THE NOUN-MODIFYING CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION IN WIRU

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Wiru

- Papuan Language – likely a Trans-New Guinea language
- Majority of work on the language by missionary Harland Kerr in the 1960s
- This paper resulted from an undergraduate field methods class
- Two language consultants: Susan Yakip and Thompson Mange

Pawley & Hammarström 2017
Outline

• Introduction to GNMCCs

• Wiru GNMCCs
  • Subordinate clause
  • Head noun
  • Agreement
  • Tone

• Typological comparisons
GENERALIZED NOUN-MODIFYING CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS
What is a Noun-Modifying Clause Construction?

Pombo, [who __ i went to the river],...

Noun Modifying Clause Construction
Parameters of a GNMCC

• A GNMCC is “a single construction that covers all or a significant part of the NMCCs of a language. In particular, a GNMCC must cover a range of argument and/or adjunct NMCCs, and must go beyond that range to include at least some extended NMCCs.” (Matsumoto, 2017, p. 6)
The General Noun-Modifying Clause Construction - GNMCC

The man who went to the river...

The fact that she went to the river...

The story where she talks about going to the river...
Japanese GNMCC

[[hon-o katta] gakusei] wa doko desu ka.
book-ACC bought student TOP where is QUES.PART
‘Where is the student who bought a book?’
(Matsumoto, 1988, p. 166)

[[te-o araw-anaku temo ii] oyatu]
hand-ACC wash-not O.K. snack
‘the snack (in order to eat) which you do not have to wash your hands’
(p. 169)
General Noun-Modifying Clause Construction Background

- First proposed for Japanese by Matsumoto (1988, 1997)
- Subsequently proposed for several languages of Asia by Comrie (1998) including
  - Mandarin
  - Korean
  - Khmer
  - Turkic language Karachay-Balkar
- Recent publication explores *Noun-Modifying Clause Constructions in Languages of Eurasia* (Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells (Eds.), 2017)
- Not until now been thoroughly investigated in a Papuan language
THE WIRU GNMCC

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons
Argument NMCC in Wiru

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Anume mairakoma pade=ya meri-k-u-na.
1SG.AGT children some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL
‘I gave the children something.’

1SG.AGT some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL children thought sit-TR-PRS-1SG
‘I like the children to whom I gave something.’

Anume pade=ya meri-k-u-na.
1SG.AGT some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL
‘I gave someone something.’
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No tono wane ka-k-u.
1SG mountain on stand-PRS-1SG
‘I am on the mountain.’

[[No ka-k-u] tono] tubea.
1SG stand-PRS-1SG mountain big
‘The mountain I am on top of is big.’
Extended NMCCs

[[Kenbra  namolo  no-k-o]  ko]
Canberra  first  come-PRS-1SG  story
‘The story about the first time we came to Canberra’ (Children_7)

[[Toro pea skuul  ke  po-a-rok-o]  oi]  no-ka-l-e
1PL  all  school  LOC  go-LNK-OPT-2/3SG  time  come-PST-DS-2/3SG
‘The time for all of us to go to school has arrived’ (Children_40)

[[Ue  na-k-i]  mere  yarene]  paru
water  consume-PRS-2/3PL  container  group  maybe
‘Drink cans and stuff’ (Holidays_51)
PROPERTIES OF THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons
Subordinate clause properties

- Subordinate clauses are structurally quite similar to matrix clauses. They allow:
  - Transitive or intransitive
  - Clause chaining
  - Verb serialization
  - Nonverbal predicates
  - GNMCCs within GNMCCs

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[[[No mari] pere ulu to-ko-u] ta]
1SG small time game do-PST-1SG place

‘the place where I played when I was small’ (Elicited)
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Difference from matrix clause

- But there are some differences
  - Future tense marked by optative
  - Habitual suffix disallowed
  - Preference for anterior aspect
Future tense

pick-LNK  stand-LNK-OPT-1SG  tree  LOC  hang-must  
‘You must hang it on the tree where I will pick (fruit).’

pick-LNK  stand-FUT-1SG  tree  LOC  hang-must  
‘*You must hang it on the tree where I will pick (fruit).’

I  mari  dedea  pere,  namolo  ta-koa  po-a-rok-o.  
PROX  son  small  time  first  do-TR  go-LNK-OPT-2/3SG  
‘This shows the child is still small so it should go first.’
Aspect

• Simple past

[[Anume waw-ane no-ko-u] ta] e pi-k-o.
1SG.AGT leave-1SG.SS come-PST-1SG place DEM lie-PRS-2/3SG
‘The village that I walked away from is over there.’ (Elicited)
Aspect

- Simple past

```
[Pade ta ke e-ni wirakome ene-ka] pere,
some place LOC DEM-DEF arrive-3SG.SS see-2/3SG.PST time

dauwa yarene odene i ta ke mea-de-ko-i.
fly fox group only PROX place LOC sit-EVID-PST-2/3PL
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‘(When) she came to some place and she looked she saw that the place was only occupied by flying foxes.’

(Fox_59)
Aspect

• Simple past

• Anterior perfect suffix -na

[Onée-na, namolo ue noa yawa ka-k-i-na]
3SG DEM-ANAPH first water eat walk stand-PRS-2/3PL-ANT

yarene, ue noa ka-ke-re ...
group water eat stand-SS-PL.SS

‘That group of people that he had drunk around with before was drinking and …’ (Susan_100-101)
When it was time to come out, the policeman (lit. ‘bow man’) gave him back his shoes, clothes, and the stuff he had taken off and given (them). ‘ (Susan_74-76)
PROPERTIES OF THE HEAD NOUN

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons
Head noun properties

- The head noun can recapitulate an overt nominal in the subordinate clause

\[
[\text{Anume mairakoma pade=ya meri-k-u-na mairakoma}] \\
1SG.AGT children some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL children
\]

wene me-ka-k-u.
thought sit-TR-PRS-1SG
‘I like the children to whom I gave something.’
No gap!

Anume mairakoma pade=ya meri-k-u-na.
1SG.AGT children some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL
'I gave the children something.'

1SG.AGT some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL children thought sit-TR-PRS-1SG
'I like the children to whom I gave something.'

Anume pade=ya meri-k-u-na.
1SG.AGT some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL
'I gave someone something.'
Headless GNMCCs

• Because the overt nominal can be in the subordinate clause,
• And because optative and anterior verb forms are associated with subordinate clauses,
• The head noun can sometimes be omitted

[Anume ko o-a-rik-u] wone me-ka-k-u.
1SG.AGT story say-LNK-OPT-SG thought sit-TR-PRS-1SG
‘I like the story that I will be telling.’
Headless GNMCCs

[[Anume \textit{tu-k-u-na}] \hspace{1cm} \emptyset] \hspace{1cm} \textit{to-k-o.}
\textbullet \hspace{0.2cm} 1\text{SG.AGT} \textit{do-PRT-1SG-CPL}
\textbullet \hspace{0.2cm} \text{‘He is doing what I did.’}

*[[Anume \textit{tu-ko-u}] \hspace{1cm} \emptyset] \hspace{1cm} \textit{to-k-o.}
\textbullet \hspace{0.2cm} 1\text{SG.AGT} \textit{do-PST-1SG}
\textbullet \hspace{0.2cm} *\text{‘He is doing what I did.’}
Headless GNMCCs

*[[Anume tu-k-u] Ø] to-k-o.
1SG.AGT do-PRS-1SG do-PRS-2/3SG
*‘He is doing what I am doing.’

[[Anume meri-k-u] Ø] me-o.
1SG.AGT give-PRS-1SG give-2/3SG.FUT
‘He will give what I am giving.’
Coreferential nouns

- GNMCCs can have first or second person reference
  - In these cases, the subordinate clause contains a pronoun and the head noun is a common noun
  - Agreement is with the referent of the construction, not its structural head

[[No skuu] wene meka mu-k-u] aroa
1SG school thought wear NEG-PRS-1SG woman
‘I (female), who don’t like school’

[[Ne anu mari wiri-ka-na] ipono, agale oa me-a.
2SG 1SG.POSS son hit-2/3SG.PST-ANT spirit speech say NEG-2SG.IMP
‘You, the spirit who attacked my son, don’t speak!’ (Elicited)
Agreement

1SG school thought wear NEG-PRS-1SG woman school LOC go-PRS-1SG
‘I (female), who don’t like school, am going to school.’

1SG school thought wear NEG-PRS-1SG woman school LOC go-PRS-2/3SG
*I (female), who don’t like school, am going to school.’
TONAL PROPERTIES

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons
Tone

One tono piri moro-ka.
3SG mountain fear get-2/3SG.PST
‘He’s afraid of the mountain.’ (Elicited)

[Piri moro-ka] tono ku ka-k-o
fear get-2/3SG.PST mountain DIST stand-PRS-2/3SG
‘The mountain he’s afraid of is there.’ (Elicited)
Intonation

One ta piri moro-ka.
3SG rain fear get-2/3SG.PST
‘He’s afraid of the rain.’ (Elicited)

[Piri moro-k-o] ta ku no-k-o.
fear get-PRS-2/3SG rain DIST come-PRS-2/3SG
‘The rain he’s afraid of is falling there.’ (Elicited)
TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISONS

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons
Typological comparisons

• Some of these features are shared by other TNG languages

• Coreferential nouns inside and outside the modifying clause
  • Allowed in:
    • Kombai TNG, Greater Awyu  (de Vries 1993)
    • Usan TNG, Madang  (Reesink 1983, 1987)
  • Disallowed in:
    • Kewapi TNG, Engan  (Yarapea 2005)
    • Oksapmin TNG, Ok-Oksapmin  (Loughnane 2009)
    • Mian TNG, Ok-Oksapmin  (Fedden 2011)
    • Mauwake TNG, Madang  (Berghäll 2015)
Typological comparisons

- Headless relative clauses
  - Allowed in:
    - Kombai: TNG, Greater Awyu (de Vries 1993)
    - Korowai: TNG, Greater Awyu (van Enk & de Vries 1997)
    - Oksapmin: TNG, Ok-Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009)
    - Mian: TNG, Ok-Oksapmin (Fedden 2011)
    - Nggem: TNG, Dani (Etherington 2002)
  - Disallowed in:
    - None?
Typological comparisons

- We’re unsure about:
  - Semantic vs structural agreement
  - Tonal properties
  - Prevalence of GNMCCs versus relative clauses
Typological comparisons

Resumptive pronouns

Cantonese: 

\[engo5dei6 \quad soeng6ci3 \quad tung4 \quad keoi5 \quad jat1cai4 \quad sik6 \quad faan6\]  

we \quad last.time \quad with \quad 3SG \quad together \quad eat \quad rice \quad that\ CL \quad person

‘the person we ate with last time’ (Matthews & Yip 2017:111)

• Bezhta (Comrie, Forker and Khalilova, 2017)
• Hinuq (Comrie et al., 2017)
• Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva, 2017)
Typological comparisons

Co-referential nouns

Kombai
[[Yare gamo kheraja bogi-n-o]
old.man join.ss work DUR.do.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
‘The old man, who is joining the work...’ (de Vries 1993:77)

Japanese
[[watakusi-ga sono ito-no nameae-o wasurete-simatta] okyaku-san]
I-NOM that person-GEN name-ACC forget-TE-close-PST guest
‘half of the amount (of money) that Taro earns’ (Inada 2009:94)
Typological comparisons

Headless

**Kombai**
[\textit{Baju rakhumade} \textit{emukhe}.
shirt buy.1SG.NF lost
‘The shirt I bought is lost.’ (de Vries 1993:78)

**Korowai**
[\textit{Wa gol ülme-tél-e}-kha-fè \textit{nokhu-gol}.
that pig kill-3PL.R-TR-CONN-TOP our-pig
‘The pig that they killed is our pig.’ (van Enk & de Vries 1997:114)
Thank you!
Ke wane oko!