
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in months</th>
<th>Imperative verb forms</th>
<th>Personal pronouns</th>
<th>Verbal person marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.5 (Ismael)</td>
<td>No clear cases of spontaneous use recorded, or of child following a command addressed to him with an imperative verb form, although many were addressed to him</td>
<td>No clear cases of use by the child, only occasionally used in speech addressed to him</td>
<td>None used by the child; only occasionally used in speech addressed to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.5 (Laplin)</td>
<td>No clear cases of spontaneous use recorded, but able to use imperative forms productively when prompted, and to follow commands issued to him with them</td>
<td>No clear cases of use by the child, only occasionally used in speech addressed to him</td>
<td>None used by the child; only occasionally used in speech addressed to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 (Molina)</td>
<td>Used regularly by the child and in speech addressed to her</td>
<td>Both first and second person singular pronouns used regularly by the child and in speech addressed to her; no case of pronoun ‘reversals’ recorded (‘I’ for ‘you’, etc.)</td>
<td>Full range of person-number categories regularly used in speech to the child; many used by her, some in simplified forms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Ku Waru Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>olto</td>
<td>olyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>elti</td>
<td>eni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Ku Waru verb paradigms

### Final Forms of the Verbs pu- ‘go’ and nyi- ‘say’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative / Hortative</th>
<th>Present Progressive</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Remote Past</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>pukur</td>
<td>pud</td>
<td>purud</td>
<td>pulyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyikir</td>
<td>nyid</td>
<td>nyirid</td>
<td>nyilyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>pukun</td>
<td>pun</td>
<td>purun</td>
<td>pulto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>pukum</td>
<td>pum</td>
<td>purum</td>
<td>pulym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyikim</td>
<td>nyim</td>
<td>nyirim</td>
<td>nyilm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td>pābul</td>
<td>pābul</td>
<td>purābul</td>
<td>pulybula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyābul</td>
<td>nyībul</td>
<td>nyīrībul</td>
<td>nyīlybula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3du</td>
<td>pāyi</td>
<td>pungl</td>
<td>purīngl</td>
<td>pulybeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyayi</td>
<td>nyīngl</td>
<td>nyīrīngl</td>
<td>nyīlbeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>pāmul</td>
<td>pāmul</td>
<td>purāmul</td>
<td>pulymul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyāmul</td>
<td>nyīmul</td>
<td>nyīrīmul</td>
<td>nyīlμl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3pl</td>
<td>pāi</td>
<td>pung</td>
<td>purīng</td>
<td>pulymel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyai</td>
<td>nyīng</td>
<td>nyīrīng</td>
<td>nyīlμl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chameleon Forms of the Verb pu- ‘go’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future / Imminent</th>
<th>Subjunctive / Switch Reference 1</th>
<th>Optative / Switch Reference 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>pubu</td>
<td>pulka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>puni</td>
<td>pulkuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>puba</td>
<td>pulka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td>pubulu</td>
<td>pulkubula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3du</td>
<td>pungli</td>
<td>pulkubela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>pumulu</td>
<td>pulkumula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3pl</td>
<td>pungi</td>
<td>pulkumela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jussive: pui (e.g., na-d pui nyim)
I-DAT go:JUS say:Prf:3sg
He/she told me to go. (Can also be used as a relatively polite directive, e.g. pui ‘Please go’, pui-o ‘You be off now.’).
4. Instances of Ku Waru Person/number categories in three 45-minute longitudinal samples of Enita Don’s speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative/</th>
<th>Present progressive</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Remote past</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25mo: 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>20mo: 18</td>
<td>23.5mo: 1</td>
<td>23.5mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 14</td>
<td>25mo: 2</td>
<td>25mo: 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25mo: 48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>20mo: 1</td>
<td>23.5mo: 2</td>
<td>25mo: 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>25mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.5mo: 34</td>
<td>25mo: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Instances of Ku Waru Person/number categories in three 45-minute longitudinal samples of Jesi Pawa Ongka’s speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative/</th>
<th>Present progressive</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Remote past</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21mo: 1</td>
<td>21mo: 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 6</td>
<td>24mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 3</td>
<td>22.5mo: 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24mo:</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 4</td>
<td>24mo: 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>21mo: 8</td>
<td>24mo: 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21mo: 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 10</td>
<td>24mo: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>21mo: 2</td>
<td>21mo: 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21mo: 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>21mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 2</td>
<td>22.5mo: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 1</td>
<td>24mo: 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>21mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24mo: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**Enita Don at 20 months:**

Glossed by language assistant as:

(6)  kanu

kana
look-IMP
Look!

(7)  al al u pa

kang nu pa
boy you go:IMP
Go!
Enita Don at 23.5 months:

(8) koi na se
    koya na sa
    knife me give:IMP
    Give me the knife.

(9) pupiyl
    pu-piyil
    Go-OPT:3sg
    Let him go. (In response to 'What about Pai?')

(10) ko tumi
    kuru tum-i
    spirit hit:PRF:3sg-INT
    Are you sick?

(11) das no mom
    gras no-ba mol-ur-um
    Grass eat-NF-3sg stay/be-RP-3sg
    It [the cow] was eating grass.

(12) tin
    sin
    give-PRF:3sg
    Give me (some of the Coke.)

Enita Don at 25 months:

(13) nu to
    nu to
    you hit:IMP
    You hit [her]. (In response to na tab e 'Shall I hit her?)

(14) papa tauwu paim tie um
    papa tauwu baim te-ba pu-m
    Dad banana buy do-FUT-3sg go-PRF:3sg
    Daddy went to buy bananas.

(15) na pu to
    na apu to
    me carry on shoulder hit/do-IMP
    Carry me on your shoulders!

(16) e pabiyl
    pabiyl
    go:OPT:2du
    Let's (us two) go.

(17) lyi non i
    lyi-k no-ku-n-i
    get-NF2/3 eat-PPr-2sg-INT
    Are you getting and eating it?

(18) tambe
    to mudab-e
    hit/do throw:OPT:1sg-INT
    Can I throw it [the piece of chalk]?

Jesi Pawa Onga at 21 months:

(19) pi to
    bi to
    name/write hit/do:IMP
    Write!
na na pi tap
I want to write.

nam noba
na no-ba
me eat-FUT-3sg
It [the devil spirit] will bite me.

nana mapol
na-nga mapol
I-GEN marble
(It's) my marble.

nu na tie, kibuk to
nu naa te, kibilu-n to-bu
you not do:IMP stick-INST hit-FUT-sg
Don't you do that [shit in the house] [or] I'll hit you with a stick.

Jesi Pawa Onga at 22.5 months:

wa nu un u
wa nu un
come:IMP you come:PRF:2sg
Come, come already! (Or, in Tok Pisin: Kam, yu kam pinis ya!)

nu kati o
nu-nga keresin
you-GEN Kerosine
Your Kerosine

oma na ta
oma na sa
fish me give:IMP
Give me the fish tin.

nu nu ma
nu na-nga ma
you I-GEN mom
You're my mommy.

ma olto pin ta
ma olto pibul
Mom we two sleep:PRF:1pl
Mommy and I slept together.

reta nudal
rais nud
rice eat:PRF:1sg
I ate rice

Jesi Pawa Onga at 25 months:

uwa tepi tepi kala
wa tepi-na kala
come:IMP fire-on cook:IMP
Come and cook it on the fire.
(31) ateta tena bum
Aleks tena pu-m
Alex where go-PRF:3sg.
Where did Alex go?

(32) pi ko nun
pi komka-n num
So rat-ERG eat PRF:3sg
So the rat ate it.

(33) tepi nup ke
tepi nupiyl ko
fire eat/burn:OPT:3sg alright
Alright, let the fire burn (you).

(34) ila ila tipil
ilya-nga lipiyl
this-Gen stay/be:OPT:3sg
Let it (the tape recorder) stay here.

(35) nu nuni?
nu no-ni
you eat/drink-FUT:2sg
Do you want to drink?

*a as Baby Talk 'Speaker positional marker': 'here, (to) me'*

**Jesi Pawa at 21 months:**

(36) aya a u
aya ya wa
Sister here come:IMP
Sister come to me, come here. (Said by Jesi 3 times during this session)

(37) ma a e
aya ya wa?
Mother here come:IMP? (Preceded by his father saying *ui-o nye*
'Tell her to come')

(38) a naa tui
na naa tui
I not hit:JUS
Don’t hit me.

**Enita Don at 23.6 months**

(38) no a e
no na sa?
water I/me give:IMP
Give me water.

Adult gloss here treats *a* as if it were *na* 'I/me' but as in this and other examples this strict identification with 1sg pronoun may not be warranted at this stage.

**Enita Don at 25 months**

(39) e papa a i
papa-n sim
Dad-ERG give-PRF:3sg
Dad gave it to me.
Contrasts with:

(40) na pu to
na apu to
I/me carry on shoulder hit/do:IMP
Carry me on your shoulders.

Note *na* is clearly present here as a direct object in initial position, while in (39) *a* seems to be present as generalized speaker-positional in a semantically different context, that of the recipient; see also (41), which seems also to indicate that at this age *na* is becoming distinct as 1sg marker in certain contexts, both as subject and object marker.

(41) na wa tunu na waku tun
I/me leave hit/do:PRF:2Sg
Leave me alone.

**Example of *a* being used in first-person benefactive sense (by Enita Don at 25 months)**

(42) po tom a a
puku tonsikim
puka to-nsi-k-m
break hit/do-BEN-PPr-3sg
She's breaking it (the sweet potato) for me.

Example of adult use of *a* as generalized `to me' speaker-positional marker, used to reflect perspective of child (used by John Ongka to Jesi Pawa when he is 21 months old):

(43) ma a ne ma ui nya
Mother come-JUS say:IMP
Tell Mother to come.

That *a* is followed by *u* (possibly adult *wa* `come', as in (1) and (4) above) suggests that in early child forms *a* cannot be taken as equivalent to a verb `come' but signals a position `here, to me', and thus also cannot be simply equated with *na* `I' or with a verb. It tends not to be initial. Subsequently *na* in subject and (direct) object function appears in first position, and seems to become differentiated from earlier, typically non-initial speaker-positional *a*.

*A* contrasts with *i* `this, here', or used presentationally, as in the following examples.

**Jesi Pawa at 21 months**

(44) i pu
ilyi-nga pu-m
This-GEN go-PRF:3sg
He went this way.

(45) i ya kipil
ilyi-nga lipiyl
This-GEN stay:OPT:3sg
Let it stay there.

(46) i ku yai
ilyi kur yai
This spirit scarry
This is a devil spirit
Enita Don at 23.5 months:

(47) i de nya i lyi kana
     this look-IMP
     Look at this!

Conversation between Laplin Taka (15.5 months old) and his father Taka

1. Taka: mawa wi to
     (boy’s name) call out do-IMP
     Call out to Mawa.

2. Laplin: [shouts] mawai!
     Hey Mawa!

3. Taka: kar-na pabiyl wa! kar!
     car-LOC go-OPT-1du come-IMP car
     Come, let’s you and me go in the car! The car!

4. Laplin: wa come-IMP
     Come!

Abbreviations

BEN beneactive
ERG ergative
FUT future
GEN genitive
IMP imperative
INST instrumental
INT interrogative
LOC locative
NF non-Final
OPT optative
PPr present
Prf perfective
RP remote past
2/3 2nd or 3rd person

References


