A grammar of Sinaugoro

An Austronesian language of the Central Province of Papua New Guinea
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

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Series C, Volume 143
A GRAMMAR OF SINAUGORO

An Austronesian language of the
Central Province of Papua New Guinea

Gerhard Tauberschmidt

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra
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Acknowledgments

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I would also like to thank the team of consultants from the Summer Institute of Linguistics who helped at various stages of the analysis. I would especially like to mention Bob Bugenhagen, Russ Cooper, Elaine Good, Ritva Hemmila, Liisa Jarvinen, Larry Lovell and John Roberts.
## Abbreviations and symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADVPA</td>
<td>adverb phrase accompanied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVPI</td>
<td>adverb phrase of instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVPL</td>
<td>adverb phrase of location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVPT</td>
<td>adverb phrase of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>verbal causative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>continuous/habitual aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td>derivational prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED</td>
<td>edible class possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/I</td>
<td>intensive/imperative mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>imperfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/T</td>
<td>local/temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTR</td>
<td>neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERS</td>
<td>personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>remote tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-M-T</td>
<td>subject-mode-tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>the person marking co-occurs with the number marking either SG or PL, INC or EXC. In the verb the subject marker occurs before the verb stem, the object marker after.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>becomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>morpheme boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>±</td>
<td>optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>phonetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>phonemics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In noun phrases the agreement or possessive marking occurs on the second or third element following the head noun, and the same marking occurs on the personal pronouns.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ğ/</td>
<td>[y, j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kw/</td>
<td>[kw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gw/</td>
<td>[gw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ğw/</td>
<td>[yw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[j, i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[e, e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[o, o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>[ai]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ae/</td>
<td>[ae]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ao/</td>
<td>[ao]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>[au]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ei/</td>
<td>[ei]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oi/</td>
<td>[oi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ou/</td>
<td>[ou]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

1.1 The language
1.1.1 Type, location and dialects

Sinaugoro is a large Austronesian language belonging to the Papuan Tip Cluster (Ross 1988:190–193). It is spoken by approximately 15,000 people living in the Rigo district of the Central Province some 70 kilometres south-east of Port Moresby. It is surrounded by the following related Austronesian languages: Motu in the west, Hula and Keapara in the south, Aroma in the south-east; and also by the following unrelated non-Austronesian languages: Maria in the east, Doromu in the north, Kware and Humene in the north-west. According to a survey by Dutton (1970) there are 17 dialects of Sinaugoro in an area that extends 720 square kilometres:

1. Ikolu
2. Balawaia
3. Saroa
4. Kwabida (?)
5. Taboro
6. Boku
7. Ikega
8. Wiga
9. Buaga (?)
10. Kubuli
11. Tubulamo (?)
12. Omene
13. Kwaibo
14. Alepa (?)
15. Vora
16. Oruone
17. Babagarupu

From a more sociolinguistic or emic point of view the following 8 major dialects are regarded as different:

1. Sinaugoro (Saroa)
2. Taboro
3. Boku
4. Kubuli
5. Tubulamo
6. Alepa/Omene
7. Balawaia
8. Gwaibo
The area from Gomore village to Saroa village, as well as the dialect spoken in these villages, is called Sinaugoro by the local people.

1.1.2 Typology

Morphologically Sinaugoro is an agglutinative language, because most of the words are made up of sequences of clearly identifiable morphemes.

(1) Če ve-gata-gini-kau-to' goi.
   3PL DER-friend-good-on-PERF C/H
   ‘They used to be good friends.’

(2) Če toma-raka-riqo-vini-a-to goi.
   3PL now-walk-down-give-3SG-PERF C/H
   ‘They used to worship him.’

As for word order typology, Sinaugoro is an SOV language. According to Greenberg’s universals (1963) OV languages tend to have Postpositional, Genitive-Noun, Adjective-Noun or Noun-Adjective. Sinaugoro follows this pattern, with the adjective following the noun.

Sinaugoro could be claimed to be an ergative language, since the subject of the transitive clause is indicated by the ergative marker -na. Various syntactic devices such as object incorporation, reflexive and reciprocal formation and topicalisation delete the ergative marking for different reasons (see Tauberschmidt 1992).

(3) Gia-na bai be-ge gani-a.
   3PL-ERG pig R-3PL eat-3SG
   ‘They ate the pig.’

(4) Gia be-ge raqasi.
   3PL R-3PL arrive
   ‘They arrived.’

1.1.3 Previous studies

Dutton (1970) published the results of surveys in the area; a Balawaia grammar sketch and vocabulary was written by Kolia and published in Pacific Linguistics (1975); and a phonology paper was produced by Slim Rome Kokiva from Saroa village during the ‘Lahara Session’ (1975) at the University of Papua New Guinea.

1.1.4 Method and materials

This paper describes the grammatical features of the Sinaugoro language (Saroa dialect). The description is based on data which was collected between July 1987 and May 1995.

The model used is hierarchical and describes the structures, functions and relationships of the following ranks starting at the word level:
Morphemes are treated as they occur in words (phrases or clauses).

1.2 Presentation

1.2.1 Orthography (with brief phonology)

1.2.1.1 Outline of phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANT PHONEMES</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labial velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/gw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td></td>
<td>/g/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grooved</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWEL PHONEMES</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-low</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.2 Interpretation

1.2.1.2.1 Syllable patterns

The following non-suspect syllable patterns occur:

```
V       /e/       'and'
V       /a/       'but'
CV      /ba/      'or'
V.CV    /a.ra/    'name'
CV.V    /ke.a/    'call'
CV.CV   [ga.ro]   'sun'
CV.CV.CV/ka.kana/ 'his older brother'
CV.CV.CV.CV/[ga.li.va.ta]/ 'banana'
```
From the above we get V and CV as univalent syllables.

1.2.1.2.2 Items which may be either consonant or vowel

/i/ is realised as [i] and interpreted as a vowel in syllable nucleus, but realised as [j] and interpreted as a consonant when it occurs in syllable onset.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Approximation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/niu/</td>
<td>[ni.u]</td>
<td>'coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/irau/</td>
<td>[i.rau]</td>
<td>'different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maioba/</td>
<td>[ma jo.ba]</td>
<td>'flying fox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maiaka/</td>
<td>[ma ja ka]</td>
<td>'shame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/foia/</td>
<td>[fo ja]</td>
<td>'type of nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iaqoma/</td>
<td>[ja yo ma]</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.2.3 Labialised consonants

[kw], [gw] and [yw] can be only interpreted as units, since there are no univalent consonant clusters, nor any consonant clusters ever in Sina ugoro.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Approximation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kwa/</td>
<td>[kwa]</td>
<td>'dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gwa /jii/</td>
<td>[gwa ji ji]</td>
<td>'difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gwa/</td>
<td>[ywa]</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These consonant clusters have probably developed over the years. The original forms are [ku], [gu] and [yu] which still remain in some words when preceding a vowel as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Approximation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/guine/</td>
<td>[gu i ne]</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guauguu/</td>
<td>[gu a gu a]</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ku] is not used any more preceding a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Approximation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/Kwikila/</td>
<td>[kwi ki la]</td>
<td>'name of a town'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Originally it was composed of [kui] 'whirling of waters' and [kila] 'divide/disperse'.

[yw] is often reduced to [w] as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Approximation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gwa/</td>
<td>[wa]</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrast between /gwV and guV/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Approximation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gwin/</td>
<td>[ywi na]</td>
<td>'his hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guine/</td>
<td>[gu i ne]</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gwa eni/</td>
<td>[ywa ta ni]</td>
<td>'day before yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guauguu/</td>
<td>[yu ayu a]</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.2.4 Vowel clusters

The following vowel clusters occur as units, since the higher vowels follow the lower vowels and the stress is on the lower vowels; /ai, ae, au, ao, ei, ou, oi/ are interpreted as units.
1.2.1.2.5 Defining the syllable

The syllable structures CV and V are indicated by the tree structure as they occur in words. S represents syllable (syllable level = phonologically), C represents consonant and V vowel (segmental level = phonetically).

One-syllable words

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
  S & S & S & S \\
  \| & / \ & / \ & / \\
  V & V & V & C V \\
  \| & / & / & / \\
  /e/ & ‘and’ & /oi/ & ‘yes’ & /ba/ & ‘or’ & bai & ‘pig’ \\
\end{array}
\]

Two-syllable words

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
  S & CV & CVV \\
  \| & \| & \| & \| \\
  si & nau & ‘hundred’ \\
\end{array}
\]

Three-syllable words

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
  S & CV & CV & CV \\
  \| & \| & \| & \| \\
  vo & vo & ka & ‘plenty’ \\
\end{array}
\]
1.2.1.3 Description of phonemes

1.2.1.3.1 Consonants

The consonants contrast with regard to manner and points of articulation.

i. Bilabials /b, f, v, m/

/b/ [b] voiced stop
/f/ [f] voiceless fricative
/v/ [v] voiced fricative
/m/ [m] voiced nasal

These occur word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable.

/barego/ [’ba.re.go] ‘big’
/farefare/ [’fa.re.fare] ‘belongings’
/varevare/ [’va.re.va.re] ‘gift’
/mari/ [’mari] ‘song’
/vovoka/ [’vo.vo.ka] ‘plenty’
/fofa/ [’fo.fo] ‘mustard’
/boboka/ [’bo.bo.ka] ‘big black bee’
/momo/ [’mo.mo] ‘rubbish’
/sebinai/ [’se.bi.nai] ‘beside it’
/sevinai/ [’se.vinai] ‘next to it’
/siforo/ [’si.fo.ro] ‘kind of lemon’
/sefe/ [’se.fe] ‘name of shell’
/nuba/ [’nu.ba] ‘ant’
/nuvi/ [’nu.vi] ‘dream’
/nufa/ [’nu.fa] ‘wet’
/numa/ [’nu.ma] ‘house’

ii. Alveolars /t, d, s, r, l/

/t/ [t] voiceless unaspirated stop
/d/ [d] voiced stop
/s/ [s] voiceless grooved fricative
/r/ [r] voiced flat fricative
/l/ [l] voiced lateral

These occur word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable.

/toğa/ [’to.ya] ‘through’
/doğa/ [’do.ya] ‘tooth’
/sogi/ [’so.gi] ‘a mouth disease’
/roga/ [’ro.ga] ‘type of greens’
/lago/ [’la.go] ‘catch prawns’
/tabe/ [’ta.be] ‘sit against’
/dabe/ [’da.be] ‘rope’
/sale/ [’sa.le] ‘frangipani’
Introduction

/lağani/ ['la.ya.ni] 'year'
/rara/ ['ra.ra] 'blood'
/lilikâ/ ['li.li.ka] 'ant'
/riba/ ['ri.ba] 'know'
/lavilavi/ ['la.vi.la.vi] 'afternoon'
/raka/ ['ra.ka] 'walk'
/gâta/ ['ya.ta] 'friend'
/gâde/ ['ya.de] (to address the wife)
/ɡâra/ ['ya.ra] 'fence, to light'
/ɡasi/ ['ya.si] 'canoe'
/ɡale/ ['ya.le] 'chin'
/kato/ ['ka.to] 'to peel'
/kado/ ['ka.do] 'to shovel'
/karo/ ['ka.ro] 'friend'
/kasoma/ ['ka.so.ma] 'to mix bananas and coconuts'
/Kila/ ['kila] (a name)

iii. Alveopalatal /i/ [j]

/i/ [j] voiced semivowel, occurs word initially and medially. It is realised as [i] when it occurs in syllable nucleus, and as [j] when it occurs in syllable onset (for examples see §1.2.1.2.2).

iv. Velars and labialised velars /k, ɡ, ɡ, kw, gw, ɡw/

These occur in the onset of a syllable word initially and medially.

/k/ [k] voiceless stop
/g/ [ɡ] voiced stop
/y/ [y] voiced fricative, occurs before central and back vowels
/j/ [j] voiced palatalised fricative, occurs only before front vowels
/kw/ [kw] voiceless labialised stop, occurs word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable before front and central vowels
/gw/ [gw] voiced labialised stop, occurs word initially and medially in the periphery of a syllable before front and central vowels
/yw/ [yw] voiced labialised fricative, occurs word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable before front and central vowels

/kara/ ['ka.ra] 'what'
/gara/ ['ga.ra] 'orphan'
/yâra/ ['ya.ra] 'our'
/kwamo/ ['kwa.mo] 'a cold'
/gwamo/ ['gwa.mo] 'small fish'
/gwamara/ ['gwa.ma.ra] 'kind of fruit'
/kakau/ ['ka.kau] 'to scrape together'
/gagau/ ['ga.gau] 'dust'
/yâro/ ['ya.ro] 'day'
Gerhard Taubenschmidt

/g̊/ before front vowels in syllable onset:

/g̊ia/ [‘ji.a] ‘he’
/g̊ena/ [‘je.na] ‘his/her/its’
/asigil/ [‘asi.ji] ‘no’
/gwa̱g̊i̱gi̱/ [‘gwa.ji.ji] ‘carrying’

v. Nasals /m, n/

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal, and

/n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal, occur word initially and medially in syllable onset.

/manu/ [‘ma.nu] ‘bird’
/nanu/ [‘na.nu] ‘water’
/no̱ga/ [‘no̱.ya] ‘like’
/mo̱ga/ [‘mo̱.ya] ‘that one’
/tamama/ [‘ta.ma.ma] ‘our father’
/tamana/ [‘ta.ma.na] ‘his father’
/semu/ [‘se.mu] ‘pumpkin’
/senu/ [‘se.nu] ‘heap’

1.2.1.3.2 Vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ These vowels occur word initially, medially and finally as the nucleus of a syllable.

/i/ [i] voiced high front vowel
[j] see consonants

/e/ [e] voiced mid front vowel, occurs in non-stressed syllables, or when the nucleus of the following syllable is a front vowel
[e] voiced mid low front vowel, occurs in stressed syllables, or when the nucleus of the following syllable is a low central or low back vowel

/kere/ [‘ke.re] ‘torch’
/bere/ [‘be.re] ‘if’
Introduction

/a/  [a]  voiced low central vowel
/o/  [o]  voiced mid back vowel, occurs in non-stressed syllables, or when the nucleus of the following syllables is a front vowel
[ɔ]  voiced mid low back vowel, occurs in stressed syllables, or when the nucleus of the following syllable is a low central or low back vowel

/ləgəl/  ['be.je]  '3PL, verbal subject'
/meɡəl/  ['me.ya]  'put a spell on'

Contrasts:
/loɡo/  ['lo.yo]  'not yet'
/momo/  ['mo.mo]  'rubbish'
/boɡi/  ['bo.ji]  'night'
/boɡa/  ['bo.ya]  'bush'

/u/  [u]  voiced high back vowel

Contrasts:
/raiрайa/  ['i.ra.'i.ra]  'enough; all right'
/erakani/  ['e.ra.'ka.ni]  'he is going'
/arakanai/  ['a.ra.'ka.ni]  'I am going'
/orakanai/  ['o.ra.'ka.ni]  'you are going'
/ura/  ['u.ra]  'like'
/biri/  ['bi.ri]  'shut'
/bera/  ['be.ri]  'tattoo'
/bara/  ['ba.ri]  'dance'
/borabora/  ['bo.ra.'bo.ri]  'colour yellow'
/buri/  ['bu.ri]  'jump'
/kira/  ['ki.ri]  'say'
/kere/  ['ke.re]  'torch'
/kara/  ['ka.ri]  'what'
/kora/  ['ko.ri]  'pig net'
/kure/  ['ku.ri]  'rat'
/ɡari/  ['ɡa.ri]  'their (food)'
/ɡare/  ['ɡa.re]  'chin'
/ɡara/  ['ɡa.ri]  'our (food)'
/ɡaro/  ['ɡa.ro]  'sun'
/ɡaru/  ['ɡa.ru]  'flow'
/boɡi/  ['bo.ji]  'night'
/boɡe/  ['bo.je]  'view'
/boɡa/  ['bo.ya]  'bush'
/boko/  ['bo.ko]  'pick'
/botu/  ['bo.tu]  'short-winded'

Contrast between /e/ and /ei/ 
/o/ and /ou/ 
/vetau/  ['ve.ta]  'look for'
/veitau/  ['vei.ta]  'show off (mask)'

1.2.1.4 Suprasegmental items

1.2.1.4.1 Stress and pitch on words

On one- to three-syllable words stress and high pitch is on the first syllable. (Hyphen indicates morpheme breaks.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ba.i} & \quad \text{‘pig’} \\
\text{'nu.ma} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{'vo.vo.ka} & \quad \text{‘plenty’} \\
\text{'ai.je.si} & \quad \text{‘how are you’}
\end{align*}
\]

On words with four syllables the first and penultimate syllable is stressed. However, the stress on the first syllable is stronger.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ya.li.'va.ta} & \quad \text{‘banana’} \\
\text{'tu.ya.'ma.ji} & \quad \text{‘thought’} \\
\text{'ta.ri.'ma.-ri} & \quad \text{‘people’} \\
\text{'ve.-da.'na.ji} & \quad \text{‘question’} \\
\text{'a.si.-'ji.-na} & \quad \text{‘no/not’}
\end{align*}
\]

Note: On words such as the following each syllable can be stressed for emphasis. High pitch occurs on the last syllable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'a.si.-'ji.-na} & \quad \text{‘no/not’} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{'a.i'je.si} \quad \text{‘how are you’}
\end{align*}
\]

The stress pattern on the verb phrase varies depending on the number of syllables of the verbal subject.

Verbs that have subject markers with one syllable behave very much according to the normal pattern, stress on the first and penultimate syllable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'a.-ra.'ka.-ni} & \quad \text{1SG-go-IMPF} \\
\text{‘I am going.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ya.-je.no.'yo.i-to} & \quad \text{1PL.EXC-return-PERF} \\
\text{‘We returned.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ya.-ma.-ri.'yo.-ni} & \quad \text{1PL.EXC-come.down-IMPF} \\
\text{‘We are coming down.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs that have subject markers with two or more syllables are stressed on the first syllable of the subject marker and the first syllable of the verbal base:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ba.-ya.-na.} & \quad \text{‘ve.-go.go’} \\
\text{R-1PL.EXC-I/I} & \quad \text{meet} \\
\text{‘Let us meet (later).’}
\end{align*}
\]
Introduction

1.2.1.4.2 Stress and pitch on words in a phrase

Stress and high pitch of an isolated word can change when it occurs in a phrase:

[‘ka.ra da.’ga.ra?]  
what thing
‘What thing?’

The stress of the second word is on the second syllable and high pitch is on the first.

1.2.1.4.3 Intonation

A statement may be turned into a question by changing the intonation:

[‘bo. fou?]  
2SG wash
‘Did you wash yourself?’

[‘oi, ‘ba. fou!]  
yes 1SG wash
‘Yes, I washed myself!’

[‘e. ra.’ya.si.-to?]  
3SG arrive-PERF
‘Did he arrive?’

[‘e. ra.’ya.si.-to!]  
3SG arrive-PERF
‘He arrived!’
1.3 Morphophonemics

1.3.1 Assimilation rule

When the vowel in the first syllable of the verb root is [i], the third person singular indicator changes from [e] to [i]. Similarly the second person singular indicator changes from [o] to [u].

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/e midigu-ni/ } \Rightarrow \text{[i midigu-ni]} \\
\text{3SG hurt-1MPF} \\
\text{‘It is hurting.’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{/b-e vito-gu/ } \Rightarrow \text{[bi vito-gu]} \\
\text{R-3SG hunger-1SG} \\
\text{‘I am hungry.’ (lit. ‘It hungers me.’)}
\end{array}
\]

Orthography: emidiguni, bevitogu, noruğa tari.

1.3.2 Insertion rule

When the third person singular suffix [-a] occurs, [j] is inserted after a verb root or verb modifier that ends in [a].

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{a kea-ja-ni } \Rightarrow \text{[a kea-ja-ni]} \\
\text{1SG call-3SG-1MPF} \\
\text{‘I am calling him.’}
\end{array}
\]

1.3.3 Deletion rule

i. Verbs: the marker \textit{a} ‘different location (from hearer and speaker)’ which is attached to the subject-indicator is dropped in the first person.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{b-ja-a } \Rightarrow \text{bafou} \\
\text{R-1SG-different.location wash} \\
\text{‘I washed myself (over there).’}
\end{array}
\]

In the following example the \textit{a} is not dropped:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{b-o-a } \Rightarrow \text{boa f ou} \\
\text{R-3SG-different.location wash} \\
\text{‘He washed himself (over there).’}
\end{array}
\]

ii. Nouns: the postposition \textit{ai} drops the \textit{a} when a noun ends in \textit{a}.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{numa ai } \Rightarrow \text{numai} \\
\text{house in} \\
\text{‘in the house’}
\end{array}
\]

In the following example the \textit{a} is not dropped:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nanu ai} \\
\text{‘water in’}
\end{array}
\]
For a long time linguists have been aware of the multifunctional nature of many Austronesian roots which are used here as a verb, there as a noun or adjective. Codrington (1885:102) comments:

It is not that there is a complete absence of such special forms of Verb or Noun; but that the same word without any change of form may be in use as almost any of the Parts of Speech. The use of the word, not its form, commonly declares its character...

The following examples illustrate this situation:

i. rakava ‘bad’ as verb

(5) Gia ģe-na motuka e rakava-to.
3SG NTR-3SG car 3SG bad-PERF
‘His car went bad.’

ii. rakava as noun

(6) Gita ma ģe-ra rakava ta ģora-to.
1PL.INC with NTR-1PL.INC sin 1PL.INC born-PERF
‘We were born with sin.’

iii. rakava as adjective

(7) numa rakava-na
house bad-3SG
‘a bad house’

Despite the fluid nature of Sinaugoro roots the existence of the following word classes is confirmed:

2.1 NOUNS
2.2 PRONOUNS
2.3 VERBS
2.4 ADJECTIVES
2.5 ADVERBS
2.6 INTENSIFIERS
2.7 TOPICALISERS
2.8 DEICTICS
2.9 INTERROGATIVES
2.10 CONJUNCTIONS
2.11 POSTPOSITIONS
2.12 INTERJECTIONS
2.13 NEGATION
2.1 Nouns

Nouns may consist of either one or two roots. Such nouns refer to concrete objects, names of places, kinship terms or body parts.

- *numa* ‘house’
- *Sinaug-oro* ‘name of a people’
- *tamana* ‘his father’
- *debana* ‘his head’

Nouns may be derived from verbs or adjectives (see §2.1.2). Nouns function as head of the noun phrase, subject/object/indirect object or adverb phrases.

The roots *vavine* ‘female’ and *tau* ‘male’ may be used with a noun to indicate gender.

(8)  

- *bai vavine-na*  
  pig female-3SG  
  ‘pig (female)’

Number is not marked on the noun. However, plurality is indicated in the verb and noun phrase (see §2.3 and §3.1). Definiteness may be marked on the noun phrase (see §3.1.2.3).

There are some mass nouns (non-countable) that cannot take certain quantifiers, for example, *nanu* ‘water’ and *iavara* ‘wind’:

(9)  

- *nanu barego*  
  water big  
  ‘much water’

but not:

(10)  

- *nanu ꙗutuma*  
  water many

2.1.1 Simple nouns (noun classes)

Nouns in Sinaugoro are either alienably possessed or inalienably possessed.

2.1.1.1 Inalienably possessed nouns

Inalienably possessed nouns include kinship terms, names of body parts, personal characteristics (e.g. strength, name), and also partitive and attributive relationships. The possessive suffix is attached to the possessed noun and the personal pronoun is optional.

Kinship terms:

(11)  

- *(Au) tama-gu roğosi b-e-ne rağasi.*  
  1SG father-1SG not.yet R-3SG-I/II arrive  
  ‘My father hasn’t arrived yet.’

Body parts:

(12)  

- *gima-na*  
  arm-3SG  
  ‘his arm’
Personal characteristics:

(13)  
\[ \text{au vari-gu} \]
1SG news-1SG
‘the news about me’

Partitive relationships:

(14)  
\[ \text{gau rega-na} \]
tree branch-3SG
‘the tree’s branch’

Attributive relationships:

(15)  
\[ \text{vari namo-na} \]
news good-3SG
‘good news’

2.1.1.2 Alienably possessed nouns

Among the alienably possessed nouns there is a further subtype, edible, which indicates that the item in possession is to be eaten, drunk, smoked or chewed. For this edible subtype the possessive suffix is attached to \( \text{g} \) as opposed to the neutral subtype where it is attached to \( \text{g} \). The possessive pronouns precede the possessed noun.

i. neutral possessive pronoun \( \text{g} \) + possessive suffix

(16)  
\[ (\text{Au}) \text{ge-gu numa-i a tanu-ta\~no-ni.} \]
1SG NTR-1SG house-in 1SG stay-sit-IMPF
‘I am sitting in my house.’

ii. edible possessive pronoun \( \text{g} \) + possessive suffix

(17)  
\[ (\text{Au}) \text{ga-gu mose b-a gani.} \]
1SG ED-1SG sweet.potato R-1SG eat
‘I ate my sweet potatoes.’

A more thorough description of the possessive system is presented in §3.1.1.

2.1.2 Nouns derived with derivational affixes

Nouns may be derived from verbs by adding the derivational prefix \( \text{ve-} \):

(18)  
\[ \text{Au ma ge-gu ve-dana\~gi.} \]
1SG with NTR-1SG DER-ask
‘I have a question.’

(19)  
\[ \text{Ve-gogo tu ai-toma?} \]
DER-gather TOP L/T-today
‘When is the meeting?’

They may also be derived by adding both the derivational prefix \( \text{ve-} \) and the causative prefix \( \text{vaga-} \):

(20)  
\[ \text{ve-vaga-riba} \]
DER-CAUS-know
‘teaching’
There is an instance where the nominalising suffix -ğa is added to the verb vei 'do' becoming veiğa 'behaviour, custom', and also to a set of deictics: mai 'this', mani 'that', mo 'that (farther away)' > mai-ğa 'this one', mani-ğa 'that one', mo-ğa 'that one (farther away)'.

2.1.3 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are noun-noun or noun-adjective, but do not take possessive suffixing. Names for places, villages and language groups may be compound nouns:

(22) Saroa-kei
Saroa-small
'theme of a village'

(23) Gara-ğoro
cemetery-hill
'theme of a place'

Compound nouns in Sinaugoro are written as one word.

2.1.4 Reduplicated nouns

The nouns where the roots are fully reduplicated have a different meaning from the root:

motu  'name of language'  motumotu  'island'
manu  'bird'  manumanu  'insects'
ğani  'type of banana'  ğanığani  'food'
sina  'mother'  sinasina  'legend'

One noun is only partially reduplicated:

tarima  'people'  tarima-rima  'many people'

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

There is one set of personal pronouns which may function as subject, object or complement, and as such these may either stand on their own or may occur in possessive noun phrases.

Personal pronouns are optional since there are person affixes on the verb. Under certain conditions, such as introducing, emphasising or contrasting a participant, personal pronouns must occur. The person is also marked on the verb. The use of free pronouns is fairly frequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>goi</td>
<td>gia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In examples (26)–(28) the personal pronouns are used as a device to introduce the participants, and since the subject participants have already been introduced there is no need to repeat the pronoun in the second part of the sentence. For contrast (24) and emphasis (25) personal pronouns are employed.

In the following example the personal pronoun can be used for contrast, emphasis or introduction of a participant depending on the context:

(29)  Tama-na na bai ta gia e vini-a-to.  
father-3SG ERG pig one 3SG.IO 3SG give-3SG-PERF  
‘His father gave him a pig.’

The subject of a transitive or ditransitive clause, whether noun or pronoun, is indicated by the ergative marker -na. Various syntactic devices such as object incorporation, reflexive and reciprocal formation, and topicalisation delete the ergative marking for different reasons (see Tauberschmidt 1992).

When used as a direct or indirect object the personal pronoun is not marked with the ergative marker.
Both subject and object may be marked with the topic marker *tu* (see examples (24) and (28)).

Personal pronouns can be combined with a following possessive pronoun and a postposition, or only a following postposition to indicate location and comitative. The following combinations are possible:

i. **PERS + POSS + PP** *na* ‘from’ *(source)*

(30) \(\text{Gia } \text{ge-na } na a \text{ iagoma-ni.}\)

3SG NTR-3SG from 1SG come-IMPF

‘I am coming from him.’

ii. **PERS + POSS + PP** *ai* ‘to’ *(goal)*

(31) \(\text{Gia } \text{ge-na-i a iago-ni.}\)

3SG NTR-3SG-to 1SG go-IMPF

‘I am going to him.’

iii. **PERS + PP** *gesi* ‘with’ *(comitative)*

(32) \(\text{Gia } \text{gesi Geresi } \text{gana } \text{ga } \text{iago-to.}\)

3SG with Geresi to 1PL.EXC go-PERF

‘I went with him to Geresi.’

### 2.2.2 Isolative pronouns

The isolative pronoun indicates that the person does something on his or her own. The personal subject pronoun stands in addition to the isolative pronoun and occurs under the conditions mentioned in §2.2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>(PERS)</th>
<th>alone-POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(au)</td>
<td>gerega-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(goi)</td>
<td>gerega-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>gerega-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>(gita)</td>
<td>gerega-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>(gai)</td>
<td>gerega-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(gomi)</td>
<td>gerega-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>gerega-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(33) \(\text{Gia } \text{gerega-na } \text{numa-i e } \text{tanu-ni.}\)

3SG alone-3SG house-in 3SG stay-IMPF

‘He lives alone in the house.’

(34) \(\text{Gerega-ri } \text{ge } \text{gani-veaga-ni.}\)

alone-3PL 3PL eat-separate-IMPF

‘They are eating by themselves to gain power.’
2.2.3 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronoun consists of the noun tau 'man' suffixed with the appropriate possessive pronoun (marking alienable possession). It is used to emphasise the fact that some action is/was/will be performed by some person alone, and not by someone else. Emphatic pronouns are frequently used with the reflexive form of the verb (see ve- in §2.3.1.1.1) to express reflexivity. For the occurrence of the personal pronoun see §2.2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>(PERS)</th>
<th>man-NTR-POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(au)</td>
<td>tau-geh-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(goi)</td>
<td>tau-geh-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>tau-geh-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>(gita)</td>
<td>tau-geh-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>(gai)</td>
<td>tau-geh-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(gomi)</td>
<td>tau-geh-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>tau-geh-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1SG NTR-1SG pig man-NTR-1SG ERG R-1SG kill-3SG  
'I killed my pig myself.'

(36) Gia tau-geh-na e ve-va-gi-to.  
3SG man-NTR-3SG 3SG DER-kill-PERF  
'He killed himself.'

(37) Gia tau-geh-ri geh ve-va-gi-to.  
3PL man-NTR-3PL 3PL DER-kill-PERF  
'They killed themselves.' (suicide)

2.2.4 Possessive pronouns and suffixes

2.2.4.1 Possessive suffixes indicating inalienable possession

There are two sets of possessives, based on their use with alienably versus inalienably possessed nouns. The personal pronouns can be left out under certain conditions (see §2.1.1) and the phrase is still a complete phrase. This is true also for alienable possession. For more information concerning possessives see §3.1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>(PERS)</th>
<th>N-POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(au)</td>
<td>N-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(goi)</td>
<td>N-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>N-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural:

1PL.INC  (gīta)  N-ra  ‘our’
1PL.EXC  (gai)  N-ma  ‘our’
2PL  (gomi)  N-mi  ‘your’
3PL  (gia)  N-ri  ‘their’

(38)  (Au) tama-gu  tu  tau  namo-na.
1SG father-1SG  TOP  man  good-3SG
‘My father is a good man.’

2.2.4.2 Possessive pronouns indicating alienable possession

These possessive pronouns are based on ĝe ‘neutral possession marker’ (NTR) or ĝa ‘edible possession marker’ (ED), plus the possessive suffix appropriate to the person. The possessive pronouns precede the noun which they modify (see §3.1.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Neutral with ĝe</th>
<th>Edible with ĝa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ĝe-gu</td>
<td>ĝa-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ĝe-mu</td>
<td>ĝa-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ĝe-na</td>
<td>ĝa-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>ĝe-ra</td>
<td>ĝa-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>ĝe-ma</td>
<td>ĝa-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ĝe-mi</td>
<td>ĝa-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ĝe-ri</td>
<td>ĝa-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39)  (Au) ĝe-gu  vanuğa  tu  kei.
1SG NTR-1SG  village  TOP  small
‘My village is small.’

(40)  (Gia) ĝa-ri  bai  be-ĝe  vaği-a.
3SG ED-3PL  pig  R-3PL  kill-3SG
‘They killed their pig (to eat it).’

There is an alternative construction for what seems to be neutral alienable possession. Here the ergative marker -na occurs after the personal pronoun and before the thing possessed.

(41)  Au-na  motuka  e  rakava-to.
1SG-ERG  car  3SG  bad-PERF
‘My car got damaged.’

Note: Auna ‘my’ is written as one word when it functions as a possessive pronoun in a noun phrase, and au na ‘I’ is written as two words when it functions as the subject of a transitive clause.

(For further discussion on this topic see Tauberschmidt (1992).)
2.2.5 Dual and trial forms

These are formed by adding the possessive plural suffixes to tau ‘man’ and the numerals ruārua ‘two’, toitoi ‘three’ etc. follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>man-POSS</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>‘we two/three’</th>
<th>‘you two/three’</th>
<th>‘they two/three’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>tau-ra</td>
<td>ruārua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>tau-ma</td>
<td>ruārua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tau-mi</td>
<td>ruārua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>tau-ri</td>
<td>ruārua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(42)  
Tau-mi toi-toi moŋo bo-ŋo iaŋoma.  
man-2PL three-RED only R-2PL come  
‘Only the three of you came.’

2.3 Verbs

The Sinaugoro verb is clearly the most complex feature of the Sinaugoro language. The following features are all indicated by verbal affixes: person and number of the subject, person and number of the object if its goal is realised, tense, mode, aspect and repeated action. These functions will be described in this chapter which focuses on the structure and function of the verb as a word.

ELEMENTS IN THE VERB

All elements that can occur in the verb are listed in the following order:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

ma ‘S’ -a ve- vaŋa- ‘V’ -O’ -to ţoi ma -si

' = categories  
1 ma = ‘repeated action’  
2 ‘S’ = subject marker including number, person, mode, tense  
3 -a = ‘different location (from hearer and speaker)’  
- ma = ‘(towards) at speaker’  
- si = ‘(towards) at hearer’  
4 ve- = DER ‘reciprocal/reflexive’  
5 vaŋa- = ‘causative’  
6 ‘V’ = ‘verb root’  
‘COMP.V’ = ‘compound verb’  
7 ‘-O’ = ‘object marker’  
8 -to = ‘perfective aspect’  
- ni = ‘imperfective aspect’  
9 ţoi = ‘habitual/continuous’
2.3.1 Verb nucleus

Four classes of word roots may function as the nucleus of the verb: verbs, adjectives, nouns and numerals. The use of nouns is more limited than the use of verb and adjective roots.

Verbs:

(43) Mai numa bi-si-ni rovo-a.
this house R-1PL.INC-I/I pull.down-3SG
‘Let us pull down this house.’

Adjectives:

(44) Manuğa e namo-to.
wound 3SG good-PERF
‘The sore healed.’

Nouns:

(45) E manu-to.
3SG bird-PERF
‘He became a bird.’

Numerals:

(46) Gita tu roğosi ta-na sebona.
1PL.INC TOP not.yet 1PL.INC-I/I one
‘We have not become united yet.’

2.3.1.1 Verbal root or base

In general, the term root is applicable to the simplest form in which the verb can occur (e.g. riba ‘know’). The term base is applicable to a form in which an element is added, which then in turn functions as a root to which other elements are added. Thus Sinaugoro riba ‘know’ becomes vağa-riba ‘inform’ by adding the causative prefix; each may take the S-M-T particle bana ‘I must’ as bana riba ‘I must know’ or bana vağa-riba ‘I must inform’. Vağariba now functions as a base, that is, a root to which further morphemes may be added.

The derivative forms usable in the above manner as bases in the Sinaugoro language are:
1. causative 2. reciprocal 3. reflexive.

2.3.1.1.1 Derivational affixes

a) Derivational prefix ve-

The derivational prefix ve- is attached to either the verb root or the causative prefix vağa-. The function of the prefix ve- in the verb is to show that the action was either reciprocal or reflexive (in the latter case the emphatic pronoun is also needed):

i. reciprocal action

(47) (Gia) be-ğe ve-vaği.
(3PL) R-3PL DER-kill
‘They fought (each other).’
ii. reflexive action (emphatic pronoun tau-ge-na + ve-)

(48) Gia tau-ge-ri geh ve-vagHo.
3PL man-NTR-3PL 3PL DER-kill-PERF
'They killed themselves (suicide).'

(49) Tau-ge-na e ve-bora-to.
man-NTR-3SG 3SG DER-hang-PERF
'He hanged himself.'

b) Causative prefix vağa-

The causative prefix vağa- is added to certain verb roots as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>intransitive</th>
<th>transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>riba</td>
<td>'know'</td>
<td>vaga-riba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vonu</td>
<td>'full'</td>
<td>vaga-vonu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namo</td>
<td>'good'</td>
<td>vaga-namo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanagi</td>
<td>'pass'</td>
<td>vaga-vanagi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causative prefix changes intransitive verb roots into transitive stems. Compare the following sentences. The verb in the second sentence is prefixed by vağa- and is therefore transitive:

(50) N-o vanaği, asi kara ta.
I/I-2SG pass NEG what one
'It's all right, you can pass.'

(51) Guro nanu-na n-o vaga-vanagi-a baket ai.
pot water-3SG I/I-2SG CAUS-pass-3SG G bucket in
'Pour the water which is in the pot into the bucket.'

The elements of the verb are described in §2.3.2, §2.3.3 and §2.3.4.

### 2.3.2 Subject-mode-tense particle

Schematic representation of the subject-mode-tense particle
(see §2.3, under 2 in the order of verb elements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>INTENSIVE/IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immed.</td>
<td>remote</td>
<td>immed.</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b-a</td>
<td>n-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>b-o</td>
<td>n-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>b-e</td>
<td>n-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1PL.INC</th>
<th>1PL.EXC</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>bi-ta</td>
<td>bi-ta-na/ta-na/si-ni/ta-ran</td>
<td>bi-ta-na/ta-ran</td>
<td>be-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-ta-ri</td>
<td>bi-ta-na/ta-na/si-ni/ta-ran</td>
<td>bi-ta-na/ta-ran</td>
<td>be-ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-ge-na</td>
<td>bi-ge-re</td>
<td>be-ge-ne</td>
<td>bi-ge-re</td>
<td>be-ge-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-ge-re</td>
<td>be-ge-ne</td>
<td>bi-ge-re</td>
<td>be-ge-re</td>
<td>be-ge-re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: There are two forms used in the intensive/imperative mode plural which are interchangeable: bitana is used interchangeably with bisini ‘let us (INC)...later’ and sini with tana ‘let us (INC)...soon’. However, in the immediate form si ‘let us (INC)...now’ cannot be interchanged with ta.

Realis:

(52) A ґani-ґani-ni.
1SG eat-RED-IMPF
‘I am eating.’

Intensive/Imperative:

(53) B-a-na ґani-ґani.
R-1SG-I/1 eat-RED
‘I’d like to eat/I have to eat/I must eat.’

Irrealis:

(54) B-a-ra ґani-ґani senaği asi ґa-gu.
R-1SG-IRR eat-RED but NEG ED-1SG
‘I would have eaten/I would eat, but I don’t have anything.’

The subject markers in ‘S’ also include morphemes marking the mode and tense. The order of the elements is tense-number-person-mode. Within the realis, irrealis and intensive/imperative modes there are two tense subdivisions, immediate and remote. The immediate tense is used for those actions which occur at the present time, and the remote tense is used for those actions which occur at a time relatively remote from the present.

Diagram:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{past} & \text{present} & \text{future} \\
\text{remote} \multicolumn{2}{c}{\text{remote}}
\end{array}
\]\n
Note, however, that the remote forms may overlap into the present:

(55) Ge-ra buka bi-si-ni keo-ri.
NTR-1PL.INC book R-1PL.INC-I/1 open-3PL
‘Let us open our books.’

In example (55) the remote form is used to make the imperative less strong.

We would expect the immediate irrealis in the singular to be ra, ro, re but such forms do not exist. Instead the remote irrealis forms are used.

There are two immediate intensive/imperative plural forms which have the same meaning, although the shorter form seems to be a little stronger.

The unmarked form for each of the morphemes in the subject marker, except for person, is zero; thus immediate tense, singular and realis mode are all marked by 0. The number marking for the first person plural inclusive is t, for the intensive/imperative mode si, and for all the other plurals g.

2.3.2.1 Realis mode

Since the realis mode is marked by 0, the person/number marking stands alone. Realis is used to describe situations that are real.
2.3.2.1.1 Immediate

These forms can occur with the aspect suffix -ni ‘imperfective’ or the aspect suffix -to ‘perfective’:

Paradigm:

- *a raka-ni* ‘I am going’
- *o raka-ni* ‘you are going’
- *e raka-ni* ‘he, she, it is going’
- *ta raka-ni* ‘we (INC) are going’
- *ga raka-ni* ‘we (EXC) are going’
- *go raka-ni* ‘you (PL) are going’
- *ge raka-ni* ‘they are going’

Paradigm:

- *a raka-to* ‘I went’
- *o raka-to* ‘you went’
- *e raka-to* ‘he, she, it went’
- *ta raka-to* ‘we (INC) went’
- *ga raka-to* ‘we (EXC) went’
- *go raka-to* ‘you (PL) went’
- *ge raka-to* ‘they went’

Realis immediate verbs when occurring with the imperfective aspect suffix are used to express:

i. present continuous action

(56) *Goi kara o vei-ni?*
   2SG what 2SG do-IMPF
   ‘What are you doing?’

(57) *A tanu-ni.*
   1SG stay-IMPF
   ‘I am staying.’

ii. present habitual action

(58) *A gauvei-ni.*
   1SG work-IMPF
   ‘I work regularly.’

Realis immediate verbs when occurring with the perfective aspect suffix -to are used to express events that are completed. However, they cannot be used for completed events of today, only of yesterday or longer ago. If the action was completed today the verb would be in realis mode with remote tense without any perfective or imperfective suffix (see §2.3.2.1.2).

(59) *Gia na gat ge gabi-tuŋu-ma-to.*
   3PL ERG 1PL.EXC 3PL take-send-1PL.EXC-PERF
   ‘They said farewell to us.’
2.3.2.1.2 Remote

Realis remote forms are indicated by the marker $b$. These forms occur either without any aspect suffix or with the aspect suffix -$ni$.

Paradigm:

*ba* raka  ‘I went’
*bo* raka  ‘you went’
*be* raka  ‘he, she, it went’
*bita* raka  ‘we (INC) went’
*bağa* raka  ‘we (EXC) went’
*boğo* raka  ‘you (PL) went’
*beğe* raka  ‘they went’

Paradigm:

*ba* raka-$ni$  ‘I will go’
*bo* raka-$ni$  ‘you will go’
*be* raka-$ni$  ‘he, she, it will go’
*bita* raka-$ni$  ‘we (INC) will go’
*bağa* raka-$ni$  ‘we (EXC) will go’
*boğo* raka-$ni$  ‘you (PL) will go’
*beğe* raka-$ni$  ‘they will go’

The realis remote tense forms are used without any aspect suffix in the following instances.

i. for events that have already started to take place or have taken place

(60)  
B-a keve.  
R-1SG sick  
‘I have become sick (today).’

(61)  
Gia b-e rağasi.  
3SG R-3SG arrive  
‘He has arrived (today).’

(62)  
B-a vaisi.  
R-1SG leave  
‘I have left.’

(63)  
Lağani sebona PNG ai bağa tanu.  
year one PNG in R-1PLEXC live  
‘We have been living in PNG for one year.’

ii. to make stories relevant (only used by some old people) (Usually the perfective aspect is used when telling stories.)

The realis remote form with the imperfective aspect suffix -$ni$ is used to refer to future events which have not yet taken place, but which definitely will take place.

i. future events

(64)  
Boinani vau b-a iağosi-$ni$.  
tomorrow then R-1SG come.to.hearer-IMPF  
‘I am going to come tomorrow.’
You will fall (if you are not careful)!

ii. conditions

If you clean the floor it will look nice.

2.3.2.2 Intensive/imperative mode

The intensive/imperative mode is indicated by the marker na. In the plural, though, there is a second set without marking. Both sets seem to have the same meaning, although the unmarked one might be a bit stronger and more definite. That means, na makes the imperatives slightly weaker. For example:

(67) B-a iagosi-ni.
R-1SG come.to.hearer-IMPF
‘I will (surely) come (to you).’

(68) B-a-na iagosi.
R-1SG-I/I come.to.hearer
‘I intend to come.’

In example (67) certainty is expressed, whereas in (68) some doubt is implied.

In Sinaugoro the intensive/imperative mode could never ever be used to express a conditional clause. Note, however, that in Aroma, a related language, the same particle na is used for both intensive/imperative and certain and definite events such as in (67) and (69).

What about the intensive/imperative forms in the singular? These correspond to the unmarked plural forms in meaning. Is the n- in the singular forms the same as the intensive/imperative marker na? But why is it stronger then? Or are there just two sets of immediate realis forms (in Motu na is first person singular realis), one used for realis (unmarked) and the other for intensive/imperative mode (marked). This is true for first person plural inclusive realis immediate, though. The first person plural inclusive realis immediate form is ta, and the first person plural inclusive intensive/imperative form is si.

2.3.2.2.1 Immediate

The singular is marked with the prefix n- and the plural is either unmarked or marked with na. The verb in the intensive immediate mode either takes no aspect marking or the continuous/habitual aspect clitic goi.
Paradigm:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
na \ tanu & 'let me stay/I must stay' \\
no \ tanu & 'you want to stay/you must stay' \\
ne \ tanu & 'let him stay/he must stay' \\
si \ tanu & 'let us (INC) stay/we must stay' \\
\vec{g}a \ tanu & 'let us (EXC) stay/we must stay' \\
\vec{g}o \ tanu & 'you (PL) want to stay/you must stay' \\
\vec{g}e \ tanu & 'let them stay/they must stay' \\
tana/ & \\
si \ gana \ tanu & 'let us (INC) stay/we must stay' \\
\vec{g}ono \ tanu & 'let us (EXC) stay/we must stay' \\
\vec{g}ene \ tanu & 'you (PL) want to stay/you must stay' \\
\end{array}
\]

These forms are used to express:

i. immediate imperative, obligation or wish

(70) \textit{Go raga-vei!} \\
2PL run-do \\
'Hurry up!'

(71) \textit{Gata-gu n-a \vec{g}ita-ia.} \\
friend-1SG I/I-1SG see-3SG \\
'I must (want to) see my friend now.'

(72) \textit{Ta-na \vec{g}eno\vec{g}oi.} \\
1PL.INC-I/ return \\
'Let us go back/We must/have to go back/We want to go back.'

(73) \textit{Barau \vec{g}e-na-i ta-na nogi-ra\vec{g}e-vini-a \vec{g}oi.} \\
God NTR-3SG-to 1PL.INC-I/ ask-up-give-3SG C/H \\
'Let us keep on asking God.'

ii. purpose

(74) \textit{Vavine \vec{g}ara\vec{g}o-na n-e se\vec{g}a\vec{g}i \vec{g}ana e ta\vec{g}i-to.} \\
woman spouse-3SG I/I-3SG hear to 3SG cry-PERF \\
'His wife cried so that her husband might hear it.'

2.3.2.2.2 Remote

The remote form is indicated by the marker \textit{b}. It implies that the action may take place sometime in the future.

Paradigm:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
bana \ i\vec{a}\vec{g}o & 'let me go/I must go (later)' \\
bono \ i\vec{a}\vec{g}o & 'you want to go/you must go' \\
bene \ i\vec{a}\vec{g}o & 'he wants to go/he must go' \\
\end{array}
\]
These forms are used to express:

i. events that are intended to be completed (later). In this case rogiatan ‘not yet’ must precede the verb:

(75) Gani-ŋani rogiatan b-e-ne meu.
food-RED not.yet R-3S G-III cooked
‘The food is not cooked yet.’

ii. imperative

(76) Tarima maia be-geh-ne iagoma.
people also R-3PL-I/I come
‘Some more people must/have to come (not immediately, but later).’

(77) Asi b-o-no tuğamaği-meto.
NEG R-2SG-I/I think-heavy
‘Don’t worry.’

iii. purpose

(78) Jesu tu Ioane geh-na-i e iago-to Ioane na
Jesus TOP John NTR-3SG-to 3SG go-PERF John ERG
b-e-ne babatiso-a ġana.
R-3SG-I/I baptise-3SG to
‘Jesus went to John in order that he would baptise him.’

iv. wish

(79) Au maki b-a-na iago.
1SG also R-1SG-I/I go
‘I would also like to go.’

2.3.2.3 Irrealis mode

The irrealis mode is indicated by the marker ra. There are no forms for the immediate singular. This is expressed by using the remote singular forms.

2.3.2.3.1 Immediate

The immediate forms which are unmarked for tense only exist in the plural. To express singular the remote forms are employed. The irrealis forms do not occur with the aspect markers.
Paradigm:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tara } & \text{ia\-go} & \text{‘we (INC) should go’} \\
\text{gar\-a } & \text{ia\-go} & \text{‘we (EXC) should go’} \\
\text{gor\-o } & \text{ia\-go} & \text{‘you (PL) should go’} \\
\text{gere } & \text{ia\-go} & \text{‘they should go’}
\end{align*}
\]

The immediate irrealis forms are used to express immediate unrealised events:

\[(80)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gita } & \text{tu } \text{United Church } \text{nu\-\-\-\-na-i } \text{sen\-\-\-\-\-i } \text{ro\-\-\-\-s\-\-i} \\
\text{1P.L.I.NC } & \text{TOP } \text{United Church inside-3S.G-in } \text{but } \text{not.yet } \\
\text{ta-ra } & \text{se\-bo.na.} \\
\text{1P.L.I.NC-IRR } & \text{one}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Although we are in the United Church, we are not yet united.’

\[(81)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mande\-i } & \text{ge-re } \text{ia\-\-\-\-oma } \text{sen\-\-\-\-\-i } \text{fa\-\-\-\-\-ai misi } \text{e } \text{ka\-\-\-\-ibo-to} \\
\text{Monday } & \text{3Pl-IRR come } \text{but } \text{flying machine 3S.G slow-PERF } \\
\text{nai } & \text{Tues\-dei } \text{ge } \text{ia\-\-\-\-oma-to.} \\
\text{because } & \text{Tuesday } \text{3Pl come-PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They wanted to come on Monday but since the plane was late they arrived on Tuesday.’

2.3.2.3.2 Remote

The remote irrealis mode is indicated by the marker $b$ and is used to point out the following: unrealised events of the past which had not yet taken place at the time of some other event referred to; polite requests or wishes; and conditions.

Paradigm:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bara } & \text{tanu} & \text{‘I should stay’} \\
\text{boro } & \text{tanu} & \text{‘you should stay’} \\
\text{bere } & \text{tanu} & \text{‘he should stay’} \\
\text{bitara } & \text{tanu} & \text{‘we (INC) should stay’} \\
\text{ba\-\-\-\-ga } & \text{tanu} & \text{‘we (EXC) should stay’} \\
\text{bo\-\-\-\-go } & \text{ro } \text{tanu} & \text{‘you (PL) should stay’} \\
\text{be\-\-\-\-ge } & \text{ro } \text{tanu} & \text{‘they should stay’}
\end{align*}
\]

i. remote unrealised events

\[(82)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Iesu } & \text{tama-n\-a } \text{ge-na-i } \text{ro\-\-\-\-s\-\-i } \text{b-e-re } \text{\-geno\-\-\-goi} \\
\text{Jesus } & \text{father-3S.G } \text{NTR-3S.G-to } \text{not.yet } \text{R-3S.G-IRR } \text{return } \\
\text{nai } & \text{gia } \text{tu } \text{e } \text{no\-\-\-\-gi-no\-\-\-\-gi-to } \text{tar\-\-\-\-\-ima-r\-\-\-\-ma } \text{\-ge-r\-i.} \\
\text{when } & \text{3S.G TOP 3S.G ask-RED-PERF people-RED NTR-3Pl}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Before Jesus had returned to the father he prayed for the people.’
ii. polite requests or wishes

(83) Gerhard, mani ţe-mu vei-ţa b-o-ro iaţoma Bore
Gerhard that NTR-2SG do-NOM R-2SG-IRR come Bore
haroro tau-na ţesi si-ma gurugu-gurugu.  
preach man-3SG with 1PL.INC.at.speaker talk-RED
‘Gerhard, would you mind coming to talk with the pastor from Bore.’

iii. unreal conditions

(84) Bere namo mo numa mainai bo-ţo-ro raga-ia.
if good that house here R-2PL-IRR build-3SG
‘It would have been good if you had built that house here.’

(85) Bere b-e-re daro-a, kurabo ţitaţita-na
if R-3SG-IRR sweep-3SG floor appearance-3SG
b-e-re namo.
R-3SG-IRR good
‘If she had swept, the floor would have been clean.’

2.3.3 Other verbal clitics, prefixes and suffixes

2.3.3.1 Repeated action clitic ma

The clitic ma ‘repeated action’ is the first morpheme in the verb phrase, and is used to indicate repetition of an action. It can occur in all modes and aspects and both tenses.

(86) Nado ta ma e giro-a-to.
stone one again 3SG hurl-3SG-PERF
‘And again he threw a stone.’

(87) Gai ma ba-ţa ţenoţoi-ni.
1PL.EXC again R-1PL.EXC return-IMPF
‘We will come back again.’

2.3.3.2 Spatial markers a, ma, si

2.3.3.2.1 Spatial marker a

The marker a ‘different location (from hearer and speaker)’ stands after the S-M-T particle and means that the action will take/took place at a distance from both the speaker and the person spoken to. It does not occur in the first person because of the double a problem (e.g. ba-a fou becomes bafou ‘I washed myself (over there)’).

(88) B-o-a fou?
R-2SG-different.location wash
‘Did you wash yourself (in the river over there or somewhere the one asking doesn’t necessarily know)?’

(89) a. Go ţaraţo-mu ai-ţana b-e iaţo?
2SG spouse-2SG L/T-to R-3SG go
‘Where did your spouse go?’
b. *Mosbi ga na b-e ia go!*
Moresby to R-3SG go
‘He went to Moresby!’

c. *Kara b-e-a vei?*
what R-3SG-different.location do
‘What did he do there?’

### 2.3.3.2.2 Spatial marker *ma*

The marker *ma* stands after the S-M-T particle and can occur with all modes and aspects and carries the meaning ‘(towards) at speaker’. However, the notion of location is in focus which is also true for the other two spatial markers (*a* ‘different location’ and *si* ‘at hearer').

(90) *Si-ma ga ni-gani.*
1PL.INC.I/1-at.speaker eat-RED
‘Let us eat here.’

(91) *N-o ia go-ma va mo ka-i n-o-ma gau vei!*
I/I-2SG go-come garden-in I/I-2SG-at.speaker work
‘Come and work in the garden here!’

In example (90) the implication is of course that someone has to come first in order to eat near the speaker, but still location is in focus. In (91) there are two verbs, the first one emphasises direction *ia goma* ‘come’, the second emphasises location *noma gau vei* ‘work here’.

### 2.3.3.2.3 Spatial marker *si*

The marker *si* stands after the S-M-T particle and can occur with all modes and aspects and carries the meaning ‘at hearer’.

(92) *Lae ai ga-si ta nu-to goi.*
Lae in 1PL.EXC-at.hearer stay-PERF C/H
‘We used to stay in Lae (at the hearer’s place).’

Note: The spatial markers -*ma*, -*a*, -*si* are attached to the S-M-T particle and emphasise a location, whereas *va*, *ma/-ma*, -*si* are attached to just a few verbs of motion and emphasise direction as in *va-rīgo* ‘go down’, *va-ra ğe* ‘go up’, *ma-rīgo* ‘come down’, *ma-ra ğe* ‘come up’, *ia ğo-ma* ‘come to speaker’ (go-come), *ia ğo-si* ‘go to hearer’.

As Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.:28) state: “*ma* is an active verb formative in Indonesian and Melanesian, but not in Motu”.

Motu: *mai* ‘come’ (verb) --- *me* ‘to/at speaker
Sinaugoro: *ia ğoma* ‘come’ (verb) --- *-ma* ‘at speaker’

### 2.3.3.3 Object suffixes

The object suffixes are attached to the verb root if only one root occurs, or to the last root in a serial verb construction. They are used for indirect or direct objects.
The object suffixes are similar to the possession suffixes with the exception of the third person singular (-a becomes -ia if the object suffix follows a root with final a). They are used when the object or goal is realised, and they add to the transitivity of the clause (see §4.1.2).

2.3.3.4 Aspect suffixes and aspect clitic

There are three morphemes indicating aspect in Sinaugoro, -ni ‘imperfective’, -to ‘perfective’ and ĝoi ‘continuous habitual’. The suffixes -ni and -to never occur together whereas the clitic ĝoi can be added to either -ni or -to.

Comrie (1976:16) defines perfective aspect in Sinaugoro as: “the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective aspect pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation”.

2.3.3.4.1 Perfective and imperfective suffixes -to and -ni

Both perfective and imperfective suffixes follow the object suffix when present; when there is no object suffix they follow the last verb root or modifier. They only occur in the realis mode.

The perfective suffix -to is used for completed events of yesterday or longer ago:

(93) Ĝoraĝani e iaĝoma-to.
yesterday 3SG come-PERF
‘He came yesterday.’

(94) Motuka e vare-vare-vini-gu-to.
car 3SG share-RED-give-1SG-PERF
‘He gave me a car (as a gift).’

The imperfective aspect suffix -ni is used to express:

i. continuous action in the present

(95) A tanu-taĝo-ni.
1SG stay-sit-IMPF
‘I am sitting.’

ii. habitual action in the present

(96) Au tu Mōsbi ai a ĝauvei-ni.
1SG TOP Moresby in 1SG work-IMPF
‘I work in Port Moresby.’

When -ni occurs with the marker b it refers to events in the future:
2.3.3.4.2 Continuous/habitual aspect clitic ǧoi

The continuous/habitual aspect clitic ǧoi may occur in all modes, aspects and tenses, and is used to express:

i. habitual action in the past

(98) Laŋani guine-na-i tarima ġutuma ġe bara-to goi.
year early-3SG-in people many 3PL dance-PERF C/H
‘In the early days many people used to dance.’

(99) Be-ǧe tanu ǧoi gabu-na ara-na Saroa.
R-3PL live C/H place-3SG name-3SG Saroa
‘They used to live at Saroa.’

ii. iterative action (the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation)

(100) Mare Ĝiaiva na ġuiato e kea-ri-to ǧoi.
Mare Gaiva ERG girl 3SG call-3PL-PERF C/H
‘Mare Gaiva repeatedly called the girls.’

iii. continuous action

(101) N-o guruga ǧoi.
I/I-2SG talk C/H
‘Keep on talking.’

iv. simultaneity (during a span of time a punctiliar event takes place)

(102) Ĝita ta ġauvei-to ǧoi nai, tama Rome e raĝasi-to.
1PL.INC 1PL.INC work-PERF C/H while father Rome 3SG arrive-PERF
‘While we were working Father Rome arrived.’

(103) A ġauvet-ni got nuŋanai motuka guru-na b-a sefaq-a.
1SG work-IMPF C/H while car noise-3SG R-1SG hear-3SG
‘While I was working I heard the sound of a car.’

(104) Numa-i b-a tanu-taŋo-ni ǧoi nai b-o-no iągoma.
house-in R-1SG stay-sit-IMPF C/H while R-2SG-I/I come
‘While I will be sitting in the house you must come.’

In the practical orthography -goi is written with a hyphen to avoid confusion with ǧoi ‘you’.

2.3.4 Compound verbs

Compound verb stems are of several types including those composed of reduplicated verbs, root plus roots, and root plus modifiers to which the subject-mode-tense marker is added (and other verbal affixes if needed).
2.3.4.1 Verb root + verb root

This combination consists of verbs which can stand alone. Their relationship to each other is coordinative.

(105)  Gani-ğani n-o  ġwa-iaioma-ia.
       food-RED I/I-2SG carry-come-3SG
       ‘Bring the food.’

Other verbs in this category are:

 ġwa-iago
carry-go
‘to take’

tuğu-iago
send-go
‘to send’

2.3.4.2 Verb root + modifier

The modifier can only occur following the verb root it modifies.

(106)  A  buri-vaisi-ni.
       1SG jump-up-IMPF
       ‘I am jumping up.’

(107)  A  raka-toğa-ni.
       1SG walk-through-IMPF
       ‘I am walking through.’

(108)  A  raka-rosi-ni.
       1SG walk-out-IMPF
       ‘I am walking outside.’

Other verbs in this category are:

 tanu-taño
stay-sit
 ‘stay-sit’

tanu-tari
stay-sit.down
 ‘stay-sit down’

rağe-kau
climb-on
 ‘climb on’

Some modifiers can stand alone as a simple verb. In example (109) the modifier riği ‘down’ modifies a verb; in (110) it stands alone as an independent intransitive verb.

       coconut I/I-2SG throw-down-3SG
       ‘Throw down the coconut.’
Gerhard Tauberschmidt

(110) *Nanu e riği-ni.*
water 3SG downwards-IMPF
'The water is running downwards.'

Other combinations where the modifier can also be used as an independent verb are:

*raka-vanagi*
walk-across
'walk across'

*raka-guine*
walk-first
'go first'

2.3.4.3 Verb root + two modifiers

The following sentence exemplifies a verb root with two modifiers:

(111) *Numa ĝe raga-gini-ka u-a-t o.*
house 3PL build-good-on-3SG-PERF
'They built the house properly.'

Other examples are:

*raka-ĝariĝari*
walk-quickly
'walk quickly'

*raka-iaĝaiaga*
walk-breathing
'to be exhausted after walking'

2.3.4.4 Combinations with the auxiliary verb *vei* ‘do/make’

The auxiliary verb *vei* ‘do/make’ can also be used by itself as an independent verb:

(112) *Kara o vei-ni?*
what 2SG do-IMPF
'What are you doing?'

In combination with other verbs, *vei* may either precede or follow the other verb. It also occurs in combination with nouns preceding it.

i. preceding the verb

(113) *Asi b-o-no vei-babo-babo.*
NEG R-2SG-I/1 do-stupid-RED
'Don’t be silly.'

*vei-ĝarevaĝareva*
made-move
'to shake'

*vei-buse*
made-extinguish
'to blow/put out (extinguish)'
ii. following the verb

(114)  
N-o raga-vei!
I/I-2SG run-do
‘Hurry up!’

iii. occurring in combination with nouns preceding it

vei-vavine
do-woman
‘to show off’ (female)

vei-tau
do-man
‘to show off’ (male)

2.3.4.5 Reduplicated verbs

It is quite common to change a transitive simple verb into an intransitive verb by reduplicating the whole verb root:

(115)  
a. Mari ta ĝa mari-a-ni.
song one 1PL.EXC sing-3SG-IMPF
‘We are singing a song.’

b. Ĝa mari-mari-ni.
1PL.EXC sing-RED-IMPF
‘We are singing.’

2.3.5 The irregular verb ‘to say’ to, ta, si

There is just one irregular verb in Sinaugoro, which is realised as to ‘say’ in IMPF aspect +/- R, as ta in PERF +/- C/H, as si in I/I and IRR mode, and also in realis remote tense.

2.4 Adjectives

Many adjectives in Sinaugoro may function as adjectives, verbs or nouns. We may set up a group of adjectives that form opposition sets (see below) which are used for comparison. The adjective in itself is uninflected, but as the second or third element of a noun phrase adjectives agree in person and number with the head noun which they modify. The adjectives either occur alone or follow the noun they qualify or quantify. There are two types of adjectives: qualitative adjectives and quantitative adjectives.

2.4.1 Qualitative adjectives

These form opposition sets which may be grouped according to the following general classes:

Value:

namo  ‘good’  rakava  ‘bad’
Dimension:

- kei 'small'
- barego 'big'
- kubi 'short'
- mauka 'long'
- selaka 'shallow'
- dodoku 'deep'
- maćiği 'thin'
- baruka 'thick'

Age:

- varigu 'young'
- guine 'old'

Physical property:

- seguka 'hot'
- faraka 'cold'
- merağa 'light'
- meto 'heavy'

There are no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in Sinaugoro. But comparison can be expressed in the following ways using either adjectives or adjective phrases:

Comparative:

(116) Boregaina tu vanuğa bara-na, Saroa tu kei-na.
Boregaina TOP village big-3SG Saroa TOP small-3SG
'Boregaina is bigger than Saroa.' (lit. 'Boregaina is big, Saroa is small.')

(117) Lae tu barego lelevagi, Saroa tu kei.
Lae TOP big very Saroa TOP small
'Lae is much bigger than Saroa.' (lit. 'Lae is very big, Saroa is small.')

Superlative:

(118) Mota mabara-ri tu kei, avaro tu barego.
snake all-3PL TOP small snake.name TOP big
'Avaro is the biggest of all snakes.' (lit. 'All the snakes are small, avaro is big.')

Colour Adjectives:

A further set of adjectives in Sinaugoro are colour words, which have been formed by reduplication:

- kurokuro 'white'
- mağıta mağıta 'green'
- dubaradubara 'black'
- karavakarava 'light brown'

- borabora 'yellow'
- kakarakakara 'red'
- vairivaiori 'daylight blue'

2.4.2 Quantitative adjectives

Quantitative adjectives either occur alone or follow the noun that they modify.

- kota 'some'
- gutuma 'many'
- asi-sebo 'very many'
- not-one
- mabara-ra 'we all'
- all-1PL.INC
asiği-na  ‘none’
no-3SG

kwa-na  ‘part of it’
part-3SG
tavi-na  ‘half of it’
half-3SG
vake  ‘part of the betel nut’

Reduplicated forms:

viravira  ‘very few’
(vira can mean ‘a few’ or it can serve as the interrogative ‘how many’)

seborisebori  ‘one by one’
(seborisebori consists of sebo ‘one’ + -ri ‘3PL’)

Numerals:

The Sinaugoro counting system is a base-five system which counts as follows:

Cardinals

1  sebona
2  ruarua
3  toitoi
4  vasivasi
5  imaima
6  imaima sebona  (5+1)
7  imaima ruarua  (5+2)
8  imaima toitoi
9  imaima vasivasi
10  gabanana  (10)
11  gabanana sebona  (10+1)
12  gabanana ruarua  (10+2)
13  gabanana toitoi  (10+3)
14  gabanana vasivasi  (10+4)
15  gabanana imaima  (10+5)
16  gabanana imaima sebona  (10+5+1)
20  gabana ruarua  (10x2)
30  gabana toitoi  (10x3)
40  gabana vasivasi
50  gabana imaima
60  gabana imaima ma gabanana  (10x5+10)
100  sinau ta
200  sinau ruarua  (100x2)
1,000  đağara ta

The numbers sebo-na ‘one’ and gabana-na ‘ten’ are inflected by the third person singular suffix -na to indicate singularity.
Ordinals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guine</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vağa-ruaruana</td>
<td>'second'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vağa-toitoina</td>
<td>'third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vağa-vasivasina</td>
<td>'fourth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vağa-imaimana</td>
<td>'fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vağa-imaima sebona</td>
<td>'sixth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vağa-gabana ruaruana ruarua</td>
<td>'twenty-second'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ordinals from 'second' upwards are inflected by the third person singular suffix. Without this suffix the meaning would be, for example, vağa-toitoi 'three times'. Nowadays people do not use the reduplicated form, but simply say, for example, vağa-ruaruana 'second'. Only some very old people use the full form.

2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs can be distinguished from other words by the fact that they cannot take nominal or verbal morphology and that they only function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. (See §2.8 for a fuller treatment of deictic adverbs.)

They are divided into four groups: adverbs related to the definiteness/indefiniteness of action; adverbs of manner; adverbs of time; and adverbs of location.

2.5.1 Adverbs related to the definiteness/indefiniteness of action

These adverbs precede the verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>'just now here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mani</td>
<td>'just now there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vau mai</td>
<td>'just now here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roğosi</td>
<td>'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varau</td>
<td>'already'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mai 'now here'

(119)  Au mai a raka-ni.

1SG now.here 1SG go-1MPF

'I am going now.'

The person spoken to would reply:

mani 'now there'

(120) Mani o iago-ni.

now.there 2SG go-1MPF

'See you.' (lit. 'Now you are going.')</n
roğosi 'not yet'

(121) Au numa roğosi b-a-na raga-ia.

1SG house not yet R-1SG-I/I build-3SG

'I haven't built the house yet.'
varau ‘already’

(122) *Dauma varau e mase-to.*
Dauma already 3SG die-PERF
‘Dauma already died.’

vau mai ‘just.now.here’ (after a time)

(123) *Vau mai ţa varaţe-ni.*
later now.here 1PL.EXC go.up-IMPF
‘Now we are going up (back home) again.’

### 2.5.2 Adverbs of manner

There are three subgroups of manner adverbs: those that always precede the verb, those that occur ‘inside’ the verb, and those that can do either.

1. The largest group of manner adverbs always precedes the verb:

   *mai ģesi* ‘like this’ (near speaker)
   *ini ģesi* ‘like this’ (near speaker)
   *mani ģesi* ‘like that’ (far from speaker)
   *mo ģesi* ‘like that’ (farthest from both speaker and hearer)

(124) *Goi mani ģesi o vei-ni?*
2SG that like 2SG do-IMPF
‘Are you doing it like that?’

*vaţa-sebo* ‘once’
*vaţa-ruarua* ‘twice’
*vaţa-toitoi* ‘thrice’

(125) *Vaţa-toitoi e gofara-ri-to.*
CAUS-three 3SG lie-3PL-PERF
‘She lied to them three times.’

Note: The adverb *nega vaţa-toi* can be used instead of *vaţa-toitoi* ‘three times’ (*nega* ‘time’ comes from Motu).

*kai* ‘long ago’ (often)

(126) *Au kai b-a kea senaţi goi asi o seţaţi-ni.*
1SG often R-1SG call but 2SG NEG 2SG listen-IMPF
‘I often told you, but you haven’t listened.’

*asi kau* ‘very quickly’

(127) *Bibiţa-ri asi kau be-ţe kakara-ni.*
lip-3SG NEG long R-3PL red-IMPF
‘Their lips turned red very quickly.’

*maki* ‘also’

(128) *Mo ţe-ri ţe mari-ni, mai ţe-ri maki ţe*
that NTR-3PL 3PL sing-IMPF this NTR-3PL also 3PL
Those are singing, they are singing too.'

\[ \text{mo\-\~go} \text{ 'only'} \]

(129) \text{Dauma rara-na mo\-\~go \~ge iamuse-a-to.}
Dauma blood-3SG only 3PL leak-3SG-PERF
'Only they were able to leak Dauma's blood.'

2. Those adverbs of manner which only occur in a compound verb construction (see §2.3.4) are as follows:

\[ \text{\~gari-mogi} \text{'quickly' } \]
\[ \text{\~gari-\~gari} \text{'quickly'} \]
\[ \text{gini-kau} \text{'very well'} \]

(130) \text{B-o raga-\~gari-\~gari.}
R-2SG run-quickly-RED
'You ran quickly.'

3. The following adverb of manner can occur either inside the verb or preceding it:

\[ \text{vana\-\~giva\-\~nagi} \text{'continually, again and again'} \]

(131) \text{Barau e tanu-\~vani\-\~giva-ni Barau-na.}
God 3SG stay-always-RED-IMPF God-3SG
'God is the one who remains for ever.'

(132) \text{Vana\-\~giva \~gari guri-\~guri-ni.}
always-RED 1P L.EXC pray-RED-IMPF
'We always go to the service.'

2.5.3 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time either occur in adverb phrases of time or precede the verb:

\[ \text{\~gwatani} \text{'day before yesterday'} \]
\[ \text{\~gora\-\~gani} \text{'yesterday'} \]
\[ \text{toma} \text{'today'} \]
\[ \text{mai/ini toma} \text{'now, nowadays'} \]
\[ \text{boinani} \text{'tomorrow'} \]
\[ \text{ila\-\~gani} \text{'day after tomorrow'} \]
\[ \text{ila\-\~gaita} \text{'two days after tomorrow'} \]
\[ \text{guine} \text{'first'} \]
\[ \text{nu\-\~ganai} \text{'while'} \]
\[ \text{vau} \text{'afterwards'} \]
\[ \text{murinai} \text{'afterwards'} \]
\[ \text{ro\-\~go} \text{'still/not yet'} \]

(133) \text{Gai maki vau \~ga i\~a\-go-si-ni.}
1PL.EXC also later 1PL.EXC go-towards.hearer-IMPF
'Later we will also come.'
2.5.4 Adverbs of location

Adverbs of location precede the verb:

- **mainai** 'here' (near speaker)
- **ininai** 'here' (near speaker)
- **maninai** 'there' (far from speaker)
- **monai** 'there' (farthest from both speaker and hearer)
- **maina na** 'from here'
- **inina na** 'from here'
- **manina na** 'from there' (far)
- **mona na** 'from there' (farthest)

(136) **Vanuga kanisoro mainai e tanu-ni.**
    village council here 3SG live-IMPF
    'The village council lives here.'

(137) **Mo-na na ga iagoma-ni.**
    that-3SG from 1P L.EXC come-IMPF
    'We are coming from over there.'

(For more examples see §2.8.)

2.6 Intensifiers

Intensifiers occur in adjective phrases and intensify the adjective which they precede. The following adjectives and intensifiers tend to go together:

- **namo vedaurea** 'very good'
- **vovoka tabutabu** 'very many'
- **gutuma gorogoro** 'very many'
- **barego lelevagi** 'very big'
- **rakava kwaikwai** 'very bad'
- **mauka kenene** 'very long'
- **iaru korokoro** 'very high'
- **gwağiği tumutumu** 'very hard'
- **moira kegokego** 'very soft'

2.7 Topicalisers

In Sinaugoro the topicalisers are **tu** and **ne**. These occur in:
i. equative constructions

\[ \begin{align*}
+ \text{NP} & + \text{TOP} & + \text{NP} \\
\text{TOPIC} & = & \text{COMMENT}
\end{align*} \]

ii. intransitive clauses

\[ \begin{align*}
+ \text{NP} & + \text{TOP} & + \text{VP} \text{INTR} \\
\text{TOPIC} & = & \text{COMMENT}
\end{align*} \]

iii. transitive clauses

\[ \begin{align*}
+ \text{NP} & + \text{TOP} & + \text{COMP} \\
\text{TOPIC} & = & \text{COMMENT}
\end{align*} \]

Both \textit{tu} and \textit{ne} mark topicalisation in subjects, objects and obliques, without marking the subject as either transitive or intransitive; \textit{tu} is more commonly used than \textit{ne}.

Equative:

(138) \textit{Mai tu gai ţe-ma numa.}  
\text{this TOP 1PLEXC NTR-1PLEXC house}  
\text{‘This is our house.’}  

Intransitive:

(139) \textit{Au tu a raka-ni.}  
\text{1SG TOP 1SG walk-IMPF}  
\text{‘I am going.’}  

Transitive:

(140) a. \textit{Mai kure tu bai ţi-gu-na e kafu-a-ni.}  
\text{this rat TOP pig tail-3SG 3SG bite-3SG-IMPF}  
\text{‘This rat is biting the pig’s tail.’}  

b. \textit{Ĝoi ne kamasi o ve-tugamagi-ni?}  
\text{2SG TOP how 2SG DER-think-IMPF}  
\text{‘What do you think?’}  

The topicaliser \textit{tu} may occur together with the ergative marker -na as in the following examples:

(141) a. \textit{Dauma ġesi ba-ga vetari-ni nai ġoi na tu}  
\text{Dauma with R-1PLEXC war-IMPF while 2SG ERG TOP}  
\text{mai babaga mo-go b-o-no ġita-ta-go-a.}  
\text{this flower.name only R-2SG-I/I look-at-3SG}  
\text{‘While we are fighting with Dauma, you must watch this flower.’}  

b. \textit{Futua guine-na tobo e ţi-ga-vu-ga-lei-a-to}  
\text{boy first-3SG bamboo 3SG take-CAUS-float-3SG-PERF}  
\text{muri-na ġana, senaĝi futua muri-sei-na na tu}  
\text{behind-3SG to but boy after-born-3SG ERG TOP}  
\text{tobu e ţi-ga-tari-a-to, b-e-namo e}  
\text{bamboo 3SG take-hold-3SG-PERF R-3SG-good 3SG}
fa'aga-ia-to.
carry.on.shoulder-3SG-PERF
'The firstborn boy put the bamboo behind him in the water, but the lastborn boy got hold of the bamboo and carried it on his shoulders.'

Other devices for topic and focus would be the deictic *mo* ‘that’ which is used to point back to participants or things that have been already introduced (for examples see §2.8 and §3).

The direct or indirect object of a transitive clause may be frontshifted (see §4.3).

2.8 Deictics

Sinuagoro has four basic deictics, which function like demonstrative pronouns (i.e. by modifying a noun in a noun phrase or by replacing a whole noun phrase), and like demonstrative adverbs of time, location and manner. They are treated below as two separate groups, although the distinction is artificial from a structural point of view.

*mai* ‘this’ (near speaker)
*ini* ‘this’ (near speaker)
(It is adopted from Motu and has the same meaning as *mai*.)
*mani* ‘that’ (far from speaker)
*mo(a)* ‘that over there’ (farthest from speaker)

Note: Nowadays the *a* in *moa* is not pronounced by many speakers.

2.8.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives can occur either alone or with another element.

2.8.1.1 Deictic alone

(142) *Mai* tu au ńara-go-gu.
this TOP 1SG spouse-1SG
'This is my spouse.'

2.8.1.2 Deictic + noun

(143) *Mai* dagara n-o vini-gu!
this thing 1/1-2SG give-1SG
'Give me this thing!'

2.8.1.3 Deictic + possessive pronoun

Of the possessive pronouns only *geri* ‘their’ and its singular form *gea* ‘his/her’ are used with the demonstrative pronouns *mo* ‘that’ and *mai* ‘this’. Note that the *n* in *ge(n)ja* is dropped.

a. *mo geri* ‘those...’ is often used in stories to refer to persons mentioned earlier in the story. It is also a means of expressing plurality, because if only one person is referred back to, then *mo* ‘that’ occurs on its own without *gea* ‘his/her’.
46  Gerhard Tauberschmidt

(144)  Mo  że-ri  guiato mabara-ri že  mase-to.
that NTR-3PL girl all-3PL 3PL die-PERF
'Those girls all died.'

(145)  Mo guiato ara-na tu Boura Vareta.
that girl name-3SG TOP Boura Vareta
'That girl's name is Boura Vareta.'

b. referring to things

(146)  Bema mo že-ri asi bi-ta vağa
if that NTR-3PL NEG R-1PL.INC CAUS
kori-ri-ni  nai tu buka tari maki asi rogo
finish-3PL-IMPF when TOP book other also NEG yet
bi-ta  tore-a-ni.
R-1PL.INC write-3SG-IMPF
'If we don’t finish these things (grammar, etc.) we won’t be able to start working on other books.'

c. before enumeration

(147)  Tarima ara-ri tu mai že-ri...
people name-3PL TOP this NTR-3PL
'Here are the people's names…'

(148)  Gauka že-ri  vetari farefare-ri ara-ri tu mai
old NTR-3PL war belongings-3PL name-3PL TOP this
že-ri:  gio, garašota,  gesi.
NTR-3PL arrow spear shield
'The weapons our ancestors used to make war are: arrows, spears and shields.'

d. as complement

(149)  Au sina-gu tu mo že-a.
1SG mother-1SG TOP that NTR-3SG
'My mother is the one over there.'

e. with frequently used fixed forms which do not occur with copulas or verbs

(150)  Goi mani že-mu?
2SG that NTR-2SG
'Are you there?'

(151)  Oi, au mai že-gu!
yes 1SG this NTR-1SG
'Yes, I am here!

2.8.1.4 Deictic + suffix -ğa

The suffix -ğa refers to some ‘thing’ or ‘person’. It seems to be a nominaliser suffix. For example:

vei ‘do’ (V) —  vei-ğa ‘habit’ (N)

The following combinations are possible:
mai-ğa/ini-ğa ‘this one’ (near speaker)
mani-ğa ‘that one’ (far from speaker)
mo(a)-ğa ‘that one over there’ (farthest from speaker)
io-mo(a)-ğa ‘the one over there’

(lo- serves as a kind of specifier to point out one particular thing or just to specify.)

(152) a. Bua tu mani-ğa?
        betel.nut TOP that-NOM
        ‘Do you have a betel nut?’

        b. Oi, bua tu mai-ğa/ini-ğa!
        yes betel.nut TOP this-NOM
        ‘Yes; here I have one!’

(153) a. Au mani dagara mani-ğa n-o vini-gu!
        1SG that thing that-NOM 1/1-2SG give-1SG
        ‘Give me that thing there!’

        b. Ini-ğa/mai-ğa?
        this-NOM
        ‘This one?’

        c. Oi, mani-ğa.
        yes that-NOM
        ‘Yes, that one.’

Example (154) is an alternative for (153c):

(154) Asigina, dia mani-ğa, mo(a)-ğa n-o vini-gu!
        NEG NEG that-NOM that-NOM 1/1-2SG give-1SG
        ‘No, not this, give me that one!’

(155) Sina-mu mo-ğa?
        mother-2SG there-NOM
        ‘Is your mother there (in the house)?’

2.8.2 Demonstrative adverbs

2.8.2.1 Mai ‘this’ and mani ‘that’

Mai and mani are also used before verbs as temporal/spatial adverbs (see §2.5).

(156) Au mai a iago-ni.
        1SG this 1SG go-IMPF
        ‘I am going now (here).’

The reply to that is:

(157) Mani o iago-ni.
        that 2SG go-IMPF
        ‘You are going now (there).’ (lit. ‘See you!’)

2.8.2.2 Mo ‘to/as far as/until’

Mo too serves as a temporal/spatial adverb.
48  Gerhard Tauberschmidt

a. spatial: ‘as far as’

(158)  Gia e iağa-to mo ʁoro ta ara-na Kapakou.
3SG 3SG go-PERF to hill one name-3SG Kapakou
‘He went to the hill named Kapakou.’

In spoken Sinaugoro there are three alternative ways to use mo in a proposition to express a
great distance:

(159)  Au a raka-to mo raka raka raka mo Boku.
1SG 1SG go-PERF to walk walk walk walk to Boku
‘I went to Boku.’

(160)  Au a raka-to mo mo mo mo mo Boku.
1SG 1SG go-PERF to to to to to Boku
‘I went to Boku.’

(161)  Au a raka-to moööööö Ooooooo... Boku.
1SG 1SG go-PERF to Boku
‘I went to Boku.’

b. temporal: ‘until’

(162)  Gia monai e tanu-to mo e ruçu-to.
3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till 3SG give.birth-PERF
‘She stayed there until she gave birth.’

In spoken Sinaugoro there are three alternative ways to use mo in a proposition to express a
long period of time:

(163)  Gia monai e tanu-to mo tanu tanu tanu tanu
3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till stay stay stay stay
mo e ruçu-to.
   till 3SG give.birth-PERF
‘She stayed there until she gave birth.’

(164)  Gia monai e tanu-to mo mo mo mo e ruçu-to.
3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till till till 3SG give.birth-PERF
‘She stayed there until she gave birth.’

(165)  Gia monai e tanu-to moööööö Ooooooo... e ruçu-to.
3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till 3SG give.birth-PERF
‘She stayed there until she gave birth.’

2.8.2.3 Deictic + 3SG suffix + postposition

All demonstratives can occur with the third person singular suffix -na + postposition.

a. postposition na ‘from’
   mai-na na/    ‘from here’ (near speaker)
   ini-na na     (ini is adopted from Motu)
   mani-na na    ‘from there’ (far from speaker)
   mo(a)na na    ‘from over there’ (farthest from speaker)
b. postposition ai ‘in/at/on’

When a word ends with a and the postposition ai is added, one a is elided. Monai is written as one word because -na is regarded as a third person singular suffix which cannot be separated.

mai-na-i ‘here’ (near speaker)
ini-na-i (ini is adopted from Motu)
mani-na-i ‘there’ (far from speaker)
mo(a)-na-i ‘over there’ (farthest from speaker)

Haroro tau-na tu mo(a)-na-i e tanu-ni.
preach man-3SG TOP that-3SG-in 3SG live-IMPF
‘The pastor lives over there.’

2.8.2.4 Postposition gesi ‘with’

It can occur with all demonstratives and conveys the meaning ‘in this/that way’.

mai gesi ‘like this’ (near speaker)
ini gesi ‘like this’ (near speaker)
mani gesi ‘like that’ (far from speaker)
mo(a) gesi ‘like that’ (farthest from speaker)

Mani gesi o vei-ni?
that with 2SG do-IMPF
‘Are you doing it like that?’

Oi, mai gesi a vei-ni!
yes this with 1SG do-IMPF
‘Yes, I am doing it like this!’

Au-na bağa tu varo na mo gesi b-a baru-a.
1SG-ERG bush.knife TOP rope with that with R-1SG bind-3SG
‘I twisted the rope round my bush knife like that over there.’

Mai gesi is often used to introduce speech:

Mai gesi a tuğamaği-ni...
this with 1SG think-IMPF
‘I think like this...’

Mai gesi e kira-to...
this with 3SG say-PERF
‘He said like this...’

The phrase mo gesi can be added after the speech:

...mo gesi e kira-ri-to.
that with 3SG say-3PL-PERF
‘...that is what he told them.’
2.9 Interrogatives

The interrogatives consist of either one morpheme, or are composed of up to four morphemes. They can occur as a whole noun phrase or they can modify a noun. In a sentence the interrogative word/expression is in the same position as the questioned item would be in a statement.

The interrogatives which are composed of two independent words are written separately, but those consisting of a word + dependent morpheme (affix) are written as one word. They have the following structures:

### 2.9.1 The morpheme ai ‘L/T’

+ POSTPOSITION
+ TEMPORAL ADVERB
+ POSSESSIVE PRONOUN
+ 3SG SUFFIX + POSTPOSITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai-ğana</td>
<td>‘where to?’</td>
<td>L/T-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-ğesi</td>
<td>‘how?’ or ‘where to?’</td>
<td>L/T-with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-toma</td>
<td>‘when?’</td>
<td>L/T-today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-ğe-ri</td>
<td>‘where, which?’</td>
<td>L/T-NTR-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-ğe-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-na-i</td>
<td>‘where in?’</td>
<td>L/T-3SG-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai-na</td>
<td>‘where from?’</td>
<td>L/T-3SG-from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The postposition ğana ‘to’ (direction) occurs only as one morpheme although it might have the same origin as ga-nalga-ri ‘for-3SG/PL’ in kara ganalgari ‘what for’ (purpose).

### 2.9.2 Interrogatives consisting of one morpheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kara</td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamara</td>
<td>‘which/what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaması</td>
<td>‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vira</td>
<td>‘how many?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vira also means ‘a few’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei</td>
<td>‘who (SG)?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicated form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deidei</td>
<td>‘who (PL)?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.9.3 The interrogative kara

kara ǧa-na
what for-3SG
kara ǧa-ri
what for-3PL

Note: ǧa-na/ǧa-ri is also the alienable 3SG/PL possessive pronoun (edible).

kara dai-na-i
what because-3SG-in
kara-se nai
what-why because

Note: dainai is adopted from Motu, and is used very frequently nowadays.

kara vei
what do

2.9.4 kara 'what' as second element

korana kara
source what

dei-kara
who-what

Note: dei-kara carries the same meaning as dei, although it might be a little stronger.

(173) Ai-na na o iagoma-ni?
L/T-3SG from 2SG come-IMPF
'Where are you coming from?'

(174) Goi tu kamara vanuğa tau-mu?
2SG TOP what village man-2SG
'What village are you from?'

(For more examples see §5.2.3.)

2.10 Conjunctions

There are many conjunctions that are used in Sinaugoro. Quite a number of them are adopted from Motu. They are treated only briefly here—for further discussion as well as examples, see §5.

2.10.1 Coordinative conjunctions

2.10.1.1 Conjunctive

It is difficult to establish the meaning of the conjunctions e 'and', ma 'with', ema 'and' since the Motu conjunction bona 'and' is used instead of e and ema, and is even used for ma. However, there are tendencies for the occurrence of the particular conjunctions.
Ma ‘with’ often occurs with the postposition gesi ‘with’ (although gesi is not obligatory) and is used to conjoin two persons, or a person and thing, knowledge, power, anger etc.

(175) Au ma garaqo-gu gesi ga raka-to.
1SG with spouse-1SG with 1PL.EXC go-PERF
‘I went with my wife.’

(176) Tanu ma baru-na gesi e raka-to.
Tanu with anger-3SG with 3SG go-PERF
‘Tanu left with anger.’

E and ema ‘and’ are more difficult to establish, since they are often used interchangeably. They may be used to conjoin clauses or phrases.

(177) a. Futua ema guiato ge bara-to.
boy and girl 3PL dance-PERF
‘Boys and girls danced.’

(178) Mai-na-i ro ge tanu-kori-kori-to ema tarima kota
this-3SG-in still 3PL stay-really-RED-PERF and people some
maki ge-ma doqari-ri-to.
also 3PL-at.speaker find-3PL-PERF
‘Here they stayed for quite a while and also met other people.’

(179) E gani-gani-to ema e gena-to maki.
3SG eat-RED-PERF and 3SG sleep-PERF also
‘He ate and also slept.’

(180) Gio, baga ema boda e gwa-ri-to.
spear bush.knife and net 3SG carry-3PL-PERF
‘He carried a spear, bush knife and a net.’

2.10.1.2 Disjunctive

It seems that in the early days only the particle ba was used to express contrast and supplementation, but today the Sinaugoro speakers also use the conjunctions eiava which is adopted from Motu and o which comes from English and is also used in Hiri Motu.

However, these disjunctive conjunctions are not always interchangeable. For contrast ba ‘or’ tends to be used, and to express supplementation eiava and o ‘or’ are used.

Supplementation (two or more options):

(181) Mo gabu ara-na o/ eiava guruka ara-na toma ge
that place name-3SG or river name-3SG today 3PL
kiragi-a-ni Guiato Kafu-tari-na’.
say.about-3SG-IMPF girl bite-down-3SG
‘The name of that place or river is called ‘Girl’s Trap’.’
Contrast (one proposition or the other applies):

(182) Compra nai ba asigu-na?
3SG 3SG come-IMPF or NEG-3SG
‘Is he coming or not?’

(183) Lori-mu ai ba?
right-2SG in or
‘Are you all right?’

2.10.1.3 Other conjunctions

Other conjunctions are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{senagi} & \quad \text{‘but’} & \quad \text{(of explanation)} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{‘but’} & \quad \text{(of comparison)} \\
\text{b-e-namo} & \quad \text{‘and then’} \\
\text{R-3SG-good} &
\end{align*}
\]

2.10.2 Subordinative conjunctions

Sinaugoro has the following subordinate conjunctions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vau} & \quad \text{‘later/afterwards’} \\
\text{vau-ro} & \quad \text{‘later/afterwards’} \\
\text{nai-ro} & \quad \text{‘later/afterwards’} & \quad \text{(Kwabido dialect)} \\
\text{gabi} & \quad \text{vau} & \quad \text{‘later/afterwards’} \\
\text{muri-na-i} & \quad \text{vau} & \quad \text{‘later/afterwards’} \\
\text{after-3SG-in} & \quad \text{later} & \\
\text{muri-na-i} & \quad \text{‘later/afterwards’} \\
\text{after-3SG-in} & \\
\text{nai} & \quad \text{‘when, so’} \\
\text{nuiga-na-i} & \quad \text{‘when, while’} \\
\text{inside-3SG-in} & \\
\text{nega-na-i} & \quad \text{‘when’} & \quad \text{(from Motu)} \\
\text{time-3SG-in} & \\
\text{taimi-na-i} & \quad \text{‘when/ at that time’} & \quad \text{(from English)} \\
\text{time-3SG-in} & \\
\text{mo-ga lori-na-i} & \quad \text{‘therefore’} & \quad \text{(result is new information)} \\
\text{that-NOM right-3SG-in} & \quad \text{‘therefore’} & \\
\text{mo gesi nai} & \quad \text{presupposed result} & \\
\text{/} & \\
\text{nai-ma} & \quad \text{‘therefore’} & \quad \text{introduces reason} \\
\text{korana} & \quad \text{‘because’} & \quad \text{clauses, presupposed information} \\
\text{b-e-re} & \quad \text{‘if’} & \quad \text{marks both real and} \\
\text{R-3SG-IRR} & \quad \text{unreal conditions}
\end{align*}
\]
2.11 Postpositions

There are different types of postpositions which consist of one or two morphemes. Those which consist of only one morpheme ai ‘in/at/on’ and na ‘source’ might also be considered clitics or suffixes. Traditionally the postpositions have been written as separate words as in the following examples. Yet when a word ends in a, the a of ai merges with it and the postposition becomes a suffix -i.

2.11.1 Postpositions consisting of one morpheme

2.11.1.1 na ‘source’

a. ‘from a location’

(184) Gomi tu guba na bo-gő keto-firiţo ba tano boka-na
   2PL TOP sky from R-2PL fall-down or ground mouth-3SG
   na bo-gő roka-rage?
   from R-2PL climb-up
   ‘Did you fall down from heaven or did you come out of a cave?’

b. ‘with an instrument’

(185) Bai nanu na a vaţa-nufa-ia-ni.
   pig water with 1SG CAUS-wet-3SG-IMPF
   ‘I am making the pig wet with water.’

(186) Kwaku-ma na ãa raka-to Kemaia ãana.
   foot-1PL.EXC with 1PL.EXC go-PERF Kemaia to
   ‘We walked to Kemaia.’

2.11.1.2 ai ‘locative/spatial/temporal’

a. ‘on’

(187) Dauma e keto-to, tano ai e mase-to.
   Dauma 3SG fall-PERF ground on 3SG die-PERF
   ‘Dauma fell down on the ground and died.’

b. ‘in’

(188) Gia numa ai e tanu-taţo-ni.
   3SG house in 3SG stay-sit-IMPF
   ‘He is sitting in the house.’

(189) Gia Sinaugoro garo ai e guruga-guruga-ni.
   3SG Sinaugoro language in 3SG speak-RED-IMPF
   ‘He is speaking in the Sinaugoro language.’

c. ‘within’

(190) Mai fura-i b-e iaţoma-ni senagi ãaro-na asi e
   this week-within R-3SG come-IMPF but day-3SG NEG 3SG
kirağı-a-to.
tell-3SG-PERF
‘He will come this week, but he did not mention the exact date.’

d. ‘to’
(191) Tama-gu ğe-na-i a iağo-ni.
father-1SG NTR-3SG-to 1SG go-IMPF
‘I am going to my father.’

2.11.2 Postpositions composed of two morphemes

2.11.2.1 ğe-si ‘comitative’
(192) Au ğarağo-gu ğesi ğereğa-ma ğe-ma numa-i
1SG spouse-1SG with alone-1PL.EXC NTR-1PL.EXC house-in
ğa tanu-ni.
1PL.EXC stay-IMPF
‘I am living with my wife alone in our house.’

2.11.2.2 ğa-na ‘goal’

a. ‘to, towards’ (locative)
(194) Ğorağani ĝai Kemaia ğana ĝa iağo-to.
yesterday 1PL.EXC Kemaia to 1PL.EXC go-PERF
‘Yesterday we went to Kemaia.’

b. ‘to, in order to, for’ ğa-na (SG)
(benefactive + purpose) ğa-ri (PL)
(195) Ğia b-e dari-dari ğarağo-na ğa-na.
3SG R-3SG cook-RED spouse-3SG ED-3SG
‘She cooked for her husband.’

(196) Mai gaba tu kara ğa-na?
this bell TOP what ED-3SG
‘What is this bell for?’

2.11.3 Postpositions formed with the possessive pronoun

The following postpositions are composed of the possessive pronoun + ai ‘in’:

ğe-na-i (SG) ‘to him/her’
ğe-ri ai (PL) ‘to them’
(197) Au ğarağo-gu ğe-na-i a iağo-ni.
1SG spouse-1SG NTR-3SG-in 1SG go-IMPF
‘I am going to my spouse.’
2.11.4 Complex locative postpositions

The complex locative postpositions are composed of a location noun + 3SG/PL suffix -na/-ri + ai ‘in/on/at’.

- numa nuğa-na-i ‘inside the house’
- numa iatanai/tuğunai ‘on top of the house’
- numa ğia arana iatanai ‘in his name’
- numa murinai ‘behind the house’
- numa ğoiranai ‘in front of the house’
- numa sebinai ‘beside the house’
- numa iaunai/nuğanai ‘in the middle of the house’
- numa sevinai ‘near the house’
- tarimarima fakari ai ‘among people’
- tarimarima vekaravari ai ‘among people’

However, in some cases the agreement suffix is not attached to the location noun when the place is not mentioned. A possible reason for the different behaviour of these three location nouns is the inclusion of the suffixes -re and -ka.

- gabure ai ‘under (the house)’
- muri-ka-i ‘outside (the house)’
- sebi-ka-i ‘at the side (of the house)’

But when the ‘place noun’ is included the -na agreement suffix is also present:

- numa gabure-na-i ‘under the house’

2.12 Interjections

There are a number of interjections in Sinaugoro and they can occur as a complete expression:

- o used as a reaction by somebody who has been wrong and is now being corrected
- e used to show interest when somebody tells something
- lee somebody who forgot something calls back to bring it to him
- ss used to draw attention
- soo used by somebody when cross
- se used to prevent somebody from doing something
- ia [ya] used to express disagreement
2.13 Negation

The original Sinaugoro negation words are asigi(\(na\)) 'no/not' and asi 'not/no'. The negation word dia 'no/not' has been adopted from the Motu language.

2.13.1 The negation words asi 'not/no' and asigi(\(na\)) 'no/not'

The negation word asi is used in clauses and phrases in the following ways:

a. in clauses it occurs before the verb

\[(199) \quad \text{Au Mosbi } \tilde{\text{g}}\text{ana asi a ia\(\tilde{g}\)-ni.}}\]
\[1\text{SG Moresby to NEG 1SG go-IMPF} \]
'I am not going to Moresby.'

b. in possessive phrases it precedes the possessive pronoun

\[(200) \quad \text{Asi } \tilde{\text{g}}\text{e-gu motuka.}}\]
\[\text{NEG NTR-1SG car} \]
'I have no car.'

Note, however, if dia is used instead of asi it means that 'it is not my car (it belongs to somebody else).'</n

c. in fixed phrases

\begin{align*}
\text{asi} & \quad \text{sebo} \quad \text{‘a lot’} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{one} \\
\text{asi} & \quad \text{kara} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{‘it does not matter’} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{what} \quad \text{one} \\
\text{(201) } \quad \text{Vabu, } \tilde{\text{g}}\text{o i tu kara } \tilde{\text{g}}\text{e-}0 \text{ what } \tilde{\text{g}}\text{e}\text{-ni? Asi kara ta a} \\
\text{widow 2SG TOP what 2SG do-IMPF NEG what 1SG} \\
\text{tanu-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\(-\text{g}\)-ni } \tilde{\text{m}}\text{o\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\o.}} \\
\text{stay-sit-IMPF only} \\
\text{‘Widow, what are you doing? Nothing at all, I am only sitting.’} \\
\end{align*}

The negation word asigi/asigi(\(na\)) is used as an 'overall negator':

\[(202) \quad \text{Karava mani-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\-a } ba? \quad \text{Asigi/Asigi-\(na\)!} \]
\[\text{fire that-NOM INTER NEG-3SG} \]
‘Is there some fire? No!’

\[(203) \quad \text{Karava tu mani-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\-a? Karava asigi-\(na\)!} \]
\[\text{fire TOP that-NOM fire NEG-3SG} \]
‘Is there some fire? No, there is no fire!’

2.13.2 The negation word dia 'not/no'

The negation word dia is used as a constituent negator (it negates one particular constituent, not the whole proposition) in the following ways:
(204) Dia ḡoi ḡia na asi ḡe ura-vini-mu-ni, senagi au 
NEG 2SG 3PL ERG NEG 3PL like-give-2SG-IMPF but 1SG 
asi ḡe ura-vini-gu-ni. 
NEG 3PL like-give-1SG-IMPF
'It's not you they do not love but it's me they do not love.'

(205) Čia tu dia Julie natu-na. 
3SG TOP NEG Julie child-3SG
'She is not Julie's child.'

(206) Mo tu dia ḡia ḡe-na numa. 
that TOP NEG 3SG NTR-3SG house
'That is not his house.'

(207) Tarima tu dia ḡutuma. 
people TOP NEG many
'The people are not many.'

In (207) asi could also be used, but most people nowadays use dia.

In the phrase dia kara ta:

(208) ḇo gu kara o vei-ni nai mai ḡe-ri dagara 
2SG TOP what 2SG do-IMPF so this NTR-3PL thing 
be-ḏe rakava? 
R-3PL bad
'What have you been doing to break these things?'

(209) Au tu dia kara ta a vei-a-ni, be au 
1SG TOP NEG what one 1SG do-3SG-IMPF so 1SG 
b-o-no vane-gu? 
R-2SG-II/1 scold-1SG
'I am not doing anything, why are you cross then?'

Note: dia kara ta is stronger than asi kara ta.

As double negation dia negates asi; two negatives make a positive:

(210) Dia asi ḡe-mu motuka naima mani ḡesi n-o guruga. 
NEG NEG NTR-2SG car because that with I/I-2SG say 
'You do have a car, so don't talk like this.'

Two negation words are used to strengthen the negation:

(211) Jesu ini ḡesi e kira-to: Asiği-na, dia maino senaği 
Jesus this with 3SG say-PERF NEG-3SG NEG peace but 
vağı-vaği bağa-na b-a ḡwa-iağoma-ia. 
kill-RED bush.knife-3SG R-1SG carry-come-3SG
'Jesus said: I surely did not bring peace, but the sword to kill.'
3 Phrases

There are four phrase classes in Sinaugoro: noun phrases, adverb phrases, adjective phrases and verb phrases.

3.1 Noun phrases

The head of the noun phrase is a noun, to which modifiers can be added. The modifiers could include demonstratives, nouns, possessive words or relative clauses that precede the head and adjectives (quantitative and qualitative) that follow the noun. (Demonstratives, personal pronouns and interrogatives can also function as noun phrases: see examples at the end of this chapter.)

The noun phrase can function as a subject and an object, and as a non-verbal predicate in stative sentences. The noun phrase subject of a transitive or ditransitive clause is commonly indicated by the ergative marker -na. Conditions under which the subject is not marked are discussed in Tauberschmidt (1992).

3.1.1 Possessives

Sinaugoro exhibits two types of possessive constructions which differ in structure. These are generally referred to as inalienable and alienable. In both cases the possessor is obligatory if a noun, optional if a personal pronoun. In addition, suffixed pronominals are always used as in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>(PERS)</th>
<th>POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(au)</td>
<td>-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(goi)</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>(gita)</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>(gai)</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(gomi)</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(gia)</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.1 Inalienable Constructions

Inalienably possessed nouns (which refer to things so closely associated with us that normally we cannot get rid of them) are kinship terms and terms which refer to body parts and things such as a person’s voice, feelings or personal history.

(212)  \( (au) \ kwaku-gu \)
1SG  leg-1SG
‘my leg’

(213)  \( (au) \ sina-gu \)
1SG mother-1SG
‘my mother’

(214)  \( (au) \ ara-gu \)
1SG name-1SG
‘my name’

(215)  \( (au) \ vari-gu \)
1SG news-1SG
‘my story (told about me)’

Inalienable constructions are also used for other close relationships as nouns of location and part-whole relationships.

(216)  boğa bai-na
bush pig-3SG
‘wild pig/bush pig’

(217)  ġau lega-na
tree branch-3SG
‘the branch of the tree’

(218)  numa ġuduğu-na
house roof-3SG
‘the roof of the house’

(219)  kaia ġima-na
knife hand-3SG
‘the handle of the knife’

(220)  Ġia tu Saroa vavine-na.
3SG TOP Saroa woman-3SG
‘She is a woman from Saroa.’

(221)  Goi tu Saroa vavine-mu?
2SG TOP Saroa woman-2SG
‘Are you a woman from Saroa?’

3.1.1.2 Alienable Constructions

Alienable constructions refer to things only loosely associated with us; we can get rid of them if we want to. We distinguish between inedible things and things that are edible, drinkable or smokable. The possessive pronouns used for these alienable possessive constructions are composed of the following elements:
The morpheme *ge* is used for inedible things and *ga* is used for things that are edible, drinkable, smokable or chewable.

(222) (au) *ge-gu* vanuğa
1SG NTR-1SG village
‘my village’

(223) (gia) *ge-na* bai
3SG NTR-3SG pig
‘his pig’

(224) (au) *ga-gu* garivata
1SG ED-1SG banana
‘my bananas’

(225) (au) *ga-gu* bai
1SG ED-1SG pig
‘my pig (to eat)’

(226) (gia) *ga-na* laufa
3SG ED-3SG cigarette
‘his cigarette (to smoke)’

There is also another form of possession that applies to alienably possessed forms and this is what might be termed ergative possession. In this form a personal pronoun, which refers to the possessor, is followed by the ergative marker -na and this precedes the possessed nominal. For example:

(227) Mai tu *goi-na* bai?
this TOP 2SG-ERG pig
‘Is this your pig?’

(228) Au- na vamoka-i b-a gena.
1SG-ERG garden-in R-1SG sleep
‘I slept in my garden.’

For more information on this topic see Tauberschmidt (1992:187–190).

### 3.1.1.3 Alienably and inalienably possessed nouns

There are certain nouns that may be possessed either alienably or inalienably. The choice is conditioned by the nature of the relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed. In the following examples, the inalienable construction indicates a lesser amount of control by the possessor and a stronger connection between the two.

(229) (au) *vari-gu*
1SG story-1SG
‘my story (told about me)’

(230) (au) *ge-gu* vari
1SG NTR-1SG story
‘my story (which I tell or make up)’
Possessive noun phrases can be embedded in other possessive noun phrases:

(233)  
Sinaugoro tarima-ri ñe-ri ((gio ñau-na) gwagigi-na)  
Sinaugoro people-3PL NTR-3PL spear tree-3SG hard-3SG  
'a hard wood which is used for spears by the Sinaugoro people'

(234)  
Ñauka ñe-ri ((vetari farefare-ri) ara-ri)  
old NTR-3PL war belonging-3PL name-3PL  
'the names of weapons our ancestors used for tribal fights'

(235)  
Gade Gonegone ((tubu-na ñuiato-na) koroga-na)  
Gade Gonegone grandchild-3SG girl-3SG friend-3SG  
'the friend of Gade Gonegone's granddaughter'

3.1.2 Uses of demonstratives and adjectives

Demonstratives precede the noun to which they relate. When a noun follows a demonstrative and is not modified by any adjectives it is not inflected for number.

(236)  
Mo numa be-ñe rovo-a.  
that house R-3P L pull.down-3SG  
'They pulled down that house.'

Adjectives follow the noun which they either qualify or quantify.

3.1.2.1 Qualitative adjectives

The adjectives that are more objective (e.g. size, colour etc.) usually come first and then the more subjective (evaluative) adjectives follow. Qualitative adjectives are usually inflected for number with -nalri '3SG/PL'.

(237)  
Mero kei-ri name-ri ñe daudare-to.  
boy small-3PL good-3PL 3PL get.lost-PERF  
'The small pretty boys got lost.'

3.1.2.2 Quantitative adjectives

The quantitative adjectives precede the qualitative adjectives:

(238)  
mai futua rua-rua  
this boy two-RED  
'these two boys'

(239)  
Vavine ñutuma ñe dari-dari-ri.  
woman many 3PL cook-RED-IMPF  
'Many women are cooking.'
Numa vovoka namo-ri ġe raga-ri-ni.
house many good-3PL 3PL build-3PL-IMPF
'They are building many nice houses.'

The quantitative adjective *ta* 'one' is exceptional in that it follows the qualitative adjective:

Fore barego-na ta e giro-a-to.
stone big-3SG one 3SG hurl-3SG-PERF
'He hurled a big stone.'

Garuka kei-na ta ara-na tu Morakaŋaru.
creek small-3SG one name-3SG TOP Morakagaru
'The name of the small creek is Morakagaru.'

### 3.1.2.3 Number and definiteness

The personal suffixes are used to indicate the number and to serve as definite articles:

Toma bogiboği tau kurokuro-na b-e raqsasi.
today morning man white-3SG R-3SG arrive
'This morning the white man arrived.'

In this case it is one definite white man who arrived.

In some cases the qualitative adjectives are not inflected for number in a noun phrase:

i. when the noun is generic, not referring to any particular individual

(244) tau kurokuro
man white
'white man'

ii. when village names, placenames, names of months, etc. are formed with noun + adjective.

(245) Saroa-kei
village.name-small
'Saroakei'

### 3.1.3 Coordinating the noun phrases

The noun phrases may be conjoined by the conjunctions *e*, *ema* 'and', *ma* 'with' and *ba* 'or'.

Two or more noun phrases may be joined with a conjunction:

Gaina gauka tau ta e vavine ta tano
our.1PL.EXC old man one and woman one ground

Miغاغا-na na ġe raka-raqsasi-to.
Migaga-3SG from 3PL walk-arrive-PERF
'One of our old men and one of our old women arrived from Migaga.'

(247) Gia na vetari e vağıvağı e gorugoru e-ma
3SG ERG war and killing and killing 3SG-at.speaker
kira-gói-a-to.
say-against-3SG-PERF
'He abolished tribal fights and killing.'
The noun phrases may be conjoined without any conjunction:

(250) \[ \text{Gauka } \text{ge-ri vetari farefare-ri ara-ri tu mai} \]
old NTR-3PL war belongings-3PL name-3PL TOP this
g\text{e-ri: } \text{gara}\text{gota, gio, gest...} NTR-3PL spear arrow shield
‘These are our ancestors’ weapons: spears, arrows, shields...’

Note that demonstratives, personal pronouns and interrogatives can also function as noun phrases:

(251) \[ \text{Mai tu au ge-gu bai.} \]
this TOP 1SG NTR-1SG pig
‘This is my pig.’

(252) \[ \text{Gia tu Saroa tau-na.} \]
3SG TOP Saroa man-3S G
‘He is a man from Saroa.’

(253) \[ \text{Kara o vei-ni?} \]
what 2SG do-1MPF
‘What are you doing?’

3.2 Adverb phrases

The adverb phrase functions as an optional element of the clause periphery. The adverb phrase is made up of either type of noun phrase followed by a postposition. (The noun phrase in the adverb phrase can be replaced by demonstratives, interrogatives, possessive pronouns or postpositions; see examples at the end of this chapter).

Adverb phrases have the following structure:

\[ + \text{noun phrase } + \text{postposition} \]

(254) \[ \text{Gomi tu guba na bo-\text{\-go} keto-fir\text{-i\-go} ba tano} \]
2PL TOP sky from R-2PL fall-down or ground
\[ \text{boka-na na bo-\text{\-go} roka-ra\text{\-ge}?} \]
mouth-3SG from R-2PL climb-up
‘Did you fall down from heaven or did you come out of a cave?’

(255) \[ \text{Bai nanu na a va\text{\-ga}nu \text{\-fa}ia-ni.} \]
pig water with 1SG CAUS-wet-3SG-IMPF
‘I am making the pig wet with water.’

(256) \[ \text{Dauma e keto-to, tano ai e mase-to.} \]
Dauma 3SG fell-PERF ground on 3SG die-PERF
‘Dauma fell down on the ground and died.’
(257) Gia numa ai e tanu-taño-ni. 
3SG house in 3SG stay-sit-IMPF
‘He is sitting in the house.’

(258) Au garaño-gu gesi gerega-ma ge-ma numa-i 
1SG spouse-1SG with alone-1PL.EXC NTR-1PL.EXC house-in 
ğa 
taru-ni. 
1PL.EXC stay-IMPF
‘I am living with my wife alone in our house.’

(259) Gorañi gai Kemaia ġana ġa iaño-to. 
yesterday 1PL.EXC Kemaia to 1PL.EXC go-PERF
‘Yesterday we went to Kemaia.’

(260) Au karo-gu ġe-ri ai a iaño-ni. 
1SG friend-1SG NTR-3PL to 1SG go-IMPF
‘I am going to my friends.’

(261) Numa gabure-na-i ġe tanu-taño-ni. 
house under-3SG-in 3PL stay-sit-IMPF
‘They are sitting under the house.’

In the following adverb phrase the noun phrase is embedded in another noun phrase:

(262) Ge-na dura barego-na nuğa-na-i e ġura-ia-to. 
NTR-3SG string.bag big-3SG inside-3SG-in 3SG put-3SG-PERF
‘She put him into her big string bag.’

Adverb phrases, like noun phrases, can be coordinated by the conjunctions e ‘and’, ma ‘with’.

(263) Mağuri tarima-ri ma garaño-ri ma natu-ri ġesi ġe life people-3PL with spouse-3PL with child-3PL with 3PL 
gari-to. 
fear-PERF
‘The people who were alive with their spouses and children were afraid.’

(264) au ma natu-gu ġesi 
1SG with child-1SG with
‘my child and me’

(265) Gade Gonegone ma baru-na ġesi ġe-na dura barego-na Gade Gonegone with anger-3SG with NTR-3SG string.bag big-3SG 
e ġabi-a-to. 
3SG take-3SG-PERF
‘Gade Gonegone angrily took her string bag.’

(266) Gia tau-ri rua-rua tu tobo e arei ġe-ri ai 3PL man-3PL two-RED TOP bamboo and bamboo side-3PL in 
ğe ve-ğabi-kau-a-to. 
3PL DER-hold-on-3SG-PERF
‘The two boys held on to the bamboo called tobo and arei.’
3.3 Adjective phrases

The adjective phrase usually functions as a complement in equative sentences or as a modifier in a noun phrase. The head of the adjective phrase is an adjective, to which an intensifier can be added.

Adjective phrases have the following structure:

+ adjective + intensifier

The intensifier in the adjective phrase is not inflected.

(268) Garo-ri tu iraurau ema vovoka tabutabu.
language-3PL TOP different and many very
'They have very many different languages.'

(269) Bariva, Sinaugoro ga-ri gin-gani guine-na tu namo vedaurea.
dessert Sinaugoro ED-3PL food-RED first-3SG TOP good very
'Bariva, the kind of dessert the Sinaugoro people used to eat, is very good.'

(270) Tarimarima tu guruma gorogoro.
people TOP many very
'The people are very many.'

(271) Saroa ge-ri rubu tu barego lelevagi.
Saroa NTR-3PL church TOP big very
'Saroa’s church building is very big.'

(272) Cia kefi-na tu rakava kwaikwai.
3SG skin-3SG TOP bad very
'His skin is very bad.'

Note that the intensifier vedaurea 'very' can be inflected with the 3SG suffix -na when it occurs in a noun phrase:

(273) Tanikiu barego vedaurea-na ge-ra Veregauka Jesu
thank.you big very-3SG NTR-1PL.INC Lord Jesus
Keriso ara-na-i.
Christ name-3SG-in
'Thank you very much in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

(274) Barau tu gia ge-ra vaiga-kava-ra tamo
God TOP 1PL.INC NTR-1PL.INC CAUS-help-1PL.INC good
vedaurea-na rakava lagani-ri ai.
very-3SG bad year-3PL in
'God is our very good help in bad times.'

The adjective phrase can be coordinated with the conjunctive and disjunctive ma ‘with’, ba ‘or’.
(275) 潟台 tu mauka ma gwa gordwa.  3SG TOP long and thin
   ‘He is long and thin.’

(276) 潟台 tu mase ba mağuri?  3SG TOP dead or alive
   ‘Is he alive or dead?’

The coordinated adjective phrase functions as a non-verbal predicate.

Note that the noun phrase in the adverb phrase can be replaced by demonstratives, interrogatives, possessive pronouns or postpositions:

(277) Mai gesi e kirani.  this with 3SG say-IMPF
   ‘He says as follows.’

(278) Dei gesi go iago-ni?  who with 2PL go-IMPF
   ‘Who are you going with?’

(279) (Gia) ge-na na a ia goma-ni.  3SG NTR-3S G from 1SG come-IMPF
   ‘I am coming from him.’

(280) Ai-gesi o raka-ni?  L/I-with 2SG walk-IMPF
   ‘Where are you going?’

3.4 Verb phrases

The verb phrase consists of the verb and an auxiliary: riba ‘know’, ilaila ‘fit’ or namo ‘good/all right’.

(281) a. Au na b-a vağa-kava-mu-ni riba.  1SG ERG R-1SG CAUS-help-2SG-IMPF know
   ‘I am able to help you.’

b. Au na b-a vaaga-kava-mu-ni ilaila.  1SG ERG R-1SG CAUS-help-2SG-IMPF fit
   ‘I am able to help you.’

(282) a. Au na b-a ğabi-a-ni riba?  1SG ERG R-1SG take-3SG-IMPF know
   ‘Can I take it?’

b. Au na b-a ğabi-a-ni namo?  1SG ERG R-1SG take-3SG-IMPF good
   ‘Can I take it?’

Note, however, that these sentences differ from those using riba as a noun in a possessive phrase construction to express ‘know how to do something’.

(283)  \textit{Bai vağı-na ma riba-na.}  
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
pig & kill-3SG with know-3SG \\
\textquoteleft He knows how to kill the pig.'
\end{tabular}
\end{center} 
(This construction can be compared with those in §4.1.1.2.)
4 Clauses

The clause is a unit of grammatical organisation smaller than the sentence, but larger than phrases and words. It includes only one argument.

4.1 Nuclear structure

In this section we discuss the nuclear structures of the clauses, that is the obligatory elements of the verbless (stative) clauses and the clauses with verbs (intransitive, transitive and ditransitive).

4.1.1 Verbless clauses

There are two types of verbless clauses which do not have a full verb (inflected verb stem) but a topicaliser.

4.1.1.1 Verbless clauses with the topicaliser *tu*

The topicaliser *tu* precedes the complement of the equative (284) or descriptive (285–286) sentence. It can be omitted as in (286b) if the preceding word or phrase does not need to be emphasised.

(284)  
\[
\text{Au ara-gu tu Tanu.} \\
\text{1SG name-1SG TOP Tanu} \\
\text{‘My name is Tanu.’}
\]

(285)  
\[
\text{Mai numa tu barego leleva\={g}i.} \\
\text{this house TOP big very} \\
\text{‘This house is very big.’}
\]

(286)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. Voi-na tu barego.} \\
&\text{price-3SG TOP high} \\
&\text{‘The price is high.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. Voi-na barego.} \\
&\text{price-3SG big} \\
&\text{‘The price is high.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The topicaliser *ne* is not used very often nowadays. It seems to carry the same meaning as *tu*. It might be used more in poetic texts, for example, songs (see example (140b) which is taken from a song). For example:
4.1.1.2 Static clauses with the conjunction ma

The conjunction *ma* ‘with’ functions as a delimiting modifier which adds the ‘quality of’ or the particular condition or state. Both alienable and inalienable constructions with *ma* have the following structures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>± PRON</td>
<td>+ <em>ma</em></td>
<td>+ NP (alienable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ NP</td>
<td>+ <em>ma</em></td>
<td>+ NP (inalienable)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(288) *(Au) ma* ǧe-gu koko.  
1SG with NTR-1SG axe  
‘I have an axe.’

(289) Ġale-na ma lamu-na.  
chín-3SG with hair-3SG  
‘His chin has hair.’

(290) Mata-na ma galasi.  
eye-3SG with glasses  
‘He has eye glasses on.’

If *ma* is omitted both structure and meaning will change:

(291) *(au) ǧe-gu* koko  
1SG NTR-1SG axe  
‘my axe’

4.1.2 Clauses with verbs

Clauses have an obligatory verb which may be intransitive (- object), transitive (+ object) or ditransitive (+ object + indirect object). The basic word order of these clauses is:

± Subject ± Object ± Indirect Object + Verb

(The adverb phrases are not included here; see §4.2.)

In all clauses the number and person of the subject and the direct or indirect object are reflected in the verb by elements affixed to the verb:

(292) *Manu* ǧe rovo-ni.  
bird 3PL fly-IMPF  
‘The birds are flying.’

(293) *Tau* na bai be-ǧe vägi-ri.  
man ERG pig R-3PL kill-3PL  
‘The men killed the pigs.’

We know that the ‘birds’ in (292) and the ‘men’ and the ‘pigs’ in (293) are plural only because it is indicated in the subject and object affix of the verb.
4.1.2.1 Intransitive clauses

There are basically two ways to construct an intransitive clause. A purely intransitive verb may be used (295) or a transitive reduplicated form. The latter is used, when an inherently transitive verb is used without an overt object (296).

(295) Veravera ñe gara-ni.
flower 3PL grow-IMPF
‘The flowers are growing.’

(296) Ñe mari-mari-ni.
3PL sing-RED-IMPF
‘They are singing.’

4.1.2.2 Transitive clauses

The order of the basic constituents in the independent transitive clause is S-O-V (Subject-Object-Verb).

(297) Ġia na ñau e basi-a-ni.
3SG ERG tree 3SG cut-3SG-IMPF
‘He is cutting the tree.’

(298) Numa ñe rovo-a-ni.
house 3PL pull.down-3SG-IMPF
‘They are pulling down the house.’

4.1.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

The most common order of the constituents in a ditransitive clause is:

± Subject ± Object + Indirect Object + Verb

(299) Mr English na taravatu maka-na tarima toitoi e-ma
Mr English ERG law mark-3SG people three 3SG-at.speaker
viní-ri-to.
give-3PL-PERF
‘Mr English handed the duties over to three persons (there at the speaker’s village).’

Sinaugoro has case marking in sentence structure that can be analysed as ergative. For more on this topic see Tauberschmidt (1992).
4.2 Peripheral elements

Any of these clauses may be expanded by adding adverb phrases of various kinds to indicate the time, place and/or manner etc. in which the action indicated by the verb was carried out.

4.2.1 Adverb phrases of time

Adverb phrases of time may either precede the subject of the clause or follow the verb, although the general preference seems to be the former option.

\[
\text{ADVPT} \quad S \quad V
\]

\[(300) \quad \text{Guine-na lağani-na-i futua rua-rua ġe tanu-to ġoi.} \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{first-3SG year-3SG-in boy two-RED 3PL live-PERF C/H}
\end{array}
\]

‘Long ago there were two brothers.’

\[
\text{ADVPT} \quad S \quad V \quad \text{ADVPL}
\]

\[(301) \quad \text{Garo ta Gade Gonegone e iago-to Gida Enone e} \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{day one Gade Gonegone 3SG go-PERF Gida Enone and}
\end{array}
\]

\text{Sara Enone ġe-ri ai.}

‘One day Gade Gonegone went to Gida and Sara Enone.’

When the adverb phrase of time follows the verb, it appears to be more informational and less critical to the understanding of the story-line (i.e. less topical).

\[(302) \quad \text{Ge-mi leta kekei ġo tuğu-a-to dagara-na ġa} \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{NTR-2PL letter ‘polite’ 2PL send-3SG-PERF thing-3SG 1PL.EXC}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{ADVPT}
\]

\[(303) \quad \text{Natu-ri misi-na tano ai ġe guri-a-to.} \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{child-3PL small-3SG land on 3PL bury-3SG-PERF}
\end{array}
\]

‘They buried the child on the land.’

\[
\text{ADVPL}
\]

\[(304) \quad \text{Au mai a raka-ni Saroa ġana.} \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{1SG this 1SG walk-IMPF name to}
\end{array}
\]

‘I am going to Saroa now.’

\[
\text{ADVPT} \quad S \quad V \quad \text{ADVPL}
\]

\[(305) \quad \text{Garo ta Gade Gonegone e iago-to Gida Enone e} \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{day one Gade Gonegone 3SG go-PERF Gida Enone and}
\end{array}
\]
Adverb phrases with the postposition *na* ‘source’ precede the verb.

ADVPL V
(306) Kemaia na ġa iağoma-ni.
Kemaia from 1PL.EXC come-IMPF ‘We are coming from Kemaia.’

ADVPI V
(307) Nuğa-ri kiduru na ġe kakari-ri-to ġoi.
inside-3PL shell with 3PL scrape-3PL-PERF C/H ‘They used to scrape the inside with the shells.’

### 4.2.3 ‘Accompanied’ (comitative) adverb phrases

When the adverb phrase with the postposition *gesi* ‘accompanied’ occurs with other adverb phrases or object noun phrases it precedes them, except for adverb phrases of time.

ADVPT ADVPA ADVPL V
(308) Garo ta sina-na ġesi vamoka ġana ġe iağọ-to.
day one mother-3SG with garden to 3PL go-PERF ‘One day they went to the garden with their mother.’

ADVPA O V
(309) Ma baru-na ġesi ġe-na dura e ġabi-a-to.
with anger-3SG with NTR-3S G string.bag 3SG take-3SG-PERF ‘She angrily took her string bag.’

Any of the clauses may be negated by adding the negation word *asi* ‘not/no’ before the verb or before the complement in verbless clauses (see §2.13).

(310) Vanuğa tarima-ri ası be-ği iağoma.
village people-3PL NEG R-3P L come ‘The village people did not come.’

### 4.3 Changes in word order

The normal word order may be changed either for emphasis or in relative clauses.

#### 4.3.1 Emphasis

When the normal word order is changed for emphasis either the object or indirect object may precede the subject:

O S V
(311) Tarima-rima ġia na e vaği-ri-to ġoi.
people-RED 3SG ERG 3SG kill-3PL-PERF C/H ‘It was people he used to kill.’

O S
(312) Gia tubu-na kwagwa tu Gida Enone e Sara Enone
3SG granny-3SG bird.name TOP Gida Enone and Sara Enone
4.3.2 Relative clauses

In relative clauses the subject or object may follow the verb:

(313) Garivata e lema-ia-to tau-na, e raga-rekwa-rekwa-to.
banana 3SG steal-3SG-PERF man-3SG run-loose-RED-PERF
‘The man who stole the bananas ran away.’

(316) Ge voi-a-to dagara-na asi b-o-no fitoğa-ia.
3PL pay-3SG-PERF thing-3SG NEG R-2SG-1I throw.away-3SG
‘Don’t throw away the thing they bought.’
5 Sentences

The sentence consists of one or more clauses.

5.1 Sentence types

We distinguish the following sentence types: simple sentences, coordinate sentences and complex sentences.

5.1.1 Simple sentences

The simple sentence consists of a single clause.

5.1.2 Coordinate sentences

Coordinate sentences consist of two or more independent clauses. These clauses are called coordinate clauses, and they are either linked together by coordinating conjunctions, or are juxtaposed without any conjunction. The latter construction is only possible with ‘conjunctive’ relationships, not with ‘disjunctive’ relationships.

\[
\text{+ clause} \pm \text{conjunction} \text{ + clause}
\]

The following conjunctions are used to join clauses:

a. conjunctive: 
   - *ema* ‘and’ (joining clauses)
   - *ma* ‘and’ (and in addition)
   - *benamo* ‘and then’

b. disjunctive:
   - *ba* ‘or’ (contrast)
   - *o* ‘or’ (supplementation)

Additional relationships are shown in the following diagram:
TIME SEQUENCE - one event follows the other in time; there is no time overlap between the events.

SIMULTANEOUS TIME - one event takes place at the same time as the other.

CONJOINING - two propositions are in conjoining relation to each other if they are in parallel relation to each other, being of equal prominence, if they are not chronologically related, and if both events apply (i.e. there is no alternation).

ALTERNATION - in the alternation relation, either one proposition or the other applies.

i. Contrastive: the alternatives are antonyms, one implying not the other.

ii. Supplementary: the alternatives are a set of two or more options within the same area of meaning.

Examples:

(317)  
\textit{Vanuğa votuka-na-i e rağasi-to, benamo e kea-to.}  
village border-3SG-in 3SG arrive-PERF and.then 3SG call-PERF  
‘She arrived at the village border, and then she called.’

(318)  
\textit{Mai-na-i rogo ţe tanu-korikori-to ema tarima kota-ri}  
this-3SG-in still 3PL stay-truly-PERF and people some-3PL  
ţe-ma doğari-ri-to.  
3PL-at.speaker find-3PL-PERF  
‘They stayed here for a while and met some people.’
(319) babaga b-e iaro-ğari-aro-ğari-ni ema karai ma
flower.name R-3SG nod-quick-nod-quick-IMPF and bird.name with
ğodu bora be-ğe kikakika-ia-ni.
bird.name yellow R-3PL sing-3SG-IMPF

‘...then the babaga will move and the birds (karai and ğodu) will sing.’

(320) Ğia-na mo guruğa mabara-ri ĝe ĝabi-rage-ri-to, ma
3SG-ERG that talk all-3PL 3PL take-up-3PL-PERF and
ğe riba-maoro-to, au tu ĝoi sevi-mu na a
3PL know-right-PERF 1SG TOP 2SG beside-2SG from 1SG
iağoma-to.
come-PERF

‘They accepted all these talks, and they knew for sure that I came from you.’

(321) Tito maniğa maki apostolo au kavana, ma ĝai
Titus there also apostle 1SG like and 1PLEX

tau-ma rua-rua tu ĝomi vekarava-ni ai ĝa
man-1PLEX two-RED TOP 2PL among-2PL in 1PLEX

ųauvei-veget-o-ni.
work-together-IMPF

‘Titus also is an apostle like me, and we two are working among you.’

(322) Ğomi tu guba na bo-ğo keto-firiğo ba tano boka-na
2PL TOP sky from R-2PL fall-down or land mouth-3SG
na bo-ğo roka-rağe?
from R-2PL creep-up

‘Did you fall down from the sky or did you come out of a cave?’

(323) Seamani ģauvei-na tu Kila-na b-e ĝabi-a-ni o
chairman work-3SG TOP Kila-ERG R-3SG take-3SG-IMPF or

Raka-na b-e ĝabi-a-ni, o Tau-na b-e
Raka-ERG R-3SG take-3SG-IMPF or Tau-ERG R-3SG

ĝabi-a-ni.
take-3SG-IMPF

‘It is either Kila or Raka or Tau that will be elected for the chairmanship.’

(324) Mo gabu o ĝaruka ara-na toma ĝe kiraği-a-ni
that place or river name-3SG today 3PL say.about-3SG-IMPF

tu ‘Guiato Kafutari-na’.
TOP girl bite.down-3SG

‘That place or river they call ‘Girl’s Trap’ today.’

Juxtaposition:

(325) Garo ta guba na e mariğo-to, e kira-to:
voice one heaven from 3SG came.down-PERF 3SG say-PERF

‘A voice, it came from heaven and said:...’
5.1.3 Complex sentences

The complex sentence consists of at least one independent and one dependent clause. The dependent clause may be linked to the independent clause by subordinate conjunctions. It might be helpful to divide these complex sentences into three categories: argumentation, relations and relative clauses.

5.1.3.1 Argumentation

This section deals with the following types of sentence: reason, purpose, conditional, adversative and clarification relations: contrast (NEG)-HEAD.

5.1.3.1.1 Reason sentences

We may distinguish between a) asserted result versus presupposed reason (RESULT-Reason) and b) presupposed reason versus asserted result (Reason-RESULT). Both constructions occur quite frequently.

a) RESULT-Reason

i. with *korana* ‘because’ in the beginning and *nai* ‘because’ at the end of the subordinate clause

(326)  

*Giana kurabo tu ma mirori a ġitana kurabo ġitaġitari tu*

their floor TOP with dirt but our.INC floor appearance TOP

*namo, korana ġuiato-na vanaği-vanaği e iareva-ri-ni nai.*

good reason girl-ERG always-RED 3SG clean-3PL-IMPF because

‘Their floor is dirty, but our floor looks clean, because the girl always cleans it.’

(327)  

*Mo ġuiato asi kwa-vaği-ri dabara-na, korana vatava na e*

that girl NEG dig-out-3PL way-3SG reason stone by 3SG

*kafu-tari-ri-to nai.*

bite-down-3PL-PERF because

‘There was no way to dig the girls out, because the big stone trapped them.’

ii. with *dainai* ‘because’ (Motu) or *bene* ‘because’ (Sinaugoro) at the end of the subordinate clause when conjoined with a verbless sentence

(328) a.  

*Gia tu numa-i mo-ğa, keve dainai.*

3SG TOP house-in that-NOM sick because

b.  

*Gia tu numa-i mo-ğa, keve bene.*

3SG TOP house-in that-NOM sick because

‘He is staying in the house, because he is sick.’

b) Reason-RESULT

i. with *naima* ‘because’ (Sinaugoro) or *dainai* ‘because’ (Motu) at the end of the subordinate clause

Note: *Korana* ‘because’ does not occur at the beginning of a sentence in natural Sinaugoro.
(329) Guiato na kurabo eiareva-ia-to naima/dainai, kurabo
girl ERG floor 3SG clean-3SG-PERF because floor
̥gota-gita-na tu namo.
appearance-3SG TOP good
‘Because the girl swept, the floor is clean.’

(330) Mani tu b-e niuniu naima/dainai, e vei-babo-babo-ni,
that TOP R-3SG drink because 3SG do-stupid-RED-IMPF
̥gia mani mero namo vedaureana.
3SG that boy good very
‘Because he is drunk, he is acting silly, otherwise he is a very good boy.’

The three examples to follow use be ‘so’. These constructions are similar to the Reason-
RESULT ones, yet restricted to imperfective and intensive/imperative sentences:

(331) Goi Mosbi ġana o raka-ni be au tu a iago-ni
2SG Moresby to 2SG go-IMPF so 1S G TOP 1S G go-IMPF
numa ġana.
house to
‘You are going to Moresby, so I am going to the house.’

(332) N-o kira-gi-a, be n-a tore-vana-gi-a.
1/I-2SG tell-3SG so 1/I-1SG write-pass-3SG
‘Tell me so I can write it down.’

(333) Kurabo ma miro-na, be n-o daro-a.
floor with dirt-3SG so 1/I-2SG sweep-3SG
‘The floor is dirty, so sweep it.’

ii. with mo̥ga lorinai ‘therefore’ in the beginning of the subordinate sentence (mo̥ga ‘that-
NOM’ + lori-na-i ‘right-3SG-in’)

(334) Vatava-na ġiuaito e kafu-tari-ri-to mo̥ga lori-na-i
stone-ERG girl 3SG bite-down-3PL-PERF that-NOM right-3SG-in
asi kwa-va-gi-ri dabara-na.
NEG dig-out-3PL way-3SG
‘The big stone trapped the girls, therefore there was no way to dig them out.’

In (334) naima (or mo̥gesi naima = mo̥ gesi ‘that like’, nai-ma ‘because-with’) and mo̥ga
lorinai are interchangeable.

5.1.3.1.2 Purpose sentences

Purpose-MEANS differs from RESULT-Reason in that in the RESULT-Reason
relationship the result is always explicitly fulfilled or achieved, whereas in the Purpose-
MEANS relationship, the purpose is intended but not necessarily fulfilled.
i. with the topicaliser tu or korana tu (because + TOP), and the verb in imperative/intentive mode + postposition ġana 'to/for' in the subordinate clause

(335)  Au b-a iağoma tu si-ma tanu-tağo ġana.
1SG R-1SG come TOP 1PL.INC.I/l-at.speaker stay-sit to/for
'I came in order to sit with you.'

(336)  Ğai ma ġa ġenogoi-to Saroa ġana tu garo
1PL.EXC again 1PL.EXC return-PERF Saroa to TOP language
ma ba-ğa-na riba-ia ġana.
again R-1PL.EXC-I/I know-3SG to
'We came back to Saroa (in order) to learn the language.'

(337)  Ğia taravatu ġena seguka gabure-na-i e-ma mağuri-to,
3SG law its power under-3SG-in 3SG-at.speaker born-PERF
korana tu taravatu ġena seguka gabure-na-i ta tanu-ni
because TOP law its power under-3SG-in 1PL.INC live-IMPF
tarima-rima-ra be-ne-ma voi-ğenogoi-ra, benamo
people-RED-1PL.INC R-I/l-at.speaker pay-back-1PL.INC then
Barau natu-na-i bi-si-ni iağō ġana.
God child-3SG-in R-1PL.INC-I/I go to/for
'He was born under the power of the law, in order to pay us back who are
living under the power of the law, and to become children of God.'

ii. purpose clause occurring before the main clause for emphasis

(338)  Vavine, ġarağ-na n-e segagi ġana, e taği-to.
woman spouse-3SG I/I-3SG hear to 3SG cry-PERF
'The woman cried, so that her husband should hear (her).'

iii. simple construction

(339)  Tanu-tağo b-a iağoma.
stay-sit R-1SG come
'I came to sit with you.'

(340)  Sikuri a iago-ni.
school 1SG go-IMPF
'I am going to school (in order to study).'

(341)  Mutu gabu ġa iago-ni.
grass burn 1PL.EXC go-IMPF
'We are going to burn the grass.'

5.1.3.1.3 Conditional sentences

The subordinate clause has to occur before the main clause with bema 'if' or bere 'if'
(only for contrafactual conditions) at the beginning, and nai/nai tu or neganai (Motu) 'when'
at the end of the subordinate clause (not at the beginning of the main clause).
a) The possible condition

The verbs in the protasis are in the remote tense with imperfective aspect suffix, and the verbs in the apodosis are in the remote tense with imperfective aspect or imperative/intentive mode.

(342) Bema ta b-e laku-ni nai [tu], tuta godi-na b-e kini-a-ni.

pinch-3SG-IMPF

‘If somebody has scabies he will get the juice of the tuta leaves.’

(343) Bema b-e daro-a-ni nai, kurabo gitagita-na tu namo.

good

‘If she sweeps, the floor will be clean.’

(344) Bema sikuri ai b-o gauvei-kokore-ni nai b-o kwalimu-ni.

victorious-IMPF

‘If you work hard, you will pass your exam.’

(345) Bema Saroa gana b-o iago-ni nai gaie-ma-i b-o-no iagoma.

NTR-1PL.EXC-to R-2SG-I/I come

‘If you come to Saroa village, then you must come to us.’

b) The contrafactual condition

The protasis and apodosis are in the irrealis mode and remote tense.

(346) Bere b-e-re daro-a nai [tu], kurabo gitagita-na b-e-re namo.

R-3SG-IRR good

‘If she had swept, the floor would have been clean.’

(347) Bema sikuri ai b-o-ro gauvei-kokore nai b-o-ro kwalimu.

victorious

‘If you had worked hard, you would have passed the exam.’
5.1.3.1.4 Adversative sentences

An adversative sentence is formed with senaği ‘but’ in the beginning of the subordinate clause. The Concession-CONTRAEXCEPTION relationship is in some way parallel to the Reason-RESULT relationship, but in this case the ‘result’ is always unexpected.

(348) Aba, b-e· daro-a, senaği kurabo ḡitağıta-na tu true R-3SG sweep-3SG but floor appearance-3SG TOP roğosi b-e-ne namo. not.yet R-3SG-I/I good ‘Although she swept, (but) the floor isn’t clean.’

5.1.3.1.5 Clarification relations: contrast (NEG)-HEAD

These are formed with a ‘but’ at the beginning of the subordinate clause. In the contrast relation, the following factors are always present: a point of contrast; a thing (or event, or attribute) is contrasted with another thing (or event, or attribute). At least one point of meaning overlaps.

(349) Ge-na vaği-vaği dagara-na ara-na tu nado, a NTR-3SG kill-RED thing-3SG name-3SG TOP sharp.stone but dia gio. not spear ‘For killing he used sharp stones called nado, but he did not use spears.’

5.1.3.2 Relations

5.1.3.2.1 Time sequence

The following conjunctions are used to indicate time sequence: murinai, murinai vau, vau, vauro, benamo, gabi vau.

a. murinai

B happened after A had happened. A is clearly presupposed temporal sequence.

(350) Guiato ĝe ĝani-gani-ĝosi-to muri-na-i, dobu ai ĝe girl 3PL eat-RED-finish-PERF after-3SG-in deep in 3PL ĝere-to ĝoi. play-PERF C/H ‘After the girls had eaten, they played in the water.’

b. murinai vau

A happens first and may take some time, after which B will happen.

(351) Gia tu roĝo ĝe ĝani-gani-ni, be be-ĝe 3SG TOP still 3PL eat-RED-IMPF so R-3PL ĝani-ĝani-ĝosi-ni murinai vau, be-ĝe tagoma-ni. eat-RED-finish-IMPF after later R-3PL come-IMPF ‘They are still eating, so when they have finished eating they will come.’
c. moğa murinai

A happened, after which B happened.

(352) "Au na gói a iaunamo-mu-ni." Moğa murinai
1SG ERG 2SG 1SG pleased-2SG-IMPF that after
lauka Veağa-na Iesu tano fakana ğana e
Spirit Holy-ERG Jesus land space to 3SG
tuğ-iago-a-to.
send-go-3SG-PERF
"I am pleased with you." After that the Holy Spirit sent Jesus into the desert.'

d. vau

i. There may be a longer period of time between A and B, in which case A and B are asserted.

(353) A-iago-ni rogo, vau ma b-a iağoma-ni.
1SG-go-IMPF first then again R-1SG come-IMPF
'I am going first, afterwards I am coming again.'

ii. B has to happen first before A can happen. A is front shifted to stress that the one spoken to will not do A first, but B.

(354) Garağoro ğana tu vau a varağeni, Girobara ğana rogo
Garagoro to TOP later 1SG go.up Girobara to first
a iago-ni.
1SG go-IMPF
'I am going later to Garagoro, first I am going to Girobara.'

e. vauro

i. A has to happen first before B can happen.

(355) Girobara ğana n-o iago rogo, vau-ro Garağoro ğana
Girobara to I/I-2SG go first later-yet Garagoro to
b-o-no varağe.
R-2SG-I/I go.up
'First you must go to Girobara, later you may go to Garagoro.'

ii. B has to happen first before A can happen. A is frontshifted to stress that the one spoken to will not do A first, but B.

(356) Garağoro ğana tu vau-ro b-o-no varağe Girobara ğana
Garagoro to TOP later-yet R-2SG-I/I go.up Girobara to
rogo n-o iago.
first I/I-2SG go
'You may go to Garagoro later, first you must go to Girobara.'

f. moğa murinai vauro

A has to happen first, after which B can happen.
Minista tu Kemaia tarima-ri ġesi haroro dabara-na superintendent TOP Kemaia people-3PL with pastor way-3SG rogo be-ġe gurūga-gurūga-iagi-a-ni, moğa murinai vau-ro first R-3PL talk-RED-about-3SG-IMPF that after later-yet ġita ġesi bi-ta-ma tanu-ta-go. 1PLINC with R-1PLINC-at.speaker stay-sit ‘The superintendent has first to go to Kemaia and talk about the matters concerning the pastor, after that he will come and sit with us.’

The suffix -ro in vau-ro ‘later’ occurs with rogo ‘still/first’ (see examples (355–357)). It indicates a necessary precondition which has to take place before something else can happen.

g. benamo

A happened, and then B happened. Benamo ‘and then’ expresses asserted temporal sequence.

Vanuğa votuka-na-i e rağasi-to, benamo e kea-to. village border-3SG-at 3SG arrive-PERF and.then 3SG call-PERF ‘She arrived at the village border, and then she called.’

lauka Veağa e vağa-vonu-ri-to, benamo garo Spirit Sacred 3SG CAUS-fill-3PL-PERF and.then language bori-ri ai ġe gurūga-to. strange-3PL in 3PL speak-PERF ‘The Holy Spirit filled them, and then they spoke in strange/different languages.’

h. gabi vau/gabi ai vau

A takes place first, then B takes place.

Si-raka, gabi vau ma bi-ta iağoma-ni bene. 1PLINC-go behind later again R-1PLINC come-IMPF because ‘Let us go now, since we will come again afterwards.’

N-o iağui-a, gabi vau-ro ma bi-ta-na-ma I/I-2SG leave-3SG behind later-yet again R-1PLINC-I/I-at.speaker ġwa-kau-a. carry-on-3SG ‘Leave it, later we can take it with us.’

Iuda tarima-ri ġeri ai guine, gabi ai vau bese iraurau Jew people-3PL them to first behind in later tribe different tarima-ri. people-3PL ‘First to the Jews, later to the gentiles.’
5.1.3.2 Orientation

a) Time-HEAD

i. When two punctiliar events take place at the same time, the word *taiminai* ‘when’ is used at the end of the dependent clause:

(363) *Wisili e fururu-a-to taimi-na-i, tarima mabara-ri*  
whistle 3SG blow-3SG-PERF when-3SG-in people all-3PL  
*gauvei gé vağa-doko-a-to.*  
work 3PL CAUS-finish-3SG-PERF  
‘When he blew the whistle, everyone stopped working.’

It is obvious that *taiminai* is adopted from English. The older people use *neganai* or *nai* ‘when’ instead:

(364) *Pati gana e iağo-to nai, gé-na sedi tu kalana*  
party to 3SG go-PERF when NTR-3S G shirt TOP colour  
*irau veğata e vei-a-to.*  
various kind 3SG do-3SG-PERF  
‘He went to the party wearing a brightly coloured shirt/When he went to the party he had a brightly coloured shirt on.’

In (364), however, *taiminai* would rarely be used, since it is not a punctuliar event that is in focus, but the circumstance of how he was clothed when he went to the party.

ii. A punctiliar event during a span of time is indicated by continuous/habitual aspect *goi* on the first verb + conjunction *nai*/neganai ‘when’ or *nuğanai* ‘while’:

(365) *Čita ta gauvei-to goi nuğanai tama Rome e rağasi-to.*  
work-PERF CIH while father name 3SG arrvive-PERF  
‘While we were working, Father Rome arrived.’

(366) *Čita ta gauvei-tutuğu-tutuğu-to goi nai tama Rome*  
work-bow-RED-PERF CIH when father name  
e rağasi-to be asi ta ġita-ia-to.  
3SG arrive-PERF so not 1PL.INC see-3SG-PERF  
‘While/when we were working very hard, Father Rome arrived, so we did not recognise him.’

(367) *Mero ta dabara-i e raka-to goi nai motuka na*  
boy one way-on 3SG walk-PERF C/H when car ERG  
e vağı-a-to.  
3SG kill-3SG-PERF  
‘When the boy was walking on the road, the car hit him.’
While looking for his mouth organ the boy was singing.

When two events take place in the same span of time both the dependent and independent clause have the continuous aspect clitic gói. The dependent clause also has nai ‘when’ at the end:

While sitting in the car she was thinking the matter over.

b) Orienter-CONTENT (quotative)

There are different orienters:

i. at the beginning of a quotation or thought etc.

When he started his speech he spoke like this:...

Raka said, I think like this:...

The speech he gave is this, “I feel it would be good to come to you”. But he didn’t say, “I will come”.

Here are the names of Jesus’ apostles:...

ii. at the end of a quotation

That is what he said.
5.1.3.3 Relative clauses

The relative clauses in Sinaugoro are like dependent phrases preceding the noun on which they depend (e.g. vanuğa kwaivana ‘village dog’). Similarly, an entire clause may precede a noun, answering to a relative clause in English (examples below). The noun is inflected with the appropriate possessive suffix and agrees with the verb in number. The dependent clause or relative clause precedes the main clause, and the subject or object can be relativised:

$$O \quad V \quad S$$

(376) Garivata e lema-ia-to tau-na e raga-rekwarekwa-to.
banana 3SG steal-3SG-PERF man-3SG 3SG run-loose-PERF
‘The man who stole the bananas ran away.’

(377) Ge voi-a-to dagara-na, asi b-o-no fitoğa-ia!
3PL pay-3SG-PERF thing-3SG NEG R-2SG-I/I throw.away-3SG
‘Don’t throw away that thing they bought!’

Note that -na in tau-na and dagara-na is simply an agreement marker (3SG) as in noun phrases.

5.2 Mood/mode (or functional sentence classes)

5.2.1 Indicative

Statements can be made by using any sentence structure if the verb is in the realis mood (see §2.3).

(378) Mai kure tu bai giği-na e kafu-a-ni.
this rat TOP pig tail-3SG 3SG bite-3SG-IMPF
‘This rat is biting the pig’s tail.’

5.2.2 Imperative

There is no structural difference between an imperative sentence and any other sentence. There is only a difference in the affixation of the verb (see §2.3).

(379) N-o raga-vei!
1/I-2SG run-do
‘Hurry up!’

(380) Boinani vau vamoka gi na bo- gó-no iago!
tomorrow after garden to R-2PL-I/I go
‘Tomorrow you must go to the garden!’
5.2.3 Interrogative

There is very little structural difference between an interrogative sentence and any other clause. There is no interrogative mode affix on the verb. The interrogative word merely fills the same slot that the information sought would fill in a declarative sentence: if the interrogative word is ‘when’ it fills the time slot; if it is ‘how’ it fills the manner slot and so on. The yes-no questions add a tag and/or change the intonation of a statement. Alternative questions are similar to coordinate sentences.

5.2.3.1 Yes-No questions

The yes-no questions have the same structure as the normal intransitive, transitive or ditransitive sentences except for the question tags at the end of the sentence. They are formed by phonological means (intonation) and the question tags.

5.2.3.1.1 Phonological means (intonation)

a) Positive questions

Positive questions are indicated by stress and high pitch on the subject marking of the verb phrase with falling intonation/voice towards the end of the sentence.

\[(381) \quad \text{Coi b-o keve?} \]
\[2\text{SG R-2SG sick} \]
\[\text{‘Are you sick?’} \]

b) Negative questions

Negative questions are indicated by stress and high pitch on negative particle asi (which precedes the verb) with falling intonation.

\[(382) \quad \text{Gi\text{a} asi b-o g\text{ita-ia}?} \]
\[3\text{SG neg R-2SG see-3SG} \]
\[\text{‘Didn’t you see him?’} \]

The answer to a negative question will be the reverse of the English. To the question ‘didn’t you see him?’ the answer will be ‘no’ if the speaker saw him, and ‘yes’ if he did not see him:

\[(383) \quad \text{Oi, (asi ba g\text{itaia})!} \]
\[\text{yes} \]
\[\text{‘Yes (I didn’t see him)!’} \]

\[(384) \quad \text{Asi\text{g}i-na (ba g\text{itaia})!} \]
\[\text{no-3SG} \]
\[\text{‘No (I saw him)!’} \]

5.2.3.1.2 Question tags

The question tags at the end of the sentence are used to encourage a response.

a) The tag ba ‘or’

Stress and high pitch occur on the first syllable of the first word, with falling intonation towards the end of the sentence.
(385) **Lori-mu ai ba?**  
right-2SG in or  
‘Are you all right?’

b) The tag **nema/nene ‘isn’t it’**

Stress and high pitch occur on the first syllable of the question word **nema/nene** with falling intonation on the second syllable. It is used for affirmation.

(386) **Ga tama-mu b-e ragasi, nema/nene?**  
2SG father-2SG R-3SG arrive INTER  
‘Your father arrived, didn’t he?’

Both **nema** and **nene** expect the answer **oi ‘yes’**. **Nema** is Saroa dialect, **nene** is Kwabida dialect, yet the latter one is now being used frequently in the Sinaugoro villages.

### 5.2.3.2 Alternative questions

Stress and high pitch marks the first alternative, then the intonation falls.

(387) **Ga tu mase ba mağuri?**  
3SG TOP dead or alive  
‘Is he alive or dead?’

(388) **Ga e iagoma-ni ba e tanu-ni?**  
3SG 3SG come-IMPF or 3SG stay-IMPF  
‘Is he coming or staying?’

### 5.2.3.3 Questions with question words (information questions)

The question words have already been listed in §2.9. Any constituent of a clause may be questioned. Minimally an interrogative sentence need only have the question word:

(389) **Kamasi?**  
how  
‘How are you?’

(390) **Tarima tu ai-ğe-ri?**  
people TOP L/T-NTR-3PL  
‘Where are the people?’

The following example shows that **ai-ğeri** also carries the idea of ‘which one’:

(391) a. **Bua n-o ğabi-ri!**  
betel.nut I/I-2SG take-3PL  
‘Take the betel nuts!’

b. **Bua tu ai-ğe-ri?**  
betel.nut TOP L/T-NTR-3PL  
‘Where are the betel nuts?’

c. **Bua tu tourağe iata-na-i.**  
betel.nut TOP verandah on-3SG-in  
‘They are on the verandah.’
d. *Ai-ge-ri n-a gabi-ri?*  
L/T-NTR-3PL I/I-1SG take-3PL  
‘Which ones shall I take?’

e. *Mani ge-ri n-o gabi-ri!*  
that NTR-3PL I/I-2SG take-3PL  
‘Take these at this side!’

(392) *Tarima tu ai-na-i b-o giia-ia?*  
people TOP L/T-3SG-in R-2SG see-3SG  
‘Where did you see the person?’

(393) *Ai-na na o iagoma-ni?*  
L/T-3SG from 2SG come-IMPF  
‘Where are you coming from?’

(394) *Boubou tu ai-toma?*  
collection TOP L/T-today  
‘When does the collection feast take place?’

(395) *Dei-kara be-ge iagoma-ni?*  
who-what R-3PL come-IMPF  
‘Who will come?’

(396) *Dei-dei be-ge iagoma-ni?*  
who-RED R-3PL come-IMPF  
‘Who (plural) will come?’

(397) *Goi tu kamara vanuğa tau-mu?*  
2SG TOP which village man-2SG  
‘Which village are you from?’

(398) *Kara o ura-ni?*  
what 2SG like-IMPF  
‘What do you want?’

(399) *Kara dainai b-o kwari-a?*  
what reason R-2SG hit-3SG  
‘Why did you hit him?’

(400) *Kara vei b-o iagoma?*  
what do R-2SG come  
‘Why did you come (to do what)?’

5.2.3.4 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions have the same basic pattern as content questions. They are used to accuse somebody:

(401) *Gomi tau-mi rua-rua dei na b-e kira-mi au*  
2PL man-2PL two-RED who ERG R-3SG say-2PL 1SG
tubu-gu kwağıwa bo-gó vaği-a?
grandchild-1SG bird.name R-2PL kill-3SG
‘Who told you two to kill my grandchild-bird?’

5.3 Elliptical sentences

An elliptical sentence is a sentence where, for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, a part of the structure has been omitted (so that the structure is incomplete by itself). This part is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context.

(402)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tau</th>
<th>tu</th>
<th>Satadei</th>
<th>lavi-lavi</th>
<th>vanaği-vanaği</th>
<th>ragibi</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>afternoon-RED</td>
<td>always-RED</td>
<td>rugby</td>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġere-ni</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>vamoka-i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ġauvei-ni.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play-IMPF</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>garden-in</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>work-IMPF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Tau always either plays rugby or works in the garden on Saturday afternoon.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(403)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mari</th>
<th>ġoika</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ġani-to,</th>
<th>Tau</th>
<th>ġarivata.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>eat-PERF</td>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Mari ate mangos and Tau bananas.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Greetings:

| ġoi lorimu ai (ba) | ‘are you all right?’ |
| au lorigu ai | ‘I’m fine’ |
| mani otanuni o | ‘bye (lit. you are staying)’ |
| mani oiağaoni o | ‘bye (lit. you are leaving)’ |
| bono gena | ‘goodbye (SG) (lit. you must sleep)’ |
| boğono gena | ‘goodbye (PL)’ |
Appendix 1: Identification and movement of participants in Sinaugoro discourse

Participant reference is concerned with the identification and tracking of participants in a discourse, and answers such questions as: How are participants introduced into narrative discourse? Once introduced, how are they identified from then on? How are participants taken out of the narrative, and how are they reintroduced? Who are the main participants? Who are the lesser ones?

The following five legends and a Sinaugoro history account were chosen for our analysis:

1. Guiato Kafutarina  'Girl’s Trap'
2. Gabadigabadi  'Gabadigabadi (snake’s name)'
3. Boura Vareta  'Boura Vareta (girl’s name)'
4. Gida Enone e Sara Enone  'Gida Enone and Sara Enone (two boys)'
5. Dauma Veğaniveğani  'Dauma the cannibal'
6. Sinaugoro Sene Varina  'Sinaugoro History'

The following notation is used when referring to examples in the legends:

(1) = Story 1
(1,5) = Story 1, sentence 5
(1,5–10) = Story 1, sentences 5–10
(1,5 + 6) = Story 1, sentences 5 and 6

1. Introduction of participants

1.1 Main participants

Well-told stories can be divided into four parts, title, opening, main body and closing. Usually the main participants are introduced in the opening of a story. It is quite common to introduce participants by a noun + ta ‘one’ (e.g. tarima ta ‘one/a man’). There are no animacy restrictions to ta ‘one’. It is also quite common to start the main body of a story with ğaro ta ‘one day’ or some other temporal expression.
Story 1

1. 

_**Tau ta ara-na tu Mare Gaiva, ĝe tanu-to ĝoi gabu-na**_

man one name-3SG TOP Mare Gaiva 3PL stay-PERF C/H place-3SG

_**ara-na tu Marikiĝoro.**_

name-3SG TOP Marikiĝoro

There was a man whose name was Mare Gaiva, he was living at Marikiĝoro.

Often the name(s) of the main participant(s) would be mentioned as in (1,1), but not necessarily.

Story 2

1. 

_**Tau ta ma ĝaraĝo-na e ma tari-na rua-rua ĝesi**_

man one with spouse-3SG and with younger.brother-3SG two-RED with

_**ĝe tanu-to ĝoi.**_

3PL stay-PERF C/H

One man lived with his wife and his two younger brothers.

Also his (or their) introduction may include various descriptions of him (or them), depending upon how pertinent to the plot of the story those descriptions are.

Story 4

**TITLE:**

1. 

_**Sinasina Gida Enone Sara Enone**_

sina-sina Gida Enone Sara Enone

A LEGEND ABOUT GIDA AND SARA ENONE

**OPENING:**

2. 

_**Guinena lagani ni futua rua ĝe tanuto-ĝoi.**_

early-3SG year-3SG-in boy two-RED 3PL live-PERF C/H

Long ago there were two brothers.

3. 

_**Tau guinena arana Gida Enone.**_

tau guine-na ara-na Gida Enone

The firstborn’s name was Gida Enone.

4. 

_**Tau muriseina arana Sara Enone.**_

tau muri-sei-na ara-na Sara Enone

The secondborn’s name was Sara Enone.

**MAIN BODY:**

5. 

_**Gia tauri rua ĝeri gauvei baregona tu kadakada.**_

Their main job was to trap birds.
6. **Gau arana Magi emagaeto nai futua ruarua Gida Enone**

   gau ara-na Magi e maqe-to nai futua rua-rua Gida Enone
tree name-3SG Magi 3SG ripe-PERF so boy two-RED Gida Enone
e Sara Enone gari kada ge gabioto geiagoto
e Sara Enone ge-ri kada ge gabi-to ge iaqo-to
and Sara Enone NTR-3PL trap 3PL take-PERF 3PL go-PERF

Magi tuqunai getorerito.
Magi on-3SG-in 3PL put-3PL-PERF

The name of the tree was Magi and when its fruits were ripe, the boys took their traps, went to the tree and put it up.

**CLOSING:**

7. **Mo gesi ge veirito nai manu gatuma ge kadarito,**

   mo gesi ge ve-ri-to nai manu gatuma ge kada-ri-to
that like 3PL do-3PL-PERF so bird many 3PL trap-3PL-PERF

gi kada-ri-to goi nai tau-rri tu ge gani-to
3PL trap-3PL-PERF C/H so man-3PL TOP 3PL eat-3PL-PERF

goi a gwiri tu gerti veraveri ge

goi a gi-ri tu ge-ri vera-vera ge
C/H but feathers-3PL TOP NTR-3PL decoration-RED 3PL

vei-iagirito goi.

vei-iagi-ri-to goi
do-use-3PL-PERF C/H

So they caught many birds and ate them. The feathers they used for decoration.

1.2 **Secondary or minor participants**

Secondary or minor participants are introduced either after the main participant (4,8) or somewhere in the middle of the story (4,25).

**Story 4**

8. **Veganiveganivavinena ta aranaga Gade Gonegone.**

   ve-gani-ve-gani vavin-na ta ara-na Gade Gonegone
der-eat-DER-eat woman-3SG a name-3SG Gade Gonegone
There was one lady, Gade Gonegone, who was a cannibal.

25. **Gade Gonegone tu ma tubuna guiatona ta.**

   Gade Gonegone tu ma tubu-na guato-na ta
Gade Gonegone TOP have granddaughter-3SG girl-3SG one
Gade Gonegone had a granddaughter.

It should be noted that there is no special marking on the verb etc. when participants are introduced. Rather participants are introduced by: stating their names (4,1); use of kinship terms (2,1-4); use of the formula ‘a certain man/woman’ (2,1); and addition of the name after ‘a certain man’ (1,1).
2. **Tracing a participant through a discourse and reintroducing him/her**

2.1 **Affixes**

In Sinaugoro narrative discourse, once a participant has been introduced and reference to him/her is being maintained, he/she is normally identified only by S-M-T marker of the verb (5,13–19). There are no animacy restrictions on the use of the S-M-T markers.
Dauma Veğaniveğani tu lağani ai tarima-rima e vetau-ri-to
daua cannibal TOP day in people-RED 3SG search-3PL-PERF
goi, a boği tu aşığina.
c/H however night TOP not
daua the cannibal used to look for people during the day, but not at night.

Gena vağıvağı dagara-na ara-na tu nado, a gio
his killing thing-3SG name-3SG TOP sharp.stone however spear
tu aşığina.
top not
to kill the people he used a flat sharp stone, he didn't use spears.

Tau ta ba vavine ta e ğita-ia-to goi, ğena nado
man one or woman one 3SG see-3SG-PERF C/H his sharp.stone
ta dura na e iaguvagi-a-to goi, mo tau ba vavine
one string.bag from 3SG took.out-3SG-PERF C/H that man or woman
tu noğa koko na e basi-mase-a-to goi.
top like axe instrument 3SG cut-die-3SG-PERF C/H
when he saw a person, man or woman, he took his sharp stone out of his string bag
and threw it so that it cut the person like an axe cuts.

Tau ta ba vavine ta e doğari-a-to goi tu e
man one or woman one 3SG find-3SG-PERF C/H TOP 3SG
vaği-mase-a-to goi, e ğwa-iago-a-to goi, ğena tanu
kill-die-3SG-PERF C/H 3SG carry-go-3SG-PERF C/H his living
gabuna ğana.
place to
when he found somebody, he killed him and carried him to his land.

Monai vau e ğani-a-to goi.
there afterwards 3SG eat-3SG-PERF C/H
there he ate him then.

Gena vağı-vağı nodo-ri tu dura ta e
his kill-RED sharp.stone-3PL TOP string.bag one 3SG
vağa-vonu-a-to goi, vau e raka-to, ğoro tuğu-ri ai
CAUS-fill-3SG-PERF C/H afterwards 3SG go-PERF hill top-3PL on
e tano faeara gabu-ri ai tarima e vetau-to goi.
and land flat place-3PL in people 3SG search-PERF C/H
he filled his string bag with sharp stones and walked up the hills and across the flat
land looking for people.
19. *Tau ta ġaraği-na ma kuğa-na, tau-na e vagi-a-to,*
man one spouse-3SG with pregnant-3SG husband-3SG 3SG kill-3SG-PERF
*e ġani-a-to vavine-na tu e gari-to, e raga-to,*
3SG eat-3SG-PERF wife-3SG TOP 3SG fear-PERF 3SG run-PERF
*e ıago-to mo ġoro ta ara-na Kapakou.*
3SG go-PERF to hill one name-3SG Kapakou
He came to a man with a pregnant wife, killed him and ate him; the woman was
frightened and ran away to a hill called Kapakou.

Yet there are quite a number of situations where the participant—after he/she has been
introduced—is identified by a different means than the S-M-T particle.

There is no special word or feature in Sinaugoro which signals that a participant will be
reintroduced. Generally a participant is reintroduced by one of the following: free pronoun;
kin term, noun/noun phrase; demonstrative + noun/postposition; topicalised/frontshifted noun
phrase. But his/her reintroduction is not as elaborate as in the initial introduction.

### 2.2 Free pronouns

The subject of a transitive clause must be marked by an ergative marker. So, if for
instance the participant has already been introduced in an intransitive clause (1,9), but a
transitive clause with him as the actor follows (1,10), then the participant in the transitive
clause needs to be encoded by a free pronoun (or noun phrase) following an ergative marker.
In story 1 a free pronoun is used, because it is clear from the context that the pronoun refers
to the man Mare Gaiva whose name was mentioned in (1,9). In (2,7), however, a noun
phrase is used to refer to the ‘big boy’ of (2,6). In this case it is necessary to use a noun
phrase otherwise the ‘big boy’ might be confused with the small boy who was just mentioned
in (2,6). Noun phrases (e.g. ‘big boy’) are avoided unless needed for identification. It would
not sound natural if noun phrases were used unnecessarily to distinguish from other
participants (e.g. 1,10).

**Story 1**

9. *Mare Gaiva e ıago-to giuiato gitagita-ri Kurogo ġaruka-na-i.*
Mare Gaiva 3SG go-PERF girl see-3PL Kurogo river-3SG-in
Then Mare Gaiva went to the Kurogo River to see the girls.

10. *Benarno ġia-na vatava e kwa-ia-to goi, senaginasi asi*
then 3SG-ERG stone 3SG dig-3SG-PERF C/H but no
*kwa-vaği-ri dabara-na.*
dig-out-3PL way-3SG
Then he started to dig the rock, but there was no way to get the girls out.

**Story 2**

6. *Mero barego-na tu e rage-to, a kei-na tu tano*
boy big-3SG TOP 3SG climb-PERF yet small-3SG TOP ground
ai e tanu-to.
on 3SG stay-PERF
The big boy climbed the tree, while the small boy remained on the ground.
7. Mero baregon-na kei-na e kira-ia-to, ġaruka-i be-ġe
boy big-ERG small-3SG 3SG tell-3SG-PERF creek-in R-3PL
keto-rigö-ni dagara-ri tu asi b-e-ne ġabi-ri, e ta-to.
fall-down-IMPF things-3PL TOP not R-3SG-I/I take-3PL 3SG 3SG-say-PERF
The big boy told the small one not to take the ones in the creek.

However, there are cases where the agent (subject of a transitive clause) is only identified by the S-M-T particle of the verb (2,11 = he took his spear and knife), although the object is marked in the verb as specific. In the Sinaugoro history account (6) there are a number of similar examples, see (6,15+27).

Story 2

11. Kaka-ri nağa gabu-na-i e seğagi-to tari-na
older.brother-3PL hunting place-3SG-in 3SG hear-PERF younger.brother-3SG
garo-na, benamo ġena gio e bağa e ġabi-ri-to, e voice-3SG then his spear and bush.knife 3SG take-3PL-PERF 3SG
raga-to mero kei-ri ġe-ri ai.
rung-PERF boy small-3PL NTR-3PL to
His big brother heard his cry in the place where he was hunting and took his spear and knife and ran to the small boys.

Story 6

15. Monai ġe tanu-to vauro bese kota ma ġe
there 3PL stay-PERF afterwards tribe some again 3PL
vağa-ġora-ri-to.
CAUS-produce-3PL-PERF
After they had settled there they had some more kids.

27. Mainai ro ġe tanu-kori-kori-to ema tarima kota maki
here still 3PL stay-good-RED-PERF and people some also
ġe-ma doğari-ri-to.
3PL-at.speaker find-3PL-PERF
There they settled permanently and found some people while they were there.

On the other hand in the same story (6) there are examples in which a maintained referent is referred to by an overt noun phrase. For example, in (6,35) Mr English is introduced and in (6,36) he is referred to by a free pronoun indicated by an ergative marker.

Story 6

35. Taubada o gavamani ara-na Mr English e-ma
big.man or government name-3SG Mr English 3SG.at.speaker
fofori-guine-to,
appear-first-PERF
A big man or government man named Mr English came first.
How frequent are free pronouns?

In story 1 (17 sentences) the only occurrence is in sentence 10.
In story 2 (18 sentences) there are 5 occurrences in sentences 2, 7, 9, 16, 18.
In story 3 (17 sentences) there are 2 occurrences in sentences 3, 13.

Animacy restrictions: free pronouns can refer to persons or animals whether alive or dead, but not to things (e.g. rocks, houses, trees etc.).

When there is a change in subject from that of the previous clause/sentence, a free pronoun/noun phrase must be used.

1. [ [subject 1] clause 1, [subject 1] clause 2 ] sent.1
   \[Raka \ e \ ra\-gasi-to \ nai, \ e \  \-gani-\-gani-to.\]
   Raka 3SG arrive-PERF when 3SG eat-RED-PERF
   When Raka arrived, he ate.

2. [ [subject 1] clause 1, [subject 2] clause 2 ] sent.1
   \[Raka \ e \ ra\-gasi-to \ nai, \ Maino \ e \  \-gani-\-gani-to.\]
   Raka 3SG arrive-PERF when Maino 3SG eat-RED-PERF
   When Raka arrived, Maino ate.

   \[Raka \ e \ ra\-gasi-to. \ Benamo \ g\-ia \ na \ bai \ ta \ e \  \-va\-g\-i-a-to.\]
   Raka 3SG arrive-PERF then he ERG pig one 3SG kill-3SG-PERF
   When Raka arrived, then he killed a pig.

   \[Raka \ e \ ra\-gasi-to. \ Benamo \ Maino \ na \ bai \ ta \ e \  \-va\-g\-i-a-to.\]
   Raka 3SG arrive-PERF then Maino ERG pig one 3SG kill-3SG-PERF
   When Raka arrived, Maino killed a pig.

1. is marked by S-M-T particle;
2. is marked by NP;
3. is marked by S-M-T particle/pronoun;
4. is marked by NP.

What happens when the noun phrases in sentences 2 and 4 are replaced by pronouns? When the subject noun phrase in the second clause is replaced by a free pronoun, subject 2 becomes subject 1, that is, the subject in clauses 1 and 2 is the same. However, the pronoun in subject 2 suggests that there is a second party involved, which is contrasted with subject 1. This applies only to sentence 2:


2.3 Kinship terms, nouns/noun phrases

i. Kinship terms are frequently used to refer to participants when the relationship between them is crucial. In story 2, for example, the two brothers are introduced as ‘two small brothers’ (2,1) in relation to their big brother. When referred to again in (2,7+8) they are referred to as ‘big and small boy’, not as brothers, since it is not relevant at the moment to mention their relationship with their older brother. Then in (2,12+13) the boys are again referred to as ‘his small brothers’, which stresses the fact that he is responsible for them. Likewise the wife. She is introduced as the man’s wife (2,1), and in relation to the two boys as their in-law (who doesn’t look after the boys well) (2,2). Now when one of the boys refers to his in-law in (2,13), he refers to her as ‘your spouse/wife’ which shows that there is something wrong in their relationship, otherwise he would have referred to her as ‘my in-law’. He implies, when talking to his older brother, that it is his wife, not their in-law, who is not feeding them properly, since it is the responsibility of an in-law relationship to look after other in-laws.

Note: In Western culture it is quite common to ask someone, “How is your wife/husband?” In Sinaugoro culture, however, this would not be appropriate unless something is wrong in the relationship. Someone would rather ask, for example, “How is my sister/brother or in-law?”.

The fact that the relationship between the participants in a given situation is crucial in how they are referred to is also supported by the Sinaugoro history (6). After the man Gire Tauna and his wife Daba Tauna have been introduced in the opening by mentioning their names (6,2), they are referred to by the terms ‘woman’ and ‘man’ (6,3). However, in (6,4) he is referred to as ‘her husband’ and in (6,6) as the ‘boy’s father’, since she didn’t cry for any man but her husband, because he is the father of the boy who just died.

Kinship terms are used quite frequently to refer to participants since it would often be impolite in the Sinaugoro culture to refer to someone by their real name. In general only when somebody is cross with someone else would he or she use that person’s real name. A nickname (which usually describes a specific characteristic of that person, e.g. Duba ‘black’) can also be used in lieu of a kinship term.

Story 2

1. *Təu tə ma əgarə-ŋa e ma tarə-ŋa ruə-ruə əgesi*
   
   man one with spouse-3SG and with younger.brother-3SG two-RED with
   
   əge ətanə-əgo.
   
   3PL stay-PERF C/H
   
   One man lived with his wife and his two younger brothers.

2. *Garə-ŋa-ŋa iva-ŋa ruə-ruə tu əsi e nari-ri-ŋa*
   
   spouse-3SG-ERG in.law-3SG two-RED TOP not 3SG look.after-3PL-PERF
His wife did not look after her brothers-in-law.

7. *Mero baregonarna kei-na e kira-ia-to, ġaruka-i be-ğe*  
boy big-ERG small-3SG 3SG tell-3SG-PERF creek-in R-3PL  
keto-riğoni dagara-ri tu asi b-e-ne ġabi-ri, e ta-to.  
fall-down-IMPF things-3PL TOP not R-3SG-I/I take-3PL 3SG say-PERF  
The big boy told the small one not to take the ones in the creek.

8. *Senaği mero kei-na tu asi e seguţi-to, e iağo-to,*  
but boy small-3SG TOP not 3SG hear-PERF 3SG go-PERF  
ġaruka ġana turi n-e-a-ğabi-a, e ta-to.  
creek to fruits I/I-3SG-different.location-take-3SG 3SG say-PERF  
But the little boy did not take heed and went to the creek and tried to get the fruits.

12. *E lağasi-to, benamo e vedanagi-to, tari-na tu*  
3SG arrive-PERF then 3SG ask-PERF younger.brother-3SG TOP  
kamasi.  
how.  
When he arrived he asked how his small brother was.

13. *Benamo tari-na-na e kira-ia-to, e kira-to,*  
then younger.brother-3SG-ERG 3SG tell-3SG-PERF 3SG tell-PERF  
“Ğarağo-mu tu asi namo, gat tu asi e ġubu-ma-ni”.  
spouse-2SG TOP not good 1P-EXC TOP not 3SG feed-1P-EXC-IMPF  
Then his small brother told him, he said, “Your wife is no good, she doesn’t feed us well”.

ii. When the flow of the event line is interrupted by a different participant (agent) as, for instance, in (5,19) where the agent is interrupted by ‘the woman’. In (5,26) the previous participant is mentioned again and he is referred to by his full name Dauma Veğaniveğani.

Story 5

19. *Tau ta ġarağo-na ma kuğa-na, tau-na e vağı-a-to,*  
man one spouse-3SG with pregnant-3SG husband-3SG 3SG kill-3SG-PERF  
e ġani-a-to, vavine-na tu e gari-to, e raga-to,  
3SG eat-3SG-PERF wife-3SG TOP 3SG fear-PERF 3SG run-PERF  
e iağo-to mo ġoro ta ara-na Kapakou.  
3SG go-PERF to hill one name-3SG Kapakou  
He came to a man with a pregnant wife, killed him and ate him; the woman was frightened and ran away to a hill called Kapakou.

20. *Mai gabu tu Saroa ma Sauruba fakari ai.*  
this place TOP Soroa and Sauruba between in  
This place is between Soroa and Sauruba village.
that hill on stone crack-3SG hole-3SG-in 3SG stay-PERF C/H
She lived on that hill; there was a very rocky place with caves in it.

22. Ge-na ɡauvei tu boɡi ai vau ɡe-na sega e
work TOP night in afterwards NTR-3SG garden 3SG
vei-to ɡoi, laɡani tu e gumu-to ɡoi.
do-PERF C/H day TOP 3SG hide-PERF C/H
She used to work in her garden at night and during the day she hid.

23. Moanai e tanu-to mo e ruɡu-to, vekafa e
there 3SG stay-PERF till 3SG give.birth-PERF twin 3SG
ɡabi-ri-to mero mo rua-rua.
take-3PL-PERF boy that two-RED
While she was staying in the cave she bore twins, two boys.

24. Mero guine-na tu aroriba, naima sina-na na ara-na e
boy first-3SG TOP right so mother-3SG ERG name-3SG 3SG
vato-a-to Riba Bada, mero muri-sei-na tu kauri, naima
name-3SG-PERF Riba Bada boy after-born-3SG TOP left so
sina-na na ara-na e vato-a-to Kauri Bada.
mother-3SG ERG name-3SG 3SG name-3SG-PERF Kauri Bada.
The firstborn was a right-handed person, therefore he was called Riba Bada, and the
secondborn a left-handed person, therefore he was called Kauri Bada.

25. Sina-ri na e nari-ri-to mo ɡe barego-to
mother-3PL ERG 3SG care.for-3PL-PERF till 3PL big-PERF
tarima-rima varau ɡe iaɡo-to, benamo ɡia na Sina-ri
people-RED already 3PL go-PERF then 3PL ERG mother-3PL
ɡe danaɡi-a-to, ɡe kira-to, “Sina-gai o, ɡai
3PL ask-3SG-PERF 3PL say-PERF mother-intimate eh 1PL.EXC
tama-ma tu ainai e tanu-ni?”. father-1PL.EXC TOP where 3SG stay-IMPF
Their mother brought them up and when they were already big they asked their
mother: “Mum, where does our father live?”.

26. Sina-ri na e vaɡa-vese-to, e kira-to, “Tama-mi
mother-3PL ERG 3SG CAUS-answer-PERF 3SG say-PERF father-2SG
tu Dauma Veɡaniveɡani na e ɡani-a-to”.
TOP Dauma cannibal ERG 3SG eat-3SG-PERF
Mother replied: “Your father was eaten by the giant”.

iii. When a nominal referent includes more than one person, often a noun phrase is used:
(4,5) = tauri ruarua ‘the two persons’.
Story 4

5. *Gia tauri ruarua ĝeri ĝauvei baregona tu kadakada.*

*ĝia tau-ri rua-rua ĝer-ri ĝau-vei bare-go-na tu kada-kada*

3PL man-3PL two-RED NTR-3PL thing-do big-3SG TOP trap-RED

Their main job was to trap birds.

div. A change of scene (location, event, time etc.) may require a more specific identification of participants (e.g. full representation of his name) by a noun phrase (5,42+43).

Story 5

42. *Moĝa murinai ĝauvei varau ĝe vaĝa-maoro-to.*

that after work already 3PL CAUS-finish-PERF

After that they finished their work.

43. *Goriĝoro tuĝu-na-i fore baregona ta mai mero Riba Bada*

name.of.hill top-3SG-on stone big-3SG one this boy Riba Bada

*ma Kauri Bada tau guine-na na ĝoira-na na reke-na na*

and Kauri Bada man first-3SG ERG front-3SG from side-3SG from

*e faresi-a-to, ma tau muri-sei-na na maki ĝoira-na*

3SG jump-3SG-PERF and man after-born-3SG ERG also front-3SG

*na ma e faresi-a-to, tau guine-na na muri-na*

from again 3SG jump-3SG-PERF man first-3SG ERG behind-3SG

*na e faresi-a-to ma tau muri-sei-na na maki*

from 3SG jump-3SG-PERF and man after-born-3SG ERG also

*muri-na ma e faresi-a-to.*

behind-3SG from again 3SG jump-3SG-PERF

On top of the hill the two boys jumped over a big stone, the firstborn Riba Bada jumped first and then the secondborn Kauri Bada; then they jumped again backwards over the stone one after the other.

2.4 Demonstratives + nouns/postpositions

There are basically two deictics *mai* ‘this’ and *mo* ‘that’ which are frequently used, mostly in combination with nouns or postpositions to either refer back or point forward. There are no animacy restrictions.

a. Demonstrative + noun

It is most common that if someone is introduced by name, that person is referred to by a demonstrative + a noun thereafter, for example, “that girl” (3,3+4).

Story 3

3. *Guiato ta e tanu-to ĝoi, ara-na tu Boura Vareta.*

girl one 3SG stay-PERF C/H name-3SG TOP Boura Vareta

There was a girl named Boura Vareta.

4. *Mo ĝuiato sina-na e tama-na ĝesi ĝe tanu-to ĝoi*

that girl mother-3SG and father-3SG with 3PL stay-PERF C/H
That girl stayed with her parents, and after a time she became pregnant, and so the
time started to gossip.

b. Demonstrative + postposition

- mai gesi: ‘like this’
- mo gesi: ‘like that’
- mai geri: ‘these things/people’
- mo geri: ‘those things/people’

At the beginning of a quotation or thought mai gesi ‘like this’ is used, before enumeration
mai geri ‘these’. In the same way mo gesi ‘like that’ is used at the end of a quotation or
thought, mo geri ‘those’ is used to refer back to things or persons mentioned earlier in the
story. It is also a means of expressing plurality, because if only one person is being referred
to, mo ‘that’ occurs instead of mo geri.

Story 4

9. Mai gesi e kirarito: “Manu mabarari ḡokadari
mai gesi e kira-ri-to manu mabara-ri ḡo kada-ri
this like 3SG say-3PL-PERF bird all-3PL 2PL trap-3PL
vau ḡo vaɣiri-ni tu namo vedaurea senaĝi manu
vau ḡo vaɣi-ri-ni tu namo vedaurea senaĝi manu
later 2PL kill-3PL-IMPF TOP good very but bird
arana Kwagwa boɣo kadaiani nai asi
ara-na Kwagwa bo-ɣo kada-ia-ni nai asi
name-3SG Kwagwa R-2PL trap-3SG-IMPF when not
boɣono vaɣia e boɣono fiu-rovoa!”.
bo-ɣo-no vaɣt-a e bo-ɣo-no fiu-rovo-a
R-2PL-III kill-3SG and R-2PL-III throw-fly-3SG
She said to them: “You can trap and kill all the birds but if you catch a bird called
Kwagwa, don’t kill it and let it fly again!”.

10. Mo gesi e kirarito.
mo gesi e kira-ri-to
that like 3SG say-3PL-PERF
That’s what she told them.

7. Mo gesi ḡe veirito nai manu ḡutuma ḡe kadarito,
mo gesi ḡe vei-ri-to nai manu ḡutuma ḡe kada-ri-to
that like 3PL do-3PL-PERF so bird many 3PL trap-3PL-PERF
ḡe kadarito ḡo nai tauri tu ḡe ḡanirito ḡo
ḡe kada-ri-to ḡo nai tauri tu ḡe ḡan-t-ri-to ḡo
3PL trap-3PL-PERF C/H so man-3PL TOP 3PL eat-3PL-PERF C/H
So they caught many birds and ate them. The feathers they used for decoration.

Those girls turned into fish.

2.5 Topicalised/frontshifted noun phrases

In cases where participants (object-noun phrase) are frontshifted for the sake of topicalisation the sub-noun phrase is indicated by an ergative marker (5,10; 4,16). In some of the smaller stories frontshifting may not occur at all, while in the bigger ones it may occur only once or twice in the whole story. The object-noun phrase is frontshifted when something very unusual has happened to the participants (e.g. when they have been killed).

Story 5

people-RED 3SG ERG 3SG kill-3PL-PERF C/H
It was people he used to kill.

Story 4

16. *Gia tubu-na kwagwa tu Čida Enone e Sara Enone na*
3SG granny-3SG bird.name TOP Gida Enone and Sara Enone ERG

*be-ğe vaği-a.*
R-3PL kill-3SG
It was her granny Kwagwa that Gida and Sara Enone had killed.
Appendix 2: Additional texts

Text 1: Myth about the ‘Girl’s Trap’

TITLE:

Guiato Kafutari-na
Girl bite.down-3SG
GIRL’S TRAP

OPENING:

1. Tau ta ara-na tu Mare Gaiva, ĝe tanu-to ĝoi gabu-na
man one name-3SG TOP Mare Gaiva 3PL stay-PERF C/H place-3SG
ara-na tu Marikigoro.
name-3SG TOP Marikigoro
There was a man whose name was Mare Gaiva, he was living at Marikigoro.

MAIN BODY:

2. Ĝaro ta vanuğa ĝuiato-ri ĝanigarogaro ĝe iaĝo-to Kuroĝo
day one village girl-3PL picnic 3PL go-PERF Kurogo
ĝaruka-na-i.
ger-3SG-in
One day some village girls went for a picnic at the Kurogo River.

3. Guiato ĝe ĝani-ĝani-ĝosi-to murinai ĝaruka-i ĝe ĝere-to
girl 3PL eat-RED-finish-PERF after river-in 3PL play-PERF
ĝoi, nuĝanai ĝuiato sebona ta na e ĝofa-ri-to
C/H meanwhile girl one a ERG 3SG trick-3PL-PERF
e kira-to, “Futua mai be-ĝe raĝasi!”.
3SG say-PERF boy now R-3PL arrive
After the picnic the girls were playing in the river. Meanwhile one girl started to tell
lies and said: “Boys are coming!”.
4. Guiato mabara-ri tu asi kafare-ri ge fou-to goi nai girl all-3PL TOP not grass.skirt-3PL 3PL wash-PERF C/H because 
ge mataka-ri-to, benamo ge raga-raže-kau-to goroka-i. 3PL ashamed-3PL-PERF and.then 3PL quick-climb-up-PERF bank-on All the girls were naked and so they were ashamed, and came out of the river.

5. Nuğanai mo guiato-na ma e kira-ri-to, “A gofa-mi-ni meanwhile that girl-ERG again 3SG say-3PL-PERF 1SG trick-2PL-IMPF be go-fou”, e ta-to. so 2PL-wash 3SG say-PERF That girl told them again: “I am telling lies, so go back again and wash yourselves”.

6. Vaga-toitoi kavana e gofa-ri-to. CAUS-three about 3SG trick-3PL-PERF She said this about three times.

7. Gofağofa vağa-vasivasinai vatava e gwa-kafu-a-to, benamo lie CAUS-four stone 3SG carry-close-3SG-PERF and.then guiato mabara-ri dobu nuğa-na-i e kafu-gau-ri-to, girl all-3PL deep.water inside-3SG-in 3SG close-in-3PL-PERF murinai gof ağofa guiato-na e gari-to, vanuğa raga-na e after lie girl-3SG 3SG fear-PERF village run-3SG 3SG vei-to. did-PERF The fourth time a rock gave way and trapped the girls in the river, and the girl who told lies was frightened and ran back to the village.

8. Vanuğa votukanai e rağasi-to, benamo e kea-to, guruğa-na village end 3SG arrive-PERF and.then 3SG call-PERF talk-3SG tu mai-ğesti-na, “Mare Gaiva-ooo, kwaku-mu bakabaka, ainai mani TOP this-like-3SG Mare Gaiva-ooo leg-2SG sore where there ğemu, goina guiato mabara-ri tu Kurogo ğaruka-na-i vatava na you your girl all-3PL TOP Kurogo river-3SG-in stone ERG b-e kafu-tari-ri ooo!”. R-3SG close-in-3PL ooo When she arrived near the village she called out: “Mare Gaiva, something terrible has happened (lit. your leg is full of sores)! Where are you now? All your girls have been trapped at the Kurogo River”.

9. Mare Gaiva e iağ-o-to guiato giğaštita-ri Kurogo ğaruka-na-i. Mare Gaiva 3SG go-PERF girl see-3PL Kurogo river-3SG-in Then Mare Gaiva went to the Kurogo River to see the girls.

10. Benamo ğia-na vatava e kwa-ia-to goi, seņağina asi and.then 3SG-ERG stone 3SG dig-3SG-PERF C/H but not kwa-vagi-ri dabara-na. dig-out-3PL way-3SG Then he started to dig the rock, but there was no way to get the girls out.
11. Moğa nuğanai Mare Gaiva-na gìato e kea-ri-to goi, that while Mare Gaiva-ERG girl 3SG call-3PL-PERF C/H benamo gìato maki ge vağa-vese-to goi gabu-ri and.then girl also 3PL CAUS-answer-PERF C/H place-3PL ai moğo.
in only Mare Gaiva was calling the girls and they were answering.

12. Tano ma e kwa-ia-to goi, senagina fore tu barego ground again 3SG dig-3SG-PERF C/H but stone TOP big rakava.
very He was digging again, but the rock was just too big.

13. Moga lori-na-i asi kwa-vaği-ri dabara-na. that right-3SG-in not dig-out-3PL way-3SG So there was no way to get the girls out.

CLOSING:

14. Mo ge-ri gìato mabara-ri tu mağanikone ai ge iağ-ot. that NTR-3PL girl all-3PL TOP fish in 3PL go-PERF Those girls turned into fish.

15. Moga lori-na-i mo gabu o garuka ara-na toma ge that right-3SG-in that place or river name-3SG today 3PL kiraği-a-ni tu ‘Guiato Kafutari-na’. say/about-3SG-IMPF TOP girl bite.down-3SG That is why that place or river is called ‘Girl’s Trap’.

16. Moğesi dainai gaina guakar geri kirai, GOFA GOFA TU that because our old.people their saying tricking TOP ASI NAMO.
no good Because of that, according to our ancestors’ belief, TELLING LIES IS BAD.

17. Gera sinasina tu maniğa moğ. our.INC legend TOP this only This is the end of our legend.

Text 2: Bush medicine of the past

Boğa muramura bush medicine BUSH MEDICINE
Guine tarima-ri kwaku-ri bağa na ge basi-ri-to goi first people-3PL leg-3PL bush.knife with 3PL cut-3PL-PERF C/H
The old people had a sore when they cut themselves with a bush knife.

When the sore didn’t become better they picked the fruit from a certain kind of nut tree, cut these in half, scraped out the inside with a shell and put it on top of the sore.

Then it took about one to two weeks until it was healed and they removed the fruit and wrapping.

Text 3: Women giving birth

A woman who gives birth to a child stays in the house only for one or two weeks while another woman cooks food for her to eat.

After the umbilical cord has fallen off, she comes out of the house.
Gerhard Tauberschmidt

Gue ta kavana asi b-e dari-dari-ni, diğu asi b-e month one about not R-3SG cook-RED-IMPF bowl not R-3SG ğuriği-ni. wash-IMPF
She doesn’t cook for about one month and she doesn’t wash dishes.

Gena tanu-taĝo gabu-na vega. her stay-at place-3SG sacred
The place where she sits is sacred.

Gani-ĝani kwari tau asi be-ĝe ğani-ni. food-RED leftovers man not R-3PL eat-IMPF
Men will not eat any of her leftovers (from the same day).

Bagoğa mero e ğabi-ni vavine asi b-e ğani-ni. leftovers boy 3SG take-IMPF woman not R-3SG eat-IMPF
The boys will take her leftovers (from the previous day) but women don’t eat them.

Mero b-e taku-ni vau b-e ğauvei-ni. boy R-3SG getting, stronger-IMPF after R-3SG work-IMPF
When the boy is getting stronger she will work again.

Text 4: Making popcorn

Popkon veivei-na
popcorn making-3SG
HOW TO MAKE POPCORN

Guinena oila ğuro ai b-o bubu-a-ni. first oil pot in R-2SG pour-3SG-IMP F
First you must pour oil into the pot.

Oila b-e-ne seğuka vau, koni b-o-no ğura-ia ğuro ai. oil R-3SG-I/I hot after corn R-2SG-I/I put-3SG pot in
When the oil is hot you must put the corn into it.

Koni b-e fou-a-ni nuğanai ğuro b-o-no corn R-3SG pop-3SG-IMPF while pot R-2SG-I/I vei-ğareva-ğareva-ia. do-shake-RED-3SG
While the corn is popping you must shake the pot.

Benamo ğuro b-e vonu-ni. then pot R-3SG full-IMPF
Then the pot will fill up.

B-e-ne faraka vau dama b-o-no bubu-a. R-3SG-I/I cold after salt R-2SG-I/I put-3SG
After it is cold again put salt on it.
Murinai vau b-o-no gani-a.
after after R-2SG-I/I eat-3SG
After that you can eat it.

Text 5: Building a house

Numa ģa vei-a-ni
house 1PL.EXC make-3SG-IMPF
WE ARE BUILDING A HOUSE

Numa kwaku-na ģa basi-to.
house post-3SG 1PL.EXC cut-PERF
We cut posts for the house.

Kwaku ģa ģwa-ri-to.
post 1PL.EXC carry-3PL-PERF
We carried the posts.

Tou ģa basi-to.
bearers 1PL.EXC cut-PERF
We cut bearers.

Tou ģa tore-ri-to.
Bearers 1PL.EXC put-3PL-PERF
We put the bearers on.

Raburabu ģa tore-ri-to tou iata-ri ai.
floor.joist 1PL.EXC put-3PL-PERF bearers top-3PL on
We put the floor joist on top of the bearers.

Kabe ģa vaisi-a-to.
top.plate 1PL.EXC put.up-3SG-PERF
We put up the top plate.

Toga kabe iata-na-i ģa tore-ri-to.
rafter top.plate top-3SG-on 1PL.EXC put-3PL-PERF
We put the rafters on the top plate.

Toga iata-na-i vane ģa tore-ri-to.
rafter top-3PL-on roof.batten 1PL.EXC put-3PL-PERF
We put the roof battens on top of the rafters.

Vane murinai funu ģa tore-ri-to.
roof.batten after tin.roof 1PL.EXC put-3PL-PERF
After the roof battens we put the tin roof on them.

Funu murinai tobo ģa basi-to kobe ģari.
tin.roof after bamboo 1PL.EXC cut-PERF wall for
After the tin roof we cut bamboo for the walls.

Gai toma tu tobo ģa vato-ni.
1PL.EXC today TOP bamboo 1PL.EXC weave-IMPF
Today we are weaving bamboo.
Kobe murinai kurabo ba-ğa rore-ni.
wall after floor R-1PL.EXC put-IMPF
After the wall we will lay the floor.

Ĝitaroka ema ĝatama boka ba-ğa vei-ni.
window and front opening R-1PL.EXC do-IMPF
We will make a window and door.

Numa b-e kori-ni.
house R-3SG finish-IMPF
The house will be finished.

Text 6: Conversation about hunting

John: Boinani mutu gabu ba-ğa iaĝo-ni! Goi maki
tomorrow grass burn R-1PL.EXC go-IMPF 2SG also
 bi-ta iaĝo-ni ba?
R-1PL.INC go-IMPF or
Tomorrow we are going hunting. Will you join us?

Tau: Oi, au maki bi-ta iaĝo-ni!
yes 1SG also R-1PL.INC go-IMPF
Yes, I will go with you.

John: Nanu kota b-o-no ĝabikau ema ĝani-ĝani kota maki
water some R-2SG-I/I take. with and food-RED some also
b-o-no ĝabikau!
R-2SG-I/I take. with
Take some water and food with you.

People: Ĝia tu boĝa ĝana ĝe iaĝo-ni.
3PL TOP bush to 3PL go-IMPF
They are going to the bush.

People: Ai-ĝana go iaĝo-ni?
L/T-to 2PL go-IMPF
Where are you going to?

John: Mutu gabu ĝa iaĝo-ni!
grass burn 1PL.EXC go-IMPF
We are going hunting. (lit. We are going to burn grass.)

People: Ai-na-i mutu bo-ĝo gabu-ni?
L/T-3SG-in grass R-2PL burn-IMPF
Where will you hunt (burn grass)?

John: Saroa ĝeri tano ai!
Saroa their land on
On Saroa people’s land.
Appendix 2

Tau: Gabu-na tu maţiGA.
place-3SG TOP here
There we are.

John: Be, mutu si gabu-ri bai ema mağani be-ge-ne
so grass 1PL.INC burn-3PL pig and wallaby R-3PL-I/I
ĝara-rausiri be bi-ta-na vâgi-ri ĝana.
burn-spread-3PL so R-1PL.INC-I/I kill-3PL to
Now let us burn the grass so that the pigs and wallabies will come out and we
can kill them.

Speaker: Nağa murinai.
hunting after
After the hunting trip.

Tau: Korana kara bai ema mağani asi bi-ta vâgi?
reason what pig and wallaby not R-1PL.INC kill
Why didn't we kill any pig and wallaby?

John: Korana mabara-ri be-ge raga-kewarega, senaţi toma boği
because all-3PL R-3PL run-away but today night
mağani ĝe iago-ri dinuka ĝe ĝani-ri benamo ta
wallaby 3PL go-IMPF ashes 3PL eat-IMPF and.then 1PL.INC
fidi-ri-ri.
shoot-3PL-IMPF
Because they all ran away, but tonight when the wallabies come to eat the
ashes of the burnt grass we will shoot them.
References


