Aspects of the grammar of self-alienation in Ku Waru (Mbo-Ung), Highland PNG

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Some relevant grammatical phenomena:

**Reported speech and thought**

General Formula for framing Reported Speech in Ku Waru

\[(\text{Speaker NP(-ERG)}) \ [\text{framed locution}] \ (i, 'that') \ [\text{Verb of Saying based on nyi-}]\]

Examples (with framed material shown in italics):

1. \(\text{ne yi-ki-l-n ab eninga-yl kanakelku-k nyi-ki-mil}\)
   \(\text{there man-PL-ERG woman yours-DEF do.completely-NF:2/3PL say/speak-PPR-3PL}\)
   Those men are insisting “She’s yours”.

2. \(\text{nu-n kalya tripela te-p-kin mi-ri-bul i nyi-ki-n}\)
   \(\text{you-ERG that three do-NF:1-COM bear-RP-1DU that say/speak-PPR-2SG}\)
   You say “We did it three times and conceived a child”.

3. \(\text{ab-ayl-n kangabola nu-nga nyi-ki-m}\)
   \(\text{woman-DEF-ERG child you-GEN say/speak-PPR-3SG}\)
   The woman says: “The child is yours”.

Indirect discourse is rare in Ku Waru, but does occur. An example is:

4. \(\text{ab-ayl nunu-nga rong-te mol nyi-ki-m-ayl}\)
   \(\text{woman-DEF she.herself-GEN wrong-IDF no say/speak-PPR-3SG-DEF}\)
   The woman says it was not her own fault

The reported speech construction can also be used for reported thought. An example is 5, which glosses literally as ‘The man was saying ‘I’ll hit the women’ (cf. Reesink 1993). To make it explicit that the framed material is thought rather than speech, the ‘say’ verb \(\text{nyi-}\) is used in non-final form, followed by the verb \(\text{pilyi-} ‘\text{hear, feel, sense}.’\) Examples from Social-Cognition-and-Language picture-task recordings occur in the discussion of pictures 3 and 10:

5. \(\text{ep i kolu-bu-lum nyi-ba pilyi-ri-m}\)
   \(\text{now-DEF that:PRES die-FUT:1SG-COND say-NF-3SG hear/feel-RP-3SG}\)
   ‘Now am I going to die like this’ he thought to himself. [regarding picture 3]

6. \(\text{na i tep pekir-ilyi ep nabina ui-nga kan}\)
   \(\text{I that:PRES do-RP-1SG lie/be-this now why before that:KNWN}\)
   \(\text{nabi-si-p molu-ru-d-ja i nyi-ba pilyi-ri-m}\)
   \(\text{what-do:NF:1 stay/be-RP-1SG-DUB this say-NF-3SG feel-RP-3SG (107)}\)
   ‘Why am I here [in jail]? Why did I act like that?’ he thought to himself. [picture 10]

Another way of explicitly framing reported thought as such is with noun \(\text{numan} ‘\text{mind}’\) followed by the
verb *pilyi*—‘hear’, i.e. ‘hear in one’s mind’. Examples may be found in 17b, 17c, 18e and 19c.

**Demonstrative-cum-anaphoric pronouns**

*i-/ilyi*  ‘This/those one right here’, referent treated as immediately present to and identifiable by both speaker and addressee, e.g.

(7) *ilyi*  ep  ka  lku-na  lku  suku  mul-ur-um  
that:PRES  now  rope/chain  house-LOC  house  inside  stay/be-RP-3SG  
That one [picture 3] is him in the lockup.

(8) *ilyi*  ab-ayl  *ilyi*  yi-yl  
that:PRES  woman-DEF  that:PRES  man-DEF  
That’s the woman and that’s the man. [said by Wapi to Kuin while looking a picture 8]

Other examples occur in 9, 12a, 18e, and 19c.

*kan(i)-*  ‘That one that we know about’: referent treated as identifiable via shared knowledge between speaker and addressee, but not immediately present. For example when Wapi and Kuin were looking a picture 1, ‘Homecoming’, and pointing to the old man sitting on the veranda the following exchange took place between them:

(9)  
W: *ilyi*  yi  *kan*-iyl  
that:PRES  man  that:KNWN-DEF  
That’s that man. (glossed by my transcription assistant as ‘the man that we know’)

K: *ilyi*  ola  o-ba  mol-ur-um-iyl  
that:PRES  up  come-NF  stay/be-RP-3SG-DEF  
That one that came and stood up [in picture 12, as previously discussed between them]

W: ada  le-pa  
old  be.put-NF:3SG  
getting old

K: ada  
old

W: lku  suku  molu-ru-m  
house  inside  stay/be-RP-3SG  
stayed inside the house

Likewise, when looking at picture 1, and pointing to the man coming home, Wapi said:

(10)  
lawa  ti-ri-m  *kani*-na  o-ku-m  
wrong  do-RP-3SG  that:KNWN-LOC  come-PPR-3SG  
He did that wrong thing in that [earlier time/series of pictures] and is coming.
ad(i)- ‘That one that we don’t really know about’: referent treated as neither present nor fully accessible
For example, when looking at picture 15 (‘About to Hit’) Wapi said:

(11) i tal yab adi te-l mol-kul-kin kangabola mi-ri-ngl
this two people that:OBSC do-NF:3DU stay/be-NF:3DU-COM child bear-RP-3DU
These two people doing whatever they did back then [at an earlier time the Wapi takes to be
depicted by the speech bubbles] had a child.

An example from another context, in which adi contrasts with ilyi in successive lines:

(12) a. ya ku kina ilyi-nga molu-d
here stone kina that:PRES-GEN be/stay-PRF:1SG
I stayed here for that payment.

b. yi on-ayl naa kanu-d wi adi anginsi-ng-lum
man corpse-DEF not see-PRF:1SG up that:OBSC bury-2/3pl:PRF-CND
I didn't see the body that’s apparently been buried up there.

Instances of adi being used with referent-access computed from complex perspectives:

(13) na yi-yl-kn ada-p ti-ri-d adi-yl kan-iy-nga ka si-ki-m-lum
I man-DEF-COM wander-NF:1 do-RP-1SG that:OBSC-DEF that-DEF-GEN chain give-PPR-3SG-COND
I went around unseen with a man; for that they might jail me.

(14) adi kang yi nyi-ki-r kan-yl
that:OBSC boy man speak-PPR-1SG that:KNWN-DEF
taka-taka nyi-ba pidi-pidi si-pa o-ly-m
quietly sound-NF:3SG rustle give-FF:3SG come-HAB-3SG
That boy whose story I'm telling, quietly rustling, was coming towards her.

Another example from the picture task occurs when Wapi is looking at picture 16 ‘Thinking of home’ in the
‘Initial descriptions’ phase of the task, and attributes the following thought to the man in jail:

(15) ui-nga adi nabi-si-p molu-ru-d-ja i nyi-ba pilyi-ri-m
before-GEN that:OBSC what-do:NF:1 stay/be-RP-1SG-DUB that say-NF:3SG hear-RP-3SG
Why did I act like that?” he thought to himself.

Ex. (15) contrasts interestingly with (6), which was said by Wapi about the same picture (picture 16) in a
third-person narrative account. The last seven words of (6) are identical to (15) except with kan in place of
adi. The effect is to attribute a greater degree of psychological distance between the man’s present
contemplation and his past actions in the initial description than in the connected narrative.

In a first person narrative by John Onga (Wapi’s husband) in which he takes the part of the wife-beater,
John consistently takes the ‘maximal distance’ stance in this connection, using adi four times when
referring to the wife-beating episode from the perspective of picture 16. But interestingly, he also uses it
when referring to his earlier feelings towards Wapi from the viewpoint of picture 4. ‘Drunken Gossip’:

(16) no-b-kin na-nga kunupayl-n wapi-kin fren nyi-ri-bul adi-yl
drink-NF:1-COM 1SG-GEN mind-ERG wapi-COM friend say-RP-1DU that:OBSC-DEF
we pe-ly-m nyi-b pilyi-p molu-ru-d
nothing lie/be-HAB-3SG say-NF:1 hear-NF:1 stay/be-RP-1SG
When I drank, in my mind I kept thinking ‘All of that calling-each-other-friends that Wapi and I
used to do really amounts to nothing at all’.
Examples (17) - (20) show how Ku Waru speakers manage the transition from the narrative frame of the ‘reporting’ event to that of ‘reported thought’ event and how ad(i) figures in this. They also further exemplify the role of ad(i) in the representation of self-alienation.

In reference to picture 16 (‘Thinking of Home’):

(17) a. eltili langi nu-ri-ngl nabolka ul ti-ri-ngl
the.two food eat-RP-2/3DU whatever thing do-RP-2/3DU
Whenever the two of them ate or whatever they were doing

b. ab-ayl numan aki-yl ko pilyi-ri-m
woman-DEF mind that:ANPH-DEF only hear-RP-3SG
The woman thought only of that.

c. yi-yl numan aki-yl ko pilyi-ri-m
man-DEF mind that:ANPH-DEF only hear-RP-3SG
The man thought only of that.

d. olto ui kapola molu-ru-bul-adi
we.two before alright be/stay-RP-1DU-that:OBSC
‘The two of us got along fine before.’

e. ekepu-nga o-ba ep sukusingi-ly-nga o-ba
now-GEN come-NF:3SG now inside-DEF-GEN come-NF:3SG
   te-pa te-ki-m meli nar-ja nyi-ri-m
   do-NF:3SG do-PPR-3SG thing what-INT say(think)-RP-3SG
‘But what is this thing that’s happening to us two now?’ he thought.

f. aki-yl faip-ayl
that:ANPH-DEF five-DEF
That’s [picture number] five [in the order that the speaker had arranged the cards into].

(18) a. polis-n wi-lyi kolya-na lyi-k me-k pu-ri-ng akin
car Police-ERG up there-DEF place-LOC get-NF:2/3PL carry-3pl g go-RP-3PL when
When the police had arrested him and taken him up there [to prison]

b. yab-ayl-n numan-na wis na-nga laip kai ti
person-DEF-ERG mind-LOC (exclamation) 1SG-GEN life good one
   molu-ru-d-adidi-yl
   be/stay-RP-1SG-that:OBSC-DEF
The guy [exclaimed] ‘Damn it! I had a good life back then!’

c. na nabina na-nga ab adi kibulu-n to-p ul-ma te-lka
I why 1SG-GEN woman that:OBSC stick-INST hit-NF:1 thing-COL do-SR1:1/3SG
‘Why did I beat my wife back there and do all those things’

d. na me-k o-k ka si-ng me-k o-k
me carry-NF:3PL come-NF:3PL rope/chain give-PRF:3PL carry-NF:3PL come-NF:3PL
mo-ly-meli i nyi-ba pilyi-pa
be/stay-HAB-3PL that say-NF:3SG hear-NF:3SG
‘so that they have brought me here and have put me in prison?’ Thinking of that,
e. ilyi no bia langi nurum ul numan pilyi-ri-m  
this one liquid beer food consume thing mind hear-RP-3SG  
in this [picture] he was thinking about when he drank all that beer and ate food.

(19) a. aki-yl sel-na pe-pa-kin numan kab te-pa molu-pa (x2)  
that:ANPH-DEF cell-LOC be/lie-NF:3SG-COM mind count do-NF:3SG be/stay-NF:3SG  
This one [picture 16], staying in his cell, counting in his mind, over and over again.

b. ama na nabina na-nga ab adi-yl kibulu-n tu-d  
Mama! I why I-GEN woman that:OBSC-DEF stick-INST hit-PRF:1SG  
‘Mama! [a stock exclamation, like ‘For Christ’s sake’!] Why did I beat my wife back there!

c. ilyi sel-na numan pilyi-ri-m  
that cell-LOC mind hear-RP-3SG  
That’s what he was thinking in his cell.

In reference to picture 5:

(20) a. ab-ayl-n nu i te-k tu-n-adi-yl  
woman-DEF-ERG you that do-NF:2 hit-PRF:2SG-that:OBSC-DEF  
The woman ‘Oh you really did like that, you really hit me back there.

b. ep nu ilyi-nga mo-lyn nyi-ba pilyi-ri-m  
now you this-GEN be/stay-HAB-2SG say hear-RP-3SG  
Now you are staying here’ she thought.
References

Merlan, F., Rumsey, A., 1991. Ku Waru: Language and Segmentary Politics in the Western Nebilyer Valley,

Abbreviations

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