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## STUDIES IN LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST PAPUA

 by T.E. Dutton, ed.

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## INTRODUCTION



SKETCH MAP SHOWING APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS DISCUSSED IN THIS VOLUME


## INTRODUCTION

Central and South-East Papua is that area of Papua New Guinea that is currently divided up into the Central, Northern, and Milne Bay administrative districts. It is inhabited by groups of people speaking two distinct and unrelated language types -- Austronesian (hereafter AN) and Non-Austronesian (or Papuan) (hereafter NAN).

The AN languages are to be found scattered around the coast of the mainland tail east of Cape Possession and across the many islands lying off its south-eastern tip. Their existence and distribution has been well known for a long time though many of them have never been properly surveyed. Present indications are, however, that something of the order of fifty languages are spoken in this area. Some of these languages have been well described by early missionaries (e.g., Motu, Wedau, Dobu) but the majority are still only known through word-lists collected by early Government officers and others over the years, and through a broad comparative study by Capell (1943) using much of this and other unpublished materials obtained from similar sources. This situation, however, is now changing as increasing numbers of Summer Institute of Linguistics (New Guinea Branch) members are locating in these languages and as others are also becoming interested in them as examples of divergent groups of Oceanic languages. The latest surveys of these languages are to be found in Sebeok (Forthcoming) sections 3.1-2.5.

NAN languages occupy the remainder of Central and South-East Papua, including Rossel Island at the very eastern extremity of the Louisiade Archipelago. There are also about fifty of these languages (depending on how some of them (e.g., Binahari) are defined). They belong to seven language families (the Goilalan, Koiarian, Kwalean, Manubaran, Mailuan, Dagan, Yareban) and two stocks (the Binanderean and Yele-Solomon Islands Stocks) and are related to one another and languages elsewhere in Papua New Guinea at about the phylum level. ${ }^{l}$. Those on the mainland show closest affinities with the languages in Western Papua (especially Kiwai) and to languages in the Central Highlands of New Guinea and the Huon Peninsula which are also interrelated and are now generally referred to as Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages. However, despite earlier predictions of more regional subgroups within these languages (e.g., a Koiarian-Manubaran-Yareban Stock (Wurm (1971))) there is as yet no clear-cut evidence for subgrouping them in any one way above the family level. On the other
hand they show closer interrelationships with one another than any does with Yeletnye (or Yele) which has its closest relatives in the Solomon Islands chain and is currently classified as a family-level 1solate within the Yele-Solomon Islands Stock of the East Papuan Phylum ${ }^{2}$.

Like the AN languages just discussed many of these languages have been known for a long time having been amongst the first to have been contacted by Europeans. Yet for reasons having to do with the particular history of development of Papua most of these remained unstudied (except for isolated cases like Mailu (or Magi), Fuyuge, Tauade, Binandere) and their interrelationships unclear until the 1960's when research workers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (New Guinea Branch) and the Australian National University began showing an increasing interest in this area. Since then the whole area has been systematically resurveyed with the results already indicated and many of the hitherto little-known and previously unstudied languages have been studied in some depth (e.g., Kunimaipa, Koiari, Mountain Koiari, Barai, Ömie, Managalasi, Daga, Yareba, Korafe, Suena, Guhu-Samane, and Yeletnye).

Some of the results of these studies have also been published but up until the time this volume was first mooted in 1972 only in a piecemeal and disconnected way. Looking at the scene at that time as one particularly interested in Central and South-East Papuan linguistics I felt that if our knowledge of these languages was to advance significantly and in a principled way what was needed was a coordinated effort by linguists and others working in or on them to publish a series of general sketches of as many of these languages as possible. Such a set of studies, I felt, would not only provide the necessary reliable data upon which the now-complete early classificatory work could and should be refined but would also serve as a useful frame of reference against which future, shorter, more detailed technical papers could be interpreted.

So early in 1972 I wrote to all those linguists and others working in or on languages of Central and South-East Papua extending an invitation to them to contribute to a volume of studies of languages in this area ${ }^{3}$. Only those who were known not to be sufficiently advanced in their language study to be able to contribute, or were already preparing or had already prepared material for publication elsewhere were excluded. The response was excellent as the twelve studies in this volume indicate ${ }^{4}$, though there were a number of
production and other problems to be overcome before the volume could be brought to the present stage. This is to be regretted and I apologize to the contributors for this but it does not really affect the reliability or usefulness of the material herein, for data are data and remain unaffected by possible changes in author's or anyone else's interpretation or analysis of it. And so despite delays, the present volume was born.

It contains two types of study -- grammatical sketches and areal studies -- covering both AN and NAN languages - see map. There are two areal studies and ten grammatical sketches - one on Balawaia, a dialect of Sinagoro (or Sinaugoro), the AN language spoken in the Rigo subdistrict of the Central District just east of Port Moresby, and nine on NAN languages.

The Balawaia study is particularly valuable as a much needed indepth account, of one of the large AN languages in the Port Moresby area. Balawaia itself is one of an estimated seventeen dialects of Sinagoro, which is spoken by some 12,000 villagers living up the valleys of the Kemp Welsh and Ormond Rivers and over the intervening foothills of the Owen Stanley Range ${ }^{5}$. This dialect is one of several that connects Sinagoro with Keapara (another large AN language spoken along the coast eastwards to Cape Rodney) in a dialect chain where villagers speak communalects which contain slightly more Keapara 'basic' vocabulary but are more akin phonologically to Sinagoro in certain respects.
It is therefore not a central dialect but is taken to represent Sinagoro for present purposes. This is important because even though Sinagoro itself has been used for mission purposes for many years, it has never been well studied. The only grammatical materials on the language that are available are a short sketch by Seligmann (1913:184-90) and some comparative notes in Capell (1943) referred to above. Consequently Kolia's study is to be seen as providing the best materials available in this language even though the dialect itself is not a central one.

The remaining nine NAN studies cover four of the language families and two stocks listed earlier. The first four are on four of the six component languages of the Koiarian Family; the fifth is on Magi (or Mailu), the principal language of the Mailuan Family; the sixth on Yareba from which the name of the family of the same name is
derived; the seventh and eighth on eastern and western members respectively of the Binanderean Stock; and the ninth on Yeletnye, the only language on Rossel Island. The publication of these studies is in itself a significant contribution to our knowledge of NAN languages in Central and South-East Papua. Taken in association with several others now also in press or published elsewhere ${ }^{6}$, however, it means that there are descriptions now available of at least one language in every language family and stock in this area. Some, like those for the Kwalean and Manubaran Families, are still very rudimentary and need further attention, but others like the Koiarian are now very well described. There is still much more to be done of course by way of giving complete descriptions of these languages, language families and stocks, but it is clear that the programme of better description has now reached quite an advanced stage.

The NAN studies are all grammatical sketches of one kind or another that contain much the same information -- a brief phoneme statement, sketches of the main grammatical and morphological features, and a short text. Two also contain extensive vocabularies. All are work-inprogress reports and all are written up in a style most suited to each author. No restrictions were imposed on style or treatment apart from a general one of requesting that each author present and amply illustrate the main facts of his language (as far as these were known at the time of writing) as simply and clearly as possible. This explains why there is some variation in the lengths of contributions but $I$ hope that being basically data papers the material will be maximally useful, for as I have already indicated, data are data and provided there is enough of them, they can be used by others for their own purposes irrespective of whether those persons agree or disagree with the present author's analysis or description of them. The results in this case are, however, I think, particularly pleasing, despite the fact that two of the contributors are untrained linguists.

The two areal studies in the volume are no less welcome or important for being different in type and scope.

In Pawley's study ten AN languages from the Central District of Papua are compared phonologically and lexicostatistically to determine their internal and external relationships. The results show that these
languages form a closed subgroup within Oceanic and that within this subgroup the languages themselves (apart from Magori which needs further study) further subgroup into Eastern, Central, and Western divisions. The nature of the relationship between the languages in these subgroups and the subgroups themselves suggests that the parent languages separated gradually as dialects in a chain rather than by suddenly splitting up. Extensive borrowing has also evidently taken place over time between these different groups and languages which complicates the picture. Culture-historical implications of these observations are also discussed in relation to other evidence, e.g., glottochronology and archaeology. This is an important article which represents a preliminary re-analysis of part of Capell (1943)'s pioneering and influential study of AN languages in South-Eastern Papua. It is also nicely supplemented by Cooper's study of Coastal Suau which is the largest and most influential language of the eastern part of the south coast of Papua and which Pawley compared with the ten Central District languages as one of a number of geographically close South-East Papuan AN languages most suspect of being within the Central District Group.

Coastal Suau has long been said to consist of many "dialects" but this is the first time that any detailed account of these socalled dialects has been given and an attempt made to define them in any rigorous way. Cooper does this by applying modern analytical techniques to a wide range of data before relating the results to community-felt distinctions. There is no neat "solution" but that in itself is important in being factually based. The value of the account is also increased by the publication of nine basic vocabulary lists, village lists and population figures ${ }^{7}$.

All in all then, this volume contains a wealth of new information on languages in Central and South-East Papua, and I hope that it will serve to stimulate others (including Papua New Guineans) to contribute to our ever deepening knowledge in similar ways. If so, the effort of editing it will be so much more worthwhile.
T.E. Dutton, Editor

Christmas, 1974.

## NOTES

1. For the latest review of the NAN language situation in Central and South-East Papua and a discussion of the relationship of these languages to one another and to other Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages see Dutton (Forthcoming).
2. See Wurm (Forthcoming) for the latest discussion.
3. I should like to thank the Australian National University for providing funds for this project.
4. I should like to take this opportunity to thank all authors for their cooperation and patience in this venture without which this volume would not have been possible. I should also like to thank members of the staff of the Technical Studies Department of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (New Guinea Branch), but especially Dr. A. Healey, for helping to prepare some manuscripts for presentation. I am also deeply grateful to Mesdames E. Sommer and P. Griffith for their devotion to duty and unfailing cheerfulness in the face of many difficulties in typing up the presented manuscripts into their present form.
5. For further details see Dutton (1970).
6. See for example, my notes on the Kwalean and Manubaran languages in Dutton (1970), E. Murane's forthcoming Daga Grammar, and Fr. Willem's forthcoming account of Kunimaipa-Hate.
7. I should point out that because this article was the first to be received and because of the delays already referred to in getting the volume to this stage the author has asked me to make it known that in the intervening period he has been able to make some technical refinements to his methods so that the paper as published herein does not represent his final version. On the other hand these methological refinements do not seriously affect the overall results presented herein.
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## AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

# THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL PAPUA: A PRELIMINARY STUDY 

ANDREW PAWLEY
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3.5 Gabadi
3.6 Doura
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MAINLAND CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST PAPUA AND D'ENTRECASTEAUX ISLANDS, SHOWING LOCATIONS OF PRINCIPAL AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (AFTER DUTTON, 1973)

### 1.0 Introduction ${ }^{1}$

Some 10 of the 30 or so languages spoken in the Central District of Papua belong to the Austronesian (AN) family. Nine of them occupy an almost continuous stretch of territory on or near the coast, extending from Cape Possession ( $146^{\circ} 24^{\prime} \mathrm{E}$ ) in the west, to Cheshunt Bay ( $148^{\circ} 17^{\prime} \mathrm{E}$ ) some 150 miles to the east. A small AN isolate is spoken at the eastern end of Table Bay, near the border of the Central and Milne Bay Districts.

The term 'Central District languages' will be used from now on as an abbreviation for 'Austronesian languages of the Central District of Papua'.

This paper presents the results of a preliminary comparative study of the Central District languages. It attempts to determine their internal and external relationships, chiefly through an examination of sound correspondences, but also by consideration of some lexical and morphological evidence.

Among the specific questions which will be asked are the following. Do the Central District languages belong to the Oceanic subgroup of AN? If so, what is their subgrouping status within Oceanic? If not, what are their affiliations? If the Central District languages, or any subset of them, underwent a period of common development after separating from other languages (that is, if they form a closed subgroup), was this common development as a cohesive language community, relatively free of dialect variation, or was it as a loose-knit community comprised of several relatively diverse dialects? The answers to these questions have some bearing on broader issues in the culture history of Central Papua, which are touched on in the final section.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly outlines previous comparative work on the Central District languages. Section 3 gives information about each Central District language. Sections 4 and 5, respectively, deal with the phonological and lexical evidence for subgrouping. Linguistic and culture historical conclusions are presented in Section 6.

### 2.0 PREVIOUS STUDIES

At present there is no general agreement as to the answers to the above questions, with the partial exception of the first. This is not due entirely to neglect of the Central District languages by comparativists. Indeed, these languages have received more attention than any other comparable geographic group in the New Guinea region. Comparative study began with missionary scholars, such as W.G. Lawes, in the 1880's, was carried on by S.H. Ray (1895, 1907, 1929) and others, and reached a high-point with the appearance in 1943 of A. Capell's monograph The Linguistic Position of South-Eastern Papua. Since then further papers have given comparative treatment to at least one or two of the Central District languages, usually in wider comparative studies, e.g. Grace (1955), Chrétien (1956), Milke (1958, 1965), Dyen (1965), Dutton (1970,197lb), Kess (1969), Capell (1969, 1971) and Pawley (in press).

Few of these studies, however, apply the classical comparative method to subgrouping questions. Those that do either do so only for a very restricted number of languages or for a very restricted range of evidence. The large scale study by Capell (1943) is a partial exception, in that it deals with a considerable body of evidence in investigating the origins of the AN languages of Southeastern Papua, including all those of the Milne Bay, Northern and Central Districts for which he had data. However, Capell's book is not strictly a subgrouping study in the classical tradition. He treats a very large number of languages, and while he examines their reflexes of ProtoAustronesian phonemes he is forced to do so in a relatively sketchy and incomplete way by the scope of his project and, in the case of some languages, by the restricted number of cognates available for comparison. Further, he does not systematically explore the consequences of the sound correspondences for subgrouping; perhaps this follows from his apparent rejection of the family tree (genetic) model as a means for determining the history of the Southeast Papuan languages.

Dempwolff's (1934-8) proposal, based on comparative phonological evidence, that most of the AN languages of Oceania belong to a single subgroup (now known as Oceanic) was rejected by Capell. He felt that Dempwolff had accounted only for the systematic similarities in a
small body of common vocabulary shared by the languages of Melanesia with those of Indonesia and had failed to account for great lexical and grammatical diversity of the Melanesian languages. This diversity he saw as the result of several movements of populations out of the Indonesia-Philippines area into various parts of Melanesia, where the migrants' AN languages were strongly influenced by unrelated Papuan languages (see Section 6 for a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis).

It is doubtful that Capell was justified in rejecting Dempwolff's theory of an Oceanic subgroup. Dempwolff was concerned to account for the systematic similarities exhibited by the Oceanic languages with each other and with other AN languages. The genetic model, which allows these to be explained as resulting from an earlier period of linguistic unity, seems to be the best, and possibly the only way we have of accounting for such phenomena (see Section 6.0). Capell on the other hand was concerned to account for the unsystematic differences exhibited by the Southeast Papuan (and other 'Melanesian') languages - the vocabulary that was not derivable from Dempwolff's Proto-Austronesian, and with differences in phonology and grammar distinguishing the Melanesian languages from each other and from other AN languages.

The comparative method has no tools for dealing with the history of non-cognate vocabulary, and it is traditional in comparative work to regard the questions of its origins as being of small importance as against tracing the history of the cognate forms. No doubt Capell was right in objecting to neglect of the large body of material which was not traceable to Dempwolff's Proto-Austronesian word stock. But his 1943 study does not provide a satisfactory alternative to the family tree model in its account of the origins of the cognate material shared by the Oceanic languages. Specifically, his account does not deal with the question of why the Oceanic languages exhibit a large number of common phonological innovations, this being Dempwolff's evidence for a period of common development apart from other AN languages (see Section 4.0 for discussion of this evidence).

While Capell's study has been of enormous value in subsequent research on Oceanic historical linguistics and influential in recent attempts to reconstruct the culture history of Southeast Papua, his
main conclusions are no longer accepted by most linguistics working in the Oceanic field. Unfortunately, no other scholar has provided a reanalysis of the Southeast Papuan data, at least not of the scope of Capell's 1943 study. The present paper is by way of being a preliminary reanalysis of a part of the data, within the framework of the family tree model.

There have been several more recent studies touching on the Central District languages. Following a survey of more than 300 languages and dialects which he assigned to the Oceanic subgroup, Grace (1955) tentatively classified them into 19 major subgroups. The Central District languages for which he had data constituted one of these groups, and the Milne Bay languages another. No evidence, however, was offered in support of the classification.

Milke (1958) proposed a classification of Oceanic languages based on their treatment of three Proto-Oceanic consonants, *1, *d and *R. He recognised a large subgroup (called C), distinguished by its unification of $* d$ and $* R$ as against $* 1$. This group included all the AN languages of New Guinea east of the Bird's Head, together with those of New Ireland and much of the Western Solomons, Tuna of New Britain and the languages of the Banks and Torres Islands. For reasons unspecified he assigned the Central District languages to a subgroup C.l(b) together with most other New Guinea mainland languages. In 1965 Milke clarified this point by noting a number of lexical isoglosses (in addition to the merger of ${ }^{*} d$ and ${ }^{*}$ R) which he believed to mark off a New Guinea subgroup of Oceanic. Besides the mainland languages east of Humboldt Bay, he included certain languages of West New Britain and nearby small islands in the group.

Dyen's (1965) lexicostatistical classification of more than 200 AN languages treated only Motu from among the Central District languages. Dyen placed Motu in the Heonesian Linkage, a linkage being a grouping made partly on geographic grounds and partly on weak lexicostatistical grounds. The other members of Heonesian were the languages of Fifi, Polynesia and Rotuma, and certain languages of the Southeast Solomons and New Hebrides-Banks Islands. Several other languages from the Southeast Papuan region were included in the classification, but all were excluded from Heonesian. The Heonesian Linkage in turn is a subgroup of the Malayopolynesian Linkage which is one of 40 first-order subgroups of the Austronesian Linkage. A striking feature of the lexicostatistical classification is that while nearly all the languages of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines are included in the Malayopolynesian Linkage, most of the
languages of Melanesia are excluded. Of the 40 first-order subgroups recognized by Dyen, more than 30 are located in Melanesia! He thus found no lexicostatistical support for an Oceanic subgroup, but considerable support for the hypothesis that Proto-Austronesian was spoken in Melanesia, and that the spread of Austronesian languages was from Melanesia to Indonesia and not vice versa. These conclusions have not been widely accepted, however.

Kess (1969) deals with the Motu reflexes of Proto-Austronesian. He shows that Motu has undergone all the phonological innovations which Dempwolff regarded as characterising the Oceanic subgroup.

In two recent works, Capell $(1969,1971)$ argues for the existence of a subgroup, or typological group of AN, corresponding roughly to Milke's New Guinea Oceanic group. However, Capell excludes certain of the languages which Milke assigned to his group, including these of West New Britain. Capell's main reasons for positing a large subgroup comprising many of the New Guinea mainland languages were that these languages contrast with other AN languages of Oceania in exhibiting an SOV order of constituents, along with postpositional locative markers and a syntax generally closer to that typical of Papuan languages.

Dutton (l97lb) has recently demonstrated that Magori, a language spoken by fewer than 200 people in two Table Bay villages, is not Papuan as previously believed, but Austronesian. He suggests that Magori may have its closest relationships with the Sinagoro dialects, one of the main group of Central District languages which lie further west.

### 3.0 THE CENTRAL DISTRICT LANGUAGES

Because of dialect chaining in certain regions, it is hard to agree on the exact number of AN languages in the Central District. By almost any criterion, however, there are at least 10. The boundaries between these 10 languages are quite clear, insofar as they have been mapped. Proceeding very approximately from west to east the languages are: Roro (Maiva), Mekeo, Kuni, Lala (Nara, Pokau), Gabadi (Kabadi), Doura, Motu, Sinagoro (Sinaugolo), HulaAroma and Magori. The approximate location of each language is shown on the accompanying map.

These languages show a degree of lexicostatistical diversity which is considerable greater than that of such groups as Polynesian or Germanic. Some pairs of languages share as little as 21 percent
cognates (200 word list) and indeed certain Central District languages show percentages with non-Central District languages that are slightly higher than some intra-Central District percentages. Thus, it is not obvious from inspection of the lexicostatistical data that the Central District languages form a subgroup. Section 5 contains more detailed discussion of lexicostatistical comparisons.

The following paragraphs provide information about the individual languages to be compared.

### 3.1 Mekeo

There appear to be at least three distinct dialects or dialect groups assignable to the language known as Mekeo. The largest population of Mekeo speakers lives around the middle Angabunga (St. Joseph) River. The dialect of this area, spoken by some 5,000 people, is known simply as 'Mekeo'. For convenience we will label 1t here as 'East Mekeo'.

East Mekeo shares around 77-79 percent of basic vocabulary with West Mekeo (also known as Bush Mekeo), a dialect spoken by about l,600 people living in villages further west. It shares around 65-71 percent with a dialect spoken in two villages (Urulao and Okovae) well to the north, on the slopes of Mt. Yule. This dialect is sometimes called Kovio, after the name for Mt. Yule. West Mekeo and Kovio show around 69-75 percent cognation. These figures and some of the data cited in this study are from Taylor (n.d.) Other data were supplied by students at the University of Papua New Guinea.

There are certain phonological differences between the three main dialects and probably among their respective communalects, which are very poorly understood at present. The materials used in this study are East Mekeo, but they show a considerable number of irregularities which indicate inter-dialect borrowing. West Mekeo forms often show $k$ corresponding to East Mekeo glottal stop (from POC *t), p for East Mekeo, f (POC *mp), and g for East Mekeo k ( POC ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~s}$, ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~ns}$ ).

The Mekeo live inland, being separated from the sea by the Roro who occupy the coastal strip to the south and immediate west. To the east and southeast, the Mekeo are bounded by the Kuni and Lala, respectively, while their northern neighbours are Papuan languages of the Goilalan group.

### 3.2 Roro

Roro is the westernmost coastal AN language in Papua. It extends from Cape Possession in the west along the coast to Hall Sound and the lower Angabunga River. Yule Island is Roro-speaking while a single Roro village, Hisiu, lies further east sandwiched between Lala and Gabadi. The total number of Roro speakers is about 7,000.

The dialect geography of the Roro region is described in an unpublished paper by M. Davis (Davis n.d.). He finds that basic vocabulary differences between Roro communalects are restricted to half a dozen items, but that phonological correspondences present a more complex picture. Differences exist in the treatment of two Proto-Oceanic phonemes or sets of phonemes: *s and *ns, on the one hand, and *t, on the other. On the basis of reflexes of *t, a twoway division can be drawn (and is drawn by the Roro themselves) between the 'Waima' dialect and the 'Roro' dialect. ProtoOceanic *t yields Waima $h$ [h] in all positions, and Roro [ts] or [s] before i or u, [t] elsewhere. Proto-Oceanic *s and *ns merge in both dialects, yielding $t$ before non-high vowels in all dialects. Before $i$ and $u$, the reflex is [s] in Tsiria and Delena, but [ts] or [č ] in other villages in Davis' survey. The distribution of reflexes of ${ }^{*} s$ and ${ }^{*} n s$ thus cuts across the main Waima-Roro division.

The Roro villages form a geographically central group which includes Tsiria (Yule Island), Babiko, Mou, Rapa, Biotou and Delena. The Waima villages occupy the peripheries, chiefly in the west (Kivori, Waima, Bereina) but also in the east (Nabuapaka and Hisiu). Data cited in this study are primarily from word lists of Waima and Bereina communalects compiled by students at the University of Papua New Guinea.

The western neighbours of the Roro language community are the Elema (Kerema), speaking a Papuan language of the Toaripian group. The Mekeo and Kuni occupy the northern and northeastern flanks, while to the east are the Lala, Gabadi and Doura.

### 3.3 Kuni

Like the Mekeo, the Kuni live entirely inland. They occupy the upper Angabunga (St Joseph) and Aroa (Dilafa) Rivers. They are bounded on the west by the Mekeo, on the south by the Roro, Lala, Gabadi and Doura, and on the north and east by Papuan languages of the Goilalan and Koiarian groups.

Although van Rijswick (1967) speaks of six dialect regions and of mixed Kuni-Papuan languages, the small amount of data we have on four communalects shows relatively little variation. The Lapeka dialect shows $n$ for Proto-Oceanic *d, *R, and *nd where Bakoiudu shows 1. The data used in the present study are from Bakoiudu, a village of 1,200 people which has become the center of Kuni life in recent years as a result of the Government's resettlement policy. The data were collected by W. Tomasetti and myself at Bakoiudu in 1969.

### 3.4 Lala

Lala (called Nara by the Motu and Pokau by the Roro) is spoken by some six to nine villages between Hall Sound and Galley Reach. Roro, Kuni and Gabadi are the neighbouring languages. Our lexical data are from a Vanuamai informant, grammatical data are from Lanyon-Orgill's (1941) sketch.

### 3.5 Gabadi

Gabadi (Kabad1) is spoken between Galley Reach and the Aroa River a few miles to the west. The Gabadi number only about l, 400, occupying about five villages (Keveona, Kopuana, Magabaira, Pinu and Ukaukana). Our data are from a Pinu informant.

The Gabadi have as their western neighbours the Lala and Roro, and as their eastern the Motu and Doura. Inland, they are bounded by Papuan languages: Fuyuge and Mountain Koiari.

### 3.6 Doura

The Doura language community is a small one, with different sources estimating the number of villages as low as three and as high as six. These are located on the eastern side of Galley Reach, and are flanked by Gabadi, Motu, Mountain Koiari and Koita languages.

Our data are from Mr. Kere Moi, a student at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1969, whose home village we failed to record.

### 3.7 Motu

Much the best known language of Papua, Motu is spoken by more than 14,000 people occupying some 70 miles of coastline
between Manumanu, at the mouth of Galley Reach, and Kapakapa, about 40 miles east of Port Moresby. The neighbouring languages are Sinagoro and Hula-Aroma to the east, and Doura, Gabadi and Lala to the west, while speakers of Koita (Koitapu), a Papuan language, occupy the same stretch of territory as the Motu and, in some places, the same villages. Koiarian languages occupy the hinterland.

Although the Motu regard themselves as falling into two main divisions, which Groves et al. (1957) call the Western and Easter'n Motu, there appear to be no sharp dialect boundaries and relatively little divergence between Motu communalects. Basic vocabulary lists for most of the villages were collected from Motu students attending the University of Papua New Guinea. Principal references for Motu, however, are Lister-Turner and Clark's (n.d.) grammar and dictionary, as revised by Chatterton and Taylor's syntax (1970).

### 3.8 The Sinagoro Chain

A large and diverse dialect chain extends some distance inland to the east of the coastal strip between Kapakapa (Motuspeaking) and Hood Bay (Hula-sepaking). The term Sinagoro (Sinaugoro, Sinaugolo) is often used for this group of dialects, which in all are spoken by upwards of 12,000 people. Dutton (1968) has recorded vocabulary lists for many Sinagoro villages, which confirm the existence of a chain of intergrading communalects, with villages at the extremes probably sharing around 70 percent or less cognation on the 200 word list. The region is phonologically quite diverse in ways that are not well understood - for example, there is some evidence that certain phonological changes, such as accretion of [e] initially and between vowels, have spread village by village and word by word across parts of the region, thus greatly complicating the pattern of sound correspondences.

The Saroa communalect was the initial primary source for the present study. Since the appearance of Koloa and Collier's (1972) grammar and vocabulary of Balawaia, however, this last has become the best-documented communalect, and data from Balawaia are also

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cited here.
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### 3.9 The Hula-Aroma Chain

A string of intergrading dialects stretches along the coast and for short distances inland, between Hood Bay and Cheshunt Bay. Extremes of the chain exhibit less than 70 percent cognation in basic vocabulary.

There is no conventional name for this chain, for which Dutton has recently (1970) suggested the term 'Keapara', after one of its three best known dialects. The other two are Hula and Aroma. Each of these dialects consists of several very similar, though not entirely homogeneous, communalects. Hula was described in some detail by L. Short in her Master's thesis (Short 1939), and Aroma is presently being studied by Dr. John Lynch of the University of Papua New Guinea. Since these two dialects represent the geographic extremes of the chain, we will adopt the label 'Hula-Aroma' for the whole chain.

More than 16,000 people speak communalects belonging to the Hula-Aroma chain, which is bounded on the north and northwest by Sinagoro and on the east by Papuan languages of the Mailuan family which extend eastwards along the coast and hinterland for close to 100 miles before the next AN language is encountered. Hula data cited here are from a Babaka (Babaga) word list, supplemented by material from Short's thesis (communalect unspecified). Aroma data are primarily from a Lalaura word list, with additions and correct1ons by Dr. Lynch. Keapara data are from a Keapara village word list.

### 3.10 Magori

A small AN enclave language, hemmed in by Papuan languages, is spoken by perhaps 160 people in two villages near the lower reaches of the Bailebo-Tavenai River at the eastern end of Table Bay. This language, Magori, was assigned by earlier observers to the Mailuan group, but T.E. Dutton's recent work (Dutton l97lb) has shown that it is Austronesian. Magori has however borrowed a great deal of vocabulary, including much basic vocabulary, from

1ts Papuan neighbours.
Our data are from Dutton's short grammatical sketch and comparative vocabulary.

### 4.0 PHONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR SUBGROUPING

The strongest evidence presently available for classifying the Central District languages is phonological. This section, which examines the correspondences of Proto-Oceanic consonants and vowels in each Central District language, and expiores their implications for subgrouping, is thus the central one in the present study.

### 4.1 The Oceanic Hypothesis

Dempwolff (1934-38) reconstructed a sound system for ProtoAustronesian (PAN) which, with some changes, is still generally accepted. He also posited the existence of a large subgroup, containing most of the AN languages of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, on the grounds that the members of this grouping show a large number of common simplifications to the PAN sound system which he reconstructed, these developments not being found in any non-members. He assumed that these shared sound changes had already taken place in the common ancestor of the subgroup before the daughter languages diverged from one another. This large subgroup is now generally known as Oceanic, and its boundaries have been defined more exactly as a result of the studies of Milke (1958, 1961, 1965) and Grace (1955, 1972); they have shown that the western boundary of Oceanic in the New Guinea area lies between Biak Island in Geelvink Bay (Biak is non-Oceanic) and the Sarmi coast languages (which are Oceanic) west of Hollandia Bay, 1.e. in the region of $135-138^{\circ}$ East.

Dempwolff reconstructed a Proto-Oceanic sound system which has been slightly expanded by later researchers. With two exceptions, the phonological simplifications which he regarded as characterizing the Oceanic group have stood the test of time. Tables 1 and 2 set
out the sound correspondences between PAN and Proto-Oceanic (POC) which are now generally accepted.

| PAN POC |  | Ct ${ }^{\text {T }}$ | $n t$ $n t$ | d | 0 $d^{1}$ |  |  |  |  | s | (n) | , j, z |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PAN | $n \mathrm{~s}, \mathrm{nz}, \tilde{n} \mathrm{c}, \tilde{n} \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{nz}$ | k g | gk g | m | $n$ | n | $\square$ | w | ¢ | R | 5 | $y$ |
| POC | ( n ) s | k | のk | m |  | กั | 0 | w |  |  |  | $y$ |

TABLE 1: CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN PAN AND POC

Notes: 1. Biggs (1965) suggested that Rotuman distinguishes PAN *r from PAN *d and *0 in a few words. However, no other Oceanic language is known to preserve the distinction and Wolff (in press) has shown that the Rotuman evidence can be otherwise explained.
2. $\emptyset$ represents a zero reflex, i.e. loss of a phoneme.

| PAN | a | e, aw | i,uy | ay, ey | u | iw |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| POC | a | o | i | e | $u$ | $?$ |

TABLE 2: VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN PAN AND POC

It can be seen that POC merges several sets of PAN consonants: ${ }^{*} b$ and ${ }^{*} p ;{ }^{*} m p$ and ${ }^{* m b}$; *nd and ${ }^{*} n D$; all the palatals; ${ }^{*} k$ and ${ }^{*} g$; *gk and *gg, and loses *s. It also merges the vowels *e and *aw (which appear as POC *o), and merges *i and *uy (as *i) and *ay and *ey (as *e). In addition, PAN nasal clusters are reflected in Oceanic languages by unit phonemes, rather than as sequences of a nasal phoneme plus an obstruent phoneme. This development is associated with the loss of nasal accretion as a productive morphophonemic process. Oceanic languages show a further common development in exhibiting prenasalised obstruents (*mp, *nt, *nd, *ns, *nk) in initial as well as medial position in the word.

Dempwolff regarded the body of sound changes common to the Oceanic languages in his sample as sufficient, even without examination of the grammatical evidence, to assign them to a subgroup. While not all later writers accept the sufficiency of this evidence, it
is generally acknowledged that Dempwolff's phonological arguments for Oceanic are very cogent. Further study has revealed two further phonemes which must be attributed to POC, and which may result from splitting of two PAN phonemes. POC evidently had two lablovelar consonants, *クm (sometimes written *mw) and *np (sometimes written *pw), which were in contrast with plain *m and *p. The origins of the labiovelars are not altogether clear, but it has been noted that they occur most often adjacent to a rounded vowel. However, on present evidence PAN *m corresponds to both *m and *nm in POC, and PAN *b and *p both correspond to POC *p and ${ }^{*} \eta p$, and if phonemic splitting occurred in $P O C$, the conditions have yet to be defined.

The Oceanic grouping does not rest on phonological evidence alone. There is an increasing body of grammatical and lexical evidence, touched on in Section 5.0.

### 4.2 The Central District Languages and Oceanic

That one Central District language, Motu, exhibits all the phonological developments characteristic of the Oceanic subgroup was demonstrated by Kess (1969). The present study shows this to be true of all the Central District languages (with the qualification that for a few languages, particularly Magori, the evidence is insufficient to conclusively establish the outcome of certain PAN phonemes). Such a result comes as no surprise. It agrees with the conclusions of Dempwolff (1937), Milke (1958, 1961, 1965) and Grace (1955) each of whom assigned the Central District languages (other than Magori, then unrecorded) to Oceanic. As far as I am aware, however, evidence for this conclusion has been given in detail only for Motu.

Table 3 gives the reflexes of POC phonemes in the 10 languages/ dialects treated in this study. Some exceptions to the regular correspondences exist, most of these being explainable as resulting from borrowing between languages or dialects, or from other secondary developments. A key to abbreviations of language names and examples attesting each set of correspondences follow.


TABLE 3: MAIN REFLEXES OF POC CONSONANTS IN CENTRAL DISTRICT LANGUAGES

Notes: 1. All of these correspondences refer only to word-initial
and -medial position. Word-final consonants are lost in all Central District languages.
2. This reflex is tentative, resting on a very small number of attestations.
3. Except in the context *a_u, which is attested only in the reflexes of POC *kayu 'tree', where all Central District witnesses have a zero reflex.

### 4.21 Reflexes of Proto-Oceanic Vowels

The POC vowels *a, *e, *i, and *o are regularly reflected as a, e, i and o, respectively, in each Central District language. POC ${ }^{*} u$ is reflected in each language as $i$ in the context * $\left\{\begin{array}{l}0 \\ u\end{array}\right\}$ as u elsewhere.

### 4.22 Reflexes of Proto-Oceanic Initial and Medial Consonants

This section treats the POC phonemes one by one, listing cognate sets which illustrate the outcome of each POC sound in the Central District languages as far as has been determined.

The following abbreviations are used for language names.
ARM Aroma
DOU Doura
GAB Gabad1 (Kabad1)
HUL Hula
KEA Keapara
KUN Kuni
LAL Lala (Nara, Pokau)
MAG Magori
MEK Mekeo
MTU Motu
ROR Roro
SIN Sinagoro
PAN Proto-Austronesian
PCD Proto-Central District
POC Proto-Oceanic
In citing cognate sets languages are listed, not in alphabetical order, but very roughly in geographic order, proceeding from west to east. POC forms head the list, followed by PCD reconstructions. The living languages are listed in the order Mekeo, Roro, Doura, Gabadi, Kuni, Lala, Motu, Sinagoro, Hula, Keapara, Aroma and Magori.

Almost all the POC reconstructions are taken from Grace's

1969 Proto-Oceanic Finder List. In a few cases I have modified the shape of reconstructions according to evidence which has appeared since 1969. For example, Grace used parentheses around final consonants in certain forms to indicate uncertainty as to whether the PAN final has been retained in that form. Capell (1971), Blust (l972a and b), Haudricourt (1971) and Lynch (n.d.) have shown that the PAN final is retained in a large number of forms in certain Oceanic languages, and must therefore be attributed to POC. Wolff (in press) has shown that there is no longer good reason to believe that PAN *r is kept apart from the reflex of PAN *d and *D in Rotuman, and therefore in POC; accordingly, I write *d for both the *d and *r of Grace's orthography.

POC sounds are treated in the following order: stops and obstruents *p, *mp, *t, *nt, *k, *nk, *q, *s and *ns; resonants *d, *nd, *R, *l, *m, *n, *ñ, *!, *w, *y; labiovelars *クm and *クp; vowels.

Because evidence is much fuller for these, the word-initial and -medial reflexes of POC consonants are treated first; reflexes of POC final consonants are illustrated in a later subsection.

| POC | * ${ }^{-}$ | *pani | *pati | *pinsiko | *pulu | *pani | *puqaya |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 'wing' | 'four' | 'flesh' | 'hair' | 'give' | 'crocodile' |
| PCD | * p - | *pani | *pati ${ }^{1}$ | *pidio | *pui | *peni | * puaya |
| MEK | p- | pani | pani |  | pui | peni | uala |
| ROR | b- | bani | bani | bitio | bui | ben-a | buaea |
| DOU | h- | hani | hani | hetio | hui | heni |  |
| GAB | $v$ - | vani | vani |  |  |  | uaa |
| KUN | b- | bani | bani |  | bui | beni |  |
| LAL | $v$ - | vani | vani |  | vui |  | vuala |
| MTU | h- | hani | hani | hisio | hui | heni | uala |
| SIN | $v-2$ | vane | vasi | viri/g/o | gui | vini | g/ua |
| HUL | $v-2$ | vane | vaivai | viri/g/o | gui | vein-a |  |
| KEA | $v-$ | vane | vaivai | viroo | viu | veni |  |
| ARM | $v$ - | vane | vaivai | viri/g/o | vui | veni | vuala |
| MAG | v- | vane | vati |  |  |  |  |


| POC | $\pm-p-$ | *Ropo <br> 'to fly' | *Rapi(Rapi) 'evening' | *nsapa <br> 'what?' | *nsipo <br> 'downwards' | *nipi <br> 'dream' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PCD | *-p- | *ropo | * rapi | *dapa. | *dipo | *nipi |
| MEK | -p- | ngopo | ngapi ${ }^{3}$ | kapa | kipo | ngipi |
| ROR | -b- | robo | rabi ${ }^{3}$ | taba | tsi | nibi |
| DOU | $-h-4$ | roho |  | taha | tio |  |
| GAB | $-\mathrm{v}{ }^{4}$ |  | raviravi |  | dio | i-nivi |
| KUN | -b- |  | labi | daba | dlbo | nibi |
| LAL | -v- |  | lavilavi | dava | divo | nivi |
| MTU | -h- | roho | ado-rahi |  | divo | nihi |
| SIN | -v-4 | 10/g/o | lailai |  | ri/g/o | nivi |
| HUL | -v-4 | lovo | lavilavi |  | ri/g/o | nivi |
| KEA | -v- |  |  |  |  |  |
| ARM | -v- | lovo | lavilavi |  |  | nivi |
| MAG | -v- |  | raravi |  |  | nivi |
| Not | $\begin{aligned} & 1 . \\ & 2 . \end{aligned}$ | EK, ROR, <br> IN, HUL | DOU, GAB, KUN eflect *p- a | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LAL ar } \\ & \text { zero be } \end{aligned}$ | MTU n for * ore $u$ in mos | 1s irre possib |
| all | rms, |  |  |  |  |  |

3. Meaning 'night'. 4. *-p- sporadically lost intervocalically, especially before rounded vowels.



| POC *t- | *tama <br> 'father' | *tina <br> 'mother' | *taŋis 'weep' | *tuRi(a) <br> 'to thread, sew' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PCD * t | *tama | *tina | *taŋi | *turia |
| MEK $\square^{1}$ | a ma | ina |  |  |
| ROR h- | hama | hina | hai |  |
| DOU k-2 | kama | sina | kani | kuri |
| GAB $\mathrm{k}^{2}{ }^{2}$ |  |  |  | kuri |
| KUN k- ${ }^{2}$ | kama | sina | kani | kuli |
| LAL $\mathrm{k}^{2}{ }^{2}$ | kama | sina | kani | kuli |
| MTU $\mathrm{t}^{3}$ | tama | sina | tai | turi |
| SIN $\mathrm{t}^{3}$ | tama | sina | ta/g/i | turituri |
| HUL t - | tama | tina | ta/g/i | tuila |
| KEA 0 - 1 | ama | ina | a/g/i | uli |
| ARM $\square^{-1}$ | a ma | ina |  | uli |
| MAG t - |  | tina |  | turi |

POC *t

| POC | *-t- | *qate | *kita | * natu | *kutu | *mate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 'Ziver' | 'see' | 'chizd' | 'Zouse' | 'die' |
| PCD | *-t- | *ate | *ita | *natu | *utu | * mate |
| MEK | - '- | $a^{\prime} \mathrm{e}$ | isa ${ }^{4}$ |  | $u^{\prime}$ | ma'e |
| ROR | -h- |  | iha | nahu | uhu | -- |
| DOU | -k- |  | ika |  | uku | make |
| GAB | -k- ${ }^{2}$ |  | is a ${ }^{4}$ | naku |  |  |
| KUN | -k- ${ }^{2}$ | ake | ika | naku | uku |  |
| LAL | -k-2 | ake | ika |  | uku |  |
| MTU | -t- ${ }^{3}$ | ase | ita | natu | utu | mase |
| SIN | $-\mathrm{t}-3$ | g/ase | g/ita |  | gutu | mase |
| HUL | -t - | g/ate | g/ita |  |  |  |
| KEA | $-9-1.1$ | ae | g/ia |  |  |  |
| ARM | $-\mathrm{o}-1,1$ | g/ae | ia |  | $u^{\prime} u$ | mae |
| MAG | -t- |  |  |  |  |  |


| POC | * pati | *petuqu | *pitu | *topu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'four' | 'star' | 'seven' | 'sugar-cane' |
| PCD | *pati | *pitiu | *pitu |  |
| MEK | pani ${ }^{5}$ |  |  |  |
| ROR | bani ${ }^{5}$ | bihiu |  |  |
| DOU | hani ${ }^{5}$ |  |  |  |
| GAB | vani ${ }^{5}$ | visiu | isu ${ }^{4}$ |  |
| KUN | bani ${ }^{5}$ |  |  |  |
| LAL | vani ${ }^{5}$ | visiu |  |  |
| MTU | hani ${ }^{5}$ | hisiu | hitu | tohu |
| SIN | vasivasi | visi/g/u |  |  |
| HUL | vaivai6 | vitiu |  |  |
| KEA | vaivai | g/ivu |  |  |
| ARM | vaivai | $v i u$ |  | ovu |
| MAG | vati | vitiriu |  |  |

Notes: 1. Orthography suspect; true reflex of ${ }^{*} t$ may be glottal stop.
2. *t > s before i.
3. *t > s before e or i.
4. s for *t unexpected.
5. $n$ for *t unexpected.
6. Dialect borrowing. At least one Hula-speaking village usually
shows orthographic zero for *t. See Short 1939.


POC *k

| POC | *k- | *kani | *kayu | kita | *ko[e.i] | *kutu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 'eat' | 'tree' | '1st inc | ''2nd sg.' | 'Zouse' |
| PCD | * $\emptyset$ - | ani | *au | *au | *oi | *utu |
| MEK | $\emptyset-$ | ar:iani | au | $i^{\prime} \mathrm{a}$ | -i | $u^{\prime}$ |
| ROR | $\emptyset-$ | aniani |  | a/ika | -i | uhu |
| DOU | $\emptyset-$ | aniani | au | ita | oi | uku |
| GAB | 日- |  |  | isa | -/n/i |  |
| KUN | $\emptyset-$ | ani | au | ika | oi | uku |
| LAL | 0 - | ani | au | a/ita | o/n/i | uku |
| MTU | $\emptyset-$ | aniani | au | ita | -i | utu |
| SIN | 0 - | g/ani- | g/au | g/ita | g/oi | g/utu |
|  |  | /g/ani |  |  |  |  |
| HUL | 0 - | g/ani - | g/autupu | $i a$ | g/oi |  |
|  |  | /g/ani |  |  |  |  |
| KEA | 0 - | aniani | au / upu | ia | $0 i$ |  |
| A RM | 日- | g/ani-a | g/au/upu | ia | g/oi | $u^{\prime} u$ |
| MAG | 0 - | ani |  | ita | -/n/i |  |



POC *ŋk-. Only one cognate set reflecting a POC form with initial *nk- has been found, but a number of forms reconstructible for PCD show the same correspondences as for POC *ok.

POC *nk- * ( $\quad$ ) kensu
'back of
head'



POC *q



POC *s,*ns
POC *s- *salan *nsipo * (n)su(n)su
*ns- 'path' 'down' 'breast,suck'
PCP *d- *dala *dipo *dudu *diba
'correct'
MEK k- keaga kipo u'u, kuku
ROR t- tala/ra tsi tsutsu
i/tsipa
i/tiba
i/diba
i/difa
i/diba
LAL d- dala divo
MTU d- dala diho
i/diba
SIN $r$ - rig/o
ruru
ripa
HUL $r$ - ri/g/o
ripa
KEA $\mathbf{r}$ -
ripa
ARM $r$ - tharal
ripa
MAG $k$ -

POC *s,*ns


Note: 1. Metathesis: thara < yara < raya < rala < *nsalan

| POC | * d- | *daRa | * dua | *d[a,u]mpia | *daqa ( n ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 'blood' | 'two' | 'sago' | 'branch' |
| PCP | *r- | *rara | * rua | *rabia |  |
| MEK | g- |  | gua |  |  |
| ROR | r- |  | rua |  |  |
| DOU | r- | rara | au/rua |  |  |
| GAB | r- | rara | rua | rapia |  |
| KUN | $1-$ | lala | lua |  |  |
| LAL | 1 - | lala | lua |  |  |
| MTU | r- | rara | rua | rabia | ra-gal |
| SIN | $1-$ | lala | rua | labia |  |
| HUL | $1-$ | rala ${ }^{2}$ | roula | lapia | ra |
| KEA | $1-$ | rala ${ }^{2}$ | lualua | lapia | raa |
| ARM | 1- | lala | lualua | rapia | ra-ga |

MAG


| POC | *nd- | *ndaun | *ndanu(m) | *ndapu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 'Zeaf' | 'fresh water' | 'ashes' |
| PCD | * r- | * rau | *ranu | *rapu |
| MEK | $g-$ | gau |  |  |
| ROR | r- | rau |  |  |
| DOU | r- | rau |  | koko/rahu |
| GAB |  |  |  |  |
| KUN | 1 - |  |  | labu |
| LAL |  |  |  |  |
| MTU | r- | au-rau | ranu | rahurahu |
| SIN | $1-$ | gou-lau | nanu |  |
| HUL | 1 - | gau-lau | nanu |  |
| KEA | 1 - | $a u-u p u-1 a u$ | nanu |  |
| ARM | 1 - | g/au-upu-lau | nalu |  |




```
POC *1
POC *l before a and o
            'wind'
                    'go'
            *lani *lao
                                    lac,ao
ROR \emptyset
                ao ao/maha
DOU \emptysetl,1,i
GAB a ai-na
                lao/kama
                            huia
                                    ao-na
ao/kama
                                    ue
KUN }\mp@subsup{\emptyset}{}{l
l lani
                    *lano *pula *alo
* alo
                    'fly'
                            'moon'
                            'paddZe'
PCD *1
                                    *lano
                                    *pula
MEK I,\varnothing
                                    ango/ma
            * lani
                                *lako
POC *1
```



```
MTU 1 lai lao lao hua k/alo
MTU 1 lai lao lao hua k/alo
LAL 1' lani lalo-maka vuia
SIN a/g/i a/g/o g/ue
HUL a/g/i ao vue
KEA a a/g/i vue
ARM }\emptyset th/a/g/i th/ao vu
MAG
POC
    *(n)talo(s) *pitolo
    'taro' 'hungry'
PCD
    *talo
        *pitolo
        *lopia
        'chief'
    lopia/unga
MEK
ROR
DOU
GAB
    ovia
KUN
LAL
MTU
    talo
    hitolo
    lovia
SIN
HUL
KEA
ARM
MAG
Notes: 1.*l> [y] (DOU,LAL i, KUN j) in the context u_a.
```

| POC | * m- | *manuk | * maya | *mata | * mumuta |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 'bird' | 'tongue' | 'eye' | 'vomit' |
| PCP | m- | *manu | * maya | *mata |  |
| MEK | m- |  | mala |  |  |
| ROR | m- |  | maia | maha |  |
| DOU | m- | manu | mara |  |  |
| GAB | m- | manumanu | mara | maka |  |
| KUN | m- |  | maja | maka |  |
| LAL | m- | ma'numanu | mala | maka |  |
| MTU | m- | manu | mala | mata | mumuta |
| SIN | m- | manu | mea | mata | mumuta |
| HUL | m- | manu | mae | ma | mumua |
| KEA | m- | manu | mara | ma'a | mumua |
| ARM | m- | manu |  | maa | mumua |
| MAG |  |  |  |  |  |
| POC | *-m- | * Ramu | * lima | *tama See also | *Ruma |
|  |  | 'root' | 'hand' | 'father' | 'house' (under *R) |
|  |  |  |  | and | *ñamuk |
|  |  |  |  |  | 'mosquito' (under |
| PCP | *-m- | * ramu | * ima | *tama | * $\tilde{n}$ ) . |
| MEK | -m- | gagamu | ima | ama |  |
| ROR | -m- | ramu | ima | hama |  |
| DOU | -m- | ramu | ima | kama |  |
| GAB | -m- | ramu | ima |  |  |
| KUN | -m- | Iumi | ima | kama |  |
| LAL | -m- | I amulamu | ima | kama |  |
| MTU | -m- | ramu | ima | tama |  |
| SIN | -m- | ramu | g/ima | tama |  |
| HUL | -m- | lamu | g/ima | tama |  |
| KEA | -m- | I amu | g/ima | ama |  |
| ARM | -m- | I amu | ima | ama |  |
| MAG | -m- |  | ima |  |  |




$m / u r u^{l}$
MAG



Notes: l. Initial m- unexplained.
2. *d > *l unexplained.
3. $n$ instead of zero for *n irregular.
4. $\emptyset$ instead of $n$ for $*_{n}$ irregular.


POC *y
It is questionable whether *y was phonemic in word-initial position in POC. There is some evidence that a palatal onglide [y] occurred predictably before initial *a and that was reinterpreted as a consonantal segment in some Oceanic languages. Initial unstressed *i (nominative pronoun marker) may also have been realized as [y] word-initially before *a. PCD appears to have treated the POC onglide as a phoneme which we write *y. POC *y was evidently phonemic in intervocalic position in words, and was reflected as *y in PCD in the context *a__a, but lost in the context *a__u.


MAG

POC *y-. There are only two sets of forms probably reflecting a POC word usually reconstructed with initial *y-. POC *yaro 'pearZsheZZ' gives KEA, ARM aro. POC *yaŋoyano 'yelZow' is probably cognate with the first element in MEK lao/faga, GAB rao/a, KUN jao/fana, MTU, LAL lao/bana. See under POC *n for further commentary.

Notes: 1. Zero reflex unexpected.
2. -r- unexpected; possibly dissimilation.
3. *-ay- > -e-, with metath. in HUL, KEA.
4. This sole example suggests that *u > i after *uy, as well
as after *ul, *ol, in PCD. Cf. reflexes of POC *l.

POC *クm, *ワP
Only a handful of etyma with the lablovelars *وm and *وp have been reconstructed for $P O C$. None of the reconstructions with *وP have known reflexes in the Central District languages. A few Central District languages are known to reflect forms with *nm. The segment corresponding to *mm is $m$ in the Central District languages, but in some cases there is a development $0<\pi a$ in a subsequent segment as a trace of the labiovelar.


MAG

The only forms reflecting intervocalic *ŋm so far noted are MTU rama 'the anterior fontanelle, side of head', HUL lama 'cut off the head', which may be assigned to POC *ndanma 'top part, forehead' reconstructed by Milke (1968:151).

Notes: 1. 'gums'.
2. 'to drown'; a doubtful cognate.

### 4.23 Reflexes of Proto-Oceanic Final Consonants

Dempwolff concluded, on the basis of the evidence available to him, that PAN stem-final consonants were lost in absolute final position in the word in all members of the Oceanic group. Subsequent studies have proved that a considerable number of Oceanic languages retain PAN final consonants without supporting suffixes, and that POC must have retained PAN word-finals. We can attribute the same set of consonants to word-final position as to word-initial and -medial in POC, except that the prenasalised obstruents (*mp, *nt, *nk, *ns) and labiovelars (*ŋm, *クp) *nd and the glides *w, *y did not occur finally.

Although some Milne Bay District and many other New Guinea languages retain POC word-final consonants, the Central District languages have lost them. The Central District languages allow only open syllables, and regularly reduce $P O C$ stems of the shape (C)V(C)VC to (C)V(C)V.

There are one or two instances in which the Central District languages appear to show retention of final consonants (with the addition of a following vowel), if we accept the usual POC reconstruction. The most obvious case is POC *pat 'four', yielding HUL vaivai, Sinagoro vasi, Kalo (HUL dial.) vativati. It is clear from other Oceanic witnesses, however, that POC had the form *pati, this form actually being more widely attested than *pat in Oceanic. It is probable that some similar explanation will account for all such apparent exceptions.

The number of cognate sets attesting the treatment of POC finals in Central District languages is not large, but sufficient to show that loss has regularly occurred in all languages (except Magori, for which data are sparse) for all consonants except *l. No forms showing the outcome of final *l are known.

| POC | * maqudip <br> 'be alive' | *qutup <br> 'draw water' | *qinep <br> 'Zie down' | *nsiokap <br> 'bad' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PCD | *mauri |  |  |  |
| MEK | mauni |  |  |  |
| ROR | mauri |  | eno | kia |
| DOU | mauri |  |  | tia-na |
| GAB | mauri |  | eno |  |
| KUN | mauli |  | eko |  |
| LAL | mauli |  | eno | tsia/va |
| MTU | mauri | utu | eno/dere | dika |
| SIN | ma/g/uli |  | gena | raka/va |
| HUL | ma/g/uli |  | geno | raka/va |
| KEA | ma/g/uli |  |  | raa/va |
| ARM | mauli |  |  | ra/va |
| MAG |  |  |  |  |

POC *-t

POC
*matakut
'be afraid'
*matau
PCP
MEK
ROR
DOU
GAB
KUN
LAL
MTU

SIN
HUL
KEA
ARM
MAG

* (a) paRat
'N.W. Monsoon'
* (y) apara
ab1
api-a
abi/kai
afi-a
abi-a
g/abi/tari
api, g/api
abi-a
g/abi-a



| POC | *-m, *-n |  |  | POC |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| POC | *inum | *ndanum | *kiRam | *kudon | *ndaun |
|  | 'to drink' | 'fresh water' | 'adze, axe' | 'pot' | 'Zeaf' |
| PCD | *inu | *ranu | *ira | *uro | *rau |
| MEK | inu |  |  |  | ngau |
| ROR | inu |  |  |  | rau |
| DOU |  |  |  | uro | rau |
| GAB |  |  | ira | uro-na |  |
| KUN | inu |  |  |  |  |
| LAL | inu |  | ila |  |  |
| MTU | inu | ranu | ira | uro | au-rau |
| SIN | g/inu | nanu | g/ira/va |  |  |
| HUL | niu | nanu |  |  | gau-lau |
| KEA | niu | nanu |  | g/ulo | au-upulau |
| ARM | inu | nanu |  | ulo | g/au-upul |
| MAG |  |  |  |  |  |
| POC | *-n |  | *-ワ |  |  |
| POC | *qunsan | *qansan | *uda ( $\quad$ ) | *wayka ( $\quad$ ) | *qasa(g) |
|  | 'to rain' | 'name' | 'crayfish' | 'boat' | 'gizls' |
| PCP | *uda | *ada |  |  |  |
| MEK |  | aka |  |  |  |
| ROR |  | ata |  |  |  |
| DOU |  |  |  |  |  |
| GAB |  | aga |  |  |  |
| KUN |  | ada |  |  |  |
| LAL |  |  |  |  |  |
| MTU |  | lada | ura |  | 1/ada |
| SIN | g/ura | ara |  |  |  |
| HUL | g/ura | ara |  |  |  |
| KEA | g/ura | ara | ula |  |  |
| ARM |  | th/ara | ula/lava |  |  |
| MAG |  |  |  |  |  |

POC *a, *e, *i, *o, *u
The five POC vowels remain in contrast in all Central District languages. The only conditioned change common to these languages is the merger of POC *u with *i as $i$ in the context $\left\{\begin{array}{l}0 \\ u\end{array}\right\}$. This is attested by the following cognate sets.

| POC | *tolu | *katoluR | *pulu | *ga-pulu | *quluga |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 'z' | 'egg' | 'hair' | 'unit of 10' | 'pizZow' |
| PCD | *toi | *atoi | *pui | *napui | *uiga |
| MEK | oi-do | a'oi-na | pui |  |  |
| ROR |  | ahoi | bui |  |  |
| DOU | au-kui | akui | hui | ahui | i-uina-na |
| GAB | koi |  |  |  |  |
| KUN | koi | awoi | bui |  | i-/k/wi-na |
| LAL | koi | akoi | viu | navui |  |
| MTU | toi | g/atoi | hui | ahui |  |
| SIN | toi | g/atoi | g/ui |  |  |
| HUL | toitoi | g/atoi | g/ui |  |  |
| KEA | oioi | aoi | g/aoi |  |  |

See under POC *l for examples of *i yielding $i$ in the context $*\left\{\begin{array}{l}0 \\ u\end{array}\right\} 1_{-}$.

A few conditioned changes occur in individual languages. Doura shows the assimilation PCD *oi > ui, e.g. akui 'egg' < *atoi; au-kui ' $3^{\prime}$ < *toi. This may be restricted to the context k_, because Doura shows hoi 'to buy' from PCD *poi.

Hula shows a more complex development, whereby the sequence $v c\left[\begin{array}{l}i \\ u\end{array}\right] a$ metathesizes to $v\left[\begin{array}{l}i \\ u\end{array}\right] C a, ~ e . g . ~ P C D ~ * p e n i-a ~ ' t o ~ g i v e ~ s . t . ' ~ ' ~$ becomes HUL veina, *Doli-a 'to push s.t.' > roila, *turia 'to sew' > tuila, *kwatu-a 'to tie s.t.' > kwauta, *kwaDi-a 'to hit s.t.' > kwaira, *kori-a 'to bite s.t.' > koila.

### 4.24 Residual Problems

The preceding subsection presents a preliminary analysis of the outcome of Proto-Oceanic consonants and vowels in the Central District languages. Many problems remain, however, in the historical phonology
of these languages. There are some unexplained irregularities in the treatment of certain POC etyma. And there is a large body of cognate sets which cannot (so far) be traced back to POC, but which are represented in most or all of the Central District languages, and in some cases, also in some other languages of the New Guinea region. A good number of items, for example, seem to be common to the Central District languages and some languages of the Milne Bay District, while not known elsewhere.

Some additional PCD consonant phonemes must be reconstructed on the basis of cognate sets not traceable to POC. It appears that, beside PCD *g, we must reconstruct two, and possibly more, velar obstruents.

The following material suggests that there was at least one labialized velar stop, which we write *kw.


PCD *kw (continued)
*kwanau
'rope'
*kwama
'mucous'
*kwaku
'claw'

MEK
ROR anau/a
DOU
GAB
KUN
LAL
MTU
kwanau

| kwama $^{3}$ | kwaku $^{4}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| kwamo $^{5}$ |  |
| kwamo $^{5}$ | kwaku $^{6}$ |

HUL
KEA
wanau
ARM
MAG

Notes: 1. 'base, source'.
2. MTU, SIN, HUL $\mathbf{k}, \mathrm{KEA} \emptyset$ before *ap.
3. 'phglem'.
4. 'claw of crab'.
5. 'cough'.
6. 'heel'.

Data on simple velar stops are not very reliable - some of our word lists, for example, do not distinguish [y] and [g] where these are in phonemic contrast, while there may also be some interchange between $k$ and $g$. However, it is likely that PCD had at least two plain velar obstruents, possessing *k as well as *g. Some cognate sets attesting *k are:

| PCD *k |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PCD *k- | *kuDupe | *kalopa | *kurokuro | *koe koe |
|  |  | 'fat' | 'fire' | 'white' |


| MEK | $\emptyset-$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ROR | $\emptyset-$ |  |
| DOU | $\emptyset$ |  |
| GAB | $\emptyset$ |  |
| KUN | $\emptyset$ | idube |
| LAL | $\emptyset$ | uduve |
| MTU | k |  |
| SIN | k | kureve |
| HUL | k | kuruve |
| KEA | $\emptyset^{3}$ | uruve |
| ARM | $\emptyset$ | uruve |

$$
\text { iruba }{ }^{2}
$$

aroha
oeoe
aloba
alova
kurokuro koekoe

|  | kurokuro | koekoe |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kulova | kulokulo |  |
| 'alova | 'ulo'ulo |  |
| alova | uloulo |  |



Notes: 1. Reflects POC *k[a,u]nsupe 'rat'.
2. Doubtful cognate, as first two vowels are irregular.
3. Orthographic zero may represent glottal stop.
4. Molima, Galeya, Nade, Dobu, Keldoge kukupa, Tubetube
kuba, Sariba kubwa.
5. Gayavi gwabi/tai, Are gwabi/nai 'near (it)'.
6. POC *ka(m)pu(t) 'dust, mist, fog'.
7. Nada, Molima keli, Suau s/euli, POC *-uRi 'Zeft hand'.
8. 'short, of coconut palm'.

### 4.3 Phonological evidence for a Central District Subgroup

The Central District languages show a considerable body of common innovations in their treatment of POC phonemes. The best documented are as follows:
l. *k is lost.
2. *l is lost before $i$ and $u$.
3. *u merges with *i as i after *ol or *ul.
4. *d, *nd and *R fall together.
5. *s and *ns fall together, (a) either as a flapped $r$ or (b) as a stop d, t, k.
6. Word-final consonants are lost in absolute final position, i.e. when not followed by a suffix.
7. *y is lost in the context *a_u.
8. *n merges with *n.
9. * q is lost.

These developments can be established for all Central District languages with the partial exception of Magori. The evidence for Magori is not complete enough to show whether this language participates in all nine innovations, but is sufficient to demonstrate that it has undergone most of them, including the most important ones for subgrouping purposes. Magori exhibits (1) loss of *k, (2) loss of *l before i and $u$, (3) merger of *u with *i as $i$ after *ol and *ul, (5) merger of $* s$ and $k n s$ as a stop, $k$, and loss of $* q$. It also appears to merge *d and *R as $r$, and shows loss of some word-final consonants without showing any retentions.

Although innovations 1-9 are not each of equal weight, together they provide strong evidence for treating the Central District languages as a subgroup of Oceanic. It is virtually inconceivable that l-9 could all have developed independently in two or more sets of languages. It is therefore concluded that the Central District languages remained a unity for some time after the breakup of POC.

This is not to say, however, that the Central District languages form a closed subgroup. In order to show that they form a subgroup apart from all other Oceanic languages we need to show that no other language has undergone the same, or virtually the same, set of phonological changes.

Unfortunately, we do not know enough about the phonological histories of all 400 or so Oceanic languages to exclude completely the possibility that some non-Central District languages have undergone the innovations 1-9. However, we do know enough to indicate that (a) this is unlikely, and (b) if such languages exist, they will be found in the Southeast Papuan region.

A study of the bistory of $P O C * d, * 1$ and $* R$ in the Oceanic languages was made by Milke (1958). He concluded that *d and *R have coalesced in most of the New Guinea Oceanic languages, and in those of southwest New Britain, in some of the languages of the Western Solomons and New Ireland, and in the Banks Is. languages. The reflex of *l remains separate from that of $* d$ and $* R$ in these languages. The merger of $* d, * n d$ and $* R$ is thus not a strong argument, by itself,
for a closed Central District grouping. Either $* d$ and $* R$ have merged independently a number of times, or the merger took place once at a time when most of the New Guinea languages, and other languages which show the same coalescence, were still a single language. On independent grounds it is unlikely that the New Ireland, Western Solomons and Banks Is. languages fall into a subgroup with New Guinea Oceanic languages. There is however a certain amount of evidence for a New Guinea Oceanic subgroup (Milke 1965, Capell 1969), possibly including the languages of southwest New Britain from the Talasea Peninsula to Maleu, and the coalescence of ${ }^{2} d$ and *R may have occurred in Proto- $^{2}$ New Guinea Oceanic.

The merger of ${ }^{2}$ nd with $* d$ is a common sound change in Oceanic, and does not carry much weight as a subgrouping argument.
*s and *ns have fallen together (innovation 5a) in many Oceanic languages besides those of the Central District. In the New Guinea region, the Tumleo group of the Rai coast, the Yabem-Tami group of the Huon Gulf and many of the Milne Bay District languages show this merger, according to Milke (1965:342). However, merger of *s and *ns cannot be assigned to Proto-New Guinea Oceanic because some members of this putative group keep these sounds apart. The easternmost languages on the New Guinea mainland to keep them apart, according to Milke, are Ubir, Mukawa and Wedau and their immediate relatives; the distinction is also maintained in many of the islands in the Massim area, e.g. in Kiriwina, Murua, Nimoa, Panayati, Nada and Western Sud-Est (M11ke 1965: 339-40). This suggests that *s and *ns fell together fairly late in the history of the Central District languages, though not necessarily after their separation from all other languages; in this connection it is noteworthy that Suau, Dobu and Molima merge *s and *ns (as s) as well as sharing other developments with the Central District languages.

Aside from the loss of contrast, however, it may be significant that the Central District languages have a flap or stop as the outcome of *s and *ns. It is highly probable that $P C D$ *D < *s, *ns was phonetically either a voiced apical stop [d] or flap [ř] (see next subsection for some discussion). While the phonetic nature of POC *s and *ns is not certain, it is likely that *s, at least, was phonetically an apical or a palatal fricative [s] or [s ${ }^{\mathrm{y}}$ ]. The most common reflexes of ${ }^{\prime} s$ and $\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{n}}$ s are $\mathrm{s}, \mathrm{h}$ and zero; a few languages outside
the Central District have $r$ or $t$, and fewer still [ð].
Merger of $*_{n}$ and ${ }^{n} \tilde{n}($ innovation 8$)$ has almost no value for determining subrelationship. It has happened many times independently in the history of the AN languages. Among Oceanic languages, only Bugotu and certain neighbouring languages of Santa Isabel maintain the contrast.

Loss of *q (innovation 9) is fairly weak evidence, for similar reasons. However, it carries more weight than (8) because of evidence that some of the languages of the Milne Bay District, which on other grounds seem to subgroup with the Central District languages, reflect *q as [k] or [?].

Loss of *y in the context a_u - with retention of *y in the context a_a - is also of limited diagnostic value in subgrouping. *y was an infrequently occurring phoneme in POC and data on its outcome in many Oceanic languages are very sketchy. A number of widely scattered languages, however, appear to show the same conditioned change exhibited by the Central District languages.

Innovations (1), (2), (3), (5) and (6) each carries some weight. While none of them is unique to the Central District, they appear to have occurred less of ten in the history of the AN languages than loss of ${ }^{*} q$, merger of $\pi_{n}$ and $* \tilde{n}$, and loss of ${ }^{*} y$ between $a$ and $u$ and unlike the merger of $\mathrm{*}_{\mathrm{d}}$ and $* \mathrm{R}$, and $* s$ and $\mathrm{*}_{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{s}$, relatively few other languages in the New Guinea area seem to have undergone any of them.

It is probable that the only languages which have fairly similar phonological histories to the Central District languages are to be found in the Milne Bay District of Papua. Our knowledge of the phonological developments in the languages of this area is mainly due to Capell (1943). Although incomplete and tentative because of the limited quantity and quality of the data, Capell's analysis of sound correspondences in the individual Milne Bay languages indicate that none have participated in all of the developments common to the Central District languages.

Of those languages which, on inspection of Capell's analysis, seemed most like the Central District languages in their phonological behaviour, three were re-examined more closely. These were Dobuan, of Dobu Is. between Fergusson and Goodenough Is., Molima of Fergusson Is., and Suau of Suau Is. and the adjacent mainland area near the southeastern tip of the New Guinea mainland.

These languages fall into two lexicostatistical subgroups. Molima and Dobuan are quite closely related, sharing 54.6 percent cognation on a 200 word list (percentages refer to definite cognates see section 5 for discussion of methodology). Percentages with Suau are considerably lower: Suau-Molima 28 percent, Suau-Dobuan 30.6 percent. The three Milne Bay District languages are lexicostatistically somewhat closer to each other than to the Central District languages. The differences, however, are relatively small: Suau-Motu and Suau-Kuni both 20.2 percent, Suau-Gabadi 21.1 percent, Molima-Motu 16.1 percent. In view of the geographic proximity of the Milne Bay District languages, and evidence for diffusion in this region, it is not impossible that Suau split apart from the Dobuan-Molima group at about the same time it diverged from the Central District languages, but remained lexicostatistically closer to the former group because of interdialect and language borrowing.

If we examine the three Milne Bay District languages for innovations comparable to (1)-(9), we find the following similarities and differences. (References to consonantal sound changes are to non-final position in the word unless otherwise stated.)

## MOLIMA

l. *k > ?, with some, apparently unconditioned, instances of loss, e.g. 'ai 'eat' < *kani, 'ita 'see' < *kita, vesi'o 'flesh' < *pinsiko, but iyana 'fish' < *ikan.
2. *l is sometimes lost before i and u, e.g. tena 'ear' < *taliŋa, toi 'three' < *tolu. It is sometimes retained as l, e.g. wuluwulu 'body hair' < pulupulu, sometimes as n, e.g. nima 'hand' < *lima. buli 'cat's eye' may be from *mpuli 'cowry, white shelz'.
3. *u sometimes becomes i after *ol, *ul, but sometimes remains as u, e.g. wuluwulu 'body hair' < *pulupulu, possibly b/ulu-b/ulu 'head' < *qulu, 'head, hair', toi 'three' < *tolu, and possibly ya-udi 'many' from *untolu 'many, 1000' (cf. Motu idoi 'whole', Bugotu udolu 'whole', Fifian udolu '1000', Molima maiboa-di 'all', geya-udi 'few', ta-udi 'they').
4. Ad and *R merge as 1, e.g. lua 'two' < *dua, muli-a 'to follow' < *mudi, go'ila 'fresh water' < *waiR, lavilavi 'evening' < rapiRapi, k-eli 'Zeft hand' < *m-auRi (cf. PCD *kauri) etc.
5. *s and *ns fall together as s: vesi'o 'flesh' < *pinsiko 'usana 'rain' < *qunsan, e-visa 'how many?' < *pinsa, susu 'breast' < *susu, sine 'female, of pig or dog' < *sin[a,e].
6. Data on final consonants are restricted to a handful of forms, but these indicate that $*_{n}$ and $* R$ are regularly retained from absolute final position (Molima adds a vowel), while $*-m$ is retained at least in transitive verbs: iyana 'fish' < *ikan, samana 'outrigger' < * (n) saRaman, or * (n) saman, 'usana 'rain' < *qunsan, 'atune 'fish sp.' < *qatun 'bonito', numa 'drink' < *inum, matauta 'to fear' < *matakut, go'ila 'water' < *waiR. Data on final $\mathrm{k}_{\mathrm{k}}$ are ambiguous: manu 'bird' < *manuk and namo 'fly', namokili 'mosquito' < *ñamuk 'mosquito'.
7. The outcome of *y in the context a_u is unknown.
8. The only examples of $* \tilde{n}$ reflexes are those given under 6, above, which indicate that $\star_{\tilde{n}}$ and $*_{n}$ have merged.
9. *q is problematical. The outcome of medial *q is probably zero: ae 'Zeg' < *(w) aqe. Initial $\mathrm{*q}_{\mathrm{q}}$ is sometimes replaced by glottal stop, e.g. 'usana 'rain' < *qunsan, 'atune 'fish sp.' < qatun 'bonito', but it is not impossible that Molima ' here is an accretion, since it sometimes appears where no *q- has been reconstructed.

DOBUAN
Dobuan resembles Molima closely in its treatment of POC phonemes. The following notes refer to the Edugaura dialect. This appears to differ from the Tewara and Sanaroa dialects in showing glottal stop in many words where the latter have k (cf. Capell 1943: 58).

1. $\mathrm{k}_{\mathrm{k}}$ in initial position is sometimes reflected as $k$, sometimes as glottal stop (orthographic ') and, rarely, as (orthographic zero), e.g. 'omi 'you (pl.)' < kamiu, 'ita 'see' < *kita, 'utu 'Zice, flea' < *kutu, koita 'octopus' < *kuRita, ila 'stone axe' < *kiRam, kalimana and 'alimana 'crab sp.' < *kalimana (cf. Arosi arimango 'Zarge crab of mangrove swamps'.

Medial $\boldsymbol{*}_{\mathrm{k}}$ is reflected as zero in the only examples noted: esiyo 'flesh' < *pinsiko, matauta 'afraid' < *matakut.
2. *l is sometimes lost before *i or *u, e.g. tena 'ear' < *talina, tui 'deaf' < *tuli, ma-toi 'thrice' < *tolu '3', but is sometimes reflected as l, e.g. k/ulig-a 'steer' < qulin, and sometimes as $n$, e.g. unuunu 'body hair' < *pulupulu, nima 'hand' < *lima.
3. *u sometimes becomes i after *ol or *ul: ma-toi 'thrice' < *tolu '3' is the only clear example, but note 'uya'uya 'hair of head' < *qulu, where initial glottal may be an accretion (cf. 9 below) and -a a suffix (cf. Samoan fulufulu-a 'hairy'). Sometimes it remains as u, e.g. unuunu 'body hair' < *pulupulu; Capell also cites sa-na-u '10' < *sa-ŋa-pulu.
4. Most of the evidence indicates that *d and *R fall together as a phoneme which Grant 1953 writes usually as 1 , occasionally as $r$ (see p. 105 for author's statement of confusion). Capell 1943 writes $r$ in corresponding words, as did our Dobuan informants. *d is reflected as r, e.g. rua 'two' < *dua, muri 'follow' < *mudi, rara 'blood' < *daRa(q), and *R is usually reflected as r, e.g. rara 'blood' < *daRa(q), ramu 'root' < *Ramu(t) waro 'artery, tendon' < *waRos. However, it is sometimes lost, e.g. koita 'octopus' < *kuRita, auau-na 'new' < *paqoRu. Capell derives g/amana 'outrigger boom' from PAN *saRaman, but there is also evidence for reconstructing POC * (n) saman alongside * (n) saRaman (e.g. Nggela, Mota sama). Some cases of orthographic 1 for $* R$ in Grant are probably assignable to the $r$ reflex, e.g. ila 'stone axe' < *kiRam.
5. *s and *ns have merged as s, e.g. tasi 'sibling of same $8 e x^{\prime}<$ *tansi, 'usana 'rain' < *qunsan, 'e-isa 'how many?' < *pinsa, susu 'breast' < *susu, sagasage 'fork' < *sana, suli 'taro sucker' < *suli, sawa-eyai 'betroth' < *(a)nsawa 'marry, spouse'.
6. Some word-final consonants are retained, with a following vowel added, e.g. 'esana 'name' < *qansan, 'usana 'rain' < *qunsan, iyana 'fish' < *ikan, g/amana 'outrigger boom' < *(n)saman, all attest *-n. Final *k was evidently retained at an earlier stage, as was final *p, because vowels have been added in forms such as manua 'bird' < *manuk, nemwa 'mosquito' < *ñamuk, 'atoa 'thatch' < *atep (cf. Capell 1943: 63). Note also numa 'drink' < *inum, matauta 'fear' < *matakut, where a transitive suffix has supported the final consonant of the stem.
7. Dobuan kaiwe 'wood' < *kauy provides the only evidence as to the outcome of $k y$ in the context *a_u. If -we is a suffix then we may conclude that *-yu became $i$, but the information we have is not sufficient to establish this. In any event, it appears that Dobuan treats *y differently from the Central District languages in this word.
8. *ñ merges with *n in the available examples. nemwa 'mosquito' < *ñamuk, -na '3rd pers. sing. poss.' < *-ña, natu 'child' < *natu, sina 'mother' < *tina.
9. The treatment of *q is uncertain. While glottal stop occurs initially in many words where POC ${ }^{*} q$ is reconstructed, it also occurs in some words where no *q is reconstructed before an initial vowel, suggesting that Dobuan ' may be an accretion: 'usana 'rain' < *qunsan, 'ate 'Ziver' < *qate, but 'awa 'mouth, passage' < *awa. Medial *q appears to be lost, e.g. tae 'excrement' < *taqe, uwaia 'crocodile' < *puqaya.

## SUAU

l. *k is usually reflected as glottal stop, but is sometimes zero. 'ai'ai 'eat' < *kani, 'ita 'see' < *kita, si'u 'eZbow' < siku, lao-ma 'come' < *lako mai, omi 'you (pZ.)' < *kamiu. *k remains as $k$ in some members of the Suau dialect chain, though not in the prestige dialect.
2. *l is usually retained before $i$ or $u$, either as 1 or $n e . g . u l u$ 'head' < *qulu, 'unuli 'breadfruit' < *kuluR, nima 'hand' < *lima, 'aliha 'centipede' < *qalipan.
3. *u usually remains as $u$ after *ul. There is no evidence concerning the sequence *olu. Examples attesting $u<* u$ after *ul appear under 2 above. One possible exception is known: wio 'fur' may reflect *pulu(pulu) plus a suffix -a; cf. comments on Dobuan 'uya'uya in paragraph 3 under Dobuan.

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4. *d and *R merge as l, e.g. labi 'evening' < *RapiRapi, seu-seuli
'Zeft hand' < *-uRi, lo-i 'to fly' < Ropo (dial.loho), sala 'dig'
< *sada, lua 'two' < *dua, lamulamu 'root' < *Ramu(t).
5. *s and *ns merge as s: isu 'nose' < *isu, sine 'woman' < *sin[a,e],
saga 'dance' < *sa\etaka(q), saha 'what?' < *nsapa, hisa 'few' < *pinsa
'how many?', esa 'name' < *qansan, asu-bena 'day' < *qanso.
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6. Final consonants appear to be retained in some forms: goila 'water' < *wair (dial. waila), 'unuli 'breadfruit' < *kuluR, nom 'drink' < *inum, but are frequently lost, e.g. manu 'bird' < *manuk, esa 'name' < *qansan. mataus-i 'fear' shows retention of stem-final *t as $s$ before the transitive suffix.
7. There are no data on $k y$ between $a$ and $u$.
8. *ñ falls together with *n, e.g. vonu 'turtle' < *poñu, -na
'3rd pers. sing. possessor' < *-ña, niu 'coconut' < *niuR, mahana
'sun' < *ma-pana(s) 'hot', nom 'drink' < *inum.
9. *q is lost in all positions, e.g. sinae 'guts' < *tinaqe, ae 'Zeg' < *(w) aqe, ate 'Ziver' < *qate, ulu 'héad' < *qulu, halihaliu 'new' < *paqoRu.

### 4.4 Summary

The three Milne Bay languages show a number of differences from the Central District group. None of them exhibit innovation (l): loss of *k. Although all three usually reflect *k as glottal stop and occasionally as zero (possibly zero regularly in intervocalic position in Dobuan), the change $\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{k}}$ < ? is evidently fairly recent in each case. We know this because, in the case of Dobuan and Suau, some dialects preserve *k as $k$, while Molima is closely related to Dobuan and therefore must have preserved *k until it split from Dobuan.

All three languages fail to exhibit innovation (6), loss of all consonants in absolute final position. Evidence is clearest for Dobuan and Molima, which retain, or retained until recently, final *m, *n, *p, *k, *R and possibly *t. Data on most other final consonants are lacking, although isolated examples suggest that at least some consonants have been lost. Where a final consonant has been retained Dobuan and Molima have added a following vowel to preserve the open syllable structure. Capell (1971: 301) shows that a good number of Southeast Papuan languages keep at least some final consonants, in each case with addition of a supporting vowel. Suau appears to have lost most final consonants, although the evidence is too patchy for firm conclusions. It has however retained final *R as 1 (with added vowel), and preserves $*-m$ and $*-t$ at least in transitive verbs.

The evidence concerning *q is difficult to interpret. Dobuan and Molima often exhibit glottal stop where *q is reconstructed for POC in word-initial position. But medially the reflex seems to be zero, suggesting that the initial glottal stop may be an accretion. Some other Milne Bay languages exhibit $k$ - in cognate words, but again accretion cannot be ruled out (cf. discussion of $\gamma$-accretion in some Central District languages, in 4.52).

Suau fails to exhibit innovations (2) and (3), while the evidence in Dobuan and Molima is conflicting. There are good reasons to believe that (3) preceded (2) in the history of the Central District languages, $1 . e$. that $* u$ became $i$ after *ol and *ul, then *l was lost before *i. Alternative explanations run into several difficulties. In the first place, it is somewhat more natural, and more economical, to suppose that *l was lost only before the palatal vowel i, presumably by palatalization of $* 1$, then outright loss, than to suppose that *l was also lost before the velar vowel u. Second, loss of *l before *u, when the preceding vowel was also u, would have resulted
 language. It is difficult to explain how some u sequences could have become ui while others remained uu,when no conditioning explanation is available.

Dobuan and Molima show $i$ for $k u$ in only one clear instance: D.,M. toi '3'. M. ya-udi 'many' may be from *untolu, and Dobuan 'uya'uya 'hair of head' may be from *qulu (see discussion of reflexes above). The exceptions are about as numerous, 1.e. one clear case and one possible case for each language.

The evidence concerning *l is also inconsistent. Molima shows two clear instances of *l lost before *i, and Dobuan three. Each language shows two exceptions, although in each case one of them involves the form nima 'hand' < *lima, indicating that *l may have become $n$ by assimilation in this word at an early point in the history of these languages (Suau also shows nima), before the sound change *l $>\emptyset$ before i. Molima and Dobuan each retain *l before *u in the reflex of *pulupulu 'body hair', and each language shows one case of loss, or possible loss before *u.

Several alternative explanations suggest themselves for the inconsistences in the treatment of $* u$ and $* 1$. (l) Regular changes identical to those undergone by the Central District languages occurred in Dobuan and Molima, but inter-language borrowing has reintroduced forms which do not exhibit the expected sound changes. (2) Dobuan and Molima underwent sporadic changes, affecting *tolu '3', *taliŋa 'ear' and perhaps a few other forms, but not all forms which would have changed if the developments were phonologically regular ones.

If explanation (l) is correct, the question arises whether the changes occurred independently of those undergone by the Central

District languages. The relative rarity of innovations (2) and (3) is perhaps enough to make independent development unlikely. If we conclude that innovations (2) and (3) occurred at a time when Molima, Dobuan and the Central District languages were still a unity, however, we must conclude that Suau was probably already separate, because Suau has not undergone these innovations. (Some evidence conflicting with this conclusion is presented in subsection 5.2.)

The fact that all of the languages under consideration here merge *d and *R, and *s and *ns, suggests that these simplifications occurred while they were still one language. As noted earlier, unification of $* d$ and $* R$ may have occurred at a Proto-New Guinea Oceanic stage, but merger of $\mathrm{ks}^{\mathrm{s}}$ and $\mathrm{*ns}^{\mathrm{n}}$ is more narrowly distributed. This, by itself, is not sufficient to support the subgrouping of the three Milne Bay languages with the Central District languages, but it is at least suggestive. Their treatment of $* 1$ and $* u$, as we have seen, also suggests that Molima and Dobuan fall into a subgroup with the Central District languages.

We have also seen, however, that there is clear evidence for a closed Central District grouping, in that innovations (1), (5b) and (6), and possibly (2), (3) and (9) are absent from the three Milne Bay languages examined.

### 4.5 Internal Relationships of the Central District Group

Each of the Central District languages shows certain sound changes over and above those which are common to the whole group. Whereas developments (1)-(9) treated in the last subsection are most satisfactorily interpreted as having taken place in the unified pre-Central District language, i.e. before the breakup of Proto-Central District (PCD), those developments which are confined to a subset of the Central District languages must be assumed to have occurred after this period of unity had ended.

On the evidence of sound changes alone, it is hard to make a really compelling case for discrete subgroups among the Central District languages, other than those which may be considered part of one dialect chain. However, fairly forceful arguments can be adduced for any early division into three partly discrete units. The eastern languages: Sinagoro, Hula, Keapara and Aroma, all exhibit very similar phonological histories. The same can be said of the western languages: Mekeo, Doura, Gabadi, Kuni and Lala, and, to a lesser extent, Roro. Motu seems to
have occupied an intermediate position between these two groups (as it still does), but to have been more closely linked with the western group. There is a small amount of evidence for regarding Magori as an early offshoot of the eastern division.

Some dialect diversity in the stage that can be called ProtoCentral District is also indicated by the distribution of reflexes.

The following paragraphs will deal with those phonological developments of potential subgrouping value.

### 4.51 Evidence for a Western Subgroup

PCD *t was almost certainly a voiceless apical stop [t]. This is so because (l) POC *t evidently had this value, [t] being by far the commonest reflex in Oceanic languages, (2) *t is reflected as [t] in Magori, Hula, Motu and Sinagoro in some or all environments, while the Roro dialect of Roro also shows [t] for *t before non-high vowels.

It is thus a probable innovation common to Doura, Gabadi, Kuni and Lala that they each reflect $k t$ as [k] before vowels other than i. East Mekeo ' (glottal stop) varying with zero for *t also derives from *t via an intermediate [k]. This is shown by the fact that West Mekeo and Kovio dialects show $k$ for $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{t}}$ in a fairly high proportion of forms, e.g. W. MEK ake, E. MEK a'e 'Ziver' < POC *qate, W. MEK ika 'we incl.' < *kita, W. MEK aka, E. MEK a'a 'Zaugh' < *kata. The remote geographic position of West Mekeo and Kovio makes it unlikely that they have borrowed $k$ in recent times. Rather, it is simplest to assume that all Mekeo dialects had [k] < *t at one stage, with [k] becoming [?] in East Mekeo. Subsequent borrowing between dialects had led to numerous irregularities, so that East Mekeo occasionally exhibits $k$ for expected glottal stop, while the other Mekeo dialects quite often show glottal stop or zero for expected $k$.

The sole western language which has not participated in this change is Roro. Waima Roro reflects $\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{t}}$ as h in all positions. The Roro dialect reflects *t as [t] before non-high vowels, and as [ts] before high vowels i, u.

As the change of an apical to a dorsal stop is a fairly uncommon one, it provides evidence that all the western languages except Roro underwent a period of common development after their separation from the remaining Central District languages.

PCD *g was probably a velar stop. Since PCD evidently had [b] for POC *mp and [d] for *nt, contrasting with PCD *p and *t, which were probably voiceless, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that *g < POC nk was voiced. There is some evidence (see Residual Problems section, above) that PCD had filled in the gap left by loss of POC *k by developing a new *k, but this question needs further study.
*g appears to have been regularly lost in Mekeo, Doura, Gabadi and Kuni, and sometimes lost in Roro and Lala. Roro and Lala have glottal stop for *g intervocalically in some words. Outright loss of [g] or [k] would be unusual, and it is reasonable to conclude that Roro and Lala partly preserve an intermediate stage in which *g became [?], before its eventual loss in most western languages.

PCD *D was probably a voiced apical stop [d] or flap [r]. External and internal evidence slightly favours [ry. The languages which are probably immediately related to the Central District group share with the latter the merger of $P O C * s$ and $* n s$, but typically have [s] as the outcome. The sequence $s>z>y$ is perhaps a more likely unconditioned change than $s>z>d$ in open syllable languages. There is also evidence for a separate PCD *d [d] reflecting POC *nt: *d and *D fall together in most Central District languages but not in all.

All the western languages, together with Motu, exhibit a stop reflex of $P C D * D$, whereas the eastern languages (other than Magori) reflect *D as r. Magori has k. Specifically, the western reflexes are Gabadi, Kuni, Lala d, Doura, Roro t, Mekeo k. Motu has d, strongly suggesting [d] as the earlier form in the western protolanguage or dialect area, with devoicing in Doura and Mekeo yielding $t$ and devoicing and shift to velar articulation in Mekeo yielding $k$. Mekeo also shows the same shift in its treatment of PCD *t (see earlier discussion) and $\pi_{n},{ }^{d}$, *nd and *R. Magori $k$ has no such parallel shift within its system.

The western languages show a probable innovation in their treatment of PCD *k. We reconstructed $* k$ on the basis of Motu, Sinagoro and Hula $k$ corresponding to zero in all western languages in about 10 cognate sets. Two questions which cannot be answered at present are whether PCD *k was distinct from PCD *g, and whether orthographic zero represents glottal stop in some western languages.

PCD *kw was also reconstructed on the basis of Motu, Sinagoro and Hula kw corresponding to zero in all western languages except Roro (where the reflex is zero in one item, ' in one item). The case for a distinct phoneme $* k w$ is strengthened by external cognates showing corresponding kw. What is not clear is whether *kw > $\ggg 1$ in the western languages is an independent development from *g > $\rangle>\emptyset$ and *k $>\varnothing$, or whether all three $P C D$ velars merged as *k in the first place. In any event, the western languages consistently show zero, or in Roro and Gabadi, zero or glottal stop, as their reflex of ${ }^{*} g$, *k and *kw, whereas these are distinguished in Motu, Sinagoro and Hula. Magori appears to reflect $\mathrm{*}_{\mathrm{g}}$ as g but we have no data concerning *k and *kw. Data for Keapara and Aroma are in unreliable orthographies, but suggest that these dialects kept $\mathrm{*}_{\mathrm{g}}$, *k and *kw apart until recently, and possibly still do. $\mathrm{*g}_{\mathrm{g}}$ is sometimes reflected as k in both Keapara and Aroma, sometimes as glottal stop (Keapara) and 9 (Aroma). *kw is reflected as $w$ in Keapara; Aroma data are lacking. * $k$ is sometimes reflected as glottal stop in Keapara, otherwise as orthographic zero in both Keapara and Aroma.

To summarize the phonological evidence for a western subgroup, we have found that these languages show similarities in their treatment of PCD $g$, *k and $* k w$, and, with the exception of Roro, in their treatment of *t. They also share with Motu and Magori the reflection of *D by a stop.

### 4.52 Evidence for an Eastern Subgroup

Evidence for an eastern subgroup is about equal in quantity and quality with that supporting a western division, i.e. enough to be strongly suggestive but less than conclusive. The eastern languages show loss of ${ }^{*} \eta$ in all positions, and loss of ${ }^{* y}$ in all positions. They appear to lose *l in all positions.

They also show frequent, but on present evidence, not predictable, accretion of $a$ voiced velar fricative word-initially and intervocalically. The center of this development is probably in the Sinagoro region. Dutton's (n.d. ${ }^{l}$ ) survey shows certain Sinagoro communalects as showing $\gamma$-accretion is a very high proportion of forms, while it is less frequent in other Sinagoro communalects, and probably less frequent still in Hula, Keapara and Aroma. $\gamma$-accretion may thus have begun as a regular development in one dialect, but in other eastern dialects
spread through only part of the lexicon.
This development has not spread beyond the eastern group, except for a very small number of Motu forms. In the eastern languages it is present in hundreds of lexical items; numerous examples can be found in the materials illustrating reflexes of POC consonants.

The eastern languages also agree in their treatment of PCD *g, *k and *kw, *D (see above)and *p (reflected as v, probably a voiced labiodental fricative, in all four eastern witnesses). These agreements may be due to common retentions from PCD rather than to innovation, but are at least consistent with the hypothesis of an eastern subgroup. Lower-level Groups

Certain evidence for lower-level groupings exist. In most cases, however, only a single common development is involved, and in some cases a different grouping. Motu and Doura both reflect PCD *p as [h]. While the exact phonetic value of ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{p}$ is uncertain, it was almost certainly a labial obstruent and not [h]. However, to posit a MotuDoura subgroup is to run counter to other evidence, outlined above, that Doura belongs to a western group which excludes Motu. Since Motu and Doura are geographically contiguous languages, and the Doura speech community is very small and bilingual in Motu, Doura [h] may be due to Motu influence.

As already noted, the failure of Roro to participate in the *t > $k$ development constitutes evidence for excluding that language from a subgroup containing all other western languages.

Keapara and Aroma agree in reflecting $P C D * t$ as zero or glottal stop. Sinagoro has $s$ for ${ }^{t} t$ before front vowels, $t$ elsewhere. Hula has $t$ varying unpredictably with zero, as a result of dialect borrowing.

Lala and Mekeo merge $P C D *_{n}$ and $\pi_{n}$. In Lala the reflex is consistently $n$. In Mekeo it is usually ng but sometimes $r_{\text {( }}$ (the variation has nothing to do with whether the proto-phoneme was $\pi_{n}$ or $*_{n}$ ).

The remaining Central District languages show unconditioned loss of *o. This fact is one bit of evidence for dialect variation in PCD. Unconditioned loss of a nasal consonant is a fairly rare sound change, and it is likely that it occurred only once in the history of the Central District languages. It is unlikely, for instance, that *o disappeared in Motu, in a Proto-Eastern Central District language, and in a Proto-Western Central District language, after these three had become discrete languages. On the other hand, it is also unlikely that those languages which show loss of ${ }^{*}{ }_{0}$ form a subgroup apart from those which do not. That is, it is unlikely that Motu, Sinagoro, the

Hula-Aroma dialects and Magori fall into a subgroup along with Roro, Gabadi and Kuni, exclusive of Mekeo and Lala. Such a subgrouping conflicts with a considerable body of evidence which indicates that Mekeo and Lala underwent a period of common development with the other western languages after their separation from the languages to the east.

It is simpler to suppose that ${ }^{*}$ g was lost in a dialect of PCD, before the east-west division had crystallized. Loss of ${ }^{*} \eta$, on this reasoning, would have defined an incipient split in the proto-language, but later realignments produced different dialect groupings, leading eventually to a definitive split into a western language, and eastern language, and pre-Motu.

The coalescence of $\mathrm{m}_{\mathrm{n}}$ and $\mathrm{*n}_{\mathrm{n}}$ in Mekeo and Lala indicates that these two languages were at one stage some kind of a unity. As there appears to be no other evidence for a Mekeo-Lala subgroup exclusive of all other western languages, it seems likely that the unity was as contiguous dialects in the Proto-Western stage, rather than as a clearly defined subgroup.

The position of Magori is not clear, from what is presently known of its historical phonology. It can certainly be excluded from the Western Central District grouping which we have tentatively posited. It is not clear that it can be excluded from the Eastern subgroup; on the other hand, the available phonological evidence does not enable us to assign it to the Eastern grouping.

### 5.0 LEXICAL EVIDENCE

This section will deal, very briefly, with some quantitative (lexicostatistical) and qualitative (uniquely shared elements) lexical evidence for subgrouping the Central District languages.

### 5.1 Some Lexicostatistical Evidence

A preliminary lexicostatistical comparison of nine Central District languages was carried out at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1969. With the exception of Lala and Magori, all the languages treated in the present study were compared.

As the comparisons were made at an early stage in the comparative study, it is likely that some errors were made. Shortage of time has, however, prevented a restudy, and the figures cited below are from the 1969 study. Three sets of computations were made, all based on a modified version of the Swadesh 215 meaning list. One computation counted
only comparisons that could be scored as definitely cognate or definitely non-cognate. Cognation was determined by our knowledge, then less complete than now, of the regular sound correspondences: two forms with similar meanings were scored as cognate if they exhibited regular sound correspondences or exhibited irregularities explainable as resulting from natural internal developments, e.g. assimilation, metathesis, analogy, etc. The elimination of doubtful cognates, and other factors, reduced the total number of valid comparisons to about 200, or slightly fewer, for each language pair. The results are shown in Table 4.

A second computation counted as cognate forms which showed one or two unexplained irregularities, i.e. it included possible as well as definite cognates. A third computation averaged the first two. As the second and third computations were based on relatively lax procedures for determining cognation the results are probably less reliable than those of the first and will not be cited here.

|  | ARM |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| KEA | 74 | KEA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| HUL | 65 | 78 | HUL |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SIN | - | 49 | 50 | SIN |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| MTU | - | - | 47 | 45 | MTU |  |  |  |  |  |
| DOU | - | - | 33 | 32 | 52 | DOU |  |  |  |  |
| GAB | - | - | 31 | 32 | 37 | 46 | GAB |  |  |  |
| ROR | - | - | 25 | 23 | 39 | 34 | 36 | ROR |  |  |
| KUN | - | 30 | 28 | 25 | 41 | 42 | 32 | 40 | KUN |  |
| MEK | - | - | 22 | 21 | 30 | 26 | 29 | 32 | 32 |  |

## TABLE 4: DEFINITE COGNATE PERCENTAGES SHARED BY SOME PAIRS OF CENTRAL DISTRICT LANGUAGES

No one overall classification is strongly favoured by the data. Certain subgroupings among the languages are however rather clearly indicated.

Hula, Keapara and Aroma share upwards of 65 percent with each other, but no more than 50 percent with the next closest language.

The Hula-Keapara-Aroma figures show a chain-like relation which conforms to their geographic relations (see map). Keapara is the linking dialect:


Dutton's (n.d.) survey of Rigo Subdistrict communalects confirms that Hula and Aroma are the extremes of a dialect continuum. (His lexicostatistical figures, based on a word list of different size and composition from ours, are not directly comparable with those given here.)

Lexicostatistically the Hula-Aroma continuum is closest to Sinagoro (represented here by the Saroa dialect). The latter shares 50 percent with Hula and 49 percent with Keapara (no figure for Aroma). Thus we may speak of a lexicostatistically definable Eastern Central District subgroup.

Motu has some claims to membership in the Eastern group, as its percentages with Sinagoro (45) and Hula (47) are only a few percent below the Hula-Sinagoro figure. However, Motu shares similar percentages with many non-Eastern languages, while Sinagoro and Hula exhibit much lower percentages with all non-Eastern languages. It would appear that Motu's percentages with certain other languages are inflated; we return to this question below.

The figures for the languages west of Motu are difficult to interpret. Some idea of the contradictions present in the evidence can be seen if we try to assign either Motu or Doura to a position on a lexicostistical family tree. Motu shares its highest percentage with Doura (52). This is also Doura's highest percentage. In each case the next highest percentage is some 5 to 6 points lower, so that we must contemplate assigning Doura and Motu to a closed subgroup. Such a grouping, however, conflicts with many other facts. For example, Motu shares 47 percent with Hula, while the Doura-Hula agreement is only 33. On the other hand, Doura and Gabadi share 46 percent, while the Motu-Gabadi figure is only 33 percent.

A glance at the map will suggest an obvious explanation. Motu is geographically much closer to Hula than Doura is, while Doura and Gabadi are neighbours. Perhaps Motu scores high with its eastern neighbours because of borrowing, but scores low with all western
languages other than Doura, while Doura because of its geographic position scores high with its western neighbours? This turns out not to be the case, as Motu shares higher percentages than Doura with two western languages: Motu-Roro 39 against Doura-Roro 35, Motu-Mekeo 30 against Doura-Mekeo 26 (no figures were computed for Lala, while percentages with Kuni are about the same for both Motu and Doura). No subgrouping of any two or more western languages can be made which excludes Motu, but Motu is also closer to the Eastern languages than it is to any western languages other than Doura! The problem remains.

There appears, at least on first inspection of the figures, to be a case for separating Mekeo from all other languages in the sample. Mekeo scores no higher than 32 percent with any other language. Even if it is assigned to a subgroup with other western languages, on the strength of its higher agreement with western than with eastern languages, it is consistently the low scorer in intra-western comparisons, suggesting that there is a core western group which excludes Mekeo. However there are no clearly defined groupings within this putative core western group, while the difficulty of positing such a group while excluding Motu have already been touched on.

In the absence of a strong lexicostatistical case for subgroup1ng any two or more of the non-Eastern languages, we must ask whether Proto-Central District could have shattered into some six coordinate divisions: Pre-Eastern, Pre-Motu, Pre-Doura, Pre-Gabadi, Pre-Kuni, Pre-Mekeo and Pre-Roro.

Such a hypothesis is no more satisfactory than any of the subgroupings among non-Eastern languages proposed earlier. Why does Mekeo consistently score lower than any other language? Why does Motu score consistently high? Why does Gabadi share a much higher percentage with Doura than with any other language? Why are Kuni's figures much higher with Doura, Motu and Roro than with the rest? And so on; there are many problems internal to the lexicostatistical classification, without even attempting to square this with classifications based on other criteria.

The contradictions make sense only if we assume that certain factors have caused unevenness in the rates of divergence. We have a certain amount of evidence indicating (a) that some languages have replaced their basic vocabulary at a faster rate than others, and (b) that undetected borrowing has inflated some percentages.

It is quite clear, for example, that Mekeo has a lower retention rate than Motu, Kuni and Gabadi (and probably all other Central District languages with the possible exception of Magori). This is shown by a comparison of percentages of cognates shared with non-Central District languages. Mekeo and Suau share 14 percent definite cognates on a 200 word list, compared with Motu-Suau 20, Kuni-Suau 20 and Gabadi-Suau 21 percent. Mekeo's percentage with Molima (another language with a low retention rate) is 12 against Motu-Molima 16.

If Mekeo's percentages with non-Central District languages are deflated by 4 to 6 percent, it is likely that its agreements with more closely related languages, $1 . e$. with other members of the Central District group, are deflated by at least as much and probably by a larger percentage.

If we take non-lexicostatistical evidence for subgrouping into account, it is possible to estimate fairly exactly how much the deflation with other Central District languages is. According to phonological arguments, Mekeo belongs to a Western subgroup. The other Western languages share from 25 to 33 percent with Hula, and 23 to 32 percent with Sinagoro. Mekeo's figures of 22 percent with Hula and 21 percent with Sinagoro are about 7 percent below the average for the rest of the Western group. The Western languages, other than Mekeo and Doura (the latter being a special case for reasons discussed below), share from 37 to 41 percent with Motu. Mekeo-Motu 30 percent, falls 9 percent below the average. Thus it appears that Mekeo's percentages with other Central District languages are deflated by some 7 to 9 percent.

Now, whereas Mekeo's percentages are consistently on the low side, Motu's are consistently high. What explanation can be given for this? It seems that inflation of Motu's percentages is not attributable to a high retention rate in the basic vocabulary list. Comparisons with non-Central District languages show that Motu's retention rate is no higher than that of Kuni, Gabadi and Hula (except for Mekeo, external comparisons for other Central District languages were not made).

The answer must be that Motu's percentages are inflated as a result of undetected borrowing. That large scale borrowing should have taken place between Motu and other languages in the Central District region is not surprising. Not only does the large Motu-speaking community occupy middle ground between the eastern and western languages, but the Motu are renowned traders and sailors. There is some archaeological evidence that this has been their way of life for many
centuries. And there is linguistic evidence independent of lexicostatistical percentages that Motu has long occupied a geographically intermediate position between the eastern and western languages (see discussion of phonological features above, and of lexical innovations below).

It is possible to roughly estimate the degree of inflation in the comparisons involving Motu. We noted that on first inspection of the lexicostatistical evidence it was not possible to make a good case for assigning Motu to any subgroup; this was also the case with the phonological evidence, which defines Eastern and Western groups, with Motu standing apart from both.

The languages of the putative Western subgroup (other than Mekeo, whose percentages are considerably deflated) average 29.5 percent cognation with Hula, and 28.2 percent with Sinagoro. The ranges, given earlier, are fairly small. Motu shares 47 percent with Hula and 45 percent with Sinagoro, i.e. about 17 percent more than the average for the Western group.

With the Western languages (excluding Mekeo) Motu averages 42.2 percent (range 37 to 52) or 13-14 percent more than Sinagoro or Hula share with the same languages.

Thus it appears that Motu's percentages are generally inflated by about 13-17 percent. In a few cases the inflation may be lower (e.g. with Mekeo, where it is offset by Mekeo's low retention rate) or higher (e.g. with Doura, where the small Doura commurify has probably borrowed on a relatively large scale from the contiguous, and much larger Motu language community).

There are some indications that the interchange of basic vocabulary between Motu and its neighbours began soon after the original differentiation into subgroups of the proto-language, and that recent borrowing in the basic vocabulary has been slight (with the possible exception of borrowing by Doura). If large scale borrowing had occurred in recent times many of the loans would be transparent by virtue of showing irregular sound correspondences. For example, it is possible to show that Motu tage 'excrement' is a borrowing from an Eastern language because the directly inherited Motu form should be tae, $\gamma$-accretion is a feature of the Eastern languages but not of Motu or any Western language (except in isolated cases like tage). Although a few transparent loans probably escaped notice in the 1969 lexicostatistical study, the number could not have been too large because we
were then familiar with most of the regular sound shifts, and eliminated a number of comparisons which seemed to be borrowings. Some loans, of course, may remain undetected because no phonological irregularities are involved - the similarity in the sound systems of Central District languages is such that a good proportion of loans might fall into the undetectable category.

There is another explanation for the fact that the 13-17 percent inflation in Motu's percentages is not accountable for by transparent borrowings either by or from Motu. At an earlier stage in the history of the Central District languages the sound systems of these languages were even more similar than now. Because of this, borrowings which took place in this early period would have been largely undetectable.

If Pre-Motu occupied a geographic position intermediate between the Pre-Eastern and Pre-Western dialects, as seems likely on Independent evidence, we can account for the inflation in Motu's percentages by the Wave Theory, 1.e. by the standard principles of lexical diffusion along a dialect chain. It is well established that lexical diffusion in basic vocabulary occurs much more freely between dialects of one language, 1.e. mutually intelligible speech traditions, than between discrete languages. It is also well established that the speech forms of central dialects in a chain of dialects spread outwards to the immediate neighbours, and, less often, to more distant dialects, while the central dialects by the same token receive speech forms from their immediate neighbours, and, less often, from more distant dialects.

The chain of intergrading communalects which is formed by this process of lexical diffusion is exemplified by the Hula-Aroma chain, and the Sinagoro chain, as they are now. Such a dialect chain may well have existed in the period before the Western dialects, Motu, and the Eastern dialects became sharply distinguished. Indeed, given the absence of natural geographic barriers in the coastal strip occupied by the main body of Central District languages, it would be surprising if some sort of dialect continuum had not developed. We do not know what caused the eventual breakup into discrete subgroups, and, later, into the various modern languages. Doubtless this had to do with population movements of both Austronesian-speaking and Papuan-speaking communities, including movements by the former up the major rivers where they would be in less frequent contact with coastal Central District communalects, and in more frequent contact with certain Papuan languages.

To sum up: (l) the lexicostatistical evidence defines only one clearcut subgroup - the Eastern group comprising Sinagoro and the Hula-Keapara-Aroma chain. The indications are that this group persisted as a unity for a considerable time after its differentiation from other Central District languages. (2) The lexicostatistical percentages are at least consistent with the hypothesis of an early Proto-Central District dialect chain with Pre-Motu occupying a middle position between Pre-Eastern and Pre-Western dialects; in fact this interpretation is possibly the only one that makes reasonable sense out of the matrix of percentages. (3) Unlike the Eastern group, however, the Western dialects did not remain a cohesive unit for very long after their separation from the languages to the east. There is clear evidence that Mekeo has changed its basic vocabulary at a relatively fast rate, but even if we discount Mekeo the remaining Western languages share only $32-46$ percent of cognates as against 49 percent and above shared by the Eastern languages. The Eastern and Western groups converge at around 23-33 percent cognation.

## Glottochronological Time Depths

If we take the Eastern-Western percentages as the most reliable ones for obtaining a glottochronological dating for the dissolution of the Central District group, we obtain a range of dates from 34 centuries before the present ( 23 percent cognation) to 25 centuries BP (33 percent), with the average Eastern-Western percentage (excluding Mekeo) yielding a time depth of around 29 centuries BP.

The differentiation of the Central District group from Suau is indicated to have occurred around 37 centuries ago (reckoned on 20 percent cognation, which approximates the figures for Motu-Suau, KuniSuau and Gabadi-Suau).

It should be mentioned that the reliability of glottochronological dating is not great, and that its performance at time depths greater than 2,000 years has not been well tested against historical evidence.

### 5.2 Qualitative Lexical and Morphological Evidence

### 5.21 General

Qualitative evidence for a subgrouping consists of features shared by members of the putative subgroup apart from non-members, which are possibly the result of innovations of the interstage immediately ancestral to the subgroup. Exclusively shared features which
are known to be retentions from some still earlier stage, ancestral to a larger group of languages, are usually discounted.

Lexical and morphological innovations may be of several kinds. A change may occur in the meaning of a lexical item, (using this term to include grammatical, 1.e. morphological, markers), e.g. English deer from OE deor 'animal', English nice in its various senses replacing ME nice 'stupid, wanton'. A change may consist of the introduction of a new lexical item, formed e.g. by blending (chortle, glimmer, fantabulous), compounding (home run, atomic bomb) borrowing (piano, mocassin) and, very rarely, by creation of a completely new form. Finally, there is what is often called 'irregular' or 'idiosyncratic' change in the pronunciation of a lexical item; that is, a sound change which is sporadic, affecting the form of some but not all items belonging to a given phonological class. Examples are English bird and horse from OE brid and hros by metathesis, and a nickname from ME an ekename, by recutting.

It is the last of these types - irregular phonological change which is generally the easiest to identify with certainty, and which consequently plays a critical role in subgrouping.

Nothing like an exhaustive search for lexical innovations has been made in the present study. The present quality of lexical coverage for the Austronesian languages is such that the returns for comparing entire lexicons would be small in comparison to the effort. However, a search confined to basic vocabulary items and morphemes with grammatical function - for which coverage is fairly good - has proved quite profitable. ${ }^{2}$ While full treatment of this evidence would double the length of this paper, and will be given elsewhere, some results are summarized below, together with findings reported previously, by Capell (1943) and others.
5.22

Oceanic
Several lexical items attributed to Proto-Oceanic (POC) show irregular developments in comparison with the PAN etyma: POC *moli 'citrus' shows metathesis in comparison with PAN *limaw 'Zemon'; POC *au '1st person singular' shows unanticipated loss of $* k$ in comparison with PAN *aku; POC *mai 'come' shows irregular loss of *R in comparison with PAN *maRi; POC *suRi 'bone' shows unexpected initial *s in comparison with PAN *[d,D]uRi 'thorn'; POC *pati 'four' shows unanticipated final *i in comparison with PAN *e(m)pat 'four'.

Central District languages lack known cognates of PAN *limaw. In each of the other cases, they reflect the irregular phonological change characteristic of Oceanic languages.

POC had at least a three-way distinction in possessive constructions, between what has been called zero-, na- and ka- marking, which was lacking in PAN. ${ }^{3}$ Whereas PAN uniformly suffixed the possessive pronoun to the head to indicate possessive relation, POC used such constructions only when the possessive relation was 'inalienable', 1.e. where the head noun denoted a part of a whole or a kinsman. Alienable relation was marked by preposing the possessive pronoun, and prefixing to it a special possessive marker. When the possessor was in a relation of dominance to the referent of the head noun, e.g. if the latter represented disposable property or a deliberate act of the possessor, the marker was *na-. When the possessor was not dominant, e.g. if the head noun denoted an inherent bodily condition, or an action performed on, or directed at him, by someone else, the marker was *ka-. Thus, direct suffixation of pronoun ('zero-marking'), na-marking and ka-marking were associated, respectively, with inalienable, dominant and subordinate possessive relations. ka-marking also had the seemingly independent function of denoting edible relation, i.e. possession of things for eating, or from which food was obtained.

The Central District languages retain the three-way contrast between the marking of inalienable, dominant and edible possession, e.g. MTU ima-gu'my hand', natu-dia 'their children', show suffixing of possessive pronoun, while e-gu boroma 'my pig' (as disposable property) and a-gu boroma 'my pig' (as food) show preposing with addition of possessive marker. One irregular formal development has occurred: POC *na-, dominant possession marker, has been replaced by e- in all Central District languages. A second change is that subordinate relation is now marked by suffixing the pronoun, rather than by expected a- (which would be the regular reflex of POC *ka-); i.e. this grammatical category has fallen together with inalienable relation, e.g. in Motu we find e-gu sivarai 'my story' (which I tell or make up) but sivarai-gu 'my story' (told about me) instead of *a-gu sivarai.

Suau and Dobuan agree with the Central District languages in exhibiting replacement of *na- by a new form, which is e- in Suau, iiin Dobuan. The Suau marker corresponds regularly with Central District e-. Suau also agrees in merging subordinate and inalienable relation,
using zero-marking for both, as e.g. (yau) e-gu gai 'my wound (inflicted on $m e)^{\prime}$. Dobuan, however, retains the widespread Oceanic use of kamarking for subordinate possession, e.g. 'a-na barau 'his magic lof which he is the target or victim)', 'a-na bwebweso 'his death wound (inflicted on him)'. Thus, these developments provide an argument for assigning Suau to a subgroup with the Central District languages apart from Dobuan.

POC had two transitive suffixes to verbs: *-i, and *-aki ~ -akini. *-i usually marked a close relation between verb and its direct object, and *-aki a remote relation (instrument, cause, concomitant, etc.). While both suffixes have probable cognates outside of Oceanic, *-aki ~ -akini shows an irregular development in the second vowel in comparison with Javanese -aken ~-ake ~-ke, Toba Batak -hon ~ -kon, Wolio -aka, all of which can be assigned to an etymon *aken. The regular POC correspondence would be *-ako(n). The Central District languages show the characteristic Oceanic development, as MTU io magani na gwada-lai-a spear wallaby I pierce-trans.-it
'I speared the wallaby/I pierced the wallaby with a spear'
This type of evidence thus strongly supports the inclusion of the Central District languages in Oceanic.

### 5.23 New Guinea Oceanic

The notion that most of the languages of mainland New Guinea east of Humboldt Bay belong to a subgroup of Oceanic has been developed most explicitly by Wilhem Milke (1958, 1965). Capell (1969, 197l) has also made a subgrouping proposal similar to, though not identical with that of Milke.

Milke (1965:343-6) pointed to some 20 lexical isoglosses which appear to link languages as far apart as Gedaged, in the Madang District, and the Central District languages, marking them off from the languages of Island Melanesia excepting Southwest New Britain. Milke also noted that members of his putative New Guinea grouping all appear to merge POC *d and *R, although he recognized that this merger is by no means confined to the putative subgroup.

He also mentioned two grammatical agreements as possibly characteristic of New Guinea Oceanic: (l) the 'realis-irrealis' opposition in verb inflection, (2) classificatory prefixes to verbs. The diagnostic value of these features is at present quite uncertain. But two features
which may well be significant have been noted by Capell (1969:23): (3) New Guinea Oceanic languages show a preferred SOV word order, while most Oceanic languages prefer SVO (and SVO but not SOV can be reconstructed for POC) ${ }^{4}$, (4) New Guinea Oceanic languages show postpositions marking case relationships which in other Oceanic languages are marked by prepositions. Specifically, place or positional relation was marked in POC by a preposition * (q) i (which is cognate with prepositions in external witnesses), but is marked in Central District and many other New Guinea languages by a postposition of the type MTU -ai, Suau yai, Kove yai, as MTU ruma lalo-n-ai 'under the house' ruma-n-ai 'at the house'.

Chowning (in press) has questioned Milke's (1965:332, 342) grounds for including the Kimbe group (Nakanai and others) of West New Britain in a subgroup with New Guinea mainland languages. She also express some scepticism about the unity of the mainlard languages. Milke's New Guinea grouping is certainly not yet on a firm footing. Insofar as the evidence for it stands up, however, the Central District languages must be assigned to the group.

### 5.24 Isoglosses Linking Central District and Milne Bay Languages

Several lexical-grammatical isoglosses link the Central District languages with certain languages in the Milne Bay District. Two of these, connecting the Central District group with Suau, were mentioned In the discussion of possession-marking in 5.22. Others include:
(1) POC *kami '1st pers. excl.., focal' and *-mami '1st pers.excl., possessive' are replaced by PCD *ai, and *-mai, respectively showing irregular loss of the medial $\pi-m-$. The same loss is seen in many Milne Bay speech traditions: *kami > Suau, Sagarai, Gau, Gadaisu, Bohutu 'ai, Sariba kai, and *-mami-> Suau, Tubetube, Nuakata, Bunama, Anuki -mai. Capell (1943: 206) notes that irregular loss of $*-m$ - has occurred in a number of widely dispersed languages in Indonesia, and indeed it occurs in a few other far flung Oceanic languages. While a case can be made for reconstructing PAN, POC *kai and *-mai alongside the full forms, I prefer to regard loss of *m here as an innovation which has happened several times in the history of the Austronesian languages. 5
(2) As the preverbal subject pronoun marking lst person exclusive plural, the type Tubetube ka occurs very widely in the Milne Bay District (e.g. Dobu 'a, Wedau a, Anuki ka, Panayati ka).

Regularly corresponding forms are also found in MTU, KEA, MEK, LAL a, SIN g/a. While these forms are no doubt cognate with POC kkami, they show unexpected loss of the second syllable.
(3) POC *paqoRu 'new' is replaced by PCD *pariu > HUL valiu, SIN, KEA vali/g/u, ARM vali/v/u. If cognate, the Central District forms exhibit certain irregular developments: loss of $*$ o, insertion of $i$ before -u. The same irregularities appear in the Suau group: Gadaisu, Bohutu fali-faliu, Suau hali-haliu, although most Milne Bay languages show only the first: Molima vauvau, Dobuan hauhau, Panayati vavalu, Tubetube valuvalu 'new'.
(4) DOU, HUL, KEA, ARM nama, MTU, ROR namo, LAL namai, 'good' has cognates in Tubetube namwa, Logea, Sariba namwanamwa.
(5) MTU, SIN guba, KUN, MEK ufa, HUL, KEA, ROR kupa 'sky' corresponds to Are, Rabaraba guba.
(6) MTU boga, LAL bo'a, KUN foa, DOU boa has cognates in Suau, Dau1, Sariba, Gadaisu, Wagawaga, Gauba boga.
(7) PCD *dubaduba 'black' (SIN dubaduba, HUL, KEA, ARM ruparupa, GAB gubaguba) corresponds to Suau, Sariba, Logea, Tubetube, Gadaisu, Oyaoya dubaduba, Wagawaga, Guhulu, Daui duba 'black'.
(8) PCD *kwapi 'skin' (MTU, SIN, HUL kopi, KEA opi) has apparent cognates in many Southeast Papuan languages, e.g. Suau 'opi, Wedau, Awana1, Yaleba opi, Dawawa kopi, Tubetube kwapi, Dobora kwapi/ra.
(9) PCD *Diba 'to know' (MTU diba, SIN riba, HUL, KEA, ARM ripa) has apparent cognates with idents.cal meaning in several of the Suau group of dialects: Daui, Gadaisu, Buhutu siba 'to know'. Corresponding forms occur more widely in Southeast Papua in the meaning 'to say, speak, converse', e.g. Panayati livalivana 'converse', Wedau riwa 'to say, speak'.
(10) PCD *bada 'big' (MTU, DOU, bada, SIN bara) corresponds to forms widespread in the Massim: Daui, Gadaisu badabada 'big', Wedau bada 'big man', Sariba, Tubetube tau-bara 'chief' (cf. MTU tau-bada 'chief'). (ll) PCD *deba 'head' (SIN deba, HUL, KEA, ARM repa) corresponds to Gululu, Keldoge, Dobuan 'head', Wedau deba, Kiriwina daba, Suau deba 'forehead'.
(12) PCP *kwara 'head' (MTU kwara, ROR, DOU ara, KUN, LAL ola) corresponds to Wedau kola and possibly Panayati koa (Capell 1943: 179 notes a possible connection with forms for 'mountain': Wedau ola, Kiriwina koya, Doba 'oya, etc.)
(13) A non-basic item which deserves mention is PCD *Darima 'outrigger' > MTU darima, KEA ralima. Capell (1943:25) assigns these forms to PAN *SaRaman 'outrigger', although the expected PCD reflex would be *Darama. The same idiosyncratic development in the second vowel is found in Suau salima, in the Normanby Island languages: Bunama, Sawabwara (salima) and 'Urada (halima), in Boh1lai halima, Awalama and Taupota harima, but is lacking in Dobuan, Bwaidogan, Wedau, Gayavi, Mukawa and Ubir.
(14) See under (3) in next subsection.

### 5.25 Isoglosses Marking off the Central District Group

The Central District languages share a number of basic vocabulary items, or irregular developments in the same, exclusively of other languages for which we have data.
(1) PCD *tinapu ' $100^{\prime}$ is reconstructed from DOU, MTU sinahu, KEA, ARM inavu-na, HUL tinau-na, ROR hinabu.
(2) PCD *ati(ki) 'not' is reconstructed from LAL asi'i, KUN asi, HUL, KEA aiki-na, MTU lasi, MEK la'i. While there is a possible connection with Proto-Eastern Oceanic *tika(i) 'no' (Pawley 1972:56), such a comparison shows several irregularities in the sound correspondences.
(3) PCD *metau 'heavy' (MEK me'au, MTU, HUL, KEA metau, LAL, KUN mekau, ARM meau) probably derives from POC *(m)pita 'heavy', although the expected form would be *bita or *pita. Regular reflexes of *(m)pita are widespread in Southeast Papua, but a few languages resemble PCD in exhibiting unexpected accretion of $-u$ or -i, e.g. Yaleba witau, Awanal, Tavara, Yaneyane, Wedau vitai. (A Gadaisu list actually contains the form metau but error is suspected.) Replacement of the bilabial stop by a nasal, yielding $P C D$ *metau, is a common sporadic sound change in Oceanic languages. $i>e$ in unstressed syllables is also a fairly common sporadic change. If not cognate with *(m)pita, PCD *metau represents an exclusively shared lexical item.
(4)-(10) concern lexical items which appear to be uniquely shared by the Central District languages.
(4) PCD *tiapu 'hot' is reconstructed from DOU, MTU siahu, KUN, LAL siabu, HUL tiautiau, ARM iavuiavu, KEA iavu, GAB siau.
(5) $P C D$ *kalopa 'fire' is reconstructed from KUN aloba, KEA, LAL, ARM alova, HUL kaloa, DOU aroha, SIN karaba.
(6) POC *ñamu 'mosquito' appears as PCD *namo (MTU namo, SIN, HUL, KEA, ARM nemo), with unexpected lowering of the final vowel.
(7) $\quad P C D *[g, k] u n a n a$ 'old' is reconstructed from MTU gunana, DOU unana, HUL kunena, ARM kuinena, SIN guine.
(8) PCD *maDi 'to sing' is reconstructed from DOU mati, SIN, HUL, ARM mari, KEA marimari.
(9) PCD *Dori 'to push' is reconstructed from MTU dori, DOU, ROR tori, KUN doli, KEA, ARM roli, HUL roila, MEK koni-na. Gululu soli 'to pull' and Fijlan soli 'to give' may be cognate, although there is a meaning difference.
(10) PCD *pilaula 'to work' is reconstructed from KUN bilaula, MEK pinauga, HUL, KEA ina/g/ulu, ARM ula/v/unu, DOU fa-ura.
(1l) PCD *pitiu 'star' is reconstructed from MTU hisiu, ROR bihiu, DOU bisiu, LAL, GAB visiu, SIN visi/g/u, HUL vitiu, ARM viu, KEA g/ivu. These forms undoubtedly derive from PAN *bituqen 'star'. No unambiguous reconstruction for POC has been made, but many Oceanic witnesses attest a form *pituqu(n), or *pituqi(n). However, the irregular development found in the PCD form (where *pitiu results either from *pituqi(n) by metathesis, or from *pituqu(n) by dissimilation) is not known to appear elsewhere.

### 5.26 Isoglosses Defining an Eastern Central District Group

The existence of an Eastern Central District group, already indicated by phonological and lexicostatistical evidence, is confirmed by the very large number of isoglosses marking off Sinagoro, Hula, Keapara and Aroma from other Central District langauges (with the possible exception of Magori). Even the list from basic vocabulary alone is much too extensive to give here. Some examples of shared irregular phonological changes are: (1) PCD *taina 'ear' becomes SIN se/g/a, KEA ea, HUL te/g/a, ARM e/g/a, with assimilatory change *ai >e following loss of *口. (2) All Eastern witnesses reflect POC *ñamu 'mosquito' as nemo, compared with Motu namo. (3) POC *pani 'wings' is regularly reflected by Motu hani and by Western Central District languages, but becomes vane in all Eastern witnesses. (4) HUL, SIN rakava, KEA ra'ava, ARM rava 'bad' may be cognate with MTU
dika, ROR kia, DOU tia-na, which reflect POC *nsika 'bad', but if so, exhibit an unusual assimilation in the first vowel plus unexplained -va.

### 5.27 Isoglosses Defining a Western Central District Group

A fairly considerable number of isoglosses appear to link all the languages west of Motu, and so to support the phonological evidence for a Western Central District subgroup. Again, the list is too long for inclusion here. Some examples are: (l) KUN afadua, DOU abatoa, MEK avakua, West Mekeo apagua 'sibling of the opposite sex'. (2) DOU, LAL utu-a, KUN uku, GAB uku-na 'to cut with a knife'. (3) MEK aga, KUN ala, LAL alala, GAB ara-sa 'to bite'. (4) KUN ano-na, LAL ano, West Mekeo i-ago 'sharp'. (5) LAL dauai-dauai, KUN dauai, ROR tauai 'far'. dau-, tau- is no doubt cognate with MTU daudau, HUL rau-vagi, ARM ia-rau, KEA rau-vagiai, and ultimately from POC *nsau, PAN *zaSuq 'far', but these forms show unexplained final -ai (possibly from incorporation of the locative postposition -ai). (6) MEK ogogo, ROR ororo, KUN ololo, GAB ba/ro 'dry' may be cognate with MTU roro 'cracked, stretched', but no definite homosemantic cognates are known.

### 5.28 Isoglosses Linking Motu with Western Languages

Motu is linked to the Western subgroup by many isoglosses, e.g. (1) POC *pati, 'four' is regularly reflected in the Eastern languages and Magori, but reflexes in Motu and all Western languages show unexpected replacement of $*-t-b y-n-: ~ M T U ~ h a n i, ~ L A L, ~ G A B ~ v a n i, ~ M E K ~ p a n i, ~$ ROR, West Mekeo bani, DOU au-hani. (2) PCD *Diba 'right hand' is replaced by MTU, GAB idiba, DOU itiba, ROR itsipa, KUN idifa, with addition of a prefix $i^{-.}$This is probably the 'instrumental' prefix $i-$ which in these and other Oceanic languages forms 'instrumental nouns' from verbs. The verb in this case is PCD *Diba 'to know', which is reflected as a verb by members of all three major subgroups. The Eastern languages, which use the same simple base form for 'right hand' as for 'know', follow a pattern that is widespread in Oceanic; the *i-diba formation found in Motu and the Western languages is, however, not known to occur elsewhere. (3) MTU ise, KUN ide, LAL nike, ROR nihe, MEK nia, GAB nise 'tooth'. (4) MTU matamata, ROR mahamaha, DOU, GAB, LAL makamaka 'new'. (5) DOU, MTU veri, ROR beri, KUN weli 'to push'. (6) MTU gwauta, DOU ouka-ra, MEK oua-nga, GAB, LAL ouka
'ten'. (7) MTU badina, KUN fasina, DOU batina, ROR pokina (ROR $k$ for *t unexpected) 'because'. (8) MTU umui, KUN imui '2nd person pluraz'. These evidently derive from POC *kam(i)u (Pawley l972:66), first by metathesis of the last two vowels, then by an assimilation which raised and backed the first vowel to u. Kuni imui shows a subsequent dissimilation from *umui. The Eastern languages reflect *omi, suggesting that the PCD form may have been *omiu. (Cf. Suau omi, Sariba, Logea, Panayati omiu.)

5.29 Isoglosses Linking Motu and Eastern Languages<br>A number of lexical isoglosses connect Motu and the Eastern Central District languages, including the following: (1) MTU gari, HUL kali, SIN gari-vini 'to fear'. (2) MTU ha-bona, SIN bonana, KEA ponana 'to smeZZ (tr.)'. (3) MTU kamonal, KEA, ARM amona/g/i, HUL a/kamona/g/i 'to hear'. (4) HUL tau-limalima, MTU tau-nimanima, KEA, ARM au-ni-limalima 'person'. (5) HUL, KEA polapola, SIN borabora, MTU la-bora 'yeZZow'. (6) SIN, MTU bema 'if'.

### 6.0 CONCLUSION

It remains to summarize the linguistic findings of the study and to examine their culture historical implications.

### 6.1 Summary of Linguistic Findings

In section 4, 1t was observed that the Central District languages participate in all the regular sound changes diagnostic of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian. In section 5.22 it was found that they also share several lexical and grammatical innovations characteristic of the Oceanic group. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Central District languages share a period of common development with other secure members of the Oceanic group, 1.e. with the languages of Polynesia, Micronesia (excluding Palauan, Chamorro and possibly Yapese), and all the better known Austronesian languages of Melanesia.

On examining the stock of Proto-Oceanic morphemes which persist in present-day Central District languages, we found that nine regular sound changes are cominon to all the Central District speech traditions for which adequate data were available, and that the most important of these have also taken place in the remaining languages, Magori, which is not yet well documented. No external language is known to exhibit this particular combination of sound changes. The most economical
explanation for these facts is that the Central District languages form a closed subgroup of Oceanic. The qualitative lexical evidence was seen to support this conclusion: a number of apparent lexical innovations, common to all major branches of the Central District group, are not known to occur elsewhere. We did not carry out extensive lexicostatistical comparisons with outside languages; from the few comparisons made it is uncertain whether a Central District subgroup is lexicostatistically definable or not.

Part of the period of unified development undergone by the Central District languages after the breakup of Proto-Oceanic was probably shared with at least some of the Milne Bay District languages. All the better known languages of mainland New Guinea east of Wedau and its immediate relatives, share with the Central District languages the merger of $P O C * d$ and $* R$, and the merger of $* s$ and $* n s$, as well as the less significant merger of $*_{n}$ and $* n$. In some words but not others, Dobuan and Molima also show two further developments in cornmon with the Central District group: $i<\pi u$ after *ol, *ul, and loss of *l before *i, conditioned changes which occur regularly in PCD: Evidence was insufficient to establish whether these developments in Dobuan and Molima were regular, sporadic or due to borrowing. The fact that Suau lacks them perhaps argues against a historical connection between the Dobuan-Molima and the Central District developments, because other qualitative lexical evidence suggests that Suau is at least as closely related, and possibly closer than Dobuan and Molima, to the Central District group.

These three Milne Bay languages (and others) show at least two irregular phonological developments in grammatical morphemes which are also found in the Central District languages, and share with them several lexical items not known to occur outside of South-east Papua. Both the phonological and lexical evidence, then, provide some support for assigning the Central District languages to a subgroup with Suau, Dobuan and Molima, excluding all languages outside of South-east Papua. The name 'Milne Bay' will be used here for this putative group, without implying that all Milne Bay languages belong to it.

Certain qualitative evidence was found to suggest that Suau is closer to the Central District languages than either is to Molima or Dobuan. Suau (and its immediate relatives Gadaisu, Sagarai, Bohutu, etc.) share the dominant possessive marker e-, the type Hula valiu 'new'
(evidently from $P O C$ *paqoRu), the meaning 'to know' for the type HUL ripa, and the type HUL ruparupa 'black', exclusively of Dobuan and Molima and other languages of the d'Entrecasteaux Islands and north coast of Papua. The amount of evidence is so far insufficient, however, to make a strong case for a Suau-Central District subgroup.

M1lke's (1958, 1965) and Capell's (1969) arguments for a large subgroup of Oceanic comprising most of the Austronesian languages of New Guinea east of Humboldt Eay were noted. The Central District languages exhibit many of the features considered to be diagnostic of a New Guinea Oceanic subgroup; however, the present evidence for such a grouping is not nearly as persuasive as that supporting, say, the Oceanic grouping, or the Central District grouping.

The Central District subgroup, excluding Magori, appears to divide into three first-order subgroups. Phonological, lexicostatistical and qualitative lexical evidence strongly indicate an Eastern subgroup, comprising Sinagoro, Hula, Keapara and Aroma. The last three appear to form a dialect chain which is discrete from the Sinagoro dialect chain. Phonological and qualitative lexical evidence indicate (somewhat less strongly) a Western subgroup comprising Mekeo, Roro, Doura, Gabad1, Kuni and Lala. Motı forms a third branch by itself. However, all lines of evidence indicate that Motu has been geographically intermediate between the Eastern and Western groups since the dissolution of Proto-Central Papuan. It was concluded that the dissolution of Proto-Central Papuan was the result of gradual separation of dialects within a chain, rather than of the sudden dispersal of people speaking a homogeneous language. Extensive borrowing continued to take place between the subgroups after the decisive three-way split took place.

The principal subgrouping conclusions may be set out in skeletal form as follows:

Proto-Austronesian
Proto-Oceanic
Proto-New Guinea Oceanic(?)
Proto-Milne Bay
Proto-Central District


### 6.2 Cultural Historical Implications

From the dry bones of linguistic facts we have reconstructed a linguistic genealogy for the Central District languages. The question arises: is such a skeleton of any use to the culture historian? Assuming the correctness of a given genetic classification of languages, are there any inferences about non-linguistic facts. which may safely be drawn from 1t, e.g. Inferences about the location and size of prehistoric speech communities, the nature and frequency of interaction between them, directions of population movement, etc.?

It is commonly assumed that linguistic classifications do provide evidence for inferences about non-linguistic events. Rarely, however, does one find explicit statement of the basis for such an assumption. 6 I think it is still uncertain just what kinds of culture historical conclusions may be validly drawn from linguistic classifications, and that such classifications may prove to be of less use than is often supposed. 7

Before returning the skeleton to the linguists' cupboard, however, the culture historian will at least want to examine it carefully for clues, and to distinguish between (a) inferences which are unjustified because the assumptions on which they are based are false, and (b) inferences which are unjustified only because the assumptions underlying them have not been made clear. The following is a brief discussion of some assumptions which underlie the inferences to be drawn here. These are set out as a framework of principles.

Principle 1. A language that is learnt as a native language by successive generations of speakers is said to have 'strong genetic continuity' or to be 'natively transmitted'.

Principle 2. For native transmission to be maintained over several generations or longer, a language must be spoken by a population which has other social cohesion besides possession by its members of a common mother tongue. It must consist of a community of native speakers who are numerous enough to replace themselves, feed themselves, defend themselves, maintain their separate linguistic identity in competition with other linguistic communities, and who use the language in a sufficient range of contexts for children raised in the community to acquire native-speaking competence.

In theory, a language could be transmitted natively by a community of four: a man and a woman rearing $a$ boy and a girl in each generation. However, the existence of incest taboos, disease, warfare, and many other factors require a minimal community considerably larger than this. The desert island situation may permit a relatively smaller community
to persist for a short period than in normal situations where different language communities are in contact, but even here the number of native speakers presumably must include members of several different nuclear families. ${ }^{8}$

Principle 3. All languages constantly change.
Principle 4. In languages which are natively transmitted, change is gradual. ${ }^{9}$ It is gradual in this sense: a child reared in a given language community will understand without difficulty the speech of members of the community who are one generation older than himself, will have little if any difficulty in understanding the speech of the second ascending generation, and so on. No child, however, will learn a grammar or lexicon which is exactly like that of older speakers, or indeed exactly like that of any member of his peer group, but any peer group will agree in losing some features found in the language of older speakers, while adding others.

The cumulative effect on intelligibility of gradual change over a long period can, unfortunately, be tested only by appeal to written texts. Such a test is not completely satisfactory for measuring loss of intelligibility in spoken forms, for reasons that are well known. But it is surely significant that there are no well-known cases of written languages changing so fast that present day readers cannot understand fairly well texts on non-specialist subject matter written 200 or 250 years earlier. Typically there is some loss of intelligibility after a period of 250 years, or about 10 generations, considerable loss after 500 years, great loss after 1,000 years, and so on. (Cases where the writing system itself has changed, or where it is ideographic, are of course excluded.)

Principle 5. If two languages (a) show regular sound correspondences in a large body of semantically similar lexical items, including 'basic' or culture-free vocabulary and in grammatical elements, and (b) show relatively few exceptions to the rules for which a natural explanation is unavailable and if (c) the differences between the phonological and grammatical systems of the two languages can be largely accounted for in terms of gradual internal changes, these languages show strong genetic relationship. That is, they are genetic continuations, by native transmission, of an earlier single language.

Principle 6. For two mutually unintelligible languages to develop from one, while each maintains native transmission or strong genetic continuity,
there must be a split in the parent language community such that one part of the community ceases to be in regular contact with the other for a long period. ${ }^{10}$ Conversely, for a language to persist as a unity, no part of the speech community must be out of regular contact with the rest for a long period.

While no exact definition of 'long period' can be given, Principle 4 indicates that for severe loss of mutual intelligibility to occur, the period of isolation must be on the order of at least two or three centuries, and possibly longer. (Allowing that two contemporary speech traditions, once isolated, may in some cases diverge twice as much from each other in one century as either diverges from the common protolanguage in the same period. $)^{l l}$

The definition of 'regular contact' and 'isolation' also remains a problem. Undoubtedly, the nature and frequency of contact needed to maintain unity varies with such factors as size of language community, geographical spread of speakers, etc.

Principle 7. Under prehistoric conditions, a language community which undergoes a period of unified development is likely to do so while remaining in approximately the same place. That is, it is unlikely that a prehistoric language community will have evolved as a unity in one place for a certain length of time, then have moved to another distant place while still maintaining its unity. Rather, it is probable that such a move will involve only part of the community, and linguistic splitting will follow the move. Cf. Principle 9.

Principle 8. The likeliest location of a proto-language can be determined by the principle of fewest and shortest moves. This principle predicts that the breakup of a language will result from population movements to near locations rather than to distant ones, and will result from settlement of a small number of new locations rather than a large number. ${ }^{12}$

Thus, in determining the location of a proto-language from a given family tree, the hypothesis to be preferred is the one which requires fewer and shorter population movements to account for the distribution of the daughter languages.

8(1). It follows from Principle 8 that a proto-language is most likely to have been spoken in that area where its genetically most diverse descendants (measured in terms of first-order subgroups) are found.

8(2). It follows from principle 8 that if a proto-language $A$ is itself an interstage (the ancestor of a subgroup) whose descendants occupy an area $A$, and if $A$ is coordinate with another interstage $B$, whose descendants occupy an area $B$, A is more likely to have been spoken in a part of $A$ which is close to $\underline{B}$ than in a part which is distant, and vice versa. Thus, if A is Proto-West Germanic, and B is Proto-North Germanic, $A$ and $B$ are more likely to have been spoken in adjacent areas of Northern Germany and Southern Scandinavia, respectively, than, say, Switzerland and Iceland.

Principle 9 (specific to New Guinea). No prehistoric Austronesian language community in the New Guinea area persisted as a unity while maintaining a geographic distribution larger than the largest Austronesian language community in this area at first European contact. Once the language community dispersed over a larger region, loss of cohesion, and linguistic divergence was inevitable.

The logic underlying Principle 9 is this. It is generally accepted that the New Guinea area was peopled by speakers of Papuan languages long before the spread of Austronesian began. Thus, it is unlikely that Austronesian communities colonizing New Guinea found any large unoccupied expanses of habitable territory. Once settlement was established, expansion was restricted by the presence of Papuanspeaking communities, as well as by other factors. In the few places where large continuous areas were settled by Austronesians, lirguistic cohesion was difficult to maintain. This seems to be clearly borne out by the distribution and size of Austronesian language communities today.

The 200 or so Austronesian languages of the New Guinea mainland area are confined almost exclusively to the coastal strip (and small offshore islands). They occupy only a small proportion of the total coastline; in fact, no Austronesian languages are spoken on the entire stretch of south coast between Cape Possession, in the Central District, and the neck of the Bird's Head, in West Irian. The largest stretch of coastal territory occupied by any one language community is roughly 70 miles (by Motu). No coastal community extends more than 10 miles or so inland. Austronesian languages located entirely inland are very few, and generally quite small. There seems to be no reason to believe that in remote prehistoric times conditions were any more favourable to the existence of large cohesive language communities than in recent times.

Principles l-8 deal with what we have called 'strong genetic relationship'. What, then, might 'weak genetic relationship' be?

Capell's (1943) analysis of the history of the Southeast Papuan languages appears to imply a contrast between two kinds, or at least, degrees of genetic relationship.

Like Ray (1926), Capell regarded the 'Melanesian' languages as being of mixed origins. He rejected Dempwolff's thesis (see section 2) that all the Austronesian languages of Melanesia have a single common origin, belonging to the branch of Austronesian now known as Oceanic. Instead, Capell proposed that several waves of Austronesian speakers, originating in different parts of Indonesia and the Philippines, moved into Melanesia at different times. There they encountered communities speaking Papuan languages, many of whom adopted the languages of the Austonesian intruders with a substrate residue. In some languages this residue is relatively small, but in many, including most of the Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area, it is large. All the 'Melanesian' languages, however, show some degree of influence from Papuan substrata, and differ from the languages of Indonesia and the Philippines in showing a much smaller 'Austronesian content'. The latter is defined in terms of the number of ProtoAustronesian (PAN) lexical items and grammatical elements retained. At least for the lexicon, Austronesian content is specifically equated with Dempwolff's (1938) PAN reconstructions which admit as PAN only forms with reflexes in Indonesian languages.

Before the arrival of Austronesian languages, Capell suggests, "three general types of language may be posited as existing" in Southeast Papua (Capell 1943:267). He calls these the North-East Coast, Southeastern, and Central Regional languages. These languages were largely replaced by Austronesian languages, but they deeply influenced these Austronesian languages in grammar and vocabulary. If I understand Capell correctly, the Mailuan (Magi) group of languages on the south coastal area of Papua are descended from one of the three Papuan Regional languages, possibly the Central language. So too, possibly is Yele (Yela) of Rossel Island.

Capell is not very explicit about the socio-linguistic processes involved in the replacement of Papuan languages by Austronesian languages. He suggests that Southeast Papua received as many as three or four infusions of Austronesian material, each associated with a different

Austronesian 'movement'. Evidently, as a result of each movement the originally Papuan languages were impregnated with more and more Austronesian content. Some languages received more infusions than others, e.g. Mailu shows relatively little Austronesian content and is still classified as Papuan. Others, like the precursor of Motu, were much more deeply affected, and were so essentially transformed that their descendants are now usually classified as Austronesian. However, they are not Austronesian in the same sense as Indonesian languages, apparently lacking 'strong genetic continuity' in the sense of Principles 1,4 and 5. Rather, the Melanesian languages are mixed languages, which might be regarded either as Papuan languages transformed into Austro-nesian-like languages, or as Austronesian languages transformed into Papuan-like languages.

Whether the transformation was typically gradual, or whether it took place in one or more short periods of dramatic reorganization, following the arrival of a movement from indonesia, is not altogether clear, but I make the latter interpretation. ${ }^{13}$

If this is actually what happened, or if languages do undergo periods of catastrophic change of approximately the sort posited by Capell, perhaps we can speak of 'weak genetic relationship', or degrees of genetic relationship. Capell does not use the term 'Pidgin' of the early stages of Melanesian languages (although Ray (1926) does), but what he is proposing sounds very much like pidginization. And there seems to be general agreement that, under certain socioeconomic conditions, a speech tradition can undergo extraordinarily rapid change, in the course of being learnt by non-native speakers. The clearest cases of pidgins violate several of our principles concerning 'strong genetic continuity', including Principle l, requiring native transmission, Principle 4, requiring gradual change, and possibly Principle 5.

A crucial question, however, is whether there are any linguistic criteria which will tell us whether a given language shows weak genetic continuity, i.e. has undergone a period of rapid reorganization resulting from acquisition by a community of non-native speakers who eventually adopt it as their mother tongue.

It does not seem that the usual test of genetic relationship the existence of regular sound correspondences in a core of basic vocabulary and grammatical items - will discriminate between strong and weak genetic continuity. For example, New Guinea Pidgin shows a large body of such items in which sound correspondences are regular. ${ }^{14}$

It must therefore be regarded as genetically related to 'ordinary' varieties of English, and to be a continuation of l9th century English.

But there are some linguistic clues that suggest to us that New Guinea Pidgin has undergone pidginization. Although it shares many innovations with English apart from other Germanic languages, which mark it as having diverged very recently from other varieties of English, it is also strikingly different from other varieties of English. The differences include many which are difficult to explain as natural internal reworkings, but which can easily be explained as resulting from influence by Austronesian languages. An obvious instance is the pronoun system. The morphemes are all English, but the system is otherwise identical to that found in many Oceanic languages, e.g. it exhibits the 'lst person inclusive/exclusive' distinction, the dual vs. plural number distinction, and absence of gender contrast in 3rd person singular, all features which are not found in other Germanic languages. And beside the large core of regularly corresponding vocabulary, there is a body of irregular correspondences with English which is perhaps surprisingly large considering the recency of separation.

This suggests the following principle.
Principle 10. A language which is acquired and transmitted by a community of non-native speakers, shows 'weak genetic continuity' in a language A exists when that language (a) belongs to a subgroup with $B$, apart from C, (b) diverges more sharply from B in grammar and phonology than B does from $C$, in ways that are not explainable by gradual internal change, but are explainable by large-scale reworking of the grammatical and phonological systems under the influence of an unrelated language, (c) shows a larger number of irregular phonological developments than would be expected given the subgrouping relationships.

I do not have any great confidence in the adequacy of this principle. These kinds of evidence are probably not the only kinds, nor necessarily conclusive evidence, for weak genetic continuity. However, I think that an attempt to unravel the history of the Melanesian languages cannot ignore the problems pointed to by Capell or the explanations he has offered. Besides accounting for the similarities among the Austronesian languages we must also explain the differences. And it is undoubtedly true, as Capell and many others have insisted, that many


#### Abstract

'Melanesian' languages show remarkably few cognates with other Austronesian languages.

Others have questioned the necessity of positing pidginization, or Papuan substrata, as the main explanation for Melanesian diversity. 15 With regard to the Central District group, I doubt that it is necessary to assume loss of native transmission, or catastrophic change following acquisition by Papuan-speaking communities, at any point between ProtoAustronesian and the present. The possibility cannot be completely ruled out, but so far I find little in the phonology or grammar of Central District languages that could not be accounted for by assuming gradual change of natively transmitted Austronesian languages, spoken by communities who are surrounded by Papuan languages and borrow from them from time to time.

Assuming 'strong genetic continuity', then, what do Principles l-9 tell us about the prehistory of the Central District language communities?


## PROTO-OCEANIC

Some time after the breakup of PAN, a community speaking PreOceanic existed as a unity for a period in the 'North New Guinea area' before dispersing. The dispersal of this community resulted in the breakup of the Oceanic parent language, i.e. Proto-Oceanic (POC). By 'North New Guinea area' I mean the north coast of New Guinea between the Sarmi coast and the Morobe District, and the Bismarck Archipelago. Previous writers (e.g. Grace 1961: 367; 1964: 37) have placed POC in approximately the same area. (It is of course implied that the community occupied some small part of this area, not the whole of it.)

Principle 8(l) locates POC in the general area of Melanesia because this is the area of greatest genetic diversity, but does not allow us to specify a particular subregion as the likeliest homeland. This is because the first-order subgroups of Oceanic area are not agreed on. We can, however, rule out Polynesia and Micronesia because each appears to contain only a single low-order subgroup of Oceanic. Within Melanesia two areas of diversity stand out. One, which we can call 'Southern Melanesia', comprises the New Hebrides, the Loyalties, New Caledonia and the Santa Cruz group. So far no one has suggested even weak grounds for assigning all the languages of Southern Melanesia to a single subgroup, or even for finding a single subgroup encompassing any two of the major island groups.

The other extremely diverse area is the 'North New Guinea area'. We have seen (section 5) that there are some grounds for recognizing a large New Guinea Oceanic group comprising most of the mainland languages of the eastern half of New Guinea, together with certain languages of Southwest New Britain - although scholars are by no means agreed that this is a valid subgroup. But no one has provided good cause for assigning the remaining languages of New Britain to this subgroup, or even to a single New Britain subgroup (see Chowning 1969). Similarly, the languages of New Ireland, the Admiralty Islands, and the Sarmi coast (Grace 1962) each forms a group or groups which has so far not been included in any larger subgroup (except that Kuanua of New Britain is regarded as a recent immigrant from New Ireland).

The principle of fewest and shortest moves, and specifically, Principle $8(2)$, allows us to choose the New Guinea region over Southern Melanesia as the likelier homeland: the former is that area of great diversity which is closest to the nearest external relatives of Oceanic.

There is increasing evidence (Blust n.d.) that the nearest relatives of Oceanic are to be found in eastern Indonesia and the western end of New Guinea itself. In any case, all the relatives of Oceanic lie to the west or north of New Guinea, and are remote from Southern Melanesia.

When did the POC community disintegrate? Our principles supply no dates, but on other grounds it seems unlikely that the community remained a unity after about 3,000 B.C. First, archaeological evidence indicates that material cultures which can be strongly associated with Oceanic languages were distributed from one end of Melanesia to the other, and were in West Polynesia, by 1,000 B.C. ${ }^{16}$ There is some evidence that Oceanic languages were spoken in New Caledonia as early as 3,000 B.C. Second, glottochronology indicates that the breakup of POC occurred not later than 5,000 years ago and possibly a good deal earlier. Indeed, it indicates that linguistic differentiation within half a dozen Oceanic-speaking regions - the New Guinea north coast, New Britain, the Western Solomons, the New Hebrides, the Loyalties, and New Caledonia - had probably begun by 3,000 B.C. While a large range of error must be allowed for glottochronological dates - especially at this order of time depth - these dates are not inconsistent with archaeological testimony, or with other indices of the degree of linguistic diversity.

## PROTO-MILNE BAY

At least one community descended from POC moved down the northeast coast of New Guinea into Southeast Papua. Possibly this movement occurred after a period of unity with other 'New Guinea Oceanic' languages.

After developing for a time in isolation from languages to the west, this Southeast Papuan community shattered into communities speaking the languages ancestral to Dobuan and Molima, the Suau languages, and the Central District languages, respectively. The earlier, unified stage, which we have called Proto-Milne Bay, was probably ancestral to some other languages of Southeast Papua, including most of the mainland languages east of Wedau. However, I do not mean to imply that it was ancestral to all Oceanic languages of Southeast Papua.

Principle 8 places the Proto-Milne Bay community in the region of the d'Entrecasteaux Islands and/or the facing mainland coast, rather than on the south coast of Papua. In the first place, the immediate external relatives of the Milne Bay group (with the possible exception of some other languages of the north coast, such as Wedau and Mukawa, and some languages of the Louisiade group) lie further west on the north side of New Guinea. Second, there is some evidence (admittedly not conclusive) that the Suau and Central District languages differentiated after their separation from Dobuan and Molima. Such a subgrouping would increase the homogeneity of the south coast, and further reduce its claims to be the dispersal centre of the Milne Bay group.

Likeliest glottochronological dates for the dissolution of ProtoMilne Bay fall between 3,000 and 4,500 years ago. If we exclude comparisons of Suau with Dobu and Molima, which may yield percentages inflated by borrowing, the dates are in the 3,500-4,500 B.P. range.

## PROTO-CENTRAL DISTRICT

If Suau and the Central District languages did remain a unity after diverging from Pre-Dobuan-Molima, it was not for long. According to glottochronology, Suau probably separated from Motu, Kuni and Gabadi around 3,700 years ago (see section 5.1); qualitatively, there is only a small amount of evidence for a Suau-Central District grouping exclusive of Dobuan and Molima (see 5.2).

The development of the Proto-Central District stage can be associated with a period of isolation following movement of speakers of a Milne Bay language into the Central District. The Central District
community remained a fairly close-knit unity for several centuries, before diverging into three dialect groups, ancestral to Motu, the Western languages, and the Eastern languages, respectively. The divergence of the Pre-Western and Pre-Eastern communities occurred between 2,500 and 3,400 years ago, according to glottochronology. Comparisons involving Motu yield shallower time depths. Glottochronology dates the divergence of Motu from its immediate neighbours at between 1,500 and 2,000 years ago. What this probably means is that while regional diversification began soon after the settlement of the Central District, a Proto-Central District dialect chain, with Pre-Motu in the centre, persisted for another 1,000 years or more. Mutual intelligibility between Motu and its immediate neighbours may have been maintained until at least A.D. 500, though the extremes of the dialect chain were probably quite divergent by this date.

This chronology is largely based on the glottochronological dates, and may be wrong. Again, however, archaeology provides at least some support. The early results of excavations in the Central District are discussed by Allen (1972), who concludes that a new population, with a mixed economy based on gardening and pig raising, and heavily supplemented by fishing and hunting, occupied the Central District coast and offshore $1 s l a n d s$ some 2,000 years ago. These people made a fine-red slipped or burnished pottery with shell-stamped and incised motifs, and their pottery and other features of their cultural assemblages strongly indicate that they were Austronesian-speaking. ${ }^{16}$

The likeliest location of Proto-Central District, in the stage before advanced dialect diversification occurred, is indicated by Principle 8 to be in the coastal area and islands between Hall Sound and Hood Bay, an area which encompasses members of the three major subgroups. The position of Magori remains a problem, however. Discovery that Magori is an isolate coordinate with a group comprising all other Central District languages would affect inferences about the location of the proto-language. But on present evidence, it seems likely that Magori is an early offshoot of the Eastern subgroup (Dutton n.d.2), which established a beachhead among the Papuan-speaking peoples occupying the south coast from Cheshunt Bay almost to Mullins' Harbour. At the time of the first Austronesian movement into the Central District, Papuan languages were presumably spoken in this area; it was these which may have acted as a barrier preventing establishment of a dialect chain connecting the Pre-Suau speech communities (whose descendants extend to the western side of Mullins Harbour) and the Pre-Central District communities.

Two matters of culture historical interest which lie outside the scope of this paper are (a) reconstructions of vocabulary attesting the material culture and way of life of the Proto-Central District community and other proto-language communities, and (b) lexical diffusion in the Southeast Papuan region. ${ }^{17}$

## NOTES

1. Many people have contributed to this work. Preliminary research was carried out at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1969, by myself and members of the Oceanic Culture History class: M. Buluna, A. Farapo, G. Gray, P. Leitao, N. Lutton, V. Maragao, P. Markis, S. Robertson and M. Saville. The University of Papua New Guinea provided a grant allowing Mr. W. Tomasetti and me to collect some 950 basic vocabulary lists from students at the University and at schools throughout Papua. Mr. Tomasetti acted as guide, interpreter, and research assistant during several short excursions to the field in Papua in 1969. Andrew Taylor and Tom Dutton each supplied word lists and other information on several languages of the Central District. Michael Davis provided information on Roro dialects, and Russell Cooper on the Suau dialect-chain.

Sections of a draft of this paper were read by Robert Blust, George Grace, Peter Lincoln, John Lynch and David Walsh, and Irwin Howard discussed with me problems in the treatment of sound change. Many improvements have been made as a result of their commentary. Errors which remain are of course my own.
2. 215 word basic vocabulary lists for virtually all Austronesian languages spoken in Papua (including those given in Pawley and Dutton (in press)) were compared, together with lists for more than 100 languages of other regions of New Guinea and Island Melanesia.
3. The Proto-Oceanic reconstructions are discussed in detail in Pawley (in press).
4. See Pawley, in press.
5. Omission of the second $m$ from (underlying) forms of the shape $m_{1} V_{m V}$ appears to be a fairly common (?dissimilatory) development in both adult and child speech. This, together with the sporadic distribution of the m-less pronouns within Austronesian makes it more reasonable to suppose that *-m- was lost several times independently than to suppose that the forms *kai and *mai co-existed as underlying forms in Proto-Austronesian, with *kami and *mami, only to be lost many times independently in daughter languages.
6. Dyen (1956) explores in detail principles for drawing inferences about prehistoric migrations from the geographical distribution of related languages (cf. fn. l2). See also Pawley and Green (in press) for some proposals concerning the relating of archaeological and linguistic facts.
7. Biggs (1972) examines critically the usefulness of linguistic subgrouping for culture historical reconstruction. At one point in his critique, he questions (pp. 147-9) the applicability of Dyen's (1956) migration theory to Polynesia, using as an illustration the difficulty of determining the Eastern Polynesian homeland. He observes that the Marquesas and the Society Islands, which have been regarded by culture historians as possible homelands, are unlikely candidates they are too remote from Western Polynesia, which was presumably the location of the earlier, Proto-Nuclear Polynesian stage. Biggs suggests that it is more likely that Eastern Polynesian islands closer to Western Polynesia would be "settled first in the upwind struggle to the east", noting for example that "...It seems incredible that the Marquesas, separated by more than 2,000 miles and many intervening island chains from the Samoic and Tongic areas, would have been the area of Eastern Polynesia first settled." (pp. 147-8).

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between two uses of the term 'homeland'. Some culture historians have used it to mean the first area settled by speakers of a given linguistic tradition - in this case, the first part of Eastern Polynesian settled by Polynesian speakers. This use is distinct from that of Dyen. He uses 'homeland' to mean the location of a given proto-language (community) immediately before its breakup into surviving branches. Thus, to say that the Society Islands was not the first area of Eastern Polynesia to be settled, is not to deny that these islands could have been the location of the Proto-Eastern Polynesian community. It is quite possible that, say, the Northern Cooks was the first area settled, but that the language we know as Proto-Eastern Polynesian evolved in the Society Islands. This would be the case if (a) the Northern Cooks language derived from an earlier branching than Proto-Eastern Polynesian, with the PreEastern Polynesian branch spoken in the Northern Cooks either becoming extinct, or surviving as a non-Eastern Polynesian enclave (Pukapukan being such an enclave), and if (b) the Pre-Eastern Polynesian branch that settled the Society Islands evolved into Proto-Eastern Polynesian,
whose descendants later dispersed over virtually the whole of Eastern Polynesia, sometimes replacing other languages. The principle of fewest moves (cf. fn. l2) does not by itself permit us to make inferences about the first settlement of Eastern Polynesia. It does permit us to make inferences about the location of Proto-Eastern Polynesian and certain subsequent movements of populations speaking Eastern Polynesian languages. Biggs' discussion shows, however, that distance as well as number of moves must be taken into account, in making inferences about homelands and population movements.
8. Pitcairn English is one potentially valuable source of information concerning linguistic change in an extremely small, isolated commun1ty: it is not clear from present evidence whether Pitcairn English can be considered a strong genetic continuation of l8th century English. But Pitcairnese is simply one of many such speech communities in the Pacific, which is one vast unexploited natural laboratory for the study of linguistic change under varying conditions.
9. I do not mean to imply that a language community consists of several discrete generations or age-groups, each with a language that is internally homogeneous but slightly different from that of other age-groups, or that a language is at any one time a uniform system which changes imperceptibly from year to year. As in the evolution of species, the seeds of linguistic change lie in the countless variations which exist in the population at any one time. In the case of language this includes not only variations between the speech of individuals, each of whom recreates the language in the act of learning it, but also more or less standardized variations, such as those which distinguish different styles or registers, regional and social dialects, etc. Cf. K1parsky, 1968:175.
10. It has been suggested that linguistic splitting can occur even when regular contact is maintained, as in a socially stratified society where the speech forms of higher and lower strata diverge. While it is true that distinct dialects may develop under such conditions, I know of no cases where mutually unintelligible languages have developed within a single society. And the process of linguistic splitting is not completed until two distinct languages have developed.
11. This will, perhaps, rarely happen because of linguistic drift, i.e. the tendency of similar linguistic systems to change in similar ways.
12. See Dyen (1956) for discussion of what he calls the 'postulate of least [i.e. fewest] moves'. Essentially this is that "the probabilities of different reconstructed migrations are in inverse relation to the number of reconstructed language movements that each requires. In other words, if two reconstructed migrations differ in the number of necessary language movements, the one with the fewer movements has the greater probability." (Dyen 1956:613).
13. Ray (1926) is fairly explicit on this question. He says that the Indonesian (i.e. Austronesian) words in Melanesia "have the characteristics of a pidgin-tongue. They can no longer be referred, except in rare cases, to any one original [Indonesian] tongue, and are on a par with the modern pidgin of the Pacific where the so-called English has such words as 'savvy', 'pickaninny' and 'wewe'." (p. 597). To Ray, certain "characters of the vocabulary and grammar suggest that the [Indonesian] in [Melanesian] is a foreign element, introduced by colonists from the west. These settled on some of the smaller islands which became centres of trade and influence in the sea round about, the pidgin-[Indonesian] of the settlement eventually modifying and introducing a certain amount of likeness into the originally different [Papuan] dialects. This would persist, even after the disappearance of the settlers as a distinct community, and words would survive in much the same way as Celtic words survive in Saxon English or Italic French." (p.597). Cf. fn. 15.
14. Sound correspondences between New Guinea Pidgin (as represented by current standard orthography) and Australian English are discussed in an unpublished paper (Pawley n.d.), where a high degree of regularity in the correspondences is reported.
15. Objections to the 'mixed' or 'pidgin' theory of the origins of Melanesian languages have been raised by many scholars, including Grace (1965, 1968) and many of the commentators on Capell (1962). Dyen (1965) explains the lexical diversity of Melanesian languages as a function of great time depth, suggesting that Melanesia may have been the original dispersal centre of Austronesian. While few have agreed
with the latter suggestion, many would agree that Melanesia was an early dispersal center for Austronesian, and specifically, Oceanic languages.
16. The grounds for associating certain archaeological traditions with Austronesian languages are elaborated in Pawley and Green, in press.
17. This last is of course a principal subject of Capell's (1943) work. Dutton (l97lb) has concerned himself with the problem of lexicai diffusion in Southeast Papua, particularly with reference to the origins of Magori vocabulary.

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## A BALAWAIA GRAMMAR SKETCH AND VOCABULARY

J.A. KOLIA (formerly COLLIER)
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## 1.0

INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 General

Balawaia is a dialect of Sinaugolo, a large Austronesian language spoken in the Rigo sub-district of the Central District of Papua. ${ }^{1}$ This paper describes the principal grammatical features of this dialect as spoken in Tauruba village. It is based on data collected in that village. ${ }^{2}$

### 1.2 Orthography and Abbreviations

In the forthcoming description the following orthography and abbreviations will be used.
1.21 Orthography

The following symbols are used to represent 16 consonant and 5 vowel phomemes: $p,{ }^{3} t, k, b, d, g, g, m, n, l, r, v, w, k w, g w, g w, a, e, i, o$ and $u$, where 1 represents a voiced alveolar lateral, $r$ a flapped alveolar vibrant, and $v$ a voiced bilabial fricative. Stress is unmarked but always occurs on the first syllable of bisyllabic words and on the second last syllable of words of more than two syllables, e.g. 'goso many, go'gome yam (sp.), 'gogolelevagi very many.

Consonant phonemes contrast in analagous and identical environments as follows:

|  | Phoneme Contrast |  | Examples |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p / / b$ | pili | flatulence | obu | a type of reef fish |
|  | bili | sago walls | opuna | short |
| t//d | tau | man | gudu | one type of banana |
|  | dau | to wipe | gutu | Louse, seed |
|  |  |  | gutu | high tide |
| k//g//g | karu | light rain | loku | paw paw |
|  | garo | language | logo | jump, fly |
|  | garo | sun | logo | open (door) |
| $\mathrm{m} / / \mathrm{b}$ | bona | smell | guba | sky |
|  | mona | fat, grease | guma | crab, bait |
| n//d | demo | one type of | manu | general name for bird |
|  |  | bamboo |  |  |
|  | nemo | mosquito | madu | father bereft of child |
| 1//r | ligu | enemy | bara | fat, big |
|  | rigu | to bathe | bala | oar |
| v//w | vagi | to kizl |  |  |
|  |  | secretly |  |  |
|  | wagi | general name |  |  |
|  |  | for wallaby |  |  |



| or | Object referent | stm | subject-tense-mo |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| p | past | Subj | Subject |
| pl | plural | $v$ | verb |
| poss | possessive | VP | Verb Phrase |
| pp | post-position | vr | verb root |
| pres | present tense | 1 | first person |
| prn | pronoun | 2 | second person |
| q | question tag | 3 | third person |
| recip | reciprocal marker | ( ) | optional |
| reflex | reflexive marker | > | becomes; < |
| rel | relativizer | + | and, plus |
| sg | singular |  | etc. |
| sm | subject marker | - | morpheme boundary |

### 2.0 GRAMMATICAL NOTES

### 2.1 Sentences

Sentences in Balawaia are either simple, compound, complex or fragmentary.

Simple sentences are those which may be said to express one idea or to contain only one clause (in the traditional sense). For example:

```
au-na goi agitamuto
I-sm you I.saw.you
    I saw you
    tau-na bae gevagiato
man-sm pig they.killed.it
    The men killed the pig
nagoa bae au-gegu
that pig I-poss
    That's my pig
rai vagomaini }\mp@subsup{}{}{4
who he.is.coming
    Who's coming?
goi-gamu ganigani (be) palaka
you-poss food (is) cold
    Your food is cold
```

Compound and complex sentences are those which express more than one idea or contain more than one clause. For example:


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \begin{array}{l}
{\left[\begin{array}{ll}
\frac{\text { gia }}{h e} & \left.\frac{\text { vagomaito }}{\text { he.come }}\right]_{\mathrm{Cl}_{1}}\left[\begin{array}{lll}
\frac{\text { tenagi }}{b u t} & \frac{\text { au }}{I} & \frac{\text { atigina }}{n o t}
\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{Cl}}^{2}
\end{array}\right.} \\
\\
\text { He came but I didn } t
\end{array} \\
& \text { He came but } I \text { didn }{ }^{7} t
\end{aligned}
$$

$\left[\begin{array}{l}\text { gita vanua bara gana tagoni } \\ \text { we village big to (wards) we.go }\end{array}\right] \mathrm{Cl}_{\mathrm{Cl}}\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { kwalanai }\end{array} \begin{array}{l}\text { motuka tagoiani } \\ \text { in.order.to truck we.buy.it }\end{array}\right] \mathrm{Cl}_{2}$

Sentences of more than one clause may be said to be derived from simple sentences by conjunction or subjunction (or embedding). Consequently simple sentences will be treated first before returning to see how these are conjoined and subordinated to form compound and complex sentences in Balawaia.

Fragmentary sentences will be treated last and will be used to cover all those (generally incomplete) sentences which have not been covered under the other types. Fragmentary sentences include short answers to questions, expressions of emotional involvement with the speaker, greetings and farewells.

In describing these sentence types and their constituent parts the following shorthand practices will be indulged in wherever practical to avoid unnecessary repetition:

1. the functional notions Subject (symbolized Subj), Object (symbolized Obj) and Indirect Object (symbolized IO) will be used in lieu of technically more correct statements like "the noun phrase that functions as Subject" etc.;
2. the word 'phrase' will be used loosely to cover both single words and groups of words that occur in the same functional positions.

### 2.11 Simple Sentences

There are two main types: verbal and non-verbal.

### 2.11.1 Verbal Sentences

Verbal sentences are those which contain a verb phrase (symbolized VP). These sentences are of the general form:
(Subject) (Object) (Indirect Object) (AdvP) (Neg) VP
where AdvP = Adverb Phrase and Neg = negative.
Sentences which potentially cannot contain an object will be referred to as intransitive, those which may contain an object as transitive, and those which contain an object and indirect object as ditransitive respectively.

Examples:

1. Intransitive
numa bei-ketolau-(galimagi)

Subj | VP AdvP |
| :--- |
| house it-faZZ. down-(quickly) |
| The house fell down (quickly) |

numa ati bei-ketolau-(galimagi)

Subj Neg VP AdvP
house not it-faZZ.down-(quickly)
The house did not fall down (quickly)
11. Transitive

| tau-na | bae | (koko-na) bege-vagi-ria |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subj | Obj | (AdvP) | VP |
| man-sm | pigs | $($ axe-with) they-kill-them |  |
| The man killed the pigs (with an axe) |  |  |  |
| tau-na | bae | koko-na | ati bege-vagi-ria |
| Subj | Obj | AdvP | Neg |
| man-sm | pigs axe-with not they-kill-them |  |  |
| The man did not kill the pigs with an axe |  |  |  |

iii. Ditransitive

| tau-na | gudugudu | natu-na | vala-na | (ati) bei-veni-a |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subj | Obj | IO | Neg | VP |
| man-sm | beads child-poss female-sg | not he-give-her |  |  |
| The man gave (did not give) the beads to his daughter |  |  |  |  |

All of these have the following general characteristics in common:

1. In transitive and ditransitive sentences the subject is always marked by -na except in reciprocal and reflexive sentences such as the following:
tau e melo gudugudu bege-ve-veni
man and boy beads they-recip-give
The man and the boy gave beads to one another
sila gudugudu bege-ve-venl
they beads they-recip-give
They gave the beads to one another
au-totaugu Motu garo ba-veiriba
I-reflex Motu Zanguage I-teach
I taught myself the Motu Zanguage

Note, however, that -na is optional in transitive and ditransitive sentences if the object is not expressed. Compare the following for example:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { au-na gia a-ganiganiani } \\
& \text { I-sm it I-eating.it.cont } \\
& \text { I am eating it } \\
& \text { au-na a-ganiganiani } \\
& \text { I-sm } \quad \text { I-eating.it.cont } \\
& \text { I am eating it } \\
& \text { au a-ganiganiani } \\
& I \quad \text { I-eating.it.cont } \\
& I \text { am eating it }
\end{aligned}
$$

Finally, for postpositional verbs (see ections 2.3 and 2.48) objects are followed by the postpositions genai and ai and the subject is unmarked, e.g.,
goi Balau genai o-vetaumagikau-ni
you God in you-believe-cont
Do you believe in God?
gia natu-na melona genai verere-ni
he child-poss male with he.happy-cont
He was pleased with his son
2. In all sentences the number and person of the subjects, objects, and indirect objects are reflected in the verb phrase by elements affixed to the verb. For example, in the sentence given above tauna bae begevagiria the man killed the pigs the verb begevagiria killed contains the morphemes bege - and -ria which refer to the subject 'the men' and the object 'the pigs' respectively ${ }^{6}$. These are very important parts of the structure of Balawaia and will be discussed further in

Sections 2.3 (Verbs) and 2.42 .3 and 2.42.4 (Pronouns) below.
3. Subjects and objects (but not indirect objects) may therefore, because of (2) be omitted if they are pronouns. Compare:
tau-na gudugudu natu-na $\quad$ valana bei-veni-a
man-sm beads child-poss female he-give-her
The man gave the beads to his daughter

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gia (-na) (gia) bei-veni-a } \\
& \text { he-sm her he-give-her } \\
& \text { He gave them to her }
\end{aligned}
$$

4. Although the formula given above may be taken to represent the general order of elements in these kinds of sentences, the order may be varied for special reasons, e.g., to emphasize the object, e.g.,
bae bara-ria tau-na bei-vagi-ria
pig big-pl man-sm he-kizl-them
The man killed the big pigs (or It was
the big pigs that the man killed)
Any change in the general order has to be accompanied, however, by the right kind of intonational, pausal and accent features to be acceptable, but a discussion of these is beyond the scope of this paper.
5. Any kind of verbal sentence can be expanded by the addition of adverbs (adv - Section 2.46) or adverbial phrases (AdvP - Section 2.22) of various kinds to indicate the time, place and/or manner in which the action indicated by the verb was carried out. Of these, Adverbs of Manner usually come inside the vero with Adverbs of Place coming before or after the verb and Adverbs of Time at the beginning of sentences, though these last two types have considerable freedom of position.

Examples:
tau-na bae bege-vagi-ria molagani
man-sm pig they-kill-them yesterday

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { tau-na bae bege-vagi-galimagi-ria } \\
& \text { man-sm pig they-kill-quickly-them } \\
& \text { The men killed the pigs quickly } \\
& \frac{\text { molagani tau-na bae bege-vagi-galimagi-ria }}{\text { advt }} \\
& \text { yesterday man-sm pig they-kill-quickly-them } \\
& \text { The men killed the pigs quickly yesterday } \\
& \text { tau-na bae bege-vagi-galimagi-ria aragai } \\
& \text { advm } \frac{\text { molagani }}{\text { advt }} \\
& \text { man-sm pig they-kill-quickly-them garden. in yesterday } \\
& \text { The men kilZed the pigs quickly in the garden yesterday }
\end{aligned}
$$

Thus the general formula for verbal sentences given above can now be expanded to:
(advt( (Subject) (Object) (Indirect Object) (advp) (advm) (Neg) VP
6. The negative is always ati and comes immediately before the VP:

| sia roso ati | bene-agomai |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he yet not | not |  |
| He hasn't come yet |  |  |

### 2.11.2 Verbless Sentences

As the name suggests these do not contain a verb phrase (VP). They approximate to the 'to be' and 'to have' sentences in English and are of the same general structure but, because there are some differences between them it will be convenient to treat each separately.

### 2.11.21 'to be' Sentences

There are two types: (1) 'to be good' type;
(2) 'to be hot' type.
(1) "To be good'- type sentences have the general structure: Subject (Copula: be ${ }^{9}$ ) (Neg: ati) Complement
where the complement may be manifested by various kinds of noun phrases, adjective phrases, adverb phrases or interrogatives.

Examples:

```
            gia (be) melo
            he cop boy
            He's a boy
                gia be tau, ati melo
                    he cop man not boy
                He's a man, not a boy
            rai be vele
            who cop chief
            Who is the chief?
                au be tau, gia be vavine
                    I cop man she cop woman
                    I'm a man, she's a woman
                    garo
                    ve-vanagi-na be ata-gau
                    Zanguage recip-pass-rel cop what-thing
                What's a tape recorder?
            nagoa be ata-gau
            that cop what-thing
                    What's that?
gaina motuka be ati namo, gia gaukorukoru-tc
our truck cop not good it broke.down -comp
Our truck is no good, it's broken down
gaina motuka be namo, gamina be gaukorukoru - to
our truck cop good yours broke.down -comp
Our truck is good, yours is broken down
    Ginigolo be ainai
    Ginigolo cop where
    Where is Ginigolo (village)?
    rai be naneanai
    who cop that.in
    Who's in there?
    gia be numai
    he cop house.in/at
    He's in/at the house
```


## gila nogoanai

they that.at
Are they there?
Note that there are no changes in the copula be to indicate different tenses. If necessary this is achieved by using Adverbs of Time e.g.,
gia gonenai be melo, neia be tau
he formerly cop boy now cop man
He was a boy, now he's a man
gonenai neia galigwata be moera toma be gwagigi
formerly this banana cop weak now cop strong
Before this banana tree was weak, now it is strong
gonenai neia galigwata be ati gwagigi toma bei-mate
formerly this banana cop not strong now it-die
Before this banana tree was not strong, now it's dead
(2) 'To be hot'- type sentences have no copula and the complement is manifested by a Possessive Noun Phrase (see Section 2.21.2). These sentences correspond to those in English cuvering psychological states, e.g., to be hot, to be ashamed, to be afraid, to know etc. - but see also Section 2.11 .22 below.

## Examples:

```
au (ati) tau-gu-ni
I not hot-poss-pres
I'm (not) hot
au totaugu maeka-gu-ni
I recip shame-poss-cont
I'm ashamed of myself
au (ati) riba-gu
I not knowledge-poss
I (don't) know
goi (ati) riba-mu
You not knowledge-poss
You (don't) knou'
gia (ati) riba-na
he not knowledge-poss
He (doesn't) know(s)
```

```
goi kalakala-na ma riba-mu
you method-poss with knowledge-poss
Do you know how to do it?
(l1t. Are you with the knowledge of its method
(of doing it)?
```

Note, however, that 'to be sick' does not come within this category, e.g.,


### 2.11.22 'to have' Sentences

These have the structure:
Subject (Neg: ati) Copula: ma ${ }^{10}$ Complement
where the complement is manifested by a Possessive Noun Phrase. Note that these sentences include those in English covering physical states for which we usually use the verb "to be", e.g.,
au ma gegu koko
I cop my axe
I have an axe
au ati ma gegu koko
I not cop my axe
I have no axe
gia ma gena koko e sio
he cop his axe and spear
He has a spear and an axe

```
    goi ma gemu kinimole
    you cop your matches
    Have you got any matches?
        au ma visi-gu
        I cop pain-poss
        I am in pain
        au (ati) ma tau-gu
        I not cop hot-poss
        I am (not) perspiring
molagani au ati ma gegu koko, toma au ma gegu
yesterday I not cop my axe now I cop my
Yesterday I didn't have an axe (but) today I have one
```

Note also that not all English sentences containing 'have' are translateable into (ati)ma type sentences in Balawaia and that some English sentences not appearing to have any 'have' in them are rendered by (ati) ma in Balawaia. Consider, for example,

```
goi kalakala-na ma riba-mu
    you method-its cop knowledge-your
    Do you know how to do it?
        au (ati) ma tau-gu
        I not cop heat-poss
        I am not perspiring
        koko be au-ge-gu-ai
        axe cop I-thing-poss-at
        I've got it (in answer to the
        question 'Where is the axe')
        gagu be goi-ge-mu-ai
        lime cop you-thing-poss-at
        Have you got the lime?
```


### 2.11.3 Question Variants of Simple Sentences

Here we shall distinguish between Yes-No and Information Question variants.

### 2.11.31 Yes-No Questions

These are formed by:
i. phonological means, such as a rising intonation at the end of the sentence, e.g., goi bo-keve?

You you-sick.inton
Are you sick?
11. by adding the tags ba or, ba atigina or not, nema didn't $I / y o u$ ? to the end of the sentence. Nema expects the answer oba yes.

Examples:
motuka bei-gwara
truck it-arrive
The truck arrived
motuka bei-gwara ba?
truck it-arrive or
Did the truck arrive or?
motuka bei-gwara ba atigina?
truck it-arrive or not
Did the truck arrive or not?
motuka bei-gwara, nema?
truck it-arrive, didn't.it
The truck arrived, didn't it?

Sometimes irau different may be used as a kind of tag, as in sentences like:
motuka Dibura gena bei-gwara, (pause)irau?
truck Dibura his it-arrive, different
Did Dibura's truck arrive, or a different one?

### 2.11.32 Information Questions

These correspond to wh-questions in English. They are formed by substituting some interrogative word (see Section 2.43) for the various noun and adverbial elements in sentences.

Examples:


A complete list of Interrogatives is given in Section 2.43.
Finally note that negative yes-no questions are answered in the following manner in Balawaia. If the speaker asks "Didn't the truck come?" the answer will be oba "no (lit. "yes, what you say is true") the truck did not come" if the truck has not come, and atigina "yes (lit. "no, what you ask is untrue") the truck came" if the truck did come. That is, it is the reverse of English.

### 2.2 Phrases

There are only four types:
Noun Phrases (NP)
Adverb Phrases (AdvP)
Intensifier Phrases (IntP)
Verb Phrases (VP)

### 2.21 Noun Phrases

Noun Phrases occur as subjects, objects and indirect objects as well as head elements in adverb phrases. There are two types: Common Noun Phrases and Possessive Noun Phrases.

### 2.21.1 Common Noun Phrases

These have the following structure:
(Demonstrative) (Adjective of Nationality) Noun (Adjective of Quality)
(Numeral)
Examples:

$\frac{\text { Taloa }}{\text { adj }} \frac{\text { vavine-ria }}{n} \frac{\text { kiata }}{n u m}$ ge-balani
Saroa woman-pl many they-dance.pres
Many of the Saroa women are dancing

| $\frac{\text { nagoa }}{\text { dem }}$ | $\frac{\text { Koiali }}{\text { adj }} \frac{\text { vala-ria }}{n}$ | $\frac{\text { Balawaia }}{\text { adj }} \quad \frac{\text { garo }}{n}$ | ma riba-ria |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that Koiari girl-pl Balawaia Zanguage cop knowledge |  |  |  |

Those Koiari girls can speak Balawaia

| $\frac{\text { nagoa }}{\text { dem }} \frac{\text { Gulaga }}{\text { adj }} \frac{\text { vala-ria }}{n}$ | $\frac{\text { toitoi }}{\text { num }}$ cop augegu numa-aill |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that Hula girl-pl three | my house-at |

Those three girls from Hula are in my house
$\frac{\text { nagoa }}{\text { dem }} \frac{\text { Koiali }}{\text { adj }} \frac{\text { vala }}{n} \frac{\text { bara-ria }}{\text { adj }} \frac{\text { Balawaia }}{\text { adj }} \quad$ ge-guluani
that Koiari girl big-pl Balawaia language they-speak.it.cont
Those big Koiari girls can speak Balawaia

| gita-na belema | $\frac{\text { bara-ria }}{n}$ | $\frac{\text { taulatoitoi galuka riginai bite-gita-ria }}{\text { adj }}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| we-sm python big-pl | six river bank.on we-see-them |  |

We saw six big pythons down by the river

| au | mabara-ria | gageriai | manua | bararia |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| n | num |  | n | adj |
| man | aで-pl | Zeg.on | urcers | big-pl |

All the men have big ulcers
gita, Tauruba tau-ria ta-laka-vegogoni
adj $n$
we, Tauruba man-pl we-go-together.cont
We Tauruba men, go about together
The number of the phrase is indicated by the clitics -na (singular) and -ria (plural) which occur on the final element in the phrase, excluding numerals (Section 2.44.22). For further comments see nouns in Section 2.41 .

### 2.21.2 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive Noun Phrases are those which involve a possessor and a thing possessed. In Balawaia the possessor may come before or after the thing possessed but there are two ways of indicating possession grammatically, depending on the type of noun that is being possessed. For example, one says au-ge-gu vanua my village (lit. I-thing-poss village) but au-gima-gu my hand (lit. I-hand-poss). These two ways of indicating possession determine two grammatical classes of nouns in Balawaia which will be referred to hereafter as inalienable and alienable nouns. Inalienable nouns include all social relatives (e.g., mother, father) and parts of animate and inanimate bodies; alienable nouns include all others. In discussing the possessive noun phrase structure then, we shall begin with possessive pronouns as possessors.

For alienable nouns these pronouns have the following form (where -ge- $=$ thing):

| augegu | my |
| :--- | :--- |
| goigemu | your |
| giagena | his, her(s), its |
| gitagera | our (incl.) |
| gaigemai | our (excl.) |
| gomigemia | your (pl.) |
| gilageria | their |

These forms are used for all cases where the thing possessed is not a relative or part of a body, except that -ge is changed to -ga before words for food, age-groups and enemy.

Examples:

```
vanua augegu/ augegu vanua my vilZage
goigemu kwagalu / kwagalu goigemu your dog
giagena araga/ araga giagena his garden
gitagera auri / auri gitagera our (incl.) spear
gaigemai atai? Where is ours?
gomigemia numa/numa gomigemia your (pl.) house
gilageria gasi/ gasi gilageria their canoe
augagu ganigani / ganigani augagu my food
goigamu ligu / ligu goigamu your enemy
giagana gula /gula giagana his (roasted) yam
goigemu veai /veai goigemu your praise
augagu gulu/ gulu augagu my age-group
```

If the thing possessed is an inalienable noun, that is, a relative or part of a body its term replaces -ge- in the general formula given above.

Examples:

```
au gima-gu
goi tina-mu
gia deba-na
your mother
gita tama-ra our father (in reference)
gai tubu-mai our grandparent
gomi mata-mia your (pl.) eyes
gila kaka-ria their elder brother
```

Finally, if the possessor is a noun or a noun phrase the structure is simply equivalent to the 3 rd person $s g$. and pl. pronominal ones already given. Thus there are the following variants:

```
neia tau gena vanua this man's village
neia tau tama-na this man's father
neia tau gima-na
au tama-gu gena gio
au tama-gu waga-na
au tama-gu gena tobo
au tama-gu gena ganigani
gai natu-mai natu-ria
gai natu-mai garia ganigani
gai natu-mai geria tano
tau geria veai
vavine geria gaukala
vavine gage-na
au garawagu gena gaukala
vavine barakina gena araga marana
vavine barakina gage-na
manu vane-na
manu nugivi-ria
gadiva vegala-na
gau lega-na
numa gudugu-na
```

```
this man's hand
```

this man's hand
my father's spear
my father's spear
my father's uncle
my father's uncle
my father's pipe
my father's pipe
my father's food
my father's food
our children's children
our children's children
our children's food
our children's food
our children's land
our children's land
men's praise
men's praise
women's work
women's work
the woman's leg
the woman's leg
my wife's work
my wife's work
the old woman's gardening stick
the old woman's gardening stick
the old woman's leg
the old woman's leg
bird's wing
bird's wing
birds' nests
birds' nests
the handle of the knife
the handle of the knife
the branch of the tree
the branch of the tree
the roof of the house

```
the roof of the house
```

2.21.3 Both types of noun phrases may be conjoined by the conjunctions:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { e, ema } & \text { and } \\
\text { bal } 12 & \text { or }
\end{array}
$$

## Examples:

$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { gai gemai tano \{ } \frac{e}{e} \text { ema gai gemai vanua our land and our vizlages } \\ \text { goi tamamu ba goi sinamu }\end{array} \begin{array}{l}\text { your father or your mother }\end{array}\right.$
2.22 Adverb Phrases

These have the following structure:

$$
\text { AdvP }=N P+\text { postposition }
$$

## Examples:

```
augegu numa-ai (>augegu numai)
            pp
    my house-at
at my house
augegu numa gabulenai
                pp
    my house under
under my house
motu garo-ai (>motu garoi)
    pp
Motu language-in
in the Motu Zanguage
nagoa vanua gana
    pp
that village to
to that village
neia watagu vara-na
                                    pp
this stone big-with
with this big stone
gai tari-mai geriai
                                    pp
we y.brother-poss for.them
for our brothers
bogibogi-ai
    pp
morning-in
in the morning
garo gota-ai (>garo gotai)
    pp
day middle-at
during the day
veloga gana
    pp
bush to
towards/into the bush
```


### 2.23 Intensifier Phrases

These have the structure:

$$
\text { IntP }=(\text { Neg:ati) Adjective/Adverb }+ \text { Intensifier }
$$

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { idau korikori } \\
\text { adj int } \\
\text { very good } \\
\text { idau } \\
\text { not bad ( }=\text { relatively good) } \\
\text { namo bara } \\
\text { adj int } \\
\text { very well/good } \\
\text { galimagi lelevagi } \\
\text { adv } \frac{\text { Int }}{\text { very quickly }} \\
\text { ati galimagi lelevagi } \\
\text { neg int } \\
\text { not very quickly } \\
\text { kwaibo vagi } \\
\text { adv } \\
\text { very slowly } \\
\text { rakava kwaikwai } \\
\text { adv } \\
\text { extremely badly } \\
\text { kiana mogu } \\
\text { adv int } \\
\text { very soon } \\
\text { gwagigi tumutumu } \\
\text { adv } \\
\text { extremely strongly }
\end{gathered}
$$

2.24 Verb Phrase

This consists of the verb proper and an auxiliary verb riba, i.e.,
$V P=$ Verb + Aux: riba

Examples:

| gila-na goi (ati) bege-vagi-mu-ni | riba |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subj Obj Neg | verb | Aux |
| they-sm you not they-kill-you-cont able |  |  |
| They are (not) able to kill you |  |  |

So far only riba to be able, can has been observed to occur as an auxiliary in this way but further study may reveal others. 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. Compare for example, the following:
gila-na bae vagi-na ma riba-ria
they-sm pig kill-poss cop knowledge-their
They know how to kill the pig
gila-na bae vagi-vagi-na ati riba-ria
they-sm pig kill-kill-poss not knowledge-their
They do not know how to kill the pig

### 2.3 Words

Verbs are the only words that will be discussed here. They are morphemically the most complex elements in Balawaia. They typically consist of the following elements in the following order:

```
Verb \(=\operatorname{stm}\left(\operatorname{aspect}_{1}\right)(r e c i p)\) verb root (advm) (or/ior) aspect \({ }_{2}\)
```

where (1) 'stm' represents sets of prefixes which agree with the subject in number and person but which also differentiate between different tenses and modes of the verb. These are important features of Balawala structure and are discussed separately in Section 2.47 below.

## Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gila begene-gena } \\
& \text { they stm -sleep } \\
& \text { They'Zl sleep } \\
& \text { au ba-tagi } \\
& \text { I stm-cry } \\
& \text { I cried (a while ago) } \\
& \text { goi-na gila bo-kea-ria } \\
& \text { you-sm them stm-call-them } \\
& \text { You called them }
\end{aligned}
$$

(11) ( aspect $_{l}$ ) represents such elements as kala- to make (someone do something), kalatogo- to try (to do something), and va- to be about (to do something).

Examples:
a-kala-raga-mu-to
I-make-run-you-com
I made you run
we bita bite-kala-gabagaba-ria
We made the pigs squeal
bana-kalatogo-kwari-mu
I.fut- try- hit-you
I will try to hit you
(111) 'recip' represents the reciprocal verb marker ve-, e.g.,
gila ge-ve-lau-ni
they they-recip-kiss-cont
They are kissing each other
gomi maki bogono-ve-lau
you(pl.) certainly you(pl.)-recip-kiss
You(pl.) must kiss each other
au-totaug-u a-ve-kwari-to
I-myself I-recip-hit-com
I hit myself
(iv) 'verb root' represents both simple and complex forms which are discussed further in Section 2.48 below.
(v) 'advm' represents adverbs of manner which are discussed further in Section 2.46 below.

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gila-na bae bege-vagi-galimagi-ria-to } \\
& \text { they-sm pigs they-kill-quickly-them-com } \\
& \text { They killed the pigs quickly } \\
& \text { gia-na au kwari-gwagigi-gu-to } \\
& \text { he-sm me hit-strong-me-com } \\
& \text { He hit me hard }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note, however, that adverbs of manner may come outside the verb, and generally do so if they are long, e.g.,
gia-na au kwari-gu-to gwagigi lelevagi

He hit me very hard
(vi) 'or/ior' represent a set of suffixes which agree in number and person with the object of the verb in transitive sentences and with the indirect object in ditransitive sentences. These suffixes must occur if the verb is transitive or ditransitive except when the action is reciprocal or reflexive. They have the following form:

| 1. | -gu | me |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2. | -mu | you |
| 3. | -a | him, her, it |
| l(incl.) | -ra | us (incl.) |
| l(excl.) | -mai | us (excl.) |
| 2. | $-m i a$ | you (pl.) |
| 3. | $-r i a$ | them |

Examples: Paradigm based on the transitive verb kwari to hit:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { au-na goi a-kwari-mu-ni } \\
& I \text {-sm you I-hit-you-cont } \\
& \text { I am hitting you } \\
& \text { goi-na au o-kwari-gu-ni } \\
& \text { you-sm me you-hit-me-cont } \\
& \text { You are hitting me } \\
& \text { au-na gia a-kwari-a-ni } \\
& \text { I-sm him I-hit-him-cont } \\
& \text { I am hitting him } \\
& \text { gila-na gita ge-kwari-ra-ni } \\
& \text { they-sm us(incl.)they-hit-us-cont } \\
& \text { They are hitting us (incl.) } \\
& \text { gila-na gai ge-kwari-mai-ni } \\
& \text { They-sm us(excl.)they-hit-us-cont } \\
& \text { They are hitting us (excl.) } \\
& \text { au-na gomi a-kwari-mia-ni } \\
& I \text {-sm you(pl.)I-hit-you-cont } \\
& \text { I am hitting you(pl.) }
\end{aligned}
$$

```
au-na gila a-kwari-ria-ni
I -sm them I-hit-them-cont
I am hitting them
```

Paradigm based on the ditransitive verb veni- to give:


Note that when the verb root (or adverb of manner if it occurs) ends in a the third person object suffix -a is not pronounced.

Examples:

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { au-na gia } & \text { a-gita-ni } \\
I \text {-sm him/her/it } & \text { I-see-him/her/it-cont } \\
I \text { see him/her/it } &
\end{array}
$$

```
goi-r.a gia bono-gita
you-sm him you.fut-see.him
You will see him
ta-vemala
we-ambush.him
Let's ambush him
```

(vii) 'aspect2' represents a series of forms indicating the manner in which the action expressed by the verb is/was/will be etc. performed. There are three aspect2 markers in Balawaia:

| -ni | continuous |
| :--- | :--- |
| -to | completed |
| -goni | habitual |

When no aspect marker occurs the action is interpreted as continuing or completed depending on the tense and mood indicated by the subject-tense-mood prefixes discussed in Section 2.48 below. No aspect markers occur with verbs in the imperative mode.

Examples:

> au a-gaukala-ni
> $I \quad I$-work-cont
> I am (still in the process of) working
> au ba-tagi
> I I-cry
> I cried (a while ago)
> rai au-gegu gio bei-lema
> who I-poss spear he-stole.it
> Who stole my spear?
vanua tau-ria mabara-ria dubu- gana ge-ago-ni pula mabara-ria-ai
village man-pl all-pl church- into they-go-cont week all-pl-at
AZZ the vizlagers go to church every Sunday
vanua tau-ria mabara-ria dubu- gana gere-ago-goni pula roro-ria-ai
village man-pl all-pl church-into they-go-hab week every-pl-at
tenagi toma atigina
but now no
All the villagers used to go to church every Sunday but now they don't

```
    giagena numa raga-kwalana-ni
    he.emph house buizd-begin-cont
    He is beginning to build a house
vanua tau-ria dubu-gana ge-ago-to
vizlage man-pl church-to they-go-com
The villagers went to the church
```


### 2.4 Morpheme Categories

### 2.41 Nouns

There are two classes of nouns in Balawaia -- alienable and inalienable -- determined by the way they are possessed grammatically -see Section 2.21.2.

Inalienable nouns include social relatives (e.g., mother, father etc.) and parts of animate and inanimate bodies. All other nouns are alienable ones. However, amongst the latter words for food (including all names for edible plants and animals, garden produce), age group and enemies form a subset in that when possessed they "take" the possessive pronoun form in -ga- and not -ge- as others do in the alienable set.

Examples:

```
                                    augegu vanua
        my village
        my village
            augagu ganigani
            my food
        my food
            gitagera vanua
        our village
        our village
            gitagara ligu
            our enemyl5
(defeated) our enemy
gena magani garikina
his fish poison
    his fish poison
```

Finally nouns in Balawaia are normally not marked for number. That is, manu can be either bird or birds.

## Examples:

| numa | house, houses |
| :--- | :--- |
| tau | man, men |
| gau | tree, trees |
| vanua | village, villages |

In sentences the number of the noun is inferred from the subject and object referents in the verb. For example, in the sentence auna manu apidiria $I$ shot the birds- one can infer that manu is plural since the object referent -ria them occurs in the verb. However, there are exceptions to this. These are:
(i) the following small set of nouns have special singular and plural forms with special meanings:

| manu | bird |
| :--- | :--- |
| manuria | flock of birds |
| tau | man |
| taulimalima | people |

(ii) the suffixes -na and -ria are used to indicate singularity and plurality respectively in noun phrases and relative clauses, e.g.,

Noun Phrases:
gio namo-na
spear good-sg
the good spear
augegu gio namo-na
my spear good-sg
my good spear
augegu gio namo-ria
my spear good-pl
my good spears
manu nugivi-na-ai
bird nest -sg-in
in the bird nest
vavine araga-ria-ai
woman garden- pl-in
in the women's gardens

```
    daubara bara-na-ai
    road big-sg-on
        on the big road
        veriba tau-na
        teach man-sg
            teacher
        veriba tau-ria
        teach man-pl
            teachers
            tiko gau-na
            sit thing-sg
                chair
            tiko gau-ria
            sit thing-pl
                chairs
        manu gerega-na
        bird by.itself-sg
        the bird itself
        manu gerega-ria
        bird by.itself-pl
        the birds themselves
        manu totau-na
        bird to.itself-sg
        the bird itself
        manu totau-ria
        bird to.itself-pl
        The birds themselves
tau natu-na vala-na
man child-poss female-sg
    the man's daughter
tau natu-na vala-ria
man child-poss female-pl
    the man's daughters
```

```
Relative Clauses:
galigwata lema-ria-to tau-na (gia) raga-lekwalekwa-to
bananas stole-them-com man-sg he run - lost - com
    the man who stole the bananas ran away
galigwata lema-ria-to tau-ria ge raga-lekwalekwa-to
bananas stole-them-com man-pl they run - Zost - com
    the men who stole the bananas ran away
```


### 2.42 Personal Pronouns

There are seven personal pronouns in Balawaia whose basic forms in different syntactic positions are set out in Chart l. These forms are all very similar and are discussed in more detail in the following subsections. Dual forms are omitted from this chart since these are simply formed by adding lualuagosi to the plural forms.

Examples:

```
gita lualuagosi we(2)(incl.)
gai lualuagosi we(2)(excl.)
gomi lualuagosi you(2)
nagoa lualuagosi those(2)
```


### 2.42.1 Subject and Object Pronouns: Free Forms

When pronouns occur as subjects or objects of intransitive, transitive or ditransitive verbs they have the following form.

| 1 | au |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | goi |
| 3 | gia |
| l(incl.) | gita |
| 1 (excl.) | gai |
| 2 | gomi |
| 3 | gila |

Remember, however, that subjects of transitive and ditransitive verbs are marked by $-n a$, and that indirect objects are unmarked.

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\begin{aligned}
\text { au-na } & \text { melo a-kwari-a-ni } \\
I-s m & \text { boy } \quad I \text {-hit-him-cont } \\
I & \text { am hitting the boy }
\end{aligned}
\end{aligned}
$$

```
    goi-na melo o-kwari-a-ni
    You are hitting the boy
    gia-na melo kwari-a-ni
            He is hitting the boy
        gita-na melo ta-kwari-a-ni
    We (incl.) are hitting the boy
        gai-na melo ga-kwari-a-ni
    We (excl.) are hitting the boy
        gomi-na melo go-kwari-a-ni
    You (pl.) are hitting the boy
    gila-na melo ge-kwari-a-ni
        They are hitting the boy
            au a-mamai-ni
                I am laughing
                goi o-mamai-ni
            You are laughing
                gia \oint-mamai-ni
                    He is laughing
                gita ta-mamai-ni
        We (incl.) are laughing
            gai sa-mamai-ni
        We (excl.) are laughing
            gomi so-mamai-ni
        You (pl.) are laughing
            gila ge-mamai-ni
            They are laughing
au-na gudugudu (goi)}\mp@subsup{}{}{16}\mathrm{ a-veni-mu-to
    I gave the beads to you
goi-na gudugudu (au) o-veni-gu-to
    You gave the beads to me
```


### 2.42.2 Emphatic Subject Pronouns

If one wants to indicate or emphasize that some action is/was/will be etc. performed by someone alone (and not by someone else) then this is achieved by using one of the following two subsets of subject pronouns. These translate 'by myself, by yourself' etc. or 'I alone, you alone' etc. in English.

| $\frac{\text { Person/ }}{\text { Number }}$ | $\frac{\text { Subject/Object }}{\text { Free Forms }}$ | Long Emphatic | $\begin{aligned} & \text { c Subject } \\ & \text { Short Forms } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Subject } \\ \text { Present } \\ \text { Tense } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Referents } \\ \text { Non- } \\ \text { Present } \end{gathered}$ | Object Referent | Possessive | Reflexive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 2 \\ & 3 \\ & 1 \text { (incl.) } \\ & 1 \text { (excl.) } \\ & 2 \\ & 3 \end{aligned}$ |  | (au) geregagu (goi)geregamu (gia)geregana (gita)geregara (gai)geregamai (gomi)geregamia (gila)geregaria |  | a-V <br> o-V <br> g-V <br> ta-V <br> ga-V <br> so-V <br> ge-V | ba-V <br> bo-V <br> bei-v ${ }^{17}$ <br> bite-v ${ }^{18}$ <br> baga-V <br> bogo-V <br> bege-V | $\begin{aligned} & V-g u \\ & v \text {-mu } \\ & v \text {-a } \\ & v-r a \\ & v \text {-mai } \\ & v-m i a \\ & v-r i a \end{aligned}$ | $a u-N-g u$ <br> goi-N-mu <br> gia-N-na <br> gita-N-ra <br> gai-N-mai <br> gomi-N-mia <br> giia-N-ria | autotangu <br> goitotaumu <br> gitatotauna <br> gitatotaura <br> gaitotaumai <br> gomitotaumia <br> gilatotauria |


| Person/ <br> Number | Long Version | Short Version |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | (au)gerega-gu | ge-gu |
| 2 | (goi)gerega-mu | ge-mu |
| 3 | (gia)gerega-na | ge-na |
| 1 (1ncl.) | (gita)gerega-ra | ge-ra |
| 1(excl.) | (gai)gerega-mai | ge-mai |
| 2 | (gomi)gerega-mia | ge-mia |
| 3 | (gila)gerega-ria | ge-ria |

Examples:


### 2.42.3 Subject Pronouns: Prefixed Forms

As already noted in Section 2.3, Balawaia verbs contain sets of morphemes prefixed to the verb root which agree in number and person with the subject but which also differentiate between different tenses
and modes of the verb. Because of their agreement with the subject these forms are commonly referred to in studies of other Austronesian languages of Melanesia as "short pronouns". In this study, however, this terminology is not adopted but the relevant forms are discussed in Section 2.47 below where they are treated as composite subject-tensemode referents. ${ }^{19}$

### 2.42.4 Object Pronouns: Suffixed Forms

The following suffixes are added to the verb of transitive and ditransitive verbs to agree in person and number with the object and indirect object respectively:

| 1 | $-g u$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | $-m u$ |
| 3 | $-a$ |
| l(1ncl.) | $-r a$ |
| 1 (excl.) | $-m a i$ |
| 2 | $-m i a$ |
| 3 | $-r i a$ |

Remember, however, that when the verb root ends in a the third person object suffix -a is not pronounced.

## Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { goina au o-doli-gu-to } \\
\text { you.sm me you-push-me-com } \\
\text { You pushed me } \\
\text { auna goi a-doli-mu-ni } \\
\text { I.sm you I-push-you-cont } \\
\text { I am pushing you } \\
\text { auna gia a-gita-a-ni (> auna gia agitani) } \\
\text { I.sm it I-see-it-cont } \\
\text { I see it } \\
\text { goina gudugudu au o-veni-gu-to } \\
\text { you.sm beads me you-give-me-com } \\
\text { You gave the beads to me }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 2.42.5 Possessive Pronouns

The general form of the possessive pronoun in Balawaia is as follows:

| au-N-gu | my |
| ---: | :--- |
| goi-N-mu | your |
| gia-N-na | his, her(s), its |
| gita-N-ra | our(incl.) |
| gai-N-mai | our(excl.) |
| gomi-N-mia | your(pl.) |
| gila-N-ria | their(s) |

Where ge is used for $N$ for all allenable nouns, and gima hand etc. for inalienable nouns. Remember, however, that amongst the alienable nouns there is a subclass that "takes" -ga (see Section 2.41).

Examples:

| augegu vanua | my village |
| :--- | :--- |
| goigemu kwagalu | your dog |
| giagena araga | his garden |
| gitagera auri | our(incl.) spear |
| gaigemai atai? | Where is ours (excl.)? |
| gomigemia numa | your(pl.) house |
| gilageria gasi | their canoe |
| augagu ganigani | my food |
| goigamu ligu | your enemy |
| giagana gula | his (roasted)yam |
| au gima gu | my hand |
| goi tina mu | your mother |
| gia deba na | his head |
| gita tamara | our father (in reference) |
| gai tubumai | our grandparent |
| gomi matamia | your eyes |
| gila kakaria | their ezder brother |

Finally, in familiar or rapid speech the general form of the possessive pronoun given above is often shortened simply to pronoun plus -na.

## Examples:

| auna numa | my house |
| :--- | :--- |
| auna ganigani | my food |
| goina vanua | your village |
| giana gio | his spear |
| gilana araga | their gardens |

### 2.42.6 Reflexive Pronouns

These have the following form. ${ }^{21}$ Note, however, that they must be used with the reflexive form of the verb (see ve-in Section 2.3) and that other words (e.g., maki and similar adverbs (see Section 2.46(a)) may come between the pronoun proper and the reflexive part.

Examples:

| autotaugu | I.....myself |
| :--- | :--- |
| goitotaumu | You....yourself |
| giatotauna | He....himself; She....herself; |
|  | It....itself |
| gitatotaura | We(1ncl.)...ourselves |
| gaitotaumai | We(excl.)...ourselves |
| gomitotaumia | You(pl.)....yourselves |
| gilatotauria | They...themselves |

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { au-totaugu a-ve-kwari-to } \\
\text { I.reflex I-reflex-hit-com } \\
\text { authyself maki totaugu a-ve-kwari-to } \\
\text { I certainly reflex I-reflex-hit-com } \\
\text { I certainly hit myself } \\
\text { gita maki totaura bite-ve-kwari-ni } \\
\text { we(incl.) certainly reflex we.fut-reflex-hit-cont } \\
\text { We are hitting ourselves }
\end{gathered}
$$

Note, also, that when these forms are used no -na subject marker is needed and no object suffix occurs in the verb. Note also that these are to be distinguished from the emphatic subject pronouns (au)geregagu/ gegu etc. discussed in Section 2.41.2 above.

### 2.43 Interrogatives

Interrogatives is the class of forms which replace noun phrases and other elements in information questions. The following are the most common forms:

```
rai
aria
ata gau
rakau
aria gauna
ariatoma
atai
aria vetaina
ata gauna
obe
ata gaukala
ata gani why? (= for what reason?)
ata ganikala 
ata gaukala why? (= to do what?)
raigena(for sing.)
raigeria(for plural)
vira
how many?
ata vetaina
aria gana
```

who?
which?
what thing?
what? (Kemabolo loan)
which one?
when?
where?
how?
why?
why? (= for what reason?)
why? (= to do what?)
whose?
how many?
what kind of?
whither?

Examples:

```
                    ata gaukala goi o-laka-ni
Why (= for what reason) are you going?
                goi o-laka-ni, obe?
                    Why are you going? (lit.you are going, why?)
                    ata ganikala goi o-laka-ni
                    Why (= to do what) are you going?
                    rai gena numa nagoa?
                    Whose house is that?
                    goi atai gana o-ago-ni?
                    Where are you going?
                    aria toma gia agomaito?
                    When did he come?
```

```
    aria be goi gemu numa?
    Which house is yours?
    tepi rekodi be atagani
    What is a taperecorder?
    ata gauna bo-ago-ni?
How (lit. by means of what thing) will you go?
    aria gau goi gemu?
        Which one (lit. thing) is yours?
            tau kulokulo be vira Rigoai?
        How many Europeans are there in Rigo?
            nanea be ata manu?
        What kind of a bird is that?
```

    2.44 Noun Qualifiers
    
### 2.44.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives precede the noun they qualify. Different forms distinguish relative nearness of an object to the speaker or person spoken to or about:

| naia | this (near me) |
| :--- | :--- |
| enaia | this (emphatic-pointing to it) |
| nagoa | that (over there) |
| enagoa | that (emphatic-pointing to it) |
| nanea | that (near you) |

These forms may also be used as demonstrative pronouns when no noun is mentioned.

The demonstrative is not inflected for number to agree with the noun it qualifies:

Examples:

```
nagoa melo
that boy
that boy (over there), those boys (over there)
naia mota no-vagi-a
this snake you-kill-it
Kill this (near me) snake!
```

$$
\begin{gathered}
\begin{array}{c}
\frac{\text { nagoa saligwata no-guamai-ria }}{\text { that banana you-bring-them }} \\
\text { Bring me those lover there near him) bananas! } \\
\frac{\text { nanea maki no-guamai-ria }}{\text { that certainly you-bring-them }} \\
\text { Bring me those (over there near you)! } \\
\frac{\text { neia maki no-gabi-a }}{\text { this certainly you-take-it }} \\
\text { Take this one (near me)! }
\end{array}
\end{gathered}
$$

### 2.44.2 Adjectives

There are two types of adjectives -- those which precede the noun they qualify and that follow it. 23 Only those words which denote the nationality or place of origin of a person or thing belong to the first group, e.g.,

| Gulaga vala-na | Hula girl |
| :--- | :--- |
| Amerika motuka-na | American truck |
| Koiari vetali tau-na | Koiari warrior |

All other adjectives follow the noun they qualify and may be either qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative adjectives precede quantitative ones. Quantitative adjectives will be referred to as numerals.

### 2.44.21 Qualitative Adjectives

These are adjectives denoting colour, quality, size etc.
Examples:

| vala kei-na | small girl |
| :--- | :--- |
| vala kei-ria | small girls |
| gudugudu kakala kakala-na | red bead |
| gudugudu dubala dubala-ria | black beads |
| gata namo-na | good friend |
| gata raka va-na | untrustworthy friend |

Note that many members of this class are identical to members of the class of adverbs of manner.

### 2.44.22 Quantitative Adjectives: Numerals

These follow the noun and may be either definite or indefinite.
(1) Definite Numerals

Different sets of these are employed for counting different kinds of objects. The most general set which is based on ten is:

Cardinal Form Ordinal Form
1 \{tebona $\}$ (=one only) lst gonena ta $\quad(=a$, one)

2 lualua

3 toitoi
4 vativati
5 imaima
6 taulatoitoi
7 taulatoitoitebona
8 taulavativati
9 taulavativatitebona
10 gabanana
$l l$ gabananatebona
20 gabanalua
31 gabanatoitoitebona
100 tinauna genau

101 tinaulualuatebona
1000 dagarana
l,000,000 gelebu
This set is also used for counting coconuts and betelnuts except that one is always tebona, four is ra kana and ten is walona. For counting bananas, however, the following set based on four is used:

Cardinal Form
1 gauna
2 gaulualua
3 gautoitoi
4 akwana
5 akwanagauna
6 akwanagaulua (lua)
7 akwanagautoi(toi)
8 akwalualua

Ordinal Form
lst genena
2nd veluana
3rd vetoina
4 th vevatina

```
            Cardinal Form (contd.)
            9 akwalualuagauna
l0 akwalualuagaulualua
Examples:
tau-ria ati gogo neagomaito
man-pl many they.come.com
A fewmen came
tau kulokulo irauirauna vagomaito
man white different he.come.
A different European
```



```
galigwata gauna novenigu
banana one you.give.me
Give me one banana!
(2) Indefinite Numerals
(galigwata) kiata some (bananas)
(taulimalima) kiata some (people)
(taulimalima) gogolelevagi many (people)
(galigwata) gogolelevagi many (bananas)
ati gogo not many, a few
ati gogo lelevagi a very few
mabarara all, the whole lot
ati aiaina too many to count, innumerable
ati magigi very many
atigina none
tamaia another
irauna a different one
momogonina a certain one
ta
other
kwauta half, part of
Both definite and indefinite numerals may be modified by the following:
\begin{tabular}{ll}
-mogo & only \\
-gosi & together \\
-teboria & each, every \\
-roriria &
\end{tabular}
```


## Examples:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { lualuamogo } & \text { only two } \\
\text { lualuagosi } & \text { the two of them } \\
\text { luanaluana } & \text { each two, every two } \\
\text { tau lualua kuku teboria teboria bege-gabi-a } \\
\text { man two tobacco each each they-get-it } \\
\text { Each of the two workers got a stick of tobacco }
\end{array}
$$

### 2.45 Intensifiers

Intensifiers is the class of words used with adjectives and adverbs to express the idea of very, only etc. in Balawaia. The following are the most common forms:
lelevasi very
mogo only
lelevagi lelevagi extremely
ati lelevagi
tumutumu
kolikolivasi
rori

## Examples:

```
namo lelevagi
gwagigi tumutumu
mamaki tumutumu
ati gwagigi
boraga gotigoti
rori gabana lualua}2
lelevagi lelevagi
```

Intensifiers follow the adjective or adverb they modify, except for rori approximately which can come before or after - see Section 2.23 .

### 2.46 Adverbs

We distinguish here between two sets of adverbs:
(a) those which are used in association with subject-tense-mood prefixes to express definiteness or indefiniteness of an action. There are six of these:

```
rogo yet
maki certainly
gwarau already
vau
vaguna vau sometime later
vaguna kiana just now
```

See Section 2.47 for further details of their use.
(b) all others, which we may conveniently divide into Manner, Time and Place groups.
(i) Adverbs of Manner

There are two subgroups of these - those that come "inside"
the verb and those that do not - see Section 2.3(v).
The following belong to the first subset:
kokole hard
keana mogo only a little bit
bara
a lot
vagana
once
vagalua
twice
vagatoitoi
thrice
vanagivanagi
continually, again and again
waia
again
maki
also
mogo only
galimagi quickly
kwaibomagi slowly
gitakau
carefully
namo (lelevagi) (very) well
rakava
badly
kolikolivagi
completely
rogo
still
neiatana
like this
nagoatana
Zike that
Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { auna goi akwari-kokole-muni } \\
\text { I.sm you I.hit-strong-you.cont } \\
I \text { am hitting you hard }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
    auna goi akwari-bara-muni
            I hit you a lot
    auna goi akwari-vagana-muni
            I hit you once
auna goi akwari-vanagivanagi-muni
            I hit you sontinually
                auna goi akwari-waia-muni
            I hit you again
auna goi akwari-namo-muni
            I hit you properly
```

The following belong to the second subset of Adverbs of Manner:

| babo(lelevagi) | (very)stupidly |
| :--- | :--- |
| ati ganina | in vain |
| ati vetokau | perfectly |
| ati gauta | for no reason |
| ati gulurage | softly |
| ati kolokolo | secretly |
| rori be koli | almost |

Example:

| auna gia agwaduato |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $I$-sm it | it.com perfectly |
| I spe | perfectly |
| Adverbs of Time |  |
| vau | now |
| vaguna kiana | just now |
| molagani | yesterday |
| motanai | day before yesterday |
| watau motanai | day before that |
| ilagani | day after tomorrow |
| ilagaita | day after that |
| rabalua | tomorrow |
| rogo | yet |
| kiana mogo | soon |
| gonena | first |
| veluana | second |
| vetoina | third |
| mulitai vagina | Last |
| vaguna vau | Zater on |

```
(111) Adverbs of Place
    naianai here (near me)
    enaianai here (with me)
    nagoanai there (over there)
    enagoanai there (at that particular spot)
    naneanai there (near you)
    mabarariai everywhere
    kavatai kavatai on all sides
    neianana hence
    nagoanana from over there
```

Examples:
gitana kwagalu takwariato nanenai e nagoanai
we.sm dog we.hit.it.com here and there
We hit the dog here and there (on the body)
gitana kwagalu takwariato waia e waia
we.sm dog we.hit.it.comp.again and again
We hit the dog again and again
motuka bei-laukulewai ati ganina
truck it-return no reason
The truck returned for no reason

### 2.47 Subject-Tense-Mode Prefixes

As already indicated in Section 2.3 and 2.42 .3 above Balawaia verbs always contain prefixes which not only agree with the subject of the sentence in number and person but also indicate the tense and mode of the action expressed by the verb. However, since Balawaia only distinguishes between present and non-present tense (that is, between that which is now or simultaneous with some other event in the past or future (e.g., some pig feast, action etc), declarative and imperative mode, there are only four sets of these prefixes all of which are given in the following chart:

| Person/ <br> Number | Declarative Mode |  |  | Imperative Mode |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Present Tense | Non-Present Tense |  | Present Tense | Non-Present Tense |
|  |  | Definite | Indefinite |  |  |
| 1 | a- | ba- | bana- | na- | bana- |
| 2 | -- | bo- | bono- | no- | bono- |
| 3 | $\emptyset-/ v a-$ | bei- | bene- | ne- | bene- |
| 1 (1ncl.) | ta- | bite-/bete | bitene- | ta- | bitene- |
| 1(excl.) | ga- | baga- | bagana- | ga- | bagana- |
| 2 | go- | bogo- | bogono- | 90- | bogono- |
| 3 | ge- | bege | begene- | ge- | begene- |

CHART 2: SUBJECT-TENSE-MODE PREFIXES IN BALAWAIA

Note, however, that:
(1) the ba-, bo- etc. set of forms also overlaps into the present;
(11) there is a set of forms bara-, boro- etc. corresponding to the bana-, bono- etc. set which is only used to express hypothetical events e.g., if, might, should, when, and which will hereafter be referred to as subjuncture forms - see examples in Section 2.56.

## Examples:

(1) Declarative Mode

1. Present Tense (Paradigm based on mamai to Zaugh)
au a-mamai-ni I am laughing (now) or $I$ was laughing (just now, having only this moment stopped)
goi o-mamai-ni
You are laughing
gia mamai-ni
He is laughing
gita ta-mamai-ni
gai ga-mamai-ni
gomi go-mamai-ni
gila ge-mamai-ni
au ati a-mamai-ni
We(incl.) are laughing
We(excl.) are laughing
You(pl.) are laughing
They are laughing
I am not laughing now
```
            auna goi ati a-vagi-mu-ni
            I.sm you not I-kizZ-you-cont
            I am not killing you (now)
    gomina gia vau go-koli-a-ni
    You(pl)sm it now you bite-it-cont
        You(pl.) are/were biting it just now
11. Present Tense Relative to Some Event in the Past
    (Paradigm based on bala to dance)
au a-bala-too 26 I danced (with a drum) (at the feast)
goi o-bala-to You danced
gia bala-to He/she/it danced
gita ta-bala-to We(incl.) danced
gai ga-bala-to We(excl.) danced
gomi go-bala-to You(pl.) danced
gila ge-bala-to They danced
au ati a-bala-to I did not dance
1i1.Definite Non-Present Tense (Paradigm based on tagi
    to cry)
au ba-tagi I cried (a while ago)
goi bo-tagi You cried (a while ago)
gia bei-tagi He/she/it cried (a while ago)
gita bite-tage We(incl.) cried (a while ago)
gai baga-tagi We(excl.) cried (a while ago)
gomi bogo-tagi You(pl.) cried (a while ago)
gila bege-tagi They cried (a while ago)
1v. Indefinite Non-Present Tense (Paradigm based on nuvi
    to dream)
au bana-nuvi I'ZZ dream (sometime Zater)
goi bono-nuvi You'zl dream (sometime Zater)
gia bene-nuvi He/she/it'ZZ dream (sometime Zater)
gita bitene-nuvi We(incl.)'Zl dream (sometime Zater)
gai bagana-nuvi We(excl.)'Zl dream (sometime Zater)
gomi bogono-nuvi You(pl.)'ZZ dream (sometime Zater)
gila begene-nuvi They'Zl dream (sometime Zater)
Other examples:
    gita vaguna vau bitene-ulaula
    we sometime later we-play
            We'Zl play sometime later
```

> gila begene-gena
> they they-sleep
> They'll sleep
(2) Imperative Mode

1. Present Tense (Paradigm based on tanu to stay)

| na-tanu | Let me stay |
| :--- | :--- |
| no-tanu | You stay |
| ne-tanu | Let him stay |
| ga-tanu | Let us (incl.) stay |
| go-tanu | Let us(excl.) stay |
| getanu | You(pl.) stay |
| ati no-tanu | Let them stay |
| ata-tanu | Don't you stay |

More immediacy can be given to the present tense imperative by adding mogo only and leaving off the subject-tense-mode prefix, e.g.,
laka mogo Go (immediately)!
11. Non-Present Tense (Paradigm based on megi to urinate)
bana-megi Let me urinate (Zater)
bono-megi You urinate (Zater)
bene-megi Let him urinate (Zater)
bitene-megi Let us (incl.) urinate (Zater)
bagana-megi Let us(excl.) urinate (Zater)
bogono-mesi You(pl.) urinate (Zater)
begene-mesi Let them urinate (Zater)
ati bogono-megi Don't you(pl.) urinate (Zater)
The non-present imperative mode forms are also used to indicate intention:

Examples:
au bana-gena I'm going to sleep now $(=I$ intend to go to sleep now)
gila begene-gena They are going to sleep now
Finally, note that althougn the subject-tense-mood prefixes do not distinguish between past and future time in the non-present tenses this distinction is made by using one of the following set of adverbs before the verb phrase:
(1) gwarau already

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gita gwarau bite-gumu } \\
& \text { we already we-hide } \\
& \text { We have hidden already } \\
& \text { gila gwarau ati bege-gaukala } \\
& \text { they already not they-work } \\
& \text { They did not work yet }
\end{aligned}
$$

(11) maki certainly

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { au maki ba-mari-ni } \\
& I \text { certainly } I-\text { sing-cont } \\
& I^{\prime} Z l \text { certainly sing } \\
& \text { au maki ati bana-ago } \\
& I \text { certainly not } \frac{I-g o ~}{\text { I'Zl certainly not go }}
\end{aligned}
$$

(111) rogo yet

Examples:

> goi rogo bo-laukule-ni
> you yet you-return-cont
> You will definitely be returning (1.e., You are yet to return but you will)
> goi rogotina ${ }^{27}$ oro-laukule
> you yet.not you-return
> You haven't returned yet
(iv) vau just now

Examples:
gaina soi (ati) vau ga-koli-mu-ni
we. you not just.now we-bite-you-cont
We(excl.) are/were (not) biting you just now
(v) vaguna vau ${ }^{28}$ sometime Zater

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { au vaguna vau bana-nuvi } \\
& I \text { sometime later } \frac{\text { d-dream }}{} \\
& \text { I'Zl dream sometime iater }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gita vaguna vau bitene-ulaula } \\
& \text { we sometime later we-play } \\
& \text { We(Incl.)'Zl play sometime later }
\end{aligned}
$$

To recapitulate then, the subject-tense-mode referent system of Balawala can be represented as follows:


## CHART 3: SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF SUBJECT-TENSE-MODE REFERENTS BALAWAIA

### 2.48 Verb Roots

Verb roots in Balawaia are morphologically either simple or complex. Simple verb roots consist of only one morpheme; complex ones of more than one morpheme. The latter are of several types including those composed of reduplicated morphemes, root plus modifier, root plus root,
the causative vei + certain adjectives, etc. but because these have not been studied in any detail they will not be analysed further here. The following are typical examples of simple and complex verb roots:
(l) Simple Verb Roots

| ago | to go |
| :--- | :--- |
| bala | to dance |
| kea | to call (someone) |
| koli | to bite |
| mamai | to laugh |
| vagi | to kill |

(2) Complex Verb Roots

| agalulu | to gasp (< aga to breathe + lulu rib) |
| :--- | :--- |
| aidi | to read (< reduplicated ai to count) |
| balugigitali | to bind together (balu to tie a knot |
|  | + gigitali tightly) |
| botabota | to clasp (< reduplication of bota to hit) |
| gabigisi | goremetau pickup (< gabi to get + gisi up) |
| namogwai | to stammer (< gare chin + metau heavy) |
|  | to become/get well (< namo good + gwai |
| veirakava | again) |
| veirau | to damage (< vei- causative + rakava bad) |
|  | to repair/fix up (< vei- causative + |
|  | rau/namo good) |

Finally note (i) that some verb roots may be regarded as irregular in that they "take" va- instead of $\varnothing$ or bei- as a 3rd person sirgular sub-ject-tense-mode referent, e.g., ago to go;
(ii) that present-tense subject-tense-mode referents ending in a will "lose" that a before verb roots beginning with a.

Examples:
(Paradigm based on ago to go)

| au a-agoni | $>$ | agoni | I am going |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| goi o-agoni | $>$ | oagoni | You are going |
| gia va-agoni | $>$ | vagoni | He is going |
| gita ta-agoni | $>$ | tagoni | We(incl.) are going |
| gai ga-agoni | $>$ | gagoni | We(excl.) are going |
| gomi go-agoni | $>$ | goagoni | You(pl.) are going |
| gila ge-agoni | $>$ | geagoni | They are going |

All other forms ending in a retain the a, e.g.,

```
au ba-agoni > baagoni I am going
```

au bana-agoni > banaagoni I'Zl be going
(i1i) that there is a subgroup of verbs of these two types that
"take" postpositions like genai $i n$, with, ai to after the object.
These will be referred to as Postpositional Verb Roots (see Section 2.11.l(1)). Members of this subgroup include:
vetaumagikau (genai) to believe (in)
verere (genai) to be happy/pleased (with)
vagi (galamariai) to cry (for)
vanagi (ai) to pass (to) (= become)
Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { magani be tau-ai bei-vanagi } \\
& \text { fish cop man-to he-pass } \\
& \text { The fishbecame a man } \\
& \text { goi Balau-genai o-vetaumagikauni } \\
& \text { you God-in you-believe.cont } \\
& \text { Do you believe in God? }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 2.49 Postpositions

There are two sets of postpositions in Balawaia - simple and complex.

### 2.49.1 Simple Postpositions

There are clitics which occur on the ends of NPs. They include:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& -a i \\
& -n a \\
& - \text { got } i
\end{aligned}
$$

Examples:
in, at
with (instrument), from
with (accompaniment)
-gana towards (a person or place)

```
numa-ai (>numai)
```

numa-ai (>numai)
Motu garo-ai or Motuai
Motu garo-ai or Motuai
Kemabolo-ai
Kemabolo-ai
at the house
at the house
in (the) Motu (Zanguage)
in (the) Motu (Zanguage)
at Kemabolo (village)
at Kemabolo (village)
augegu koko-na akwariato
augegu koko-na akwariato
my axe-with I.hit.it.com
my axe-with I.hit.it.com
I hit it with my axe

```
    I hit it with my axe
```

```
au gomi-goti ta-tikoni
I you(pl)-together we-sit.cont
    I am sitting with you(pl)
```

    Kila Rupa-goti ge-agumaini Kemabolo-na
    Kila Rupa-togetrer they-come. cont
Kila and Rupa are coming from Kemabolo (vilZage)
gia-na kwagalu baraki-na-gana gio piuato
he-sm dog old-sg-towards spear he.throw.it.com
He threw the spear at the old dog
Note, with respect to these, that:
(i) if goti (with, together) appears on a subject NP then the subject-tense-mode prefix on the verb must be plural;
(ii) there are no forms corresponding to from or for in English in sentences like the following:
giana tau kulokulo gena bae goiato
he.sm man white poss pig he.buy.it.com
He bought a pig from the European
(lit. He bought the European's pig)
tamagu tarigu gena gio kalato
father.my brother.my poss spear he.make.com
My father made a spear for my younger brother
(lit. My father made my younger brother's spear)

As can be seen these concepts are expressed in Balawaia by Possessive Phrases.

### 2.49.2 Complex Postpositions

These include:


| (numa) rekenai | beside (the house) |
| :--- | :--- |
| (numa) kavatai | on this side of (the house) |
| (numa) kavatai kavatai | on the other side of (the house) |
| (numa) vepakanai | in the middle of (the house) |
| (numa) nuanai/nuariai | amongst (the houses) |
| (mimiga) potiatiai | through (the hole) |

### 2.4.10 Conjunctions

The following forms are used to join clauses and other elements:

```
e,ema and
benamo and then
kwalanai and so, consequently
tenagi but
ba
    or
```

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { giana gasi ema leke ema auri lemariato } \\
& \text { he.sm canoe and net and spear he.stole.them.com } \\
& \text { He stole a canoe, a net, and a fish spear }
\end{aligned}
$$

giana garawana beato biana kwariato he.sm wife.his he.shout.com and.then he.sm he.hit.her.com He shouted at his wife and then hit her au agomai tenagi auna goi ati bagitamu I come but I.sm you not I.see.you I came but I did not see you
goina galigwata ba mao oulani you.sm banana our yam you.want Do you want a banana or a yam? gia be ketopiririgo ba atigina he f he.fall.down or not Did he fall down or not?

Other examples are to be found in various subsections of Section 2.5 below.

### 2.5 Compound Sentences

Any number of simple sentences may be joined together by various free forms, or confunctions, to form larger sentences. The resulting sentences may be classified according to the kind of conjunction involved. Thus there are:

### 2.51 Coordinate Sentences

These are ones involving the conjunction ema and.
Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { garo sebona gita tabalato ema talaupaganiriato } \\
& \text { day one we we.dance.com and we.smoke.com } \\
& \text { We danced and smoked at the same time } \\
& \text { gila gekeani ema vepapagauni } \\
& \text { they they.shout.cont and they.argue.cont } \\
& \text { They are shouting and arguing }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that many English sentences joined by and are not joined by ema in Balawaia. Consider, for example:
gia tauni-gana agoto benamo giana motuka goiato
he town-towards he.went and.then he.sm truck he.bought.it
He went to town and bought a truck

| gilana | au gekwariguto | kwalanai | au batagi |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| they.sm | $I$ | they.hit.me.com | and.so | $I$ | $I . c r y$ | They hit me and $I$ cried

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gitana bae bitenevagia mulinai gitana bitene gabua } \\
& \text { we.sm pig we.kill.it after.that we.sm we.cook.it } \\
&
\end{aligned}
$$

### 2.52 Sequential Sentences

These are ones involving a sequence of actions represented by clauses foined by benamo and then, 80 .

Examples:
giana garawana beato giana kwariato
he. wife.his he.shout.com and.then he.sm he.hit.her.com He shouted at his wife and then hit her
lega beiguakoru benamo gia beiketopirigo
branch it.broke and.then he he.fall. down
The branch broke and he fell down
gia tauni-gana agoto benamo giana motuka goto he town-to he.went and.then he.sm truck he.buy.it.com He went to town and (then) bought a truck

### 2.53 Adversative Sentences

These are ones containing clauses joined by tenagi but, although.
Examples:


### 2.54 Alternative Sentences

These are ones in which the clauses are joined by ba or.

Examples:
goi oagomaini ba otanuni
you you.come.cont or you.stay.cont
Are you coming or are you staying?
gilana gia gegitato ba gila begegena
they. it they.see.it. or they they.sleep
Did they see it or were they sleeping?

### 2.55 Reason Sentences

These sentences include clauses foined by kwalanai and so, consequently, because, so that, in order to. Note, however, that the clause expressing the cause or reason comes first in the sentence.

Examples:


### 2.56 Conditional Sentences

These sentences contain clauses introduced by bene if and generally express hypothetical actions indicated by bara, boro etc. set of subjunctive subject-tense-mode prefixes on verbs mentioned in Section 2.47. Note that in these the verb is nearly always in the future tense of the declarative mode or subjunctive mode.

## Examples:



### 2.57 Sentences Containing Verb Complements 30

In these sentences one clause is semantically the object or complement of the verb in the other. They correspond to so-called Noun Clauses in English. Note, nowever, that there are no special markers or conjunctions to indicate that the one clause is the complement of the verb in the other - the only indication is that the Complement is placed immediately after the other clause. Some typical verbs which "take" complements in this way are:

```
ula to want
tugu to let, allow
kila to tell
vekila to ask
vekava to help
gita to see
riba to know (but see Section 2.11.21(2)
    for the structure of clauses
    containing this)
```

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { gila-na ge-ula-ni begene-vagi-mu } \\
\text { they- they-want- they-kill-you } \\
\text { (lit. They want it; they kill you) } \\
\text { gila-na bege-tugu-a bae bei-vagi-a ati-ganina to kill you } \\
\text { they-sm they-let-him pig he-kill-it not reason } \\
\text { They let him kill the pig for no reason }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 2.6 Complex Sentences

These are those in which one idea is subordinated to another. Traditionally the principal idea is called the principal or main clause and the subordinated one the subordinate clause. There are three types of subordinate clause in Balawaia which are all very similar in structure.

### 2.61 Relative Clauses

These are those corresponding to those introduced by 'who, which, that' in English. The following examples illustrate:
galigwata lema-ria-to tau-na raga-lekwalekwa-to
bananas he.steal.them-com man-sg run-lost-com
The man who stole the bananas ran away
galigwata lema-ria-to tau-ria ge-raga-lekwalekwa-to
bananas they.steal-them-com man-pl they-run-lost-com
The men who stole the bananas ran away
galigwata lema-ria-to kwagalu-na raga-lekwalekwa-to bananas it.steal-them-com dog-sg it.run-Zost-com The dog that stole the bananas ran away

```
galigwata lema-ria-to vavine-na raga-lekwalekwa-to
```

bananas she.steal-them-com woman-sg she-run-lost-com The woman that stole the bananas ran away
galigwata augegu aragai bege-gala neia tau-na gia lema-ria-to bananas my garden.in they-grow this man-sg he he.steal-them-com This man stole the bananas that were growing in my garden nanea gau ge-goi-a-to gau-na ati bono-piutoga that thing they-buy-it-com thing-sg not you.throw. away Don't throw away that thing they bought

### 2.62 Location in Time and Place Clauses

These correspond to those in English that are introduced by 'when, after, while, where'. Notice that they all contain an adverb phrase indicating the relative time or place at which the action indicated by the verb takes place. The common phrases are:

```
garotai
gonenai
mulinai
gabunai
gabunana
at the time, when
before (that time)
behind, after (that time)
at the place, where
from the place, from where
```


## Examples:

tano palipalina garotai gaina galigwata gatuburiani
ground wet fime, at we.sm bananas we.plant.them. cont
When the ground is wet we plant the bananas
gia warigitito garotai gilana gia begepidia
he he.get.up.com time.at they. sm him they.shot. him
They shot him when he got up

### 2.63 Durative Clauses

These correspond to those in English introduced by 'until'. They are always marked by muai untiz.

Examples:

```
au banatanu muai gia beneagomai
I I.wait until he he.come
    I'Zl wait until he comes
neaianai notanu muai garo benerigo
    here you.wait until sun it.goes.down
    Wait here until the sun goes down
gai gatanuto muai gia begwara
we we.wait.com until he he.arrive
    We waited until he arrived
```

```
gai bagalakagoni muai gaina koneai bagagwara
we we.walk.go.cont until we.sm beach.at we.arrive
    We kept walking until we reached the sea
```


### 2.7 Fragmentary Sentences

As already noted this category includes all those (generally incomplete) sentences or utterances not already covered and which include the following types of short answers to questions, exclamations, expressions of emotional involvement with the speaker, and greetings and farewells:
(1) Answers to Questions
oba
oba nanea maoro
oba nanea momogoni
atiginalatiginima
atigina gina vagi
momogoni korikori
baria
vetuatua
au noga ati ribagu garo kiata no-gita/mata ali au ati ribagu

Yes!
Yes that's right!
Yes that's true!
No:
Definitely not!
Certainly!
Perhaps!
Probably!
I'm not sure!
Sometimes!
Look!
I don't know!
(2) Exclamations and Expressions of Emotional Involvement
gia rorinai That's fine/O.K.!
wa bo ula
namo lelevagi lelevagi
It's up to you! It's your choice!
gelegele
rakava kwaikwai
tinagu/tinagai
gabagaba
How nice!
That will do
How dirty/disgusting!
Alas!
Heh (alarm)!
tinagai
Oh (surprise)!
galini
namo
Oh (fear)!
Good!
neke/nek Here, take/get it!
yaiyo
melo i
gemu kala
Good heavens :
What a character!
Please! It's up to you!

## (3) Greetings and Farewells

```
goi rorimuai
gomi rorimuai Good-day (l1t. Are you (pl.)well?)
Good-day (lit. Are you (sg.)well?)
au roriguai
goi rorimaiai
ma notanuni
ma noagoni
bonogena
bonogeno
(As reply) Good-day (lit. Yes I'm
    fine)
Good-day (lit. Yes we're fine)
Cheerio (by person leaving)
Cheerio (by person staying)
Goodnight (lit. you sleep!)
Goodbye (to crowd, shouting)
```


### 3.0 MORPHOPHONEMIC RULE

When like vowels occur in sequence between affixes and head words (e.g. nouns, adjectives, verb roots) then these vowels coalesce.

Examples:

| araga-ai | $>$ | aragai | at the garden |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| numa-ai | $>$ | numai | at the house |
| a-gita-a-ni | $>$ | agitani | I see it/him |
| a-agomai | $>$ | agomai | I come |
| vei-irau | $>$ | veirau | to fix up, make good |

The only exceptions to this rule are present tense stm prefixes on verbs, cases of special emphasis, e.g., no laka asi! Go outside!, and the following isolated cases between full words:

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bana-agomai > banaagomai I'ZZ come (indefinite)
ba-agomai > baagomai I'IZ come (definite)
rogo ati VP > rogoti VP not yet VP
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### 4.0 A BALAWAIA - ENGLISH VOCABULARY

A
-a Object referent 3rd.singular
a- subject referent lst.singular
a aunt paternal (inalien.n.)
aboge to mesh
abu nightmare, to call out during sleep
adaba a timber tree
afakoko to beat on wall (also, apakoko)
aga breath
agabada month or season of big wind
agai aunt paternal (direct address)
agaladonodono whale
agalulu to gasp
agara subject referent Ist.pl. excle after rogotina)
agarage to breathe
agata to yawn, belch
agata a cultivated yam
ageva beads (also agewa)
agi wind
agila air
aso to go (irreg.).
ago a cultivated yam
agomai to come (irreg.).
agu mine (in children's abbreviation)
ai to count
aiai to read
aibanana an edible banana
ainai? where at?
akini general name for string figure
akwana four (used for bananas)
akwanasauna five bananas
akwanagauta six bananas
alana bereaved parents
aleale poor
aleba an edible banana
aleva clean (adj.) (also, alewa)
ali to wake up, to open eyes aliba female wallaby
alo upper arm and shoulder (inalien.n., Kemabolo, paga)
aloga a river fish
aloriba right (hand)
amati to sweep inside
amenu an edible banana
amo dew
anama an orange (English loan)
ao intention (inalien.n.).
aoria sole of foot (inalien.n.).
aonai inside, into (pl. aoriai)
aonanai $i n$, into (pl. aorianai)
aonega wise
aorakava to be cruel
apakoko to beat on wall (also, afakoko)
apule an edible banana (also, afule)
aputa an edible banana (also, afuta)
ara subject referent lst.sing.after
rogotina, name (inalien.n.).
araga garden
aragamarana to dig the garden
area globular fruit, red and white varieties
ari a type of reef fish
aria? which?
ariagana? whither?
ariagauna? which one?
ariari now (Motu loan)
ariatoma? when? which day?
ariavetaina? which way? how?
ata? what?
atagani? what reason?
ataganikala? for what reason?
atagau? what thing?
atagaukala? to do what?
atai? where?
atanai? above, on
atavetaina? how? what kind of?
ati- not (plus verb)
atiaigotina innumerable
atidebana foolish
atigadara many (of mosquitoes, Motu loan, literally not dancing)
atiganikala for what reason?
atiganina meaningless, fruitless,
for no reason, in vain
atigauna nothing, nobody
atigina, atiginima no (Kemabolo, aikina)
atiginaginavagi definitely not
atigogo few, not many
atikei large, not smazl
atikeikei very Zarge
atikokona a type of cuttivated yam
atimagigi plenty
atio to sneeze, a sneeze
atitauna nothing, empty
atituamagi rashly-decided
ativanagivanasi unexcelled
au $I$, me
au a lakani goodbye (on leaving host's house)
augagu mine (before food, agegroup, enemy)
augegu mine
au gelegele $I^{\prime} m$ O.K. (in answer to a question)
augeregagu $I$ alone (emphatic)
au - -gu my
au kokoleguni I'm strong
aulopo an edible banana (also, aulofo)
au ma aonegagu I'm wise
au ma barakigu $I$ 'm old
au ma taugu I'm sweating
au ma vitogu $I$ 'm hungry
aume to mend nets
auri anchor, steel, steel spear (English loan)
au roriguai I'm fit (in answer to a question)
au a tauguni I'm hot
autotaugu $I$ myself (reflexive)
au a vitoguni $I^{\prime} m$ hungry
avala north-west
avalagaita gale
avalakavata season of north-west wind avalo a type of python
awasi a creeping plant

B
ba- subject referent lst.singular
ba? or? (interrogative, ultimate)
Babasa a type of croton plant
babalau a type of monster with Zong ears
babo crazy, mad, stupid
bae pig
baege shoulder bag (English loan)
baga subject referent Ist.pl.excl.
bagabaga wide
bagana subject referent lst.pl. excl.future
bagara subject referent lst.pl. excl. subjunctive
bagara fringe of growth near stream
bagaru reflected light, dim light, glare
bagarubagaru to be bright
bagewa general name for shark (also,bageva)
bagoga victuals
bagolo owl
bagu forehead (Kematolo, bagu'penope' nona)
ba gwara! I've arrived!
baga gwara! We've arrived!(excl.)
baibutu a type of grass
bailele a type of grass
bala to dance with a drum, a dance
bala an oar
Balau God (derived from babalau)
balaumata traditional carving pattern featuring eye

| balu to tie a knot | beleati to exit |
| :---: | :---: |
| balu big-spotted trigger fish (Balistes conspicillum) | belema general name for python |
| balubalu to bind | also kepaki) |
| balugigitali to bind together | beletoga to enter |
| baluka thick | benamo and then (Motu loan) |
| baluvesogo to tie together two or more things | bene,bere subject referents 3rd.sing. |
| bana,bara subject referents lst. sing. | (be) rakava hate |
| bana a type of grass | Beretani British |
| bara,baragara fat, big | bibiga Zip (1nalien.n.). |
| baraki old (of people) | bibo "jew's harp" of bamboo, to play it |
| baralelevagi huge | bidai an edible banana |
| baria perhaps | bili sago walls, to defend in |
| barigu elbow (inalien.n.). | argument |
| barikoke nut found near beach | biliabara month or season of large |
| baru a type of Zizard with a short tail | harvest and/or large sago bundles traded |
| baru angry, cross | biliakei month or season of small harvest and/or small sago bundles |
| barugeni to hate (also baruveni) | traded |
| bati to cut, chop | bina a Zarge-beaked bird |
| ba' tigina? or not? (Interrogative | biro to roll |
| ultimate) | bite,bitene,bitere subject referents |
| batigutu to cut a rope | lst.pl.1ncl. (Kemabolo, bete, betene, |
| batikira to split | betere). |
| batilau to felZ a tree | bite gwara! We've arrived! (incl.) |
| batu chewing gum root | bito to twist rope |
| bau to sleep | bo subject referent 2nd.sing. |
| be copulative (Motu loan) | boboka a small red wasp |
| bebe beaked coral fish (Chelmon | boda strongest hunting nets for pigs |
| rostratus marginalis) | boga, bogaboga mouth, aperture, anus |
| bedi coconut cup smooth | boga garfish |
| bediai on the bed (English loan) | bogabarana Zarge intestine |
| bege, begene, begere subject | boge to choke, reef heron |
| referents, 3rd.pl. | bogeboga hole in wall |
| bege gwara! they've arrived! | bogeboge to watch for wallabies from |
| bei subject referent 3rd.sing. | hill at dawn |
| bei guapaka burst pot or drum (also,bei guafaka) | bogi night bogibogi morning |
| bei gwara! he's arrived! | bogo, bogono, bogoro subject referents |
| beineti sword (English loan) | 2nd.pl. |
| bei tanu! absent! (1n answer to a question). | bogo agomai! You've come! pl. |

boiolave a wild taro
bokava a woman's tattoo pattern
bola ginger
bolabola yelzow
bole,bore a red inedible sruit
bolebara an edible banana
bolo leg bone (inalien.n.).
bolo balz (English loan)
boloko a carving pattern
bolota bozt (English loan)
bona a smell, to stink
bonarakava season of smell of burning
bono,boro subject referents 2 nd. sing.
bono agomai! welcome! (sing.)
bono gena goodbye (whether time to sleep or not)
bono geno! goodbye (to a group, or crowd shouting)
bonuka adhesive sap tree
bora to hang by neck, to be hung
boraga rotten, to rot
bo rigu? you've bathed?
boromakau cattle (Motu loan)
bota to hit
botabota to clap
botegakali feast for initial betrothal
botoke a river shell animal
botolo sea slug (English loan, bottle)
bou small knife
bua a small banana, a type of betel nut (Saroa loan)
buakaokao,buakaukau the bananaeating bird, a small banana
bubu to drop, pour, handicapped (deaf or blind)
buga to remain in the village by day
bugibagi repulsive
buibara east wind
buibui a type of fly
bulega meat
buldogi bulzdozer (English loan)
bulutu beetze (Ischiopsophe 1gnipennis)
bumpa to crash (English loan)
bune magpie
Bunevele-legikulo Bonanamo village
bunu coconut husk, numb
bura fine fishing net
buri high cloud, new bananas, to jump
burigabi to jump after
burima a wild fruit
buro navel, umbilicus (inallen.n.).
buromomona afterbirth
burua wallaby grass
buruka old (Motu loan)
burupaka hole through septum or ear-Zobe (also burufaka)
butika lump on tree
D
dabe string loop for coconut basket
dabe a disease of yams in which shoots are broad
dabi thigh
dabikore legless lizard
dabua clothing (inalien.n.when worn close to skin)
dabudabu bereaved sister
dae a reef fish
daga a month of white feathery grass
dagedage violent
dagele a purple banana
dagelitau an edible banana
dagila pelvis (inalien.n.).
dago a type of dragon fly
dagodago an edible banana
daiguni corner
daigutu bedroom
daka the squeal of pigs
daki duck (English loan)

```
dakimo jungle
dala to crawl
dalele to yield, give way to
dali to cook
dalidiga coconut sauce
dalima outrigger
dama,damena salt, saltwaier
damoga string for tying penis
    (inalien.n.).
damudamu decoration of limbs
danuna an edible banana
dau to wipe
daua an edible banana
daubara road
daubaramitina path
daubaravelogona bush track
dauga feast given by women to
    girls reaching puberty
dauma giant
dave to wave hand
dawali to find
dawalikale yellow taro
deba head (inalien.n.).
debagauna hat
debagiaokwalana front upright of
    roof
debaka high end of garden
debani a large type of yam
debarakava temptation
debele two cross beams of
    rubunaka
dedena a long brown river fish
dego bundle
deke swaying of grass skirts
dele string for tying prawns
demo a type of bamboo, an edible
    banana
dia belly (inalien.n.).
diabolo heathen (loan via English)
diba arrow
dibudibu suspension from forehead
    of basket
```

dibura gaol
dakimo jungle
dala to crawl
dalele to yield, give way to dali to cook
dalidiga coconut sauce
dalima outrigger
dama,damena salt, saltwaier
damoga string for tying penis
(inalien.n.).
damudamu decoration of $2 i m b s$
danuna an edible banana
dau to wipe
daua an edible banana
daubara road
daubaramitina path
daubaravelogona bush track
dauga feast given by women to girls reaching puberty
dauma giant
dave to wave hand
dawali to find
dawalikale yellow taro
deba head (inalien.n.).
debagauna hat
debagiaokwalana front upright of roof
debaka high end of garden
debani a Zarge type of yam
debarakava temptation
debele two cross beams of rubunaka
dedena a long brown river fish
dego bundle
deke swaying of grass skirts
dele string for tying prawns
demo a type of bamboo, an edible banana
dia belly (inalien.n.).
diabolo heathen (loan via English)
diba arrow
dibudibu suspension from forehead of basket
dibura gaol
didi digit (inalien.n.).
didibara thumb (inalien.n.).
dididokoma a grasshopper
dididokome a scorpion
didigavana fingernail (inalien.n.).
didikeule Zittle finger (inalien.n.).
didilima a type of ant
didinago finger nail sharp
(inalien.n.).
didinuaria middle finger
(inalien.n.).
diga coconut oil
digadiga glossy
digo to remove another's property openly
digu wooden food dish
digudigu a type of lizard
dikoma traditional somb
dimo worm
dinige Zower leg (inalien.n.).
dinima an edible banana
doba tree from which bachelors
cut branches to announce intentions
dobo a string figure
dodoku deep
dodokukimolakimola deep ocean
doga tooth(inalien.n.), a string
figure, a school of fish
dogadoga bulldozer
dogae widower
doge back, drought
dogegini spine
dogilo fierce red ant
dogolo patrilineal descent group,
dry banana leaves (also, rosolo)
doi coconut leaf basket
dokai down there
doko short
dokona the end
dokupairapaira gZobuZar (also, dokufairafaira)
dola erection of penis
dolama an edible banana

```
doli to push
dolidoli ugly
dolu a small bird
domuna an edible banana
doniki donkey(English loan)
doulama an edible banana
Dua a Balawaia descent group name
duai to count (Motu loan)
duaiduai to read (Motu loan)
dubaduba blue, dark, a type of
    cuscus (Kemabolo, rubaruba)
dubaladubala black
dubu church (Motu loan)
dubula a wild fruit
dudu reefflat gastropod
duduna to spear at short range,
    the end
duge a type of python
dugu stick to support banana tree
duigala an edible banana
duitoga a sexual position
dukatago to crouch
duku to help, struts of building
dulama an edible banana
dune a rough-skinned yam
```


## E

e,ema and
egere subject referent 3 rd.pl. (after rogotina)
egiti across
elawai a carving pattern
ema and
enai this held by me
enaiateana, enaiavetaina like this
ere subject referent 3 rd.sing.
(after rogotina)
ereme a type of small yam
F
fafagau to argue (also, papagau)
fafala radiator fan (also, papala)
faivagi an eruption (also, paivagi)
fako to announce (also, pako)
falaka cold (also, palaka)
falefale collection of shells (also, palepale)
falo cockroach (also, palo)
feraferatoga a sexual position (also, peraperatoga)
fere chip of wood (also, pere)
folaka a basket (also, polaka)
fole a stone (also, pole)
folo a feather (also, polo)
foti bladder (inalien.n.) coconut leaf ball (also, poti)
fululu to exhale (also, pululu)
furiki broom, warning to dogs (also, puriki)
futufutu blunt (also, putuputu)
G
ga subject referent lst.pl.excl.
gaba to shout
saba drum, bell, feast on completion of rubunaka
gabagau belt (inalien.n.).
gabana flank, waist (inalien.n.)., trunk of tree
gabata current, flood, tide
gabataveu fruit found near river
gabe feast on completion of rubunaka, noggins of building
gabeaivau Zater
gabi to take, choose, get, grab, give birth to, hold
gabi the last one
gabigiaokwalana the rear upright of the roof
gabigigitali to hug, hold
gabigiti to pick up
gabika Zow end of garden
gabikalau to touch
gabikau to take with
gabikau next in sequence
gabinai inside
gabitore credit, to get credit
gabu to bake, roast, burn
gabule under
gabulenai underneath
gabuna a place
gabunai at that place
gadara to dance (Motu loan)
gade bereaved mother, older woman gadegonegone giantess
gadi vigilant (Motu loan)
gadika molar (inalien.n.).
gadio stone axe
gadiva knife
gadubi a type of sweet banana
gagagua reef fish, reef eel
gagaia to have sexual intercourse with
gagale slippery, Zoose
gagalegau to attack by encirclement
gagau dust
gage leg, foot (inalien.n.).
gagedoko Zame
gagegabale bow-legged
gagegabuna footprint (inalien.n.).
gagedidi toe (inalien.n.).
gagelamulamu hirstute
gagewa crooked (also, gageva,gegeva)
gagu lime
gagugarana Zime-gourd
gagunanuna white-wash
gai Zarge moZZusc, we, us (excl.)
gai a sickle-shaped knife
gaigamai ours (excl.before food, age-group, enemy)
gaigemai ours (exc.)
gaigeregamai we alone (excl. emphatic)
gaigo neck (inalien.n.).
gailasi to hurry
gailau an edible leaf
gai - mai our (excl.)
gairigairi softly
gaita thunder
gaitotaumai ourselves (excl. reflexive)
saivagi to undress, subtract gaiwa centipede
gala to chew betelnut, to burn spontaneously, burial ground, to grow
gala food cooked in pot
galaga parrot
galagala the whole carving of the rubunaka, to carve it
salagala relative, ancestor, hot to taste, itchy
galagou a type of frog
galama-i for, about, over (e.g. galamariai, about them)
galaoruka bereaved child
galarikoga a carving pattern
galata a cane plant/lawyer cane
salataurasi a carving pattern
sale giant clam and Zarge oyster
galeka a wild yam
galelu a white crab
galena reef water unclear (no fish)
galewagalewa to wriggle (also galevagaleva, gelevaseleva)
sali to fear, fear, afraid
galigali to come quickly
galigwata general name for bananas (Kemabolo gali'wata)
salimasi fast, to hurry
galina lest (ultimate)
galirigo a small crab
Galo a Balawaia descent group name, Kalo village
salo snore
salogota sago spear
salokoni a mashing banana
Balamo a Balawaia descent group name
galugalu a ditch
galuka non-tidal river
galumi upper jaw (inalien.n.).
gamata a reef fish, catfish
samanu to spear through, big penis (slang)
gamosa eagle
Gamoga a Balawaia descent group name
gamogadidi a string figure depicting eagles' claws
Gamoga-ivanakeina Gamoga village
gamu male wallaby

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gamuna kapok
gamukolo Zarge brown wallaby
-gana to, towards
gana to attack, a fence
ganagau to hinder, a gate
gane armband (inalien.n. when
    worn continuously)
ganegane a lizard
ganigani to eat, food
Ganika a Balawaia descent group
    name
ganilago feast given to success-
    full killer
gao a crow
gaogao a turtle
gaokou a tortoise (also, gaokogu)
garawa a spouse (inalien.n.).
gare chin (inalien.n.).(Kemabolo,
    garega'rena)
garemetau a stammer, to stammer
gariki magic, poison
garikikala to bewitch
garo sun, day
garo Zanguage
garobaralelevagi very hot sun
garobaubauna windpipe (inalien.n.).
garogauna watch, clock
garogota midday
garogutuma Zeisure, plenty of time
garoi gall bladder (inalien.n.).
garolalani sunlight
garoragenaragena east
garotai at the time, at the hour
Garoveaga Sunday
gata friend (inalien.n.).
gatagole dead friend's spirit
gatama village street
gate Ziver (inalien.n.).
gati canoe
gato to put, kettle
gatoi egg
gatovegogo to gather things, adhere
```

gau tree, thing
gau hook, tired
gauna one (banana)
gaugalabara season/month of burning tall grass
gausalakei season/month of burning short grass
gauganina fruit
gaugou smoke haze
gauka shadow, ghost
gaukala the work, to work, help
gaukorukoru broken down
gaulago decorated post in front of house
gaulualua two bananas
gautoitoi three bananas
gava to measure by stride
gavamani government (English loan)
gavane coconut she Zl
gavela a type of mangrove tree
ge subject referent 3 rd .pl.
geaganigani a season of plentiful food
geba worn out
gebukiri a string figure
seda a mat
gedoka goura pigeon
gege ear-rings, to encircle
gegelagi boundary
segeto a megapode
gegeti a crowbar, to husk
gegeva crooked (also gagewa)
Gela Port Moresby
gela turtle shell
Gelairuna Paga Point
gelegele alike, enough
geleka pandanus tree and fruit
Belema Gulf District people
gelema black-skinned
gelemagelema very black
selemagaita Papuan brown snake gelemagalagala Papuan black snake
gelemakale white taro with black leaves
gelorage to swing by arms
gelulu heeて
semukala! please! it's up to you!
gena to sleep
genagena blanket (also, paraniketi)
genai because, in order to
genatali to lie down (Kemabolo, genatogo)
seni to give, pay (also, veni)
geni Zimestick
gera a cough, to cough
gera we (short subject form)
gerega alone
-geregagu $I$ alone (emphatic)
-geregamai we alone (excl.emphatic)
-geregamia you alone (pl.emphatic)
-geregamu you alone (sing.emphatic)
-geregana he, she, it alone(emphatic)
-geregara we alone(incl.emphatic)
-geregaria they alone(emphatic)
serevasa porpoise
gerevagi away
geru nape of neck (inalien.n.).
geta ocean wave
getau to hang by neck
geti war shield, Zong-waisted, of sewn bark
getabara rough sea
Gevena abbreviation for rear post of rubunaka
sia he, she, it, him, her
gia boragani it's rotting
giagani his, hers, its (food,agegroup, enemy)
giagena his, hers, its
giageregana he, she, it alone (emphatic)
gia ma boragana it's rotten
gia ma rakavana he's bad
gia - na his, her, its
gia rakavani he's (doing) bad (things)

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giatotauna himself, herself, itself
    (reflexive)
gidabu cassowary, man's cassowary
    head-dress
gidaea an edible yam
gidu insect bat
gigi yam with aromatic flower
gigitali tightly
gigu animal's tail (inallen.n.).
gila they, them
gilageregaria they alone (emphatic)
gilagaria theirs (food, age-group,
        enemy)
gilageria theirs
gila - - ria their
gilatotauria themselves (reflexive)
gili vein (inalien.n.).
giligaba striped wasp
gima hand, Zower arm (inalien.n.).
gimadidina finger (inalien.n.).
gimapagapagana palm of hand (inalien.
        n.).
gini thorn, spear, canoe pole, nettle
ginigini itchiness, irritation, to
    shoot
ginikomu variegated sugar-cane
ginoga fog (Kemabolo gauginoga)
ginu a drink, to drink
ginumate drunk, to drink to excess
giriti! you're tricking!
gio general name for spears
giro to stir, turn around
girogiro electric fan
giru carnivorous bird, as brave as
        one (usually kwalimu)
gita to see, look
gita we, us (incl.)
gitagara ours (incl.,food, age-
    group, enemy)
gitagera ours (incl.)
gitageregara we aZone (incl.
        emphatic)
gita - - ra our (incl.)
sitakau carefully, to be careful
```

gitatotaura ourselves (incl. reflexive)
giti beachprawns, bunch, dried up (lips)
giu feather (Saroa loan)
so subject referent 2nd.pl.
goada strong (Motu loan), chase
goaganigani month or season of new food
soakoli month or season of no food gobe to catch
gogesobe to juggle
gobugobu bumpy, muddy
godaiobu a purple yam
godale rough leaf broom
gode green sugar-cane, honey bee, honey
godio sorcery
godoka throat (inalien.n.).
godokakwatukwatu thyroid cartizage of larynx
godurakava chile
gogagoga bereaved brother
gogaea an edible leaf
gogane a white yam
gogo a type of vine
gogolelevasi plenty
gogome a long yam
gogou a curved adze
sogove haggard
goi small wallaby black with white tail
goi you (sing.)
goibai blue taro
goibala wild taro
goigamu yours (sing.food, age-group enemy)
goigemu yours
goi gelegele? are you well?
goigeregamu you alone (sing. emphatic)
soigoi to buy, seZZ
goilau an edible leaf
goi lepetimuni you're Zazy

```
goi - - mu your (sing.)
goina price
goi namo? are you well?(Motu loan)
goinaveni to pay
goina vira? how much?
goitoga stingray
goitotaumu yourself (reflexive)
golala polygamy
sole buttocks (inallen.n.).
golea an edible banana
golenabogana anus (inalien.n.).
goli tattoo for successful killer,
    big fishing net
goligoli coconut-scraper-seat
golikau to meet
golo forbidden temporarily by
        rubunaka
golo mountain, hill
gologa young bachezor
gologavanagi confirmed bacheZor
gologona dormant volcano
soloputu a type of grass
    (also, golofutu)
goma a mourning song
gome mangrove crab
gomi you (pl.)
gomigamia yours (pl. food, age-
    group, enemy)
gomigemia yours (pl.)
gomigeregamia you alone (pl.
    emphatic)
gomi - - mia your (pl.)
gomitotaumia yourselves (reflexive)
gomou a flat adze
gone first, ahead, a type of fruit
gonena old thing
-goni habitually
gonogou a wild fruit
gonu full, to fill
gopagopa a lie, to tell a lie
gorava wild chestnut, season of
    chestnuts
gorava Mandarin fish (Syndiropus
    splendidus)
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gori to bounce
gori bone surgical needle
goroga string cot, hammock
-goti with, together
-gotigoti completely
goto to walk in line, those walking
    in line
Botolu a Balawala descent group
    name
sou the smoke (Kemabolo, gogu)
sou Zake (Kemabolo, kogu)
gougou suspended smoke
goura a brown river fish
govala bald
-gu object referent lst.sing.
gua crocodile
guagua fruit (Kemabolo, wana)
guagina to carry (also, guagua)
guagutu broken
guakira to crack
guakoru to break
guamai to bring
guapaka to break a pot or drum
    (also guafaka)
guba the sky
gubagau overcast sky
gubaguluani rolling thunder
gubu to feed, adopt
gubugubumelona adopted child
gudu an edible banana
gudu boar's tusk
gudugu roof, the ridge pole
gudugudu beads
gue moon, month, shoots for
    planting
gugu growl
gugubo a red berry
gugula hot sun
guguni a type of mangrove tree
gui head hair (inalien.n.).
guianou a river fish
guigulo a type of cuscus
guilagi to forget about
gori to bounce
gori bone surgical needle
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guio banana grub
gula river prawns
gula to roast yams in hot stones for feast
Buiaga HuZa
gulekau to be wrecked
guli hole in ground, grave, cemetry, to bury, to dig
guligi to wash objects
gulita octopus
gulo pot
gulu a loud noise, one's age group
gulua to speak, $a d v i s e$, speech, advice
guluabarana noise of people
guluageni to make a speech, to give advice, to question (also guluaveni)
guluagenitauna an adviser
guluagwalai garrulous
guluarage a commotion
guluariba to speak a language
sulugabi descendants, young (in songs)
gulugone antecedents, old (in songs)
guluma charcoal, charcoal paint, final funeral feast
guluma a type of cuscus
guma crab, bait
sumaka a type of banana
gumu decorated face, face paint
gunikatauna inlander
gunu breadfruit
gunuaduba a black mango
gunuakulo a pale mango
gura the rain, to put in
guramata bush (Kemabolo)
suraroku a mound of grass in the bush
guria betel-nut
guru poisonous inflatable reef fish
guruguru tadpole
gutu Zouse, seed, high tide, to fetch water, bale
gwagali a string figure representing a crab
gwagi a bird's cry

| gwagi undernourished | inidia an introduced type of yam |
| :---: | :---: |
| gwagigi hard, strong | inu to pulz |
| gwasalu crab | ipua a white python |
| gwagu an edible banana | irau or, different |
| swaguta a large pot | iru peninsula, nose (inalien.n.). |
| -gwai to become again (also, -wai), again | irubogana nostril (inalien.n |
| gwai a prostitute | iruiru a type of crab |
| gwaila front (also see wailai) | itere subject referent lst.pl.incl. |
| gwalala belch | iva in-Zaw (inalien.n.). |
| gwamalu small coconut-leaf basket | ivai to mix juice with meat |
| gwara to arrive, magical invocation before hunting | ivagai $i n-l a w$ (direct address) |
| gwarati to arrive | ivagaitauna brother-in-Zaw (inalien. n.). |
| gwarau already | ivama trochus she Z |
| gwana a vine | ivara knots |
| gwane to scold | ivatauna male relative-in-law |
| gwanu to stab, to stick in | (inalien.n.). |
| gwari noise of birds, to visit gwarigwari visitor | ivavavinena sister-in-Zaw (inalien.n.). |
| gwata leopard shark, reef eel | iviri flute |
| gwataga stone (also, wataga) | ivirikou mouth organ |
| gwe.! here! (when called) | K |
| gwuli bitter, to grimace | kaberu coconut shell spoon |
| H | Kabeti Friday |
| hapakati mixed-race (Engli | kabobo to gargle |
| also hafakati) | kadini box (English loan) |
| I | kagu grey ash |
|  | kaia an edible banana,large cone shell |
| iara a type of mango | kaigonegone ancient times |
| idaea a smooth yam | kaiguni shoulde |
| idaukorikori good, very good | kainagi close by |
| igima wedge | kainakalo special |
| ikoko house nail | two posts together |
| ikonigorigori a red and white sarnivorous bird | kaka older sibling of same sex (inalien.n.). |
| ilagaita a few days hence | kakali to scratch, modern comb |
| ilagani the day after tomorrow | kakakaka red (also, kakalakakala) |
| iliga to put aside the best quality | kakamelona older single brother (inalien.n.). |
| imaima five | kakatauna older married brother or |
| inamo seaweed | cousin (inalien.n. |
| ineri hinge (English loan) | kakavalana older single sister |

kakavavinena oZder married sister or cousin (inalien.n.).
kakelo a beach crab
kakila breastbone
kakilu river shell broken in public to announce harvest
kala to make or do
kalabaru to irritate or make cross
kalagabagaba to shout
kalagalimagi to act quickly
kalagau to make a rule
kalagitakau to arrange in order
kalakoru to make something break
kalai a cockatoo, white
kalaikalai white
kalalaugoli to act quickly
kalamamai to joke
kalapaka to open (also, kalafaka, keo, keho, kekeva)
kalarakava to err
kalapia a type of swamp fish
kalatogo to try, to cut and taste
kalavegerevegere to tickle
kalawa a reef fish
kale general name for taro
kaloa the fire, a firestick
kaluka stomach (inalien.n., also, kanuka)
kama a tree lizard
kamolagi to Zisten
kamolagigau to listen attentively
kamolagigautauria audience
kamovanasi to climb up one tree and transfer to another
kamunu the ground spider
kanabute to blink
kaniku coconut shell cup rough
kanipore beetle (Eupholus sp., also, kanifore)
kanokano to cry (of a baby)
kanunu spittle, to spit
kaokira to separate (of people)
kapa twins (also, kafa)
kapakapou to stick to
kapukapu thorny oyster
kapuro a bubble, to bubble (also, kafuro)
kaputi a cup (English loan)
karaudi a string figure representing a fishing spear
kare to chip with adze and make flat
kareka a reef fish
kariga armpit (inalien.n.).
karu light rain, to rain lightly
karu driver's assistant (English loan)
kati double
kato groin (inalien.n.).
kau dog's wail, together
kaua a deep-rooted yam
kaubebe general name for butterfly
kaukau dry
kauli left (hand)
kaumu spider, cobweb
kauti fist, to bunch fist
kavabu sea slug, bottle
kavana part of
kavatai on one side
kavataikavatai on the other side, on all sides
kavatairua to Zean
kave a reef fish
kaveto caterpilzar
kavi bamboo tongs
kavikavi banana tree insect, tattoo pattern based on $i t$
kawalu sea slug (also, botolo, botoke, kavabu)
kea to call
keanamogo a little bit, a particle
keariakearia slowly, bit by bit
kegule bandicoot-hunting net
keho to open (Motu loan, also keo)
kei smaZZ
kekeva hip (inalien.n.), to open she Z 28
kelawa a reef fish
kelema spider conch (Lambis lambis L.)
kenekene a carving pattern
kenibole a white and ginger cuscus
kepaki fan belt
kere to fish with torch
keto to fall, drop
ketolau to fall down (also, ketopirigo)
kevau rainbow
kevaukevau coloured lightning reflection
keve illness, to be sick
kerere mistake, to be wrong
kiata some, many
kiana soon
kianamogo immediately
kibikwaikwai small brown and white bird
kibo broken pot used for frying pork
kibu coconut shell ring for hanging string cot
kidului general name for sea animals
kikikiki grasshopper, cricket
kikira to scratch
kikwari reef flat bivalve staple, Zimeshell
kila to say, a question
kilatogo to estimate, suggest
kilavara to show, tell someone, allow to do
kiliwa small, brown, sea-diver bird
kiliku Zarge coconut cup
kiloki a dark green bird
kima betrothed, betrothal
kimai fish-hook (Motu loan)
kimu mustard plant chewed with betel-nut
kini to pinch
kinibo mild fungal infection
kinimole matches (also, matiti)
kino dog (in legend)
kinone a red dragon fly
kipa eagle hawk
kira to separate, divide
kiro easel for supporting body
kiroma a cultivated yam
kitikiti chest
kobo to poke in flank
kodo chisel
koe to toll a bell, a hammer
koge carpet shark
kogo to shout
kogolasi an answer, an echo
kogolo a wild hillside yam
kogu a swamp
koiari introduced yam
koitaki introduced banana
koitakini introduced yam
koke a type of betel nut, a fruit
kokolegaita smart
kolele dried up mud
kouka the back of the house
koloa a red sugar cane
koka a type of sugar cane
kokaia a gecko lizard
koke a type of betel nut
koko iron axe
kokopa to climb with pelu, arms clinging; a sexual position
kokopakau a sexual position (also, kokofakau)
kokole strong, strongly, hard, strength, win
kokoroku a fowz
koli to bite, finish, finished
kolina empty
kolikolivagi completely
kologa Zover (inalien.n.).
kolokolo a large frog
koluka a type of grass
komu general name for sugar cane; abortion procedure and position
komukomu ankle (inalien.n.).
komulauna a reef fish
konidulama an edible banana
kone beach, coast, shallow sea
koni an edible banana
koniparau sweet corn
kopi bark, skin (inalien.n.)., to skin

Kopigolo old Rigo station
kopinagabina to remove bark from tree
kora round cane shield for hunting pigs; river-prawn net
korikori good, true
koru to break
kou to attack
koutoga corner
kovero a type of beach crab
kovi a cultivated yam
kua to dig
kudou heart (inalien.n.).
kugia pregnant
kugiakala to make pregnant illicitly
kugiakalamelona bastard
kui, kwi twining tool for making rope, to use tool, to boil, to whirl
kukelo a type of river crab
kuku to defecate; black manufactured tobacco
kukuna senior branch of split clan
kukunai on top of
kulau a reef fish
kulokulo white (Motu loan)
kuluka thorn grass
kunama large black running bird
kunamatekwa tree for roof sticks
kune pig's grunting
kureve rat
kurumone a Zarge yam
kuti vagina (inalien.n.).
kuto breadfruit pistil; fishing net float
kutukutu small silver reef fish
kwabiro a smaZl bird
kwabutu congealed blood
kwaekwae bird with Zong tail (also, kwaikwai)
kwagalu dog
kwagogao a large bird
kwai penis (inalien.n.).
kwaikwai extremely, a small bird kwaibo late, slow, slowly
kwaisele covering post for ridge pole
kwaito whirlwind
kwaiva pride
kwaivale an edible banana
kwakikwaki knuckle (inalien.n.).
kwaku leg (inalien.n.)., housepile
kwakualoribakwalana right front post of rubunaka
kwakualoribamulitaina right rear post of rubunaka (also, Bevena)
kwakualoribavelauna right second post of rubunaka (also Tumana)
kwakukaulikwalana left front post of rubunaka
kwakukaulimulitaina left rear post of rubunaka (also, Gevena)
kwakukauliveluana left second post of rubunaka (also, Tumana)
kwakunai by foot (pl. kwakurianai)
kwalaimate, kwalairakava busy, to be busy
kwalana to begin
kwalanai because, first, and so, formerly, at the foot of
Kwale a war song, the people of the Kwale dialect
kwalela soup
kwalimu brave
kwalimukoru a string figure
Kwalimurubu village name and descent-group name
kwamo mucous, sinusitis
kwamumu hunchback
kwaragauna hat (Motu loan)
kwari a big knife; to hit with stick
kwarivale an edible banana
kwati banana stalk
kwauna, kwauta half
kwauta part of
kwavela a striped caterpillar
kwi to boil, the whirling of waters (also, kui)
kwigegelagi island, river island of reeds, oxbow lake
kwikira to divide, place where people and waters divided
Kwikira Kwikila town
kwirage breaker wave
kwitoto reef shell animal
L
labea, labía sago grub
labia sago (also, bilia)
labiabuti wart, tumour (inalien.n.).
labolabo custard apple (also, nabonabo)
laga an edible leaf, to pull from
lagani day, year
lagata an edible banana
lagatoi Motu trading canoe
lasi a reef fish, fontanelle (inalien.n.).
Lagi a Balawala descent group name
laso to kill river prawns (also, lao)
lago a tree without leaves
lailai evening, afternoon (Kemabolo, leilei)
laka to walk
lakagulili to follow someone
lakalaka to journey
lakalakadoubararia a journey
lakakau to approach
lakalau to accompany
lakalea to go astray
laka-ati to go out
lakagenagena to walk in sleep
lakatiai outside, in front of
lakatosa to enter into
latatou feast before birth of first child
lakavati to walk here
lakavegogo to co-operate in hunting
lako firewood
laku scabies, dog with scabies
lala blood (inalien.n.)., bananatying twine
laiasi large white reef fish
lalagwasa brown river eel
lale to tear
lalolalo to sweep outside
lalu seeds worn by widow at funeral; curly hair
lama cut by sharp-blade grass
lamiawai a brown river fish
lamu beard (inalien.n.).
lamuka root
laogoli to come quickly
lata breast, milk (inalien.n.).
latamuruna nipple (inalien.n.).
latatou ante-natal feast before second child
lau kiss, to kiss
lauboge to swallow
laugabu to hunt with encircling nets and fire
laugoli fast, quickly
laugone to begin
lauguru a small berry
laukule to return
laukulewai to come back again
laulau to beat a drum without dancing; to weed garden
laulau image, picture
lauma soul, spirit (inalien.n.).
launa page, leaf
laupa tobacco, cigarette(also,laufa)
laupou to open eggs
laveta an edible banana
lea to miss
ledio radio (English loan)
lega branch
legatoga a sexual position
lege to press hard
legelegetoga a sexual position

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legi general name for grass
leilei evening, afternoon
    (Kemabolo communalect)
leke a small fishing net, to fish
    with net
Leku a war song
lekwalekwa Zost
lelevagi very
lema to steal
leo severe fungal infection
lepalepa flat (also, lefalefa)
lepera Leprosy (English loan)
lepeti Zazy; a red sugar-cane
    (also lefeti)
leuleu crest of feathers, fringe
    on clothing
leva paddle, oar
Lewalewa Friday
lewatoga an edible banana
libera an edible leaf
ligo an edible banana
ligoligo clothes
ligu defeated enemy
liguba skinny
liki accident with supernatural
        cause
lilika black ant
lili to masturbate (of males)
limu to rub
loa to hunt on trail, to sew,
        bone-needle
lobe to wrap up
lobo small limb band (inalien.n.);
    carving pattern
loga an edible leaf
losi long, tall
logo to jump, fly
logolaka to fly away
logo to open door
logogitilogogiti to bump up and
    down
logologo scattered
loiloi to make rope by rolling
    against leg
loku pawpaw
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lokuka an edible banana
lolo to squeeze, pull, swollen
lologotogoto to be grabbed by
    several people at once
lolu sob
lota unformed coconut stem chewed
    at time of betel-nut shortage
loua septum piercer of fruit-bat bone
lua to untie
lualua two
I ualuagoti both
luavagi to untie rope
lugu to bear a baby
lugumalu a stillborn child
lula ruler (English loan)
lulu rib; to track someone by
    bent grass; to collect nuts
M
ma tongue (inalien.n.Kemabolo,
    mae)
ma auxillary to verb e.g. au ma
    vitigu
ma! make! Zet me have it!
mabarara aZZ, many
madila hard, white, round yam
madu father bereft of child
madudu grasshopper
maeka ashamed
magani general name for fish
maganikone general name for reef
    fish (Saroa loan)
magigi thin, few
magilugu an edible banana
maganigarikina fish poison
magitamagita green
magu pig fence, male who has
    chased wife away
maguli to live, dwell
magulilea mongozoid chizd
-mai object referent lst.pl.excl.
mai! abbreviation for "no agomai!",
    come
maia also
maila sibling or cousin of opposite
    sex (inalien.n.), the exogamy
    related to such
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maina to fish with line
maio common type of yam
mairigo to come down, to come west
maka moonlight, brightness, high valley
maka mark, sign (English loan)
makara harvest season
maki also, certainly
makuku wrinkle (inalien.n.).
mala to lie in wait, man who lies in wait, roof sticks
malagaga small black bird
malagavaliguna youth
malai to wither
malami a type of butterfly
malawa beautiful movement, smart action
malebo to Zisp
malele a type of mango
mama jealous, light, reflection
mamai Zaughter
mamaidekadeka continual laughter
mamaimurugau silent laughter
mamaitagitagi Zaughs till cries
mamaki salty, bitter
mamalo star, Zocust
mami a fish found in both river and sea
manau politeness, peace, respect
manega far
manegadaudau very far
mani perhaps, I don't know
manini thigh (inalien.n; Kemabolo, manu, agobena)
manioda tapioca, an edible leaf
manoagoni farewell (to departing guest)
manu general name for birds; winged reef fish; to become a bird manua sore (inalien.n.).
manubada month or season of big bird (ikonigorigori)
mao brown yam, a string figure
maoba fruit bat
maoduba dark yam
maoro correct, right
maotano deep yam
mara stick (also, mala)
marasauna gun
marawanigelegele star anenome
mari song, to sing
maromaro straight, flat ground
maru man (Keapara loan)
marukeina boy (Keapara loan)
mata eye (inalien.r.).
mata ali! behoZd!
mataboraga greedy, promiscuous
matabubu blind
matadiki to wink (also, matakapu)
matagalati eyeglasses (English loan)
matakopu a type of mango (also, matakofu)
matakula an edible banana
matalebulebuvavinena prostitute
matalimu eyelash (inalien.n.).
matanagabuigabui to faint
matanagebigebi to feel dizzy
mate to die
mate! I'm exhausted! You're working hard!
mateto dead
mati a type of grass
matiti matches (English loan)
mau Zake (also, gou)
maua box (Motu loan)
mavara gentle
megamegatauna magician
megi urine, to urinate
meia again, also (also, maia)
meka to grind
melo boy
melogaga a singing bird
melogolirigona post.natal feast for first child
meloguragurana uterus (inalien.n.).
memeku an edible banana
memewa black ash
merani types of banana and yam
mereni watermeZon
meriga olive shell (Conus gloriamaris)
mero boy (Motu loan)
metau heavy
metauna the blame
-mia object referent 2nd.pl.
milimili coloured (wood or cloth)
milo dirty
mimiga hole, cave
mimigakala to burrow
mimigakoru to dig in hillside
mimiro hair-down (inalien.n.).
mina brain (inalien.n.).
miname an edible banana
minuminu types of $y$ am and shell
mitikili Zeaf-hopper insect
mitila a small yam
mitina narrow, small
mobaea tree for house piles
mobu gang-member, rascal (English loan)
moemoe itchy
moera soft, weak
-mogo only
mogu a reef fish
moita a type of berry
moka betel-nut stalk
moko cheek (inalien.n.).
molagani yesterday
mole firelight, small intestine (inalien.n.).
molemole rectum, anus (inalien.n.).
molena blaze of fire; anus (inalien.n.).
momo placenta; rubbish
momogoni truly, certainly
mona candle, fat, grease
mora bandicoot (also, moura, mura)
moradua anteater
moragini porcupine
mori Zarge rat
morina an edible banana
mota general name for snake, especially ground snake
motanai day before yesterday
mote kaukau, sweet potato, an edible leaf
motugabu hunt by burning
motuka truck (English loan)
motumotu island (Motu loan)
mou wild yam
-mu object referent 2nd.sing.
muai until
mugamuga snarl
muka old (thing)
muko nasal discharge, to blow one's nose
mukuna darkness
mukuna numana gaol (also, dibura)
mukunapulupulu intense darkness
mulakati to come out
mulamula medicine, alcohol
muligukavanana a sexual position
mulika out
mulikai outside
mulikati to come outside
mulinai behind
mulitaivagina Zast
mune married woman
munemune bereaved child
murakoloa a type of yam
murigo to go down, west
muru beak (inalien.n.).
murugoni mosquito
murutili harelip
murutogotogo string figure to imitate talking

N
na- that (e.g. namala, that man)
-na subject marker for transitive verbs
-na sing.3rd.suffix; from, with
naba price
nabera liquid from boiled food nabonabo custard apple (also, labolabo)
nado iron-stone knife, pearl shell
naga to hunt with nets stretched in a line
nagagau curtain
nagama common $f l y$
nagamagolo, nagamagologolo types
of mountain flies
nago sharp
nagoa there, that, away from both of $u s$
nagoanai over there away from both of $u 8$
nagoakavai beyond
nagoanana from over there
nagoatana like that
nagonago a sharp stick
nagu wallaby net bark, to mesh
nagula cold (of persons)
naia this near me, here
naiamogo now
naianana hence
naka platform
nakanaka table, shelf
nali to guide
namo good (Motu loan)
namolelevagi very good
namogwai to become well, to get well
nanea that near you
naneanai over there beside you
nani goat (English loan)
nanigo black wasp
nanogigani does not hunt but eats meat
nanu water, a drink
nanumate thirsty
nao foreign
naotau foreigner
naotaukulona white foreigner
natu child (inalien.n.).
natuka there

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nau to swim (Motu loan)
nauwaika introduced mango
ne- this (e.g. nemala)
Nego the people of the Kwale
    and Humene dialects (friend)
neke! nek'! here! (take it, give it)
nema? question tag expecting
    affirmative answer
nemo mosquito
newatoga a sexual position
-ni continuous suffix present
nigo tooth (inalien.n.).
nikurigo dive
niu coconut, to drink
niugwalena coconut-leaf spine
niulotana bitter edible stem from
    which coconuts will grow
niuniu a nut found near the beach
noga - - vetaina approximately
    (e.g. noga tinauna vetaina)
no gania! no thanks! (you eat it)
noginogi to beg
nomu a place prolific in
nomula a pleasurable place
nononono to grill
no vedokoa! that'Zて do!
nu until (also, muai)
nua Zungs
nuaka Ziver
nuanai inside, amongst
nuagiti to arise
nuaviti indigestion
nugima wasp, hive (inalien.n.).
nuginiwaika an introduced mango
nugivi nest (inalien.n.).
nukunuku querrulous
numa house
numaboga door
numaragatauna buizder
nupa wet (also, nufa)
nuvi dream
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- subject referent 2nd. sing.
oa amazed, surprised
oba yes
obe? why? (in isolation)
obu a reef fish
obukaobuka straight
ogogami poor (Motu loan)
ogoro subject referent 2nd.pl. (after rogotina)
ogouna knuckles (inalien.n.).
oiauna a cultivated yam
okari a type of nut
opuna short, deep (also ofuna)
oremaitago to meet
oro subject referent 2nd.sing. (after rogotina)
ovai a round yam
P
paivasi eruption, suddenly get cross, active volcano (also, faivagi)
pagategi gate, gap (also fagategi)
pai reflection
paiti fist clenched to punch (English loan)
pakarianai between(also, fakarianai)
pako to announce (also,fako)
palaimiti aeroplane (Motu loan)
palaka cold (of things; Kemiabolo, piluka)
palekego toad, general name for frog palepale collection of armshells
palipali wet (also, falifali)
panapana sole of foot (inalien.n.).
papagau argument (also fafagau)
papala radiator-fan (English loan)
paraniketi blanket (also, genagena)
pau a wound (inalien.n.).
paudobi to jump or dive into the water (also, faudobi)
pedi bitter bark (for funerals and abortions)
pege a type of frog (also, fege)
pegu barren, to use contraceptive
pelu to tie ankles for climbing, the frond used to do that
pelurage to $c l i m b$ with pelu, bracing away from tree
pepa letter (English loan)
pere chip of wood, to split (also, fere)
pidi gun, to fire, shoot (also, fidi)
pidipidi to knock(also, fidifidi)
pili flatulence, to flatulate
pipi a river fish(also,fifi)
pitopito button (Motu loan)
piu to throw (also, fiu)
piutoga to throw away (also, fiutoga)
pogepoge a smaZZ hiIZ (also, fogefoge)
pogo beret (also, fogo)
polaka a basket, tray (also, folaka)
polo feather (also, folo)
poti coconut-leaf ball, bladder (also, foti)
potiati to go through, to rape (slang) (also, fotiati)
potiatai gone through(also, fotiatai)
pou gall bladder (inalien.n.), boil, volcano, explosion
pouta carriers' camp (English loan)
puka book (English loan)
Pula Sunday
Pulamaragi, Pulakeina Wednesday
pulu stick for fence post
pululu to exhale(also,fululu)
puluma a type of sugar-cane
pune a white bird (also,fune)
puriki a broom, to sweep inside, warning for dogs to leave house
pute bag (also,fute)
putepute pocket(also, futefute)
putuputu blunt(also,futufutu)

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-ra object referent lst.pl.incl.
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raba-avala the dry season or month
rabalua tomorrow
rabana lower branch of tree or
descent group
rabutu a reef fish
raga to build
raga to run, come (of cars)
ragagoti to complete a building
ragalekwalekwa to run away, lost
ragagioragagio hither and thither
ragakau to choose
ragani the blowing of the wind
ragati to arrive while running
rage to ascend, to go east
ragerage stairs
ragetauna climber
ragwaraswa minor house piles
rai? who?
raigena? raigeria? whose?
raigoti? with whom?
rairai to float
rairobi an edible banana
raitemu pumpkin (also, vaitemu)
rakava bad, rotten, untrustworthy,
wickedness
rakavakwaikwai ugly
rakona four (when counting nuts)
rao a green coconut
rara to bump
rau to sail
raukau? what?
raukwane to abandon, to meet enemy
rautoga to go inside (Kemabolo)
rauwati to go outside (Kemabolo)
rawabara deep sea
rawakelo airless night
rekenai $i n$, near, beside
repativigu small, brown and white
bird
-ria pl.3rd.person suffix
riba to know, aware, knowledge
ribika sediment
rigavi a type of mangrove tree
rigina edge, bank of river
riginai on the bank
rigo to descend
rigoago to go down, to go westwards
Rigogunika Sinaugolo inlanders
Rigokavatai Sinaugolo east of Wanigela River
Rigokukuna a Balawaia descent group (senior branch)
Rigorabana a Balawaia descent group (junior branch)
rigu to bathe
rivili small green parrot
roakau to hang up
robo to saw, cut off
robosa a type of grass
robogele a small centipede
rogaroga to heighten the pitch of the voice
rogo a type of tree
roso to anchor, still, (not)yet
Rogolo a Balawaia descent group name
rogolo dry banana leaves (also, dogolo)
rogona a mourning song
rogoti not yet (also, rosotina)
rolo to absorb
roma leech
romugolo a hill yam
ropuna deep (also, opuna)
rori to be well, feeling fine
rori (be) koli almost, approximately
rori tinauna almost 100
rorovi coming from another direction
rova to whistle
rovi to speculate
ruagiti to stand up
ruakulu to turn around while standing
ruagolo a hillside yam
ruba very dark night
rubu Christian church (also, dubu)
rubunaka descent group architectural device (specific, Rigorubu etc.)tamagai father or paternal uncle rubunakanaka architectural device with two platforms (not Balawaia) rubutalivenia to worship in church ruru to suck, mud whelk

## T

ta horse (introduced imitation of horse's snorting)
ta subject referent lst.pl.incl.
-ta one, another
tabaedede mimic bird
tabigau dam
tabu tall decorated pole with platform on top
tabua an edible stalk
tagama parent-in-law, son or daughter-in-Law (inalien.n.).
tasa personal bag usually for betel-nut and accessories
tagarigo a reef fish
Tagabuna place where horse's bones were found (site of Tauruba school)
tage excreta
tagi to cry
tagibaru to cry with anger
tagidoko a mourning song (also, tagidako)
tagigairigairi to cry silently
tagigwagurigwaguri to mourn bitterly
tagikogoni to yell
tagimate to cry until faint
tago to dip in water
tairigo upside down
takataka to chirp
takia to throw at
takitoga to throw inside, to ravish (slang)
tabi steering wheel(also,stia)
talo to write
Taloa a Balawaia descent group name
talogauna pen
tama father or paternal uncle (inalien.n.).
(direct address)
tamana another (also, tamaia, tamaki)
tamanavegabikau father's brother (inalien.n.).
tami padding under didudibu
tamuna an edible banana
tano earth, land, ground
tanogalevagaleva earthquake (also, tanogelewagelewa)
tanobara mainland, planet earth
tanotautau demon
tanoveaga earth tremor, fearful place
tanu stay
tanutali sit down
taraki bow (weapon)
tariga spiny anenome
tarikaka cousins of same sex (inalien.n.).
tarimelona younger single brother or cousin of male(inalien.n.).
taritauna married younger brother or cousin of male (inalien.n.).
tarivalana younger single sister or cousin of female(inalien.n.).
tarivavinena married younger sister or cousin of female(inalien.n.).
tata, -ta - -ta each
tau man
tau hot, sweat (Kemabolo tiau)
taugela towel (also, tauli, English loan)
tautau, tiautiau very hot (tiautiau probably Motu loan)
taubarana man entitled to sit on rubunaka (also, taubada, Motu loan)
tauganina body
taugelema an edible banana
taugonekwalana Zeader of senior branch of descent group
taugonemulitaina Zeader of second family within descent group
taugonevelauna leader of junior branch of descent group
taukau to hang a basket
taukulokulona albino, whiteskinned person(not taubada)
taula double, twice, counting in twos
taulimalima people
taulatoitoi six
taulatoitoitebona seven
taulavativati eight
taulavativatitebona nine
tauta person
tawa grove
tawalana gizl (inalien.n.).
teakomu an edible banana
tebe to recline
tebenai on the flank
tebona one only
teboria teboria each, every
tedira perhaps
tega ear (inalien.n.).
tegabubu deaf
tegalu corner post of house
tegetegewatagana whetstone
teketeke to rap
tekone a small nut
tenagi but
tene ancestors
teneka side of the house
teneti to alter
tenuka rubbish tip
tenupiu feast given by youths before friend's marriage
tera women's feathered head-bands
tetetairagena a string figure
teu scrotum (inalien.n.).
teugutuma testis (inalien.n.).
teuvai to geld
teva floorboards
tia to say
tiage man's feathered head-dress; blue bird of paradise (Paradisornis rudolph1)
tialo a reef fish
tiakomu an edible banana
tiamuna an edible banana
tika counter-irritant surgical device(toy bow with glass chip head)
tikere fruit-picker bird
tikerekoio small grass bird with Zong tail
tiko to sit
tikotali to sit down (Kemabolo, tikotaini)
tikogauna chair (also, tikokaugauna)
tiku to blow nose with leaf or handkerchief
tilauna tea
tilo coral, oyster
timutimu fine rain, to rain slightly
tina mother, mother's sister (inalien.n.).
tinagai mother, maternal aunt (direct address)
tinagai! expression of surprise (also, melo!)
tinage intestines (inallen.n.).
tinakae a round yam
tinana vegabikau mother's sister (inalien.n.).
tinau a one-rope knot, strong rope
tinauna hundred
tinauna kavana almost 100
tinatina legend
tinigapoa a flat red yam
tinimakaloe an edible banana
tipalu a type of grasshopper (also, tifalu)
tipikaia pocket knife(also,tifikaia)
tiporo a citrus fruit(also,tiforo)
tirobo soft bamboo
tirobou edible banana
tiroka a glider mammal
titi drops of water, waterfall
titima boat, matches (inversion of matiti)
titipou a tree with edible leaves and fruit

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tiva to climb without pelu bracing
    away from tree
    pronoun suffix
tourage verandah
tore to write down (Motu loan)
torogogo small brown road runner
    bird
toroia cattle, boat
toti headlight (English loan)
tuamagi think, love, worry, trust,
    be sad
tuari war
tuelo koloko noon (English loan)
tubu plant, to plant
tubu grandparent-child (Inalien.
        n., reciprocal).
tubugole deceased grandparent's
    spirit (1nalien.n.).
tui knee (inalien.n.).
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tiva to climb without pelu bracing away from tree

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tivalo a large taro
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tivalo a large taro
tivikini man's traditional pubic
tivikini man's traditional pubic
(1nalien.n.).
(1nalien.n.).
tivi cloth introduced version of
tivi cloth introduced version of
tivikini
tivikini
-to continuous suff1x past
-to continuous suff1x past
tobio small grey river fish
tobio small grey river fish
tobo smoking pipe
tobo smoking pipe
togatoga quiet
togatoga quiet
tosi to hobble along
tosi to hobble along
togona a yellow taro
togona a yellow taro
togotogo to imitate
togotogo to imitate
toitoi three
toitoi three
tola miser, to be mean
tola miser, to be mean
tolegatolega to divide
tolegatolega to divide
tolevavine a coward
tolevavine a coward
tolo a reef fish
tolo a reef fish
tolotolo types of bird and frog
tolotolo types of bird and frog
tolu bark of a dog
tolu bark of a dog
tolua kingfisher
tolua kingfisher
toma today, now
toma today, now
topaka a little bit, Zast (also,
topaka a little bit, Zast (also,
tofaka)
tofaka)
topu hiccough; soap (English loan)
topu hiccough; soap (English loan)
-totau-(gu etc.) reflexive personal

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-totau-(gu etc.) reflexive personal
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tugu to send
tugugiti women's eexual position
tuka stalk, to fell a tree
tukakereani season of lightning
tukana stump of tree (Kemabolo, utukana)
tukeni a large wild yam
tukurage to dry out of breath
tula burnt out area; fictive relationship (Inalien.n.).
tuli to sew
tuliga bone
tuligalikiria vexatious
Tumana title of second rubunaka post
tumunakila a cultivated yam
tumutumu extremely (e.g. gwagigi tumutumu)
tunumagela stink-bug
turai flute
tutula $d e w-d r o p$
U
ugava eagle
ula want
ulagauna to want something
ulageni to desire, Zove (also, ulaveni)
ulaula to play, dance about
uli brown of dogs and pigs
ulikulo white and brown of dogs and pigs

## V

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va- subject referent 3rd.singular

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va- subject referent 3rd.singular
usually omitted (e.g.gia v'agoni)
usually omitted (e.g.gia v'agoni)
vadu camp (also, vaga)
vadu camp (also, vaga)
vasa forage
vasa forage
vagalua twice
vagalua twice
vagana once
vagana once
vagatoitoi thrice
vagatoitoi thrice
vagi to kill secretly, to kill
vagi to kill secretly, to kill
an animal
an animal
vagu house-nail (also, ikoko)
vagu house-nail (also, ikoko)
vaguna afterwards

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vaguna afterwards

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vagunakiana just now
vagunavau sometime Zater
vainamu a cultivated yam
vaino a speckled sugarcane; a
    fungal infection
vaitemu pumpkin (also, raitemu)
vala femaze
valakeina small girl
valetoga a sexual position
valigu new (Kemabolo galigu)
valiva a Zizard
valivagaro green Lizard
valu bark for making fishing nets
vanagi pass
vanagivanagi always
vane wing, fin (Kemabolo pane;
    Inalien.n.).
vanedoga male cuscus
vanua village
Vanuabara Hanuabada
vapuelo an edible banana (also,
    vafuelo)
varu an edible banana
varuguina eyebrow (inalien.n.),
    an edible banana
vatini a nut, an edible fruit
vativati four
vatua to weave
Vatua-arata Vatorata College
vatukaka to plait, a plait
vatuvatu kidney (inalien.n.).
vau now, after, later
vavine woman
vavinegonena senior wife of senior
    leader of senior branch of descent
    group
vavinemulitaina senior wife of
    senior leader of junior branch of
    descent group
vavinevelekwa feast by and for
    women
ve- reciprocal prefix, to do some-
    thing together (often confused
    with vei)
veaga holy
veai to boast, proud, a boast
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vagunakiana just now

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veaka ambidexterous
vealeva to clean
vebaru to anger
vebati to assist another to chop
vedau to wipe each other
vedawali to meet
vedikoma to comb
vedinarai to appear
vedivedi hostile, undefeated enemy
vediveditauria enemy
vedoli to wrestle
vefafagau to argue (also, vepapagau)
vegaba to join in festivity
vegabakau to be cousins
vegabawai feast of reconciliation
    (also, vegabagwai)
vegabi to grab each other, to assist
    other women at birth, to give
    birth to, to choose (also,
    veigabi)
vegabikalau to touch each other
vegabirage to respect
vegabitore to extend credit
vegagai to copulate
vegagalegau to attack each other
vegala handle, to attach handle
vegalabagibagi to regard each other
    ferociously
vegali to fear each other
vegarawa to marry each other
vegenigani to poison
veginitago bridewealth distribution
    (also, veiginitago)
vegitakau to cheat
vegogo to assemble
vegoliati third funeral feast
vegopa to tell a lie
vegopanagi to faint (also,
    vegofanagi)
vegugutu to drown
veguligi to bathe
veguluaveni to advise
vegura to ride (in a canoe)
Vegwala a Balawaia descent group
    name
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vegwala a timber tree
vegwane to quarrel with each other vei- to do something to something
(often replaced by ve-)
veialeva to clean
veibaru to anger (also, vebaru)
veibirokule to turn something over (also, vebirokule)
veiboragi to change something (also, veboragi)
veidaikau to go aground (also, vedaikau)
veidamudamu to decorate limbs (also, vedamudamu, pl.)
veidinarai to appear (also, vedinarai)
veigabi to grab something (also vegabi, to wrestle)
veigabikau to claim without reason (also, vegabikau)
veigabina underpants, to put under (also, vegabina)
veigabigulu to seduce (also, vegabigulu)
veigabitore to extend credit (also, vegabitore)
veigagalegau to attack (also, vegagalegau, pl.)
veigagewa to pervert (also, vegagewa)
veigala a handle, to put a handle on something
veigali to frighten someone (also, vegali, to be frightened)
veigatu to tattoo (also, vegatu)
veigenigani to poison someone (also, vegenigani, vevenigani)
veigenigopa to tease, trick (also, vegenigopa, vevenigopa)
veigita to look in mirror (also, vegita, vegia (sarcastic))
veigibo to place finger in vagina (also, vegibo)
veiginitago to make a bridewealth distribution (sing.husband)
veigiro to wriggle, writhe (also, vegiro)
veigitakau to cheat someone, to arrange in order
veigobe to catch (also vegobe, to play a catching game)
veigopa to tell a lie, deceitful (also, vegopa)
veigopanagi to trick in battle (also, vegofanagi)
veigugutu to drown oneself (also, vegugutu)
veiguligi to bathe someone (also vegugutu)
veiguluaveni to advise (also, veguluaveni, to discuss)
veikaitoga well-hidden, to hide something (also, vekaitoga)
veikakali to make something with something (also, vekakali)
veikala to make, do (sing.) (also, vekala, pl.)
veikava to help (also, vekava, to co-operate)
veikila to tell (also vekila, to discuss)
veikobo to tickle (also vekobo, children playing)
veikoe to bump the elbow (also, vekoe)
veikogolagi to answer (also vekogolagi, to debate)
veikoli to bite, finish (also, vekoli, dog's fighting)
veikopi to shed its bark (also, vekopi)
veikou to hinder, to close (also vekou, to attack each other)
veikune wooden pillow, to use it (also, vekune)
veikwalaimate busy (also, veikwalairakava, vekwalairakava)
veikwala to start something (also, vekwala, to commence)
veilaka to go away (also, velaka, to go away in company)
veilalaga to stroke vagina (also, velalaga)
veilalela torn, to tear (also, velalela)
veilau to kiss, bitter (also, velau pl.)
veilili to retract foreskin (also, velili)
veinamo to bless someone, to accept visitor, to praise (also, venamo)
veirakava to wound someone, to make something bad (also, verakava)
veirara to bump something (also, verara)
veirau to alter
veiriba to teach someone (also, veriba)
veiriveiri enemy
veiroritole to curse someore (also, veroritole, to curse each other)
veiru an edible banana
veivitia to torture someone (also, vevitia pl.)
veiwane scowl (also, vewane)
vekala to make, do
vekalakau to commit adultery
vekava to help
vekau to co-operate with
vekeageni to call each other
vekila to discuss
vekima to arrange betrothal
vekoba a sexual position
vekoli to complete, bite, finish
vekou to attack each other, to defend in company with
velagulili to follow in a group
velalo second funeral feast, a
magical medicine
velau bitter
velavela woman's feather decoration,
boy with silky hair
vele outstanding leader, by birth
or not, to be or become a leader
velekwa feast, to make a feast
veloga bush (Kemabolo, gurumata)
veluana second in order
vemala to ambush
vemagatali to appear
vematabuku to frown
vematadiki to wink
vemetau to blame
vemomogoni to agree
venamo to bless
venali to observe carefully
venatagouna the cross
veni to give (also, geni)
vepakanai between, in the middle of (also, vefakarianai)
vepapagau to argue (also, vefafagau)
vepogo a type of parrot (also, vefogo)
veragegao feast to initiate betrothal (reciprocal)
veragadou first funeral feast
verenagi to discuss
verere happy
vereregenai to be pleased with
verovero smooth
vetabelou to Zean on
vetau to search for
veteneti to barter
veto boil (sore)
vetogo to imitate
vetoina third
vetuamagikau to believe
vetuatua probably
vetuitali to kneel on both knees
vevagi to fight
vevari to sit with legs apart (of girls)
veveruveveru to glisten
vila a long white taro
vilimeramera a stone knife
vilipopo catapult (also,vilifofo)
vinigi the flame tree
vinigimole season or month of the flame tree
vira? how much? how many?
virisi to separate good from bad, to trim
virigo flesh (inalien.n.).
virigo-bei goba to suffer cramp
viro meteorite
viti pain
vitigo general name for beans
vitigowalo season of red leaves and rope
W
wabu widow
Wabulava people of Imoagolo
wabuli a red and white yam
wabulidibudibu a preying mantis
wada a red fruit with edible seeds
wadika sago-like famine plant
waga initiation, maternal uncle
(1nalien.n.).
wagai maternal uncle (direct
address)
wagakubo small white reef fish
wagi general name for wallaby
wagio tree which supplies sticks
for roof
wagula general name for cuscus
wai tidal river, Zagoon, (Kemabolo,
vae)
-waia to cause to, again (also,
gwaia)
waika general name for mango
waila face, personal appearance
(inalien.n.).
wailai in front of (e.g. wailanai,
wailarianai) (also see gwaila)
wainagula fever river (1.e. Wanigela
R1ver)
waivele an edible banana
waka initiation using bitter food
(also, waga)
wakina a wild yam
wakira to tear
wakirakira broken, torn
wala birth
walau initiation ceremony, to make
ceremony, to be crippled
walo rope, vine, wallaby net
walona ten nuts tied with walo
walokureve a smalz rope
walowalo a variety of rope
walu to make round with adze
wamara wild chestnut variety
wana a two rope knot, general name
for fruit (Kemabolo)

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vito hungry (also, vitomate)
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vito hungry (also, vitomate)

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w
wabu widow

Wabulava people of Imoagolo wabuli a red and white yam wabulidibudibu a preying mantis wada a red fruit with edible seeds wadika sago-like famine plant
waname a type of butterfly, a string figure
waogu crippled
wapalo a wild yam sometimes cultivated
wara a murderer(from another language)
waraka a Zadder
wariga often, too
warigiti to stand up, arise, awake
warimo tube fish
watela cheek (inalien.n.).
wataga stone
wataumotanai three days ago
watolo an edible nut
wesita menstruation, to menstruate
witili whistle (English loan)
wuakira to tear apart
wudika a type of nut
\(Y\)
yaiyo! good heavens!

\subsection*{5.0 AN ENGLISH - BALAWAIA VOCABULARY}
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a-ta
abandon raukwane
abortion komu
above atanai, kukunai
absent bei tanu
absorb rolo
accident liki
accompany lakakau
across egiti
act quickly kalagalimagi,
kalalaugoli
adhere gatavegogo
adhesive sap tree bonuka
adopt gubu
adultery vekalakau
advice guluaveni
advise veguluaveni, veiguluaveni,
veguluageni
adze curved gogou
adze flat gomou
aeroplane palaimiti, falaimiti
(Motu loan)
afraid gali
afternoon lailai (Kemabolo leilei)
afterwards gabeaivau, vagunavau
agree, agreement vemomogoni
afterbirth buromomona
ahead gone
air agila
airless night rawakelo
alike gelegele
all mabarara
alone gerega
aloud guluabarana
already gwarau
also maki, maia
alter veirau, teneti
always vanagivanagi
amazed oa
ambidexterous veaka

```
ambush vemala, veimala
ancestor galagala, tene
anchor, to rogo
anchor ( \(n\) ). auri (or word describing material used)
ancient times kaigonegone
and ema,e
anger ( \(n\) ), angry baru
anger, to veibaru, vebaru
ankle komukomu (inalien.n.).
another tamaia
answer kogolagi
ants didilima (smaZZ), dogilo (red), lilika (black)
anus molemole, golenabogana, boga, mole (inalien.n.).
aperture boga
appear, to vedinarai, veidinarai, vemagatali; appearance togana
approach lakalau, lakakau
argue vepapagau, vefafagau, vemagatali
argument papagau, fafagau
and then benamo (Motu loan)
arise warigiti, nuagiti
arm alo (upper), gima (Zower) (inalien.n.).
armband lobo, gane (inalien.n. if continually worn)
armpit kariga (inalien.n.).
arrange kalagitakau
arrival gwarigwari
arrive gwara, ragati, gwarati
arrow diba
ascend rage
ashamed maeka
ash memewa (black), kagu (grey), guluma (charcoal)
ask veikila, vekila
astray, to go lakalea
assemble together vegogo
at -ai, atanai, rekenai
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attack kou, gagalegau, vekou,
veikou, vegagalegau, veigagalegau,
gana
at the time garotai
at the place gabunai
audience kamolagigautauria
aunt maternal tinagai (direct
address), tina (inalien.n.).
aunt paternal agai (direct address), banana leaves dry dogolo, rogolo
a-(inalien.n.).
auake waragiti
aware riba
away gerevagi
axe koko (iron), gadio (stone)
B
bachelor gologa
bachelor confirmed gologavanagi
bachelors' tree doba
back of the body doge (inalien.n.).
back of the house koka, kouka
back of the neck geru (inalien.n.).
bad rakava
bag pute
bait, to gutu, taro (continuously)
bait guma
bake gabu
Balawaia descent groups Babaga,
Dua, Galo, Gamoga, Ganika, Gotolu,
Kwalimurubu, Lagi, Rigo, Rogolo,
Taloa, Vegwala
bald govala
ball bolo (English loan)
bamboo demo (hard), tirobo (soft)
banana, general name: galigwata
(Kemabolo gali'wata)
banana grub guio
banana new buri
bananas, kinds of: aibanana, aleba,
amenu, apule (afule), aulopo
(aulofo)
bidai, bolebara, bua, buakaukau
(buakaokao)
dagele, dagelitau, dagodago,
danuna, daua, demo, dolama (doulama)
(dulama) duigala, domuna
gadubi, galokoni, gudu, gumaka,
gwagu

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bananas, kinds of (contd.)

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    inidia
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    inidia
    kaia, koitaki, kondulama, koni,
    kaia, koitaki, kondulama, koni,
    kwaivele, kwarivele
    kwaivele, kwarivele
    laveta, lewatogo, ligo, lokuka
    laveta, lewatogo, ligo, lokuka
    matakula, magilugu, memeku,
    matakula, magilugu, memeku,
    merani, miname, morina,
    merani, miname, morina,
    teakomu, tinimakaloa, taugelema
    teakomu, tinimakaloa, taugelema
    vapuelo(vafuelo), varu, varuguina,
    vapuelo(vafuelo), varu, varuguina,
    veiru
    veiru
    waivele
    waivele
    banana stalk kwati
banana tree insect kavikavi (and
tattoo)
banana tree support dugu
bandicoot mora
bark of dog (v. and n.). tolu
bark of tree kopi
bark, to shed veikopi, veikofi
bark, to remove kopinagabina
bark used for nets valu, nagu
barren pegu
barter veteneti
baskets doi, gwamalu, polaka,
folaka
bastard kugiakalamelona
bathe rigu
beach kone, koni (in compound
nouns)
beach prawns giti
beads ageva, gudugudu
beak muru (inalien.n.).
bean (general name) vitigo
bear a baby gabi
beard lamu (inalien.n.).
beat, to bota, kwari (with stick)
beat on drum laulau
beat on wall apakoko, afakoko
beautiful namolelevagi
bedroom daigutu
bees or wasps boboka, gode,
nugima, nanigo
beetles bulutu, kanipore (kanifore)
before gonenai
begin kwalana
beginning gonenai

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```

boy gologa, melo, marukeina,
mero (Motu loan)
brain mina (inalien.n.).
branch lega, rabana
brave kwalimu, giru (epithet,
brave as an eagle)
breadfruit gunu
breadfruit pistil kuto
break guakoru
breaker (wave) kwirage
breast lata (inalien.n.).
breath aga (inalien.n.).
breathe agarage
bridewealth distribution veginitago,
veiginitago
bright bagaru
bright, to be bagarubagaru
brightness maka
bring guamai
British Beretani
broken wakirakira
broom puriki, furiki
brother (bereaved) gogagoga
brother-in-Zaw ivagaitauna
(inalien.n.).
brother older or cousin male
kakatauna (inalien.n.).
brother younger or cousin male
taritauna (inalien.n.).
bubble, to bubble kapuro, kafuro
build raga
bulldozer dogadoga, buldogi
(English loan)
bump verara, veirara, bumpa
(English loan)
bumpy gobugobu
bunch giti
bundle dego
burial easel kiro
burial ground gala
burn gabu
burn spontaneously gala
burnt out area tula
burrow mimiga (inalien.n.).

```
boy sologa, melo, marukeina, mero (Motu loan)
brain mina (inalien.n.).
branch lega, rabana
brave kwalimu, giru (epithet, brave as an eagle)
breadfruit gunu
breadfruit pistil kuto
break guakoru
breaker (wave) kwirage
breast lata (inalien.n.).
breath aga (inalien.n.).
breathe agarage
bridewealth distribution veginitago, veiginitago
bright bagaru
bright, to be bagarubagaru
brightness maka
bring guamai
British Beretani
broken wakirakira
broom puriki, furiki
brother (bereaved) gogagoga
brother-in-Zaw ivagaitauna (inalien.n.).
brother older or cousin male kakatauna (inalien.n.).
brother younger or cousin male taritauna (inalien.n.).
bubble, to bubble kapuro, kafuro
build raga
bulldozer dogadoga, buldogi (English loan)
bump verara, veirara, bumpa (English loan)
bumpy sobugobu
bunch giti
bundle dego
burial easel kiro
burial ground gala
burn gabu
burn spontaneously gala
burnt out area tula
burrow mimiga (inalien.n.).
burst pot or drum bei guapaka, bei guafaka
bury guli, veguli, veiguli
bush veloga (Kemabolo, guramata)
bush track daubaravelogona
busy vekwalaimate, vekwalairakava, veikwalairakava
but tenagi
butterflies kaubebe, malami, waname
buttocks golena (inalien.n.).
buy goigoi

C
cabbage gailau
call kea, vekeageni, pako, fako, vekeaveni
camp (v.and n.) vaga, pouta (English loan)
candle mona
cane plant galata
canoe sati
canoe pole gini
care about galamariai
carpet shark koge
careful venali, gitakau
carry guagina, guagua
carving of rubunaka galagala
carving patterns balamauta, boloko, elawai, galataurasi, galarikoga
cassowary, head dress gidabu
catapult vilipopo, vilifofo
catch gobe
caterpillars kaveto, kwavela
cattle boromakau (Motu loan), stea
(English loan 1.e. steer)
cemetry guli, gala
centipedes gaiwa, robogele
charcoal, charcoal paint guluma
chair tikogauna, tikokaugauna
charm, to garikikala
cheat, to gitakau, vegitakau, veigitakau
cheek moko, watela (inalien.n.).
chest kitikiti (inalien.n.).
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chew betel nut gala
chewing-gum root batu
child natu (1nalien.n.).
chizd's abbreviation for mine agu
chile godurakava
chin gare
chip (wood) pere, fere
choke boge
choose gabi, veigabi, vegabi
chop bati
church rubu, dubu (Motu loan)
citrus fruits tiporo, anani
clan dogolo
clap botabota
clean, to vealeva, veialeva,
vealewa
clean (adj.) aleva, alewa
clever aonega
climb rage
clock garogauna
clothing dabua (inalien.n. if
underpants)
cloud buri, ginoga, 'inoga
cockroach palo, falo
coconut green rao
coconut husk bunu
coconut leaf ball poti, foti
coconut leaf basket doi
coconut leaf spine niugwalena
coconut oil diga
coconut sauce dalidiga
coconut scraper-seat soligoli
coconut shell gavane
coconut shell cup large kiliku
coconut shell cup rough kaniku
coconut shell cup smooth bedi
coconut shell ring kibu
coconut shell spoon kaberu
cold nagula, palaka, falaka
(Kemabolo, piluka)
collect gogo
collection of shells palepale,
falefale

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colour milimili
comb, to vedikoma, veikakali
comb, traditional dikoma
comb, modern kakali
come agomai
come down mairigo, murigo
come out mulakati
come in lakatoga
come quickly laosoli, gailagi,
galigali
coming from another direction rorovi
contraceptive, to take pegu
cook dali
co-operate lakavegogo, vekau
copulate vegagai
copulative be (Motu loan)
copy gitakau
corn (sweet) koniparau(konifarau)
corner daiguni
cot (string) goroga
cough (v. and n.) gera
count ai, duai
cousins, to be vegabakau
crabs, types of: galelu, galirigo,
gome, guma, gwagalu
iruiru
kakelo, kovero, kukelo
crack, to crack suakira
crazy babo
crawl dala
credit, to extend credit gabitore,
veigabitore, vegabitore
sreeping plants awagi
cripple (n). gagedoko
crippled walau
crocodile gua
crooked gagewa, gageva, gegeva
cross baru
cross beams (two) of rubunaka debele
crouch dukutago
crow (bird) gao
cruel, to be aorakava, garopiki
(garofiki), dagedage (Motu loan)

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cry tagi
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cry of baby kanokano
cry with anger tagibaru
cry silently tagigairigairi
cry out of breath tukurage
cry nostalgically tagigwagurigwaguri
cry until faint tagimate
cup kaputi,(kafuti) (English loan)
current gabata
cuscus (general name) wagula
cuscus, types of: kenibole, guluma,
vanedoga, dubaduba, guigulo
custard apple nabonabo, labolabo
cut (n.) pau (inalien.n.).
cut, to bati
cut and taste kalatoso
cut by grass lama, nama
cut the rope batigutu
cur (with scabies) lakulaku
D
dam tabigau
dance about ulaula
dance to guitar sadara
dance with drum bala
dark colour dubaduba
darkness mukuna
day lagani, garo
day after tomorrow ilagani
day before yesterday motanai
deaf tegabubu
dead mateto
deceased friend's spirit gatagole
deceased grandparent's spirit
tubugole
decoration of limbs damudamu
deep dodoku, opuna, ofuna, robuna,
ropuna
deep ocean dodokukimolakimola
defecate kuku, lalasi
defend in argument bili
definitely not atiginaginavasi
descend rigo, rigoago, mairigo,
murigo
desire, to ulageni, ulaveni
desire (n.) ulagauna
dew amo
dew drop tutula
die mate
different irau
dig kua, guli
digit didi (1nal1en.n.).
dig the garden aragamarana
dim light bagaru
dip in water, to tago
dirty milo
disease keve
ditch galugalu
dive nikurigo
divide tolegatolega
divide people kaokira, kwikira,
kira
do kala
dog kwagalu, kino (legend)
donkey doniki (English loan)
door numabosa
double taula, kati, kapa (twins)
down rigo
down there dokai
dragon-flies dago, kinone
draw water gutu
dreams nuvi (pleasant), abu
(unpleasant)
dried up (lips) giti
dried up (mud) kolele
drink, to ginu, niu
drink too much ginumate
driving wheel tali
drop (fazl) keto
drop (let fall) bubu
drought dose
drown veigugutu, vegugutu
drum gaba
dry kaukau
dry banana leaves dogolo, rogolo
duck daki (English loan)

```
dust gou, gagau

E
eagles, types of: gamoga, kema,
ikonigorigori, kipa, ugava, giru
each teboria teboria, tata, -ta-
- -ta
ear tega (1nalien.n.).
ear-ring gege (inalien.n. if continually worn)
earth tanobara
earthquake tanogalevagaleva, tanogalewagalewa, tanogelevageleva
earth tremor tanoveaga
east garoragenaragena
east, to go rage
eat ganigani
edge rigina
edible leaves gailau, loga
eel (river) lalagwaga
eels (reef) gagagua, gwata
egg satoi
eight taulavativati
elbow barigu (inalien.n.).
empty kolina, atitauna
encircle gege
end dokona, duduna
enemy ligu (defeated), veiriveiri, vediveditauria
enough gelegele
enter lakatoga, beletoga
erection of penis dola
eruption paivasi, faivasi
estimate kilatogo
evening lailai (Kemabolo, leilei)
excrement tage
excrete kuku, lalagi
exhale pululu, fululu
exit laka-ati, beleati
extinguishing of fire bute
eye mata (inalien.n.).
eyebrow varuguina (inalien.n.).
eyeglasses matagalati (English loan) eyeZash matalimu (inalien.n.).

F
face waila (Inalien.n.).
facepaint gumu
faeces tage
fall keto, ketopirigo
fan belt beleta (English loan), kepaki
far manega, manegadaudau
fast galimagi, laugoli
fat bara
fat, grease mona
father, father's brother tama (irialien.n.)., tamagai (direct address)
fear, to gali, vegali, veigali
fear (n.) gali
feast (general name) velekwa
feast (ante-natal first child only) latatou
feast (after first child) golupirigo
feast (after second chizd) melogolirigona
feast by women for girls reaching puberty dauga
feast for initial betrothal botegakali
feast for successful killer ganilago
feast on completion of rubunaka gaba
feast to initiate kima verasegao
feather folo, polo, giu (Saroa loan)
feathery (hair) velavela
feed someone gubu
feint vegopanasi, veigofanagi
fell a tree batilau
female wallaby aliba
fence sana
fetch water gutu
few atigogo
fight vevagi
fill gonu
finches golugutugutu, golugutugututarigu

floorboards teva floorjoists gotoka
flute iviri
fly away, to logolaka
fog sinoga (Kemabolo, gauginoga),
    gaugou
folZou velakagulili, velagulili
food sanigani
food cooked in pot gala
food dish tin deti (English loan)
food dish wooden digu
foolish atidebana
foot gage (inalien.n.).
foot-print gagegabuna (inalien.n.).
forbidden golo
forehead bagu (Kemabolo, bagu' penope'nona 1.e. above nose)
foreskin veilili, velili (inalien.n.).
forget vetualekwa, veitualekwa, guilagi
for no reason atiganina
for what reason? atiganikala?
four vativati
four bananas akwana
fowl kokoroku
friend gata (inalien.n.).
friend's spirit satagole (inaller. n.).

Friday Kabeti, Lewalewa
fringe of growth near stream bagara
frogs: galagou
kolokolo palekego (falekego)(includes toad) pege (fege)
front gwaila, lakatiai
front of house gatama
front upright of roof debagiaokwalana
frown vematabuku
fruit (general names) guagua, gauganina (Kemabolo, wana)
fruit, types of: area bore (bole), burima dubula
gabataveu, geleka, gone, gonogou, gugubo
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fruit, types of (contd.)
koke
lauguru
moita
vatina
wada
fruit bat maoba
fruitless atiganina
full gonu
funeral feasts, types of:
veragadou (first)
velalo (second)
vegoliati (third)
guluma (Zast)
fungus, mild kinibo
fungus, severe leo, vaino
G
gale avalagaita
gall bladder garoi (inalien.n.).
gaol dibura
garden araga
garfish boga
gasp agalulu
gate ganagau, pagategi, fagategi
gather gatovegogo
get gabi
giant dauma
giantess gadegonegone
ginger bola
girl valakeina
girl's legs apart vevari
give geni, veni
give birth to gabi
glare of sun bagaru
gZider mammal tiroka
gZobuZar dokupairapaira,
dokufairafaira
glossy digadiga
go ago
go astray lakalea
go away velaka
God Balau
go down murigo
good namo, korikori, idaukorikori

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goodbye! au a lakani! bono gena! bono geno! manoagoni!
go inside rautogo (Kemabolo), lakatoga
go outside rauwati (Kemabolo), laka-ati
gourd for lime gagugarana
grab gabi, vegabi, veigabi
grandparent-grandchild tubu (inalien.n.).
grass (general name) legi
grass, types of: baibutu, bailele, bana, burua goloputu (golofutu) kuluka
legi
mati
papa
grasshoppers, types of: dididokoma kikikiki (cricket) madudu tipalu (tifalu)
grease (fat) mona
green magitamagita
grizi nononono
grimace gwuli
grow sala
groin kato (inalien.n.).
ground tano
grub, sago labea, labia
guide, to nali
gun pidi, maragauna
H
haggard gogove
hair gui (inalien.n.).
hairdown mimiro (inalien.n.).
half kwauna, kwauta
hand sima
handle vegala, veigala (to put on handle)
hang by neck bora, getau
Hanuabada Vanuabara
happy verere
hard gwagigi
harelip murutili (inalien.n.).
```

hate baruveni, barugeni,
be rakava
hat debagauna, kwaragauna
(Motu loan)
hawk kipa
head deba (inalien.n.).
hear kamolagi
heart kudou (inalien.n.).
heathen diabolo (loan via English)
heavy metau
heel selulu(1nalien.n.).
help (n.) gaukala
help, to vekava, veikava, duku
helper vekavatauna
here! (take it, give it) neke! nek'!
here, this naia
heron boge
he's bad gia rakavani, gia ma
rakavana
hiccough topu, tofu
hide gumu
hidden weZZ vekaitoga
high end of garden debaka
high tide gutu, gabata
hilz golo, pogepoge, fogefoge
hinder ganagau, vekou, veikou
hinge ineri (English loan)
hip kekeva (inalien.n.).
hirstute gagelamulamu
hit, to bota, kwari (with a stick)
hive nugima (inalien.n.).
hobble, to tosi
hold gabi, gabigigitali
hoZe mimiga, bogaboga
hoze in walz bogeboga
hole through septum or lobe
burupaka, burufaka
holy veaga
honey gode inalien.n. In ref.
to bee)
hook kimai
horse ta (imitation of horse's
snorting?)
hot tautau, tiautiau(Motu Loan)
hot to taste galagal.a
hot sun garobaralelevasi
house numa
housepile kwaku
how? ariavetaina? atavetaina?
how many? how much? vira?
hug gabigigitali
huge baralelevagi
Hula fulaga
hunchback kwamumu
hundred tinauna
hung, to be bora
hungry vito
hunt with encircling nets laugabu
hunt with fire motugabu
hunt with straight nets naga
hunt with torch and weapons loa
hurry gailagi, galimagi
hurt verara, veirara
I
I au
I alone (emphatic) augeregagu
if bene (Motu loar)
izlness, ill keve
image laulau, gauka
imitate gitakau, vetogo, togotogo
I'm fit au roriguai
I'm hot (au) a tauguni
I'm hungry au ma vitogu,(au)a vitoguni
I'm O.K. au gelegele
I'm oZd au ma barakigu
I'm strong au kokoleguni
I'm sweating au ma taugu
I'm wise au ma aonegagu
I myself (reflexive) autotaugu
indigestion nuaviti
initiation waga
in -ai, aonai
in-law iva, tagama (1nal1en.n.).,
ivagai (direct address)

```
hostize kimai
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innumerable atiaigotina
insect bat gidu
inside aonai, nuanai, gabinai
intention ao(inalien.n.).
intestine (Zarge) nuanai, tinage,
bogabara (inalien.n.).
intestine (smaZZ) mole(inalien.n.).
into aonai
in vain atiganina
irritate (mental) kalabaru
irritate (physical) ginigini
island motumotu (Motu loan)
island of reeds kwigegelagi
itchy galagala, ginigini, moemoe
it's rotten gia ma boragana
it's rotting gia boragani
J
jeaZous mama
"jew's harp" of bamboo bibo
join together gatovegogo, veputukau
joke kalamamai,vekuru
journey lakalaka,lakalakadoubararia
juggle gobegobe
jump logo, buri
jump after burigabi
jungle dakimo
K
kapok samuna
kaukau mote
kettle gato
kill (secretly) vagi
kill (openly) solu
kingfisher bird tolua
kiss velau, veilau
knee tui(inalien.n.).
kneel on knees vetuitali
knife (ironstone?) nado
knife large gadiva
knife, sickle-shaped gai
knife, small bou
knife, stone vilimeramera
knots ivara, tinau
know riba
knuckle kwakikwaki (inalien.n.).
(Motu loan?)
L
Zadder waraka
Zagoon wai (Kemabolo, vae)
Zakatoi (Motu) lagatoi
Zake gou (Kemabolo, kogu)
Zame gagedoko
land tano
language garo
Zap (upper Zeg) manini (Inallen.n.).
large atikei
Zarge intestine bogabara (inalien.
n.).
Zast one gabi
Zate kwaibo
Zater gabeaivau
Zaugh, laughter mamai
Zave veguligi
Zaw kalagau, golo
Zazy lepeti
Zead, to nali
Zeaf-hopper mitikili
Zean on vetabekou
leaves, edible types of:
goilau, gogaea
libera, laga
mote, manioda
titipou
Zeft (hand) kauli
leg (whole) kwaku, gage (inalien.
n.).
leg (Zower) dinige (inalien.n.).
leg (upper) manini (inalien.n.).
leg-bone bolo(inalien.n.).
legend gori, tinatina
legless lizard dabikore
leisure garogutuma
Zeopard shark gwata
Zeprosy lepera (English loan)
Zest galina
Zetter pepa (English loan)

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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline Zie (n.) gopagopa, (gofagofa)
Zie down genatali & make hole in ground kua, mimigakala, mimigakoru, guli \\
\hline Zie (to teZZ) vegopa, veigopa, vegofa & \begin{tabular}{l}
male wallaby gamu \\
man gologa, tau, maru, mala
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Zike this enaiateana, enaiavetaina & mango (general name) waika \\
\hline Zimb-band gane, lobo (inalien.n. if always worn) & mangoes, types of: gunuaduba, naowaika, (nauwaika), malele, iara, \\
\hline Zime gagu & matakopu, nuginiwaika \\
\hline Zime-gourd gagugarana & mangrove crab gome \\
\hline Zimeshell kikwari & man's feather headdress kalai, tiage \\
\hline limestick geni & many sogo \\
\hline lip bibiga (1nalien.n.). & many (mosquitoes) atigadara \\
\hline Lisp, to malebo & (Motu loan) \\
\hline Listen kamolagi & marry garawa, vegarawa, veigarawa \\
\hline Listen attentively kamolagigau & masturbate lili \\
\hline live, to, life maguli & mat geba \\
\hline Ziver gate (inalien.n.). & matches titima, matiti, kinimole \\
\hline Zizards, types of: baru, dabikore (legless), digudigu, ganegane, kama, valiva, valivagaro & me au, -gu \({ }_{\text {meaningless atiganina }}\) \\
\hline Zong logi & meat bulega \\
\hline Zook for vetaua (also veitaua) & medicine mulamula \\
\hline Zook for river prawns laso, lao & meet vedawali, oremaitago, \\
\hline Zoop for coconut basket dabe & mend a net aume \\
\hline Zoose gagale & mesh a net abose, nagu \\
\hline Lost lekwalekwa & midday sarosota \\
\hline Zoudly guluabaralelevagi, guluabarana & milk lata \\
\hline Louse gutu & mimic bird tabaedede \\
\hline Zove vetuamagikau & mine augegu, augagu \\
\hline Zower end of garden gabika & miss, to lea \\
\hline Zower leg dinige (inalien.n.). & mixed-race hapakati (also hafakati) \\
\hline Zump on body labiabuti (Inallen. n.). & molar gadika (lnallen.n.).
molzuscs gai, kikwari \\
\hline Zump on tree butika & mongozoid child magulilea \\
\hline lungs nua (inalien.n.) & month gue \\
\hline M & months/seasons agabada, avalakavata biliabara, biliakei, bonarakava \\
\hline mad babo & daga \\
\hline magic gariki & geaganigani, gorava \\
\hline magician gwara, megamegatauna & manubada \\
\hline magpie bune & tukakereani \\
\hline Zand tan & vinigimole, vitigowalo \\
\hline ake kala, vekala, veikala & moon gue \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
mimigakoru, guli
male wallaby gamu
man gologa, tau, maru, mala
mango (general name) waika
mangoes, types of: gunuaduba, naowaika,
(nauwaika), malele, iara,
matakopu, nuginiwaika
mangrove crab gome
man's feather headdress kalai, tiage
many soso
(Motu loan)
marry garawa, vegarawa, veigarawa
masturbate lili
mat geba
matches titima, matiti, kinimole
me au, -gu
meaningless atiganina
meat bulega
medicine mulamula
meet vedawali, oremaitago,
golikau, raukwane (enemy)
mend a net aume
mesh a net aboge, nagu
midday garogota
milk lata
mimic bird tabaedede
mine augegu, augagu
miss, to lea
mixed-race hapakati (also hafakati)
molar gadika (inalien.n.).
molluscs gai, kikwari
moloid child magulilea
months/seasons asabada, avalakavata biliabara, biliakei, bonarakava daga geaganigani, gorava mabada tukakereani
vinigimole, vitigowalo
moon gue
nail (finger) didinago (Inalien.
    n.).
name ara (inalien.n.).
namesake tula (inalien.n. reciprocal)
narrow vekari, mitina
navel buro (inalien.n.).
near to rekenai
neck gaigo (inallen.n.).
nets, types of: bura (fishing,fine),
    leke (fishing,smaZZ); goli (fishing,
    Zarge), boda (pig hunting)
nettle gini
never ativanagivanagi
new valigu (Kemabolo, galigu)
next in sequence gabikau
night bosi
nine taulavativatitebona
nipple latamuruna (inalien.n.).
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N
$$

N
nail (house) ikoko

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moonlight maka

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moonlight maka
Moresby town Bela
Moresby town Bela
morning bogibogi
morning bogibogi
mosquito nemo, murugoni
mosquito nemo, murugoni
mother, mother's sister tina
mother, mother's sister tina
(1nalien.n.).
(1nalien.n.).
mother, mother's sister (direct
mother, mother's sister (direct
address) tinagai
address) tinagai
mother bereft of child gade
mother bereft of child gade
mother's brother (direct address)
mother's brother (direct address)
wagai
wagai
mound of grass guraroku
mound of grass guraroku
mountain golo
mountain golo
mourn bitterly tagigwagurigwaguri
mourn bitterly tagigwagurigwaguri
mourning feasts verogadou, velalo,
mourning feasts verogadou, velalo,
vegoliati, guluma
vegoliati, guluma
mourning songs goma, rogona,
mourning songs goma, rogona,
tagidako (tagidoko)
tagidako (tagidoko)
mouth boga (inalien.n.).
mouth boga (inalien.n.).
mucous kwamo
mucous kwamo
murderer wara
murderer wara
mustard kimu
mustard kimu
my au - - gu

```
my au - - gu
```

no atigina, atiginima (Kemabolo, aikina)
noggins of building gabe
noise of birds gwari
noise of people guluabarana, gularage
noise of pigs kune
north-west avala
nose iru (inalien.n.).
nostrit irubogana (inalien.n.).
nothing atitauna
not ati + verb
not many atigoso
not small atikei
now naiamogo, naianagunakiana, ariari (Motu loan), vau, toma
numb bunu
nuts, types of: barikoke, dinima, gorava, niuniu, okari, tekone, vatini, wada, watolo

0
oar bala, leva
object referents -gu, -mu, -a, -ra, -mai, -mia, -ria
ocean wave geta
octopus gulita
old (person) baraki, sauka (Saroa loan), vele (Keapara loan), buruka (Motu loan)
older woman gade
old (thing) geba, gonena, muka
on atanai, kukunai
one -ta
one only tebona
one-rope knot tinau
only mogo
on the bed bediai (English loan)
open keo, kalapaka, kalafaka, keho (Motu loan)
open shells kekeva
or? ba?
or not? be' tigina?
orange anani (English loan)
other -ta

```
our gita - - ra (incl.), gai - - pickup gabigiti
    mai (excl.)
ours gitagera, gitagara (incl.);
    gaigemai, gaigamai (excl.).
ourselves (reflexive) gitatotaura
    (1ncl.); gaitotaumai (excl.).
out mulika, -ati (e.g. laka-ati)
outer reef tilo
outrigger dalima
owt bagolo
oxbow lake kwigegelagi
oyster, large gale
oysters,small kikwari, tilo
    P
paddle leva
padding under dibudibu tami
page (Zeaf) launa
pain viti (inalien.n.).
pain in shoulder kaiguni
palm of hand gimapagapagana
    (inalien.n.).
pandanus geleka
Papuan black snake gelemagalagala
Papuan brown snake gelemagaita
parrots, types of: galaga, rivili,
    veposo (vefogo)
particle keanamogo
pass by vanagi
path daubaramitina
patrilineal descent group dogolo
pawpaw loku
pay geni, goinaveni
peace manau
pelvis dagila (1nalien.n.).
peninsula iru
penis kwai (inalien.n.).
penis, big gamanu (slang)
penis string damoga, tivikini
    (inalien.n.).
people taulimalima
perhaps baria, tedira(Motu loan)
person tauta
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pig bae
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pig bae
pig fence magu
pig fence magu
pig net boda
pig net boda
pipe, bamboo tobo
pipe, bamboo tobo
place gabuna
place gabuna
placenta momo, buromomona
placenta momo, buromomona
plant, to tubu, varo
plant, to tubu, varo
plateau iruka
plateau iruka
platform naka
platform naka
play about ulaula
play about ulaula
please! gemukala!
please! gemukala!
plenty gogolelevagi, atimagigi
plenty gogolelevagi, atimagigi
plenty of time garogutuma
plenty of time garogutuma
poison vegenigani, gariki
poison vegenigani, gariki
politeness manau
politeness manau
poor ogogami, aleale
poor ogogami, aleale
porcupine moragini
porcupine moragini
Port Moresby Bela
Port Moresby Bela
Port Moresby headland Gelairuna
Port Moresby headland Gelairuna
pour out bubu
pour out bubu
post-natal feast melogolirigona
post-natal feast melogolirigona
pots gulo, gwagutu, kibo
pots gulo, gwagutu, kibo
praise venamo, veinamo
praise venamo, veinamo
prawns giti (reef);gula (river);
prawns giti (reef);gula (river);
gamagama (large, river)
gamagama (large, river)
pregnant kugia
pregnant kugia
preying-mantis wabulidibudibu
preying-mantis wabulidibudibu
pride kwaiva
pride kwaiva
price goina, naba
price goina, naba
proud veai
proud veai
prostitute swai
prostitute swai
pubic covering tivikini (inalien.n.),
pubic covering tivikini (inalien.n.),
tivi (cloth)
tivi (cloth)
pulz inu, lolo, laga
pulz inu, lolo, laga
pumpkin vaisemu, raisemu
pumpkin vaisemu, raisemu
push doli, vedoli, veidoli
push doli, vedoli, veidoli
put sato
put sato
put aside best iliga (Keapara loan)
put aside best iliga (Keapara loan)
put in gura
put in gura
put under veigabina

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put under veigabina
```

put out fire gunu
python (general name) belema pythons avalo, duge, ipua

Q
quarrel vegwane
querulous nukunuku
question guluaveni
quickly galimagi
quiet togo
R
radiator fan papala (English loan, rub limu also fafala).
radio ledio (English loan)
rain gura (heavy), karu (light), timu (fine)
rainbow kevau
rape vegabigulu
rashly-decided atituamagi
rat kureve
read aiai, duaiduai (Motu loan)
rear upright of roof gabigiaokwalana
recline tebe
red kakala, kakakaka
reef water unclear galena
reflected light bagaru, mama relative galagala (inallen.n.).
remain in village by day buga
remove another's property digo
repulsive bugibagi
respect vegabirage, manau
return laukule
riding in (e.g. canoe) vegura
rib lulu (inalien.n.).
right (correct) maoro
right (hand) aloriba
ring (n.) reni (English loan)
river of fever wai nagula
river non-tidal galuka
river source dobu
river tidal wai
road daubara
roadrunner bird torogogo
roast gabu
roll, to biro
roof gudugu
roof beams toga
roof sticks mala
root lamuka
rope, types of: lala (for bananas), tinau (strongest), walo, walokureve, walowalo
rotten boraga
rubbish momo
rubbish tip tenuka
ruler lula (English loan)
run rasa
rushing veragaveraga
S
sad vetuamasi
sago labia, bili (Keapara loan)
sago grub labea
sago spear gatagota, galagota
sago walls bili
sago wild wadika
sail rau
salt, saltwater dama, damena
sand kwali, temu
Saturday Borigorivetau
saw off robo
say kila, tia
scabies laku
scissors pakoti (fakoti)
school sikuli (English loan)
school of fish doga
scorpions dididokome, roma
scowl vegalabagibagi
scratch kikira
scrotum teu (inalien.n.).
sea rough getabara
sea-slugs botolo, kavabu, kawalu, botoke

| sea-weed inamo | shut kou, kalagau, ganagau |
| :---: | :---: |
| sediment ribika | sibling, older same sex kaka |
| see gita | (1nalien.n.). |
| seed gutu | sibling, younger same sex tari (inalien.n.). |
| seed for next season gue | sick, sickness keve |
| seek vetaua | side of the house teneka |
| sezl goigoi | cide of the house teneka |
| send tugu |  |
| separate kira, vegatokira |  |
| septum piercer loua, loa (fruitbat bone) | singing (n.) marimari |
| seven taulatoitoitebona | sister bereaved dabudabu |
| sew tuli | sister-in-law ivagaivavinena (inalien.n.). |
| sexual intercourse gagaia | sister of female, older married |
| sexual positions and actions: | kakavavinena (inallen.n.). |
| dugitoga, kokopa, kokopakau, <br> legatoga, legelegetoga, <br> muligukavanana, newatoga, | sister of female, older single kakavalana (1nalien.n.). |
| peraperatoga, potiati, takitoga, valetoga, vekoba | sister of female, younger married tarivavinena (inalien.n.). |
| shame maeka | sister of female, younger single |
| share ware | tarivalana (inalien.n.). |
| shark (general name) bagewa | sit tiko |
| sharp naso | sit down tanutali, tikotali (Kemabolo tikotaini) |
| sharp stick nagonaso | six taulatoitoi |
| shadow gauka | skin kopi |
| shoot ginigini, pidi | skinny liguba |
| short doko |  |
| shoulder alo(inalien.n.). |  |
| shoulder pain kaiguni | sleep gena, bau |
| shout saba | sleepwalking lakagenagen |
| shelf nakanaka, patapata (Motu | slippery |
| loan) | slow kereakerea, kwaibo, kiariakiari |
| shells, types of: botoke, dudu, | small kei, mitina |
| gale, ivama, kakilu, kelema, | smell bona |
| kikwari, kwitoto, koku, meriga, minuminu | smoke gou (Kemabolo, gogu) |
| shell, coconut gavana | smoke haze gougau, gougou |
| shields geti, kora | snake mota (ground), belema (tree) |
| shirt tedi (English loan) | snake-eating hawk kipa |
| shoes tamaka (Motu loan) | sneeze atio |
| short doko | snore salo |
| shoulder bag baege (English loan) | soap topu, tofu (English loan) |
| shout kea, gaba, kogo | sob lolu |
| show kilavara | soft, weak moera |

softly gairigairi
sole of foot aona, panapana
(1nallen.n.).
some kiata
song mari
sorcerer godio tauna
sore manua (inalien.n.).
soul, spirit lauma, gauka
(1nalien.n.).
soup kwalela, nabera
speak gulua, kila, tia
spear, to gini
spear at short range dudu
spears auri, gio, galagota
(gatagota), karaudi (Motu loan)
speculate rovi
spine dogegini (inalien.n.).
spiny anenome tariga
spirit of dead friend gatagole
(inallen.n.).
spittle kanunu
split batikira
spoiled suakoru
spouse garawa, adava (Motu loan),
(1nalien.n.).
squeal of pigs daka, kune
squeeze lolo
stab gwanu
stairs ragerage
stalk, edible tabua
stammer garemetau
stand up ruagiti, waragiti
star vitiu, mamalo
star anenome marawanigelegele
starting kwalana
stay tanu
stay in village by day buga
steal lema
steel, steel spear auri
sticks mara, valu
stillborn child lugumalu
stingray goitoga
stink bona

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stink-bug tumumagela
stir giro
stomach kaluka (inalien.n.).
stone, types of: wataga, tauroku,
    pole (fole), watu
stone axe gadio
straight maromaro, obukaobuka
stream galuka, dobu
street gatama
string for tying prawns dele
stringbag goroga
string figures (general name) akini
string figures dobo, doga,
    gamogadidi
string loop for basket dabe
strong kokole, goada (Motu loan)
struts of building duku
stump of tree tukana (Kemabolo,
    utukana)
stupid babo
subject referents
    (l) a,o,(va),ta,ga,go,ge
    (2) ba,bo,bei,bite(bete),baga,
        bogo,bege
    (3) bana,bono,bene,bitene(betene),
        bagana,bogono, tegene
    (4) bara,boro,bere,bitere(betere),
        bagara,bogoro,begere
    (5) ara,oro,ere,itere(etere),
        agara,ogoro,egere
subtract aigerevagi, gaivagi
3uck ruru
sugar-cane (general name) komu
sugar-canes, types of: saluma,
        ginikomo, gode
        koka
        lepeti
        puluma
        vaino
suitcase maua (Motu loan)
sun garo
sunburn tunu (inalien.n.).
Sunday Pula, (week), Garoveaga
    (holy day)
sunk verigo
sunlight garolalani
surprise expressions tinagai!
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surprised oa testis teugutuna (inalien.n.).
surround gagelegau
suspension from forehead didudibu
swalZow, to lauboge
swamped vegutu
swaying of grass skirts deke
sweat tau
sweep lalolalo, amati, puriki
sweet-corn koniparau(konifarau)
sweet-potato mote
swim nau
sword beineti (English loan)
swoZlen lolo
T
table nakanaka
tadpole guruguru
tail gigu
take gabi, guagua
take away gabigerevagi
take with gabikau
talk to guluaveni
tapioca manioda
taro (general name) kale
taro, types of: boilave, dawali
    gelemakale, goibai, goibala,
    melo, tivalo, togona, vila
tattoo vegatu
tattoo patterns, female boiolave,
    bokava, bokolo
    gwamalu, goli, ginikira, galelu,
    gumu
    kavikavi, kwaibopuli, kaubebe,
    maganigini
tattoo pattern, male doge
tea tilauna(English loan,tea leaf)
teach veriba, veiriba
team vegoga
tear in cloth mimiga
tear, to wakira, lale
teardrop nanutagi
tell someone kilavara
temptation debarakava
ten gabana, walona
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that nagoa
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that nagoa
that'Z乙 do! no vedokoa!
that'Z乙 do! no vedokoa!
that one near you nanea
that one near you nanea
there nagoanai
there nagoanai
thick baluka
thick baluka
thigh dabi
thigh dabi
thin magigi
thin magigi
thing gau
thing gau
think tuamagi
think tuamagi
thirsty nanumate
thirsty nanumate
this, these naia
this, these naia
this held by me enaia
this held by me enaia
thorn gini
thorn gini
three toitoi
three toitoi
throat sodoka (inalien.n.).
throat sodoka (inalien.n.).
throw piu
throw piu
throw at takia
throw at takia
throw away piutoga
throw away piutoga
thumb didibara (inalien.n.).
thumb didibara (inalien.n.).
thunder gaita
thunder gaita
tickle vekobo
tickle vekobo
tie a knot balu
tie a knot balu
tie together baluvegogo
tie together baluvegogo
tie up balubalu
tie up balubalu
tide gutu, gabata
tide gutu, gabata
tightly gigitali
tightly gigitali
time garogauna
time garogauna
tired gau
tired gau
to, towards -gana
to, towards -gana
tobacco kuku, laupa; tiga (< English)
tobacco kuku, laupa; tiga (< English)
today toma
today toma
to do what? atagaukala?
to do what? atagaukala?
tomorrow rabalua
tomorrow rabalua
tongue ma (inalien.n.).(Kemabolo,
tongue ma (inalien.n.).(Kemabolo,
mae)
mae)
tooth nigo, doga (inalien.n.).
tooth nigo, doga (inalien.n.).
tortoise gaokau, gaokogu (inallen.
tortoise gaokau, gaokogu (inallen.
n.).
n.).
top of atanai, kukunai
top of atanai, kukunai
torn demiti (English loan)
torn demiti (English loan)
touch gabikalau, vegabikalau

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touch gabikalau, vegabikalau
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towel taugela, tauli (English loan) up rage

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towel taugela, tauli (English loan) up rage
training (of baby) veraga
training (of baby) veraga
tray polaka, folaka
tray polaka, folaka
tree (general name) gau
tree (general name) gau
tree top gege, godina, kukuna
tree top gege, godina, kukuna
trees, types of: adaba, baruka,
trees, types of: adaba, baruka,
kunamatekwa, magi, mobaia, rogo,
kunamatekwa, magi, mobaia, rogo,
titipou, wagio, rigani, guguni,
titipou, wagio, rigani, guguni,
ganela, golu
ganela, golu
tree without leaves lago
tree without leaves lago
trick, tease vegenigopa
trick, tease vegenigopa
trim, to virigou
trim, to virigou
trousers piripou (Motu loan)
trousers piripou (Motu loan)
truly momogoni
truly momogoni
trunk of tree gabana (Kemabolo,
trunk of tree gabana (Kemabolo,
kwalana)
kwalana)
try kalatogo
try kalatogo
tube fish warimo
tube fish warimo
turn ruakule
turn ruakule
turn around giro, ruakule
turn around giro, ruakule
turn over vebirokule
turn over vebirokule
turtle gaogao
turtle gaogao
twining tool kui
twining tool kui
twins kapa
twins kapa
twisting rope bito
twisting rope bito
two lualua
two lualua
two days hence ilagaita
two days hence ilagaita
U
U
ugly rakavakwaikwai, bugibagi,
ugly rakavakwaikwai, bugibagi,
dolidoli
dolidoli
umbilicus buro (inalien.n.).
umbilicus buro (inalien.n.).
uncle paternal (direct address)
uncle paternal (direct address)
tamagai
tamagai
uncle maternal (direct address)
uncle maternal (direct address)
wagai
wagai
under gabule
under gabule
underneath gabulenai
underneath gabulenai
undernourished gwagi
undernourished gwagi
underpants veigabina(inalien.n.).
underpants veigabina(inalien.n.).
undress gaivagi
undress gaivagi
unexcelled ativanagivanagi
unexcelled ativanagivanagi
untie lua
untie lua
until mu, muai, nuai

```
until mu, muai, nuai
```


## V

vagina kuti (inalien.n.).
vein gili (inalien.n.).
verandah tourage
very lelevagi
very hot sun garobaralelevagi
very large atikeikei
victuals bagoga
vigilant gadi (Motu loan)
village vanua
village street gatama
vines, types of gogo, gwana
violent dagedage (Motu loan)
visit gwari
visitor gwarigwaritauna

## W

waist gabana, dagila (inalien.n.).
wait nali, vealo
wake up ali
wallaby (general name) wasi
wallaby-grass burua
wallaby, types of: aliba, gamu, samukolo, goi
walk laka
walls (sago) bili
want ula
war tuari, vetali
war songs Leku, Kwale
wart labiabuti (inalien.n.).
wash body rigu
wash face and hands veguligi
wash objects guligi
wasps, types of: boboka, giligaba, nanigo, nugima
watch (n.) garogauna

```
upper arm alo(inalien.n.).
```

upper arm alo(inalien.n.).
upper jaw galumi (inalien.n.).
upper jaw galumi (inalien.n.).
upside down tairigo
upside down tairigo
urine, to urinate megi, titi
urine, to urinate megi, titi
use nagaukala

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use nagaukala
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watch for wallabies bogeboge
water nanu
waterfall titi
waterweZZ nanugabuna, nanugulina
watermeZon mereni
wave of hand dave
wave of ocean geta
we gita (incl.); gai (excl.)
we alone (emphatic) gitageregara
    (incl.); gaigeregamai (excl.)
weave vatua
Wednesday Pulamaragi
weeds gawa
weed the garden laulau
weZcome! bono agomai! bogono
    agomai!(pl.).
west wind avalakavata
wet nupa, palipali (Motu loan)
whale agaladonodono
what? ata? atagau? raukau?
what kind of? atavetaina?
what reason? atagani?
what thing? atagau?
when? ariatoma?
where? atai?
where at? ainai?
which? aria
which day? ariatoma?
which one? ariagauna?
which way? ariavetaina?
whirling of waters kwi
whirlwind kwaito
white kalaikalai, kulokulo
whiteman taukulokulona
whitewash gagunanuna
whither? ariagana?
who? rai?
whose? raigena? raigeria?(pl.).
why? obe? ataganikala?
wide bagabaga
widow wabu
widower dogae
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yellow bolabola
yes oba, oi (Motu loan)
yesterday molagani
yeild to dalele
young valigu
you're lazy goi lepetimuni
you've come! bo agomai! (Sg.),
    bogo agomai! (pl.).
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### 6.0 TEXT

## The Sorcerer from Memeka 31

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Memeka godio-na bei-kila gia-na lauma bei-guamai-a-ni.
Memeka sorcerer-sg stm(was)-say he-sm spirit stm(was)-bring-it-cont
Bia-na taulimalima bei-vekila-ria numai begene-tanu
he-sm people stm(was)-tell-them houses.in stm(will)-stay
    bei-tia. Bogi nuanai gia-na witili gena bei-pululu-a.
stm(was)-say night inside he-sm whistle his stm(was)-blow-it
Golo kukunaiwitili garo-na ge-kamolagi-a-to.
hill on.top.of whistle voice-poss stm(have)-heard-it-com
    Godio tau-na gena witili rogo pululu-ago-a-to. Lauma
sorcerer man-sg his whistle still (be). blow-?-it-com spirit
witili laukule-to. Lauma golo rigo-a-to.
whistle (it).return-com spirit hill (it).descend-it-com
Kearia kearia witili garo-na v(a)-agomai-to. Godio
Zittle.by.little whistle voice-poss stm(it)-come-com sorcerer
tau-na Veai-rakavarakava-to. Lauma-na rubu kainagi-a-to.
man-sg proud-badly-com spirit-sm church (it).reach-it-com
Witili garo-na rubu mulinai v(a)-agomai-to. Godio
whistle voice-poss church behind stm(it)-come-com sorcerer
tau-na rubu wailanai rua-to. Be namo
mar-sg-church in.front.of (he).stand-com and.then
    kala-mamai-to. Koro Bai rubu mulina-na lakati-to.
(it).make-laugh-com Koro Bai church behind-from (he).come.out-com
"Au go-gita-gu mabara-mia!" gia gaba-to. Taulimalima
I you(pl)-look-me all-you(pl) he (he).shout- people
mabara-ria ge-mamai-bara-to, tenagi godio tau-na
    all-pl stm(they)-laugh-big-com but sorcerer man-sg
ati mamai-to. Gia baru-to ema maiaka-to.
not (he). Zaugh-com he (he).cross-com and (he).shame-com
    Godio tau-na raga-laka-to Tauruba-na. 8ia ati mai
sorcerer man-sg (he).ran-walk-com Tauruba-from he not come
    laukulewai-to. Koro Bai godio tau-na gopa-to.
(he).return-com Koro Bai sorcerer man-sg (he).lie.com
```

Bia lama vegelegelenai kala-to.
he spirit similar.to (he).made.it-com

## FREE TRANSLATION:

The sorcerer from Memeka said he would bring the spirit back. He told all the people to stay inside their houses. At midnight he blew his whistle. A whistle was heard from the top of the mountain. The sorcerer kept on blowing his whistle. The spirit whistled back. The spirit walked down the hill. Nearer and nearer came the whistle. The sorcerer was very proud. The spirit reached the church. A whistle came from behind the church. The sorcerer stood in front of the church. Then a funny thing happened. Koro Bai came from behind the church. "Look at me, everyone," he shouted. All the people ran quickly to look. Everybody laughed loudly, but the sorcerer did not laugh. He was very cross and ashamed. The sorcerer ran away from Tauruba. He has never returned. Koro Bai tricked the sorcerer. He pretended to be a spirit.

## NOTES

1. This dialect is one of seventeen suggested or established by Dutton (1970) who pointed out that it is linguistically intermediate between more northern dialects of Sinaugolo (or Sinagoro as he refers to it) and neighbouring ones of Keapara. It is spoken by over l,000 people living in the four villages of Tauruba, Kemabolo, Gamoga, and Bonanamo. Although there are minor differences between these villages, no consistent account of these differences will be attempted in this study.
2. I wish to thank Kalo, Maino, Mura, Don, Vali, Koro and others for supplying this data and hope this account will serve to help Tauruba villagers read and write their own language. The author would also like to thank Dr. T.E. Dutton of the Australian National University and Mr. J. Lynch of the University of Papua New Guinea for their assistance in helping to shape this contribution, which represents a revised version of an earlier one by M. Koloa and the present author -- see Koloa and Collier (1972).
3. For some speakers (notably the Taloa clan (or dogolo)) /p/ is realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative [p].
4. The va- form is the irregular 3rd singular Subject-Tense-Mode prefix used only with verbs like 'to go' etc. See Section 2.47. Va-, however, may be used with other verbs to indicate incipient action ('about to do something') e.g.,

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { gia va-mamai-ni } \\
& \text { he about.to-laugh-cont } \\
& H e^{\prime} \text { s about to laugh }
\end{aligned}
$$

See Section 2.3(11) - aspect $1_{1}$
5. Some speakers also say just kwalana but both are sald to be borrowings from Hula. The "correct" form is said to be genai.
6. The subject morphemes actually refer to the tense and mode of the action as well. See Sections 2.3 (i) and 2.47.

```
7. araga + ai is sald as aragai.
8. rogo + ati is said as rogoti.
9. Note that this be should not be confused with bei- the 3rd
singular Person-Tense-Subject prefix used with verbs - see Section 2.47.
10. Note that ma is approximately equivalent to English to be with/in.
ll. numa + ai is pronounced numai.
12. irau is also sometimes used instead of ba - see Section 2.ll.2l.
13. This may be said alternatively as:
                                    bana-kalatogo bana-gwari-mu
                    I.fut-try I.fut-kill-you
                        I'Zl try to kill you
See Section 2.57 on Verb complements below.
14. Note that repetitious action is indicated by repeating the verb
root e.g., dolidoli kept pushing or pushed and pushed.
15. Note than an undefeated enemy is veiri veiri,an allenable noun.
16. Alternatively one could say auna gudugudu goi avenito
    I.sm beads IO I.give.com
    I gave the beads to you.
17. In Kemabolo speech this is i-V/bei-V respectively e.g., gia
i-mamaini He/she/it is Zaughing (now).
18. In Kemabolo speech this is ta-V/bete-V respectively e.g., gita
bete-tagi We(Incl.) were crying (a while ago).
19. See Capell (1943:218-22)
20. In direct address this would be tamagai Father!
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21. Many speakers now use the corresponding Motu forms sibogu, sibomu, sibona, etc. instead. See R. Lister-Turner and J.B. Clark A Grammar of the Motu Language of Papua (Sydney: The Government Printer, no date), p.ll.
22. totau is perhaps a derivative of one man.
23. This is generally true but the order of adjectives relative to the noun may vary according to style, individual speaker, etc.
24. Note that one would not use this for ages, e.g., I'm almost (or about) 19 years old would be said noga vetaina.
25. \(\emptyset=\) zero morpheme
26. Note that one cannot say au ba-bala-to.
27. rogotina < rogo + atina. Note also that after rogotina boro > oro.
28. Motu gabeai is now frequently used for vaguna in Balawaia.
29. Port Moresby is often locally referred to as Ela after the name of the beach that runs along the southern shore of the peninsula on which the town is situated.
30. Cf. also the structure and examples given in Section 2.3(11).
31. This story was told by Vali Raga, a young man from Tauruba village in Rigo Sub-district.
```

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# COASTAL SUAU: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS 

RUSSELL E. COOPER

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## ABSTRACT

The following study defines the nature of internal relationships among Coastal Suau speech communities. It describes local notions about language, sketches earlier references to Suau in the literature, and uses comparative reconstruction, lexicostatistical tabulations, and patterns of phonological correspondence to show some possible internal subgroupings. Other traditional criteria are also introduced, and it is concluded that none of these devices are sufficiently refined to account for actual data--except on the broadest level of interpretation. Additional Suauic communities outside the Coastal Suau group are tied in to the system, and other linking groups are introduced as they seem to relate Suauic to Central Papuan and to the Dobuan subgroup. Appendices include village names, groupings, and populations, and basic vocabularies for nine Coastal Suau communities. Three maps and six charts portray the nature of Coastal Suau subgroups according to various criteria.

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Scope

In this sketch, the internal relationships of the Coastal Suau speech continuum are presented, and some of the external relationships to other Suauic and Austronesian languages of Papua investigated. The Coastal Suau data are based largely on information collected by myself while living at Fife Bay in the Suau Administrative Area during parts of 1968-9. ${ }^{\text {l }}$

### 1.2 Location and Definition of Suau

COASTAL SUAU shall be defined to include those varieties of Suau generally spoken within the Suau Administrative Area of the Milne Bay District. This area lies between Bonalua Island [10 $46^{\prime}$ South Lat. and $150^{\circ} 24^{\prime}$ East Long.] and Gadaisu [ $10^{\circ} 22^{\prime}$ South Lat. and $149^{\circ} 47^{\prime}$ East Long.]. The area so defined includes several populous coastal islands and a few river valleys, but with the exception of the Sagarai valley at Mullins Harbour, it is the narrow strip of coastline between mountains and the sea which maintains a substantial population.

As of the 1969 local census [latest exact figures available] the total Suau speaking population in the Suau Administrative Area was 5,247. Of this number, one-tenth were outside the area as students or labourers at the time of the census. [See Appendix A, Census and Village Data.]

Coastal Suau, thus defined, is a somewhat arbitrary label for a major part of the Suau speech continuum. Its western boundary is fairly distinct, for the neighbouring languages, Mailu and Oima, are non-Austronesian; 1ts southern boundary is the sea itself, but across the mountains to the north and into the islands to the east there appear no sudden breaks. Kwato and Fife Bay circuits of the United Church have made Suau a lingua franca in some areas along Milne Bay and inland. Bearing these indeterminate factors in mind, it is probable that between eight and ten thousand persons use some form of Suau as a first or second language.

To designate these other forms of the Suau speech continuum whose boundaries are still indeterminate and provide a label for the entire domain of Suau speech communities, the terms SUAUIC and SOUTHERN MASSIM ${ }^{2}$ have been applied. E.g., the Logea and Sariba communities are clearly Suauic though published data includes little more than short word lists. Wari and TubeTube speech also seem to be Suauic, but again data is limited.

Within the speech community, SUAU ISLAND speech is generally regarded as being the "pure" or "correct" Suau, and all extant mission publications are based on Suau Island speech. STANDARD SUAU or SUAU ISLAND speech shall designate this form of Suau where such precision is necessary. The term SUAU will sometimes be used as a general term for any of the above terms when no ambiguities would result.

### 1.3 Local Language Naming Customs

The local people are quite well aware of linguistic resemblances and differences from one speech community to another, and often volunteered information giving insights into their perception of linguistic reality. 3 Three of their linguistic groupings may be useful to the present discussion.

### 1.31 Coastal and Inland People

A very general distinction is made between gabogabo tataodi coastal people and yaleba tataodi inland people or bush people. The distinction is both cultural and linguistic. For the Coastal Suau group, Leileiafa and Oeamamania village areas might typify the yaleba. Coastal people tend to think of themselves as socially and linguistically superior to yaleba, but Leileiafa, a yaleba village, exhibited a great deal of local pride, despite linguistic influences from the Suau Island and Daui speech communities.

### 1.32 Daui, Suau and other Alina

The term alina is generally used to designate language, dialect, or speech in general. Any degree of difference from a small bundle of lexical and phonological distinctions to mutual unintelligibility may be designated by this term followed by a name, most often a place name.

For Coastal Suau speakers, two large linguistic groups have regional labels. ALINA SUAU is "Suau Island" or "Standard Suau" speech. Regionally this includes a group of villages from Modeiwa to Nawabu along with the Islands of Suau [Stacey Is.] and Baibaisiga. On a social scale it designates the "correct speech" used in a number of social contexts including religious exercises and literacy training In the mission schools. ALINA DAUI is a regional label for the predominant speech patterns of the Daui area which runs from the Standard Suau area in the east to KauKau Bay in the west. Younger speakers from other western areas tend to use Daui rather than, for example, Dahuni speech. ${ }^{4}$ There is a rather broad transition zone between Alina

Daif and Alina Suau. Nawabu is most certainly a Suau speaking village, but Isu?ai and Sawaia on the same bay have a number of speakers who follow Daui patterns. Isu?Isu and Fife Bay are clearly west of the transition area and follow Daui patterns more exclusively.

Other Alina are generally labelled by village names, or other
very localized names. Alina Bonalua Bcnalua language is commonly referred to as are others designated by such village names as Leileiafa, Dahuni, Bolowai, etc. When a village name is used to designate a "language", questioning is needed to discover the scope of that designation. Dahuni "language", for example, is the same as BonaBona "language", while SiloSilo "language" turns out to be part of Alina Dau1.

### 1.33 The what Groups

A subgrouping which appears to be based on linguistic criteria was volunteered by a village pastor. Terms from this subgrouping have appeared in early published material [Ray (1938) and Gospel Recordings (1954; 1962)].

The groups are divided as follows: Gadaisu area is called SINAKI; Sagarai area and east to Leileiafa are called SOMO; Dahuni to BonaBona area is labelled AMOLI (or Teka); Daui and Standard Suau are labelled SAHA; Bonalua and Ilo?Ilo areas are called AISANA. These linguistic designations are based on the prevailing word for what in each of the above-listed areas. Informants illustrated the validity of the system by showing how the question What is your village? would systematically vary as one greeted persons from each of the differing linguistic areas. [See Map l, Villages and Local Language Names.]

### 1.34 Summary of Local Naming Conventions

There is considerable local awareness of language and dialect relationships, and a fairly detailed scale of communilect relations can be established based on a Suau taxonomy. This linguistic selfawareness is corraborated by lexical and phonological subgroupings which bear out the native intuitions of the speakers to a great degree. Both the local naming conventions and subgrouping patterns are keyed to the village names given in the Appendix on Census and Village Data.

Terms such as Suau, Daui, Dahuni, Mugura, Sinaki, Logea, Sariba, and Southern Massim have been proposed, but coastal speakers generally use Suau to designate the total group.


MAP 1: VILLAGE AND LOCAL LANGUAGE NAMES

### 1.4 Earlier Studies Which Discuss Suauic

Ray and Capell have published the most extensive survey data to include Suau material. Some of their data was compiled from earlier sources, but their main contributions lie in two areas: one, in publishing lists of survey data and bits of grammatical information; and two, in establishing Suauic as a putative subgroup of the Austronesian languages of Papua. Chrétien (1956), using data from Capell, showed subgroupings of Austronesian [AN] languages in Papua New Guinea in which he designated a Suauic group which he called Southern Massim. The group included substantially the same speech communities as proposed in this study, and at that time he suggested that the Southern Massim group was the link between the Austronesian languages of Central Papua [see Pawley (1969b)] and languages to the east and north of Suau in the Milne Bay area.

The Suau coast was exposed to European curiosity in the middle of the last century. MacGillivray (1852) gives short word lists from BonaBona and Bonalua Islands collected in 1846, and we are thus given the incredible time depth (for Oceanic materials) of over 120 years of recorded material: Both speech communities have changed during this period, particularly in regard to certain sound-shifts.

D'Albertis (1881) favoured the BonaBona islanders with the gifts of iron and a dead cow, but collected no useful linguistic information.

Abel, Chalmers, Seligmann, and Malinowski give some information regarding Suau, in passim; Lawes (e.g., l896) appended a list of ca. 400 Suau words to his Motu dictionary. No one has added substantially to that wordlist, though some have contributed evaluative information and grammatical data and wordists from other Suauic areas.

The brief flowering of Suau studies occurred with the Anthropological Reports of Armstrong (1921-22) and Williams (1933). The three reports dealing with Suau culture contain a considerable amount of linguistic information, and Armstrong had a collection of text material in manuscript form which went the rounds among the Abel family, A. Capell, and himself. Capell [personal communication (1969)] felt that the manuscripts were probably lost in Papua.

The missions have published hymnbooks, primers, religious tracts, the New Testament, and a portion of the Old Testament. This material is based on Suau Island speech, but erroneously called "Daui" by several writers.

Pawley (1970) collected survey lists from high school pupils in the Milne Bay district which include several lists from the broader Suauic area.

### 2.0 INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

### 2.1 Methodology and Limitations

In this section basic relationships are sketched within Coastal Suau insofar as these are determinable based on comparative and internal reconstruction, patterns of sound correspondences, cognate identification, lexicostatistical tabulations, and pertinent syntactic information. 5

The aim of this section is to present information relevant to subgroupings within the Coastal Suau speech community and to evaluate the success of the methods used in this attempt.

The description does not explain the ability of Coastal Suau speakers ${ }^{6}$ to intercommunicate as easily as they are observed to do-this despite great differences in "basic" vocabulary [see Section 2.2 below], and considerable differences in the shapes of many lexical items; indeed, it may be that none of the present techniques are really adequate to describe the facts about any speech continuum; ${ }^{7}$ however, the correlation of geographic region to blocs of languageinternal features is sufficiently high to warrant use of the "regional dialect" construct for our present purposes.

Nine surveys from various communities within the Coastal Suau area are used in this section. One significant area within this region was not surveyed in the present study, namely Gadaisu at the western end of the Suau Administrative Area. Data for Section 2.0 is limited to material from speech communities for which we have additional grammatical information and texts; however, Gadaisu survey data will be included in Section 3.0, along with other Suauic dialects.

### 2.2 Interpretation of Lexicostatistical Tabulations

Cognate percentages were tabulated for the nine village surveys, all done in the villages or at Fife Bay (three lists). The tabulations include only items from the "basic" Swadesh word lists, but approximately 200 additional items were elicited for each survey, related to basic cultural items and grammatical patterns. Material elicited for the survey lists has in most cases been compared with actual texts of recorded narrative conversation, i.e., of similar material in natural contexts. List items exhibit certain inconsistencies which are heard less frequently in normal speech; specifically there is the tendency to replace local expressions with either Standard Suau, or lacking that, Daui expressions. These can be detected by comparison with texts in the case of lexical substitutions, or by inconsistencies in pronunciation in the case of regular sound
patterns. The lists have been tabulated, as elicited, but these cautions must be kept in mind in the interpretation of data. Survey data was elicited in English, Police Motu, or Standard Suau (if an informant understood neither English nor Motu), and then rechecked in Suau.

Informants were: seven male, two female; eight over thirty years of age, one under fifteen years; one or two informants were over fifty years of age; educational level ranged from no formal education to about Standard $V$, about average for the adult generation. Informants were always instructed to speak as they rormally spoke in their own village. If they were not from Suau Island area, the informants were very hesitant about being taped or otherwise recorded until this reassurance was given.

A number of list items are not relevant to the Suauic dialects because of semantic overlap or near equivalency in many situations. In addition, some items are expansions of others, given in expanded form for the list, but not normally used with the explanatory morphemes attached. The following sets of items are so nearly equivalent In Suau speech as to be non-diagnostic as separate items: this-here, that-there, what-where, other-some, far-long, many-all, husband-wife, mouth-tooth, face-eye, leg-foot, breast-milk-suck, skin-bark, louseseed, lie down-sleep. In cases where these items were differentiated, the informant often held a sort of linguistic caucus with his peers before finding a suitable expression for the purpose. Three terms were not applicable: ice, snow, and freeze. "Lake" was unknown, "pool" substituted.

### 2.21 Discussion of Shared Vocabulary Percentages

Tabulations for the nine surveys are shown in Charts I and II. Chart I gives a chain of maximum agreements among speech communities as based on the shared items from the Swadesh "basic" vocabularies. The distances between speech communities, as measured by cognate percentages, are shown graphically by linear distances on the chart--the percentage of non-retentions being converted by a logarithmic analog and drawn to scale.

Comparing Chart I with a map of the Suau Coast, it is evident that they are topologically equivalent in most respects. That is, the same basic network of maximal agreements could be drawn from village to village on a map, with no skewing of the network until Leileiafa and Bolowai are added. The regional-dialect construct is reinforced by these results. The Bolowai survey material was the most unsatisfactory for lexicostatistical purposes because the informant shifted

CHART 1
SELECTED PERCENTAGES OF SHARED BASIC VOCABULARY BETWEEN NINE MAJOR COASTAL-SUAU AREAS, SHOWING CLOSEST LINKS FOR EACH COMMUNITY.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\mathrm{BN} & =\text { Bonalua } \\
\mathrm{SS} & =\text { SiloSilo } \\
\mathrm{BL} & =\text { Bolowai }
\end{aligned}
$$

IL = Ilo?Ilo
S = Suau Island
DH $=$ Dahuni
D = Daui
OM = Oeainamania
LF = Leileiafa
both pronunciation and lexical items toward Standard Suau to a greater extent than any other informant. ${ }^{8}$ Bolowai is certainly more distant from Standard Suau than is Leileiafa on the basis of tape-recorded texts.

From Chart I we see that six maximum agreements are above 78\% items the same, and that the other maximum agreements are above 70\%. Chart II gives complete figures for the lexicostatistical tabulations of the nine surveys, showing percentage of items the same and number of items compared for each survey.

Minimum agreements were with Bonalua in six of the lowest ten cases, with Leileiafa in three and with Bolowai/Ilo?Ilo in one case. The maximum difference is between Leileiafa and Bonalua with only 52.9\% shared items. Seven of the most distant agreements show less than $60 \%$ shared items.

It will be noticed that both for Bolowai (mentioned above) and Oeamamania, the distribution of the percentages is somewhat distorted in relation to the other villages. This can best be accounted for in terms of the shifts made along the speech continuum by the informants for each of these surveys. The Oeamamania informant was a young schoolgirl who would sometimes lapse into "educated" Suau. The relatively low correspondence between Leileiafa and Dahuni is not accounted for.

### 2.22 Problems of Lexicostatistical Comparisons

Comparison between the results of this survey and Pawley's (1970) data shows the following contrasts. Shared items between Pawley's Suau list [Suau-P] and this list [which we will label Suau] show a high agreement of $88.5 \%$. However, Pawley's Daui list [Daui-P] shares only $78.5 \%$ with Daui (Fife Bay) and $82.2 \%$ with SiloSilo. Daui-P shows only $70.1 \%$ agreement with Suau-P, but Suau shows $73.3 \%$ agreement with SiloSilo and $78.1 \%$ agreement with Daui (Fife Bay) while Suau-P shows $67.2 \%$ agreement with SiloSilo and $70.8 \%$ with Daui (Fife Bay).

The differences are not wholly due to interpretation of survey items, for Suau-P is further from Daui-P than either SiloSilo or Fife Bay Daui are from Suau Island speech (as measured in this survey), yet Suau-P is nearly equidistant from Daui from Daui-P and Daui (Fife Bay). Daui-P was elicited from a Konemaeawa schoolboy, and could be expected to resemble Dahuni speech. However, Daui-P is more distant from Dahuni [74.4\%] than it is from Daui or SiloSilo, and is more distant from Dahuni than either Daui or SiloSilo is from Dahuni. And though

## CHART II

PERCENTAGE OF WORDS THE SAME
(based on definite cognates)
Number of Items Compared
VILLAGE

Daui-P seems to be more distant from Dahuni than either SiloSilo or Fife Bay Daui comparisons suggest, it is only because of several uniquely Dahuni items in Daui-P that make the resemblance as close as it is. Was the Konemaeawa schoolboy speaking a kind of "Standard" Daui overlaid on a Dahuni base, or are these differences purely within the margin of difference due to the personal factors in the making of surveys? Whatever the case, the lexicostatistical evidence is not conclusive.

### 2.3 Patterns of Sound Correspondence

There are several variable patterns of phonological correspondence between present-day Coastal Suau forms and their underlying lexical representations. In addition, there are several phonological rules which apply in idiosyncratic situations. Most sounds, however, do not show such variation. 9

Of the basic patterns, six are of widespread application. These six correspondences correlate strongly with the regional-dialect patterns suggested by native-speaker criteria [in l.3] and by the lexicostatistical comparisons [in 2.2 above]. Briefly, holding social factors constant, as one travels from west to east (or vice-versa) there seem to be regular phonological shifts from region to region.

Chart III tabulates these six widespread correspondences at seven successive points. These points are given regional labels as applicable; ${ }^{10}$ however, the first point, or origin, gives the underlying, reconstructed form.

Chart IV shows the correspondences with words which illustrate each basic pattern. Again, the reconstructed form is given at the point of origin.

Observations drawn from the patterns of correspondence are: (1) the regularity of the patterns, ${ }^{1 l}$ and (2) the fact that Suau Island speech uniquely maintains all of the basic differences from the underlying form (Proto-Suauic), while each of the other points maintains some successively intermediate pattern between that of the underlying representations and Suau Island speech. In some sense, then, Suau Island speech is most innovative and is a probable centre of linguistic diffusion. [See Map 2.]

Focusing on the six basic patterns, we now sketch a formulation of the correspondence rule for each. A complete pass through all six rules will derive the Suau Island lexical shape from a correct underlying form provided that (l) suppletion does not replace the item by another, and (2) other minor rule operations are not applicable to the particular item being derived.

## CHART III

REGULAR SOUND CORRESPONDENCES AMONG
COASTAL SUAU COMMUNITIES


Notes: Rules 2.31 through 2.36 summarize these relationships. Patterns 1 and 6 operate in specific phonological environments; pattern 4 is oversimplified because *H sometimes becomes /y/ or $/ \mathrm{w} /$ under unspecified circumstances. LF = Leileiafa, $\mathrm{OM}=$ Oeamamania, $\mathrm{DH}=$ Dahuni, $\mathrm{D}=$ Daui, S = Suau Island, BN = Bonalua, LG = Logea. The place names specify approximate loci for particular pronunciation patterns.

## LEXICAL ITEMS ILLUSTRATING SUAUIC

SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

|  | Underlyin Lexical Shape | $1-L F$ | $2-\mathrm{OM}$ | $3-\mathrm{DH}$ | $4-D$ | $5-S$ | $6-B N$ | 7 - LG | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| * t | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tina } \\ & \text { labati } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tina } \\ & \text { labati } \end{aligned}$ | ```tina labati``` | ```tina labati``` | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tina } \\ & \text { labati } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sina } \\ & \text { labasi } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sina } \\ & \text { labasi } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sina } \\ & \text { (labasi) } \end{aligned}$ | mother <br> give birth |
| *N I | maliboNI <br> baNI <br> suNI suNI | maliboni <br> bani <br> sunisuni | maliboni <br> ban i <br> sunisuni | maliboni <br> ban $i$ sunisuni | malibon ban sunsun | maliboi <br> bai <br> suisui | maliboi <br> bai <br> suisui | maliboi <br> (bai) <br> suisui | flying fox a fishbait animal |
| * f | ```fati falifaliHu feula fisa``` | ```fati falifalihu feula fisa``` | ```fati falifaliu feula fisa``` | hat $i$ <br> halihaliu <br> heula <br> hisa | hat ${ }^{i}$ <br> halihaliu <br> heula <br> hisa | hasi <br> halihaliu <br> heula <br> hisa | hasi <br> halihaliu <br> heula <br> hisa | hasi <br> (heula) <br> (hisa) | four <br> new <br> hurry! <br> how many? |
| * H | Hiyaia Hatofi | hiyala hatofi | iyala atofi | iyala atohi | iyala atohi | iyala atohi | iyala a tohi | (iyala) (atohi) | battle <br> thatch |
| * K | paKana <br> Kipwala | pa?ana ?ipola | pa?ana <br> ?ipola | pakana <br> kipola | pa?ana <br> ?pola | pa?ana <br> ?ipola | pa?ana <br> ?pwala | (pakana) <br> kipwala | because <br> star |
| *wa | mwatiti <br> gwagwama | motiti gogoma | motiti | motiti gogoma | motiti gogoma | mosisi gogoma | mwasisi gwagwama | gwagwama | narrow cold |

Note: Parentheses indicate probable form, unattested in this data; a blank indicates presence of different form. For most sets many lexical items can be used to illustrate these correspondences; however, sufficient data is usually not available to fill in every point on the scale, and in some cases alternate lexical items are used, e.g. bada for *laki big.


MAP 2: ISOLECT BOUNDARIES FOR SOUND PATTERNS

### 2.31 Prelabialized-vowel Resegmentation

$$
\text { *wa } \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{Cg} \quad \text { where } \mathrm{Cg}=\text { grave consonant. }
$$

That is, *wa preceded by a labial or velar consonant becomes /o/. Examples: *gwali $\rightarrow / g o l i /$ to stab, *pwasa $\rightarrow / p o s a /$ rotten.

### 2.32 K-swallowing Rule <br> *K $\rightarrow$ ?

A consonant like, and possible identical with, *k becomes glottal stop in all environments. Either a second k-like consonant must be postulated to keep this separate from the underlying *k which is still retained, or a sound change is in progress which will eventually replace present Suau Island $/ k /$ by glottal stop. The change is moving from some sort of $k$ to glottal stop as is evident in place names, old chants, and in the MacGillivray word lists from BonaBona and Bonalua in l846, where items clearly given as /k/ are now "swallowed" to the unmarked glottal stop articulation. Example: *Koya $\rightarrow$ /?oya/ hill.

### 2.33 T-spirantization Rule

$$
k_{t} \rightarrow s /+\quad i
$$

The underlying *t becomes /s/ preceding the high, front vowel. (This rule, operative within Suauic, is similar to the rule of slightly wider scope in Motu which includes the mid, front, /e/ environment in the pattern of derivation from Proto-Oceanic.) Examples of the Suau rule are: *tina-gu $\rightarrow / s i n a-g u / m y$ mother, *titimo $\rightarrow / s i s i m o / s t i r r i n g$ stick.

### 2.34 NI-deletion Rules

The following rule operates in two significant stages; for Daui [D] the final I may be optionally deleted; for Standard Suau [S] the preceeding $N$ is deleted instead.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { D-rule: *NI } \rightarrow n / V \\
& \text { S-rule }: * N I \rightarrow i V
\end{aligned} \begin{aligned}
& \# \\
& \#
\end{aligned} \quad \text { where } V=\text { vowel }
$$

Examples: *maliboNi $\rightarrow$ /malibon/ $D, \rightarrow / m a l i b o i / S, f l y i n g$ fox, *suNI-suNI $\rightarrow$ /sun-sun/ $D, \rightarrow / s u i-s u i / S$, animal, *KaNI-KaNI $\rightarrow /$ Pan-?an/ D, $\rightarrow$ /?ai-?ai/ $S$, to eat. Comment: the rule seems counter-intuitive on the surface, but seems tc occur with a number of very stable items. To eat has been reconstructed as two separate forms for Oceanic, but flying fox, animal, *bolimaNl year and other forms probably do not occur as doublets in Oceanic or in South East Papuan.

### 2.35 F-swallowing Rule <br> *f $\rightarrow h$

[Comment: *f must become /h/ for all coastal (as contrasted with yaleba bush) speakers; however, there is an H-deletion which also may operate on the /h/ derived from *f. Thus, rule 2.35 must operate before rule 2.36.] Examples of F-swallowing rule: *fati $\rightarrow /$ hasi/four, *fafau $\rightarrow$ /hahaul canoe rail, *fuya $\rightarrow / h u y a l$ point of time, *fifi $\rightarrow$ /hihi/ to squeeze. Suauic *f is derived from an underlying *p in an higher-ordered subgroup. Note the similarity between rule 2.32 and rule 2.35 ; both rules de-specify point of articulation in favour of the unmarked member of the same manner of articulation. Furthermore, both rules allow for other less stable operations to take place actually deleting the sound entirely. Thus /h/ may later become zero, and similarly the glottal stop may become zero in casual speech and sometimes disappear entirely.

### 2.36 H -deletion Rules

$$
* H \rightarrow \varnothing
$$

Comment: other things may happen as well; for example, a /y/ may be inserted. The H-deletion is not obligatory in an absolute sense, for even in Standard Suau it may be reinserted occasionally. Statistically, however, it is more often deleted in Standard Suau. Rule 2.36 could be named optional $H$-deletion in this sense; for where it is not replaced (by a minor rule application) it is possible for the /h/ pronunciation to be retained.

If the $H$-deletion is applied to a form having an underlying *f which has changed to /h/ at an earlier rule operation, then it is often the case that the H-deletion will apply only in restricted portions of the speech continuum. Where H-deletion occurs between identical vowels, degemination takes place. For example *loHoloHo $\rightarrow$ (looloo) $\rightarrow$ /lolo/ good. Examples of H-deletion are: *Hiyala $\rightarrow$ /iyalal battle, *Hatofi $\rightarrow$ /atohi/ thatch, *Hiyawa $\rightarrow$ /iyawal digging stick. H-deletion and replacement by /y/: *Hama $\rightarrow$ /yama/ fish.

### 2.37 Evaluation of the Rule System for Sound Correspondences

The six foregoing rules illustrate major patterns of sound change within the Suauic continuum, and, together with the invariant correspondences, probably account for about $75 \%$ of the lexical items and their relationships in our survey data. ${ }^{12}$ The nature of the actual scunds underlying the correspondences represented by $* H$, $* K$, and
*NI is not completely determined at this point; and the rules are obviously stated in only an approximate form.

Further refinement requires: (1) explication of the nature of several underlying sounds, (2) refinement of conditioning statements, (3) statement of minor phonological rules involving morphologically determined variations, (4) a method for showing which rules bloc together for specific communilects, and (5) correlation of phonological rule blocs with blocs of lexical items and other features. When these refinements are made, something more nearly adequate than a sketch of Coastal Suau dialects will be possible.

A basic question raised by comparing these phonological correspondences with attested forms from various survey areas [see Appendix B, Basic Vocabularies in Nine Coastal Suau Communities] is that of the correlation between the regular patterns summarized in the six rules given and the actual forms elicited from community to community. It is quickly evident that the rule patterns suggested do not completely match with geographic regions. Adherence to the regional-dialect construct in its strictest sense demands a very complex set of rules. Acceptance of a language-internal system of variation (with statistical correlation to such factors as region, age, status, and style) presently appears to give hope for a simpler solution to the problem.

### 2.4 Other Internal Subgrouping Criteria

Morphological and syntactic comparisons give very little additional data for determining subgroupings, and semantic evidence is practically nil in this regard. Place names, traditional chants and legends, and early recorded word lists give occasional confirming evidence for individual patterns. Additional evidence must be drawn largely from other Suauic or related language groups.

### 2.41 Minor Syntactic Variations

Known Suauic speech communities show little syntactic variation. It is postulated that a single deep-level component will be sufficient for all known communities, and that only minor adjustments involving lexical substitution and morphologically determined phonological differences will be necessary for describing either syntactic or semantic variations. Standard Suau is essentially the same as other known varieties syntactically.

There are marked bundles of lexical differences in functional morphemes which correlate to a great extent with the phonological correspondences described in Section 2.3. Personal pronouns,
demonstratives, and interrogative pronouns, in particular, vary markedly from one speech community to another. [See Appendix B, items l3l145.] Subject-marking affixes vary considerably in their phonological representation (more than do the full forms of the personal pronouns); and variation in the object-marking affixes occur chiefly in the realization or absence of the third person singular object marked under varying environmental conditions. This affix is realized as -a when present, but in Standard Suau, Bonalua, and Daui, communilects is absent unless additional verbal suffixes follow; e.g., -ma (a directional affix). For Dahuni speech, however, the -a is present whenever the verb has a third person singular object.

A unique but widespread pattern involves the phonological shape of the causative prefix. The underlying shape is probably *fa-, and this occurs as /fa-/ among yaleba or bush villages such as Bolowai and Leileiafa, as /ha-/among Daui and Dahuni communities, and as /he-/ for Suau Island, Bonalua and other Suauic communities among the eastern islands (Logea, Sariba, etc.).

Another illustrative pattern involves the *NI which varies according to Rule 2.34 above. This particular pattern also represents a verbalizing morpheme and is realized in the same manner as the $* N \mathrm{I}$ pattern of the above-mentioned rule. That is, it is sometimes realized as -ni, sometimes as -n, and sometimes as -i.

All other known syntactic and morphological variations are of the types illustrated above; that is, there are no known deep level differences--or shallow level differences--[in ca. 4000 lines of computer-punched text material] which involve anything other than lexical substitutions or phonologically patterned variations.

### 2.42 Names, Traditional Material and Early word Lists

Names, traditional material, and preserved lexical items give evidence as to earlier forms of the language, and indirectly to direction of linguistic change. MacGillivray's lists (see Sections 1.4 and 2.32 above) collected on the voyage of the H.M.S. Rattlesnake in 1846, give positive evidence that the /k/ sound was formerly predominant where /i/ is now used. On BonaBona (Mugula) the /k/ pronunciation is still predominant; however, on Bonalua (Brumer) it has been almost entirely replaced by the glottal stop. For this same sound pattern, numerous place names appear on early charts with the /k/ pronunciation in words which presently have the glottal stop.

Traditional chants are all at least one generation earlier than present day speech for only old people still know them in all but a
few instances. These seem to follow two predominant patterns, one which reflects speech patterns similar to those of Bonalua and Logea/ Sariba area, and the other which reflects the yaleba patterns similar to current, spoken language of the Leileiafa and Gadaisu older generations. Both types of chant are sung--if sung at all--following pronunciation patterns which differ from present day pronunciation of the same speakers, as is evident from their "explanations" or paraphrases (which they also recorded on magnetic tape). Chant types were of eight or nine patterns, a few of which are regional in origin, but most of which seem to be for different types of public observances, e.g. funerals, feasts, battles, and the like. Chant tunes and words can easily be transported outside their region of origin, so there is no guarantee that a particular chant reflects an earlier stage in a local idiom, but such lyrics are evidence for time-depth studies when regarded as part of the total speech community.

Similarly, preserved formulaic expressions in legends and stories of the past preserve evidence about the earlier history of the language as a whole. That the underlying form for l?edal path, door is *Keda was confirmed by a formulaic expression: keda masasaya, Suau equivalent of "open sesamé" for an account about a sorcerer and his magical cave. The modern equivalent dobila i taso?e the door comes open was used in explaining the archaic expression. Other present day communities still use the expression keda, but for this group even the still common ?eda was being replaced by dobila.

Such evidence as has been presented in this sub-section is perhaps of secondary importance, but does often confirm hypotheses about particular lexical items.

### 2.5 Underlying Forms and Proto-Suauic

A modern systematic phonology for a poly-lectal speech community and an historical-comparative reconstruction will produce underlying forms that are often near-identical, provided that the reconstructions are truly within the bounds of a single intercommunicating language group. ${ }^{13}$

We shall treat the present reconstructions as having validity for either purpose. Reconstructions are given for basic vocabulary items in Appendix B, along with the variant forms from which the underlying forms have been reconstructed.

The following samples of additional items are given in this section because of known relationships to Oceanic and to Austronesian languages of Papua. No evaluation of the data nor patterns of sound
correspondence are presented at this point, but Proto-Oceanic [POC] forms are listed for the items given [Grace (1959)].

The format is as follows: SUAUIC form, followed by POC form, followed by Standard Suau form and form(s) from other communilects sufficient to establish the underlying Suauic, followed by English gloss. For example: *tinaHe, POC tinaqi, S sinae, LF tinahe, guts. *tinaHe is the Suaulc base form for Proto-Oceanic tinaqi, Suau Island has sinae, Leileiafa gives the pattern for reconstruction with tinahe; its meaning is guts.

```
    1. *mate, POC mate, S mate, to die
    2. *une, POC qunsi, S une-une, to barter
    3. *bebe, POC mpe(e)mpe(e), S bebe, butterfly
    4. *waga, POC waŋka(口), S waga, canoe
    5. *fa-, POC pa-, S he-, D ha-, LF fa-, causative
    6. [*tufa], POC tupa, S tuha, fish-poison
    7. *tubu, POC tumpu, S tubu, grandparent
    8. *tubu, POC tumpu(q), S tubu, to grow
    9. *(n,l)uma, POC Rumma, S numa, D luma, house
10. *fisa, POC pinsa, S hisa, LF fisa, how many?
ll. *yanua, POC panua, S yanua, village, home
12. *afuli, POC apuR, S ahuli, LF afuli, Zime
13. *fuso, POC mpuso(s), S huso, LF fuso, navel
14. *sisesise, POC sisi, S sisesise, sheZZs
15. *tabu, POC tampu, S tabu, don't, forbidden
16. *wonu, POC ponu, S wonu, sea turtle
17. *sae, POC nsake, S sae, go up
18. *potipoti, POC puti, S posiposi, D potipoti, white
        *pu(s,t)i, POC puti, S pusi, semen
19. *baNI, POC pani, S bai, D ban/bani, bait for fishing
20. *sili, POC nsila(k), S sili, to shine/flash
```

At least five times this number of items has been identified as cognate with Oceanic; many can be traced by study of Appendix $B$. The examples given here and in that appendix will illustrate the nature of Suauic in its underlying form. 14 The reconstructions are conservative but not yet in optimal form.

### 2.6 Conclusions Regarding Internal Relationships

What are the internal relationships among the Coastal Suau speech communities? None of the methods projected in Section 2.1 provide satisfactory conclusions regarding internal subgrouping, but taken together do provide a fairly coherent picture of the speech community.

Lexicostatistical tabulations are inconclusive in a number of ways: (l) certain speakers shifted toward standard speech tending to skew the results of particular survey lists in relation to the others (this is probably an inevitable problem in quick field surveys), (2) the low cognate percentages are partially illusory since many apparent regionalisms are, in fact, common throughout the area but did not show up on the survey lists, and (3) comparisons between survey material used in this study and that collected by A. Pawley [see Section 2.22] indicate different relative positions among "dialects", leading us to doubt the validity of the measure for such a narrow degree of interpretation as is presented within the Suau speech community.

Patterns of phonological correspondence seem more convincing than iexicostatistical tabulations, but even if the phonological patterns as described here were to be refined considerably the phonological rules do not match completely with regional subgroups.

Though we do not have a strong case for regional dialects, lexicostatistical tabulations, and sound correspondences do seem to bundle together with other features to promise systematic patterns of variation, and these can be roughly correlated with regional factors as well as social factors of other sorts.

There seems to be a Gadaisu group which is in many ways similar to a Sagarai group (also including Leileiafa, Bolowai, and marginally, Oeamamania); there also is a small Dahuni-BonaBona group which is more similar to Daui than to any other group, but distinct from Daui in one major phonological pattern, some lexical items, and a set of function morphemes and a few minor morphological patterns; there is a Daui group, different from Standard Suau in one or two major sound patterns, some function morphemes, and some lexical items; there is a Standard Suau group; and a Bonalua group (which is similar in several features to the Logea-Sariba group not described in this paper).

Suau Island speech is definitely dominant both in the number of speakers using it as their only spoken varlety of speech and in other ways; it is imitated by speakers from all other speech communities; it seems to have all of the major rule differences (or innovations) separating it from the underlying forms; and it is more consistent in not retaining archaic pronunciations or lexical items. The Standard SuauDaui speech communities seem quite similar on all counts, and are intermediate both geographically and in all other ways to the other speech communities. The geographically distant groups (e.g. Leileiafa and Bonalua) are also the most distant when compared by lexical differences and phonological rule differences.

We conclude that all of the speech communities thus far examined are linked by patterns of sound correspondences and blocs of lexical 1tems and are all within a single language system. Map 3 presents these tentative subgroups insofar as they can be correlated to geographic region.

### 3.0 PROJECTED EXTERNAL GROUPINGS

A complete description is needed at this point to update the external subgrouping hypotheses projected by Ray, Capell, and Chrétien (which hypotheses we will not discuss here, but see our Bibliography).

Pawley (1970) and Dutton [(1971) various references] have added crucial data to which the Coastal Suau data must be compared and have also made considerable progress in postulating reconstructions for other subgroups such as Central Papuan [Pawley (1969b)]. Other investigators have also compiled data which was previously lacking (e.g. Ann Chowning's (1958) manuscript dictionary of Molima on Fergusson Island). Unfortunately, much area is still not adequately surveyed, especially those groups which do seem to be within the Suaulc group. Word lists are available for Sariba, Logea and TubeTube, but Wali [= Ware, = Teste Island] is not surveyed (though there are some printed texts of legends from Wali and TubeTube), and it is additional evidence from these groups as well as added material from the upper Sagarai valley and from the region between Kwato and WagaWaga along Milne Bay that is needed to make accurate conclusions about Suauic as a total group.

### 3.1 Overview of Other Suauic Speech Communities and Linking Groups

Gadaisu [Section 2.1] is properly a part of the Coastal Suau continuum, but shares very low cognate percentages with other groups. Highest figures for shared vocabulary items are with Dahuni and SiloSilo ( $62.4 \%$ and $65.6 \%$ respectively) and other figures for the Somo, or Sagarai, group have percentages of shared vocabulary running in the low 50\% range. Since these figures are tabulated from two different sets of survey data [see discussion Section 2.21] it is likely that actual cognate percentages from a unified set of data would run up to 5\% higher. Gadaisu phonological patterns are identical to those of the Sagaral group except that Gadaisu also has the /k/ reflex of underlying *K whereas the Sagarai group usually has the /?/ reflex. Gadaisu appears to be one of the most conservative speech communities in regards to phonological patterns.


MAP 3: TENTATIVE REGIONAL SUBGROUPS OF SUAU SPEECH COMMUNITIES

The Buhulu (Siasiada) and Sagara1 (Ho?owala1) data from Pawley's survey share highest percentages with Leileiafa (ca. 70\% for each) and with each other (77.5\%) and clearly establish a Sagarai or Somo pattern which is also shared by Bolowai and by Oeamamania, though both of the latter surveys are skewed by substitutions of Standard Suau vocabulary items and pronunciation patterns.

Cognate percentage even within these outlying groups tend to be lower than those between groups within the main Coastal Suau community.

Within the Suauic community at the eastern end are several island communities near Samarai. These include Logea and Sariba and are linked most closely to Bonalua in both lexical sharings and in phonological patterns. In fact, phonological patterns are identical with those of Bonalua except for the higher frequency of the /k/ reflex for underlying *K occurring in the Logea-Sariba group as contrasted with the /?/ reflex which occurs more frequently in Bonalua speech (but see Section 2.42). This /k/ reflex occurs at either end of the continuum, but with lessening frequency as one nears the Standard Suau portion of the spectrum.

Marginal Suailc communities are those of TubeTube with ca. $45 \%$ shared vocabulary with Proto-Suauic, WagaWaga with ca. $44 \%$ shared vocabulary with Proto-Suauic, and Kurada [= Ray's Ulada] on Normanby Island with ca. 39\% shared vocabulary with Proto-Suauic. Vocabulary for TubeTube speech tends to be similar to that of Logea and Sariba as well as Bonalua, with sound correspondences like those of the latter-mentioned groups. WagaWaga patterns seem to be like those of the Sagarai speech communities with scattered items more like the Logea-Sariba group. Kurada, after *t/__ i became *s, had an additional sound shift in which this *s and Suauic *s both became the unmarked fricative /h/. For example *susu = Kurada/huhu/breast, and *tina [becoming (sina) at an intermediate stage] becomes Kurada /hina/ mother.

Approximately eighty Suauic items seem to be cognate with Pawley's Proto-Central Papuan reconstructions (1969b). These comparisons need to be worked out with both the Central Papuan languages and for the Proto-languages.

Dutton (l97lc:109) gives cognate percentages between Suau groups and Magori ranging from $29 \%$ to $39 \%$. These figures seem to be conservative, but will probably not be above $45 \%$ when further information is tabulated. Evidence for Magori and related communities, though complicated by borrowings from Non-Austronesian languages, points very strongly toward Magori being the closest link between Suauic and the Central Papuan languages to the West.

Chart V, Other Suauic Groups, summarizes the closest linkings between Coastal Suau groups and those Suauic groups outside the primary survey area which are definitely linked into the continuum by high cognate percentages (most of which are above 70\%). The chart is in two sections: Part A showing the western groups as they link with Dahuni, Leileiafa, and Daui, Part B showing the eastern groups as they link with Suau Island and Bonalua.

Chart VI shows some approximate shared vocabulary percentages for distant Suauic and other groups. These figures are largely drawn up by comparison to Proto-Suauic and are approximations only, not precise in proving cognate relationships by known patterns of sound correspondence.

Two interesting sound correspondence patterns can be pointed out: Magori has a /k/ reflex for the Suauic *s. For example Magori /oko/ cough $=$ Suauic *oso, Magori /kuku/ breast $=$ Suauic *susu. Magori /vika/ how many? = Suauic *fisa, Magori /aka/ name = Suauic *hesa, etc.

The second pattern is of very widespread application and may or may not be characteristic of a large Papuan subgroup of Austronesian.

Motu and Hula have labialized velar consonants with the vowel /a/ following as in /kwarume/ fish. Suauic also has labialized consonants (especially in Bonalua and Logea-Sariba subgroups) but these occur with both labial and velar-glottal consonants [m, p, b, g, k, ?, and possibly f] also preceding the /a/ vowel only. Dobu, Molima and neighbouring groups, however, allow labialized consonant clusters (approximately the same consonants as in Suauic) before not only /a/ but also /e/, /i/, and /u/! Again, data is scant and cognates having this characteristic in all three major groups are quite rare, but as an areal phenomenon, the pattern may prove to be of some value.

### 3.2 Projections Toward a Conclusion

There are more gaps than there is data for the larger Suaic group. Nevertheless, Suauic itself can safely be defined as including not only the Coastal Suau group of Section 2 (who in some sense have an intercommunicating, polylectal system) but also those varieties of Suauic represented by Gadaisu in the west and the Sagarai valley villages such as Siasiada and Ho?owalai in the northwest sector. Suauic must also include Logea and Sariba speech communities and may include TubeTube and Wari, although Wari data is lacking at the present time. (Wari text materials are more like Bonalua speech than are TubeTube texts, and thus Wari will probably be the link between TubeTube and the Logea/Bonalua groups.)

CHART V
OTHER SUAUIC GROUPS (percentage of items the same)

|  | SAG | BUH | IIF | SS | GAD | DH |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sagarai* | --- | 77.5 | 70.7 | 56.7 | 53.3 | 51.3 |
| Buhulu* | 77.5 | --- | 72.1 | 60.5 | 54.0 | 57.4 |
| Leileiafa | 70.7 | 72.1 | --- | 70.0 | 52.9 | 65.7 |
| SiloSilo | 56.7 | 60.5 | 70.0 | $-\cdots$ | 65.6 | 81.0 |
| Gadaisu* | 53.3 | 54.0 | 52.9 | 65.6 | -- | 62.4 |
| Dahuni | 51.3 | 57.4 | 65.7 | 81.0 | 62.4 | - |

B. Eastern Groups

|  | Suau | Bonalua | Logea | Sar1ba |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Suau Island | $\ldots-$ | 73.8 | 69.3 | 62.0 |
| Bonalua | 73.8 | --- | 75.0 | 63.0 |
| Logea* | 69.3 | 75.0 | --- | 74.4 |
| Sar1ba* | 62.0 | 63.0 | 74.4 | $\ldots-$ |

Notes: SAG = Sagarai [Ho2owalai], BUH = Buhulu [Siasiada], LF = Leileiafa, SS = SiloSilo [Daui-2], GAD = Gadaisu, and DH = Dahuni. Starred (*) names refer to additional Suauic groups from Pawley (1970). Number of items compared in each case ranged from 187 items to 195 items, all from "basic" vocabulary lists.

CHART VI

APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES OF SHARED VOCABULARY FOR DISTANT SUAUIC AND OTHER GROUPS
A. Oya?oya [Isetete]

Logea Suau Is. Leileiafa
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Oya?oya } & 41.4 & 37.1 & 33.9\end{array}$
B. Magori (from Dutton, 1971)
Suau Is. Logea Oya?oya $\begin{gathered}\text { Buhulu } \\ \text { (Siasiada) }\end{gathered}$
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Magori 39. } 34 . & 33 .\end{array}$
C. Approximate percentages of shared vocabulary between some other groups ${ }^{2}$ and Proto-Suauic
TubeTube-l
45

TubeTube-2 42
WagaWaga 44
Kurada [Normanby Island] 39
Dobu [Asatupi] 25
Molima [Ailuluai] 21
Basilaki 15
Tawala [Basilaki Island] 14
East Cape 14
${ }^{1}$ Buhulu is most nearly equivalent to Leileiafa for purposes of comparing this list with list A above. Dutton's figures are rounded off to two digits.
${ }^{2}$ This data is drawn from Pawley's 1970 survey materials.

However, it appears that WagaWaga and Oya?oya, though Suauic, are probably too distant to be within the inter-communicating major Suauic group. Similarly, Kurada (alias Ulada) has about the same degree of difference from the major Suauic group as does WagaWaga, Oya?oya, Magori (and even TubeTube). At present, these groups can be regarded as links between Suauic and other Austronesian subgroups, but data for the establishment of the eastern subgroups--which tie in somehow with the Dobu/Molima group--is very sparse.

We retain the tentative conclusion that Suauic is the intermedlate link between Central Papuan and the Dobuan group, but leave the nature of that relationship unresolved until more evidence is available.

## APPENDIX A

Census and Village Data

Population Figures for the Suau Administrative Area, Samarai Sub-District, Milne Bay District, August 1969.

The Administrative area is defined in the body of this paper; figures are transcribed from the Village Population Register (courtesy of Mr. John Balderson, Patrol Officer, Suau Patrol Post, who administered the census).

Total population of the administrative area was 5,426 persons; of this number, 179 were from Oima-speaking villages, leaving 5,247 Suau-speaking persons. Census was recorded at major centres, each consisting of a group of hamlets; the hamlets are sometimes joined contiguously or separated by upwards of half-an-hour's walk, thus, much of the population for each village listed is actually in outlying hamlets.

The tabulations list populations for each village and for each group of villages which traditionally belong to the same linguistic subgroup. The subgroups are labelled according to native-speaker criteria, not according to any particular linguistic methodology. Villages for whom the local designation is not known are listed as separate subgroups.

Approximately $10 \%$ of the total population was residing outside the administrative area at the time of census, therefore, in-village figures are about $10 \%$ lower than the totals indicate.

Village Census Data by Groups

| Subgroup based on word for what? | ALINA or language name used | Village | total <br> popu- <br> lation | total population of subgroup |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sinaki | -- | Gada1su <br> Suabina <br> Laimodo <br> Kwaioa | $\begin{array}{r} 105 \\ 98 \\ 123 \\ 223 \end{array}$ | 549 |
| Somo |  | Bolowai <br> Leileiafa | $\begin{aligned} & 106 \\ & 171 \end{aligned}$ | 277* |

[^1]
## Village Census Data by Groups (continued)

| Subgroup based on word for what? | ALINA <br> or language name used | Village | total <br> popu - <br> lation | total population of subgroup |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Amoli | Dahuni <br> or <br> BonaBona | Dahuni <br> BonaBona [Mugula] <br> Aunieli | $\begin{aligned} & 259 \\ & 137 \\ & 102 \end{aligned}$ | 498 |
| Saha | Daui | Alo?Alo [SiloSilo] <br> Se?aSe?a [Fife Bay] <br> Isudau <br> Isu?Isu <br> Saga?aho ${ }^{\dagger}$ | 268 <br> 431 <br> 191 <br> 223 <br> 234 | 1347 |
|  | intermediate group between Daui and Suau | Sawaia <br> Isu?ai <br> Oeamamania ${ }^{\dagger}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 336 \\ & 146 \\ & 160 \end{aligned}$ | 642 |
|  | Suau | Nawabu <br> Sawalala <br> Ipu-lai Bay <br> Suau Island <br> Sibalai <br> Baibaisiga Island <br> Mode1wa | $\begin{array}{r} 306 \\ 200 \\ 286 \\ 290 \\ 202 \\ 84 \\ 168 \end{array}$ | 1536 |
| Aisana | Bonalua | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Bonalua (Brummer) } \\ & \text { Ilo?Ilo } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 168 \\ & 230 \end{aligned}$ | 398 |

$\dagger{ }^{\text {Villages marked }}$ with this label seem to also share characteristics with Leileiafa.

## APPENDIX B

Basic Vocabularies in Nine Coastal Suau Communities

The following word lists represent "basic vocabulary" items from nine Coastal Suau groups. The surveys are described in Section 2.2.

Spellings are closer to phonemic than to phonetic form in that non-significant alternations between [ 1 ] and [r] and between [v] and [w] are not transcribed, etc. It was found that no meaning contrasts are maintained by either the $1 / r$ contrast or the $v / w$ contrast, and that frequencies of one pronunciation over the other are not significantly related to "regional" speech patterns. Similarly the glottal stop is represented as present in cases where it is sometimes optional in casual speech. Suau speakers consistently write a $u$ or an at the end of words ending in $m$ (but inconsistently, do not always remember which letter to put at the end of which word). The use of one of these vowels following $m$ has not been recorded in this instance unless it is the case that the vowel is actually pronounced (as in certain speech communities).

Other, tape-recorded text materials, and information about the Suau speech commurity give witness to the many errors and inconsistencies in such survey data as is here presented. Nevertheless, in its present form, the data may serve some useful purpose.

| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 <br> [Fife Bay] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Daui-2 } \\ & \text { [SiloSilo] } \end{aligned}$ | Dahuni | Oeamamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. sun | mahana/maihala | mahana | mahana | mahana | mahana | mahana | mahana | mahana | maihala | sinari |
| 2. year | bolimaNI | bolimai | bolimai | bol imai | bolimai | bolimai | bolimani | bolimai | boliman | bol imai |
| 3. sky | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa | galewa |
| 4. star | Kipwala | kipwala | ?ipwala | Pipola | Tipola | Tipola | kipola | kipola | kipola | kipola |
| 5. wind | mana/hoyahoyau | mana | mana | mana | mana | mana | mana | mana | hoyahoyau | mana |
| 6. rain | nabu/usa/gunuma | gunuma | nabu | nabu | nabu | nabu | nabu | usa | usa | nabu |
| 7. night | maiHona/KiKipa/ boniyaHi | boniyahi | boniyai | maiyona | maiyona | ?i?ipa | kikipa | mai hona | maihona | ?i?ipa |
| 8. day | Kasubena | ?asubena | ?asubena | ?asubena | ?asubena | ?asubena | kasubena | ?asubena | ?asubena | ?asubena |
| 9. land, earth | tano | tano | tano | tano | tano | tano | tano | tano | tano | tanohi |
| 10. stone | weKu/ume? ${ }^{\text {ehu }}$ | we?u | we?u | we?u | we?u | we?u | weku | ume? ${ }^{\text {ehu }}$ | ume? ${ }^{\text {ehu }}$ | we?u |
| 11. mowntain | Koya/olo?i | Toya | ?oya | Toya tupina | Toya tupina | olo?i | koya | Toya | ?oya | Toya |
| 12. water (fresh) | goila/ho?owa | goila | goila | goila | goila/ho?oa | ho?owa | goila | ho?oa | ho?owa | ho?oa |
| 13. to flow | didi | ie didi | ie didi | ie didi | ie didi | didi | i didi | ya didi | ya didima | didi |
| 14. to float | KahaKahaHi/ poupouli/dabadaba | ?aha?ahai | ?aha?ahai | ?aha?ahai | i poupouli | poupouli | poupouli | poupouli | dabadaba | poupouli |
| 15. to wash | deuli/kaisu | deuli | deuli | deuli | deuli | deuli | kaisu | deuli | kaisu | sigu* |
| 16. to wipe | sau/(H,w)oi | sau | sau | sau | sau | sau | woi | sau | e hoi | sau |
| 17. to swim, bathe | [KaNI]-duidui/ sigu/tuba | Paiduidui | ?aiduidui | dui/tuba | a dui/tuba | ?anduidui | ?anduidui | duidui | e sigu | te ? ${ }^{\text {ansigusigu }}$ |
| 18. pool, lake | Kipu/pulu/kodo | goila ?i puna | kodo | pulu | goila ?ipuna | goila puluna | goila puluna | goila ?ipuna | pulu | ?ipu |
| 19. river | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga | sagasaga |
| 20. sea | gabwagabwa/Kalita | ?alita | gabogabo | gabogabo | gabogabo | gabogabo | gabogabo | gabogabo | gabogabo | gabogabo |
| 21. seashore | salagomgom | salagongom | sal agomgom | salagomgom/ mal apota | salagomgom | gelegele* | salagomgom | salagomgom | salagomgom | salagongom |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | I102Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 [SiloSilo] | Dahuni | Oeanamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22. sand | gelegele | gelegele | gelegele | gelegele | gelegele | gelegele | kelesa | gelegele | gelegele | gelele |
| 23. cloud | yada/yaloi | yada | yada | yada/yaloi | yada | yada | yada | yada | yada | yada |
| 24. dust | fufua/mu?a/heheKa mosomoso | mosomoso | mu?amu?a | huhual mu?amu?a | mu?amu?a | mu?al i | heheka | fufua | muTamu?a | mo?amo?ali |
| 25. fog, mist | goula/madagatu | madagau | madagau | goula | goula | goula | goula | --- | goula |  |
| 26.-28. ice, snaw, freeze | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 29. wamen | (s,t)ine/waifiNı | sine | sine | sine | waihin | waihin | waini | waihin | waifin | hoifini/oifini |
| 30. man | tau [moho ] | tau | tau | tau | tau | tau | tau | taumoho | taumoho | tau |
| 31. person | doga/t amowa i | tamowa i | tamowa | doga | doga | doga | doga | doga | doga | doga |
| 32. name | Hesa | hesa-gu | hesa-gu | hesa-gu/esa- | hesa-gu | hesa-gu | hesa-gu | hesa-gu | hesa-gu | hesa-gu/esa-gu |
| 33. child loffspring) | natu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu | natu-gu |
| 34. father | tama | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu | tama-gu |
| 35. mother | tina | sina-gu | sina-gu | sina-gu | tina-gu | tina-gu | tina-gu | tina-gu | tina-gu | tina-gu |
| 36. wife | mwane-gu ( $s, t$ ) ine lahu-gu waifiNl | mwane-gu sine | mwane-na sine | mone-gu sine | mone-gu waihin | mone-gu waihin | mone-gu | lahu-gu | lahu-gu waifin | mone-gu |
| 37. husband | mwane-gu tau lahugu tau [moho] | mwane-gu tau | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mwane-gu } \\ & \text { tau } \end{aligned}$ | mone-gu tau | mone-gu tau | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mone-gu } \\ & \text { tau } \end{aligned}$ | mone-gu | lahu-gu | lahu-gu taumoho | mone-gu |
| 38. be alive/live | mauli | maul i | mauli | mauli | mauli | mauli | mauli | mauli | e loholoho* | --- |
| 39. die | mate/peki | mate | mate/ pe?ipe?i | ya mate | a pe?i | pe?i | peki | pe? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | pe? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | pe? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ |
| 40. skin | Kwapi/bunu/dahi/ oto | dahi-gu | ?opi-gu | 2opi-gu | ?opi-gu | bunu-na | kopi-gu | wapi-gu | oto-gu | kopi-na |
| 41. bone | siada | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu | siada-gu |
| 42. blood | Kwas ina | owas ina-gu | owasinagu | Tosina-gu | Tosina-gu | Tosina-gu | kosina-gu | wasina-gu | Tosina-gu | wasina-gu |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo? 110 | Suau Is. | Daui-1 [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 [SiloSilo] | Dahuni | Oeamamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43. body | tau/(w,H)oto | tau-gu | tau-gu | tau-gu | woto-gu | woto-gu | tau-gu | tau-gu | hoto-gu | hoto-gu/tau-gu |
| 44. head | Kulu | ?ulu-gu | ?ulu-gu | ?ulu-gu | ?ulu-gu | ?ulu-gu | kulu-gu | kulu-gu | kulu-gu | kulu-gu |
| 45. hair | maiHawa/tala | ?ulu-gu maiyawa-na | ?ulu-gu tala-na | ?ulu-gu maiyawa-na | ?ulu-gu ma i yawa-na | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ?ulu-gu } \\ & \text { tala-na } \end{aligned}$ | kulu-gu tala-na | $\begin{aligned} & \text { kulu-gu } \\ & \text { tala-di } \end{aligned}$ | kulu-gu tala-na | maihawa-na |
| 46. face | mata/nene | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | nene-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu |
| 47. ear | bea/taina | bea-gu | bea-gu | bea-gu | bea-gu | taina-gu | taina-gu | bea-gu | bea-gu | bea-gu |
| 48. to hear | ataHi [eNI]/lapui | lapui | ataiyei | ya ataiyei | a ataiyei | ataiei | ataiainia | atahiei | atahien | te atahi |
| 49. eye | mata | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu | mata-gu |
| 50. to see | Kita/Kaikewa | ya Pita | ya fita | ya ?ita | a Pita | a Pita | kaikewa | ?ita | e Pita | te $?$ ita |
| 51. nose | Hisu | isu-gu | isu-gu | isu-gu | isu-gu | isu-gu | isu-gu | isu-gu | hisu-gu | hisu-gu |
| 52. smell, odour | pane | pane-na | pane-na | ya panei | a panei | pane-na | pane ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | pane-na | pane-na e atahien | pane |
| 53. lips | sopa | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu | sopa-gu |
| 54. mouth | Kawa/m(wa ,o) Ka/aho | ?awa-gu | ?awa-gu | ?awa-gu/ mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu | aho-gu | mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu |
| 56. to breathe | $(y, H) a[H a] ~ f u a ~$ | yahua | yahua | ya yahua | a yahua | yahua | yahauya | yawasi-gu* | e hafua | yawasi* |
| 57. to blaw (with mouth) | yufi | yuhi | yuhi | ya yuhi | a yuhi | yuhi | yuhi | te yufi | e yufi | yufi |
| 58. to eat/food | KaNI (or Kai/ Kani?) | ya ?ai?ai | ya ?ai?ai | ya ?ai?ai | a ?an?an | ?an?an | ?ani?ani | ?an?an | ?an?an | ?ani?ani |
| 59. tooth | $=$ mouth or prong of mouth | Tawa-gu tala-na | Pawa-gu anio-na | ?awa-gu | mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu | moka-gu | mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu | mo?a-gu |
| 60. to bite | leta [NI]/nali/ nedai | ya letai | ya letai | ya letai | a nedai | letai | letani | te nali | e nali-m | te nali |
| 61. spit, saliva | galiso/kaniso | galiso | galiso | gal iso | kaniso | kaniso | gelolo* | gelolo* | kaniso | kaniso |
| 62. tongue | memena/le lo | memena-gu | memena-gu | memena-gu | memena-gu | memena-gu | manana-gu | memena-gu | lelo-gu | memena-gu |
| 63. to speak | liba/hedehedede | hedehedede | hedehedede/ he-liba-d | ya liba | a liba | libaliba | liba | te liba | te libaliba | liba |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 <br> [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 <br> [SiloSilo] | Dahuni | Oeamamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 64. neck | gado | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu | gado-gu |
| 65. hand, arm | nima | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu | nima-gu |
| 66. breast | susu/[nomu] | susu-gu | susu-m | susu-gu | susu-gu | susu-gu | susu-gu | susu-gu | nomu-gu | nom- |
| 67. milk | susu | susu | susu masina | susu | susu | susu | susu | susu | susu | --- |
| 68. to suck | susu/muti/tofi/ fa-nomu/madoi | ie susu | ie susu | ya madoi | a muti | ie mut $i$ | mut i | tof i | te fa-nom | tof $\mathbf{i}$ |
| 69. belly | boga | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu | boga-gu |
| 70. back (bodypart) | dagila/biga/tauli | dagila-gu | dagila-gu | dagila-gu | biga-gu | biga-gu | biga-gu | biga-gu | tauli-gu | biga-gu |
| 71. leg | Ka [H] e/gogu- | Tae-gu | Tae-gu | Tae-gu | ?ae-gu/gogu- | ?ae-gu | kae | ?ahe-gu | ?ae-gu | ?ahe |
| 72. foot | $=l e g+$ walk | Paelaulaugu | ?ae-gu | ?aelaulau-gu | ?aelaulau- | ?aelaulau- | kaeyaoyao | ?ahe-gu | ?ae-gu | ?ahe laulau |
| 73. to walk | laulau | ya laulau | ya laulau | ya laulau | a laulau | a laulau | уаоуао | te lau | ta lau | ta laulau |
| 74. to twen | bui | tolo-bui | ya tolobui <br> ya sinibui | ya tolo-bui | a bui | tole-bui | bui | bui | te obiyobui | ta Pi?ili* |
| 75. guts | tinahe | sinae-gu | sinae-gu | sinae-gu | tinae-gu | tinae-gu | tinae-gu | sinae-gu | tinahe-gu | tinae |
| 76. to puke | maliw(a,e) | malio | maliwe | ya maliwe | a maliwa | maliwa | maliwa | mal iwa | e maliwa | mal iwa |
| 77. liver | Kate | ?ate-gu | ?ate-gu | ? ate-gu | ? ate-gu | ?ate-gu | ? ate-gu | ?ate-gu | ?ate-gu | --- |
| 78. heart | nuapou/ tutumawe ( K, ? ) u | nuapou-gu | nuapou-gu | nuapou-gu | tutumawe?ugu | nuapu-gu | nuapou-gu | --- | nuanua-gu | -- |
| 79. animal | suNlsunl/he?ahe?ai yosiyosi | he?ahe?ai | suisui | suisui | sunsun | sunsun | sunisuni | suisui | yosiyosi | suisui |
| 80. fish | ( $y, H$ ) ama/mo ia | yama | yama | yama | moia | moia | moia | yama | hama | hama |
| 81. bird | manu/lolo/ataia | 1010 | lolo | manu | manu | manu | manu | ataia | ataia | manu |
| 82. tail | dele | dele-na | dele-na | dele-na | dele-na | dele-na | dele-ria | dele-na | dele-na | dele-na |
| 83. tusk, horn | dona | dona-na | dona-na | dona-na | dona-na | dona-na | dona-na | dona | dona-na | dona |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 [SiloSilo] | Dahuni | Oeamanania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 84. claws | gibu/gala/kuhu- | gibu-na | nima-gibuna | gibu-na | gibu-na | nima gigi* | nima-gala | gala-na | kuhukuhu | gala-na |
| 85. fur | $($ W, H) uia/olo | wuiya-na | wuiya-na | wuiya-na | huia-na | huihuia-na | huhuia | fufu?a* | olo-na | olo-na |
| 86. dog | kedewa/[K]wayowa | kedewa | kedewa | kedewa | kedewa | oyowa | kedewa | wayowa | oyowa | wayowa |
| 87. egg | katino/pou | pou | pou-na | kasino/pou | katino | katino | kat ino | katino | kat ino | kat ino |
| 88. feather | gwai/wau/ or same as fur | wuiya-na | wuiya-na | goi-na | $\begin{gathered} \text { goi-na/ } \\ \text { wau-na } \end{gathered}$ | goi-na | goi-na | gwai-na | olo-na | goi |
| 89. wing, flipper | bala/mabe/papa | mabe-na | bala-na | bala-na | $\begin{gathered} \text { mabe-na/ } \\ \text { bala/na } \end{gathered}$ | bala-na | papa-na | bala-na | mabe-na | bala-na |
| 90. to $\mathrm{fly}^{\prime}$ | loi/lofo | $10 i$ | ie loi | ie loi | ie loho | Ioho | loho | ya lofo | ya lofo | lofo |
| 91. Louse | tuma | tuma-gu | tuma | tuma-gu | tuma-gu | tuma | tuma | tuma | tuma-gu | tuma |
| 92. snake | mwata/weso | mwata | mwata | mota | mota | mota | mota | mota | weso | mota |
| 93. worm | A. nikwai <br> B. mwatamwata | ni ${ }^{\text {wa }} \mathrm{i}$ | ni?wai | ni?oi | ni?oi | ni?oi | motamota | motamota | ni?oi | motamota |
| 94. flower | pasa/mula/liasi/ taina | pasa | taina | pasa | pasa | pasa | pasa | liasi-na | mula | mula |
| 95. seed | tuma | tuma | tuma-na | tuma | tuma | tuma | tuma | tuma | tuma | tuma |
| 96. fruit | fuafua/anio/ulu | ua-ua | anio-na | uwa-uwa | huahua | hua | huwahuwa | fuwafuwa | ul u-na | uwa-uwa |
| 97. root | $1 a m$ | lam-na | lam-na | lam-na | lam-na | lam-na | lam-na | lamlam | lam-na | lam-na |
| 98. leaf | lugu | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na | lugu-na |
| 99. tree | Koyag i/Kaiwa | Taiwa | ?oyagi | Toyagi | Toyag i | Toyagi | koyagi | ?oyagi | ?oyag i | Toyagi |
| 100. bark | Kwapi/dahi/bunu | dahi-na | dahi-na | ?opi-na | Ropi-na | ?opi-na | kopi-na | wapi-na | bunu-na | kopi-na |
| 101. stick, branch | laga | laga-na | laga-na | laga-na | laga-na | laga-na | laga-na | laga-na | Toyagi laga-na | laga-na |
| 102. grass | lagau/HawaHawa | lagau | lagau | lagau | lagau | awa-awa | awa-awa | yawayawa | awahawa | hawahawa |


| English | Base Fornn(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 <br> [Fife Bay] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Daui-2 } \\ & \text { [SiloSilo] } \end{aligned}$ | Dahuni | Oeamamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 103. forest, 'bush' | nu ula/widi/ tana ai/gunuala | nu?ula | nu?ula | nu?ula gunuala | widi gunuala | widi | widi | tana?ai | tana?ai | nu?u |
| 104. berry | = fruit | ua-ua | ?anio-na | uwa-uwa | huahua | huahua | huya-na* | fuafua-na | hua-nal hua-di | ?ul u-na |
| 105. Lie down | Keno | ? eno | ?u ?eno | ya ? n o | a ?eno | eno-dobi | kena | ?eno | e ?eno | ?eno |
| 106. to sleep | = lie down | ya ? eno | ?u ?eno | ya ?eno | a ? eno | ?eno | kena | ?eno | e ? ${ }^{\text {a }}$ o | ? eno |
| 107. fire | $=$ wood (t alati/ balelem/ ala-pulupululu) | ?aiwa alapulupululu | Toyagi balelem | ?oyagi alasi-na | Toyagi alati-na | ?oyagi | koyagi | Toyagi | Toyagi | Toyagi |
| 108. smoke | asu/gafu/dua-ul i | dua-uli | asu | asu | gahu-na | asu | gahu | asu | gafu-na | asu/gafu |
| 109. ashes | Kafu/gawala | gawala | ?ahu | ?ahu | ?ahu-na | ?ahu | kahu | ?afu?afu | ?afu | gauhe* |
| 110. to burn | gabu/alati | y a gabu | ?u gabu | ya gabu | a gabu | gabu | gabu | ala | te gabu | gabu/belelem* |
| 111. fat, grease | momona | momona | momona-na | momona-na | momona-na | momona | momona | nomona | momona | momona |
| 112. meat, flesh | buluma/fisiHo | buluma | buluma-na | buluma-na | hisio | hisio-na | hisio | fisiho-na | fisiho-na | fisiho |
| 113. salt | Kalita | ?alita | ?al ita | ?alita | ?alita | ?alita | kalita | ?alita | ?alita | Talita |
| 114. road, pcth | dobila/Keda | ?eda | dobila | dobila | ?eda | Teda?eda | dobila/ keda | dobila | ?cda?eda | dobila |
| 115. to tie | Kau/pai | pai | ie ?au | ya ?au | a ? ${ }^{\text {au }}$ | a ? ${ }^{\text {au }}$ | kau | ?au | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mahina e } \\ & \text { ?au } \end{aligned}$ | ?au |
| 116. to hit | lubi/hotai/talai/ Koi | ya hotai | i talai | ya lubi | a lubi | lubi | koi | lubi | e talai | lubi |
| 217. to throw | tu/Kalu/pel/gabae | ya tu | ?u gabae | ya tu | a Ralu | ?alu | kalu | pei | e pei | pepei |
| 118. to hunt | [K]aNI-luHu[n]/ lusa/fa-kedewa/ fa-[K]wayowa | PaiPailu | Pai?ailuhu | he-kedewa | ha?oyowa | ?an?anlun | ?anilu | lusa | ?an?anluhu | ha?oyoha |
| 119. to kill | [funuHi]/towai | ya unui | towai/he-wai-unu | ya unui | a unui | ?u towai | towai | egwali * | e laufunuhi | unui/laufunuhi |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 <br> [Fife Bay] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Daui-2 } \\ & \text { [SiloSilo] } \end{aligned}$ | Dahuni | Oearamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 120. to stab | gwali | ya gwali | ?u gwali | ya goli | a goli | a goli | gol i | goli | gwali | gwali |
| 121. to fear | matausi/[K]wasabu | mataus i | matausi | ya matausi | a matau | matu | matau | wasabu | osabu | wasabu |
| 122. to sew | bwadi/iloma/yome | i loma | bwadibwadi | ya bodi | a bodi | bodibodi | bodibodi | bodibodi | yomeyome | bodibodi |
| 123. not | ( $\mathrm{ni}, \mathrm{Hi}, \mathrm{a}$ ) ge | nige | nige | nige | age | age | ige?e | hige | ige | hige |
| 124. count, tell | fatili | hasili | has ili | has ili | hatili | hatili | hatili | fatili | fatili | fatili |
| 125. one | Kesega/[ali]moga | a limoga | al imoga | Tesega | Tesega | Tesega | emoga | Tesega | Tesega | Tesega |
| 126. two | labu? | labu?i | labu? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | labu? i | labu?i | labu? i | labu?i | labu?i | labu?i | ruagat |
| 127. three | faiHona | haiyona | haiona | haiyona | haiyona | haiyona | haiyona | haiyana | faihona | fai hona |
| 128. four | fati | has i | hasi | has i | hat ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | hat ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | hat ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | fat i | fat i | hasi |
| 129. five | faligigi | haligigi | haligigi | haligigi | haligigi | haligigi | haligigi | haligigi | faligigi | faligigi |
| 130. one hundred | tataofaligigi- (se mate, tie peki) | tataohaligigi se mate | tataohaligigi se mate | tataohaligigi se mate | tataohaligigi tie pe?i | tataohaligigi tie pe?i | tataohaligigi te peki | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tataofali- } \\ & \text { gigi sa } \\ & \text { pe?i } \end{aligned}$ | tataofaligigi te pe? $i$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tataofali- } \\ & \text { gigi sa } \\ & \text { pe?i } \end{aligned}$ |
| 131. I | yau | yau | yau | yau | yau | yau | yau | yau | yau | yau |
| 132. you (8g) | oa/oni | oa | oa | oa | on | on | on i | oa | on | oni |
| 133. he, she, it | ia/in | ia | ia | ia | ia | ia | ia | in | ia | ia |
| 134. A. we (incl.) | Kita | ?ita | ?ita | ?ita | ?ita | punida* | ?ita | --- | ?ita | --- |
| B. we (excl.) | Kai | ? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | ? ai | ?ai | ?ai | ?ai | ? ai | --- | ?ai | ? ai |
| 135. you (pl) | $\mathrm{K}(\mathrm{o}, \mathrm{u}) \mathrm{mi}[\mathrm{u}]$ | ?omi | ?omi | ? omi | ?omi | Tomi | ? 0 mi | ?umi | ? omi | ?umi |
| 136. they | iti-a | sia | sia | isi | it i | iti | iti | isi | iti | it i |
| 137. who? | Hai/[um]sai | yai | yai | yai | hai | hai wa | hai | yai | umsa $\boldsymbol{i}$ | sai |
| 138. what? | ```safa/somo/amoli/ aisana``` | aisana | aisana | saha | saha | saha | amol i | somo | somo/safa | soma |
| 139. where? | what + $a t / \mathrm{ha}[\mathrm{e}] \mathrm{di}$ | hadi yai | hadi yal | saha yai | saha yai | saha yai | amoli ani | somo yai | somo yai | soma yai |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 [SiloSilo] | Dahuni | Oeamamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 140. when? | (KaNI, a) fuya-na | Rai-uya | Tai-uya | auyana | ahuyana | ahuyana | kanlhuyana | afuhana | afuyana | afuya |
| 141. how? | (He, si) do $\mathrm{h}, \mathrm{f}$ ) $\mathrm{a}-$ | hedoha-na | edoha-na | edoha-na | sidoha-na | sidoha-na | sidoa-na | sidoha-na | sidoha-na | sidoha-na |
| 142. this | ina/ite/teka/teina | teina | ina | ina | ite | ite | teka | ite | ite | ite |
| 143. that | ne?i/meta/mate/ nate/tenemne/toka | tenemne | meta | ne? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | mate/nate | nate | toka | ne? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | mate | mate |
| 144. here | $t h i s$ ( $+a t$ ) | teina | inai | ina | ite ne | ite yai | teka | ite | ite | ite |
| 145. there | that (+at) | tenemne | meta | ne? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | mate | nate yai | toka | ne? ${ }^{\text {i }}$ | mate yai | mate |
| 146. and | yo | yo | yo | yo | yo | yo | yo | yo | уо | yo |
| 147. if | taba/bena/Katl/egu | bena | taba | taba | ?at i | taba | kati | --- | egu | --- |
| 148. because | paKana | pa?ana | pa?ana | pa?ana | pa?ana | pa?ana | pakana | pa?ana | pa?ana | pa?ana |
| 149. at | yai/ani | yai | yai | yai | yai | yai | ani | yai | yai | yai |
| 150. in | Kalo/nao/ganahewa | ?alo-na yai | ?alo- yai | ?alo-na yai | nao-na yai | nao-na yai | nao-na ani | Palo | ganahewa-na | ganahewa |
| 151. with | ma | ma-ida-gu | ma- | ma-?ena | ma-?ena | ma-?ena | ma-?ena | ma- | ma-hida-gu | ma* |
| 152. many | gamagali/masuli/ badobado/bolu/ ?ou?ouli | badobado-di/gama-gali-di | gamagalina | gamagali | mamasuli | masumasuli | masumasuli | gamagali-di | bolu-na | ?ou?ouli-di |
| 153. fev | Fisafisa(w)ai- | hisahisa-wai-di | nige se baliawa* | hisahisa-di | hisahisa-di | age masuli* | hisa-kua | fisafisa-wai-di | fisafisa-di | fisafisai-di |
| 154. some | heKadi/Hesau/haisa | he?adi | hesau | he?adi | esa | esa | haisa-di | tefa-di | haisa | haisa |
| 155. other | See some | he?adi | he?adiyo | esau | esa/haisadi | ?e?esa | haisa-di | tefa-di | ?e?esa | --- |
| 156. big | lakilaki/badabada | la?ila?i | la?ila?i | la?ila?i | badabada | badabada | badabada | la?ila?i | la?ila? | la?ila?i |
| 157. small | gagili/Ki?uki?u/ habulu | habulu-na | gagili-na | gagili-na | ki?uki?u | ?i?u?i?u | kiukiu | gagill-na | kiukiu | kiukiu |
| 158. good | loholoho/namwa | namwa | namwa | lolo | lolo | Iolo | Iolo | lolo | loholoho | loholoho |
| 159. bad | ba?aya/heaiya/ yababa | yababa | ba?aya | ba?aya | ba?aya | he?aya | heyaya | hea iya-na | heyaiya | heaiya-na |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suain Is. | Daui-1 <br> [Fife Bay] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Daui-2 } \\ & \text { [SiloSilo] } \end{aligned}$ | Dahuni | Oeamanania | ieileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 160. true | mo?isa/mamo(h, f)oi | moi?isa | mo?isa | mamohoi | mo?isa | mo?isa | mo? isa | moisa | mo?isa | moisa |
| 161. all (see many) | gwaHudi/mohudi/ gamagali/masuli/ ?ou?ouli | gwahudi | gamagalina | gamagali | mamasuli | mohu-di | masumasuli- | gamagali-di | TouTouli-da | ?ou?ouli-di |
| 162. hot (warm) | gibibwali/ginasa | gigibwali | gigibwali | gigiboli | gigiboli/ ginasa warm | gigiboli | gigiboli | gigibwali | gigiboli | gigiboli |
| 163. cold | A. gwagwama <br> B. wa?o?o | gwagwama | gwagwama | gogoma wa?o?o | gogoma wa?o?o | gogoma | gogoma | gogoma-na | gogoma wa?o?o | gogoma-na |
| 164. dirty | biki/bida/boyaboya deadea | bida | bida | bi?i | boyaboya | boiyaboiya | boyaboya | bi?i | deadea | bi?i |
| 165. dry | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali | pitali |
| 166. wet | buta/wau | buta | buta | buta | buta | buta | buta | buta | wau | buta |
| 167. dull (not sharp) | bou | bou | bou | bou | bou | hou | bou | bou | bou | bou |
| 168. sharp | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mata[Ka]/ } \\ & \text { m(wa, o) Ka } \end{aligned}$ | mata | mata | mata | mata | mata | mataka | mata | mo?a | mo?a |
| 169. far | lofalofa | Iohaloha | loha loha | Ioha loha | loha loha | lohaloha | Iohaloria | lofalofa | lofalofa | lofalofa |
| 170. near | gegesi-na/sadai hanahanau | hanahanau | hanahanau | gegesina/ hanahanau | hanahanau | sada i-da | hanahanau | hanahanau | $\begin{aligned} & \text { șadai-da } \\ & \text { yai } \end{aligned}$ | sadai- yai |
| 171. heavy | polohe/mwaHu | polohe | polohe | polohe | mou | mou | mou | mou | moahu | mou |
| 172. smooth | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu | sabusabu |
| 173. straight | A. lofelofe <br> B. dudulai <br> C. welowelo | lohelohe-na | lohe- | lohe lohe-na dudulai | lohe lohe-na dudulai | dudulai | lohe lohe | lofelofe | welowe lo-na | dudulai |
| 174. thick | potopoto/balubalu | balubalu | potopoto | potopoto | potapota | potopoto | potapota | potopoto-na | potapota-na | potopoto-na. |
| 175. thin | yaloyalo/ebebe | yaloyalo | yaloyalo | ya loyalo | yaloyalo | yaloyalo | yaloyalo | yaloyalo-na | ebebe-na | yaloyalo-na |
| 176. left (side) | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | seuseuli | teha seuseuli |
| 177. right (side) | KataKataHia/tutu | tutu | tutu | tutu | Tata?ataiya | ?ata?ataiya | katakataiya | ?ata?atahia | ?ata?atahia | teha tutu |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | Ilo?Ilo | Suau Is. | Daui-1 <br> [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 [SiloSilo] | Dahuni | Oeamanania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 178. Zong | lofalofa | lohaloha-na | lohaloha | loha loha | lohaloha | Iohaloha | Ioha loha | Iofalofa | lofalofa | Iofalofa |
| 179. short | ku?uku?u/tupwa/ KotiKoti?e | tupwatupwana | ku?uku?u | ku?uku?u | ku?uku?u | ku?uku?u | kotikoti?e | ku?uku?u | tupo-na | ku?uku?u |
| 180. narrow | pwagogo/mwatiti | pwagogo | mwasisi | mosisi | motiti | pogogo | pogogo | motiti-na | pwagogo | --- |
| 181. wide | tabataba/dabalala/ magaga | dabalala | tabataba | tabataba | tabataba | dabalala | dabalala | magaga-na | magaga | magaga-na |
| 182. new | falifaliHu/ walumalu[NI] | hailhaliuna | halihaliuna | halihaliuna | halihaliu-na waluwaluni | halihaliu | halihaliuna | falifaliu- | falifalihu- | falifalihu-na |
| 183. old | beabeaHa | beabea-na | beabea-na | beabea-na | beabeha-na | beabeaha-na | beabeaha-na | beabea-na | beabea-na | beabea-na |
| 184. rotten | pwasa/molu | ie pwasa | pwasa | posa-na | posa-na | molu | molu | posa-na | ya molu | --- |
| 185. full | mwanaHu/mohafu | i mwanau | mwanau | monau | monahu | monahu | monahu | moahafu | mohafu | ie mohafu |
| 186. black | dubaduba/Ramu?amumu | ?amu?amumu | dubaduba | dubaduba | dubaduba | dubaduba | dubaduba | dubaduba | dubaduba-na | dubaduba |
| 187. white | potipoti | posiposi | posiposi | posiposi | potipoti | potipoti | potipoti | potipoti | potipoti | potipoti |
| 188. red | sabesabe/buyabuya balebalelem | sabasaba | buyabuya | buyabuya | sabesabe/ balebalelem | sabesabe | sabesabe | balebalelem | balebalelem | balebalelem |
| 189. yellow | yogeyoge/samasama i- | yogeyoge | yogeyoge | yogeyoge | yogeyoge | yogeyoge | samasamaina | yogeyoge-na | yogeyoge-na | --- |
| 190. green/blue | A. KalaKal awa <br> B. idaidaHe | ?ala?alawa | ?ala?alawa | ?ala?alawa | ?ala?alawa | ?ala?alawa | kalakalawa | idaidahe | ?ala?alawana | idaidahe-na |
| 191. to say | liba/hedehedede | hedehedede | he-liba-di | ya liba | a liba | liba | liba | liba | te liba | fa-liba/e-di-ba |
| 192. to know | Kata/siba | ya ?ata | - | ya ? ${ }^{\text {ata }}$ | a sisiba | siba | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Pabina a } \\ & \text { sisiba } \end{aligned}$ | ?ata | e siba | sibasiba/?ata |
| 193. to take, hold | Tabi/bahe | bahe i | bahe-ya-ma | ya 3 abi | a ? ${ }^{\text {abi }}$ | ?u ?abi | ?abi | ?abi | e l abi | ?abi |
| 194. to give | mose/halele/felent | mosei | --- | ya mose | a halele | hatele | halele | felei | felen | mose |
| 195. to come | lao-ma | laoma | laoma | ya laoma | a laoma | ?u laoma | yaoma | laoma | laoma | Ioma/laoma |
| 196. to cut | tomolibwa | ibo | --- | ibo/tom | a tom | ?u tom | tomo | tom | e tomo | tom |


| English | Base Form(s) | Bonalua | 1102I10 | Suau Is. | Daui-1 [Fife Bay] | Daui-2 [SiloSilo] | Dahani | Oeanamania | Leileiafa | Bolowai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 197. to dig | sala[hi]/giall | sala | --- | ya sala | a salahi | salahi | salahi | sala | e giall | sala |
| 198. to fall | beku | be?u | --- | ya be?u | a be?u | be?u | beku | be?u | e be?u | be?u |
| 199. to laugh | malufi/om(wa,o)n/ nualaha/lluha/ ansla | maluhl | --- | ya maluhi | $\begin{aligned} & \text { a maluhi/ } \\ & \text { omon } \end{aligned}$ | maluhi | nualaha | omala | e ? mmon | Il uha |
| 200. to play | Kalhea/Koikoiplii | ?ainea | --- | ya Talhea | a Tainea | Tathea | koikolplli | Tainea | e Taihea | ?al?aihea |
| 201. to pull | tabe/nlull/weka/ fell/solu | nluli | --- | ya tabe | a we?a | we?a | weka | tabel | e fell | solu |
| 202. to push | (abi,Kam)fa-pito/ hadudunoi/tabe/ solu | abihepito | --- | ya abihepito | a ablhapito | Tamhaplto | hadudumol | tabel | kamfapl to | solu |
| 203. to rub | ( $w, H$ ) osa/o (h, f)o | wosa | --- | ya oho | a wosa | sau* | wosa | wosa | hosa | wosa |
| 204. to scratch | gaflil | gahili | --- | ya gahlli | a gahlll | gahill | gahlii | gaflll | gafill | gaflli |
| 205. to sing | wana | wana | wana | ya wana | - wana | wana | wana | wana | e wana | wana |
| 206. to dance | sagal | ya saga | --- | ya saga | a saga | saga | saga | saga | e saga | :aga |
| 207. to sit, remain, abids | bawa/[K]amtull | ya 2amtuli | babawa | ya bawa | a bawa | bawa | bawa | bawa | e bawa | -- |
| 208. to stand | tolo/koblyo | ya tolo | tolo | ya tolo | a 2obio | ?obio | kobiyo | 2oblyc | e 2oblyo | toio |
| 209. to split | -igall/esena | ya tulgail | --- | ya igall | a igall | igali | talgali | igall | esena | igali |
| 210. to squesse $\begin{aligned} & \text { A. } \\ & \\ & \\ & \text { B. }\end{aligned}$ | flfi tam | ua abihihi | - | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ya h\|ht } \\ & \text { ya tam } \end{aligned}$ | a hihl <br> a tam | hihi | h\|hi | fifi | e flfl | hihi |
| 211. to swell up | pou/loloni | i Ioionl | --- | le pou | ie pou | por | pou | pou | ya pou | pou |
| 212. to think | nuatu[ Hu ] [ NI ] | ya nuatui | nuatu | ya nuatul | a nuatul | nuatun | nuanuatu | nuatul | nustuhu | nuatul |

Notes: $/=$ alternate forms $;(x, y)=$ alternate reconstructions; $[x]=$ uncertain reconstruction; $t=$ known loan from outside Suaic; $*=$ probable misunderstanding resulting in incorrect item; A. $X X, B$. $Y Y=$ variant forms known to co-exist with different meanings.

It will be noted that many items have several base forms; some of these are undoubtedly results of errors in the survey, but many exist because
it is a fact that synonymous or near-synonymous terms do exist for many items. For example wing has been cited in a single text with two or three interchangeable terms.used to refer to it. In addition, the Bolowai and Oeamanania informants, especially, substituted Standard Suau Island items or pronunciations on many occasions; and it is certain that most informants resorted to intra-system borroving for at least some items. For lexicostatistical purposes only the firstugiven item was used in the tabulations in cases where single informants gave alternate forms for certain meanings.

## NOTES

1. Research involving this project was made possible through a field-study grant from the East-West Center, Honolulu, April 1968 to January 1969 at Fife Bay on the Suau Ccast. I would express appreciation to the East-West Center and to the United Church staff at Fife Bay who made much of this study possible. I have received valuable assistance (which I may not have followed) from G. W. Grace, B. Biggs, A. Pawley, C.-J. N. Balley, R. Hsu and many others. I am grateful to Marion College for released time for research and writing.
2. "Southern Massim" is a term used by Seligmann (1910) for cultural subgroup; Chrétien (1956) applied the term to a linguistic group having approximately the same domain.
3. Detailed discussion of the problem involves accounting for the grammatical system present in a language-speaker's mind and is not germane to this discussion; it will be hinted at from time to time, however, and further discussion will be found in my dissertation (in progress) on Coastal Suau.
4. One of Pawley's (1970) survey lists is in fact from Konemaiawa, a Dahuni area village, but the teen-aged informant used Daui speech patterns almost exclusively, whereas $I$ have tapes of seven adults from the same area, none of whom used Daul speech patterns!
5. Intra-systemic contact and borrowing and the problem of not having a homogeneous base (see Grace, 1965) make reliance on such notions as unique lexical retentions and/or innovations extremely risky and non-diagnostic within an intercommunicating system in many cases. However, there do seem to be bundles of lexical and other features which can be diagnosed in this manner--if such diagnosis is taken with a grain of salt.
6. Not all Suau speakers intercommunicate as easily as do the Coastal Suau people. Kwato speakers, for instance, do not seem to be aware of the detailed phonological differences in the speech of Coastal speakers from the western part of the area, and sometimes were
unaware of the fact that certain sound-patterns even existed among Suau-speaking villages. For them, Coastal Suau patterns might (l) be learned as one learns a second language or dialect, (2) might be integrated into their speech system by a series of "tacked on" rules and relexifications, and (3) might never be learned at all, but be simply recognized as being different from their own speech with such communication as is carried on made possible through redundancy from the known material common in both speech communities.
7. See C.-J. N. Bailey (1969), D. DeCamp (1968), R. Fasold (1970), R. Troike (1971) and others for review of this question, the literature on it, and possible methods for accounting for continua within a unified model.
8. Since Bolowai has been historically part of Kwato Mission, and Kwato Suau is closely modelled on Standard Suau Island speech patterns, Bolowai speakers are exposed more directly to Standard Suau speech than are many communities which are geograpilcally nearer to Suau Island.
9. Suau Island speech has the following sounds: /a,e,i,o,u,m,n,p,t, $k, b, d, g, s, l, w, y, h$, and $? /$. Inland villages like Leileiafa include /f/ in their inventory. Distributional patterns vary from area to area, but only about a half-dozen of these sounds are involved in widespread patterns of variation. Within Coastal Suau, the rest are realized as uniformly the same sound from community to community.
10. The regional labels are not determinative in any sense, but are most probable Zoci geographically for particular pattern types.
11. The regularity is a bit deceptive because the rules only account for dominant patterns, and it is also likely that a statistical measure, not an absolute pattern, is most realistic. For example, an occasional /wa/ pronunciation, instead of the dominant /o/ pronunciation in a region like Leileiafa suggests that the /wa/ pattern is a relic of an older system now being replaced.
12. We have run on an IBM 360 (using SNOBOL-4) a dialect-generating system which approximates this degree of accuracy with a set of rules having slightly wider scope; in addition, these rules derive intermediate forms for all major speech communities, representing seven or eight rule-blocs (which correlate to approximately the same number of distinct speech communities).
13. The point where the two diverge may help define the boundaries of a language system. See Bailey, Troike, and Grace who have proposed related notions for defining the boundaries of language systems.
14. Andrew Pawley (personal communication, 1970) has also sketched reconstructions for Proto-Suauic based on his 1969 [see Pawley (1970)] survey data from Milne Bay languages.

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NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

## A KOITA GRAMMAR SKETCH AND VOCABULARY

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### 1.0 INT RODUCTION

### 1.1 General

Koita is a member of the Koiarian Language Family of central Papua. ${ }^{1}$ It is spoken by approximately 2500 speakers who live in and around Port Moresby in a number of small villages or as minority sections of larger Motu villages along the coast in the same area. The language has previously been discussed by Ray (1907:355-61) and myself (1969:26-36, 117-66) although some material has also been collected in it by Dr. A. Capell (formerly of the University of Sydney), Professor S.A. Wurm of the Australian National University, and Miss Sandra Warwick-Smith formerly of the same address. ${ }^{2}$

The present paper represents an analysis of materials collected by me in 1966 and upon which my 1969 notes and historical account were based. However, although this sketch supercedes those earlier notes, and although the general outline of the structure of Koita is clear and remains unchanged, there are still many points of detail which need to be checked and filled in (as this account will indicate) but which, unfortunately, I have not been able to do for this occasion. Like Koiari its closest relative (both geographically and genetically speaking) Koita is particularly fascinating in its system of specifiers (or clitics which attach to all parts of speech under certain conditions), its possessive case system which seemingly has a large number of unpredictable classes but which is probably based on a less complex system, and its verb morphology which is straight-forward in many respects but very subtle in others.

The data upon which this paper is based consist of a number of vocabulary items, free and elicited sentences, and several free texts recorded by five informants from Kilakila village over several weeks in 1966. ${ }^{3}$ Section 3.0 contains a list of approximately 1100 vocabulary items and grammatical elements abstracted from this material, and part of one of the free texts is given in Section 5.0. The results of the study have also been checked against the unpublished materials collected by Capell, Wurm, and Warwick-Smith mentioned above which were kindly loaned to me for this purpose. ${ }^{4}$

### 1.2 Presentation

In the forthcoming description the following orthographic and other conventions are employed.

### 1.21 Orthography

In transcribing Koita material the following symbols are used to represent fourteen consonants and five vowel phonemes: $p, t, k, b, d$, $g, s, h, v, s, m, n, r, y, i, e, a, o$, and $u$, where $r$ represents a voiced alveolar vibrant which is generally flapped except word initially and which has an l-like quality before the vowels a,o and $u$. $v$ is a bilabial fricative and p a voiceless bilabial stop which has a fricative alloophone intervocalically. $p$ is a rare phoneme which has only been observed to occur in a few isolated words peta(va-) to kick, paru(va-) to do something without success, and raupa tobacco dried over the fire. These words may however turn out to be borrowings since $p$ and 1 , a voiced alveolar lateral, also occur in many borrowed Motu words such as viripopo (<M vilipopo)a sling, kokopa (<M kokoba) crab, pitoroka (<M pitopito) cockroach, lagani (<M lagani) year, laurabada (<M laurabada) South-East trade wind. The phonemic status of sequences of iy also need further investigation. In this description I have written $y$ wherever it occurs as consontantal onset to a stressed syllable (since there is plenty of evidence to indicate that it contrasts with /i/ in those positions) or where paradigmatic evidence suggests that it should be so written, e.g., in some verb paradigms where different vowels provide good test cases. Otherwise the vowels $e$ and a have offglides $i$ before $y$. Stressed vowels also appear long especially in single syllable words and in words where two like vowels come together as a result of the loss of an intervening consonant (see Section l.3): e.g., davagu > da:gu $I$ (emphatic) or nivima > ni:ma he is crying.

All syllables in Koita are open and consist of a vowel only or a vowel with consonantal onset. There are no restrictions on vowel and consonant occurrences in words and vowel glides and clusters are treated as sequences of vowels in this description although this needs further testing especially with verbs where the negative formation rules discussed in Section 2.31.1 (vi) provide good evidence for determining crucial cases. There may be up to three vowels in such sequences, e.g., máiago girl. All possible combinations of vowels occur in twovowel sequences except ao, eo, uo, iu, and ue though these may occur

In loan words which are creeping into the language.
Word stress (marked ') is contrastive in Koita: ómo head v. omb adze, gúdi digging stick v. gudí Zime, gúma path v. gumá axe, and is accompanied by lengthening in the stressed vowel. In phrases, however, stress position and strength may change according to the effects of morphophonemic rules discussed below, e.g., magíiahu > magíahu old woman and word stress may be reduced to fit the whole pattern. For example if " indicates primary stress and ' secondary stress then 'era "ba'tara that's a moon > 'era 'bataya"bara those are moons. Details of these shifts have not been studied for this sketch; neither have intonational and pausal features which are related to it.

### 1.22 Abbreviations and Other Conventions



```
advm adverb of manner
advt adverb of time
AdvP adverb phrase
ar anaphoric referent suffix
asp aspect marker
auxsr auxiliary subject referent va-
C consonant
con (ss) connected action suffix (for same subject following)
con (ds) connected action suffix (for different subject
        following)
ctf contrary-to-fact condition suffix
dem demonstrative
Des descriptive
ds different subject following
emp emphasis marker
f focus marker
frus frustrative suffix
fut future tense
futdef definite future tense
futindef indefinite future tense
futQ question form of the indefinite future tense suffix
imp Imperative mode
in instrument clitic
int intensifier
IO indirect object
lim limiter
loc locative clitic
man manner clitic
neg negative
NP noun phrase
n noun
Nom nominal
num numeral
orl,or2.. object referent class l,2 ...
Obj object
p past tense
par partitive suffix
pl plural
pres present tense
prn pronoun
pos possessive suffix
```

```
posrel possessive relator suffix -te
rep repeated action verb form
rel relativizer suffix
seq sequential action suffix
sg singular
spec specifier
specQ question form of specifier
srl,sr2... subject referent class l,2 ...
ss same subject following
sj subjunctive mode
Subj subject
v verb
V vowel
VP verb phrase
vr verb root
```


### 1.3 Morphophonemic Rules

There are three general rules with a number of exceptions:
Rule 1. Across word and morpheme boundaries initial vowels "gobble" up final vowels, 1.e., $-\mathrm{V}_{1}+/-\mathrm{V}_{2}->-\mathrm{V}_{2}$ Examples:

1. Across word boundaries:
koiari ata > koiarata Koiari man
dubu otisa > dubotisa go to the church
di uride $>$ duride my nose
Exception: words beginning with u:
yaga uhu > yagahu *yaguhu in the house
vire unu > virenu *virunu it is there
unuhu ena > unuhuna * unuhena who will....
2. Across morpheme bourdaries:
eraga + ima > eragima $I$ see it
Exceptions: a number of verbs ending in $u, o$, and $i$ such as
uhu- to blow on fire, swell up
toguhu- to sew
to- to call out (and related forms e.g., eno toto cough)
i- to eat (and similar verbs of the same class, e.g., ki-to do, make)
have the following irregularities:

| Mode Endings | to- | i- |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -isa | uhusa (*uhisa) | tosa (*tisa) | isa (*i:sa) |
| -ima | uhuma (*uhima) | toma (*tima/*toima) | ima (*isma) |
| -a uha (*uhua) | torsga (*toa) | ia (*a) |  |
| -ime | uhuime *uhume | toime (*time) |  |

Rule 2. Across morpheme boundaries $y$ makes the preceding vowel $i$ in verbs, and conditions and e into phonetic glides ai and ei elsewhere:
orogo - yahe > orosiyahe you (pl) come!
/da - ye/ > [daiye] mine
/dega - ye/ > degaiye] anus
Exceptions:
uhu - yahe > [uhuiyahe] (*/uhiyahe/) you(pl) blow (the fire)!
Rule 3. Within words m's, v's, g's, and less frequently k's may be dropped (but no gobbling then occurs), e.g.,
Verb root -geve - yahe > Verb root -geiyahe Verb root plus plural object referent plus 2 pl imperative

| nivime | $>$ | ni:me | (don't) cry |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| daki | $>$ | dai | $I$ (in focus) |

Two main consequences of this are the production of long vowels (see ni:me above) and a $>$ e before $i$, not always, but in a few favoured positions e.g., da vima > deima $\quad I$ am doing it

```
Rule Ordering
    Rule l - Gobbling
Rule 2 - y-conditioning
Rule 3-Dropping m,v,g,k
```


### 2.0 GRAMMATICAL NOTES

### 2.1 Sentences

Sentences in Koita are either simple, complex, compound or fragmentary.

Simple sentences are those which contain only one clause. For example:
a-na ata be eraganu?
you-specQ man a see.him.you.p
Did you see a man?
e-ra ata-ra
that-spec man-spec
That's a man
ata vire-ra haroro koita-vara
man that-spec preach person-spec
That man's a pastor
ata be-ra vaga-uhu-gera
man a-spec house-in-spec
Aman is in the house
ata be-ra-ki orogima
man a-spec-f come.he.pres
Aman is coming
ata be-na ore-nu
man $a-\operatorname{spec} Q$ where-specQ Where is a man?

Compound and complex sentences are those which contain more than one clause. For example:

| roku be idigi orogo no ma isa | no | bome get.and come.imp we then eat.fut |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pawpaw |  |  |
|  | Bring us some pawpaws to eat |  |

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { oti boritigahi-yahe au vaina oroge } \\
\text { go.and tell-imp.you(pl) he quickly come.sj } \\
(Y o u(p l)) \text { go and tell him to come quickly }
\end{array}
$$

```
            au orogare daka otitovara
            he come.having I.spec go.fut
                When he comes I'Zl go
\begin{tabular}{ccccc} 
negubutu & tamutavivi-vanu & se & a-na & sou \\
now & eat-futQ & or & you-specQ & stizZ
\end{tabular}
                            ogo otito-vanu?
                            village go-futQ
                            Are you going to eat now or are you (still) going to go home?
Sentences of this kind may be said to be derived from simple sentences
by conjoining or subjoining (or embedding). Consequently simple
sentences will be treated first before returning to see how these are
conjoined and embedded into one another to form compound and complex
sentences respectively.
Fragmentary sentences will not be discussed further as they are of little grammatical interest. The label is used to cover all those (generally incomplete) sentences which have not been covered under the other types. Fragmentary sentences include such utterances as short answers to questions, expressions of emotional involvement with the speaker, greetings and farewells. The following examples illustrate:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
amumava! & Gee! Fancy that! \\
veite! & No! \\
io! & Yes! \\
erege! & Yes, that's true! \\
mage! & That's fine; that's okay! \\
baba! & Father! \\
Nigane o! & Hey Nigane! \\
godivo & Gosh!
\end{tabular}
```


### 2.11 Simple Sentences

```
There are two contrasting types: verbal and non-verbal.
```


### 2.11.1 Verbal Sentences

### 2.11.11 General

```
Verbal sentences are those that contain a verb phrase (VP) and have the general form:
```

Subject ( Object ${ }_{1}$ ) $\left(\right.$ Object $\left._{2}\right) /\left(\right.$ Indirect Object) (AdvP) ${ }^{n}$ VP where $A d v P=A d v e r b$ Phrase and $(A d v P)^{n}$ indicates that a number of these may be present in any sentence though there are cooccurrence restrictions between them of a universal type.

Sentences which potentially cannot contain an Object (Obj) will be referred to as intransitive, those which may contain an Object as transitive, and those which may contain two Objects or an Object and Indirect Object as ditransitive respectively. In the latter case there is no need to distinguish between the sub-types as the Indirect Object is marked by $-k i$ and the number of verbs taking Indirect Objects is so small that these can be counted as exceptions to the double Object cases. The following examples illustrate:
(1) Intransitive

| auka | ena negu vagutu | orogisa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subj | asp AdvP | VP |
| he.spec | fut this morning | come.futdef |
|  | He will come this morning |  |
| ana | oregene a | otima? |
| Subj | AdvP subj | VP |
| you.specQ | where.SpecQ you | go.pres |
|  | Where are you going? |  |

(11) Transitive

| $\frac{\text { nokaki }}{\text { Subj }}$ | $\frac{\text { Koiari ata be }}{\text { Obj }}$ |  | $\frac{\text { eraganu }}{V P}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we.spec.f | koiari man a | see.him.p |  |
|  | We saw a Koiari man |  |  |


| (a) guma mati kaia | Obj | idigi | orogo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Subj |  |  |  |
| (you) axe and knife get.them.and come.imp |  |  |  |
| Bring the axe and the knife |  |  |  |

(111) Ditransitive

| unuhuna | ena | muni | mi | da | momisa ${ }^{5}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subj | asp | $\mathrm{Obj}_{1}$ | VP | $\mathrm{Obj}_{2}$ | VP |
| who | fut | stone | get. and | me | give.it.futdef |
|  | wil | et and | ive me t | stone |  |


| $\frac{\text { da-ki }}{I O}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{ro}}{\mathrm{VP}}$ |
| ---: | ---: |
| me-to | teZZ |
|  | TeZZ me! |

Although the formula given above represents the normal order of arrangement of these high order constituents there are a number of points about this and the form of these constituents that need to be pointed out at this stage:

1. The Subject of the sentence seems to be always marked in some way - either by one of a set of clitics (e.g., -ra, -vara, -ka, -gera etc.), herein called Specifiers, together optionally with a further enclitic -ki, herein called a Focus Marker, or, in the case of pronouns by a focus marker without a specifier. In intransitive sentences the Subject always seems to be marked in this way whereas in transitive sentences there seems to be more freedom. Consider, for example, the following:

| Kauka | da-ki | eraganu |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| Obj | Subj-f | see.sg.obj.p |
|  | $I$ saw Kauka |  |


| da-ka (ki) | Kauka | eraganu |
| ---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subj-spec (f) | Obj | see.sg.obj.p |
| $I$ saw Kauka |  |  |


| Kauka-ra-ki | Madi | eraganu |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Subj-spec-f | Obj | see.sg.obj.p |

Kauka saw Madi

| Kauka-ra-ki | da | eraganu |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Subj-spec-f | Obj | see.sg.obj.p |

Although it is not possible at this stage to discuss the full range and use of these two important features of Koita structure it is apparent from the evidence so far available that the form of the specifier depends on the following factors:
(1) the category and subcategory of the constituent. Thus, pronouns always 'take' -ka, adverbs 'take' -gera, singular nouns of three or more syllables take -vara unless they are proper names of mountains, rivers, places or persons when they 'take' -ra. Consider, for example, the following set:

| Form | Category | Subcategory |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| da(ka) | pronoun | Meaning |
| no(ka) | pronoun | we |
| yaga uhu(gera) | adverb phrase | in the house |
| abu(gera) | numeral | two |
| inuhati(gera) | numeral | aZl |
| e(ra) | demonstrative |  |
| ata(ra) | noun | common(of two syllables) man |
| demaka(vara) | noun | common(ofthreesyllables)food |
| Manuaga(ra) | noun | name of mountain |
| Manari(ra) | noun | name of place |
| kiruki(vara) | noun | noun |

Exceptions (e.g., be a, some which is counted as a numeral takes -ra and not -gera as other numerals do) to these general rules need to be marked in some way in a dictionary listing. (11) for noun phrases the internal structure of the constituent. Thus, possessive phrases will 'take' -ra, noun phrases ending in a noun or adjective will 'take' -vara, noun phrases ending in a numeral or demonstrative will 'take' the specifier that that numeral or demonstrative takes in isolation, etc. Consider for example, the following set:

Form
Structure
Meaning

```
koiari ata(vara)
koiari ata be(ra)
koiari ata e(ra)
ata abu(gera)
koita dadaga(vara)
ata iahu(vara)
di mabare(ra)
di mabarara mageve(ra)
Manuaga nimu(vara)
```

NP ending in a noun
$N P$ ending in numeral be
NP ending in a demonstrative
$N P$ ending in a numeral
$N P$ ending in an indefinite numeral
NP ending in an adjective
Possessive NP
Possessive NP ending in an adjective
$N P$ ending in a noun

Koiari man
a Koiari man
that Koiari man
two Koiari men
many persons
old man
my wife
my good wife
Manuaga mountain
(111) for nouns and noun phrases the number of the constituent Thus all plural nouns and noun phrases 'take' -yabara. Consider, for example;

| ata(ra) | man |
| :--- | :--- |
| ata(yabara) | men |
| oho(ra) | pig |
| oho(yabara) | pigs |
| koiari ata(vara) | Koiari man |
| koiari ata(yabara) | Koiari men |
| vadu be mati sina be(yabara) | some taro and yams |
| di mame(ra) | my father |
| di mamuhe(yabara) | my fatkers |

(iv) whether the constituent is questioned or not and if so whether it occurs sentence medially or finally. Thus all specifiers have question variants with $n$ replacing $r$ sentence medially and with nu replacing ra sentence finally. These variations can be tabulated as follows:

Sentence Medially
Sentence Finally

| Number | Statement |  | Question | Statement |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sg | -ra/-vara | -na/-vana | Question |  |
| -yabara | -yabana | -ra/-vara <br> -yabara | -nu/-vanu <br> -ya:nu |  |
| sg/pl | -gera | -gena/-gene (?) | -gera | -genu |
| $s g / p l$ | - -ka | -na | $-?$ | $-?$ |

Note that the plural sentence final question form is -ya:nu and not -yabanu. This appears to be a result of loss of $b$ medially according to morphophonemic rule 3 already specified. Note also that there is conflicting evidence about the form -gena as a question form of -gera sentence medially - some informants having given -gene and others -gena. Examples of the use of question variants of specifiers will be given later when question variants of simple sentences are discussed in Section 2.ll. 3 below. Also there are certain other observations pertaining to specifiers that will be made at other points of this sketch where appropriate.

The focus marker $-k i$ is a second order clitic which seems to be closely associated with specifiers. Thus although optional (in the sense that it seems to be a stylistic feature rather than determined by grammatical rules) whenever it occurs it occurs after specifiers (if these are required by the structure). For example one can say either:

| daka | ata be | eraganu |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $I . s p e c$ | $\operatorname{man} a$ | I.saw.him |
|  | $I$ saw a man |  |

or

| dakaki | ata | be | eraganu |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| I.spec.f | man $a$ | I.saw.him |  |
|  | $I$ saw a man |  |  |

or again

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { yauki abatemenu } \\
\text { they.f } & \text { they.buried.him } \\
\text { They buried him }
\end{array}
$$

or
auka abateime yauki (vanu)
he.spec buried.ss they.f (aux.spec.p)
He was buried (lit. they buried him)

On the other hand $-k i$ is more restricted in the range of elements it can occur with. The following pairs of sentences show that $-k i$ cannot be used:
(1) on questioned subjects: Thus while ana ata be eraganu? Did you see a man? is good Koita, *anaki ata be eraganu is not;
(11) before the aspect marker mu already (which is mentioned in point 5 below and discussed further in Section 2.21.1). Thus while one can say veitera, daka mu ata be eraraveitera No, I didn't see a man, one cannot say *veitera, dakaki mu ata be eraganu;
(1i1) in imperative sentences. Thus aka ote! is acceptable for You go! but *akaki ote! is not;
(1v) before veitera not though it can be after beta not. For example one can say either daki eraganu, aka veitera (ki) or daki eraganu, beta aki for $I$ saw it, you didn't (lit. not you) but not in reverse.
2. Many sentences contain two Subjects, one a Noun Phrase or pronoun which comes at or near the beginning of the sentence and one, a pronoun which agrees with the first subject in number and person and which comes close to the verb. Consider, for example, the follow-
ing sentences:


```
    da-ka mu yaganu
    I-spec already sleep.sg.subj.p
        I've slept already
        yau-ka mu yagohanu
they-spec already sleep.pl.subj.p
    They've slept already
```

This variation in the form of the verb is discussed further in Section 2.31 below. Here it is important to note, however, that because of this feature of Koita structure and also because tense-aspect-person suffixes (see the same Section) do not generally change for different persons then third person singular and plural object pronouns can be omitted but Subjects cannot. Thus for example, daka mu eraganu can only mean $I$ saw it/him/her and daka mu eregevenu $I$ saw them. The only known exception to this is the verb mo (mima-) to give which takes two objects although one of these being a third person singular or plural pronoun is not expressed. The other (which corresponds to the Indirect Object in English) is expressed and the verb changes form to agree with this object in number rather than the unexpressed one. The following paradigm will illustrate this peculiarity:


Notice, however, that if the Object is a noun and has to be expressed then it is not expressed as the immediate Object of 'to give' but is used with a verb 'to get' which is either ma( $\phi-)$ for singular Objects or idiga- for plural Objects. Consider the following examples:

| da-ka-ki muni mi moimima |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-spec-f stone get.sg.obj.and give.sg.obj.pres |  |
|  | I am giving the stone to him |
| da-ka-ki muni idigi |  |
| I-spec-f stones get.pl.obj.and give.sg.obj.pres |  |
|  | $I$ am giving the stones to him |


4. Indirect Objects are marked by -ki :

$$
\begin{array}{lc}
\text { da-ki } & \text { ro! } \\
m e-t o & \text { teZZ.it.1mp }
\end{array}
$$

TeZZ me!

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Madi-ra-ki Kila-ki ronu } \\
& \text { Madi-spec-f KiZa-to telZ.it.p } \\
& \text { Madi told KiZa (something) }
\end{aligned}
$$

5. Any kind of verbal sentence may be expanded by the addition of adverbs (see Sections 2.416 and 2.417) or Adverb Phrases (see Section 2.24) of various kinds to indicate the time, place, and/or manner in which the action indicated by the verb is carried out. Of these, adverbs of time, manner and place usually come before the Verb though some adverbs of manner occur inside the Verb.
Examples:
ana $\frac{\text { urigoi gegegena a otitovanu? }}{\text { you.specQ gater garden.specQ you go.futQ }}$
Are you going to go to the garden later on?
daka mu anavege $6 \quad \frac{\text { daure }}{\text { badly }}$
I.spec asp think.ds
I didn't think very well
erag - isayagaha!
see.sg.obj. - carefully.imp
Look carefully!

As already noted any adverb or Adverb Phrase that comes before the subject or anaphoric subject pronoun is marked by a specifier, e.g.,
ana gege-gena a otinu?
you.specQ garden.to-specQ you go.p
Did you go to the garden?

Not included in the above, however, is a special set of adverbs (e.g. ma, mu, ena, bina etc.) herein called aspect markers, that come 1mmediately after the Subject and discussed further in Sections 2.21 and 2.402 below.

Examples:
dakaki roku inu
I.spec.f pawpaw eat.sg.obj.p
I ate the pawpaw
daka mu inu
I.spec already eat.sg.obj.p
I've eaten it already

| daka | $\frac{\text { ena }}{\text { I.spec }} \quad$ isa |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | $I^{\prime}$ eat.sgeat it |


| oti | tamutavare bina | yasa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| go.and eat.having.done.it | $\frac{\text { asp }}{}$ sleep.sg.subj.imp |  |
| Go and eat and (then?) sleep!! |  |  |

no bina ota
we asp go.subj.pres
Let's golLet's get going


### 2.11.12 Negative Variants of Verbal Sentences

There is no single negative construction in Koita. Instead there are several particular negative forms and constructions for different tense and modes. Of these veitera is the most general being used to negate all verbs except those in the future indicative with -isa, and those in the imperative mood. These latter two use beta and negu respectively ${ }^{7}$. Because veitera occurs suffixed to the verb and because verbs undergo changes in the negative, this is discussed further under Section 2.31 .1 below. Compare the following examples:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text { ata } & \text { be-ra } & \text { oro-go-nu } \\
\text { man } & \text { a-spec come-sr-p } \\
& \text { a man came } \\
\text { ata } & \text { be-ra } & \text { ororo-veitera } \\
\text { man } & \text { a-spec } & \text { come-neg } \\
& \text { a man did not come } \\
\text { ata } & \text { be-ra ororo-vara } \\
\text { man } & \text { a-spec come-futindef } \\
\text { a man is going to come }
\end{array}
$$

| ata be-ra beta ororo-vara |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | a-spec | neg come-futindef | a man is not going to come oro-go! come-sr.imp come!

a negu you neg.imp come-sr.neg.imp don't come!

### 2.11.2 Verbless Sentences

These sentences do not contain a verb phrase and have the general structure:
Subject + specifier (Negative: beta) Complement + specifier (Focus Marker)
where the Subject may be manifested by a noun, Noun Phrase, or pronoun and the Complement by various kinds of Noun Phrase, adjective, Adverb Phrase or interrogative. The negative is always beta. Sentences with this structure approximate to 'to be' sentences in English. They also correspond to certain 'to have' sentences in English if they contain a noun phrase to which the possessive relator -te is suffixed. Examples:

| e-ra |
| :---: |
| that-spec |
| That's (not) a man |
| ata betan-spec (f) |
| $\operatorname{man} \quad a-\operatorname{spec} \quad \frac{\text { yaga-uhu-gera(ki) }}{\text { house-in-spec (f) }}$ |
| A man is in the house |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ata dadaga-vara yaga-uhu-gera(ki) } \\
& \text { man many-spec house-in-spec(f) } \\
& \text { Many men are in the house } \\
& \text { e-ra muni-yabara } \\
& \text { that-spec stone-spec } \\
& \text { They're stones } \\
& \text { e-ra daye-ra } \\
& \text { that-spec mine-spec } \\
& \text { That's mine } \\
& \text { kapusi-vara hosake }{ }^{8} \text {-ra; daure-ra } \\
& \text { cup-spec broken-spec; bad-spec } \\
& \text { The cup's broken; it's no good } \\
& \text { di mame-ra nana-te mati amaki-te-ra } \\
& \text { my father-spec brother-posrel and sister-posrel-spec } \\
& \text { My father has a brother and a sister } \\
& \text { di mame mabaruhe-yabara dadaga-vara }{ }^{2} \\
& \text { my father wives-spec many-spec } \\
& \text { My father has many wives (lit. my father's wives are many) } \\
& \text { á-na amaki-te-nu? } \\
& \text { you-specQ sister-posrel-specQ } \\
& \text { Have you got a sister? } \\
& \text { au-na ore-genu? } \\
& \text { it-specQ where-specQ } \\
& \text { Where is it? }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that these sentences are tenseless and cover past, present and future time although adverbs may be added to indicate time, and the verb soi- to become may be used as auxiliary verb with them to indicate that something has achieved or will achieve a certain state. For example:

```
era daurera that's bad (or not good)
era dauregoinu that's become bad (or no good)
era dauregoisa that will become bad (or no good)
```

Not counted as verbless sentences are utterances like at veitera (lit. man none) to mean there's no one there/here which are frequently given as answers to questions. Instead these are counted as examples of a Noun Phrase being used as a sentence. Also not counted are sentences like dak dikara $I$ am sick which are only superficially verbless in the present tense. In other tenses dika behaves like other verbs.

### 2.11.3 Question Variants of Simple Sentences

There are two types: Yes-No Questions and Information Questions.

### 2.11.31 Yes-No Questions

These are formed:
(i) by phonological means, but principally by changing the form of the specifier to the corresponding question variant form, egg., Q:

$$
\begin{array}{ccl}
\text { a-na } & \text { era-gena } & \text { ota? } \\
\text { you-spec } & \text { Ela.to.spec } & \text { go.pres }
\end{array}
$$

Are you going to Eld beach?
 Yes I am

Q: anna mage-nu?= you-specQ good-specQ Are you okay?

A: io, da-ka mage-ra-ki
yes, I-spec good-spec-f
Yes, I'm fine
Q: a-na oro-gi-mena da era-gima?
you-specQ come-sr-and.ss.specQ me see-or.pres
Did you see me as you were coming?
veitera(ki)
A :
No, I didn't!

```
Q: a-na sigareti gahara-gena a vima?
    you-specQ cigarette want-specQ you auxsr.pres
                Do you want a cigarette?
A: io, da-ka sigareti gahara(he)-ge da-ki vima
    yes, I-spec cigarette want(at)-spec I -f auxsr.pres
                                Yes, I do
```

Q: a-na tauni-va-gena otima?
you-specQ town-to-specQ go.pres
Are you going to town?
A: io, da-ka tauni-va-ge da-ki otima
yes, $I$-spec town-to-spec $I$-f go.pres
Yes, $I$ am
Q: inueri-na unuhu-gasina-gena mi orogonu
sweet.pot.ato-specQ who-to -specQ get.and come.p
Whom did you bring the sweet potato for?
A: a-gasina-ge da-ki mi orogonu
you-to-spec I-f get.and come.p
I brought it for you
(ii) by adding the tag se or or se veitera or not to the end
of sentences in addition to making the changes outlined in (i)
above:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text { a-na otima } & \text { Mosbi-gena } & \text { (veitera) } \\
\text { you-specQ } & \text { Moresby.to-specQ go.pres or } & \text { not) } \\
\text { Are you going to Port Moresby or (not)? }
\end{array}
$$

### 2.11.32 Information Questions

These correspond to wh- questions in English. They are formed by substituting some interrogative word (see Section 2.418) for the various noun and adverbal elements in sentences and by changing specifiers to relevant question form ones.
Examples:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text { a-na } & \text { ore-gena } & \text { otima? } \\
\text { you-specQ } & \text { where-specQ } & \text { go.sr.pres }
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { a-na unuhu-nu? } \\
& \text { you-specQ who-specQ } \\
& \text { Who are you? } \\
& \text { unuhu-na dauregahanu? } \\
& \text { who-specQ bad.cause.p } \\
& \text { Who spoilt it? } \\
& \text { otado-na a kima? } \\
& \text { what-specQ you do.or.pres } \\
& \text { What are you doing? } \\
& \text { a-na otado gahara-he-gena a orogonu? } \\
& \text { you-specQ what want-at-specQ you come.sr.p } \\
& \text { Why did you come? } \\
& \text { When are you going to go? }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 2.12 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are sentences that contain one or more dependent clauses and one main or independent clause. Dependent clauses are marked by special mode suffixes on the verb which are different from those that mark the main clause (see Section 2.31.1 (vii)). Dependent clauses always precede the main clause. The following types have been observed:

### 2.12.1 Contrary-To-Fact Condition Clauses (If)

These clauses are marked by the mode suffix -nube (or -nebe). The following examples illustrate. In one of these note that the final verb ends in e for reasons not understood at this stage ${ }^{9}$ :


### 2.12.2 Connected Action Clauses (And)

These are marked by -i(me), -ege, or -nuge. The former indicates that the same person is doing the action in the following clause and the latter two indicate that a different person is. -Ege is interpreted as present, past or future depending on the final verb but - nuge is only used for past time. Clauses connected by these markers merely indicate that the actions referred to by the verbs in each are connected but no indication is given about the relationship in time between them. Thus they translate approximately as 'and' in English.
Examples:
noki mime noki kainakalo maiamanu
we.f get.and.ss we.f verandah.on put.or.p
We took it and put it on the table

| mare milainaka maiama! |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| get.seq | ket.and.ss verandah, on put.or. imp |
| Take it and put it on the verandah |  |



```
            ana rogi da eraganu?
            you.specQ come.and.ss me see.or.p
                    Did you come and see me?
                    daka mu orogi eraganu
                    I.spec asp come.and.ss see.or.p
                    I came and saw him
                    auki da ihiromege daki otinu
                    he.f me calz.or.and.ds I.f go.sr.p
                        He called me and I went
                    auki uguha pidivanuge auki morugohonu
                    he.f bird shoot.or.p.and.ds it.f fall.sr.p
            He shot the bird and it fell down
2.12.3 Sequential Action Clauses (When, After, If, And then)
These are marked by the sequential action markers -are(ki)(for
present and future events) and -anera or -aneige (for past ones). Of
the latter two -anera is used if the same subject follows and -aneige
if a different subject follows.
Examples:
```




### 2.12.4 Repeated Action Clauses (Until)

These are marked by the connected action suffix -i plus the appropriate form of the verbs ate (va-) to repeat or do something in $a$ previously described manner or oti- to go. These markers together express the idea of 'kept doing something until....'
Examples:



Note that the connected action marker - i does not occur after the negative veite. See the third example given above.

### 2.12.5 Time Clauses (When, At the time that)

These are ones marked either by the relativizers -are and -ane plus the locative clitics he or -i, or by the time words nega ( $<$ Motu) time or vani day, time plus the locative clitic -he. These markers translate into English as when, at the time that and even if. Examples:


### 2.12.6 Relative Clauses (Who, Which, That)

These are ones marked by -are (for present and future actions) and -ane for past ones. These markers translate into English as who, which, that.
Examples:


### 2.13 Compound Sentences

In Koita simple sentences may be juxtaposed together or joined together by various free forms, or conjunctions, to form larger sentences, herein called compound sentences. The verbs of the component clauses retain their independent form. When juxtaposition is used as a joining device to link two (or more) ideas together the resulting sentence may cover a wide range of meanings and structures in English. Some of those so far observed include the following:

### 2.13.1 Sentences Joined by Juxtaposition

di ohera totokavaraki gamanu; beta ayera
my pig.pos.spec dog.spec.f kizl.or.p not yours.spec
The dog killedmy pig; but not yours


The remaining compound sentences in Koita may be classified according to the meaning of the conjunction employed into Alternative, Adversative and Reason sentences.

### 2.13.2 Alternative Sentences (Or)

These are ones involving the conjunction se or:
Examples:
ana negubutu tamuta vivivanu se food eat.futindef or you.specQ asp village.to
you.specQ now fou
otitovanu?
go.futQ
$\quad$ Are you going to eat right now or are you going to the village?


### 2.13.3 Adversative Sentences (But)

These are ones containing the conjunction eduberege or eduge but ${ }^{l l}$. Only those involving different subjects in following clauses have been observed:

Examples:
daka mu orogonu edu(bere)ge aka (ororo) veitera
I.spec asp come.sr.p but you.spec (come) neg
I came but you didn't
noka mu oho gamigavara edu(bere)ge auki ruruvanu we.spec asp pig kizl.futindef but it.f run.sr.p We were going to kill the pig but it ran away

Note that not all English 'but' sentences are interpreted in the same way in Koita. Consider for example:

> daki uguha pidivi gau semenu
I.f bird shoot.or.and(ss) missed

I shot at the bird but missed (lit. I shot at the bird and missed)
2.13.4 Reason Sentences (So, Consequently, Because of that)

These are ones involving eige, or enuge so, consequently, because of that ${ }^{12}$.

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { auki uvara eige daka otitovara } \\
\text { he.f stay.futindef so I.spec go.futindef } \\
\text { He's staying so I'm going to go } \\
\text { dika eige auka beta ivara } \\
\text { sick so he.spec not eat.futindef } \\
H e^{\prime} s \text { sick so he's not going to eat }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
    vanira gousa uhuragera enuge daka eraraveitera
    sun.spec cloud inside.par.spec.so I.spec see.neg
            The sun is inside the cloud so I can't see it/
        Because the sun is inside the cloud I can't see it
            au orogonu eige yauka mu otinu
            he come.sr.p so they.spec asp go.sr.p
                        He came so they went
                            au mameraki dika (vanu) eige auki ororoveitera
my father.pos.spec.f sick (auxsr.p) so he.f go.neg.
            He did not come because his father was sick
Note that this last sentence can be said alternatively as:
auka ororoveitera; au mameraki dika vanu
he.spec come.neg his father.pos.spec.f sick auxsr.p
                        He did not come because his father was sick
```


### 2.2 Phrases

```
Five types are described:
Verb Phrases
Noun Phrases
Nominals
Adverb Phrases
Intensifier Phrases
```


### 2.21 Verb Phrases

```
Verb phrases in Koita are either simple or complex. Most are simple.
```


### 2.21.1 Simple Verb Phrases: Aspect

```
These have the structure: aspect + verb
where,
(1) 'aspect' represents one of a number of forms like ma, mu, ena, bina etc. that come immediately after the subject. For example:
\begin{tabular}{cccc} 
tora sou oho gahigeigeveiteraki \\
dog.spec & \(\frac{\text { spp }}{}\) pig & kizl.them.neg.f
\end{tabular}
The dog hasn't killed the pigs yet
```

tora mu da matogonu
dog.spec asp me bite.or.p
The dog bit me
auka mu otinu
he.spec asp go.sr.p
He's gone already

These forms are discussed and illustrated further in Section 2.402 below;
(ii) 'verb' represents a complex morphological unit that may occur in one of two forms. These forms seem to be related to one another formally in a regular way although it is not yet clear whether they are merely stylistic variants of one another or are semantically distinct. Consider, for example, the following pairs of sentences:

```
daka otima I'm going
otime daki vima I'm going (?)
```

auki bina ata goinu He became a man
ata goime auki (vanu) He became a man (?)
auka abateime yauki (vanu) He's buried (?)
yauki abatemenu

They buried him
However, since these two sentence types are formally related and since one of them can be more easily derived from the other, then the former (which is also the more common textually) is referred to as the BASIC VERB FORM and the other as the ALTERNATIVE VERB FORM. Each of these forms of the verb are discussed and illustrated further in Sections 2.31 .1 and 2.31 .2 respectively, below.

### 2.21.2 Complex Verb Phrases: Arresting Imperative

Only one of these has so far been observed. This is the structure manifested by arresting imperatives of the type ena kisa garema! stop doing that! in Koita. These imperatives consist of a simple verb phrase (ena kisa)which indicates the action to be arrested, and the verb garemal3 to arrest, stop, leave off, quit ${ }^{14}$. The simple verb phrase is given in the normal remote future tense form of the imperative mode (see Section 2.407) and the verb in the immediate tense of the same mode.
Other examples:

```
    ena kisa garahiyahe!
    asp do.futimp quit.sr.imp(pl)
    You (pl) stop doing that!
    ena ihisa garema!
    asp Zisten.futimp quit.sr.imp(sg)
        Stop Zistening!
ena gahigeisa garema!
asp hit.them.futimp quit.sr.imp(sg)
    Stop hitting them!
```


### 2.22 Noun Phrases

Noun Phrases occur as Subjects, Objects and Indirect Objects as well as head elements in some Adverb Phrases or as Adverb Phrases (but especially Adverb Phrases of Time) themselves - see Section 2.24 below. There are three types: Common Noun Phrase, Partitive Noun Phrase, and Possessive Noun Phrase.

### 2.22.1 Common Noun Phrases

These have the following structure:
(adjective of nationality) (noun used as an adjective) noun/Nominal/NP (adjective of quality) (numeral) (demonstrative) (limiter)

The following examples illustrate.

| Koiari | $\frac{\text { ata }}{\mathrm{n}}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| Kodjn | man |

Koiari man

| Koiari ata | iahu inuhati | vire |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| adjn | adjq | num | dem |
| Koiari man old | all | that |  |

All those old Koiari men

| oho | $\frac{\text { demaka }}{n}$ | 0 <br> $n$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pig | food | dhis |

This pig-food


Note that the number of the phrase is indicated (when syntically appropriate) by specifiers on the final element of the phrase (see Section 2.ll.ll(1) above) and/or in a few cases by the marker -uhe on the noun (see Section 2.32 below).

Examples:

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { ogo } & \text { totoka-vara } \\
\text { vizlage } & \text { dog-spec(s) } \\
\text { ogo } & \text { vizlage dog } \\
\text { vizlage } & \text { dog-spec(pl) } \\
& \text { vilzage dogs } \\
\text { ni mamuhe(-yabara) } & \text { our fathers } \\
& \text { ni mame (-ra) } \\
& \text { our father }
\end{array}
$$

Note also that the difference between some Common Noun Phrases and Possessive Noun Phrases may be minimal. Compare for example:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { e-ra oho demaka-vara } \\
\text { that-spec pig food-spec } \\
\text { that's pig-food } \\
\text { e-ra oho demakave-ra } \\
\text { that-spec pig food.pos-spec } \\
\text { that's the pig's food }
\end{gathered}
$$

Nominals are discussed and illustrated in Section 2.23 below.

### 2.22.2 Partitive Noun Phrases

These phrases express a part-whole relation and have the
following structure:
head + noun + partitive suffix
where 'noun' represents the part specified of the whole (represented by 'head') which may be manifested by another noun, Common Noun Phrase, Possessive Noun Phrase or Nominal. The partitive suffix is usually -ka but varies according to the noun.
Examples:

```
totoka vamika
omoto hanaka
di omote hanaka
idi adaka
idi umuka
idi madika
ada kakina
pup (lit. dog its young)
hair of head
the hair of my head
branch of a tree
tree root
fruit of tree
finger
```

```
ata ihiva
yaga uhura
```

```
man's name
the inside of a house
```


### 2.22.3 Possessive Noun Phrases

These differ from Partitive Noun Phrases in that they involve a possessor and a thing possessed. In Koita the noun, pronoun, or Noun Phrase indicating the possessor comes before the noun indicating the thing possessed, and the latter noun is marked by a possessive suffix. This suffix always ends in $e$ and is commonly ve (or -uhe for certain nouns that can be pluralized - see Section 2.32) but there are at least nine other such suffixes which are unpredictable though many seem to be related to the partitive suffixes just mentioned. For example, the word for arm ada appears as adaka in the partitive phrase and as adake in the possessive phrase di adake my arm. The ten suffixes so far observed are given in Section 2.419 below. Possessive pronouns are also given in the Section on Personal Pronouns (Section 2.409) below.
Examples:
ora mi mamera
this.spec my father.pos.spec
This is my father
yauka mi mamuheyabara
they.spec my father.pos(pl).spec (pl)
They're my fathers
auka ata vire mamera
he.spec man that father.pos.spec
He's that man's father
era au tivera
that.spec his tea.pos.spec
That's his tea
ni gare
our language.pos
our language
ai mabarena
your wife.pos.specQ where
Where's your wife?
ai mabare neinera mu orogima
your wife.pos mother.pos.spec asp is.coming
Your wife's mother is coming

I'm Zooking at my father's head
Actually the Possessive Phrase is a little more complex than these examples illustrate in that when an adjective follows the possessed noun the possessive suffix is transferred to the adjective and the noun resumes its normal shape if it has been altered by morphophoneaic rules. Consider, for example:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { era di mamera }>\text { era di mama magevera } \\
\text { that.spec my father.pos.spec that.spec my father good.pos.spec } \\
\text { That's my good father }
\end{gathered}
$$

Another example:
era di demaka hedokatevera
that.spec my food hot.pos.spec
That's my hot food
Unfortunately it is not clear from the data so far collected whether the possessive suffix that occurs on the adjective is determined by the noun or whether there is just one standard one, notably -ve.

### 2.23 Nominals

Nominals are structural units that function as nouns but are structurally different from Noun Phrases. They have the following structure:

Descriptive + noun
where (1) 'Descriptive' is used to represent a reduced verbal sentence consisting of either an object and a partially reduplicated verb root ${ }^{15}$ (if the meaning to be expressed requires a transitive sentence), or a partially reduplicated verb root (if the meaning to be expressed requires an intransitive sentence) or a borrowed established verb structure; and (1i) 'noun' represents a restricted set of nouns selected to express the meaning required. The most common of these is koita person which corresponds to the nominalizing suffix -er or -or in English. The following examples illustrate:

```
haroro koita preacher (< haroro (Motu)
    Des \(n\) to preach + koita person)
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { eu kiki koita canoe maker } & (<\mathrm{eu} \text { canoe }+\mathrm{ki}- \\ \text { Des } & \text { to make }+ \text { koita person) }\end{array}\)
vaia rohiro rigi yam harvest feast (< vaia yam, roho- to
        Des \(n\) dig up, harvest + rigi
                            feast)
me-mimi koita a worker (< me work + ma- to get
    Des \(n \quad+\) koita person)
```


### 2.24 Adverb Phrases

Adverb Phrases are used to indicate the time, place, or manner in which an action takes place. As already indicated (see Section 2.22 above) some Adverb Phrases (but especially Adverb Phrases of Time) have the same structure as Noun Phrases (e.g., va abu two times) but function as Adverb Phrases of Time for semantic reasons. Other Adverb Phrases usually contain a Noun Phrase as head but are marked by one of a number of locative, manner or instrumental clitics meaning at, by, to, for, with etc. - see Sections 2.422-4. Since most of these suffixes or clitics have more than one meaning there is no formal way of distinguishing between different kinds of Adverbal Phrases. Thus for example, ai vase-he can mean on foot (lit. by your feet) or at your foot. The semantic structure of the rest of the sentence is usually sufficient, however, to disambiguate these and differentiate between phrases of different types. For present purposes it is convenient to distinguish between Adverb Phrases of Time, Location, Manner and Instrumentation. The following examples illustrate these and, where necessary, discuss them further. Note that all Adverb Phrases 'take' the specifiers -ge(ra) and -gena (the question equivalent).

### 2.24.1 Locative Phrases

Note in these that Koita uses Partitive Noun Phrases and Possessive Noun Phrases as heads of phrases to indicate locations such as In front of, under, inside, outside, near, beside.

```
yaga vagotoni-he in front of the house
yaga derika-he under the house
yaga uhura (-he) inside the house
```

```
yaga itahara-he
idi umuka-va
idi abu pada-he
gabu be-i
di dehiye-he
yaro-ge
tauni-va
a-gasina
gege-he
yaga-da
ura-da
uguha-gahara
guma-ga
o-i
o-na
vire-i
```

outside the house

```
outside the house
near the tree
```

near the tree

```
```

between two trees (< Motu pada)

```
between two trees (< Motu pada)
    distance between two objects
    distance between two objects
to another place(< Motu gabu
to another place(< Motu gabu
                                    place)
                                    place)
behind me (lit. at my back)
behind me (lit. at my back)
to the river
to the river
to town
to town
to you
to you
at the garden
at the garden
on the house
on the house
to the bush
to the bush
for birds
for birds
along the road
along the road
here
here
here (lit. on this)
here (lit. on this)
there
there
Note also that if the \(N P\) is manifested by a proper name no locative suffix occurs for directions towards, e.g.,
yavarere-ge daki otima
Yawarere.to-spec I.f am.going
I'm going to Yawarere
Sometimes it is also omitted from very common expressions e.g.,
di mamuhe inuhatigera yaga (uhura) (-he) -gera
\(m y\) fathers all.spec house(inside.its)(-at) spec All of my fathers are in the house
ana gege -gena otitovanu?
you.specQ garden.to-specQ go.futindefQ
Are you going to go to the garden?
```


### 2.24.2 Time Phrases

## negu vagutu

now night tonight
vani be-he
day/time some-at
vahigu bata vire-i
tomorrow moon that-at next month


### 2.24.3 Manner Phrases

| demaka daina-he <br> food for-at <br> a-gore <br> you-with <br> no-ruta <br> us-with <br> da-ni <br> me-for <br> motuka-va <br> car- by <br> ai vase <br> your foot.pos-by <br> o -naki | for food (< Mocause) <br> for, |
| :--- | :--- |
| with you |  |
| this-Zike | with us |

Special Adverb Phrases of Manner which do not fit the above structure are:

| kobuga kobuga |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| one one | one each |
| abuti abutil |  |
| two two | two each |

### 2.24.4 Instrument Phrases

```
uma-ga
muni-ma
with an axe
    with a stone
```

Note that with (instrument) is most generally rendered differently
from English. Thus, although one can say muni-ma gama for hit it with
a stone! the more common way of expressing this is to use the verb
ma- to get and no instrument suffix at all. Thus, one would say:
idi mi (totoka) gama!
stick get.and.ss (dog) hit.it
hit (the dog) with a stick
(lit. get a stick and hit (the dog))
2.25 Intensifier Phrases

These have the structure:
Adj/Adv + Intensifier
where the intensifier (in the examples so far observed) seems to be manifested by daure (lit. bad) or auvagu (lit. itself): Examples:

| berebe daure | very firm, very rigid |
| :--- | :--- |
| rabura daure | very soft, easy, simple |
| ege daure | very long |
| bauge auvaguve 17 | very big |

### 2.3 Words

### 2.31 Verbs

As already indicated (Section 2.2l.l(11)) verbs in Koita occur in one of two forms - a BASIC form and an ALTERNATIVE form.

### 2.31.1 The Basic Verb Form

Basic Verb forms in Koita are complex constructions. They typically contain much information that is also contained in other elements in the sentence. Thus they contain referents to Subject (herein symbolized sr), and to Object (or's), have modal elements (Mode) and may optionally include adverbal elements (adv) all to the right of a verb root (vroot) or verb stem (vstem). They also include generally a negative marker. Different sets of suffixes also indicate whether the verb is independent or dependent. Dependent verbs usually occur sentence medially as elements in complex and compound sentences while independent verbs usually occur sentence finally in all sentence types. Each is characterized by different sets of suffixes which indicate such categories as person, number, tense, aspect, relation of one action to another. Because dependent verbs usually occur sentence medially they are generally referred to in descriptions of other similar languages as "medial" verbs and independent verbs as "final" verbs. The following formula is sufficient to describe both types:

```
vstem/vroot + sr/or (advm) (neg)/mode
```

where:
(1) 'vstem' represents a small class of forms, or verb stems, that are semantically complex though formally generally quite transparent units. Those observed so far consist of two elements - a verb root and preceding that an element which can often be identified as a noun or some other lower-level constituent occurring elsewhere in the language ${ }^{18}$. This element, herein called a verb supplement, supplements the meaning of the verb root it is combined with. Consider, for example, the following:

```
eagu- to wash (something) (< ea water)19
eamaga- to draw water (< ea water)
enototo- to cough (< eno throat + to- to call out)
abateme- to bury (< aba hole)
morugoho- to fall (from height) (< moru to fall<Motu)
edogoho
```

```
to vomit (< edo ?)
```

```
to vomit (< edo ?)
```

(11) 'vroot' represents different types and classes of verb roots that occur. Since all verb roots must occur with either a subject or an object referent (see next subsection) these define intransitive and transitive verb roots respectively. Further subdivisions of these are defined by the classes of subject and object referents that can occur with each and how they behave when negated, details of which are given in the relevant subsections below. Here, however, it should be pointed out that because these features are unpredictable and potentially define a large number of classes, the most practical way of indicating a verb root's class (where known) is by giving this information with the root whenever it is listed. In this description this practice has been followed in the listing of verb roots in the vocabulary given in Section 4.0. Thus, for example, the verb 'to break' is listed as boko (va-, geve-, boveite-, geigeveite-) where boko is the verb root, va- and geve- the positive singular and plural object referents respectively, and boveite-, and geigeveite- corresponding negative ones.
(111) 'sr' represents subject-referent, or that element in the verb that changes form to agree with the number of the subject of the sentence. Consider, for example, the following:

| daka mu ramanu | $I$ stood |
| :--- | :--- |
| yauka mu rahanu | They stood |

There are at least ten classes of subject referents. Those so far observed are listed and exemplified in Section 2.404 below.
(iv) 'or' represents object referent, or that element in the verb that changes form according to the number of the Object. Note, however, that like subject referents just discussed these changes distinguish only between singular and plural number. Consider, for example, the following:

| daka mu eraganu | $I$ saw it |
| :--- | :--- |
| daka mu eragevenu | $I$ saw them |

Thus these markers serve to distinguish between singular and plural nouns not otherwise distinguished by specifiers or and/or noun morophology. There are at least eight classes of object referents differentiated generally by their singular forms. Those so far observed are listed and illustrated in Section 2.405 below.
(v) 'advm' represents a small class of adverbs of manner that generally occur between the subject/object referent and the negative or mode suffixes although they may optionally also be used as free forms outside of the verb in other parts of the sentence ${ }^{20}$. Those so far encountered are:
babagaha
berebegaha
isayagaha
riagaha
guhu

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { slowly } \\
& \text { firmly } \\
& \text { carefully } \\
& \text { properly } \\
& \text { quickly }
\end{aligned}
$$

Examples:

$$
\left.\begin{array}{c}
\text { eragisayagaha! } \\
\text { Zook.carefully. Imp } \\
\text { Look carefully! }
\end{array}\right\} \begin{aligned}
& \text { yaibebe yarageige-guhu-yahe! } \\
& \text { you(pl)recip you(pl) Zook.or-quickly-imp.pl } \\
& \text { Look at each other quickly! }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that there appear to be other adverbs of manner, e.g., mudago $a$ Zot which require a subject pronoun plus focus marker -ki and an auxiliary subject referent (va-, geve-) to which the remaining elements of the verb are attached. The following example is the only one of
this kind so far observed:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text { tati-mudago-re } \begin{array}{c}
\text { au-ki } \\
\text { laugh-a.lot-spec }
\end{array} \text { he-f } & \text { auxsr-ma } \\
\text { he laughs a lot }
\end{array}
$$

(vi) 'neg' represents the negative element veitera with or without the focus marker ki attached. As already noted in Section 2.11 .12 above this is used to negate all modes of the verb except the future indicative in the declarative mode and those in the imperative mode. When veitera is added to a verb, however, no mood suffixes occur after it and certain changes are required in the elements preceding veitera. This is the reason for linking 'neg' and 'mode' in the formula with a co-ocurrence restriction marker. Consider for example the following pair of sentences:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { auka mu otinu } & \text { he went } \\
\text { auka mu otitoveitera } & \text { he didn't go }
\end{array}
$$

These changes are similar for transitive and intransitive verb roots though there seem to be many irregularities. For this reason it is not possible to give a set of regular rules for the formation of the negative and it is necessary to give negative forms of the verb in any listing of verbs such as that contained in the vocabulary given in Section 4.0 of this sketch. The following rules, however, seem to be very common and may later turn out to be usable as they are, or in a modified form as a basis for predicting the negative forms of new verbs. These rules are:
Negative Formation Rule l: If the subject/object referent is singular it is generally "dropped" and the verb root or the first syllable of the verb root is reduplicated before veitera(ki) is added ${ }^{2 l}$. Consider for example:

| bodiva- | to tie | > | bodibodiveitera(ki) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pidiva- | to shoot | > | pidipidiveitera(ki) |
| soneva- | to swallow | > | sonesoneveitera(ki) |
| eraga- | to see | > | eraraveitera(ki) |
| bokova- | to break | > | bokoboveitera(ki) |
| kilava- | to throw | $>$ | kilakiveitera(ki) |
| tiguhu- | to sew up | $>$ | tigutiguveitera(ki) |
| gadima- | to go up mountain | > | gadigaveitera(ki) |

Exceptions:

| gama- | to hit | $>$ | gamigaveitera(ki) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| abateme- to bury | $>$ | abatemiteveitera(ki) |  |
| oti- | to go | $>$ | otitoveitera(ki) |
| edogoho- to vomit | $>$ | edo gohigoveitera(ki) |  |

Negative Formation Rule 2: If the subject/object referent is plural add ira (with relevant morphophonemic changes - see Section l.3) to the subject referent, and change the object referent geve (or any object referent containing this) to geige before adding veitera. Consider, for example:

| garaganu | $>$ garagiraveitera(ki) | We did not speak |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nigoraganu | $>$ nigoragiraveitera(ki) We did not cry |  |
| rahanu | $>$ rahiraveitera(ki) | We did not stand |
| bokogevenu | $>$ bokogeigeveitera(ki) | We did not break them |
| eragevenu | $>$ erageigeveitera(ki) | We did not see them |
| gahigevenu | $>$ gahigeigeveitera(ki) | We did not hit them |

Exceptions:
yagohanu $>$ yagohiyaveitera(ki) We did not sleep
(vi1) 'mode' represents a set of suffixes that distinguish initially between dependent and independent verbs and within these between different relationships between component clauses of sentences as well as between several moods, tenses, and person-number agreements with the Subject of the sentence or of the component clauses. These forms are listed and discussed separately in Section 2.407 and 2.408 below. Note, however, as already indicated that these forms are often combined with aspect markers (Section 2.2l.1) to indicate subtle differences in time and/or manner in which the action indicated by the verb is carried out.

Examples:
orenagena yau moruraganu
how.specQ they fall.sr.p
How did they fall down?


```
            oti eragare a ma orosisa
                go.and.ss see.or.seq you asp come.sr.futdef
                        Go and see and come back!
                            no bina ota
                            we asp go.sr.pres
                            Let's go!
\begin{tabular}{cccl} 
au & orogege & daka & otitovara \\
he come.sr.con (ds) & \(I . s p e c\) & go.futindef
\end{tabular}
When he comes I'Zl go
```


### 2.31.2 The Alternative Verb Form

```
Verbs in this form have the structure:
Head + subject pronoun + focus marker ( \(-k i\) ) + auxiliary subject referent (va) + mode suffixes
where 'Head' consists of either:
(i) a verbal noun + specifier:
Examples:
```



```
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { daka horuhoruve-goi=me daki vima } \\
& \text { I'm going mad } \\
& \text { go.sr.con-spec(ss) oti-me } \frac{\text { daki }}{I \cdot f} \quad \frac{\text { vima }}{\text { auxsr.pres }} \\
& \text { I'm going }
\end{aligned}
\]
```

```
auka hogeragi-me
he.spec \begin{tabular}{c} 
die.sr.con-spec(ss)
\end{tabular}\(\frac{\text { auki }}{\text { he.f }} \frac{\text { vanu }}{\text { he died }}\)
or (111) definite future verb form in -isa + specifier -ge:
Examples:
```



Note that the alternative verb form is only used for independent (or final) verbs and the range of suffixes seems to be limited to the present (-ima) and past (-nu) of the indicative mood. Often too, the verb may be shortened so that no supplementary referent (va) + mode suffixes occur, e.g.,

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { daka } \frac{\text { hogoime }}{\text { I.spec angry.sr.con.spec(ss) }} \begin{array}{c}
\text { I.f aki } \\
\text { noka } \\
\text { we.spec angry.sr.con.spec (ss) we.f } \\
\text { We're angry }
\end{array}
\end{gathered}
$$

This reduced kind of structure is also used frequently in questions, e.g.,

ana $\frac{\text { raimena }}{\text { you.specQ }}$| stand.sr.con.spec (ss) Q |
| :---: |
| Are you standing up? |

and in fact some interrogatives (Section 2.418) are actually forms of this kind; e.g.,
orenakimena < orena Zike.what + kimena do. and (+ auki vima he is doing) $=$ How (1.e. Zike what is he doing it?)

## 2. 32 Nouns

There is very little noun morphology in Koita. For all but kinship nouns there is no difference in form between singular and plural nouns. Thus oho in isolation can mean either pig or pigs. The difference is usually signalled syntactically by such devices as
specifiers (see Section 2.401) and subject/object referents in verbs (see Section 2.404 and 2.405). Kinship nouns, however, do have a plural form indicated by -uhe.
Examples:
English Singular Plural

| my father | di mame | di mamuhe |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $m y$ mother | di neine | di neinuhe |
| $m y$ brother | di nane | di nanuhe |
| $m y$ wife | di mabare | di mabaruhe |
| $m y$ husband | di mobore | di moboruhe |

Normally this form is predictable but (di) moe (my) son and (di) mae (my) daughter have the following forms respectively: (di) moeuhe and (di) maeuhe.

Kinship nouns may also occur in texts with the marker -ka attached. This marker seems to indicate that the person previously referred to by the speaker is being reintroduced. For example, a story may begin by referring to someone's father (A's) mame. Later on if this person is referred to again he will be referred to as mamaka (lit. the father we are/were talking about) this time and not as (A's) mame. It is not known if this marker can also be attached to the plural form of kinship nouns.

### 2.4 Morpheme Categories

### 2.401 Specifiers

These are clitics that are phrase dependent and are basically used to indicate that the Subject follows the units to which they are attached. There are question and non-question variants. A list of those observed with Noun Phrases is given in Section 2.ll.ll (l(iv)), but others occur with Adverb Phrases (Section 2.24), and some dependent verb mood suffixes (Section 2.408), and pronouns (Section 2.409.2).

### 2.402 Aspect Markers

The category 'aspect' represents a closed class of forms which indicate how the action expressed by the verb is, was, or will be performed. Those so far observed, together with the mood suffixes with
which they have also been observed to occur, are:

| Form | Approximate Meaning | Distribution |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Present | Past | Future |  | Imper |  | Subj |
|  |  |  |  | -isa | -vara | Pr | Fut |  |
| gure | keep (doing something) | $\checkmark$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| sou, sovire(?) | yet, still | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ |  |  |  |  | $\checkmark$ |
| ma | must, should |  |  | $\checkmark$ |  |  |  |  |
| mu | already, just | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| mu ina(gu) | might, uncertainty |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ena |  |  |  | $\checkmark$ |  |  |  |  |
| bina | ? |  | $\checkmark$ |  |  | $\checkmark$ |  |  |

The following are relevant observations concerning these forms:

1. gure seems to be used only with the present tense and is then used to indicate repetitious action.
Examples:
auki gure nivima He keeps on crying
ana gure nivege? Are you crying?
According to informants one cannot say:
*auki gure nivinu for He kept on crying
although the following are acceptable:
auki gure nivege
He kept on crying
auki gure ninaveitera, eduge au mu ena unu He wasn't crying, but he was just staying there
2. Most examples of sou suggest that it corresponds fairly well to 'yet' in English. Consider for example:
auka sou ororoveitera He hasn't come yet
daka sou kikiveitera I didn't do it yet
da sou anaisayahima da a
taragare sigova Let me think properly lest I tell a lie
tora sou oho gahigeigeveiteraki
auka sou guraguriagaveitera
di mabare neineraki sou
ororovara

The dog hasn't killed the pig yet He's not sitting down yet My wife's mother will still come

The following examples suggest that sou or sovire (which is here taken to be a variant of sou) with mu may also be used to indicate continuing action:

```
auka sou guraguravera
yauka mu sovire goilala garaha
```

Note, however, that in the first of these examples this is the only observed occurrence of the verb form guraguravera which is unusual in having a reduplicated verb root, no subject referent -ma, and a mode suffix -vera which has not been observed elsewhere.
3. ma and mu seem to be in complementary distribution and possibly related in form. Mu is by far the most common of all the aspect markers listed above. In addition it is the only one which has been observed to occur with any of the other forms listed above. These are bina and sovire. The following is a sample of the examples so far collected:

```
vanira mu gadimanu The sun has (already) risen
vanira gadimanu The sun rose
vani erega! -- io, daka mu Look at the sun! -- yes, I've
    eraganu
venira mu orogima
venira mu orogonu, no ota
daka mu ata be eraraveitera
totoka mati ohoyabara mu
    virenu
daka mu ima
daka mu inu
auka mu sirivanu
auka mu bina kosavanu
auka mu bina guramanu
yauka mu sovire Goilala
    garaha
a ma dubu otisa
```

```
no ma ni devatuhea yauni
    nogoragisa
ya ma rokoromagemageragisa
roku be idigi orogo; no ma isa
a ma ogaiveitegoisa
```

We must have a singsing for our visitors

```
You(pl) must play happily together Bring us some pawpaws, we must eat You must not fight?
```

The following sentences suggest that mu is not as transparent as the above examples suggest and that it does not cooccur with the negative marker beta (cf. ena below).

```
era mu vahivu ata orogare That's the man who will come
    eraki
    tomorrow
```

(ata) bera beta gege uhura No one must enter the garden!
orovara

Mu also combines with ina(gu) to express might or uncertainty in Koita and is always used with the future indefinite tense marked by -vara (see Section 2.407):

```
daka mu inagu meiu otito vara, I might go hunting this
    negu vahigeta
auka mu ina venikikivara Perhaps it will rain or It
    might rain
```

4. ena and bina like ma and mu already discussed seem to be in complementary distribution and are possibly related in form. However, unlike ma and mu too few examples containing these forms have been observed to obtain any sort of clear understanding of their meaning or use. The following examples illustrate:
daka ena isa
daka ena gamisa
auka ena negu orogisa
oti tamutavare bina yaga
no bina ota
auka mu bina guramanu
auka mu bina kosavanu

I'Zて eat it!
I'Zて hit it!
He will come today
Go and eat and then sleep!
Let's go!
He's begun to sit down (already)
He's finished it already

Note, however, (1) that ena should not be confused with the adverb of place ena there as in: auki ena unu he stayed there;
(11) that ena, like ma discussed above, cannot cooccur
with the negative marker beta

```
daka beta gamigavara
I'ZZ not hit it
*daka ena beta gamigavara
I'ZZ not hit it
```


### 2.403 Verb Roots

Verb roots are classified into various classes and subclasses by subject and object referents (see subsections 2.404 and 2.405 below) and on whether they partially or completely reduplicate in verb structures involving the negative marker veitera(ki), or the indefinite future tense marker -vara (see Section 2.407) for example.

### 2.404 Subject Referents

Subject referents are those elements in verbs that agree in number with the Subject of the sentence (see Section 2.31.1). There are at least ten classes of these. In listing these and exemplifying them, negative variants are also given so that relevant changes in the verb can be observed. All examples are given in the past tense also for comparative purposes.
Class 1 (= sr l): va-, raga- This is the most common class to which loan words are assigned.
Example:
gavanu (I) spoke $>$ gagaveitera I did not speak
garaganu (we) spoke > garasiraveitera We did not speak
Class 2 (= sr 2): ha-, raga-
Example:
gouhanu I fell (from standing) > gougouveitera I did not fall gouraganu We fell (from standing) > gouragira-veitera we did not call
Class 3 (= sr 3): $\quad$-, raga-
Example:
tonu I spoke, called out >totoveitera I did not speak, call out toraganu we spoke, called out > toragiraveitera we did not speak, call out
Class 4 (= sr 4): vi-, goraga-
Example:
nivinu $I$ cried $>$ ninaveitera $I$ did not cry
nigoraganu we cried $>$ nigoragiraveitera we did not cry
Class 5 (= sr 5): ga-, goha-
Example:
yaganu $I$ slept > yagiyaveitera $I$ did not sleep yagohanu we slept > yagohiyaveitera we did not sleep

Class 6 (= sr 6): ma-, ha-
Example:
ramanu $I$ stood > ramiraveitera $I$ did not stand
rahanu we stood > rahiraveitera we did not stand
Class 7 (= sr 7): go-, go-
Example:
orogonu $I$, we came $>$ ororoveitera $I$, we did not come
Class 8 (= sr 8): $\quad$ - ,
Example:
otinu $I$, we went > otitoveitera $I$, we did not go
Class 9 (= sr 9): goi-, gigaha-
Example:
vagoto goinu $I$ perspired $>$ vagoto nigoigoveitera $I$ did not perspire vagoto gigahanu ${ }^{22}$ we perspired $>$ vagoto nigahigaveitera we did not perspire

Note that vagoto goi- is a verb stem (see Section 2.31.1) and that all such stems based on the root goi- behave in the same way, e.g., mage goi- to become well, to improve

Class 10 ( $=$ sr 10): goho-, ragoho-
Example:
edo gohonu $I$ vomited $>$ edo gohigoveitera $I$ did not vomit
edo ragohanu we vomited > edo ragohiraveitera we did not vomit
Note again that edo goho- is a verb stem (see Section 2.31.1) Some loans seem to be relegated to this class, e.g., moru goho- to fall (from height) (from Motu moru to fall from height)

### 2.405 Object Referents

Object referents are those elements in verbs that agree in number with the Object of the sentence (see Section 2.31.1). There are at least eight classes of these. In listing these and exemplifying them negative variants are also given so that relevant changes in the verb can be observed. All examples are given in the past tense for comparative purposes.

Class 1 (= orl): va-, geve-
Examples:
bokovanu $I$ broke it > bokoboveitera I did not break it
bokogevenu $I$ broke them > bokogeigeveitera I did not break them
This is the most common class. Most loans seem to be incorporated into it.

Class $2(=$ or2): ga-, geve
Example:
eraganu $I$ saw it >eraraveitera $I$ did not see it
eragevenu $I$ saw them > erageigeveitera $I$ did not see them
Class 3 (= or3): go-, geve-
Example:
gonogonu $I$ cooked $i t>$ gonogoveitera I did not cook it
gonogevenu $I$ cooked them $>$ sonogeigeveitera $I$ did not cook them
Class 4 (= or4): $\varnothing$-, ogeve-
Example:
inu $I$ ate $i t>$ iveitera $I$ did not eat it
iogevenu $I$ ate them $>$ iogeigeveitera $I$ did not eat them
Class 5 (= or5): ma-, higeve-
Example:
gamanu $I$ hit it > gamigaveitera ${ }^{23}$ I did not hit it
gahigevenu $I$ hit them $>$ gahigeigeveitera $I$ did not hit them
Class 6 (= or6): me-, geve-
Example:
abatemenu $I$ buried it $>$ abatemiteveitera $I$ did not bury it
abategevenu $I$ buried them $>$ abategeigeveitera $I$ did not bury them
Class 7 (= or7): ima-, higeve-
Example:
moimanu $I$ gave him it $>$ moimoveitera $I$ did not give him it
mohigevenu $I$ gave them $i t>$ mohigeigeveitera $I$ did not give them it
Class 8 (= or 8 ): $\varnothing$-, igeve-
Example:
rohonu $I$ dug it > rohiroveitera $I$ did not dig it
rohigevenu $I$ dug them $>$ rohigeigeveitera $I$ did not dig them

### 2.406 <br> Negatives

There are two negatives in Koita: beta and veitera(ki). These two are used to negate all kinds of sentences except those in the imperative mood. There are also restrictions on their cooccurrence with different tenses, and veitera(ki) requires a special verb structure. For further discussion see Sections 2.11 .12 and 2.31.1 above.

### 2.407 Mode Subfixes of Independent Verbs

Chart $l$ contains a listing of forms used either alone or in combination with aspect markers or adverbs to express a range of tenses, aspects and moods. In this listing the (tense) labels present, past, future etc. are used to indicate the most general "meaning" of these forms.
2.407.1 Indicative Mood Suffixes: Present Tense: -ima and -a

As Chart 1 indicates, these distinguish between singular and plural Subjects only. The following paradigm based on the verb otito go illustrates:

```
daka otima I am going
ana otima? Are you going?
auka otima He/she/it is going
noka ota We are going
yana ota? Are you (pl) going?
yauka ota They are going
```

When used without aspect markers or adverbs these forms indicate actions that are going on in present time or are about to occur. Thus daka otima can "mean" I am going or I am about to go ${ }^{24}$, or will go very shortly. Other examples:

```
veniraki orogima The rain is coming
yaubebe ga daure-raga
ana kavagena a otima?
```

They're swearing at each other?

```
They're swearing at each other?
Are you going by car?
Are you going by car?
Will you go by car?
```

```
Will you go by car?
```

```

The continuous aspect of the action in the present may be emphasised in varying degrees by using the aspect marker mu already or mu plus one of the several forms for still given in Section 2.402 above: Examples:


CHART 1: MODE SUFFIXES OF KOITA INDEPENDENT VERBS
```

daka mu ima I am eating!
yauka mu sovire Goilala garaha They're still fighting in the
Goilala area.

```

On the other hand Repetitious aspects of the action are indicated by using the present tense suffix with the aspect marker. The same suffixes used with an Adverb Phrase of Time meaning 'all the time, sometimes',etc. indicates habitual aspect, e.g.,


Finally, as already indicated above if the present tense is negated by veitera the mood suffixes -ima and -a do not occur.

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
daka otima & \(>\) daka otitoveitera \(\quad I\) am not going \\
noka mu eraga & \(>\) noka mu eraraveitera We can't \((=\) do not \()\) see \\
\(i t\)
\end{tabular}

Past Tense: -nu
As Chart 1 indicates there is no person or number distinction in these suffixes. For Example:
daka otinu I went
noka otinu We went
They indicate however that the action denoted by the verb occurred or was occurring in some past time which may be recent or remote. Compare, for example:
```

auka subutage auki orogonu He came a long time ago
auka nuge auki orogonu He came yesterday
auka negubutuge auki orogonu He came just now

```

If the aspect marker mu already is added the completedness of the action is emphasised.
Examples:
auka mu otinu
auka mu negubutu guramanu
daka mu guburaganu

He's gone (already)
He has just sat down
\(I\) became angry or \(I\) was angry

The aspect marker bina may also be used with the past tense suffixes with or without mu, though not enough examples have been observed to discuss even its probable meaning (see Section 2.402 above). Examples:
auka mu bina guragunetovanu He's finished sitting down already
auka mu bina guramanu He's begun to sit down already
Note that the -nu forms should not be confused with the question form -nu of the specifier -ra sentence finally. Compare, for example:
ana magenu?
io, daka mageraki
subutagena auna magenu
io, auka urigoi mageraki

Are you all right?
Yes I'm all right
Was it all right?
Yes it was all right before

Finally also note that if the past tense is negated by veitera the mood suffixes -nu do not occur.
Examples:
daka mu inu > daka mu iveitera I did not eat it/I have not eaten it
noka eraganu > noka eraraveitera We did not see it
Future Tense: -isa and -vara
There are two sets of future tense suffixes in Koita: -isa and -vara. For present purposes these are labelled definite and indefinite respectively though they may also cover the idea of immediate and remote as well.

The definite future marker -isa seems to be used to cover events about to happen or ones intended to be carried out. All examples so far observed suggest, however, that this marker cannot be used in isolation but must be accompanied by the aspect marker ena discussed in Section 2.402 above.

Examples:
```

daka ena gamisa
auka ena negu vagutu orogisa
I'Zて kiてZ/hit it
He'Zl come this morning
daka mu origoi otima;ihiye ata
be ena orogisa
Someone will come after I go

```

The only exception to this occurs in the lone example, auka guramisage auki he's about to sit down which suggests that one may emphasize an intention to do something by repeating the subject pronoun after the verb ending in -isa and adding to it the specifier -ge.

Note, however, that when ena is replaced by ma the idea of must or ought is conveyed. Consider, for example:
a ma dubu otisa you must go to the church
no ma deivatuhe yauni nogoragisa we must have a singsing for our visitors
ya ma rokoro magemageragisa
a ma ogaiveitegoisa you must play happily together you must not fight

Finally note that the negative form of the definite future is the same as that of the indefinite given below.

The indefinite future marker -vara seems to be used to cover events in the future about which there is no certainty. It can be used with the aspect marker mu or mu ina(gu) discussed in Section 2.402 above:
Examples:
auki uvara eige daka otitovara He's staying so \(I\) can go
auka a gagahigavara auki orogima He's coming to talk to you
au orogare auka guraguravara
When he comes he'ZI sit down
daka hogeragiravara da negu
tamutaveitegiare I'Zl die if I don't eat
daka mu negu guburagiravara
I'ZL be very hungry
Note that -vara acts like a specifier in that it can be questioned (in which case it has the form -vanu) and may appear with the focus marker -ki:

Examples:
ana ihiye gege otitovanu? Are you going to go to the garden? ana negu sina begibevanu? Are you going to plant yams? auna ihiye magegoigovanu? Will it be all right later? di toera mu ihiye a matomatovaraki

My dog will bite you
The indefinite future is negated by beta without change to the suffix -vara. As already indicated above the same form is also used for the definite future. Note, however, that the aspect markers ena and mu are excluded by beta.

\section*{Examples:}


\subsection*{2.407.2 Imperative Mood Forms}

There are two sets of suffixes herein referred to as the immediate and remote forms. The immediate suffixes are used for ordering or commanding that an action be carried out immediately, the remote ones for some later time. Note, however, that the remote imperative uses the same suffixes as the definite future tense of the indicative mode.
Examples:
```

oti yaga! Go and sleep!
a ma regugisa!
You must Zook after it (in the future)!

```

In the immediate imperative there are a number of exceptions so far observed which should be pointed out. These are:
(1) the plural object referent -geve becomes -gei before -yahe, e.g.,
erageve You (sg) see them!
erageiyahe You (pl) see them!
(ii) the verbs \(i\) - to eat and oti- to go have unpredictable forms bai and ote for you (sg) eat! and you (sg) go respectively:
(ii1)some verbs which should end in or \(u\) in the singular, end in a, e.g.,
```

gonogo > gonoga Cook it!
agohu > agoha Carry it (on your shoulder)!

```

The negative of the immediate imperative is formed by adding the free form negu after the subject and by changing \(\emptyset\) and -yahe to -ime.
Examples:
ki
kiyahe
a negu kime
ya negu kime
kiogeve
kiogeiyahe
a negu kiogeime
ya negu kiogeime
you (sg) make it
you (pl) make it
don't you (sg)make it
don't you (pl)make it
you ( sg ) make them
you (pl) make them
don't you (sg) make them
don't you (pl) make them

Note again that the plural object referent -geve (and others containing
this) become gei before -ime.
No evidence of the negative remote imperative was collected.

\subsection*{2.407.3 Subjunctive Mood Forms}

The following paradigm illustrates the full set of these forms. Note that they are usually accompanied by the aspect marker ena discussed in Section 2.402 above.
da ena ragima
(a) ena raga
au ena rage no ena ragoha (ya) ena ragohiyahe yau ena ragohe

Let me burn
May you burn
Let it/him/her burn
Let us burn
May you (pl) burn
Let them burn

These forms are used as verb complements in larger sentences, and are apparently different from hortatives like no bina ota let's go (which uses the present indicative tense with bina) though insufficient evidence was collected to verify this.

Example:
oti boritigaha au vaina oroge Go and tell him to come quickly
isu gabuare garehiyahe au ena rage Light the grass and let it burn
No examples of the corresponding negative forms were recorded.

\section*{2. 408 Mode Suffixes of Dependent Verbs}

There is a wide variety of suffixes that are attached to Verbs in Koita complex sentences to express different time and other relationships between one clause and another. Those so far observed are set out in Chart \(2^{26}\). Further explanatory notes/observations follow:
(1) -nube/-nebe indicates contrary-to-fact condition or if in past time. Examples are given in Section 2.l2.1 above.
(11) -are and -ane are relativizers that relate a person or thing to an event. These translate as who, which, that in English. -are is used for present and future actions and -ane for past ones. See examples in Section 2.12 .6 above. These suffixes seem to behave irregularly morphophonemically but insufficient data are available to test this observation.
(111) -are(ki), -anera, and -aneige (< ane + eige) are sequential action markers. -are(ki) is used for present and future events, and -anera and -aneige for past ones if the same or different subject follows respectively. The final verb of the sentence must be in the same tense. These markers translate as when, if, after, because. See examples in Section 2.12 .3 above. Note that if the locative clitic -he is added then this locates an action at some time. Often this will be further indicated by placing vani (or the Motu loan nega) time plus the clitic -he after the dependent verb. See examples in Section 2.12 .5 above.
(iv) -i(me), -ege, and -nuge are conditioned cariants of connected action markers. When these are used they merely indicate that the actions described are/were/will be performed without placing any emphasis on the time relationship between them. Thus they translate roughly as and in English - not and then which indicates that one action is/was complete before the other begins/began. -i is used when the same actor is performing the various actions indicated by the verbs. When the subject is reintroduced after any one of these actions the specifier -me is added to this marker. -ege and -nuge are tense variants of connected action markers when different actors are involved. -ege is used for present and future actions and -nuge for past ones. If these forms are compared with -ime it can be seen that the -ge part of them is like a specifier indicating that a different subject follows. The -ime form has a question form -imena. For examples of these markers see Section 2.12.2.
(v) -esege has so far only been observed in two contexts which suggest that it anticipates frustration in succeeding events. It can be seen as composed of -es- (indicating frustration) and -ege the connected action marker for different subjects.
(vi) -i::: (me), -i atege/otege are variants of (iv) above but with the addition that for different subjects following the form ategelotege (which indicates that the previous action is being performed over and over again) is added. This gives the sense of until in English. See examples given in Section 2.12 .4 above.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Meaning/Use & Past & Present & Future & Past & Present & Future \\
\hline contrary-to-fact condition (if) & \begin{tabular}{l}
-nube, \\
-nebe
\end{tabular} & -27 & - & ? & - & - \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
relativizer \\
(who,which,that)
\end{tabular} & -ane & -are & -are & - & - & - \\
\hline sequential action (when,if,after, because, and then) & \begin{tabular}{l}
-anera/, \\
-aneige
\end{tabular} & - are & - are & ? & \(?\) & ? \\
\hline location in time (when,at the time that) & -? & \begin{tabular}{l}
-arehe, \\
-are + \\
vanihe/ \\
negahe
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
-arehe \\
-are + vanine/ \\
negahe
\end{tabular} & ? & \(?\) & \(?\) \\
\hline connected action (and) & - i (me) & - i (me) & - i (me) & -nuge & -ege & -ege \\
\hline frustrated action (but) & ? & ? & ? & -esege & ? & ? \\
\hline repeated action (until) & -i : : (me) & - i : : (me) & -i : : (me) & -i atege/ otege & -i atege/ otege & -i-ategelotege \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CHART 2: MODE SUFFIXES OF KOITA DEPENDENT VERBS

There are six personal pronouns in Koita whose forms in different syntactic positions are set out in Chart 3. These forms are all clearly related in a regular way and are discussed in more detail in the following subsections.
2.409.1 Subject and Object Pronouns

The following free forms can occur as Subjects, Objects, or Indirect Objects of transitive, intransitive or ditransitive verbs:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ls & da & \(I\) \\
2 s & a & you \\
3 s & au & he, she, it \\
lpl & no & we \\
2 pl & ya & you (pl) \\
3 pl & yau & they
\end{tabular}

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
daka sigoveitera & I'm not afraid \\
aka sigoveitera & You're not afraid \\
auka sigoveitera & He's/she's/it's not afraid \\
noka sigoveitera & We're not afraid \\
yauka sigoveitera & You (pl)'re not afraid \\
daka mu a eraganu & They're not afraid \\
aka mu da eraganu & I saw you \\
daka mu eraganu & You saw me \\
yauka mu no eragevenu & I saw him/her/it \\
daka mu ya eragevenu & They saw us \\
daka mu eragevenu & \(I\) saw you (pl) \\
muni mi da moima & \(I\) saw them \\
dakaki muni mi a moima & Give me the stone! \\
\end{tabular}

Note that: (1) there are no gender distinctions in Koita pronouns;
(11) dual forms are obtained by adding abu two to the
plural forms. Thus we get:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
no abu & we(2) \\
ya abu & you(2) \\
yau abu & they (2)
\end{tabular}
(111) no inclusive/exclusive distinction is made in lst person plural;
(iv) \(-k i\) is suffixed to these forms in Indirect Object position after the verb ro- to speak, e.g., daki ro! Speak to me!
(v) the 3rd person pronouns au and yau are generally omitted -- the object referent in the verb indicates whether the object was singular or plural, e.g., daka mu eraganu \(I\) saw \(i t / h i m / h e r\) and daka mu eragevenu \(I\) saw them.

\subsection*{2.409.2 Emphatic Pronouns}

The following pronouns emphasize that the action indicated by the verb is/was/will be etc. performed by the person indicated by the pronoun and no one else. These pronouns correspond to the English forms 'by myself, by yourself' etc. or 'I alone, you alone' etc.
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ls & davagu & I myself/aZone \\
2s & avagu & you yourself/azone \\
3 s & auvagu & he/she/it alone \\
lpl & novagu & we ourselves/aZone \\
2 pl & yavagu & you yourselves/aZone \\
3 pl & yauvagu & they themselves/aZone
\end{tabular}

The following examples illustrate their use. Note in these that the emphatic pronouns are usually used in association with the free subject pronouns already given and that if these follow the emphatic form the specifier -ge occurs on the emphatic form.
Examples:
```

auvagugeraki hosaraganu
ata beraki auvagu otinu
It broke by itself
A man went by himself/alone
daka davagu eagusage daki vima
I wash by myself
novagu eaga
We wash by ourselves
yauka yauvaguge yauki eaga
They wash alone

```

These forms are also sometimes used as reflexive forms instead of those given in the relevant section below.

\subsection*{2.409.3 Possessive Pronouns}

There are two forms - attributive and distributive (or predicative). Attributive forms are those used before a noun in Possessive Phrases. These are:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ls & di & my \\
2 s & ai & your \\
3 s & au & his/hers/its \\
lpl & ni & our \\
2 pl & yai & your (pl) \\
3 pl & yau & their
\end{tabular}

Examples:
era di mamera
era ai mamera
era \(\frac{a u}{n i}\) mamera
era \(\underline{\text { ni }}\) mera
era mamera
era yau mamera

> that's my father
> that's your father
> that's his father
> that's our father
> that's your (pl) father
> that's their father

Distributive (or predicative) possessive pronouns are those used as Complements in verbless sentences. These are:
ls daye mine
2s
3s
aye yours
auye his/hers/its
lpl noye ours
2pl yaye yours (pl)
\(3 p 1\)
yauye
theirs
Examples:
```

ora dayera
that's mine
ora ayera
ora auyera
ora noyera
ora yayera
ora yauyera
that's yours
that's his/hers/its
that's ours
that's yours (pl)
that's theirs
era beta ayera, era auyera that's not yours, it's hers

```

\subsection*{2.409.4 Reflexive Pronouns}

These have the following form and are apparently used with
normal verb structures:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ls & dibiota & myself \\
2s & aibiota & yourself \\
3s & aubiota & himself/herself/itself \\
lpl & nibiota & ourselves \\
2pl & yaibiota & yourselves \\
\(3 p l\) & yaubiota & themselves
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Person/Number & Subject/Object & Emphatic & \begin{tabular}{l}
Posse \\
Attributive
\end{tabular} & sive Distributive & Reflexive \\
\hline 1 s & da & davagu & di & daye & dibiota \\
\hline 2 s & a & avagu & ai & aye & aibiota \\
\hline 3 s & au & auvagu & au & auye & aubiota \\
\hline 1 pl & no & novagu & ni & noye & nibiota \\
\hline 2 pl & ya & yavagu & yai & yaye & yaibiota \\
\hline 3 pl & yau & yauvagu & yau & yauye & yaubiota \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CHART 3: KOITA PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Examples:
ogo koita aubiota au pidivanu the villager shot himself
As already indicated the emphatic pronoun forms (see Subsection 2.409.2 above), are sometimes used instead of these forms as reflexive pronouns. For example, the above example may also be sald:
ogo koita auvaguge auki pidivanu the villager shot himself

\subsection*{2.410 Nouns}

All nouns are divided into ten classes in Koita according to the suffixes they take when possessed \({ }^{28}\). Most differentiation occurs in body parts but the majority of other nouns belong to the -ve class which is also the class to which borrowings are assigned. Some nouns occur in more than one class because there is some allowable variation in the suffixes they may take \({ }^{29}\). For example, vaiga spear may occur as vaigade or vaigave when possessed; gote string as gotere or goteve; and yaga string bag as yage or yagave. The ten classes are lllustrated as follows:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & Normal Form & Possessed Form & Meaning \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 1: -te class} \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 2: -re class} \\
\hline & hate & hatere & chin \\
\hline & ga & gare & language \\
\hline & gote & gotere & string \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 3: -ke class} \\
\hline & vari & varike & forehead \\
\hline & ihiko & ihikoke & ear \\
\hline & eno & enoke & throat \\
\hline & \(t u\) & tuke & nape of neck \\
\hline & amu & amuke & breast, milk \\
\hline & vada & vadake & skin \\
\hline & tago & tagoke & blood \\
\hline & soru & soruke & heart \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & Normal Form & Possessed Form & Meaning \\
\hline \multirow[t]{4}{*}{Class} & e class & & \\
\hline & dega & degaye & buttocks \\
\hline & ni & niye & eye \\
\hline & dehi & dehiye & back \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 5: -de class} \\
\hline & uri & uride & nose \\
\hline & beha & behade & thigh \\
\hline & vaiga & vaigade & spear \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 6: -ge class} \\
\hline & ava & avage & mouth \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 7: -ne class} \\
\hline & mei & meine & tongue \\
\hline & bagu & bagune & shoulder \\
\hline & komuko & komukone & knee \\
\hline & doka & dokane & chest \\
\hline & \(v a g a t a\) & vagatane & stomach \\
\hline & demo & demone & nave 2 \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 8: -ve class} \\
\hline & tene & teneve & ancestor \\
\hline & kuhi & kuhive & sore \\
\hline & yago & yagove & dream \\
\hline & nimu & nimuve & mountain \\
\hline & muni & munive & stone \\
\hline & ura & urave & bush \\
\hline & vaiga & vaigave & spear \\
\hline & sote & goteve & string \\
\hline & kuku & kukuve & tobacco \\
\hline & sina & sinave & yam \\
\hline & imi & imive & sugarcane \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Class 9: Final-vowel-change-to-e class} \\
\hline & omohanaka & omohanake & hair of head \\
\hline & adakakina & adakakine & palm of hand \\
\hline & ada & ade & arm, hand \\
\hline & vasi & vase & foot, leg \\
\hline & vasi uhura & vasi uhure & sole of foot \\
\hline & ivika & ivike & fat ( \(n\) ) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


\subsection*{2.411 Adjectives}

There are two classes of adjectives in Koita - those that precede the noun they qualify and those that follow it. Only those words which denote the nationality or place of origin of a person or thing belong to the first group:

Koiari ogo Koiari village
nao ata
European man
Siapan motuka Japanese truck
All other adjectives follow the noun they qualify. These adjectives include those words that denote the colour, quality, size etc. of objects.

Examples:
ata bauge big mannimu kusinasmall mountainmagi iahu
ogo isageve
demaka ribike
haga kereka
idi egemuni isukateguma yeririveold woman
old woman
new village
cold food
red betelnut
Zong stick
heavy stone
straight road
Note that some of the members of this class are also members of classes of adverbs.
Adjectives can also be derived from verbs, e.g., hosake-broken < hosa (va-) to break (something) but nothing is known of the process involved or the use of the adjectives so formed at this stage.

\subsection*{4.412 Numerals}
Numerals are either definite or indefinite.

\subsection*{2.412.1 Definite Numerals}
Koita has an irregular counting system based on 'two' and 'five' as follows:
1. koubugabe/kobabe/be
2. \(a b u\)
3. abugaga
4. abuabu
5. ada kasiva
6. agorokiva
7. yatirigava
8. abuguveite
9. ikaguveite
10. utu be
15. utu ada kasiva
20. utu abu
Similarly there seems to be no well defined ordinal system. On evidence so far obtained, there seems to be only three reference points:
```

two extreme points 'first' and 'last', and a mid point 'later' which
is used for anything in between these extremes. Consider, for example:
urigoi first
ihie next, Zater
aramagatu
netunetuva
(lit. the end) Zast
2.412.2 Indefinite Numerals
Those so far observed are:

```
be
inuhati
dadaga
veite
Examples:
```

a, some
aで
many, plenty
none

```

\section*{ata veitera}
```

no man (also used as a statement in

```
no man (also used as a statement in
    answer to a question, there's no one
    answer to a question, there's no one
    here/there)
```

    here/there)
    ```

\section*{ata be}
```

a man, someone
muni inuhati
all the stones
uguha dadaga
many birds
Note that be may be used with either singular or plural nouns:

| daka gabu be-ige | daki otima |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| I.spec place a-to.spec | $I$. | $a m . g o i n g$ |  |
|  | $I^{\prime} m$ going somewhere | else |  |

magi bera yaga uhuragera
woman a.spec house inside.its.at.spec A woman is in the house
da yaga uhuragera daka ata bauge beyabara
$I$ house inside.its.at.spec $I$.spec man big some.spec(pl)
daki eragevenu
I.f saw.them
When $I$ saw in the house $I$ saw some big men

```

Definite and (some (?)) indefinite numerals may be modified by the limiter -gu only, e.g.,
```

abugu only two

```

\subsection*{2.413 Demonstratives}

Demonstratives may occur as free forms in Noun Phrases or as heads of locative words such as ohe, oi, ona here, virei there. There are many of these forms but their semantic dimensions are not understood. From the evidence so far available distinctions seem to be made for increasing distance and/or direction away from the speaker. The following have been observed:
-
e
vire
hogi
ike
hogi:: :vire
this (near me)
that (nearby, just over there)
that (at some distance)
that \({ }^{30}\)
that
that

\subsection*{2.414 Limiters}

Limiters are suffixes that occur on numerals, nouns or Noun Phrases to restrict or define the number of actors involved in an action more clearly. The following limiters have been observed. Note that of these all can occur with any number except -gore and -ruta. The former can only occur with singular nouns or Noun Phrases and the latter with plural ones. The following examples illustrate:
```

-vagu
-tage
-gore
-ruta
-unage
-gu
-ruga
self
also, too
with, together (with singular nouns)
with, together (with plural nouns)
only, just, nothing but
only
of them

```

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
dakaki peni o bokovanu \\
I.spec.f & davagu penly this broke.it \\
& \(I\) broke this pen myself
\end{tabular}
```

    no agore ota
    we you.with we.are.going
    We'zl go with you
    di toera di ohegorege auki gogaima
my dog.spec my pig.with.spec he.f is.fighting
My dog is fighting with my pig
au itaunage goinu
he bone.nothing became
He became nothing but bone
avaunage
mouth.nothing
Zies
abugu
two.onてy
only two
venigu oroge
rain.only let.it come
Let only the rain come
aburuga idigi orogo
two.together get.and come
Bring the two of them
totage noruta otitovara
dog.al80 we.with is.going.to.go
The dog is going to go with us

```

\subsection*{2.415 Intensifiers}

Only two have so far been observed. These are daure (lit. bad) and avagu (lit. itself). See examples given under Section 2.25 .

\subsection*{2.416 Adverbs of Manner}

There are two subgroups of these - those that occur as free forms before the verb and those that occur inside the verb. The following belong to the first subgroup:
```

daure badly
magevara well
vaina quickly
gaitana again
riagaha truly, properly

```

Examples:
```

vaina orogo Come quickly!
auki gaitana ti kadogi... he went and scooped up (prawns) again
and...
daka beta riagaha I can't do it (lit. I'Zl not do it
kikivara
properly)

```

The following belong to the second subgroup:
```

-guhu quickly
-isayagaha carefully, well, properly
-baebagaha carefully
-babagaha slowly
-berebegaha firmly

```

Of these -guhu requires a (partially (?)) reduplicated verb root and no subject or object referents.

Examples:
```

eragisayagaha!
kamuiberebegaha Hold it firmly
daki kikiguhunu I did it quickly
Look carefully

```
2.417 Adverbs of Time

The following free forms are used to indicate the time of an action:
```

subuta
long ago
urigoi
before
nu
yesterday
negu
today, now
negubutu
vahigu
just now
tomorrow, later
ihie
afterwards, later on
vaina
soon

```

\subsection*{2.418 Interrogatives}

This is a class of forms which replace Noun Phrases and other elements in information questions (see Section 2.11.32). The following are the most common forms. Note in these that many are multi-morphemic and some, like those for 'why' and 'how' are actually reduced sentences (see Section 2.31.2):
```

unuhu
unuhu + possessive case whose?
ore which?
ore/orehe/orei where?
otadolesegena what?
vaisu when?
orenagena/orenaki/
orenakimena/orenakiyege
} how?
esemena,
otado gaharahe(= what for) } why?
otado kisaromena(= to do what)
esebugena how many, how much

```

Examples:

```

                    auna ore-genu?
            he.specQ where-specQ
                Where is it?
                    nona ore-i otitovanu?
                we.specQ which-to going
            Where are we going to go?
            otadovano oroima?
            what.specQ coming
                What's that coming?
            esegena au gonu?
                what he said
                    What did he say?
            ana vaisu otitovanu?
    you.specQ when are.you.going
            When are you going to go?
            orenagena au hogeraganu?
            know he died
                        When did she die?
    ana orenaki otitovanu - motukavagenu se ai vasehegenu?
you.specQ how going - car.by.specQ or your leg.by.specQ
How are you going to go? - by car or on foot?
orenakimena a begenu?
how you plant.it
How will you plant it?
esemena onaki da kinu?
why this.like me did.it
Why did you do this to me?
otado gaharahegena a otisroma?
why you going
Why will you go?
moni esebugena yauni ureima?
money how.much they.for you.wanting
How much money do you want for them?
koita esebugena otitovanu?
people how.many are.going
How many people will go?

```

\subsection*{2.419 Possessive Subfixes}

There are ten possessive suffixes for singular nouns in Koita and one -uhe for plural kinship nouns. These suffixes define noun classes. The ten singular suffixes are:
-te
-re
-ke
\(-\emptyset\) e
-de
-ge
-ne
-ve
-me
-e
For examples of these see Section 2.410 above.

\subsection*{2.420 Partitive Subbix}

The suffix -ka on the second element of a noun + noun structure indicates that the item represented by that item is a part of that represented by the first noun. For example: in the structure idi madika tree fruit the \(-k a\) on madika indicates that fruit is part of tree. For further details see Section 2.22.2 above.

\subsection*{2.421 Anaphoric Reference Subbix}

The suffix -ka is also used on kinship nouns in texts to refer back to a person previously mentioned \({ }^{31}\). This suffix is discussed and illustrated in Section 2.32 above.

\subsection*{2.422 Locative Clitics}

The following suffixes have been observed for marking Adverb Phrases of Time and Location:
\begin{tabular}{ll}
-ge & to (only used for rivers) \\
-va & to (town) \\
-gasina & to (only with persons) \\
- \(\emptyset\) & to (proper names, frequently used nouns) \\
-he & at \\
-da, -na & on, to (bush) \\
-i & to (with be, and demonstratives)
\end{tabular}

For examples, see Sections 2.24 .1 and 2.24.2 above.

\subsection*{2.423 Manner Clitics}

The following suffixes have been observed marking Adverb Phrases of Manner:
\begin{tabular}{ll}
-gore & with (singular nouns) \\
-gahara & for \\
-ni & for \\
-ruta & with (plural nouns) (accompaniment)
\end{tabular}

For examples, see Section 2.24 .3 above.

\subsection*{2.424 Instrumental Clitics}

The following suffixes have been observed marking Adverb Phrases of Instrument:
\begin{tabular}{ll}
-ga & with (axe) \\
-ma & with (stone)
\end{tabular}

For examples see Section 2.24.4 above.

\subsection*{2.425 Conjunctions}

Conjunctions are free forms used to join clauses, phrases or words together. The following chart shows those that have been observed so far and their uses.
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|c|c|c|}
\hline Conjunction & Meaning & Joins Clauses? & Joins Phrases? & Joins Words? \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
enuge, 子 \\
eige
\end{tabular} & so, consequently & Yes & No & No \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
eduberege, \\
eduge
\end{tabular} & but & Yes & - & - \\
\hline se & or & Yes & Yes & Yes \\
\hline mati & and & No & Yes & Yes \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The following examples illustrate uses not previously illustrated:
onu se virenu
this.specQ or that.specQ
his or that?
daka ena mati o, o, idigisa
I.spec asp this,this,this, and this will.get

I'Zl take this one, this one, this one, and this one

\subsection*{3.0 A KOITA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY}

As indicated in Section l.l above, this listing contains approximately 1100 vocabulary and grammatical items abstracted from data collected in Kilakila village in l966. In setting out this listing the following conventions and symbols have been adopted in addition to those given in Section 1.22 above:
free forms precede bound forms
9 precedes 9
verbs are alphabetized by verb root and other information (subject and object referents in positive and negative verbs - see subsections 2.31.l(1i) and (vi)) is given in brackets where known.
cf. \(=\) compare
LwM \(=\) Loan word from Motu
LwE \(=\) Loan word from English
\(\mathrm{mkr}=\) marker
q.v. \(=\) which see
v. \(=\) see

A
a you (sg)
avagu you (emphatic)
aye yours
-a pres tense mkr l,2,3 pl (v. Section 2.407)
aba hole
abaga light (as substance): abagavare daki ereganu I saw the Zight
abate (me-, geve-, miteveite-, geigeveite-) to bury, put in a hole
ábigága three
ábu two
aburuga two together: yauka di mabaruhea aburugagera they are my two wives
abuti abuti two each: abuti abutige auki yau mohigevenu he gave them two each
abuabu (> ababbu) four
ábuguvéite eight (lit. two only not)
áda, ádaka arm, hand, branch, handle: di ade (> dáde) my arm, hand; idi adaka a/the branch of a/the tree; ae adaka handle of a drum
(di) áda hotoke the whole of (my) hand
(di) áda itáharave the back of (my) hand
(di) áda kákine (my) finger
(di) áda kóuke (my) fingernail
(di) áda kómukóne (my) elbow
(di) áda úhure the palm of (my) hand
(di) ada vahute (my) Zower arm
(di) ada ágo yágie (my) upper arm
adahe on top of
áda áia thumb
ádakásiva five
ádune thick
áe drum
áe adaka handle of drum
áe úhura the inside of a drum
áeva vátaka the skin on top of a drum (lit. goanna skin)
áeva goanna
áeva vátaka goanna skin
ageru bamboo, lengths of bamboo
for carrying water
ágo arm band
ago (hu-, hugeve-, agoveite-, geigeveite-) to carry on shoulder; 1rreg imp sg agoha! Carry it! and neg imp a negu agohume! Don't carry it!
ágorokíva six
ágo yágia upper arm: di áda ágo yágie my upper arm
agí ginger
agóta charcoal
ahake (ra) to be empty: era ahakera that's empty
ahádi (one variety of) bamboo
áhata body
áhata hómoka body hair
áhata máka body (lit. body contents): di áhata máke my body
ai l. your (sg)
2. for you, with you: daka ai hoveitera I'm not angry with you; daka ai memisa I' ZZ work for you
aibiota yourself (sg)
áia thumb (see áda áia)
aina Zaw, prohibition: era
ainavara, bera beta gege uhura ororovara That's a Zaw/ prohibition, no one must enter the garden
akahane wing: uguha akahane bird's wing
akaia (ma- ) to hiccough
akómuka huntsman spider
akómuka yáge goteva huntsman spider's web (lit. spider's house rope)
amakína (sg), amakinuhea (pl) sibling, opposite sex, older: di amakine my elder sister (male speaking); ana amakitenu? have you got an elder sister?
amu(ha-, ) to cook in a ground oven
amudo a ground oven

> amudo demaka food cooked in a ground oven
ámu milk, breast: di ámuke my milk/breast
amumava Gosh! Gee! Fancy that!
ana (va-, ) to think, remember anavaidau(ga-) to forget
anana (va-, ) to worry
ananava worry: di ananave my worry
-ane relativizer (v. Section 2.408 (11))
-anehe time clause mkr (when, at the time that) (v. Section 2.12.5)
-aneige sequential action mkr with ds following (when, after, if, and then) (v. Section 2.408(111))
-anera sequential action mkr with ss following (when, after, if, and then) (v. Section 2.408(111))
anigoi( \(\varnothing\)-, ) to turn around, look back over one's shoulder
aoma Goodness!
ara female (of animals): to ara female dog (see also masi)
arai (one varlety of) bamboo
araka hand (of betelnut): haga araka \(a\) hand of betelnut
aramagatu Zast: ora urigoi, virera ihiye, virera aramagatu this is the first, that the second, and that the last one (see also netunetuva)
arasa string of small sheZls
-are 1. relativizer (who, which, that) (v. Section 2.408(11)); 2. sequential action mkr (when, after, if, and then) (v. Section 2.408(111))
-arehe time clause mkr (when, at the time that) (v.Section 2.12.5)
-are negahe(ge) LwM when
-are vanihe(ge) when
arira(ga-, ) to fall into a hole
asimana(va-, ) to sneeze
atá (sg) atuhea (pl)
l. adult, married male, man
ata hogeragane a dead man
ata hogeragane rigiva mortuary feast
atá íahu old man (still active)
ata maraga old man (inactive)
ata nu orogone the man who came yesterday
2. husband
ate (va-, )(?) to repeat or do something in a previously described manner: yauki ogime yauki atete:: :: : tinu they walked and kept going that way
atege kept doing that: daki narivi atege auki rogonu \(I\) waited until he came (llt. I waited and kept doing that until he came)
atete kept doing that: nemehe
auki bina atete:: :: hakivi time auki vasagaika dudube kiare... At midnight he kept (coming) until he arrived and went and put a coil on the steps...
atia twig, stick: atia momono momonoike very tiny twigs/sticks; di atiave my twig/stick
atú jaw, cheek bone: di atuke my jaw

> atu diho veni/nono storm, rain/wind (lit. between the cheeks rain/wind)
áu 1. he, she, it
2. his, her, its: au mame his/ her/its father
aubiota himself, herself, itself: aubiota au gamanu he shot himself
auvagu he, she, it (emphatic)
auye his, hers, its
auga mistake (?): daka kiyege magevara augaveite \(I\) did it very weてZ
áuhe hírua top Zip
auka \(=a u+k a=h e / s h e / i t+\) specifier (v. Section 2.11.ll and 2.401)
aukaki = auka + emphasis marker -ki, q.v.
auko variant of auki used by some Behori speakers
auvagu l. himself, herself, itself
2. alone
3. Intensifier (v. Section 2.415)
auye his, hers, its (in predicates only): ora auyera this is his/ hers/its (see -ye)
avá mouth: di aváge my mouth
áva hómoka moustache: di ava homoke my moustache
ava uhura the inside of the mouth
ava kereka red mouth (that is, the state the mouth is in when one is chewing betelnut)
avagu variant of auvagu
avanage (< ava unage) untruths, lies (lit. mouth nothing)
avanage varaki (va-, ) to tell lies, to lie
ava unage variant of avanage
avie smazl
avie goi-(6, ) to become small, to get small
aye yours (in predicates only): era ayera that's yours

B
```

-ba part of specifier -yabara
q.v.: subutage yauka mageyabaki
they were fine before; noka
Koiari atayabara we are Koiari
men

```
baba grandfather, grandmother (as term of address)
badina LwM origin, base: behori yau badine the origin of the Behori (lit. Behori their origin)
babagaha slowly: auki babagahavi koegore ti bokuvanu taking the net he went slowly and tipped it out; auki babagahavi oroganu he came slowly
baebagaha variant of babagaha: auki baebagahavi oroganu he came slowly: baeba gadima go up slowly!
báeke ripe
bágúni shoulder: di bágúne my shoulder
bagá coconut (ripe)
baga bunu coconut husk
baga nika the eye of a coconut
baga tubuka coconut meat
bai (You (sg)) eat! (an irregular imp form - see i- to eat)
baia yam garden from which food has been taken
baku(va-, ) to cover up, close up
bao(va-, ) to open
bará Lwm a paddle
batá moon
bárua new garden (with ground broken but unplanted)
básuka owl (with cry mumu on wet nights)
bati(va-, ?-, baveite, ?) to split
báudo wild boar tusks worn around neck (Highly prized. Require two before daughter can marry. Father's sister (di yaiye) hangs them around bride's neck).
bauge father's father's father; son's son's son; ancestor, offspring: di baugete my offspring
báuge big
bauge goi(ф-, ) to increase in size, to become tall/big
be \(a\), one, some: ata be someone (or no one if the verb is negative)
-bebe reciprocal marker (requires pronoun in possessive case form): yaibebe ya erageiyahe! Look at each other!; yaubebe ga daure raga they are swearing at each other
bebe behu (geve-, ) to meet
béberúka LwM butterfly; insect: di beberukave my butterfly
begi(va-, ) to plant (yams, potatoes)
béha upper leg: di behade my thigh
bera(ga-, ) to ask
berebe firm, rigid
berebe daure very firm, very rigid
berebegaha firmly:
kamuiberebegahisa! hold it firmly!
bese LwM family, nation: di beseve my family
besibe(va-, ) to reject, not want
besu(ga-, ) to send
beta not (v. Sections, 2.ll.l2, 2.ll.2, 2.406); cf. veitera, negu...-ime
bi(ф-, ogeve, biveite-, biogeigeveite-) to spear
biage! Friend! (as address)
biata planted yam garden
bina aspect marker (v. Section 2. 402)
-biota self (reflexive) (cf. -vagu) (requires possessive form of the pronoun): aibiota yourself
birí LwM thatch
bisiketi LwE biscuit
bisitika shell fish
biso(va-, ) to pinch (the skin)
bitiváka conchsheZて
bo(go-, ) to carve up game
bodi (va-, ?- , bodiveite-, ?- ) to tie rope, grass skirt
bogá crab
bohu (ga-, geve-, boveite-, geigeveite-)
boká flying fox
bóki Go to sleep! - (Irregular form used for children) (cf. ya(va-) to sleep: oti boki go and sleep!: oti bokaki Go and sleep!
bokira(ha- ) to release (as of a rope coming off a peg, nall)
boko (va-, geve-, boveite-, geigeveite-) to break
boritiga(ha-, higeve-, ?) to tell
boro lizard
bóroki sea hawk
bóroko gum tree (variety common
in suburb of same name in Port
Moresby)
boua death feast
bóuge \(a\) ZZ: ni bouge alZ of us
(cf. inuhati)
bouka guts, stomach: di bouke my stomach
boura(ga- ) to gather together, congregate
bubuna (ga- ) to flare up (as of a fire): veneraki bubunaganu the fire flared up
buka LwE book: di bukave my book
búnira(ga- ) to be on edge (as of teeth)
búru gége bush garden
butu(va-, ?, buveite-, ?) to pull
buú scrotum: di búne my scrotum

D
da I
davagu \(I\) (emphatic)
daye mine
-da 1. in, into, to (cf. uhura, -ge, -va): uradage auki ti yaganu He went and slept in the bush; uradage daka otima I'm going to the bush 2.on: yagada on the house
dabi(va-, ) to support, prop up, chock (so that it doesn't fall over)
dabú bush yam
dadaga many, plenty
dadi (va-, ) to hold
dainehe LwM l. because
2. for: demaka dainahe(ge) for food (cf. gahara)
dakarikave green (colour)
daména Lwm salt: di damenave my salt
dámu money, wealth
```

daraio(va-, ) to crawl
dari(va-, ) to break (a fence):
ohoraki gara darivanu the pig
broke the fence
daribu muscle: di daribute my
muscle
dárima LwM outrigger
daure l. bad, rotten, no good
2. (with some adjectives)
very: berebe daure very
firm, rigid (v. Section
2.25)
3. badly: dakamu anavege
daure I thought badly
(di) dauregirave (my) mistake
daure(gaha-, )
l. to spoil, make a mess of;
2. to make feel bad, un-
comfortable, unwelcome
ga daure(raga-, ) to swear,
use bad language
daugo(ho-, ) to do something
unsuccessfulzy, or in vain (cf.
paru(va-,) : daki teibla yagemi
yagemi:::: daugohonu I tried to
lift the table but couldn't;
auki oti itagahu rami rami
daugohime auki oti nimu
gabakahu rami rami daugohi
varaki hirigomonu he (the man)
went outside and stood and stood
in vain (for the snake to come
back to life) and he went to the
side of the mountain and stood
and stood in vain until the sun
went down
davagu myself (as emphatic pronoun
but sometimes used for biota as
reflexive pronoun): dana davagu
gege otisa? shall I go to the
garden? by myself?
daye mine (in predicates only):
era dayera that's mine
degide, degidegi wet
-dehe from (a person)(?): dadehe
auki kitovanu he snatched it from
me
dehi back: di dehiye my back
(di) dehiye hirua (my) Zower
Zip
dehiyehe behind

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dehíta(?) backbone: di dehite
my backbone
dega anus: di degaye my anus
deivate(sg) deivatuhea(pl)
visitor: di deivate my visitor;
ni divatuhea our visitors
deka intestines: di deke my
intestines
dékota butt, end
demaka uncooked foods, foods
eaten raw (e.g., pawpaw): di
demake my food
démodo navel: di demode my navel
démona variant of demodo: di
demone my navel
derikahe under
derihe hirua bottom lip (cf.
dehi)
desu(va-, rago-, ) to fall
(from helght): desuvanu I fell;
desuragohanu we fezz
détu(goi- ) to be pregnant
détuva tree climbing kangaroo,
possum
dega buttocks: di degaye,my
buttocks (also di déganimute
my buttocks)
di my
dibiota myself
diba(va-, ) LwM to know
dibiota myself (reflexive)
dika(va-, raga-, ?, ragiraveite-)
to be sick; irreg. present
tense dikara
dodo(va-, geve-, doveite-,
geigeveite-) to cut (tree,
vines, neck)
dógodo widower
doka chest: di dokane my chest
doka homoka chest hair: di
doka homoke my chest hair
dokohu (< doko uhu) under: yaga
dokohu under the house
dómare deep (place in a river)
dou(va-, raga-, douveite-,
ragiraveite-) to fall (from

```
        standing)
dehíta(?) backbone: di dehite my backbone
dega anus: di degaye my anus
deivate(sg) deivatuhea(pl) visitor: di deivate my visitor; ni divatuhea our visitors
deka intestines: di deke my intestines
dékota butt, end
demaka uncooked foods, foods eaten raw (e.g., pawpaw): di demake my food
démodo navez: di demode my navel
démona variant of demodo: di demone my navel
derikahe under
derihe hirua bottom lip (cf. dehi)
desu(va-, rago-, ) to faZZ (from height): desuvanu I fell; desuragohanu we fell
détu(goi- ) to be pregnant
détuva tree climbing kangaroo, possum
dega buttocks: di degaye, my buttocks (also di déganimute my buttocks)
di my
dibiota myself
diba(va-, ) LwM to know
dibiota myself (reflexive)
dika(va-, raga-, ?, ragiraveite-) to be sick; irreg. present tense dikara
dodo(va-, geve-, doveite-, geigeveite-) to cut (tree, vines, neck)
dógodo widower
doka chest: di dokane my chest doka homoka chest hair: di doka homoke my chest hair
dokohu (< doko uhu) under: yaga dokohu under the house
dómare deep (place in a river)
dou(va-, raga-, douveite-,
ragiraveite-) to fall (from standing)
dorogea vein: di dorogea my veins dúna hawk (inland variety)
dúka dust
vene duka ashes
dudu a coil (of a snake) dudu ki- to make a coiz
dúba crab
dubú black
dúbu LWM ceremonial platform; church

\section*{E}
e that: era dayera that's mine; ata e that man
-e subjuncture mood mkr 3 sg , pl (v. Section 2.407)
ea gu ( \(\varnothing\)-, geve-, guveite-, geigeveite-) to wash (irreg. pl imp: ea gomiyahe! (\%eaguyahe) You(pl) wash it! and negative a negu eagoime (\%ea guime!) Don't wash it!
ea maga(ф-, igeve-, imaveite-, igeigeveite-) to draw water
ede(me-, ) to look down a well, hole
edo(goho-, ragoha-, gohigoveite-, ragohiraveite-) to vomit
edu(ge), edubere(ge) but (v. Section 2.13.3)
ege Zong
-ege connected action mkr with ds following (and) (v. Section 2.408(1v))
egía l.tooth: di egie my tooth 2.boundary, edge: tinavai egia bank of the river; vata egia boundary of the land, edge of the land
egiate male (of animals): to egiate male \(\operatorname{dog}(c f . m o)\)
egigate sharp (of knife)
ehayahiya(va-, ) to joke
éhógea(va-, ) to be thirsty
éi there (close by)
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ei(ge) so, consequently, because
of that, for that (v. Section
2.13.4)
éia water: di eiave my water (cf.
ea In ea maga - to draw water)
emene old, worn out (of things)
(cf. iagu)
ena 1. aspect mkr (v.Section 2.402)

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2. variant of eda there: auki ena unu he stayed there
ena + verb ending in -isa + garema arresting imperative (stop (doing something)) (v. Section 2.21.2)
enaki like that, in that manner
énoka l. ankle, wrist; di enoke my ankle
2. neck, throat: di enoke my throat
enoto( \(\varnothing\)-, raga-, toveite-, ragiraveite-) to cough (irreg fut enotosa (\%enotisa) and pres enotoma (*enotima) cf. to- to call out
enuge because of that, consequently, hence, thus, and so (v. Section 2.13.4)
erá LwM green sea turtle
era(ga-, geve-, eraveite-, geigeveite-) to see, Zook
erege, arege yes, true, all right
esébugena how many, how much: moni esebugena yauni ureima How much money do you want for them? Koita esebugena otitovanu? How many people will go?
-esege anticipates frustration in succeeding events (?) (v. Section 2.408(1v))
esegena what?: esegena au ronu what did he say?
esemena why, what's the matter?: esemena ona ki da kinu why did you do this to me? esemena a gege otitoveite? Why didn't you go to the garden? esemena? What's the matter (with you)?
etágo current (of a river)
ete bunch (of bananas): uhi ete be a bunch of bananas
evé sea, ocean, sea water, salt water
evé arihe on the sea side

F
forumanema Gosh! Oh sorry!

G
ga \(Z\) anguage, speech, what is said: yau gare their language; di gare what I said (lit. my talk)
ga e vanu he said that
ga(va-, raga-, ?, ragiraveite-) to speak
ga daure ra(ga- ) to swear, use bad language
ga dadaga koitava a Zoquacious person
gábaka trunk: idi gabaka trunk of tree
gabakahu on the side of: auki oti nimu gabakahu rami rami daugohi varaki hirigomonu he went and stood in vain on the side of the mountain till the sun went down
gabu LwM place
gabu be: another place, somewhere else: daka beta eige daka otima, daka beige daka otima I'm not going there I'm going somewhere else
gabu oi (> gáboi) to this place, here
gabu(va-, geve-, gabuveite-, geigeveite-) LwM to burn
gahuko magpie
gaioka crow
gárana gárana prickle (on pineapples)
s gárokóni a varıety of edible banana
gau(va-, ) to count
idi gauva individual trees
gaukara(va-, ) LwM to work
ge (as introducer) and (see -ege) auki i rokorovanu (pause) ge Wahoro Madoro moeraki au adehe eragime auki nivinu he ate as he played. And Wahoro Madoro's son saw them in his (Wahoro's) hand and cried
-ge(ra) specifier (after adverbs, numerals) (v. Sections 2.11.1 and 2.401): ata abugera ororoveitera two men are not coming; ata abu yagahugera(ki) two men are in the house; da yaga uhurage daka ata bauge be yabara daki eregevenu I saw some big men when I was in the house; ata bauge inuhatige daki eregevenu \(I\) saw all the big men
geakó a variety of edible banana
gébore breast plate shell, mother of pearl shell
-geige form of object referent (pl) -geve used in negative verbs -see Section 8.11.7: eragevenu I saw them; erageigeveitera \(I\) did not see them
-gena question form of the specifier -ge (ra) (v. Sections 2.11.11 and 2.401): ana gegegene a otinu Did you go to the garden?
-gene variant of-gena
-genu question form of the spec-ifier-ge(ra) in sentence final position (v. Sections 2.ll.ll and 2.401)
gérarábi sago
géreka edible pandanus: di gerekave my pandanus
gero(va-, raga-, geveite-, ragiraveite-) to jump down
geso(va-, ) to be Zame: ata vire gesovime auki that man is Zame
-geve object referent (pl) in some verbs: eraganu \(I\) saw it; eregevenu \(I\) saw them
gibáru LwM Zightening
gigi(va-, ) LwM to squeeze
giní comb
giregire koita a red-skinned person; a European
godivo Gosh:
godivo baita Ah sorry!
godivo, neina neina neina Gosh, gee, gee, gee (exclamation of delight)
gogoto dry
goné coastal pandanus (inedible, but used for making mats)
goroa poor, without wealth, moneyless ata goroa poor (moneyless) man
goromi(ma-) to bend down (lit. to go down and get)
gorogorogove crooked
goulha-, raga-, gouveite-,
ragiraveite-) to fazz (of a tree)
góusa cloud
gove bush wallaby
govedi small variety of tubuka q.v.
gúgú mud
guguni(va-,) to writhe
gura(ma-, ha-, guveite-, hiraveite-)
to sit
guragu dadaga koita an idle or lazy person
(yau) guragu gabune the place where they sat down
gure aspect mkr (keep (doing
something)) (v. Section 2.402)

\section*{6}
ga(ma-, higeve-, migaveite-, higeigeveite-)
1. to hit (with hand) (cf.hodi (va-) 2. to flap wings (as of a rooster)
ga: (?) koita
-ga l. along, on: gumaga along the road
2. with (instrument): gumaga with an axe
3. singular object referent in some transitive verbs and singular subject referent in other verbs - see Section 3.45.6: era(ga-, geve) to see; ya(ga-, soha-) to sleep
gábata úhura valley
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gabubu(va-, ) to shake, tremble
gadi(ma-, higeve-, gaveite-,
higeigeveite-)
1. to ascend, climb (mountain or
tree)
2. to rise up (as of the sun)
gadimi oro(go- ) to rise up
gagiromo(?) Show me! ?
gagu(raga-, ) to be surprised
-gaha l. marks some adverbs of
manner-: babagaha slowly;
berebegaha firmly
2. plural subject referent
in some intransitive verbs-
see Section 4.56.7:
vagoto(goi-, gaha-) to
perspire, sweat
-gaha(yabara) people: Papua Niu
Gini gahayabara Papua New Guinea
peoples
gahara for: no otarera demaka
gaharagera we are going for food
gaharage(va-, ) to want: erege, ana
ata o gaharagene a vima? Ok, do
you want this man? (cf. ura and
dainahe - informants say gahara
with food gives the impression of
greediness in a person)
gahe(ma-, ) to dodge
gahote! Go away! Scram! (lit. go
over there) (see -he)
gaika l. stump (of tree): idi
gaika tree stump
2. bank (of river): tinavai
eia gaika bank of river
3. second wife
4. beside: di gaika beside
me: yaga gaika beside the
house (sg)
gaime mother's brother: di gaime
my uncle:
gaimuhea (pl)
gaimu! gaimukava! uncle (as
address)
gáita another, different
gaitana again: auki gaitana ti
kadogi gareme auki logi bohugi
gareme auki...he went again and
scooped up (prawns) and then
came and tipped them out then
he...
gaivara LwM canoe pole

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gabubu(va-, ) to shake, tremble
gámana far away, distant
gámika l. offspring, young: to gamika a pup
2. boy
3. son
gámi ávie small boy
gamigara boy (at puberty)
gámigámika small boy, children
gamikava! term used for scolding dogs and pigs when not looking after their litters
gámi káruka baby boy
gára (gara?) unmarried male, youth
gára fence: di garave my fence
gare(me-, ha-,) to stop, leave off, quit: irregular imp garema! Stop
that! (*gareme!)
gasina l.to, towards(a person) (and requires pronouns in possessive form): ai gasina to you; ata ramane vire gasina towards/to that man standing there; ata gasinage yauka mu kuku moimonu they gave the tobacco to the man
2. for: ata e gasina (prepared a meal) for that man (seems to be the same as -ni in this context)
gata(va-, ?, gaveite, ?) to Zose,
leave, forget
gati weeds
gati ki- to weed
gause(me-, ) to miss the mark in shooting: da pidivi gausemenu
I shot but missed
gáyoga LwM turtle
-ge to, towards(a river): yaroge to the river
geahu oti- to go away to another place, to shift camp
gegé garden: di gegeve my garden
gemá mother of pearl shell (worn about the neck on chest -
highly prized)
gigore(va-, ) to rotate
-go l. singular and plural subject referent in some intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404):
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oro (go-, so-) to come } \\
& \text { 2. singular object referent in } \\
& \text { some transitive verbs (v. } \\
& \text { Section } 2.405 \text { : gono(go-, } \\
& \text { geve-,) to cook }
\end{aligned}
\]
goa centipede
gobena pig trap

\section*{gobu widow}
godoke dry (of river, creek)
gogo ( sg ), gog hea ( pl ) sibling, same sex, younger, mother's brother's children: di goge my brother (male speaking) di goguhea my brothers
gogoai(raga-, ) to argue
-goha plural subject referent in some intransitive verbs - see Section 2.404: ya(ga-, goha-,) to sleep
-goho singular subject referent in some intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404: edo(goho-, ragoho-,) to vomit
goi-, gahi-, goigoveite-, gahiraveite- (auxiliary verbs with adjectives) to become, get: magegoinu he became good, he got better; magegoigoveiteraki he'zl not be good: bauge goi- to increase in size, to get tall
-goi singular subject referent in some intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404: vagoto gi (goi-, gaha-) to perspire, sweat
goikuhea brothers
?
goira(ga-, ) to turn around goiragi oro(go-) to return
gono(go-, geve-, goveite-, geigeveite-) to cook
-goraga plural subject referent for some intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404: ni(vi-, goraga-) to cry
-gore with, together with: di toera di ohe gorege auki gogaima my dog is fighting with my pig; nona agore gege otitovanu? Did we go to the garden with you?; no agore ota let's go with you; daki augore a ereganu I saw you with him
goro(ma-, ha-, goveite-, hiaveite- (?)) to descend
goro koita sorcerer
gorova muduge koita a poor, useless person (a phrase often used to anger another person)
goru 1. black palm
2. rain cape made from black palm leaf
3. anything used for holding water (e.g., coconut shell)
gosi(ga-, geve-,) to place (many things) together (cf. maia(ma-))
gosigi(va-, ) to put things into a bag
goté vine, string: di gotéve my vine, string
-gu only: abugu only two; venigu oroge let only the rain come
gubu(raga-, ragaha- (-ragoha?), ragiraveite-, ragahiraveite-) to be hungry (irreg.past tense plural: guburagohanu we/you/they were hungry
gúdi digging stick
gudí Zime gudí béha lime spatula gudí kóuka lime pot
-guhu- quickly: yaibebe ya erageigeguhuyahe! Zook at each other quickly
guíka fat: di guike my fat
gúri cooking pot
guigono(ga-, ) to prepare food (requires gasina for an object)
gúma path, road: di gumave my path
gumá axe: di gumage my axe
gure hornbizl
guregadi a variety of edible banana
guriguri ki- LwM to go to church, to pray
guru(va-, raga-,) to be born
guti ya(ha-, higeve-, hiyaveite-, higeigeveite - ) to smell (something)
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H
-ha l. singular subject referent
in some intransitive verbs-
see Section 2.404: gou(ha-,
(raga-) to fall (of a tree)
2. plural subject referent in
some intransitive verbs: -
see Section 2.404 - ra(ma-,
ha-) to stand
hae(ha-, ), hae(va-, ) to buy,
seZZ, barter: haehavara I'ZZ buy
it; haevanu, haehanu I bought it
hagú mangrove
hagá betelnut: di hagave my betel-
nut
hagá karé betelnut pepper
hagá únika, the nut or kernel
hagá máka of the betelnut
hagá vádaka skin of betelnut
haki (va-,raga-,hakiveite-,
ragiraveite-)
1. to come/go outside of (a place)
2. to arrive at a place
-he l.with, by: ai vase-he petava!
Kick it with your foot
2.at: ore-he where?; neme-he
at the middle
hétari a plain
heudage koitava disagreeable person
-higeve plural object referent in
some transitive verbs; (v.Section
2.405) ga(ma-, higeve-) to hit;
mo(ima-, higeve-) to give
hírigo(mo, ) to descend, go down
(as of sun)
hirua Zip: di derihe/dehie hirua
my bottom lip; di auhe hirua my
top lip
hísiu LwM star
hisuka shadow
hisukiga(ma-, ) to call out magic
hisuku(va-, ) to be tired
ho(gova-, vaha-, goveite-, goveite-
(?)) to be angry
ho anger
hodi(va-, ) to hit (with stick)
(cf.ga(ma-))
hodohu(? ) to embrace, hold
on to

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hódu LwM water pot
hoge (rasa-) to die
    ho(g)eka- to kill
hogi, hoi that: idigi ti hogi
    ata ramane vire moima Take them
    and give them to that man
hoi:: : virei over there (distant)
hoiseni lagani virei next year
homoka hair, fur, feather: di
    homoke my hair
hamagamiva eldest: mae hamagamiva
    eldest daughter
hánaha Bird of Paradise
hánaka hair, leaf: idi hanaka:
    leaf of a tree; di omo hanake
    the hair of my head (cf.homoka)
hara(va-, ) to smoke (meat)
hararaga(ha-, ) to pretend
hari(va-) LwM to share out
haroro koita LwM pastor
háte chin, jaw: di hatere my chin,
    jaw
        hate homoka beard
hatu(va-, ) to weave (bamboo,
    mats)
-he 1. to: gahe ote! (> gahóte) Go
        away; virehe ote (> virehote)
        Go away!
        2. at: uhurahe inside; dehiehe
        behind; itaharahe outside
    3. by, on: vasehe by/on foot;
        au dokanehe on his chest;
        ai vasehe (kick) by/with
        your foot
            4. (after verbs ending in are)
                if, when: daka beta sigora
                au negu orogarehe \(I\) won't be
        afraid if he comes
hédoka, hedokate hot (in temperature)
hegiri(va-, ) to be happy
heigate sweet
héra LWM flower, decoration
hérote strong
    heroveite not strong, lazy, weak
    heroveite (goi-) to become weak
hónega a fly: di honegave my fly
hóru soul, spirit: di horuve my
    soul (living or dead)
hórudáure evil spirit
horuhoruve (goi-) to become evil or mad
hosa(va-, raga-,) to break
hosake- to be broken
hotoka the whole of something:
di ada hotoke the whole of my hand
huge crocodile
hugure close, nearby
huhuna(ga-, gaha-, giraveite-, gahiraveite-) to pain
huni dew
hura(ga-, goha-, giraveite-, gohiraveite-) to fly, wave
huyohuyoveite lazy (lit.not vigorous)

\section*{I}
i( \(\varnothing\)-, фveite-, ogeigeveite-) to eat, drink (irreg imp sg bai! eat! and pres tense pl ai we/you(pl)/they are eating); a negu e ime! don't drink that
i (before a noun) edible
-i l. for, with: daka ai hoveitera I'm not angry with you; daka ai memisa I' Zl work for you;
2. at, to: di toena orenu? auka oigera veitera where's my dog; it's not here; daka beta eige daka otima, daka gabu beige daki otima I'm not going there, I'm going somewhere else; nona orei otitovanu? where will we go?
3. connected action mkr with ss following (and) (v. Section 2.408(1v)): daka mu orogi eraganu I came and saw him; oti yaga go and sleep
iahu old
ídi tree: di idive my tree
idi adaka branch of tree
ídi gáta forked branch of tree
ídi gávaga tree sap
ídi hóruve tree's spirit
idi kasaga forked tree
idi tanamaga trunk of tree
idi taoka tree sap
ídi váriva tree shadow
iduhu LwM iduhu czan
idi(ga-, geigeveite-) to take, set (many objects)
idigi oro(go-) to bring (many objects) (lit. get come)
idigi ti to take (many objects) (lit. get go)
-igeve plural object referent in some transitive verbs - see Section 2.405: roho( \(\phi-\), igeve-, фveite-, igeigeveite-) to dig; ea maga (ф-, igeve-,) to draw water
ihá wasp, hornet
ihi name: di ihe my name
ihi( \(\varnothing\)-, geve-, ihiveite-, geigeveite-) to hear
ihiko ear: di ihikoke my ear
íhiko bádiba deaf
ihiko banutaka deaf
íhiko kúdiba deaf
(di) ihiko vake the holes in the Lobes of (my) ear
ihiko veite deaf
ihiruka Ziver: di ihiruke my Ziver
ihíe afterwards, Zater
ihie magi second wife
ikaguvéite nine
ike that
ikóre wretched, unlucky; ata ikore the wretched, unlucky man
-ima present tense marker for 1, 2,3,sg (v. Section 2.407) and also used for subjunctive mood marker 1 sg (v. Section 2.407).
-ime l.(with negu before the verb) negative imperative: a negu e kime! Don't do that! ya negu e kime! Don't you (pl) do that; baebagahi dodoa; a negu ai ade dodoime cut it carefully, don't cut yourself;
2. variant of \(-i\) and required if pronoun subject follows (v. Section 2.408(1v))
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-i atege/otege repeated action mkr ds following (untiz) (v. Section 2.408(vi)).
-i:::(me) variant of -i and for actions that are repeated by same subject (until) (v. Section 2.408(vi))
-imena question form of -ime q.v. imí sugarcane: di imive my sugarcane
imi(ga-, ) to beg (requires gasina on object)
-imo singular object referent in some transitive verbs: mo(ima, higeve-,) to give (v.Section 2.405)
inagu maybe, perhaps
íneíne prickle on wild yam
ínueri sweet potato
inuhati aZて
ínuhu snake
io LwM yes (cf.erege)
iruhuka Ziver: di iruhuke my Ziver
-isa l. definite future suffix on verbs for all persons (requires ena before the verb) (v. Section 2.407);
2. remote tense, imperative mood (v. Section 2.407)
isage new
-isage + Pronoun + ki about to, intention (?): auka guramisage auki he's about to sit down
-isaraga immediate future (?): no vagugeraki noki otisaraga we're going by ourselves; yauvaguge yauki otisaraga they're going by themselves
-isaya gaha properly, carefully: ana-isayagaha Think carefully! eragisayagaha Look carefully!
ísiníta rib: di ísinite my rib
isó flea
isठisó grasshopper
isu, ísure grass
isúke, isukate heavy
íta bone: di íte my bone
itagahu outside
itahe behind: au itahe behind him

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karu young, unripe coconut káru éia coconut milk
karúa a variety of edible banana
káu prickle (on vine)
-ke- stative verb marker: toboke (ra-) to be full of (water); kosake(ra-) to be broken
kebe spoon (for dipping water to drink)
kekoa back of the knee: di kekoake /kekoave the back of my knee
kéreka red
-kerenu...-kerenu variant of -renu...-renu
ketéike big, important: muni keteike big stone; vani keteike Sunday (lit. important day) also in sense of sunny day (lit. sun big)
keto(va-) to wash
keuka crooked
keuka keukava variant of keuka
kévau LwM rainbow
keví sheZZ knife
ki(b-, ogeve-, kiveite-,
ogeigeveite-) to do, make: a negu kime! don't do that!
-ki 1. focus marker (v. Section 2.11.11):
(1) (on complements): era beta atara, ohoraki that's not a man, it's a pig (11)(on subjects) daki ata be eraganu I saw a pig; ataraki orogima a man is coming; atavaki orogima the man (the one we are talking about) is coming; kauka daki ereganu I saw Kauka (111)(on objects): ? (iv) (on verbs): daka gubuveiteraki I'm not hungry daka beta guburagiravaraki I'ZZ not be hungry
2. Only (?): cf. kobugabe one kobugakibe only one
3. Indirect object marker to after the verb ro- to telz: kilaki ro! tell Kila; daki ro! tell me!
kibe a small piece of, a fraction of
kibika a dove
kíbika ankle(?): di kíbika ómote my ankle(?)
kídurui LwM porpoise
kiki work: di kikive my work
kinigo(ho-, ) to release, let go, drop (as of fruit or dead leaves): karika baeke varaki kinigohonu the ripe mango dropped (released) (cf. goro(ma-) and moru(goho-))
kira(va-, geve-, kiveite-, geigeveite-) to throw
kiruki parrot
kisá fan-like feather decoration placed around forehead
kito(va-, ) to snatch
kóa round water, pond
kobara(ga-, ) variant of kobora (ga-)
kobora(ga-, goha-,) to grow up: sprout kaboragohanu they grew up
kobara (ga-, gaha-) to destroy: noki o kobaragahanu we destroyed this
kóboka crown, top: ídi kóboka crown or top of tree
kóbugabé one
kobabe variant of kobugabe kobuga kobuga one each
kobugaberege but
koe fish net
koita person, people (in general) (cf. ata, gaha)
koitereka willywagtail
kokóme a variety of edible banana
kokopa LwM mud crab
komatavara(va-, ) to have a headache
komuko knee: di komukone my knee; di ada komukone my eZbow
(di) komuko kebeve my knee cap
kómuta a circle
kónagu rope
koné beach
korahi toil，work
kórikóre dry（of cloth）
kosa（va－，raga－）to finish
kota LwE court
kouka sheZZ：di ada kouke my fingernail（lit．my finger sheZて）
kou（ga－，）to bark，howl： totokara mu kougima the dog is barking
koukou（ro－）variant of kou（ga－）
koyá shark
kuhi sore：di kuhive my sore
kuku tobacco：di kukuve my tobacco
kumu（va－，）to shut one＇s eyes di nigera daki kumuvanu \(I\) shut my eyes
kúna owて（black，with long tail）
kure（va－，）to rolz
kurú kunai grass，sword grass
kuruku coloured：yago kuruku coloured netbag
kusina small
kusita a variety of edible banana
kuturaha－to revive，come alive again

L
láurabada LwM south－east trade wind

\section*{M}
－ma 1．singular object referent in some transitive verbs： ga（ma－，higeve－）to hit
2．singular subject referent in some intransitive verbs： ra（ma－，ha－）to stand
ma aspect mkr（v．Section 2．402）； with future tense of verb in －isa must，should
－ma with（instrument）：munima with a stone
ma（ \(\varnothing\)－，miveite－）to take，get， hold（a single object）（irreg vowel change in negative mimiveitera \(I\) didn＇t get \(i t)\) （for plural object see idiga－）
mabara（sg）mabaruhea（pl）wife： di mabare my wife
mábi unmarried girl
mádika fruit，flower：ídi mádika tree fruit／flower
mádo gum tree（common around Port Moresby＝Motu gea）
máe（sg）maeuhea（pl）daughter： my daughter
máe máiago daughter
mágena red－back spider
magore（me－，）to hide
máge l．good，fine，well； yagiyamageveite he did not sleep weてZ；
2．Zucky：au vani magevera it was his lucky day
3．（as exclamation）that＇s fine；okay；right oh！
magevara augaveite very well
magega（ha－，）to make welcome， comfortable，at home（cf． vasibega（ha－，））
magemage happizy
magí 1．woman
2．female（of animals）：to magi female dog
magi rigi woman feast magi mabata old woman（inactive）
magí abígara third wife
magi mimi rigi wedding feast magiya women folk
magí íahu（＞masíahu）old woman
magi ma（ \(\varnothing\)－，）to marry（of a man）
magi dabi（va－，）to entice a married woman to return to her own vilzage
magina（sg），maginuhea（pl）wife：
di magine my wife
magu fence：di maguve my fence
maguri(va-,) LwM to be alive
máhá inland, bush
maia(ma-, migeve-, maveite-, migeigeveite-) to put (an object) down (cf. gosi(geve-))
máiago girl
maiago karuka baby girl
máiago gámika/ávia small girl
maiakotave yellow
maika perhaps, maybe (as response to a question)
máka guts, reason, contents tamuta-maka veite there was no food
maka veite empty, for no reason
mama(sg) mamuhea(pl) father, father's brother: di mame (in reference) my father (in reference); di Koiari mama magevera my good Koiari father
mama (as term of address) father!
mamaka variant of mama used to refer to someone's father we have been talking about, also like the French la main possessIve e.g. mamaka narinaveite you're not looking after your father (= the father) a sentence often used in scolding
mánahaka owて (with high pitched kukukuku on hot dry nights)
maní bandicoot
márada frog
maraga old (inactive): ata maraga old man
masabe masabe yago a man's net bag, (a man's shoulder bag)
mata land, ground, place: di matame my land; tíhuta máta swamp; (cf. tana, vata)
mata omoto land controller
mati 1. and: di mamera nanate mati amakitera my father has a brother and a sister guma mati kaia idigi orogo! bring me the axe and the knife!; daki ena \(0,0, \circ\), mati o idigisa I'ZZ take this one, this one, this one, and this one.
2. again(?): magi vireraki mati detugoinu that woman's pregnant again
mato(go-, geve-,) to bite (of a dog)
mauru(ma-, ) to boil (water)
-me singular object referent in some transitive verbs - see Section 2.405: abate(me-, geve-) to bury
meina tongue: di meine my tongue
me \(k i(\phi-\), ogeve-, kiveite-, ogegeveite-) to work
me kiki koitava a worker
me ma (ф-, ?, miveite-, ?) to work
me mimi koitava a worker
mérago rat
mérago gámika rat offspring,mouse
merí a variety of edible banana
meri tina be mi rogodeima! an expression used to stop hiccoughing
meiu(va-, ) to hunt: meiuvara daki vima I'm hunting
mína eel (small variety)
minu grass wallaby
mi oro (go-,) to bring (one object)
misika food (in general), meat, muscle
mitabe(va-,) to close (a door) (cf. baku(va-) to close, cover up (a machine, hole))
mo male (of animals): to mo male dog
mo(mima-, higeve-, mimoveite-, higeigeveite-) to give (1rreg imp pl mi da momi yahe (*moimiyahe) you(pl) give it to me) requires verb ma- or idigi- to get if object not being held
mobo husband: di mobore my husband móe(sg)moeuhea(pl) son: di moe my son
móemóe LwM coral
momo rubbish: aka momo idigi koita you're a rubbish collector
momono guts
momuno momunoike very tiny
```

moru(goho-, ragoha-, gohigoveite-,
ragiraveite-) to fall from
height LwM
mótumótu LwM island
mu aspect mkr (v. Section 2.402):
with past (-nu) and present (-ima)
tense markers already, just, yet
(1f verb is negative)
mu ina(gu) aspect mkr (v. Section
2.402); might, uncertainty
-mudago a lot, much; tatimudagore
auki vima he laughs a lot
múduke rotten, foul-smelling
mugu(gu-, ) to blow (of wind)
múki nose ornament
múní stone: múni báuge Zarge stone
múni mómuno mómuno gravel,
small stones
múni káia stone knife
múni rísi stone knife
múni váka cave
musu(va-, ) to suck
mutu(va-, ) LwM to sink

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\section*{N}
-na 1. question form of specifier -ra (v. Sections 2.11 .11 and 2.401);
2. partitive suffix (v. Section 2.22.2)
3. variant of locative clitic -da on, v.v.
nagáte like, resembles: aka kae nagate you're like a cockatoo
nahítu eei (large variety)
nahu (va-, raga-, ra/nahuveite-, ragiraveite-) LwM to swim
náhudá wild yam (stem of which is used for making nets)
náhurá variant of náhudá
-naki Zike: onaki like this, in this manner; enaki thus, like that
náme man's Zoincloth
nami (ga-, ) to scold
```

nána(sg) nanuhea(pl) elder brother
(male and female speakers):
di nane my eZder brother
nao LwM foreign, European
-ne negative marker in nominals
(?): i iyaganera a thing not to
be eaten
-nebe variant of -nube q.v.
negu l. now, today, and (in
complex and compound
sentences in past tense)
then
negubutu just now
negu vagutu this morning
negu vahi tonight
negu vani today
2. (with verb ending in
-ime) part of negative
imperative, don't (v.
Sections 2.11.12 and
2.407)
-nei (past tense) when, if
néina(sg) neinuhea(pl): mother,
mother's sister (in reference):
di neine my mother
neina! (in address) mother!
neinaka special form similar to
mamaka q.v.
neinakava special form similar to
mamakava used for scolding dogs
and pigs when not looking after
litter
nekota waist
di nekotani my waist (?)
nemehe in the middle, at midnight
neto(va-,) to stop, finish:
misinivara mu netovanu the machine
has just stopped; netovanu it's
finished; that's the end
netonetova the last one
ni our
ní eye: di níe my eye
ni bóko nipple (of breast) di
amu nibokove my nipple
níhómoka eyelash, eye brow
níkópu blind
nîráhu eyelid

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n niveite blind
nibiota ourselves (reflexive)
no we
novagu we (emphatic)
noye ours
no agore (?) we (too)
nogoro(\varnothing-, ) to wail, mourn
nogo koitava a mourner
nómuaka middle, centre: ídi
nómuaka the trunk/middle of a
tree;
nomuakava middle one: au mae
nomuakava his middle daughter
nomuakahe at the middle/centre
(of a circle)
nóno wind
nonoto iyaga a fan
novagu oursezves (emphatic)
noye ours (in predicates only)
era noyera that's ours
-nu l. past tense marker for all
person (v. Section 2.407)
2. question form of specifier
-ra in sentence final pos-
ition (v. Section 2.11.11)
-nube contrary-to-fact condition
(if) (v. Section 2.408(i))
-nuge connected action mkr with ds
following (and) (v. Section
2.408(1v))
nibiota ourselves (reflexive)

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-ni for: ya ni for yourself;

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-ni for: ya ni for yourself;
    yau ni for them
    yau ni for them
ni(vi-, goraga-, naveite-,
ni(vi-, goraga-, naveite-,
    goragiraveite-) to cry
    goragiraveite-) to cry
nígi woman's (grass) skirt
nígi woman's (grass) skirt
nígu echidna, spiny anteater
nígu echidna, spiny anteater
nimú mountain
nimú mountain
nika barb: vaiga nika barb on a
nika barb: vaiga nika barb on a
    spear
    spear
nisiga(ma-,) to Zead, show, guide
nisiga(ma-,) to Zead, show, guide
niviegega(ha-, ) to howL (of a
niviegega(ha-, ) to howL (of a
    child)
```

    child)
    ```
nu yesterday
- l. this: magi o this woman; magi o yaba these women; gami oyaba these boys
2. now
ohe here
oi here
ona here: ona gurama sit here!
-ogeve plural object referent for some transitive verbs: - see Section 2.405: \(i\) - to eat; \(k i\) to do; sutiyaha- to smell
ogoror small dove
ógigi gábu ford, creek-crossing
ogठ village: di oge my village
ogo gahayaba villagers
ogo yau villagers
ohó pig: di ohe/ohove my pig
omó adze
ómo head: di omote my head
omáda overhead: váni omáa rogonu the sun is overhead
omo derikava overhead
omo hanaka hair of head: di omo hanake the hair of my head
ómo kónibo (kónibo) frizzy hair
ómo górogóro frizzy hair
omo kae grey/white-haired
omo kebe bazd
omo susu grey-haired
omo kouka huhu(va-,) to have a headache
```

ore(na) l. which?: ata orena
otitovanu atage which
man is going with you?
2. where?: ana oregene a
otima? Where are you
going? oregene yau ota?
where are they going?

```
orehe(gene) where?: orehegena au otinu, daka dibana veitera I don't know where he's going auna oregenu? where is it?
orei where?: nona orei
orenagene kow?: orenagena au hogeraganu how did it die?
orenaki, orenakimena how? (lit. like which): ana orenaki otitovanu, motukavagenu se ai vasehegenu? how are you going to go --by car or by leg? orenakimena a begenu? -- ai adehegenu se gudivagenu? how will you plant it? -- by hand or with a stick?
orenakiyege how?: nona ata o orenakiyege auna maguri vivivanu? what can we do/how can we save this man's life?
ori(ga-, ga-, roveite-, roveite-) to turn around, go around
oro(go-, so-, oroveite-, oroveite-) to come
otado what?
otado gaharahe why?
otado kisaromena why?
oti( \(\varnothing\)-, \(\quad\)-, toveite-, toveite-) to go (1rreg imp sg ote! you(sg) go!); irreg seq action otinera, otineige (*otanera)
ototo kept going until
oya(ha-,) to chase, folzow
oyaba these - see o

P
padahe LwM between
paru(va-, ) to do something without success (cf. daugo(ho-)
patapata LwM platform, table
peta(va-, ) to kick: ai vasehe petava kick it with your foot
pidi(va-, ?, pidivetite-, ?) LwM to shoot (with a gun)
pitoroka LwM cockroach
pou(va-, ) LwM? to explode auki pouvanu it exploded/went off
pura LwM week
ra(ga-, goha-) to burn (as of a fire, pain): di aderaki raganu my arm is burning
ra(ma-, ha-, miraveite-, hiraveite-) to stand
ra(hu-, ) to open one's eyes, to wake up: di niyera daki rahunu I woke up/opened my eyes
-ra l. specifier (v. Sections 2.11.11 and 2.401);
2. partitive suffix (v. Section 2.22.2);
3. stative verb marker:
auvagugeraki hosa-ra-ganu It broke by itself
rábi LwM sago
rabura soft, easy, simple
rabura daure very soft, easy, simple
rádara wide
-raga plural subject referent in most intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404): ga(va-, raga-, ) to speak, tati(va-, raga-) to laugh
rágiráge cooked: uhi ragirage cooked banana
-ragoho plural subject referent for some intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404): edo (goho-, ragoho-) to vomit
raho big
raho (goi-) to get fat
rahu ashes: di rahuve my ashes
\(-r a k i=r a+-k i q . v\).
ráupa tobacco dried over fire
réborébe round, spherical
rébure táure clear, flat, easygoing
rébure táure kóitava approachable, pleasant, quiet person
regata a plain
regu(ga-, ) to look after, keep clean: dakaki ani a moimima a ma regugisa I'm giving it to you to keep; di matame da resuima \(I\) 'm cleaning up my place
regu carefully: regu anava! think carefully!
regunaki l. really: daka regunaki dibanaveitera \(I\) don't really know
2. please, why don't you, do:
réke LwM fish net
rémere rémere itchy
-renu and (must be attached to each noun): tabu erenu koita erenu that tabu and that person; akerenu aukerenu koki otiyahe! you and he go to Koki!
rere(va-,) to swim (like a fish)
rere(ma-, ) to rain down (heavily) vaduvare virera mu dubara auki reremima when it thunders (over the sea) it rains crabs
riagaha truly, properly: daka beta riagaha kikivara \(I\) can't do it ( = I'll not do it properly); daka guburiagavaraki \(I^{\prime}\) ZZ be very hungry
ríbike cold (water)
rigi feast (for recovery from sickness); also general term for feast
riga native: noka koita rigayabaki we are native people
ro( \(\quad\)-, ) to say
rohi LwM rich, important: ata rohi rich man; important man
roho( \(\delta-\), igeve-, iroveite-, igeigeveite-) to dig up, take out, harvest (potatoes)
rókero hair net made of tapa cloth
rokoro(va-,) to play
rokú pawpaw
rokúta a variety of edible banana
roi(va-, geve-, ) to wipe, rub
-ruga - of them (cf. -ruta): yauka di mamuhe aburugagera they are my two fathers; aburuga idigi orogo! Bring the two of them!
ruhi (ga-, ) to carry on ends of a pole like Chinese baskets
rúi LwM dugong
rukuruku(goi- ) to be cold (of a person), to be feverish, to have a fever
rukuru fever
ruru(va-, raga-, raveite-, ragiraveite-) to run: ruri orogo! (< ruruvi orogo) come quick?y!
-ruta with (accompaniment with pl nouns): totage noruta otitovara the dog will come with us; daki yauruga a eraganu \(I\) saw you with them

\section*{S}
saba spittle, saliva saba ra(ma-, ) to spit
sama old garden in which odd things still grow
sára prawn
sarú bed bug
se or: ana vasigena atima se kavagena a otima? are you going by leg or by car? tona oho gamanu se veitenu? did the dog kill the pig or not?
seigo(ha-, ) to split
sevesike thin (of paper)
sibaga(sg) sibaguhea(pl) wife's brother, brother's wife, wife's brother's cousin, wife's cousin, sister's husband, in-Zaws; di sibage my brother-in-Zaw
sieti LwE shirt: di sietive my shirt
sigá varlety of bamboo used for making walls of houses
síga cigarette: di sígave my cigarette
sigo(va-, raga-, фveite-, ragiraveite-) to be afraid (irreg pl past tense sigoragohanu we/you/they were afraid); ana sigoimene a? are you afraid?
sigú sand (as distinct from beach)
sikuri ra(ga- ) to school, to go to school
sina yam: di sinave my yam síomu village grown tobacco siri(va-, raga-, siriveite-, ragiraveite-) to enter, go into (a hole, burrow, house)
sírokómu a varıety of edible banana sísidára small variety of tubuka
sisíka insect-eating bat
soí (ga-, ) to pass by
sokira(ha-,) to release (as of a rope coming off a peg, nail etc.)
sone (va-, ?, soneveite-, ?) to swaZZow
soruka heart: di soruke my heart
sorá bird trap
soso wait! (irregular form)
sosó hammock
sou aspect marker (v. Section 2.402); yet, still (cf.mu)
souka dust
souka dadaga plenty of dust
sovire variant of sou (?): yauka mu sovire goilala garaha they're still fighting in Goilala
súara soul, ghost: di suare my soul
suara hard hearted
subuta a long time ago, before suga LwE sugar: di sugave my sugar

\section*{T}
ta(ha-, ) to open, break (of dawn): varaki tahanu day broke/ dawned
tabo(va-, ) to carry on a stick over the shoulder
tabu l. taboo, prohibited, haunted, bewitched: tabu mata prohibited area
2. evil spirit, evil being
-tage \(a l 80\), too (cf. -ruga, -ruta) datagera mu vabutu da urimanuare ...me too. In the morning when I got up...; totage noruta otitovara the dog will come with us; atage no agore ota we'll go
with you; ata orena otitovanu a tage which man's going with you?; auka orogonu datage mu orogonu he arrived as I did
tágo blood: di ta(g)oke my blood
tahakava testicles
támuta cooked food, greens
tamuta soi- to eat (food)
tamuta neto(va-,) to finish eating
tamuta va- to eat
tamuta va va meai time
tana raised land, ridge; in contrast to water or river = bank (cf. mata, vata)
tarata(va-) to trick, Zie, pretend: daka a taratavara \(I^{\prime}\) ll trick you; daka mu taratavanu \(I\) told a lie; auka guragu taratavara auki vima he's pretending to sit down; anaisayagaha a negu taratavime think carefully lest you tell a Zie; da so anaisayahima da a taragare sigova let me think carefully lest I teil you a lie
tararatararave slippery
tate(sg) tatuhea(pl) elder sister (female speaker): di tate my eZder sister
tati(va-, raga-, tativeite-, ragiraveite-) to Zaugh
taunaguhea relatives
-te have: aka ayetera you have one (already so don't ask for another); ana sigaretiteno? have you got any cigarettes?; ana mabateno? have you got a wife?; ai mamena amakiteno? has your father got a sister?; ai mamuheyabana magiteyano? do your fathers have wives? vetokate sharp (lit. has point)
tehéna earthworm
tene LwM ancestor: di teneve my ancestor
téteka l. tail: di toe tetekave my dog's taiz
2. crown, top: idi teteka crown/top of tree
3. butt, end: vaiga teteka butt of spear
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    tetekava Zast: moe tetekava
        last son (1.e. youngest son)
    ti brain: di tine my brain
ti véite stupid, brainless
ti LwE tea: di tive my tea
ti variant of oti- to go often
used in combination with other
verbs to indicate direction of
movement
tigu(hu-, hugeve-, tiguveite-,
hugeigeveite-) to sew up, plait
(bamboo), weave clothes
tíhi cheek: di tihie my cheek
tíhi hómoka sideburns
tíhuta máta swamp, muddy place
tinavai LwM river, creek
tiru spear grass
to, totoka dog: di toe my dog;
di totokaveya my dogs
to ara/magi female dog, bitch
to egiage/mo male dog
to homoka dog's fur
to teteka dog's taiz
to(\phi-, raga-, toveite-,
ragiraveite-)
1. to call out (Irreg future
tosa (*tisa) and present
toma (*tima))
2. to beat a drum
3. to crow, coo: uguhara mu toma
the bird is cooing/crowingl
calling out
tó óro seed rattles on drum
tobo flood plain, flat ground
toboke(ra) to be full of (water);
kapusi eia vara tobokenu? Is the
cup fulZ of water; io, era
tobokera Yes it is!
toborogo- to be full of (water)
tohi a Zoad (for men to carry)
tohi ki- to prepare, make up a
Zoad (1.e., to prepare to
depart)
tohotoga(ha-, ) to mimic: da
tohotogaha -- ote!...ote! mimic
me -- ote!...ote!
togea LwM armsheZZ (like a bangle on upper arm)

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toi (va-, ?, toveite-, ?) to push tókaro prickle (on vine)
toko- variant of tobo-
tori Zower leg: di torike my Zower leg
tori ita Zower leg bone
tótoka variant of to preferred in certain constructions: totoka gamika pup, baby dog
touvara coconut rat
tu (ma-, migeve-, tuveite-, migeigeveite-) to scratch
tuáke short
túbuka feather decoration on spring stuck in hair for dancing
tú(g)uka nape of neck: di tu(g)uke the nape of my neck
tugúva variety of edible banana tumuru green parrot
tura giant kingfisher, kookaburra turigohonu broken (of string)
tutubevanu \(a l l\) of a sudden (?), suddenly (?)
tutuhunu wrinkled

\section*{U}
u- to stay, be: totoka mati ohoyabara mu vire unu the dog and the pig are there
uagatu(ma-, ) to advise
úamo wax, pieces of gum/wax put on drum skin to vary the tune
úbúra ant
uduva door
úgu breadfruit
ugu(ha-, raga-, uguveite-, ragiraveite-) to descend, go down: vanira mu uguhanu the sun set
úguha bird
úguha hómoka bird's feather: di uguha homoke my feather
úguha únika bird's egg
úguha vásika bird's claw
uguha yagava bird's nest
-uhe plural marker on kinship nouns: di mamuheyaba my fathers uhí banana: di uhive my banana uhí gonigo rigi banana harvest feast
uhu short form of uhura inside q.v.: ata bera yaga uhugera \(a\) man is inside the house
uhuvaka knowledge
uhu ( \(\varnothing\)-, geve-, uhuveite-, geigeveite-) to blow (fire)
uhu( \(\quad\)-, raga/ragaha(?)-, uhuveite-ragiraveite-) to swell up
uhudauva(ha-, ) to feel sorry
for: daka mu a uhudauvahanu \(I\) feel sorry for you
uhudau koitava peaceable person, easy-going person, patient person
uhudauveite koitava impatient person
uhuhu a Zump (under skin): di uhuhuve my Zump
uhura (the) inside (of something): di ada uhure the palm of my hand; auka gousa uhuragera it's inside the cloud; vadu be mati sina be yabara gege uhuragera the taro and yam are in the garden; yaga uhura oti gurama go and sit in the house; maua uhurahe gurama sit inside the box; ura uhura in, into the bush
uhure ra(ga-) to be furious (lit. (my) inside is burning): di uhureraki raganu \(I\) was furious
uhuya (ma-,) to wait for
umu \(a\) bundle (of spears)
úmu Zouse
úmuka root of tree: idi umukava oti gurama go and sit near the tree (lit. on the tree root)
uná mosquito
unage only, just, nothing but: au ita unage goinu he became just bone; ava unage lies (lit. mouth nothing but)
unáka a variety of edible banana
unika egg, kernel, inside of a nut: di unikave my egg; hagá únika the kernel of a betelnut
uni maia(ma-, ) to lay an egg
unuhu(na) l. who?: unuhuna dauregahanu? who spoiled it?; unuhuna kapusi hosaganu? who broke the cup?; unuhunigena a orenisi idigi orogonu? Whom did you bring the orange for?
2. whose: unuhu moene otitovanu atage? whose son is going with you?
úra LwM want, desire: au urave aukaki gaukara otisa he wants to go to work
úra LwM bush
úra sína bush yam
urá LwM crayfish
urávie beach bush
úri nose: di uride my nose
uri homoka feelers (on insects or crayfish)
uri vaka nostril
uri (ma-, ha-, miraveite-,
hirahiraveite-) to arise
urigoi first, before
útube ten
utádakasiva utu (< utu adakasiva) fifteen
utábu (, utu abu) twenty
útugo ashes

\section*{V}
vá sky, day, time
vá abigaga (> vá:bigaga) thrice
vá ábu (> vá:bu) twice
vá dibu darkness
va kobugabe once
vágutu morning
váhi night
vahige Zast Zight
váhigeta evening
vahigu Zater (tomorrow, next month, next year)
vahigu bata virei next month
ni vahiruhe yau uhege... in the time of our ancestors
vatahe day break (= next day)
va- auxillary subject referent used for certain tenses (v. Section 2.31.2); see also -vanu and -vara
-va l. partitive suffix (v.Section 2.22.2): uguha yagava bird's house; ata be ihiva Tori a man named Tori; (cf. di ihera tomura my name is Tom);
2. adjectivalızer: teteka tail becomes tetekava Zast: moe tetekava last son; nomuakava middle one;
3. nominalizer: rebure taure koitava a quiet person
4. locative clitic:
(1) with, by: gudiva with a digging stick; motukava by car (cf. -ma); (11) on: patapatava on the platform; idi umukava on the tree root; (111) to: tauniva to town; (1v) along: regatava along the plain
5. singular subject referent in many intransitive verbs (v. Section 2.404): ga(va-, raga-) to speak;
6. singular object referent in some transitive verbs (v. Section 2.405): boko(va-, geve-, ) to break;
7. 1dentifier or anaphoric reference suffix (?) (the one we are talking about): atavaraki orogima the man (we are talking about) is coming (cf. ata beraki orogima a man is coming); atava vireraki yarematago gamanu the man killed the snake; daki beta atava eraganu I didn't see that man (the one we are talking about);
vábe croton, tanket
vádaka skin, surface (of water):
di vadake my skin
vádu taro: di vaduve my taro
vágutu morning
vaga(ro-, ) to rest
vaga(va-, ) to get thin
vágata stomach: di vagatane my stomach vagata uhura stomach (internal) vagata huhunaga- to be sad: di vagatane mu huhunagima I am sad
vagotonihe in front of
vagoto(gigoi-, gigaha-, nigoigoveite-, nigahigaveite-) to perspire, sweat
-vagu self (emphatic) (cf. biota)
vahera(ga-) to undo (a knot)
váhi night
vahia(sg) vahiuhea(pl) father's father, son's son: di vahie my grandfather
vahie! (as address) Grandfather!
vahige last night
váhigeta evening
vahigu Zater (tomorrow, next month, next year) vahigu bata virei next month
vahoro ma- to steal
vahute Zower arm - see ada
vaia yam (taitu)
vaia rohiro rigi yam harvest feast
váigá spear: di vaigave/vaigade my spear
vaina quickly, soon vainorogo! come quickly!
vaisú when?: ana vaisu otitovanu? when are you going to go?
váka l. hole: muni vaka cave; di amu niboko vaka the hole in my nipple 2. Zeft hand side
vákavákave full of holes: yagara vakavakave the house is dilapidated
vá maga right hand side
vámumo star

vatéta ground
vatéta ketéike/báuge the earth
vatahe day break
vataka skin: aeva vataka goanna skin; idi vataka bark of tree
ve vagina: di ve my vagina
végu penis: di vegure my penis
veite negative marker in verb
veitera l. no (as an answer);
2. negative ending to some verb forms (v. Sections 2.11.12 and 2.406): eraraveitera I did not see him erageigeveitera I did not see them
3. not one: ata veitera there's no one (here); ata abu yaga uhura veitera there are not two men in the house; daki eraganu, aka veitera I saw it, you didn't
véne fire, firewood: di veneve my fire
vene duka smoke
vene gamava bundle of firewood
vene souka soot
vene gomo(ga-, ) to make a fire vení rain
veni ki- to rain
-vera(?) (only one example recorded
- occurs with reduplicated verb
root) present continuous (?):
auka sou guragura vera he's still sitting down
verára a variety of edible banana
vetoka point: vaiga vetoka spear
point
vetokate sharp (of point)
vetoka veite blunt
vetoka ki- to sharpen to a point
-vi singular subject referent in
some intransitive verbs: ni(vi-,
goraga-) to cry
vire that (distant)
virei there
vire gaitana again
víripópo a sling (for hurling stones)
vivi(va-, ) to save
vodohunu extinguished

\section*{Y}
ya you (pl)
yai your(pl)
yaibiota yourselves (reflexive)
yavagu you(pl) (emphatic)
yaye yours (pl)
ya(ha-, ) to shave, remove hair
ya(ga-, goha-, giyaveite-, gohiyavite-) to sleep
-ya plural marker: noka koiari atayabara we are Koiari men; mamuheyabara; di mamuhe yau omoteyabaraki my fathers' heads
- wabana question form of specifier -yabara (v. Sections 2.ll.ll and 2.401) (cf. -ya: no)
-yabara specifier (v. Sections 2.11.11 and 2.401)
yága house: di yagave/yage my house
yaga rigi house warming feast yago small net bag
yagoáka tree used for making net string
yági l. shoulder blade: di yagini my shoulder blade;
2. Knife made from shoulder
blade
yagá l. Zarge net bag carried by women: di yagavelyage my net bag
2. a load (fit for women)
yágatoi LwM large canoe
yage(ma-, ) to lift up, put hands above head; stand something upright, erect
yago(gi-, ) to dream
yago a dream: di yagove my dream
```

yago(va-, geve-, yaveite-,
geigeveite-) to look for
yaha north-east trade wind
-yahe l. 2 pl immediate tense,
imperative mood mkr (v.
Section 2.407);
2. 2 pl subjunctive mood mkr
(v. Section 2.407)
yah' breadfruit (?)
yaie(sg) yaiuhea(pl) father's
sister's relatives
yaiekava aunt! (as address)
yako Zunch
-ya:nu question form of specifier
-yabara in sentence final position
(v. Sections 2.11.11 and 2.401)
(cf. -yabana)
yára a sail
yáremetágo snake (poisonous)
-yareme having VP: royareme auki
bina... having said this he...
yarika hand (of bananas): uhi
yarika hand of bananas
yaro river
yatirigava seven
yau l. they
2. their
yaubiota themselves
yauvagu they (emphatic)
yauye theirs
-yau people (as a collection)
ogoyau villagers; koiariyau
Koiari people; eyabara di
tatuheyau nigera they're my
sisters' eyes
yauye theirs
yavaya(va-, rasa, vaveite-,
ragiraveite-) to dance
yavaya a dance
-ye belonging to: di neineyera
my mother's; era dayera that's
mine;
yéika a variety of edible banana
yeririve l. straight
2. right, correct
yeririyeririve straight

```

\subsection*{4.0 AN ENGLISH-KOITA FINDER LIST}

This list is to be used as a key to the preceding Koita-English Vocabulary where further information as to the form, meaning, and use of the Koita morpheme or morphemes identified are given in as much detail as possible at the present time.

\section*{A}
a be
about to -isage
accompaniment marker -gore, -ruga, -ruta
account (on _of) -e eige
adjectivalizer -va
\(a d u l t\) (male) ata; (female) masi
adverb marker -gaha
\(a d v i s e\), to uagatu(ma-)
adze omo
afraid (to be__) sigo(va-)
after -are, -aneige, -anera
afterwards ihie, itaharahe
again gaitana, mati, vire gaitana
alive (to come again) kuturaha-; (to be_) maguri (va-)
aZZ bouge, inuhati
all right mage, erege, arege
all the time vani inuhati
alone auvagu
along -ga, -va
already mu with past -nu and present -ima tense markers
also -tage
ancestor bauge, tene
and -ege, ge, -i, -ime, mati, -nuge, -renu
and so eige, enuge
and then -aneige, -anera, -are
anger ho
angry (to be__) ho(gova-)
ankle enoka, kibika
another gaita
ant ubura
anteater nigu
anus dega
approachable person rebure taure koitava
argue, to sogoai (rasa-)
arise, to uri(ma-)
arm ada
arm band ago
armshell togea
arrive haki(va-)
ascend gadi(ma-)
ashamed (to be ___) variva(va-)
ashes rahu, utugo, vene duka
ask bera(ga-)
aspect markers ena, bina, gure, ma, mu, sou
at -he, -i
aunt (= father's sisters) vae, yaekava; (= mother's sisters) neina, neinaka
auxiliary verb va-
axe suma
baby (boy) gami karuka; (girl) maiago karuka
back (of object) itaharava; ( of hand) ada itaharava; ( of knee) kekoa; (_ of body) dēi
backbone dehi ita
bad daure; (make feel __) daure gaha-
badly daure
bald omo kebe
```

```
bamboo (varieties) ahadi, arai, blood taso
    siga
banana (general word) uhi;
    (varieties) garokoni, geako,
    guregadi, karua, kokome, kusita, boil, to mauru (ma-)
    meri, rohuta, sirokomu, tuguva,
    unaka, varubi, verara, yeika
bandicoot mani
bank (of river) egia, gaika
barb nika
bark (of tree) vataka
bark, to kou(ga-) koukou(ro-)
barter, to hae(ha-)
base badina
bat (insect-eating) sisika
be u-
beach kone
beard hate homoka
beat a drum to- (?)
because - see consequently
become goi-
bed bug saru
before urigoi, subuta
beg imi(ga-)
behind dehiehe, itahe, itaharahe
belonging to -ye
bend down goromi(ma-)
beside gaika
betelnut hasa; (_ pepper) haga
    kare
between padahe
bewitched tabu
big bauge, keteike, raho (to
    become __) bauge goi-
bird uguha
Bird of Paradise hanaha
biscuit bisiketi
bite mato(ge-)
black dubu
black palm goru
blind nikopu, nirahu, niveite
blow, (to on a fire) uhu-;
    (wind \(\bar{s}\) ) mugu(gu-)
```

C

```
call out, to to-; (_magical
    incantations) kisu\overline{kiga(ma-)}
canoe (small) eu; (large) yagatoi
canoe pole gaivara
carefully isayagaha, regu
carry (on shoulder) ago(hu-),
    (on stick over shoulder)
    tabo(va-); (on ends of a pole)
    ruhi(ga-)
carve up, to bo(go-)
cassowary iya
cave muni vaka
centipede soa
centre nomuaka; (at the__)
    nomuakahe
charcoal agota
chase, to oya(ha-)
chest doka; (__hair) doka homoka
cheek tihi
cheek bone atu
children gamigamika
chin hate
chock, to dabi(va-)
church dubu; (to go to__)
    guriguri (ki-)
cigarette siga, sigareti
circle komuta
clan iduhu
claw uguha vasika
clean, to regu(ga-)
clear rebure taure
climb, to gadi(ma-)
close (= nearby) hugure
close (a box) baku(va-); (a door)
    mitabe(va-); (one's eyes)
        kumu(va-)
cloud gousa
cockatoo kae
cockroach pitoroka
coconut (ripe) baga; (young,
    unripe) karu
```

coconut (husk) baga bunu; (meat)
(baga tubuka; (milk) karu eia
coil, a dudu; (to__) dudu ki-
cold (water) ribike; (person)
rukuruku goi-
coloured kuruku
comb gini
come, to oro(go-)
come outside, to haki(va-)
comfortable (to make someone feel
) magegaha-
conchshell bitivaka
congregate, to boura(ga-)
consequently eige, enuge
contents maka
continuous aspect -ima
coo, to to-
cook, to gono(go-); (to in a
ground oven) amu(ha-)
cooked ragirage
cooking pot guri
coral moemoe
cough, to enoto-
count, to gau(va-)
court kota
cousin (= wife's brother's cousin)
sibaga
cover up, to baku(va-)
covering (for hair) rokero
crab boga, duba, kokopa
crayfish ura
crawl daraio(va-)
creek tinavai
crocodile huge
crooked keuka, keuka keukava,
gorogorogove
crossing (= ford) ogigi gabu
croton vabe
crow gaioka
crow, to to-
crown (of tree) koboka, teteka

```
cry, to ni(vi-)
cup kapusi
current (of river) etago
cut, to dodo(va-)
```


## D

dance, a yavaya; (to __) yavaya (va-)
darkness va dibu
daughter mae
day va, vani
day-break vatahe
dead hogeragane
deaf ihiko badiba, ihiko banutaka, ihiko kudiba, ihiko veite
death feast boua
decking (on canoe) kaina
decoration (flower) hera; (feather on spring) govedi
deep domare
descend, to goro(ma-), hirigo(mo-) ugu (ha-)
desire ura
destroy, to kobara(ga-)
dew huni
die hoge(raga-)
different gaita
dig up roho-
dilapidated (= full of holes) vakavakave
disagreeable person heudage koitava
distant gamana
do, to ki-, va-; (to something without success) paru(va-); (to something in a previously described manner) ate (va-)
dodge, to gahe(ma-)
dog to, totoka
don't negu + verb ending in -ime
door uduva
dove kibika, ogororo
draw water, to ea maga-

```
dream, a yaso;(to__) yago(gi-)
drink, to i-
drop (as of fruit)kinigo(ho-)
drum ae
dry (of cloth) korikore, gogoto;
        (of river) godoke
dugong rui
dust (vata) duka; souka
```


## E

each abuti abuti (two each)
ear ihiko
earth, the vateta keteike; vateta bauge
earthquake vata vagava vasavaviare
earthworm tehena
easy rabura
easy-going person rebure taure koltava, uhudau koitava
eat, to $i-$, tamuta goi-, tamuta va-
eat! bai!
echidna nigu
edge esia; (to be on__) bunira (ga-)
edible i
eel (small) mina; (large) nahitu
egg unika; (bird's__) uguha unika
eight abuguveite
elbow ada komukone
eldest hamagamiva
embrace hodohu-
empty, to be ahake-, maka veite
end dekota, teteka
enter siri(va-)
entice (a woman to return to her own village) masi dabi (va-)
erect, to vata(ga-)
European giregire koita, nao
evening vahigeta
everyday vani inuhati
evil (to become__) horuhoruve (goi-); (__being) tabu; (__ spirit) horudaure

```
explode pou(va-)
extinguished vodohunu
eye ni; (of coconut) baga nika;
    (__brow) ni homoka; (__lash)
    ni homoka
F
fazz ( from height) moru(goho-), desu(va-); (_from standing) dou(va-); (Into a hole) arira (ga-); (a tree_s) gou(ha-)
family bese
fan nonoto iyaga
fancy that! amumava
far away gamana
fat (= big) bauge; (become_ ) raho goi-; (= grease) ivika, guika
father, father's brother mama, mamaka; (__-in-law = wife's father) varu
feast (general word) rigi; (death ) boua, ata hogeragana rigiva; Thouse_) yaga rigi; (banana harvest (_) uhi gonigo rigi; (yam har̄est_) vaia rohiro rigi; (wedding__) magi mimi rigi
feather homoka; (fan-like decoration) kisa; (_ decoration on spring) tubuka
feed (vasi(ga-)
feelers uri homoka
female (of animals) masi, ara
fence magu, gara
fever rukuru; (to have__) rukuruku goi-
fifteen utadakasiva
fill up, to tobo-, toko-
fine (= good) mage
finger (ada) kakina; (__ nail) ada kouka
finish, to kosa(va-), neto(va-)
fire, firewood vene
fired (= went off) pou (va-)
firm berebe; (firmly) berebegaha
first urigoi
```

fish karava; (__net) koe, reke
five adakasiva
flame tree yogo
flap wings, to ga(ma-)
flare up, to bubuna (ga-)
flat ground rebure taure, tobo
flea iso
flower hera, madika
fly, a honega; (to__) hura(ga-)
flying fox boka
focus marker -ki
fog iuva, yuvara
foZZow, to oya(ha-)
food (uncooked, raw__) demaka; (cooked ) tamuta; (protein (= meat) misika
foot vasi hotoka
for dainehe, gahara, gasina, $-i$, -ni; (_no reason) maka veite; (__that reason) ei(ge)
ford (of creek) ogigi gabu
foreign nao
forehead vari
forget, to gata(va-), anavaidau(ga-)
forked (_tree) idi kasaga; (__branch) idi gata
foul-smelling muduke
four abu abu
friend vasi; (as address) biage
frizzy hair omo konibo (konibo)
frog marada
from (a person) -dehe
front (in_of) vagotonihe
fruit madika
full (of water) toboke-, tokoke-, toboroso-

## fur homoka

furious uhure ra(ga-)
future tense (immediate ? ) ena + verb ending in -isa; (immediate ?) - isaraga (definite ? ) -vara(ki) (definite_ in questions) -vanu?

```
G
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```
garden gege; (bush_) buru gege;
```

garden gege; (bush_) buru gege;
(new__) barua; (o\overline{ld__) sama;}
(new__) barua; (o\overline{ld__) sama;}
(yam_) baia, biata
(yam_) baia, biata
father together, to boura(ga-)
gee amumava, godivo neina neina
neina
get (= become) goi-; (__ a single
object) ma-; (_many \overline{objects)}
idi(ga-) ( fat) raho goi-;
(__ready to depart) tohi ki=;
(__small) avie goi-; (__ tall)
bauge goi-; (__thin) vaga goi-
ghost sua
ginger agi
girl maiago; (baby__) maiago
karuka; (small__) maiago gamika,
maiago avie; (unmarried__) mabi
give mo(mima-)
go, to oti-; (__around) ori(ga-)
(__away to another place)
geahu oti=; (_down) hirigo
(mo-); uhu(ha-); (_Into a hole)
siri(va-); ( off (= explode))
pou(va-); (__outside) haki(va-)
goanna aeva
good mage
goodbye (to say__) vasiba(gaha-)
goodness! aoma!
gosh! amumava, godivo, gorumanema
grandfather (= father's father)
vahia, baba (great__) bauge
grandmother baba (?)
grandson (= son's son) vahia;
(great__) bauge
grass isu, isure, kuru, tiru
grasshopper isoiso
gravel muni momuno momuno
greedy person iyaga garahe vivi
koitava
green in colour dakarikave
greens tamuta
grey-haired omo kae, omo susu
ground mata, tana, vata, vateta;
(__oven) amudo
grow up kobora(ga-)
grub (that eats yams) kaho
guide, to misiga(ma-)
gum uamo
gum tree boroko, mado
guts bouka, maka, momono

```

\section*{H}
```

hair hanaka, homoka ( of body) ahata homoka; (__of head) omo hanaka
hammock soso
hand ada ( of bananas) yarika; (__of betelnut) araka
handle adaka
happy hegiri(va-)
happily magemage
hard-hearted suara
harvest (to yams, potatoes) roho(__bananas) uhi gono-
haunted tabu
have -te
having (done the action expressed by the verb) -ane, -are, -yareme
hawk duna; (sea__) boroki
he au
head omo
headache (to have a__) komatavara (va-), omo kouka huhu (va-)
hear, to ihi-
heart soruka
heavy isuke, isukate
heel vasi debete
hence enuge
here gabu oi, ohe, oi, ona
her $a u ;$ (hers) auye; (herself) auvagu, au biota
hiccough, to akaia (ma-); (expression used to stop__) meri tina be mi rogodeima
hide, to magore(me-)
himself au vagu, au biota
his au, auye

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```

hit (with hand) ga(ma-);
(__with stick) hodi(va-)
hozd, to dadi(va-), hoduhu-,
kamu(va-), ma-
hoZe aba, vaka ( in lobe of
ear) ihiko vaka
hornbill gure
hornet iha
hot hedoka
house yaga
how? orenagena, orenaki,
orenakimena, orenakiyege
howt, to kou(ga-), koukou(ro-),
niviegega(ha-)
how many, how much esebugena
hungry (to be__) gubu(raga-)
hunt, to meiu(va-)
husband ata, mobo
I
I da
1dentifier (the one whom we are
talking about) -va
if -aneige, -anera, -are, -nube
impatient person uhudauveite
koitava
imperative (sg) verb stem; (pl)
-yahe; (negative ) negu +
verb ending in -ime
important keteike, rohi
in -da, uhura
increase in size, to bauge goi-
individual gauva
inland maha
in-laws sibaga, varu
insect beberuka
inside uhu, uhura
instep vasi hotoka itaharava
intend to, intention -isage +
pronoun + ki
intensifier (very) auvagu,
daure
intestines deka dega ?
J
jaw atu, hate
joke ehayahiya(va-)
jump down gero(va-)
just unage, mu with past and present
tense of verb
keep, to regu(ga-); (to going)
ototo; (to__doing something) ate
(va-), atete
kernel (of nut) unika, maka
kick, to peta(va-)
kidney (?) iyata
kizl, to ho(g)eka-
kingfisher (= kookaburra) tura
knee komuko; (__cap) komuko kebeve
knife kaia; (shell__) kevi; (stone
) muni kaia, muni risi; (bone
_made from shoulder blade) yagi
know diba(va-)
knowledge uhuvaka
kookaburra (= giant kingfisher) tura
kunai grass kuru

```
```

into -da, uhura

```
into -da, uhura
in vain (to do something__) daugo
in vain (to do something__) daugo
    (ho-)
    (ho-)
island motumotu
island motumotu
it au; (1ts) au, auye; (1tself)
it au; (1ts) au, auye; (1tself)
    auvagu, au biota
    auvagu, au biota
itchy remere remere
```

itchy remere remere

```

\section*{K}
kangaroo (tree climbing__) detura

L

Zand mata, tana, vata, vateta, (__controller) mata omoto
language ga
Zast aramagatu, netonetova, tetekava
Zater ihie, vahigu
```

Zaugh tati(va-)
law aina
Zay an egg, to uni maia(ma-)
Zazy guragu dadaga koitava,
heroveite, huyohuyoveite
lead, to nisiga(ma-)
leaf hanaka
leave, to gata(va-), (__off)
gare(me-)
Zeft hand side vaka
Zeg vasi; (lower__) tori
lest -are sigova
Zet go, to kinigo(ho-); ( as of
a rope coming off a peg or nail)
bokera(ha-)
Zie, to avanage varaki(va-);
tarata(va-)
Zift up, to yage(ma-)
light (as substance) abaga
lightening gibaru
like (= in a certain manner) -naki;
(= resembles) nagate
Zime gudi; (__pot) gudi kouka;
(__spatula) gudi beha
Zip hirua
Zive, to u-, maguri(va-)
Ziver iruhuka
lizard boro
Zoad (fit for men) tohi
Zoincloth name
long ege
long time ago subuta
Zook, to era(ga-); (__after)
regu(ga-); (_back) anigoi-
(__down a weII, hole) ede(me-);
(—_for) yago(va-)
Zoquacious person ga dadaga
koitava
Zose, to gata(va-)
Zot (= much) -mudago
Zouse umu
Zower (_arm) ada vahute; (__leg)
tori; (__lip) dehie hirua
lucky mage

```

Zump ( under skin) uhuhu; \(\qquad\) of earth) vata komuna
Zunch yako

\section*{M}
make, to \(k i-\), ( a fire) vene gomo(ga-); ( Feel at ease, comfortable, welcome) vasiba (gaha-); (_up a load for a man to carry) tohi ki-; (__ a mess of something) daure (gaha-)
mad (to become__) horuho ruve(goi-)
magpie gahuko
male (unmarried__) gara; (__animal)
egiate, mo
man ata
mango karika
mangrove hagu
manner (in a certain__) -naki
many dadaga
marry, to magi ma-
mature iahu
maybe inagu, maika
meat misika
meal time tamuta va va
medial verb suffixes -are, -e eige
-ege, -e(ra), -i(me), -nuge
meet, to bebebehu(geve-)
men atuhea
middle nomuaka (at, in the _)
nomuakahe, nemehe; (the__( one)
nomuakava
midday vani iahu
midnight nemehe
might mu ina(gu)
nilk amu
mimic, to tohotoga(ha-)
mine daye
miss the mark, to gause(me-)
mistake dauregirave, auga(?)
money damu
moneyless goroa
moon bata
```

morning vagutu; (this__) negu
vagutu
mosquito una
mother neina, neinaka; (__-in-
law) varu
mother-of-pearl shell sema;

```
\(\qquad\)
``` breast plate) gebore
mountain nimu
mourn, to nogo ro-: (mourner) nogo koitava
mouse merago gamika
moustache ava homoka
mouth ava; (inside the __) ava uhura
much -mudago
mud gugu
murder, to ga(ma-); (murderer) ga: koitava
muscle daribu, misika
must ma + future tense of verb in -isa
my di; (myself) davagu, di biota
```


## N

```
name ihi
nape (of neck) tu(g)uka
nation bese
native riga
nearby hugure
neck enoka
negative (__marker in verbs)
    veite; (__marker on nominals)
    -ne; (__marker in imperatives)
    negu + verb ending in -ime;
    ( marker in future tense)
    beta + verb ending in -isa
nest uguha yagava
net (__for ha1r) rokero; (fish
            reke
net bag (large__) yaga; (small__)
        yago; (man's shoulder__) mas\overline{abe}
        masabe yago
new isage
next - see another, later; (_
    year) hoiseni lagani virei
```

```
night vahi; (this__) negu vahi;
(last__) vahige
```

nine ikaguveite
nipple ni boko
no veitera; (__good) daure; (__one)
ata be + negative verb
nominalizer -va
noose ivi
nose uri
nostril uri vaka
not beta, veite, negu;
$\qquad$ one
person) ata veitera
nothing but unage
now negu, o; (just__) negubutu

## 0

object referent(sg) -ga, -go,
-imo, -ma, -me, -va; (pl) -geige,
-geve, -gaha, -higeve, -igeve,
-ogeve
ocean eve
of -ka; v. also Sections 2.22.2
and 2.22.3
offspring bauge, gamika
old (but active); iahu; (__ and in-
active) maraga; (= worn out)
emene
on -da, ga, -he, -va
once va kobugabe
one be, kobabe, kobugabe,
only -gu, unage
open (to_a box) bao(va-), ta(ha-)
(to__one's eyes) ra(hu-)
or se
origin badina
ornament in nose muki
ought ma + future tense of verb in
-isa
our ni; (ours) oye; (ourselves)
novagu, ni biota
outrigger darima
outside itagahu
oven in ground amudo
overhead omada, omo derikava
ow b basuka, kuna, manahaka
$p$
paddle bara
pain huhuna(ga-)
palm of hand ada uhura
pandanus (coastal variety) gone;
(edible variety) gereka
parrot kiruki, tumuru
partitive marker -va, -ka
pass by, to soi(ga-)
pastor haoro koitava
past tense marker -nu
path guma
patient person uhudau koitava
pawpaw roku
peaceable person uhudau koitava
penis vesu
people gaha(yabara), koita,
-yau (?)
perhaps inagu, maika
person koita
perspire, to vagoto(gigoi-)
pig oho; (_trap) sobena; (_ tusk) baudo
pinch, to biso(va-)
place, a gabu, mata
plain (= flat area) regata;
hetari, (flood__) tobo, rebure
taure
plait, to tigu(hu-), hatu(va-)
plant, to begi (va-)
platform patapata
play, to roko-
please regunaki
plenty dadaga
plural marker (_on kinship nouns)
-uhea; (general_) -уa
point (of spear) vetoka
pond koa
poor goroa, gorova muduge
(koitava)

```
porpoise kidurui
possum detuva
pour out, to bohu(ga-)
prawn sara
pray, to guriguri ki-
pregnant, to be detu goi-
prepare, to (food) sui gono(ga-)
    (_to depart) tohi ki-; (__ a
    load for a man to carry) tohi ki-
present tense markers -ima, -a
pretend, to tarata(va-), hararaga
    (ha-)
prickle (__on a vine) kau, tokaro;
    (__on pineapple) garana garana;
    (__on wild yam) ineine
prohibited
pr hibition, a
properly
prop up, to
pulz, to
push, to
put, to (__an object down) maia(ma-)
    (__many things together) gosi(ga-);
        (-_things into a bag) gosigi(va-);
        (__something in the sun) vani no-;
        (-_something in a hole) abete(me-);
        something upright) yage(me-)
            Q
quickly -guhu, vaina
quit, to gare(me-)
        R
rat merago; (co onut__) touvara
rattle made of seeds on drum to oro
rain veni; (to__) veni ki-; (to
        down) rere(\overline{ma}-); (__cape) goru
rainbow kevau
ready to leave, to be tohi ki-
really regunaki
reason maka
reciprocal marker -bebe
```

```
red kereka; ( mouth) ava
    kereka; ( skinned person)
    giregire \overline{koitava}
reject, to besibe(va-)
relatives taunaguhea
relativizer -ane, -are
release, to kinigo(ho-),
    sokira(ha-), bokira(ha-)
remember, to ana(va-)
remove hair, to ya(ha-)
repeat an action, to ate(va-)
resembles nagate
rest, to vaga (ro-)
return, to goiragi oro(go-)
revive, to kuturaha-
rib isinita, (small__) iyata
rich rohi
right (= correct) yeririve;
    (__hand) vamaga
rigid berebe; (rigidly)
    berebegaha
ripe baeke
rise up, to gadi(ma-), gadimi
    oro(go-)
river tinavai, yaro
road guma
rolz kure(va-)
root umuka
rope konagu
rotate gigore(va-)
rotten daure, muduke
round reborebe
round water (= pond) koa
rub, to roi(va-)
rubbish momo
run, to ruru(va-)
```

S
sad vagata huhunaga-
sago gerarabi, rabi
sail, a yara
saliva saba

```
salt damena
sand sigu
sap idi gavaga, idi taoka
save, to vivi(va-)
say, to ga(va-), ro-
school (to go to__) sikuri ra(ga-)
scold, to nami(ga-)
scoop up prawns, to kado(ga-)
scratch, to tu(ma-)
scrotum buu
sea eve
second wife ihie magi, gaika
see, to era(ga-)
seed yogia
self (reflexive) -biota; (emphatic)
    -vagu
sell, to hae(ha-)
send, to besu(ga-)
seven yatirigava
sew up, to tigu(hu-)
shadow variva, hisuka
shake, to gabubu(va-)
shame variva
share out, to hari(va-)
shark koya
sharp (__point) vetokate;
```

$\qquad$

``` knife)
    egigate
sharpen, to betoka ki-, egiga ki-
shave, to ya(ha-)
she au
shell kouka; (string of s) arasa;
    (mother-of-pearl__) gema, gebore
shelZfish bisitika
shift camp, to geahu oti-
shirt sieti
shoot with a gun, to pidi(va-)
short tuake
should ma + future tense of verb
    in -isa
shouZder baguni; ) __blade) yagl
show, to nisiga(ma-), gagiromo
shut, to (_one's eyes) kumu(va-)
    (_a box)
```

sick, to be dika(va-)
side ( of mountain) nimu gaba $\bar{k} h u ;$ (on the sea__) eve arihe
sideburns tihi homoka
simple (= easy) rabura
sink mutu(va-)
sister (elder__) amakina; tate; (younger ) sogo; (_-in-law) ( $=$ brother's wife) sibaga;
sit, to gura(ma-)
six agorokiva
skin vadaka; (__of goanna) aeva vataka
skirt nigi
sky va
sleep, to ya(ga-); go to sleep child! boki!
sling, a viripopo
slippery tararatararave
slowly babagaha, baebagaha
small avie, kusina; (become__) avie goi-
smell, to guti ya(ha-)
smoke vene duka; (to__game, meat) hara(va-)
snake inuhu, yaremetago
snatch, to kito(va-)
sneeze, to asimana(va-)
so - see consequently
soft rabura
sole of foot vasi uhura
some be
someone ata be
sometimes vani be
somewhere gabu be
son moe, gamika; (__-1n-law) varu
soon vaina
soot vene souka
sorcerer goro koitava
sore kuhi
sorry (ah ) forumanema; godivo baita (to feel uhudauva (ha-)
soul horu, sua
speak, to ga(va-)
spear vaiga; (fish_) karaudi; (to ) bi-
specifier -ge, -ka, -ra, -vara, -yabara; (question__) -gene, -na,
-nu, -vanu, -ya:nu
speech ga
spherical reborebe
spider akomuka, magena
spirit horu; (evil__) tabu
spit, to saba ra(ma-)
split, to bati(va-), seigo(ha-)
spoil, to daure(gaha-)
spoon kebe
sprout, to koborasa-, kobarasa-
squeeze, to gigi(va-)
stand, to ra(ma-); (_up) vata(ga-);
(__up (= to erect)) yage(me-)
star vamumo, hisiu
stative verb marker -ke
stay, to u-
steal, to vahoro ma-
stick, a atia; (digging__) gudi; (to__) kamuvi u-
still sou, sovire
stomach bouka, vagata
stone muni
stop, to (= leave off) gare(me-), (= to finish) neto(va-)
storm rain atu
straight yeririve
string gote; (__of small shells)
arasa
strong herote
stump of tree gaika
stupid tiveite
subject referent (sg) -go, -goha,
-goho, -goi, -ha, -ma, -va, -vi;
(pl) -goraha, -ha, -raga, -ragoho
suck, to musu(va-)
suddenly tutubevanu
sugar suga
sugarcane imi

```
sun vani
support, to dabi(va-)
surface (of water) vadaka
surprised, to be gagu(raga-)
swalZow, to sone(va-)
swamp tihuta mata
swear, to ga daure(raga-)
sweat, to vagoto (gigoi-)
sweet heigate
sweet potato inueri
swell up, to uhu-
swim, to nahu(va-), rere(va-)
T
table patapata
taboo tabu
tail teteka
take, to (__a single object) ma-,
    mi(o)ti-; (_many objects)
    idigi(o)ti-; (out of the
    ground) roho-
talZ (to become__) bauge goi-
tanket vabe
taro vadu
tea ti
tell, to boritiga(ha-)
ten utube
testicles tahakava
that l. -ane, -are;
    2. hogi hoi, ike, vire
thatch biri
their yau; (theirs) yauye
themselves (reflexive) yau biota;
    (emphatic) yauvagu
then negu
there ei, ena, virei, hoi:::virei
therefore eige, enuge
these oyaba
they yau; (__2) yau abu
thick adune
thigh beha
```

```
thin (of paper) sevesike
```

thin (of paper) sevesike
thing iyaga
thing iyaga
think, to ana(va-)
think, to ana(va-)
thirsty, to be ehogea(va-)
thirsty, to be ehogea(va-)
this o
this o
three abigaga
three abigaga
thrice va abigaga
thrice va abigaga
throat enoka
throat enoka
throw kira(va-)
throw kira(va-)
thumb aia, ada aia
thumb aia, ada aia
thunder vara du(ha-)
thunder vara du(ha-)
thus enuge
thus enuge
tie rope, to bodi(va-)
tie rope, to bodi(va-)
time va, vani; (at the_that)
time va, vani; (at the_that)
-anehe, -arehe
-anehe, -arehe
tiny momuno mumunoike
tiny momuno mumunoike
tired hisuku(va-)
tired hisuku(va-)
to -da, -he, -i, -va; (__a river)
to -da, -he, -i, -va; (__a river)
-ge; (__ person) gasina; (to
-ge; (__ person) gasina; (to
tell__someone) -ki
tell__someone) -ki
tobacco kuku; (__dried over fire)
tobacco kuku; (__dried over fire)
raupa; (village grown__) siomu
raupa; (village grown__) siomu
today negu, negu vani
today negu, negu vani
toe kakina
toe kakina
together aburuga
together aburuga
toil korahi
toil korahi
tongue meina
tongue meina
tonight negu vahi
tonight negu vahi
too -tage
too -tage
tooth egia
tooth egia
top koboka; (_of tree) teteka;
top koboka; (_of tree) teteka;
( of water) yadaka; (lip)
( of water) yadaka; (lip)
auhe hirua; (on_of) adahe, -da,
auhe hirua; (on_of) adahe, -da,
-va, -ga, -he
-va, -ga, -he
touch, to
touch, to
towards (__ river) -ge; (__ a person)
towards (__ river) -ge; (__ a person)
gasina
gasina
trade wind (North-East ) yaha;
trade wind (North-East ) yaha;
(south-East__) iaurabada
(south-East__) iaurabada
trap (= noose) ivi; (pig__) gobena;
trap (= noose) ivi; (pig__) gobena;
(bird__) sora; (wallaby__)
(bird__) sora; (wallaby__)
tree idi; (_used for making net
tree idi; (_used for making net
bag string) yagoaka
bag string) yagoaka
tremble gabubu(va-)

```
tremble gabubu(va-)
```

```
trick, to tarata(va-)
tried (?) varaki-
true (that's
```

$\qquad$

``` erege, arege
truly riagaha
trunk of tree idi gabaka; idi
    nomuaka; idi tanamaga
turn around, to anigoi-, goira
    (ga-), ori(ga-)
turtle era, gayoga
tusk baudo
twenty utabu
twice va abu
twig atia
two abu
U
uncle (= father's brother) mama,
    mamaka; (= mother's brother)
    gaime, gaimu
uncomfortable (to make one feel
```

$\qquad$

```
    daure (gaha-)
under derikahe, dokohu
undo a knot, to vahera(ga-)
unlucky ikore
unmarried ( male) gara;
    (__female) mabi
unsuccessful, to be daugo(ho-)
untruth, an ava unage
unwelcome (to make one feel__)
    daure (gaha-)
upper (__arm) ago yagia; (__leg)
    veha
use bad Zanguage, to ga daure
    (raga-)
useless (person) gorova muduge
    (koitava)
V
vagina ve
valley gabata uhura
vein dorogea
verandah kaina, kainaka
    W
wail, to nogoro-
waist nekota
wait for, to uhuya(ma-)
wake up, to ra(hu-)
wallaby (grass__) minu; (bush__)
    gove
want, to ura(va-), gaharage(va-),
    varaki(?); (not)) besibe(va-)
water (fresh__) eia; (sea__) eve;
    (salt__) e}\overline{\textrm{ve}
water pot hodu
water vessel goru
wash, to ea gu-, keto(va-)
wasp iha
wave, to hura(ga-)
wax uamo
we no
weak heroveite; (to become
    heroveite goi-
weave hatu(va-), tigu(va-)
weaZth damu
web akomuka yage goteva
weed gati; (to__) gati ki-
week pura
welcome, to magega(ha-)
well (= good) mage
wet degide, degidegi
what? otado, esegena
what's the matter with you? esemena?
when? vaisu, vani iyaga esebu?
when -anehe, -aneige, -anera, -are,
    arehe, -are negahe(ge), -are
    vanehe(ge), -ege
```

```
very auvagu, daure
```

very auvagu, daure
village ogo
village ogo
villagers ogogahayaba, ogoyau
villagers ogogahayaba, ogoyau
vine gote
vine gote
visitor deivate
visitor deivate
vomit edo(goho-)

```
vomit edo(goho-)
```

$\qquad$

```
where? ore(gene), orehe(gene),
    orei
which? ore(na)
which -ane, -are
white kae; ( haired) omo kae
who? unuhu(na)
who -ane, -are
whole hotoka
whose unuhu + possessive case
why? esemene, otado gaharahe,
    otado kisaromena
wide radara
widow gobu
widower dogodo
wife mabara, magina; (second__)
    ihie magi; (third__) magi
    abigara
willywagtail koitereka
wind nono; (NE trade__) yaha;
    (SE trade__) laurabada
wing akahane
wipe, to roi(va-)
with (accompaniment) -ruga,
    -ruta, -gore
with (instrument) -ga, -ma, -va,
    -he
woman magi; (old but active)
    magi iahu; (old and inactive)
    magi mabata
women magiya
work kiki, gaukara, korahi;
    (to__) gaukara (va-, ki-),
    me \overline{ki}-, me ma-
worker memimi koitava, me kiki
    koitava
worry anana(va-)
wretched ikore
wrinkled tutuhunu
wrist enoka
writhe, to guguni(va-)
```

yelZow maiakotave
yes erege, arege, io
yesterday nu
yet mu with past and present tense markers and negative verb; sou/ sovire with negative verb
young gamika
youth gara
you(sg) a (pl) ya;
your(sg) ai (pl) yai
yours (sg) aye (pl) yaye
yourself ai biota; avagu; (yourselves) yaibiota, yavagu
Y
yam dabu, nahuda, nahura, sina,
ura sina, vaia
5.0 TEXT

Tabu, the Serpent ${ }^{32}$
Behori yau badine // a: Vahoro Madoro /-/ a: Vanika
Behori their origin.pos ah Vahoro Madoro... ah Vanika
The origin of the Behori. Ah Vahoro Madoro...ah Vanika
Koita /-/ a: Vanika Koita-ra-ki
Koita $\quad$ ah Vanika Koita-spec-f go.and.ss prawn get-p
Koita... ah Vanika Koita went and got prawns.
ro-gege
came-sr.and.ds his wife.pos-spec-f He returned and hi.s wife cooked them

| au moe-ra-ki mi | mime | au-ki | i |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| his son.pos-spec-f | take.and.ss eat.and.ss he-f eat.and.ss |  |  |
| and his son got them and ate them |  |  |  |

rokoro-va-nu // ge Vahoro Madoro moe-ra-ki au ade-he
play-sr-p and.ds Vahoro Madoro son.pos-spec-f his hand.pos-in
and played. And Vahoro Madoro's son saw them in his hand
era-gime $a u-k i \quad n i-v i-n u / / a u-k i \quad r o-g i \quad r o-m a, ~$
see-or.and.ss he-f cry-sr-p he-f come-sr.and.ss say-pres
(= Vanika Koita's son's) and cried. He came and said, "Father,
"Mama sara" // ro-gege au-ki ro-ma, "Vahugu-ge 34
"Father prawns" come-sr.and.ss he-f say-pres "Tomorrow-spec
prawns." He (= Vahoro Madoro) came and said,
da-na ti ai mata-me Toutabu sara ga-mi
I-specQ go.and.ss your land-pos Toutabu prawns kill-or.and.ss
"If I go to your land tomorrow and kill prawns will you eat them?"
ro-gege a-na isa'l va hirigo-mege negu
come-sr.and.ds you-specQ eat.fut sun set-sr.and.ds now When night came then

| Vahoro | Madoro-ra-ki | ga | e | va-nu // au-ki |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Vahoro | Madoro-spec-f | speech | that | auxsr-p | he-f |

Vahoro Madoro said that. He slept.

| ya-ga-nu | va ta-hege | au-ki | time |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sleep-sr-p | day open-sr.and.ds | he-f | go.and.ss |
|  | Next day he went to the haunted land |  |  |

mata
e-ra
tabu-mata
$a u-k i$
ti
sara
Zand
that-spec
haunted-Iand
he-f
go. and.ss
prawns and (he went) and scooped up prawns, and he came and
kado-gi oro-gi tana 35 bohu-gi-gareme
scoop-sr.and.ss come-sr.and.ss land tip.out-sr.and.ss-leave.and.ss tipped them out on the bank and again went

| au-ki gaitana | ti | kado-gi-gareme |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| he-f | again | go.and.ss | scoop-sr.and.ss-leave.and.ss | and scooped up (more prawns) and then came and tipped them out


| au-ki | abigaga | gahiga-va | ti | kado-gime | au-ki |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| he-f | three | time(?)-on/at | go.and.ss scoop-or.and.ss | he-f |  |
| and then he, on the third time(?), went and tipped out a |  |  |  |  |  | and then he, on the third time(?), went and tipped out a




| gareme | au-ki au mabare | kime | au-ki ro-ma, | " a ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| leave.and.ss | $h e-f$ | his wife.pos | do.and.ss he-f say-pres, "you asp |  | he said to his wife, "Hurry up and take these and cook them.

vaina o idigi otime a ma gonogisa // gami
quickly this take.them.and.ss go.and.ss you asp cook.or.fut boy

These boys will eat them.
o-yaba ma isa /l a: negu hri homoka nibe
this-spec.pl asp eat.fut ah imp.neg nose hair.par a.smazl.piece.of
Ah, don't throw away any portion of the

```
ada homoka kibe ni homoka kibe a negu
arm hair.par a.fraction.of eye hair.par a.fraction.of you Imp.neg
feelers, arm hairs, eye Zashes:"
```

negeime ${ }^{36}$ //
throw.1mp.neg

| e-naki ro-me | au-ki magi | borltigahege |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-like say-and.ss he-f | woman | tell.sr.and.ds |

Thus he spoke. He told his wife (lit.the woman) to come and cook them.
magi-ra-ki ro-gime au-ki gono-go-nu // a: au-ka
woman-spec-f come-sr.and.ss she-f cook-sr-p ah he-spec
bina negu Tabu vasibagahlme au-ki ro-ma,"
asp now Tabu-snake that feel.comfortable.and.ss he-f say-pres
after making that snake feel comfortable he said,"

| "o-na 34 | gurama!" // a-gore ni mata-me-ra-kI | esemena |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this-on sit.1mp | you-with our | Zand-pos-spec-f |
| "Sit here!" why |  |  |


| o-naki da ki-nu?" // roya-gareme | au-ki bina magi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this-lie me do-p? | say-leave.off.and.ss he-f asp woman |
| you do this to me?" | Having said this he advised his wife |


| uagatime | au-ki | ro-ma, "A ma | vaina | otisa!" |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| advise.and.ss he-f | say-pres "you asp quickly | go.imp.fut |  |  |
| saying, "Off yougo quickly." |  |  |  |  |
| ro-yege | magl-ra-kl | ro-gi-me | au-ki | gono-i |
| say-and.ds woman-spec-f | come-sr-and.ss | she-f | cook-sr.and.ss |  |

When he had said this his wife came and cooked them.
ni homoka kibe ada homoka kibe nege nege-veitel/
eye hair.par a.fraction.of arm hair.par a.fraction.of throw-not She did not throw away any portions of eyelashes or arm hairs.

| i-isayagahl-koseime | yau-kl bina gura-ha-nu // ata-ra |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| eat-carefully-finish.and.ss | $t h e y-f ~ a s p ~ s i t-s r . p ~ m a n-s p e c ~$ |

urimi oro-gege Tabu e-ra-kl au ita-he oro-gonu // get.up.and.ss come-sr.and.ds snake that-spec-f its back-pos come-sr.p got up and came and that snake/Tabu followed him(lit. came at his back)

| au-ki | anigoime | au-ki ro-ma, | "Esemena | a-gore | ni |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he-f | turn.around.and.ss | he-f say-pres. "why | you-with our |  |  | He turned around to the snake and said, "This is our land, why did you


| mata-me-ra-ki | a | o-naki | da | ki-nu?' // ro otime |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Zand-pos-spec-f | you | this-like | me | do-p | say go.and.ss |
| do this to me?" |  |  |  | So saying he went and |  |


| nimu gatimege | au-ki orogege | au-ki muni | kure-va- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mountain ascend.and.ds he-f come-and.ds he-f stone roll-or- |  |  |  | ascended a mountain and the snake came and he (the man) rolled


| $-n u ~ / /$ muni keteike kurevege | au-ki tiege |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $-p$ | stone huge rozz.and.ds he-f come.and.ds |

down a stone. The huge stone rolled down and it went down and the
au-ki mi yagemi dadivi vata-ga-nu //
he-f get.and.ss Zift.up.and.ss hold.and.ss plant-or-p snake got it, lifted it up, held it and planted it.

| vatagi-gareme au-ki | soiragi orogonu // yaganu // |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| plant-leave.off.and.ss he.f turn.around.and.ss come.p | sleep.p |
| When he had planted it he came back. | He slept. |


put a coil on one step, a coil on the verandah and on the
dudu be ki-are patapata-va be ki-gareme
coil a do-seq table-on coil a do-leave.and.ss
table, and then it went and put its neck on the man's chest.

| au-ki au | eno-ke | mi | time | au-ki ata | e |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| it-f | his | neck-pos | get.and.ss | go.and.ss | it-f | man |
| doko-ne-he | maia-ma-nu | $/ /$ | $\ldots$ |  |  |  |

## NOTES

1. The Koita are generally referred to by the Motu as Koitabu or Koitapu and these forms are consequently often used in other literature. Actually in Koita the word koita means person but no one I have spoken to seems to know what the -pu/-bu parts of 'Koitabu/Koitapu' mean or represent.
2. The first specimens of this language were actually collected by the Rev. J. Chalmers in the late 1870 's but were not published until 1907 when S.H. Ray used them in his comparative study. The first published specimens were published in the Annual Report for British New Guinea, l899-90. Capell and Wurm mainly collected basic vocabulary lists and some grammatical information which Miss Warwick-Smith added to in the early $1960^{\prime} \mathrm{s}$.
3. My informants on these occasions were Mr. Madi Roua (32 years), Mr. Kila Ono ( 34 years), Mr. Rabura Eava (over 60 years), Mr. Nigane Mana (over 60 years), and Mr. Kabua Hari (over 70 years). All these men belong to various 'groups' or iduhu that make up Kilakila village. Madi and Nigane belong to the Behori Group, a Koiari related group from out near the Laloki River; Kila belongs to the Vaga Group and Rabura to the Moigaha Group. I did not record Kabua's Group. All were born of parents living in Kilakila (although Nigane's father was born at Yumaduna near the Laloki River) and have lived most of their lives in Kilakila. I am most indebted to all five of these men for their encouragement and tireless efforts to teach me something of their language. I hope this account will be some compensation for their labours and will encourage them to continue to take pride in their language and to continue to press for having it written down and well described.
4. I should like to thank Professor Wurm, Dr. Capell, and Miss Warwick-Smith for allowing me access to their materials.
5. Note that the verb 'to give' in Koita takes Direct Objects and not Indirect Objects as in English. The reason for this lies in the structure of Koita verbs - see Sections 2.31.1 and 2.405 (object referents class 7). See also point 2 in this Section below.
6. The verb structure here is dependent (or medial) (see Section 2.31.1) for reasons $I$ do not understand at this stage.
7. Informants say that beta is "stronger" than veitera and means something like cannot or is not able to. They explained this further by saying that if a man goes to the hospital to see his wife but is stopped at the door one would say:
ata-ra-ki beta magi eraganu
man-spec-f not woman see.or.p
the man could not/was not able to see the woman
rather than ata-raki magi eraraveitera
man-spec.f woman see.not
the man did not see the woman
In other words beta is a marked negative in some way.
8. hosake- is derived from the verb hosa(va-) to break (something). See Section 2.411 for further comments.
9. There are other things about the use of this suffix that are not clear at this stage either. For example, why is oroganube in the first example not orogonube ? and why is the verb goi- to become used in the remaining examples?
10. Note that there is no locative clitic on kainaka. See note in Locative Phrases in Section 2.24.1.
11. It is not known whether these are really adversative sentences since the eduberege and eduge look suspiciously like variants of enuge consequently discussed in Reason Sentences in Section 2.13.4.
12. The Motu loans daina and badina are now also used in constructing these sentences e.g.,
veni kikidainahege koita bera beta ororovara rain do.reason.at.spec person a.spec not come.futindef No one will come because it's raining

| auka ororovara gatina gahiyavara |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| he.spec come.futindef reason | I.spec speech | do.futindef |

13. Note that garema! is irregular - one would expect gareme! See Section 2.407.
14. Note that there is a special form for arresting eating which is not related to the normal verb i- to eat. This is tamuta netulva-, raga-) which is literally food finish! Examples: tamuta netuva! Stop eating!, tamuta netu ragiyahe! You(pl) stop eating!
15. These forms are very similar to those of verbs negated with veitera (see Section 2.32.1) but insufficient data were collected to check this.
16. Note that abuti for two here is not quite the same as the numeral abu two.
17. I do not know what the -ve suffix means on this example, but it is the only example so far observed.
18. These elements can be identified in two ways - one by comparison with other forms (cf. eagu- to wash and eamaga- to draw water given) and one by the negative formation rules given later where the general rule is that for singular subjects or objects the verb root or the first syllable of the verb root is reduplicated before the negative veitera is added. The effect of this rule is to indicate the verb root. Consider, for example, the transformation:

$$
\text { eagu- to wash } \quad>\text { eaguguveitera not wash }
$$

19. Note that this form (ea) for water is different from the common present-day free form eia water.
20. I am not sure whether this is true of guhu quickly.
21. There is some evidence (e.g., allowable variation in some verbs) to suggest that partial reduplication of the verb root is an optional or conditioned (?) variant of the more general rule full reduplication of the verb root. Certainly this would seem to be the most logical kind of development historically but $I$ am unable to discuss it further at this stage for lack of evidence.
22. There is still some uncertainty about this verb. In particular it is not clear why $n \boldsymbol{i}$ appears in the negative forms.
23. Note the irregular change of ma- to mi- in the negative here.
24. But see also examples in 2.31.2(111).
25. -isaraga has been observed in the following two sentences but it is not known what it represents:

| yauvaguge yauki otisraga | They're going by themselves |
| :--- | :--- |
| novagugeraki noki otisaraga | We're going by ourselves |

26. No information was collected for negative counterparts of these suffixes.
27. In this Chart a dash means "non-applicable".
28. As already indicated (Section 2.22.3) these may be systematically related to the partitive form of the noun but more evidence is needed to test this.
29. This variation suggests contact with other dialects or languages (e.g. Koiari).
30. hogi has been observed to come before the noun in one expression: idigi ti hogi ata ramane vire moima! Take them and give them to that man!
31. This may in fact turn out to be the partitive suffix but so far there is insufficient evidence to verify this one way or the other.
32. This is part of a traditional tale told here by Nigane Mana whose personal details have already been given in Note 3 above. Another version of this story called "The Man and the Serpent" is told by Toka Taudi from Pari village in the Papuan Villager, Vol.9, No. 12 (Dec. 1958): 94-95.
33. Note that according to the description of Koita given in this paper above sara prawn should strictly be counted as singular because the verb ma- to get is only used for getting/taking singular objects - idiga- to get should be used for getting/taking many objects. However in cases like this where the object referred to by the noun is normally collected as a group the verb ma- may be used instead of idiga-.
34. Note that some of Nigane's dialectal differences show through here and elsewhere in this text. In particular he says vahugu instead of the more common vahigu for tomorrow and later on ona instead of oda for on this = here.
35. tana is ridge, raised land. In this situation where it is in contrast with the river or water where Vahoro is catching prawns it refers to the bank of the river.
36. negeime < Motu negea to throw away.
```
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## A GRAMMAR SKETCH OF MOUNTAIN KOIALI

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Mountain Koiali is a member language of the Koiarian Language Family of Central Papua. ${ }^{1}$ It is spoken by approximately 3700 speakers scattered over the southern and northern slopes of the Owen Stanley Range of the Central and Northern Districts, Papua. This paper describes the principal grammatical features of the dialect spoken in and around the village of Efogi in the headwaters of the Brown River. ${ }^{2}$
1.2 In the forthcoming description the following orthographic symbols and abbreviations will be used:

### 1.21 Orthography

The following symbols are used to represent twelve consonant and five vowel phonemes, which contrast in the following analagous or identical environments:

| Phoneme Contrasts | Examples |
| :---: | :---: |
| t//d | /ata/ people /ada/ hand |
| g//k | /goianu/ burnt /koianu/ tear down |
| b//v | /bata/ moon /vata/ ground |
| g//h | /vagana/ wet season /lahanu/ sleep |
| k//h | /komo/ here /homo/ roofing leaf |
| t//s | /tava/ below /sava/ wet |
| 1//s | /lavanu/ to weed /savanu/ to be wet |
| 1//d | /luti/ abdomen /duti/ asparagus-like plant |
| $\mathrm{m} / / \mathrm{n}$ | /mamal father /nana/ older brother |
| i//e | /ivi/ nome /ive/ seed |
| i//u | /ive/ seed /uve/ banona |
| e//a | /vate/ skin /vata/ ground |
| e/lo | /eno/ neck /ono/ what |
| a/lo | /dabanu/ cold /dobanu/ to fall |
| u/lo | /tu/ nope /tol dog |

Principal variants
[ t ]; [d]
[g]; [k]
[b]; [p] initially
[b] medially
[g]; [x] initially
[ g ] medially
[k]; [x] initially
[g] medially
[t]; [ṣ] initially
[z]
$\left[\begin{array}{l}\text { [ } \\ \dot{y}]\end{array}\right]$ medially
[1]; [ṣ] initially
$[\hat{\dot{q}}]$ medially
[1]; [d]
[m]; [n]
[i]; [e]
[i]; [u]
[e]; [a]
[e]; [o]
[a]; [o]
[u]; [o]

### 1.22 Abbreviations

| lst | first person | 3rd | third person |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2nd | second person | A | Axis |


| Add $P$ | Additive Phrase | np | noun proper |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| App P | Appositional Phrase | N Cl | Noun Clause |
| Att NP | Attributive Noun Phrase | NP | Common Noun Phrase |
| adj | adjective | Nom Cl | Nominalised Clause |
| app | apposition | nuc | nucleus |
| Ben | Benefactive | num | numeral |
| Ben P | Benefactive Phrase | obj | object |
| Cl | Clause | Obj Coord P | Object Coordinate Phrase |
| clt | clitic | pl | plural |
| conn | connector | plo | plural object suffix |
| coord | coordinate | pls | plural subject |
| dem | demonstrative | poss | possessive |
| emph | emphatic | Poss NP | Possessive Noun Phrase |
| equat | equative | pred | predicate |
| excI | exclusive | pres | present |
| fc | future continuous | pro | pronoun |
| fut | future | prog | progressive |
| H | Head | qm | query marker |
| imp | imperative | quan | quantifier |
| incl | inclusive | R | Relator |
| ind | indicative | sing | singular |
| Ind Equat Cl | Indicative Equative Clause | sm | subject marker |
| inst | instrument | spec | specifier |
| intran | intransitive | spm | subject plural marker |
| Listing NP | Listing Noun Phrase | st | stem |
| loc | locative | subj | subject |
| Loc $P$ | Locative Phrase | Subj Coord | Subject Coordinate Phrase |
| $\operatorname{man}$ | manner | Subj QP | Subject Query Phrase |
| med | medial tense marker | t | tense |
| mmm | modified noun marker | Time P | Time Phrase |
| mod | modifier | tran | transitive |
| n | noun | $\checkmark$ | verb |
| neg | negative | vol | volitional |
| nom | nominaliser | wd | word |
| nom adj | nominalised adjective | + | obligatory |
|  | $\pm$ | ional |  |
| 2.0 STEMS |  |  |  |
| 2.1 General |  |  |  |
| A distinctive feature of the Mountain Koiali language is that |  |  |  |
| there is on | ly one derivational suf | , the nomi | lising suffix -ve, |

which is itself homophonous with the third person singular possessive suffix -ve. (Various non-verbal stems are verbalised simply by the addition of verbal inflectional suffixes.)

### 2.2 Derived Noun Stems

The suffix -ve nominaliser is added to adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives, to produce the related noun-stems:

Adjectives:

| isu heavy toela bad |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| isu-ve the heavy one | toela-ve the bad one |

Demonstrative Pronouns:

| ko | this | ke | that |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ko-ve | here | ke-ve | there |

Locatives:

| vava beside | ia | behind |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| vava-ve the place beside ia-ve | the place behind |  |

The suffixes -ve, third person singular possessor, and -eabe, third person plural possessor, are added to certain verb stems to make abstract noun stems:

| vabua to fear | negoa to be strong |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| vabu-ve his fear | nego-ve his strength |
| vabu-eabe their fear | negoe-eabe their strength |

uvu-ve-u uoholi-sege vahaeho-ve-u loho-n-u
sad-his-sm finish-when happy-his-sm come-sing-past
When his sadness finished, his happiness came.
Note that in the first set of examples above, i.e. the adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives, the meaning of possession is absent, and the -ve is never replaced by the -eabe. For these reasons, that -ve was said to be a nominalising suffix. However, because of its close parallelism with the clearly possessive suffixes on the verb stems, it would be possible to consider the nominalising suffix -ve as the possessive suffix, also, by saying that it loses its possessive meaning on adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives.

### 2.3 Derived Verb Stems

Most adjective and noun stems are made into verb stems by the addition of verb inflectional affixes, including even the medial-verb forms.

```
            kolia-n-u
        husband-sing-past
        got a husband/married
            egea-n-u
        tall-sing-part
        was tall
                                    venea-n-u
                                firewood-sing-past
    got firewood
        taea-n-u
    white-sing-past
        was white
```

    When the stem does not end in /a/, as in ege tall, an /a/ is
    added to the stem when verbal suffixes are present.

### 2.4 Reduplicated Stems

There are only a few reduplicated stems in Mountain Koiali.
(1) Reduplicated Noun Stems ukolikoli eternal life
(ii) Reduplicated Verb Stems

| dikoha | to split | vilia | to go around |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dikodikoha to split in | vilivilia to go around |  |  |
| many places | many times |  |  |

### 2.5 Compound Verb Stems

There is a small class of verb stems that appear to be compound verb stems consisting of two stems, the second of which is ti to go. However, when these compound stems have plural subjects, the allomorphic adjustment is different from that of the isolated verb stem ti to go.

```
                    ese-ti
    heva-ti
    child-go down-go
    stumble descend
    ese-luvi heva-luvi
child-go.plural.subject
    (many) stumble
down-go.plural.subject
    (many) descend
```


### 2.6 Borrowed Stems

```
Mountain Koiali often borrows stems from Motu, Pidgin, and English and inflects them as normal Mountain Koiali stems.
```

(1) Borrowed Noun Stems

```
beleidi bread
valamisi flying machine/airplane
kota court
misini mission/machine
bula week (< Motu pura week)
kulu kunai grass (< Motu kurukuru sword grass)
gabu place (< Motu gabu place)
    (ii) Borrowed Verb Stems
kotanu to go/take to court
sekihania shake hands
senisia to change
badua to be angry (< Motu badu angry)
diba to know (< Motu diba know)
bolo kikia to kick the ball
haukala to work (< Motu gaukara to work)
labana to hunt (< Motu labana to hunt)
```


### 3.0 WORDS

Word classes in Mountain Koiali are as follows: nouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals, adverbs, pronouns, interrogatives, temporals, locatives, and connectives.

### 3.1 Nouns

Nouns occur as fillers of the Head slots of Noun Phrases and take the third person possessive suffixes. ${ }^{3}$ There are two classes of nouns: regular nouns and kinship nouns. The kinship nouns take a first order plural marker, -uvu, that the regular nouns do not take.

### 3.11 Regular Nouns:

regular noun $=$ regular noun nucleus $\pm$ possessive marker

| non-kinship <br> noun stems | -ve <br> -eabe | his/her/ir |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |


| o-ve | o-eabe | o-e dua |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| house-his | house-their | house-mnm ${ }^{4}$ good |
| his house | theirhouse | good house |


| o-ve dua | o-eabe dua |
| :---: | :---: |
| house-his good | house-their good |
| his good house | their good house |

### 3.12 Kinship Nouns:

kinship noun $=+k i n s h i p$ noun nucleus $\pm$ kinship plural $\pm$ possessive marker

| kinship <br> noun stems | -uvu plural s | -ve his/her/its <br> -eabe their |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |


| neina-ve | nein-uvu-eabe | nein-uvu-e dua |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| mother-his | mother-s-their | mother-s-mnm good |
| his mother | their mothers | good mothers |

### 3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are uninflected and expound the modifying slot in Noun Phrase. In most texts, few or none occur. In conversation, adjectives are more frequently found, but it is more frequent to put the adjective in a verbal form in a separate clause.

| o-e toela isu |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| house-mnm bad | idi-e |
| bad house | tree-mnm heavy |
| o toelanu | heavy tree |
| house good.was idi isuanu |  |
| the house was good | tree heavy.was |

### 3.3 Verbs

### 3.31 General

Verbs expound Predicate slots of Transitive and Intransitive Clause Types and are inflected with verb suffixes. Except for the object-number-marker suffix which occurs only in the transitive verbs, both transitive and intransitive verbs take the same suffixes. Different sets of suffixes, however, distinguish between Declarative and

Imperative Modes. Each set of suffixes will be presented and discussed separately.

### 3.32 Verbs in the Declarative Mode

### 3.32.1 General Structure

Verbs in this mode have the structure shown in Chart 1. In this schema brackets around $\pm$ object number marker are used to distinguish between the structure of transitive and intransitive verbs as already noted. That is, intransitive verbs never contain an object number marker slot (since they do not have objects), transitive verbs always do, except for the cases noted later.

| + verb nucleus | $\pm$ subject number marker | $\left(\begin{array}{c} \pm \text { object } \\ \text { number } \\ \text { marker }\end{array}\right)$ | $\pm \text { verb }$ | $\pm$ neg | $\pm \text { num }_{(\text {subj })}$ | + tense |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| verb <br> stem | - \{laha\} they/ you/we | -eve them/ you/us | numeral | -livebene will not |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text {-holi } \\ & \text { not } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -n \\ & \text { sing } \\ & -1 \\ & \text { pl } \end{aligned}$ | -u past <br> -iale med.nom. who <br> -iege if (med) <br> -ata for a time (med) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | inuous <br> ure <br> inuous future <br> (med) |

CHART 1: THE MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS IN THE DECLARATIVE MODE

The rest of the list of the morphemes that expound the tense slot is as follows:

| -sege while | -ale who (nominal) |
| :--- | :--- |
| -lage whenever/anytime | -male prog who (nominal) |
| -live intending to | -veve future who (nominal) |
| -i | and (medial) |
| -ime | sole |
| -ale\} + lua because |  |

For examples see Section 6.0 below.

### 3.32.2 Subject Number Marker

The plural subject suffix in the subject number marker slot has several allomorphs which replace parts of the preceding verb stem. The most frequent allomorph is -laha which replaces the final /a/ of a verb stem that ends with a vowel plus /a/.
di ogo totoa-n-u no ogo toto-laha-l-u
I clothes wash-sing-past we clothes wash-pls-pl-past I washed clothes
we washed clothes

> di emoa-i
> $I$ wash-fut
> I wizl wash (myself)
abu emo-laha-i
they wash-pls-fut
they will wash (themselves)
Another allomorph is $-v$ - which replaces the /m/ in many verbs that end with /m/ plus a vowel.

| di lami-n-u | no | la-v-i-l-u |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I stand-sing-past | we stand-pls--pl-past |  |
| I stood | we stood |  |

The -laha and -v- allomorphs never co-occur with the plural object suffix. If the plural object suffix is present, the unmarked form of the verb stem occurs.

Many other verb stems take other allomorphs of the plural subject suffix. As mentioned earlier, the compound verb stems whose last component is the verb stem ti to go take a special allomorph, -luvi, which replaces the $t i$.

| hati | die | ha-luvi | die-pl |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| eseti | stumble | ese-luvi | stumble-pl |

Other verb stems take other allomorphs:

| laha | sleep | la-deve | sleep-pl |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hovelaha | get up | hove-deve get up-pl |  |
| velema | arrive | vele-hovo arrive-pl |  |
| belema | meet | bele-hovo meet-pl |  |

In general, these other allomorphs of the plural subject suffix may co-occur with the plural object suffix, if the verb stem is a transitive verb stem. (Most of the verb stems above are intransitive.)

### 3.32.3 Object Number Marker

The object number marker slot occurs only in transitive verbs and has as its only exponent the morpheme -eve, plural object. -eve usually occurs with plural objects, but sometimes does not as with a
collective type noun such as ogo clothes or idi wood. However, with the addition of plural numerals such as ogo moaga many clothes or idi abui two pieces of wood, the plural object suffix would always occur. The presence of -eve causes certain allomorphic adjustments as follows:
(1) When the -eve follows a /hai syllable, the /a/ is dropped and the /h/ is replaced with a non-fricative /g/.
eleha-n-u
see-sing-past
saw one...
uaha-n-u
bite-sing-past
bite one...
eleg-eve-n-u
see-plo-sing-past
saw many...
uag-eve-n-u
bite-plo-sing-past
bite many...
(2) Often, when the -eve follows an open syllable whose initial consonant is /m/ or /v/, the open syllable is dropped and the -eve is reduced to -ve.
ehoma-n-u
eho-ve-n-u
folてow-sing-past
foZZow-plo-sing-past
followed one... followed many...
(3) When -eve follows an /ei/ sequence, it becomes -ove.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { bei-n-u } \\
\text { weave-sing-past } \\
\text { wove one... }
\end{gathered}
$$

bei-ove-n-u weave-plo-sing-past
wove many... wove one..
(4) When the syllable before -eve ends with a vowel plus /a/, the /a/ is dropped.
totoa-n-u
wash-sing-past
wash one...
toto-eve-n-u wash-plo-sing-past
wash many...

### 3.32.4 Verb Manner

The verb manner slot is expounded by a small class of numeral words, which otherwise occur in the Quantifier slot of a Noun Phrase, but here occur bound within the verb with related adverbial meanings. The list of numerals includes (with their adjectival meanings and their adverbial meanings):

| igae | one, once |
| :--- | :--- |
| abui | two, twice |


| abuita igaita three, three times |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| abuita abuita four, four times |  |
| baluga | big, much |
| seleve | true, really |
| moaga | many, many times |
| mole | other, another time/again |
| unaha | only |

> ti-abuita-n-u
> go-twice-sing-past
> (he) went twice

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { va-molea-n-u } \\
\text { do-again-sing-past } \\
\text { (he) did (it) again }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 3.32.5 Negative

The negative slot is expounded by a set of two negative morphemes: -holi not and -livebene will not. -holi is used with all tenses for normal negative. -livebene is a portmanteau morpheme of negative, future and volition. Its occurrence precludes any further suffixation.

```
di ugu moaga eleg-eve-holi-n-u
I bird many see-plo-not-sing-past
    I did not see many birds.
di ogo moaga toto-eve-livebene
I clothes many wash-plo-fut.neg
I will not wash a lot of clothes.
```

When the verb manner slot is expounded by -seleve really and the negative slot is expounded by holi, the -holi is reduplicated. The combination is quite emphatic.

```
di ugu moaga eleg-eve-seleve-holi-holi-n-u
I bird many see-plo-really-not-not-sing-past
    I really did not see many birds.
```


### 3.32.6 Number

The number slot has two exponents: -n singular subject and -1 plural subject. The exponent in this slot must agree in number with the exponent or lack of exponent in the subject number marker slot. The number slot is obligatory with only certain tense exponents, i.e. -u past, -iale medial nominal who, -iege if, and -ata for a time; with all other tense exponents, the number slot is obligatorily absent.

```
    a enoa-n-u
    you cough-sing-past
        you coughed
        no idi hei-l-ata...
        we tree cut-pl-for.a.time
we cut trees for a while, (and then...)
    da-na loho-n-iege...
    I-qm come-sing-if
If I come, (then...)
```


### 3.32.7 Tense

There are five independent verb tenses and thirteen dependent verb tenses, as shown in the bi-dimensional array in Chart 1 above. The independent tenses are: -u past, -ma progressive/continuous, -i future, -gei future continuous, and -livebene portmanteau for negative and volitional future. The -i future has an allomorph -si which occurs following /i/.

| di ti-n-u | di ti-ma |
| :--- | :---: |
| $I$ go-sing-past | $I$ go-prog |
| I went | $I$ am going |
| di hei-si | di ti-gei |
| $I$ cut-fut | $I$ go-fc |
| $I$ will cut | $I$ will keep going |

di loho-livebene
I come-neg.fut
I will not come
The dependent tense exponents tend to be more functional in meaning, in that they indicate the temporal and logical relationship between the clause they appear in and the following clause. Hence, they are quite important to the structure of a sentence. For example, the four nominal tense morphemes, -ale, -male, -veve, and -iale are most frequently used to recapitulate the previous sentence. Further discussion of the dependent tense exponents will be found in Section 6.0 of this paper which deals with sentence structure.

> di ti-ale-u laha-molea-n-u
> I go-who-sm sleep-other-sing-past

I who went slept again
or $I$, having gone, slept again (The previous sentence ended with a verb based on the verb stem to go.)

```
hoilaha-i loho-ge abu di ehova-l-u
return-and come-when they me follow-pl-past
```

When (I) came back, they followed me.

### 3.33 Verbs in the Imperative Mode

The structure of verbs in this mode differs from that of those in the declarative mode by having fewer and different suffixes.

As in the declarative mode, so in the imperative mode, the transitive and intransitive verbs take the same suffixation except that the transitive verb has the object number marker slot and the intransitive verb does not.

The formula and array for verbs in the imperative mode is as given in Chart 2 below:

| verb <br> nucleus | $\pm$object <br> number <br> marker | $\pm$ imperative <br> negative | $\pm$ imperative <br> subject <br> number |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| verb <br> stem | -eve <br> them/ <br> youl <br> us | -hale not <br> (sing) <br> -haleva not <br> (plural) | -nela you <br> (sing) <br> -ve you <br> (plural) |

CHART 2: MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS IN THE IMPERATIVE MODE

Intransitive and transitive verbs are distinguished as above by the brackets around $\pm$ object number marker.

The allomorphic adjustments accompanying the -eve are the same as were described under the declarative mode above.

The -hale and -haleva are homophonous with the verb stem hale stop. -haleva is the allomorphic form used with plural subjects.

In singular imperative forms, the -nela is often left off, but in plural commands, the -ve is always present.

```
                    ogo totoa
            clothes wash!
                Wash the clothes!
            hei-haleva-ve
            cut-neg.pl-pl
Don't (you alZ) cut it!
```

                    ogo totoa-nela
                                    clothes wash-sing
                                    Wash the clothes!
                                    hei-ove-haleva-ve
                                    cut-them-neg.pl-pl
                                    Don't (you all) cut them!
    > loho
> come
> Come!
loho-ve
come-pl
Come (you alz):

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { loho-hale-nela } \\
\text { come-neg.sing-sing } \\
\text { Don't come! } \\
\text { loho-haleva-ve } \\
\text { come-neg.pl-pl } \\
\text { Don't come (you aZZ)! }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 3.4 Numerals

Numeral words expound the Quantifier slot of the Noun Phrase and the verb manner slot of verbs in the declarative mode, q.v. This class of words is uninflected and includes the following words:

| igae | one | baluga | big |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| abui | two | mole | other |
| abuita igaita | three | seleve | really |
| abuita abuita four | unaha | only |  |
| ada mole | five | bahata/baita all |  |
| moaga | many |  |  |

The words in the second column are included in this class because they have the same distribution as the true numerals. Also when following a noun there is no modified noun marker (mnm) -e present.
malaha abui-ea-u ti-l-u
man two-pls-sm go-pl-past
Two men went.
di mama seleve-u loho-n-u
my father true-sm come-sing-past
My real father came.
malaha ke-u ti-abuita-n-u
man that-sm go-two-sing-past
That man went twice.

> di ko va-molea-n-u $I$ this do-other-sing-past
> $I$ did this again.

### 3.5 Adverbs

Adverbs expound the Manner slots in various Clauses. This is a very small set of words; it includes only:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { baita } & \text { hard } \\
\text { tota } & \text { again } \\
\text { neiniai } & \text { properly } \\
\text { vali } & \text { may }
\end{array}
$$

| di baita hama-n-u | beleini-u tota doba-n-u |
| :---: | :---: |
| $I$ hard hit-sing-past | plane-sm again fall-sing-past |
| $I$ hit hard. | The plane landed again. |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { di ogo neiniai toto-holi-ma } \\
& \text { I clothes properly wash-not-prog } \\
& \text { I am not washing clothes properly. } \\
& \text { da-na vali a-iti ta-i } \\
& \text { I-qm may you-with go-fut } \\
& \text { May I go with you? }
\end{aligned}
$$

There is another construction that also has an adverbial meaning. It consists of a Medial Clause with its Predicate expounded by saiamo-i slow-and or soleka-i fast-and or reduplications of these, saiamo-saiamo-i or soleka-soleka-i, followed by an Independent Clause consisting of only its Predicate.

```
    a-u soleka-i ti-n-u
you-sm fast-and go-sing-past
    You went fast.
```

```
    to-u saiamo-saiamo-i ta-i
```

    to-u saiamo-saiamo-i ta-i
    dog-sm slow-slow-and go-fut
    dog-sm slow-slow-and go-fut
    The dog will go very slow.
    ```
    The dog will go very slow.
```


### 3.6 Pronouns

### 3.61 Person Pronouns

Person pronouns are a class of nouns which substitute for a noun or a Noun Phrase in various syntactic positions. Chart 3 gives a listing of four common sets.

|  | Subject | Object | Benefaction | Accompaniment |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lst sing | di/da-u ${ }^{6}$ | di/da | daho | daiti |
| 2nd sing | $\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{u}$ | a | aho | aiti |
| 3rd sing | au/ke-u | ke | avuho | avuti/avui |
| lst pl(excl) | no/noea-u | no | noheho | nohehi |
| lst pl(dual incl) | nai | no | naitiho | naiti |
| lst pl(pl incl) | nahi | no | nahiho | nahehi |
| 2nd pl | la/laea-u | la | laheho | lahehi |
| 3 rd pl | abu/kea-u/ kebia-u/ea-u | kebia | kebiaho/ abuho | abuhi |

CHART 3: PERSON PRONOUNS

### 3.62 Possessive Pronouns

Mountain Koiali has a very simple system of possessives involving free forms preceding the noun. In third person there are also suffixes following the noun. The third person free form and suffix seem to be interchangeable in usage. In longer more complicated Noun Phrases, which are rare, the free form will usually be used.

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lst | di | no(excl)/nahi(incl) |
| 2nd | a | la |
| 3rd | au/-ve | abu/-eabe |

There is also a set of possessive pronouns which can be used as person pronouns in Subject and Object slots.

|  | Singular | Plural |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lst | daele | mine | noele(excl) ours <br> nahiele(lncl) ours |
| 2nd | aele | yours | laele |
| 3rd | elelavuele his | ebiaelelabuele theirs |  |

### 3.63 Demonstrative Pronouns

These pronouns can be used to modify nouns, phrases and clauses. They can also be used as a substitute for the Noun Phrase. And they can be suffixed with location suffixes to be used to fill Location slots. They indicate relative distance.

| ko this | uoke that in further distance |
| :--- | :--- |
| ke that | iko emphatic this |
| uke that in the distance | ike emphatic that |

The emphatic demonstratives manifest a morphophonemic change; after words ending in /i/ they become liko and like.

### 3.64 Reflexive Pronouns

There is one class of reflexives that acts much like the reflexives in English. They follow personal pronouns or Noun Phrase, taking an appositional position in the Clause. There is another class of pronouns which will be included here, called isolative. These also
take an appositional position and take the meaning to do it alone (by myself, by yourself, etc.).

|  | Reflexive | Isolative |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lst sing | debia/debika | dahuvela |
| 2nd sing | aebia/aebika | ahuvela |
| 3rd sing | ebia/ebika | ahuvela |
| lst pl | noebia/noebika | nohuvela |
| 2nd pl | laebia/laebika | lahuvela |
| 3rd pl | abuebia/abuebika | abuhuvela |

```
di debika hama-n-u
I myself hit-sing-past
    I hit myself.
```

```
malaha ke-u ahuvela haukala-ma
    man that-sm alone work-prog
    That man is working alone.
```


### 3.7 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are question words which require an answer other than yes or no. They fill various slots on Clause level depending on the meaning of the interrogative. It is interesting to note that when and why are different manifestations of the same root word hosio with appropriate endings. The same is true of where, which and who-all have the same root ole with suffixation. Also, the other word used for when and the word for how many have the same root.

| why when | hosioho - verbal benefactive <br> hosiomalela/vaesuela - time slot |
| :---: | :---: |
| how many | vaesute - numeral slot |
| who | ole - Subject slot, Object slot |
| where | oleve - Location slot |
| which | olete - Modifier slot |
|  | oleteale - embedded clause position |
| what | onole/onode - Subject or Object slot |
|  | hosio - verbal (with appropriate ending can mean what are you doing) |
| how | oleve kateai - verbal slot with appropriate verbal endings |

### 3.8 Temporals

There are two classes of temporals. The first class cannot take the Time Phrase clitics, while the second takes these clitics at the end of the Time Phrase. They both fill the same Time slot and can be
used to modify each other. The second class acts much as a noun by taking the modified noun marker -e when followed by an adjective. See Time Phrase description Section 4.22.2.
class 1
subuta before alamege day after tomorrow
nivu tomorrow vavitege three days hence
vavita morning bae Zater/then
gabie Zater
class 2

| vavi | night | bata | month |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gutu | afternoon | monide | Monday |
| vani | day | bula | week/Sabbath (from |
| doga | now/today |  | Motu pura) |

The time word bae later always follows the subject which is the usual position for time words. Other time words can permute before the subject, but bae cannot.

```
    vavita vavita no ti-l-u di gutu-mo eleha-n-u
    morning morning we go-pl-past I afternoon-on see-sing-past
We went very early in the morning. I saw (it) in the afternoon.
```

| di bae ta-i | subuta bula ke-u loho-n-u |
| :--- | ---: |
| I later go-fut | before week that-sm come-sing-past |
| I will go later. | He came last week. |

                bula-e 7 vavita malaha ke-u loho-n-u
    Sabbath-mnm morning man that-sm come-sing-past

That man came Saturday morning.

### 3.9 Locatives

Locatives are words that fill the Locative Modifier slot of the Locative Phrase. These words can be nominalised by adding the suffixes -ve at, -mo on and -la progression towards. The nominalised form then replaces the Locative Phrase.
o-e vava
house-mnm beside
beside the house
o ke vala
house that under
under that house
vava-ve
beside-nom
the place beside
vala-ve
under-nom
the place under

### 3.10 Connectives

The great majority of connectives are used on Sentence level and have a general verb root $i$ thus doing or being that takes various subordinate verb suffixes and serves on Sentence level to tie things together.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
i-g e & \text { then - consecutive action } \\
\mathbf{i - s e g e} & \text { meanwhile-simultaneous action } \\
\mathbf{i} \text {-nata } & \text { having finished-subsequent action } \\
\mathbf{i - a l e} & \text { so-resultant action } \\
\mathbf{i - s i} & \text { and-simple connective } \\
i-s i t o ~ b u t-c o n t r a s t ~ \\
i-a l e-l u a ~ c o n s e q u e n t l y ~
\end{array}
$$

There are also two additional connectives, mena or and mesoho maybe used in only certain sentence types. Further discussion of these connectives with examples are found later in the paper with the discussion on sentences.

### 4.0 PHRASES

### 4.1 Verbal Phrases

There are no verbal phrases in Mountain Koiali--tense, number, modifier, plural object marker are all elements in the verbal word. There are a limited number of adverbs that fill a Manner slot at clause level. Verbs do not combine into coordinate verb phrases but are a series of clauses.

### 4.2 Non-Verbal Phrases

In these we shall distinguish between those that occur as subject or object of verbs and those that occur in other positions. The reason for this is that in Mountain Koiari subjects are usually marked by $-u$ in declarative sentences and by -na in corresponding yes-no question sentences and that different forms are used for joining units in subjects as against objects. More will be said about these features in the discussion to follow in which we shall refer to the two types of phrases as Noun Phrases and Other Phrases respectively.

### 4.21 Noun Phrases

### 4.21.1 Common Noun Phrase

| $N P$ | $=+N$ Head $\pm$ Mnm $\pm$ Mod $\pm$ Spec $\pm$ Quan $\pm$ Dem |
| ---: | :--- |
| Noun <br> Att NP | $-\mathbf{e}$ |

### 4.21.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

Any NP can be possessed by placing a proper noun, noun or possessive pronoun before the noun in the NP. In third person the suffixes -ve his and -eabe their can be used in place of the free form pronouns.

> di o baluga ke
> my house big that
my big house
(Note: baluga is a number word)

### 4.21.3 Subject Noun Phrase



That is, the Subject Phrase is filled by an obligatory Head filled by a Noun Phrase, Appositional Phrase, pronoun, noun proper, numeral or adjective, plus an optional subject plural marker -ea and the obligatory subject marker -u.

Rules:

1. When the pronoun di $I$ is present, the subject marker - u is not present. When possessive di my is present, the subject marker is added at the end of the Noun Phrase.
2. When the subject plural marker -ea follows an /e/, that /e/ is dropped.
3. Numerals and adjectives may function as Head in context. Adjectives must have the specifier-te or nominaliser -ve when functioning as Head.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { di baluga ke-u laha-n-u } \\
\text { my house big that-sm burn-sing-past } \\
\text { My bighouse burned. } \\
\text { malaha k-ea-u loho-l-u } \\
\text { man that-spm-sm come-pl-past } \\
\text { Thosemen came. }
\end{gathered}
$$

$$
\text { Ebe-u } \quad t i-n-u \quad a b u i t a-e a-u \text { dobaluvi-1-u }
$$

Ebe-sm go-sing-past two-spm-sm falz-pl-past

Ebe went. Two fell down.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { isu-te-u toela-n-u } \\
\text { heavy-spec-sm bad-sing-past } \\
\text { The heavy one is bad. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 4.21.4 Subject Query Noun Phrase

| Subj $Q P=$ | + Head | + Query |
| ---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | $N P$ $-n a \quad$ (qm)  <br> np   <br> pro   <br> Subj Coord $P$   <br> Add $P$   |  |

That is, the Query Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper, a pronoun, a Subject Coordinate Phrase or an Additive Phrase, plus an obligatory Query marker filled by the suffix -na (query marker).

Rules:

1. When the suffix -na (qm) is used in the Subject Coordinate Phrase, the -na (qm) is placed on the first Head to replace the subject marker -u.
2. When the suffix -na (qm) is used with pronouns, the following forms are used:

| Singular - lst | da-na |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2nd | a-na |
| 3rd | ke-na/au-na |
| plural - lst excl | no abu-na/noeabu-na/no-na |
|  | lst incl |
| 2nd | nahi-na/nahiabu-na |
| 3rd | labu-na/laeabu-na |
|  |  |

3. When the query marker suffix -na (qm) is used with the first person, a yes-no answer is not required but it suggests doubt by the speaker. In first person, this is only used with future tense.
da-na bae ta-i
I-qm Zater go-fut
I might go later.
maua isu-te ke-na ti-n-u
box heavy-spec that-qm go-sing-past
Did that heavy box go?
malaha ke-na au keate-ti lovilaha-l-u
man that-qm his woman-and work-pl-past
Did that man and his wife work?
a-ta-na lovia-n-u
you-also-qm work-sing-past
Did you also work?
au-na gebeu-ta i-n-u
he-qm sweet.potato-also eat-sing-past
Did he eat sweet potato also?
au-na ovo bi-n-u mena to bi-n-u
he-qm pig shoot-sing-past or dog shoot-sing-past Did he shoot a pig or a dog?

### 4.21.5 Additive Noun Phrase

Add $P=+$ Axis + Relator

| NP | -ta also |
| :--- | :--- |
| np |  |
| pro |  |

That is, the Additive Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun plus an obligatory Relator filled by the suffix -ta $a l s o$. Note, however, that when the affix ta- also is used with the subject noun phrase, noun or pronoun the subject marker $-u$ is omitted.

```
da-ta lovi i-n-u malaha ke-ta ti-n-u
I-also food eat-sing-past man that-also go-sing-past
    I also ate food.
                                That man also went.
```

                            ke-u gebeu-ta i-n-u
    he-sm sweet.potato-also eat-sing-past
He ate sweet potato also (1.e., in addition to other food).

### 4.21.6 Subject Coordinate Noun Phrase



That is, the Subject Coordinate Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a Subject Phrase, an obligatory Head two filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper, or a pronoun plus an obligatory Link filled by the suffix -ti and. The Head two plus the Link can occur repeatedly.
malaha ke-u au mahina-ti ti-lu man that-sm his wife-and go-pl-past

That man and his wife went.

Nanaba-u Ebe-ti Omi-ti Kobulu-ti haukala-ma
Nanaba-sm Ebe-and Omi-and Kobulu-and work-prog Nanaba, Ebe, Omi and Kobulu are working.

### 4.21.7 Object Coordinate Noun Phrase



That is, the Object Coordinate Phrase consists of an obligatory Head one fllled by an Additive Phrase and an obligatory Head two filled by an Additive Phrase.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { di uve-ta anani-ta i-n-u } \\
& \text { I banana-and mandarine-and eat-sing-past } \\
& I \text { ate a banana and a mandarine. } \\
& \text { di Dioni-ta Ladia-ta Su-ta eleg-eve-n-u } \\
& \text { I John-and Roger-and Sue-and see-plo-sing-past } \\
& \text { I saw Roger, John and Sue. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.21.8 Appositional Noun Phrase

$$
\text { App } P=+ \text { Item }+ \text { App }
$$

| NP | nom adj |
| :--- | :--- |
| np | Noun Cl |
| pro | NP |

That is, an Appositional Phrase consists of an item filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun, plus an obligatory Apposition filled by a nominalised adjective, a Noun Clause or a Noun Phrase.

Rule:

1. When the Appositional Phrase is expounding a Subject slot, the subject marker clitic -u is suffixed to both the Item and Apposition.

> maua ko-u isu-ve-u toela-n-u
box this-sm heavy-nom-sm bad-sing-past
This box, the heavy one, is bad.
ta-live di benisola ese-ve ke ma
go-with.intent my pencil small-nom that get Go get my pencil, that small one.

### 4.21.9 Listing Noun Phrase

| Listing $N P=$ | + Head $_{1}+$ Head $_{2}{ }^{n} \quad \pm$ Summary |
| ---: | :--- |
| $\qquad$$N P$ $N P$ pro <br> App NP App NP $N P$ <br> Att NP Attrib NP num |  |

The Listing Noun Phrase consists of a series of noun Heads expounded by Noun Phrases or Appositional Noun Phrases or Attributive Noun Phrases, followed by an optional Summary slot expounded by words such as baita $a l l$, $a b u t h e y$ or even a Noun Phrase that refers to all the members of the series.


The bush pigs and all the bush animals that we see all the time, all of them...

### 4.21.10 Attributive Noun Phrase



The Attributive Noun Phrase consists of an obligatory Attributive filled by a noun or time word plus an optional Modified noun marker filled by the suffix -e and an obligatory Noun Head filled by a noun.

| ugu-e vomo lovi |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bird-mnm feather | nivu-e | yesterday-mnm food |
| bird's feather | yesterday's food |  |

> boto-e ovo
> bush-mnm pig
> bush pig

Note that although the Modified noun marker -e is usually present, some exceptions have been observed:
matama-e ovo/matama ovo subuta ata
place-mnm pig place pig before people
wild pig / wild pig ancestors

### 4.21.11 Benefactive Noun Phrase

$$
\text { Ben } P=+A+R
$$

| NP | -ho for |
| :--- | :--- |
| np |  |
| pro |  |

That is, a Benefactive Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis slot filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun, plus an obligatory Relator slot filled by the clitic -ho for.

| malaha buka-te-ho | da-ho |
| :---: | :--- |
| man black-spec-for | me-for |
| for the black man | for me |

### 4.22 Other Phrases

### 4.22.1 Time Phrase

Time $P=+$ Head $\pm(+$ Mnm + Mod $) \pm$ Quan $\pm$ Dem $\pm$ Limiter

| time <br> wd $_{2}$ | $-\mathbf{e}$ | adj | num | dem <br> pro | -mo on <br> -la progression |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

That is, the Time Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by time word two, an optional Modified noun marker filled by the suffix -e, an optional Modifier filled by an adjective, an optional Quantifier filled by a numeral, an optional Demonstrative filled by a demonstrative pronoun, and an optional Limiter filled by a time suffix.

## Rules:

1. The Modifier slot in Time Phrases is very seldom filled, and with only a limited number of adjectives such as ese small and dua good.
2. The suffix -e is present only when Modifier is present.
3. The limiters -mo and -la are usually used with vavi night and gutu afternoon. When -mo is attached to vani day or sun, it takes the meaning mid-day. With other words in this class the limiters are used only occasionally, probably to stress the meaning.
4. A Time Phrase will not be found with all of the above fillers present.

| di gutu-mo ta-i | Ebe-u vani mole ike loho-n-u |
| :---: | :---: |
| I afternoon-on go-fut | Ebe-sm day other emph come-sing-past |
| I will go in the afternoon. | Ebe came that other day. |

### 4.22.2 Location Phrase

| Loc $P=$ | + Loc $H \quad \pm$ Loc mod $\pm$ Limiter |
| ---: | :--- |
| $N P$ locative -e at, to <br> np   <br> pro  -mo on <br> $-1 a$ |  |

That is, the Location Phrase consists of an obligatory Location Head filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun, plus an optional Location modifier filled by a locative, plus an optional Limiter filled by the suffixes -e, -la or -mo.

Rules:

1. The location suffix -e at is homophonous with the Modified noun marker -e.
2. When the Noun Phrase is filled only by a noun and then is followed by the Location modifier, the modified noun marker -e is placed on the noun. See third example below and also Noun Phrase description of Modified noun marker.
a soe-u idi tolo-te ke vala-e doba-n-u
your axe-sm tree hard-spec that under-at fall-sing-past
Your axe fell under that hardwood tree.

> di launumu-e ti-ma
> I Launumu-to go-prog
> I am going to Launumu.
malaha ke-u o-e vava-e u-ma
man that-sm house-mnm beside-at be-prog That man is stopping beside the house.

```
di idi-la veati-n-u
I tree-progression climb-sing-past
I climbed up the tree.
```

It is interesting to note that there are no co-ordinate Time Phrases or Location Phrases. These ideas are expressed with Clauses.
da-na nivu va-i alamege va-i
$I$-qm tomorrow do-fut day.after do-fut
$I$ will do(it) tomorrow and (I) will do (it)
(the) day after.


### 5.0 CLAUSES

### 5.1 General

Mountain Koiali Clauses have the general pattern: Subject object - Predicate, with the Predicate being the only obligatory item. Other peripheral items such as Time, Location, Benefaction, Manner, and so on, all occur between the Subject and the Object.

Clauses are also distinguished as Deing Final Clauses, Medial Clauses, and Nominalised Clauses. These distinctions are reflected only in the final inflection on the final verb in a clause; hence, we will give the structures of the various clauses without regard to the final inflection, and then later, discuss the inflections and the way clauses combine in Sentences.

### 5.2 Transitive Clauses

### 5.21 Indicative Transitive Clause

The structure of the Indicative Transitive Clause is shown in the following array:

Indicative Transitive Clause =
$\pm$ Subj $\pm$ Time $\pm$ Loc $\pm$ Ben $\pm$ Inst $\pm$ Manner $\pm$ Obj $\pm$ Pred

| Subj P | Time $P$ | Loc P | Ben P | Add P | adverb | NP | 1nd tr v |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Add P | time $\mathrm{wd}_{1}$ | nom <br> loc wd |  |  |  | np |  |
| App P |  | Loc Cl |  |  |  | pro |  |
| N Cl |  |  |  |  |  | Obj Coord P |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | nom <br> adj |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | num |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { App } P \\ & \mathrm{~N}^{\mathrm{Cl}} \end{aligned}$ |  |

That is, the Indicative Transitive Clause may consist of an optional Subject slot filled by a Subject Phrase, an Appositional Phrase, an Additive Phrase or a Noun Clause; plus an optional Time slot filled by a Time Phrase or time word one; plus an optional Location slot filled by a Location Clause, a Location Phrase or a nominalised location word; plus an optional Benefactive slot filled by a Benefactive Phrase; plus an optional Instrument slot filled by an Additive Phrase; plus an optional Manner slot filled by an adverb; plus an optional Object slot filled by a Noun Phrase, an Appositional Phrase, a noun proper,
a pronoun, an Object Co-ordinate Phrase, a nominalised adjective, a numeral or a Noun Clause; plus an obligatory Predicate filled by an indicative transitive verb.

Rules:

1. The Time slot can permute to a position before the Subject slot.
2. The Location slot can permute to a position following the Predicate at the end of the clause.
3. Except for the above permutations the position of slots is fixed.
4. Although the Instrument can be expressed with an Additive Phrase, the preferred way seems to be to use the verb ma get with a medial clause construction to express the same idea. For example:
```
    di soe ma-i idi dikoha-i
    I axe get-and tree chop-fut
I will get an axe and chop the tree.
```

5. Numerals and adjectives may function as fillers of the Object slot.
6. The normal number of slots filled is 3 to 5. The order is relatively fixed. Short clauses occur frequently with series of clauses used to express more complex ideas.
```
di eleg-eve-n-u
I see-plo-sing-past
I saw them.
di nivu baita to hama-n-u
I yesterday hard dog hit-sing-past
I hit the dog hard yesterday.
a-u o-e da-ho ogo male-n-u
you-sm house-at me-for clothes get-sing-past
You got the clothes for me at the house.
malaha ke-u soe-ta idi dikoha-ma
man that-smaxe-with tree chop-prog
That man is chopping the tree with an
axe.
di baluga ma-n-u
\(I\) big get-sing-past
\(I\) got the big one.
```

di doga-ve ma-n-u
I new-nom get-sing-past
I got the new one.

### 5.22 2uery Transitive clause

The Query Transitive Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Transitive Clause except that the Subject is expounded by the Subject Query Phrase. The Query Clause anticipates only a yes or no answer.
a-na. ogo totoa-n-u
you-qm clothes wash-sing-past Did you wash the clothes?
ebe-na aike idi dikoha-ma Ebe-qm now wood chop-prog Is Ebe chopping wood now? malaha ke-na beleini-mo gebeu ma-i ti-n-u man that-qm plane-on potato get-and go-sing-past Did the man take the potatoes and go on the plane?

### 5.23 Interrogative Transitive Clause

The Interrogative Transitive Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Transitive Clause except that one of the nonpredicate tagmemes is expounded by an appropriate interrogative word, such as who, what, where, why, etc. The Interrogative Clause expects an informative answer, not yes or no.
a oleve.ogo totoa-n-u a hosio-hoke va-ma you where clothes wash-sing-past Where did you wash the clothes?
ole-u gebeu ha-ma
who-sm potato plant-prog
Who is planting potatoes?
you what-for that do-prog Why are you doing that?
a hosiomalela lovi i-n-u you when food eat-sing-past When did you eat food?

### 5.24 Imperative Transitive Clause

The Imperative Transitive Clause has the same basic structure as the Indicative Transitive Clause except that it has no Subject tagmeme and the Imperative Transitive Predicate is expounded by an imperative transitive verb. The Imperative Clause has a second person implied subject, singular or plural. In the Imperative Clause, the Manner tagmeme has an additional possible exponent, nehane must. This form, nehane must, has not been completely analysed at this time, but seems to always occur with imperative forms. There is also another negative form, inaho must not that occurs with a final form -live. This also has not been completely analysed at this time.
va-nela do-sing.imp Do it.
balta to hama
hard dog hit
Hit the dog hard.
balta to hama
hard dog hit Hit the dog hard.

```
ogo toto-haleva-ve
clothes wash-neg.pl-pl.imp
Don't wash the clothes.
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
nehane bae hiloka & a inaho ta-live \\
must then know & you must. not go-vol(?) \\
You must know (that). & You must not go.
\end{tabular}
```


### 5.3 Intransitive Clauses

The Intransitive Clauses parallel the Transitive Clauses. They have the same basic structure except that the Intransitive Clauses have no Object Clause and have a corresponding Intransitive Predicate expounded by a corresponding intransitive verb.

### 5.31 Indicative Intransitive clause

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { da-ta nivu } \left.\begin{array}{c}
\text { I-also yesterday go-slng-past } \\
I
\end{array}\right] \\
\text { nalso went yesterday. } \\
\text { Nanaba-sm house-mnm inside-at Roger-for work-sing-past } \\
\text { Nanaba worked for Roger inside the house. } \\
\text { mahina-ve-u siga-ta neniai lovia-ma } \\
\text { wife-his-sm knife-with properly work-prog } \\
\text { His wife is working properly with the knife. }
\end{gathered}
$$

Interrogative Intransitive Clause
a-u oleve ti-ma
you where go-prog
Where are you going?
ebe-u hosiomaiela o-e ta-i
Ebe-sm when house-to go-fut
When will Ebe go to the house?
ole-u da-ho loho-n-u
who-sm me-for come-sing-past
Who has come for me?

```
5.32 Imperative Intransitive Clause
    o-e uvu-e loho-ve siga-ta te
house-mnm inside-to come-pl.mood
    Come inside the house.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { aike laha-nela } \\
& \text { now sleep-sing.mood } \\
& \text { Go to sleep now. }
\end{aligned}
\]
```

```
knife-with go
```

knife-with go
Go with the knife (Take the
Go with the knife (Take the
knife with youl.
knife with youl.
ko bahata nehane i-nela
ko bahata nehane i-nela
this all must eat-sing.imp.
this all must eat-sing.imp.
You must eat all this.

```
    You must eat all this.
```


### 5.4 Equative Clauses

The Equative Clauses are non-verbal clauses with only two tagmemes: an Item and a Comment. Equative Clauses are Indicative, Query or Interrogative.

### 5.41 Indicative Equative Clause

```
Ind Equat Cl = + Subject + Comment
```

| Subj P | nom adj <br> NP |
| :--- | :--- |

Pules:

1. The nominalised adjective dua-ve the good one is used often, but other adjectives are usually verbalised and cast in the form of an Intransitive Clause.
2. The NP usually has from one to three slots filled.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { ma ke-u dua-ve } & \text { ke-u doga-ve } \\
\text { girl that-sm good-nom } \\
\text { That girl is a good one. } \\
\text { malaha ke-u malaha-e toela new-nom } \\
\text { man that-sm man-mnm bad } \\
\text { rhat man is a bad man. } \\
\text { a-u ata-e one. } \\
\text { you-sm person-mnm good } \\
\text { You are a good person. }
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ma ke-u toela-ve } \\
\text { girl that-sm bad-nom } \\
\text { That girl is a bad one. } \\
\text { (Note: this is sometimes heard, but more often it } \\
\text { is put in the intransitive form below.) } \\
\text { ma ke-u toela-n-u } \\
\text { girl that-sm bad-sing-past } \\
\text { That girl is bad. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 5.42 Query Equative Clause

The Query Equative Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Equative Clause except that the Subject is expounded by a Subject Query Phrase.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ma ke-na dua-ve } \\
& \text { girl that-qm good-nom } \\
& \text { Is that gixi a good one? } \\
& \text { idi ko-na idi-e isu } \\
& \text { tree this-qm tree-mnm heavy } \\
& \text { Is this tree a heavy tree? }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 5.43 Interrogative Equative Clause

The Interrogative Equative Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Equative Clause except that the Subject is expounded by an interrogative word in a Subject Phrase, 1.e., ol-u who-sm or olete-u which-sm.
ole-u ma-e toela
who-sm girl-mnm bad
Who is a bad girl?
olete-u malaha buka-te
which-sm man black-spec
Which is the black man?
ole-u dua-ve
who-sm good-nom
Who is a good one?

### 5.5 Nominalised Clauses

5.51 Location Clause

```
Location Cl = + Axis + Relator
```

| Tran Cl nom | keve there |
| :--- | :--- |
| In Cl nom |  |
| Clauses must | gabu-e place-at |
| end with | -ve to |
| -ale past who | -la towards |
| -male prog who | -mo on |
| -veve fut who | o-e house-at |

Location clauses consist of an obligatory Axis filled by nominalised Transitive Clauses and nominalised Intransitive Clauses plus an obligatory Relator filled by some locator words and suffixes.

Rules:

1. Often the Location Clause will permute to the end of the clause.
ke-u beledi maho-male gabu-e ti-n-u
he-sm bread cook-prog place-at go-sing-past
He went to the place where they always cook bread.
di abu ovo bi-ale keve ti-n-u
I they pig shot-past where go-sing-past
$I$ went to where they shot the pig.
di ti-ma abu nivu kulu hama-male-ve
I go-prog they yesterday kunai hit-prog-to
I am going to (where) they cut kunai yesterday.

### 5.52 Noun Clause

Noun Clause $=+$ Axis
$\pm$ Relator

| Tran Cl nom | ke that/the |
| :--- | :--- |
| In cl nom | ko this/the |
| Clause must end |  |
| with |  |
| -ale past who |  |
| -male prog who |  |
| -veve fut who |  |

The Noun Clause consists of an obligatory Axis filled by nominalised Transitive Clauses and nominalised Intransitive Clauses plus optional relators filled by the demonstratives ke that and ko this. Clauses inflected with -ale past -male prog -veve fut may expound the Apposition slot of an Appositional Phrase.
di kove loho-ale vahaehoa-nu
$I$ here come-past. who happy-past
I who came here was happy.

```
subuta atat-ea-u haluvi-mal-ea-u munanab-ea-u
before people-spm-sm die-prog.who-spm-sm spirit-spm-sm
    ancestors, who have died, spirits
```

    abu loho-ale k-ea-u vele-hovo-l-u
    they come-past. who that-spm-sm arrive-pls-pl-past
    They who came arrived.
    
### 5.6 Miscellaneous Clause Usage

### 5.61 Resemblance:

This is quite commonly seen in Mtn. Koiali.

> ni abuita mole nahate
> face two other like

The two faces are just alike.

### 5.62 Comparative Degree:

There is no special word to indicate degree of comparison, but the construction is accomplished by contrastive statements.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { mo ke-u baluga isito da-u ese-ve } \\
& \text { boy that-sm big but } I \text {-sm small-nom } \\
& \text { That boy is big but } I \text { am small. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 5.63 Figures of speech:

### 5.63 .1 Simile

> keate ke-u uve vovo nahate
> woman that-sm banana ripe similar

That woman is like a ripe banana (meaning she is a soft or weak person, not a good worker).

### 5.63.2 Metaphor

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ovo ike ke } \\
& \text { pig emphthat } \\
& \text { He's a pig! }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 5.63.3 Euphemism

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ovo ke-u laha-n-u } \\
\text { pig that-sm sleep-sing-past } \\
\text { The pig slept (died). } \\
\text { a-u mahoho ke-ti gilulaha-l-u } \\
\text { you-sm girl that-with play-pl-past } \\
\text { You played with (sexual relations) that girl. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 5.63.4 Hyperbole

```
                    ata bahata ti-l-u
                    person all go-pl-past
Everyone went (actually some did not go).
```


### 5.63.5 Metonomy

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
0 & \text { bahata-ea-u loho-l-u } \\
\text { village all-spm-sm come-pl-past }
\end{array}
$$

All the villages (the people of the villages) came.
5.63.6 Irony
a-u ata-e dua
you-sm person-mnm good
You're a good person. (Actually meaning just the opposite and said in a certain tone of voice.)

### 5.63.7 Synecdoche

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { di vava-u savasava-n-u } \\
\text { my skin-sm soft-sing-past } \\
\text { My skin is soft. (Meaning all is well with } \\
\text { the person.) }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 6.0 SENTENCES

This analysis of the Sentences in Mtn. Koiali is still tentative and, possibly, incomplete, but we list the types we have found so far.

### 6.1 Co-ordinate Sentence

In a Co-ordinate Sentence, all clauses except the last one end with a verb carrying the medial ending-i/-si (-si. occurs following /i/ and -i occurs elsewhere) and. The last verb is given one of the other final or nonfinal tenses. The Clauses in a Co-ordinate Sentence tend to occur in the temporal order in which the events take place or to be simultaneous, but this type of sentence is rather neutral about time sequence; it does not signal temporal sequence between the Clauses.
di lovi male-i maho-i $i=n-u$
I food get-and cook-and eat-sing-past
I got food, cooked (it) and ate (it).
di ta-i ogo ma-i totoa-i
I go-and clothes get-and wash-fut
I will go get the clothes and wash (them).
In the Co-ordinate Sentence, all the Clauses have the same subject and that subject is established in the first Clause either by overt reference or from the context. If there is an object, it is mentioned in the first Transitive Clause.

There are no restrictions on the tense of the final verb.
The free conjunction corresponding to the co-ordinating medial suffix is isl and which may introduce a Sentence or serve as the link between Clauses within a Sentence.

```
...hohav-e-n-u. Isi au deiada lou-i
    caZZ-plo-sing-past and his story say-and
    kebia namig-eve-n-u
    them teZZ-plo-sing-past
... called (them). And (he) told them his story.
...abu-hi kainatu-e ta-i isi ti-1-u
    them-with Kainantu-to go-fut and go-pl-past
...(we) would go with them to Kainantu and (we) went.
```


### 6.2 Temporal Sentences

The following three Sentence types involve temporal relationships between the parts, 1.e. Sequence and Simultaneity.

### 6.21 Simple Sequence Sentence

In the Simple Sequence Sentence the first Base is expounded
by a Clause or a Sentence, the last verb of which is inflected with the sequence marker -ge when, and the second Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence. The subjects of the two parts may be the same or different, and there is no restriction on the inflection of the final verb of the second Base. The Simple in the name of this sentence is used simply to contrast this sentence type with the following Delayed Sequence Sentence.

> di idi hei-ge bokolaha-n-u
> I tree cut-when fall-sing past When I cut the tree, it fell down.

```
di haoka loho-ge di vahaehoa-n-u
my friend come-when I happy-sing-past
    When my friend came, I was happy.
```

When the final Clause is inflected with the future tense, this Sentence type becomes a kind of a conditional Sentence.
di ti-ge malaha ke-u da hamo-i
I go-when man that-sm me hit-fut
If I go, that man will hit me.

The first part of the Simple Sequence Sentence often recapitulates the action of the previous Sentence.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text {... di hoilaha-n-u. hoilaha-i loho-ge abu } \\
& \text { I return-sing-past return-and come-when they } \\
& \text { di ehova-l-u } \\
& \text { me follow-pl-past }
\end{aligned}
$$

The first Base of a Simple Sequence Sentence may be repeated one or more times, each repetition having a different exponent.

> di basiketi bei-ge uo-holi-ge di ma-i
> $I$ basket weave-when be-neg-when I get-and
> ta-i voia-i
> go-and sell-fut

When $I$ weave a basket, when it is finished, I will take (it) and go and selZ (it).
(The above example could also be analysed as a Simple Sequence Sentence with a Simple Sequence Sentence expounding its second Base.)

There is an idiomatic form of this sentence type with a minimal Equative Clause consisting only of a Comment expounded by dua-ve or a Predicate expounded by a verbalised adjective.
ke i-ge dua-ve isito ko i-ge toela-n-u
that eat-when good-nom but this eat-when bad-sing-past That is good to eat lut this is bad.
(The above example is an Antithetical Sentence with Simple Sequence Sentences expounding both its Bases.)

The free conjunction corresponding to the sequence marker suffix is ige then. It usually introduces a Sentence.

> ige au loho-ma
> then it come-prog

Then it kept coming.
ige may also occur Sentence-medially, but note that in the following example, the preceding verb has a final verb inflection.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ke-u nivu i-n-u ige da-ta } \\
& \text { he-sm yesterday banana eat-sing-past then I-also } \\
& \text { He ate a banana yesterday, then } I \text { also (ate one). } \\
& \text { lovj ko-u dua-ve ige ke-ta dua-ve } \\
& \text { food this-sm good-nom then that-also good-nom } \\
& \text { This food is good and that also is good. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.22 Delayed Sequence Sentence

The Delayed Sequence Sentence consists of two Bases. The first Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence, the last verb of which is inflected with -ata for a time, and the second Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence. The subjects must be the same in the exponents of the two Bases, and there is no restriction on the inflection on the exponent of the second Base. The first exponent describes an action that persisted for a time and then was followed by the second action.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { no idi hei-l-ata haleva-i loho-l-u } \\
& \text { we tree cut-pl-for.a.time leave-and come-pl-past } \\
& \text { We cut the trees for a while, left and came. } \\
& \text { di gebeu lovo-n-ata male-i loho-n-u } \\
& \text { I potato dig-sing-for.a.time get-and come-sing-past } \\
& \text { I dug potatoes for a time, got (them) and came. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The free conjunction corresponding to the delayed sequence suffix is inata having finished, which usually introduces a sentence.

```
                malaha ke-u negoa-n-u inata
                    man that-sm strong-sing-past having.finished
                    hau ke ma-n-u
                    thing that get-sing-past
That man is strong. As a result, he took that thing.
to-u ovo i-ma inata hale-i
dog-smpig eat-prog having.finished leave-and
o-e ti-n-u
house-to go-sing-past
```

The dog was eating the pig. Having finished, he went to the vizlage.
no gilu-laha-l-u ilata haleva-i
we play-pls-pl-past having.finished leave-and o-e ti-l-u
village-to go-pl-past
We played. Having finished we left and went to the village.

### 6.23 Simultaneous Sentence

The Simultaneous Sentence consists of two Bases, the first Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence, the last verb of which is inflected with the simultaneous suffix -sege while, and the second Base expounded by a Clause or a Sentence, which may have any inflection. The subjects of the two Bases must be different.

```
di kulu hei-sege beleini-u loho-n-u
I kunai cut-while plane-sm come-sing-past
    While I was cutting grass, the plane came.
    di a eleha-sege a-u lovi i-ma
    I you see-while you-sm food eat-prog
    While I watched you, you were eating.
```

The first Base may be repeated one or more times, each repetition with a different exponent.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ti-sege vani-e ni-mo ehuda-mo u-sege } \\
\text { go-while sun-mnm face-on above-on be-while } \\
\text { While (I) was going, while the sun was high above... }
\end{gathered}
$$

The free conjunction corresponding to the simultaneous verb suffix is isege at the same time/meanwhile. It usually introduces a Sentence.
isege di loho-ma
meanwhile I come-prog
Meanwhile $I$ was coming.

The preceding three Sentence types have been Sentences that signal temporal relationships between actions. We turn ncw to Sentences with logical relationships.

### 6.3 Antithetical Sentence

The Antithetical Sentence consists of two Bases with an intervening Link expounded by the adversative conjunction isito but. The exponent of the first Base must end with a verb inflected with the medial ending $i$ and or with a final-verb tense. The exponent of the second Base is not restricted in its inflection.

isito but is also used to introduce a Sentence. isivi-holi-l-u da havo-ho. isito haleva-i want-not-pl-past me hit-for but leave-and hoideve-l-u return-pl-past
(they) did not want to kill me. But (they) left and went back.
... isivia-l-u isito di ke isivi-holi-n-u
want-pl-past but $I$ that want-neg-sing-past
... want. But I do not want that.

### 6.4 Alternative Sentences

There are two types of Alternative Sentences. The first is the Alternative Question Sentence, and the second is the Uncertainty Alternative Sentence.

### 6.41 Alternative Question Sentence

The Alternative Question Sentence consists of two Bases with an intermediate alternative Link expounded by mena or. The exponent of the second Base is a Clause, all of which is elided except for a single Clause constituent which contrasts with a corresponding constituent in the exponent of the first Base. The first Base is usually expounded by a single Query Clause with a final-verb tense.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { a-na anani-ho isivia-n-u mena uve-ho } \\
& \text { you-qm mandarin-for want-sing-past or banana-for } \\
& \text { Do you want a mandarin or a banana? } \\
& \text { au-na mune-mo ugulamo-i mena vata-mo } \\
& \text { he-qm stone-on sit-fut or ground-on } \\
& \text { Will he sit on the stone or on the ground? } \\
& \text { au-na lovi i-si mena laha-i } \\
& \text { he-qm foodeat-fut or sleep-fut } \\
& \text { Will he eat or will he sleep? }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.42 Uncertainty Alternative Sentence

The Uncertainty Alternative Sentence consists of two Bases and an Uncertainty Link expounded by mesoho maybe preceding each Base. The exponent of the last Base is often elided except for the contrasting constituent.

> mesoho au-na mune-mo ugulamo-i mesoho vata-mo
> maybe he-qm stone-on sit-fut maybe ground-on Maybe he will sit on the stone, maybe on the ground?

```
mesoho au-na lovi i-si mesoho laha-i
maybe he-qm food eat-fut maybe sleep-fut
Maybe he will eat food, maybe he will sleep?
```


### 6.5 Conditional Sentences

There are two types of Conditional Sentences. One is the Simple Conditional Sentence, and the other is the Generalised Conditional Sentence.

### 6.51 Simple Conditional Sentence

The Simple Conditional Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base must have its final verb inflected with -iege if, and the exponent of the second Base must have the same subject as the exponent of the first Base and must be inflected with a non-past tense, i.e., progressive, future, or imperative.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { a loho-n-iege di soe-ta ma } \\
& \text { you come-sing-if my axe-with get } \\
& \text { If you come, get my axe? } \\
& \text { da-na loho-n-iege a-ho imi-ta ma-i } \\
& \text { I-qm come-sing-if you-for sugar.cane-with get-fut } \\
& \text { If I come, I will get some sugar cane for you. }
\end{aligned}
$$

In the following example, a Simple Conditional Sentence is expounding the second Base of an Antithetical Sentence, the result being a contrary to fact Sentence.

```
di beleini-mo ti-holi-n-u isito di beleini-mo
I plane-on go-neg-sing-past but I plane-on
ti-n-iege hati-ma
go-sing-if die-prog
    I did not go on the plane, but if I had gone on
                the plane, I would have died.
```

In the following example, and in the one above, the progressive tense may be either present or past.

```
                                    di ti-n-iege hati-ma
    I go-sing-if die-prog
If I go, I will diel If I had gone, I would have died.
a-u idi ko bai i-n-iege nehane hati-nela
you-sm tree this fruit eat-sing-if must die-sing.imp
    If you eat the fruit of this tree, you must die.
```


### 6.52 Generalised Conditional Sentence

The Generalised Conditional Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base must end with a verb inflected with -lage anytime, everytime, whenever, and the exponent of the second Base may have the same or a different subject from that in the first exponent, and must be inflected with the past tense.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { di idi hei-lage di bego tumua-n-u } \\
& \text { I tree cut-everytime my shoulder hurt-sing-past } \\
& \text { Everytime I cut trees, my shoulder hurts. } \\
& \text { no eleg-eve-lage abu nohe-hi lou-l-u } \\
& \text { we see-plo-everytime they us-with talk-pl-past } \\
& \text { Everytime we see them, they talk with us. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.6 Cause-Result Sentences

There are two types of Cause-Result Sentences: the Simple Cause Sentence and the Situational Cause Sentence.

### 6.61 Simple Cause Sentence

The Simple Cause Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base must end with a verb inflected with -ime so. The exponent of the second Base must have the same subject as the first exponent.

> di haoka-ho uvua-ime nina-n-u
> my friend-for sad-so cry-sing-past
> I was sad for my friend so (I) cried.
> di ute eleha-ime vabua-n-u
> $I$ snake see-so afraid-sing-past
> $I$ saw a snake so

In the following example, the two Bases are transposed.
ke-u evogi hale-i ti-n-u vabua-ime
he-sm Evogi leave-and go-sing-past afraid-so He left Evogi because he was afraid.

### 6.62 Situational Cause Sentence

The Situational Cause Sentence consists of two Bases. The first Base is expounded by a nominalised Clause plus the suffix -lua because. (A nominalised Clause is a Clause inflected with one of the nominalising suffixes: -ale who, male prog.who, and -veve
fut.who.) The exponent of the second Base may have the same subject as the first exponent or a different subject.
di lovi i-holi-ale-lua nego-holi-n-u
I food eat-neg-who-because strong-neg-sing-past Because $I$ did not eat food, I am not strong.
a nivu ti-veve-lua loho-ge nahi
you tomorrow go-who. fut-because came-when we
lovi i-si
food eat-fut
Because you will go tomorrow, when you come let us eat food.

| a kate-ale-lua | da-na bae va-i |
| :--- | :--- |
| you similar-who-because | $I-q m$ |

Because you (think) like that, I will probably do it.

The free conjunctions corresponding to the -ime and -lua are iale so and imale so. Both are used to introduce sentences.

```
iale k-ea-u di lobo-havo-l-u
so that-spm-sm me tease-pls-pl-past
                                    So they teased me.
                                    iale-u da-ho uliholi-n-u
                                    so-sm me-for guide-sing-past
                                    So it guided me.
```

a sikulu aiohavo-n-u iale a-u bae
you school spoil-sing-past so you-sm then
sikulua-livebene
schoor-attend
(You) ruined your schoolwork. So you can't attend school.
imale-u di loho-male avue-mo loho-ma so-sm I come-prog.who him-on come-prog

So as I was coming, (I) kept coming upon it.

### 6.7 Complement Sentences

There are three Complement Sentences: the Intent Sentence, the Purpose Sentence, and the Quotation Sentence.

### 6.71 Intent Sentence

The Intent Sentence consists of two Bases. The first Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence whose final verb is inflected with -live with the intention of. The exponent of the second Base
must have the same subject and must be inflected with future tense or imperative mood.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { nahi ta-live namig-eve-i } \\
& \text { we(incl) go-intending. to tell-plo-fut } \\
& \text { Let's go tell them. } \\
& \text { no loho-live i-si } \\
& \text { we come-intending. to eat-fut } \\
& \text { We come intending to eat. } \\
& \text { ta-llve ma benisola ese-ve ke ma } \\
& \text { go-intending.to my pencil smalz-nom that get } \\
& \text { Go get my pencil, that small one. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.72 Purpose Sentence

The Purpose Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base is a Clause whose final verb is inflected with the benefactive suffix tho for. The second Base is expounded by a Clause or Sentence. The subjects must be the same in the two exponents. The order of the Bases is freely and often interchanged.

> di isivi-holi-n-u tali-ho
> $I$ want-neg-sing-past go-for $I$ do not want to go.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { di vani mole boto-e di es-ea-u ugu ili-ho } \\
& \text { I sun other bush-to my child-spm-sm bird eat-for } \\
& \text { isivia-ge labana-ho ti-n-u } \\
& \text { want-when hunt-for go-sing-past } \\
& \text { The other day, when my children wanted to eat bird, I } \\
& \text { went to hunt in the bush. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that in the above Sentence, there is a Purpose Sentence expounding the first Base of a Simple Sequence Sentence, with part of the exponent of the second Base transposed to the front of the Sentence.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { loho-male-u humaha tava-e di mino-ho u-ma } \\
\text { come-prog.who-sm road middle-at me wait-for be-prog }
\end{array}
$$

As (I) was coming, it was waiting for me in the middle of the road.
ugu ke-u di mino-ho ugulamo-i ua
bird that-sm me wait-for sit-and be
That bird sat waiting for me.

```
di eho-va-l-ata isivi-holi-l-u
me folZow-pls-pl-for.a.time want-not-pl-past
da ha-vo-ho
me hit-pls-for
```

(They) followed me for a while, (they) did not want to kill me.
The same sequences of verbs may also be encoded into a Co-ordinate Sentence.

```
di di suveka ma-i isivia-i mihatu-i
I my bag get-and want-and throw-fut
I took my bag and wanted to throw (it).
```


### 6.73 2uotation Sentence

The various possible Quotations have not yet been sorted out. Preliminary investigation indicates that direct and indirect quotation, verbal and non-verbal, all take about the same grammatical form. They almost always begin with a Quotation Formula, and occasionally they are concluded with a Closing Quotation Formula. The Quotation Formula is expounded by some form of the verb lou say or huhua think plus -i and plus kosea like (used with first and second persons) or avoe or mose (used with third person speaker).

```
                    di huhua-i kosea mesoho di hoilaha-i
                    I think-and like maybe I return-fut
                    I thought, "Maybe I will go back."
                        ige di bae ugu ke eleha-i huhua-i kosea
                then I Zater bird that see-and think-and like
                    mesoho ko-u nova avu-na di melame-i ti-n-iege
maybe this-sm today it-qm me lead-and go-sing-if
o-la velema-i
village-at arrive-fut
Then, later, I saw that bird and thought like this,
"Maybe today this one will lead me and go and (I)
                will arrive at the village."
... ta-livebene katea-i lou-ge ke-u ti-n-u
    go-fut.vol.neg like-and say-when he-sm go-sing-past
... (you) won't go. Saying like that he went.
```


### 7.0 SENTENCE TOPIC

Almost all the preceding Sentence types may be preceded by a Sentence Topic expounded by a non-future Nominalised Clause. The function of the Sentence $T$ opic is to recapitulate the previous Sentence in order to link the Sentences together into a narrative sequence. The Nominalised Clause often bears the subject marker $-u$, even when the actor or thing referred to in the Nominalised Clause is not the subject of the whole Sentence, or even of the following Clause.

A Nominalised Clause is one that is inflected with -ale who,
-male prog.who, and -iale who (exact meaning is still unanalysed).

> di gebeu lovo-ale kabebia-n-u
> I potato dig-who tired-sing-past
> I who dug potatoes am tired.
> or Having dug potatoes, I am tired.
> di vavi-mo loho-ale da-u levaleva ma-n-u
> $I$ night-on come-who I-sm letter get-sing-past I who came at night got the letter / Having come at night, I got the letter.
> di idi hei-male kabebia-n-u
> $I$ wood cut-prog.who tired-sing-past
> I who cut wood all the time am tired / Having been cutting wood, I am tired.

The following examples demonstrate how Clauses may be linked into a long Co-ordinate Sentence or into several smaller Sentences with recapitulating Sentence Topics:

> di boto-e ti-ale vene dikoha-i male-i
> $I$ bush-to go-who firewood chop-and get-and hoilaha-i loho-n-u
> return-and come-sing-past

Having gone to the bush, I cut firewood, got it and came back.
di boto-e ti-n-u Boto-e ti-ale di vene
$I$ bush-to go-sing-past bush-to go-who I firewood
dikoha-n-u vene dikoha-i uoholi-ge
chop-sing-past firewood chop-and finish-when
di male-i hoilaha-i loho-n-u
I get-and return-and come-sing-past

I went to the bush. Having gone to the bush, I chopped firewood. When $I$ finished chopping the firewood, I got (it) and came back.

Note that in the last Sentence, the recapitulation is performed by a Co-ordinate Sentence expounding the first Base of a Simple Sequence Sentence.

```
ige au tota di hale-i loho-n-u loho-ale-u
then it again me leave-and come-sing-past come-who-sm
di hale-i ti-selevea-n-u
I leave-and go-true-sing-past
```

Then again it left me and came. It coming, I left and really went.

### 8.0 TEXT

```
1. di isivia-i hotohotoa-i
    2. di vani mole boto-e
    I want-and talk-fut
    I want and will talk.
        I sun other bush-to
                                I other day to the bush,
di es-ea-u ugu ili-ho isivia-ge labana-ho ti-n-u
my child-spm-smbird eat-for want-when hunt-for go-sing-past
when my ckildren wanted to eat bird, went to hunt.
```

3. ti-ale-u laha-molea-n-u
go-past.who-sm sleep-other-sing-past
(I) who went slept again.
4. ti-sege vani-e ni-mo ehuda-mo u-sege subuta
go-while sun-mnm face-on above-on be-while before
While going, while the sun's face was high above,
atat-ea-u ha-luvi-mal-ea-u munanab-ea-u
person-spm-sm die-pls-prog.who-spm-sm spirit-spm-sm
the ancestors, the people who have died, the spirits,
boto-e u-ma 5. iale k-ea-u di lobo-havo-l-u
bush-at be-prog
were living in the bush.
so that-spm-sm me tease-pls-pl-past
So they teased me.
5. ige di dahuvela ti-al
di lovi ma-i di suveika
then $I$ alone go-past.who my food get-and my bag
Then $I$ aZone went and got my food and got my bag
ma-i kibidi ebamo-i ti-ale-u abu tota get-and shotgun carry-and go-past.who-sm they again and carried shotgun and going, they again
di lobo-havo-molea-l-u
me tease-pls-other-pl-past
teased me.
```
    7. ige di ti-ale-u tota abu di lobo-havo-ge dl
    then I go-past.who-smagain they me tease-pls-when I
    Then as I went, when they again teased me, I
    hoilaha-n-u
    return-sing-past
    came back.
8. hoilaha-i loho-ge abu di ehova-l-u
    return-and come-when they me follow-pl-past
    When (I) came back, they followed me.
9. di loho-ge ugu mole ivi igae ugu-e nana
    I come-when bird other name one bird-mnm older.brother
    When I came, a bird with one name, the older brother of birds,
    somoki ugu ke-u taho-te
    Somoki bird that-sm red-spec
    (named) Somoki, that bird is red.
10. iale-u da-ho uliholi-n-u ll. loho-male-u
    so-sm me-for grasp.nose-sing-past come-prog.who-sm
    So it guided me (grasped my nose). As (I) was coming,
humaha tava-e di mino-ho u-ma
road mi』dle-at me wait-for be-prog
in the middle of the road, (it) was waiting for me.
12. isege di loho-ma 13. imale-u di loho-male
    meanwhile I come-prog
    Meanwhile I was coming.
avue-mo loho-ma
him-on come-prog
(I) kept coming upon it.
        so-sm I come-prog.who
        So as I was coming,
14. ige au loho-ma
                                then it come-prog
                                Then it kept coming.
15. ige ata k-ea-u di lobohavo-ale-u
    then person that-spm-sm me tease-past.prog-sm
    Then those people who teased me
    seleve-ta ea-u da uaha-i 16. di ehoma-i
    true-with they-sm me bite-fut I follow-and
    really (wanted) to bite me. When I came following,
loho-ge di di suveka ma-i isivia-i mihatu-i
come-when I my bag get-and want-and throw-fut
I took my bag and wanted to throw (it).
17. loho-i kibidi eguma-i baiba-ve ke mataha-i
    come-and shotgun break-and pipe-nom that carry-and
    (I) came and dissassembled shotgun and the barrel
    ma-i loho-n-u
    get-and come-sing-past
    (I) took and carried and came.
```

```
18. loho-n-iale humaha tava-e loho-ge ugu ke-u di
    come-sing-past.who road middle-to come-when bird that-sm me
    As (I) came, on the way when I came, that bird sat
    mino-ho ugulamo-i ua 19. ige di bae ugu ke eleha-i
    wait-for sit-and be then I later bird that see-and
    waiting for me.
        Then I upon seeing that bird
huhua-i kosea mesoho ko-u nova avu-na di melame-i ti-n-iege
think-and similar maybe this-sm today it-qm me lead-and go-sing-if
thought like this, 'Maybe this one, if today it will lead me and go,
o-la velema-i
village-at arrive-fut
(I) will arrive at the village.'
    come-past.who-sm
    I came
loho-ge matama mole ivi igae balia kulu ke loho-ale-u
come-when place other name one Balia kunai that come-past.who-sm
and when I came, another place named Balia with kunai, coming there,
gidu-ve vaha-mo 2l. ugu ke-u loho-i
dark-nom inside-on
it was dark inside.
goe uvu-mo loho-ale-u di hale-i loho-ale-u
cloud inside-on come-past.who-sm me leave-and come-past.who-sm
coming inside a cloud, (it) left me as it came,
vaki mole ua 22. ige di loho-ge goe
side other be
and was on the other side.
ke-u kulu ke koi-ge di huhua-i kosea mesoho di hoilaha-i
that-sm kunai that cover-when I think-and like maybe I return-fut
that kunai covered and I thought, 'Maybe I will go back.'
23. isito di hoilaha-veve ke huhui-ge ke-u dae-mo toela-n-u
    but I return-fut.who that think-when that-sm me-on bad-sing-past
    But when I thought about returning, that was bad for me.
24. da-na hoilaha-n-iege bae alu da uaha-i
    I-qm return-sing-med then ghost me bite-fut
    If I go back, then the ghosts will get me.
25. ige di hale-i loho-i goe ke uvu-mo
    then I leave-and come-and cloud that inside-on
    Then I left and came and came inside that cloud.
```

```
26. goe ke uvu-mo loho-ale da-u eleha-ge
    cloud that inside-on come-past.who I-sm see-when
    Coming inside that cloud, when I looked,
    idi-te-la loho-i eleha-ge ugu ke-u uoke di
    tree-spec-at come-and see-when bird that-sm there me
    when I came inside the trees and looked, that bird over there
    mino-ho ugulamo-i idi-e ada-mo ua
    wait-for sit-and tree-mnm arm-on be
    was sitting waiting for me.
27. ige di loho-ale avue-mo loho-n-u
    then I come-past.who it-on come-sing-past
    Then I came and came upon it (bird).
28. ige au tota di hale-i loho-n-u
    then it again me leave-and come-sing-past
    Then again it left me and came.
29. loho-ale-u di hale-i ti-selevea-n-u
    come-past.who-sm I Zeave-and go-true-sing-past
    As it came, I left and really went.
```

30. isege di loho-ale loho-sege alu k-ea-u mesoho
meanwhile $I$ come-past. who come-while ghost that-spm-sm maybe
Meanwhile, while $I$ was coming, those ghosts maybe
31. di ehova-l-ata isivi-holi-l-u da havo-ho
me folZow-pl-for.a.time want-neg-pl-past me hit-for
followed me awhile and didn't want to kizl me.
32. isito haleva-i hoideve-l-u 33. isege di loho-ale-u
but leave-and return-pl-past meanwhile $I$ come-past.who-sm
But (they) left and went back. Meanwhile, I came and on
humaha laha-n-u 34. laha-sege vavi-mo ugu
roaa sleep-sing-past
the way slept.
mole ivi kekoia hotoi-lage hotoi-lage va-u vi-e
other name Kekoia talk-everytime talk-everytime day-sm night-mnm
another bird named Kekoia kept talking, kept talking, until in the
vigo-mo ke-ve ke-u hoto-holi-n-u
middle-on that-nom that-sm talk-neg-sing-past
middle of the night it stopped talking.
33. ige di laha-lage va-u alamo-ge di bae
then $I$ sleep-everytime day-sm open-when $I$ then
Then I kept sleeping and when the sun rose, I then
```
hovelaha-i lovi maho-i i-holi-si to vae-ta
arise-and food cook-and eat-neg-and but hunger-with
got up and did not cook and eat food, but came hungry
loho-ale-u o-la velema-n-u
come-past.who-sm village-at arrive-sing-past
and arrived at the village.
36. hoto-u ke-mo katea-i ua
    talk-sm that-on similar-and be
    The above talk was like that.
```


## FREE TRANSLATION OF TEXT.

1. I am going to tell a story. 2. The other day, when my children wanted some bird meat to eat, I went to the bush to hunt. 3. I slept as I went. 4. On the way, at mid-day, the ancestors, the spirits of those who have died, were in the bush and they teased me. 5. Then, being by myself, I got my food and my bag, and taking my shotgun, I left. 6. And again, they teased me. 7. Then when they again teased me, I turned back. 8. When $I$ did that, they followed me. 9. As $I$ came, a bird appeared -- a red bird, the brother of all birds. 10. So that bird guided me. ll. As I came along, it was always waiting for me on the way. 12,13. AZZ the time I was coming, I kept coming upon it. 14. Then it would keep coming. 15. Then those spirits who had teased me really wanted to gobble me up. 16. As I came following the bird, I took my bag in order to throw it away. 17. I disassembled the shotgun and took the barrel (for a weapon) as I came. 18. I kept coming and on the way there was that bird waiting for me. 19. When I saw the bird, I thought like this, 'Maybe now he will lead me back to the village.' 20. Then I came to another place called Balia where there is kunai, and it was dark inside. 2l. The bird left me, went inside a cloud and was on the other side (of the kunai). 22. Then as $I$ came, the clouds came down over the kunai and $I$ thought, 'Maybe I will go back.' 23. But when $I$ thought about returning, that was no good. 24. (I thought) 'If I go back the ghosts will get me.' 25. So $I$ left and went inside the cloud. 26. As I went into the cloud, I Zooked, and when I came inside the trees, I looked, and there was that bird sitting on a tree branch waiting for me. 27,28. Then when $I$ came upon the bird, it again left me and took off. 29. Then I left and really came fast. 30,31. Meanwhile, as $I$ was coming, the ghosts probably followed me for awhile but did not really want to kill me. 32. Rather, they left me and went back. 33. So I came and on the way I slept. 34. While I slept, in the night a bird named Kekoia kept singing and singing until sometime in the night, it stopped.
2. Then $I$ slept and slept, and when the sun rose, I got up and without cooking or eating, I came and arrived hungry at the village. 36. That's how it happened.
NOTES1. See Dutton (1969) for a description of this family and sketchesof 1 ts member languages.
3. Data for this paper were collected during 1971 and 1972 in
Efogi. We are indebted to several language helpers as well as
to our many Efogi friends for the material contained in this paper.
"This research has been supported in part by a grant from the
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Summer Institute of Linguistics, kindly assisted in preparing this
paper for publication. Our thanks to him for many suggestions regarding
form and content.
4. First and second person possessives are free-form possessive pronouns.
5. The modified noun marker is obligatory when an adjective or a locational follows in the Phrase.
6. The suffix -gei future continuous usually is found at the end of a sentence filled with other clauses.
7. $-u=$ subject marker. See section 4.2.
8. Since many Mountain Koiali speakers are Seventh Day Adventists bula is interpreted as Saturday.
```
DUTTON, T.E.
    1969 The Peopling of Central Papua: Some Preliminary
    Observations (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Series
    B.9).
```


## BARAI GRAMMAR HIGHLIGHTS

MIKE OLSON
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## ABBREVIATIONS

| acc | accompaniment | intrg | interrogative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| alt | alternative | lim | limitative |
| backg | background | loc | location |
| ben | benefactive | mann | manner |
| cas | casual | neg. | negative |
| com | completed | obj | object |
| condit | conditional | oblig | obligative |
| contin | continuous | opp | opposite |
| co-or | co-ordination | p | past |
| del | delayed | pl | plural |
| dep | dependent verb | poss | possessive |
| des | desiderative | pre | present |
| diff | different | prn | pronoun |
| dis | distant | pro | prohibitive |
| ds | different subject | pur | purpose |
| dub | dubitative | recip | reciprocal |
| dur | durative | refl | reflexive |
| emo | emotive | rel | relator |
| emp | emphatic | res | result |
| endr | endearment | seq | sequence |
| excl | exclusive | sg | singular |
| fut | future | simil | similitative |
| hab | habitual | simul | simultaneous |
| 1 m | immediate | ss | same subject |
| 1 mpf | Imperfect | subj | subject |
| 1 mp | Imperative | tns | tense |
| 1nc | inceptive | vblzr | verbalizer |
| 1nd | indicative | voc | vocative |
| Indef | indefinite time | 1 | first person |
| int | intensive | 2 | second person |
|  | 3 | person |  |

### 1.0 PHONOLOGY

Barai ${ }^{l}$ phonemes ${ }^{2}$ consist of thirteen consonants and five vowels: three pre-nasalized voiced stops, b, d, and g; two voiceless stops, t and $k$ (which fluctuates with glottal except word initial); a voiced bilabial fricative, $v$, and a voiceless counterpart, f (which fluctuates with [h] among certain speakers); two affricates, a voiced affricate, $j$ ([ď̌] a voiced alveo-palatal affricate that fluctuates with [dy] a voiced alveolar stop with a palatal release), and a prenasalized voiced affricate $z$ ([ndz] a pre-nasalized voiced alveopalatal affricate that fluctuates with [ ${ }^{n d z]}$ a pre-nasalized voiced alveolar affricate); two nasals, $m$, and $n$; and a voiced alveolar flapped vibrant $r$ (which fluctuates with [Y] among some speakers); two front vocoids, i, and $e$ (which is voiceless when unstressed word final); a central vocoid a ([a] after stressed u and fluctuating with a word final); and two back vocoids, u, and o ([u] when stressed and following u). The sequence ae following high vowels $i$ or $u$ becomes [ $¥$ ].

There are two basic syllable types, $V$ and $C V$, in sequences of $u p$ to nine syllables in the phonological word. A sequence of vowels is interpreted as a sequence of syllables. No more than two $V$ patterns may occur in immediate succession.

Stress is contrastive on the word level and is defined as a combination of pitch, and either length or intensity. There are two contranstive pitch levels, high and low. To mark stress, high pitch combines with increased intensity and low pitch combines with length. Note the four possible combinations on the following two syllable words: iko before, ikd sew, ire food, and iré stand.

Syllables vary in length then according to the stress pattern. In addition the initial syllable of any word may be given increased length for special emphasis.

The phonological foot is a rhythmic segment composed of a nuclear syllable and zero to eight marginal syllables bounded by softened intensity and an optional pause. Secondary stress has been observed in the longer words but needs further analysis.

The phonological phrase is a unit of one to four phonological feet marked by a nucleus of primary stress and margins that contrast length, intensity, and pitch. The nucleus is the peak of the phrase intonation contour, normally the first stressed syllable of high pitch. The initial margin is marked by an upward shift of the pitch level, a slight increase in tempo and an increase in intensity. Each feature recedes across the phrase so that the terminal margin manifests a lower pitch level, slight lengthening of the final syllable and some softening of intensity. Pause is optional.

The phonological sentence is composed of a combination of one to a norm of about ten phonological phrases exhibiting a nucleus of optimum pitch and margins of contrasting levels of pitch, intensity, and voicing similar to the phrase. The nucleus normally coincides with the nucleus of the first phonological phrase though it may be shifted for emphasis. Pause is obligatory. There are no contrastive sentence types. Rather, variations to the pattern reflect anger, secrecy, etc. 3

### 2.0 WORDS

### 2.1 Verbs

There are two ways by which the verbs (and clauses in which they occur) may be classified. The first is based on the structure of the clause and classifies the verbs as to voice and transitivity into four groupings: sensory, transitive, ditransitive, and intransitive. The second is based on the function of the clause and classifies the verbs as dependent, medial, or final.

### 2.11 The Structural Classifications

The sensory verbs obligatorily mark the person and number of a human object as a first order suffix (see Appendix l). The subject must be third person singular. It may be understood, phonologically bound to the verb as a compound stem, or occasionally may occur as an independent noun or pronoun.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { do-duad-ie } & \text { vajae fiad-ie } \\
\text { water-thirsty-lsg } & \text { body pains-lsg } \\
\text { Water is thirsting me. } & \text { The body is paining me. } \\
I^{\prime} m \text { thirsty. } & I^{\prime} m \text { in pain. }
\end{array}
$$

> ised-ie
> displease-lsg
> $(I t)$ displeases me. $I^{\prime} m$ displeased.

The transitive verbs frequently mark the person and number of the object with a first order suffix.

| kan-a | kan-ie |
| :---: | :---: |
| hit-3sg | hit-lsg |
| hit him | hit me |
| if-uo | if-ia |
| beat-lpl | beat-3pl |
| beat us | beat them |

However, other transitive verb forms ignore the person distinction and indicate number in the stem.

```
            abe ke
take (inanimate sg) take (inanimate pl)
```

mesiri
take (animate sg)
ke
take (inanimate pl)

## kaenamia

take (animate pl)

Ditransitive verbs mark the number and person of the personal object with the first order suffix.

| kuar-a | kuar-ie |
| :---: | :---: |
| tell-3sg | tell-lsg |
| tell (it) to him | tell (it) to me |
| nijas-a | nijas-uo |
| show-2sg | show-lpl |
| show (it) to you | show (it) to us |

One ditransitive verb indicates the number of the direct object with a stem change as well.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { m-a } \\
& \text { give }(\mathrm{sg})-3 \mathrm{sg} \\
& \text { give it to him }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { vaj-a } \\
\text { give }(\mathrm{pl})-3 \mathrm{sg} \\
\text { give them to him }
\end{gathered}
$$

The intransitive verbs do not take a first order suffix. However, certain intransitive verb stems do indicate number, but in this case the number of the subject.

| fi | kari |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\operatorname{sit}(\mathrm{sg})$ | sit $(\mathrm{pl})$ |
| $\operatorname{mani}$ | ire |
| $\operatorname{stand}(\mathrm{sg})$ | stand $(\mathrm{pl})$ |

Others use only one stem with both singular and plural subjects.
ajia
dije
go up
cross

### 2.11.1 Common Suffixes

There are six orders of suffixes ${ }^{4}$ that are potential to the verb with up to five of them occurring together. Of the six, the first three are inner suffixes common to most verbs and apply within the clause. Beyond that, the medial verbs manifest three additional orders, and the dependent and final verbs each manifest two additional
orders. These additional orders, or outer suffixes, apply primarily to external distribution (see Appendix l).

The first order as discussed above indicates the person and number of the object. In the second order there are two other suffixes, both of which are fairly rare. The first is -nami, reciprocal, which is used with certain transitive and ditransitive verbs, and the second is -se, a diffusive object plural marker also limited to a small number of verb stems.

```
                    madi-nami
            angry-recip
angry with each other
                    ufu-se
            cut-pl
    cut them to pieces
```

> vaj-uo-nami
> give(pl)-lpl-recip
> (they) give to us and we to (them)

abie-se
put on-pl
put them all on

The third order suffixes are various aspects each restricted in occurrence with other affixes, particularly tenses. They are:

| -kiro | desiderative (subject sg) |
| :--- | :--- |
| -kuae | desiderative (subject pl) |
| -kuve | inceptive (subject sg) |
| -kuaeve | inceptive (subject pl) |
| -moe | durative <br> -noe <br> durative (after stressed <br> front vowels) |
| -dufuo | limitative |
| -durposive |  |

fu i-kiro bu i-kuae
3sg eat-des (sg) 3pl eat-des (pl)
He wants to eat. They want to eat.
Vito va-kuve
Vito go-inc(sg)
Vito is starting to go.

## no kaukurare-moe

lpl work-dur
We are busy working.
no igia oe-noe
lpl here warder-dur
We keep wandering around here.

> ja igia una rua-ru
> 2 pl here go.back come-lim
> All you do is come back here.

> fu mako ru-dufuo
> 3 sg hole dig-pur
> It is for digging holes.

### 2.12 The Functional Classifications

It is in the later orders of suffixes that the verbs are further classified as dependent, medial or final. Certain persons and numbers of the subject customarily group together in the structure of many of the suffixes to make tense morphemes. Second and third person singular are normally expressed with one form and first person singular, and first, second, and third persons plural with another form. In addition, the initial consonant of certain suffixes is altered following front vowels with stressed high pitch. Accordingly the appropriate suffixes are given, with their allomorphs in Appendix 2.

### 2.12.1 Dependent Verbs

Dependent verb suffixes occur on the verbs of dependent clauses which are found embedded in noun phrases, or as the initial clause in certain sentences or as the final clause of quoted item of certain quote sentences.

The following are the fourth order suffixes of dependent verbs (capitals indicate the allomorphs of Appendix 2):

| -Mo | present tense/habitual aspect |
| :--- | :--- |
| -EMa | past tense |
| -ko | future tense |
| -kuMa | -no |

The imperative -no and the future -ko occur only in the quoted 1tem of quote sentences.
mave $e$ sak-ia-mo fu ijia fi
pig people bite-3pl-hab 3sg there sit The pig who bites people is sitting there.
e kavuane isuame rua-ema fu vua ije kuar-ie-i
person red yesterday come-past 3 sg talk this telZ-lsg-p.tns The white man who came yesterday told me this.
fu kua na una iviaeko nisae-ko-no kua-e
3 sg say lsg go.back new Zook.for-fut-quote say-p.tns
He said, "I will go back and look for new ones."

```
                fu kua davane vaj-ia-no-no kua-e
                3sg say engagement give-3pl-imp-quote say-p.tns
                    present
                He said, "Give the engagement present to them."
            The fifth order suffixes are:
\begin{tabular}{ll}
-no & quote \\
-do & reason \\
-no & reason-imperative \\
-je & background
\end{tabular}
    fu kua ni va-no-no kua-e
    he say imp go-imp-quote say-p.tns
                He said, "You must go!"
                                difurisa va-do no biefurikova
                        run go-reason we fall
                        Because we run, we fall.
                        vame ise-no ni una va
                        trail bad-reason imp go.back go
                Since the trail is bad, you must go back.
    e ige meba boeje bu tarare oe-jo-je no va nari
people these members all 3pl bush go.about-hab-backg lpl go look.after
    Regarding all these members who are always going about in
        the bush, we go and look after them.
    All of these markers serve to identify the function of the
clause within the sentence. Distribution clarifies the homophonous
forms.
```


### 2.12.2 Medial Verbs

Medial verbs occur non-finally within the sentence and with the exception of the fourth order of benefactives the outer suffixes function as conjunctive links relating the clause in which they occur to the following clause. In addition, many are portmanteau forms indicating tense. There are three orders of these outer suffixes unique to the medial verb, beyond the three common orders of inner suffixes.

The fourth order contains the benefactives which mark person and number as well:

| -jie | lsg benefactive |
| :--- | :--- |
| -ja | 2 sg benefactive |
| -je | 3 sg benefactive |
| -juo | lpl benefactive |
| -jia | 2 and 3pl benefactive |

> bu dabe nija-jie-na va-e
> 3pl take put-ben(lsg)-ss go-p.tns
> They took it, put it for me and left.

These benefactives are not as common as those on the final verbs and so have been observed with only a few combinations of the suffixes of the fifth and sixth orders.

The fifth order includes the following suffixes which relate the activity of one verb to that of the next:

| - Ma | continuous sequence |
| :--- | :--- |
| - Mo | past sequence |
| - kuMa | future sequence |
| - EMa | delayed past sequence |
| - Ekiro | delayed future sequence |
| - ko | simultaneous different subject |
| - kinu | simultaneous same subject |

The continuous suffix,-Ma, may be reduplicated as many as five times for emphasizing the duration of the continuing action.

| bu ruo-ma | ijia iri |
| :---: | :--- |
| they come-contin.seq | there stop |

They kept coming until they stopped there.
fu bae-mo-ga e ije bune abe-i
he ripe-past.seq -diff.sub people these they take-p.tns
When it was ripe, they took it.
fu ije furi-kuma na vua-ke
he this finish-fut.seq $I$ come-fut.tns
When he finishes this, I will come.
no gamia va-eva suake una rua-e
we there go-del.past.seq morning go-back come-p.tns
We went there and then came back in the morning.
bu va-ekiro isuame una rua-ke
they go-del.fut.seq tomorrow go-back come-fut.tns They will go and then come back tomorrow.

The following occur as the sixth order suffixes:

| -na | same subject |
| :--- | :--- |
| -ga |  |
| -gana | different subject |
| -ne |  |
| -ne | conditional |

No fourth order suffix may occur if -na occurs in the sixth order. The different subject marker -ga is permuted to occur before the future sequence suffix -kuma when they co-occur. The conditional suffix -ne occurs with only the past and future sequence markers and cannot occur without one of them.

```
fu kamui one abe-na areme juvuave one abe-i
he string bag you take-same.subj and spear your take-p.tns
            He took your string bag and he took your spear.
        bu rua-ko-ga Moresi are fuone ijia va
        they come-simul-diff.subj Mores house his there go
        While they were coming, Mores was going to his house.
            no kuaria-vo-ne buka faememare-i
            we talk.to.them-past-condit they ignore-p.tns
                Whenever we talk to them they ignore it.
```


### 2.12.3 Final Verbs

Final verb suffixes occur on stems in the final clause of the sentence.

Suffixes of the fourth order show fine distinctions in tense and in imperatives:

| -E | general past |
| :--- | :--- |
| -EMa | completed past |
| -Me | imperfect |
| -Mo | present tense/habitual aspect |
| -Ko | immediate future |
| -kidufuo | distant future/abilitative aspect |
| -kuma | inceptive imperative |
| -ne | imperative sg |
| -fo | imperative pl |

na fu kana-e
lsg 3sg hit-p.tns
$I$ hit him.
na ira-na furi-va lsg undo-ss finish-com.p.tns $I$ undid it and $I$ finished it.
na make isekube abe-ve
lsg grade small get-impf
I was getting poor grades.

> no va-ko

1pl go-1m.fut.tns
We are going to go.
e ruo-mo
person come-pre.tns Someone is coming.
no iro ja vaj-ia-kidufuo lpl yam 2pl give-2pl-dis.fut.tns We will be giving yams to you.

```
        ire one i-kuma
    va-ne
        food your eat-inc.imp
    Start eating your food!
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { va-ne } \\
\text { go-imp }(\mathrm{sg}) \\
\text { Go! }
\end{gathered}
\]
```

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { mukoe kari-fo } \\
\text { well stay-imp(pl) } \\
\text { Stay well! }
\end{gathered}
$$

With the sensory verbs, the present tense suffix - Mo may become - Ma for emphasis.

The fifth order of non-sensory final verbs can be either the emphatic suffix $-n o$ or the benefactive suffixes which are identical to those of the fourth order of medial verbs.

### 2.2 Adverbs

Adverbs occur immediately preceding the verb and are not inflected.

| migegere quickly | saroroba suddenly |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kuke | again | mauki | carefully |

Certain adjective stems can also occur as adverbs.

| saroe | slow | slowly |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| boeje | many | much, a lot |
| uruvana very many | very much |  |
| mukore good | well |  |

Auxiliaries occur in the same position and are mutually exclusive with the other adverbs. They are similar to the mood clitics in 2.3 but have their own stress and are not suffixed to the subject pronoun:

| naebe | negative |
| :---: | :---: |
| ibe | prohibitive |
| kama | emotive imperative |
| ni | obligative |
| be | yes-no interrogative |
| kube | never |
| fu naebe rua-e | ibe fare-ne |
| 3 sg neg come-p.tns | pro. touch-imp |
| He did not come. | Don't you dare touch it. |
| kama are-ne | fu ni igia fi |
| emo.imp stop-imp | 3 sg oblig here sit |
| Please stop that! | He must stay here. |

```
    a be ma fi
2sg intrg well stay
    Are you well?
```

```
    vua none bu kube abe-jo
word my 3pl never take-hab
    They never accept my word.
```


### 2.3 Mood Clitics

The mood clitics seem to modify the entire clause and normally attach themselves to a subject pronoun but in rare instances they may occur independently. They include the following:

| -do prohibitive | -be polite prohibitive |
| :--- | :--- |
| (with present tense) |  |

$i$ fuone a-do kua
name his 2sg-pro say
Don't say his name.
fu-ka ireobo
3sg-int big
He is really big.
-ne indicative
fu-be una rua-ke
3sg-fut.neg go.back come-fut.tns
He won't come back.
na-me igia fi
lsg-cas here sit I am just sitting here.
bu-te juare va-e
na-se kisoesoe
3pl-dub garden go-p.tns
lsg-alt swing
Perhaps they went to the garden.
I am swinging next.

> na-ne va
> lsg-ind go
> I am going.

### 2.4 Nouns

Nouns subdivide into kinship nouns, human nouns, non-human nouns, location nouns, and temporal nouns.

### 2.41 Kinship Nouns

There are three orders of suffixes with the kinship nouns. The first indicates number, the second possession, and the third endearment.

Number is optional but occurs most frequently with the plural. Possession is obligatory, and endearment optional and used only with first person singular.

```
        uvia-ki-no-doe
brother-sg-lsg.poss-endr
        my dear brother
```

```
    asie-rafa-fuo
mother-pl-3sg.poss
    his mothers
```


### 2.42 Human Nouns

Human nouns are proper names of persons and kin terms of direct address. Their affixation includes the following:

| -do, -mo | possession or destination |
| :--- | :--- |
| -ki (sg) |  |
| -na (pl) | accompaniment |
| -fuo | benefactive |
| -re | emphatic |


| Vito-do | ate-ki |
| :---: | :--- |
| Vito-poss | Dad-acc |
| belongs to Vito | with Dad |

### 2.43 Non-Human Nouns

Many but not all non-human nouns take a kind of classifying suf$f i x$. It consists of various consonants followed by the vowel e. When the non-human noun occurs in isolation the suffix always occurs with the stem. Generally in context, the suffix is retained when the following word begins with a vowel and is lost when that word begins with a consonant but this analysis is not entirely consistent. The following such suffixes have been observed: -ve, -ne, -ge, -me, and -re. In the case of -re, only the consonant $r$ is ever lost.

| mave pig, ma boeje many pigs mave inokoro two pigs |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| are place ae none my house are ise | poor house |

Although it is not common, a special accompaniment suffix, -kuma, occurs with certain non-human nouns.
ni do-kuma i
imp. water-acc eat
Eat it with water!
na fasi-kuma va-ke
lsg letter-acc go-fut.
I will go with the letter.

### 2.44 Location Nouns

Location nouns are nouns referring to places and to their proper names. The proper names may take the place of origin suffix -ko from.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Itokama-ko } & \text { from Itokama village } \\
\text { Musa-ko } & \text { from the Musa valley }
\end{array}
$$

2.45 Temporal Nouns

Temporal nouns are the only nouns that may not be inflected in any way. They include words like muge night, isuame yesterday/tomorrow, ve time.

### 2.5 Modifiers

Modifiers are words that are basically descriptive in nature, closely related to the head noun of the phrase in which they occur, and generally take no affixation. They sub-divide into adjectives, quantifiers, and locative specifiers.

### 2.51 Adjectives

Certain adjectives indicate number by a change of stem.
ireobo big (sg) mamekanu big (pl)
isekube smazl (sg) isesina smazZ (pl)
However, others indicate degree or intensiveness by a change of stem.

| ireobo big | ireotabo | very big |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| abara | white | abaemanago | very white |
| jiagado | Zong | jiagadogo | very Zong |

The suffix -ki used as a similitative marker with demonstratives occurs as a kind of adjectivizer with certain noun, adjective, and verb stems.

| ui point | $+-k i=$ uiki | strong |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| guvade strength $+-k i=$ guvadiki | strong |  |
| jijuae slippery $+-k i=$ jijuaeki | slippery |  |
| boeje many | $+-k i=$ boeki | all |
| kufuime Zie $+-k i=$ | kufuiki | Zying one |

### 2.52 Quantifiers

Quantifiers frequently reduplicate their stems resulting in a semantic change as well.

| bino | some | binobino | different |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| besu | one | besubesu | each |
| inokoro two | inokoroinokoro | four |  |

### 2.53 Locative Specifiers

Most locative specifiers occur in location phrases following the noun they are describing, although some of them may occur without such a head noun.

| guove inside | ado on top |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mumuabo far auray | keke outside |


| ae guove mavua ado |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| house inside | box on top |
| inside the house | on top of the box |

### 2.6 Pronouns and Demonstratives

### 2.61 Pronouns

The inflection of pronouns closely approximates that of the person nouns in certain instances whereas in others the suffixes are unique to pronouns.

Shown in the chart below, there are six basic pronouns, four of which have an allomorph that is used whenever the accompanying suffix begins with a mid-vowel o or e. Adjacent vowels that are identical fuse.

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lst person | na/no | no/nuvuo |
| 2nd person | a/o | ja/jo |
| 3rd person | fu | bu |

The following suffixes closely approximate those of human nouns.

| -efuo | benefactive |
| :--- | :--- |
| -re | emphatic |
| -osiki |  |
| -obiki (subj.sg) |  |
| -ina (subj.pl) | accompaniment |

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { fu no-efuo ime } \\
\text { 3sg lsg-ben work } & \text { na-re ije ufe-i } \\
\text { He works for me. } & \text { lsg-emp this weave-p.tn } \\
\text { na fu-obiki rua-e } & \text { I wove this one. } \\
\text { lsg 3sg-acc come-p.tns } & \text { bu ja-ina va-ke } \\
I \text { came with him. } & 3 p l \text { 2pl-acc go-fut.tn } \\
\text { Other affixes however are unique to the pronouns. } \\
\text {-onokua } & \text { They will go with you. } \\
\text {-osukua } \\
\text {-e } & \text { exclusive }
\end{array}
$$

| - one <br> koro-...-o ko-...-o | possessive intensive |
| :---: | :---: |
| bu bu-onokua Umuate va-e | sari jo-one bu ise |
| $3 \mathrm{pl} 3 \mathrm{pl-excl}$ Umuate go-p.tns | feathers 2pl-poss 3pl bad |
| They went by themselves to Umuate. | Your feathers aren't any good. |
| fu fu-e kan-a | fu koro-fu-o va |
| $3 \mathrm{sg} 3 \mathrm{sg-refl}$ hit-3sg | 3 sg int-3sg-int go |
| He hit himself. | He's walking! |

The intensive affixation is unique in that a prefix is utilized as well as a suffix in an irregular pattern so that the following forms result:

|  | Singular <br> lst person <br> kono | Plural <br> konuvoo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2nd person | koro | kojo |
| 3rd person | korofuo | korobuo |

### 2.62 Demonstratives

The distribution of the demonstratives is varied. They occur in a summary slot in many of the phrase types or they may occur independently as the pronouns do except they may not occur as the subject when independent. Their suffixes denote the function of the phrase within the clause in which they occur.

There are nine basic stems:
\(\left.\begin{array}{ll}gar- \& that, to the side generally <br>
gam- \& that, down at an angle generally <br>
gaf- \& that, up at an angle generally <br>
gur- \& that, to the side with reference <br>

to the person spoken to\end{array}\right\}\)| gum- |
| :--- |
| that, straight down with reference |
| to the speaker |
| ig- |
| that, straight up with reference |
| iz- the speaker |

To these stems, the following inflections are applicable. All of the affixation has been observed with the general stem $i j-$, but further research is needed to confirm that all the other combinations do in fact occur.


```
                    asoe fuone ij-adufuo asoe visi
                    father his that-poss(sg) father sick
                    The father of his father is sick.
                        Vito-kina asoe fuone ij-iebuo gani na abe-i
        Vito-and father his that-poss(pl) gun lsg take-p.tns
            I took the gun belonging to vito and his father.
                ja buki ij-eki ke-na rua-e
                2pl book this-simil take-ss come-p.tns
                    You brought books like these.
                    no dua ij-ege amaeri
                    lpl also this-mann make
                    We also make it like that.
                    ije abe do ij-akuma i
                this take water this-together eat
                Take this and eat it with water.
                    no e ij-ena boro kana
                    lpl people this-acc ball play
                We play ball with those people.
    no koe ke-na Ufia ij-akiro Tana vaj-ia-ke
    lpl sugarcane take-ss Ufia these-co-or Tana give-3pl-fut.tns
        We will take sugarcane and give it to Ufia and Tana.
    fu koe ij-akina ajue bae ij-akina maruve ijene ke-na rua-e
3sg sugarcane this-co-or banona ripe this-co-or watermelon these take-ss come-p.tns
    He brought sugarcane, ripe bananas, and watermeion.
                na besu ij-aru abe-i
                lsg one this-lim get-p.tns
                        I got only one.
```


### 2.7 Conjunctions

The small class of conjunctions plays only a limited role in coordinating words, phrases, clauses, and sentences as other devices are more commonly used.

By far the most common conjunction is ro which can mean and, but, or or.

The remainder are special forms of verbs, affixes, or demonstratives that function as conjunctions.

| areme | and then |
| :--- | :--- |
| ijafuo | therefore |
| ijeja | concerning that |
| ko, kinu | while |
| kiro | after some time |
| kie | next |

fu kamui one abe-na areme juvuave one abe-i
he string bag you take-same.subj and spear your take-p.tns
He took your string bag and he took your spear.
i ige inauri-dufuo no ijadufuo kuaria
work this get.up-res we therefore talk. to. them
So that this work can go ahead, we talk to them.
ari-ma ijeja no isema ime-ve
go down-p.tns concerning we poorly work-impf
Concerning our having declined, we have been working poorly.

### 3.0 PHRASES

### 3.1 Noun Phrases

### 3.11 The Modified Noun Phrase

Generally the following order is observed within the modified noun phrase: noun, adjective, possessive, quantifier, dependent clause, and demonstrative. If the possessor in the possessive position is expanded beyond a simple pronoun, it takes the form of a possessive phrase that immediately precedes the head noun. Only three of the six positions normally occur simultaneously although four have occasionally been observed.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { iro ireobo fuone } \\
\text { yam big his } \\
\text { his big yam }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
    vua ireobo fu kuaema
    talk big he spoke
The big talk that he spoke...
```


### 3.12 The Co-ordinate Phrase <br> The Co-ordinate Phrase consists of a string of modified noun phrases joined with the co-ordinate link ijakina. The link consists of the demonstrative stem ij- and the co-ordinate suffix -akina and occurs after each repetition of the modified noun phrase except the last.

uviarafa none ij-akina asoerafa none ij-akina kajurafa none
brothers my these-co-or fathers my these-co-or uncles my My brothers and my fathers and my uncles...

If only two phrases are being co-ordinated the suffix -akiro is used with the demonstrative stem ij-.

```
iro kavuane ij-akirc ajue bae
yam red this-co-or banana ripe
    red yams and ripe bananas
```


### 3.13 The Emphatic Co-ordinate Phrase

To co-ordinate nouns and emphasize the co-ordination the verb stem abe take, get is adapted and used as a conjunction following each modified noun phrase.

> muge abe maza abe bu ijerenoe
> night and day and they do this
> Both night and day they do this.

Kukoro kaniso abe Jaure kaniso abe Tafama kaniso abe Afore va-e Kukoro counsellor and Jaure counsellor and Tahama counsellor and Afore go-p.tns The Kukoro counselZor, the Jaure counselZor, and the Tahama counsellor all went to Afore.

### 3.14 Relator-Axis Phrases

Generally in each of the relator-axis phrases a modified noun phrase is the axis and the morphology on the demonstrative in the final position is the relator. There are eight such relator-axis phrases. Note that in each of the examples below, the unglossed morpheme of the relator is the one under discussion.
3.14.1 The axis of the subject-object phrase is the modified noun phrase and the suffix -e is the relator. Subject normally precedes object so that position is the only feature that distinguishes the two. In addition to the normal -e suffix, other optional relators are -are for emphatic subject/object, -iebe for subject plural, and -ene for object plural.

Subject:

> ame none ij-e fu sikurure child my this-rel he does school
> My child attends school.

## Object plural:

bu e rua-eva ij-ene kuar-ia
they people came-del.past.seq these-rel talk-3pl
They are talking to these people who have come.
3.14.2 Human accompaniment may be expressed in three ways depending on whether the significant noun is a pronoun, an independent person noun or a modified person noun.

In the case of the pronoun, the affixes -obiki (sg) and -ena (pl) are used as described above. With the person nouns, the affixes -ki ( $s g$ ) and -na (pl) are used, also as described above. When that person noun is modified in some way, however, the human accompaniment phrase is used so that the modified noun phrase is the axis and the human accompaniment suffixes, -eki (sg) and -ena (pl) are the choice of relators.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { fu e fuone boeje ij-ena va-e } \\
& \text { he people his many these-rel go-p.tns } \\
& \text { He went with many of his people. } \\
& \text { na asoe none ij-eki fi } \\
& \text { I father my this-rel sit } \\
& \text { I am sitting with my father. }
\end{aligned}
$$

3.14.3 Non-human accompaniment may be expressed in two ways. Either with the -kuma suffix affixed directly to the non-human noun as discussed above or with the non-human accompaniment phrase in which the suffix -akuma occurs with the final demonstrative.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ni do boeje ij-akuma i } \\
& \text { imper water much this-rel eat } \\
& \text { Eat (it) together with much water. } \\
& \text { fu tosi fuone ij-akuma rua-e } \\
& \text { he torch his this-rel come-p.tns } \\
& \text { He came with his torch. }
\end{aligned}
$$

While the phrase is permitted, the norm with non-human accompaniment is to have the suffix with a simple noun rather than an expanded form.
3.14.4 The simulative phrase occurs in the attributive position of an equational clause or in place of the adjective in the modified noun phrase. The suffix -eki occurs as the relator on the final
demonstrative and the head noun of the modified noun phrase of the axis is frequently omitted.

```
                    kamui none fu one ij-eki
                    string bag mine it yours this-rel
                    My string bag is like yours.
    ine ije fu ifo siforo ij-eki kira
tree this it fruit siforo this-rel bears
This tree bears a fruit like a siforo.
```

3.14.5 The possessive phrase and the two following it here all make use of the same suffixes as relators so that the distinction between them is maintained only by order and co-occurrence restrictions. The suffixes are -aduo/-afuo (sg) and -iebuo (pl).

The possessive phrase is embedded in the modified noun phrase and must occur immediately preceding the noun to which the phrase as a whole is showing possession:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { kofu bosi ij-afuo asie fu visi } \\
& \text { coffee boss this-rel mother she sick } \\
& \text { The mother of the coffee boss is sick. } \\
& \text { e ireobo gar-aduo mave fu barone-i } \\
& \text { person big that-rel pig it die-p.tns } \\
& \text { That large person's pig died. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The noun immediately following the possessive phrase distinguishes it from the similar benefactive and destination phrases.
3.14.6 The destination and benefactive phrases below are identical in structure. A modified noun phrase is the axis and the relators are as above. Only the kind of verb distinguishes them so that a motion verb indicates destination and certain other verbs result in the benefactive sense of the phrase.

Destination may be expressed in three ways. The possessive form of the pronoun may be used with the motion verb, the possessive suffix -do may be suffixed to a person noun and used with a motion verb, or the suffixes -aduo, -afuo, and -iebuo as above may be used with the motion verb forming the destination phrase.

```
ude bu kumite nuvuone ij-afuo rua-e
first they committee our this-rel come-p.tns
    First, they came to our committee man.
```

> fu erafa none ij-iebuo va kuar-ia
> he relatives my this-relgo talk-3pl
> He went to my relatives and talked to them.

Benefaction may be expressed by a suffix on the verb, by the suffix -efuo on a pronoun, -fuo on a person noun, or by the benefactive phrase, using the suffixes -aduo, -afuo, and -iebuo as above together with certain verbs.
Vito fu bara none ij-afuo kaukurare
Vito he wife my this-rel works
Vito is working for my wife.
no e Naokananeko ij-iebuo dua uru-ke
we people from Naokanane these-rel sing dance-f.tns
We will dance for the people from Naokanane.
3.14.7 In the temporal phrase a combination of two temporal nouns is all that is permitted in the axis. The first is more general and the second more specific. The normal suffix in the relator is -e just as in the subject/object phrase, although the emphatic form -a is contrastive. The temporal phrase is also positionally distinguished from the subject/object phrase as it normally occurs initially in the clause.

> ve ij-e fu una Musa va-e
> time that-rel he go.back Musa go-p.tns
> At that time he went back to the Musa.

Frequently, the final demonstrative is entirely omitted.

| isuame suake na Itokama va-e |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| yesterday early.morning $I$ | Itokama go-p.tns |
| Early yesterday morning, I went to Itokama. |  |

3.14.8 In the axis of the Zocation phrase, there are three positions: location noun, locative specifier, and the demonstrative stem. The suffix that serves as the relator is normally -ia, although -ifure is used for emphatic singular and -ibure for emphatic plural. The location phrase normally occurs before the verb if the verb is a motion verb and preceding the subject if not.

> fu ae mumuabo gaf-ia va-e
> he place far.away there-rel go-p.tns
> He went over there to a far away place.

```
are ubine gam-ia bu iro i
place end there-rel they yam eat
```

Down there at the end of the vizlage, they are eating yams.
fu iz-ifure fi
he where-rel sit
Where is he sitting?

### 3.15 The Apposition Phrase

The Apposition Phrase is the simple juxtaposition of one or more modified noun phrases with no intervening co-ordinating marker followed by a summarizing pronoun. This pronoun may optionally occur preceding the first modified noun phrase as well. Only the final modified noun phrase of the series may take the demonstrative and that demonstrative must take the subject/object suffix.

> Fagere e ireobo nuvuone fu ruae
> Fagere person important our he came
> Fagere, our important person, he came.
> no e Managarasi no besu oenoe
> we people Managalasi we together go about We, the Managalasipeople, go about together.

The appositional phrase is also used when more than one adjective is desired for a particular head noun. The head noun is repeated for each adjective.
ire maje ire kavuane ije...
thing good thing red that
that good thing, the red one,...
vua ireobo vua maje
talk big talk good
the big good talk...

### 3.2 Pronoun Phrases

Certain pronominal forms group together in phrases to express the intensificative, reflexive, and exclusive concepts.

### 3.21 Intensive Pronoun Phrase

The Intensive Pronoun Phrase is the subject pronoun plus the same form with the prefix ko-/koro- and the suffix -o.

| na ko-no amaeri | fu koro-fu-o va |
| :---: | :---: |
| I Int.Prn-I fix | he Int.Prn-he go |
| I fixed it myself. | He walks by himself. |

### 3.22 Reflexive Pronoun Phrase

The Reflexive Pronoun Phrase is the combination of the subject pronoun followed by the same form with the reflexive suffix -e.

| bu bu-e kuae | fu fu-e kana |
| :---: | :---: |
| they they-Ref talk | he he-Ref hit |
| hey talk to themselves. | He hit himself. |

### 3.23 Exclusive Pronoun Phrase

The Exclusive Pronoun Phrase is formed by the regular subject pronoun followed by its allomorph and the suffix -onokua.

```
no nuvu-onokua rua-e
we we-Excl.Prn come-p.tns
    We came by ourselves.
    I I-Excl.Prn sit
I am sitting by myself.
```


### 3.3 Verb Phrases

### 3.31 Process Verb Phrase

The Process Verb Phrase is a cluster of uninflected verb stems that take on a meaning as a unit distinct from but related to that of the parts. The individual stems reflect steps of a process. The subject is the same for all the verbs, only the last may be inflected, and no morpheme may occur between the stems.
furi dabe akoe ke dabe ifaje
finish carry throw take carry burn
completely finish (it)
set it on fire
In a similar way the verb stems fie sense, understand and ga see, know occur immediately following certain other uninflected verb stems to form phrases with a distinct meaning as a unit.
i $\frac{\text { fie }}{\text { eat sense }}$
taste

Still another kind of process phrase uses the negative verb ba to indicate the action of the preceding verb was begun but interrupted.

> fu gafia va ba una rua-e
> he there go neg go.back come-p.tns
> He was going up there but then stopped and came back.

### 3.32 The Purpose Phrase

The Purpose Phrase involves two verb stems, the first of which expresses the purpose of the second. Following singular subjects the suffixes -ko after back vowels and -ke after other vowels alternate with -kiro to indicate purpose and are affixed to the first verb stem. The affix -kuae is used after plural subjects.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { fu a ga-ke rua-e } \\
\text { he you see-pur come-p.tns } \\
\text { He came to see you. } \\
\text { no kofu fuaeve-kuae va } \\
\text { We coffee sell-pur go } \\
\text { We going in order to sell coffee. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 4.0 CLAUSES

Clauses may be divided into five categories according to internal structure. They are sensory, transitive, ditransitive, intransitive and equational.

### 4.1 The Sensory Clause

The Sensory Clause is characterized by the occurrence of a sensory verb, an object which must be a personal pronoun, a third person subject, the exclusion of benefactive and accompaniment phrases, and the frequent reversal of the normal order of subject preceding object.
bu bajae fiad-ia na do duad-ie

3pl body pains-3pl I water thirst-lpl
(Their) bodies are paining them. Water is thirsting me.
They are in pain.
$I$ am thirsty.

### 4.2 The Transitive Clause

The Transitive Clause is characterized by the occurrence of a transitive verb and an object and by the exclusion of the indirect object.

| bu ire i-jo fu mave kana-e |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| they food eat-pre.tns | he pig hit-p.tns |
| They are eating food. | He hit the pig. |

### 4.3 The Ditransitive Clause

The Ditransitive Clause is characterized by the occurrence of an object, an indirect object, and a ditransitive verb that obligatorily marks the person and number of the indirect object.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { nata boeje fu e ije vaj-ia-e } \\
\text { coconut many he person these give-3pl-p.tns } \\
\text { He gave these people many coconuts. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 4.4 The Intransitive Clause

The Intransitive Clause is characterized by the occurrence of an intransitive verb and the exclusion of both direct and indirect object.

```
    fu igia fi
    e gare fu barone-i
    he here sit
He is sitting here.
```

person that he died-p.tns That person died.

### 4.5 The Equational Clause

In the quational lause a comment consisting of a noun phrase or modifier obligatorily follows the subject.

| Kinefa fu e ireobo | ine ije fu gieki |
| :---: | :---: |
| Kinefa he person big | stick this 3 sg crooked |
| Kinefa is a big person. | This stick is crooked. |

### 5.0 SENTENCES

Thirty contrastive sentence types have been observed. They are contrasted by a combination of features. The most common include the conjunctive markers that are part of the medial verb morphology, tense restrictions, and restrictions on what may occur within the clause.

The sentence structure has been handled in some detail in another paper. ${ }^{5}$ Included here are summaries of six general categories into which these sentence types can be loosely classified. In these summaries the finer contrastive features have been eliminated and the focus placed on the similarities between the various sentence types in a particular grouping. Note that in the examples given below a particular marker under discussion is often left unglossed.

### 5.1 Dependents

Six sentence types are classified as Dependents. Generally, they have in common two obligatory clauses the first of which contains a dependent verb and the second a final verb.

Frequently the verb of the initial clause bears some kind of identifying suffix, either a special marker or a particular tense or aspect. The final clause may contain a conjunction, a special form of the verb, of a pattern of ellipsis.

| Sentence Type | Initial Clause | Final Clause |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| Reason | dependent verb <br> obl. marker (-do) | final verb |
| Result | dependent verb <br> intentive (kiro) <br> or purpose aspect <br> (-dufuo) | final verb <br> opt. conjunction <br> (ijadufuo) |
| Statement/ <br> Analysis | dependent verb | ellipsis leaving <br> positive or negative <br> summary word |
| Reason/ <br> Imperative | dependent verb <br> obl. marker (-no) | final verb in some <br> form of imperative |
| Caution | dependent verb <br> obl. tense | final verb in some <br> form of imperative |
| Background/ <br> Comment | dependent verb <br> opt. marker (-je) | final verb <br> opt. conjunction <br> (ijeja) |

## Examples:

## Reason

> difurisa va-do no biefurikova
> run go- we fall
> Because we run, we fall.

## Result

i ige inauri-dufuo no ijadufuo kuaria
work this get.up- we therefore talk. to. them
So that this work can go ahead, we talk to them.
Statement Analysis

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na mada-vo } \frac{b a-k i}{n o-e m p} \\
& I \text { angry.at.you-pre.tns nory at you. Certainly not. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## Reason Imperative

vame ise-no ni una va
trail bad- imp go.back go

Since the trail is bad, you must go back.
Caution
mave $e$ sakia-mo ga-ne
pig people bite-pre.tns look-imp
Pigs bite people. Look out!
Background Comment

$$
\text { ari-ma } \quad \text { ijeja no isema ime-ve }
$$

go down-p.tns concerning we poorly work-impf
Concerning our having declined, we have been working poorly.

### 5.2 Sequences

There are six Sequence Sentence types. Five of them contrast and the sixth is a mechanism for combining any of the other five. In each of these sentence types, a medial verb form is used in which the morphology indicates the tense (i.e. past, future, etc.) and the time relationship between this clause and the following one (immediate, delayed, etc.). In each case the verb in the subsequent clause is a final verb and most frequently it must exhibit tense agreement with the medial verb.

| Sentence Type | Preceding Clause | Subsequent Clause |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Continuous <br> Sequence | medial verb <br> marker -Ma | final verb |
| Past Sequence | medial verb <br> marker -Moga | final verb <br> non-future tense |
| Future Sequence | medial verb <br> marker -Kuma | final verb <br> future tense |
| Delayed Past <br> Sequence | medial verb <br> marker -EMa | final verb <br> non-future tense |
| Delayed Future <br> Sequence | medial verb <br> marker -Ekiro | final verb <br> future tense |

Examples:
Continuous

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { bu ruo-ma ijia iri } \\
\text { they come- there stop } \\
\text { They kept coming until they stopped there. }
\end{gathered}
$$

Past
fu bae-moga e ije bune abe-i
he ripe- people these they take-p.tns
When it was ripe, they took it.
Future
fu ije furi-kuma na vua-ke
he this finish- I come-fut.tns
When he finishes this, I will come.
Delayed Past
no gamia va-eva suake una rua-e
we there go- morning go-back come-p.tns
We went there and then came back in the morning.
Delayed Future
bu va-ekiro isuame una rua-ke
they go- tomorrow go.back come-fut.tns

In addition to the five above, there is the Chain Sequence Sentence. It consists of an initial clause with a medial verb and one of the sequence markers, and then up to five additional such clauses of similar structure with a subsequent final clause with a final verb. The chaining feature is such that any two of a chain of such juxtaposed clauses constitute a structure similar to one of the other sequences.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { fu ikuame suvae-ma furi-noga } \\
& \text { he bamboo weave-(continuous) finish-(past sequence) } \\
& \text { va-ema } \quad \text { suake bino re-i } \\
& \text { go-(delayed past sequence) morning other do-p.tns } \\
& \text { He wove bamboo and when it was finished, he left and then } \\
& \text { in the morning did some more. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 5.3 Quotes

Each of the five types of quote sentences contains a quote of either speech, thought, or sensation. The initial clause contains the verb of saying, thinking, etc., often with a specific marker unique to the sentence type but with no other inflection. Then each has a quoted item which normally ends with a dependent verb and in some cases
takes an additional marker as well. Three of these quote sentences require a final closing clause where only a final quoting verb is manifested.

| Sentence <br> Type | Introductory Clause | Quote Clause | Closing Clause |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Realized <br> Quote | uninflected verb of <br> saying | dependent verb <br> marker -no | final verb of <br> saying only <br> verb permitted |
| Unrealized <br> Quote | verb of saying <br> marker -ko | dependent verb | final verb of <br> saying |
| Mental <br> Quote | verb of thinking <br> marker -ro | dependent verb <br> marker -ro | None |
| Sensation <br> Quote | verb of sensation <br> marker -ke | dependent or <br> final verb | final verb of <br> sensation only <br> verb permitted |
| Confirmation <br> Quote | personal pronoun <br> only | final verb | None |

Examples:
Realized quote
fu kua ni va-no-no kua-e
he say imp go-imp- say-p.tns
He said, "You must go!"
Unrealized quote

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { fu kua-ko ke kua } \\
& \text { he say- yes say } \\
& \text { He will say "Yes". }
\end{aligned}
$$

Mental quote
na vierafe-ro fu e ma-ro
I think- he person good-
I think that he is a good person.

Sensation quote

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { na fie-ke do abiese fie } \\
I \text { hear- water fall hear } \\
I \text { hear water falling. }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
Confirmation quote
    a marene ata-ne
    you firewood chop-imp
Did you say "Chop the wood"?
```


### 5.4 Conditionals

There are four conditional sentence types each with a Protasis clause and an Apodosis clause. The verb of the Protasis clause is a medial verb bearing one of the contrastive markers that not only identifies the condition but usually shows tense as well. The Apodosis clause requires a final verb and usually some kind of tense restriction.

| Sentence Type | Protasis | Apodosis |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| Past Conditional | medial verb <br> marker -Mone | final verb <br> non-future tense |
| Future Conditional | medial verb <br> marker -kuMane | final verb <br> future tense |
| Contrafactual <br> Conditional | medial verb <br> marker -bitie | final verb <br> future tense |
| Imperative <br> Conditional | medial verb <br> marker -kuManeja <br> final verb <br> some form of |  |

Examples:
Past Conditional
no kuaria-vone buka faememare-i
we talk.to.them- they ignore-p.tns
Whenever we talk to them they ignore it.
Future Conditional
a maeke mani-kumane fu naba kume-ke you quietly stand- he number call-fut.tns If you stand quietly, he will call the number.

Contrafactual Conditional
a igia fi-bitie a ga-ke you here sit- you see-fut.tns If you had sat here, you would have seen it.

```
Imperative Conditional
    fu va-kumaneja ni igia ro-ne
he go- Imp here come-imp
    If he goes, you must come here.
```


### 5.5 Co-ordinates

In Co-ordinate Sentences, the clauses are generally more independent semantically than in the other groupings. The initial clause usually has a medial verb form often with a distinctive marker. The final clause which requires a final verb may include an optional marker as well. Frequently conjunctions are used as an additional link between the clauses. In addition each of these sentence types permits the occurrence of several clauses of the structure of the initial clause with intervening conjunctions where appropriate and terminated with the final clause.

| Sentence Type | Initial Clause | Conjunctive <br> Link | Final Clause |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Co-ordinate | medial verb <br> same or different <br> subj. marker | areme | final verb |
| Simultaneous | medial verb <br> markers -kinu | koga |  |$\quad$| final verb |
| :--- |
| Comparative |
| medial verb optional <br> may take one of <br> the sequence <br> markers or one <br> of the other <br> co-ordinate <br> markers | | kie |
| :--- |

Examples:
Co-ordinate
fu kamui one abe-na $\frac{\text { areme juvuave one abe-i }}{\text { he string.bag you take-(same subj) and spear your take-p.tns }}$
He took your string bag and he took your spear.

## Simultaneous

bu rua-koga Moresi are fuone ijia va
they come- Mores house his there go While they were coming, Mores was going to his house.

Comparative
ja above ro ja naebe nija-e
you gather but you not put-p.tns
You gathered it but you did not put it away.

## Alternative

fu bite mare-ke bite isere-ke
it perhaps good- perhaps bad-fut.tns
It might be good or it might be bad.

### 5.6 Expansions

The group of sentences labelled Expansions is perhaps the most loosely knit of all structurally. But they do have a functional parallel in that each seems to build upon one of the other sentence types and adapt it or expand it in some way for a particular purpose. Each of the five types in this group is discussed briefly below.

### 5.61 Amplification Sentence

In the Amplification Sentence two clauses with identical verbs are juxtaposed. If a lot of information is related to the action of one verb, this sentence type is used rather than heavily loading a single clause. The subject of the second clause, if it occurs, must be the same as the first.
fu bara abe fu davane vajaeva fu ije abe he wife took he gift gave he this took
He took a wife; he took this one to whom he had given a gift.

### 5.62 Parallel Sentence

The Parallel Sentence is usually a string of several juxtaposed clauses with identical subjects and verbs that are semantically and morphologically similar, indicating different ways of looking at the same situation.

```
    e nuvuone bu fatire-ke boro kana-ke
people our they feast-fut.tns ball play-fut.tns
    dua uru-ke
    sing dance-fut.tns
            Our people feast and play ball and dance.
```


### 5.63 Evaluation Sentence

The distinctive feature of the Evaluation Sentence is the formulaic predicate of the final clause, which is limited to a pronominal subject and a predicate adjective usually meaning good or bad. The initial clauses are similar in form to Sequence, Background/Comment, or Conditional Sentences.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { a igia inauri-kumane } \frac{\text { ije }}{\text { this }} \frac{\text { fu }}{i t} \frac{\text { se }}{\text { bad }} \\
& \text { you here get up- } \\
& \text { If you get up here, this is bad. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 5.64 Summary Sentence

The Summary Sentence is an expansion of the Simultaneous Sentence. After the string of clauses with the simultaneous markers on their medial verbs comes a final summary clause. It normally occurs simply as a predicate in one of two forms, ijere do this or ijegere do Zike this, though subject and mood clitic are also permitted.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { bu suke mia-kinu marene ifaje-kinu } \frac{i j e r e}{\text { do.this }} \\
& \text { they refreshment give- fire fix- will give you refreshments and fix the fire and do this. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 5.65 Process Sentence

Rather than an expansion, the Process Sentence appears to be a contraction of perhaps the Co-ordinate Sentence. It is a string of three clauses where the activity is related to the whole as part of a single process. The subject is the same and there are limitations on what may occur in each of the clauses.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { fu boro abe va ukua gamia mani } \\
& \text { he ball take go middle down. there stand } \\
& \text { He takes the ball and goes and stands down there. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.0 TEXT

How to Make a Garden 6

```
(l) Na vua juae me-kidufuo ijdufuo kua. (2) No juae
    lsg talk garden make-pur concerning talk lpl garden
    me-kuva-ne no va-kamama taraebo gamia usiae areme
make-fut.seq-indef lpl go-contin bush there arrive and.then
    ufiae-noe-nama fu ma-re-ga namu me-na rua.
go. around-dur-contin 3sg good-vblzr-ds brush clear-ss come
```

(3) Namu me-na ruo-mama vemu-ga no ijia are-na rua. brush clear-ss come-contin night.falls-ds lpl there stop-ss come.
(4) Rua nao-ekina suake va gamia usiae kuke come sleep-del.fut.seq morning do.again go there arrive again me-na me-na ruo-mama furi dabe akoe. (5) Ijia are-na work-ss work-ss come-contin finish take throw there stop-ss ro oeno-ke maza kana-na namu no me-eva ije vare-mama or go. around-ds sun hit-ss brush lpl clear-dep.past this dries-contin are-ga no ame meru-mama areme bu no-ena va gamia usiae i stop-ds lpl boys get-contin and.then 3 pl lpl-acc go there arrive tree mukie. (6) Ame mumokana no i mukie-ke e maki bu zinume delimb boys teenager lpl tree delimb-ds person adult 3pl trunk
fike-noe. (7) Fike-noe-namama ijia are-na rua. (8) No
dig.out-dur dig.out-dur-contin there stop-ss come lpl
mukie va-kamama ga ine naebe furi-kuma-ne no ijia delimb go-contin look tree not finish-fut.seq-indef lpl there are-na rua. (9) Rua-ekina suake kuke una va usiae stop-ss come come-del.fut.seq morning again do.again go arrive mukie-moe-namama furi dabe akoe. (10) Furi dabe akoe-na ijia delimb-dur-contin finish take throw finish take throw-ss there
are-na rua. (ll) Rua oeno-ke fu maza keke-na kana-mama stop-ss come
vare ga. (12) Vare ga-kuva-ne be no usiae ke
dry see dry see-fut.seq-indef time another lpl arrive do
dabe ifaeje. (13) Ke dabe ifaeje fu nae-mama nae-mama furi
take cook do take cook 3sg burn-contin burn-contin finish
dabe akoe. (14) Areme no usiae fae
take throw and.then day.after.tomorrow lpl arrive fence nioe (15) Ine taraebo ine ufu-na nioe-mama prepare.to.build tree bush tree cut-ss prepare.to.build-contin
ijia are-na va.
there stop-ss go
no usiae kira-na rua fa kira-na rua. (17) fa
tomorrow lpl arrive build-ss come fence build-ss come fence
kira-na va-kama ubine nija va-ekiro be ro build-ss go-contin end put go-del.fut.seq time another come
kuke una kira-na va...
again do.again buizd-ss go

## Free Translation:

(1) I am going to talk about how to make a garden. (2) Whenever we make a garden we walk until we arrive at the jungle and then we walk around until (we find) a good place and then we clear away the small brush and work in one direction. (3) We keep working until night falls and then we stop and go (home). (4) We go home and sleep and then later, in the morning, we go back there and when we get there, we work again and keep working until it is completely finished. (5) Then we stop and go and do other things and the sun hits it and the brush that we cleared keeps drying until it's all dry and then we get some boys and they come with us and when we get there we cut the limbs from the trees. (6) We teenage boys cut the limbs off the trees and the older men keep busy digging out the trunks. (7) They keep busy digging out the stumps until they stop and go back. (8) We keep cutting the limbs and if we see that the trees are not finished we stop and go back. (9) We go back and then Zater in the morning we come back again and continue cutting limbs until it is completely finished. (l0) When it is completely finished we stop and go back. (ll) We go back and walk around and the sun comes up and strikes the (cut brush) and dries it and then we look at it. (12) If we see that it is dry, at another time we will come and set it on fire. (l3) We will set it on fire and it will burn and burn until it is completely finished. (14) And then a couple of days later we will return and prepare to build a fence. (15) We will cut some trees from the jungle and keep preparing things and then stop and go back. (16) We will stop and go back and then later in another couple of days we will come back and build it...we will come back and build the fence. (17) We will keep building until we put in the corner and then we'll go and later, at another time, come back and build again and then go and...


APPENDIX 1: BARAI VERB MORPHOLOGY

|  |  | Dependent Verbs |  | Medial Verbs |  |  |  | Final Verbs |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Present | Past | Past | Future | Delayed Past | Delayed Future | Present | Imperfect | Past |
|  |  | - Mo | -EMa | - Mo | -kuMa | - EMa | -Ekiro | -Mo | $-\mathrm{Me}$ | - E |
| second and third persons singular | ```following high stressed vowels``` | -no | -ima | -no | -kuma | - ima | -ikiro | -no | -ne | -i |
|  | elsewhere | -mo | -ema | -mo | -kuma | - ema | -ekiro | -mo | -me | - |
| first person singular and first, second and third persons plural | ```following high stressed vowels``` | -jo | -iva | - jo | -kuva | -iva | -ikiro | - jo | -je | -i |
|  | elsewhere | -vo | -eva | -vo | -kuva | -eva | -ekiro | - vo | -ve | - e |

APPENDIX 2: BARAI TENSE ALLOMORPHS

## NOTES

1. The data upon which this paper is based was collected over a period of four years beginning January 1969 in the Birari dialect of the upper Bariji River. This corresponds to the Ufia and Umwate dialects suggested in Dutton (1969:69).
2. For a more complete statement on the phonemic analysis of the Birari dialect see Olson (1969).
3. Phonological features above the segmental level are discussed in more detail in Olson (1972).
4. This research has been supported in part by a grant from the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. During the research, considerable use was made of a concordance of 29,844 words of text in Baral made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by a grant of the National Science Foundation.
5. See Olson (1973).
6. This text was told by Victor Koki, aged about twentyone years, from Itokama village, Northern District, Papua, in May, 1972.

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OLSON, Michael L.
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# HIGHLIGHTS OF OMMIE MORPHOLOGY 

## JOHN AUSTING and RíNDOLPH UPIA

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ömpe is the smallest member of the Kolarian Language Family of Central Papua. It is spoken by some 1000 inhabitants of the southwestern slopes of Mount Lamington and the upper reaches of the Kumusi River in the Northern District of Papua. ${ }^{1}$ This distribution corresponds to two dialects of the language which have been identified and named Asafa and Zuwadza respectively. The former, centred around Asapa village numbers approximately 800 speakers, and the latter, centred around Namanaia (or Wora) village numbers approximately 200 speakers.

This paper is concerned solely with the Asafa, or as $1 t$ will be spelled hereafter, Asapa dialect. It is based on data collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, much of which was contributed by one of the present authors, Mr. Randolph Upia, a native speaker from Asapa village. ${ }^{2}$

In the forthcoming description the following abbreviations will be used to identify affixes:

| ab | ablative | pf | perfect |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| al | allative | pl | plural |
| aux | auxiliary verb | po | potential |
| ben | benefactive | pr | present |
| ch | characterizer | prim | primary medial |
| des | desiderative | proj | projected aspect |
| excl | exclusive | sec | secondary medial |
| fu | future | set | setting |
| gen | general tense | sg | singular |
| imp | imperative | sp | specific |
| loc | locative | ref | direct referent |
| p | prominence | rel | relator |
| pa | past | $t$ | terminator |

### 2.0 PHONOLOGY ${ }^{3}$

### 2.1 Phonemes

In transcribing Ömie the following symbols are used to represent twentytwo separate consonant and vowel phonemes the principal variants of which are shown in square brackets following each symbol:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& t[t h], k[k h], ?, b, d, j[d z ̌], g, p[p], \\
& v[t, v, w], r[i ̌, r i], m, n, s[s, t s], h[h, p] \text {, } \\
& i, e, \ddot{e}[æ], a, \quad \ddot{[o}], \quad 8[o], o\left[a^{2}\right], u \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Following a vowel, : is used to indicate that the syllable containing that vowel is stressed.

Phonemes contrast in analogous or identical environments as follows:

```
v//b//m//n /i:ve/ net /i:be/ eating
    /i:me/ sugarcane /i:ne/ eat (imperative)
n//d /?a:ne/ hit /?a:de/ branch
t/ld /hö:tel tree type /hö:de/ flame
t/ls /butie:/ knot /gusie:/ tree type
d//j//s /da:je/ skin /ja:je/ drum /sa:se/ light
d//r /de:je/ back /re:je/ taboo place
h//p
g//?//h//#
k//g /ka:vuë?e/ red /ga:vuë?e/ we are seen
k//?
v//u//vu
i//e//a//ठ//ö//u /i:je/ tree
    /e:je/ shield
    /a:je/ wife's father-in-law
    /ô:je/ door
    /ö:je/ plant
    /u:je/ banana
e//ë//a//o /bire:ge/ he scolds me
    /birë:ge/ he scolds them
    /bira:ge/ he scolds you
    /biro:ge/ flesh
ol/8 /?iro:mel construct /?ir8:mel pluck
o/lu /i:jore/ afterwards /i:jure/ in the nest
o//ö̈ /hi:rohel he prospers /hi:röhe/ he is to sit
```

Stress is contrastive and is characterized by timing rather than intensity. Compare:

> hije: grandparent hi:je sit.

Note that for some speakers $h$ and $p$ represent one phoneme. Some speakers use the allophone [h], others [p]; still others fluctuate between the two. However, some younger speakers recognize a difference and tend to pronounce $h$ in some words consistently as [p] and in others consistently as [h].

Otherwise the only other major allophonic variation is found with the phoneme $v$ which is generally pronounced as a labiodental
fricative or lightly articulated bilabial fricative except when occurring immediately preceding a back vowel when it is pronounced more like [w] than [t].

### 2.2 Syllable Types

A syllable in Ömie consists of all onset, optional word initial, obligatory elsewhere, followed by an obligatory simple or complex nucleus. The following syllable types occur: (bracketed symbols indicate optional occurrence)

| Word initial: | $(C) V ;(C)(V) V V$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Elsewhere: | $C(V)(V) V$. |

The distribution of phonemes within the syllable is restricted. In the following chart each of the eight Ömie vowels is assigned a number. Components of syllable nucle1 will be referred to by these numbers.


Simple vowel nucleus when word initial may be any vowel but 4 in the chart. 4 Elsewhere it may be any vowel. Complex nuclei consist of vowels in ascending numerical sequence only. The initial vowel is never 3 or 4. In triple vowel nuclei, the final vowel is always 7A or 7B. The following chart lists examples of the only combinations of phonemes in (C)VVV syllables.

|  | uae | uä | iae | iaë | iöe | iöè |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 | $\times$ | $x$ |  |  |  |  |
| j | $x$ | $x$ |  |  |  |  |
| h | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ |  |  |
| m | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ | $\times$ |  |  |
| $r$ | $\times$ | $\times$ | $x$ | $x$ |  |  |
| d |  |  | $\times$ | $\times$ |  |  |
| \# |  |  | $x$ | $x$ |  |  |
| $v$ |  |  | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ |
| n |  |  | $\times$ | $\times$ | $x$ | $x$ |
| ? |  |  |  |  | x | $x$ |

CHART 2: CONSONANT VOWEL NUCLEAR COMBINATIONS

When the nucleus consists of two vowels the following restrictions have been found in the onset. With nucleus 1,5 , the onset is /m/, /h/ or /?/. With nucleus 2,3, the onset is one of /b,v,d,s,n/.

The consonant /k/ is rare. Apart from loan words, these are the only words recorded which contain /k/: /kinë?e/ bush spirit /kavue/ turn red /köe/ blood /kaejöe/ knife /mököje/ name of bird /kôva?ie/ name of bird.

Some dialects substitute /?/ for /k/ in the first three words.
Other combinations have not yet been observed: /tua/ /die/
/duô/ /suô/ /iö/.

### 3.0 MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following rules apply to affixes and clitics except for the special cases given in Sections $12.1,12.11,13.12$ and 13.3 below.
(1) Final stem vowels are reduced when an enclitic or suffix beginning with the same vowel is added.
papa + are $>$ papare
uncle + genitive $>$ uncle's
(2) The phoneme /e/ is reduced when /e/ and /ë/ come together in either order as a result of the addition of an enclitic or suffix.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { sisë }+\begin{array}{c}
\text { e } \\
b a d+\text { terminator }>b a d
\end{array} \\
\text { sue }+\quad \text { ëni }>\text { su-ëni } \\
\text { cloud }+ \text { allative }>\text { cloud-allative } \\
\text { for a cloud }
\end{gathered}
$$

(3) Final vowels of morphemes may be weak or strong. Strong vowels are /ö/, /e/, /ë/ and /a/. When another morpheme whose initial phoneme is a vowel is added, the strong vowel is retained except where rule 2 applies. The vowels /o/ and / $/$ / are reduced directly following a strong vowel.
sa?a-ëni
Zand-allative
for Zand
sa?a + ohuni $>$ sa?a-huni
Zand + prominent.allative > Zand-prominent.allative for the land

Weak vowels are /8/ and /o/. They are reduced when any vowel is added.

```
?amo + ëni > ?amëni
village + allative > for the village
na-? 8 + oho \(>\) na?oho
I-too + prominence \(>\) nor \(I\)
```

The phonemes /i/ and /u/ on some morphemes are strong. However, if a morpheme beginning with /o/ is added, the /o/ is retained.

> muri-ëni muri-ohuni
first.born-allative
first.born-prominent.allative
On other morphemes, /i/ and /u/ are weak.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { öri }+ \text { ëni }>\text { örëni } \\
& \text { road }+ \text { allative }>\text { for a road }
\end{aligned}
$$

(4) Morpheme final /o/ becomes / 0 / when a monosyllabic morpheme consisting of a consonant $+/ 8 /$ is added.

```
je?o rob > je?8ró
bush + non-specific.locative > in bush country
```

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { apo }+38 & >\text { ap8?ô } \\
\text { father }+w i t h & >\text { with father }
\end{aligned}
$$

(5) Depending on the speaker word final /o/ is frequently replaced by /8/. This change is especially common in shouted speech contour final.

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
\text { juvae ij-o } & >\text { juvae } i j-8 \\
\text { coconut eat-let's! Let's eat coconut. }
\end{array}
$$

(6) The Asapa dialect is distinguished from Zuwadza by the presence of -e terminator on certain classes of words and suffixes. -e is suffixed when the word or morpheme is considered independent of what follows. What is meant by independent differs according to the word or suffix class and will be discussed in the morphology.

## Zuwadza

[a] man
[sina] skin

## Asapa

a-e
man-t
man

```
sino + e > sin-e
```

skin-t
skin
sino-re
skin-on
on the skin

```
[ba?-\varepsilon?i] va?-ë?i + e > va?-ë?-e
    go-past(perfect?) go-perfect-t
    has gone, went has gone
    va?-\ddot{?i-rb}
    go-perfect-when
    when he went
```


### 4.0 NOUNS

Nouns are not inflected for number. Number may be signalled by other words in the same phrase or clause.

There are two classes of nouns, common and appellative.

### 4.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns, including borrowed words, are distinguished from appellative nouns by the terminator - $\mathbf{e}$ when they occur in isolation.
kuku-e
tobacco-t
tobacco
-e is not added (a) when suffixes or clitics are added or (b)
when a morpheme to which one might otherwise expect it to be added is considered to be subordinate to a following word. Nouns in the latter category will be called dependent nouns. Examples (c) and (d) contain dependent nouns a and kuku.
(a) huono-re
bamboo-in
in the bamboo
(b) a-e sisë
man-t bad
bad man
(c) a sisë
man bad
bad one
(d) kuku huon-e
tobacco bamboo-t
tobacco pipe

### 4.2 Appellative Nouns

Appellative nouns contrast with common nouns in that they do not have a terminator ee suffix in isolation:

```
apo father (used for address or endearment)
```

as opposed to

```
    vavu-e father-t father (used for identification).
```

Proper names of people are included in the appellative class.
Appellative nouns contrast further with common nouns in that
they take a genitive (gen) suffix -are, appellative locative -ar $\delta$
and vocative suffix - 0 . Common nouns do not take these suffixes.

```
                    apo + are> apare
                    father + genitive(gen)
                                    father's
                    apo + arठ > aparठ
father + appellative.locative
            to/with father
            apo + 0 > apठ
            father + vocative
                Father:'
```


### 5.0 ADJECTIVES

```
Adjectives are categorized as qualifiers or quantifiers.
```


### 5.1 Qualifiers

Qualifiers take -e terminator. Only qualifiers may function as a quality descriptive in a modified noun phrase. Unless emphasized, the qualifying adjective immediately follows the noun it modifies.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ij-e böröm-e } \\
\text { tree-t big-t } \\
\text { a big tree }
\end{gathered}
$$

If emphatic, the qualifier immediately precedes the noun.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { böröm-e ij-e } \\
\text { big-t tree-t } \\
\text { a big tree }
\end{gathered}
$$

Qualifiers are reduced or increased in intensity by a closed set of modifiers. These are typical examples of comparison but not all of these phrases would occur with every adjective. Phrase medial qualifiers occur without -e terminator.

| bisemu böröme | böröme |
| :---: | :---: |
| only.a. little big | big |
| somewhat big |  |
| börömo böröme | börömo mae |
| big big | big true |
| quite big | truly big |
| börömo bëhe | börömo börömo mae |
| big very | big big true |
| very big | truly very big |
| börömo bëhi mae | börömo börömo bëhe |
| big very true | big big very |
| truly very big | very very big |

The strongest intensity is achieved by litotes.
bogo mae bogo bise?e vadu?oho
not truly not little perhaps
truly not little, no doubt about it
Adjectives are not marked to agree with the noun they modify. Some adjectives of size, however, are used only with nouns whose referent is singular, others are used only with nouns whose referent is plural.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { a-e böröm-e } \\
\text { man-t big-t } \\
\text { a big man } \\
\text { munë bise?-e } \\
\text { stone small-t } \\
\text { a small stone }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
    a-e masij-e
    man-t big-t
        big men
    munë inin-e
stones small-t
    small stones
```


### 5.2 Quantifiers

The quantifier does not characteristically occur with -e terminator. It follows the qualifier in a modified noun phrase.
ae böröme gemu
man important one
one important man
Numerals constitute an important set of quantifiers.
gemu nio?i
one two

```
                        ëhi nioti ëhi gemu
        like.that two like.that one
                                    three
                                    ëhi ni0?i ëhi ni0?i
                                like.that two like.that two
                                    four
                                    övo gö mine
            hand one number
                the number of one hand; five
            övo gö mine övo gö-re gemu
            hand one number hand other-on one
        one hand and one (finger) on the other; six
            övo gö mine övo gö mine
            hand one number hand other number
            one hand, the other hand; ten
            övo gö mine övo gö mine höru gö mine
            hand one number hand other number foot one number
        one hand, the other hand, one foot; fifteen
            Other quantifiers include ahठ?8 many, ahठ?ठbëhe very many,
vemino e few, gemu gemu one one 1.e. few, gö another.
            Certain quantifiers may be intensified. E.g.
                    ah8?0-bëhi mae
                    many-very truly
                        very many
```


### 6.0 MANNER WORDS

Manner words do not have -e terminator. They are of two types. Those derived from qualifiers, or homophonous with them, immediately precede the verb they modify.

> muoho sisë-?i ë?e
> work bad-manner he-does
> He is doing the work poorly.

Other manner words, not derived from adjectives, need not be adjacent to the verb.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { burëro ?am-ëro rovadeje } \\
& \text { quickly village-to he.came } \\
& \text { He quickly came to the village. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Some stems appear to be derived from nouns.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& b u r u+\text { ëro }>\text { burëro } \\
& \text { wind }+b y>\text { quickly } \\
& u ? i+e m u>\text { u?emu } \\
& \text { smoke }+ \text { only }>\text { slowly } \\
& \text { darugo }+\delta \delta>d a r u g \delta \delta ? \delta
\end{aligned}
$$

Others are simple stems.
saginiëri carefully, secretly

All manner words are usually preceded by the limitator ma just for slight emphasis:
ma burëro just quickly
The addition of the manner word bisemu a little immediately preceding another manner word means to some extent, rather.
bisemu burëro
a. little quickly
somewhat quickly
Manner words are intensified in irregular ways.
burëro burëro
quickly quickly vigorously very quickly

> darugo ma-ër-emu vigour truly-with-only very vigorously

### 7.0 TEMPORALS

Temporals are distinguished from other words in that when unmarked by a clitic, they function as a grammatical temporal indicator in a clause or noun phrase.

```
nasi hujeji jöho hujeji na va?ejó
    my later talk later I shall.go
    my future message Later I'Zl go.
```

Unlike nouns, adjectives, and manner words, temporals never occur with a preceding limitator ma just. This can be seen by comparing the homophonous words u?emu later and u?emu slowly.

```
            jaruvo ma u{emu juve u{emu ma burëro juvठ̂?ejó
    today just slowly I.walk
Today I'm just walking slowly.
later just quickly I.will.walk
    Later I'Zl walk quickly.
    Some temporals are derived by adding the suffix -?e to adjective
```

or noun stems:

> mami-?e
> old-temporal.suffix
> before, already.

In the same way temporals which constitute the diurnal subclass are derived from the nouns sisônue morning, majae sun, day, time, jenie afternoon, vö?öe evening, vahie night. Diurnal temporals include not only words, but phrases:

> sisonu-?e
> morning-time
> in the morning
> jeni-?e
> afternoon-time in the afternoon
vahi-?e
night-time
at night
sisônu-?e mae [sic]
morning-time true
on in the morning
maja-?e
sun-time
at the time from $10 a . m$. to noon
vö?ö-?e
evening-time
in the evening
vahi ma-?e
night true-time
well on in the night
vahi riri-?e
night middle-time
at midnight

A diurnal temporal may be modified by an immediately preceding temporal.

> nëri sisonu?e
> tomorrow morning

The use of diurnal temporals should be compared with that of nouns. Note that mid-day is expressed by a relator-axis noun phrase, not a temporal (see Section 13.22):

> maja riri-re
sun middle-setting.enclitic

$$
m i d-d a y
$$

Only the noun may be modified by a deictic:
di vahi-re
which (de1ctic) night. (noun)-setting.enclitic
which night?

> ave vahi-re
> this night-setting
> this night

On the other hand, the diurnal temporal is used if a deictic is not selected:

> jaruvo vahi?e
> today night
> tonight

Another category of temporals indicates the succession of days.
jaruvo today
nëri $18 t$ day before or after today
jiame $2 n d$ day before or after today
riome 3 rd day before or after today
riröhe 4 th day before or after today
Temporals are intensified irregularly:

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { mami-?e } & \text { mami gö gö-?e } \\
\text { old-time } & \text { old some some-time } \\
\text { Zong ago } & \text { very long ago } \\
\text { u?emu } & \text { hujeji u?emu } \\
\text { Zater } & \text { after Zater } \\
& \text { much Zater }
\end{array}
$$

### 8.0 DEICTICS

Deictics are of two types: pure deictics, and locative deictics.

### 8.1 Pure Deictics

The pure delctic forms are:

| ë | that, there |
| :--- | :--- |
| ëhunö | in that area |
| ëhi | in this/that manner |
| evare | at that time |
| ëmino?e that amount |  |

The pure deictics frequently function anaphorically to sum up a phrase, clause, paragraph or discour'se.

Aëro Asapa ?amo-re ë höröjadeje.
the.man Asapa village-setting there came
The man arrived at Asapa village.

Ae niô? i gemu ëmino?e rôvareje.
man 21 that.many came
Three men, that many, came.

> Ëhi ë?adeje.
> Zike. that he.did
> That's what he did.
> (sums up an entire discourse)
ë that, ëhi like that and evare then occur phrase initial in a modified noun phrase, manner phrase and temporal noun phrase respectively. Deictics do not occur in appellative noun phrases. The noun phrases terminate with either a prominence (p) marker or specific setting marker (sp.set) (see Section 13.0).

Ë kinë?e sisë-huro róvadeje.
that spirit bad-p.ablative he.came
That bad spirit came
Ëhi ma burëro rôvadeje.
like.that just quickly he. came
He came that quickly.

Evare maja-re rôvadeje.
that.time time-sp.set he. came
He came at that time.
Deictics may occur absolutely when the referent is known.
Aëro ë va?adeje
man there went
The man went there.
Evare va?adeje.
at. that.time he.went
He went at that time.

### 8.2 Locative Deictics

There are four basic locative deictics; see Chart 3: A, B, C and D. The initial /a/ wherever it occurs in the chart, is optional. In This discussion, lower case letters refer to the line in the chart, and numbers refer to the examples to follow.

| Deictic Focus | A here | B there | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{C} \\ \text { down there } \end{gathered}$ | D up there |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (a) setting (extreme) | ave | arue | anume | aruhe |
| (b) setting (proximal) | aviëre | aruëre | anumëre | a ruhëre |
| (c) this way (extreme) | aviëhi | aruëhi | anumëhi | aruhëhi |
| (d) this way (proximal) | aviërëhi | aruërëhi | anumërëhi | aruhërëhi |
| (e) areaprominence | viënöho | ruënöho | numënöho | ruhënöho |
| (f) areaidentifier | viënörire | ruënörire | numënörire | ruhënörire |
| Locative Focus | A here | B there | C down there | D <br> up there |
| (g) at, to (extreme) | aviae | a ruae | anumiae | aruhiae |
| (h) at, to (proximal) | averiae | ar8riae | anumbiriae | aruh8riae |
| (i) additional (proximal) | veri?8 | r8ri?8 | numb̂ri?8 | ruh8̂ri?8 |
| ( j$)$ somewhere (extreme) | aviari?ere | aruari?ere | anumiari?ere | aruhiari?ere |
| (k) somewhere (proximal) | averiari?ere | ar8̂riari?ere | anumôriari?ere | aruhôriari?ere |

## CHART 3: LOCATIVE DEICTICS

Each of the locative deictics may be deictic focus, (a) to (f), or locative focus, ( $g$ ) to ( $k$ ). The contrast is clear between (a) (b) and (g) (h): (a) (b) may refer to either space or time (l) (2). They frequently serve to direct the attention of the hearer to a change in setting or to the identity of a participant in a discourse (2). The locative focus deictics ( $g$ ) and (h), on the other hand, give information only about space or direction (3).
(1)
Ruëre vadune gö-re rue?ë?e.
just. over.at. that year other-sp.set he.will. come
He will come just this next year.
Ruhe dö-re ?ano?i ?ömie bijiogoho ?ajiomamu
up. at. that top-sp.set to.kill ömie native go. up
gagoro ?ömi-ëro hi?ihö gavajo uve mami?e
after Ömie-subject sitting saw Orokaiva already
anumëre rojomamugo
just. down.at.that coming. up
(The Orokaiva) was climbing up there to the top
to kill the Omie countryman. Then the Ömie,
as he was sitting, saw just down there an
Orokaiva was already climbing the tree.
Anumiae ?abue?ejb.
down.there I.shall.go.down
I'Zl go down there.

A second distinction which is made in the four locative deictics is between extreme and proximal. The proximal implies a short distance from the narrator or the participant from whose viewpoint the discourse is being presented. The extreme simply indicates direction without specific reference to distance. However, if proximal and extreme locative deictics other than those in column A are contrasted, proximal signifies near and extreme signifies far. The situation for those in column $A$ is the reverse. Extreme signifies right here and proximal signifies close to here.
aviae right here (extreme)
averiae not right here but close to here (proximal)
aruae over there (extreme)
aroriae a short distance over there (proximal)
Enclitics on locative deictics occur singly or in strings. Since their usage is specialized, it will be discussed here. Their occurrence on noun and temporal phrases will be described in Section 13.0.

Sets (a) (b) (g) (h) have already been illustrated. Enclitics or suffixes which may be isolated include - $\ddot{e}$ bound allomorph of the pure deictic ë (b), setting enclitic -re~-r (b) (h), and locative -iae ~-ae (g) (h). Forms class (a) are unmarked.
-ëhi in that manner/way occurs in two sets of forms (c) and (d). Examples illustrate the usage first of the extreme, then the proximal form.

> Avi-ëhi róvadeje.
this.here-way he. came
He came in the direction of this place here.
(2) Aviër-ëhi huhosumoromo ro va?adeje.
near.this-way detouring come he.went
He passed by, making a detour on this side lof that object located) near here.

The extreme, (c), may refer to time or manner:
Hura bise?o-re röhu vi-ẹ̆hi rue? ${ }^{\text {e }}$ ?e.
week small-on but this-way he.will. come
He will come this side of Saturday (i.e. before
Saturday).
Avi-ëhi ë?adeje.
this-way he.did
He did just as $I$ am demonstrating here.
-ënöho on this part of (e) is composed of the pure deictic ë
that plus area locative -nö plus the prominence marker -oho. Set (e) replaces (c) if it is sentence theme, or in a negative or information interrogative sentence (see Section 14.2).

J8v8 vi-ënöho iae aëro hije.
water this.here-area certainly man sits
There is someone on this side of the river.
Hura vi-ënöho bôgô rue?i ru-ëhi evare rue?ë?e.
week this.here-area not come there-way then he.will.come He will not come this part of the week; towards the latter part, at that time, he will come.
-ënörire in this area (f) consists of -nö area, -ri (?), and -re setting.

Vi-ënörire jôv-re aëro hije.
this.here-in.this.area water-at man sits
There is a person at the water in this area (as opposed to the water in the other area).
-8 and, in addition, more (1):
R8ri-? 8 va?one.
just.over.there-more go
Move over there a little or Get out of the way!
-ri?ere somewhere near, is composed of -ri (?) plus -?e characterizer, plus -re setting. It may be suffixed to an absolute (f) or relative (k) form.

```
        arua-ri?ere
    absolute.there-near
        somewhere over there
        arOria-ri?ere
        relative.there-near
        somewhere just a short distance over there
    The following forms may be substantivized (13.3) by adding the
prominence marker -oho. The final /e/ is reduced except in (a) forms.
    (a) ave-ho
        this-p
        this one
    (b) aviër-oho
        near.this-p
        the one in the place near here
    (f) vi-ënörir-oho
        this-in. area-p
        the one in the area this way
(j) and (k) aruhoria-ri?er-oho
    just.up. there-somewhere.near-p
    the one just up there somewhere
```


### 9.0 INTERROGATIVES

```
Omie has both information and performative interrogatives. Information interrogatives are used by a narrator when a response or reaction is desired. Performative interrogatives are used by the speaker to express his own doubt or uncertainty.
rahuro rôvadeje
who came (information)
Who came, I ask you?
vaduro rôvadeje
who came
(performative)
Let me think, who came?
The inclusion of information interrogatives in a clause results in the prominence marker being added to other phrases in the clause (14.2). The performative interrogative effects no changes.
```

Information interrogatives are classified as deictic, nominal and pronominal.

The deictic form is di which. It occupies the same initial position as the deictic ë in modified noun phrases (13.2). The phrase concludes with the prominence marker or specific setting marker (13.ll, 13.12).

| di mah-oho | di öri-re |
| :---: | :---: |
| which pig-p | which road-sp.set |
| which pig? | on which road? |
| diae | dinö?e |
| which place? | where? |
| dihunö?e | dehi or diëhi |
| which area? | how? |
| dimino?e | divare |
| how many? | when? |

The information interrogative common noun rab-e what-t (stem rabu) what? may be modified and possessed. It takes the clitics in the same way as other common nouns (il3.1). The answer sought would range from a person to an abstract idea.

Nasi rabu böröm-ëro rôvadeje?
my what big-subject came
What was it that was big belonging to me that came?
(May refer either to human or non-human participants.)
Rab-ëro bejadeje?
what-subject feZZ
What fell?

Rab-ëni rôvaneje?
what-for did.you. come
Why did you come?

Rabu-?e sinöm-ëro rôvadeje? what-kind cargo-subject came
What sort of thing arrived?

The information interrogative pronoun rahuo who like other pronouns may not be modified or possessed. Clitics and suffixes are added to form rahu on the analogy of appellative nouns. For example

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { rahu-are } \\
\text { who-gen } \\
\text { whose? }
\end{gathered}
$$

The function of the interrogative pronoun is to inquire concerning a name. It frequently stands in apposition to a dependent noun.

> Jôv rahuo jie?
> river who is
> What is the name of the river?
> Rahu-ro rovadeje?
> who-subject came
> What is the name of the one who came?

Performative interrogatives are comprised of the performative noun vad-e what-t what?, pronoun vaduo what name? and the verb vadë? what does he do?. The first two occur with clitics or suffixes after the analogy of rabe and rahuo. vadë?e is composed of vad what plus ë?e do. It is conjugated like a regular verb.

Na va?oromo vadë?ejo ?ua?ej8.
I going what.shalZ.I.do I.shall.teZZ.him
I will go and (do what?) tell him.

### 10.0 PRONOUNS

Pronouns may not be possessed or modified. They are displayed in Chart 4. Bracketed forms are of less frequent occurrence. Neutral means unmarked stem.

| Neutral |  |  | Genitive-Reflexive |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| 1 | na | $n 8$ ( $n 80 \mathrm{me})$ | nasi | nos i |
| 2 | ja | jemë | jasi | jemësi |
| 3 | hu | $\begin{aligned} & \text { jabumë } \\ & (\mathrm{j} \text { abu }) \end{aligned}$ | hesi | jabesi |

CHART 4: PRONOUNS

The morpheme -më on $j e m e ̈$ and $j a b u m e ̈$ is the animate plural associative (13.13) and may be added to 1 pl. form, no, to emphasize plurality, nomë. The abbreviated 3 pl. form sometimes occurs with ablative and comitative enclitics (13.11). It may also occur before a word with which it is closely related.
jabu-?8 jabuni8?i
3.pl.pronoun-comitative they two
with them they two

The intensifier -ehu occurs on $n a, j a$, hu on other neutral pronouns. In addition to other functions (12.7, ,14.12.3, 14.22(3)) -ehu on 1 and 2 persons neutral serves as emphasis in exclamations.

O muen-ohuro na-ehu ijumevë?eje!
o cousin-p.subject me-intensive has.ruined 0, my cousin has ruined me!

The genitive pronoun is characterized by the suffix-si.
na-si mu-e
me-gen work-t
my work
The genitive pronoun occurs following a temporal or a noun phrase. A common noun or adjective is dependent if it immediately precedes a genitive pronoun.

> vavu hesi jöho
> father his talk
> father's message
nëri hesi jöho
tomorrow its talk
talk about tomorrow or the
talk to be given tomorrow
nëri hesi jöho tomorrow its talk
talk about tomorrow or the talk to be given tomorrow

Isolation and reflexive pronominal phrases consist of the genitive pronoun plus optional common nouns, sivue self (isolation), ?arijo?arije self (reflexive).

Na na-si sivu-e rôvठdeje. Na-si ?arijo?arij-oho mueberove.
I me-gen isolation-t I.came me-gen reflexive-p I.care.for.myself
I came by myself. I'm caring for myself.

Na-si ma rôvôdeje.
me-gen just I.came
It was my own idea that I come.

> Na-si $i m$ ©́deje.
> me-gen I.bought

The genitive of the personal pronoun without ?arijo?arije self serves as reflexive for inanimate participants.

> Ojoho hesi ëma tugorohadeje.
> door of.itself just shut
> The door just closed by itself.

### 11.0 PARTICLES

Particles are words which are never followed immediately by an enclitic. 5 There are three types:
(1) Modal Particles. The following is a representative list only.

```
iae certainly
io?o yes
bógô no, not
nadi don't (from a defective verb nadi}e wait)
bôgave don't-emphatic (from bôgô not and gave see;
        it may take the medial form bôgavego op-
        tionally)
ëma ~ ma just
nani perhaps
na yes-no interrogative
(2) Ejaculations
ojo?e surprise
asë?e surprise, anger, pleasure, greeting
(3) Conjunctions
röhu but, and
8 or, and, but
amo but anyway
na then (in narrative text)
dero well next (frequent in procedural texts)
```


### 12.0 VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

Verbs consist of a simple or complex stem usually followed by a unique set of suffixes. They function as predicate and normally occur clause final. Verbs may be intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, or factive.

### 12.1 Morphophonemics

Verb roots, stems, and many suffixes end in syllable onset /i, $u, m, n, g, h, ?, j, v / . \quad O t h e r ~ v e r b ~ r o o t s ~ e n d ~ i n ~ a ~ s y l l a b l e ~ p a t t e r n ~$ consonant plus /i/ or /u/. This syllable occurring verb root final must be regarded as onset plus the first vowel of a syllable nucleus. Thus the syllable is fragmentary.

The syllable may be completed by a suffix beginning with a vowel. Otherwise the following changes occur:
(1) A final /j/ is reduced. (In the examples sg means singular; pr means present.)

$$
\begin{gathered}
\mathrm{i} \mathrm{j}-\mathrm{e} \\
\text { eat-3.sg.pr } \\
\text { He eats. }
\end{gathered}
$$

i - romo
eat-secondary.medial
eating

> i gav-e
> eat see-3.sg.pr
> He samples the food.

The final stem /j/ is reduced in all examples except in the first. In the first example, the syllable beginning with / j/ is completed by a vowel suffix -e, 3 singular present. Verb morphemes following the analogy of $i j$ are called weak morphemes.
(2) When a verb morpheme ends in a phoneme other than /j/ or $/ v /$, the final syllable is normally completed by /o/. However, when the 1 singular future (fu) suffix - ?ej 0 is added, /8/ is substituted for /o/ through vowel harmony as is illustrated in the third example.
?an-e ?an-o-?ejo

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { hit-3.sg.pr } & \text { hit-syllable.complement-l.pl.fu } \\
\text { he hits } & \text { we shall hit }
\end{array}
$$

$$
\text { ?an- } 8-? e j 8
$$

hit-syllable.complement-l.sg.fu
I shall hit
Verb morphemes following the analogy of ?an are called strong morphemes.

When a suffix beginning with a glottal is added to a morpheme ending in a glottal, the morpheme is often not augmented by /o/ or /8/, but instead, one glottal is reduced:
va?-o-?ejo
go-syllable.complement-l.pl.fu
or more frequently:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { va-?ejo } \\
& \text { go-l.pl.fu } \\
& \text { we shall go }
\end{aligned}
$$

(3) All verb suffixes and some verb roots which end in /v/ are strong. Other verb roots are weak.
(a) rav-e
clear-3.sg.pr
he clears
(b) ravo-?ejo
clear-l.pl.fu
we shall clear
(c)
gav-e see-3.sg.pr
he sees
(d)
ga-Tejo see-l.pl.fu we shall see

Example (b) shows that rav is augmented by /o/ as was ?an in ?ano?ejo we shall hit. Thus ravis a strong morpheme. Example (d) shows that $/ v /$ is reduced before the consonant /?/, so that gav is a weak morpheme.

### 12.2 Verb Stems

Verb stems may be simple:
baeje va?e
take go
or they may be compound:

> ba-va?e
> take-go
> take away

Stems may be derived from nouns, adjectives, or from other verb roots. The most common verb stem forming suffix is $-v$. When $-v$ is added, the resulting verb stem is always strong.
ëgo-v-e
tall-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr he grows tall
urejo-v-e
wild.beast-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr he acts crudely

Some stems are formed by the reduplication of the verb root:
hi-hi-v-é
sit-sit-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr
he sits for a short time
The reflexive-reciprocal verb stem suffix or infix is -ro.
?ano-ro-v-e (root: ?an kizl)
kill-reflexive-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr
he kills himself

```
togo-ro-h-e (root: tugoh close)
shut-reflexive-verb.root.final.consonant-3.sg.pr
    it closes by itself
```

On some roots, the reflexive morpheme is used as a reciprocal instead:

## biro-ro-h-ö

find-reflexive-root.final.consonant-3.pl.pr they meet each other

Some stems contain number implicit in them. These include stems formed by the suffix -bijioh.
tutuv-e
run-3.sg.pr
he runs
tutu-bijioh-e run-pl.stem-3.sg.pr they run

Other stems have roots with number implicit:
hije
one person sits
?arije
a few people sit
rarome
many people sit

### 12.3 Affix and Enclitic Inventory

An affix inventory is listed below. Allomorphs are not listed. Numbers indicate classes and orders of affixes. Where a form represents a person-number conjugation, the 3 singular is normally recorded to represent all persons and numbers. All imperatives are represented in the 2 singular form. A morpheme representative of a class is surrounded by angle brackets: <-amij>.

10 Stem referents
ll <-amij> direct referent
12 <-ah> benefactive
20 Adverbial
21 -anov attenuative
30 Quantitative
31 -ruom collective
32 -?am extentive
40 Aspect
41 -növ habituative

```
50 Modal (1)
    5l-av sensory
6 0 ~ M o d a l ~ ( 2 )
    61 -hij evidential
    62 -?ibej contrafactual
    63-?iro potential
    64 -?ihöj intentive
70 Active Subject Markers
    71 <-o> short form person-number
    72 <-ade> long form person-number
    73 <-öhe> projected aspect person-number
    74 <-aje> present tense person-number
    75 <-?a?aje> future tense person-number
    76 <-ne> future imperative-number
    77 <-e> immediate imperative-number
80 Final markers
    81 -ehu Intensifier
    82-aj quotative
90 - l02 Non-final forms
9 0 ~ M e d i a l ~ t e n s e / a s p e c t / m o d e
    91 -nugo cessative
    92-rije primary medial contrafactual
    93-e primary medial general
    94 -?e primary medial present
    95-amu primary medial past
    96 -?iramu primary medial future
    97-\ddot{?ee perfect}
    98-juvo continuative
    9 9 - a r u m e ~ u n r e a l i z e d ~ p o t e n t i a l ~
100 -jöro imposed will
101 -jöëni circumstantial reason
l02 -emu durative
110 Conjunctivity
ll <-oho> prominence, deictic and setting
                                    clause relators; single enclitic
                                    or enclitic string
ll2 -ëni purposive
ll3 -̈̈ro ablative medial clause relator
ll4-go primary medial clause relator
ll5 -goro perceptual medial clause relator
ll6 -romo secondary medial clause relator
```

| 117 | -?iro | temporal neighbourhood |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 118 | -be | distributive |

120 Closure
121 -vo disjunctive ${ }^{6}$
Affixes occur in ascending numerical order, i.e. left to right, except that 75,76 , or -0 from 71 may follow 82 . Direct referent markers are either infixes, replacives or suffixes. They may even be an obligatory part of the stem. All other affixes are suffixes. There can be no co-occurrences within decades or among suffixes 91-102. The range of possible affixes per stem is 0 to 6 .

### 12.4 Stem Referents

Stem referents, Class 10, are so called from their position in the verb. They are either suffixed directly to the verb stem or they form a part of the stem. Stem referents usually consist of a person number morpheme plus a function marker. Stem referents may be either direct (ref) or benefactive (ben).

Direct referent morphemes have many allomorphs. Verb stems are classified into five subclasses according to whether or not they take the direct referent, and according to what allomorphs of the direct referent they take.

Chart 5 displays two representative sets of allomorphs. Numbers refer to persons. $\emptyset$ stands for zero allomorph.

| Class 1 |  | Class 4 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Singular | Plural |  | Singular | Plural |
| $1-e v$ | -avu or <br> -övu | 1 | -emij | -amuij |
| $2-a v$ |  |  |  |  |
| $3 \quad \emptyset$ |  | 2,3 | - |  |

CHART 5: DIRECT REFERENT

Class 1 take the direct referent as suffix. The function marker is $v$.

The Class 2 function marker is $g$. On some verbs the direct referent Class 2 is a suffix while on others it is a replacive. The paradigm is the same as for Class l. In these examples the referent agrees in person and number with the object.

```
            ?an-g-e
    hit-3.sg.ref-l.sg.pr
        I hit him.
    masuv-\emptyset-e
marry-3.sg.ref-1.sg.pr
    I marry him.
```

    ?an-eg-e
    hit-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
He hits me.
mas-eg-e
marry-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
He marries me.

In Class 3 verbs the final consonant of the stem serves as the function marker. The immediately preceding vowel is replaced in non3 singular forms.
ja? ih-e
bite.3.sg.ø.ref-3.sg.pr It bites him.

## ja?ahu-e

bite.l.pl.ref-3.sg.pr
It is biting us.

Class 4 verbs may be further subdivided into two subclasses. Some verbs take the function marker -mije (with weak /i/) freely alternating with -m. Other verbs take -hij alternating with -h as part of the verb stem. Chart 5 displays a sample paradigm.

Of the Class 5 verbs, some occur with the Class l referent suffixes in first person only to signify a state of inability.

Na bôgô hej-ev-e.
I not hear-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
$I$ can't hear you.
Other verbs, such as juhuonive fear, have not been observed with a direct referent.

There is a wide range of relationships possible between the participant signalled by a direct referent, and the action or state represented by the verb. (In the examples, ab means ablative, al means allative l3.1, pa means past, aux means auxiliary verb 12.8)

Direct object:
Na nah-ev-ade-je.
me search-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
He searched for me.
Indirect object:
Nasi örire im-ev-ade-je.
me to sell-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
He sold it to me.
Owner of participant in subject or object relation:
Nasi öv-ëro rid-emij-e.
my hand-ab emits.fragrance-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
My hand is fragrant.

> Nasi muoho ?aj-emij-e.
> my work help-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr He is helping me in my work.

Subject of a factive clause:

> Na höm-ev-ade-je.
> I hungry-l.sg.ref-pa-aux
> $I$ was hungry.

Subject of a perfect aspect (pf) active clause:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Na-ro rôv-ë?e j-ev-e. } \\
I \text {-ab come-pf be-l.sg.ref-pr } \\
I \text { have come. }
\end{gathered}
$$

Telic relationship:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Na-ni ?uv-ev-ade-je. } \\
\text { me-al call-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
\text { He called for me (to come). }
\end{gathered}
$$

The final example should be contrasted with the following:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Na-ni ?uv-eh-ade-je. } \\
\text { me-al call-l.sg.ben-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
\text { He called on my behalf. (I didn't want to call.) }
\end{gathered}
$$

This sentence is an example of the benefactive (ben). The function marker of the benefactive is $h$. Except that $h$ does not alternate with -hij, its paradigm is analogous to that of Class 4 direct referents. The benefactive may be referred to elsewhere in the clause by an allative form as in the above example or by a possessive.

Nasi muoho bej-eh-adeje. my work fall-l.sg.ben-3.sg.pa My business failed on me.

Some verbs apparently have no benefactive forms.

### 12.5 Active Subject Markers

Active subject markers refer to the same participant as the active subject of the clause, expressed or understood. In factive clauses and certain verb phrases (12.8) the form is always 3 singular.

Unlike stem referents, active subject markers remain the same in all five verb classes. However, different sets of suffixes are selected according to the mood, tense or aspect to be signalled. Sometimes the choice of suffixes depends on whether a verb is final
or non-final. Final verbs are those which function as predicate in independent clauses. Non-final verbs occur in dependent clauses of various kinds. Where there is a choice of two forms in the paradigms in Chart 6, the bracketed forms generally occur word final. The unbracketed forms always occur if suffixes or auxiliary verbs follow. In the remainder of this paper these paradigms will be referred to by letter:

| Paradigm A Short |  | Forms |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Singular |  | Plural |
| 2 | -ane | -arije |
| 1 | -ô (-ômu <br> immediate <br> desiderative) | -are <br> (-o) |
| 3 | -o |  |


| Paradigm B Long Forms |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Singular |  | Plural |
| 2 | -ane | -arije |
| 1 | -ôde | -are |
| 3 | -ade |  |


| Paradigm C Projected Aspect |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Singular |  | Plural |
| 2 | -ane | -arije |
| 1 | -ode |  |
| 3 | -öhe |  |


|  | Singular | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | $\begin{array}{r} - \text { anue } \\ (-e) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} -\operatorname{aruje} \\ (-\ddot{a}) \end{gathered}$ |
| 1,3 | $\begin{array}{r} -\mathrm{aje} \\ (-\mathrm{e}) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text {-arue } \\ (-o ̈) \end{gathered}$ |


| Paradigm E Future Tense |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Singular |  | Plural |
| 2 | - ?a?anue | - ?a?aruje |
| 1 | - ?ejo | $-? e j a r e$ <br> $(-? e j o)$ |
| 3 | $-? a ? a j e$ <br> $(-? \ddot{e} ? e)$ | $-? a ? a r u e$ <br> $(-? \ddot{\text { equä }})$ |


| Paradigm F Imp 2 Person |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Singular |  |  |
| Plural |  |  |
| Immediate | -e <br> (-enö) | -he |
| Future | -ne | -re |

CHART 6: ACTIVE SUBJECT PARADIGMS

### 12.6 The Selection of Person and Number

Morphemes classes 10 and 70 signal person and number of certain participants in the state or action denoted by the verb. However, sometimes 3 person plural number is considered as a single group and referred to in the verb by the singular person-number markers. In
fact inanimate participants are usually referred to by the singular unless there is special attention drawn to a number of particular individual items as in the second of these two sentences:

Ije ahôobëhe huö?öjë?e-j-ø-e. Ije niô?i gemu j-ëv-e.
tree many felled-be-3.sg-pr tree two one be-3.pl-pr
Most of the trees have been felled. There are now just three trees.

In the first of these sentences there is no special emphasis on individual trees and so the verb referent marker is singular. (However, the stem of the verb itself refers to plurality.)

The quantitative suffixes (30) occurring optionally on many verbs sometimes denote plurality. -ruom (31), probably related to the verb root ruom flow in a torrent, may refer only to animate participants; - ?am (32) may refer either to animate or inanimate participants. There are further distinctions. On intransitive verbs -ruom refers to participants who are engaged in the action at the same time. - ?am refers to participants engaged in the action at different times.

Rue-ruom-ade-je.
come-collective-3.sg.pa-aux
They came in a group.

Rue-?am-ade-je.
come-extentive-3.sg.pa-aux
They came (arriving at different times).
-ruom refers to the subject of transitive verbs while-?am refers to the object.

Ga-ruom-are-je.
see-collective-3.pl.pa-aux
Many people saw it.
Magonah-oho ga-?am-ade-je
woman-p see-extentive-3.sg.pa-aux
He saw many women. (He lived promiscuously.)
-?am sometimes denotes extent; ch means characterizer.
öri ari-?e ga-?am-ade-je.
path land-ch see-extentive-3.sg.pa-aux
He had an extensive view of the landscape.

### 12.7 Mode-Tense-Aspect

Active subject suffixes help distinguish mode, tense and aspect of both active and factive clauses. In the past, present and future
indicative, imperative and immediate desiderative, these person-number suffixes alone make distinctions. To signal other modes, they must be used with suffix sets 40,50 and/or 60.

Past indicative is signalled by paradigm B. However, in some older people's narrative texts -o, 3 person from paradigm $A$, is frequently used for past tense on final verbs.

To the past tense in final form is added either an auxiliary (12.8) or a performative intensifier -ehu (81). The performative intensifiers signal emotion on the part of the narrator and is equivalent to the English let me tell you.

> Na iae a-ëro nah-ar-ehu.
then certainly man-ab search-3.pl.pa-intensifier
Well then, let me tell you, they searched for him.
Present and future indicative must be signalled by suffixes in paradigm D and E respectively. Where there are two forms, the unbracketed suffixes may be used if special attention is drawn to the verb. Otherwise, the bracketed forms are substituted in word or verb phrase final position.

> Ae rôv-aje.
> person come-3.sg.pr
> Someone's coming!
> lae hu rôv-e.
> certainly he come-3.sg.pr(abbreviated form)
> Yes, he's coming.

The first example is a shouted proclamation to the village of new information. The second example attaches no special emphasis to the verb. Accordingly, the abbreviated form is used.

In questions, if the present active subject marker is verb phrase final all three persons are signalled by -e in the singular and -ö in the plural. If future, the second person future imperative forms are substituted for the indicative.

Ja va?-anue.
you(sg) go-2.sg.pr(long form)
You are going.
Na ja va?-e.
Question you(sg) go-2.sg.pr(abbreviated)
Are you going?

Ja va-?a?anue.
you go-2.sg.fu.indicative
You'zz go.

Na ja va?o-ne.
Question you go-2.sg.fu.imp Wiこl you go?

When the combination /?a?a/ immediately follows the phoneme /o/, one /?a/ is reduced.

$$
\begin{array}{lc}
\text { bamo-?a?anue } & >\text { bamo-?anue } \\
\text { put-2.sg.fu } & \text { you will put }
\end{array}
$$

The future may be translated will, can, must; or it may signal customary action without regard to time.

Ja ga-?a?anue jiobo ë momorö?öj-aj-oho. you see-2.sg.fu eels there sleep(pl.root)-3.sg.pr-p One can see eels sleeping there.

NO avoho raromo-?ejo.
we properly sit-l.pl.fu
We must behave properly.
Uöho sur-ëro vae-? ${ }^{\text {ë?e. }}$
top Zarge. Zeaf-ab make-3.sg.fu
They would construct the roof (of the initiation quarters) of large leaves. [Note: The first sentence in this discourse established the time as past. The rest of the description of this discontinued custom is in the future tense.]

Unlike past or present active subject forms which may be final or non-final, future forms are always final.

Imperatives (imp) may be immediate or future (paradigm F). The negative is nadi don't. Non sp set means non specific setting l3.l.

Va?o-ne. Nahi?-ejb.
go-3.sg.fu.imp $I$ sit-l.sg.fu
You can go. I shall stay (i.e. Goodbye).

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Sa?a-r8 hij-e! } \\
& \text { ground-non.sp.set sit-2.sg.immediate.imp } \\
& \text { Take a seat! }
\end{aligned}
$$

When phrase final, alternate forms of the immediate imperative singular may be used for greater urgency. Some verb stems may be shortened by removing the final consonant of the stem.
tutu (from tutuve he runs)
Run!

Alternatively the suffix \{-enö\} may be substituted for -e word final. -enö only occurs on strong stem verbs.

Bam-enö!
put-2.sg.immediate.imp
Put it down!
Either -enö or -nö occurs on weak stems.

> hi-nö or hij-enö
> sit-2.sg.immediate.1mp
> Sit!

In persons other than second, the desire of the speaker is expressed by some form of desiderative (des). An immediate desiderative, corresponding to the immediate imperative, is expressed by the short suffixes of paradigm $A$. When word final, a longer form of the suffix, - Omu, signals l singular. In fact, the longer form must be used if the sentence in which the verb occurs consists of a single clause.

Na juvae ij-8́mu.
I coconut eat-l.sg.immediate.des
I want to eat coconut.
(The speaker uttered this as he put the coconut to his mouth.)

Juvae ij-o.
coconut eat-l.pl.1mmediate.des
Let's eat coconut now!
The above examples assume that the coconut is immediately available so that the immediate desiderative is selected.

It is more usual for the desiderative to occur in the final clause of a sentence containing also a medial imperative clause. This is always the case when the immediate desiderative is 3 person. In the example, prim.rel means primary medial relator (12.10).
le bojam-e-go hu ij-o.
food give-2.sg.imp-prim.rel he eat-3.sg.immediate.des
Give him some food so he can eat right away.
The potential (po) desiderative consists of the potential form -?iro (63) plus the short person number endings:

```
                                    Ijoho tarivo-?ir-o
                                    trees trim-po-3.sg
I wish he'd trim the trees.
```

The negative with the third person is nadi the negative imperative.

> Nadi tarivo-?ir-o.
neg.1mp trim-po-3.sg
He must not trim them.
Since the 2 person future imperative generally functions as 2 person desiderative, the second person potential desiderative seems to occur only with the strong negative imperative bôgave.

> Bogave tarivo-?ir-ane.
> strong. negative.imp trim-po-2.sg
> You must not trim them.

Like the immediate desiderative, the potential desiderative usually occurs as the final verb in a sentence of more than a single clause. Unlike the immediate desiderative the potential desiderative does not imply immediate fulfilment is expected. In the example gen. prim. means general tense, primary medial and prim.rel means primary medial relator (12.10).

> le bojam-e-go hu i-?ir-o.
> food give-gen.prim-prim.rel he eat-po-3.sg
> Give him food so that he can eat.

The projected aspect (proj) is composed of the potential -?iro plus the projected aspect person number markers (paradigm C). In its final form, it is used as a future desiderative. The wish is not expected to be fulfilled until after an interval of time. The final form normally occurs with an auxiliary (12.8). In the example, quo means quotative (12.11).

> Uv-ade-je ëne ji-e-go ró bijioho-?ir-ठीde höjo.
think-3.sg.pa-aux rain is-gen.prim-prim.rel come spear-po-l.sg aux(quo) He thought, "When it rains, I plan to come and spear (the pig)."

When non-final, the projected aspect not only serves as future desiderative, it also serves as a non-final future and future imperative. The -oho on the first word in the following example indicates the verb is non-final (12.9; 12.10).

> Va-?ir-öh-oho rue ujavu?-oho baeromo rue-?ë?e. go-po-3.pl.proj-p those initiates-p taking come-3.sg.fu They would go, bring those boys who were being initiated and come.

The past intentive is expressed by - ?ihöj the intentive modal form (64) plus suffix set paradigm B. The modal form is really a suffix string composed of a short allomorph of the potential-?i plus the stem of a defective quotative verb höj be.

The intentive always indicates there was a thought or intention in the past which is unfulfilled.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Na ga-?ihöj-ठde-je. Röhu huro bôgठ rôvadeje. } \\
& \text { I see-intentive-l.sg.pa-aux but he not did.come } \\
& \text { I expected to see him. However, he didn't come. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The contrafactual is expressed by the modal-?ibej plus active subject suffixes, paradigm A if final, paradigm B if non-final. Final contrafactual verbs occur as predicate in contrafactual sentences any number of which may be strung along paratactically.
?ö-ho bôg8 ba?amo-?ibej-o. 首 mi-oho b8g8 i-?ibej-o.
dog-p not drop-contrafactual-l.pl that game-p not eat-contrafactual-1.pl
If we had not taken the dog hunting, we would not have had that meat to eat.

The contrafactual in the second and third persons can also denote a criticism. If negative, the negative imperative nadi or the emphatic negative imperative bogave is used.

Nadi ?ano-?ibej-ane.
negative.1mp hit-contrafactual-2.sg
You shouldn't have hit him.
The evidential is expressed by the evidential modal suffix -his (61) plus the suffixes paradigm A. It either signals that the event expressed by the verb is seen by the speaker, or it indicates a query as to whether the event is seen by the hearer.

> Magonah-ëro rue-hij-o.
> woman-ab come-cognitive-3.sg
> I see/saw a woman coming.

The sensory marker (51) is -av, or -avav for emphasis. The suffix lays emphasis on the hearing or feeling of the subject. It may cooccur with the evidential $(61+71)$, or with the present tense active suffixes (74) or with medials (94-96). In other words the event must be present time as far as the subject is concerned.

> Uge rov-av-e.
> bird come-sensory-3.sg.pr
> A plane is coming; I hear it.

The habituative aspect -növ (41), may co-occur with any other suffix:

> Va?o-növô-?ej8.
> go-habi.tuative-l.sg.fu
> I shall make a habit of going.

> ?ame barë-növ-ade-je.
> village finish-habituative-3.sg.pa-aux One village after another was destroyed.

The attenuative -anov (21) as it were weakens the meaning of the verb. It may co-occur with any other suffix.
? inömo-? inöm-oho bahij-anov-ade-je.
things-things-p put.many-as.it.were-3.sg.pa-aux
He laid the offering down (only to take it away later).
Dahor-ëro namij-anov-ade-je.
mountain-ab stand-as.it.were-3.sg.pa-aux
A mountain of people was standing there, as it were.
(1.e. there was a vast army occupying the area.)

Of suffixes 20-50, any three may co-occur. The following example illustrates how the suffixes may be combined in a final verb to express the exact shade of meaning required:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Vi?eh-eg-anov-?am-av-e. } \\
& \text { ache-l.sg.ref-as.it.were-extent-sensory-3.sg.pr } \\
& \text { (1l) (21) (32) (51) } \\
& \text { (74) } \\
& \text { (11) definitely feel (51) a little (21) pain (stem) all } \\
& \text { over (32) now (74). }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 12.8 Verb Phrases

Certain modes, aspects and tenses must be expressed by verb phrases consisting of a main verb, or main verb phrase, plus an aux1l1ary.

One common auxiliary verb is jie $\sim j e$ (according to the speaker), is. If the form is 3 singular and monosyllabic, it is suffixed to the main verb. Otherwise it is written separately.

### 12.81 Past, Normative and Projected Verb Phrases

The main verb may be past, present or projected. The auxiliary verb, je, generally remains 3 person present tense for all persons and numbers.

```
                    Mami?e va?-ade-je.
                        already go-3.sg.pa-aux
                    He already went.
                            Ja dinö?e va?-ane j-av-e?
                            you where go-2.sg.pa aux-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
                            Where on earth did you go?
[In this unusual example the auxiliary agrees with the second
        person subject and indicates impatience; it is addressed to
        a ch1ld.]
```

Only when the main verb is present tense, is there a contrast between the presence and absence of the auxiliary. When the auxiliary is omitted, the tense is present. When it is written, the normative aspect is signalled. Exceptions to this rule will be described later (12.9; 12.10).

```
                    Aviae hij-aje!
                    here stay-3.sg.pr
                            Here he is!
            Aviae hij-aje-je. Röhu jaruvoho b8g8-jie.
                    here stay-3.sg.pr-aux but today not-is
He normally lives here, but today he isn't around.
```


### 12.82 Perfect Verb Phrases

The auxiliary, je, agrees in person and number with the active subject. The direct referent of the auxiliary agrees with a first or second person active subject as in example (a) below. The active subject marker agrees with a third person active subject, example (b).

The main verb is a perfect medial form made up from the verb stem with the possible addition of any three suffixes 10 - 40 plus the perfect suffix -ë?e. The perfect verb phrase ( pf ) signals that the action took place before the time of the auxiliary but that the effects of the action are felt at the time indicated by the auxiliary.
(a)

Na-ro rôv-ë?e j-ev-e. $I$-ab come-pf be-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr

I have come.
(b)

Jabumë-ro rôv-ë?e ji-ö. they-ab come-pf be-3.sg.pr

They have come.
One use of the perfect is to shift information focus away from the action itself. In the first example, the verb is past tense, so that the focus is partially on the action. In the second example, the verb is in the present perfect, and the focus shifts away from the action.

> Mah-oho a-ëro ?an-ade-je.
> pig-p man-ab kill-3.sg.pa-aux

Someone killed the pig (it didn't die a natural death).
Mah-oho magonah-ëro ?an-ë?e-j-e.
pig-p woman-ab kill-pf-be-3.sg.pr
It is a woman who has killed the pig.

Instead of je-, a verb for stay, hije (one person), ?arije (a few people), rarome (many people) may occur. The phrase emphasizes the state of the person at the time of the auxiliary verb.

Na ëhi uehorov-ë?e hij-e.
I like.that think-pf stay-3.sg.pr
It's on my mind constantly.

### 12.83 Aptative Auxiliary Verb Phrases

These consist of an aptative participial phrase plus the auxil1ary verb, je. The aptative participial phrase consists of the main verb stem, plus hesi (3 singular genitive pronoun) or varijëne (simulfactive).

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
\text { Va?o hesi-j-e. } & \text { Va?o varijëne-j-e } \\
\text { go gen-be-3.sg.pr } & \text { go simulfactive-be-3.sg.pr } \\
\text { He is likely to go. }
\end{array}
$$

If the main verb is transitive, the same rules of agreement apply as for the auxiliary je of the perfect verb phrase (12.82). If the main verb is intransitive, the direct referent of all persons refers to the subject, which is neutral, not ablative. In example (a) below, the subject is marked with the ablative because the main verb is transitive. In (b), the subject is neutral because the main verb is intransitive.
(a) Jabumë-ro mahoho ?ano hesi ji-ö. they-ab pig kill gen be-3.pl.pr They are likely to kill the pig.
(b) Jabumë ?amëro va?o hesi j-ëv-e.
they (neutral) to.their.village go gen be-3.pl.ref-3.sg.pr They are going to go to their village.

### 12.84 Explanatory Verb Phrase

This verb phrase serves as the predicate in an imperative explanatory clause. An imperative explanatory clause is not imperative itself, but it is so called because it must depend on an imperative clause. The verb je be functions as auxiliary of explanatory verb phrases.

The main verb of the explanatory phrase may be perfect. Or, it may be present in form. In that case, the active subject suffixes refer to the active subject of the clause. Since it is followed by an auxiliary, the tense-aspect is normative, not present. Or, the main
verb may bear an immanent future suffix -?ië?e, composed of -?i potential, plus ë?e do (see 12.86 below). The suffix does not indicate person and number.

The auxiliary verb is always present tense. As in the perfect phrase, the direct referent shows cross reference to a 1 or 2 person subject. The active subject marker shows cross reference to an active third person subject. The free subject is never marked by an ablative but by -oho prominence marker, because it always signals theme (14.2). In all persons the full form of the active subject markers must appear on the auxiliary.

```
                            Va?-ë?e ji-aje ja-?8 va?o-ne.
        go-pf aux-3.sg.pr you-also go-2.sg.f'u.imp
            He has gone, and so you also go.
            Va?-anue j-av-aje va?o-ne!
                go-2.sg.pr aux-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pr go-2.sg.fu.imp
                    You normally go; therefore go!
                Asisö?-oho ë va-?ië?e ji-arue boj-ëmi-ne.
        children-p there go-1mmanent.fu aux-3.pl.pr give-3.pl.ref-2.sg.fu.1mp
    The children are about to go there, and so, give it to them.
```


### 12.85 Durative Verb Phrase

The main verb of a durative verb phrase is marked by the exclusive suffix -emu only (102). The final consonant of weak verbs is reduced:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { hij }+ \text { emu }>\text { hiemu } \\
& \text { sit }+ \text { excl onlysit } \\
& \text { onlysit }
\end{aligned}
$$

The auxiliary verb is another form of the same verb.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Va?-emu va?-ade-je. } \\
& \text { go-only go-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
& \text { He went on without stopping. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 12.86 Iterative and Anticipatory Verb Phrase

The main verb of the iterative and anticipatory verb phrases is the potential medial (63). This form has three allomorphs -?i~-?iro $\sim$-?irögoro. The auxiliary of the iterative is a verb meaning stay: hije for a singular subject and ?arije for a plural subject.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { A harihëro nivo-?i hij-adeje. } \\
\text { boy small cry-po stay-3.sg.pa } \\
\text { The small boy cried repeatedly. } \\
\text { The auxiliary for the anticipatory verb phrase is ë?e do. } \\
\text { Na va-?irögoro ë?-e. } \\
I \text { go-po do-3.sg.pr } \\
I^{\prime} m \text { about to go. }
\end{gathered}
$$

When the shortest form of the potential, - ? $\mathbf{i}$, is selected, the auxiliary verb is phonologically bound to the main verb. The Ömie verb phrase in the immediately previous example could take the form of a single verb,

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Va-?i-ë?-e. } \\
\text { go-po-do-3.sg.pr } \\
I^{\prime} m \text { about to go. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 12.87 Compound Verb Phrases

These consist of two verbs: the first a verb stem including the stem referents (10) if applicable; the second verb takes any appropriate affixes:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Baej-evo va-? ̈̈?e. } \\
& \text { take-l.sg.ref go-3.sg.fu } \\
& \text { He will take me away. }
\end{aligned}
$$

In this category may be included the conative, thoroughtative, distributive and dubitative verb phrases. The second verb in those compounds are gave see, try; ?avohe do properly; rive come and/ or va?e go and vadë?e what's he doing.

Conative

> ?u-e g-e-ne.
speak-1.sg.ref try-1.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.imp Ask me.

## Thoroughtative

Höm-evo ? avoh-e.
hungry-l.sg.ref prepare-l.sg.pr
$I$ am very hungry.
Distributive
?ame ah8?8bëhe jio ró va?-e.
villages many be come go-3.sg.pr
There are many villages scattered about.

The dubitative verb phrase requires special note. It consists of any stem plus vadë?e what is he doing, the performative interrogative. In the affirmative clause, only the potential which, in this case, refers to the present or future time, and the future forms are used:

Hu Port Moresby hi vadë-?ir-o.
he Port Moresby stay performative.interrogative-po-3.sg
He could be in Port Moresby.
Hu Port Moresby va?o vadë-? ${ }^{\text {e }}$ ?e.
he Port Moresby go performative.interrogative-3.sg.fu
Perhaps he'll go to Port Moresby.
The negative occurs with the dubitative phrase in the potential to signal doubt:

Hu Port Moresby bogo hi vadë-?ir-o.
he Port Moresby not stay performative.interrogative-po-3.sg
Perhaps he isn't in Port Moresby.
The negative is used with past, perfect, present or future to signal emphatic denial.

Hu Port Moresby bogi va?o vadë-?ë?e.
he Port Moresby not go performative.interrogative-3.sg.fu
He'Zl not go to Port Moresby; there's no doubt about it.

### 12.9 Subordinate Verbs

Non-final verbs may be medial or subordinate. Subordinate verbs are those which function as predicate in a subordinate clause (14.l). Subordinate verbs may be past indicative, intentive, projected, present, normative, contrafactual, perfect. The subordinate verb resembles the corresponding final forms except: (l) any form of the auxiliary je $b e$ is deleted; as a result the present and normative subordinate verbs will have the same shape. (2) Paradigm B person number suffixes are substituted for paradigm A in contrafactual. (3) Certain enclitics are suffixed to the verb or, if the clause is embedded in a phrase, the enclitic occurs instead on the last word in the phrase.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { jöv-8de jö-ho } \\
\text { speak-l.sg.pa talk-p } \\
\text { the story which I have told }
\end{gathered}
$$

Since the subordinate clause is embedded in the noun phrase, the enclitic -oho prominence is added to jöe, the final word in the phrase.

When adding any enclitic to a verb, morphophonemic rules are analogous to those of weak /i/ stem nouns (Section 2). The final /e/ of the verb is the terminator:

> va?-ade
> go- $3 \cdot \mathrm{sg} \cdot \mathrm{pa}$
> he went
va?-adi-re
go-3.sg.pa-sp.set
where he went

> va?ad-ohuro
> go-3.sg.pa-p.ab
> the one who went...

Subordinate verbs may be indefinite or definite. Indefinite subordinate verbs are formed from the perfect. The person and number of an active subject are unmarked in the verb. To the perfect aspect one of the following enclitics or enclitic strings is added: -r-ohuro set-p.ab; -r-oho set-p; -ohuro p.ab; -oho p.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { va?-ë?i-r-oho } \\
\text { go-pr-set-p } \\
\text { if ever (he) goes or whenever (he) goes }
\end{gathered}
$$

If the principal clause, that is the clause on which the subordinate clause depends, is an information interrogative -roho or -oho must occur on the subordinate verb. If the principal verb is present factive, the setting marker may not occur on the subordinate verb. Otherwise the suffixes seem to be used interchangeably. The forms with -ohuro (p.ab) (or -rohuro) (set.p.ab) are much less common and perhaps serve to emphasize the conditional relationship. The principal clause must be normative, present factive, future indicative or future imperative.

```
hu dinö?e dinö?e va?ë?iroho na-?ô ë va?ejô
    va?ë?irohuro
    va?ë?ohuro
    va?ë?oho
    he where where goes I-too there shall.go
        Wherever he goes, I shall go.
        hu \(\{\) va?-ë?-oho na bijön-eg-e
        va?-ë?-ohuro
        he \(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { go-pf-p } \quad \text { not.want-1.sg.ref-pr } \\ g o-p f-p . a b\end{array}\right.\)
            I don't want him to go.
```

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \left\{\begin{array}{l}
\text { rov-ë?i-r-oho rabëni ioho bठgठ bठj-ami-ne } \\
\text { rov-ë?-oho }
\end{array}\right. \\
& \left\{\begin{array}{l}
\text { come-pf-set-p why food not give-3.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.imp } \\
\text { come-pf-p }
\end{array}\right. \\
& \text { If he comes why won't you give him food? }
\end{aligned}
$$

Some definite subordinate clauses are embedded within a phrase or a principal clause. Others are externally related to a principal clause.

An embedded clause is affected by an information interrogative or negative principal clause in the same way a phrase performing the same function would be affected (14.22). An external subordinate clause would not be affected in the same way.
rôv-ad-ohuni-oho bôgô vavaen-ego-? ${ }^{\text {enfe }}$
come-3.sg.pa-p.al-p not feeZ. sorry-l.sg.ref-3.sg.fu
I shall not feel sorry for the one who has come.
rô-ad-ohuni ë-huni bठgठ vavaen-ego-? e ?e
come-3.sg.pa-p.al that-p.al not feez.sorry-l.sg.ref-3.sg.fu
Because he has come, I shall not be sad.
-oho has been suffixed to rovadohuni in the first example because the principal clause is negative (14.22). Therefore rovadohuni in the first clause is an embedded subordinate clause. rovadohuni in the second clause has not been affected by the negative principal clause. Therefore it is an externally related subordinate clause.

Embedded clauses fill the same function as nouns, temporals and manner words.

The following enclitics occur: -oho prominent marker, -ohuro prominent ablative, -ohuni prominent allative; setting and locative enclitics: -re specific setting, -ro non specific setting, -riae emphatic locative, -?e-re characterizer-setting (near), -nö area locative; bound allomorphs of manner and temporal deictics -ëhi just as and -evare then. Some of these enclitics may occur on any of the modes, tenses or aspects listed at the beginning of this section. It should be noted that the perfect aspect has its regular meaning.
kuku huono buej-ë?-oho barठv-ade-je
tobacco bamboo burn-pf-p bring-3.sg.pa-aux
He brought the pipe on which he had burned the design.
With certain enclitics there are tense-aspect-mode restrictions -ëhi just as, -re specific setting, -riae emphatic locative, -?ere near do not occur on the perfect. -ëhi just as may signal overlapping time only with the past tense of the subordinate verb. -ro non
specific setting signals indefinite time when affixed to the perfect time or place with the past, and signals place only, with the present or normative. It has not been found with any other mode or tense.

In contrast to -r8, -re specific setting always signals definite location. Notice three time relationships possible when the verb is past.

> ugo bej-adi-r8 no rovareje
> bird fall-3.sg.pa-non.sp.set we came
> We came sometime after the plane landed.
> ugo bej-ad-evare evare n8 rovareje
> bird fall-3.sg.pa-temporal temporal.deictic we came
> We came at the time that the plane landed.
> ugo bej-ad-ëhi evare n8 r8vareje
> bird falZ-3.sg.pa-just.as temporal. deictic we came
> We came just as the plane Zanded.

Externally related subordinate clauses express reason, causal, and adversative relationships. The reason clause signalled by -ohuni, prominent allative, on the verb gives the explanations in the mind of narrator or participants for events. The causal clause, signalled by -ohuro prominent ablative on the verb, expresses the means by which another event takes place quite apart from the mind of the narrator or participant. The adversative is expressed by -oho prominence marker. There is a switch in time or mood, or there is a change from statement to question involved in the contrast. If the main clause is information interrogative, -ohuni or -ohuro may not be suffixed to the subordinate verb; only -oho is permissible.
hu ?aj-amij-ad-oho rabëni bठgb mana ?aj-amij-ane-je he he lp-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-p why not back help-3.sg.ref-2.sg.pa-aux

He helped you; so why didn't you help him in return?
There are certain restrictions regarding the tenses/aspects and modes of the verbs. An externally related definite clause may not contain a verb in the perfect aspect. Moreover, the verb in a causal clause is restricted to the present (or normative) and past tenses. The verb in a reason clause is restricted to the present (or normative) past, intentive and projected tense-aspects. Adversative has no restriction of moods or tenses beyond what has already been stipulated. When joined to the rest of the sentence subordinate clauses are often followed by a deictic, ë-huni that-p.al for that reason; $\ddot{e}-h u r o$ thatp.ab as a result of that; or the conjunction röhu but.

## ?aj-emij-an-ohuni ë-huni jasi örire mae ?u-av-e

help-1.sg.ref-2.sg.pa-p.al that-p.al your hwan.locative good say-2.sg.ref-l.sg.pr Because you helped me $I$ am thanking you.
?aj-emij-an-ohuro ë-huro muoho burëro barëj-8de-je help-l.sg.ref-2.sg.pa-p.ab that-p.ab work quickly finish-l.sg.pa-aux By reason of your help I quickly finished the work.
?aj-ami-?ibej-8d-oho röhu nasi muoho ah8?8bëhe-je help-2.sg.ref-contrafactual-l.sg-p but my work much-is I'd help you but I have a lot of work.
Subordinate verbs differ in function and distribution from medial verbs, the other type of non-final verb. Subordinate verbs focus not so much on the event represented by the verb, as on the relationship of that event to a main event. A description has already been given of the medial explanatory clause in an imperative sentence. A comparison of this medial clause with a reason subordinate clause will illustrate the difference:
a-ho Taj-amij-ë?e ji-aje ë-huni i harihe bój-ami-ne
man-p help-2.sg.ref-pf be-3.sg.pr that-p.al food small give-3.sg.ref-2.sg. fu. Imp The man has helped you and so give him a meal.
a-ehu Taj-amij-ad-ohuni ë-huni $i$ harihe b8j-ami-ne
man-intensive help-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-p.al that-p.al food small give-3.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.1mp Because the man helped you, therefore give him a meal.

Subordinate clauses are rare in narrative and procedural texts. In such texts there must be a steady flow of events in temporal sequence. Even parenthetical information is introduced by medial clauses. However, the indefinite clause typically marks the theme at the beginning of a procedural text:
iae nô niögu ruaho-?i n-agu-̈̈?i-r-oho va?-arue-je
in. fact we bark. cloth wrap. around.a.skirt-po want-l.pl.ref-pf-set-p go-l.pl.pr-aux Well now, whenever (if) we want to make a bark skirt, we normally go.

Moreover, brief subordinate clauses sometimes replace nouns, particularly with a locative function.
uv-ehu va?-aji-re hu-?o ma burëro ju?ebiromo va?-o
Orokaiva-intensive go-3.sg.pr-sp.set he-too just quickly fleeing go-3.sg.pa Where the Orokaiva was going, ${ }^{7}$ he too quickly fled and went.
On the other hand subordinate clauses figure prominently in expositions, exhortations and dialogue in which logical argument is the order of the day.

### 12.10 Medial Verbs

There are five types of medial verbs. The medial explanatory verb phrase has already been described (12.8). The other types are: ablative and allative medials; sequential medials; non finite medials; and primary medials.
(1) Ablative and allative medial verbs are characterized by the ablative or allative enclitic without the prominence marker. These verbs occur in clauses which never depend on an imperative clause.

The following ablative and allative medial verb constructions signal purpose or reason.

Two of the suffixes uninflected for person and number are formed from the noun jöe talk, sake. -jöëni (l01) circumstantial reason is composed of jö plus the allative -ëni for.
ja nëri va?o-jöëni rôv-8de-je
you tomorrow go-for. the.sake. of come-l.sg.pa-aux
I came because, sad to say, you are going tomorrow or
I came in case you should go tomorrow.
$i$ rabe $i-j o ̈ e ̈ n i ~ v e ̈ n i ~ r u m o ? e ~ n i a v-a d e-j e ~$
food what eat-for.the.sake. of fire without sleep-3.sg.pa-aux He slept without a fire, for what food was there to eat?
-jöro (100) imposed will is composed of jö plus the short form of the ablative -ro. The medial clause and the principal clause must have different subjects.

> mie ?an-eho-jöro ë-huni hu iraej-ëgo rôv-8de-je
game kill-ben.l.sg-1mposed.will that-p.al bring-2.pl.ref come-l.sg.pa-aux It was for you to kill game for me that I brought you (dogs).
-ëro ablative and -ëni allative occur on the projected aspect forms (paradigm C) to represent purpose to be fulfilled after a time lapse. Only the ablative has been found in narrative texts. As will be shown later in this section the ablative occurs on other forms to interrupt the narrative time sequence and to insert background information which is logically prior. That might be its use with the projected tense; -ëro ablative might signal that the intention was prior to the event in the principal clause. On the other hand -ëni far more specifically represents purpose. In conversation -ëro and -ëni seem interchangeable. The first of these examples is from a narrative text. The clause the predicate of which is i?iröhëro with the intention of eating depends on ?anavavamu beating.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { hej-o gumue ?an-avav-amu sist̂nuv-e-go ae magu?ô } \\
& \text { i-?ir-öh-ëro }
\end{aligned}
$$

hear-3.sg.pa dance beat-sensory-pa.prim morning.comes-gen.prim-prim.rel person with.taro eat-po-proj-ab
He heard the drums beating for a dance they were having because they intended to eat a man next morning.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { im-oho bamô-?ejô höm-ev-e-go i-?ir-ôd-ëni } \\
& \text { or i-?ir-ôd-ëro }
\end{aligned}
$$

sugar.cane-p put-l.sg.fu when.hungry-l.sg.ref-gen.prim-prim.rel eat-po-l.sg.proj or eat-po-l.sg.proj-ab

I'll put the sugarcane aside to eat when $I$ am hungry.
The ablative perfect medial verb phrase may be past, normative or projected. The tense aspect auxiliary verb je be is in the perfect aspect. To this is added the ablative enclitic -ëro, which indicates temporal or logical priority, to give

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ji-ë?-ëro } \\
\text { be-pf-ab } \\
\text { having been. }
\end{gathered}
$$

If the main verb in the medial verb phrase is perfect, it optionally takes the ablative enclitic by attraction. If the main verb is any other tense or aspect, it must take the ablative. The auxiliary verb may be omitted as in the following example, where the auxiliary jië?ëro could equally well have immediately followed gavë?ëro. For the primary medials see point (4) of this section.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ?u-avu-o rôv-e-go guôjave gav-ë?-ëro rôv-e-go } \\
& \text { guôjave va?o i-ar-ëjo }
\end{aligned}
$$

say-l.pl.ref come-gen.prim-prim.rel vulturine.parrot see-pf-ab come-gen.prim prim.rel vulturine.parrot go catch-l.pl.1mmediate.des-quo

```
He said to us, "Come" (he had seen a vulturine parrot)
    "Come, let's go catch a vulturine parrot."
```

If the ablative perfect medial clause is stative-equational, the verb jië?ëro often appears without an auxiliary, and the noun or adjective immediately preceding it takes an ablative by attraction.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { nasi ?am-ëro ji-ë?-ëro va-?ejô } \\
\text { my village-ab be-pf-ab go-l.sg.fu } \\
\text { Since it is my vilZage, I shall go to it. }
\end{gathered}
$$

Sometimes jië?ëro is omitted from stative-equational clauses without any apparent change of meaning, leaving the word that would have immediately preceded with the ablative. It is from such sentences as the above example that the ablative directional (13.ll) originates.

> amu-?-ëro ë-huro masijorae-? e ?e
> breast-ch-ab that-p.ab grow.big-3.sg.fu Being breast fed, that way they would develop.

In that example, amu?ëro (being) with breast, could also have been rendered amu?ëro jië?ëro.

The ablative perfect construction expresses an event which begins some time before the event of the principal verb. In the normative, when subjects of the medial and principal clauses are the same, the two events are in sequence. When the subjects are different, the two events continue at the same time.

```
                    Asapa va?-aj-ëro ji-ë?-ëro ma burëro va-?ejô.
        Asapa go-l.sg.pr-ab be-pf-ab just quickly go-l.sg.fu
        I have been accustomed to go to Asapa village so that
            I shall get there quickly.
            Jôve rôv-aj-ëro ji-ë?ëro juv-oho im-oho dej-oho
                    maro?ego nô ij-ö.
        water come-l.sg.pr-ab be-pf-ab bananas-p sugar.cane-p
            yams-p getting-ripe we eat-l.pl.pr
Because the river has flowed and is still flowing, we now
    have bananas, sugarcane, and yams to eat when they mature.
```

When the medial verb is perfect, it occurs with a subject which may be either the same as or different from that of the principal verb. Clauses thus formed introduce explanatory background information.

> Hij-ôde-je. Hiromo nasi vabor-ohuro im-oho io bam-eh-ë?e ji-ë?-ëro ij-ôde-je. sit-l.sg.pa-aux sitting my wife-ab.p sugar.cane-p cut put-l.sg.ben-pf be-pf.ab eat-l.sg.pa-aux
> I sat down. Sitting (my wife had cut and sent me sugarcane) I ate.

The perfect, past and projected tense-aspects occur in ablative perfect construction to express temporal sequence with an intervening time lapse. The subjects of the medial and principal verbs must be the same.

Je?o-re gurihi nugo-r-öh-ëro ${ }^{8}$ sisônuvo?iramu
hujeji mavorovo-?ë?e.
forest-sp.set hide Zeave-po-3.proj-ab when.morning.wizz.come Zater dance.in.pairs-3.sg.fu
They would leave them hidden in the forest and later, when morning would come, they would dance in pairs.
(2) Sequence Medials. At least two other constructions besides the ablative perfect signal temporal sequence. As will be apparent,
both constructions involve medial verb forms which are identical in shape to certain subordinate verbs. Moreover, as is true in subordinate clauses, means is marked by the intensive -ehu (14.1). However, unlike subordinate clauses these medial clauses are members of a clause chain. 9 As such, the verbs predict that the same subject will follow. Also, the subject may be marked by the ablative, whereas the subject of a subordinate clause may not.

Verbs of motion may be related sequentially to a following clause in a prominent motion sequence construction. The past, present (with normative significance) or projected forms may be selected. The forms are identical with the corresponding subordinate verb with enclitic -oho. The construction signals that the motion ends just when the next event begins.

A-huro hôj-ehu va?-ad-oho va?-ad-oho va?-ad-oho va?o ?amo-re höröj-ade-je.
man-p.ab ridge-intensive go-3.sg.pa-p go-3.sg.pa-p go-3.sg.pa-p go village-sp.set come.out-3.sg.pa-aux
The man went by means (way) of the ridge, went and went, going he came out at the village.

The overlapping sequence medial verb construction is identical in form with the manner subordinate verb with the enclitic -ëhi just as.
Uv-ëro guruoj-ad-ëhi ?uv-o ...

Orokaivas-ab dance-3.sg.pa-just.as think-3.sg.pa
As the Orokaivas were dancing, it dawned on them that ...
(3) Non Finite Medials. Non finite medials are those verb forms without an enclitic and without a tense marker of their own. Instead they take the same tense as that of the verb on which they depend. Non finite medials are not conjugated for person and number and so do not take suffix set 70. Only where indicated in the following discussion may suffixes set 60 occur. Unless otherwise indicated, non finite medials predict the same subject. Except for suffixes which take -vo (suffix l2l), the distinguishing suffixes occur verb final.
-arume, unrealized potential (99) contrasts a potential event with an actual event. The principal clause is always a rhetorical question.

Mae hij-arume rab-ëni sisë?i-oho hij-e?
well sit-unrealized.potential what-al badly-p sit-3.sg.pr He could be living well; why is he living poorly?
-goro, perceptual clause relator (ll5), signals the subject's feeling, hearing, seeing as the reason for his subsequent action.

Huë bae-goro rôv-ôde-je.
throat take-perceptual come-l.sg.pa-aux
I felt sorry and so I came.

I-goro i-ne.
eat-perceptual eat-2.sg.fu.1mp
If you feel like eating, eat.

Ug-ohuro a-ho ga-goro huoj-ade-je.
bird-p.ab man-p see-perceptual fiy.squawk-3.sg.pa-aux
The bird saw the man and therefore flew around squawking.
-be, distributive suffix (ll8), occurs on the verb when the event it represents is related to a verb of motion. The motion referred to may be either spatial or temporal.

Mu ma-emu ë?o-be rôv-ôde-je.
work good-excl do-distributive come-l.sg.pa-aux
I have been doing good work all along.

- ? i ~ - ? iro ~ - ?irögoro, potential medial (63) indicates an
immanent event, or a purpose soon to be fulfilled.
Apo ?u-a-?irögoro ë-huni rôv-e.
father tell-3.sg.ref-po.medial that-p.al come-l.sg.pr
I am going to tell Father, and that's why I'm coming.
-?i ~-?iro ~-?irögoro, temporal neighbourhood suffixes (ll7)
are homophonous with potential suffixes. They indicate that the event occurs at least at approximately the same time as that of the principal verb and is antithetical to it. The subjects may be the same.or different.

Bôgô ma-huro nam-?irögoro a?i Uvo bijiog-ëro muebej-ëv-ade-je. not pig-p.ab stand-temporal.neighbourhood but Orokaiva native-ab
watch-3.pl.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
It was not a pig standing there, but instead there was a native Orokaiva watching them.
-ë?e, the perfect medial (97), functions concessively. In the main clause, ëma just, anyway, is expressed or implied.

Höm-ev-ë?e na ëma va?-e.
hungry-l.sg.ref-pf $I$ just go-l.sg.pr Although I'm hungry I'm just going anyway.

Öre tugoroh-ë?e ëma va?arueje.
road close-pf just we.go
Although the track is overgrown, we just go anyway.

> Bôgô g-ev-ë?e ëma va?-ade-je.
> not see-l.sg.ref-pf just go-3.sg.pa-aux
> He went without seeing me.
> $-\ddot{e} ? i \sim-\ddot{\text { ë?iro } \sim-e ̈ ? i r o ̈ g o r o, ~ t h e ~ t e m p o r a l ~ n e i g h b o u r h o o d ~ p e r f e c t ~}$ medial suffix string, consists of the perfect suffix, - $\ddot{e} ? i$ without $-\mathbf{e}$ terminator, plus the temporal neighbourhood suffix \{-?iro\}. One /?i/ syllable is reduced. The perfect element indicates an action or state previous to but with results which last up to the time of the principal verb. The temporal neighbourhood signals simultaneity of the results of the previous action and the following action. Unlike the pure temporal neighbourhood construction, the subjects must be identical in the temporal neighbourhood perfect construction.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Niav-̈̈-?i niv-e. } \\
\text { sleep-pf-temporal.ne1ghbourhood cry-3.sg.pr } \\
\text { He is crying in his sleep. }
\end{gathered}
$$

-juvo, continuative suffix (98), probably related to the root juv walk, signals that the event of the medial verb continues for an extended period. The subjects of the medial and principal clauses may be the same or different.

> Uvô-?ô ?Ömi-?ô muorovo-juvo Uvo ?ame niô?i barë ?Ömie ?ame niô?i barëj-ade-je.

Orokaivas-and Ömies-and fought-continuative Orokaiva village two finish ömie village two finish-3.sg.pa-aux

The Orokaiva people and Ömie people kept on fighting each other until two Orokaiva villages were destroyed and two Ömie villages were destroyed.
-romo, ${ }^{10}$ secondary medial (ll6) (sec), is the most common of the non finite medials. A number of secondary medial clauses may be joined together in a closely-knit sequence, or chain.

The secondary medial indicates that there is a high degree of dependence on the last verb of the chain. Some secondary medial chains share a common subject. If this is the case, the subject must either be active throughout (example (a) below) or factive throughout, as in example (b). The event of the secondary medial verb begins prior to the verb on which it depends even though the two actions may continue simultaneously.
(a)

> A-ëro ?ö-ho ?ano-romo va?-ade-je.
> man-ab dog-p hit-sec go-3.sg.pa-aux
> A man hit the dog and went.
(b) Na vadun-ëro guôm-evo-romo be-romo ?an-eg-ade-je.

I hunger-ab die-l.sg.ref-sec faZz-sec hurt-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux $I$ was very hungry and fell and hurt myself.

Sometimes a secondary medial modifies the meaning of the verb on which it depends.

Tutuvo-romo rôv-ade-je. run-sec come-3.sg.pa-aux He came running.

Ug-oho ae ga-romo ë?-e.
bird-p person see-sec do-3.sg.pr
The bird sees someone, that's what it's doing.
It is less usual for secondary medials not to have a common active or common factive subject. When the subjects are different, however, the events themselves are closely related in time. Although the events might begin in chronological sequence, what is important is that they are continuing simultaneously, and are co-terminous.

> Ene rue-romo bure rôv-ade-je.
> rain come-sec wind come-3.sg.pa-aux
> It was raining and the wind was blowing.

In the following chain, the first two clauses share a common subject, tugobaje whiskers. Moreover, the events of the first two clauses are continuing throughout the event of the third clause. Thus the three clauses are joined by secondary sequence markers.

Tugobaje ${ }^{\text {ll }}$ rijo?övo-romo hövohövo-romo Malakas vavaenim-ade-je.
animal.whiskers spread.out-sec turn.yellow-sec Malakas
was.sad.3.sg.ref-pa-aux
As the rays (of the setting sun) were spreading out like whiskers and were turning yellow, Malakas was feeling sad.

With the secondary medial may occur the cessative suffix -nugo after, (91) (related to the root nug leave), and the intentive - ?ihöj (64). When -?ihöj occurs, the subject of the following clause is not predicted.

```
                    Jôv-oho eguo-nugo-romo hi-nugo-romo rôv-ôde-je.
water-p wash-cessative-sec si.t-cessative-sec come-l.sg.pa-aux
    I took a bath and after that I sat and after that I came.
                    Tuboru harih-ohuro deje i-?ihö-romo huë-re
                        rav-ajo.
cassowary fledgling-p.ab yam eat-intentive-sec throat-sp.set
    burn-3.sg.pa.quo (12.11)
(It is said that) the young cassowary was meaning to eat yams
    when he burned his throat.
```

Before the verbs gave and heje, the suffix string - ?ihö-romo is idiomatically reduced to - ? ihö or - ? $i$ with the meaning whize.

Hi-?ihö gav-o lbito bôgô vejö?-oho ö?amu. sit-intentive see-3.pl.pa Ibito not now-p coming
As they sat there they saw Ibito was not returning when expected.
When -romo occurs on an anticipatory verb phrase (12.8), the implication is that the event that seemed immanent was not carried out.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Va-?i-ë?o-romo vônug-ôde-je. } \\
& \text { go-po-do-sec stop-l.sg.pa-aux } \\
& \text { I was going to leave but gave up the idea. }
\end{aligned}
$$

(4) Primary Medial Verbs are those verbs which optionally take the primary medial relator suffix -go (ll4). They are marked for tense, aspect or mode. Many forms are not inflected for person and number. These verbs take suffixes 92-96 instead of 60-70. Suffixes 92-94 must be followed by the suffix -go or some other relator to be discussed. After 95 and 96 the relator is optional. Such verb phrases as perfect, immanent and iterative are common.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { va?-ë?e ji-amu } \\
\text { go-pf be-prim.pa } \\
\text { had gone } \\
\text { va-?i-ë?-amu } \\
\text { go-po-do-prim.pa } \\
\text { was about to go }
\end{gathered}
$$

If the perfect auxiliary is present it is usually deleted and the relator is suffixed to the perfect suffix.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { va?-ë?e jio-?e-go }>\text { va?-ë?e-go } \\
\text { go-pf be-prim.pr-prim.rel }>\text { go-pf-prim.rel } \\
\text { has gone }
\end{gathered}
$$

In addition there are four inflected mode tenses: present and future imperative, normative, and projected. These are formed by deleting the tense/aspect auxiliary je be and adding -e general (93) plus a relator to the appropriate active subject suffix (73, 74, 76, 77). In this example -aj in rôvajego is suffix class 74:
Rôv-aj-e-go bôj-ami-?cjô.
come-3.sg.pr-gen.prim-prim.rel give-3.sg.ref-l.sg.fu Because he normally comes I shall give it to him.

The primary medial usually has a different subject from the one on which it depends. This is always the case when the verb is in the
projected aspect. Apart from the signal for change of subject, the primary medial projected aspect functions in the same way as projected purpose clauses whose verb relator is -ëni or -ëro (l2.10 (1)).

Im-oho bam-ah-e ja u?emu i-?ir-an-e-go.
sugar. cone-p put-2.sg.ben-l.sg.pr you later eat-po-2.sg-gen.prim-prim.rel I'm laying aside the sugarcane for you to eat later.

Likewise, the primary medial normative corresponds to the ablative perfect medial, normative aspect. Both give an explanation for the event in the principal clause, which is never imperative.

In contrast, however, the primary medial indicates at once both change of subject and sequence.
Taj-emij-aj-e-go ëhuni na mana ?aj-ami-?ejô.
help-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pr-gen.prim-prim.rel therefore $I$ back help-3.sg.ref-l.sg.fu He helps me from time to time and so now $I$ will help him in return.

Primary medials other than projected or normative contrast with secondary medials. If sequence is in focus, primary medials signal change in kind of subject (active to factive or vice versa) or a change in subject identity. When the change is from factive to active subject, the secondary medial never occurs. Otherwise the rules for the secondary medial apply (12.10 (3)).

A harih-ohuro hömo-?e-go niv-e.
person young-p.ab hungry-pr.prim-prim.rel cry-3.sg.pr The baby is crying of hunger.

The verb höme be hungry is a factive verb and takes a neutral subject. a harihohuro is ablative subject of the entire chain. Since the last verb in the chain is active, the chain subject is active.

These primary medials are subject to certain mode, tense, aspect restrictions. The imperative medials must depend on a desiderative principal clause.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Barue-n-e-go na ga-?ir-ô. } \\
& \text { bring-2.sg.imp-gen.prim-prim.rel } I \text { see-po-l.sg } \\
& \text { Bring it here so } I \text { can see it. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Future medials must depend on a future; past medials on a past; contrafactual on a contrafactual.

Sisônuv-amu ri?öj-ade-je.
Morning. comes-pa.prim rise-3.sg.pa-aux
When morning came he got up.
The present may refer either to the present or past time. If it refers to the present, it may depend on another present or on a future.

If it refers to the past, it depends on $a$ habituative verb or iterative verb phrase (12.8), or on a past primary medial.

Sisônuvo-?e-go ri?ö-?ë?e.
morning.comes-pr.pr1m-pr1m.rel rise-3.sg.fu Since day is dawning, he will get up.

Sisônuvo-?e-go ri?ö-növ-ade-je.
morning. comes-pr.prim-prim.rel rise-habituative-3.sg.pa-aux
Each morning he would rise.
Gav-o sisônuvo-?e-go vavu-oho ri?öj-amu.
see-3.sg.pa morning.comes-pr.prim-prim.rel father-p rise-pa.prim
He saw that when morning came his father was getting up.
The general primary medial shows no tense limitation. It may take the place of the contrafactual medial and depend on a contrafactual principal verb. Or it may depend on an imperative, desiderative, potential, projected, or normative.

$$
\text { Sisônuv-e-go ri\}öj-arue-je. }
$$

morning.comes-gen.prim-prim.rel rise-l.pl.pr-normative.aux When day breaks we get up.

Jeni rom-e-go i-oho nemo-ne. Sisठीnuv-e-go i-?ir-ane-je. afternoon.comes-gen.prim-prim.rel food-p cook-2.sg.fu.imp morning.comes-gen.prim-prim.rel eat-po-2.sg.proj.aux
When afternoon comes cook the food. I want you to (so that you can) eat it when day dawns.

Primary medials serve as predicate in the perceptual clause of a perceptual sentence. Generally a perceptual sentence consists of the verb gave see or heje hear, feel followed by a perceptual clause. The perceptual predicate may be past, present, future, general according to the tense/aspect of the verb for see or hear. The. predicate may be a perfect or anticipatory verb phrase.

> Na gav-e hu rue-?e-go.
> $I$ see-3.sg.pr he come-pr.prim-prim.rel
> I see him coming.

Special medial forms for gave and heje occur. Their shapes resemble those of the final form except that any tense/aspect auxiliary is deleted.

Hej-ade ug-oho rôv-av-amu...
hear-3.sg.pa bird-p come-sensory-pa.prim
He heard the plane coming and...

A sentence need not end with a perceptual clause. The clause may be joined to the subsequent clauses simply by -go primary relator (or -amu or - ?iramu without -go). Instead of -go, a non final form of gave see or heje hear may immediately follow the perceptual clause. One of two medial suffixes may occur: - goro perceptual (ll5) ga-goro see-perceptual.medial after seeing or \{-ë?i\} perfect-temporal neighbourhood (97-1l7) suffix string.

$$
g a v-\ddot{e}-? i
$$

see-perfect-temporal.neighbourhood no sooner (did he) see
gavë?i (or hejë?i) signals overlapping sequence. gagoro signals that the second event begins after the first. Sometimes, instead of the gagoro or hegoro the perceptual suffix is suffixed to the primary medial form.

```
                    va?-amu ga-goro
go-pa.prim see-perceptual
    after seeing (him) go
                    may be written
                va?-amu-goro
    go-pa.prim-perceptual.
```

In narratives the verbs gagoro and gavë?i often lose the meaning of see and serve purely as time relators.

A-huro va?o hij-amu gav-ë-?i röhu kinë?-ohuro rôvajo.
man-p.ab go sit-pa.prim see-pf-temporal.neighbourhood but bush.spirit-p.ab came
No sooner had the man departed and settled down elsewhere but the bush spirit arrived on the scene.

In place of such forms as gagoro two other non final forms of gave and heje may occur: the ablative perfect, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& g a v-e ̈ ?-e ̈ r o \\
& \text { see-pf-ab }
\end{aligned}
$$

(he) saw and sometime Zater
and the indefinite perfect, e.g.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { gav-ë?-oho } \\
\text { see-pf-p } \\
\text { if (he) sees. }
\end{gathered}
$$

Unlike gagoro or gavë?i both retain their perceptual meaning and both control the tense of the primary medial verb they directly follow. Since they are both perfect aspect, the tense of the primary medial
must be past. The following examples show that the influence of the indefinite perfect gavë?oho over the tense of the primary medial takes precedence over that of the projected perceptual verb, ga?irane, introducing the primary medial clause.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Ga-?ir-ane ae rôv-amu gav-ë?-oho... } \\
& \text { see-po-2.sg.prof man come-pa.prım see-pf-p } \\
& \text { Whenever you see a man coming... } \\
& \text { Ga-?ir-ane ae rôv-e ga-goro... } \\
& \text { see-po-2.sg.proj man come-gen.prim see-perceptual } \\
& \text { When you see a man coming... }
\end{aligned}
$$

Whereas a secondary medial never concludes a clause chain, a primary medial may do so. Thus it can bear greater information focus. In the following two examples, contrast muebej-amu watch-primary with muebe-romo watch-secondary. The former terminates the chain; the latter does not:

Ugoho ?ano?i muebej-amu gagorovo ënohuro bejevamu ?amëro rôvôdeje. bird to.kill watch-pa.prim after rain fell.on.me home I.came I was keeping watch so I might kill a bird. However, rain fell on me and I came home.

Ugoho ?ano?i muebe-romo ënëro bejevamu ?amëro rôvôdeje. bird to.kill watch-sec rain fell.on.me home I.came
$I$ was watching in order to kill a bird and then rain fell on me so I came home.

In the second example, the secondary medial signals that the active subject ( 1 singular) is not finished his series of actions. The clause whose subject is ëne rain is an intrusion which affects the original subject's course of action in that chain. Had the sentence ended with bejevamu fell on me, mueberomo would have been muebejamu to indicate a change of active subject.

Medial verbs not only join clauses within a sentence, but link ${ }^{12}$ sentences and paragraphs together by repeating at least part of the previous clause.

Na iae Evi birumijo. Birumij-amu na Evi guomo.
then in.fact Evi he.worked.magic.against work.magic.against-pa.prim then Evi died
Then he in fact worked magic against Evi. As a result, Evi died.

### 12.11 Quotative Markers (quo)

These are those forms which conclude a quoted sentence. Therefore, these markers are useful in delimitating a grammatical sentence in ömie. When a quoted sentence is not embedded in a subsequent nonquotative sentence, -aj takes morpheme -o, probably from Class 71. Here, the function of -o is merely to mark finality. To mark eliptical or interrupted sentences, the quotative may be added to any word, noun, non-final verb or enclitic. In independent sentences, quotatives may be added only to those suffixes which are unbracketed in paradigms A-F.

The following morphophonemic processes operate: -aj is added to high vowels without any change.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Gav-ë-?i-ajo! } \\
\text { see-pf-temporal.ne1ghbourhood-quo } \\
\text { "(Act) while seeing!" or "Watch out!" }
\end{gathered}
$$

When added to mid vowels a of the quotative is reduced, and the mid vowel is replaced by the low vowel at the same tongue position.

Ae rôv-aje.
man come-3.sg.pr
A man is coming.

Ae rov-aj-ëjo. (from rovaje + ajo)
man come-3.sg.pr-quo
"A man is coming."
Bôjemego na ij-öjo (from ij-ô + ajo)
give.me $I$ eat-l.sg.immediate.des.quo
"Give me some to eat."

Bôjamego hu ij-ajo. (from ij-o + ajo)
give he eat-3.sg.immediate.des.quo
"Give him some to eat."
When added to low vowels, a is reduced.
?amonö-jo (?amonö + ajo)
outside-quo
(He said) "Outside!"
The verb je be has an irregular 3 person present form höjo. A form of höjo must be used when it is a tense-aspect auxiliary, l2.81.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Rôv-ade-je. } \\
\text { come-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
\text { He came. } \\
\text { Rôv-ade höjo. } \\
\text { come-3.sg.pa aux.quo } \\
\text { "He came." }
\end{gathered}
$$

If the quoting verb is future indicative or imperative, the appropriate suffixes (75 or 76) may be added in place of -o (71) following regular morphophonemic rules (12.1).

Jej-amij-ôde hö-ne.
greet-3.sg.ref-1.sg.pa aux.quo-2.sg.imp
"Tell him I greeted him." ("Give him my greetings.")
Quotatives added to paradigm A constitute a traditional narrative past tense.

Kinë?ohuro rôv-ajo.
the.bush.spirit come-3.sg.traditional
The bush spirit came (they say).
A quotative sentence may be joined to a subsequent non-quoted sentence by adding certain of the non-final suffixes already described.

Muenohuro ?uv-ajo mae ?u-ev-aj-ë-romo va?-ad-oho...
the.cousin think-3.sg.traditional true say-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr-quo-sec go-3.sg.pa-p
The cousin thought, "He's telling me the truth", and so he went and...

The following non-final suffixes are permissible following the quotative: temporal neighbourhood, primary and secondary medials (9396; 114-117); imposed will (100); circumstantial reason (101); and indefinite perfect $(97+111)$.

Only the verb ?uve think, shout or ?uave say may open a quote. If medial, their forms are analogous to those of gave introducing a perceptual clause, see ?ua?irane, example below. The may optionally close it. If it is chosen to have ?uve or ?uave in the same sentence immediately following the quotative, the final /j/ of the quotative is deleted (12.1).

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ?u-a-?ir-ane na va-?ejö ?u-av-ë?-oho... } \\
\text { say-3.sg.ref-po-2.sg.proj } I \text { go-l.sg.fu.quo say-3.sg.ref-pf-p } \\
\text { If you say "I shall go"... }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 13.0 NOUN AND RELATOR-AXIS PHRASES

### 13.1 Postpositives and Non-Verbal Phrases

Most postpositives are bound enclitics, but a few are free forms. They may follow any word or phrase except a particle. Their occurrence, allomorphs and function on verbs was discussed in Section 12.9.

### 13.11 Functional Enclitics

These follow nouns, pronouns or noun phrases to show their function in the clause. There are seven sets discussed below. ${ }^{13}$ Some are combined with the prominence clitic (13.12) and suffixed to deictics to mark the same semantic relationships between pairs of clauses, sentences and even higher level elements in a discourse. Bound forms in Sections 13.11.5 to 13.11.7 below do not occur affixed directly to neutral appellatives or pronouns.

### 13.11.1 Neutral ${ }^{14}$

Obligatory absence of a functional postpositive on noun phrases marks the neutral form. The neutral noun phrases serve as objects of transitive or ditransitive clauses, subject of factive clause types, specifier of specified descriptive clauses, comment of stativeequational clauses (14.1). The examples show the neutral form as object then as subject of a verb.

```
Mahe bijiohôdeje.
    pig I.speared
    I speared a pig.
    Ja dadivave.
    you don't.know
    You don't know.
```


### 13.11.2 Ablative (ab)

\{-ro\}: -ro ~ -ëro from the source of, by means of. -ëro occurs on common noun and adjective stems; -ro occurs elsewhere. One of its functions is to mark the subject of an active clause. \{-ro\} occurs as active subject marker only for clarity, or emphasis.

Rules for clarity appear to be determined by the number of participants and the way in which they are manifested within the boundaries of a discourse unit between a clause and sentence. This unit, which might be called a single participant orientation clause chain,
requires further analysis. The ablative is obligatory on pronominal subjects if there is also a neutral pronoun in the clause chain.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Na (or na-ro) ae ?anôdeje. } \\
I \text { (or } I \text {-ab) man } I . h i t \\
I(o r I) \text { hit a man. }
\end{gathered}
$$

Na-ro hu ?anôdeje.
I-ab him I.hit
I hit him.
The ablative is obligatory on nouns if the clause chain includes a transitive or ditransitive verb.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { A-ëro ë?adeje. } \\
\text { man-ab did } \\
\text { A man did it. }
\end{gathered}
$$

These rules may be overriden by other considerations such as that of theme (14.2).

In other cases the ablative is optionally added for emphasis.
Ae rôvaje! A-ëro rôve.
man is.coming
man-ab is.coming
Someone's coming!
A man is coming.
In addition to its use to mark active subject, the ablative is obligatory to mark a means relationship within a clause as in the first example below. It may also indicate means relationship between clauses, or chunks on higher levels of discourse. In the second example the means relationship is expressed by ëhuro from that cause.

Hesi öv-ëro ijajeje.
his hand-ab he.eats
He eats by means of his own hand. (He can feed himself.)
Bôgô ma mae tögömoromo ë-hu-ro bôgô aevo?ë?e.
not just right exploding that-prominence-ab not will.start
The engine will not explode properly and as a result will not start.

A special use of the ablative on certain common nouns is termed directional ablative. The directional ablative indicates both destination and basis of the journey. The basis, signalled by the ablative is the residency of the traveller, or the presence of another person he is going to join.

```
Hu hesi ?am-ëro va?e.
he his village-directional.ab go He is going to his village because he lives there. (1.e. he is going home)
```


### 13.11.3 Allative (al)

$\{-n i\}-n i \sim-\ddot{n} n$ for. -ëni occurs on common noun, adjective and temporal stems, -ni occurs elsewhere. -ni allative marks an underlying semantic telic or benefactive relationship. On the surface clause level, -ni marks the grammatical telic; it marks the grammatical benefactive in active clauses having an animate subject. Above clause level, -ni marks the grammatical reason or purpose.

Nër-ëni ja-ni bamahôdeje.
tomorrow-al you-al I.put.for.you
I put it aside for you for tomorrow.
Rab-ëni rôvaneje?
what-al you.came
For what (why) did you come?
Paraede sisônu?e nani nô Kôkôda va?ejo. Ë-hu-ni nani no Satade sienëro Asapa rue?ejo.
Friday morning perhaps we Kokoda will.go that-prominence-al perhaps we Saturday back Asapa will. come
Friday morning perhaps we shall go to Kokoda. For that reason perhaps we shall return to Asapa on Saturday.

### 13.11.4 Comitative

-?ô with, and may be added to noun and temporal phrases. Occurring with one of two or more noun phrases it signifies accompaniment, occurring on two or three noun phrases it signifies co-ordination.

> Apô-?ô mamô-?ô va?areje.
> father-and mother-and they.went
> Both father and mother went.
> Apo-ro mamô-?ô va?adeje.
> father-ab mother-with he. went

Father went with mother.
A comitative phrase followed by the particle röromo means for, instead of.

> Na-?ô röromo va?adeje.
> me-and for he.went
> He went in my place.

### 13.11.5 Setting (set) and Locative (loc)

These markers occur on noun phrases. They form part of the stem of some temporals. Setting markers may refer to either place, direction or time; locatives to place or direction. The setting marker is -r. To it may be added non-specific marker -ô (non.sp), or the specific marker -e (sp) or the emphatic locative -iae. Note the contrasting examples of non-specific as over against specific setting.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Ug-ëro dö-rô va?adeje. } \\
\text { bird-ab top-non.sp.set it.went } \\
\text { The bird flew high. }
\end{gathered}
$$

> ljo dö-re va?adeje.
> tree top-sp.set it.went
> It flew right over the tree.

> Hura maja-re va?adeje. Dö-riae hije.
> week day-sp.set he.went
> top-loc.set he.sit
> He went last Sunday. He is sitting up there at the top.

Area locative -nö (-nörire emphatic?), signals surface or region round about.

> Javu dö-nö hijadeje.
> house top-area it.sat

It perched on the roof.

### 13.11.6 Characterizer (ch)

-?e having occurs on noun phrases which function as subjective completion in an equative clause, and substance descriptive in a modified noun phrase.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { Vavu-?e a-ho. } & \text { Sa?aho ijo-?e jie. } \\
\text { father-ch man-p } & \text { the. Zand trees-ch is } \\
\text { the man whose father is living } & \text { The Zand has trees. }
\end{array}
$$

The characterizer enclitic occurs at the end of a compound noun phrase. A compound noun phrase consists of two closed sets of nouns combining to give the genus of which the nouns are species.

```
                    Jasi nu ano-?e mae jie.
                your nose teeth-ch good is
    Your appearance (1.e. what is characterized by nose and
                teeth) is attractive.
Other examples of compound noun phrases:
```

dë sa?a-?e
excrement earth-ch
dirt (as in a motor)
ö mueno-?e
brother cousin-ch
relatives
ahi juri-?e
brother-in-law parent-in-law-ch in Zaws
öri ari-?e
track land-ch
landscape; weather

```
ugo buruhi-?e
bird eagle-ch
feather headdress
Privative characterizer is a free form rumo?e without.
Sa?aho ijo rumo?e jie.
the. land tree without is
The land is without trees.
```


### 13.11.7 Analogy

This may be expressed by various clitics.
(1) Manner Deictic Bound Allomorph -ëhi like that occurs on common nouns:

```
Dahor-ëhi jiadeje.
mountain-like it.was
There was a big crowd like a mountain.
```

On temporals which indicate the succession of days, -ëhi indicates that the terms are used with no reference to the present.
jiame
day after tomorrow

> day.after.tomorrow-like on the third day
(2) Simulfactive Enclitics va?ëne, -ëne, varijëne. The free allomorph va?ëne (occasionally the bound allomorph -ëne) expresses any type of likeness.

A juvijoho Michael varijëne (or va?ëne) jie. male the.youth Michael exactly like (like) is The youth is like Michael.

> A juvijoho jiobo va?ëne (not varijëne) jie. male the.youth eel like (not exactly. like) is The youth resembles an eel (he is so handsome).
> Ijoho hi?ö bôrôt-ëne jiadeje. the.stick bamboo.knife edge-like was The stick was as sharp as a bamboo knife.
(3) Analogical Characterizer Enclitic -nö?e having the characteristic of, in the manner of.

Aho ijo-nö?e jie.
the.man tree-analogical.characterizer is
The man is tree-like (he is so tall).

### 13.12 Prominence Enclitic (p) -oho

Perhaps the basic meaning of -oho is specificity, marking something the hearer already knows or something of which the speaker wants the hearer to take special note. Apart from the exception mentioned in footnote 5, the prominence marker is never added to particles. Although the marker may occur following suffixes on appellatives and pronouns to form substantives (13.3), it never occurs directly on their neutral forms. Otherwise the prominence marker may occur at the extreme right position of a string of enclitics on any part of speech. Also after nouns, adjectives, deictics and pronouns the prominence marker may occur a second time on an enclitic string to the left of function markers.
(a) Occurrence at the extreme right position: -oho marks theme (14.2), negation and elicitation (14.3). In such cases it should be noted that -oho does not occur on locative focus forms, Chart 3 rows (g) and (h). Instead the corresponding deictic focus form in (a) and (b) is substituted for that of (g) or (h) respectively before -oho is added. -oho also occurs obligatorily following the setting marker -r when the clause subject is 2 person.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Ja mu-r-oho va?aneje. } \\
& \text { you garden-set-p you.went } \\
& \text { You went to the garden. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The setting marker plus the prominence is an optional way of expressing direction from.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Mu-r-oho rôvadeje. } \\
& \text { garden-set-p he.came } \\
& \text { He came from the garden. }
\end{aligned}
$$

(The usual way of expressing from would be a two clause utterance of the type Being in the garden, afterward he came.)

The prominence marker on the extreme right may also form a substantive (13.3).
(b) Occurrence to the left of function markers: As has been indicated at the beginning of 13.2 appellatives and pronouns do not take -oho directly on the stem. The reason is that they are already considered "specific". Thus in talking to a child about his father either the common noun vavue plus the prominence marker might be used, or the appellative apo. The second term would be more intimate but the two would be equally specific.
vavu-oho or apo
father-p Father
father
Thus the common noun stem followed immediately by the prominence enclitic serves as vocative.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ö-ho } \\
\text { brother-p } \\
\text { Brother! (religious context) }
\end{gathered}
$$

On noun phrases -oho is added to common noun or adjective stems to mark the conclusion of the deictic's influence:

> Ë ae böröm-oho gemu. $̈$ ä böröme gemu-oho.
> that man important-p one that man important one-p
> That important man only. That same important man.

Without a deictic, -oho occurs to draw particular attention to the phrases so marked. This is especially the case with neutrals; for they have no function marker such as the ablative to draw attention to their importance in the discourse.

Mue ravo. garden weeded
She weeded the garden.

## Mu-oho ravo.

garden-p weeded
She weeded the garden.

Prominence markers are useful in setting up antitheses:
Muen-oho ejahonövajo muen-oho juahaminövajo. cousin-p used.to.accept cousin-p used.to.reject The one cousin she used to accept. The other cousin she used to reject.

A special morphophonemic rule applies when a prominence marker is followed directly by another enclitic beginning with a consonant; the final o of -oho becomes /u/.

$$
\begin{aligned}
-o h o+-r o & >-o h u-r o \\
p+a b & >p-a b
\end{aligned}
$$

From this point onwards in this paper the prominence plus the immediately following enclitic will be written in the examples as a fused form: -ohuro p.ab.

The prominence marker is not fused with setting enclitics. However, the form -ohuro (homophonous with -ohuro prominent ablative) or its allomorph -oro is substituted for enclitics indicating specific location or direction (-re or -riae or -iae) in imperative sentences. -ohuro may occur on deictics, common nouns and adjectives. -oro may occur on common nouns and adjectives.

Jôv-ohuro va?o-ne.
water-p.loc go-2.sg.fu.Imp Go to the water.

Ave-huro rue-ne:
this.here-p.loc come-2.sg.fu.imp
Come here:

The prominence marker may occur twice on a single string of enclitics.

Muen-ohuni-oho bôgô vavaenimadeje!
cousin-p.al-p not miss
He did not miss his cousin!
The prominence marker -ohu to the left of the function clitic -ni indicates a specific cousin is meant. The prominence marker to the right indicates the word is part of a negative clause.

The prominent marker may occur to the left of function markers to form a substantive (13.3).

### 13.13 Number Enclitics

### 13.13.1 Dual Animate Associative -mu

This signals that the noun to which it is attached specifies one of the two animate participants. The participants may be identified by an immediately preceding plural personal pronoun or the other first participant may be identified by a preceding appellative. The animate dual associative is added only to appellative nouns. The corresponding prominence-fused form -ohumu must be substituted on common nouns. A noun with -mu must be a member of a phrase which functions as clause subject.

Nô mamô-mu niô?i-ro va?-areje.
we mother-dual.associative two-ab go-l.pl.pa
We two, including mother, went.

Nô vëm-ohumu va?-areje. we mother-p.dual.associative go-l.pl.pa We, including mother, went.

Matthias vavu-ohumu rôvareje. Matthias father-p.dual.associative they.came Matthias and father both came.

### 13.13.2 Plural Pronominal Associative -më

This also signals accompaniment. It may be added only to appellatives. The prominence plural associative must be added to common nouns.

## mamo-më

mother-pronominal.associative mother and others with her
vëm-ohumë
mother-p.pronominal.associative mother and others with her

Mamo mother is an appellative noun and takes the pronominal associative -më; vëme mother is a common noun and takes the prominence pronominal associative -ohumë. The pronominal associative takes the same endings as do free pronouns.

Mamo-më-ro va?-areje. mother-pronominal.associative-ab they.went

Mother and her associates went.
mamo-më-si sa?ae
mother-pronominal.associative-gen Zand the land of mother and her people

### 13.13.3 Exclusive Enclitic (excl) -emu

This is a bound allomorph of gemu one, only. Since the bound forms are restricted in occurrence, gemu marks exclusiveness elsewhere. -emu follows only neutral, ablative, and setting forms of noun phrases.

> ?amo-r-emu hijadeje.
> village-set-excl he.stayed
> He did not leave the village.
> Hesi ?am-ëni gemu uehorovadeje
> his village-al excl he.thought
> He took thought only for his village.

The form -emu is not added to appellative stems nor to any but monosyllabic free pronouns.

> na-emu
> $m e-e x c l$
> $o n l y m e$

An emphatic variant -remu may be added to any pronominal form.
mamo-më-remu
mother-pronominal.associative-emphatic.excl
only Mother and her friends
Otherwise -remu must be prominent, -ohuremu.
E mu-ohuremu uehorovadeje.
that work-p.emphatic.excl he.thought
He devoted all his attention to that work.
There is a unique ablative-exclusive fused form, -remuëremu, which occurs only on free pronouns:

> Na-remuëremu hu gavôdeje.
> $I-a b . e x c l h i m I . s a w$
> Only $I$ saw him. (or $I$ saw him but he didn't see me.)

### 13.2 Phrases

### 13.21 Noun Phrases

### 13.21.1 Modified Noun Phrase

This consists of a noun head plus up to three modifiers in the order to be named. Preceding the head may be deictic, genitive, qualifier or noun (the noun may be dependent or with setting, characterizer, simulfactive or analogical characterizer markers). Following the head may be a qualifier, and a quantifier.

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
\text { ave nasi mu javu-oho } & \text { hesi jaruvore jö-ho } \\
\text { this my garden house-p } & \text { his present talk-p } \\
\text { my garden house here } & \text { his present speech }
\end{array}
$$

> di a sisë-ho which person bad-p which bad person?

### 13.21.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

This consists of a series of noun phrases. If three or fewer, -ô and may be suffixed to each phrase. Or the free conjunction $\hat{o}$ and, or may occur between each phrase. Only the context would distinguish between a collection or alternative relationship. Especially in longer lists, however, the noun phrases are arranged paratactically.

A co-ordinate noun phrase is frequently summed up by a deictic such as ëho (ë that plus -oho prominence, l3.3) or ëhi like that.

Gabriel Edward Francis ëhi va?adeje.
Gabriel Edward Francis like-that went
Gabriel, Edward and Francis went.

Numëre dejoroho ëho BiPi ô Stimsip jëve.
just. down.there behind those $B P$ and Steamships they.are
Those buildings down behind are $B P^{\prime} s$ and Steamship's.

### 13.21.3 Apposition Noun Phrase

This consists of an 1tem plus apposition. Both may be noun phrases. The first may be a noun, the second a pronoun to signal the person and number of the noun. The first may be a pronoun and the second a numeral.

A ihe Beherio ?uavarehu.
man name Beherio they.said.to.him
They said to a man named Beherio. (literally, a man name, Beherio)

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Jeffrey na-ro va?ôdeje. } \\
\text { Jeffrey } I \text {-ab went } \\
I \text {, Jeffrey, went. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 13.22 Relator-Axis Phrases

These consist of a noun phrase or a temporal axis followed by a postpositive relator.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { a-ëni } & \text { nër-ëni } \\
\text { man-al } & \text { tomorrow-al } \\
\text { for a man } & \text { for tomorrow }
\end{array}
$$

a man and nëri tomorrow are the axes and -ëni allative is the relator.

### 13.3 Substantives

Single clauses and relator-axis phrases may be semantically embedded descriptive clauses which grammatically have the same function as a noun within a clause. Substantives are formed when the prominence marker or the genitive pronoun follows deictic stems:

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\ddot{\mathrm{e}} \text {-ho } & \ddot{\mathrm{e}} \text { hesi } \\
\text { that-p } & \text { that its } \\
\text { that one } & \text { of that one }
\end{array}
$$

Substantives are formed also by adding prominence marker, genitive pronoun, or various types of location clitics to adjective stems, to genitives, allatives, characteristic, simulfactive and setting clitics. Manner may occur on setting clitics. The identical function suffix or clitic does not occur twice in a single substantive. For example, there may not be two genitives or setting clitics in one substantive. However, there may be a fused and unfused prominence marker in a substantive.
(a)

> böröm-oho
> big-p
> the big one
(b)
sisë-rô
bad-non.sp.set tolin a place where circumstances are bad
(c) Muen-ohuni-oho rue gôvari-nö ?ahajo. cousin-p.al-p there outside-surface spread The one for his cousin, he spread out with the outside surface (on the ground).
(d)

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { ?amo-r-ëhi } \\
\text { village-set-manner } \\
\text { as it is in the village }
\end{gathered}
$$

In (c) the first prominent marker -ohu indicates that the cousin is specific; the second, -oho, indicates a substantive in this context. muenohunioho should be compared with the same combination of morphemes in 13.12 , final example.

When adding clitics, certain morphophonemic rules should be noted:
(1) -ri (weak /i/) is first regularly suffixed to genitive pronouns.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { na-si-ri-re } \\
\text { me-gen-nominalizer(?)-sp.set } \\
\text { at my place }
\end{gathered}
$$

(2) The genitive suffix of appellative nouns, -are is composed of -ari (weak/i/)genitive plus -e terminator. Likewise the simulfactives varijëne and va?ëne are composed of a stem ending in weak /i/ + -e terminator.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Jasi amo va?ëni-re hijodeje. } \\
& \text { your village like-set I.sat } \\
& \text { I was in a village like yours. }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Mam-ari-re hije. } \\
\text { mother-gen-sp.set he.sits } \\
\text { He is at mother's place. } \\
\text { Ap-ar-ohuro vuô?ejô. } \\
\text { father-gen-p.ab I.shall.chew }
\end{gathered}
$$

By means of father's $I$ shall chow betel-nut. (1.e. I will use father's (lime) to chew the betel-nut.)
(3) The /e/ in -?e characterizer is reduced before a prominence enclitic and retained before a setting enclitic.
Jôvô-?e-re va?adeje.
water-ch-sp.set he.went
He went to a place having water. (1.e. He went near the water.)

Vaboro-?-ohuro rôvadeje.
wife-ch-p.ab he.came
The one with a wife came.
As many as two semantic clauses may be represented by a single word and enclitic string. For example, apariroho in

Ap-ari-r-oho ujuoho rôvôdeje.
father-gen-set-p take (plural) I.came
I brought the things which were at Father's place.
represents (1) things are at a place and (2) the place belongs to Father.

### 14.0 CLAUSES

### 14.1 Types

Two fundamental types of clauses may be distinguished on the basis of their grammatical subject. The subject is that element which bears on whether primary or secondary medial suffixes will occur in clause chains. It need not be the unmarked theme.

For example, it might be thought that na is subject and ijëro is grammatical means in the following sentence:

> Na ij-ëro ?an-eg-ade-je.
> I stick-ab hit-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
> I got hit by a stick.

That ijëro is subject is shown by the following secondary medial chain indicating same subject:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Ij-ëro beruvebi-romo ?an-eg-ade-je. } \\
\text { stick-ab fall-sec hit-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
\text { A stick fell and hit me. }
\end{gathered}
$$

The two clause types are active and factive.

### 14.11 Active Clauses

These characteristically take an optional free active subject which may be marked by the ablative enclitic \{-ro\}. The active subject suffixes in the verb refer to the clause subject (except certain verb phrases l2.8).

Active clauses may be further subdivided on the basis of other characteristic participants.

### 14.11.1 Intransitive Clauses

These are characterized by the obligatory absence of an object and by the presence of an intransitive verb.

> Sigob-ëro ?ajiomajo.
> snake-ab went.up
> A snake went up.

### 14.11.2 Transitive Clauses

These are characterized by one object. If the subject and object represent human participants, the object may be either direct or indirect according to the type of verb. A direct object is always neutral. An indirect object may be neutral or, in non narrative discourse, it may optionally be expressed by an oblique phrase: noun phrase plus the human locative örire. In the following examples the oblique phrase is selected if it is ever permissible.

> A-ëro na g-ev-ade-je.
man-ab me see-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
A man saw me.

A-ëro nasi örire ?an-eg-ade-je.
man-ab my human.locative hit-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
A man hit me.

A-ëro ?öho ?an-ade-je.
man-ab dog-p hit-3.sg.pa-aux
A man hit the dog.

### 14.11.3 Ditransitive Clauses

These contain both direct and indirect objects.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { A-ëro vavu-oho hae bôj-am-ade-je. } \\
\text { man-ab father-p betel.nut give-3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
\text { A man gave father betel-nut. }
\end{gathered}
$$

### 14.12 Factive Clauses

These never take a free active subject. Instead the subject if expressed is neutral. The subject is marked in the verb by the direct referent or the benefactive.

Factive clauses are subdivided into three categories.

### 14.12.1 Unspecified Animate Descriptive Clause

This is a clause which describes the experience of an animate subject. The subject is the only neutral permitted in the clause. Some animate descriptive verb phrases include an adverbial dependent noun (övo in the second example).

Na sa?a-re bej-ev-ade-je. Na övo dun-eg-e. I ground-sp.set fall-l.sg.ref-pa-aux I arm ache-l.sg.ref-pr I fell on the ground. I have an aching arm.

### 14.12.2 Specified Animate Descriptive Clause

This is characterized by two neutrals, the subject and the specifier. The specifier is inanimate unless the subject is first person and the verb is nime like or bijönime dislike.

Na ja n-eg-e. Na jôve bijön-eg-e.

I you want-l.sg.ref-pr
$I$ want you.

Na jôve j-ev-e.
I water be-l.sg.ref-pr
$I$ have water.

I water dislike-l.sg.ref-pr
$I$ don't want water.
Na mu-oho barëj-ev-e.
I work-p finish-l.sg.ref-pr I'm finished with the work.

### 14.12.3 Stative Equational Clause

This always takes a form of jie $\sim j e$ be as predicate. If the comment is a noun phrase, a participle or an adjective, the negative is placed before the comment and either the prominence enclitic -oho or the intensive -ehu is suffixed; the difference between the two enclitics is not clear.

Hu bôgô ae ma-ehu ji-ø-e.
he not man true-intensive be-3.sg.ref-pr
He is not a true man.
Jôv-oho bôgô be varijën-oho ji-ø-e.
water-p not cross aptative-p be-3.sg.ref-pr
The water is not crossible.
Sa?a-ho ijo-?e ji-g-e.
Zand-p tree-ch be-3.sg.ref-pr
The Zand is with trees (the land has trees).
Otherwise the predicate is suffixed to the negative.
1-oho bôgô-ji=e.
food-p not-is.3.sg.ref-pr
There is no food.
The predicate may be suffixed to other expressions functioning as comment if the comment is emphatic.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { I-oho ia-je. } & \text { I-oho iae jie. } \\
\text { food-p in.fact-is } & \text { food-p in.fact is } \\
\text { There's certainly food. } & \text { Yes, there is food. }
\end{array}
$$

The direct referent usually shows cross reference with the subject. If there is a human locative phrase, the direct referent optionally agrees with it in person and number if affirmative and obligator1ly agrees with it if negative. The benefactive may occur on the verb and refer to the owner of the subject.

Sa?ae nasi örire j-ev-e.
Zand my human.locative be-l.sg.ref-pr
Land is in my possession.
Jasi ijo baje j-ah-e.
your tree fruit be-2.sg.ben-pr
There is money for you.
Any of the clause types may also contain a temporal, accompaniment, locative and telic expression. Active clauses may take benefactive. Active and a few animate descriptive clauses take manner and means. However, the maximum number of elements in addition to the predicate is three. Also, modal particles such as nani perhaps, na interrogative, bogo negative and the affirmative iae certainly, in fact, may be included. However, they should be discussed on a level higher than clause.

| Ablative Subject <br> Number of <br> Neutral Forms | Present | Absent |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0 | transitive | animate des- <br> criptive |
| 1 | ditransitive | specified <br> animate <br> descriptive |
| 2 | -- | stative- <br> equational |
| $\pm$ comment |  |  |

CHART 7: SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES

The usual order, unmarked for theme is as follows: temporal, followed by subject, accompaniment or indirect object, and direct object or comment. These are followed by the other expressions listed and finally by the predicate. However, an animate object precedes an inanimate subject.

> Na kaejö-ëro nem-ev-ade-je. me knife-ab hurt-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
> I got hurt with a knife.

In subordinate clauses, nouns have the following pecularities: Active subjects are marked by -ehu intensive. Locatives are never marked by the non-specific setting -rô. Prominence marker is used only to mark definiteness. Other nouns are dependent.
a-ehu mi ?an-ë?-oho...
man-intensive game (dependent) kill-pf-p
if the man $k i l l_{s}$ game...

### 14.2 Information Marking

### 14.21 General Rules

Theme or given information, and information focus or new information are marked by variation of enclitics and shifting of word order. Theme is marked by the prominence marker -oho and tends to be early in the clause. Information focus occurs later in the clause. In the first example the regular word order and use of enclitics show that all
the information is new. In the second the temporal jaruvo today is marked by -oho for theme. In the third sentence, the subject, ae man, is the theme because -oho replaces the ablative -ëro and the temporal jaruvo is new information because it is shifted nearer to the end of the clause.

```
    Jaruvo a-ëro rôv-ade-je. A-ho jaruvo rôv-ade-je.
today man-ab come-3.sg.pa-aux man-p today come-3.sg.pa-aux
        Today a man came.
            Jaruv-oho ae gemu-ëro rôv-ade-je.
                today-p man one-ab come-3.sg.pa-aux
                    Today, only one man came.
```


### 14.22 Special Rules

(1) When a medial or final clause is negative in sense, or is part of an information question, -oho prominence is normally suffixed to all expressions other than the information interrogative phrase itself, particles and appellative or pronoun stems. The predicate is excluded from this rule unless it is embedded as a substantive in a negative or elicitation clause.

Rabu suvor-e osa-r-oho bamahadeje.
what gift-t house-set-p. put.for.you
What gift did he put aside for you in the house?
Bôgô hu-?ô na-?-oho rôvareje. Dehi-?-amu burër-oho rôvadeje? not he-and $I$-and-p came how-happen-pa.prim quickly-p came Neither he nor I came. How is it that he came quickly?
(2) The active subject and means require special note. In changing from an affirmative to a negative or information interrogative the following rules apply: -ëro ablative becomes -oho prominence. However, -ro ablative, -ër-emu ablative-exclusive, or an unmarked active subject of the type ae man, all remain unchanged.
(3) If the negative is emphatic, -ehu is substituted for the -oho.

> Ë magonah-ohuro bôgô rôv-ade-je.
> that woman-p.ab not come-3.sg.pa-aux
> That woman didn't come.

Na ave hi-romo uehorov-aj-ëjo dehi ör-oho va?o-jöëni.
I this.here sit-sec think-l.sg.pr-quo how road-p(by means of) go-for. the.sake.of
"I am sitting here thinking, for what way/means of escape is there?"

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Ae bôgô rôv-e. } \\
\text { person not come-3.sg.pr } \\
\text { No one is coming. } \\
\text { Bôgô magonah-ehu rôv-ade-je. } \\
\text { not woman-intensive come-3.sg.pa-aux } \\
\text { It wasn't a woman who came. }
\end{gathered}
$$

(4) In purpose clauses, the ablative is unaffected unless the clause on which it depends is negativized. Compare aëro and aho:

Na ?ua?ejô a-ëro bôgô ?amo-r-oho rue-jöro.
I will.talk.to.him man-ab not village-set-p come-1mposed.will I will talk to him so that a man may not come to the village.

Na bôgô ?ua?ejô a-ho rue-jöro.
I not will.talk.to.him man-p come-imposed.will
I will not speak to him for a man to come.
(5) A clause with the animate specified descriptive verb bôgôjie not-have behaves as if it were a positive statement, perhaps on the analogy of such specified descriptive verbs as bijönime not like or dadive not know. We should expect the neutral form javue to take -oho:

Na javue bôgô-j-ev-e.
I house not-be-l.sg.ref-pr
I don't have a house.
There are other special rules or exceptions to the general rules given above but these have not yet been studied in detail.

### 15.0 TEXT

This is a short story narrated by Silas, a man aged about sixty years, from Asapa village.

Nasi apo-ro ëhi maj-ehij-ade-je. Apo-ro
my father-ab like.this tell-l.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux father-ab
iae ruëre Gurino jôvô-re hi-?i certainly that.just.over.there Gurino water-sp.set stay-intentive

> ?u-av-o saemoro bëhi-re. Jajëjo
say-3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa poinciana.tree vicinity-sp.set Jajejo
?u-av-o jôv-e be-romo ?ajio im-e ?io say-3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa water-t ford-sec go.up.and sugarcane-t get.and

```
    rue-n-\ddot{̈jo. Iae Jajëjo-ro ?ajiom-o.}
come-2.sg.fu.1mp-quo certainly Jajejo-ab go.up-3.sg.pa
    ?ajiom-ad-oho im-oho ?io-romo iae ruvebij-o.
go.up-3.sg.pa-p sugarcane-p get-sec certainly come.down-3.sg.pa
    Ruvebij-amu ga-goro ruëre
come.down(active.verb)-pa.prim see-perseptual that.just.over.there
Ebu Tah-aji-re iae bej-amu-go
Ebu falZ-3.sg.pr-sp.set certainly falZ(factive.verb)-pa.prim-prim.rel
na Vövömo-ro rue-romo iae bae-romo va?-o. Bae-romo
then Mamama-ab come-sec certainly take-sec go-3.sg.pa take-sec
    va?-amu ga-goro Nôna-ro rôriae hij-ad-ëro ë
go-pa.prim see-perceptual Nona-ab just.over.there sit-3.sg.pa-ab that
hujej-oho jijö-romo iae rô vövömo ba
stick-p take-sec certainly come.and Mamama emphasis
    ?an-ë-?i rue-romo ?u-av-o Jajëjo
hit-pf-temporal.ne1ghbourhood come-sec say-3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa Jajejo
bae-romo va?-ane j-av-aje röhu na baej-ev-\ddot{jo.}
take-sec go-2.sg.pa be-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pr so me take-l.sg.ref-2.sg.
Ëhi-?o va?o röhu rue ioni-re
immediate.imp.quo like.that-do. and go. and then there side-sp.set
ravôjômo-romo ruae ?ajio hij-o. Vaevë?e vabor-oho
step.up-sec there go.up.and stay-3.sg.pa to.be.pitied wife-p
jôv-ëro ba-va?-o. Nasi jö-ho iae barëj-e.
water-ab take-go-3.sg.pa my story-p certainly finish-3.sg.pr
```

Free Translation:
My father, Nona, told me a story like this. When father was staying just over at the Gurino stream, near the poinciana tree, he spoke. He said to his wife, "Jajejo, cross the river, go up, and bring some sugarcane."

Well, Jajejo did that. She went up, got the sugarcane and came down with it. However, she fell into the water at the Ebu waterfall and the Mamama river came and swept her away.

Nona had been sitting close by when he saw her carried away. He got up, took a particular stick, and came into the river. As he waded, he hit the water and said, "You have carried Jajejo away; therefore take me." He did that as he went. Then he stepped up on to the bank, went up there and stayed. As for his poor wife, she was carried away by the river. That's the end of my story.

## NOTES

1. See Dutton (1969, especially pp.74-76) for further details. Note, however, that since that monograph was written, the spelling of the language has been changed from Aomie to Ömie.
2. Research into the Ömie language was first begun by Alan and Minnie Tobitt of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1963 and 1965. Since then their work has been continued by John and June Austing in co-operation with one of the present authors, Mr. Randolph Upia of Asapa village. This research has been supported in part by a grant from the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. In this study, use was made of a concordance of Ömie text materials made on the IBM System/360 computer at the University of Oklahoma under a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation. We are indebted to Charles Peck and June Austing of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their help in preparing this paper.
3. The phonemic analysis in the present paper differs only slightly from that described by A. and M. Tobitt, "Aomie Phonemes", unpublished manuscript (Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics).
4. /o/ [ə] in the Asapa dialect corresponds to the sound [a] in examples checked from the Zuwadza dialect.

| Zuwadza | English Asapa |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [aha?o] | many | *[ahə?o] > [ahô?ô] |
| [sina] | skin | [sinə] |
| [uehařaba] | think | [uehəřəbo] |

The phonetic Zuwadza data in this paper were collected from Wora villagers who were visiting Asapa.
5. Exceptions: The final /e/ on iae is -e terminator. iae certainIy may be substantivized by adding a prominence marker -oho: iaho the person there. The characterizer -?e may be added to bôgô so that it functions as a clause comment adjective.
loho bôgô-?e-je.
food not-characterizer-is
There isn't any food.
6. -vo is not discussed in this paper. However it occurs optionally on potential, temporal neighbourhood and perceptual medial relators. It may also occur on allative enclitics.
7. When the principal clause verb refers to the past time, the tenses of the setting clause verb are peculiar in that they indicate time relationship to that of the principal clause. Thus va?ajire in the example is present tense because the action is simultaneous with that of the principal clause verb va?o.
8. Two features about this example should be noted. (1) - röh 3 pl is an abbreviated form of - ? iröh; (2) Although the projected aspect is used, this construction differs from the medial purpose in that the auxiliary jië?ëro being may optionally occur here. In a purpose construction jië?ëro could not occur.
9. Robert C. Thurman in "Chuave Medial Verbs" (MS., Summer Institute of Linguistics) describes chaining as follows: "True chaining occurs only in the New Guinea Highlands where it serves to chain together a sequence of clauses by predicting the subject of the next clause. The emphasis of chaining, then, is on the joining of a number of clauses in chronological sequence."
10. Sometimes the secondary medial is expressed by the verb stem or a fragment of it. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this.
11. This is a nocturnal furred animal which lives in a burrow in the ground near water, but which has not yet been specifically identified.
12. Thurman, op.cit.: "Linking, in Longacre's words, 'basically consists in repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding sentence' (1968). In most if not all instances, linking seems to be a cohesive device that the speaker can use to thematize parts of his discourse (Halliday 1967; Vachek 1966)." See Austing (n.d.) for semantic relations signalled by linkage in Ömie.
13. Not included here (because its range is not fully understood) is -oharo because you are or in your role as, which appears to occur only on common nouns functioning as 2nd person subject of clauses; e.g.,

Harih-oharo $\quad$ ?ajami?ibej-ane iae mae jio?ibejo. son-in. your. role.as would.help.him-2.sg certainly good would.be If you would help him as a son should, it would be good.
14. These enclitics are discussed more fully in Austing (n.d.), although the terminology used in that description is somewhat different from that used in the present article. In particular the terms neutral and active subject replace the terms ergative and nominative respectively in the earlier account.

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# MAGI PHONOLUGY AND GRAMMAR--FIFTY YEARS AFTERWARDS 

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Mag1 (or Mailu as it is sometimes called) is a Non-Austronesian language of the south coast of Papua spoken by some 5,500 people living between Cape Rodney and Gadaisu in Orangerie Bay.l It is probably the best known of all Non-Austronesian languages of Papua since it was first described by W. J. V. Saville of the London Missionary Society as early as $1912 .^{2}$ Since then, however, nothing further has been published on 1t, although the language has changed in a number of respects in the intervening fifty years.

In this paper I present a restatement of Saville's account of the grammar of Magi as a tribute to his pioneering work. In the process I shall not only be attempting to bring it up-to-date but also to clarify certain ambiguities inherent in it. ${ }^{3}$

### 2.0 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Consonant Phonemes

There are twelve consonant phonemes in Magi:

|  | Bilabial | Alveolar | Velar | Glottal |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stops Vl. | p | t | k | $?$ |
| Vd. | b | d | g |  |
| Nasals | m | n |  |  |
| Lateral |  | $l$ |  |  |
| Sem1-vowels | w | $y$ |  |  |

These consonants contrast in analagous or identical environments as follows:


Of the twelve consonant phonemes $t, w$, and 1 have allophonic variants as follows, and $y$ is found word initial only, and then only with
certain vowels--see Section below:
(1) /t/ is heard nowadays as either $t$ or $s$ although ts was apparently once normal (Malinowski (1915)) but is seldom heard in the contemporary situation. However, familiarity with English has brought about a perception of the difference between the $t$ and $s$, and so words are beginning to become standardised, although there are as yet no contrasts available. However there is already strong pressure in certain words for either $t$ or $s$ to be used.

Examples:
saro write seri many sini be sora fast suna think
tata slip teva post ti?i spit tomo crab turuna knee

These 1llustrate the usual way that various words are written and spoken, as a general rule, but saro/taro contrast does not exist--to the average Magi speaker nowadays, due to the influence of English, and a printed New Testament of many years standing, taro (write) just sounds unsophistocated.
(11) /l/ includes both [1] and [r] as in English, as well as all flapped intermediates. However, as with the $t / s$ phoneme above, there is a marked tendency to standardise these sounds in keeping with English. There are no contrasts as yet available.

Examples:
lala blood lele play limu hair lolo swim
raranai ask erere change riri judge rorove fish
lugu tobacco
rura trip
These illustrate the usual pronounciation and orthography. Initial $r$ is uncommon, hence erere as no initial re-has been noted.
(iii) /w/ includes both [v] and [w] as in English. However in the speech of most people $v$ never precedes o or $u$, and w never precedes $\mathbf{e}$ or $\mathbf{i .}$. There are a proportion of people who use $w$ only, finding it very difficult to pronounce $a v$. The only case then in which a contrast is possible (although not yet elicited) is where this phoneme precedes an a, e.g.

```
vara away veve ashes vivi fish sp.
wawo read -- -- wowo whistle wuwu powder
```

illustrate the usual pronounciation and othography.
N.B. va is the causative particle, and wa is a handle. Although it is still not possible to contrast these two, this is their usual
method of pronunciation，and it is likely that this may become one of the first contrasts as the different allomorphs of $v-w$ become estab－ lished as phonemes in their own right．

## 2．2 Vowel Phonemes

Magi has five vowels：

## Front <br> Central <br> Back

High i
Mid
Low
e
$u$

0
a
which contrast in analagous and identical environments as follows：

| da | not | dae | hang | aeae | turtle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| daa | smelて | dai | weight | aiai | to come |
|  |  |  |  | aoao | to gaze |
|  |  | dau | skin cast | auau | to hold |
| de | $a t$ |  |  | ea | faeces |
|  |  | dei | temporarily | ei | do |
|  |  |  |  | eo | with |
|  |  | deu | puてz | eu | fire |
| di | with | dia | what | iniesa | it is about to（rain） |
| dii | juice |  |  | bio | cup from coconut |
|  |  |  |  | biu | faてz |
| do | cease |  |  | oa | sea urchin sp． |
|  |  | doe | back | boe | emerge |
|  |  |  |  | boi | keep |
|  |  | dou | Zake | bou | blunt |
| du | trust | dua | pandanus sp． | bua | personal name |
|  |  |  |  | bue | pour |
|  |  | dui | persist | bui | twist |

## 2．3 Vowel Sequences

2．31 Vowel clusters are common．In some the components retain their individual force，while in others they combine to form diphthongs，as soon as they are approximated，even when belonging to different words， e．g．

| nena breath | ve？a anger |
| :--- | :--- |
| nenauria he took a rest | uriuri（an auxiliary type verb） |
| ve？auria he was angry，but ve？a ogoda bau uria he was very angry． |  |

Vowel clusters which become diphthongs are：ae，ai，ao，au，ei，oe， oi，ou．
2.32 Like vowel clusters occur, and while in common speech these are often slurred, correctly pronounced (as the people themselves recognise) they are both sounded, e.g.

> mudaa?a $I$ am about to rise enereenere different
> ibiibi to be moope pawpaw ubuubu to create

This also occurs in the case of some diphthongs, e.g.

```
aeae turtle aiai to come aoao to gaze auau to hold
eiei aux. vb. ououri to covet
```


### 2.4 Syllables

These are of two types: V, CV.
All possible combinations of these occur, with the probable exceptions of $\mathbf{y e}, \mathbf{y i}, \mathbf{y u}$. Also noted is that where two syllables are combined in one word, the only combination not elicited is when $a y$ is placed between two vowels.

s/t tata slip seri many isi eat oso small susu sprinkle
v/w wawa mark on
tree veve ashes vivi fish sp. wowo whistle wuwu unskilled

### 2.5 Stress

The stress on a word is usually on the second last syllable. Although it does sometime occur on the third last syllable, it never
occurs on the last syllable in a polysyllabic word, e.g.

```
    di-a + á-da = di-á-da (which thing = what),
    di-á-da + ma = di-a-dá-ma (what + cause = for what cause, why)
    \delta-ni + a = \delta-ni-a (he went) but \delta-ni + ?a = o-ni-?a (I went)
    \delta-ni-a + na =o-ni-á-na (when he went) and
        o-ní-?a + na =o-ni-?á-na (when i went)
```

But note that ma (cause) and de (if) when added to verbs do not cause this shift in stress, and are thus written separately.

### 3.0 ORTHOGRAPHY AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

In the forthcoming description the following orthography and other conventions are used in writing Magi material:

### 3.1 Orthography

The orthography used in this paper corresponds to that used by Saville except that the glottal stop is included. The following chart shows these symbols in relation to the phonemes of Magi as discussed above:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Saville: abdegikirmnopstvwi- } \\
& \text { Present: } \quad a b d e g i k i r m n o p s t v w i l \\
& \text { Phonemes: } a b d e g i k l-m n o p-t-w y ?
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that in these orthographies separate letters have been assigned to the allophones 1 and $r$ of $/ 1 /$, $s$ and $t$ of $/ t /$, and $v$ and $w$ of $/ w /$. However, although it is admitted that it would be preferable theoretically to omit one of each of the pairs $1 / r, t / s$, and $v / w$ this would meet great resistance on the part of the people themselves since they have become used to Saville's orthography although they are not averse to the marking of glottal stop by use of an apostrophe. However throughout this paper, for clarity, the usual apostrophe has been replaced by ?

### 3.2 Word Boundaries

### 3.21 Verb Complex

Saville wrote the verb complex as one unit. This has made the reading of Magi difficult and inaccurate due to the complex verb structure, and so the following break up of the verb into separate words is suggested:


```
    (adv.deg 2) \pm(direct) \pm(trans) \pm (refl) \pm(repet) +(asp + mood
    + tense + pers }\pm\mathrm{ subju/imper) £(part)
```

except in the following cases.
(1) Where the particle causes a shift in stress to the final syllable of the (asp + mood + tense + pers $\pm$ subju/imper) word (henceforth known as the t-pi--tense-person indicator), the particle is suffixed to this word, as in Magi no polysyllabic word has stress on the final syllable, e.g.
 written: susuesana susuesa ma (see 2.5)
(2) Where the $t-p i$ is very short due to the rules of its formation, see Section 4.21.12.1, when the aspect and mood markers are nil (in punctiliar indicative or subjunctive moods), except where the si distant past, or na recent past tense markers stand, e.g.

```
oni + l + & + a + ?a = oni la?a but oni + \varnothing + \varnothing + a + ?a = onia?a but
```

?oma $+\emptyset+\emptyset+s i+a=$ ?oma sia and ?oma $+\emptyset+\emptyset+n a+$ ?a = ?oma na?a
(3) When a verb stem is made up of base $1+$ base 2 , and in this combination each of the bases has lost its original meaning, then they should be written as one word. When they retain their separate meanings, while still modifying each other, then they should be written separately, e.g.

```
    osi (talk) + ?ero (back) = osi ?ero (answer, talk back to)
but osi (talk) + lobo (break)= osilobo (forgive)
    mini (give) + ?oi (across)= mini ?oi (give across, to transfer)
but poeo (?) + ?oi (across)= poeo?oi (ransom--as poeo is not
    used in any other ways)
```


### 3.22 Other words

(1) Where two words, when juxtaposed show stress patterns which suggest it, they should be joined, see Section 2.5 e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { a-bo + na }+d e & =a-b \delta-n a \text { de (where } a t) \text { written: abona de } \\
\text { á-bo }+ \text { de } & =a-b \delta-d e \quad \text { (where } a t \text { ) written: abode }
\end{aligned}
$$

(2) Where the final and initial vowels of two words which are juxtaposed are pronounced as a diphthong, and where the stress falls on this diphthong, the two words should be joined, e.g.
nenáúria, ve?áúria as in 2.31, but note vé?a ogóda bau úria, and negative vé?a dá úria.

### 3.3 Abbreviations and Symbols

(l) (acute sign above vowel)--syllable with stress
(1) singular
ld lst person dual


| prin | principle clause | sm | subject marker |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| punct | punctiliar aspect | sp | species |
| pur | purpose marker | sub | subordinate clause |
| refl | reflexive | subj subject |  |
| repet | repetition | subju subjunctive mood |  |
| rp | recent past tense | temp temporary |  |
| s | subject | t-pi tense-person indicator |  |
| scp | subjectival clause of purpose trans transitive converter |  |  |
|  | In examples the structure being illustrated is underlined. |  |  |

### 4.0 GRAMMAR

### 4.1 Sentence Structure

This section describes the general structure of statements in Mag1. Questions differ from statements only in that they contain interrogative words (Section 4.27) or end with a question tag (Section 4.28) .

There are three sentence types--simple, compound and complex-defined by the number and nature of clauses they contain.

### 4.11 Simple Sentences

These contain only one clause. There are two types defined by whether they contain a verb complex or not. Those that do will be called Verbal, while those that do not will be called Non-Verbal.

### 4.11.1 Verbal Sentences

These have the following structure:
$\pm$ adv of time $\pm$ subj $\pm$ obj $\pm$ ind.ob $j \pm$ benefac $\pm$ instr/agent $\pm a d v$ of place $\pm$ negative + verb complex
where the subject, object, indirect object, benefactive, and instrument/agent are all manifested by some noun (4.22), pronoun (4.23) or combination of noun and adjective(s) (4.24).

The order of elements is not fixed, except for Adverbs of Time which usually come first and the Verb Complex which always comes last, since Subjects of transitive verbs, Indirect Objects, Benefactives, and Instruments/Agents are all marked as indicated further below. However, emphasis may be given to particular elements by placing them first in the sentence. Compare, for example,

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Egi ma wa?ai ana ma kea sia. } \\
& \text { man sm dog stick im hit did } \\
& \text { The man hit the dog with a/the stick. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Ana ma egi ma wa?ai kea sia.
stick im man sm dog hit did
The man hit the dog with a/the stick or It was a stick that the man hit the dog with (not a stone).

The following subsections describe and illustrate the nature and use of the above simple sentence elements further.

### 4.11.11 Adverbs of Time

$$
\text { See Section } 4.25 .4
$$

### 4.11.12 Subjects

Subjects of intransitive verbs are unmarked. Definite subjects of transitive verbs are marked by ma, indefinite ones (e.g. whoever, anyone) by na ma.

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\frac{\text { egi }}{\text { man he.came }} \\
\text { the/a man came } \\
\frac{\text { egi }}{\text { man }} \frac{\text { ogoda }}{\text { big }} \text { he.came } \\
\text { a/the big man came } \\
\frac{\text { egi osia }}{\text { man he.said }} \\
\text { the/a man said } \\
\text { noa ma oserila } \\
\text { he sm he.told.me } \\
\text { he tozd me }
\end{gathered}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ogoda egi aina } \\
& \text { big man he.came } \\
& \text { the/a important man came } \\
& \text { egi ?omu aina } \\
& \text { man one he.came } \\
& \text { one/a man came } \\
& \text { egi ma oserila } \\
& \text { man sm he.told.me } \\
& \text { the/a man told me }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.11.13 Objects

The object may be a noun or pronoun or combination noun-plusadjective as already noted. Pronoun objects take the same form as subject ones (see Section 4.23) and may be omitted since the number and person of objects is also indicated in the verb--see Section 4.21.15.2--although ambiguities may arise, as indicated by the last example below.

Examples:

$$
\begin{array}{lc}
\text { Ia ma emegi oseria?a. } & \text { la ma omoa oseria?a. } \\
I \text { sm men told.them } & I \text { sm them told.them } \\
I \text { told the men. } & I \text { told them. }
\end{array}
$$

> Ia ma oseria?a.
> I sm told.them/you
> I told them/you.

### 4.11.14 Indirect Objects

These are marked by the simple postpositions or direction markers de, la, ma given in Section 4.26.l, except that ena varo or na occurs before la to when the indirect object refers to only one person. Examples:

```
    Noa ma wa?ai la isiisi minia.
    he sm dog direct food he.gave.it
                        He gave the dog food.
        Noa ma egi ?omu na la isiisi minia.
    he man one direct food he.gave.it
    He gave food to onela man.
Noa ma emegi la isiisi miniata.
he sm men direct food(s) he.gave.them
            He gave food(s) to the men.
Noa ma Onaga ena varo la isiisi minia.
                        He gave Onaga food.
```


### 4.11.15 Benefactives

The benefactor of an action is sometimes marked by na de, varo de or ?owara de, and sometimes by rendering the verb transitive.
Examples:
Ina abai ma wa?ona ?omu mai mila.
my father sm canoe one make he.gave.me My father made a canoe for me.

Ina abai ma Onaga na de wa?ona ?omu maia.
my father sm Onaga benef canoe one make.he.did My father made a canoe for Onaga.

```
Emegi ma avesa omana varo de ana ?oi gudu siata.
men smwomen benef trees cut they.down.did
    The men cut the trees down for the women.
```


### 4.11.16 Instruments/Agents

Instruments are marked by ma (which, it will be noted, is the same as that used to mark the subject of transitive verbs (see Section 4.11.12 above)), and agents by ena varo ma, e.g.,

> Egi ma wa?ai ana ma kea sia.
> man sm dog stick lm hit he.did

The/a man hit the/a dog with the/a stick.

Noa ma mio gomana ma maia.
he sm snake stone im he.killed
He killed the snake with a stone.

Gilo ma gea ma ana $\quad$ oi guduisa. axe im we sm tree cut we.down.did We cut the tree down with an axe.

Noa vara egi ena varo ma eboebo amari laesa. he heal man am well again is He becomes well again by the help of a healer. Noa ma ena kava ena varo ma riba autuinia. he sm his friend am word sent He sent word through/per his friend.
4.11.17 Adverbs of Place

See Section 4.25.3.

### 4.11.18 Negative Markers

Sentences are usually made negative in Magi by placing da before the verb complex.

Examples:

| iaonia?a <br> $I$ <br> I.am.about. to.go | ia da $\quad$ onia?a |
| :---: | :---: |
| $I$ am about to go. | $I$ neg I.am.about.to.go |
| I am not about to go. |  |

Note, however, that the form kokoa finish may be used to imply a negative condition or state. For example, compare


### 4.11.19 Verb Complexes

See Section 4.21.

### 4.11.2 Non-Verbal Sentences

These have the following structure:

```
I adv of time + subj + complement + (asp + mood + tense + pers)
```

That is, they have no verb base and certain other elements corresponding to those of Verbal Sentences Just described except for the cases noted below in Section 4.11.24. These sentences express the idea of be in English. The following are relevant observations about these sentences:
4.11.21 The subject is always unmarked, but is often followed by either an emphatic particle or the corresponding pronoun, not followed by (asp + mood + tense + pers). Examples:

```
                    Kadiba noa omana vere.
                    Kadiba he their chief
                    Kabida is the chief.
                            Eva ?oni ina wa?ai.
                                this emp my dog
                        This is my dog.
                            Ne mari ogoda laesa.
that village big it.is.at.present
    That village is big.
```

4.11.22 The complement may be manifested by a noun or noun-plusadjective combination or an adjective (4.24).

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Gana wa?ai ogoda, ele ina kiwonai. } \\
& \text { your dog big and/but mine smazl } \\
& \text { Your dog is big but mine is smazl. } \\
& \text { Eva ?oni da gana wa?ai, noa ina. } \\
& \text { this emp neg your dog he mine } \\
& \text { This is not your dog, it's mine. }
\end{aligned}
$$

4.11.23 Certain of the aspect, mood, tense and person indicators described in Section 4.21 .1 and its subsections below may occur with complements to indicate various states, time relations etc. between the subject and the complement.

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Wa?ai ogoda sineia. } \\
\text { dog big he.used.to(be) } \\
\text { The dog was big. } \\
\text { Ga adaua ogodasana, eva wa?ai gana sinisa. } \\
\text { you so big.will.be.when this dog yours he.be.will } \\
\text { This will be your dog when you grow up. } \\
\text { Kadiba vere sinisa. } \\
\text { Kadiba chief he.be.will } \\
\text { Kabida will be chief. } \\
\text { ogodaisa. } \\
\text { Kadiba } \begin{array}{c}
\text { Kadiba he.big.will(be) or he.big.might(be) } \\
\text { (future 1s never definite) } \\
\text { Kabida might be big. }
\end{array}
\end{gathered}
$$

4.11.24 The verb base sinisini may be used for to be when the subject 1s animate. See, for example, examples (2) and (3) Section 4.11.23 above. ibiibi may be used in a similar way for inanimate subjects, e.g. Ana ogoda ada de ibi neiata.
trees big that at be they.used.to
Big trees used to be there.
There is also the sense of stand, or remain. See also 4.24.1 (2).
4.11.25 Non-verbal sentences are made negative by adding da before the complement, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Kadiba da ogoda laesa. } \\
& \text { Kadiba neg big he.at.present } \\
& \text { Kadiba is not big. } \\
& \text { la da wa?ai, ia egi ?ei. } \\
& \text { I not dog I man emp } \\
& \text { I'm not a dog, I'ma man. }
\end{aligned}
$$

```
Kurere noa da ogoda mari.
```

Kurere it neg big village
Kurere is not a very big village.

| Noa da eboebo. | Noa da ina. |
| :--- | :--- |
| it neg good | it neg mine |
| It is not good. | It is not mine. |

### 4.12 Compound Sentences

These contain two or more simple sentence type clauses joined by conjunctions or mere juxtaposition.

### 4.12.1 Coordinate Clauses

Two or more clauses are coordinate if they are joined by one of the following conjunctions:
ele and, but (without strong contrast)
aba, bar or
noga and, but (without strong contrast)
ada ?omu bu?a (lit. thing one only) but (with strong contrast)

## Examples:

```
noa aia, ele ia da eri?a = noa aia, nogo ia da eri?a = he came,
                    and/but I didn't see (him)
noa isaea, aba da isaea,.. = he ate, or didn't eat,.. = whether
                                    he ate (it) or not,..
    Noa aia, ada ?omu bu?a ia ma ?oni da eri?a.
    he came, but I sm emph not see him
        = He came, but I didn't see him.
```


### 4.12.2 Appositional Clauses

Two or more clauses are in apposition if they are juxtaposed but the thought of the first continues through the second. These second parts are often explanatory to the first, or part of it, and may be introduced by name that is to say.

Examples:

> Noa idara sia, ne laea ma noa verua la wunua sia. he rose that way im he fight to ready was $=H e$ got up, and was thus ready to fight.

Noa ma egi ?omu eria, name, ne egi noa ma boaede va arevasia. he smman one saw, that.is that man he smalready make heal did He saw the man whom he had already healed.

Verbs of saying, thinking, knowing are usually followed by an appositional clause with or without name that is or evaua, neaua, adaua like this, that.

Examples:
Noa isaea, aba da isaea, ia da vegarai ?ei.
he ate or not ate I not know emph
I don't know whether he has eaten or not.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Noa osia, noa Iruna la onisa. } \\
& \text { he said he Iruna to go-will } \\
& \text { He said he would go to Iruna. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that in reported speech, however, the tense of the verb usually remains the same as that of the direct speech quoted, but the person changes, e.g.

Noa osia, name, noa bae dabasana ?ei.
he said (distant past) that he arrive-had (recent past) emph He said that he had just arrived.

Finally, in a sequence of events verbs without tense-person indicators may be used in all but the final clause, e.g.

Noa ma ogoda egi ena ona $?$ evara, gabi, ena deni ma onia.
he sm big man his things lift shoulder his after from went
He lifted up the things belonging to the important man, shouldered them, and followed him.

### 4.13 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences contain two or more clauses, one of which is the principal or main clause and the remainder subordinate or dependent clauses.

In Magi subordinate clauses usually precede the main clause and are marked either by free elements or changes in the verb complex as illustrated by the following types of subordinate clauses that occur:

### 4.13.1 Time Clauses (when)

These are marked by the particle na suffixed to the tense-person indicator of the verb complex. They also frequently contain adaua thus within the clause.

Examples:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Noa aia-na, ia oni?a. } \\
\text { he come-when } I \text { went } \\
\text { When he came } I \text { went. }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
Noa adaua aisa-na ia onisa?a.
he thus come.will-when I go.will
When he comes I'Zl go.
```


### 4.13.2 Purpose Clauses (in order to)

There are several ways of forming these:
(1) by using the subjunctive mood (see 4.21.13.4) in the purpose clause-to-be, e.g.

Noa a ia, ina varo de osi avini-saisi.
He came to discuss with me (lit. that he might discuss with me).
(11) by using the infinitive form of the verb (see 4.21.13.2), with or without the subjunctive suffix, e.g.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Noa aia, ina varo de osi avini-la. } \\
\text { he came with me talk discuss-to } \\
\text { He came to discuss with me. }
\end{gathered}
$$

(ii1) by affixing ma purpose marker to the clause which indicates that the action in it is done with a view to proceeding on to another action, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Noa aia ma, ina varo de osi avini losia. } \\
& \text { he came pur with me talk discuss was } \\
& \text { He came in order to discuss with me. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that all three forms can be used to convey much the same idea although it has been noted that in certain situations there is preference, but the criteria for these decisions have not been elicited. There are circumstances in which a chain of causes and effects can be described by the use of all three in a sentence, e.g.

```
Noa aia ma, ia ma ?u?ura isanai-la seisa?aisi oserila.
he came pur I sm prayer lead-to do.must tell.me
    He came to tell me that I must lead prayers.
```


### 4.13.3 Conditional Clauses (if)

These clauses are usually sentence initial, unless preceded by a time clause. They are marked by the conditional mood (4.21.13.3), and a final particle, e.g.
de pure condition
-na de time conditional (strong) $=$ if and when

```
-na time conditional (weak) = when (but it is not likely)
ma
reason conditional =so that (but it is not likely)
```

A conditional clause in a sentence usually causes all verbs to be expressed in the conditional mood. In this regard the future tense is regarded as conditional (see again 4.21.13.3).

Examples:

| Noa ai baea, aba? inomo. | Noa aisa, aba ?oinomo. |
| :--- | :--- |
| he come may or perhaps (not) | he come-will or perhaps (not) |
| He may come or he may not. |  |
| Noa ai baea de, ia oni ba?a. | Noa aisa de, ia onisa?a. |
| he come may if I go would | he come-will if I go-will |

 he come may.when I go would Cf. his come may.when at I go would Should he come, I would immediately go. I would go when he comes.

Noa ai baea ma, ia oni ba?a...
he come may sm I go would
Should he come so that $I$ would be enabled to go,...

### 4.13.4 Reason Clauses (because)

These are sentence final clauses and may be introduced by ena bo its reason and/or may terminate with -na ?eidema because, or start with adano and end with de (combination $=$ lest), e.g.

Noa ini eia, ena bo iaia ogoda sinia.
Noa ini eia, iaia ogoda siniana ?eidema.
Noa ini eia, ena bo iaia ogoda siniana ?eidema. he eye did its reason pain big was because
$=$ He cried because of the severe pain.

Noa da aina adano egi ?omu maibausa de.
he not come lest man one kizl.him
He did not come lest someone kill him.
Note that if the reason clause marked by na ?eidema is introduced by ?ato perhaps it corresponds to the reading in case in English, e.g.,

```
Noa da aina ?ato guba ini sana Reidema.
he not come perhaps rain fall.will because
    He did not come in case it rained.
```


#### Abstract

Finally, compare Noa ina varo la osi avini losia, ena bo noa aia --which indicates that the possibility of discussing with me only presented itself after he had come--with Noa aia ma, ina varo la osi avini losia--which indicates that he came for the purpose of discussing with me.


### 4.13.5 Duration Clauses (untiて)

These are marked by an initial ee, ena toa (lit. yes, its sign) until and/or a final -na la bu?a to only, e.g.

Noa bae owonia, noa mari la bae daba siana la bu?a.
Noa bae owonia, ee, ena toa noa mari la bae daba sia.
Noa bae owonia, ee, ena toa noa mari la bae daba siana la bu?a. he walk did until he village to arrive did to only He continued walking until he reached the village.

### 4.13.6 Adjectival Clauses (who, which)

These often take the place of relative clauses in English, and are marked by -na which is affixed to the descriptive verb, converting it into an adjective (see 3.l.17), e.g.

> Ina va arevai?ana egi ma tanikiu oserila. my make heal-did-na man sm thankyou told-me The man whom $I$ healed thanked me.

### 4.13.7 Quotation Clauses

These are usually marked by an introductory verb of speaking, and sometimes closed by another, but either of these may be omitted, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Noa ma raranai siata, "Aea abona la oniso?o?" } \\
& \text { Noa ma (raranai siata), "Aea abona la oniso?o?" osia. } \\
& \text { he sm ask did.them you where to go-will he.said } \\
& \text { Noa ma, "Aea abona la oniso?o?" raranai siata. } \\
& \text { he ask did.them } \\
& \text { you where to go-will } \\
& \text { He asked, "Where will you go?" }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.2 Parts of Speech

4.21 Verb Complex

Verb complexes may be broken into the following parts:
$\pm$ caus + base $1 \pm$ base $2 \pm$ ai/ra $\pm$ adv man $\pm$ direct $\pm$ trans
$\pm$ refl $\pm$ repet + asp + mood + tense + pers $\pm$ subju/imper
$\pm$ part.

From this it can be seen that the essential, that is, obligatory or nuclear, parts of the finite verb complex are:

```
+ base l + asp + mood + tense + pers
```

Other parts of the verb will be termed peripheral. Nuclear parts will be considered first.

### 4.21.1 Nuclear Parts of the Verb Complex

For descriptive purposes whatever combinations constitute the essential parts preceding the part under consideration will be termed the stem. For example, in

| oni lo- $\quad$ lo | lo | $=$ oni losia |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| base 1 imperf mood d.p. $2-3 \mathrm{~s}$ | $=$ he was going |  |

the base oni forms the stem for lo-si-a, oni-lo forms the stem for si-a, and oni-lo-si forms the stem for a, the personal indicator. It should also be noted that the whole verb complex in this section will be written with hyphens between the constituent parts, irrespective of the rules suggested for the orthographical break up of these verbs in Section 3.21 above. Note also, that although each part is illustrated as described further examples of both regular and irregular verb complexes are given in Appendices 1 - 3.

### 4.21.11 Base 1

This is usually bisyllabic, e.g. oda- place, put, but may be monosyllabic, e.g. iou- run, or polysyllabic, e.g. ?adema ask, request.

### 4.21.12 Aspect

The aspects of the verb are punctiliar, imperfect, habitual, continuous. These have the following markers:

```
punctiliar: 
Imperfect: lo
habitual: sinei, susu
continuous: owoni, owoi
```


### 4.21.12.1 Punctiliar Aspect (ø)

Example: oni- Ø- Ø- $\quad$ - a $=$ onia

$$
\text { go-punct-mood-tense-pers }=\text { he went }
$$

4.21.12.2 Imperfect Aspect (lo)

Example: oni- lo- si- a $=$ oni losia go-imperf-mood-tense-pers = he was going
Note that the o of the 10 is omitted before an a or $o^{5}$ and is modified to la before e, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oni- } 1-\quad \text { - } \quad \text { - }=\text { oni la?a } \\
& \text { go-imperf-mood-tense-pers }=I \text { am going } \\
& \text { oni- } 1-\text { o- } \quad \text { - oni lo?o } \\
& \text { go-imperf-mood-tense-pers }=\text { you/they are going } \\
& \text { oni- la- a- as }=\text { oni laesa } \\
& \text { go-imperf-mood-tense-pers }=\text { he is going }
\end{aligned}
$$

4.21.12.3 Habitual Aspect (sinei, susu)

In this aspect sinei indicates habitual actions in the distant past except after some verb stems ending in an $i$ when $s i$ is omitted, Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma-sinei- } \quad \text { - } & =\text { ?oma sineia } \\
\text { steal-habit-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { he used to steal } \\
\text { oni-nei- } \emptyset-\quad & =\text { oni neia } \\
\text { go-habit-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { he used to go }
\end{aligned}
$$

while susu indicates habitual actions in the present although this may also include distant and recent past, as well as future, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni-susu- a- } \quad \text { a } & =\text { oni susua?a } \\
\text { go-habit-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { am always going, I } \\
& \text { usually go }
\end{aligned}
$$

For purely future habitual aspect, the imperfect marker lo is used, thus covering both aspects, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni-lo- is- a } & =\text { oni loisa } \\
\text { go-habit-mood-tense-pers }= & \text { he will always go, he } \\
& \text { will be going }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.21.12.4 Continuous Aspect (owoni, owoi)

The continuous aspect is marked by the use of owoni derived from va oni cause to go for movement away from, or owoi derived from va ai cause to come for movement towards the point of reference, which is in most cases the person spoken to, e.g.

```
noa oni-owoni- Ø- es- a = noa oni owoniesa
    he go-cont- mood-tense-pers = he is keeping on going (1.e.
                        away from you)
```

```
noa ai- owoi- !- es- a = noa ai owoiesa
    he come-cont-mood-tense-pers = he is keeping on coming
                                (1.e. towards you)
```

This is irrespective of the positional relationship of speaker and hearer, but as these are usually together, except when messages are sent by letter, radio, etc., it is easy to see how the mistaken 1dea arose that the point of reference was the speaker (Saville 1912).

The exception is when the person spoken to, (1.e. the hearer) is the subject of the verb, 1.e., when the subject is in the second person.

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?eva-goi-owoi-b- a } & =\text { ?eva goi owoiba } \\
\text { carry here cont-mood-tense-pers } & =\begin{array}{c}
\text { continue to bring (it) } \\
\text { here }
\end{array} \\
\text { ga oni-owoni- } \emptyset-s-a & =\text { ga oniowonisa } \\
\text { you-s go cont-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { you will keep on going }
\end{aligned}
$$

The difference in use of the various non-punctiliar aspect markers is often very fine. If the incompleted action is considered as taking place within the space of one day, the imperfect is generally used, but if over a longer period of time then the habitual is used. The distinction between either of these and the continuous is often very fine.

### 4.21.13 Mood

The moods are indicative, infinitive, conditional, subjunctive and imperative, the last two being derived from the indicative and conditional moods by the addition of suffixes isi and $i$ to the tenseperson indicators of those moods respectively. The mood indicators are:

```
Indicative: Ø
Infinitive: (duplication of base) + la, stem + la
conditional: siba
subjunctive: Ø...isi, siba...isi
imperative: siba...i
```


### 4.21.13.1 Indicative $\operatorname{Mood}(\varnothing)^{6}$

Example: oni- ø- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - a $=$ onia go-punct-indic-tense-pers $=$ he went
4.21.13.2 Infinitive Mood (duplication of base + la, stem + la)

This mood is formed by duplicating the whole or part of the verb base and suffixing la,

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni }>\text { oni-oni la } & =\text { onioni la } \\
\text { go }>\text { go to } & =\text { to go } \\
\text { ausari }>\text { aus-ausari la } & =\text { ausausari la } \\
\text { hozd }>\text { hold to } & =\text { to hoZd }
\end{aligned}
$$

or by the use of the stem plus la if the stem is a combination of more than one base, or a base plus an adverb,

Examples:

| raranai | $>$ raranai-la | $=$ raranai la |
| ---: | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| ask | $>$ ask-to | $=$ to ask |
| oni gudu | $>$ oni-gudu-la | $=$ oni gudu la |
| go descend | $>$ go-descent-to | $=$ to go down |
| oni eboebo | $>$ oni-eboebo-la | $=$ oni eboebo la |
| go well | $>$ go-well -to | $=$ to go well |
| auri gudu | $>$ auri-gudu-la | $=$ auri gudu la |
| sit descend | $>$ sit-descend-to | $=$ to sit down |

### 4.21.13.3 Conditional Mood (-siba)

This mood is marked by -siba, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma- siba- } \quad= & \text { ?oma siba?a } \\
\text { steal-punct-cond-tense-pers }= & \text { should I steal, } \\
& I \text { should steal }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note however that
(1) after some stems ending in $i$ the $s i$ is omitted, oni- ba- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - oni ba?a go punct-cond-tense-pers $=I$ should go oni-owoni-ba- ? $\quad$ - oni owoniba?a go cont-cond-tense-pers $=\begin{aligned} & I \text { should keep on going } \\ & \text { going }\end{aligned}$
(11) siba is modified to (si)bo before ?o,

$$
\text { ?oma- sibo- ?- }=\text { ?oma sibo?o }
$$

$$
\text { steal punct-cond-tense-pers }=\text { they should steal }
$$

oni- Ø- bo- Ø- ?o = oni bo?o go punct-cond-tense-pers $=$ they should go
(i1i) (si)ba is modified to (si)bi before a or l, but the final $i$ is omitted in 2-3p.s. (second or third person singular), 1.e. before aea (or a) ,

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma sibi- ava } & =\text { ?oma sibiava } \\
\text { steal-punct-cond-tense-pers } & =\text { they(2) should steal } \\
\text { oni a- a-a } & =\text { oni baea } \\
\text { go-punct-cond-tense-pers } & =\text { he should go }
\end{aligned}
$$

(iv) the conditional mood has no distinction of tense, hence the absence of any tense markers in the above examples, but in the case of a purely future sense of the verb the future indicative of the verb is used, as future action has an inherent conditional quality of its own.
(v) the conditional (and imperative) mood has no habitual aspect of itself, and thus for habitual sense, the imperfect is used,

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni- lo- siba- } 0-\quad= & \text { oni losiba?a } \\
\text { go-imperf-cond-tense-pers }= & \text { I should be going, I } \\
& \text { should keep on going }
\end{aligned}
$$

(vi) when the conditional mood is used in a sentence, then all the following finite verbs are usually put in the conditional mood or its associated forms (future indicative or imperative), e.g.
la marai sini bila de, ia muramura isi ba?a.
I sick be should if, I medicine eat should
If I should be sick, I should take medicine.
(vii) conditional mood is often used to tell a mythical story, parable, etc.

### 4.21.13.4 Subjunctive Mood

As already noted this is formed by adding isi to the tenseperson indicator of the indicative future and conditional mood forms,

```
e.g. noa oni- (- s- a- isi = noa onisaisi
    he go-punct-indic-fut-2/3s-subju = he should go
    noa oni- lo- sib- \emptyset- aea- isi = noa oni losibaeaisi
    he go-imperf-cond- \varnothing -2/3s-subju = would that he might
```

This mood is used as follows:
(l) for an indirect command, e.g.

```
wawo- Ø- D- ise-sa- isi = wawoisesaisi
read-punct-indic-fut-lp-subju = let us read
```

(2) in objectival clauses of purpose (4.13.2), e.g.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { noa oseri-la, ia ?u?ura isanai- s- sa-?a- isi } \\
\text { he told-me I prayers lead-punct-indic-fut-ls-subju } \\
=\text { He told me that I would lead prayers. } \\
\text { (3) with the conditonal mood, to express an optative command, }
\end{gathered}
$$ e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { noa ai- b- } \emptyset-\text { aea- isi } & =\text { noa ai baeaisi } \\
\text { he come-punct-cond- } \emptyset-2 / 3 s-s u b j u & =\text { would that he might } \\
& \text { come }
\end{aligned}
$$

(4) with usi do as an auxilliary, to express intention, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { eat-punct-indic-fut-ls-subju do-imperf-indic-pres-ls-when } \\
& \text { isa?aisi usi la?ana = when } I \text { am going to eat }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { eat-imperf-indic-fut-ls-subju do-habit-indic-d.p.-ls-when } \\
& \text { isi loisa?aisi usi nei?ana = whenever } I \text { used to be } \\
& \text { about to eat }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that this last case is a special case of the objectival clauses of purpose illustrated in (2) above.

### 4.21.13.5 Imperative Mood

There are several types:

### 4.21.13.51 Normal Imperative

As already noted (4.21.13) this is formed by adding $i$ to the tense-person indicators of conditional mood forms:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni- bi- ava- } \quad \emptyset & =\text { oni biavai } \\
\text { go-punct-cond-tense-2/3d-imper } & =G o!\text { (to two people) } \\
\text { kea- lo- sibi- } \emptyset-1 a-i & =\text { kea losibilai } \\
\text { hit-imperf-cond-tense-lso-imper } & =\text { always hit me! }
\end{aligned}
$$

However, note here that:
(1) in the singular intransitive imperative the i is omitted, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
o n i-b-b-a- & =o n i \text { ba } \\
\text { go-punct-cond-tense-2/3s-imper } & =G o!\text { (to one person) }
\end{aligned}
$$

and in the plural intransitive imperative the $i$ is modified to $u$, and the preceding $? 0$ is modified to $a$, thus causing the (si)ba to be
modified to (si)bi (see 4.21.13.3), e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oni- } \square \text { - bi- } \quad \text { - } u=\text { oni biau } \\
& \text { go-punct-cond-tense-2/3p-imper }=G o \text { ! (to 3+ people) } \\
& \text { oni- lo- sibi- a- } u=o n i \text { losibiau } \\
& \text { go-imperf-cond-tense-2/3p-imper }=\text { Go always! }
\end{aligned}
$$

(ii) emphasis can be obtained by adding the particle ne, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { kea-owoni-bi- } \quad \text { - }-\quad \mid \quad \text { ne } & \text { kea owonibiai ne } \\
\text { hit-cont-cond-tense-2/3d/po-1mper-emp }= & \text { Keepon hitting } \\
& \text { them hard! }
\end{aligned}
$$

This can be further accentuated by omission from this of the tense-person-imperative as well as the ba/bi part of the conditional mood marker(s), e.g.

> kea- si- $\quad$ - $\quad$ ne $=$ kea sine
> hit-punct-cond-tense-pers-imper-emp $=$ Hit!!!
4.21.13.52 Temporary Imperative (stem + i + dei)

This is formed by adding $i+d e i$ to the following stem: caus + r.p.stem + trans.pers.mkr. The meaning of this mood is please allow (me) to (Verb) for just a short time, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { va- on- } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } 1 a-\mathrm{i}-\mathrm{dei}=\text { va onelai dei } \\
& \text { caus-go-punct-imper-r.p.-lso-imper-temp }=\text { Zet me go for a } \\
& \text { moment }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { va-oni } \emptyset-\emptyset-\emptyset-\emptyset-\quad \emptyset \quad & =\text { va oni dei } \\
\text { caus-go-punct-imper-tense-pers-imper } & =\text { let him go for } \\
& \text { a moment }
\end{aligned}
$$

This last is in accordance with the fact that there is no third person singular transitive marker, and the i imperative marker is omitted following an i.

### 4.21.13.53 Irregular Imperatives and Related Forms

Sometimes the ba/bi of the normal imperative form (4.21.13.51) is omitted, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ?oma- } 0 \text { - si- } \quad \text { - } \quad u \quad=\text { ?oma siau } \\
& \text { steal-punct-cond-tense-2/3p-imper = Steal! (to 3+) } \\
& \text { ai- } \emptyset \text { - } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - }=a i a u \\
& \text { come-punct-cond-tense-2/3p-1mper = Come! (to 3+) } \\
& \text { mini- } \emptyset-\quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } 1 a-\quad \text { minilai } \\
& \text { give-punct-cond-tense-lso -imper }=\text { Give me! }
\end{aligned}
$$

If then dei is added to these forms a further form of temporary imperative (4.21.13.52) is formed, e.g.
oni- Ø- Ø- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - dei = oni dei
go-punct-cond-tense-pers-imper-temp $=$ Go (you sing)! (but don't be long)
similarly

```
oni- D- D- ava- i- dei = oniavai dei Go (you 2)! (but don't be Zong)
oni- (0- a- u- dei = oniau dei
Go (you 3+)! (but don't be long)
```

Similar to this is the statement form, in which the stem is the future stem, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni- } \quad \text { sa-?a- } \quad \text {-dei }= & \text { onisa?ai dei } \\
\text { go-punct-indic-fut-pers-imper-temp }= & \text { I will go now for } \\
& \text { a short time. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.21.13.54 0dd Irregular Imperatives

aieni or aiba Come (you sing)! Both forms are found though
aieni is the more common.
Some imperatives have no extant conjugated verbs, e.g.
boisiau Let us go!
noga na Open your mouth!
uma Here, take it! These two forms are used to
umai Here, give it to me! \} attract attention as when the hearer has his head turned away.

### 4.21.14 Tense

There are four tenses: distant past, recent past, present and future. The distant past usually refers to any time in the past, up to but not including the day before or the day of speaking. The recent past usually refers to time in the past of the day before or the actual day of speaking. The present refers to action in the process of taking place, whether (as for example in habitual aspect) it started in the distant past, or (in the punctiliar) on the point of occurring, e.g. I always go, I am on the point of going. The future refers to any action to take place in the future, excluding that which is so close that the present is used (see present--I am on the point of going).

The four tenses are marked by the following markers:

```
distant past: si
recent past: na
present: a
future: isa
```


### 4.21.14.1 Distant Past Tense (si)

Examples: ?oma- g- $\quad$ - $\quad$ i- a $=$ ?oma sia

$$
\text { steal-punct-indic-d.p.-pers }=\text { he stole }
$$

kea- $\quad$ - $\quad$ si- la $=$ kea sila
hit-punct-indic-d.p.-pers $=$ he/they hit me
Note, however, that
(i) the $s$ of the $s i$ is omitted except when followed by an a or 1, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma- } \emptyset-\quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } & =\text { ?omai?a } \\
\text { steal-punct-indic-d.p.-pers } & =\text { stole } \\
\text { kea- } \emptyset-\quad \emptyset-\quad \text { gia } & =\text { keaigia } \\
\text { hit-punct-indic-d.p.-pers } & =\text { he/they hit us }
\end{aligned}
$$

(11) the si is omitted completely after some stems ending in $i$ and sometimes u, e.g.

> mini- gia $=$ minigia
> give-punct-indic-d.p.-pers $=$ he/they gave us
ai- ?orau $\emptyset-\quad \emptyset-\quad$ - $\quad$ - ai ?orau?o= ai ?oraui?o
come-together-punct-indic-d.p.-pers $=$ they gathered together
?oma-sinei- $\varnothing$ - $\quad$ - $\quad=$ ?oma sineia steal-habit-indic-d.p.-pers $=$ he used to steal

### 4.21.14.2 Recent Past Tense (na)

Example:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma- na- ?a }= & \text { ?oma na?a } \\
\text { steal-punct-indic-r.p.-pers }= & \text { Istole (but only } \\
& \text { yesterday or today) }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note, however, that
(i) na is modified to no before ?o, e.g.
?oma- 6- no- ?o = ?oma no?o
steal-punct-indic-r.p.-pers = they stole
(ii) the $n$ of na is omitted after $e, o$, or $u, e . g$.
gudu- b- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $\quad=$ gudua?a
descend-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=I$ descended
and in some stems ending in $i$, in which case the final $i$ of the stem is also omitted, or if the stem has a final si this sl is completely omitted, e.g. (oni = go and isi = go). See also (v) below.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { on- a- } \quad \text { - } & =\text { ona?a } \\
\text { go-punct-indic-r.p.-pers } & =\text { went } \\
\text { oni- owon- a- ?a } & =\text { oni owona?a } \\
\text { go- cont-indic-r.p.-pers } & =I \text { kept on going } \\
\text { i- a- ?a } & =\text { ia?a } \\
\text { eat-punct-indic-r.p.-pers } & =I \text { ate }
\end{aligned}
$$

(iii) na is modified to se before a or 1 , and to $s$ in $2 / 3 \mathrm{~s}, \mathrm{e} . \mathrm{g}$.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { Poma- se- ava } & =\text { ?omaseava } \\
\text { steal-punct-indic-r.p.-pers } & =\text { they/you(2) stole } \\
\text { kea- lo- b- se- la } & =\text { kea losela } \\
\text { hit-imperf-indic-r.p.-pers } & =\begin{array}{c}
\text { they (etc.) were } \\
\text { hitting me }
\end{array} \\
\text { Soma- lo- s- a } & =\text { ?oma losa } \\
\text { steal-imperf-indic-r.p.-pers } & =\text { he was stealing }
\end{aligned}
$$

(iv) in some stems ending in $i$ the $i$ is omitted, e.g.
oni go on- g- a- ? - ona?a
go-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=I$ went
on- ด- $\quad$ - aea = onaea go-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=$ he went
oni-owon- ø- a- ?a = oniowona?a go-cont-indic-r.p.-pers $=$ I kept on going va- on- 0 - 0 - la = va onela caus-go-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=$ caused me to go
mai do ma- D- $\quad$ - aea $=$ manaea do-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=$ he did
sei do se- D- ne- ava = seneava do-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=$ they/you(2) did
(v) in stems ending in si the si is omitted, e.g.
isi eat i- a- $\quad$ a $\quad$ - ia?a
eat-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=I$ ate
usi do u- D- a- ?a = ua?a
do-punct-indic-r.p.-pers $=I$ did
The only exceptions to (v) are osi to say (in which the si is replaced by e) and isi to eat when followed by the $2 / 3$ s emphatic personal ending aea, e.g.

```
osi say oe- D- D- a- ?a = oea?a
say-punct-indic-r.p.-pers = I said
isieat is- Ø- Ø- Ø- aeà = isaea
    eat-punct-indic-r.p.-pers = he ate
```

4.21.14.3 Present Tense (a) ${ }^{7}$

Example: oni- b- a- ?a =onia?a

$$
\text { go-punct-indic-pres-pers }=\begin{aligned}
& \text { I go (am on the point } \\
& \text { of departing) }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note, however, that
(1) a is modified to o before ?o, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oni- } 0-\text { - o- onio?o }=\text { onion } \\
& \text { go-punct-indic-pres-pers }=\text { they/you are about } \\
& \text { to go }
\end{aligned} \quad \begin{aligned}
& \text { oni- } 1-\quad \text { oni lo?o } \\
& \text { go-imperf-indic-pres-pers }=\text { they/you are going }
\end{aligned}
$$

(11) a is modified to ese before a or 1 , and to es in $2 / 3 \mathrm{~s}, \mathrm{e} \cdot \mathrm{g}$.
oni- D- ese- ava = onieseava
go-punct-indic-pres-pers $=$ they/you(2) are about to go
kea- D- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $=$ keaesela
hit-punct-indic-pres-pers $=$ they (etc.) are about to hit me
oni-susu- b- es- a oni susuesa
go- cont-indic-pres-pers = he usually goes, he always goes
4.21.14.4 Future Tense (isa)

Example: ?oma- Ø- $\quad$ - isa- $?=$ ?omaisa?a steal-punct-indic-fut- pers $=$ I shall steal

Note, however, that
(1) isa is modified to iso before ?o, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma- lo- iso- ?o } & =\text { ?oma loiso?o } \\
\text { steal-imperf-indic-fut- pers } & =\text { they/you are stealing }
\end{aligned}
$$

(1i) isa is modified to ise before a or 1 , and to is in $2 / 3 \mathrm{~s}, \mathrm{e} . \mathrm{g}$.
?oma- D- ise- ava $=$ ?omaiseava steal-punct-indic- fut- pers $=$ they/you(2) will steal

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { ?oma- is- a } & =\text { ?omaisa } \\
\text { steal-punct-indic-fut-pers } & =\text { he will steal }
\end{aligned}
$$

(iii) when a stem ends in $i$ (and sometimes in $u$ ) the $i$ of isa is omitted, except when the stem ends in si, in which case this si is omitted. Both these rules work together in some stems, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oni go: oni- b- sa- ? } \quad \text { - onisa?a } \\
& \text { go-punct-indic-fut-pers }=I \text { shall go } \\
& \text { bau die: bau- se- la } \quad=\text { bausela = bauisela } \\
& \text { die-punct-indic-fut-pers }=I \text { shall die } \\
& \text { osi say: o- of isa- ? }=\text { oisa?a } \\
& \text { say-punct-indic-fut-pers }=I \text { shall say } \\
& \text { isieat: i- } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - }=\text { isa?a } \\
& \text { eat-punct-indic-fut-pers }=I \text { shall eat } \\
& \text { usi do: u- } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { a- }=\text { usa?a } \\
& \text { do-punct-indic-fut-pers }=I \text { shall do }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.21.15 Person Indicators

These are elements which refer to the number and person of subjects and objects in sentences. There are two sets corresponding to the distinction intransitive versus transitive verbs.

### 4.21.15.1 Intransitive Indicators

These agree with the subject of the verb in number (singular, dual or plural) and person (either first or second/third) and have the following form:

|  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| lst | ?a | uta | sa |
| $2 / 3$ | a, aea (alt.emp.) ava | ?o |  |

Examples:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oni- } \\
& \text { go-punct-indic-d.p.-ls }=\text { oni?a } \\
& \text { oni- } \\
& \text { oni- } \\
& \text { oni- } \\
& \text { oni- } \\
& \text { oni- }
\end{aligned}
$$

```
    on- \emptyset- \emptyset- \emptyset- aea = onaea
    go-punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s=you(s)/he went (recent past)
oni- lo- sib- a- aea = oni losibaea
(alternative oni- lo- sib- |- a = oni losiba)
    go-imperf-cond- }\varnothing-2/3\textrm{s}=you(s)/he might be goin
oni-susu- b- a- sa = oni susuasa
    go-habit-indic-pres-lp = we(3+) are always going
oni-susu- Ø- a- uta = oni susuauta
    go-habit-indic-pres-ld = we(2) are always going
```


### 4.21.15.2 Transitive Indicators

In general these agree with the object of the verb in number and person and are of the following form (cf. personal pronouns in Section 4.23):

|  | Singular | Dual | Plunal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| 1 | la | gua | gia |
| 2 | ga | a, ata | a, ata |
| 3 | -- | $a$, ata | a, ata |

Examples:
noa ma ia eri- Ø- Ø- $\emptyset-$ la $=$ noa ma ia erila
he sm me see-punct-indic-d.p.-lso $=$ he sow me
ga ma gea eri- $\emptyset-\quad$ - $\quad$ - gua $=$ ga ma gea erigua
you sm us see-punct-indic-d.p.-ldo $=$ you saw us(2)
?i?i noa ma mini- Ø- $\emptyset-\quad$ la $=$ ?i?i noa ma minila
a.shell he sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-lso $=$ he gave me a shell
?i?i ga ma mini- $\quad$ - g- gua $=$ ?i?i ga ma minigua
a.shell you sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-ldo = you gave us(2) a shell
?i?i omoa ma mini- Ø- Ø- $\emptyset-$ gia $=$ ?i?i omoa ma minigia the.shells they sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-lpo $=$ they gave us(3+) the shells
?i?i omoa ma mini- $\quad 0$ - ga $=$ ?i?i omoa ma miniga the.shells they sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-2so = they gave you(1) the shells However, there are a number of qualifications and exceptions to be made to the above generalization. These are:
(i) when the object is third person singular the person indicator used is the intransitive one agreeing with the subject, e.g.
?i?i ia ma mini- $1-\quad \emptyset-\quad a-\quad$ a $=$ ?i?i ia ma mini la?a the.shells $I$ sm give-1mperf-indic-pres-ls $=I$ am giving him the shells
(ii) in the distant past tense, the a of the $2 d / p$ and $3 d / p$ object is usually lengthened to ata, e.g.
?i?i ia ma mini- Ø- $\emptyset-\quad$ - ata $=$ ?i?i ia ma miniata the.shells $I$ sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-2,3d/po $=I$ gave you/them the shells but in all other tenses the a alone is used.
(iii) when the subject of the transitive verb is first person singular the personal indicator is modified, so as to indicate this fact. This only involves the second person singular, and the second/ third persons dual/plural, i.e. ga $2 \mathrm{~s} .0 b j e c t$ becomes uta, this being the same as the first person dual of the intransitive indicator (something to do with you and me), e.g.

```
noa ma mini- Ø- \emptyset- \- ga = noa ma miniga
he sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-2so = he gave you(s)
ia ma mini- \emptyset- \emptyset- |- uta = ia ma miniuta
I sm give-punct-indic-d.p.-2so/lsj = I gave you(s)
```

a (or ata) (2/3d/po) becomes a?a, this being the addition to the regular transitive indicator of the normal intransitive first person singular indicator, e.g.


```
vegarai- la- &- ese- la = vegarai laesela
    know-imperf-indic-pres-lso = I know
    ?ame- la- D- ese- la = ?ame laesela
    happy-imperf-indic-pres-lso = (I am) happy
```

```
    Tame sini- la- Ø- ese- la = ?ame sini laesela
happy be imperf-indic-pres-lso = I am happy
```


### 4.21.2 Peripheral Parts of the Verb Complex

These are the optional ( $\pm$ ) elements given in the verb complex formula at the beginning of this section but repeated here for convenience:

```
 caus + base l \pm base 2 \pm ai/ra \pm adv.man \pm direct \pm trans
    \pm refl \pm repet + asp + mood + tense + pers \pm part
```

These elements will be treated in the order that they occur in this formula.

### 4.21.21 Causative

The causative indicator va is placed immediately in front of base 1 making it transitive, e.g.

> ia nani- i- a- $\quad=$ ia nani la?a
> I hear-imperf-indic-pres-ls $=I$ am hearing
ia ma va- nani- la- ese- a?a $\quad$ ia ma vanani laesea?a
I sm caus-hear-imperf-indic-pres-2/3d/po/lsj = I am teaching (them) see 3.2(3).
ia ma da va- nani- la- $\emptyset$ - ese- $\quad$ a?a ia ma da vanani
I sm not caus-hear-imperf-indic-pres-2/3d/po/lsj = I am not teaching (them)

### 4.21.22 Base 2

Very frequently a second base is added to the first one, thus modifying it, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ida- } \quad \emptyset-\quad \text { isa-?a }=\text { idaisa?a } \\
& \text { stand-punct-indic-fut-ls }=I \text { shall stand (i.e. not sit) } \\
& \text { muda- } \emptyset-\quad \emptyset-\text { ma-?a }=\text { mudaisa?a } \\
& \text { rise-punct-indic-fut-ls }=\text { I shall climb (i.e. the } \\
& \text { hill) }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\text { ida- muda- } \quad \emptyset-\quad \emptyset-\text { isa-?a }=\text { ida mudaisa?a }
$$

$$
\text { stand rise-(=base 2)-punct-indic-fut-ls }=I \text { shall climb up and stand }
$$

$4.21 .23 \mathrm{ai} / \mathrm{ra}$

### 4.21.23.1 ai

This is an indicator marking some degree of relationship between the subject and something else, somewhat in the form of an indirect object, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { osi- } 1-a-\quad a- & =\text { osi la?a } \\
\text { say imperf-indic-pres-ls } & =\text { I am saying, talking } \\
\text { osi-ai- } 1-\text { a- ?a } & =\text { osiai la?a } \\
\text { say- imperf-indic-pres-ls } & =\text { Iam talking about }
\end{aligned}
$$

Note that when the stem ends in an a, this a is omitted before the ai, e.g.

```
mud-ai- 1- D- a- ?a = mudai lasa
rise- imperf-indic-pres-lp = we are climbing together
                                    (i.e. the hilZ)
```

4.21.23.2 ra

This is an indicator marking some degree of direction away from the existing situation toward something else, and is probably derived from the particle la to, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ida- } 1-\quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { a } \quad \text { la?a } \\
& \text { stand-imperf-indic-pres-ls }=I \text { am standing } \\
& \text { ida- ra- } 1-\quad \text { a- } \quad \text { a }=\text { idarala?a } \\
& \text { stand- imperf-indic-pres-ls }=I \text { am (in the act of) } \\
& \text { standing up } \\
& \text { eu la paea-ra- 1- } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - }=\text { eu la paeara la?a } \\
& \text { fire to toss- imperf-indic-pres-ls }=\text { I am tossing (them) into }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.21.24 Adverbs of Manner

These take the same form as their corresponding adjective. There may be more than one such adverb of manner in the same verb complex, e.g.
isi-?apu-ineinea- $\quad \varnothing$ - isa-?a $=$ isi ?apu ineineaisa?a
eat all quickly-punct-indic-fut-ls $=I$ shall eat (it) all up quickly

Note also that
(1) adverbs of manner can sometimes stand without a base, this being understood, e.g.
va- ineinea- $\emptyset-\quad$ - $\quad$ - $\quad$ - va ineineaisa
caus-quickly-punct-indic-fut-2/3s = Iethim (do it) quickly
(11) adverbs of manner may be intensified by the addition of adverbs of degree (see 4.25.2), e.g.

```
noa iou-ineinea-ogoda- lo- b- si- a = noa iou ineinea ogoda losia
```

he run-quickly-big-imperf-indic-d.p.-2/3s = he was running very quickly

```
noa iou-ineinea-ogoda- bau- lo- b- si- a
he run-quickly-big-very-1mperf-1ndic-d.p.-2/3s
                you(s)/he was running extremely quickly
```

            noa iou-ineinea-ma?ato-ogoda-vage- lo- g- si- a
            he run-quickly-little-big-less-imperf-indic-d.p.-2/3s
    you(s)/he were/was running a little less extremely quickly
    (111) adverbs of manner have no fixed position relative to direc-
    tion indicators (4.21.25) and the reflexive indicator ?ero (4.21.27),
e.g.
$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { goi-2ero-ineinea } \\ \text { ?ero-goi-ineines } \\ \text { goi-ineinea-?ero } \\ \text { ineinea-goi-?ero } \\ \text { ineinea-?ero-goi } \\ \text { ?ero-ineinea-goi }\end{array}\right\} \quad \emptyset-\quad \emptyset-\quad$ is- $\quad$ a
give- back-here- quick- punct-indic-fut-2/3s
he will give it back here quickly,
or he will return it quickly
where goi = direction indicator, ?ero = reflexive indicator (see 4.21.27) and ineinea $=$ adverb of manner.

### 4.21.25 Direction Indicators

Two direction markers goi (derived from ai come) indicating direction towards, and goni (derived from oni go) indicating direction away from the point of reference (see 4.21.12.4), are used in Magi, e.g.

Teva goi- b- b- a $\quad$ - Reva goisa $\begin{aligned} \text { carry here-punct-indic-pres-2/3s } & =\text { you(s)/he wizl bring } \\ & \text { (it) here }\end{aligned}$
?eva-goni- Ø- g- s- a $=$ ?eva gonisa carry there-punct-indic-pres-2/3s $=$
you(s)/he will take
$(i t)$ there

Note also that direction indicators have no fixed position relative to adverbs of manner（4．21．24）and the reflexive indicator ？ero （4．21．27）．See examples in 4.21 .24 note（1i1）above．

## 4．21．26 Transitive Converter（mini）

This form（which is in itself the verb to give）is used to con－ vert an intransitive verb to a transitive one．Thus by its use the object which may be very vaguely implied in the intransitive verb is then specifically expressed，e．g．

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { va mata- } \emptyset \text { - } \emptyset \text { - is- a }=\text { va mataisa } \\
& \text { caus-clear-punct-indic-fut-2/3s }=y o u(s) / \text { he will explain } \\
& \text { (it) } \\
& \text { va mata- mini- } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - se- } \quad a \quad \text { va mata minisea } \\
& \text { caus-clear-trans-punct-indic-fut-2/3d/po }=\text { wizl explain (it) } \\
& \text { to them }
\end{aligned}
$$

From the following examples it will be seen that there is a difference between the effect of the use of mini and ai（see 4．21．23），and a further difference，at least in some cases，between these transitiv－ ized verbs and regular transitive verbs，e．g．（using the verbs osi speak，talk and oseri tell）

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { base l-ai-trans-asp-mood-tense-pers meaning } \\
& \text { o- ロ- ロ- iso- ?o = oiso?o you/they will } \\
& \text { osi- a- D- iso- ?o =osiaiso?o you/they wizl } \\
& \text { talk about (some- } \\
& \text { thing) } \\
& \text { osi- } \quad \text { - min- } \quad \text { - isa- ga =osi minisaga (someone) will } \\
& \text { talk to you(s) } \\
& \text { oser- } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - } \quad \text { - isa- ga = oserisaga (someone) will } \\
& \text { tell you(s) }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 4．21．27 Reflexive Indicator（？ero）

？ero in a verb complex indicates that the action performed refers back to the subject．That is it covers both the traditional reflexive sense and the sense of something being returned back to its original position．Compare the following：

```
ia eri-unaunari-ai-?ero-susu- \emptyset- a- ?a = ia eriunaunariai ?ero
                                    susua?a
I see- pity- ai-refl-habit-indic-pres-ls = I always love myself
    ia mini- imogo-?ero- - |- isa-?a = ia mini imogo ?eroisa?a
    I give-slowly-refl-punct-indic-fut-ls = I shall give myself
                                    (something) slowly
```

```
ia ma mini-?ero-imogo- \emptyset- ise- a?a = ia ma mini ?ero
    imogoisea?a
I sm give-back-slowly-punct-indic-fut-2/3d/po/ls = I shall return
    (something) to them slowly (or late)
```

Note, however, that ?ero as a reflexive is always followed by intrans-
itive personal indicators (see 4.21.15) in contradistinction to the
sense return to as in the last example above, and that its position
relative to adverbs of manner $(4.21 .24)$ and direction indicators
(4.21.25) is quite free.

### 4.21.28 Repetitive Indicator (amari)

amari again, is usually used immediately before the tense-person indicator to indicate repeated action, e.g.

```
noa ena woi kea-?ero-amari- lo- 0- si- a = noa ena
    woi kea ?ero amari losia
he his self hit-refl-again-imperf-indic-d.p.-2/3s = he was
    hitting himself again
```


### 4.21.29 Particles

There are a number of particles which may be added at the end of the verb complex to indicate the relationship of one clause to another. These particles are:
(1) -na when (Time Clause--4.13.1), e.g.
oni- $\varnothing$ - $\emptyset$ - sa-?a-na... = onisa?ana...
go-punct-indic-fut-ls-when... = when $I$ will come...
(2) -na who, which (Adjectival Clause--4.13.6), e.g.
oni- la- $\emptyset^{-}$es- a- na egi... = oni laesana egi...
go imperf-indic-pres-2/3s- man... = the man who is going...
(3) ma in order to (Purpose Clause--4.13.2), e.g.

he standup-punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s say- -punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s
Noa idara sia ma, osiai sia. He stood up in order that he might confess.
(4) de if, used with conditional mood and future indicative (Conditional Clause--4.13.3), e.g.
noa ai- $\quad$ - b- $\quad$ - aea de... $=$ noa ai baea de...
he come-punct-cond-tense-2/3s if... = if he should come...
(5) -na-de when-at (Adverbs of Time---4.11.11), e.g.
noa va-kokoa- $\emptyset-\quad$ si- a- na de... = noa va kokoa siana
it caus-finish-punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s-when at... = at the finish of...

Similarly -na-ma and -na-la are occasionally used.
(6) -na and ma are also used with the conditional mood to indicate some degree of uncertainty, e.g.
noa osi- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $e a-m a=$ noa osi baea ma
he say-punct-cond-tense-2,3s- = he could say (that) in order that...
noa osi- $\quad$ - b- $\quad$ he $s a y$-punct-cond-tense-2/3s-when = should he say that, then
(7) -na-?ei and ?oni--Emphatics, e.g.

I go-punct-indic-d.p.-ls- -emph $=I$ did go.
ia oni- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $\quad$ - ?ani $=$ ia oni?a ?oni
I go-punct-indic-d.p.-ls emph $=I$ did go.
compare ia ?oni oni- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - ? $=$ ia ?oni oni?a

$$
I \text { emph go-punct-indic-d.p.-ls }=\underline{I} \text { went. }
$$

ne avesa ?ei ma bu?a
that woman emp sm only that woman (and only her)
(8) -na-?eidema because (Reason Clause--4.13.4), e.g.
ia oni- D- ?a-na ?eidema = ia oni?ana ?eidema
I go-punct-indic-d.p.-ls-because = because I went
(9) ne (Emphatic Imperative--4.21.13.51 Note (ii)).

### 4.21.3 Other Miscellaneous Aspects of Verbs

### 4.21.31 Voice

All verbs in Magi are in the active voice. There is no true passive voice. However, a passive sense may be obtained by using an unstated but understood indefinite third person plural subject, e.g.
noa kea- $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $\quad$ - $=$ noa keai?o
him hit-punct-indic-d.p.-2/3p = (they) hit him = he was hit

### 4.21.32 Auxiliary Verbs

There is quite a selection of verbs which are used as auxilaries. These are used with nouns or other verbs to form new verbs often introducing fine distinctions in meaning, e.g., isiisi can be used both as a noun food and as a verb to eat. However, if one wants to express the idea of eating food then one must use the form isiisi
seisei to eat food. isiisi alone could only be used if there was an object of the act of eating, say, a fish, e.g.
noa ma ?orebe isaea
he ate a fish
If there were no specific object of the eating to be mentioned, isiisi would become the object (i.e. food) and seisei to do would act as an auxiliary verb, e.g.

```
noa isiisi senaea
he had food = he has (already) eaten
```

The most common auxiliary verbs in Magi are: usiusi, seisei, eiei, maimai, iniini and ariari.

### 4.21.33 Verbs as Nouns

There are two ways of nominalizing verbs:
(l) by taking the infinitive form less la and optionally adding an auxiliary, e.g.

| sunasuna | $<$ | sunasuna la |
| ---: | :---: | :---: |
| thoughts | $<$ | to think |
| ?ui?ui-ia > ?ui?ui | $>$ | ?ui?ui seisei |
| to sleep $>$ sleep | $>$ | sleep (doing sleep) |

(2) by adding na to any verb complex other than infinitives, e.g.
ena ?ui- susu- $\quad$ - es- $^{-}$na $\equiv$ ena ?ui susuesana
his sleep-habit-indic-pres-2/3s-na = his habitual sleeping
ena suna sineiana noa suna sineia
his thoughts used-to-he-na $<$ he think used-to-he
(the thoughts/desires that he used to have)

Note, however, that this form is the same as would be used as an adjective (4.13.6), e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { noa ?ui- susu- es- a- na egi }= & \text { noa ui susuesana egi } \\
\text { he sleep-habit-indic-pres-2/3s-na man }= & \text { He is a man who is } \\
& \text { habitually sleeping. }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 4.21.34 Verbs as Adjectives

There are two ways of adjectivalizing verbs:
(l) by taking the infinitive form and deleting ia, e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ?ui?ui egi } \\
& \text { sleeping man }
\end{aligned}
$$

(2) by adding na to any verb complex, e.g.
?ui- la- $\varnothing$ - es- a- na egi = ?ui laesana egi
sleep-imperf-indic-pres-2/3s-na man = the man who is sleeping
Compare this with:

> Tui?ui sei- la- es- a- na egi = ?ui?ui sei laesana egi
> sleep do-imperf-indic-pres-2/3s- man = the man who is doing (all) the sleeping

### 4.21.35 Emphasis in the Verb

Emphasis can be given to an action by the following means;
(l) by using emphatic adverbs of manner, e.g.

```
noa vegarai-egena- D- si- a = noa vegarai egena sia
```

    he know- true- punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s = he knew truly/properly
    (2) by using particles (see 4.21.210), e.g.

```
noa vegarai- \- si- a- na- ?ei = noa vegarai siana ?ei
    he know- punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s-na-emph = he did know
noa vegarai- \- si- a- ?oni = noa vegarai sia ?oni
    he know- punct-indic-d.p.-2/3s-emph = he did know
```

Further emphasis can be obtained by omitting the tense-person indicator and using the ?ei particle compare 4.2l.13.5l(i1), e.g.

> noa vegarai ?ei
> he most certainly knows/knew
(3) by a combination of the above two means, e.g.
noa vegarai egena ?ei
he really does/did know properly

### 4.22 Nouns

Nouns may be proper, common, or abstract. There are primary nouns, and nouns derived from verbs (see 4.21.33). Adjectives may also be used as nouns, e.g. eboebo good may be used to mean the good or goodness:

| ena mai susuesana eboebo | ena eboebo |
| :---: | :---: |
| his do does good | his good |
| the good that he does | his goodness |

### 4.22.1 Number

There is no differentiation of number except that
(1) ?oeva child has the plural form ?o?oeva children and egi man has the plural form emegi people, but egi garu men las opposed to woman);
(ii) groups of relations, friends, etc. are frequently indicated by the use of the word iva, e.g.

| kava friend | kava iva friends |
| :---: | :---: |
| ?oeva chizd | ?o?oeva $=$ ?o?oeva iva |
|  | $=$ ?o?oeva iva garu children |

However, if number is important it is indicated by the addition of garu many or ?omu one, e.g.
avesa woman/women avesa ?omu one woman/a woman
avesa garu women/many women

### 4.22.2 Gender

There is no differentiation of gender, but if it is important it is indicated by:
egi man avesa woman
arabae male animal
sina female animal
These are compounded with the noun concerned, e.g.
owai grandparent egi owai grandfather avesa owai grandmother bora?a pig arabae bora?a boar sina bora?a sow

### 4.22.3 Derived Nouns

See Section 4.21.33.

### 4.22.4 Classifiers

These are sometimes used with another noun, especially borrowings, e.g. tiusde samu Tuesday (lit. Tuesday day) which probably indicates that the noun nature of the borrowing is not fully realised, or that the meaning of the term on its own is not clear. Classifiers are very often used with adjectives or adjectival phrases/clauses, e.g.

> ?au odiodi ada
> foot putting thing
> shoe
obasai egi
harangue man
preacher

### 4.23 Pronouns

Magi pronouns distinguish between singular, dual, plural number, first, second and third persons. There is no differentiation of gender. Subject and object have the same forms:

| Person | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | ia | guadai | gea |
| 2 | ga | aeadai | aea |
| 3 | noa | omadai | omoa |

From these are derived the possessive forms:

| Person | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | ina | guna | gena |
| 2 | gana | ana | ana |
| 3 | ena | omana | omana |

and some of the transitive personal markers of verbs (see Section 4.21.14.2). Examples:

| ia ma eriuta | $I$ saw you | ina wa?ai | my dog |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ga ma erila | you(s) saw me | gana wa?ai | your(s) dog |
| ga ma erigua | you(s) saw us(2) | ena wa?ai | his dog |
| guadai ma eriga | we(2) saw you(s) | guna wa?ai our(2) dogs |  |
| guadai ma eriata we(2) saw them | omana wa?ai their dogs |  |  |

(N.B. Objects in Magi may be direct or indirect objects in English-there is no way of deciding whether any particular verb is inherently transitive or not.)

### 4.24 Adjectives

### 4.24.1 General

Adjectives may be used attributively, either before or after the noun they qualify, and predicatively, either with a verb equivalent to English to be, or without it. In the last of these four possibilities the adjective is often followed by a tense-person indicator, thus virtually converting it into a reflexive verb (see 4.ll.23). The actual mode employed when thus using an adjective depends largely on the emphasis required. Examples:
(1) Attributive

> (a) mari ogoda
> vizlage big
> 1.e. the village is big

> (b) ogoda mari
> big village
> 1.e. not the small one
(2) Predicative

> (a) mari ogoda ibi susuesa village big is 1.e. the big village is/remains there
> (b) mari ogoda laesa
> village big (is)
> 1.e. it is the big village that is there now (present imperfect)

### 4.24.2 Demonstratives

```
eva this, these
ne that, those (not distant; that one I have just been
    talking about)
ada that, those (distant)
```

As pure demonstratives these are placed before the nouns they qualify, or may stand alone, e.g.

```
    eva egi this man eva emegi these men
    ne egi that man (nearby, or ada egi that man lover there
        that I have just been
        talking about
    eva samu this day (today)
    ne samu that day (that I
                                    that day (that I
                                talking about)
                ada samu at some other day
```

    Eva egi ma ne egi ke samu ada gabu de sia.
    this man that man(close) today at that place (over there) hit (him)
This man hit that man today over there.
Eva eboebo ogoda bau.
this good big very
This is very good.

### 4.24.3 Numerals

Adjectives of number or quantity usually follow the noun they qualify, e.g.

```
wa?ai ?omu dog one wa?ai seriada dogs many
wa?ai garu dogs (many) wa?ai wuwuru dogs alZ/many
wa?ai aiseri dogs three wa?ai ima ?omu dogs five
```

Magi has a complex system of numbers based on fives and tens, extending to 999, but this is largely superceded by English numerals.

```
        Cardinals Ordinals
                                    Distributives
va ?omuisana (future)
va ?omu siana (past)
(isana--alt.) Tomuinama
va Ravaisana, va Rava siana
(deni--alt.)
                                }avainama
va aiserisana, etc.
(deni bau--alt.)
aiserianama
    tourai
va touraisana, etc.
(ena deni bau--alt.) touraianama
va ima ?omuisana, etc. ima ?omuinama
va ima lilia ?omuisana, etc. ima lilia
                                    }omuinama
etc. etc.
etc. etc.
9 ima lilia tourai
10 nanau ?omu
ll nanau ?omu ?omu
12 nanau ?omu ?ava
13 nanau ?omu aiseri
14 nanau ?omu tourai
15 nanau ?omu ima ?omu
16 nanau ?omu ima lilia ?omu
20 nanau ?ava
50 nanau ima ?omu
60 nanau ima lilia ?omu
100 nanau gabana ?omu
l01 nanau gabana ?omu ?omu
999 nanau gabana ima lilia tourai
    nanau ima lilia tourai ima
    lilia tourai
Cardinals and distributives always follow the noun they qualify, whereas ordinals always precede the noun they qualify.
```


### 4.24.4 Order of Adjectives

```
Where there are several adjectives they may be placed variously, largely depending on individual emphasis, e.g.
dubaduba ogoda wa?ai black big dog, 1.e. the most noticeable thing being the colour
dubaduba wa?ai ogoda black dog big, i.e. no particular emphasis
ogoda dubaduba wa?ai big black dog, 1.e. the most noticeable thing is the size.
```


### 4.24.5 Derived Adjectives

### 4.24.51 Adjectives from Verbs

See Section 4.21.34.

### 4.24.52 Adjectives from Nouns

These often indicate a part of something, but the possessive pronoun is omitted. The order is the same as if the possessive pronoun were still present, e.g.
?ama ?a?ama coconut water < ?ama ena ?a?ama coconut its water

### 4.24.6 Comparison of Adjectives

There is no special comparative or superlative forms of adjectives (or adverbs) but when a comparison is made between two things, as in, for example, a comparison of size, one will be said to be large and the other small, it being understood that this is merely in a comparative sense, and that actual size does not enter into the matter at this stage, e.g.

```
Domara ogoda, ele Mailu kiwonai
Domara big and Maizu smazl
1.e., Domara is bigger than Mailu, it being realised that in actual fact both are large.
```

Finer distinctions can be made by using adverbs of degree to modify the adjectives (or adverbs) involved, e.g.

Mailu ?oni mari ogoda, Kurere ma?ato kiwonai vage, Loupomu ma?ato Mailu a village big Kurere little small little Loupomu little kiwonai, Aroana kiwonai, ele Ubuna kiwonai bau, ada ?omu bu?a small Aroana small and Ubuna small very but
Domara ogoda egena ?ei.
Domara big true
Mailu is a big village, Kurere a little smaller, Loupomu still smaller, Aroana is small, and Ubuna very small, while Domara is bigger than any.

### 4.25 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. They have no special form and the same item may function as both adjective and adverb in different positions. The following are the principal types:

### 4.25.1 Adverbs of Manner

All Adverbs of Manner occur inside the verb complex--see Section 4.21 .24.

### 4.25.2 Adverbs of Degree

These modify adjectives or other adverbs and follow the words they modify, except for ma?ato little which precedes them, e.g.

```
ogoda big quickly big
bau very ineinea ogoda bau } extremely quickly
ma?ato little (ineinea ma?ato ogoda vage} a little less extreme-
vage less, little
egena ?ei true ogoda egena {ei} very big
Loupomu ma?ato kiwonai} Loupomu (village) is
                                    quite smalz
                                    Ubuna kiwonai bau } Ubuna is very small
```


### 4.25.3 Adverbs of Place

These express location, direction towards, direction from etc. They typically consist of some head word or words represented by a noun, pronoun or noun phrase and a postposition (see Section 4.26). For example, uru ena godana de in the following example represents the location where the person referred to by he sat.

Noa uru ena godana de auria.
he house its underside at he.sat
He sat under the house.
The following are common here and there forms derived from demonstratives (Section 4.24.2):


Example:

```
Egi omu ma ne sarosaro adana ma evana la eva goia. "Eva
man one that letter there from here to carry towards did "here
    no," oserila. Nena ma noa nena la cnia, ele nena de adi auri
    is" told-me there from he there to went and there at yet sit
    susuesa. ?adi, noa ne de.
    does certainly he that at
A man brought that letter that we were talking about from away over
    there to here. "Here it is," he told me. Thereafter he went over
    there, not far away, and is still there. Assuredly he is still there.
Other examples are given in Section 4.26 (Postpositions) already re-
ferred to.
```


### 4.25.4 Adverbs of Time

These are either single word elements (e.g. ilowo yesterday) or multi-word elements with a structure similar to that of Adverbs of Place except that the head word is typically a time word.

Examples:
llowo egi aina.
yesterday man came
The man came yesterday.

Biga de egi aina. morning at man came
The man came in the morning.

Samu aua de egi ai susuesa.
day each at man come does
The man comes every day.
Note that time phrases are usually marked by de at and may have a complex structure of their own. Consider the following:

## Omana oni owoni?ona de,...

their go were-while at
While they were in the process of going,...
Here the action has the affixed particle -na (for which see 4.21.33) giving it the effect of a noun, thus taking the possessive omana their, that is, Upon their going,... Compare this with a conditional clause (see 4.13.3):

Omoa oni owonibo?o de,...
they go were-had if
Had they been going,...
or a conditional phrase of time, e.g.
Omana oni owonibo?ona de,...
their go were-had-while at
If and when they had been going along,...

A further type of time phrase uses the infinitive with a negative, to indicate time before, e.g.

> Ena marai da sinisini de egi aia.
his sickness not be at man came The man came before he became sick.

Common single word adverbs of time are:

| eva samu today |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ilowo | yesterday | isou | tomorrow |
| arie | day before yesterday | deni samu day after tomorrow |  |

4.25.5 Comparison of Adverbs

Adverbs are compared in the same way as adjectives (see Section 2.24.6).

### 4.26 Postpositions

These may be simple or complex.
4.26.1 Simple postpositions are direction markers. There are three of these:

```
de (indicates no direction; stationary) at
ma (indicates direction away from) from
la (indicates direction towards) to
```

Examples:

```
Mailu de at Mailu
Derebai ma from Derebai
eva de (lit. at this (place)) here
adana ma (lit. from that (place)) from there
adana la (lit. to that (place)) to there
```

Note that these cannot be used with the personal nouns or pronouns (see next section).
4.26.2 Complex postpositions correspond to such prepositions in English as inside, outside, on, under, above, behind, beside, near etc. In Magi these have the following structure:
(Noun/Pronoun) + possessive pronoun + positional marker + direc-
tion marker (de, ma, la)
where the possessive pronoun must agree with the head noun or pronoun in number and person (see 4.23 ) and the positional marker represents one of the following:

```
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tebina & near \\
guni, ausu & inside, interior \\
gabi & shoulder \\
auna, godana & underside \\
atana & top \\
deni & back \\
deie ?aura & side \\
deni ?aura & outside, behind
\end{tabular}
A further form varo is used for persons only.
Examples:
            uru ena guni ia uru ena guni de
            house its inside to house its inside at
                    into the house in the house
            uru ena guni ma noa uru ena godana de auria
            house its inside from he house its underside at he.sat
            from in the house
                he sat under the house
noa uru ena godana la onia noa ina tebina de auria
    he house its underside to he.went he my near at he.sat
            he went under the house
                                    he sat near me
            noa gana deni de auria Kadiba ena tebina de auria
            he your back at he.sat Kadiba his near at he.sat
                he sat behind you he sat near Kabida
                    Noa ma ne egi ena varo ia buka minia.
                        he sm that man his to book he.gave
                            He gave a book to that man.
4.27 Interrogative words
    who? (as subject) au ma
    who? (as compliment)} auno (sing.), aumo (pl.)
    to whom? au na la
    whose? au ena (sing.), au omana (pl.)
    what? diada (from dia ada which thing)
    which? dia/abo
    abode (from abo de at which, 1.e. at which
    where?
    whence? abona ma
    abona de
    whither? abona ia
```

why?
how?
how many?
$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { diadama (< diada ma from what, 1.e. from } \\ \text { what cause) } \\ \text { diadara (< diada la to what, 1.e. for what } \\ \text { reason) }\end{array}\right.$
aboua (from abo aua which like)
liva
when? This is expressed by some term meaning which time at/to/from. The combinations possible often have slight variations in use, e.g.
dia samu de? which day at/which time at? (1.e. third, fourth, etc.)
abo samu de? which day at/which time at?
abo samu ma? from which time/day? (1.e. when did it start?)
abo samu la? to which time/day? (1.e. when did it finish?)
abo uana de? at what period of time?
abo tauga de? at what moment of time?
abo nina de? at what sun? (1.e. hour)

### 4.28 Question Tags

Questions expecting the answer yes usually end with the tag ?i. Note that the answer to a negative question is the opposite to that in English, e.g.

Ga onisa, ?i? E. Ga da onisa, ?i? E.
You go-will? Yes (I shall go). You not go-will? Yes (I shall not go).
Questions expressing some doubt as to the answer expected, may use the indefinite tag ba, e.g.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { Ga onisa, ba? } & \text { Ga onisa, ba, ?i? } \\
\text { You go-wilZ, or (perhaps not)? } & \text { You go-wilZ, or (perhaps not, } \\
& \text { but please telZ me!?? }
\end{array}
$$

### 4.29 Conjunctions

Most of these have been dealt with in the section on sentence structure--see Section 4.12.1. However, there are a few conjunctions which join words rather than clauses, and have a meaning sometimes rather like and and sometimes like with, e.g.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Noa, ia eo ona maimai sei nonoi susuauta. } \\
\text { he I too work do together always do } \\
\text { He and I always work together. } \\
\text { Noa, ia di evana la ai nauta. } \\
\text { he me with here to come did } \\
\text { He came with me. }
\end{gathered}
$$

```
    Lioro di ena nabu mo evana la aiava.
    Lioro his brother with here to came
    Lioro came here with his brother.
Tamaru o, torea eo le?ile?i sei susuo?o.
    boys girls too dancing do always-do
    Boys and girls always dance together.
    Ogoda emegi o, ogoda avesa eo, tamaru o, torea o, {o?oeva gigiri o,
    big men big women too boys girls children small
        omoa wuwuru mari ma iou sawo ?apui?o.
        they all village from run away completely.did
    Grown up men and women, boys and girls and small children all ran
        away from the village.
4.210 Interjections
    Surprise kaie, kaiae, kaiae emegai
    Heavens! adei (lit. mother!)
            adeinadei (lit. mother-mother!)
            adeinabai (lit. mother-father!)
            Reproach aee
            Sympathy nogea
            Vocative o
            Change of
                subject ?ane
            Assertives ?adi (positive: yes)
            ?eisi (negative: no)
e.g. "Nogea, gana mauri pia?a bau." "?adi, gaidi o, ?ane ga aboua?"
        "Aee, ina mauri oreore bau." "Kaiae, nogea. Guadai bau
        apeie!" "?eisi emegai, io?oai dei!"
            "Alas, your life is very hard." "Truly, my friend, but how
                about you?" "Alas and alack, my life is very bad." "You
        don't say, I am so sorry. We are near death!" "Most
        certainly not, wait a while yet!"
5.0 TEXT
This is a translation of Luke 2:41-50 made in 1972 by Lioro Lapila of Loupomu village.
Lioro aua de lesu ena abai adei Dierusaiema ia muda year each at Jesus his father mother Jerusalem to mount
```

```
    sine-i-ava, Bae-goro Suna Amama Maduna ia. lesu adaua ena
```

    sine-i-ava, Bae-goro Suna Amama Maduna ia. lesu adaua ena
    habit-dp-2/3d walk-past think remember feast to Jesus thus his

```
ogo lioro 12 sin-i-a-na, omana usiusi aua maduna la on-i-?o. big years 12 be-dp-2/3s-when their doings like feast to go-dp-2/3p Maduna ena samu garu kokoa si-a-na, omadai mari la oni ?ero feast its days pl finish dp-2/3s-when they(2) village to go back si-ava, ada ?omu bu?a ne tamaru lesu Dierusalema de auri ?ero dp-2/3d thing one only that boy Jesus Jerusalem at sit back
si-a. Ena abai adei da vegarai lo-si-ata, ena bo \(\mathrm{dp}-2 / 3 \mathrm{~s}\) his father mother neg know imperf-dp-2/3/po its reason
omadai suna lo-si-ava, noa ?uta ?omu na eo. Biga ma they(2) think imperf-dp-2/3d he group one indef with morning from toa lavi la bu?a omadai bae lo-si-ava, ele ena deni lesu end afternoon to only they (2) walk imperf-dp-2/3d and its after Jesus baeai si-ava, omana kava iva ele omana emegi goina garu omana seek dp-2/3d their friends pl and their people ancestor pl their varo de. Omadai da bosur-i-ava de, Dierusalema la oni ?ero si-ava, with at they(2) neg find-dp-2/3d at Jerusalem to go back dp-2/3d ena baeai la. Samu ena va aiseri si-a-na samu de omadai eri his seek to day its caus three dp-2/3s-adj day at they(2) see ?avi si-ava, Tabu-ai Ogoda Dubu de. Noa Isalaela va-nani well dp-2/3d chosen-ai big church at he Israel caus-hear emegi eo auri lo-i-?o-na de, noa nani lo-si-a ma, people with sit imperf-dp-2/3p-when at he hear imperf-dp-2/3s so ele omana varo la raranai ?ero losi-ata. riba nani and their with to question back imperf-dp-2/3d/po his word hear lo-i-?o-na emegi wuwuru ma pev-ai lo-i-?o, ena osi 1mperf-dp-2/3p-adj people all sm amaze-ai imperf-dp-2/3p his say ?ero ineinea ma. Ena abai adei ma adaua er-i-ava-na, pevi back quickly im his father mother sm thus see-dp-2/3d-when amaze-ai si-ava, ele ena adei ma oser-i-a, "Ina ?oeva, diada-ra evaua usi dp-2/3d and his mother sm tell-dp-2/3s my child what-to thus do mini lo-n-agua. Gana abai di guadai unari-ore egena trans imperf-rp-ldo your father with we(2) throat-bad true
lo-n-agua, gana baeai de." Noa ma oseri ?ero si-ata, "Diada-ma imperf-rp-ldo your seek at he sm tell back dp-2/3d/po what-from
aeadai ma ia baeai lo-se-la. Aeadai da vegarai la-ese-a, you(2) sm me seek imperf-rp-lso you(2) neg know imperf-pres-2/3d/po
```

    ba, ia ma ina Abai ena ona maimai de sin-ise-la-isi."l Ada ?omu
    quest I sm my father his thing doings at be-fut-lso-subju thing one
bu?a omadai ena oser-i-ata-na riba da vegarai si-ata.
only they(2) his tell-dp-2/3d/po-adj word neg know dp-2/3d/po

```
Free Translation:

Every year Jesus' parents used to go up to Jerusalem, to the feast commemorating the Passover. When Jesus turned twelve, as was their custom, they went to the feast. When the feast days were over, they returned to the village, but the lad Jesus remained in Jerusalem. His parents did not know this, because they thought that he was with another group. They were walking from morning till night, and then they sought Jesus, amongst their friends and relations. As they did not find him, they returned to Jerusalem, looking for him. On the third day they found him, in the Temple. He was sitting with the Jewish teachers, listening and asking them questions. All those who heard what he had to say were amazed, on account of his discerning answers. When his parents saw him, they were amazed, and his mother said to him, "My son, why have you done this to us? Your father and I have been very upset, looking for you." He replied, "Why have you been looking for me? Or do you not know that I must do my Father's work?" But they could not understand the message that he was trying to convey to them.

\section*{NOTES}
l. See Dutton (197l) for a preliminary account of its relation to other languages of the Mailuan Family and Thomson (forthcoming) for an account of its dialects and relation to other languages in the immediate area.
2. See Saville (1912; 1935a; 1935b).
3. This account is based on my six years' missionary work amongst the Magi as a medical doctor during which time I learned to speak Magi with reasonable fluency, and a further two years engaged in translation from English into Magi. In preparing this paper I have been assisted by Lioro Lapila of Loupomu village, and many others over the years. I am greatly indebted to them, and also to Rev. W. J. V. Saville, whose earlier grammar made the task of learning this language so much easier, and Dr. T. E. Dutton and Dr. A. J. Taylor for their assistance in analysing the language structure and compiling this presentation.
4. The of 10 is also omitted before an \(e\) in the Boru and Asiaro dialects, e.g.
\[
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni- } 1-\text { es- a } & =\text { oni lesa } \\
\text { go-imperf-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { he is going }
\end{aligned}
\]
and 10 becomes le and va before ve and e respectively in the Varo dialects, e.g.
\[
\begin{aligned}
\text { oni- le- v- es- a } & =\text { oni levesa } \\
\text { go-imperf-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { he is going } \\
\text { oni- la- v- a- ?a } & =\text { oni lava a } \\
\text { go-imperf-mood-tense-pers } & =\text { I am going. }
\end{aligned}
\]
5. In the Varo dialects \(a v i s\) sometimes found between the aspect and tense markers, but only in the present imperfect indicative. This is probably an archaic form from Proto-Magi, and as it occurs nowhere else, it is hard to place. Further work on other Mailuan languages may help to resolve the problem. It presently appears to be an indicative marker, but it could be part of an imperfect marker or a present tense marker; compare, for example, the following paradigms:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & Magi-West & Magi-Varo & \\
\hline sing. 1 & oni la?a & oni lava?a & I am going \\
\hline 2/3 & oni laesa & oni levesa & you/he is going \\
\hline dual 1 & oni lauta & oni lavauta & we(2) are going \\
\hline 2/3 & oni laeseava & oni laeseava & you/they(2) are going \\
\hline plur.l & oni lasa & oni lasa & we are going \\
\hline 2/3 & oni lo?o & oni lovo?o & you/they are going \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Transitive} \\
\hline sing.l & mini laesela & mini levesela & are/is giving me \\
\hline 2 & mini laga & mini lavaga & are/is giving you(s) \\
\hline dual 1 & mini lagua & mini lavagua & arelis giving us(2) \\
\hline plur.l & mini lagia & mini lavagia & are/is giving us (3+) \\
\hline d/pl.2/3 & mini laesea & mini levesea & are/is giving you/them \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{Subject lst person singular} \\
\hline sing. 2 & mini lauta & mini lavauta & I am giving you(s) \\
\hline d/pl.2/3 & mini laesea?a & mini levesea?a & I am giving you/them \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The morpheme structure of the Varo forms is illustrated by the following two examples:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { oni- la- } v-\quad \text { a- } \quad=\mathrm{oni} \text { lava?a } \\
& \text { go-imperf-indic-tense-pers }=\text { (I) am going } \\
& \text { mini- la- v- a- gia }=\text { mini lavagia } \\
& \text { give-imperf-indin-tense-pers }=\text { (he/they) is/are } \\
& \text { giving us. }
\end{aligned}
\]
6. In Varo dialects a \(v\) precedes the present marker in some instances in the present imperfect indicative, see footnote 5.
7. For this reason Capell (1969) classifies Magi as an event dominated language.

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```
\(\left.\begin{array}{cccc} & \text { APPENDIX } 1 \\ & \text { A Specimen Table of the Regular } \\ \text { Intransitive Verb ?oma steal }\end{array}\right]\)
2.0 IMPERFECT ASPECT
2.1 Indicative Mood
I was steal- 1 ..... 1 ing (i.e. before

    yesterday)
                \(2 / 3\)
                    Distant Past Tense
I was steal-
ing (i.e. before
yesterday)2/3Distant Past Tense
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
Singular & Dual & Plural \\
Poma loi?a & ?oma loiuta & ?oma loisa
\end{tabular}
?oma losia ?oma losiava ?oma loi?oRecent Past Tense
I was steal- I ?oma lona?a ?oma lonauta ?oma lonasa
    ing (i.e, yesterday
    or today)?oma losaR.oma loseava?oma lono?o
Present Tense
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
I am stealing & 1 & ?oma la?a & ?oma lauta & ?oma lasa \\
& \(2 / 3\) & ?oma laesa & ?oma laeseava & ?oma lo?o
\end{tabular}
Future Tense
\begin{tabular}{cllll} 
I shall be & 1 & ?oma loisa?a & ?oma loisauta & ?oma loisesa \\
stealing & \(2 / 3\) & ?oma loisa & ?oma loiseava & ?oma loiso?o
\end{tabular}
2.2 Conditional Mood
\begin{tabular}{cllll}
\begin{tabular}{c} 
I should be \\
stealing
\end{tabular} & 1 & ?oma losiba?a & ?oma losibauta & ?oma losibasa \\
& \(2 / 3\) & ?oma losibaea & ?oma losibiava & ?oma losibo?o
\end{tabular}
2.3 Imperative MoodAlways steal: (Be steal- ?oma losiba ?oma losibiavai ?oma losibiauing!) (Habitually steal!)
2.4 Subjunctive Mood
\begin{tabular}{clll} 
I might be & 1 & ?oma loisa?aisi & ?oma loisautaisi ?oma loisesaisi \\
stealing & \(2 / 3\) & ?oma loisaisi & ?oma loiseavaisi
\end{tabular}
3.0 HABITUAL ASPECT--usually..., always..., used to..., was (morethan one day)..., etc.
3.1 Indicative Mood
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
I used to steal & 1 & ?oma sinei?a & ?oma sineiuta & ?oma sineisa \\
& \(2 / 3\) & ?oma sineia & ?oma sineiava & ?oma sinei?o
\end{tabular}

\section*{Recent Past Tense}
```

(as for Present)

```

Present Tense


\section*{I shall keep on I stealing}
\(2 / 3\)
4.2 Conditional Mood

\section*{I should keep l} on stealing

2/3
4.3 Imperative Mood Keep on stealing:

\subsection*{4.4 Subjunctive Mood}
```

I might keep on l {oma owonisa?aisi ?oma owonisautaisi ?oma owonisesaisi
(?oma owoisa?aisi,
etc.)

```

2/3 ?oma owonisaisi ?oma owoniseavaisi ?oma owoniso?oisi

\section*{APPENDIX 2}

A Specimen Table of the Regular Transitive Verb kea hit
1.0 PUNCTILIAR ASPECT--an action taken as a complete entity.
1.1 Indicative Mood

(.hit me keaseia kea nagua kea nagia kea naga keasea
(i.e., yesterday
or today)

\(\begin{array}{cc}1.5 & \text { Infinitive Mood } \\ \text { to hit } & \text { keakea ia }\end{array}\)
to hit keakea ia
2.0 IMPERFECT ASPECT--incomplete action, but not a long continued or habitual action.
2.1 Indicative Mood

...was hit- kea loseia kea losagua kea losagia kea losaga kea losea
ting me (i.e.,
yesterday or today)
...is/are kea iaeseia kea iagua kea iagia kea iaga
hitting me
Future Tense
...will be kea loiseia kea loisagua kea loisagia kea loisaga kea loisea
(kitting me ioisauta kea ioisea?a)

\subsection*{2.2 Conditional Mood}
...should be kea losibiia kea losibagua kea losibagia kea losibaga kea losibia hitting me (kea losibauta kea iosibia?a)

\subsection*{2.3 Imperative Mood}

Always hit kea iosibilai kea losibaguai
me, etc. kea losibagiai
kea iosibagai kea losibiai

\subsection*{2.4 Subjunctive Mood}
...might be kea loiselaisi
hitting me kea loisaguaisi kea loisagiaisi
kea loisagaisi
```

3.0 HABITUAL ASPECT--usually..., always..., used to...., was (more
than one day)..., etc.
3.1 Indicative Mood

| Meaning | 180 | 1do | 1 po | 2 so | 2/3d/po |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ...used to | kea sineila | kea sineigua | kea sineigia | kea sineiga | kea sineiata |
| hit me |  |  |  | (kea sineiuta | kea sineia?a) |

```

```

Future Tense
(as for Imperfect Aspect Section 4.21.12.3)
3.2 Conditional Mood
(as for Imperfect Aspect Section 4.21.13.3(v))
3.3 Imperative Mood
(as for Imperfect Aspect Section 4.21.13.51)
3.4 Subjunctive Mood
(as for Imperfect Aspect Section 4.21.13.4)
4.0 CONTINUOUS ASPECT--keep on..., continue to..., etc.
4.1 Indicative Mood

```
    Distant Past Tense
...continued kea owonila kea owonigua kea owonigia kea owoniga kea owoniata
to hit me (kea owoila, etc.) (kea owoniuta kea owonia?a)
fore yesterday)
                                    Recent Past Tense
...continued kea owoneia kea owonagua kea owonagia kea owonaga kea owonea
to hit me (kea owoeia, etc.) (kea owonauta kea owonea?a)
yesterday or today)

```

...will con- kea owonisela kea owonisagua
tinue to kea owonisagia
hit me
(kea owoisela, etc.)
kea owonisaga kea owonisea

```
(kea owonisauta
kea owonisea?a)

\subsection*{4.2 Conditional Mood}
```

...should kea owonibila kea owonibagua

```
...should kea owonibila kea owonibagua
continue to kea owonibagia
continue to kea owonibagia
hit me kea owonibaga kea owonibia
hit me kea owonibaga kea owonibia
    (kea owoibila, etc.) (kea owonibauta
    (kea owoibila, etc.) (kea owonibauta
                                    kea owonibia?a)
                                    kea owonibia?a)
4.3 Imperative Mood
Continue to kea owonibilai
    hit me! kea owonibaguai
                                    kea owonibagiai
                                    kea owonibagai
                            (kea owoibilai, etc.) kea owonibiai
4.4 Subjunctive Mood
...might kea owoniselaisi
continue kea owonisaguaisi
    to hit me
                                    kea owonisagiaisi
                                    kea owonisagaisi
                                    kea owoniseaisi
            (kea owoiselaisi, etc.)
                                    (kea owonisautaisi
                                    kea owonisea?aisi)
```

APPENDIX 3<br>Some Common Irregular Verbs and their Verb Forms

### 1.0 RECENT PAST TENSE

|  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| oni go | ona?a | onauta | onasa |
| osi talk | $2 / 3$ | onaea | oneava |

2.0 FUTURE TENSE

|  | 2/3 | oritsa | oniseava | oniso?o |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| osi talk | 1 | oisa?a | oisauta | oisesa |
|  | 2/3 | oisa | oiseava | oiso?o |
| isi eat | 1 | isa?a | isauta | isesa |
|  | 2/3 | isa | iseava | iso?o |
| usido | 1 | usa? a | usauta | usesa |
|  | $2 / 3$ | usa | useava | uso?o |

## A SHORT SKETCH OF YAREBA GRAMMAR

HARRY and NATALIA WEIMER
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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Yareba is a Non-Austronesian (or Papuan) language spoken by some 750 to 800 people living in what is commonly known as the Middle Musa valley of the Northern District, Papua. ${ }^{l}$ This is a large kunaicovered valley of the Musa River inland of the Didana Range and the Musa Gorge.

This paper describes the essential features of Yareba morphology and syntax ${ }^{2}$ and includes some material that has been published previously. 3 Further analysis of the language could be done, but the authors have been unable to carry on their analysis of the language since 1967.

### 2.0 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

### 2.1 Orthographic Symbols

In the following description the following symbols are used to represent thirteen consonant and five vowel phonemes in Yareba: b, d, g, $t, k, j, f, s, m, n, r, w, y, a, e, i, o$ and $u .^{4}$ Of these, frepresents a voiceless bilabial fricative [p], j a voiced alveolar affricate [dz] which fluctuates with an alveo-palatal affricate [dz] and an alveolar grooved fricative [z], s a voiceless, sometimes fronted, alveolar grooved fricative [s], $r$ a voiced alveolar flapped vibrant [r] fluctuating with a lateral flap [i], w a voiced labial continuant which is realized as a bilabial fricative [b] contiguous to /i/ and /e/, as a non-syllabic high back vocoid [w] between [a] and [ai] and as a labio-dental fricative [v] elsewhere. y represents a voiced nonsyllabic high front vocoid with palatal friction.

Stress is phonemic but is not marked in the examples used in this paper, except in Sections $3.11 .6,3.14,3.28$ and 5.0 where its placement is affected by reduplication.

### 2.2 Abbreviations

| A | adjective | $\mathrm{CA}_{3}$ | causative verbal |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| AC | accompaniment | CF | contrary to fact |
| ANS | anticipatory subject marker | CM | class marker |
| AS | aspect | Conj | conjunct enclitic |
| BEN | benefactive actor | Conj Clc conjunct clause cluster |  |
| Bnp | non-participating-benefactive <br> received | CR | conplete reduplication |
|  | participating-benefactive | Defin | definitive |
| Bp | causative hand | DEP | dependent clause |
| $\mathrm{CA}_{1}$ | causative foot | DES | desiderative |
| $\mathrm{CA}_{2}$ | caus | directional |  |


// phonemic
possessive
plural
precedence
partial reduplication
pronoun
stative predicate
subject
singular
simple independent sentence sequential sentence stem
subordinate
subject
time/temporal
Tense
primary verb
secondary verb
tertiary verb
clause juncture
obligatory
optional
falling intonation and pause rising intonation and pause can occur a number of times phonetic

### 3.0 MORPHOLOGY

Yareba word classes are divided into two broad categories on the basis of internal structure and external distribution. These categories are verbs and non-verbs. Verbs may be inflected for aspect, tense, number, person and mood, and fill the obligatory predicate tagmeme of all clauses except the equational clause. Non-verbs are never inflected for aspect, tense, number, person, or mood but may appear as fillers in the optional non-verbal peripheral tagmemes of clauses

### 3.1 Verbs ${ }^{5}$

There are three major verb classes: primary, secondary and tertiary verbs. Primary verbs contrast with other verbs in the following ways: (l) morphology: only primary verbs select such categories
as aspect, tense, number, person, mood, anticipatory subject, dependent clause and emphasis; (2) distribution: the primary verb is not dependent upon any other verb in a clause, it occurs in clause-final position unless an included phrase is added for clarification, and, with the exception of quotations and one other construction, it is the only primary verb in a given clause. Secondary verbs may occur singly or in a sequence and are dependent upon the primary verb to complete a construction. Tertiary verbs may also occur singly or in sequence. They may occur as an auxiliary to either primary or secondary verbs, and are also dependent upon the primary verb to complete a construction. This paper will deal mainly with the primary verb, and will mention only briefly the secondary, tertiary and complex verbs.

Throughout the verb morphology sequences of identical vowels coalesce, 1.e. $\mathrm{V}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{1} \rightarrow \mathrm{~V}_{1}$. Examples are:

```
/yau-r-eba-a-su/ \(\rightarrow\) /yaurebasu/;
```

/fa-r-i-i-ta/ $\rightarrow / f a r i t a /$.

### 3.11 Primary Verbs

Primary verbs are composed of a stem plus one or more of the following morphemes:

Prefixes: Directional (DI);
Suffixes: Class Marker (CM), Aspect (AS), Tense (TE), Number (NU), Person (PE), Mood (MO);
Enclitics: Anticipatory Subject (ANS), Dependent Clause (DEP), Emphasis (EM).

The co-occurrence possibilities will be described in conjunction with each morpheme.

### 3.11.1 Directional

The directional category is optional and has only been observed with the verbs come and go. It distinguishes two prefixes, /m-/ up and /t-/ down.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /m-ani-a/ } \\
& \text { up-go-you } \\
& \text { go up! }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
/ t-a n i-a /
$$

down-go-you go down!

### 3.11.2 Class Marker

The occurrence of a series of consonants between the final vowel of the verb stem and most suffixes with an initial vowel serves to
define four classes of verb stems. ${ }^{6}$ The consonants $/-t /, /-n /$, and $/-r /$ function as class marking morphemes in this way.

Class markers always occur with aspect and negative mood, but never with future indicative, imperative, desiderative, benefactive, and negative purpose tense moods unless aspect is present. The only combinations of stem and vowel-initial suffix which do not take such a class marker are: (a) Class I, II or III stem with /-i/ non-singular person past; (b) Class I stem with /-ø/ lst person singular, and /-i/ non-singular persons in the near past tense, with all persons in the past tense, and with /-e/ tertiary verb marker.

The allomorphs /-t ~-s/define Class I stems. /-t/ occurs in present and near past completive tenses, and /-s/ occurs in the near past tense.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { /i-t-a-su/ } \\
\text { eat-CM-Pres-he } \\
\text { he is eating }
\end{gathered}
$$

$$
\begin{gathered}
/ i-t-a i-n u / \\
e a t-C M-N P C-h e
\end{gathered}
$$

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { /i-s-i-nu/ } \\
\text { eat-CM-NP-he }
\end{gathered}
$$

he ate (near past completive) he ate (near past)

The allomorphs /-n $\sim-r /$ define Class II stems. /-r/ occurs in past tense first person singular only and /-n/ occurs elsewhere.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { /mu-r-e/ } & \text { /mu-n-i-nu/ } \\
\text { take-CM-I } & \text { take-CM-NP-he } \\
I \text { took (past) } & \text { he took (near past) }
\end{array}
$$

The morpheme /-r/ defines Class III stems.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { /e-r-a-su/ } \\
\text { see-CM-Pres-he } \\
\text { he is seeing }
\end{gathered}
$$

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { /e-r-i-nu/ } \\
\text { see-CM-NP-he } \\
\text { he saw (near past) }
\end{gathered}
$$

Class IV stems are defined by up to four stem allomorphs.

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { /odi-ø-a/ } & \text { /od-a-tane/ } \\
\text { put-Imp-you } & \text { put-Pres-I } \\
\text { put it! } & \text { I am putting } \\
\text { lodi-ø-ne/ } & \text { fod-e/ } \\
\text { put-NP-I } & \text { put-I } \\
\text { I put (near past) } & \text { I put (past) }
\end{array}
$$

The following is a list of common stems together with their class marking consonants given in brackets:

```
Class I: i-(t) eat ma-(t) give
    u- (t) do
    ou- (t) cook
    imu- (t) think
    yana- (t) spear
    yawi- (t) read or count
    wiro- (t) mend or heal
Class II: ura- (n) fight
    mu- (n) take
    ata- (n) meet
Class III:u- (r) hit
    e- (r) see
    a- (r) come
    ya- (r) burn
Class IV: odi- (ø) put
```

```
iru- (t) deceive
```

iru- (t) deceive
wara- (t) grow
wara- (t) grow
imoi- (t) rest
imoi- (t) rest
nau- (t) hear
nau- (t) hear
buri- (t) touch
buri- (t) touch
iyara-(t) afraid
iyara-(t) afraid
si- (n) finished
sa- (n) throw
you- (r) puzz or push
dau- (r) dig
fa- (r) arrived
an- (\varnothing) go

```

\subsection*{3.11.3 Aspect}

There are three optional aspects. The Durative aspect signifies either a continuous action extending for at least several days or a habitual action. It is marked by /-ei-/in the future tense and /-eb-/ in all other tenses.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { /yau-r-eb-a-su/ } \\
\text { sit-CM-AS-Pres-he } \\
\text { he (habitually) sits down }
\end{gathered}
\]

The Repetitive aspect is marked by /-edibi-/ in the future,/-edibim-/ in the near past, and /-edib-/ in all other tenses.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { /yau-r-edib-i-nu/ } \\
\text { sit-CM-AS-NP-he } \\
\text { he was (repeatedly) sitting down }
\end{gathered}
\]

The Repetitive Durative aspect signifies an action repeated over a long period of time, and is marked by a compounding of the repetitive and durative suffixes: /-edibei-/ in the future and /-edibeb-/in all other tenses.

> /yau-r-edibeb-a-su/
> sit-CM-AS-Pres-he
he (habitually and repeatedly) sits down

\subsection*{3.11.4 Non-Future Indicative Tenses}

There are four non-future indicative tenses: Present (pres), Near Past (NP), \({ }^{7}\) Near Past Completive (NPC) and Past (P). The typical structure of verbs with these tenses may be represented by the formula:
\(\pm \mathrm{DI}+\mathrm{STEM} \pm \mathrm{CM} \pm \mathrm{AS} \pm \mathrm{TE} \pm \mathrm{NU} \pm \mathrm{PE} \pm \mathrm{ANS} \pm \mathrm{DEP} \pm \mathrm{EM}\)
Thus, following the aspect suffix, if any, first there is a tense suffix except for the past tense, then next a number suffix /-i/for nonsingular subjects, then an obligatory suffix to indicate subject person. The actual combinations of these tenses, number and person suffixes are all listed in Chart 1.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Person Number & \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{Present} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{Near Past Completive} & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{Near Past} & \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{Past} \\
\hline lst sing. & -a & - tane & -ai & -ne & - 0 & & -ne & & - \\
\hline 2/3 sing. & -a & -su & - ai & -nu & -i & & -nu & & -i \\
\hline lst dual & & -tu & - ai & -tu & & -i & -tu & & -tu \\
\hline 2/3 dual & & & & & & & & & \\
\hline lst pl. \} & & -si & -ai & -si & & -i & -si & & -si \\
\hline 2/3 pl. & & -ta & -ai & -ta & & -i & - ta & & -ta \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CHART 1: ENDINGS FOR THE NON-FUTURE INDICATIVE
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { /i-t-a-su/ } & \text { /i-t-ai-nu/ } \\
\text { eat-CM-Pres-he } & \text { eat-CM-NPC-he } \\
\text { he eating } & \text { he ate } \\
\text { /i-s-i-nu/ } & / \mathbf{i - i / f} \rightarrow / i / \\
\text { eat-CM-NP-he } & \text { eat-he } \\
\text { he ate } & \text { he ate (past) }
\end{array}
\]

Two of the person ambiguities inherent in the person suffixes of Chart 1 are resolved by the use of a pronoun as the free subject. The free pronouns are:
singular dual plural
lst person na
2nd person a
3rd person dawa
/i-t-a-su/
eat-CM-Pres-you/he
you are eating, he is eating
```

        /a itasu/ /dawa itasu/
    you are eating he is eating
                /i-t-a-i-ta/
                eat-CM-Pres-NU-you(Pl)/they
            you(PI) are eating, they are eating
        /ya itaita/
    you(Pl) are eating they are eating
/ema itaita/

```

The person ambiguity of the suffix /-si/ (see Chart l) is maintained in the free pronoun /ya/ and can only be resolved by the use of numerals, names, demonstratives and relative pronouns.

\subsection*{3.11.5 Future Indicative Tense}

The structure of verbs in the future tense is similar to that of the other indicative tenses but is complicated by the double indication of subject person. Future verbs may be represented by the formula:
\[
\mathrm{DI}+\mathrm{STEM} \pm \mathrm{CM} \pm \mathrm{AS}+\mathrm{TE}+\mathrm{PE} \pm \mathrm{NU} \pm \mathrm{PE} \pm \mathrm{ANS} \pm \mathrm{DEP} \pm \mathrm{EM}
\]

The number suffix and extra person suffix do not occur with an anticipatory subject suffix. The future tense suffix has three allomorphs: /-m-/for the first person singular, and for all other persons /-f-/or /-b-/(only /-b-/following aspect suffixes), being morphologically determined by the particular verb stem. The combinations of tense, person, number and person suffixes are shown in Chart 2.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline Person Number & Future \\
\hline lst sing. & -m -a -u \\
\hline 2nd sing. & -f -a -su \\
\hline 3rd sing. & -f-i -su \\
\hline lst dual & -f-u -i-tu \\
\hline 2nd dual & -f -awa -i -si \\
\hline 3 rd dual & -f -isi-i-si \\
\hline lst pl. & -f-e -i-si \\
\hline 2nd pl. & -f -o -i-ta \\
\hline 3 rd pl . & -f-ita-i-ta \\
\hline CHART 2: & INGS FOR FUTURE INDICATIVE \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\[
\begin{gathered}
/ \mathrm{i}-\mathrm{f}-\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{i}-\mathrm{si} / \\
\text { eat-Fut-we-NU-we } \\
\text { we will eat }
\end{gathered}
\]
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Ianib-o-i-ta/ } \\
& \text { go-Fut-you-NU-you } \\
& \text { you(Pl) will go }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.11.6 Non-Indicative Moods}

There are five non-indicative moods: Negative (Neg), Imperative (IMP), Desiderative (DES), Benefactive (BEN) and Negative Purpose (Neg Pur).

The negative mood has the simplest structure of these moods. It has a mood suffix /-awal but no tense, number or person suffixes. The formula for the negative mood is:
\[
\pm \mathrm{DI}+\mathrm{STEM}+\mathrm{CM} \pm \mathrm{AS}+\mathrm{MO} \pm \mathrm{DEP} \pm \mathrm{EM}
\]

The negative mood may be used along in situations where tense, number, or person suffixes are well understood, such as in reply utterances.
```

/u-t-awa/
do-CM-Neg

```
I didn't do it, he isn't doing it, we didn't do it, etc.

However, verbs in the negative mood when followed by a primary verb must be followed by the verb/u/ do, which is marked for tense, number and person. 8 The particle /da/ not may also be used with future tensemoods to express negation, but this contrasts with the future tense verb plus a negative mood do verb which together have the sense of negative ability.
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { /u-t-awa u-s-i-nu/ } & \text { /i-t-awa u-f-e-i-si/ } \\
\text { do-CM-NEG do-CM-NP-he } & \text { eat-CM-Neg do-fut-we-NU-we } \\
\text { he didn't do it } & \text { we can't eat it } \\
\text { /da u-f-i-su/ } & \text { /da u-a/ } \\
\text { Neg do-Fut-he-he } & \text { Neg do-Fut-you } \\
\text { he won't do it } & \text { don't do it! }
\end{array}
\]

The imperative "mood" has both "tense" and person suffixes as shown in Chart 3, but no number or mood suffixes. Imperative verbs may be represented by the formula:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \pm \mathrm{DI}+\mathrm{STEM} \pm \mathrm{CM} \pm \mathrm{AS}+\mathrm{TE}+\mathrm{PE} \pm \mathrm{ANS} \pm \mathrm{EM} \\
& / \mathbf{i}-\boldsymbol{\emptyset}-\mathrm{a} / \rightarrow / \mathbf{i a / r} \\
& \text { eat-IMP-you } \\
& \text { eat-IMP-they }
\end{aligned}
\]
eat it!
they will definitely eat
Negative imperatives are of the same form except that they are precedde by da, e.g.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { da ua } \\
\text { Neg you do } \\
\text { don't do it }
\end{gathered}
\]
\begin{tabular}{cc}
\(\frac{\text { da ia }}{\text { don't eat }}\) & \(\frac{\text { da wia }}{\text { don't speak }}\) \\
he ifita won't eat & da anibe \\
we won't go
\end{tabular}

However, note that:
(1) for lst and 3rd persons the imperative "tense" suffix is the same as the future suffix, and has the same two morphologically defined variants /-f-/ and /-b-/;
(ii) in the second person singular imperative form a limited number of verb stems partially reduplicate to indicate a plural object. They are all listed below in one of five patterns.
(1) The first CV of the stem reduplicated:
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { adi-a } & \text { adidi-a } \\
\text { trample it! } & \text { trample them! } \\
\text { rói-a } & \text { rorói-a } \\
\text { strip it off! } & \text { strip them off! }
\end{array}
\]
(2) The second \(C V\) of the stem reduplicated:
```

tasi-a
tasisi-a
tear it! tear them!

```
(3) The initial consonant of the stem added as a suffix and the stress moves to the -a suffix:
fomú-a fomuf-á
break it! break them!
(4) The final vowel of stem changed, the initial consonant suffixed, and the stress moves to the -a suffix:
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
ma furía & ma furuf-á \\
break the stick! & break the sticks! \\
ma buría & ma burub-á \\
pluck the flower! & pluck the flowers!
\end{tabular}
(5) The final vowel of stem lost, the initial consonant suffixed, and the stress moves to the -a suffix:
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { dorói-a } & \text { dorod-á } \\
\text { go through the hole! } & \text { go through the holes! } \\
\text { borói-a } & \text { borob-á } \\
\text { reveal it! } & \text { reveal them! }
\end{array}
\]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Person Number & Imperative & Desiderative & Benefactive & Negative Purpose \\
\hline lst sing. & -m -a & -m-a -ne & -m-a -inia & -o-ne -a \\
\hline 2nd sing. & - \(\emptyset\) - a & -f-a -e & -f-a -inia & -o -so -a \\
\hline 3rd sing. & -f -i & -f-i -e & -f -i -inia & -o -so -a \\
\hline lst dual & -f - & -f-u -ne & -f -u -inia & -o -itu -a \\
\hline 2nd dual & -q-awa & -f -awa -e & -f -awa -inia & -o-to -a \\
\hline 3 rd dual & -f -isi & -f -isi-e & -f -isi-inia & -o-to -a \\
\hline lst pl. & -f - e & -f-e -ne & -f -e -inia & -o-isi-a \\
\hline 2nd pl. & -ø -awe & -f -o -e & -f -o -inia & -o-to -a \\
\hline 3 rd pl . & -f -ita & -f -ita -e & -f -ita -inia & -o-to -a \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CHART 3: ENDINGS FOR NON-INDICATIVE MOODS
The desiderative, benefactive and negative purpose moods are all marked for tense, person and mood as indicated in the formula:
\[
\pm \mathrm{DI}+\mathrm{STEM} \pm \mathrm{CM} \pm \mathrm{AS}+\mathrm{TE}+\mathrm{PE}+\mathrm{MO} \pm \mathrm{ANS} \pm \mathrm{DEP} \pm \mathrm{EM}
\]

The desiderative and benefactive take the future tense suffix and the negative purpose takes a negative purpose "tense" suffix /-o-/. The combinations of tense, person and mood suffixes are all shown in Chart 3. A desiderative verb by itself signifies a future desire. To indicate any other tense (or even future) it is followed by another primary verb indicating tense and whether the desire is the speaker's or the actor's (which may include the speaker).
/i-m-a-ne/
eat-Fut-I-desid
I want to eat
/i-f-e-ne w-a-tane/
eat-Fut-we-desid say-Pres-I
I want us to eat
/i-f-e-ne u-t-a-i-si/
eat-Fut-we-DES do-CM-pres-NU-we
we want to eat
/ani-b-o-e w-ai-ne/
go-Fut-you-DES say-NPC-I
I wanted you to go
/ani-b-o-e
u-t-ai-i-tal
go-Fut-you(PI)-DES do-CM-NPC-NU-you
you wanted to go

The usage and meaning of the benefactive mood is not fully understood, but it seems to signify a future action on behalf of another unspecified person.

> /we-m-a-inia/
> speak-Fut-I-BEN
> I will speak for \((\) you/him/them)

Verbs in the negative purpose mood are always preceded by another primary verb with anticipatory subject marker.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { Iani-b-a-ro u-o-isi-a/ } \\
\text { go-IMP-you-ANS hit-Neg Pur-we-Neg Pur } \\
\text { Go away lest we hit you! } \\
\text { Ianib-a-te } \begin{array}{l}
\text { u-o-so-a/ } \\
\text { go-IMP-you-ANS hit-Neg Pur-you-Neg Pur } \\
\text { Go away lest you hit him! }
\end{array}
\end{gathered}
\]

\subsection*{3.11.7 Anticipatory Subject}

The anticipatory subject enclitics occur only on primary verbs in independent clause constructions: /-te/ anticipates the same subject to follow (SS); /-rol anticipates a change of subject to follow (DS).
\[
\text { /yau- } \varnothing \text {-ne-te } i-\varnothing \text {-ne-ro } \quad \text { fa-r-i-i-ta-te yau-r-i-i-ta/ }
\]
sit-NP-I-SS eat-NP-I-DS come-CM-NP-NU-they-SS sit-CM-NP-NU-they

I sat down and \(I\) ate and they came and they sat down

\subsection*{3.11.8 Dependent Clause}

There are two dependent clause enclitics that are affixed, almost exclusively, to primary verbs. One of them, /-na/, has been observed to occur several times on secondary verbs, but this construction is very rare. The meanings are as follows: /-na/ when, since; if /-bal because, therefore.
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { /we-i-na ekod-e/ } & \text { /we-i-ba ekod-e/ } \\
\text { say-he-DEP quit-I } & \text { say-he-DEP quit-I } \\
\text { When he spoke I quit (past) } & \text { Because he spoke I quit (past) }
\end{array}
\]

\subsection*{3.11.9 Emphasis}

There are two emphasis enclitics:/-go/ is and ordinary emphatic especially used with the imperative mood; /-de/ is a defensive emphatic in the face of a contrary suggestion.

\subsection*{3.12 Secondary Verbs}

Secondary verbs are divided into two groups: those that stand in a time sequence relationship with the primary verb and those that stand
in a simultaneous time relationship with the primary verb. These verbs may occur singly, in sequence or together in a single construction.

The construction of secondary verbs is: Stem plus CM plus a secondary verb morpheme. /-ebe/ verbs fill a continuous extended time sequence relationship:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /m-an-ebe ai-si/ } \\
& \text { DI-go-Vs sleep-we }
\end{aligned}
\]

We went up and up and then we slept.
/-eda/ verbs manifest a simultaneous action relationship with the primary verb.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /yaub-eda i-si/ } \\
& \text { sitting-Vs eat-we } \\
& \text { We sat and ate. }
\end{aligned}
\]

In sequence:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /ya-nu sebo-ro i-e } \\
& \text { we-Poss singZe.boys'.house-Loc eat-Vtt } \\
& \text { me youb-eda sawadi } \\
& \text { no become-CM-NP-NU-we-AN } \rightarrow \text { SS sitting-Vs funny } \\
& \text { u-t-eda yo w-edib-ai-i-si/ } \\
& \text { do-CM-Vs Zaugh say-AS-NPC-NU-we } \\
& \text { In our single boys' house we finished eating and } \\
& \text { sat acting funny and Zaughing. }
\end{aligned}
\]

Occurring together:

> /ina-r-ebe duburo yaub-eda yawi-ne/ walk-CM-Vs Zater sitting-Vs read-I I was walking and walking and later I sat and read.

A secondary verb suffixed with -ebe and then may be reduplicated to express continuation of the action.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { dobér-ebe dobér-ebe imóisinu } \\
& \text { he searched and searched and then he rested } \\
& \text { mán-ebe mán-ebe mán-ebe maidáni ótoro fári } \\
& \text { he went up and up and up and then he arrived at } \\
& \text { the top of the mountain }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.13 Tertiary Verbs}

Tertiary verbs are used in conjunction with either primary or secondary verbs. In the mind of the speaker the two or more actions involved are as one composite action. The tertiary verb construction is:
```

Stem + CM + Tertiary morpheme

```

Singly:
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { Ifa-r-e ani-al } \\
\text { arrive-CM-Vtt go-imp-you }
\end{array}
\]

In sequence:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { leme fefera erio egi wou-r-e amo od-e } \\
& \text { people many water animal carry-CM-Vtt up put-Vtt } \\
& \text { kaiya-ma erio egi uma-n-e furufa-r-e } \\
& \text { knife-Inst water animal cut-CM-Vtt break-CM-Vtt } \\
& \text { tini-ro od-eb-i-tal } \\
& \text { tin-L put-AS-NU-they } \\
& \text { A Zot of people were carrying fish up, putting them, } \\
& \text { cutting them with knives, breaking them up and } \\
& \text { putting them in tins. }
\end{aligned}
\]

With secondary verbs:
/aneba yowe-r-e ar-eda w-a-i-ta/
why chase-CM-Vtt come-Vs say-pres-NU-you(Pl)
Why do you come chasing (me) and talking?
/ogo-ro ai-n-e ina-r-ebe you-ro mam-i/
water-L lie.down-CM-Vtt walk-CM-Vs raft-L grasp-he
He was floating in the water and then he grasped the raft.
Frequently the tertiary verb contracts to the stem only, with each stem retaining the word stress. The most frequent occurrence of the contracted tertiary verbs is with the verb phrase nucleus occurring in the imperative mood. But contracted tertiary verbs have also been noted when the nucleus has been in other moods and in all tenses.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { fa mu ma } \\
& \text { St St you give } \\
& \text { come get it and give it to him } \\
& \text { ogo t-a ta } \\
& \text { water DI-St you. bathe } \\
& \text { go down into the water and bathe } \\
& \text { t-a yaurinu } \\
& \text { DI-St he sat } \\
& \text { he went down and sat }
\end{aligned}
\]
unable to uncover any reason for this. Some speakers also have more of a tendency to contract the tertiary verb than do others.

Tertiary verbs may also be modified by either bou (lit. preparing), gou (lit. carefully) or me (no). In the case of bou and gou the primary verb must become the verb to do and for me it must become the verb to become.

Examples:
(1) bou
\(\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{r}-\mathrm{e}\) bou usinu
St-CM-Vtt prepared he.did
he inspected it
(This is done in preparation, say, for planting a garden.)
mu-n-e bou usinu
St-CM-Vtt prepared he.did
he prepared by taking
(This phrase is used in gathering food in preparation for a feast, or personal belongings in preparation for a move.)
(ii) gou
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { e-r-e ua } \\
\text { St-CM-Vtt carefully you.do } \\
\text { look carefully } \\
\text { mu-n-e } \quad \text { gou usinu } \\
\text { St-CM-Vtt carefully he.did } \\
\text { he took (it) carefully }
\end{gathered}
\]
(iii) me
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { an-e me sita } \\
& \text { St-Vtt no they.became } \\
& \text { (went no they became) } \\
& \text { going, they all left } \\
& \text { i-e me sita } \\
& \text { St-Vtt no they.became } \\
& \text { (ate no they became) } \\
& \text { they ate all the food }
\end{aligned}
\]

Both bou and gou may be reduplicated with a distributive meaning given to the verb phrase.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { e-r-e bou bou usinu } \\
& \text { St-CM-Vtt inspect he.did } \\
& \text { he inspected different things }
\end{aligned}
\]

> mu-n-e bou bou usinu
> St-CM-Vtt prepared he.did
> he prepared different things by taking
> e-r-e gou gou ua St-CM-Vtt carefully you. do look carefully at different things
> mu-n-e gou gou usinu St-CM-Vtt carefully he.did he carefully took different things

The bou and gou phrases may also be negative.

> e-r-e bou u-t-awa usinu
> St-CM-Vtt inspect St-CM-Neg
> he didn't inspect it
> e-r-e gou u-t-awa usinu
> St-CM-Vtt carefully St-CM-Neg he.did
> he didn't look carefully (he was careless)
\(\frac{\text { da }}{\text { Neg }}\)\begin{tabular}{c} 
er-e \\
St-CM-Vtt carefully you. do
\end{tabular}
don't look carefully

Finally, tertiary verbs (suffixed with -e) may be reduplicated and followed by a durative form of \(u\) - do to express a repeated action.
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { náu-i } & \text { náu-e náu-e utébi } \\
\text { he sniffed } & \text { he kept sniffing around } \\
\text { he looked } & \text { he kept looking around }
\end{array}
\]

\subsection*{3.14 Complex Verbs}

These consist of a non-inflectable verb plus a primary, secondary, or tertiary verb. The majority of the complex verbs are built upon the verb to do.
```

/durami u-t-a-su/

```
    run do-CM-Pres-he
            He is running.
/durami u-t-ebe imoi-s-i-nu/
    run do-CM-Vs rest-CM-NP-he
He was running and then he rested.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { /durami u-e fa-r-i-nu/ } \\
\text { run do-Vtt arrive-CM-NP-he } \\
\text { He arrived running. }
\end{gathered}
\]

Complex verbs may be marked for repeated action or plural object by reduplicating the first \(C V\) of the first word of the unit.
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { iwíji usinu } & \text { iwiwiji usinu } \\
\text { he inflicted a wound } & \text { he inflicted many wounds on one object } \\
\text { éta anita } & \text { etáta anita } \\
\text { move away } & \text { move away from everything } \\
\text { abe sa } & \text { abébe sad } \\
\text { throw it away } & \text { throw them all away }
\end{array}
\]

There is a set of complex verbs whose first word ends in -gari, the majority of which reduplicate the first \(C V\) of the first word to indicate a plural object:
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
awégari usinu & awéwegari usinu \\
he capsized it & he capsized them \\
serígari usinu & sesérigari usinu \\
he by-passed him & he by-passed them (one after another) \\
fisúgari usinu & fifisugari usinu \\
he pinched him & he pinched them
\end{tabular}

There is another set of complex verbs whose first word ends in -ari. Of these many do not seem to reduplicate, a few show full reduplication, and a few show partial reduplication and replace -aria by -egari.
gowári usínu
he poked a hole in the ground
gogówegari usínu he poked holes in the ground
dodófegari usínu
he flattened them

Three verbs show other changes when they reduplicate.
jugáriusínu jujúwegari usínu
he felled a tree he felled trees
```

gogófari usínu wowófegari usinu

```
    he dented it he dented them
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { jegirari usínu } & \text { jejérigari usínu } \\
\text { he knelt } & \text { he knelt repeatedly }
\end{array}
\]

Finally, two instances of complete reduplication have been observed in which \(m\) - is prefixed to the reduplicated form, and two problematic instances in which b-is prefixed to the reduplicated form. In one of these examples the first vowel of the reduplicated form is also replaced by a.
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
igéra usinu & igéra magéra usinu \\
he stared & he stared intently \\
uyár-i & uyár-e buyár-e usinu \\
he stood up & he tumbled about \\
iwáwa usinu & iwáwa áta báta usinu \\
he made a mistake & he made many mistakes
\end{tabular}

Some, but not all, complex verbs show full reduplication of their first word. Of these, some only occur in the reduplicated form, and some always have a significant vowel change occurring along with reduplication.

About twelve complex verbs whose first word ends in -ari fully reduplicate to indicate a plural object and repeated action.
isu kosári usínu isu kosári kosári usínu
he scraped a stick outwards
nio bijári usínu
he gritted his teeth

> he scraped the sticks outwards
nío bijári bijári usínu
he repeatedly gritted his teeth
Some complex verbs which are onomatopoeic only occur in the reduplicated form.
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
kúama káu káu usínu úkuma úku úku usínu \\
the dog barked & the mourning dove cooed
\end{tabular}

> dána gói gói usínu
he knocked
When some complex verbs reduplicate, either the first or all the vowels of the reduplicated part are always replaced by a.

Replacement of the first vowel by a indicates a plural object.
káiyama iwiji usínu he inflicted a wound with a knife
káiyama iwíji awíji usínu
he inflicted wounds on many objects with a knife


Some other complex verbs which only occur in a reduplicated form may have the first vowel or all the vowels of the reduplicated form replaced by a to indicate a plural subject. Plurality must also be shown in the inflection of the verb.
tówima siri síri usínu
the snake flicked its tongue
wadía rúfu rúfu usíni
he shook the cloth
údima gíno gíno usínu
the duck waddled
tówima síri sára uita the snakes flicked their tongues
wadía rúfu ráfa uíta
they shook the cloth
údima gíno gána uíta
the ducks waddled

\subsection*{3.15 Causative Verbs}

Any verb can be made causative by preceding it with one of the following causative words: we to cause to do by speaking; amune to cause to do by using the feet; ma to cause to do by using the hand. Examples:
\(\frac{\text { we }}{\mathrm{CA}_{3}}\) berai he.scattered
he caused to scatter (verbally) he caused to scatter (with feet)
\[
\frac{\mathrm{ma}}{\mathrm{CA}_{1}} \text { berai }
\] he caused to scatter (with hands)

Note, however, that one cannot always use all three causatives in every situation. For instance one cannot use amune or we with the verb get up, but one can say:
\[
\begin{gathered}
\frac{\mathrm{ma}}{\mathrm{CA}} \text { yya } \text { you stand } \\
\text { make him get up! }
\end{gathered}
\]

Occasionally two causatives are combined, as in
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \frac{\text { we }}{\mathrm{CA}_{3}} \frac{\text { ma }}{\mathrm{CA}_{1}} \text { good-Int you.do } \\
& \text { bless him/them/us! }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.2 Non-Verbs}

These are unlike the verbs in that they are single morpheme elements that may occur alone in their designated slots, although they may be built into phrases by affixation or modification. There is considerable overlapping of non-verbal word classes, for example, the same forms may be found functioning as adjectives and adverbs.

Non-verbal word classes are distinguished by internal (affixation) and external (distribution) criteria.
3.21 Nouns are a large class of words filling the head slot of noun phrases or as single morphemes filling the subject, object and time slots on the clause level. Nouns may never be affixed with the definitive morphemes -do or -doni.

Nouns have been placed into five sub-classes by reason of internal differences and by reason of the clause level tagmemes which several of the sub-classes manifest.
3.21.1 General Nouns are words which as single morphemes may occur as fillers of subject and object slots, or as head of a phrase may occur in locative, participating-benefactive, and non-participatingbenefactive slots. These words may never occur in the time slot or as single morphemes in the locative slot.

Manifesting the general noun sub-class are words like:
```

amara male
aruma female (unmarried)
aweta wife
awera husband
eme men
uwara people
maidani mountain
egi game (edible)
nauwa bush (forest)

```
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
oi & bush (forest) \\
su & house \\
dubena & back \\
ibo & front
\end{tabular}
3.21.2 Kinship Nouns are words that are obligatorily possessed, and show that possession within the composition of the word. They may never occur as fillers of the time tagmeme, or as single morphemes as fillers of the locative, participating-benefactive, or non-participatingbenefactive slots. Manifesting this sub-class are all kinship terms of which the following words are representative:
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { baya my/our mother } \\
\text { danua } & \text { his mother } \\
\text { baba my/our father } \\
\text { damama his father } \\
\text { kaka my/our elder brother } \\
\text { datae his elder brother } \\
\text { yabue our younger brother } \\
\text { dabue his younger brother } \\
\text { yarome our father-in-Zaw } \\
\text { yaroya our mother-in-Zaw } \\
& \text { (and many more) }
\end{array}
\]
3.21.3 Place Nouns are those nouns that may occur as single morpheme fillers of the locative slot. The following words are representative of this sub-class of nouns:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
abana middle \\
duboro on top \\
oto & top \\
etara there \\
dei & on top \\
emina below \\
wowona underneath \\
tutubu under the house \\
etua there
\end{tabular}
3.21.4 Time Nouns fill the time slot on the clause level either as single morpheme, as head of a phrase, or words as part of an embedded descriptive clause.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { yawi afternoon } \\
\text { wai time }
\end{array}
\]
```

awona today/now
dumu night/dark
arena yesterday
waidumu tomorrow
bodere long ago
auboko before/already
duburo Zater
nono again

```
3.21.5 Derived Nouns are words which are derived by taking verb stems plus class marker, except in the case of the \(t\) class in which case the class marker is omitted, plus the nominalizer -eta. These words frequently occur in the predicate slot of infinitive constructions.
```

    yau-r-eta
    St-CM-Nom
    a chair
    (< yau-(r) to sit)
ma-eta
St-Nom
a gift
< ma-(t) to give)
a-r-eta
St-CM-Nom
a road leading to
(< a-(r) to come)
i-eta
St-Nom
food
(< i-(t) to eat)
an-eta
St-Nom
a road leading away
(< an-(ø) to go)
ou-eta
St-Nom
an-eta
St-Nom
a road leading away
$(<$ an- $(\varnothing)$ to go $)$
ou-eta
St-Nom
a cooker (stove)
$(<$ ou- $(t)$ to cook $)$

```
3.22 Personal Pronouns substitute for nouns and occur in the appositional slot of noun phrases. Also in contrast to nouns they may never be affixed with the -ma action relator focus enclitic.

The personal pronouns are listed in the following chart.
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline & Sg. & D1. & Pl. \\
\hline 1 & na & wa & ya \\
\hline 2 & a & ya & ya \\
\hline 3 & dawa & ya & ema \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CHART 7: PERSONAL PRONOUNS
3.23 Demonstrative Pronouns are a small closed class of four words which describe a person, piace or thing as being the, this, that, these, those or which. These words fill the limiter slot in noun phrases. Demonstrative pronouns may also be affixed with the definitive enclitics -do and -doni. The demonstratives are:
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { i } & \text { the } \\
\text { ewa } & \text { this/these } \\
\text { etei } & \text { that/those } \\
\text { abo which }
\end{array}
\]
3.24 Interrogative Pronouns are a small class of words filling the interrogative slot in clauses. They may never be affixed with the definitive -do and -doni.
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
ane & what \\
anene & how \\
ananu & whose \\
anaiya & who is it \\
aneba & why \\
ana & who \\
abododo & when \\
aboabo & how many
\end{tabular}
3.25 Adjectives are words that fill the modifying slot of modified noun phrases. Adjectives may only be inflected with one of the class of intensifiers.
3.25.1 This sub-class of adjectives has been labelled \(A_{1}\). These words function as quantifiers of modified noun phrases. These words sometimes appear to be filling the head slot of noun phrases, but in reality are modifying an omitted noun in an understood context. These are pre-position to the noun they modify. This is a small class of words and includes such words as:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
moana some \\
mui & anotherlother \\
botai first
\end{tabular}
3.25.2 The sub-class of Adjectives \(A_{2}\) function as limiters and include all numbers; this class also includes all exclamatory words. Even though numbers beyond three are almost exclusively borrowed from English, they still occur in the post-position along with the numbers in Yareba.
```

one demurai
two sadei
three rarogonu
four mui sadei eno mui sadei eno
(another two another two)
five age bunuba (thumb and fingers
held together)
ten age enabira enabira (hands
this side that side)

```
Besides the numbers the following words are members of this class:
```

fefera very many
nabana very big
daira big
taima many
deina ! (! = exclamation)

```
3.25.3 The sub-class \(A_{3}\) fills the descriptive slot of modified noun phrases. As free words they precede the noun they modify. As inflected, with intensifiers, they follow the noun they modify, or the noun may separate the adjective and the intensifier. Some of the words of the \(A_{3}\) sub-class are:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
dera & big \\
fuya & short \\
yafa & long \\
otowa & small \\
urumu & heavy \\
kobere & good \\
kotofu & good \\
kiki & Zittle \\
aika & different
\end{tabular}

All of the colours also belong to this class.
3.26 Adverbs are words that occur in the modifying slot of modified verb phrases. Except for overlapping from the adjectives which must be inflected with an intensifier when occurring as an adverb, these words are non-inflected words. Adverbs are manifested by such words as:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
sau & quick \\
kekerama & slow \\
me & nothing \\
ido & so then
\end{tabular}
```

eno like this
enanari in like manner
kobererau good
siosawere bad
derawere big
moko back (reciprocal)

```

Examples:
i amarama na uriba mawa moko ure
the man me he.hit.because him reciprocal I.hit
because the man hit me I hit himback
3.27 Intensibiers are words which are bound to \(A_{3}\) adjectives. Intensifiers frequently occur alone in noun phrases and are written as free words since in reality they are still modifying an \(A_{3}\) adjective in an understood context. Some of the intensifiers are:
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { were very (usually intensifying } \\
\text { something big or bad) } \\
\text { ratu } & \text { zittle } \\
\text { rau good } \\
\text { kanu small (chizdren) } \\
\text { rabo very big }
\end{array}
\]
e.g.
kiki ratu amara
Iittle Zittle boy
(A) very smazz boy.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { sau fare ania kekerama utawa usinu } \\
& \text { quickly arriving you.go } \\
& \text { pass by quickly } \\
& \text { kobere-rau ua } \\
& \text { good-Int you.do } \\
& \text { do it well } \\
& \begin{array}{l}
\text { kekerama utawa usinu } \\
\text { slowly didn't. do he.did } \\
\text { he didn't do it slowly }
\end{array} \\
& \begin{array}{l}
\text { me imane watane } \\
\text { no desiring.to. eat I.am. saying } \\
\text { I just want to eat (I don't want } \\
\text { to do anything eqse). }
\end{array} \\
& \text { sau mune bou bou usinu } \\
& \text { quickly taking prepared he.did } \\
& \text { quickly he prepared different things by taking } \\
& \text { dana ieta naba mairo mae } \\
& \text { he food to. me he. gave reciprocal I.gave } \\
& \text { I gave him back the food he gave me. }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.28 Plural Morphemes}

Most nouns and adjectives show plurality either by complete or partial reduplication. \({ }^{1 l}\) Complete reduplication signifies a distributive plural, that is, not several things as a group but several individual, distinct, or different things, e.g.,
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
ána & tree \\
ána ána & many different trees \\
aná & who \\
aná aná & who and who \\
ogó & water \\
ogó ogd & many different bodies of water \\
sadéi & two \\
sadéi sadéi & two by two
\end{tabular}

Note, however, that in a few instances there is a change from initialsyllable to second-syllable stress, e.g.,
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
éba & hole \\
ebá ebá & different holes \\
síni & thorn \\
siní siní & different thorns \\
dáma & meat \\
damá damá & different meats
\end{tabular}
and there is at least one instance in which an m-is prefixed to the reduplicated form, \({ }^{\text {ll }}\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { áika } & \text { different } \\
\text { áika máika } & \text { different ones }
\end{array}
\]

Partial reduplication of the first \(C V\) of nouns and adjectives shows plurality.
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
báka egg & babáka & eggs \\
iéta & food & iétata & foods \\
emétu & thing & emémetu & things \\
íni & root & iníni & roots \\
rátu & small & rarátu & smaZl pl. \\
ráu & good & raráu & good pl.
\end{tabular}

When an adjective modifies a noun both words are reduplicated to mark plurality.
iéta ráu good food iétata raráu good foods
However, a few nouns, most of which are kinship terms, take one of the following plural marking enclitics instead: -bo, -siri, -si, -ma, -mi, -mutu.

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
awéta woman & awéta-bo women \\
uwára person & uwára-bo people \\
kúa dog & kuá-siri dogs \\
bóro pig & boró-siri pigs \\
awéra husband & awéra-si husbands \\
amái sore & amái-ma sores \\
arúma daughter mámather daughters \\
bába my fatherathers \\
káka my elder brother & arúma-makámutu my eZder brothers
\end{tabular}

In addition a few nouns and adjectives are intrinsically plural and do not reduplicate.
```

masígu comrades
fáiya-were many
nesía alて

```

Otherwise there is generally agreement between plural nouns and their modifiers, e.g.
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
baka kikiratu & one small egg \\
babaka kikiraratu & many small eggs \\
aweta kobererau & one good woman \\
awetabo kobererarau & many good women \\
kua siosawere & one bad dog \\
kuasiri siosararabo many bad dogs \\
awera derawere & one big husband \\
awerasi derararabo many big husbands \\
kaka yafawere & one tall older brother \\
kakamutu yafararabo many tall older brothers
\end{tabular}
3.29 Clitics
\begin{tabular}{ll}
-ma & action relator focus \\
-na & intensive focus \\
-do & definitive \\
-doni & definitive \\
-ba & participating benefactive \\
-bai non-participating benefactive \\
-ro locative \\
-roma locative \\
-go emphatic \\
-de emphatic \\
-ma instrument \\
-ini or ini accompaniment or and
\end{tabular}

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
dawa i amara isu-ma uri \\
he the boy stick-Ins hit \\
He hit the boy with a stick. \\
Oro fidi-ma boro uri & dawa-ini anisi \\
Oro gun-Ins pigkilled & he-AC we.went \\
Oro killed a pig with a gun.
\end{tabular}
kau-ini mosera-ini feame-ini isi
yam-and sweet.potato-and corn-and we.ate We ate yam, sweet potato and corn.

\subsection*{4.0 SYNTAX}

The following levels are relevant to a description of Yareba Syntax: phrase, clause, sentence and discourse.

\subsection*{4.1 Phrase Level}

\subsection*{4.11 Noun Phrases}

\subsection*{4.11.1 Modified Noun Phrases}

These consist typically of some head noun or pronoun modified by one or more adjectives (3.25) or adjective phrases (4.12), e.g.
moana uwara some men
su faiyawere very many houses
aika taubada different Europeans mui waiya another garden yafa isu sadei two Zong sticks/poles
botai amara dera-were mui yafa amara-were sadei
first male big-Int another long male-Int two first big man/son
two very (big) men emana \(i\) boro waira amara yanata-ro ui they the pig stole he.did man speared-and he.died They speared the man who stole the pig and he died.
ema-nu ogo torebisi kabesi-ro fari
they-Poss water they.were.dipping place-L he.arrived
He arrived at the place where they dip water.
Modified Noun Phrases fill all non-predicate clause level tagmemes and also frequently occur as fillers of the predicate tagmeme of stative clauses. They may also appear as dependent sentences (4.42).

\subsection*{4.11.2 Relator-Axis Noun Phrases}

These typically consist of some head manifested by a noun, pronoun, or Modified Noun Phrase and some relator enclitic suffixed to the head or modified NP, e.g.
waiya-ro (anatane)
I am going to the garden
moana uwara-ba
concerning some men

Tufi-roma fane
from Tufi \(I\) came
su faiyawere-bai
near very many houses

Four enclitics: -ba to, about, concerning, -bai about, near, -ro in, \(a t, t o\), only, in and -roma from determine three sub-types of RelatorAxis Noun Phrases. These are discussed in the following sub-sections.

\subsection*{4.11.21 Participating Benefactive Relator-Axis Noun Phrases}

These are of the structure: Head + -ba.

Examples:

> dawa-ba wia
> he-Bp you.speak
> Speak to him!
ewa-ba fari
this-Bp he.arrived
Concerning this he arrived.

> dawa-ba ma
> he-Bp you.give
> Give (it) to him!
i amara-ba watane
the male-Bp I.am.talking
I am talking tolabout the man.

At clause level these phrases are diagnostic of the participating benefactive tagmeme.

\subsection*{4.11.22 Non-Participating Benefactive Relator-Axis Noun Phrases}

These have the structure: Head + -bai. They manifest the nonparticipating benefactive clause level tagmeme, the function of which seems to be one of being not as closely associated with the action as is the participating benefactive.

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
tisa amara-bai a-ba wenu & i amara-bai ania \\
teacher male-Bnp you-Bp he.spoke & the male-Bnp you.go \\
He told the teacher about you. & Go near to the man!
\end{tabular}
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { farai-bai yaubinu } \\
\text { coconut-Bnp he.is.sitting } \\
\text { He is sitting near the coconut tree. }
\end{gathered}
\]

\subsection*{4.11.23 Locative Relator-Axis Noun Phrases}

There are two locative enclitics: -ro in, at, to and -roma from which are primarily used to determine adverb tagmemes of time and place at clause level but may be used as limiters meaning only on noun phrases functioning as subject or objects of sentences. Note that these clitics can occur with the non-participating benefactive-relator -bai in which case they follow -bai.

Examples:
(i) Locatives of Place and Time:
waiya-ro ani
garden-L he.went
he went to the garden
yawi-ro ani
afternoon-L he.went
he went in the afternoon
etei-ro ani
that-L he.went
he went there
waiya-roma ani
garden-L he.went
he went/left from the garden
waurawarai-ro
uyari
early.morning-L he.got.up
he got up early in the morning
waurawarai-roma yawi-ro yaubebi
early.morning- afternoon- he.was.sitting
he was sitting from early morning till afternoon
(ii) -roma with the verb to say:
Yareba sina-roma wia

Yareba talk-L you.say/speak Say it in Yareba!
(ii1) -ro as Limiter:
amara-ro ofe wourite dawa-ro wirosinu male-L skin he.carried.and he- he.restored The only boy/son was sick and he is healed.
```

nanu amara-ro na urinu buka-ro mumau
my male-L me he.hit book-L I.will.take
my only son hit me I will take the only book

```

> age-ro muni
> hand-L he.took
> he took the hand
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (iv) Combination of -bai with -ro, -roma } \\
& \text { dawa-bai-roma fari } \\
& \text { he-Bnp-L he.arrived } \\
& \text { he arrived from him }
\end{aligned}
\]
urabo ubi-bai-roma fari
gum.tree base-Bnp-L he.arrived he arrived from near the base of the gum tree
buka damama-bai-ro nono amara-ma muni book father-Bnp-L again male-Focus he.took the book was with the father and so then a man took it

\subsection*{4.11. 24 bobo Phrases}

These are marked by bobo with which indicates that the object to which it is attached is possessed by (in the sense of is in the possession of, has the control of, rather than is owned by) the person or persons indicated by other nouns, pronouns or noun phrases in the sentence. Thus although bobo can be literally translated by with in English, it cannot be used for with in the sense of accompaniment--it is strictly restricted to inanimate objects, or animate objects that may, for the occasion, be regarded impassionately as "objects". For example, one cannot say:

> Dogare aweta bobo daba-ro inarasu
> Dogare wife with road-l they.are.walking Dogare is walking along the road with his wife.
one has to use the -ini accompaniment construction:
Dogare-ini danu aweta-ini daba-ro inaraita
Dogare-and his wife-and road-L they.are.walking
\(\{\) Dogare and his wife are walking along the road.
Dogare is walking along the road with his wife.
Compare the following examples:
i aweta bobo amara ido arasu
the wife with man now is.coming
The man with a wife is now coming.
dawa-ini danu danua farai ubi-ro yaubita
she-and her mother coconut.tree base-at they.sat She sat with her mother at the base of the coconut tree.
```

ana-ma na-ini anibutu dana wari bobo farinu
who-\mp@subsup{F}{1}{}}\mathrm{ me-and we.two.will.go
Who will go with me?
gasira ainibi-iba
He arrived with a spear (in hand).
bird it.was.lying-therefore spear with he.took
He took the bird with the spear still in it.

```
        da-nu werei-were bobo farai ubi-ro yaubi
        she-Poss ornament-Int with coconut base-L she.was.sitting
She was sitting at the base of the coconut tree decked out in
her ornaments.

\subsection*{4.11.25 Instrument Phrases}

These are marked by -ma.
Examples:
dana boro auri-ma yanai gebiro-ma ua
he pig spear-Ins he.speared stone-Ins you.hit He killed the pig (with a spear). Hit it with a stone! emana kau diwana-ma dauraita they. are yam yam.stick-Ins they.are.digging They are harvesting yams with a digging-stick.

\subsection*{4.11.3 Possessive Noun Phrases}

Possessive Noun Phrases are formed by suffixing a possessive enclitic -nu to any noun, pronoun or relative clause.

Examples:
```

            da-nu amara
            he-Poss male
                    his son
                    who-Poss coconut
                        whose coconut
            etei-nu waiya
                            kua-nu toroma
        that-Poss garden
    dog-Poss tail
dog's tail
su-nu adi
house-Poss steps
steps of the house
i farinu amara-nu su
the he.came male-Poss house
the-man-who-came's house
da-nu bodere ani amara-nu su he-Poss before he.went male-Poss house his son's, (that is) the one who left before's, house

```

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{crc} 
da-nu amara-nu su & na-nu baba-nu damama-nu aweta \\
he-Poss male-Poss house & I-Poss father-Poss father-Poss wife \\
his son's house & my father's father's wife
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{4.11.4 Coordinate Noun Phrases}

These generally have the structure Head + ini: and + Head though ini may be omitted if the context is familiar.

\section*{Examples:}

Enea Amara-ini lijini Borua-ini na-ini yawi-ro egi-ba anisi
Enea Amara-and Iji-and Borua-and I-and afternoon-L game-Bp we.went
Enea Amara, Iji, Borua and I went hunting in the afternoon.
boyei-ini mina-ini yawau-ini wouta squash-and taro-and sugarcane-and they.carried They carried squash, taro and sugarcane.
aruma-ini amara muni
female-and male she.took She gave birth to a girl and a boy.
aruma amara muni
female male she.took She gave birth to a girl and a boy.

The coordinate noun phrase functions as an accompaniment Noun Phrase when there is one head and one coordinate word. However, in this case the predicate is plural in number. (Cf. Section 4.ll.23 above.)

Examples:
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
na-ini anibutu dawa-ini anisi \\
I-and we.two.wizl.go & he-and we.went \\
I will go with you. & He went with us.
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{4.11.5 Simile Noun Phrase}

These have the structure Head + ari: Zike.
Examples:
dawa kua ari durami utasu
he dog like run is.doing
He is running like a dog.
gebiro ari sini
rock like it.became
It became like a rock.

\subsection*{4.11.6 Precedence Noun Phrases}

These have the structure Head + ko first.
Examples:
```

na ko ane etei amara ko iwata usinu
I Pr I.went that male Pr understand he.did
I went first. That boy learned it first.
durami uisiro dawa ko farinu
run we.did.and he Pr he.arrived
We raced and he won.

```

\subsection*{4.11.7 Appositional Noun Phrase}

These have the structure Head \({ }_{1}+\) Head \(_{2}\) where the Heads may be manifested by any noun, pronoun, phrase or clause provided that both heads have the same referent.

Examples:
```

                    taubada misita jonisoni...
                    gov.officer mister Jonson
                    (the) Government Officer, Mr. Johnson...
    ```
i amara dawa ani the male he he.went

The man, he went.
egi da-nu ifu kemo...
animal he-Poss name camel
animal, its name is camel...
i guruguru ubita uwara ema nesia... the gathered stopped they people they.all

The crowd of people, they all...
da-nu eri i orofa-ro... he-Poss he.saw the place-L

The place which he saw...
4.12 Adjective Phrases

These consist of an Adjective + Intensifier + me not where Intensifier may be manifested by were, ratu, rau, kanu, rabo or one or more Adjective type \(A_{2}\) Adjectives.

Examples:
```

amara yafa were amara yafa me
male tall very male tall not
very tall man
not a tall man

```
```

musiba faiya-were musiba faiya-were me
many gourd-very many gourd-very not
very many gourds
not very many gourds
mabara natu-ratu demurai
wallaby offspring-Int one
one little tiny wallaby

```

Note that the noun may come between the adjective and the intensifier, e.g.
```

yafa amara were
tall male very
very tall man

```
4.13 Adverb Phrases 13
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
sau (me) & (not) very quickly \\
kekerema kekerema usinu & extremely slowly \\
kobererau usinu & very well \\
sau ufisu & very soon \\
siosawere me & not bad ( \(=\) relatively good) \\
siosararabolsiosawere & extremely badly
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{4.14 Verb Phrases}

Note that, because of the nature of Yareba verb morphology structures that are normally treated under the title "verb phrases" are treated in this paper under "Verbs" in Section 3.1.

\subsection*{4.2 Clause Level}

\subsection*{4.21 General}

Clauses are the immediate constituents of sentences. There are various types determined by
(i) the distribution of the clause within the sentence (e.g., whether the clause occurs sentence final or not) and by (ii) the form and kind of word that fills the predicate or predicatelike tagmeme of the clause.

In Yareba these criteria distinguish between Predicative, Stative and Quotative Clause types and Independent, Conjunct and Dependent sub-types of the first two as illustrated in the following chart where the horizontal headings indicate distribution within the sentence while the vertical headings indicate different fillers of the predicate tagmemes. Independent clauses are final, while dependent and conjunct are non-final.
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline & Independent & Conjunct & Dependent \\
\hline Predicative & X & X & X \\
Stative & X & X & - \\
Quotative & X & X & X \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

No Dependent Stative Clause type occurs because only secondary and tertiary verbs occur as fillers of the predicate slot of dependent clauses.

Stative Clauses differ from Predicative Clauses principally, though not solely, in that the predicate tagmeme of Stative Clauses can only be manifested by some non-verbal word or phrase, whereas that of Predicative Clauses is manifested by some verbal word. Thus the predicative tagmeme of Independent Clauses is filled by primary verbs only. The predicate slot of Conjunct Clauses is filled by primary verbs plus one of the following suffixes:
(1) -ba because, therefore, concerning;
(11) -na when, and so, then, if;
(111) -te and (where the subject of the following clause is to be the same as that of the preceding clause);
(iv) -ro and (where the subject of the following clause is to be different from that of the preceding clause);
(v) -rona contrary to fact.

The predicate tagmeme of Dependent Clauses is filled by secondary and tertiary verbs.

Stative Clauses also differ from Predicative Clauses in the number of optional tagmemes which may occur.

Quotative Clauses are distinct from both Predicative and Stative Clauses in the following ways:
(l) in having the verbs to say, to think, to reply etc. in the verb slot;
(2) in being able to have any clause type as a quote.

The number and type of tagmemes that occur in Predicative Stative and Quotative clauses will be discussed in their respective sections below. These sections will be followed by two special sections (viz. 4.22 and 4.23) devoted to a discussion and illustration of focus and interrogative questions in Yareba.

\subsection*{4.21.1 Predicative Clauses}

Predicative clauses have the following structure:
\(\pm\) non-predicate periphery \(\pm\) predicate periphery + Nucleus where non-predicate periphery may consist of one or more of the following: Subject, Object, Participating Benefactive, Non-participating Benefactive, Locative, Instrument and Time tagmemes while the predicate periphery may consist of one or both of causative and Manner tagmemes. In general, however, multiple combinations of these elements do not occur naturally in Yareba, and the order of elements in spoken Yareba is usually quite free and at the preference of the speaker. There are several orderings, however, which are observed by all speakers. These are:
(1) when neither the subject nor the object is focussed (see Section 4.22 below) subject precedes object;
(ii) causative, most generally, immediately precedes the predicate.

Sub-types of Predicative Clauses are determined by different moods of the verbs filling the predicate slots of those clauses. The following chart shows the various sub-types that occur:
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline & Ind. & Conj. & Dep. \\
\hline Indicative & X & X & X \\
Imperative & X & \(\mathrm{X}^{14}\) & \\
Negative & X & \(\mathrm{X}^{14}\) & X \\
Neg. Pur. & X & X & \\
Desiderative & X & X & X \\
Benefactive & X & \(\mathrm{X}^{14}\) & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In this chart the vertical column represents the different verb morphology contrasts that are to be found, while the horizontal columns represent the different distributional variants found. These sub-types are described further in the following subsections.

\subsection*{4.21.11 Independent Predicative Clauses}

These clauses occur sentence final and are marked by falling intonation. The predicate tagmeme is filled by primary verbs, and this tagmeme may be the only tagmeme that occurs in an independent clause construction. The following examples illustrate various combinations of optional and obligatory Independent Predicative Clause tagmemes.

Examples:
(1) Indicative:
masinu he gave (it)
dana ieta awona dawaba kiuma masinu
he ( S ) food ( O ) today ( T ) to. him ( Bp ) secret ( I ) he gave ( P )
he gave food to him today in secret
(2) Imperative:
ma (you) give!
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
danu ieta mau & ma \\
his food (O) quickly (M) give (P) \\
quickly give his food
\end{tabular}
(3) Negative:
matawa usinu he didn't give
dawaba maeu utawa usinu
to.him ( Bp ) give carefully didn't. do he.did ( P )
he didn't give it carefully to him
(4) Negative Purpose:
maosoa lest he give
i amarama dawaba buka maosoa
the man (S) to.him ( Bp ) book ( O ) lest.he.give ( P )
lest the man give him the book
(5) Desiderative:
mafie usinu he wanted to give
agema mafie usinu
hand.with (I) he.wanted.to.give he.did (P)
he wanted to give with his hands
(6) Benefactive:
mafainia you will give to someone
ieta mafainia
food (O) you.will.give.to.someone (P)
you will give food to someone

\subsection*{4.21.12 Conjunct Predicative Clauses}

Conjunct Predicative Clauses are either Subordinate, Coordinate, or Contrary to Fact. Indicative, Imperative, Negative, Negative Purpose, Desiderative and Benefactive sub-types of each of these varieties have been observed except for Subordinate Imperative, Negative Purpose plus Subordinate -na (if, when) and Benefactive plus Subordinate -na although these may well exist. \({ }^{15}\) The Subordinate, Coordinate and Contrary to Fact varieties are discussed and illustrated in the following subsections.

\subsection*{4.21.12.1 Subordinate Conjunct Clauses}

These are marked by the suffixes -ba because, therefore and -na when, and so then, \(i f\). Subordinate clauses are also significantly marked by level or slightly rising intonation. A pause may or may not follow a subordinate clause construction.

The following examples will only be given in the most simple construction, but the expansion possibilities are the same as in the independent constructions.

Examples:
(1) Indicative:
masinu-ba
he.gave-because \({ }^{\}}\)because he gave...
masinu-na
he.gave-when \} when he gave...
kowa faosoba-- Harry Moro-ro itafisuba-sun lest.it.come--Harry Moro-L he.will.go.down--
ki mamainiaba-- manatane
key I.must.give--I.am.going
Because lest the sun come, and because Harry will go down at Moro, and because I must give this key, I am going.
weiba-- dobetana-- mina meba-- ata mina me weita she.said--they.searched--taro no--grandmother taro no they.said

Because she told them they searched but then because there were no taro, they said, "Grandmother there are no taro."'
(2) Imperative:

No observed occurrence.
(3) Negative:
matawa usinu-ba
didn't.give he.did-because because he didn't give...
matawa usinu-na
didn't.give he.did-when \} when he didn't give...
(4) Negative Purpose:
maoso-ba
lest.he.give-because because lest he give...
-na no occurrence
(5) Desiderative:
mafae usinu-ba
you.desiring.to.give you.did-because \} because you desired to give...
mafae usinu-na
you.desiring.to.give you.did-when \} when you desired to give...
(6) Benefactive:
mafainia-ba
you.will.give-because b because you will give to someone...
-na no occurrence
The emphatic subordinate clause is formed by suffixing the emphatic clitic -go to the verb phrase in which case the intonation remains level and a slight pause follows.
masinu-ba-go
he.gave-because- \(\mathrm{Em}^{3}\) because he certainly gave...
maoso-ba-go
lest.he.give-because-Em because lest he definitely give...

\subsection*{4.21.12.2 Coordinate Conjunct Clauses}

These are marked with the coordinate clitics -te and -ro. These clitics also preview the following subject. -te anticipates the same subject to follow and -ro anticipates a different subject to follow. The intonation following a coordinate construction remains level and a slight pause may or may not follow.

There has been no observance or elicitation of the coordinate benefactive construction.

Examples:
(1) Indicative:
masinu-te
he.gave-ANS' he gave and he...
masinu-ro
he.gave-ANS \(\}\) he gave and someone else...
mafete-- suro odifete-- nono tanibeisi
we.will.come.up.and--house.to we.will.put.and--again we.will.go. down
We will come up and put (them) at the house and again we will go down.
uda ufitaro-- oufete-- mafeisi
mumu they.will.do.and--we.will.cook.and--we.will.give
They will make the mumu and we will cook and we will give (the food).
(2) Imperative:
ma-te
you.give-ANS you give and you...
ma-ro
you.give-ANS \({ }^{\text {\} }}\) you give and someone else...
(3) Negative:
matawa usinu-te
didn't.give he.did-ANS \({ }^{\}}\)he didn't give and he...
matawa usinu-ro
didn't.give he.did-ANS \({ }^{\}}\)he didn't give and someone elsc...
(4) Negative Purpose:
maoso-te
lest.he.give-ANS \({ }^{\}}\)lest he give and he...
maoso-ro
Zest.he.give-ANS \({ }^{\text {\} }}\) lest he give and someone else...
(5) Desiderative:
mafae usinu-te
you.desiring.to.give you.did-ANS you desired to give and you...
mafae usinu-ro
you.desiring.to.give you.did-ANS' you desired to give and someone else...
(6) Benefactive:

No observed occurrence.
The coordinate emphatic clause is formed by suffixing -ma to the verb phrase. This construction is followed by rising intonation and a pause before proceeding with the following clause. The over-all meaning is again of an action certainly or definitely taking place.
masinu-te-ma he.gave-ANS-EM he most certainly gave it and he...
masinu-ro-ma
he.gave-ANS-EM \(\}^{\text {he }}\) definitely gave it and someone else...

\subsection*{4.21.12.3 Contrary to Fact Conjunct Clauses}

These are clauses which relate facts other than those which are normally expected. These clauses are non-final, since an explanation usually follows, and are marked by the suffix -rona.

Examples:
na ya da imuteima-rona ya-ba owawa da siaia umau
I you(PI) Neg I.will.be.thinking-CF you-Bp writing Neg send I.will
If I had not been thinking of you, I would not send a letter to you.
na baya imuteima-rona iro ue
I mother I.will.think-CF there I.desiring.to.stay I.did
If I had been thinking of mother, I would have stayed there.

\subsection*{4.21.13 Dependent Predicative Clauses}

Dependent Predicative Clauses fill the dependent slot in sentences. The predicate tagmeme of dependent clauses is filled by secondary or tertiary verbs. Dependent clauses are non-final within the clause cluster except in rapid speech when a dependent clause may end a construction providing the missing independent clause is understood within the context. Only one dependent clause may be affixed with the conjunct enclitic -na. This construction, -eda-na, has only been observed on three occasions so that the meaning of the construction is not completely clear. However, there does seem to be a related meaning between the -eda secondary verb which expresses a simultaneous action with the following verb, and with -na which expresses the meaning of when or possibly then immediately.... The other possible interpretation of this construction is the elipsis of the following conjunct clause with only the -na affixed to the dependent clause.

The fillers of the dependent clause predicate tagmemes do not express such features as tense, number, person, or mood in their morphology. If there is not a free subject expressed in the dependent clause construction, the subject is the same as the nearest conjunct or independent clause.



While taking small gourds, oh brother this is mine and this is yours like this they were saying, they were taking and they were carrying, and some they were eating, while they were doing (this), they were chattering away.
The relationships of the dependent clause to the following clause are a time relationship, a simultaneous action relationship, and a relationship which views the two actions as a single action.
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { man-ebe } & \text { man-eda } \\
\text { go.up-Vs } & \text { go.up-Vs } \\
\text { going up and then... } & \text { while going up... }
\end{array}
\]

A subject tagmeme may occur with either of these two dependent clauses which may mark the subject as being different from that of the following clause. But the third dependent clause construction, while it may have a free subject, must always agree with the subject of the following clause or the nearest following clause which contains such information within its morphology.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { man-e su-ro aisi } \\
& \text { go.up-Vtt house-L we.slept } \\
& \text { \{ We went up to the house and slept } \\
& \text { Going up to the house we slept. }
\end{aligned}
\]

Any number of dependent and conjunct clauses may be joined together in sequence to describe closely related, sequential, and/or repeated actions extending over a period of time. The relationship between the various clauses in such a cluster is indicated, as already noted, by verb morphology (-ebe,-eda) in the case of dependent clauses and by clitics which mark subordination (-ba, -na), coordination (-te, -ro) and contrary-to-fact (-rona) relationships in the case of conjunct clauses. All clauses follow in chronological order.

The following two examples illustrate the range of combinations that can occur. The first example shows a dependent and two conjunct predicative clauses clustered together while the second shows a more complex combination of the same types. The length of the final example is by no means unusual in conversation or in text materials.

Examples:
```

(1) i aruma sadeima owesite--are--aruma amara mutaba--iba ba
torowa ratu ibinita.
The two girls turned--and coming--because they bore children--
that's why only a few are stopping.
(2) Enea amaraini 1 ji ini Boruaini naini yawiro yanu sibona ratu egiba
anisiro--mui warai ratu urabo ubiro yaubiro--inare kara usite--
yanafene utebisina--erite--oiya aniba--okoisite--anebisina--obi
derawere ido itariba--anebisiro--tayariro--anebe-esina--dera
warai nabana ido urabo ubiro yaubiba-mnanu kakama i dera warai
ido yanairo--auri bobo anebiro--ya nesina yature--anisiro--
anebiro--Ijima ido mui aurima ido deiro yanairo--ido fasite--
ya nono deiro yanasi.
Enea amara, Iji, Boruo and $I$ in the afternoon, only we, went
hunting-and a little wallaby was sitting at the base of a
gum tree--and we encircled it--and we were wanting to spear
it when--he saw--and he went into the bush therefore-we
quit--and we were going when--a big rain fell therefore--we
were going-and it almost stopped--and we were going-and
then when we looked--a big wallaby was sitting at the base
of a gum tree therefore--my older brother speared the big
wallaby--and with the spear he was going--and we all chased
--we all went--and he was going-and Iji speared him on top
of the other spear--and we arrived-and again we speared him
on top of the other spears!

```

\subsection*{4.21.2 Stative Clauses}

These include all clauses with a predicate-like tagmeme which is filled by non-verbal words or phrases built upon non-verbal words.

Stative clauses seldom occur in a narrative. Analysis of many pages of text has never revealed more than one or two stative clauses per text, and very frequently none at all. But stative clauses are a very important feature in conversation concerning daily matters in which the immediate context is well understood by all.

Stative clauses are Analogous (of which there are four sub-types) Negative and Infinitive. Chart 4 shows the contrasts between the types and sub-types.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow{5}{*}{} & & S & 0 & Bp & Bnp & L & T & I & C & M & Ps & Fillers of Ps \\
\hline & Des. & + & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & + & Gen. nouns, KN, Adj., phrases of above word classes \\
\hline & Poss. & \(+\) & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & + & Poss. phrases \\
\hline & Loc. & + & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & + & Loc. noun or Loc. phrase \\
\hline & Inter. & \(+\) & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & + & Inter. pronoun or inter. intonation \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{Neg.} & \(\pm\) & \(\pm\) & - & - & \(\pm\) & \(\pm\) & \(\pm\) & - & \(\pm\) & + & me no/nothing \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{Inf.} & \(+\) & \(\pm\) & - & - & \(\pm\) & \(\pm\) & \(\pm\) & - & \(\pm\) & + & derived noun \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CHART 4: STATIVE CLAUSE TYPES AND SUB-TYPES

\subsection*{4.21.21 Analogous Stative Clauses}

These clauses differ from Predicative Clauses in that
(1) there are two obligatory tagmemes, subject, and a predicatelike tagmeme, and
(1i) there are no optional tagmemes.
And, as has already been pointed out, the fillers of the predicate tagmemes are of different word classes. The subject tagmeme is filled by the same class of words, phrases or descriptive clauses that fill the subject tagmeme of predicative clauses. The subject of Analogous Stative clauses may never be focussed with -ma the action relator enclitic, discussed in Section 4.22 below.

The stative predicate is underlined in all of the following examples.
(1) Descriptive:
\begin{tabular}{lc} 
etei-na amara & dawa yafa-were \\
that-F2 male & he long-Int \\
that is a man & he is very tall
\end{tabular}
i botai fari amara yafa-were
the first he.arrived man long-Int
The first man who arrived is very tall.
The above clauses may all be joined to other clauses in sentences with -ba to become a conjunct clause, e.g.
etei-na amara-ba
because he is a man...
dawa yafa-were-ba
because he is tall...

This is also true of the remaining sub-types, with the exception of Locative.
(2) Possessive:

> etei su na-nu
> that house I-Poss
> that house is mine

Note that the subject may optionally be repeated in the predicate without change of meaning.
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
etei su na-nu su & etei su sero bobo su \\
that house I-Poss house & that house plaited with house \\
that house is my house & that house has plaited walls \\
i buri bobo amara da-nu & \\
the foot with male he-Poss & dawa-na Godi-nu amara \\
the boy with the limp his & he-F 2 God-Poss male
\end{tabular}
(3) Locative:
\begin{tabular}{cl} 
na ewa-do & na-nu su Moro-ro \\
I this-Defin & \(I\)-Poss house Moro-L \\
I am right here. & My house is in Moro.
\end{tabular}
wari ewa-doni
spear this-Defin
The spear is right here in this place.
(4) Interrogative:
medikuru su aboro da-nu unu ane
medical house where he-Poss like what
Where is the medical house? What does he want?
Again, note that the subject may optionally be repeated after the predicate without change of meaning.
etei amara abo amara etei amara anaiya
that male which male that male who
Who is that man? (from what
Who is that man? (what is village?) his name?)

The intonational features need a great deal more study but an up-glide with a sharp drop indicates a question.


you-Poss house
your house?
(emphasis on house)

\subsection*{4.21.22 Negative Stative Clauses}

These differ from the Analogous Stative clauses just discussed in that the subject is optional and the clause may have a number of optional tagmemes occurring.

Examples:
```

            etei-na su me mouse no dawa me
            that-\mp@subsup{F}{2}{}}\mathrm{ house no he no
            that's not a house not him
    | awona warai me-ba | na-nu neno kimu me-rona |
| :--- | :---: |
| today wallaby no-Conj | I-Poss heart hard no-CF |
| because there were no |  |
| wallaby today... | but since my heart was |
| no waidumu you-ma me hard |  |
| n tomorrow raft-L no | i-na i-do me |
| won't use a raft tomorrow? | the- $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ the-Defin no |

```

\subsection*{4.21.23 Infinitive Stative Clauses}

This clause type differs from the Negative Stative Clause type in the fillers of the predicate stative tagmeme and by the obligatory occurrence of the subject which is filled with a noun or personal pronoun plus unu like or unutawa doesn't like forming a possessive phrase. This phrase construction does not occur in any other phrase type.


\subsection*{4.21.3 Quotative Clauses}

Quotative clauses are a syntactic device frequently employed. All events and conversations of the day are graphically related to those who were not present at the time the action took place. Conversations are repeated in detail until you have quotes within quotes within quotes much to the confusion of the non-native speaker. Quotative clauses have the following structure:
\(\pm\) Quote: Verb to say/to think + Quotation: clause \(\pm\) Quote: verb to say/to think.
Either one or the other verb to say or to think must be present. However both may be present bracketing the quotation.

Examples:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { dawa matawa usinu weita } \\
& \text { he didn't.give he.did they.said } \\
& \text { They said, "he didn't give it." }
\end{aligned}
\]
```

        dawa matawa usinu weita wei wasu
            he didn't.give he.did they.said he.said he.is.saying
    He is saying, that one said, that they said, "he didn't give it."

```
                    ia wenu
                    you.eat he.said
                        "Eat" he said.

\subsection*{4.22 Focus}

This is an important syntactic feature which is used to bring into focus one or more of the optional tagmemes in a clause construction. The focussing of tagmemes is effected by the affixing of either -ma or -na to the filler of the tagmeme to be brought into focus.

Focussing with -ma relates the tagmeme to the action. Only subject and instrument can cooccur within the same clause thus marked. When instrument occurs it is obligatorily marked with one of the two focus markers.

Focussing with -na intensifies the tagmeme thus marked and draws special attention to \(1 t\). The -na focus may cooccur with any number of the optional tagmemes within the clause. However, the cooccurrence of more than two tagmemes thus marked is rare.

The entire clause construction frequently occurs unfocussed. In this case the predicate is the most important tagmeme in the construction.

The -ma focus never occurs with the receiver centred benefactives, and it is questionable whether it occurs with the object. All attempts
to elicit a true object focussed with -ma have failed. Therefore, the occurrence of -ma with what appears to be an object is probably best interpreted as being an instrument.

\section*{Kerau boro yanai-ro i-ma aisi}

Kerau pig speared-ANS the- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) we.were.eating. and then.slept
Kerau speared a pig and we were eating it and then we slept.

> ya kofe-ma koko-ma kobara-ma kimu ufeisi
> we coffee- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) cocoa- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) copra- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) hard we.will. do

We will work hard at coffee, cocoa and copra.
The occurrence of -ma with both subject and instrument:
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Oro-ma boro fidi-ma urinu } \\
& \text { Oro- } \mathrm{F}_{1} \text { pig gun- } \mathrm{F}_{1} \text { he.hit } \\
& \text { Oro shot a pig with a gun. }
\end{aligned}
\]

The same construction can be formed with the instrument being focussed with the -na focus enclitic in which case the instrument precedes the subject.
ewa fidi-na Oro-ma boro urinu
this gun- \(\mathrm{F}_{2}\) Oro- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) pig he.hit
This is the gun with which Oro killed the pig.
The subject may be focussed with -na and the instrument with -ma.

Oro-na boro fidi-ma urinu
Oro- \(\mathrm{F}_{2}\) pig gun- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) he.hit
It was Oro who killed the pig with the gun.
The time tagmeme may be focussed with either the -ma or -na occurring more frequently with the -na than the -ma.

> Oro-na boro awona-ma urinu
> Oro- \(\mathrm{F}_{2}\) pig today- \(\mathrm{F}_{1}\) he.hit

It was Oro who killed a pig just now.

Oro boro awona-na urinu
Oro pig today- \(\mathrm{F}_{2}\) he.hit
Just now Oro shot a pig.
It is possible to focus all the optional tagmemes but it gets to be a heavy construction.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Oro-na fidi-ma boro-na awona-na urinu } \\
& \text { Oro- } \mathrm{F}_{2} \text { gun- } \mathrm{F}_{1} \text { pig- } \mathrm{F}_{2} \text { today- } \mathrm{F}_{2} \text { he.hit }
\end{aligned}
\]

It was Oro who just now shot a pig with a gun.

In this construction Oro would be singled out as the actor shooting a pig instead of a wallaby, and doing it just now instead of an hour ago.

Also the whole construction except the instrument may occur without the use of focus markers.

> Oro boro awona urinu
> Oro pig today he.hit
> Oro killed a pig today.

This construction would probably then elicit the following questions, When today did he kill it? What did he kill it with?

In stative clauses -ma never occurs but -na frequently does.
This is understandable since -ma relates the tagmeme to the action expressed by a verb and stative clauses are verbless clauses.

\subsection*{4.23 Interrogative questions}

Any clause can be made into an interrogative clause by substituting an interrogative pronoun for any appropriate tagmeme.

\section*{Examples:}


\subsection*{4.3 Sentence Level}

\subsection*{4.31 General}

Sentences occur on the level above clauses and on the level below discourse. Paragraphs have been omitted as not being relevant to the description of Yareba, although it would be reasonable to regard what have been called sequential sentences herein as paragraphs. For present purposes, however, these sentences are analyzed on the sentence level.

\subsection*{4.32 Sentence Types}

All sentences are either independent or dependent. They may be simple one word utterances or they may be very complex and involved.

\subsection*{4.32.1 Independent Sentences}

These are simple, compound, complex, or sequential. In the first three, the fillers of the obligatory base are different. While in the sequential sentence there is more than one obligatory base.

\subsection*{4.32.11 Simple Independent Sentences}

These may be represented by the following formula:
\[
\text { SIS }=+ \text { base: Ind }+ \text { Into: } \backslash, / \pm \text { periphery }
\]

The obligatory base is filled with an Independent Clause. The intonation may be either falling with a pause indicating a statement, or rising and pause in asking a question. The optional peripheral tagmeme is filled with words or phrases which form transforms of the Independent Simple Sentence.
(1) Statement:
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { i amarama fari } & \text { isinul } \\
\text { the man arrived } & \text { he ate } \\
\text { itawa usinu\ } & \text { ieta fa mu mail } \\
\text { he didn't eat } & \text { go get the food and give it }
\end{array}
\]
(2) Interrogative:
i amarama fari/

> is inu/
did the man come?
itawa usinu/
didn't he eat?

When seeking an agreement to or a confirmation of a statement, the form wia speak! is used with or without a vocative filling the peripheral tagmeme.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { wial } \\
i s n^{\prime} t i t ?
\end{gathered}
\]
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { wia bayal } \\
\text { isn't it, mother? }
\end{gathered}
\]

The interrogative is also formed by a single vowel filling the peripheral tagmeme with rising intonation.
farinu e/
have you arrived? (a greeting)
manasu e/
are you going up?

Or the interrogative may be formed with the phrase, aba me or not filling the peripheral tagmeme followed by falling intonation.
```

    i amarama fari aba me\ isinu aba me\
    did the man arrive or not? did he eat or not?
    Or the peripheral tagmeme may be filled with aba or plus an in-
    terrogative clause, or with aba ane or what.
i amarama su ubu ufisu aba ane ufisu\
Is the man going to build a house or what is he
going to do?
i amarama gaukaria usinu aba ane/
Did the man work or what?
Most of the above questions can be answered by a simple aiwia
yes, me no or na iwata me I don't know. But an interrogative may be
formed with an Interrogative Clause filling the base followed by
falling intonation, and the answer expected is more than yes or no,
although I don't know may be a stock answer for almost anything.
i amara aboroma fari\ abo amarama fari\
where did the man come from?
which man arrived?

```

> ane usinul what did he do?

The peripheral tagmeme may be filled with an exclamatory word with length and level intonation.
i amarana yafawere dei \(\operatorname{na}\) a yanu sitowa ewado uyafisu dei: na• the man is very tall! our store will arise here!

There peripheral tagmeme may be filled with a dubitative phrase or word.
i amarama fafisu aba me ari
will the man come or won't he?
i amarama fafisu ari i amarama fafisu aba
will the man come or...? will the man come or...?
This same construction may also be a dependent sentence when it is expressed in answer to a question.

The peripheral tagmeme may be filled with rairo a retrospective word. The overall meaning is, this sentence does not belong in this immediate context. It is a flash-back device used to clue the hearer in on something important that has happened before.
```

    ina wourite moarite ijarebe toroma
    wood he.carried.and burning.it.and singeing.and.then tail
        ma bisi uiro i mabara daido ani. iba
        skinned.and then the wallaby so.then went because.of.this
        mabara dawa toroma kori kori me rairo
        wallaby he tail white not before.this (Before this
    happened the wallaby did not have a white tail.)
        He carried firewood and lit it and he was singe-
        ing it and then he skinned the tail and then the
        bush wallaby left for good. Concerning this the
        bush wallaby did not have a white tail before.
    i amara ainewaure yua webaisiro webasu
    the man all.the.time call we.are.speaking.and he.is.speaking
rairo ane usinute ubinu
before.this what he.is.doing.and stopping
We always call to the man and before he always
answered. What is he doing now?

```

In this example the retrospective sentence is placed right in the middle of the sentence. However, it would be perfectly all right to say, We always call to the man and what is he doing now?

\subsection*{4.32.12 Compound Independent Sentences}

These are represented by the following formula:
\[
\text { CIS }=+ \text { base }: \text { Ind }_{2}+\text { Into }: \backslash-\text { Periphery }
\]

The base of Compound Independent Sentences is filled with two Independent Clauses. The first clause may or may not have optional tagmemes, the second clause may only have a manner tagmeme filled with enanari in this manner and the clause is usually an imperative. rhere is no intonation drop or pause between the two clauses.
```

i amara etei ieta isinu ea owawa odinu enanari odine
Zook, the man ate the food! as he had written I wrote

```
nanu gaukaria utatane enanari ua
do the work in the same manner that I'm doing it!
4.32.13 Complex Independent Sentences are represented by the following formula:
\[
\text { KIS }=+ \text { base: Cln }+ \text { Into: \- periphery }
\]

Any of the cluster of clauses may occur as the fillers of the base. The resultant sentence may be very long as has been illustrated in Section 4.21.13.
4.32.14 Sequential Independent Sentences are represented by the following formula:

SIS \(=+\) base \(_{1}:\) Ind/Ind \({ }_{2} / C \ln +\) Into: \(1+\) Conjunctive: Repeated verb + base*: Cln
In the Sequential Sentence there may be any number of sentence bases. Each base must be connected by a repetition of verb or some greater part of the preceding clause. The repeated form becomes a Dependent or Conjunct Clause of the cluster of clauses that fills the second and any more bases that may follow. Following each clause and before each conjunctive there is an intonational drop and a short pause before the verb is repeated and the thought sequence and the chronological sequence is continued. The minimal sequential sentence then, has two bases. The asterisk indicates that the maximum sentence has an unlimited number of bases. The first base which may be filled with an Independent Clause, two Independent Clauses or a cluster of clauses. The second and any succeeding bases are filled with clusters of clauses.
i amara ani anebe osi uite yaubeda ieta iro moana uwara fata fataba ekodiro yaubita.

The man went, he was going and then he became tired and while he sat he ate food, he ate and some people arrived, because they arrived he quit and they sat.

\subsection*{4.32.2 Dependent Sentences}

Dependent Sentences are frequently single non-clausal words, although they may be clausal as well. Following Waterhouse's (1963) description of a dependent sentence, they do not occur as complete utterances or initiate discourses, and they are always dependent upon some situational or linguistic context. Dependent sentences are usually answers to questions (linguistic context), or greetings, terms of endearment and others (situational context).

All affirmative and negative (yes, no) answers are dependent sentences, as also are such things as It's over there or It's here, Tomorrow, I don't know and many more answers to questions.

The dubitative is also a dependent sentence as was mentioned under 4.32.11. In answer to the question, Is he coming or not? the answer would be, fafisu aba me ari Is he coming or not? (I certainly don't know). Also in answer to the question Are you going up? manasu e, the answer manatane o \(I\) am going up the o indicating the answer to a question.

The situational dependent sentences are
(1) greetings:
yaubinu you ar'e sitting (coming for a visit)
farinu you arrived (greeting a new arrival)
ania
you go (goodbye)
(11) terms of endearment usually used when a person has just arrived after a long absence or when leaving the village. Also used very frequently of parents:

Natalia ko dear Natalia
Natalia warai oh, dear Natalia
baya warai oh, my dear mother
baba warai oh, my dear father
(111) the following:
ariiii AZas!
ido That's 0.K.!
ido That'll do!
oi, ai, kawaigo Oh! (surprise)
kobererau Good!

\subsection*{4.4 Discourse Level}

Discourses have not yet been studied in any detail, consequently they will only be described briefly here.

Discourses are either ordinary conversations or narratives.
Narrative may be the telling of a story, recalling of the day's events, or the giving of a speech.

The telling of a story usually has an opening sentence, which is a Sequential Sentence, and it must have a closing sentence. This sentence is usually
\begin{tabular}{cc} 
nanu sina ido me sininu ido me sininu \\
my talk now nothing has.become, & now nothing has.become, \\
Now my talk is finished. & It is finished.
\end{tabular}
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { mui sina me } \\
\text { more talk no } \\
\text { That's it. }
\end{gathered}
\]
or some variation of these. The bulk of the narrative is filled with Sequential Sentences.

The recalling of events does not have an opening or a closing sentence, but Sequential Sentences form the bulk of the discourse.

A speech must have an opening sentence, which is usually

> nanu sina nauawe
> my talk you.all.hear
> You all listen to my talk!

It must always have a closing sentence which is either,
\begin{tabular}{crc} 
nautaita? & nanu sina me sininu \\
are.you.hearing & or & my talk nothing has.become \\
Did you all hear? & Now my talk is finished.
\end{tabular}

Conversational Discourses have no distinctive features other than the fact that Sequential Sentences seldom occur.

\subsection*{5.0 MORPHOPHONEMICS}

This section lists all those morphophonemic rules notes in Yareba to date including those already mentioned in various places throughout the preceding sections of this paper.
(l) In word morphology all like vowels coalesce:
\(i-t-a i-i-s i \rightarrow i t a i s i \quad\) we are eating
St-CM-TE-Nu-PE
(2) Labialized consonants are interpreted as consonant plus u before stressed vowels i, e, and a:
[bubwida] \(\rightarrow\) bubuida a ceremony
[ \(\boldsymbol{p}^{W}\) हsi] \(\rightarrow\) fuesi a name
[kwitha] \(\rightarrow\) kuita a baby.
(3) The high vowels \(i\) and \(u\) are frequently devoiced in final position on nouns and possessive pronouns:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
sisidomU & \(\rightarrow\) sisidomu & grasshopper \\
fuesl & \(\rightarrow\) fuesi & a name \\
nanU amara & \(\rightarrow\) nanu amara my son
\end{tabular}
(4) In tertiary complex verb phrases the -e of the tertiary verb is lost when the nucleus begins with 0 , and the parts of the phrase unite.
tare odia \(\rightarrow\) tarodia put water on/wash him!
ure odinu \(\rightarrow\) urodinu he put it on by force
(5) When words are pluralized with a two syllable plural morpheme, the stress moves one syllable to the right:
bóro \(\rightarrow\) borósiri pig/pigs
kúa \(\rightarrow\) kuásiri dog/dogs
káka \(\rightarrow\) kakámutu my oZder brother/brothers
bába \(\rightarrow\) babámutu my father/fathers
(6) Diphthongs built on \(i\) or \(u\) followed by another vowel are separated by \(y\) or \(w\) in nouns, and remain as vowel clusters in verbs.
waia \(\rightarrow\) waiya garden
waia \(\rightarrow\) waia you plant
naua \(\rightarrow\) nauwa forest
naua \(\rightarrow\) naua you listen
6.0 TEXT \({ }^{17}\)
dadae amara warai da-nu wariya tu-fi-e an-i-te
Poss St-TE-DES St-PE-ANS (term for first man) his garden cleaning cut.he.wanted went.he jiru tu-r-ebe ita-r-e ogo-ro ta-r-eda soro we-bi-na St-CM-Vs St-CM-Vtt L St-CM-Vs St-PE-ConJ clean cutting coming.down water washing soro saying.he.was.when mabara oi-roma ta-r-e soro we-bi dadae amara da-nu wari L St-CM-Vtt St-PE Poss wallaby bush-from coming.down soro he.said first man his spear
mu-n-i-te \(\quad\) yana-fi-e \(\quad\) an-i-na mabara an-i-ba St-CM-PE-ANS St-TEPE-Des St-CM-Vtt St-Pe-Conj St-PE-Conj took.he. and wanted.to.spear coming.down went.he wallaby went-he
okod-i-te an-i-te we-i fokia mu-a-we-te an-e u-a-we-ro St-PE-Ans St-PE-Ans St-PE St-IMP-Pl-ANS St-Vtt St-IMP-Pl-ANS left.he went.he said.he net you.all.take going you.all.do.it
na jirutu-r-e gagau u-ma-te soro we-ma-ro mabara soro St-CM-Vtt St-TEPE-ANS St-TEPE-ANS I clean cutting trick do.will.I soro say.will.I wallaby soro
we-bi-su-na yana-ma-ne ani-ma-ro iya ani-bi-su-na St-TEPE-PE-Conj St-TEPE-DES St-TEPE-ANS St-TEPE-PE-ConJ say.will.he I.will.want.to.spear go.will.I afraid go.will.he yab-a-we we-i-te an-i-te soro we-i-na mabara ta-r-e St-IMP-Pl St-PE-ANS St-PE-ANS St-PE-Conj St-CM-Vtt you.all.catch said.he went.he soro said.he wallaby coming.down
soro we-i-ro tara-n-i-ro iya an-i-na St-PE-ANS St-TEPE-Vtt St-CM-PE-ANS St-PE-ConJ soro said.he he.wanted.to.spear going.down.he.went afraid he.went fokia-ro mu-n-i-ro fa-fi-e far-i-na aaa wowosama

L St-CM-PE-ANS St-TEPE-Vtt St-CM-PE-Conj
net took.he he.wanted.to.do he.arrived bracelets
dodourama ib-i-nua da me wou-a-te ani-a we-i-ba St-TE-PE St-IMP-ANS St-IMP-ANS St-IMP St-PE-Conj bracelets stopping won't you.do nothing you.carry you.go said.he

ina.
white

\section*{Free Translation:}

The first old man went down to cut his garden and he was cutting and cutting and then he went to bathe in the river. While he was bathing he was saying "soro". When he said this a bush wallaby came from the bush and was saying, "soro". The old man took his spear and went down to spear him. When he went, the wallaby left and because he left the old man quit and went to his people and said, "you all take your nets and go and put them up and I will be cutting/cleaning and trick him and I will say "soro" and when the wallaby says, "soro", I will go to spear him. And when he leaves because he is afraid, you catch him." He said this and he went and when he said, "soro" the wallaby coming down said "soro" and the old man went to spear him. The bush wallaby was afraid and when he went away he got caught in the net and the old man came to kill him and the wallaby said, "I have arm bracelets and big shells, don't do it. Just carry me away." So he carried him and he went to his grandmother and she singed him and said, "grandson, he will eat the head, I will eat the leg." When she was saying this, the wallaby was saying, "your grandson I will kill and you I will kill." He was saying like this and then as she put him to the side he quickly jumped up and as the grandmother grabbed the tail the skin slipped off as he went. That's why his tail is white.

\section*{NOTES}
1. Yareba is the largest of five related languages of the Yareban Language Family (see Dutton (1974)).
2. Data for this paper were gathered in the villages of Bibira No. l and Moro between April 1963 and November 1967. This data includes a range of recorded free conversations, folk stories, and elicited materials obtained from informants whose ages ranged between sixteen and twenty-one years and whom we would like to thank for their kind assistance in this regard as well as our many other Yareba friends who helped in so many other ways.
3. See for example, Weimer (1972) and H. and N. Weimer (1970, 1972).
4. For further details see H. and N. Weimer (1972).
5. This section and Section 3.28 contain material previously published as Weimer (1972) and H. and N. Weimer (1970) but modified and/or rearranged to suit the structure of this paper.
6. Verb stems, as well as other word classes, have phonemic shapes ending in vowels, and may be from one to four syllables in length.
7. Note that NP is also used for Noun Phrase but the context will indicate which is meant.
8. This is not a true complex primary verb, since it is inflected, and on occasions it can stand alone. Therefore, it is described as a primary verb.
9. When the last two CVs of the first word are the same, the preferred form of the reduplication would be to drop the final CV of each word: isuma bíru bára usínu. However, both forms of reduplication are permissible.
10. Also kiki amara ratu (Zittle boy little) and dera were amara big very boy) or dera amara were (big boy very).
11. Cf. a similar phenomenon in verbs discussed in Section 3.14 above.
12. Cf. -ma as action relator focus in Section 4.22.
13. Cf. the list of adverbs in Section 3.26.
14. See Section 4.21 .12 below for further details.
15. However they do occur with -ba because, therefore. See Section 4.21.12.1.
16. The lines in these examples represent intonation contours.
17. This story was narrated by Badara Wewera (m), about 31 years old, from Safia No. l village in the Middle Musa.
```

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\title{
SOME FEATURES OF KORAFE MORPHOLOGY
}

\section*{JAMES and CYNTHIA FARR}
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\subsection*{1.0 INTRODUCTION}

Korafe is the easternmost member of the Binanderean Language Family of north-eastern Papua. \({ }^{l}\) The main Korafe dialect is spoken by approximately 1800 people living within the Tufi Sub-District of the Northern District of Papua. \({ }^{2}\) The main Korafe dialect extends from Jebo to Kasiawa in a line of coastal villages dotting several peninsulas. Other areas further northward along the coast from Cape Nelson are very closely related. The largest centres among these are at Teniaru and Bambiti.

This paper presents a brief overview of Korafe. pronouns and verbs. \({ }^{3}\) We have chosen to highlight the verb structure particularly because verbs are the most important feature of the whole language family. In so doing the paper also provides the reader with data for comparing Korafe with sister languages to the west.

\subsection*{2.0 PHONOLOGICAL NOTES}

A tentative alphabet for Korafe would include /b/, /f/. /v/, /m/, /t/, /d/, /s/, /j/, /n/, /r/, /k/, /g/, /s/, /w/, /y/, /a/, /e/, /i/, /ol, /u/, /ą/, /ę/, /i//, /̧/ and /u̧/. /̧/ represents the voiced velar fricative. /w/ tends to vary freely between [v] and [b] before \(/ i /\) and \(/ e /\), and to vary freely between \([w]\) and \([b]\) before \(/ a /, / o /\), and /u/. Both \(w\) and \(v\) are written in the orthography used in this paper. Speakers do not differentiate between the voiceless bilabial stop [p], the voiceless bilabial fricative [p], and the voiceless labio-dental fricative [f], although [f] is the variant of /f/ that occurs most frequently. /r/ is a voiced alveolar flap; some speakers prefer to use the voiced alveolar lateral [1] for this phoneme. /j/ is a voiced alveopalatal affricate. All vowels may also occur nasalized sub-phonemically, although this seems to be distributionally somewhat erratic and needs to be studied further. However, for the purposes of this paper, all nasalized vowels will be marked wherever they occur except where they occur following a nasal consonant when they are always nasalized, e.g.
['mąsa] odour, bad smell
and also except where they precede a voiced stop or /g/ (within words and occasionally between words) when they are wirtten as mb , nd and \(n g\) to indicate that the stop or /g/ has assumed a prenasalized quality with the nasal at the same point of articulation as the stop or \(/ \mathrm{g} /\), e.g.
\(/ n a /+/ d a /=[n a n d a]\)
Stress and tone have not been adequately analyzed yet and are not marked on examples used in this paper. However, it is known that they play a joint role in differentiating minimal pairs.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 26kd & \(f i s h\) & & 2bfofd & sweat \\
\hline d?ká & lime & gourd & d?fofd & cemetery \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Stress is not elsewhere written in this paper.

\subsection*{3.0 GRAMMATICAL NOTES}

In the description of pronouns and verbs to come the following abbreviations have been used:
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
ClM & Clause Marker & P/F & Present-Future Tenses \\
DA & Different Actor & proc & Procedural Tense \\
DP & Distant Past Tense & ques & Question Mood \\
emph & Emphatic & RO & Relator Object \\
exc & Exclusive & rep & Repetitive Aspect \\
F & Future Tense & SA & Same Actor \\
hon & Honorific & seq & Sequential Time Relationship \\
hort & Hortative Mood & sim & Simultaneous Time Relationship \\
IA & Integral Action & SP & Short Process \\
imp & Imperative Mood & sten & Stentorian Imperative \\
inc & Inclusive & subj & Subjunctive Mood \\
ind & Indicative Mood & \(T P\) & Today's Past Tense \\
inf & Infinitive & \(Y P\) & Yesterday's Past Tense \\
int & Interrogative Mood & \(1 p\) & First Person Plural \\
LP & Long Process & \(2 p\) & Second Person Plural \\
NF & Non-Future Tenses & \(3 p\) & Third Person Plural \\
NP & Near Past Tense & \(1 s\) & First Person Singular \\
NR & Non-Repetitive Aspect & \(2 s\) & Second Person Singular \\
P & Present Tense & \(3 s\) & Third Person Singular
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{3.1 Pronouns}

\subsection*{3.11 Personal Pronouns}

A Korafe pronoun replaces a noun phrase as subject or object of a predicate or axis of a relator-axis phrase.
```

1. genembo a-ira. nu a-ira.
man go-TP.3s.1nd he go-TP.3s.ind
The man went today. He went today.
2. aya kena y-asi. nu-mo kena y-asi.
mother toward go-1mp.2s her-emph toward go-1mp.2s
Go to (your) mother! Go to herי!
```

Pronouns exist for twelve person-number combinations although the dual inclusive and exclusive forms rarely occur. These are listed below in Table 1.
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|l|c|}
\hline Person & Singular & Dual & Plural \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{c} 
lst \\
1nc \\
exc
\end{tabular} & na & \begin{tabular}{c} 
nangae \\
\(n i\) nangae
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{c} 
namonde or \\
namone \\
namane
\end{tabular} \\
\hline 2nd & ni & nengae & ne (nemonde) \\
\hline 3rd & nu & nengae & ne (nemonde) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

TABLE 1: SUBJECT/OBJECT PRONOMINAL FORMS

Context usually resolves the ambiguities between second and third persons dual and plural. Occasionally, when a group or groups of persons are addressed or listed individually, the form nemonde you all or they all will sum up the listing to emphasize the cohesion and universality of the persons and groups involved. Actually, all the forms in Table \(l\) can be obtained from four basic forms: na, \(n i, n u\), and ne by noting that:
(a) -gae or -gae expresses dual accompaniment:
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
na-ngae & ne-ngae \\
me-with & them-with \\
we two & they two
\end{tabular}
(b) -mane serves as a pluralizer for na as well as for several nouns:
na-mane
I-plural.exc
we, not including you
(c) -mo points out the person, object, or event to which it attaches itself. -de expresses plural accompaniment:
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { na-mo-nde } \\
\text { I-emph-with } \\
\text { we altogether }
\end{gathered}
\]

The following modifications to the forms of Table loccur.
(i) Benefactive/Purposive
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text {-dae signifies on account of, for } \\
& \qquad \begin{array}{c}
\text { e na-ndae b-u y-asi. } \\
\text { this me-for get-SA. IA go-imp. } 2 \mathrm{~s} \\
\text { Take this for me! }
\end{array}
\end{aligned}
\]
```

            namane-ndae gesa re-s-era.
        us.exc-on.account.of laugh rep-say-P.3p. ind
            They are laughing at us.
    (i1) Genitive or Stative Locational
    -da indicates of, to and implies an intimate relationship
    with its axis.
    a. Examples of Genitive Usage
        ni na-mane-nda mandi-ri.
        you me-plural-of boy-ClM
            You are our son.
    na-nda kaiya b-u f-u.
    me of knife get-SA.IA come-1mp.2s
        Bring my knife!
        b. Examples of Stative Locational Usage
        ni na-nda dombu-da anumb-ir-esa.
        you me-to face-to sit-stay-P.2s.ind
        You are sitting in front of me.
    (ii1) Emphatic
As already stated, -mo emphasizes the person, object,
or event to which it attaches itself. -mo must be
added to the basic pronominal forms before the plural
accompaniment -de, the clause marker - ri, the word
kena toward, and the comparative -go. However, the
above forms directly follow a compound pronoun, with-
out -mo.
na-nda mandi ni-mo-ri.
me-of boy you-emph-ClM
You are my son.
evevetu evewa na-mane-ri.
women good I-plural-ClM
We are good women.
(iv) Directional
kena indicates toward but is often translated to.
na-mane kena f-u.
I-plural toward come-1mp.2s
Come to us!

```

> nu-mo kena mut-u.
> him-emph toward give-imp.2s Give (it) to him!
(v) Comparative

The suffix -go indicates a comparison.
Vitoria nu-mo-ngo-ri.
Victoria him-emph-comparative-ClM
Victoria is like him.
ne na-mane-ngo-ri.
you(aZZ) me-plural-comparative-ClM
You are like us.
(vi) Intensive Emphatic
-moa is often translated Zucky one.
ni-moa oka bamb-esi!
you-intensive.emph fish get-TP.2s.ind
Lucky you, you caught fish! (implies that I didn't)
(vii) Hyper-Emphatic
-ne emphasizes the actor.
nu-ne amb-arira o na-mane amb-arera.
he-hyper.emph die-F.3s.ind or \(I\)-plural die-F.lp.ind
He must die or we will die.
(viii) Honorific

The Korafe people often add -ko to people's names to express feeling for them. When it follows the emphatic form nimo, the /o/ becomes /a/, and the resultant form is nimako. The honorific pronouns only occur in second and third persons, usually in response to a greeting.

Speaker One: r-aw-asi.

> rep-sleep-NP.2s.ind
you slept.
Speaker Two: ni-ma-ko r-aw-asi.
you-emph-honorific rep-sleep-NP.2s.ind You (also) slept.
(ix) Selective
-suka (singular) and kikiako (dual and plural) set aside a person or persons as the only subject(s) or object(s).
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { ni ni-suka y-aresa? } \\
\text { you you-alone go-F.2s.1nt } \\
\text { Will you go by yourself? } \\
\text { na-mane kikiako i-ruroro ni ir-aresa. } \\
\text { I-plural alone go-DA.sim.F.lp you stay-F.2s.ind } \\
\text { We will go by ourselves, and you will stay. }
\end{gathered}
\]
(x) Inclusive
barago signifies also.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na(m) barago kae tamb-eni. } \\
& I \quad \text { also poison meet-TP.ls.ind } \\
& \quad I \text { am also sick. }
\end{aligned}
\]
(xi) Reflexive tofo indicates a singular reflexive and totofo a plural reflexive.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { nu tofo d-etira. } \\
\text { he self hit-TP.3s.1nd } \\
\text { He hit himself. } \\
\text { na-ngae totofo garasi-da g-eri. } \\
\text { me-with selves glass-in see-TP.lp.ind } \\
\text { We saw ourselves in the mirror. }
\end{gathered}
\]
(xi1) Reciprocal tofo tofo means each other. ne-ngae tofo tofo deteri. them-with each other hit-TP.lp.ind They hit each other.

We have delineated the Korafe pronominal levels of emphasis or intensity in Table 2 below. Suena also has pronominal levels of emphasis. 4
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & NonEmphatic & Emphatic & Intensive Emphatic & НурегEmphatic & Honorific \\
\hline SUBJECT/OBJECT & ne & nemo & nemoa & nene & nemako \\
\hline BENEFACTIVE & nendae & & & & \\
\hline GENITIVE & nenda & & & & \\
\hline DIRECTIONAL & & nemo kena & & & \\
\hline COMPARATIVE & & nemongo & & & \\
\hline SELECTIVE & ne kikiako & & & & \\
\hline INCLUSIVE & ne(m) barago & nemonde & & & \\
\hline REFLEXIVE & ne totofo & & & & \\
\hline RECIPROCAL & ne tofo tofo & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

TABLE 2: LEVELS OF PRONOMINAL EMPHASIS WITH POSTPOSITIONS USING ne you aZZ

\subsection*{3.12 Demonstrative Pronouns}

All forms of the demonstrative pronouns derive from the following basic morphemes.
e this, near to the speaker
a that, near to the hearer
o that, away from speaker and hearer
The inventory of demonstratives includes the following words.
```

e, a,o
emo, amo, omo
einda, ainda, oinda
eindae, aindae, oindae
ei mi, ai mi, oi mi
eminda, aminda, ominda
evia, awa
evirere, awarere, ovirere
emingo, amingo
this, that, that (not pointed
out, used as demonstrative
pronouns and adjectives)
this, that, that (pointed out,
used as demonstrative pro-
nouns and adjectives)

```
einda, ainda, oinda
eindae, aindae, oindae
ei mi, ai mi, oimi
eminda, aminda, ominda
evia, awa
evirere, awarere, ovirere
emingo, amingo
its (Possessive)
for this (or that) reason; therefore
with this, with that, with that; with it (Instrumental)
here, there, over there
this, that (Relator Objects) 5
here it is, there it is, there it is
like this, like that

\subsection*{3.2 Verbs}

\subsection*{3.21 General}

Korafe conversations are divided into "episodes" \({ }^{6}\) or series of activities closely related to each other. A short episode roughly parallels our English sentence. A long episode resembles the English paragraph. A final verb form or the clause marker -ri must terminate an episode. Final verbs may be used for actions within an episode as well as actions concluding an episode, but medial verbs usually are used for the initial and intermediate inter-related actions of one episode. Final verbs must have tense, person, and mood suffixes. Some medial verbs have tense and person markers, others do not. A breath pause may occur after a medial verb, but a lengthy break concludes an episode.

\subsection*{3.21.1 Subject and Object Agreement}

With the exception of some same actor medial verbs, Korafe verbs are marked for person in agreement with the subject. The object is usually not indicated in the verb at all, but occasionally plurality will be indicated by reduplication of \(C_{1} V_{1}\) of the short process stem when the object and its modifiers do not otherwise indicate a plural state.
na gegenembo etoto ere-gos-ena.
\(I \quad\) men two rep-see-P.ls.ind
\(I\) see two men.
nu kuta gasag-e g-etira. she sweet.potatoes RO plant.plural. object-SA. IA continue-TP. 3s.ind She planted sweet potatoes.

Although the suffixes themselves vary slightly between tenses, they remain unambiguous except for first and third persons dual and plural. Context or free pronouns usually resolve this ambiguity. See Tables 6 and 8 for a complete listing of forms.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { na-ngae y-arera. } \\
\text { me-with go-F.lp.ind } \\
\text { We two will go. } \\
\text { ne isambu y-arera. } \\
\text { they all go-F.3p.ind } \\
\text { They all wizl go. }
\end{gathered}
\]

\subsection*{3.22 Verb classes}

Korafe verbs can be sub-divided into three classes \({ }^{7}\) according to form. The vowels /e/, /i/, and /u/ terminate abrupt singular commands, and it is profitable to classify verbs as e-verbs, \(i\)-verbs, and u-verbs. This breakdown is characteristic of Binandere verbs. There are some basic characteristics of these three classes. e-verbs use -ete rather than -e for the today's past suffix (see Table 5). Their basic stem is often one syllable and immutable. The \(i\)-verb class has a preponderance of verbs with reduplicating stems in certain moods and tenses. A number of irregular verbs occur in this class. u-verbs frequently have stem-final /f/ varying to /mb/ for different moods and tenses.
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text { ga-e! } & \text { av-i! } & \text { sumb-u! } \\
\text { spear-imp.2s } & \text { sleep-1mp.2s } & \text { run-1mp.2s } \\
\text { Spear! } & \text { Sleep! } & \text { Run! }
\end{array}
\]

\subsection*{3.23 Verb Stems}

Many Korafe verbs have one stem or two stems, and a few three or four. Although the difference between stems is signalled by tense, mood, and aspect of an action, we believe that the reason for the usage of different stems for one verb lies in the Korafe outlook toward the duration involved in completing a single action of the particular verb. We have chosen to call the two basic stems long-process and shortprocess stems. A short-process stem indicates punctiliar aspect or an operation within a very short time span. A long-process stem signals an operation over a longer time span. A verb with two stems expresses both processes within its forms. A verb with only one stem will be considered as a long-process or short-process verb. In Table 3, we illustrate these three types of verbs in the third person, singular, indicative mood for present tense in the repetitive aspect and future and distant past tenses in the non-repetitive aspect.
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
1. Two stems tendud, tend & tie sago walls to house \\
P.rep tendud-er-ira.F.NR & tend-arira.DP.NR tendud-usira
\end{tabular}

TABLE 3: THREE VERB TYPES

Tie sago walls to house is viewed as having two different process durations, i.e., I could spend all morning tying on the walls or \(I\) could tie two pieces on and do something else. Fall down only takes a few seconds whenever it happens and therefore is a short-process verb. It takes a long time for something to dry up, therefore this is a longprocess verb.

A repeated action will require the long-process stem wherever two stems exist for one verb. Present action is always considered as a series of actions or repetitive action. Any action that occurred before today is viewed as a long process when two stems exist for one verb. Any action that has already happened today usually has taken only a short time and has not been repeated. If it has taken a long time, or if it was repeated, Korafe speakers use the near past tense with the long-process stem when two stems occur. Any action of undetermined length is viewed as a short process; therefore the future and procedural tenses use the short-process stem of the verb. In medial verb forms, the short-process stem helps to make up the sequential punctiliar forms; the long process stem usually occurs elsewhere. Stem differences, however, are usually not required to differentiate between tenses, repeated and non-repeated aspects, or moods.

Knowing one stem of a verb will not always enable one to predict the form of the other stem. However, there are certain stems which modify or reduplicate in the same manner to indicate a long process; thus, they form sub-classes within the three verb classes. Within the u-verbs exists the sub-class which changes from the short-process stem CVmb to the long-process stem CVf.
tamb, taf feel, meet, find
gamb, gaf bite
gemb, gef write, pole a canoe, sew by hand

The most frequent modification of the short-process stem is reduplication of it in some manner to make it a long-process stem.
vit, vivit ascend dand, dandud crack with teeth
fit, fifit put down tend, tendud tie sago walls to house
fend, fefend put inside it, itut cook, buizd
There are a few verbs with two suppletive stems.
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
mind, & r & eat \\
oj, & fur, f & come \\
a, & \(i, y\) & go
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline A) Final Form & Long-Process Stem & Short-Process Stem \\
\hline Infinitive & - & + \\
\hline Negative Participle & - & + \\
\hline Negative Infinitive & - & + \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
Indicative, Interrogative, and Question Moods \\
(i) Present \\
(ii) Future Repetitive \\
(iii) Future Non-Repetitive \\
(iv) Today's Past \\
(v) Near Past Repetitive \\
(vi) Near Past NonRepetitive \\
(vii) Yesterday's Past Repetitive \\
(viii) Yesterday's Past Non-Repetitive \\
(ix) Distant Past Repetitive \\
(x) Distant Past NonRepetitive \\
(xi) Procedural or Habitual
\end{tabular} &  &  \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
Hortative \\
(i) Non-Repetitive \\
(ii) Negative
\end{tabular} &  & \[
\begin{aligned}
& + \\
& +
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
Imperative \\
(1) Future Repetitive \\
(ii) Abrupt \\
(iii) Polite \\
(iv) Negative
\end{tabular} &  &  \\
\hline Subjunctive & - & + \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
[Table 4 continued on next page]
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline B) Medial Forms & \begin{tabular}{c} 
Long-Process \\
Stem
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{c} 
Short-Process \\
Stem
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Same Actor, Sequential & \(+*\) & + \\
\hline Same Actor, Simultaneous & + & - \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{c} 
Different Actor, \\
Simultaneous
\end{tabular} & + & - \\
\hline Different Actor, Sequential & ++ & + \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
*Only come and go in Today's Past.
tOnly come and go in Past.
TABLE 4: RELATIONSHIP OF VERB STEMS TO MOODS, TENSES, AND ASPECTS

\subsection*{3.24 Voice}

Korafe verbs have only active voice. Reciprocity is expressed through the pronoun system rather than through the verb system.

\subsection*{3.25 Affixes to the verb Stems}

Repetition can be either a prefix or suffix.
The positive infinitive, negative participle, and negative infinitive morphemes are all suffixes.

The tense, person, and mood suffixes follow the repetitive suffix when it occurs.

\subsection*{3.25.1 Repetition}

Just as Korafe verbs indicate a dichotomy between long and short processes, so they manifest a dichotomy between repeated and nonrepeated actions. The allomorphs ere-, re-, and -er indicate repeated non-future action. If the stem is one syllable, ere- usually precedes the stem. If the verb stem is one letter, re-precedes the stem. If the stem is two syllables, er follows the stem.
ere-bun-esa
rep-not.know-P.2s.ind
you do not know
re-s-ena
rep-say-P.ls.ind
I am saying
fugut-er-ena
throw-rep-P.ls.ind
I am throwing

The future repetitive morpheme -ur immediately follows the stem.

> sar-ur-aresa
> chop-rep-F.2s.ind
> you wizl be chopping

\subsection*{3.25.2 The "Infinitive" and the Verb to do}

Throughout the Binandere language family, the "infinitive" of the verb is closely linked to the infinitive to do. We have defined the Korafe "infinitive" as the object of na uju erena \(I\) want. ari is the infinitive to do, and it forms the infinitive of each verb by suffixing the short-process stem.
\begin{tabular}{ccc} 
gay-ari & aw-ari & sumb-ari \\
spear-to.do & sleep-to.do & run-to.do \\
to spear & to sleep & to run
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{3.25.3 Negation}

Negation is generally indicated by a verb phrase consisting of a free form, the adverb jo not, plus a negative participle, plus a form of the verb to do. The negative participle is formed by adding the negative participle ae not doing on to the short-process stem of the verb.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { na jo y-aer arena. } \\
I \text { not go-not. doing do.F.ls.ind } \\
I \text { will not go. }
\end{gathered}
\]

The negative hortative mood and the negative imperative are not formed in this way and will be discussed under hortative and imperative moods. Although negative compounds with past tenses of to do occur, Korafe speakers prefer to use the negative infinitive (shortprocess stem with the suffix aeri not to do) to express the negative in the past.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na jo y-aeri. } \\
& \text { I not go-not.to.do } \\
& \text { I did not go. }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.25.4 Tense, Person, and Mood Suffixes}

In other Binandere languages, for final positive verbs the first order suffix (where no repetition is involved) is the tense, the second order suffix is the person, and the third order suffix is the mood. Although there are tendencies to follow these three orders for tense, person, and mood, the suffixes in Korafe are not so clearly
defined, and we prefer to view them as a portmanteau. See Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Korafe has eight tenses: Present (P), Future (F), Today's Past (TP), Near Past (NP), Yesterday's Past (YP), Distant Past (DP), and Procedural or Habitual (proc). Present tense indicates an action which is happening right now. Future indicates an action which has not yet happened. Today's Past includes actions which began at or after sunrise today and have already concluded. It is never repetitive. Near Past serves as the repetitive complement of Today's Past, but it includes all actions that have happened from yesterday morning until immediately before the present moment. It has both repetitive and non-repetitive aspects. Yesterday's Past includes all actions which happened yesterday and exists in both repetitive and nonrepetitive aspects. The Distant Past indicates all repetitive and non-repetitive actions which occurred before yesterday. The Procedural or Habitual, although not pinned down to a specific time, seems to be more of a tense than a mood. It operates within several of the stated moods. It indicates procedures which are always followed or actions always done in a certain way.
```

na-mane "can opener" English geka-da s-eraera.
I-plural can opener English talk-in say-proc.lp.ind
In English, we call (it) a can opener.

```

See Table 5.
The Korafe verb suffix indicates first person singular, second person singular, third person singular, and second person dual and plural quite clearly. However, first person dual and plural is the same as third person dual and plural. See Table 6.

Indicative, Interrogative, Question, Hortative, Subjunctive, and Imperative Moods comprise the six moods in Korafe. See Table 7. The Imperative Mood is not included in this table, but it is fully described within the body of this paper. We will elaborate on all of the moods later in this paper.


TABLE 6: SECOND ORDER SUFFIX ON KORAFE VERBS (PERSON)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Person: & 1 s & 2 s & 3 s & 1 p & 2p & 3 p \\
\hline \multicolumn{7}{|l|}{INDICATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE MOODS} \\
\hline P/F/proc & - a & -a & -a & - a & - \({ }^{\text {a }}\) & - a \\
\hline TP/DP & -i & -i & -a & -i & -u & -i \\
\hline \multicolumn{7}{|l|}{INDICATIVE, INTERROGATIVE AND QUESTION MOODS} \\
\hline NP/YP & -i & -i & \(\square\) & -i & -u & - i \\
\hline \multicolumn{7}{|l|}{QUESTION MOOD} \\
\hline P/F/TP/DP/proc & - i & - i & \(\emptyset\) & -i & -u & - i \\
\hline HORTATIVE MOOD & -e & - & -e & - & - e & - \\
\hline SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD & - i & -i & -a & -i & -u & - i \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

TABLE 7: THIRD ORDER SUFFIX ON KORAFE VERBS (MOOD)

table 8: all three orders of suffixes on korafe verbs

\subsection*{3.26 Irregular Verbs}

\subsection*{3.26.1 Psychological Irregularity}

The verb irari to stay, be is psychologically considered only as a long-process verb. It exists only as a continuous, non-repetitive action verb. Its negative infinitive is used in all negative stative and equative clauses.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na jo sasingu ir-aeri. } \\
& I \text { not child stay-negative.inf.to.do } \\
& I \text { am not a child. }
\end{aligned}
\]

See Table 11 for a synopsis of irari, basically in first person.

\subsection*{3.26.2 Irregularity of Form}

The verb ari to do has no apparent stem. However, in order to understand Korafe verb formation, one must memorize the complete conJugation of this verb. Its forms are the bases for the endings of all the verbs in all tenses and mood. See Table ll at the conclusion of this paper for a synopsis of ari, basically in first person singular.

The verbs furari to come and yari to go have short-process stems only in the today's past tense. These two verbs have suppletive short- and long-process stems. The long-process stems fur and \(f\) of to come alter to the short-process stem oj in the today's past tense. Long-process stems \(i\) and \(y\) of to go switch to a in the today's past tense. Short-process forms of come and go do not exist medially, except that the sequential continuous today's past in the same actor medial form uses the short-process stems mentioned above. First person singular and plural forms rarely occur for the present tense of the verb to go. In these circumstances the people prefer to use the present form of come: na refena \(I\) am coming or namane refera We are coming. I am going only ever occurs in one situation. If a person calls you, the proper response if you're on the way or coming immediately is:

> na erena-re!
> \(I\) go.P.ls.ind-here
> Here I go! or I'm on my way!

See Table 11 for synopses of furari and yari.
The verb doyari to stop, leave, desist is the only verb which
does not fall into one of the three verb classes, because its command form ends in o. See Table 11 for a synopsis of doyari.
mindari to eat is irregular in that the long-process stem \(r\) and the short process stem mind are suppletive.

\subsection*{3.27 Mood}

\subsection*{3.27.1 Indicative Mood}

The indicative mood expresses a simple direct statement and is characterized by a drop in the voice level sentence finally.


I go-F.ls.ind
I will go.
A final -a on verbs signifies the indicative in non-past tenses. Past tenses end in \(-\mathbf{i}\), a or \((3 s)\), and \(-u(2 p)\). See Tables 7 and 8.

\subsection*{3.27.2 Interrogative Mood}

Queries, questions without a question word, are expressed by the the interrogative mood. It uses the same set of suffixes as the indicative mood (see Tables 7 and 8), but it is characterized by a sustained high intonational level clause finally.


\subsection*{3.27.3 Question Mood}

The question mood occurs with questions containing a question word. The characteristic ending is \(-i\), although \(-u\) indicates second person plural and occurs in third person singular. See Tables 7 and 8. The question mood is signalled by a drop in intonation sentence finally.

who rep-come-P.3.ques
Who is coming?

what-to go-F.2s.ques
Where will you go?

\subsection*{3.27.4 Hortative Mood}

The hortative mood is most frequently used with a dependent final verb expressing probable or desired result. So far, only nonrepetitive forms have been encountered.
\(\mathrm{f}-\mathrm{u}\)
come-1mp.2s get-NR.1s.hort
Come (and) I'zl carry (you)!

As the translation shows, the hortative forms refer to future time. -e signifies hortative mood. See Tables 7 and 8. Stems with only one letter use the first ending; stems with two or more letters use the second ending as listed in Table 8. This mood is also used for the polite imperative, and the hortative imperative let us go as delineated below under the imperative mood.

The negative hortative consists of a dependent final verb expressing negative result. The morpheme era may precede this form, but it isn't obligatory. Its meaning is not yet known.
na bayau it-arena nu era janje eko eure.
I food cook-F.ls.ind he feelings bad negative.hort.3s.do
I will cook food so that he will not be angry.
-ione, etc. is the characteristic negative hortative suffix combination as conjugated below with b get.
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ls b-ione & lp b-iore \\
2 s & b -iose & 2 p \\
b -iove \\
3 s & b -iure & \(3 p\) \\
b -iore
\end{tabular}

The negative hortative for \(d o\), eone, suffixes a very few stems such as y go. See conjugations below.
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
ls eone & lp eore & ls y-eone & lp y-eore \\
2s eose & \(2 p\) eove & 2s y-eose & \(2 p\) y-eove \\
3s eure & \(3 p\) eore & 3s y-eure & \(3 p\) y-eore
\end{tabular}

For further uses of the negative hortative, see the negative imperative.

\subsection*{3.27.5 Subjunctive Mood}

The subjunctive mood states a condition contrary to fact or expresses a feeling of obligation. It consists of the negative participle with the today's past form of do.

na jo kae tamb-ae aetena na y-aeteni.

I not poison meet-not. doing do.ls.subj.med I go-ls.subj If I were not sick (had not met poison), I would go.

\subsection*{3.27.6 Imperative Mood}

\section*{(1) Abrupt Commands}

The abrupt commands in Korafe are similar to English commands. They involve second persons singular and plural. An optional subject pronoun may occur. The appropriate class vowel -e, -i, or -u attaches itself to the short-process stem.

> sumb-u!
> run-imp.2s
> Run!
sumb-uwu!
run-imp.2p
Run, you all!

\section*{(2) Stentorian Commands}

Commands that are shouted implement the abrupt command form and terminate in -yo (occasionally -o) in the singular, and add the second person plural form and terminate in -0 in the plural.

\author{
sumb-u-yo! \\ run-1mp.2s-sten \\ Run! \\ i-yo! \\ go.1mp.2s-sten \\ Go!
}
sumb-uw-o! run-1mp.2p-sten Run, you alz!
iw-o! go.1mp.2p-sten Go, you alz!
(3) Hortative Commands

The first person plural of the hortative mood can be translated let us...
gaka jumb-ore.
canoe pulZ-NR.lp.hort
Let's pulz the canoe.
The second person, both singular and plural, of the hortative mood is used as a polite alternative to the abrupt command. The last command in a string of commands must have the hortative form.
f-u bayau mind-ase!
come-1mp.2s food eat-NR.2s.hort
Come and eat (your) food!
oka ga-e b-udo f-u mind-ore!
fish spear-1mp.2s get-SA.seq.punc come-imp.2s eat-NR.lp.hort Spear the fish, bring it, and let's eat!

\section*{(4) Future Continuous Command}

This form indicates that the person to whom the command is given will do the action for some time, and another action will occur while he is performing it or immediately afterwards.
\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text { i-ruru aya gore! } \\
\text { go.imp-F.cont.2s mother go-NR.3s.hort } \\
\text { You go, and (your) mother wizl go (later). } \\
\text { f-u-ruruwu... } & \text { av-i-ruru... } \\
\text { come-imp-F.cont.2p } & \text { sleep-imp-F.cont.2s } \\
\text { you all come, and... } & \text { go to sleep, and... }
\end{array}
\]
(5) Negative Command

Very often, Korafe speakers express a negative imperative with a noun followed by the command do desist.
sorara d-o! beaka d-o!
crying desist-1mp.2s
Stop crying! or Don't cry!
mouth desist-1mp.2s
Stop talking! or Don't talk!

The negative hortative politely expresses a negative form. The morpheme era may precede this form.
era jung-iose!
hide-negative.hort.2s Don't hide (it)!
g-iove!
see-negative.hort. \(2 p\)
Don't Zook, you alZ!
era sumb-iose! run-negative.hort.2s Don't run:

\subsection*{3.28 Medial Verbs}

Medial or dependent verbs indicate actions within an episode or single event which do not terminate the episode or event. There may or may not be a short breath pause after them. An indefinite number of medial verbs may occur within one episode, but a final verb must always terminate it. Medial verbs are the equivalent of English participial phrases and initial and intermediate clauses of compound and complex sentences. Some medial verbs are non-finite, that is, they do not show tense, mood, and person. Korafe people distinguish between "same actor" medial verbs (the same actor will perform the following action) and "different actor" medial verbs (a different actor will perform the following action). A further differentiation occurs
between sequential and simultaneous actions. We have defined sequential as one action following another action with a time lapse between the two actions and simultaneous as one action touching another action in some way. Actions directly following each other with no time lapse and actions coinciding with each other will be viewed as simultaneous actions. A further dichotomy exists in the medial verb forms between short-process and long-process. Sequential actions may be punctiliar or continuous actions with different corresponding forms. Simultaneous actions are always continuous actions. Repetition seems to be expressed in the medial verb forms by repeating the form several
times.
nu genembo d-etiri d-etiri genembo sumb-udo a-ira.
he man hit-DA.seq.SP.3s.rep man run-SA.seq.SP go-TP.3s.ind
He hit and hit the man, and the man running went or
He hit the man again and again, and the man ran away.

\subsection*{3.28.1 Same Actor, Sequential, Short-Process}

This form is non-finite, deriving both tense and mood from a following verb. It has no person indicator, but the first verb with a person suffix that follows it in the episode will indicate the person of this form. The short-process stem plus the characteristic vowel plus -do comprise this form.
sorara d-o d-odo na-mo kena f-u!
crying stop-1mp.2s stop-SA.seq.SP me-emph toward come-1mp.2s Stop crying, and when you have stopped, come to me!
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { bayau b-udo a-ira. } \\
& \text { food get-SA.seq.SP go-TP.3s.ind } \\
& \text { She got the food and went. }
\end{aligned}
\]

Although we would often translate this expression with a participial phrase, it can occur within a lengthy construction as the only action predicate, in which case, it would be advantageous to view the construction as a closely-knit sentence in an episode. \({ }^{6}\) The verbs come, go, and stay are continuous actions. The only short-process form of go and come is the sequential, short-process, today's past form. This form closely approximates in meaning the same actor, sequential shortprocess form of other verbs, although it only applies to the time from dawn until the moments right before now that we call the today's past. The short-process stem of go and come with its final vowel altered from -i to -a, plus the indicative today's past suffixes yield this form.
```

            oj-esa saramana eresa.
        come-SA.seq.SP.TP.2s work rep.do.P.2s.1nd
            You came, and you are working.
                na oroko Tufi a-ena ir-ana
    I today go-SA.seq.SP.TP.Is stay-SA.seq.LP.TP.Is
jovereg-edo nati-da oj-eni.
turn. around-SA.seq.SP home-to come-TP.Is.ind
I went to Tufi today, stayed there a while
turned around, and came home.

```

\subsection*{3.28.2 Same Actor, Integral Action}

The medial form using the short-process stem with one of the characteristic vowel endings indicates an action which is integrally tied to the adjacent verb's action in the episode.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { na vit-i y-arena. } \\
I \text { ascend-SA. IA go-F.Is.ind } \\
\text { I ascending wizl go or I wizl go up. } \\
\text { bayau aya kena b-u } \quad \text { y-asi! } \\
\text { food mother toward get-SA. IA go-imp. 2s } \\
\text { Take the food to (your) mother, literally } \\
\text { Get the food and go to your mother! }
\end{gathered}
\]

\subsection*{3.28.3 Same Actor, Sequential, Long-Process}

Same actor, sequential, long-process medial forms exist in four finite categories, most of which encompass a broader scope of time than a normal indicative mood tense does. Most verbs in these forms have the long-process stem and a repetitive aspect as well as "tense" suffixes.
(a) The present-future tense forms do not have a personal suffix. This tense is signalled by one of two equivalent suffixes: for a few verbs -ia or -iama and for the others -ua or -uama. The forms for go \(y\)-a or \(y\)-ama are exceptions to the above rule.
```

oroko na kikisa ere-gaf-uama bayau it-arena.
today I grass rep-cut-SA.seq.LP.P/F food cook-F.ls.ind
Today, I'Zl cut the grass for a while, and then I'll
cook food.
na y-a ambo-da fur-arena.
I go-SA.seq.LP.P/F back-to come-F.ls.ind
I am going, and afterwards I will come back.

```
```

na y-ama ambo-da fur-arena.
I go-SA.seq.LP.P/F back-to come-F.ls.ind
I am going, and afterwards I will come.

```
(b) Changing the final vowel -i of the indicative near past suffix to -a yields the today's past form of most same actor, sequential, long-process medial verbs.
na jugu ere-dor-ana oroko bayau itut-er-ena.

I ground rep-sweep-SA.seq.LP.TP.ls now food cook-rep-P.ls.ind
I was sweeping for a while, and now I am cooking food.
(c) The indicative distant past suffixes (an -a substitutes for the final -i) together with the long-process stem comprise the past form for actions which occurred before today. Once again, go and come are irregular forms.
```

nu ika jet-isira jovereg-edo
he tree chop-SA.seq.LP.past3s turn, around-SA.seq.SP
nati-da f-usira.
house-to come-DP.3s.1nd
A few days ago, he chopped a tree and turned around,
and came home.

```
            f-esar-aw-asi.
        come-SA.seq.LP.past.2s rep-s leep-NP.2s.ind
                    You came and you slept yesterday.
(d) With verbs other than come and go, Korafe speakers often express the sequential long-process medial by a phrase of two verb forms (the same actor simultaneous form of the verb plus an appropriate same actor sequential long-process medial form of irari stay, be). (See 3.28.4.)
na oka bar-ise ir-iama ambo-da fur-arena.
I fish get-SA.sim stay-SA.seq.LP.P/F back-to come-F.ls.ind \(I\) will be catching fish, and afterwards I will come.

\subsection*{3.28.4 Same Actor, Simultaneous}

The same actor simultaneous medial verb is non-finite and personless; the tense and person of the action will be indicated in the suffix of a following verb. The long-process stem and the suffixes -use or -ise form this medial verb. This construction expresses extent (until) as well as simultaneity (while).

> na jusu dor-use div-eni. As ground sweep-SA.sim sing-TP.ls.ind nus bweeping the ground today, I was singing. he food eat-SA.sim book read-proc.3s.ind He always eats when he's reading a book. Jamie yaru use bayau mind-ira. Jamie play do.SA.sim food eat-TP.3s.ind Jamie played until he ate his supper.

\subsection*{3.28.5 Different Actor, Sequential, Short-Process}

The different actor, sequential, short-process medials are semifinite having three tenses--present, future, and past. These medial forms indicate within their suffixation the actor of the present action and a change of actor for the following action. Usually a final -o (or -i in third person) signals a change in actors. To express a present action that occurs before the final action of an episode, Korafe speakers do not use a medial form; they use the present indicative forms.
na bayau itut-er-ena ai-ndae nu fur-arira.
I food cook-rep-P.ls.ind that-for he come-F.3s.ind I am cooking food now, because he is coming.

The future tense is indicated by using the hortative non-repetitive forms with a final -o suffix rather than -e.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na nu } \quad \text { d-aono nu na d-arira. } \\
& I \text { him hit-DA.seq.SP.F.ls he me hit-F.3s.ind } \\
& I \text { will hit him, and he will hit me. }
\end{aligned}
\]

The past tense forms include any action that has happened before the present moment. Replacing the final vowel of the today's past indicative with -o (or -i in third person) yields the past forms of the different actor, sequential, short-process medial verb.
```

nu oka etoto awa b-iri na nu-nda oka
he fish two RO get-DA.seq.SP.past3s I him-of fish
r-imutani.
eat-YP.ls.ind
He caught two fish yesterday, and I ate his fish.

```

\subsection*{3.28.6 Different Actor, Sequential, Long-Process}

Different actor go, come, and stay may only occur in the longprocess in Korafe. The same rules for forming the sequential, shortprocess forms of the different actor medial apply to forming all three tenses of the different actor, sequential, long-process medials. However, the very rule indicates that go and come will use the longprocess stem for present and future tenses and the short-process stem for the past tense indicating a much shorter continuation of action in the past tense.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { na oj-eno nu a-ira. } \\
\text { I come-DA.seq.SP.past.ls he go-TP.3s.ind } \\
I \text { came, and he went. }
\end{gathered}
\]

Most other verbs appear to occur rarely in this medial form and use the sequential, short-process form of the same actor medial plus one of the different actor, sequential, long-process forms of irari to stay to express this idea.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na iji digari bayau it-ido ir-eno } \\
& \text { I day many food cook-SA.seq.SP stay-DA.seq.LP.past.ls } \\
& \text { nu oj-ira kambo-da buv-ira. } \\
& \text { he come-SA.seq.SP.TP.3s house-to arrive-TP.3s.ind } \\
& \text { I cooked food for many days, and then he came } \\
& \text { and arrived at my house. }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.28.7 Different Actor, Simultaneous}

If two different people perform actions that coincide in some way, the Korafe people will indicate this by suffixing the longprocess form of the first verb with a different actor, simultaneous ending for the first action (of the two) mentioned in the episode. Different actor, simultaneous medials seem to be semi-finite manifesting a tense dichotomy between future and non-future actions. The long-process stem, the suffix /-e/ (or /-i/ for third person), the personal suffix, and the different actor, medial suffix -o (-i for third person) yield the non-future tense forms.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na jugu dor-eno nu dur-ira. } \\
& \text { I ground sweep-DA.sim.NF.ls he falz-TP.3s.ind } \\
& \text { While } I \text { was sweeping the ground, he feZl. }
\end{aligned}
\]

Future is derived using the future repetitive and hortative suffixes.

> na bayau itut-urono nu y-arira.
> I food cook-DA.sim.F.ls he go-F.3s.ind
> While \(I\) am cooking food, he will go.
(1) SAME ACTOR


TABLE 9: POSITIVE MEDIAL FORMS OF hit

\subsection*{3.28.8 Negative Medials}

All negative sequential medial verb phrases consist of jo not, plus the negative participle, plus a corresponding medial form of the verb do.
```

genembo nati jo it-ae et-iri
man house not build-not.doing do-DA.seq.SP.past.3s
nu-nda mandi it-ira.
him-of boy build-TP.3s.1nd
The man did not build the house; his son did.

```
            The simultaneous negative medial phrase is formed by jo not,
plus the negative participle, plus a corresponding medial form of the
verb stay, be.
```

na jo g-ae ir-eno nu ojig-ira.
I not see-not.doing stay-SA.sim.NF.ls he come-TP.3s.ind
I did not see him until he came.

```
na jo saramana ir-eno nu rav-ira.
I not work not.doing stay-DA.sim.NF.ls he sleep-TP.3s.ind
                        I did not work, while he was sleeping.

\subsection*{3.29 Verb Phrases}

\subsection*{3.29.1 Complex Verb Phrase}

There is a large number of complex verbs in Korafe which consist of combinations of an uninflected nominal and the regular conjugated form of one of a very small set of verbs.

A great proportion of these complex verbs contain do.
uju ari
desire do.inf
to want
kaifa ari
care do.inf
to care for, watch

Recently borrowed verbs are incorporated into Korafe grammar also with forms of do.
```

peint ari
paint do.inf iron do.inf
to paint to iron

```

A fex complex verbs contain gari as the second element; to continue is the closest English approximation of gari.
\begin{tabular}{ccc} 
iju gari dara dara gari \\
show continue.inf & trouble trouble continue.inf \\
to show, teach & to shake
\end{tabular}

The verb sari to say completes several phrases usually dealing with the areas of speech and vocal sounds.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { gesa sari } \\
\text { laugh say.inf } \\
\text { to laugh }
\end{gathered}
\]
```

ekono sari
cough say.inf
to cough

```

\subsection*{3.29.2 Durative Verb Phrase}

When forms of gari to continue follow the same actor, sequential, short-process medial verb, its action is lengthened.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na s-edo g-er-ena. } \\
& I \text { say-SA.seq.SP continue-rep-P.ls.Ind } \\
& I \text { am saying }(i t)
\end{aligned}
\]

When the procedural form of gari to continue follows the same actor, simultaneous medial forms of a verb plus the same actor, sequential, long-process present-future form of irari to stay, be, it indicates constant repetition of the action.
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { nu sifo-gousa didiw-use ir-a g-eraira. } \\
\text { she day-long sing-SA.simbe-SA.seq.LP.P/F continue-proc.3s.ind } \\
\text { She sings all the time. }
\end{gathered}
\]

\subsection*{3.29.3 Anticipatory Verb Phrase}

The Korafe express a wish or an action that is about to happen with an anticipatory phrase. The short-process stem with the infinitive of do plus the post particle dae on account of forms the purposive word of the phrase. This occurs with all tenses of do.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { na } y \text {-ari-dae erena. } \\
& \text { I go-inf-on. account.of do.rep.P.ls.ind } \\
& \text { I want to go or I'm about to go. }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{3.29.4 Qualitative Verb Phrase}

A qualitative phrase indicates whether or not an action is well done. The short form of the same actor, sequential, short-process medial form of the verb plus the adverb gogogo well, plus a form of do comprise this phrase.
```

    nu diw-u gogo gombetira.
    he sing-SA.IA well do.TP.3s.ind
                He sings well.
    na jo g-i gogo gombae eraena.
I not see-SA.IA well not.doing do.proc.ls.ind
I do not see very well.

```

\subsection*{5.29.5 Frustrative/Resignation Verb Phrase}

Korafe speakers express frustration or resignation by the suffix -ta at the very end of the verb. A mother who has been harassed by her child to let him go somewhere will finally say,
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { y-asi-ta! } \\
\text { go-imp.2s-just } \\
\text { Well, go then! or Just go! }
\end{gathered}
\]
-tano as the final suffix of \(a\) verb lends it a dubitative quality.
```

    nu kambo-da ir-ira-tano o jo ir-aeri-tano na
    ```
    he house-at be-P.3s.ind-may or not be-negative.inf-may \(I\)
            ere-bun-ena.
        rep-not.know-P.ls.ind
            I don't know whether he is at home or not.
-re seems to express a directional movement of the action itself.
                    saka re-f-ira-re!
                    canoe rep-come-P.3s.ind-here
                            Here comes the canoe.

\subsection*{4.0 TEXT}

A portion of a narrative text about cyclone impressions recorded by Mr. Kenneth Mota, about age 43, on May 19, 1972, a week after Cyclone Hannah devastated Tufi Sub-District.
(1)

(2) na-nda jawo Keniti-ri Kenit Mota-ri edo Tirsde, Mei eleven, me-of name Kenneth-ClM Kenneth Mota-ClM and Thursday May 11
sikis okrok, yaura tuturo usira.
six o'clock wind start do.DP.3s.ind
```

(3)
sumb-iri bun-e jar-edo
run-DA.seq.SP.past.3s not.know-SA.IA have.no.hope-SA.seq.SP
na na-nda afa Mota-mo Maikl-da nati-da awa
I me-of father Mota-emph Michael-of house-at RO
vit-ena asa edo
ascend-go.SA.seq.LP.past.ls carry.piggyback do.SA.seq.SP
b-u f-ena na-nda nati-da
get-SA.IA come-SA.seq.LP.past.ls me-of house-at
fit-eno anumb-etiri na-mane
put-DA.seq.SP.past.ls 8it-DA.seq.SP.past.3s I-plural
Maikl nu-aro isambu na-nda nati-da ir-ero
Michael he-wife all me-of house-at stay-DA.sim.NF.3s
yaura suf-iri sumb-iri sumb-iri
wind run-DA.sim.NF.3s run-DA.seq.SP.past.3s run-DA.seq.SP.past. 3s
sumb-u haf fas sikisi-ri Dafini-da nati
run-SA.IA half past six-ClM Daphne-of house
dur-iri usu isambu
fall.down-DA.seq.SP.past.3s coconut all
dudur-u
g-usira.
fall.down.plural.object-SA.IA continue-DP.3s.ind
(4) etiri anumb-ir-ero nati isambu
do.DA.seq.SP.past.3s sit-stay-DA.sim.NF.lp house aZZ
wos-e tefo usira.
descend-SA.IA nothing do.DP.3s.ind
(5)

```


Free Translation:
(1) I want to tell about the wind that destroyed us, Baga village.
(2) My name is Kenneth, Kenneth Mota. Thursday, May 11th, at six o'clock, the wind started.
(3) It blew, and I not knowing (what was happening) felt hopeless. I went up to Michael's house, and I carried my father, Mota, piggyback, bringing him down to my house. I put him down in the house (on the porch floor), and he sat down. We, Michael, his wife, all of us were staying at my house as the wind blew and blew and blew. At half past six, Daphne's house fell down, and the wind caused all the coconuts to fall down.
(4) That happened, and while we were sitting, the whole house completely collapsed.
(5) That happened. Eight coconut trees fell down, and we, seeing that, started (to move). Michael... I sent the children first... Michael's and my children we sent first to Hobart for help. They went up, and Hobart's and Cephas' house had fallen down.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
e-verbs \\
hit, sweep
\end{tabular} & i-verbs cook, build & \begin{tabular}{l}
u-verbs \\
write, sew, pole
\end{tabular} \\
\hline 1. Abrupt Imperative & d-ege (de)* & it-i & gemb-u \\
\hline 2. Stentorian Imperative & d-eyo & it-iyo & gemb-uyo \\
\hline 3. Medial - SA.seq. SP & d-edo & it-ido & gemb-udo \\
\hline 4. Indicative Procedural & d-eraena & it-iraena & gemb-uraena \\
\hline 5. Infinitive & d-ari & it-ari & gemb-ari \\
\hline 6. Indicative Future.NR & d-arena & it-arena & gemb-arena \\
\hline 7. Negative Participle & d-ae & it-ae & gemb-ae \\
\hline 8. Subjunctive & d-aeteni & it-aeteni & gemb-aeteni \\
\hline 9. Hortative.NR & d-aone & it-one & gemb-one \\
\hline 10. Medial - DA.seq.SP.F & d-aono & it-ono & gemb-ono \\
\hline 11. Negative Hortative & d-eone & it-ione & gemb-ione \\
\hline 12. Indicative Today's Past & d-eteni & it-eni & gemb-eni \\
\hline 13. Medial - DA.seq. SP.past & d-eteno & it-eno & gemb-eno \\
\hline 14. Indicative Present & ere-dor-ena & itut-er-ena & ere-gef-ena \\
\hline 15. Medial - DA.sim. NF & dor-eno & itut-eno & gef-eno \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{16. Medial - SA.seq.LP.P/F} & ere-dor-ua & itut-er-ua & ere-gef-ua \\
\hline & ere-dor-uama & itut-er-uama & ere-gef-uama \\
\hline 17. Indicative.NP.rep & ere-dor-ani & itut-er-ani & ere-gef-ani \\
\hline 18. Medial - SA.seq. LP.TP & ere-dor-ana & itut-er-ana & ere-gef-ana \\
\hline 19. Indicative.NP.NR & dor-ani & itut-ani & gef-an \(i\) \\
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
20. Indicative.YP.rep \\
21. Indicative.YP.NR \\
22. Indicative.DP.rep \\
23. Medial - SA.seq.LP.past \\
24. Indicative. DP.NR \\
25. Medial - SA.sim
\end{tabular}} & \multirow[t]{6}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
ere-dor-umutani \\
dor-umutani \\
ere-dor-useni \\
ere-dor-usena \\
dor-useni \\
dor-use
\end{tabular}} & \multirow[t]{6}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
itut-er-umutani \\
itut-umutani \\
itut-er-useni \\
itut-er-usena \\
itut-useni \\
itut-use
\end{tabular}} & \multirow[t]{6}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
ere-gef-umutani \\
gef-umutani \\
ere-gef-useni \\
ere-gef-usena \\
gef-useni \\
gef-use
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline 26. Indicative. Future.rep & dor-ur-arena & itut-ur-arena & gef-ur-arena \\
\hline 27. Medial - DA.sim.F & dor-urono & itut-urono & gef-urono \\
\hline 28. Future Continuous.imp & dor-uru & itut-uru & gef-uru \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
*Although de exists, dege usually occurs.
TABLE 10: SYNOPSIS OF REGULAR VERBS, BASICALLY IN FIRST PERSON
\begin{tabular}{|lllll|}
\hline & do & go & be, stay & come
\end{tabular}
\({ }^{\text {a }}\) See Table 10 to correlate forms with numbers.
\(\mathrm{b}_{\text {These }}\) forms are the only ones having short-process stems. Note that other verbs have long-process stems in 18.
\({ }^{c}\) ir-iseni signifies two days ago or a short while ago. ir-iani indicates a remote past. Most verbs have only one form in the distant past tense. ir-ari has two.

TABLE 11: SYNOPSIS OF IRREGULAR VERBS, BASICALLY IN FIRST PERSON

\section*{NOTES}
1. See Capell (1969), Healey et \(a\). (1969), and Wilson (1969a,b,c).
2. See Dutton (1971, 1973) for further details.
3. This research has been supported in part by a grant from the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Baga Village, two miles south of the Tufi Sub-District headquarters, over a period of approximately seven months. We are indebted to the people of Baga Village for their help, especially Mr. Justus Seko, Mr. Kingsley Seko, Mr. Dunstan Seko, Mr. Michael Mota, Mr. Kenneth Mota and their families.
4. See Wilson (1969c).
5. These particular demonstratives mark a noun phrase or an embedded clause as the object of a predicate.
6. See Longacre (1970).
7. The verb desist, Zeave, stop is the only exception, replacing the class vowel with -o.

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\section*{SENTENCE STRUCTURE OF GUHU-SAMANE}
ERNEST L. RICHERT
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\subsection*{1.0 SENTENCE STRUCTURE}

\subsection*{1.1 Introduction and Abbreviations}

The Guhu-Samane (or Mid-Waria) language is spoken in the Waria valley of the Morobe District of Papua New Guinea. There are some 4,500 speakers, of whom about one fifth currently live outside of the language area. Guhu-Samane is a member of the Binandere Stock of languages and has a lexicostatistical relationship of \(17 \%\) or \(18 \%\) with the languages of the Binandere. Family within that stock. \({ }^{l}\)

The following is a tagmemic description of the main elements of Guhu-Samane grammar. \({ }^{2}\) The structure is described from the sentence level down to the morpheme level. The order of description is intended to be economical and to avoid much overlap. In this description the following abbreviations and symbols are used:
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
A & aspect & ClVIco & coordinate independent verb \\
acc & accusative suffix & & clause \\
'ad & adversitive enclitic & ClVm & medial verb clause \\
AJ & adjective & cnt & continuative suffix \\
AJcon & adjective construction & 'CO & co-occurrent enclitic \\
AJx & pre-nuclear adjective & COMcon & combination construction (of \\
Aug & augment slot & & introductory base) \\
AV & adverb slot & CON & connective device \\
AVfn & future negative adverb & cond & condition suffix \\
AVnfn & non-future negative adverb & cop & concurrence of opinion \\
AVprob & probable adverb & ct & current tense suffix \\
AVproh & prohibitive adverb & D & description slot \\
AVr & repetitive adverb & 'D & descriptive enclitic \\
ax & pre-nuclear attributive & 'd & deictic enclitic \\
Bi & introductory base & del & delimitive suffix \\
Bm & medial base & dn & denotative \\
Bp & primary base & dim & diminuative suffix \\
Bpp & post-primary base & dl & dilatory suffix \\
Bpt & protatic base & ds & different-subject suffix \\
Ca & Consonant + vowel a & dsr & different-subject requisite suffix \\
Co & Consonant + vowel o & EX & exclamatory particle \\
CV & Consonant + Vowel & F & form \\
cir & current irrealis suffix & frag & fragmentary utterance \\
Cli & included clause phrase & fs & future subjunctive suffix \\
ClN & noun clause & ft & future tense suffix
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
if & infinitive suffix & pn & past negative suffix \\
in & intensive suffix & Pr & pronoun \\
'inf & inferential enclitic & Prd & demonstrative pronoun \\
int & intimate suffix & Pri & interrogative pronoun \\
iQcon & internal quotation construction & prn & present negative suffix \\
'k & adjective enclitic of kind & pro & prohibitive suffix \\
L & locative phrase & Prp & personal pronoun. \\
'L & locative enclitic & Prq & quantitative pronoun \\
M & mood & prt & present tense suffix \\
Ma & manner slot & ps & past subjunctive suffix \\
mae & differential or interrogative & pt & past tense \\
Me & particle & exclamatory mood & PURcon
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
/ or & \(\pm\) & optional \\
\(:\) & is filled by & \(\emptyset\) & zero, absence of form \\
\(=\) & is composed of & \(\sim\) & alternating with \\
+ & obligatory & \(4-1\) & intonation levels (high - low)
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{1.2 Sentence Types}

A Guhu-Samane sentence is defined as an utterance terminating in a feature of mood. There are two types of sentences: full sentences and fragmentary sentences.

\subsection*{1.21 Full Sentences}

A full (non-fragmentary) sentence is composed of an optional introductory base, an optional medial base if followed by an optional protatic base, another optional medial base, an obligatory primary base, an optional post-primary base, and an obligatory feature of mood.

Full Sentence \(= \pm \mathrm{B} \underset{1}{ } \pm( \pm \mathrm{Bm}+\mathrm{Bpt}) \pm \mathrm{Bm}+\mathrm{Bp} \pm \mathrm{Bpp}+\underline{M}\)


\subsection*{1.22 Fragmentary Sentences}

A fragmentary sentence is composed of any fragment of a full sentence (usually less than a full clause) plus a feature of mood.

Fragmentary Sentence \(=+\) fragment \(+\underline{M}\)
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
Ika \(\quad\) ?(3-1) & Idze !(4-1) \\
which(Pri) \(\underline{M}\) ? & oh(Ex) \(\underline{\mathrm{Me}}\) \\
Which one? & Oh:
\end{tabular}

Oke .(2-1)
that(Prd)'0 M1
As to that, ...
2.0 MOOD

Guhu Samane sentences may have any one of four moods: exclamatory, indicative, interrogative, and potential. Contrastive features of the moods are various types of intonation, form and response.
\[
\underline{M}=+I+F+R e s
\]

\subsection*{2.1 Exclamatory Mood}

The exclamatory mood is signalled by an emphatic final high-low (4-1) intonation, represented in the orthography by the exclamation mark, and by the absence of segmental mood form. Response to the exclamatory mood is arrested attention. \({ }^{3}\)
\(\underline{M e}=+I^{4-1}+F^{\varnothing}+\operatorname{Res}^{\text {at }}\)

Noko tuume !(4-1) response: Meeke !(4-1)
they went Me really Me
They have gone!

> Really!

\subsection*{2.2 Indicative Mood}

The indicative mood is signaled by a final mid-low (2-l) intonation represented in the orthography by the period and by the absence of segmental mood form. Response to the indicative mood is unpredictable.
\[
\underline{M}_{1}=+I^{2-1}+F^{\varnothing}+\text { Res }^{\text {unp }}
\]

Quu taate .(2-1)
rain fell M1
It is raining.

\subsection*{2.3 Interrogative Mood}

The interrogative mood is signalled by the final interrogative particle mae, or by a non-appositional interrogative pronoun in the text; and by the elevated-low (3-1) intonation, represented in the orthography by the question mark. The intonation starts at the beginning of the segmental interrogative form and terminates at the end of the utterance. The expected response to the interrogative mood is an answer. The interrogative particle mae usually receives an affirmative or a negative answer, and the interrogative pronoun usually receives an informative answer.
\[
M ?=+I^{3-1}+F^{m a e / P r 1}+\text { Res }^{\text {ans }}
\]

Nii tume mae ? (3-1)
you went eh M?
Did you go?
Nii ikata tume ? (3-1)
you where went M ?
Where did you go?
response: Oore ana tuume. (2-1)
yes \(I\) went M1
Yes, I went.
response: Ana nagata tume . (2-1)
\(I\) house.to went M1
I went to the house.

\subsection*{2.4 Potential Mood}

The potential mood is signified by the final potential particle kaqa and by the low-low (l-l) intonation, also represented in the orthography by the period. The response to the potential mood is usually concurrence of opinion.
\[
\underline{M p}=+I^{l-1}+F^{k a q a}+\operatorname{Res}^{c o p}
\]

Noi tume kaqa .(1-I)
response: \(0 \boldsymbol{i}\) isanate . (2-1)
he went probably Mp
He probably went.
that suffices M1
That is good.

\subsection*{3.0 PRIMARY BASE}

The primary base is filled by a noun clause or an independent verb clause.
\[
\mathrm{Bp}=\mathrm{ClN} / \mathrm{ClVI}
\]

ClN: 0i nagani [.]
that house M1
That is a house.

ClVI: Abi tuume [.]
man went M1
The man went.

\subsection*{3.1 Noun Clauses (and Noun Phrases)}

The noun clause is composed of an optional subject and an obligatory description slot. 4
\[
C l N= \pm S+D
\]
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\(S\) & \(D\) & \(\underline{M}\) & \(D\) & \(M\) \\
\(0-i\) & naga & M & Ee & mina-ni \\
that (Prd)'S house \(\underline{M 1}\) & tree (Ng) Zarge (xAJ)'D & M1 \\
That is a house & & It is a Zarge tree.
\end{tabular}

But before we go on to discuss the subject and description slots we will consider the structure of the noun phrases which so often fill those slots.

Noun phrases (NP) have a remarkably wide distribution in numerous syntactic slots in Guhu-Samane grammar. Each of these phrases may be described as a modification of a "model" noun phrase according to the requirements of the particular slot.

The model noun phrase contains an optional pre-nuclear attributive (ax), an obligatory nucleus (X), an optional post-nuclear attributive (xa), an optional pronoun (Pr), and an optional noun phrase indicator (NP1).
\[
N P= \pm a x+X \pm x a \pm \operatorname{Pr} \pm N P 1
\]

X
Haa [baabe.] dog came M1 A dog [came.]
ax X xa Pr Npi
Besaho abi mimi noke-ke [nanai moota .] ocean's man great them'O we sow M[We saw] the big men of the seacoast.

The components of the model noun phrase include nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and enclitics.
(1) Nouns. A Guhu-Samane noun (N) is defined as a form which is optionally inflected by enclitics, and which occurs as the normal filler of the nucleus of a noun phrase. The kinds of nouns are:
adverbial nouns ( Na ) e.g. eto don't (See 3.21(7)) general nouns ( Ng )
oma rock
kinship nouns (Nk) e.g. pai mother (This subclass takes
locative nouns (Nl) e.g.
pesu under (See 3.22)
modal nouns (Nm) e.g. adzano swiftly (See 3.21(6).)
participial nouns ( \(N p\) ) which consist of a verb stem plus the allomorph of the denotative suffix appropriate for most tenses as shown in Chart 2, column 3, p.22:
e.g. luu-ma going
```

proper nouns (Npr) e.g. Matteo Matthew
salutatory nouns (Ns) e.g.
temporal nouns (Nt) e.g.
kanakana love (See 4.4)
abini recently (See 3.21(5))

```

These kinds of nouns are further illustrated in the appropriate sections of this paper.
(2) Enclitics. In Guhu-Samane the enclitics are phonologically bound to the word to which they are suffixed but grammatically they may be closely related to a whole phrase or clause ending in that word. The enclitics are:
```

co-occurrent enclitic ('CO) -ma
(See 3.23)
deictic enclitic ('d) -ni ~ -qi (optionally)
descriptive enclitic ('D) -ni (See 3.12)
first degree intensity -pa
enclitic ('1)
second degree intensity -mu
enclitic ('12)
kind enclitic ('k) -noma (See adjective construction in
locative enclitic ('L) -ta
3.11)
(See 3.22)
negative enclitic ('n) -dzara
(It may follow -ni ('D).
See 3.12)
oblique enclitic ('O) -ke (See 3.2 especially 3.25,
7.6)
reference enclitic ('r) -ho (Includes possession. See
3.11)
subject enclitic ('S) -
(See 3.11)
source enclitic ('so) -na (See adjective construction
In 3.11)
specification enclitic ('sp) -qa
Of these, the co-occurrent, descriptive, locative, oblique, and subject enclitics normally occur last in a noun phrase to indicate its slot within a clause. (The only items which may follow these enclitics are the negative enclitics which follow the descriptive enclitic and a loose attributive (see below) which follows the other four enclitics.) On the other hand, the kind, reference, and source enclitics occur at the end of a word or noun phrase to indicate its slot within a noun phrase. The deictic, first degree intensity, second degree intensity, and specification enclitics are not slot markers, but constitute an inner layer of enclitics on nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. They may occur in various combinations shown by the following formulas:

```
```

+'sp \pm (+'d + '1 \pm '12) \pm'sp

+ 'sp \pm '1/'12
+ 'd + '1 \pm (+'12 \pm 'sp)

```
```

No-qa-ke [teete .]
him(Prp)'sp'O struck M1
He alone [was struck.]
Mai-qa-ni-pa-mu-ho [suruho qaite .]
father(NK)'sp'd'1'12'r room lit M1
[It was] very specifically father's [room that caught fire.]
Khameto mimi-qa-pa-i [tuume.] Nee-ni-pa-ke [ana moori .]
boys large(AJ)'sp'i'S went Mi bird(Ng)'d'1'0 I saw M1
The large boys [went.] [I saw] the very bird.

```
Naga oo-ni-pa-mu-ta [noi oorai.]
house there(Prd)'d'1'12'L
[He is] at that specific house.
(3) Pronouns. A pronoun is a form which is optionally inflected by enclitics and which occurs normally in the pronoun slot of a noun phrase. It also occurs in the nucleus slot in the absence of a noun or adjective. The kinds of pronouns are:
```

demonstrative pronouns (Prd)
Interrogative pronouns (Pri)
personal pronouns (Prp)
quantitative pronouns (Prq)

```
X
0 [qata .]
that(Prd) continued M1
That [continued there.]
\begin{tabular}{ll}
X & \(\operatorname{Pr}\)
\end{tabular}
pig(Ng) that(Prd) continued M1
That particular pig [continued to
be there.]
X
Era-ta [ana oorai .]
here(Prd)'L I am M1
Here [lam.]
    The interrogative pronouns (Pri) are ape or apene (plural)
who, what; ika which, where, why, what; and naane what. The
interrogative ika also occurs in clauses in apposition to a general,
kinship, locative, or proper noun.

X
Ape [oorai ?]
who(Pri) is M?
Who [is there?]
\begin{tabular}{clll} 
X (apposition) & & \\
Dzohane ika tuume no [oorai .] \\
John(Npr) who(Pri) went he is Mi
\end{tabular}

The John who went [is here.]

X
Natane [taate ?]
what(Pri) fell M?
What [fezl?]
The personal pronoun also occurs in the pronoun slot. The personal pronouns (Prp) are:
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
& & singular & dual & plural & \\
\hline first & person & ana \(\sim\) na & naka & (excl.) & nana \\
& & & & (incl.) & napa \\
\hline second & person & nii & nipe & & nike \\
\hline third & person & no & nopo & & noko \\
& & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The first person singular ana alternates with na when suffixed by the reference enclitic -ho, the intimate suffix (int) -me, or the delimitive suffix (del) -qe (alternating optionally with -qeke), or the reflexive suffix (refl) -mae. The other personal pronouns are likewise suffixed.

X
Nii [babe.]
you(Prp) came M1
You [came.]
ax X
Na-ho khata [taate.]
\(I(P r p)\) 'r son(Nk) fell M1
My son [feZZ.]

X
No-qe [bababe.]
he (Prp)-del came Mi
only he [came.]


X
Noko-mae [tuume .]
they(Prp)-in went M1
They themselves [went.]

The quantitative pronouns (Prq) occur as loose attributives of certain noun phrases such as the object phrase (3.21(2)). They are gama \(a \ell Z\), susupu together, and keke only.
Noko-i gama [tumme.] Paimane-i susupu [oorai.]
they (Prp)'S alZ(Prq) went M1 women(Nk)'S together(Prq) are M1
They alz [went.]
women(Nk)'S together(Prq) are M1
The women [are] all [there.]

Hoo-i keke [babe.]
pig(Ng)'S only(Prq) came M1
Only the pig [came.]
(4) An adjective is a form which is optionally inflected by enclitics and which normally occurs as the filler of one of the attributive slots of a noun phrase, or in the nucleus slot in the absence of a noun. The post-nuclear adjective (xAJ) occurs normally in the post-nuclear attributive slot and is optionally suffixed by the diminuative suffix (dm) -bari. The restricted pre-nuclear adjective (AJx) qeseba dear occurs only in the pre-nuclear attributive slot.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline X xa & ax \(\quad\) X \\
\hline abi mina [babe .] & Qeseba khata [oorai .] \\
\hline man big(xAJ) came M1 & dear(AJX) son(Nk) is M1 \\
\hline The big man [came.] & The dear son [is here.] \\
\hline X & \(X \quad\) xa \\
\hline Samane [oota.] & Muri ba-bari [oori.] \\
\hline many (xAJ) are M1 & oranges ( Ng ) ripe-dim were M1 \\
\hline [There are] many. & [There were] ripening oranges. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{3.11 Subject Slot}

The subject slot of a noun clause is optional and occurs in initial position. It is filled by a noun phrase with obligatory subject phrase indicator.

The nucleus of the subject phrase is usually filled by a general noun, kinship noun (plural is formed by suffix -mane) or proper noun. However it may be filled by an adverbial, locative, participial, proper or temporal noun, or by a noun construction, or in the absence of one of these it is filled by an adjective, a pronoun, or an adjective construction. (A noun construction consists of nouns in apposition, or co-ordinated by the particle ma and or mae or, or an independent verb clause. An adjective construction consists of adjectives in apposition,
or co-ordinated by the particle ma or mae; or a noun or independent verb clause plus -noma the enclitic of kind, -na the enclitic of source, or by the reference enclitic -ho.)

The optional pre-nuclear attributive is filled by the restricted pre-nuclear adjective qeseba dear or one of the following succeeded by the reference enclitic -ho: a noun, noun construction, adjective, adjective construction, or pronoun.

The optional post-nuclear attributive is normally filled by an adjective. It may also be filled by an adjective construction.

The pronoun slot is optionally filled by a pronoun.
The phrase indicator is the subject enclitic -i which is obligatory.

Subject Phrase \(= \pm a x: q e s e b a /(\underline{N} / \underline{N} c o n / A J / A J c o n ~ \pm ' r)\)
+ X: ( \(\mathrm{Na} / \mathrm{Ng} / \mathrm{Nk} / \mathrm{Nl} / \mathrm{Nm} / \mathrm{Np} / \mathrm{Npr} / \mathrm{Nt} / \mathrm{Nc}\) con/AJ/AJcon/Pr)
\(\pm x a:(A J / A J c o n) \pm \operatorname{Pr}: \operatorname{Pr}+N P 1:-i\)

\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ax & \(X\) & Pr NP1 \\
No-ho & bebe & o-i
\end{tabular}
he(Prp)'r wait(Na) that(Prd)'S not M1
[It will not be well] to wait for him.
ax \(\quad \mathrm{X}\) NP1

Qeseba mai-mane-i [tume-ni .]
dear(AJx) father(Nk)-pl'S went'D M1
The dear fathers [went.]
ax X NP1
Naga pesu-i [qanga .]
house(Ng) underneath(NL)'S bad(xAJ) M1
The area under the house [is bad.]
\(X \quad\) NPI
Saubapo-i [kharata oorai o-ni .]
midnight(Nt)'S far-at is that(Prd)'D M1
[It is a long time until] midnight.
```

X Pr NP1
Hoo ma haa nopo-i [mimi .]
pig(Ng) and dog(Ng) they.two(Prp)'S large(xAJ) M1
The pig and the dog [are large.]

```
X NP1 X Pr NP1
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Noko-i & [tata-noma-ni & .] & Atapa & tuume & --i & & [bage-noma & .] \\
\hline They.pl(Prp)'S & faで'k'D & M1 & woman & went & th & & \(\operatorname{good}(\mathrm{Ng})\) & k \({ }^{\text {M }}\) \\
\hline y [are the & nd who falr.] & & [ It & 22 tha & \(t]\) & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
Pr NP1 Pr
no-i [baaqi erata oora ama-ni .]
he'S coming here is absence(Ng)'D M1
He came but is not here.

\subsection*{3.12 Description Slot}

The description slot of a noun clause occurs finally. It is filled by a noun phrase with the optional negative enclitic -dzara ('n). The nucleus is filled by any adverbial, general, kinship, locative, participial, proper, temporal, or negative noun, or noun construction, or in the absence of one of these it is filled by an adjective, adjective construction or by a pronoun.

The optional pre-nuclear attributive is filled by any noun, noun construction, adjective, or adjective construction, followed optionally by the reference enclitic -ho.

The optional post-nuclear attributive is filled by an adjective or adjective construction.

The optional pronoun slot is filled by a pronoun.
The noun phrase indicator is the optional descriptive enclitic
-ni.
```

Description Phrase = \pm ax: (N/Ncon \pm 'r) + X: (N/Ncon) \pm xa:
(AJ/AJcon) \pm Pr: Pr \pm NP1: 'D \pm 'n
ax X
[0-i] naga-ho ttittira qanga o-ni [.]
that'S house(Ng)'r ridge.pole(Ng) bad(AJ) that(Prd)'D M1
[That] is a poor ridgepole for a house.

```
    \(X\) NP1 ' \(n\)
[No-i] abi-ni-dzara [.]
he'S man(Ng)'D'n M1
[He] is not a man.

\subsection*{3.2 Independent Verb Clause}

The independent verb clause is composed of an optional subject slot, an optional locative slot, an optional co-occurrent slot and an obligatory predicate slot.
\[
\text { CLVI }= \pm S \pm L \pm C O+P
\]
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
S CO & L & P & P \\
Ana abi-ma erata oorai [.] & Tuumaa [!] \\
I man-with here am & Mi & Go \\
I am here with a man. & & Go!
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{3.21 Predicate Slot}

The Guhu-Samane predicate \({ }^{5}\) is located in final position of a verb clause, although certain of its optional segments may occur earlier as features of clause level focus. The predicate is essentially an action oriented complex of phrases of which the final one is obligatory. These phrases are: adverb, manner, temporal, reason, included clause, object and verb.
\[
P= \pm \mathrm{AV} \pm \mathrm{Ma} \pm \mathrm{Te} \pm \mathrm{Re} \pm \mathrm{Cl} 1 \pm 0+\mathrm{VP}
\]
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
AV Te & Re & Ma & Cli & VP \\
[No] bamu poike o-ho quba ao & isanate tummaqu [.] \\
he not now that-'rfor already adequating go.would & M1 \\
[He] must surely not already go now for that reason.
\end{tabular}
AV Te
Re
Ma
Cl1
0
VP
[No] eto iihai na-ho quba gisa-ke ikabeteqi no-ke teetaino [.] he not tomorrow me-'r for quick-'0 what.doing him-'0strike.pro M1 [He] must not strike him quickly for me in some manner tomorrow.

VP
Qaatare [.]
cease M1
Stop.
(1) Independent Verb Phrase (VPI). The independent verb phrase is composed of an optional augment jmmediately before the verb, plus an obligatory verb stem, aspect suffixes, and tense-mode suffixes.
\[
V P I= \pm A u g+V+A+T M
\]
(a) Tense-Mode. The tense-mode slot terminates an independent verb. It is filled by any one of the third order verb suffixes:
```

-ta past tense (pt) indicates a time prior to last midnight.
No-i tuu-ma-ta .
he'S go-dn-pt M1
He went.
-ri ~ g current tense (ct) indicates a near past, a time from
last midnight to the present. The form is zero when
preceded by the denotative suffix (dn).
Haa tuu-mo-ri .
Hoo tuu-me-\emptyset.
dog go-op-ct M1
pig go-dn-ct M1
The dog was going.
The pig went.
-bi ~ -i present tense (prt). The form is -i when preceded by the
continuative suffix (cnt).

```

Nee tuu-ø-su-bi
bird go-dn-pc-prt M1
The bird is going.

Abi tuu-mo-ra-i
man go-op-cnt-prt M1
The man is going.
```

-koi future tense (ft).
Nil tuu-ma-koi .
you go-dn-ft M1
You will go.
-pu ~ -mu past subjunctive (ps). The form is -mu before the regressive
suffix (reg) (7.5).

```

No tuu-ma-pu .
he go-dn-ps M1
He might have gone.

No tuu-mo-ra-mu-ti baa- \(\emptyset-t a \quad\).
he go-op-cnt-ps-reg come-dn-pt M1 Having gone for a while, he returned.
```

-qu future subjunctive (fs).
Atapa tuu-ma-qu .
woman go-dn-fs M1
The woman could go.
-rota past irrealis (pir) refers to a time prior to last
midnight.
Khata tuu-ma-rota .
child go-dn-pir M1
The child would have gone (yesterday).
-rori current irrealis (cir) includes near past, present, and
future.
Khata tuu-ma-rori.
child go-dn-cir M1
The child would have gone (today).

```
```

-o polite imperative (pim)
Nii tuu-mo-o.
you go-op-pim M1
You may go.
-a summary imperative (sim).
Nii tuu-ma-a :
You go-dn-sim Me
Go!
-re Infinitive (1f) is also used as an lmperative and hortative.
Nana tuu-ma-re .
we go-dn-1f M1
Let's go.
-ridzo obligative (ob).
Gope tuu-ma-ridzo.
rat go-dn-ob M1
The rat must go.
-ino prohibitive (pro) may have the prohibitive adverb etoqa ~
eto co-occurring with it in the clause.
Pai eto tuu-ma-ino.
mother not(AVproh) go-dn-pro M1
Mother must not go.
-ra past negative (pn) refers to any time in the past and may
have the non-future negative adverb teqaha ~ te co-occurring
with it in the clause.
Ana te tuu-ma-ra.
I not(AVnfn) go-dn-pn M1
I did not go.
-idzara present negative (prn).
No tuu-mo-ra-idzara.
he go-op-cnt-prn M1
He does not go.

```
        (b) Aspect. The aspect slot is obligatory to all verb forms,
both independent and medial. It is filled by an obligatory first
order suffix plus an optional second order suffix. The first order
denotative suffix ( dn ) may be followed by the second order punctiliar
suffix ( \(p \mathrm{c}\) ), and the first order operative suffix (op) may be followed
by the second order continuative suffix (cnt).
\(A=(+d n \pm p c) /(+o p \pm c n t)\)
Chart 1 shows which of these four aspect suffixes and combinations may co-occur with each of the third order tense/mode suffixes.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline -dn-pt & -dn-pc-pt & -op-pt & \\
\hline -dn-ct & & -op-ct & \\
\hline & -dn-pc-prt & & -op-cnt-prt \\
\hline -dn-ft & & & -op-cnt-ft \\
\hline -dn-ps & & -op-ps & -op-cnt-ps \\
\hline -dn-fs & & & -op-cnt-fs \\
\hline -dn-pir & & & -op-cnt-pir \\
\hline -dn-cir & & & -op-cnt-cir \\
\hline & & -op-pim & \\
\hline -dn-sim & & & \\
\hline -dn-1f & & & -op-cnt-if \\
\hline -dn-ob & -dn-pc-ob & & -op-cnt-ob \\
\hline -dn-pro & & & -op-cnt-pro \\
\hline -dn-pn & & & -op-cnt-pn \\
\hline & -dn-pc-prn & & -op-cnt-prn \\
\hline -dn-ss & -dn-pc-ss & -op-ss & -op-cnt-ss \\
\hline -dn-ds & -dn-pc-ds & -op-ds & -op-cnt-ds \\
\hline -dn-ssr & -dn-pc-ssr & -op-ssr & \\
\hline -dn-dsr & -dn-pc-dsr & -op-dsr & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\(\qquad\)

\section*{CHART 1: OBSERVED COMBINATIONS OF ASPECT AND TENSE-MODE SUFFIXES}
-CV~ø denotative has a large number of allomorphs controlled by verb stem subclass and tense-mode as indicated in Chart 2. The denotative suffix occurring alone presents an event or action in a neutral way. In medial verbs the denotative suffix alone signifies a loose temporal or logical relationship with the succeeding verb.
[Naho oko] suu-ba-ta [.] [Noho oko] suu-be-ø [.]
My foot slip(B)-dn-pt M1 His foot slip(B)-dn-ct Mi My foot slipped out (yesterday) His foot slipped out (today)
[Oke] sari-dza-koi [.]
That find \((\mathrm{Dz} \varnothing)-\mathrm{dn}-\mathrm{ft}\) M1
That will be found
[Noi] tuu-ø-suhi-ta
[.]
He \(g o(M s u)-d n-p c-p t\) M1
He was going right then
[Eeke] dzoo-ø-so-bi [.]
Wood chop(Tøso)-dn-pc-ct M1
The wood is being chopped
[Noi] tuu-me- \(\varnothing\) [.]
He go(Msu)-dn-ct M1
He went
[Eeke] dzoo-to-ta [.]
Wood chop(Tøso)-dn-pt M1 The wood was chopped

\section*{Bm \\ Bp}
[Noi] baa- \(\varnothing\)-qi biranaHe come(BQøhu)-dn-ss arrive te- \(\emptyset\) [.]
(Tøso)-dn-ct M1
He came and (at last) arrived
\(-h i \sim-\emptyset \sim-s u(h i) \sim-s o(h i) \sim h u(h i)\) punctiliar (pc) has its allomorphs controlled by verb stem subclass as indicated in Chart 2. The denotative and punctiliar suffixes occurring together signify an action or event at a particular point in time. In medial verbs these two suffixes together indicate a close temporal relationship (either simultaneity or immediate sequence) to the succeeding verb.
[Nuupu] okasa-ba-hi-ta
gourd burst(B)-dn-pc-pt Me
[The gourd] burst at that moment.
Bm
Bp
[Noihau] kii- \(\varnothing\)-hi-mi [ana] moo- \(\varnothing\)-ta [.]
He mud wipe(M)-dn-pc-ds I see(RQणh1)-dn-pt M1
[I] saw him wiping away [the mud].
Bm
Bp
[Ana] baa- \(\varnothing\)-hu-mi [noko] tuu- \(\varnothing\)-suhi-ri [.]
I come(BQठhu)dn-pc-ds they go(Msu)-pc-ct M1
[I] was coming at the very moment [they] were going.
Bm
Bp
[Noi ee] dzoo-ø-so-qi
taa- \(\emptyset-t e\)
[.]
He tree chop(Tøso)-dn-pc-ss fall(Tøsu)-dn-ct M1
[He] was chopping [the tree] and fell.
-Co ~ - operative has allomorphs controlled by verb stem subclass as indicated in Chart 2. The operative suffix occurring alone signifies an event or action in process. In medial verbs the operative suffix alone shows a process in a generalized time relationship with the succeeding verb.
```

    [Sisima] una-to-ta [.]
    Ship dock(T\varnothing)-op-pt M1
    [The ship] was docking.
    Bm Bp
    [Ana noo] hii-ro-mi [nike] noo-ko-ta [.]
    I word speak(BRØh1)-op-ds you hear(K)-op.pt M1
    [You] were listening as [I] was speaking.
[Noi penga] ruruho-ro-ri [.]
He brow wrinkle(BRh1)-op-ct M1
[He] kept on frowning.
Bm Bp
[Nokoi] habe-so-qi [uta] ai-ma-ta [mae ?]
They sit(S)-op-ss wind take(Mh1)-dn-pt eh M
As they were sitting there did they rest?
[Noi oke ngaata] bii-ro-ta [.]
He it bush.in throw(DzRøh1)-op-pt M1
[He] was throwing [it into the bush].
-ra continuative. The operative and continuative suffixes
occurring together indicate the continuation of a process.
In medial verbs these two suffixes together show a process
having an ongoing temporal or logical relationship with
the succeeding verb.
[Ana baura] ee-to-ra-koi [.]
I work do(Tøsu)-op-cnt-ft M1
[I] will continue doing [my work].
Bm Bp
[Noi patta] muu-no-ra-mi [saubapo] dzeu-ba-ta [.]
He food eat(Nh1)-op-cnt-ds midnight glide(B)-dn-pt M1
He continued eating food until midnight.
Bpt

```

Bp
[Nokoi] tuu-mo-ra-qu-to-ke birana-ta-koi [.]
```

[As they] continue to go they will eventually arrive.
Bpt
Bp
[Oke] noo-ko-ra-rori-he [bamu .]
That hear(K)-op-cnt-cir'ad none M1
[It] should have had a complete hearing, but [it did not].

```
(c) Verb Stems. All verb stems end in a vowel. In the dialects of Guhu-Samane which are geographically peripheral the verb stems fall into 12 subclasses which control the allomorphs of the denotative and operative suffixes as set off by the horizontal lines. In these dialects the punctiliar suffix is -pihi. However, in the central dialect the punctiliar suffix has several allomorphs, and because of their vagaries the 12 subclasses are further subdivided to result in about 26 subclasses as shown in the final column of Chart 2. Furthermore, whereas in the peripheral dialects the denotative suffix is always -Ca preceding punctiliar -pihi, in the central dialect the denotative is \(-C a \sim \varnothing\) preceding the punctiliar.
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
Peripheral dialect: & No tuu-ø-suhi-bi \\
Central dialect: & No tuu-ma-pihi-bi \\
& he go(VMsu)-dn-pc-prt M1 \\
& He is going. \\
Peripheral dialect: & No dzao- \\
Central dialect: & No dzao-ma-pihi-bi \\
& he row(VMø)-dn-pc-prt M1 \\
& He is rowing. \\
Peripheral dialect: & No torou-ma-hi-bi \\
Central dialect: & No torou-ma-pihi-bi . \\
& he run(VM)-dn-pc-prt M1 \\
& He is running.
\end{tabular}

Some typical verb stems are listed below in their subclasses:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline B & suu- & slip out, okasa-burst \\
\hline \(B \emptyset\) & gai- & go down \\
\hline Bh1 & asaqo- & err (in speech) \\
\hline Dzø & qori- & arise, sari-find, encounter \\
\hline H & i \(\mathbf{i}\) - & chase, follow \\
\hline K & noo- & hear, hearken \\
\hline M & torou- & run, kui-wipe, scrape \\
\hline Mh1 & gii- & dip, fetch, abaqo-be ashamed \\
\hline \(M \varnothing\) & hiiqo- & bounce, dzao-row, paddle \\
\hline Msu & tur- & go \\
\hline Nh1 & mus- & eat, drink, assimilate \\
\hline S & habe- & sit, muu-weed, uu- repair \\
\hline T & beena- & summon, bobo- come before, bito- grow \\
\hline Tø & una- & dock (a ship), ttapui- console, comfor \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


CHART 2: ALLOMORPHS OF IENOTATIVE, OPERATIVE, AND PUNCTILIAR SUFFIXES
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \(T \varnothing\) (su) & sahate- & start (startle), naa- become (Stems ending in e change to o when followed by denotative plus punctiliar allomorphs - б-hi or - б- ©.) \\
\hline Tøsu & tij- & roll, spread out, qangaqi- ruin \\
\hline Tøso & dzoo- & chop, moo-put, qoo-break \\
\hline BR & soho- & begin, dza-plant, wear \\
\hline BRh1 & soo- & blossom, ruruho-wrinkle \\
\hline BRØ & saa- & close, cover, hii-speak \\
\hline BRøh1 & too- & shoot, sii-close \\
\hline DzRø & totosi- & hang around the neck, abani-cook \\
\hline DzRøhi & bii- & throw, cast, ahebu-set aside \\
\hline BQøhu & baa- & come \\
\hline RQø & qaa- & stay \\
\hline RQøhi & -0- & be, moo- look, see, mee= sleep \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

A few transitive verb stems in subclasses T(rumu-pluck), Tøsu (hii-extinguish), \(T \varnothing\) (qoha- split, hottou-pierce, uhu-tear, sapobend), M (suu-pluck, kui-slide, geqo-break), and Mø (sigu- uncover, hiu- remove) also occur in subclass \(B\) as intransitive verbs with the same or very similar meanings (e.g. hii-go out).
(d) Augment. The augment (Aug) slot immediately precedes that of the transitive verb. It is filled by a noun phrase in which the nucleus is filled by either an adverbial noun or a participial noun. The optional post-nuclear attributive is filled by an adjective. The pronoun slot position is not filled.
```

Augment phrase = \pm ax: ((N/Ncon/AJ/AJcon) \pm 'r) + X: (Na/NP) }\pm\textrm{N}:(N

```
    AJ \(\pm\) NP1: \({ }^{\prime} 0\)

The adverbial and the participial nouns usually occur in this slot modifying the action of the verb.
\begin{tabular}{cll}
\(a x\) & \(X\) & \(x a \quad N P 1\) \\
[Ana] no-ho bebe mina-ke [ee-te- \(\varnothing\) & .]
\end{tabular}

I he(Prp)'r wait(Na) big(AJ)'O did-dn-ct M1
[I] am waiting a long time for him.
\(X \quad\) NPI
[No ana] tee-ta-ke [ upadzo-me- \(\varnothing\).]
he me strike-dn(Np)'O think-dn-ct Mi
[He is planning] to strike [me.]
X
[Ana] tuu-ma-ama [naa-ta-koi .]
I go-dn(Np)-without become-dn-ft M1
[I wizl] not go.
(2) Object Phrase. The Predicate may contain none, one, or two object phrases. These function as the direct object (Od) and/or the indirect object (O1). The object phrase always precedes the verb and often it immediately precedes the verb phrase. If two object phrases occur they are usually together and the indirect object is usually the first of the two.

Object phrase \(= \pm a x:\left((\underline{N} / \underline{N} c o n / A J / A J c o n) \pm{ }^{\prime} r\right)\)
\(+\mathrm{X}:(\mathrm{Na} / \mathrm{Ng} / \mathrm{Nk} / \mathrm{Nl} / \mathrm{Nm} / \mathrm{Np} / \mathrm{Npr} / \mathrm{Nt} / \mathrm{Ncon} / \mathrm{AJ} / \mathrm{AJ} c o n /\) Pr)
\(\pm x a:(A J / A J c o n) \pm \operatorname{Pr}: \operatorname{Pr} \pm N P 1:{ }^{\prime} 0 \pm \operatorname{Prq}: \operatorname{Prq}\)
Thus apart from the optional oblique clitic -ke instead of the obligatory subject clitic -i, the object phrase has the same fillers in its slots as the subject phrase. Some examples of direct object follow.
\(X \quad\) xa
Khata no-me [no moori .]
son(Nk) he (Prp)-int he (Prp) saw M1
[He saw] his own son.

[I killed] all of the many warriors.
When the utterance verb hii- (VBRghi) speak occurs in connection with a direct quotation the demonstrative pronoun occurs optionally in the direct object slot (the external quote is remote. See 6.4).
No era-ke hii-re-ta Ana tume .
he(Prp) this(Prd)'O say(VBRgh1)-dn-pt I went M1
This is what he said, "I went."
Some examples of indirect object follow.
Ana hoo-ke abi-ke moite .
I pig( Ng\()^{\prime} \mathrm{O} \operatorname{man}(\mathrm{Ng})^{\prime} \mathrm{O}\) gave \(\mathrm{Mi}_{1}\)
I gave the man a pig.
No-i Dzohane-ke oba perebire.
he(Prp)'S John(Np)'O water poured M1
He poured John some water.
(3) Included Clause Phrase. The included clause phrase (Cli) is optional and occurs close to the verb phrase, usually immediately preceding the object phrase. The filler may be a medial verb clause (ClVm) (see § 5), a purpose construction (PURcon) or an internal quotation construction (iQcon). The included clause phrase is normally syntactically inside the main clause and modifies the verb phrase of the main clause. (By 'main clause' is meant, not the Primary Base of the sentence, but any clause of a sentence that acts as the matrix clause within which the included clause is embedded.)
[Ana] ota isanate [tuu-ma-koi .]
I there sufficing(ClVm) go-dn-ft M1
I will surely go there.
The purposive construction consists of an independent verb clause terminating in the infinitive or future suffix plus the optional accusative suffix -iqi ~ iqa (in free alternation).
```

PURcon = + ClVI + 1f/ft \pm acc

```
[No] erata qaa-ra-re-iqi [baa-ba-koi .] he here remain-dn-1f-acc come-dn-ft M1 [He is coming] to remain here. [No-i] ana tee-ta-re [baa- \(\boldsymbol{\theta}-\mathrm{ta}\).] he'S me strike-dn-if come-dn-pt M1 [He came] to strike me.

The internal quotation construction is composed of the optional (but usually occurring) special uninflected form hee of the verb stem hii- speak plus the quotation plus the accusative suffix -iqi ~ -iqa.
\[
\text { 1Qcon }= \pm \text { hee }+ \text { quotation }+ \text { acc }
\]

The verb phrase which follows contains one of the verb stems hiispeak (VBRø), qupadzo- think (VMh1), or qee- write (VTøsu).
[No] hee, Dzoobe-iqi [hiire .] he says hello-acc said M1
He said hello.
[No] nii-ke Baa-ba-re-iqa [hii-ba-koi .]
he you'0 come-dn-if-acc say-dn-ft M1
He will tell you to come.
[Ana] hee, No tuu-ma-koi-qi [qupadzo-me-g .]
I say he come-dn-ft-acc think-dn-ct M1
I think he will come.
```

[No-i] ana hee tuu-ma-ino-iqi [qee-te-ta .]
he'S I says come-dn-pro-acc write-dn-pt M1
He wrote telling me not to go.

```
(4) Reason Phrase. The reason phrase is a noun phrase which signifies reason or benefaction. The nucleus is filled by the general noun quba thing, for. The pre-nuclear attributive is filled by a noun or noun construction; an adjective or adjective construction; or a pronoun with an optional reference enclitic. The post-nuclear and pronoun slots do not occur. The oblique phrase indicator -ke is optional.
\[
\begin{aligned}
\text { Reason Phrase }= & \pm a x: \quad(\underline{N} / \underline{N c o n / A J} / A J c o n / C P r \\
\pm & r) \\
& +x: q u b a \pm N P 1: \quad 10
\end{aligned}
\]
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
ax & X \\
No-ho quba [ana gaibe .]
\end{tabular}
he(Prp)'r thing( Ng ) I descended M1 [I went down] for him. ax \(X \quad\) NP1
Abi samane quba-ke [no baabe.] \(\operatorname{man}(\mathrm{Ng})\) many (xAJ) thing \((\mathrm{Ng})\) 'O he came M1 [He came] because of many people.
ax
No baa-te- \(\boldsymbol{\square}\)-ho quba [mai tuume .]
he (Prp) die-dn-ct'r thing(Ng) father went M1
Because he died [his father left.]
(5) Temporal Phrase. The temporal phrase is a noun phrase in which the nucleus is filled by a temporal noun, the prenuclear attributive slot is optional and the oblique noun phrase indicator -ke is obligatory.

Temporal Phrase \(= \pm \mathrm{ax}+\mathrm{X}: \mathrm{Nt}+\mathrm{NP} 1: \quad\) ' 0
The temporal nouns occur chiefly in this phrase.
X NPi ax X NP1

Aruku-ke [no bateta .]
0 -ho saunaba-ke [nee taateta .] yesterday'O he died M1 that'r morning'0 bird fell M1 [He died] yesterday. [The plane landed] that morning.
(6) Manner Phrase. The manner phrase is a noun phrase in which the nucleus is filled by a modal noun; the pre-nuclear attributive slot is optional; the post-nuclear attributive does not occur; and the noun phrase indicator is obligatory and is filled by the oblique phrase enclitic -ke.

Manner Phrase \(= \pm a x+X: N m+N P i: \quad ' O\) The modal nouns occur only in this phrase.

(7) Adverb Phrase. The adverb phrase consists of any one of five adverbs:
bamu not, the future negative adverb which is associated with verb phrases in the future subjunctive;
teqaha ~ te (in free variation) not, the non-future negative adverb which is associated optionally with verb phrases in the past negative or present negative;
porei probably, the probable adverb; etoqa ~eto (in free variation) don't, the prohibitive adverb which is associated optionally with verb phrases in the prohibitive; or
paha again, the repetitive adverb.

Nii bamu moo-ra-qu .
you not(AVfn) see-dn-fs M1
You wizl not look.
No te moo-qo-ra-idzara .
he \(\operatorname{not}(A V n f n)\) Zook-op-cnt-prn Mi
He doesn't Zook.
Etoqa ni-ke taa-ta-ino \(\quad\) No-i paha mae? don't(AVpro) you'O fall-dn-pro Me he'S again(AVr) ascend-dn-fs eh. M? Don't falz!

Ana teqaha isai-ta-ra
I not(AVnfn) read-dn-pn
\(I\) did not read.
Porei abi tume.
probably (AVprob) man went Mi
The man probably went. Will he go up again?

\subsection*{3.22 Locative Slot}

The locative (L) slot is optional. It is filled by a noun phrase in which the nouns occurring in the noun slots are general or locative, and the locative clitic -ta is obligatory. The sense may occasionally be temporal.

Locative Phrase \(= \pm a x+X:(N g / N l / N c o n / P r+N P 1: \quad ' L\)

X NP1
[No] naga-ta [oorai.]
he house(Ng)'L is M1
[He is] at the house.
ax X NP1
Oho hee-ta [ana oorai]
That'r top(Nl)'L I am
[I am]on top of that.
[Nii] saubapo-ta o-ta [tume .]
you midnight( Ng )'L that(Prd)'L went M1
[You went] there at midnight.

\subsection*{3.23 Co-occurrent Slot}

The co-occurrent (CO) slot is optional. It is filled by a noun phrase in which the noun phrase enclitic -ma is obligatory. The co-occurrent phrase normally occurs following the subject phrase but not necessarily contiguous to it, and indicates instrumentality or the being who accompanies the subject. Nouns occurring in the noun slots of the noun phrase are general, kinship, locative, and proper. The pre-nuclear and post-nuclear attributives are optional, as is the pronoun.
```

    Co-occurrent Phrase = \pm ax + X: (Ng/Nk/Nl/Np/Ncon/AJ/AJcon)
    ```
                                    \(\pm \mathrm{xa} \pm \mathrm{Pr}+\mathrm{NPI}: \quad \mathrm{CO}\)
            \(X\) NP1 X NP1
[No hoo-ke] koo-ma [teete .] [Abi-i] haa-ma [tuume.]
    he pig'O spear \((\mathrm{Ng})^{\prime} \mathrm{CO}\) struck \(\mathrm{M} 1 \quad \operatorname{man}(\mathrm{Ng})^{\prime} \mathrm{S} \operatorname{dog}(\mathrm{Ng})^{\prime} \mathrm{CC}\) went M1
He killed the pig with a spear. [The man went] with a dog.
Atapa-i gisa-ke abi-ma gaibe .
woman \((\mathrm{Ng})^{\prime} \mathrm{S}\) speed \((\mathrm{Nm})\) 'O man \((\mathrm{Ng})^{\prime} \mathrm{CO}\) descend M1
A woman descended quickly with a man.

\subsection*{3.24 Subject Slot}

The subject slot of the verb clause is similar to that of the noun clause (3.1.1), but differs in two ways:
(1) The subject may be preceded by other slots or phrases when these are in focus.
(2) The subject marker enclitic -i ('S) is optional.

\subsection*{3.25 Emphasis}

In the verb clause and within the predicate the order of the slots and phrases is somewhat loose.

In the verb clause the predicate is always final, and the preferred unemphatic order is

S CO L P.
Either co-occurrent or locative may precede the subject for emphasis.
Within the predicate the verb phrase is always final, the indirect and direct objects tend to be contiguous, the three phrases Ma Te Re are rather free in their mutual ordering, and the preferred unemphatic order is

AV Ma Te Re Cli 01 Od VP.
Any of the phrases except the verb phrase and the included clause phrase may move right out of the normal predicate position and up to the front of the clause preceding the subject for emphasis.

The oblique enclitic -ke occurs obligatorily on the Temporal Phrase and Manner Phrase and optionally on the Object Phrase, Reason Phrase, and the Augment Phrase within the Verb Phrase. In these latter three the occurrence of \(-k e\) seems to add focus to these phrases somewhat, but the emphasis is considerably less than that gained by moving items to the pre-subject position. The object phrase takes -ke about \(60 \%\) of the time, and especially when it needs to be distinguished from the subject. A phrase in the pre-subject emphatic position rarely takes -ke, and it is rare for more than two phrases in a clause to take -ke.

\subsection*{4.0 INTRODUCTORY BASE}

The optional introductory base (Bi) at the beginning of a sentence may be filled by a connective device (CON), an exclamatory particle (EX), a response particle (RES), a salutatory particle (SAL), a vocative phrase (VOC), or a combination construction (COMcon).

\subsection*{4.1 Connective Devices (CON)}

There are five connective devices: the additional particle paha also, the connective particle ma and, then, the disjunctive particle qate now, the repetition of the final verb of the last sentence in the medial form (see §5), or a pronoun relating to an antecedent structure.

\section*{B1}
```

Paha, [atapai baabe.] Ma [ana qooro baata .]
also(CON) woman came M1
Also, the woman came.
Qate, nana tuumata .
Now(dis) we went M1
On the other hand, we left.
and(CON) I standing came M1
Then I came walking.
0o-ni-ta quu taate.
so(Prd)'D'L rain fell M1
Noi tuumata. Tuuma-mi nanai baata.
he went M1 go-ds(ClVm) we came M1
He went. Having gone, we came.

```

\subsection*{4.2 Exclamatory Particles}

There are two kinds of exclamations: attention particles (e.g. maa, oe ahoy) and emotive particles (e.g. idze, ae, opaisa great day).

B1
Maa, [nii tuma-qu mae ?] Ae, [niitaata-koi ! ]
ahoy(att) you go-fs eh M? oh(emo) you fall-wizl Me
Say,[will you go?]
Look out,[you will fall!]

\subsection*{4.3 Response Particles}

There are several response particles such as bamu no, none, oore ~ oo (in free alternation) yes, eo no, or.
Oore, ana taate. Bamu, nii bamu tuma-qu.
yes \(I\) fell M1 no you not go-fs M1
Yes, I fell. No, you will not go.
Eo, ana teqaha baa-ba-ra.
no I not go-dn-pn M1
No, I did not go.

\subsection*{4.4 Salutatory Phrase}

The salutatory phrase is composed of a noun phrase without the summary pronoun and phrase indicator and in which the nucleus is composed of a temporal, participial, or salutatory noun.
```

Salutatory Phrase $= \pm a x+X:(N s / N p / N t) \pm x a$

```

X xa
Dzoobe mina; [nike baabe ?] Meera qidza, [meerare.]
greeting(Ns) big(AJ) you came M? sleep(Np) good(AJ) sleep M1
Greetings,[so you have come?] Good night. [Go to sleep.]

Aipo, [tuumoo.]
Goodbye (Ns) go M1
Goodbye, [you may go.]

\subsection*{4.5 Vocative Phrase}

The vocative phrase is composed of a noun phrase without the demonstrative and noun phrase indicator and in which the nucleus is composed of a proper, a kinship, or a general noun.
\[
\text { Vocative Phrase }= \pm a x+X:(N g / N p r / N k) \pm x a
\]

Dzohane, [nii naga peitare.] Noma name [nii ikanomani?]
John(Npr) you house ascend M1 brother(Nk) mine you what M?
John, [you enter the house.] My brother,[how is it with you?]
Haa, \(\quad n i(t u m m a!~\)
\(\operatorname{dog}(\mathrm{Ng})\) you go Me
Dog, go away.

\subsection*{4.6 Combination Construction}

The combination construction is composed of any two of the fillers of the introductory base described above.

Idze dzaira name, [nii oko geeme ! ]
great.day friend mine you foot cut Me
Great day, my friend, [you have cut your foot.]

\subsection*{5.0 MEDIAL BASE}

The medial base (Bm) is optional in the Guhu-Samane sentence and is filled by one or more medial verb clauses.

A medial verb clause has the same structure as an independent verb clause except that its verb phrase is a medial verb phrase. A medial verb phrase consists of an optional augment, an obligatory verb stem, aspect suffixes, and a suffix indicating the subject of the following clause is the same as (ss) or different from (ds) that of the medial verb.
\[
\text { Medial Verb Phrase }= \pm A u g+V+A+s s / d s
\]

\subsection*{5.1 Same-subject Medial Verb Clause}

The same-subject suffix (ss) -qi \(\sim\) (in free alternation) indicates the same subject in the following clause.
```

No tuu-ma-qi ota oori. No tuu-ma-\emptyset ana moota .
he go-dn-ss there was M1
He went and was there.

```
he go-dn-ss me saw M1
```

he go-dn-ss me saw M1
He went and saw me.

```
```

He went and saw me.

```
```


### 5.2 Different-subject Medial Verb Clause

Ana noke tee-te-mi bata-koi. Ana noke tee-te- $\ell$ baata-koi. I him strike-dn-ds die-will M1 I him strike-dn-ds die-will M1 I will strike him and he will die. I will strike him and he will die.

### 6.0 POST-PRIMARY BASE (Bpp)

The post-primary base may be filled by a co-ordinate independent verb clause, a co-ordinate noun clause, an explanatory noun clause, or an external quotation construction.

### 6.1 Co-ordinate Independent Verb Clause(ClVI)

The co-ordinate independent verb clause is connected by the particle ma and or the differential particle mae or, and is in co-ordinate relationship with the verb clause of the primary base.
Bp Bpp:CIVI

```
Noi harate-te-ta ma taa-te-ta .
```

he $s$ Iip-dn-pt and tall-dn-pt M1
He slipped and fell.

### 6.2 Co-ordinate Noun Clause(Clco)

The co-ordinate noun clause is an ordinary noun clause (3.1) preceded by one of the particles ma and, mae or, or eo or.

```
Bp Bpp:Clco
```

0-i hoo-ni, mae haa-ni ?
that'S pig'D or $\operatorname{dog}^{\prime} \mathrm{D}$ M?
Is it a pig, or is it a dog?

### 6.3 Explanatory Noun Clause(ClNex)

The subject slot of the explanatory noun clause is obligatorily filled by the demonstrative pronoun o that and the subject phrase indicator enclitic -i, and the description slot is filled by an independent verb clause which constitutes an explanatory comment about the primary base.

```
S D
[Abi baa-te-ta,] o-i ana-i no-ke tee-te-ta .
    man die-dn-pt that'S I'S he'O strike-dn-pt M1
[The man died,] for I killed him.
S D
[Atapa-i qidza,] o-i ana moo-\emptyset-ta .
    woman'S good that'S I see-dn-pt Mi
[The woman is good,] for I observed her.
6.4 External Quotation Construction(Qcon)
Bp
                                    Bpp:Qcon
No ana era-ke hii-re-ta, Ana tummakoi .
he me this'O say-dn-pt I go.will M1
He said to me, "I will go."
BP Bpp
Ana era-iqi qupadzo-me-g, Bamu .
I this-acc think-dn-ct no M1
This is what I think: No!
7.0 PROTATIC BASE
    The protatic base of the Guhu-Samane sentence expresses a
logical or temporal relationship with the primary base, and may be
filled by an adversative clause, a dilatory verb clause, an
inferential clause, a prerequisite verb clause, a regressive verb
clause, or a conditional verb clause.
```


### 7.1 Adversative Clause

```
The adversitive clause is composed of a noun clause, or an independent verb clause, plus the adversitive enclitic -he (ad).
Bpt Bp
Oi naga-ni-he ttopa naa-to-ra-i
that house'D'ad old become-op-cnt-prt M1
That is a house, but it is becoming old.
Bpt Bp
Eto tuu-ma-ino-he erata oo-ra-re.
don't go-dn-pro'ad here be-dn-if M1
Don't go, but stay here.
```


### 7.2 Dilatory Verb Clause

The dilatory verb clause denotes an action that is delayed until the action of the primary base is performed. The dilatory verb clause has the same structure as an independent verb clause except that its verb phrase consists of an optional augment, an obligatory verb stem, an aspect suffix, and the dilatory suffix -amake (dl).6

Dilatory verb phrase $= \pm \mathrm{Aug}+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{A}+\mathrm{dl}$
Bpt

## Bp

```
No tuu-ma-amake erake ee-ta-re.
```

he go-dn-dl this do-dn-if M1
Before he goes, he must do this.

### 7.3 Inferential Clause

The inferential clause denotes a logical inference. It is composed of a noun clause, or an independent verb clause, plus the inferential enclitic -ta ('inf).
Bpt Bp
$0 i$ naga-ni-ta ana ota soo-ma-koi .
that house'D'inf $I$ there take.sheZter-dn-ft M1
That is a house, so I will take shelter there.
Bpt Bp
Noi tuu-ma-koi-ta napa gama tuu-ma-re.
he go-dn-ft'inf we all go-dn-if M1
He is going, so let us all go.

### 7.4 Prerequisite Verb Clause

The dilatory verb clause denotes an action that must take place before the action of the primary base can be performed. The prerequisite verb clause has the same structure as an independent verb clause except that its verb phrase is a prerequisite verb phrase. A prerequisite verb phrase consists of an optional augment, an obligatory verb stem, an aspect suffix, and the same-subject requisite suffix -qake (ssr) or the different-subject requisite suffix -make (dsr). ${ }^{7}$

Prerequisite Verb Phrase $= \pm$ Aug $+V+A+$ ssr/dsr


```
7.5 Regressive Verb Clause
    The regressive verb clause denotes a return from some action.
It is composed of an independent verb clause, ending in a tense
(pt/ct/ft) or a subjunctive mode (fs/ps), plus the regressive suffix
-ti ~ to (reg). In this position the past subjunctive suffix -pu
takes the form allomorph -mu.
Bpt Bp
Hoo gai-bo-ri-ti pei-te-\emptyset .
pig descend-op-ct-reg ascend-dn-ct M1
Having first descended, the pig went back up.
Bpt Bp
No tuu-mo-ra-mu-ti baa-\emptyset-ta .
he go~op-cnt-ps-reg come-dn-pt M1
Having gone a while, he returned.
```


### 7.6 Conditional Verb Clause

```
The conditional verb clause is composed of an independent verb clause, ending in the past or future subjunctive suffix (the latter may also be followed by the regressive suffix), plus the condition suffix -ko ~ -ke (in free alternation) (cond).
Bpt
Bp
No tuu-ma-qu-ko isana-ta-koi
he go-dn-ps-cond be.adequate-dn-f't M1
If he goes, it will be fine.
Bpt
Ana too-ba-pu-ko no baa-ta-rori.
I shoot-dn-ps-cond he die-dn-pir Mi
If I had shot, he would have died.
Bpt
No tuu-mo-ra-qu-ke baa-ba-koi.
he go-op-cnt-ps-cond come-dn-ft M1
Provided he goes a while, he will return.
```


### 8.0 INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENTENCES

```
The detailed interrelationship of sentences within paragraph and larger discourse structures of Guhu-Samane is not within the
```

purview of this paper. Moreover linguistic markers indicating these interrelationships are chiefly such as are concomitant with the semantic content. Introduction of paragraphs are effected by features of the introductory base (Sec.4). When an external quote terminates a paragraph it must be followed by the speech verb hii- in the next sentence.

 Prd'D Ng 'S Prd'D Prd-acc V:BRø-dn-ft Prd'S Prp'r Ng
 AJ'd'inf Prp $N g \quad V: B R \varnothing-d n-f s$ Prd'sp'L Prp V:Msu-dn-ft
 CON Prp'S Ng AJ'd'inf Prp Ng V:BR $\varnothing$-dn-ssr Ng naka-hog tuu-ma-ino-ho ${ }_{10}$ quba-ke ${ }_{11}$ na-mae $_{12}$ ipi-ke $_{13}$ ai-ma-qa ${ }_{14}$ Prp'r V:Msu-dn-pro'r Ng'O Prp-refl Ng'O V:Mhi-dn-ssr
 V:RQøh1-op-ssr Prp V:Msu-dn-ft CON Prp Ng'L Ng Ng'O

$0-i q i_{1} h i i-r e-t a-h e_{2}, \mathrm{Khabo}_{3} \quad$ hee $_{4}, \quad \mathrm{Ana}_{5}$ isana-te- $\varnothing_{6}$ Prd-acc V:BRø-dn-pt'ad Npr V:BRø(uf) Prp V:Tø(su)-dn-ss



$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { V:Mh1-dn-ss V:Msu-dn-pt }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { int. particle V-dn-pc-ds Prp'S V(uf) V-dn-prt V-dn-prt Prd-acc } \\
& \text { hii-re-ta-he } 2 \mathrm{abi}_{3} \mathrm{obi}_{4} \quad \mathrm{ao}_{5} \text { seni} 6 \text { popodzan tee-tag mugibi-re-qig } \\
& \text { V-dn-pt'ad } \mathrm{Ng} \text { Prd'S } \mathrm{Na} \mathrm{Ng} \mathrm{Ng} \text { AJ'L V:DzRø-dn-ss }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Ng Ng'L V:Tø-dn-pt Prd'd'ad Npr Ng AJ'd'inf }
\end{aligned}
$$




```
Prp V(uf) Prd'S Prd V-dn-pc-prt'inf V-dn-ssr V-dn-if
```







$\mathrm{Ng} \quad A J r^{\prime} i n f \quad V(u f)$ emo AVprob Prp'r AJ'S Prp V-op-cnt-prt

noma $_{2}$ gotta- $_{3} o_{4}$ torou-ma- $\emptyset_{5}$ nagapa $_{6}$ no-me-ta 7 tuu-ma-ta 8 .
$\mathrm{Nk} \quad \mathrm{Ng} \mathrm{S}^{\mathrm{S}}$ Prd V:M-dn-ss Ng Prp-int-L V-dn-pt

Translation:

$$
\mathrm{Story}_{4} \text { of } \mathrm{Erabo}_{3} \text { and }_{2} \mathrm{Khabo}_{1}
$$

(As to) these two ${ }_{1}$, (the) one $2_{2}$ (was) good $_{4}$ eyed $_{3}$, (the) other ${ }_{5}$ bad $_{7}$ eyed $_{6}$. Khabo $_{1}\left(\right.$ was the) bad ${ }_{3}$ eyed $_{2}$ (one), whereas ${ }_{4}$ Erabo $_{5}$ (was
the) good $_{7}$ eyed $_{6}$ (one). So they $_{2}$ used to 9 do $_{8}$ hunting $_{7}$ for $_{6}$ animals $_{3}$ and $_{4}$ man $_{5}$.

So $_{1}$ one $_{4}$ time $_{3}$ they $_{2}$ were coming along ${ }_{7}$ following $_{6}$ the river ${ }_{5}$. $A s_{1}$ (they) came ${ }_{1}$ (they) saw $a_{5}$ male $_{3}$ child $_{4}$ (who) having bathed ${ }_{7}$ (in the) river 6 , was asleep 11 , basking ${ }_{13}$ (in the) sun ${ }_{12} u p_{8}$ on $_{10}$ (a) rock ${ }_{9}$ As (he) was sunning they $_{2}$ came $_{3}$ (and) smelled sis $_{4}$ scent $_{5}$. Smelling ${ }_{1}$ (it they) came 2 (and) found 6 the $_{5}$ male $_{3}$ child $_{4}$ (and) said ${ }_{7}$, "Hey 8 , here ${ }^{i s}{ }_{12}$ our $_{9}$ victim $_{10}$ :" Having spoken $_{1}$, (they) moved ${ }_{2}$ (near), thinking 8 (to) take $_{6}$ (and) hoist ${ }_{7}$ the $_{5}$ male $_{3}$ child $_{4}$. However ${ }_{1}$ he 2 (was) already 3 become $_{7}$ stuck $_{5}$ fast $_{6}$ to (the) rock 4 . So ${ }_{1}$, being 6 unable $_{5}$ to 4 free $_{3}$ ( him ), they , went $_{7}$ (and) cut ${ }_{9}$ (a) pole , took $_{10}$ (it and) came ${ }_{11}$ (and) $t^{\text {ied }}{ }_{17}$ the $_{14}$ child $_{13}$ (under the) pole ${ }_{16}$ with the stone ${ }_{12}$ (and) all ${ }_{15}$.

Then ${ }_{1} E r a b o_{2}$ he $_{3}$ said $_{6}$ (to) Khabo 4 (the) other one ${ }_{5}$, "You ${ }_{7}$ (are) bad $_{9}$ eyed $_{8}, s_{10}$ take (the) pole ${ }_{11}$ (and go) first ${ }_{12}$. When 3 (you) take ${ }_{1}$ (it and) $g o_{2}, I_{4}$ (wizl) say, 'That's 8 the $7_{7} w a y_{6}$,' (or) 'There's ${ }_{11}$ (a) $c^{\prime}$ iff $_{9}$,' that's what ${ }_{11}$ (I) will say ${ }_{12}$. For $1_{1}$ your $_{2}$ eyes 3 are bad and $s_{4}$ you $_{9}$ will $g o_{10}$ only where 8 (my) advice 6 says $_{7}$. For $_{1} I_{2}$ (have) good $_{4}$ eyes $_{3}$ and $s_{4}$ (as I) utter $7_{7}$ (my) advice ${ }_{6} I_{\text {myself }}^{13}$ will take 14 (the) rear ${ }_{12}$ (and) watch ${ }_{15}$ so that ${ }_{11}$ our $_{9} v i c t i m_{8}$ won't go ${ }_{10}$ (away), (thus) we ${ }_{16}$ will go ${ }_{17}$. Whereas ${ }_{1} f_{6}$ you $_{2}$ take $_{6}$ (the) pole ${ }_{4}$ (in the) rear $_{5}$ you $_{9}$ won't ${ }_{10}$ see $_{11}$ when $_{8}$ (the) victim 7 goes $8^{\circ}$ "

That's what ${ }_{1}$ (he) said but Khabo $_{3}$ said $_{4}$, "By all means ${ }_{6} I_{5}$ will be coming 8 behind $_{7}$ (and) would see $9^{\circ}$ " As (he) spoke ${ }_{1}$ Erabo $_{2}$ said $_{3}$, "No $4_{4}$, you $\mathrm{F}_{5} \mathrm{go}_{7}$ first $_{6}$." As (he) spoke ${ }_{1}$ (thus t)he 2 (other) said , $^{\text {, }}$ ${ }^{N N_{4}}$, by all means ${ }_{6} I_{5}$ will $_{12}$ come $_{9}$ carrying 8 behind ${ }_{7}$ (and) when $l_{1}$ (the) victim 10 goes 11 (I) will see $1_{2}$ " When (he) said ${ }_{1}$ (this) Erabo 2 said $3_{3}$, Alright $_{4}$, you $_{5}$ carry $_{7}$ behind $_{6}$ (and) we 8 will go g. However ${ }_{1}$, $i f_{3}$ (the) victim goes $_{3}$ I must strike $6^{\text {gou }_{5} . " \text { Having said }}{ }_{1}$ (that) they $_{2}$ went $_{4}$ carrying 3 (the victim).

As (they) were going ${ }_{1}$, Erabo ${ }_{2}$ said $_{3}$, "Our $_{5}$ victim $_{4} i s_{6}$ (there), $e h_{7}$ ?" As (he) said ${ }_{1}$ (this t)he ${ }_{2}$ (other) said $3_{3}$, " (He) is ${ }_{4}$, (He) is ${ }_{5}$ :" That's what ${ }_{1}$ (he) said but ${ }_{2}$ the $_{5}$ male $_{3}$ child $_{4}$ (had) already 6 swng $_{10}$ onto $a_{9}$ clinging vine $_{7}$ (and) ascended ${ }_{13}$ (to a) breadfruit ${ }_{11}$ (tree) branch $_{12}$. However $1_{1}$ Khabo('s) ${ }_{2}$ eyes 3 were bad and $80_{4}$ (he) didn't ${ }_{5}$ $s_{6} e_{6}$. For $_{1}$ (the) stone 2 (was) heavy and $s 0_{3}$ they $4_{4}$ thought ${ }_{5}$, "Our 7
 $o_{11}(t h e) s_{10}$ one $_{11}(f o r ~ a) Z_{14}$ distance $_{15}$.

Thinking thus ${ }_{1}$ only $_{2}$ (they) continued ${ }_{5}$ going $_{4}$ until $_{5}$ (they) arrived 6 at (a) clearing $7^{\prime}$. As (they) arrived Erabo $_{2}$ said $_{3}$, "Put 4 (it down), we 5 shall rest. ${ }^{\circ}$ " Having said ${ }_{1}$ (this) they 2 put 3 (it down
 "Khabo 3 , where' $8_{6}$ our $_{5}$ victim $_{4}$ ? It ${ }_{1}$ is not ${ }_{2}$, $_{4}$ here 3 , (it is) already ${ }_{5}$
gone $6^{!}$" Having said ${ }_{1}$ (that, Khabo) he $2_{2}$ said $_{3}$, " $I t_{4}{ }^{i s_{7}}$ (right) down 6 there $5^{\prime}$ " However ${ }_{1}$ Erabo $_{2}$ saw $_{3}$ (that there) was ${ }_{6}{ }^{\circ n l y_{5}}$ (the) stone $4_{4}$. (Being) angry ${ }_{2}$ therefore ${ }_{1}$, Erabo $_{3}$ struck $_{6} \mathrm{Khabo}_{4}$ roundly $_{5}$. As (he) struck $_{1}$ (him he) said ${ }_{2}$, "Arise $_{3}$, we ${ }_{4}$ must go ${ }_{6}$ seek $_{5}$ (him)." Having said ${ }_{1}$ (that they) did 6 (a) turn-about ${ }_{5}$ (and) went , whence $_{4}$ they themselves ${ }_{2}$ had come $3_{3}$, a-smelling $1_{1}$ (the) scent 16 , a-smelling 19 (the) scent ${ }_{18}$ (on) trees $8_{8}$ and $_{9}$ vines $_{10}$ and $_{11}$ stones $_{12}$ and $_{13}$ every ${ }_{15}$ thing $_{14}$, (that's what they) did ${ }_{20}$ (as they) went ${ }_{21}$. Continuing ${ }_{1}(t 0)$ $\mathrm{go}_{2}$ (they) smelled 7 (the) scent 6 ( 0 f) the $5_{5}$ clinging $_{4}$ vine $_{3}$ (and) saw 8 (he) had ascended ${ }_{10}$ there 9 . And $\mathrm{so}_{1}$ they $_{2}$ again $_{3}$ voiced $_{6}$ debate $_{5}$ with one another $4_{4}$. As (they) voiced ${ }_{1}$ (debate) Khabo ${ }_{2}$ got hot ${ }_{4}$ (under the) skin 3 . (He) said ${ }_{1}$, " $I_{2}$ will ${s t a y_{4}}^{2}$ down $_{3}$. And as ${ }_{1}$ you $_{2}$ (are) good 4 eyed $_{3}$, therefore 4 (you will) do ${ }_{6}$ well $_{5}$ (in) seeing 8 (the) victim 10 up ${ }_{9}$ (in the) tree ${ }_{7}$ (and will) 'fix'11 (him and) when (he) falls ${ }_{12}$ you 13 $s^{s a y}{ }_{14}$, 'It ${ }_{15}$ is falling ${ }_{17}$ there $_{16}{ }^{s^{8} O_{17}}(y o u)$ move $_{18}$ to strike ${ }_{19}$ (him).'" Speaking ${ }_{\perp}$ (thus) $\mathrm{Khabo}_{2}$ did $_{4}$ force $_{3}$ (the issue).

Having done $1_{1}(80)_{\text {Erabo }_{2}}$ was ascending ${ }_{4}$ (the) tree ${ }_{3}$ thinking ${ }_{10}$ (he) would ${ }_{9}$ 'fix'8 ${ }^{\text {the }} 7_{7}$ male $_{5}$ child 6 (and he) would fall g, (but as he) ascended ${ }_{11}(t)$ he ${ }_{12}$ (lad) plucked ${ }_{15}$ (a) breadfruit ${ }_{13}$ fruit $_{14}$ (and) struck $_{18}$ Erabo $_{17}$ with $i t_{16}$ ( 80 that he) lost hold ${ }_{19}$ (and) $\mathrm{fell}_{20}$ (and) the 23 male $_{21}$ child $_{22}$, deceiving 25 Khabo $_{24}$, uttered 27 (a) call 25 , "Oho 28 , our $_{30}$ victim $_{29}$ fell $_{80} \mathrm{Sl}_{31}$ strike 32 (him)!" When (he) said ${ }_{1}$ (that) Khabo $_{2}$ moved $_{3}$, striking $_{7}$ (and) Killing 8 Erabo $_{6}$ his $_{5}$ other $_{4}$ (companion). $\mathrm{Well}_{1}$, the $_{4}$ male $_{2}$ child $_{3}$ descended $_{5}$ (and) deceived ${ }_{7}$ Khabo $_{6}$ (again) saying 8 , "Hey, you ${ }_{10}$ struck $_{11}$ (him but he) $i_{13}$ not yet dead ${ }_{12}$ !" Speaking ${ }_{1}$ (thus he) said ${ }_{2}$, "Give $_{6} \mathrm{me}_{5}$ (the) $\mathrm{club}_{4}$ (and) $I_{7}$ will strike him $_{8}$ again $_{3}$. (He) said ${ }_{1}$ (this and), Khabo('s) ${ }_{2}$ eyes $_{3}$ (being) bad ${ }_{4}$, (he) thought ${ }_{5}$, "Oh, 6 probably $_{7}$ (it is) my 8 other $_{9}$ (companion) saying 11
 male $_{16}$ child $_{17}$ arose $_{19}$ (and) struck 24 him $_{23}$ with $_{22}$ his $_{21}$ club $_{22}$ (so that he) died $25^{\text {. }}$. When (he) died ${ }_{1}$, the ${ }_{4}$ little $_{2}$ 'bone $_{3}$ brother' $_{2}$ went 8 running $_{5}$ to his $_{7}$ village $_{6}$.

## NOTES

1. Hooley and McElhanon (1970:1075-6).
2. The author gathered the data for this paper under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics while living in the village of Kipu (near Garaina) from 1957 to 1965, with some modification based on more recent observations.
3. The orthography used in the examples is the one in use in Guhu-Samane literature: $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{dz}, \mathrm{e}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{h}, \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{kh}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{ng}, \mathrm{o}$, $\mathrm{p}, \mathrm{q}(\mathrm{glottal}$ stop), $\mathrm{r}, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{tt}$ (dental stop), u . A description of the phonemes is to be found in Richert (1972).
4. In the examples, those affixes which are relevant to the point being illustrated are separated off with hyphens. Parts of an utterance which do not constitute part of the construction being illustrated are enclosed in brackets [ ].
5. In this paper the term 'predicate' is used in a sense intermediate between the traditional usage signifying all of a clause except the subject and the tagmemicists' usage referring to only the verb phrase.
6. An alternative analysis which has been rejected would regard the dilatory verb phrase as ending in a participial noun ( $+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{dn}$ ) (see $3.1(1)$ ) plus the noun suffix -ama without plus the oblique enclitic -ke. In such an analysis the dilatory verb clause could perhaps be regarded as filling a temporal slot within the clause of the primary base.
7. An alternative analysis which has been rejected would regard the prerequisite verb phrase as a medial verb clause (see Section 5) (with -qi (ss) and -mi (ds) having allomorphs -qa and -ma) plus the oblique enclitic -ke. Again, in such an analysis the prerequisite verb clause could perhaps be regarded as filling a temporal slot within the clause of the primary base.
8. This text was spoken by Mr. Mumure Ttopoqogo, 29 years, resident of Kipu village near Garaina, Morobe District, Papua New Guinea, on llth February, 1974. Mr. Ttopoqogo is a graduate of the Christian Leader's Training College at Banz, and has contributed to the publication "New Guinea Writing". He is also current registrar of the Kipu Literacy Academy and instructs several classes.

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## YELETNYE, THE LANGUAGE OF ROSSEL ISLAND

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Yeletnye is the only language spoken on Rossel Island at the eastern end of the Louisiade Archipelago in the Milne Bay District of Papua New Guinea. ${ }^{l}$ It is a Non-Austronesian (or Papuan) language which contrasts markedly with Melanesian languages of the same area in phonology, grammar and vocabulary. Thus whereas the Melanesian languages generally have relatively few phonemes in simple syllable patterns, Yeletnye has a complex system which includes simultaneous stops which can be prenasalized, labialized, and palatalized together with vowels which can be lengthened and nasalized. Moreover, Yeletnye has five verb tenses which make use of up to three different verb stems as against a freer system in Melanesian languages. Finally, on present evidence Yeletnye shares only $6 \%$ of its vocabulary with its nearest neighbour, Sudest, and only $3 \%$ with the language of Misima Island 110 miles away to the north-west. Only a few people who have settled on the island can use Yeletnye with any degree of fluency and the language has developed the reputaiton of being impossible to learn. There are approximately 2500 speakers.

The following account is a brief introduction to this language. It is based on five months field research in 1971, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and on written data which consists of 400 words illustrative of the phonology, and transcriptions of fifteen tape-recorded spontaneous narrative texts which yielded some 380 clauses and 140 phrases. ${ }^{2}$ Since the analysis is not yet completed the following remarks must be regarded as tentative only.

### 2.0 PHONOLOGY

In the following description the phonetic symbols of $K$. L. Pike's Phonemics (1947) are used. A subscript tie links simultaneous segments (tp), stress is marked with an acute (') over the vowel, and vowel length is marked by doubling the vowel symbol.

### 2.1 Vocalic Segments

The following examples illustrate the range of vowel sounds heard in Yeletnye.

| $[k \cup U]$ | unripe | $[k \wedge]$ | yes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[k \circ o]$ | (his) arm | $[k a a]$ | picture |
| $[k \supset \nu]$ | lime | $[$ [pii] rain |  |
| $[k ə \partial]$ | (my) arm | [pee] basket |  |
| $[k ə-]$ | certainty prefix | $[k \varepsilon \varepsilon]$ | to go up |

[kaa] tree type
The vowel [כ] is often heard as the somewhat more open [ ${ }^{\vee}$ ].

## 2．2 Suprasegmental Features

### 2.21 Stress

Word stress appears to be predictable，and consists of loudness and slight rise in pitch on the stressed syllable．It falls on the first syllable of the unaffixed phonological word，which is tentative－ ly defined as a stretch of speech containing one and only one stressed syllable．
［púru］star
［nómo］house
［kéfne］fish type［a－kóá］my arm
［kîgiii she bore a child［ka－tSS］he is sitting
［yúruto］sweet potato
［páárəamaa］fly［ka－nslo］he is weeding
The stress pattern of reduplicated words is the same as for two phonological words，but with a heavier stress on the first part．

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { [tápatśna] } & \text { difficult } \\
\text { [kधdधkधd ] } & \text { slowly }
\end{array}
$$

Stress patterns in longer words have not been studied fully，but no contrastive stress patterns have beer observed．Similarly，no evi－ dence has been found for contrastive pitch．

## 2．22 Vowel Length

The following words illustrate contrastive vowel length．
［ma］male［maa］tomorrow
［ $\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{Q}}$ ］green parrot［ $\mathrm{t} \not \mathrm{\Phi}$ ］betel nut
［nЧ̧］nose［nY̧Y］who？
［kるgə］orchid［kるるkəə］hot

2．23 Nasalization of Vowels
The contrast is shown as follows．
［taa］bush knife［tą］sZime
［kaa］picture，shadow［k\＆q］house stump
［nuv］throat［nu̧y］who？
［maa］tomorrow［mq\＆］Zow tide
［pi］person［ki］banana
［kpee］octopus［kpęe］boy

### 2.3 Consonantal Phonemes

The following minimal set of consonantal phonemes is tentatively asserted. Additional prosodic features of labialization, palatalization, prenasalizing, nasal release, and simultaneous bilabial closure are described in Sections 2.4 to 2.7.

|  | Bilabial | Post-alveolar | Velar |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stops | $p$ | $t$ | $k$ |
| Fricatives | $b$ |  |  |
| Lateral |  |  | $s$ |
| Nasals | $m$ | $y$ | 0 |
| Semivowels | $w$ |  |  |

These are illustrated in the following paradigm.

| [pee] | basket | [te] | scorpion | [k\& $]$ | go up |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [byee] | old | [1émi] | important man |  | coconut shelz |
| [mıا] | day after tomorrow | [ne] | grass skirt | [ $\ddagger$ ¥円 ] | to Zisten |
| [we $]$ | forked stick | [ye]. | he put it |  |  |

All words beginning with [b] encountered to date are palatalized. [b] occurs unpalatalized word medially, however, as in [kधbe] paddle.

The affricates [ $t \delta^{\ell}$ ] and [ndz] are used by a majority of speakers where some use [ty] and [ndy] respectively, so the affricates will probably be interpreted as palatalized stops.
[b], [Y], and [g] occur only intervocalically, and typically following a stressed vowel.
[pábə] millipede [tář] small [kágə] orchid

The voiceless stops also occur intervocalically, but typically following morpheme boundaries or unstressed vowels.
[a-pq́] my village [a-táá] my tongue [a-káá] my arm

Intervocalic [b], [r], and [g] are probably allophones of /p/, /t/, and /k/ respectively, as the more significant difference between the
［ $p, t, k$ ］series and the［mb，$n d, \quad \rho g]$ series seems to be prenasalizing rather than voicing．

## 2．4 Labialization and Palatalization

These contrastive features are illustrated as follows．
［k＾］yes［kw＾］outside
［kéと์と］bush umbreZZa
［kwéरfを］heart
［0ßlo］she weeded
［owSlo］eye
［mb\｛́m＾］on［mbwfm＾］pig
［paq］ $\log$
［támə］place name［tyámə］world，earth
［1ə］deep
［pyoa］woman
［lye］saiz

## 2．5 Prenasalizing

When the stops $p, t$ ，and $k$ are prenasalized，they become partial－ ly voiced as well．
［pl］person
［t（bl］prawn
［kúme］cat
［mbll］sick
［ndibl］lid
［刀gúmwe］mosquito

## 2．6 Nasal Release

The stops $p, t$ ，and $k$ can be nasally released，which precludes prenasalizing and simultaneous bilabial closure discussed in the next section．

| ［pı］ | person | ［pmq］ | bundle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［ $\mathrm{t} \varepsilon$ ］ | fish | ［tnye］ | language，word |
| ［kéżř $]^{\text {］}}$ | bush umbrezza |  | he missed |

## 2．7 Simultaneous Stops and Nasals

These are produced by adding simultaneous bilabial closure to alveolar and velar stops and nasals．The third column shows contrast with the simple bilabial consonant．
［tuv］axe，smell［tpuu］tail［puU］hole
［túmu］be quiet［tpưu］smoke［pưu］star
［kる̌ə ］bird type［kpfrəə］clothing［pfba］millipede
［加ála］cloud［गgbə］frigate［mba］to cry bird
［nuv］throat［ngo］bird［mo］husband
［万ómo］house［emo］breast［mo］husband

### 2.8 Consonant-Vowel Patterns

Most Yeletnye words begin with a consonant and end with a vowel, as can be seen from the examples already given. Exceptions are illustrated as follows.

| [a-kás] | my arm |
| :---: | :---: |
| [^nə-tŠSbo] | I'm cutting it |
| [a-píi] | he poured |
| [ $\wedge$-1^) | here |
| [ánte] | when? |
| [kam] | new |
| [byam] | black palm |
| [mepwSkn] | family |
| [18\&k刀] | let's go (dual) |

Only [m] and [kr] have been found in word final position.
Syllable patterns include $V$ and $C V$, their counterparts VC and CVC closed by [m] and [kn], and possibly others, depending on the interpretation placed upon the complex consonants. If the consonants are regarded as complex units, many phonemes will result, but few syllable patterns. If the consonants are interpreted as clusters of phonemes, more complex syllable patterns will ensue, but the number of phonemes will not be greatly increased. The solution favoured at present is to follow the approach suggested by J. Bendor-Samuel (1960) and to extract labialization, palatalization, prenasalization, nasal release, and simultaneous bilabial closure first as prosodies which can accompany the phonemes posited in Section 3.3. The resulting syllable patterns would be simple. Further work is required, of course, before the most suitable solution can be decided upon.

### 3.0 Grammar

Since many of the examples in this section are drawn from spontaneous texts quickly transcribed, some of the vowels may not be correctly symbolized. Stress has not been shown.

### 3.1 Word Level

### 3.11 Pronouns

The following matrix shows the free pronouns. The same forms are used for Object as for Subject. There are no third person free pronouns.

|  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lst person | nə | nyo | nmu |
| 2nd person | ny८ | tpu | nmyo |

Possession is marked by the following prefixes.

|  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lst person | a- | nyıl- | nmə- |
| 2nd person | N- | tpa- | nmyl- |
| 3rd person | wu- | $y \iota-$ | yı- |

The second person singular "prefix" is expressed by changing the initial consonant of the noun to the nasal continuant at the same point of articulation.

| [a-pq] | my village | [ma $]$ | your village |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [a-təə] | my tongue | [ กəə] | your tongue |
| [a-kəə] | my arm | [ กəә] | your arm |
| [a-yabotərə] | my garden | [nyabotəřə] | your garden |
| [a-gébl] | my peeling shell | [刀ع®bı] | your shell |

3.12

Nouns
The simplest noun consists of a single noun root. Compounds of up to three roots have been recorded.

| $[n \varepsilon \varepsilon]$ | canoe |
| :--- | :--- |
| $[p a a]$ | log, hull |
| $[n \varepsilon \varepsilon-p a a]$ | canoe hulZ |
| $[n \varepsilon \varepsilon-p a a-n บ ̧ Y]$ | canoe hulZ's prow |
| $[n t e]$ | food |
| $[p e e]$ | basket |
| $[n t e-p e e]$ | food-basket |

Compounds can also be formed with a verb root and a noun root.
[ləə๑gələ-təケ̌ə] playing field play-place

Nouns can be formed by adding the nominalizer［－nt］to adjec－ tives，and can then be compounded with other noun roots．

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { [ndw-nt] } & \text { big one } \\
\text { [təYə-nt] } & \text { small one } \\
\text { [tərə-nt-paa] } & \text { smallone's hull }
\end{array}
$$

The paradigm of possessive prefixes has already been given． Nouns are usually suffixed for number as well：Singular $=\varnothing$ ，Dual $=$ ［－tə］，and Plural＝［－yo］．
[a-nte-pee] my food basket

［neє－paQ－tə］canoe huてls
canoe－huてZ－dual
［yt－nte－pee－tə］their food baskets their－food－basket－dual
［pı－yo］people
person－plural

## 3．13 Adjectives

Some adjectives are reduplicated．

$$
[m b \iota \iota] \quad s i c k
$$

［nd甘］big
［mbaamba］good
［kïikii］hot
［təगatəगa］difficult，heavy


## 3．14 2uantifiers

## 3．14．1 Numerals

The system is decimal，running up above 1000.
［サワə］one［ya mə サmə］ 11
［mıاyo］two［yą mə mıเyo］ 12
［pıاع］three［yą mə pıاє］ 13
［baadı］four etc．
［1ımı］five
［went］six
［pyǐ̛u］seven

| [wææ1ı] | eight |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [t $\mathrm{t} \ddot{\mathrm{u}}$ ] | nine |  |  |
| [ya] | ten | [ya mə ya] | 20 |
| [myo-ya] | 20 | [myo-ya mo 2na] | 21 |
|  |  | [myo-ya mə mityo] | 22 |
| [pyolə-yą] | 30 | [pyolə-yą mə 2゙ə] | 31 |
| [pořว-ya] | 40 |  |  |
| [1imo-ya] | 50 |  |  |
| [wonə-ya] | 60 |  |  |
| [pyıřu-ya] | 70 |  |  |
| [wวlə-ya] | 80 |  |  |
| [tonə-ya] | 90 |  |  |
| [yวnə-yą] | 100 |  |  |
| [yวnə-ya mə றைə] | 101 |  |  |
| [yวnə-yą mə mıtyo] | 102 |  |  |
| [yวnə-ya mə plle] | 103 |  |  |
| [myวyวnəya] | 200 |  |  |
| [pyol əyวnəya] | 300 |  |  |
| [yวกəyวnəya] | 1000 |  |  |

### 3.14.2 Other Quantifiers

The following words illustrate those which have been observed to date:

| [ylü] | many |
| :--- | :--- |
| [yındomu] | azl |
| [थna] | some |

### 3.15 Verbs

The verb structure is complex, and has not yet been analysed. Portmanteau prefixes mark the person and number of the subject together with tense. Some of these prefixes show allomorphic variation. Dual and plural third person objects are usually marked with [-tə] and [-tع] respectively. There are five tenses: future, present, immediate past, past (yesterday), and remote past. Three different stems are used: one for remote past, one for present, and one for the other tenses. Various aspects are marked by prefixes.

### 3.2 Phrase Level

### 3.21 Head-Modifier Phrases

These consist of a head, manifested typically by a noun, which may be preceded by a possessor and followed by one or two modifiers. When the possessor is third person, its identity can be specified by a word, phrase, or clause preceding the noun possessed. (In the examples a comma marks level intonation plus pause.)

$$
\begin{aligned}
& {[a-n \varepsilon \varepsilon-p a a]} \\
& m y-c a n o e-h u l z \\
& \text { my canoe hull }
\end{aligned}
$$

[kæmbw^ wu-nev-paa]
Canice his-canoe-hull
Canice's canoe hull
[mbつァ, kæmbw^ yı-neع-paa-tə]
Leo Canice their-canoe-hull-dual Leo's and Canice's canoe hulls

canoe-hull-dual you-pl/today-bring-dual its-story
the story about how you brought the canoe hulls
The head may be followed by an adjective, a quantifier, or both.
[mbwaa la]
water deep
deep water
[nعє-paa nd**]
canoe-hull big
big canoe hull
[ką̣ ngwono]
taro cooked
cooked taro
[weq mılyo]
fork two
two forked sticks
[kpaa nga]
fire one
one fire
[kæmbw^ wU-né-paa ndwu]
Canice his-canoe-hull big
Canice's big canoe hull
3.22 Co-ordinate Phrases
Phrases with from two to four nouns or pronouns have been ob-
served. The nouns are separated by pause.
[way̌u, mwว
Walter Philip
Walter and Philip
[mgbaalım, a-benda]
Gregory my-namesake
Gregory and my namesake
[ndžเmı, gaapwe, kaaw^, nə]
Jim Ken Kevin I
Jim, Ken, Kevin and I

### 3.23 Axis-relator Phrases

These consist of an axis (typically a noun) followed by a suffix which relates the axis to the clause. The following examples illustrate locative axis-relator phrases.

| [maa-pyy] | [k^ǐ^wa-k^] |
| :---: | :---: |
| road-along | Philemina-to |
| along the road | to Philemina |
| pot-near | [yaapu-pa] |
| near the pot | Yaapu-at |
| [pwepe-mbəmə] | at Yaapu |
| Zog-on | [nyi-paa-pe] |
| on Zogs | our-place-at |

In accompaniment axis-relator phrases, the axis is manifested by a word or phrase, and the relator is [-kę], which usually carries the third person possessive prefix.
[kaawa-kę] [ndžımı, kaawa, yı-kę]
Kevin-accompaniment
with Kevin

Jim Kevin theiraccompaniment
with Jim and Kevin

### 3.3 Clause Level

Equative clauses have no Predicate tagmeme, but consist of Topic and Comment.
[tple शुmə wU-plı tə̧尹]
thing one its-name carving
This thing's name is "carving".
[^1^unwo ndumukwor̊ว]
now evening
It's evening now.
[a-t^n^mbumu wUUtə]
my-story complete My story is finished.

The order of tagmemes in other clauses is fairly free, though the Subject nearly always precedes the Predicate, and Subject-ObjectPredicate is more common than Object-Subject-Predicate. When Subject and Object are both explicit, the Subject is usually marked with [-ŋə].

Object Predicate
[wé mityo w-a-kaa-nma]
fork two fut-3rd-put-pl
They will put two forked sticks

Locative Predicate
[wa@y̌u wu-pos kə-y̌ə-taa]
Walter his-place certainty-I/today-arrive
$I$ arrived at Walter's place.

Subject
Object
[kaawn-nə wu-nte-pee
Kevin-Subj his-food-basket (he/yesterday)-carry
Kevin carried his food-basket

Object
[gaapwe, kaaw^, mgbaal เm a-neє-paa
Kevin Gregory my-canoe-hull small from/behind-they/past-pull Ken, Kevin, and Gregory pulled my small canoe hull.

To date the tagmemes of Subject, Object, Predicate, Time, Locative, Accompaniment, Benefactive, and Indirect Object have been identified, but no more than five tagmemes occur in any one clause.


### 3.4 Sentence Level

This level has not been studied, but a general statement can be made. There is not a marked distinction between dependent and independent clauses; no pattern of medial and final verbs has been observed. Sentences consist of one or more similar clauses, with few overt relators between them.

## 4．0 A BASIC VOCABULARY LIST

This list contains basic vocabulary items elicited using the Summer Institute of Linguistics＇＂Survey Word List＂．All items are written phonetically as recorded in 1970．A single quote（＇）is used to mark the stressed syllable．

| English | Yeletnye | English | Yeletnye |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1．（his）hair | mbo 1̌̌への | 35．cloud | מg＾l＇to．pe |
| 2．（his）head | mbs＂ryo ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | 36．rain | ptyi． |
| 3．（his）mouth | $k^{h} \supset^{\text {v m }}$ ，${ }^{\text {c }}$ | 37．water | mbwa． |
| 4．（his）nose | nnu | 38．tree | $z^{6}$ |
| 5．（his）eye | ＇nwo $10^{\text {s }}$ | 39．root | y¢̧̌＾or yokma |
| 6．（his）neck（all or nape） | ＇mbwamə | 40．Zeaf | ＇yiya |
| 7．（his）belly | pkMmz ${ }^{\text {V }}$ |  | mbyu |
| 8．（his）skin（human） | ＇tว．pe | 42．fat（grease） | khini |
| 9．（his）knee | \％o．pe | 43．egg | ws or woy |
| 9．（his）knee | yımbs ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | 44．he eats | ＇tama |
| 10．man | mb | 45．he gives it to me |  |
| 11．woman | $P^{\text {hy }}{ }_{D}$ | 46．he sees | temu． |
| 12．bird | $m \mathrm{~ms}$ or mnə | 47．he comes | ＇kEY̌＾pwiə．gə |
| 13．dog | WTg or wg | 48．Zouse | ＇yamawe |
| 14．he bites（a dog） | tə＇key＾ | 49．one | mə |
| 15．he sits | təya． | 50．two | ＇mi．yo |
| 16．he stands | g＾m＾kwจ | 51．（his）back | p＾ř＾ma |
| 17．he lies（reclines） | topwi $\mathrm{Em}^{\text {m }}$ | 52．（his）shoulder | วgəп＾ด¢ |
| 18．he walks | $\wedge p{ }^{\text {h }}$ ． | 53．（his）forehead | kəř＾ |
| 19．road（path） | ma | 54．（his）chin | tšobu |
| 20．stone | tšə．p | 55．（his）elbow | kəřubu |
| 21．big | ndt | 56．（his）thumb | kabya |
| 22．small | təř＾or ter̂＾ | 57．（his）leg |  |
| 23．fire | nduç | 58．（his）heart | ＇goltmi |
| 24．smoke | ptuřu | 59．（his）liver | ＇kwe ̌̌ $\varepsilon$ |
| 25．ashes | pks ${ }^{\text {v }}$ | 60．（his）bone | ＇thəヵ＾ |
| 26．（his）ear （external） | ＇गW円⿴囗 | 61．（his）blood | wə． |
| 27．（his）tongue | $t^{\text {to }}$ 。 | 62．horn（of an animal） | ＇pan＾ |
| 28．（his）tooth | nyo | 63．feather | gmor og |
| 29．（her）breast | 刀mจ ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | 64．wing | nope |
| 30．（his）hand | $k^{\text {h}}$ 。 | 65．clav | kondibi |
| 31．（his）foot | yi＇pkws ${ }^{\text {bu }}$ | 66．tail | ptu |
| 32．sun | $k^{\text {haru }}$ | 67．boy | p¢ |
| 33．moon | to | 68．girl | pkMmaruu |
| 34．star | pư̌u | 69．baby | mbobo |


| English | Yeletnye | English | Yeletnye |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 70．old man | Pibypo | 109．yesterday | ma |
| 71．old woman | pyoby | 110．tomorrow | mb． |
| 72．person | pi | 111．white | ＇pkabə＇pkab |
| 73．（his）father | 喵 | 112．black | ＇pkoťo＇pkơ̌e |
| 74．（his）mother | mnin | 113．yellow | ＇ndı！＇nana．kw |
| 75．brother（older of man） | ＇＾mbっ | 114．red | ＇mpyenmpye |
| 76．sister（older of |  | 115．green | ＇gokuya |
| 76．sister man （ | $\Lambda^{\prime}$ teřn | 116．good | ＇mbamba |
| 77．name | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {hi }}$ | 117．bad | $t^{h_{\text {dno }}}$ |
| 78．pig | mbwem＾ | 118．Long | $t^{h} \mathrm{a} \cdot t^{\text {h }}$ i |
| 79．cassowary | －－－ | 119．short | $t^{\text {hikwidi }}$ |
| 80．wallaby | －－－ | 120．heavy | $t^{\text {h }}$ int $t^{\text {h }}$ io |
| 81．flying fox | bgosm | 121．light | 刀ba．刀ba． |
| 82．rat | ＇yəm＾ | 122．cold（water） | ＇ngwon＇ngws |
| 83．frog | pkMmq | 123．warm，hot（water） | kǐki |
| 84．snake | ptəl＾pə | 124．old | be |
| 85．fish | $t^{\text {h }}$ ¢ | 125．new | $k^{\text {ham }}$ |
| 86．taro | kq | 126．many | ytl！ptopteımptap |
| 87．sugarcane | kwuto | 127．all | ＇yırn＇domu |
| 88．yam | $k^{h} \mathrm{ini}$ | 128．this | $\wedge 110$ |
| 89．bonana | $k^{\text {h }}$ i | 129．that | gmwe or mgwigl |
| 90．sweet potato |  | 130．what？ | ＇lukwe |
| 91．bean | bin | 131．who？ | nnų |
| 92．axe | $t^{h_{u}}$ | 132．when？ | andi |
| 93．knife | ＇peb＾n＾＾ | 133．where？ | əృənə |
| 94．arrow（spear） | k＾tte | 134．round | majəゥə |
| 95．net bag（woman＇s） | ＇pk\＆nと | 135．wet（clothing） | dnidni |
| 96．house | ＇nomo | 136．dxy（clothing） | dər̃adər̃a |
| 97．earth（ground） | ＇tab＾ | 137．full | ＇ndejmə |
| 98．sand | $t^{\text {hi }}$ ． | 138．not | ＇t ${ }^{\text {ha }}$ ．$t^{\text {h }}$ o |
| 99．mountain | mbu | 139．three | ${ }^{\prime} p^{h} \mathbf{i l e}$ |
| 100．wind | ＇yobo | 140．four | ${ }^{1} p^{h} \varepsilon . d i$ |
| 101．vine | ${ }^{\text {＇yi．pe }}$ | 141．five | limi |
| 102．stick | ＇yımbwt | 142．ten | 990 |
| 103．bark（tree） | to | 143．yes | nya |
| 104．seed（for planting） | พว | 144．no | ＇ $\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ əle |
| 105．tobacco | $m b ə^{\prime} 1 \varepsilon \wedge$ | 145．he says | ＇ţhel＇vi |
| 106．morning | mwandi＾ | 146．he hears | ＇theinyo |
| 107．afternoon | domokwo ${ }^{\text {Y＾}}$ | 147．he knows | u＇la．mas ${ }^{\text {ho }}$ |
| 108．night | mbəケ̌ə | 148．he drinks | $t^{\text {h }}$ ənd＾ |



## NOTES

1. This language has been referred to by various names--"Yele", "Yela", and "Yeletnye"--the last of which seems the most appropriate as it means "Rossel Island language".
2. This research has been supported in part by a grant from the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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1960 "Some Problems of Segmentation in the Phonological Analysis of Tereno", Word, 16: 348-355.

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[^0]:    * Just as this volume was being prepared for publication the future of this Sebeok volume was thrown into doubt, but as most linguists interested in Papua New Guinea linguistics know the volume by this name, I use it in the interests of economy.

[^1]:    *The Somo group includes other Sagarai valley villages not counted in the Suau area census, so is actually much larger.

