2.	Mother	i. *ninyacui	j. ***ninyacui***
		ii. kaburi	
a3.	Non-parents	i. kaburi	j. kacui
		ii. kaburi-acui	jj. kacui-aburi

	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	
		Spouse (husband-wife)	Other
b1.	Father	i. ***ninyacui-ninyaburi***	j. acui-naburi
		ii. ninyacui-naburi	
b2.	Mother	i. ***ninyaburi-ninyacui***	j. aburi-nacui
		ii. ninyaburi-nacui	
b3.	Non-parents	i. kinyaburi-kinyacui	j. inyacui-inyaburi
		ii. kinyacui-kinyaburi	jj. inyaburi-inyacui

The use and implication of *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child' with their plural forms outlined in (25-26) above are explained in §4.2.1. I will limit the discussion to those kin terms which are common in use, i.e. *ninyabut* 'our child' (25a.*1i*) in §4.2.2, *ninyayak* 'our child' (25a.*2j*) in §4.2.3, *ninyayak-ninyabut* 'our child' (25b.*1i*) in §4.2.4, and *ninyabut-ninyayak* 'our child' (25b.*2i*) in §4.2.5, including their plural counterparts in each related section: *ninyaburi* (23a.*1i*), *ninyacui*

(26a.*2j*), *ninyacui-ninyaburi* (26b.*1i*), and *ninyaburi-ninyacui* (26b.*2i*). At a glance, it is not always easy to catch the meaning of each given compounded term. Wano has the following guidelines in (27), for the examples we will be examining, particularly those given in §4.2.4 and §4.2.5.

(27)   a.   The initial term points to the addressee, as in: *ninyayak-ninyabut* "our child.of.female_our child.of.male", the addressee is a female person, i.e. a mother, and the speaker is a male person, i.e. a father.

            b.   In a compounding form, the singularised possessor prefix signifies that he/she is the genetic parent of the child. Thus in *kayak-ninyabut* 'your.sg child.of.female_our child.of.male', the genetic parent is the mother.

            c.   The fronted term also indicates the focus/centre of the conversation. In those two examples above, the mother is the focus/centre.

By **genetic parents** in (27b), I mean the true biological father/mother of the child, since Wano culture allows men and women to view the offsprings of their siblings or kin-related persons as their own children. The distinction of who the genetic parents are, as opposed to the non-genetic or adopted parents, is therefore made clear through the language, which in this case is through inalienable nouns. Since the upcoming discussion is limited to the most common used kin terms, the rest of the kin terms found in (25-26) are listed in Appendix 2 including their short description. Further, the meaning of *abut* is 'his child.of.male', and *ayak* is 'her child.of.female'. Note the semantic interpretation of both terms, i.e. 'his child' and 'her child' refer to the possessors (male/female possessors), while 'of.male' and 'of.female' refer to the possessees (*abut* and *ayak*). For the sake of practicality and simplicity, unless further clarification is needed, I will here translate *abut* as 'his child', *ayak* as 'her child', *aburi* 'his children', and *acui* 'her children'. The sex distinction of the possessors will still be indicated on the morphophonological representation. In the following discussion, the semantic interpretation of each term is presented as given in:

Paradigm 1	MALE POSSESSOR	FEMALE POSSESSOR
kin terms	***abut***	***ayak***
morphophonological structure	{ø-abut}	{ø-ajak}
morphophonological meaning	\3s-child.oM\	\3s-child.oF\
semantic interpretation	<3s.M>SG	<3s.F>SG
semantic reading	"his child.of.male"	"her child.of.female"
free translation	'his child'	'her child'
	aburi	***acui***
	{ø-abut-i}	{ø-atjui}
	\3s-children.oM\	\3s-children.oF\
	<3s.M>PL	<3s.F>PL
	"his children.of.male"	"her children.of.female"
	'his children'	'her children'
	inyabut	***inyayak***
	{in-abut}	{in-ajak}
	\3p-child.oM\	\3p-child.oF\
	<3p.M>SG	<3p.F>SG
	"their child.of.male"	"their child.of.female"
	'their child'	'their child'

inyaburi	*inyacui*
{in-abut-i}	{in-atjui}
\3p-children.oM\	\3p-children.of.male\
<3p.M>PL	<3p.F>PL
"their children.of.male"	"their children.of.female"
'their children'	'their children'

In Paradigm 1, the semantic reading (*SR*) must be (*SR.i*) "child.of.singular.male" for the term *abut* and "child.of.singular.female" for the term *ayak*, and must not be (*SR.ii*) *"singular.male.child" for *abut* and *"singular.female.child" for *ayak*, for the following reasons:

(*i*) The terms, i.e. *abut* and *ayak*, refer to the sex of the possessor, instead of to the sex of the possessee, i.e. the child, as was stated early in this section '... the term for 'child' is determined by the sex of ego, regardless of the sex of the child.' Thus, in this case, (*ii*) (*SR.i*) indicates that *abut* refers to a child who belongs to a male possessor, and *ayak* refers to a child who belongs to a female possessor. Or in terms of inalienability, *abut* inalienably includes a male possessor while *ayak* inalienably includes a female possessor. On the other hand, (*SR.ii*) indicates that *abut* refers to a male singular child, and *ayak* refers to a female singular child, ruling out the inclusion of the possessor in each term. In (*SR.i*), the terms refer to the sex of the possessor, while in (*SR.ii*), the terms refer to the sex of the child. It follows that, (*iii*) the grammatical structure of (*SR.i*)'s expression is {{child} of.singular.male}, while the grammatical structure of (*SR.ii*)'s expression is {singular.male.child}, i.e. 'son' in English, and (*iv*) the semantic interpretation (*SI*) is then <3s.M>SG, where <3s.M> refers to "of.singular.male" and SG, outside the angle brackets, indicates the number of the term, which is singular in this example for *abut* and *ayak* – cf. *aburi*, the semantic interpretation is <3s.M>PL, i.e. {{children} of.singular.male}, and therefore (*v*) in Wano, (*SR.i*) is true for the meaning of *abut* and *ayak*, and (*SR.ii*) is not true for the meaning of *abut* and *ayak*. Since in (*SR.i*), *abut* is 'child.of.male' and *ayak* is 'child.of.female', whereas in (*SR.ii*), *abut* is 'his/her son' and *ayak* is 'his/her daughter', which is not true in Wano.

For the compound terms, we have, for instance:

(28)   a.   ***abut-ayak***
{ø-abut_ø-ajak}
\3s-child.oM_3s-child.oF\
<3s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG
"his child.of.male_her child.of.female"
'their child' (*lit*. 'his child her child')

        b.   ***aburi-acui***
{ø-abut-i_ø-atjui}
\3s-children.oM_3s-children.oF\
<3s.M>PL&<3s.F>PL
"his children.of.male_her children.of.female"
'their children' (*lit*. 'his children her children')

4.2.1 Abut 'his child' and ayak 'her child'

As was outlined in Paradigm 1, the term ***abut*** 'his child'/"his child.of.male" and ***ayak*** 'her child'/"her child.of.female', cf. (25), with their plural forms ***aburi*** 'his children'/"his children.of.male' and ***acui*** 'her children'/"her children.of.female', cf. (26), are semantically

exclusive, i.e. they are strictly male-terms and female-terms. Thus, the terms *abut* 'his child' and *aburi* 'his children' are applicable only to male possessor(s). Likewise, the terms *ayak* 'her child' and *acui* 'her children' are used only for female possessor(s). When a person, regardless of sex of the person, talks to a male parent, i.e. a father, concerning a child of his and his wife, the <2s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG term: ***kabut-ayak*** (25a.*3ii*) is used, as given in (29). Consider the semantic interpretation with its literal and free translations.

(29)   Scenario 1
         [someone addresses a male parent, i.e. a father]:
         kabut-ayak
         {k-abut_ø-ajak}
         \2s-child.oM_3s-child.oF\
         <2s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG
         "your.sg child.of.male_her child.of.female"
         'your.sg and her child' or 'child of your.sg and hers' (*ft.* 'your.pl child')

On the other hand, when the person talks to a female parent, i.e. a mother, concerning a child of hers and her husband's, <2s.F>SG&3s.M>SG term: ***kayak-abut*** (25a.*3jj*) is used, as given in:

(30)   Scenario 2
         [someone addresses a female parent, i.e. a mother]:
         kayak-abut
         {k-ajak_ø-abut}
         \2s-child.oF_3s-child.oM\
         <2s.F>SG&<3s.M>SG
         "your.sg child.of.female_his child.of.male"
         'your.sg and his child' or 'child of your.sg and his' (*ft.* 'your.pl child')

Furthermore, when the person talks to both parents referring to their child, he/she uses either <2p.M>SG&<2p.F>SG term: *kinyabut-kinyayak*, or <2p.F>SG&<2p.M>SG term: *kinyayak-kinyabut* for the expression of 'both your.pl child' or 'child of both yours.pl'. The reverse <3s.F>SG&<3s.M>SG term: *ayak-abut* and <3s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG term: *abut-ayak* signifies possessor-focus in terms of speaker's personal judgement, which is indicated by initial word, cf. (27c). This is illustrated as follows. In (31a), the focus/centre is the father, since *abut* 'his child' is front-positioned, while in (31b), it is the mother, for *ayak* 'her child' is front-positioned.

(31)   a. Scenario 3
         [someone addresses parents, father is the focus]:
         kinyabut-kinyayak
         {kin-abut_kin-ajak}
         \2p-child.oM_2p-child.oF\
         <2p.M>SG&<2p.F>SG
         "your.pl child.of.male_your.pl child.of.female"
         'your.pl child' or 'child of your.pl' (*ft.* 'your.pl child')

         b. Scenario 4
         [someone addresses parents, mother is the focus]:
         kinyayak-kinyabut
         {kin-ajak_kin-abut}
         \2p-child.oF_2p-child.oM\
         <2p.F>SG&<2p.M>SG
         "your.pl child.of.female_your.pl child.of.male"
         'your.pl child' or 'child of your.pl' (*ft.* your.pl. child')

It is worth noticing that all the four terms: *kabut-ayak* (29), *kayak-abut* (30), *kinyabut-kinyayak* (31a) *kinyayak-kinyabut* (31b) expressing a single English translation: 'your.pl child'. So to say that Wano is semantic-pragmatically more specific in addressing kin relation than English. In other words, Wano, and could be other related Trans-New Guinea languages as well, is more deictic-specific-oriented language than English. Let us consider further use of the terms *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child' in §4.2.2 to §4.2.5.

4.2.2 Ninyabut 'our child'

In (32), the term ***ninyabut*** {nin-abut} \1p-child.oM\ <1p.M>SG "our child.of.male" (25a.*1i*) is 'our child'/'child of ours'. The nominal plural counterpart is ***ninyaburi*** {nin-abut-i} \1p-child.oM-PL\ <1p.M>PL "our children.of.male" (26a.*1i*) is 'our children/children of ours'. This term is not applicable for female persons, thus inferring wife/kin-related women exclusion, as indicated in (25a.*1j*).

(32) | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|---|
| *ninyabut* | *ninyaburi* |
| {nin-abut} | {nin-abut-i} |
| \1p-child.oM\ | \1p.child.oM-PL\ |
| <1p.M>SG | <1p.M>PL |
| "our child.of.male" | "our children.of.male" |
| 'our child' | 'our children' |

The prefixation of the first-person plural morpheme (i.e. *niny* {nin-} \1p-\ 'our') and the root (*abut* 'his child') indicates that the term is used when a man speaks either to his brother(s), kin-related men about his child (son or daughter). In this term, his wife is excluded. The child concerned could be his own or his and his wife's child. The man, however, can refer to the same child when speaking to his wife by using the term ***kayak*** {k-ajak} \2s-child.oF\ <2s.M>SG 'your.sg child', see (25a.*1jj*). This term can be used by other speakers, regardless of sex distinction, when talking to a woman about her child (25a.*3j*). The plural form of *kayak* 'your.sg child' is ***kacui*** {k-acui} \2s.children\ <2s.F>PL 'your.sg children' (26a.*3j*), which is female.plural.

4.2.3 Ninyayak 'our child'

In (33), the term ***ninyayak*** {nin-ajak} \1p-child.oF\ <1p.F>SG "our child.of.female" (25a.*1j*), is 'our child/child of ours'. The nominal plural counterpart is ***ninyacui*** {nin-atjui} \1p-children.oF\ <1p.F>PL "our children.of.female" (26a.*2j*) is 'our children'. This term is not applicable for male persons, thus inferring husband/kin-related men exclusion, as indicated in (25a.*1i*).

(33) | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|---|
| *ninyayak* | *ninyacui* |
| {nin-ajak} | {nin-atjui} |
| \1p-child.oF\ | \1p.children.oF\ |
| <1p.F>SG | <1p.F>PL |
| "our child.of.female" | "our children.of.female" |
| 'our child' | 'our children' |

The term is used when a woman speaks either to her sister(s), kin-related women or when her sister(s) or kin-related women speak to a woman about her child (son or daughter). Her husband is excluded. The child referred to could be hers alone as a genetic parent, or hers and her husband's. She can refer to the same child when speaking to her husband, using the term ***kabut***

{k-abut} \2s-child.oM\ <2s.M>SG 'your.sg child', see (25a.*2ii*). This term can be used by other speaker(s), regardless of sex distinction, when talking to a man about his child (25a.*3i*).

4.2.4 Ninyayak-ninyabut 'our child'

This is restricted to genetic parents. The compound term ***ninyayak-ninyabut*** {nin-ajak_nin-abut}   \1p-child.oF_1p-child.oM\   <1p.F>SG&<1p.M>SG   "our   child.of.plural.female_our child.of.plural.male", which is: 'our child' (25b.*1i*), uttered in the context of husband-wife relationship by the husband. Recall the guidelines in (27), how do we know that the father is the speaker? The fronted term is the clue. In the case of *ninyayak-ninyabut* 'our child', it is *ayak* 'her-child', that is fronted to indicate that the mother is the addressee and that the mother is the focus. Both father and mother are genetic parents. This term is the pair of the one given in (36). The plural form is ***ninyacui-ninyaburi*** {nin-atjui_nin-abut-i} \1p-children.oF_1p-child.oM-PL\ <1p.F>PL&<1p.M>PL"our children.of.plural.female_our children.of.plural male", which is: 'our children' (25b.*1i*).

(34)   Scenario 5 (25b.*1i*) and (26b.*1i*) – cf. (37)
         [a husband addresses his wife]:
         a.   *ninyayak-ninyabut*
                {nin-ajak_nin-abut}
                \1p-child.oF_1p-child.oM\
                <1p.F>SG&<1p.M>SG
                "our child.of.plural.female_our child.of.plural.male"
                'our child'
         b.   *ninyacui-ninyaburi*
                {nin-atjui_nin-abut-i}
                \1p-children.oF.PL_1p-child-PL\
                <1p.F>PL&<1p.M>PL
                "our children.of.plural.female_our children.of.plural.male"
                'our children'

Both compounded kin terms in (34) are used only for/by genetic parents. When the husband wants to single out one of the parents as the genetic parent, the terms *kayak-ninyabut*, i.e. <2s.F>SG&<1p.M>SG (35a) or *ninyayak-nabut*, i.e. <1p.F>SG&<1s.M>SG (35b) is used. Note in (35a), the female term in the singular form, i.e. *kayak* 'your.sg child' or <2s.F>SG, indicates that the genetic parent is the mother – cf. (30b). On the other hand, in (35b), the male term is in the singular form, i.e. *nabut* 'my child' or <1s.M>SG, thus marks the father as the genetic parent.

(35)   a. Scenario 6
         [a husband addresses his wife, genetic parent is the mother]:
         kayak-ninyabut
         {k-ajak_nin-abut}
         \2s-child.oF_1p-child.oM\
         <2s.F>SG&<1p.M>SG
         "your.sg child.of.female_our child.of.male"
         'our child:your.sg genetic child' (*ft.* 'our child')

b. <u>Scenario 7</u>
[a husband addresses his wife, genetic parent is the father]:
ninyayak-nabut
{nin-ajak_n-abut}
\1p-child.oF_1s-child.oM\
<1p.F>SG&<1s.M>SG
"our child.of.female_my child.of.male"
'our child:my genetic child' (*ft*. 'our child')

The plural forms for (35a) is ***kacui-ninyaburi***, i.e. <2s.F>PL&<1p.M>PL and for (35b) is ***ninyacui-naburi***, i.e. <1p.F>PL&<1s.M>PL. The examples in (35) are symmetric to those given in (37).

4.2.5 *Ninyabut-ninyayak 'our child'*

The compound term ***ninyabut-ninyayak***, {nin-abut_nin-ajak} \1p-child.oM_1p-child.oF\ <1p.M>SG&<1p.F>SG 'our child' (36a cf. 25b.*2i*), is used by the wife in the context of husband-wife relationship. Both husband and wife are genetic parents. The father is the focus since *abut* 'his child' is fronted. The plural form of *ninyabut-ninyayak* 'our child' is ***ninyaburi-ninyacui*** {nin-abut-i_nin-acui} \1p-child.oM-PL_1p-children.oF\ <1p.M>PL&<1p.F>PL 'our children' (36b cf. 26b.*2i*).

(36)   <u>Scenario 8</u> (25b.*2i*) and (26b.*2i*) – cf. (34)
         [a wife addresses her husband]:
         a.   *ninyabut-ninyayak*
                {nin-abut_nin-ajak}
                \1p-child.oF_1p-child.oF\
                <1p.M>SG&<1p.F>SG
                "our child.of.male_our child.of.female"
                'our child'

         b.   *ninyaburi-ninyacui*
                {nin-abut-i_nin-atjui}
                \1p.child.oM-PL_1p-children.oF\
                <1p.M>PL&<1p.F>PL
                "our children.of.male_our children.of.female"
                'our children'

When the wife wants to specify either one of the parents as the genetic parent, the terms *kabut-ninyayak*, i.e. <2s.M>SG&<1p.F>SG (37a) or *ninyabut-nayak*, i.e. <1p.M>SG&<1s.F>SG (37b) is used.

(37)   a. <u>Scenario 9</u>
         [a wife addresses her husband, genetic parent is the father]:
         kabut-ninyayak
         {k-abut_nin-ajak}
         \2s-child.oM_1p-child.oF.PL\
         <2s.M>SG&<1p.F>SG
         "your.sg:genetic child.of.male_our child.of.female"
         'our child'

b. <u>Scenario 10</u>
[a wife addresses her husband, genetic parent is the mother]:
ninyabut-nayak
{nin-abut_n-ayak}
\1p-child.oM_1s-child.oF\
<1p.M>SG&<1s.F>SG
"our child.of.male_my:genetic child.of.female"
'our child'

The plural forms of (37a) is *kaburi-ninyacui*, i.e. <2s.M>PL&<1p.F>PL and of (37b) is *ninyaburi-nacui*, i.e. <1p.M>PL&<1s.F>PL. The examples in (37) are symmetric to those in (35).

When the sex of the child has to be specified, *ap* 'man' or *kwa* 'woman' modifies the head noun, although this is not a very common practice.

(38) a. <u>MALE EGO</u>
      SINGULAR   PLURAL

a1. *ap*   *abut*   *ap*   *aburi*
     ap   ø-abut   ap   ø-abut-i
     man   3s-child.oM   man   3s-child.oM-PL
     'his son'   'his sons'

a2. *kwa*   *abut*   *kwa*   *aburi*
     kwa   ø-abut   kwa   ø-abut-i
     woman   3s-child.oM   woman   3s-child.oM-PL
     'his daughter'   'his daughters'

b. <u>FEMALE EGO</u>
      SINGULAR   PLURAL

b1. *ap*   *ayak*   *ap*   *acui*
     ap   ø-ajak   ap   ø-atjui
     man   3s-child.oF   man   3s-children.oF
     'her son'   'her sons'

b2. *kwa*   *ayak*   *kwa*   *acui*
     kwa   ø-ajak   kwa   ø-atjui
     woman   3s-child.oF   woman   3s-children.oF
     'her daughter'   'her daughters'

Further mention must be made regarding *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child'. Such terms refer to the kinship relation, while the generic term for 'child' as opposed to grown-ups or adults is expressed by a verbal phrase *nonggobe* 'child', that is a figurative speech of *nong* {non-} 'consume' + *k* {k-} 'REAL' + *o* {-o} '3s.SBJ' + *be* {be} 'small'; literally: 'little one who eats', implies 'the one who still needs to be fed'. This term is used for infants, toddlers and young children. Its plural form is derived by means of reduplication and suffixed with *vi* {-vi} 'PL', rendering *nonggodunggwi* 'children'; *nong* {non-} 'consume' + *k* {k-} 'REAL' + *o* {-o} '3s.SBJ' ~ *dung* {dun-} 'REDUP' + *g* {k-} 'REAL' + *vi* {-vi} 'plural'.

(39) a. SINGULAR
          at   *ap*   *nonggobe*
          at   ap   non-k-o-be
          he   man   consume-REAL-s-small
          'his little/baby boy' or 'his male infant' or 'his young son'

b. PLURAL
at   kwa   Nonggodunggwi
at   kwa   non-k-o~d-un-k-vi
he   woman   consume-REAL-s-small~REDUP-PL
'his little/baby girls' or 'his female infants' or 'his young daughter'

Regarding **spousal relationship**, different terms are used for spouses.

(40)   SINGULAR   PLURAL
a.   *agwe* {ø-akwe} \3s-wife\   *agwevi* {ø-akwe-vi} \3s-wife-PL\
      'his wife'   'his wives'
b.   *oiny* {ø-oin} \3s-husband\   *oinyi* {ø-oin-i} \3s-husband-PL\
      'her husband'   'her husbands'

Pertaining to (40), Wano expresses something like 'family' or 'household' in terms of sex distinction of the possessor as illustrated in (41a), for 'family of male', and (41b), for 'family of female'.

(41)   a.   <u>MALE EGO</u>
              agwebut {ø-akwe_ø-but} \3s-wife_3s-child.oM\
              'his family/household'

        b.   <u>FEMALE EGO</u>
              oinyayak {ø-oin_ø-ajak} \3s-husband_3s-child.oF\
              'her family/household'

Concerning **sibling relationship**, in the ego's own generation, when ego and sibling are of the same sex (oSS), age determines the choice of referring terms – see Burung (2017: §5.2; forthcoming) for discussion on deixis.

(42)   a.   *awot* {ø-awot} \3s-younger sibling.oSS\
              "his/her younger sibling of.same.sex"
              'his younger brother' or 'her younger sister' (*lit*. 'his/her younger sibling.of.same.sex')

        b.   *awori* {ø-awot-i} \3s-younger sibling.oSS-PL\
              "his/her younger siblings of.same.sex"
              'his younger brothers' or 'her younger sisters' (*lit*. 'his/her younger siblings.of.same.sex)

        c.   *owe* {ø-owe} \3s-older sibling.oSS\
              "his/her older sibling.of.same.sex"
              'his older brother' or 'her older sister'

        d.   *owewi* {ø-owe-wi} \3s-older sibling.oSS-PL\
              "his/her older siblings.of.same.sex"
              'his older brothers' or 'her older sisters'

If ego and sibling are of the different sexes (oDS), a different term is used regardless of age distinction.

(43)   SINGULAR
        a.   *iri* {ø-iti} \3s-sibling.oDS \
              "his/her sibling.of.different.sex"
              'his sister/her brother' (*lit*. 'his/her sibling.of.different.sex')

PLURAL
    b.   *irivi* {ø-iti-vi} \3s-sibling.oDS-PL\
              "his/her siblings.of.different.sex"
              'his sisters/her brothers' (*lit*. 'his/her siblings.of.different.sex')

4.3 Body parts

Nouns denoting body parts are divided into two categories, namely: **solid** (§4.3.1) and **liquid** (§4.3.2) body parts.

4.3.1 Solid bodily parts

Items referring to body parts including hand, hair, eyes, head, and the like, are categorised as solid body parts. Examples in (44) give only third person-singular possessor.

(44)   a.   *indit* {ø-intit} \3s-cheek\ 'his cheek'
          b.   *enak* {ø-enak} \3s-tooth\ 'his tooth'
          c.   *akwi* {ø-atkwi} \3s-nose\ 'his nose'
          d.   *ombagit* {ø-ompakit} \3s-vein\ 'his vein'

4.3.2 Liquid bodily parts

Items referring to bodily excreta including tears, saliva, blood, and the like, are in the liquid body parts group. Terms for excretive items are all *a*-initial, but can be realised without the initial vowel, with some exceptions. The term *owarid* 'his saliva' takes the vowel *o* {o-} instead of *a* {a-}. Likewise, *eravun* 'her menstrual flow' is *e*-initial. The possessor of term *enan* 'excrement' is zero, {ø-}. Excretions, once they have been detached from the body are no longer possessed and the possessive marker will be dropped. Examples are given in:

(45)   a. <u>ATTACHED TO BODY</u>   b. <u>DETACHED FROM BODY</u>
        ademburu   *demburu*
        a-de-mputu   de-mputu
        3s-cry-liquid   cry-liquid
        'his tears'   'tears'

The list of liquid bodily excretive items follows:

(46)   a. <u>ATTACHED TO BODY</u>   b. <u>DETACHED FROM BODY</u>

a. ATTACHED TO BODY		b. DETACHED FROM BODY	
ademburu	'his tears'	*demburu*	'tears'
adian	'his blood'	*dian*	'blood'
ameiyo	'his urine'	*meiyo*	'urine'
amburu	'his liquid'	*mburu*	'liquid'
angguret	'his mucus'	*ngguret*	'mucus'
anggudit	'his pus'	*kundit*	'pus'
aringgu	'his snot'	*tinggu*	'snot'
ayenggodan	'his sperm'	*yenggodan*	'sperm'
eravun	'her menstrual flow'	*tavun*	'menstrual flow'
owarid	'his saliva'	*warid*	'saliva'

Notice that *ademburu* is an inflection of *a-de-mburu* '3s-cry-liquid', and *ayenggodan* is probably of *ø-aye-nggodan* '3s-penis-?'.

4.4 Experiential events

Terms denoting **experiential events** are divided into two categories: nouns related to the **cognitive** sphere and those to do with **physiological** sense or feeling. A detailed discussion of experiential events is given in chapters 7 §7.2 and 9 §9.4 (see also Burung 2002, 2003, 2004). A brief account is given here.

Words related to thought, memory, dream and the like fall under the cognition type of experiential events. The word *enokweid* {ø-enokweid} \3s-mind\ in (47) is an example, which can be translated as 'his thought', or 'his mind', or 'his idea'.

(47)   *an   at   enokweid*
        an   at   ø-enokweid
        I   he   3s-mind
        'I think of him' or 'I have a thought of him' or 'I am mindful of him' (*lit.* 'I have his mind')

Words related to physical feeling and emotion, like happiness, heaviness or pain, are properties of the physiological domain of experiential events. The word *anggin* {ø-ankin} \3s-weariness\ in (48) is an example that can be translated as 'his weariness', or 'his tiredness', and the like.

(48)   *an   nanggin*
        an   n-ankin
        I   1s-weariness
        'I am weary' or 'I am tired' (*lit.* 'I have my weariness')

5   INALIENABLY MARKED WORDS

Lexical items expressing beneficiary (§5.1), and comitative-abessive (§5.2) are also inalienably marked.

5.1 Benefactive

The word *ambit* {ø-ampit} \3s-sake\ 'his sake' marks 'beneficiary', which takes direct object/possessor prefixes. In an everyday mother and child's dialogue we will notice the use of *ambit* 'his sake' for third person singular in (49c, d). In (49e), for first person singular, and (49f) for second person singular. What follows is an example of a conversation (Burung's fieldnote, Biricare 1994) where a mother was about to go to the field for some cassava leaves to feed her pig. Having been noticed by her child, she was called to – hence the conversation in (49), follows:

(49)   a.   <u>Child:</u>
               nica-o,   ngga   nendik-a.
               n-itja=o   nka   n-ent-ik=a
               1s-mother=PAUS   where   go-2s-PROG=Q
               'My mother, where are you going?'

        b.   <u>Mother:</u>
               e   kom   engga   waniak   netik-o.
               e   kom   enka   wan-iak   n-ett-ik=o \
               tree yam   leaf   gather-then   go-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS
               'I am going to gather some cassava leaves.'

 c. <u>Child:</u>
   *ta Ne   **ambit-a**.*
   ta Ne   ø-ampit=a
   SPEC S.REF 3s-sake-Q
   'for whom?' (*lit.* 'for whose sake?')

 d. <u>Mother:</u>
   *nanggwom **ambit-o**.*
   n-awom ø-ampit=o \
   2s-pig   3s-sake-PAUS
   'for my pig.'

 e. <u>Child:</u>
   ***nambit** ta, nano-a.*
   n-ampit ta | nano=a
   1s-sake SPEC what=Q
   'What is for me?' (*lit.* 'What is for my sake?')

 f. <u>Mother:</u>
   nda doiak ta, bok-o,   nggwen kuma ne
   nta do-iak ta | bok=o | nkwen kuma ne
   here stay-DSEQ SPEC good= SPEC earth   peanut SREF

   ***kambit** wiriak   tetik-o.*
   k-ampit wit-iak   t-ett-ik=o \
   2s-sake pull out-then intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS
   'You better stay here! I will get some peanuts for you.'
                  [Burung's fieldnotes, Biricare 1994]

5.2 Comitative-Abessive

There are five postpositions that have a basic comitative-abessive meaning. They are *inyom* {ø-with} \3s-with\ 'his with', *ambek* 'his without', *adik* 'his aloneness', and *imbirak* 'his togetherness'. The antonyms, *inyom* and *ambek* occur following (pro)nouns, with which they agree in person/number. While *inyom* occurs in the coordinate structure of [(NP (*inyom*)) NP *inyom*], *ambek* strictly has [(NP) NP *ambek*]. Further discussion is given in chapter 8 §8.2.2.

(50) a. *an (**ninyom**) kat **kinyom** werak-o.*
    an n-inom   Kat k-inom   we-**et**-ak=o \
    I   1s-with   you.sg 2s-with   come-**1s.SBJ**-then= PAUS
    'I came with you.sg'

  a'. *an **ninyom** kat (**kinyom**) wendak-o.*
    an n-inom   Kat k-inom   we-**ent**-ak=o \
    I   1s-with   you.sg 2s-with   come-**2s.SBJ**-then= PAUS
    'You.sg came with me.'

  b. *an kat **kambek** werak-o.*
    an kat k-ampek we-**et**-ak=o\
    I   you.sg 2s-without come-**1s.SBJ**-then=PAUS
    'I came without you.sg'

  b'. *an kat **nambek** wendak-o.*
    an kat n-ampek we-ent-ak=o \
    I   you.sg 1s-without come-**2s.SBJ**-then=PAUS
    'You.sg came without me.'

While it is possible to employ the comitative *inyom* '3s-with' twice as in (50a) and (50a') or only once as in (51a), the abessive *ambek* 'without' can only occur once as in (50b) and (50b'). Something like (51b), intended as expressing a correlative conjunction: 'neither I, nor you' is not possible.

(51)   a.   *an   kat   **kinyom**   werak-o.*

		an	kat	k-inom	w-et-ak=o\
		I	you.sg	2s-with	come-1p.SBJ-D.SEQ=PAUS

'I came with you.sg'

          b.   **an   **nambek**   kat   **kambek**   werak-o.*

		an	n-ambek	kat	k-ambek	w-et-ak=o\
		I	1s-without	you.sg	2s-without	come-1p.SBJ-D.SEQ=PAUS

Some further examples. A conversation narrated in (52) took place in Iratoi some time in 1992. It was when I was asking some young men about the murder of an old woman who was accused as being the cause of my first language teacher's death. Note in (52a), Speaker 1 was interrupted by Speaker 2, in (52b), when he was informing me about the killer. He then responded in (52c), which was followed by another conversant with his additional remark on the murderer in (52c').

(52)   a. <u>Speaker 1:</u>

at   ta,   nawot   wakirak-o.

at	ta |	n-awot	wat-k-it-ak=o\
he	SPEC	1s-younger sibling.oSS	3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS

'he was the one who killed my younger brother'

      b. <u>Speaker 2:</u>

ta,   ne

ta	ne
SPEC	S.REF

'which one?'

      c. <u>Speaker 1:</u>

*kevewok   yedok   **inyom***

kevewok	jedok	ø-inom
penis gourd	large	3s-with

'(the one) with a big penis gourd'

      c'. <u>Speaker 3:</u>

*anop   eruk   **ambek***

ø-anop	ø-eruk	ø-ambek
3s-head	3s-hair	3s-without

'(the one) without hair' or (the) bald (one)'

                              [Fieldnotes, Iratoi 1992]

The comitative *imbirak* '3s-together' has no paired antonym.

(53)   *nit   apik   ninyimbirak,   yanduk   iruid-o.*

	nit	apik	nin-impitak |	janduk	it-uid=o \
	we	all	3p-togetherness	bridge	do-1p.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS

'we all together, let us make a bridge!' or 'let us all make the bridge together!'

Wano, however, can make use of the negator *adik* '3s-aloneness' or '3s-nothing' to express the opposite of *imbirak* '3s-togetherness'.

(54)   *nit   apik   niny-adik,   yanduk   iruid-o.*
        nit   apik   nin-adik | janduk   it-uid=o \
        we   all   1p-aloneness   bridge   do-1p.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS
        'we alone, let us make a bridge!' or 'let us all make a bridge by ourselves!' or 'let us all make a bridge with no help!'

In comparison, while *adik* '3s-aloneness' simply expresses the opposite sense of *imbirak* '3s-togetherness', *ambek* '3s-without' may be used to refer to one's right to do something.

(55)   a.   *At   anggwom   **ambek**   wakirak-o.*
              At   a-wom   ø-ampek   wat-k-it-ak=o \
              He   3s-pig   3s-without 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS
              'he himself killed his pig' (because of ownership right/privilege)

        b.   *At   anggwom   **Adik**   wakirak-o.*
              At   a-wom   ø-adik | wat-k-it-ak=o \
              He   3s-pig   3p-aloneness 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS
              'he killed his pig alone (without anyone else involved)'

Culturally, this term is used in occasions like a wedding ceremony whereby the bridegroom must hand over all the required items of the bridal price to the father (represented by the mother's brother) of his bride:

(56)   *at   **ambek**   wanbanuk   wokirak-o.*
        at   ø-ampek   wan-ban-uk   wot-k-it-ak=o\
        he   3s-without   gather-put down-next 3s.OBJ:give-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS
        'having presented, he himself gave then...' or 'he himself, having presented, he gave then...'

                                    [see also Text 35: 2.49-50; Burung 2013a: 241, 250-1]

6   CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have discussed nominal properties found in Wano by focusing on its alienable and inalienable nouns. In §1, I set out several ways of looking at how alienable nouns and inalienable nouns are different. The conclusion was, firstly, that regarding their generalisation, alienable nouns are not found as abstract nouns, while inalienable nouns are not found as proper nouns (§2.1); secondly, that alienable nouns are both C-initial and V-initial, whilst inalienable nouns are limited to V-initial words (§2.2); thirdly, that alienable nouns have no pluralisation, whereas inalienable nouns are pluralised by suffixation (§2.3); fourthly, that with respect to their possessive structure, alienable nouns are prefixal vowel insertion, while inalienable nouns are vocalic bound prefixes (§2.4); and fifthly, that while both nouns may be the head of a noun phrase, only inalienable nouns may play a role as the head of a clause.

A detailed discussion on inalienable nouns was provided in §4. Four types of inalienable nouns were discussed: cultural items (§4.1), kin terms (§4.2), body parts (§4.3) and experiential events (§4.4). Sex distinction that is based on the possessor regarding terms for 'child' was explored, i.e. *abut* 'his child' is the term used only for male possessors, and *ayak* 'her child' is used only for female possessors. Hence, morphological paradigms with their semantic

interpretations were provided to better understand Wano social interaction through its grammar. In §4.4, I briefly introduced the notion of experiential events, for which inalienable nouns may function as the head of a clause – see the example in (47). Some words are morphologically structured as inalienable nouns. They denote beneficiary and comitative-abessive expressions and were discussed in §5.

NOTES

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[i] Papua was known as Nederlands Nieuw Guinea before 1963, then Irian Barat after 1963 and Irian Jaya soon after the year till now.

[ii] Symbols and abbreviations follow the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2003) list. Those are not found in the list are taken from Burung (2017), which are: AN 'abstract nouns', CM 'common nouns', CN 'countable nouns', CON 'concrete nouns', DSEQ 'delayed sequential', *ft.* 'free translation in English', GREF 'general reference', ISEQ 'immediate sequential', *lit.* 'literal translation', MN 'mass nouns', N/A 'not applicable', ODS 'of different sex', OF 'of female', OM 'of male', OSS 'of same sex', PAUS 'pausal', PN 'proper nouns', PROG 'progressive', Q 'question', s/p 'singular/plural for personal pronouns', SG/PL 'nominal singular/plural', SREF 'specific reference', * 'semantic-pragmatically unacceptable', ø 'zero morpheme', - 'morpheme break', _ 'compounding break', = 'clitic break', {...} 'morphological structure or morphological representation', \...\ 'morphophonological meaning', <...> 'semantic interpretation', "..." 'semantic reading', '...' 'free translation in English', and [...] 'semantic-pragmatic explanation/restriction and or term usage'.