Chapter 18

Reflexive constructions in Walman

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Walman has two reflexive constructions, one involving a verbal prefix that occurs in the same position as first and second person object prefixes, the other a nominal construction that combines the genitive form of a pronoun with a word *ein*, which otherwise means 'base of tree' or 'reason'. The verbal prefix is also used as a reciprocal construction and the majority of instances of the verbal prefix in texts are either reciprocal or lexicalized.

1 Introduction

In this paper, we discuss two reflexive constructions in Walman, a language in the Torricelli family spoken on the north coast of Papua New Guinea (Figure 1).

One of these constructions is a verbal strategy; it involves a verbal prefix in the same position in the verb as first and second person object prefixes. The other construction is a nominal strategy and involves the genitive form of a personal pronoun followed by the word *ein* 'base (of tree), reason'. In §2, we give a brief overview of Walman morphology. In §3, we describe the verbal reflexive construction. In §4, we discuss lexicalized instances of the verbal reflexive construction. In §5, we describe the nominal reflexive construction. And in §6, we illustrate uses of the nominal reflexive construction as a marker of focus.





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Figure 1: Location of Walman and the other Torricelli languages (unlabeled dots)

2 Brief overview of Walman morphology

Walman verb morphology involves subject prefixes, object affixes, an applicative affix, and a largely obsolete imperative construction. In (1), for example, all four verbs illustrate the 1sg subject prefix *m*-, while the verb *maltawron* 'I look for him' also illustrates the [3sg.M] object suffix -*n*, and the verb *mare* 'I ask her' (part of an idiom *esi are* 'meet, encounter') illustrates the null [3sg.F] object suffix.

(1) Kum pe m-altawro-n runon, m-orou m-esi m-are-Ø 1sG still 1sG-look.for-3sg.м 3sg.м 1sg-go 1sg-arrive 1sg-ask-3sg.r chuto.

woman

'I was still looking for him when I met a woman.'

For the majority of transitive verbs, the third person object affixes are suffixes, like -n in (1). However, for a minority of verbs, they are infixes, like the [3pl] object infix -y- in kayko 'we eat them' in (2).

(2) Kipin mon k-a<y>ko wuem alikiel. 1PL NEG 1PL-eat<3PL> fish gills 'We don't eat the gills of a fish.' The first and second person object affixes are prefixes that follow the subject prefixes, like the first person object prefix *p*- in *npaltawro* 'He looked for me/us' in (3).

(3) Runon n-arau n-p-altawro kum m-ch-a. 3sg.м 3sg.м-go.up 3sg.м-1овј-look.for 1sg 1sg-2овј-and 'He came up and looked for us.'

The first and second person object prefixes code person but not number. Example (3) also illustrates the second person object prefix *ch*- in the form *mcha* 'me and you', and furthermore demonstrates the use of a verb -*a* for 'and' in Walman, where the first conjunct is the subject of the *and*-verb and the second conjunct is the object (Brown & Dryer 2008). Table 1 lists the form of the subject and object affixes.

Subject	Prefixes	Object affixes	
1sg	m-	p-	
1 _{PL}	k-	p -	
2sg	n-	ch-	
2PL	ch-	ch-	
3sg.f	w-	-Ø	
3sg.m	n-	-n	
3sg.dim	l-	-l	
3pl	<i>y</i> -	-y	

Table 1: Subject and object affixes

Walman has an applicative construction that usually has either benefactive or external possession meaning, the former illustrated in (4), the latter in (5). In (4), for example, the verb *nayawron* bears a 3sg.m subject prefix *n*-, an applicative suffix *-ro*, and a [3sg.m] object suffix *-n* indexing the applied object.¹

(4) Runon n-ayaw-ro-n nyi. 3sg.m 3sg.m-light.fire-APPL-3sg.m fire 'He lit a fire for him.'

¹The regular form of the applicative suffix is $-re \sim -ro$, the choice between these based on vowel harmony. Some applicative forms are irregular, like the stem -narin in (6) below.

(5) Kum m-aram-re-n kayal runon 1sg 1sg-step.on-APPL-3sg.m foot 3sg.m 'I stepped on his foot.'

The applicative construction is the only way to express a benefactive in Walman. Most applicative verbs in Walman are applicatives of transitive verbs. Applicatives of intransitive verbs do not have benefactive or external possession meanings, but simply add an argument. For example, the applicative of the intransitive verb for 'speak' adds a object denoting the addressee, as in (6).

(6) Ngan **n-p-narin** komunngan kipin. father 3sg.м-1овЈ-speak.APPL story 1PL 'Father told us a story.'

Applicatives of transitive verbs sometimes inflect for two objects, as in (7), where the applied object is indexed by the first person prefix p- and the basic object by the third plural suffix -y.²

(7) Chi n-p-olk-ro-y wiey kum. 2sg 2sg-1obj-pick-APPL-3PL two 1sg 'Pick two for me!'

The only case morphology in the language is genitive case forms of pronouns, illustrated by the forms *wkum* 'my' and *wchi* 'your' in (8).

(8) Chrieu w-kum y-ch-arien nakol w-chi. marks GEN-1SG 3PL-2OBJ-be.at:APPL house GEN-2SG 'My books are in your house.'

These genitive forms are used in the nominal reflexive construction described in §4 below, even when the reflexive is not functioning as a possessor.

The nongenitive and genitive forms of the personal pronouns are shown in Table 2. Except for the [3sg.M] form *mnon*, the genitive forms are formed with a prefix *w*-.

²With applicative verbs with two objects, we refer to the object that is not the applied object, the one that corresponds to the object of the corresponding nonapplicative verb, such as *wiey* 'two' in (7), as the basic object.

	SG		PL	
	Nongenitive	Genitive	Nongenitive	Genitive
1	kum	wkum	kipin	wkipin
2	chi	wchi	chim	wchim
3.F	ru	wru	ri	wri
3.м	runon	mnon	ri	wri
3.DIM	rul	wrul	ri	wri

Table 2: Personal pronouns

3 The reflexive-reciprocal prefix

Walman has a reflexive-reciprocal prefix *r*- that occurs in the same position as the first and second person object prefixes, immediately following the subject prefix, as in (9), with the verb *-eni* ~ *-enie* 'to call someone something'.

(9) Runon n-r-eni Matthew.
3sg.m 3sg.m-refl/recp-call Matthew
'He calls himself Matthew.'

Compare (9) to (10), where instead of a reflexive-reciprocal prefix, we have a first person object prefix p-.

(10) Runon n-p-eni kum Amos. 3sg.m 3sg.m-1obj-call 1sg Amos 'He called me Amos.'

Example (11) illustrates the same verb with a 3sg.m object suffix.

(11) Kum m-enie-n runon Amos. 1sg 1sg-call-3sg.m 3sg.m Amos 'I called him Amos.'

The form of the stem in (11) is *-enie*, in contrast to the form of stem in (9) and (10), where it is just *-eni*. Many Walman verbs use a stem with object prefixes that is different from the stem used with object suffixes and infixes.

The three examples in (12) to (14) are analogous to those in (9) to (11), except that they involve an applicative verb, namely *-ayakro* 'to make something for

someone (or of someone's)', the applicative of -ayako 'make, do, happen to'. Example (12) illustrates the reflexive/reciprocal prefix r-, in this case coding the applied object. The verb also exhibits [3sg.F] agreement with the basic object nakol 'house'.

(12) Runon n-r-ayak-ro-Ø nakol.
3SG.M 3SG.M-REFL/RECP-make-APPLIC-3SG.F house
'He built a house for himself.'

The same verb is in (13), but with a first person object prefix p-. The verb also exhibits 3PL agreement with the other object lei 'arrow(s)'.

(13) Ngan n-p-ayak-ro-y lei kum. father 3sg.M-10BJ-make-APPLIC-3PL arrow 1sg 'Father made arrows for me.'

Example (14) illustrates the same verb with a 3sg.M applied object. With verbs that are applicatives of those verbs that take third person object suffixes (as opposed to infixes), the verb only inflects for the applied object, in (14) with the [3sg.M] suffix -n.

(14) Kum m-ayak-ro-n wako runon. 1SG 1SG-make-APPL-3SG.M boat 3SG.M 'I made a boat for him.'

The reflexive-reciprocal prefix can be used for the recipient of the verb for 'give', as in (15).

(15) Kum m-r-erie oputo nyukuel chomchom.

1sg 1sg-refl/recp-give yam food much

'I gave myself a lot of food.'

However, the form of the stem here is different from the normal stem of this verb and only occurs with the reflexive-reciprocal prefix. The usual stem for 'give' is $-eyie \sim -e$, as in (16).

(16) Chi n-eyie-n runon momol? 2sg 2sg-give-3sg.m 3sg.m what 'What did you give him?'

The reflexive of this verb is also used for dressing oneself, as in (17).

(17) Kamany y-r-erie chno y-akie porukul. person 3PL-REFL/RECP-give traditional.dress 3PL-dance dancing 'People put on traditional dress and dance.'

As noted above and illustrated in (6), expression of telling in Walman involves the applicative of the verb for 'speak' and the addressee can be reflexive, as in (18).

(18) Kum m-r-narin.

1SG 1SG-REFL/RECP-speak.APPL

'I talk to myself.'

When the subject is plural, sentences are ambiguous (or vague) out of context between a reflexive reading and a reciprocal reading. However, in practice, the intended reading of such sentences is more often reciprocal, presumably because reciprocal readings are usually more natural than reflexive readings. In (19), for example, the form *yroko* is the reflexive-reciprocal form of the verb -*oko* 'take', here meaning 'marry', and the intended reading is reciprocal, a reflexive reading not making sense here.

(19) Nyakom w-ri ke y-r-oko, nyakom y-awaro-y. child.pl gen-3pl also 3pl-refl/recp-take child.pl 3pl-be.parent.of-3pl 'Their children also married each other and had children.'

We will refer to the reflexive-reciprocal prefix as an object affix because it is in paradigmatic opposition to the first and second-person object prefixes, and because it codes the fact that the object is identical in reference to the subject. For present purposes, we treat something as an object grammatically if it is coded on the verb with an object affix. We are not aware of any useful criterion for objecthood in Walman other than the possibility of being coded by an object affix.

Expressions of situations in which someone does something that affects a body part of their own frequently employ the reflexive-reciprocal prefix, as in (20-21).

- (20) Kum m-r-ulo wi.
 1SG 1SG-REFL/RECP-cut hand
 'I cut my hand.'
- (21) Runon n-r-ata ngelie.
 3sg.m 3sg.m-reft/recp-bite tongue
 'He bit his tongue (accidentally).'

Sentences involving someone doing something that affects someone else's body part are similar, with the verb exhibiting object inflection for the person, number and gender of the individual whose body part is affected, as in (22).

(22) Ru w-p-ulo woruen. 3sg.f 3sg.f-1obj-cut hair 'She cut my hair.'

In (22), the noun *woruen* 'hair' is not the object, but a type of nonobject complement, the object being expressed by the first person object prefix on the verb. Similar comments apply to *wi* 'hand' in (20) and *ngelie* 'tongue' in (21).

Expressions of washing are more complex. First, there is an intransitive verb *okorue* ~ *-korue* that denotes only washing oneself, without reflexive-reciprocal morphology, as in (23).

(23) Kum m-okorue wul.

1sg 1sg-bathe water
'I bathed.'

This verb normally combines with the noun wul 'water', as in (23). There is also a transitive verb $-ko_wue^3$ for washing somebody else, as in (24), where the subject and object involve distinct participants.

(24) Runon n-p-kowue wul kum 3sg.m 3sg.m-10bJ-wash water 1sg 'He washed me.'

This verb can be used with a reflexive-reciprocal prefix, as in (25), but expressions of washing oneself in our data usually involve the verb *-okorue* \sim *-korue*, illustrated in (23) above.

(25) Kum m-r-kowue. 1SG 1SG-REFL/RECP-wash 'I washed myself.'

There is a separate transitive verb *-olo* that is used for washing body parts, without reflexive-reciprocal morphology, illustrated in (26), where the body part is object.

³The underscore in *-ko_wue* indicates that this is a verb that takes third person object infixes rather than object suffixes, and the location of the underscore represents the location of the infix.

(26) Ch-orou ch-olo-y motu-kol. 2PL-go 2PL-wash-3PL finger-PL 'Go and wash your hands.'

This is one of several verbs used for washing things other than oneself.

There are relatively few instances in our texts of uses of the reflexive-reciprocal prefix with specifically reflexive meaning. Two examples from texts are given in (27–28). In (27), *yrsapur* 'they untangle themselves' is a form of the verb *-sapur* 'loosen, untangle'.

(27) Lasi ru w-aro-Ø y-r-sapur pra-pra immediately 3sg.f 3sg.f-and-3sg.f 3pl-refl/recp-untangle loose-loose lasi ru w-aro-Ø y-otoplo-n runon. immediately 3sg.f 3sg.f-and-3sg.f 3pl-tie-3sg.m 3sg.m 'They (literally 'she and her') suddenly wriggled free (literally 'untangled themselves') and quickly wrapped themselves around him (literally 'tied him').'

There are two instances of the reflexive-reciprocal prefix in (28), in *nroko* and *wrulo*. While the literal meaning of *-oko* is 'take', it is combined in (28) with *rele* 'beard' to mean 'shave', so with the reflexive-reciprocal prefix, the meaning is 'he shaves himself'.

(28) *Ngan* **n-r-oko** rele, nyue **w-r-ulo** woruen. father 3sg.m-refl/recp-take beard mother 3sg.f-refl/recp-cut hair 'The father shaves, the mother trims her hair.'

The uses of the reflexive constructions in (28) involve body parts, analogous to (20) to (22) above.

In some uses of the reflexive-reciprocal prefix, the subject is semantically both agent and theme but where many languages would not use a reflexive form. For example, the basic meaning of the verb -*a_pulu* is 'to spread something around, pour', as in (29).

(29) ...o opucha runon n-oko-y n-a<y>pulu alpa-y ...and thing 3sg.m 3sg.m-take-3pl 3sg.m-spread.around<3pl> one-pl alpa-y y-anan y-an chapul. one-pl 3pl-go.down 3pl-be.at ground '...and he picked up things and spread them around on the ground.'

In (30), this verb is used in its reflexive-reciprocal form, with the meaning 'to spread oneself around'; many languages would simply say something like 'spread around', without a reflexive form, even though the subject is both agent and theme.

(30) To Walman y-r-apulu alpa-y alpa-y y-ara then Walman 3PL-REFL/RECP-spread.around one-PL one-PL 3PL-come y-ara y-an cha w-kipin eni k-an atuko.

3PL-come 3PL-be.at place GEN-1PL now 1PL-be.at south

'The Walman people had spread out in separate groups all over the area, coming nearer and nearer (to the coast) and settling in the places where we now live.'

Similarly, the verb -*elie* ~ -*eli* 'throw' means 'to move something back and forth' when repeated, as in (31).

(31) Runon n-elie-n n-elie-n nyanam n-roul
3sg.m 3sg.m-throw-3sg.m 3sg.m-throw-3sg.m child 3sg.m-hang
yie.
string.bag
'He moved his baby son hanging in the string bag back and forth.'

In (32), we find the same repeated verb with the reflexive prefix.

(32) Runon n-r-eli n-r-eli.
3SG.MASC 3SG.MASC-REFL/RECP-throw 3SG.MASC-REFL/RECP-throw
'He is swinging (on a swing).'

Again, the use of the reflexive form in (32) does involve identity of agent and theme, but many languages would simply express this meaning with something meaning 'to move back and forth', without any overt reflexive marking, as in English.

4 Lexicalized reflexive-reciprocal forms

There are many instances in which reflexive-reciprocal forms have apparently lexicalized with meanings that are not entirely predictable from the meaning of the verb of which they are reflexive-reciprocal forms (we say "apparently" since some of them might prove to simply be construals of verbs in particular contexts).

Example (32) above illustrates the use of repeating *-elie* ~ *-eli* 'throw' with the reflexive-reciprocal prefix to mean 'to move oneself back and forth', where the subject is both agent and theme. Example (33) is similar, but because the subject is inanimate, it is not both an agent and a theme, but only a theme.

(33) *Yie* **w-r-eli w-r-eli**. bilum 3sg.f-Refl-throw 3sg.f-Refl-throw 'The bilum is swinging (e.g., in the wind).'

This use involves the removal of the agent role and could be classified as an anticausative use.

The example in (34) also illustrates an instance where the semantic role normally associated with the subject of this verb is removed. However, in this case the verb cannot be classified as anticausative because the role that is removed is that of a nonagentive experiencer of the verb -kay 'see', rather than an agent. There may still, however, be an entailment of an unspecified experiencer, so that an English translation 'it will be seen' is natural.

(34) ...cha ru w-r-kay w-kipin olsem ri welimi ...so.that 3sg.f 3sg.f-refl/recp-see gen-1pl like 3pl younger.sibling.pl wlapum. older.sibling:pl '...so that it will be seen that we are just the same as our brothers and sisters.'

Normally, the subject of a reflexive form of this verb is both experiencer (the one seeing) and stimulus (the one seen), but in (34), it is only stimulus.⁴

A different sort of lexicalization is reflected in (35), where the reflexive-reciprocal form of the verb $-e_risi$, a transitive verb normally meaning 'to cook by boiling', means something like 'to be very ripe, to be beginning to rot'.

(35) Mikie w-r-erisi.
banana 3sg.f-refl-cook.by.boiling
'The bananas are rotting.'

The non-reflexive use of this verb is illustrated in (36).

⁴Grammatically, the subject in (34) is the [3sg.F] pronoun *ru*, which can be analysed as an expletive subject like *it* in the English translation. Semantically, the stimulus is the clause meaning 'we are just the same as our brothers and sisters', as it is in the English translation.

(36) To ngotu y-ulue-Ø y-e<∅>risi
then coconut 3PL-scratch-3sg.F 3PL-cook.by.boiling<3sg.F>
y-a<∅>ko.
3PL-eat<3sg.F>

'Then they scraped coconut, boiled it, and ate it.'

In (36), the subject is agent and the object is patient and with an ordinary reflexive verb, the subject would be both agent and patient. But like the verbs illustrated in (33–34), the semantic role of agent that the subject would normally have with the verb is removed in (35), so that the subject in (35) is just a patient. But in this case there is also an additional semantic change in that the banana is rotting, not undergoing the change of state associated with being boiled.

A similar example of lexicalization involves the reflexive-reciprocal form of the verb -*ikie* 'put', illustrated in (37).

(37) Runon n-r-ikie yal ein nganu wiey o kon alpa-Ø. 3sg.m 3sg.m-refl/recp-put breadfruit tree sun two and night one-F 'He was stuck in the breadfruit tree for two days and a night.'

An example illustrating the non-reflexive use of this verb is given in (38).

(38) Chim ch-p-ikie kum m-an apar. 2PL 2PL-10BJ-put 1sG 1sG-be.at bed 'Put me on the bed.'

A literal interpretation of (37) would be that the man put himself up in the tree, but in the text from which this example comes, the man was put up in the tree by a flock of birds. So, like the preceding examples, the use of the reflexive-reciprocal form in (37) involves the removal of the agent. However, if that were the only difference, (37) would simply imply that he was up in the breadfruit tree, but the lexicalized use of this verb more specifically means that he was actually stuck up in the breadfruit tree and had no way to get down. Hence the lexicalization of the reflexivization of this verb also involves an added element of meaning beyond simply the removal of the agent.

A further example of a verb with lexicalized reflexive-reciprocal forms is the verb -ayako 'make, do, cause, happen to', whose stem with the reflexive-reciprocal prefix is -any. In fact, the reflexive-reciprocal form of this verb has a number of lexicalized meanings, though we restrict attention here to two of them. The first lexicalized meaning is 'become', as in (39).

(39) W-an w-an, eni w-r-any siar.
3SG.FEM-be.at 3SG.FEM-be.at now 3SG.FEM-REFL/RECP-make reef
'And there it [the sago container] remained, until it became a reef.'

Again, this use involves removal of the semantic role that the subject of this verb would normally have (an agent, the maker). But if that were all that was involved, the meaning would be something like 'the reef came into being'. In (39), however, *siar* 'reef' is not the subject, the subject (the sago container) being the thing that became a reef.⁵

A second lexicalized use of the reflexive-reciprocal form of -ayako 'do, make, happen to' is 'happen', illustrated in (40).⁶

(40) Orait ampa ru w-r-any w-ama eni nta.

OK FUT 3SG.FEM 3SG.FEM-REFL/RECP-make 3SG.FEM-like now this 'Well, it should happen like this.'

This use is clearly related to the non-reflexive use of this verb with the meaning 'happen to', illustrated in (41).

(41) Momol w-p-any kipin? what 3sg.fem-lobj-make lpl. 'What could have happened to us?'

Although the use of this verb in (40) is semantically monovalent, it differs from the other lexicalized uses above in that in these other cases, it is the semantic role of the subject that is removed, while with this use of *-rany* meaning 'happen', it is the semantic role of the object (the thing that something happens to) that is removed while the semantic role of the subject (the thing that happens) remains the same.

The last case we will discuss of a lexicalized use of the reflexive-reciprocal prefix is with the verb -awukul 'lift', whose reflexive-reciprocal forms mean 'jump', as in (42).

(42) Lasi n-ete-Ø may w-ama pino, lasi immediately 3sg.m-see-3sg.f rope 3sg.f-like sling immediately n-r-awukul n-aro-Ø tin may akou.

3sg.m-refl/recp-lift 3sg.m-and-3sg.f tightly rope finish 'He saw a vine like a sling, so he jumped and grabbed it tightly.'

⁵That *siar* 'reef' is not subject in (39) is clear from the fact that it follows the verb. Subjects in Walman invariably precede the verb.

⁶Words in non-italics, like *orait* in (40), are Tok Pisin words from modern texts. Contemporary Walman is frequently a mixture of Walman and Tok Pisin.

It is not immediately obvious that this use is lexicalized since one might argue that jumping really is simply lifting oneself. However, while this might apply to instances of jumping up, it is less obvious that jumping down, as in (43), involves lifting oneself, although perhaps even jumping down often initially involves slightly jumping up.

(43) Lasi runon n-r-awukul n-anan... immediately 3sg.m 3sg.m-refl/recp-lift 3sg.m-go.down 'He immediately jumped down...'

5 The nominal reflexive construction

In addition to the reflexive-reciprocal prefix on the verb, Walman also has a nominal reflexive construction, illustrated in (44–45), that involves combining the genitive form of a personal pronoun with the word *ein*, which has a range of meanings, the most basic of which is 'base (of a tree)' but which also can mean 'cause, reason'. In both (44–45), the nominal reflexive is functioning as the object.

- (44) Runon n-r-ulo mnon ein. 3sg.m 3sg.m-refl/recp-cut 3sg.m.gen refl 'He cut himself.'
- (45) Runon n-a nyoko seylieu n-r-ao **mnon ein**. 3sg.m 3sg.m-use bow foreigner 3sg.m-refl/recp-shoot 3sg.m.gen refl 'He shot himself with the gun.'

All instances of this construction in our data combine with the reflexive-reciprocal prefix construction when it is an object which is coreferential with the subject, as in (44-45). We should also note that the only clear instances in our texts of the nominal reflexive construction involve the focus use discussed in the next section. Two further examples illustrating the simultaneous use of the two constructions are given in (46-47).

- (46) Runon n-r-arien mnon ein "M-ayako-Ø momol?" 3sg.M 3sg.M-Reft/Recp-ask 3sg.M.Gen Reft 1sg-do-3sg.f what 'He asked himself "What should I do?"
- (47) Runon n-r-etiki nyi mnon ein. 3SG.M 3SG.M-REFL/RECP-cook fire 3SG.M.GEN REFL 'He burnt himself in the fire.'

Examples (48–49) are similar, except in these cases, the object is an applied object in an applicative clause. In (48), the verb *nroruen* 'he cried for himself' is the applicative of an intransitive verb *-oruen* 'cry'.

(48) Nyue w-elpete-n runon n-r-oruen mother 3sg.f-quarrel.with-3sg.m 3sg.m 3sg.m-refl/recp-cry-appl mnon ein.
3sg.m.gen refl
'When his mother yelled at him, he cried for himself.'

In (49), the verb nrapulun 'you pour it for yourself' is a form of the applicative of a transitive verb $-a_pulu$ 'pour, spread around', so the clause contains two objects, the applied object wchi ein 'yourself', indexed on the verb by the reflexive reciprocal prefix r-, and the basic object wul 'water'.

(49) Chi n-r-a<Ø>pulun wul w-chi ein. 2sg 2sg-refl/recp-pour.appl<3sg.f> water gen-2sg refl 'Pour yourself some water.'

The nominal reflexive construction in Walman normally consists of the genitive form of a pronoun followed by the word *ein*. But an alternative to the use of a personal pronoun is a noun phrase consisting of an *and*-verb where both conjuncts are pronominal. In (50), for example, the nominal reflexive construction is *wru waro ein*, where *wru waro*, literally 'of her and her' is functioning like a pronoun denoting the same two women as the subject *ru waro* 'she and her'. The first conjunct is represented by both the pronoun *ru* and the [3sg.F] prefix on *waro* and the second conjunct is represented by the null [3sg.F] object marking on *waro*. Apart from the fact that *wru* is in genitive form, *wru waro* is identical to *ru waro*. Since the nominal reflexive construction normally involves a personal pronoun followed by *ein*, the use of *wru waro* in *wru waro ein* means that *wru waro* is behaving here like a personal pronoun.

(50) Ru w-aro-Ø y-r-apulun wul w-ru
3SG.F 3SG.F-and-3SG.F 3PL-REFL/RECP-pour.APPL water GEN-3SG.F
w-aro-Ø ein.
3SG.F-and-3SG.F REFL
'The two women poured water on themselves.'

It is also possible to use the nominal reflexive construction with possessors, as in (51), in which case we do not get the reflexive-reciprocal prefix on the verb.

(51) Kum m-a<Ø>ko ngu w-kum ein m-apa-Ø.

1sG 1sG-eat<3sG.F> excrement GEN-1sG REFL 1sG-excrete-3sG.F

'I was eating my own feces, which I just excreted.'

In fact, it is possible to have a reflexive-reciprocal verbal prefix in addition to the nominal reflexive construction on a possessor, if the verb is applicative, since one of the meanings associated with the applicative construction is that of external possession, as in (52-53).

- (52) Runon n-r-a<0>pon wuel mnon ein 3sg.m 3sg.m-reft/recp-kill.applic<3sg.f> pig 3sg.m.gen reft n-a<0>ko.
 3sg.m-eat<3sg.f>
 'He killed his own pig to eat.'
- (53) Runon n-r-lre-y nchong nyi nakol
 3SG.M 3SG.M-REFL/RECP-light.fire.APPLIC-3PL catch fire house
 mnon ein.
 3SG.M.GEN REFL
 'He set fire to his own house.'

It is also possible to combine the reflexive-reciprocal prefix with the nominal construction marking a possessor if the thing possessed is a body part and the act denoted by the verb applies both to the referent of the subject and the body part, as in (54–55).

- (54) Runon n-r-kay chkuel nyamayki **mnon ein**. 3sg.m 3sg.m-reft/recp-see eye nose 3sg.m.gen reft 'He sees his own face.'
- (55) Runon n-r-ako motu mnon ein 3sg.m 3sg.m-refl/recp-eat finger 3sg.m.gen refl 'He bit his finger.'

The possibility of using the nominal reflexive construction more generally on possessors is illustrated by (56) to (58). In (56), the possessor *wkipin ein* 'of ourselves' is modifying the noun *wlroy* 'desire', which in turn is the complement

⁷Note that the verb *nrlrey* in (52) bears both a reflexive-reciprocal prefix and a [3pl] object suffix. This object suffix is agreeing with *nyi* 'fire', which is pluralia tantum in Walman and always triggers plural agreement.

of the word wama, formally a form of the verb -ama 'be like', but in an impersonal use since there is no apparent [3sg.F] trigger for the prefix w- on wama (suggesting that this has become grammaticalized as a preposition).

Kipin k-oko-y w-ama wlroy w-kipin ein. (56)1PL-take-3PL 3SG.F-like desire GEN-1PL REFL 'We marry them of our own free will.'

It is also possible for the nominal reflexive to function as a long distance reflexive, but only if it is a possessor in a subordinate clause, coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. In (57), for example, mnon ein is the possessor of the object in the subordinate clause but refers back to the subject of the matrix clause.

Runon n-napi kum m-ao-n (57)ngan mnon ein. 3sg.m 3sg.m-say 1sg 1sg-shoot-3sg.m father 3sg.m.gen refl 'He said that I shot his father.'

Similarly, in (58), mnon ein functions as the possessor of the subject of the subordinate clause, but refers back to the subject of the matrix clause.

(58)Runon n-napi ngan mnon ein n-ao-n 3sg.m 3sg.m-say father 3sg.m.gen refl 3sg.m-shoot-3sg.m 3sg.m 'He said that his very own father shot him.'

We have one text example, given in (59), in which the antecedent of a nominal reflexive is the subject of the first verb in a sequence of verbs with different subjects and where the clause in which the nominal reflexive occurs is not a subordinate clause. Mnon ein is the object of warien 'it hit him' whose subject is the breadfruit, which is also subject of the two verbs wan 'it was at' and wanan 'it went down' that precede warien 'it hit him'. But the antecedent of mnon ein is runon '3sg.M' and intervening between runon and the verbs whose subject is the breadfruit is another verb *mlko* 'I broke it off' with a 1sg subject *kum*.

(59)**Runon** n-p-narin kum. to kum m-lko-∅ 3sg.m 3sg.m-10bj-speak.appl 1sg then 1sg 1sg-break.off-3sg.f val karwal, w-anan, w-arie-n breadfruit 3sg.f-be.at tree.top 3sg.f-go.down 3sg.f-hit-3sg.m 3sg.m.gen ein woruen amungko.

REFL head bone

'He spoke to me and then I picked a breadfruit that was at the top of the tree, and it came down and hit him on the head.'

Since this is the only example that we have like this, we are not sure what constraints there might be on how far a nominal reflexive can be separated from its antecedent. It is also possible that this is an instance of the focus use of the nominal reflexive discussed in the next section.

We should note that the nominal reflexive construction is never obligatory for possessors. In (60), for example, we get *ngan wkum* 'my father', not *ngan wkum ein*, even though it refers back to the subject *kum*.

(60) Kum m-tkre-n ngan w-kum. 1sg 1sg-do.same-3sg.m father gen-1sg 'I do things like my father.'

Similarly, in (61), we get *cha wri* 'their village', not *cha wri ein*, even though it refers back to the subject *ri Chnapeli* 'the Chinapelli'.

(61) Ri Chnapeli y-orou cha w-ri.
3PL Chinapelli 3PL-go place GEN-3PL
'The Chinapelli returned to their own village.'

The nominal construction can also be used for reciprocal situations, as in (62), but again note that the verb contains the reflexive-reciprocal prefix r-.

(62) Ri y-r-ao w-ri ein.
3PL 3PL-REFL/RECP-shoot GEN-3PL REFL
'They shot each other.'

6 Focus use of the nominal reflexive construction

Similar to what we find in many other languages, the nominal reflexive construction in Walman is sometimes used as a marker of focus (König et al. 2013), as in (63).

(63) Walman mlin w-ri ein y-ayako-Ø woyue.
Walman true GEN-3PL REFL 3PL-make-3sg.F bad
'The real Walman themselves made a mistake.'

When the item in focus is a personal pronoun not functioning as a possessor within a noun phrase, the pronoun occurs either in genitive form, as in (64), or in nongenitive form, as in (65–66). The focused element in (64) is the first conjunct of *naro* 'you (sg.) and her', which functions, in turn, as the subject of *charul* 'you (pl.) flee'.

(64) Korue, w-chi ein n-aro-Ø ch-arul ch-ara.
no GEN-2SG REFL 2SG-and-3SG.F 2PL-flee 2PL-come
'No, you [you yourself and her] have come here of your own accord (i.e. not through my magic).'

In (65), kipin ein 'we ourselves' is the subject.

(65) Kipin ein monap k-ayako-Ø koruen.

1PL REFL cannot 1PL-make-3sg.F NEG

'We ourselves are not able to make any.'

In (66), *kipin ein* is the second conjunct of a conjoined noun phrase functioning as the goal of the verb *wrukuel* 'run'.

(66) Ri y-alma yikiel w-rukuel kalway ro w-ri y-an Prou Wokau 3PL 3PL-die words 3SG.F-run blood part GEN-3PL 3PL-be.at Prou Wokau o kipin ein.

and 1pl REFL

'When they die, a message goes around to their blood relations living in Prou or Wokau, and even amongst ourselves.'

In (67), wkipin ein is functioning as a possessor in ala wkipin ein 'our business'.

(67) Kipin save k-an k-uruer k-r-elpete wkan a

1PL know 1PL-be.at 1PL-fight 1PL-REFL/RECP-quarrel.with later PTCL
pa ala w-kipin ein...
that work GEN-1PL REFL

'We know that if we fight and quarrel later, that's our business, [not yours].'

As noted above, the only clear instances in our texts of the nominal reflexive construction involve the focus use. This raises the possibility that the nominal reflexive construction in Walman is only used for focus.

7 Conclusions

In conclusion, Walman has two reflexive constructions, one involving a verbal prefix which is in paradigmatic opposition to first and second person object prefixes, the other a nominal reflexive construction that combines a personal pronoun with a word *ein*, whose meanings outside this construction include 'base of

tree' and 'reason'. Both constructions are also used for reciprocals. The construction with the verbal prefix has also developed idiosyncratic meanings with some verbs. The nominal reflexive construction is also used as a focus construction and in fact it is possible that all instances of the nominal reflexive construction are really instances of focus.

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