

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON OROKAIVA GRAMMAR

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Orokaiva language is spoken by some 25,000 people living in an area of about 250 square miles surrounding Popondetta in the Northern District of Papua. There are several dialects of Orokaiva, and the one used in this study is spoken in the village of Isivita. However, there appears to have been considerable mixing of dialects since the population movements associated with the eruption of Mount Lamington in 1951. Orokaiva is one of some twelve or more languages which belong to the Binandere Family of languages.

In June 1967 the authors spent two weeks investigating Orokaiva verbs and preparing some preliminary language lessons for use of missionaries in the Orokaiva area. They were stimulated in their task by a manuscript copy of "The Binandere Verb" kindly made available by Dr Capell. Some rough notes were prepared on the verbs and other facets of the grammar as a basis for language learning and further grammatical enquiry.

Since then a little more research has been possible and the notes have been considerably revised. However, they are still certain to contain inaccuracies, and it is with this reservation that they are made available to a wider audience.

The Orokaiva examples are provided with normal English capitalization and punctuation, since intonation has not been analyzed. Affixes are identified by the following abbreviations: *abil(itative)*, *avol(itional)*, *C(ontinulative)S(equence)*, *dep(endent)*, *des(iderative)*, *fut(ure)*, *hab(itual)*, *imp(erative)*, *ind(icative)*, *inf(initive)*, *int(errogative)*, *perm(issive)*, *pl(ural)*, *pres(ent)*, *P(unctiliar)S(equence)*, *purp(osive)*, *recip(rocal)*, *S(imultaneous)A(ction)*, *s(in)g(ular)*, *subj(ect)*. When the absence of a suffix is significant, the appropriate meaning is shown in parentheses in the literal translation.

1. PHONOLOGY

Orokaiva words consist of syllables of any of the following types: V, CV, VC, CVC. Many sequences of two vowels and some of three vowels have been observed in words. Syllables are closed only with nasals and the only medial consonant clusters observed are *mb*, *nd*, and *ng*. Word-final syllables may be closed only by *n*, which appears as nasalization of the vowel of the final syllable. Otherwise, all phonemes occur in all permissible positions within words.

The Orokaiva orthography consists of the following symbols: *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, and *w*. These accurately represent phonemes except in two respects. The labiodental fricative *v* and semivowel *w* are allophones of a single phoneme; *w* precedes *a* and *v* precedes the other vowels. (In some literature *w* has a more limited distribution.) Similarly, *r* and *d* are allophones of a single phoneme; *r* occurs between vowels and *d* occurs in word initial position and following *n*. The apparent exceptions (*ra* indicative, *re* interrogative, *rate* 'but' and *rami* 'kind of') are probably enclitics and pronounced as part of the preceding word.

The first syllable of each Orokaiva word is stressed. When *h* occurs between unstressed vowels it is very light, and sometimes seems to be quite silent. Its phonemic status in these positions needs investigating in each main dialect. In word-initial position and medially preceded by *n*, *g* is a voiced stop; between vowels it is a voiced velar fricative. The nasal *n* is velar when it occurs before *g*. The *j* is a voiced alveo-palatal affricate.

2. VERBS

The morphology and usage of the verbs is by far the most difficult facet of Orokaiva grammar. Verbs consist of a stem - either simple or complex, intransitive or transitive or ditransitive - followed by up to four suffixes to indicate tense, subject person-and-number, and mood. All verb forms appear to be in the active voice.

2.1. VERB STEMS

In the far past tense a simple verb such as *poekea* 'I broke' consists of just two parts: the simple stem *poeke* 'break' and the indicative suffix *-a* (tense and person are unmarked).

On the other hand a complex verb such as *arepo ea* 'I coughed' consists of three parts: an uninflectable word or adjunct *arepo*, the stem *e*, and the suffix *-a* as above. The adjunct *arepo* has no meaning or usage apart from this combination with *e*. Also, the stem *e* has lost most of its usual meaning of 'do', 'make' (or 'say'?) and is really functioning as an auxiliary in this combination with *arepo*. In fact the combination *arepo e* may be treated as a complex verb stem which takes inflectional suffixes (on its second element) just as simple verb stems do. However *arepo* and *e* are treated as separate words rather than a compound because the particle *mine* 'each other' and the adverbs *ere* 'still' and *mane* 'not' come between them.

The stem of a verb may be modified to indicate a repetitive action or (if transitive) a plural object by the use of a reduplicative prefix or a suffix or both. Several different ways of marking stems for plurality have been observed, but as these are only partly predictable from the shape of the stem, the plural form of each verb needs to be listed in an Orokaiva dictionary.

(1) Reduplication of first CV or VC of stems ending in *ke*

Singular	Plural	
<i>waeke</i>	<i>wa-waeke</i>	<i>shut</i>
<i>hirike</i>	<i>hi-hirike</i>	<i>open</i>
<i>tiuke</i>	<i>ti-tiuke</i>	<i>cut</i>
<i>uhuke</i>	<i>uh-uhuke</i>	<i>blow</i>

(2) Suffix *-reke* on stems ending in *ge* or *ke*

<i>ege</i>	<i>ege-reke</i>	<i>wash</i>
<i>age</i>	<i>age-reke</i>	<i>cook</i>
<i>tige</i>	<i>tige-reke</i>	<i>tie</i>
<i>toge</i>	<i>toge-reke</i>	<i>wrap up</i>

Singular	Plural	
ike	ike-reke	<i>give</i>
veke	veke-reke	<i>sharpen</i>

(3) Suffix -kereke on single syllable stems

e	e-kereke	<i>do</i>
ki	ki-kereke	<i>see</i>
ve	ve-kereke	<i>fall</i>
te	te-kereke	<i>hit</i>

(4) Suffix -jeke or -pujeke on stems ending in mbu

humbu	humbu-jeke, humbu-pujeke }	<i>fetch</i>
jimbu	jimbu-jeke, jimbu-pujeke }	<i>marry</i>
kambu	kambu-jeke, kambu-pujeke }	<i>bite</i>
pambu	pambu-jeke, pambu-pujeke }	<i>go</i>

(5) Reduplication of first CV of stem ending in e, plus suffix -ke

pehe	pe-pehe-ke	<i>die</i>
vore	vo-vore-ke	<i>roast</i>
kute	ku-kute-ke	<i>paint</i>
toge	to-toge-ke	<i>wrap up</i> (see also (2))
gahe	ga-gahe-ke	<i>poke</i>
hire	hi-hire-ke	<i>sew</i>
tige	ti-tige-ke	<i>tie</i> (see also (2))
ve	ve-ve-ke	<i>fall</i> (see also (3))

(6) Unclassified

poeke	po-pojeke	<i>break</i>
jimbu	ji-jimbu-keke	<i>marry</i> (see also (4))
indi	indi-dike	<i>eat</i>
te	ta-te	<i>hit</i> (see also (3))

It is apparent that at least some verbs (e.g. *wrap up*, *tie*, *fall*, *marry*, *hit*) have two different plural stems, but it is not known whether or not these differ in meaning or usage. Complex verbs appear to pluralize in at least two different ways - by reduplication of the adjunct or by suffixation of the auxiliary - but more research is needed.

sau e	sau-siu e	snatch
ki e	ki e-kereke	make a spear

2.2. STEM CHANGES WHEN SUFFIXED

All of the stems listed above are in their basic form. The basic stem may be used as an abrupt imperative, but a more common usage of the basic stem is in the far past with indicative suffix -a. The basic stems of most regular verbs end in e. A few end in i, for instance ingi 'hear', indi 'eat', iri 'be' and jigi 'touch, seize'. A few also end in u, for instance hembu 'walk', pambu, pahu 'go', kambu 'bite', humbu 'take' and jimbu 'marry'. The stem-final vowels change in some forms of the verb and disappear in others.

The first five suffix combinations listed in Table 1 add right on to the basic stem without affecting its final vowel. With suffix combinations 6-13, stem-final e changes to i but other vowels do not change. With suffix combinations 14-16 stem-final i changes to e and e and u change to a. With suffix combinations 17-26 the stem-final vowel disappears altogether. Notice that, if one ignores the variable h, the stem variants are the sole distinguishing feature between certain forms with identical tense or aspect suffixes, e.g. 3 and 9; 8, 11, and 26; 4, 12, and 20; and 13 and 22. (See also Table 4.)

There are at least 9 irregular verbs whose stem variants only partly follow the pattern just described. Three typical regular verbs and these 9 irregular verbs are presented in Tables 2 and 3 with all 26 suffix combinations (but not the individual suffixes), so as to demonstrate their stem variants.

2.3. NON-FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

There are three dependent forms of the verb which are not inflected for subject person-and-number. These occur in non-final clauses in a sentence. Each of these forms signifies that the subject (and usually also the tense) of its clause is the same as that of the following clause. Their suffixes (with the reference numbers of Tables 1, 2 and 3) are:

5. -to Punctiliar Sequence
6. -e Simultaneous Action
7. -ma Continuative Sequence

Punctiliar Sequence implies that one action takes place after another (X and then Y). Continuative Sequence implies that the action of the verb with this suffix is continuing or extended and that the next action either interrupts it or follows its completion (X until Y). Simultaneous

Action implies two actions going on at the same time (Xing while Ying).

Na puvu-to ba indi-so-n-a.

I come-PS taro eat-will-I-ind.

'I will come and eat the taro.'

Na puvu-to ba ind-ahe-n-a.

I come-PS taro eat-abil.-I-ind.

'I would come and eat the taro (if I could).'

Dago puvu-to iji amina ba indi-a.

we come-PS time that taro eat(you far past)-ind.

'When we came we ate the taro.'

Amo ki vekie ke e-n-a.

he spear sharpen-SA speech talk-he far past-ind.

'While he was sharpening a spear he was talking.'

Na ke iji-e ev-e-n-a.

I speech talk-SA sleep-near past-I-ind.

'I fell asleep while talking.'

Na ke iji-ma ev-e-n-a.

I speech talk-CS sleep-near past-I-ind.

'I talked till I fell asleep.'

Pahu-ma donda inde-so-n-a.

go-CS food eat-fut.-I-ind.

'I will go for a while and then eat food.'

'When I (eventually) arrive I will eat food.'

For further examples of -e see the durative phrase (section 2.6.).

There are several forms of the verb which occur in independent clauses (including sentence-final clauses) and which are not inflected for subject person-and-number but only for mood. (Some of these may later prove to be best described as dependent. The imperatives could perhaps be viewed as finite forms.)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1. | no suffix | Abrupt Imperative (sg.) |
| 19. | -a | Polite Imperative (sg.) |
| 16. | -si | Desiderative |
| 25. | -ae | Negative |
| 24. | -ara | Reciprocal |
| 23. | -ari | Infinitive |

The last four deserve comment. The desiderative by itself signifies desire, intention, or preparedness, with the subject person-and-number and tense being understood from the context. To specify subject

person-and-number and tense, the desiderative may be followed by a finite form of the verb e 'do' (or e 'say'?) as described in section 2.6. A clause containing a desiderative verb in a longer sentence signifies purpose.

Puvure-si.

come-des.

'I want to come.' 'He is ready to come.' 'They intended to come.' etc.

Puvure-si ere-o-n-a.

come-des. do-pres.-I-ind.

'I am ready to come.'

Donda inde-si puvu-ho-n-a.

food eat-des. come-pres.-I-ind.

'I am coming to eat the food.'

Similarly, the negative does not signify subject person-and-number or tense; these are understood from the context. They may be specified by adding a finite form of the verb e 'do' (or e 'say'?) as described in section 2.6.

Puvur-ae.

come-not

'I won't come.' 'He didn't come.' etc.

Puvur-ae ai-so-n-a.

come-not do-fut.-I-ind.

'I won't come.'

A verb form containing the suffix -ara 'reciprocal' occurs in the reciprocal phrase described in section 2.6.

The infinitive has a wide range of usage. It can function as a citation form, as an abstract noun, as a noun of instrument, and, when followed by a postposition, as a noun of place.

peh-ari

die-inf.

'death' (the act of dying)

di kogomb-ari

head decorate-inf.

'headdress' (the thing used for decorating the head)

eg-ari ta

wash-inf. at

'at the laundry' (the place where one washes)

It can function as an adjective, and in this usage an infinitive with a plural stem (see section 2.1.) indicates either plurality of the noun or the results of a multiple action.

ki poek-ari
spear break-inf.
'the broken spear', 'the spear is broken'

ki po-pojek-ari
spear pl.-break-inf.
'the spear broken in several pieces', 'the broken spears'

Followed by a human noun it can indicate an agent.

kaj-ari embo
kill-inf. man
'murderer' (a man who kills)

It can be used in a clause which functions as the object of verbs such as 'know', 'see', 'hear'. A free pronoun indicates subject person-and-number, and, if necessary, a time word is used to indicate the tense.

amo mahu puvur-ari ke ingi-e-n-a.
he already come-inf. speech hear-near past-I-ind.
'I heard (the news) that he had (already) come.'

2.4. FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

Most finite forms of the verb have an ending composed of three suffixes. The first suffix, together with the vowel or lack of vowel of the verb stem, indicates tense and aspect. The second suffix indicates subject person-and-number, and the third suffix indicates mood. The two exceptions to this pattern are the far past (2) which has no tense suffix and no subject person-and-number suffix for most persons, and the continuative prohibitive variant of the permissive aspect (22) which has a fourth suffix.

There are four subject person-and-number suffixes in all tenses and aspects except far past.

-n	I
-j, -i	he, she, it
-r	we, they
-w, -v	you (plural)
no suffix	you (singular)

Instead of these four, far past has only two such suffixes.

-n	he, she, it
-w, -v	you (plural)

Here, lack of a suffix signifies any of: '*I, you (singular), we, they*'.

There are three mood suffixes.

- a indicative
- e interrogative (except in 20 and 22 hortative)
- o dependent (usage and significance little understood)

Because various morphophonemic changes take place when they combine, all combinations of the final vowel of the tense suffixes, the subject person-and-number suffixes, and the mood suffixes are listed in traditional order in Table 4. This table of morphophonemic changes should be consulted constantly when examining the verb morphology of the individual examples in this paper. In the far past tense the interrogative suffix seems not to occur. The far past suffix for second person plural, -awa, replaces the final vowel of the stem.

There are five tenses in Orokaiva, and some of these may be formed in two ways. So far, only the far past and the near past have been observed in the dependent mood.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------|--|
| 2. | no tense suffix | Far Past | - months or years ago |
| 8. | -he | Mid Past A | - days ago |
| 13. | -ha | Mid Past B | - days ago |
| 26. | -e, -ehe | Near Past | - minutes ago |
| 11. | -ehe, -he | Present A | - This form of the verb signifies a continuing process and is usually preceded by <i>ere</i> 'still'. |
| 12. | -o | Present B | - This form of the verb is used less often than Present A. It possibly has another usage as well as Present. |
| 14. | -so | Future | - The second persons indicative (-so-a singular, -so-w-a plural) are also used as a polite imperative. |
| 15. | -si | Potential | - The first person plural indicative (-si-r-a) is used as a hortative. |

Na ki veki-o amo ke e-n-a.

I spear sharpen-dep. he speech talk-he far past-ind.

'While I was sharpening the spear he was talking.'

Na ki vek-i-o iji isapa amo ke e-n-a.
 I spear sharpen-dep. time small he speech talk-he far. past-ind.
 'Soon after I sharpened the spear he spoke.'

Umo ere puv-e-o avoeto ungot e donda inde-so-r-a.
 you now come-near past-(you)-dep. so we food eat-fut.-we-ind.
 'Seeing you have come we will eat the food.'

Na puvu-ho-n-a avoeto pamba-so-a.
 I come-pres.-I-ind. so go-fut.-(you)-ind.
 'I'm coming, so you can go.'

There appear to be two more tenses not listed above which deserve further checking. One is a past tense with endings identical to the far past (2), but these are attached to the stem variant which occurs in the mid past.

ere u-a vovu-n-a
 still do-(past they)-ind. fall-past he-ind.
 'They were doing it.' 'He fell.'

The other is a future tense with the tense suffix -oko and the usual person endings, and these are attached to the stem variant which occurs in the infinitive (23).

ki-oko-v-a puvur-oku-j-a
 see-fut.-you pl.-ind. come-fut.-he-ind.
 'You will see it.' 'He will come.'

Orokaiva has several finite forms of the verb which signify aspect rather than tense. So far only the permissive and habitual/future aspects have been observed in the dependent mood.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------|--------------------|---|--|
| 10. | -hae | Far Past Habitual | | } One or both of these has a future significance in its dependent form |
| 9. | -ro | Past Habitual | - Usage as a final verb needs checking | |
| 3. | -ro | Present Habitual A | - sometimes | |
| 17. | -ago | Present Habitual B | - sometimes | |
| 18. | -aro | Present Habitual C | - always | |
| 21. | -ae | Abilitative | - Also used in contrary-to-fact situations 'I could have... but...', 'I wanted to... but...', 'If... then I would (have)...'. | |
| 4. | -o | Avolitional | - 'lest', 'might' | |

20. -o Purposive - Only interrogative forms have been observed, but they seem to have indicative or almost imperative significance. The first person plural -o-r-e is used as a hortative.
22. -a Permissive - e.g. 'I may eat it.', '...so that I could eat it.' The first person plural interrogative -a-r-e is used as a hortative. The dependent forms seem to have a wide range of significance and the second person forms -a-o and -a-v-o are used as prohibitives.

Na ki-ae na puvu-ro-n-o te.
 I know-not I come-fut.-I-dep. or
 'I don't know whether I can come or not.'

Pambu-ro-n-o tai-su-i-a.
 go-fut.-I-dep. hit-fut.-he-ind.
 'If I go he will hit me (while I'm going).'

Pamb-a-n-o tai-su-i-a.
 go-perm.-I-dep. hit-fut.-he-ind.
 'If I go he will hit me (when I arrive).'

Pamb-a-n-o t-ahi-j-a.
 go-perm.-I-dep. hit-abil.-he-ind.
 'If I had gone he would have hit me.'

Na ba mahinge ind-aro-n-a.
 I taro always eat-pres. hab.-I-ind.
 'I always eat taro.'

Ami-na enana ke e-o-r-a haeke-n-a.
 he-subj. them speech talk-avol.-they-ind. stop-far past he-ind.
 'He stopped them talking.' (=He rebuked them lest they talk.)

Enana ta donda nei ike-vu ind-o-r-e.
 them to food some give-(imp.)-pl. eat-purp.-they-int.
 'Give them something to eat.'

2.5. IMPERATIVE AND HORTATIVE FORMS OF THE VERB

Three different types of imperative are used: the abrupt or harsh imperative (1), the polite imperative (19), and the second person

indicative forms of the future tense (14) used as a polite imperative. Furthermore, the second person dependent forms of the permissive aspect (22) are used for prohibitions without any negative suffix or adverb. Forms 1 and 19 add -vu for a plural imperative whereas forms 14 and 22 have the second person plural suffix -v or -w characteristic of finite verbs (section 2.4.). Forms 1 and 22 optionally add a final suffix -jo to indicate a continuative or extended action. All of the possible imperative and prohibitive forms of *poeke* 'break' are illustrated below.

	Singular	Plural
Abrupt Imperative (1)	poeke	poeke-vu
Continuative Abrupt Imperative	poeke-jo	poeke-vu-jo
Polite Imperative (19)	poek-a	poek-a-vu
Polite Imperative (14)	poeke-so-a	poeke-so-w-a
Prohibitive (22)	poek-a-o	poek-a-v-o
Continuative Prohibitive	poek-a-o-jo	poek-a-v-o-jo

The first person plural forms of three different aspects seem to be used as hortative, and these are illustrated below for *poeke*.

Potential Indicative (15)	poeke-si-r-a
Purposive Interrogative (20)	poek-o-r-e
Permissive Interrogative (22)	poek-a-r-e

Obviously, in the last two forms the suffix -e has lost its interrogative force.

2.6. VERB PHRASES

(a) The *Negative Phrase* consists of the non-finite negative form of the verb (25) followed by any finite form of the verb e 'do'.

Ing-ae u-he-n-a.

hear-not do-mid past-I-ind.

'I didn't hear it (yesterday).'

(b) The *Desiderative Phrase* consists of the non-finite desiderative form of the verb (16) followed by any finite form of the verb e 'do'.

Inde-si u-he-n-a.

eat-des. do-mid past-I-ind.

'I wanted to eat it (yesterday).'

(c) The *Durative Phrase* consists of a pair of nearly synonymous non-finite verbs followed by a form of e 'do'. The various types of pairing deserve further enquiry.

Si puri ere-u-j-a.

cry thrash around do-pres.-he-ind.

'He is keeping on wailing.'

Uri-e kovi-e ere-o-r-a.
 plant-SA dig-SA do-pres.-they-ind.
 'They are busy gardening.'

Oroho te mane puv-e-n-a avo ba ag-a jiw-a
 now or not come-mid past-I-ind. then taro cook-? wrap and cook-?
 ere-o-n-a.
 do-pres.-I-ind.

'Ever since I came I have been cooking taro.'

(d) The *Reciprocal Phrase* consists of the non-finite reciprocal form of the verb (24) preceded by mine 'each other' and followed by a finite form of the verb e 'do' with a plural subject suffix. For complex verbs, mine comes between the adjunct and the auxiliary with -ae. The reciprocal signifies an action done to each other, or to each other's things, or for each other's benefit. Note that mine also occurs in the complex verbs mine e 'pay back', mine e 'answer'.

Ungo mine ki-ara e-he-w-a.
 you pl. each other see- recip. do-near past-you pl.-ind.
 'You saw each other (just now).'

Enana jenete mine ara ai-so-r-a.
 they forget each other (forget)- recip. do-fut.-they-ind.
 'They will forget each other.'

Enana donda mine ind-ara e-he-r-a.
 they food each other eat- recip. do-near past-they-ind.
 'They ate each other's food.'

Ungae mine arumb-ara a-r-e.
 we each other sit- recip. (do)-perm.-we-int.
 'Let's exchange seats.'

Enana mine peh-ara e-a.
 they each other die- recip. do-(far past)-ind.
 'They died together (matching each other's deeds in battle).'

3. ADVERBS

Several uninflectable words and phrases immediately precede the verb in a clause and may be called adverbs.

eha	as soon as	iji nei	sometime
ere	still	iji neinei	sometimes
iji aingeko	often	iji wahi	immediately

kihi	<i>first</i>	mane	<i>not</i>
mahainge	<i>always</i>	sausau	<i>quickly</i>
mahu	<i>already</i>	seimaseima	<i>slowly</i>

With complex verbs (see section 2.1.) ere always comes between the two parts of the verb, and mane often does so. Ere is especially used to indicate continuous action. In some literature it has been written as a verb prefix.

4. NOUNS

Most nouns are uninflectable, and plurality is indicated by other words in the same phrase or clause. A few nouns pluralize by compounding two nouns which are near synonyms.

oro	bande	oro-bande
<i>single boys' house</i>	<i>married peoples' house</i>	<i>houses</i>
otau	wasai	otau-wasai
<i>friend</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>friends</i>

A few nouns pluralize by one of various types of reduplication.

sapura	<i>sin</i>	sa-sapura	<i>sins</i>
pondo	<i>feast</i>	pondo-kondo	<i>feasts</i>

Many of the kinship terms have plural forms. Some use reduplication and some use one of several plural suffixes.

namei	<i>my brother</i>	na-namei	<i>my brothers</i>
du	<i>sister</i>	du-emone	<i>sisters</i>
aja	<i>mother</i>	aja-mane	<i>mothers</i>
mama	<i>father</i>	mama-ha	<i>fathers</i>
ai	<i>wife</i>	ai-riri	<i>wives</i>

Since noun plurals are so varied, all known plurals need to be listed in an Orokaiva dictionary. There appears to be no gender or other classification system applicable to Orokaiva nouns.

5. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are inflected only to indicate plurality of the noun they qualify. Most adjectives reduplicate their first syllable.

embo javotoho	<i>good man</i>	embo ja-javotoho	<i>good men</i>
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A few other adjectives show other types of reduplication for plurality.

isa-pa	isa-sa-roho	<i>small</i>	eha	eha-ha	<i>new</i>
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The infinitive of a transitive verb may be used as an adjective, and in these circumstances it is marked for plurality of the noun as described in section 2.1.

hasiwo poek-ari
knife break-inf.
'broken knife'

hasiwo po-pojek-ari
knife pl.-break-inf.
'broken knives'

Adjectives may be followed by the intensives *ko* and *be*.

dombo *big*
 dombo ko *very big*
 dombo be *extremely big*

6. PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

If one ignores the distinctions between the demonstrative pronouns used for third person singular, there are eight combinations of person and number in Orokaiva pronouns.

I	I and my companion(s) (= we exclusive)
I and you (= we inclusive dual)	I and you and our companion(s) (= we inclusive plural)
you	you and your companion(s) (= you plural)
he/she/it	he and his companion(s) (= they)

There are at least five sets of pronouns, each with their own particular usages, as listed in Table 5. Interrogative words based on the root *amu* 'who?' are included since they seem to function in the same way as pronouns.

Actually, the forms listed as third person singular pronouns could also be regarded as demonstratives, since they contain the positional roots:

- e near the speaker
- a near the hearer
- o away from both speaker and hearer

The full range of demonstratives is listed in Table 6 with some suggestions as to their usage. Interrogative words based on the root de 'what?, where?' are included since they seem to function in the same way as demonstratives.

7. POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions are words or pairs of words which follow a noun or noun phrase to show its function in the clause.

(a)	embo	}	<i>for, to</i>	Indirect Object
	avo embo			
	te	}	<i>and</i> <i>at</i>	Coordination
				Time
	ga		<i>with</i>	Accompaniment
	na	}	<i>with, by</i> <i>- -</i>	Instrument
				Emphatic Subject
	ta	}	<i>of</i> <i>to</i> <i>at, on</i> <i>to, from</i>	Possessive
				Destination
				Location
				Indirect Object
(b)	ta degi	}	<i>to, from</i>	Indirect Object (The ta is optional when preceded by an indirect object pronoun already ending in -ta - see fourth column of pronouns in Table 5.)
	ta dei			
	ta eto		<i>from</i>	Source
(c)	engihi ta		<i>near, beside</i>	Location
	pe ta		<i>in front of</i>	Location
	ku ta		<i>behind</i>	Location
	jo ta		<i>inside, in</i>	Location
	araha ta		<i>outside</i>	Location
	hamo ta		<i>on, on top of</i>	Location
	i ta		<i>above, up</i>	Location
	hu ta		<i>down</i>	Location
	suvu ta		<i>under</i>	Location

In groups (b) and (c) ta could well be treated as the postposition and the other words as belonging to two separate word classes.

Avo ovu ku ta ra.
it pot behind ind.
 'It is behind the cooking pot.'

8. NOMINALS

A nominal is a word or phrase which may have a function within a clause such as subject, object, comment, indirect object, instrument or location.

(a) A noun, adjective, pronoun or demonstrative alone constitutes a nominal. (In the illustrations below, words which are not part of the nominal are in square brackets.)

Hasiwo [ike].
knife give-(imp.)
 '[Give me] a knife.'

Peni [ike].
big give-(imp.)
 '[Give me] the big one.'

Amo [ike].
that give-(imp.)
 '[Give me] that one.'

(b) A noun may be followed by an adjective, numeral, demonstrative, or any combination of these (in the order named) to constitute a nominal.

Hasiwo eha erevi [kei-so-a].
knife new this see-fut.-(you)-ind.
 '[Look at] this new knife.'

Hasiwo heriso [kei-so-a].
knife two see-fut.-(you)-ind.
 '[Look at] the two knives.'

Hasiwo pe-peni heriso orovi [kei-so-a].
knife pl.-big two that see-fut.-(you)-ind.
 '[Look at] those two big knives.'

(c) A possessor may either precede or follow a possessed noun (perhaps with some difference in semantic emphasis) to constitute a nominal. The possessor may be a possessive pronoun (see Table 5), a noun followed by the possessive postposition *ta*, or an embedded nominal followed by *ta*.

[Amo] nau du [ra]. OR [Amo] du nau [ra].
she my sister ind.
 '[She is] my sister.'

[Avo] pamone ta eti.
that woman of bag
 '[That is] a woman's bag.'

[Amo] nau du ta bande [ra].
that my sister of house ind.
 '[That is] my sister's house.'

[Amo] embo okose ta ohu.
that man old of pig
 '[That is] an old man's pig.'

(d) The noun in a nominal of type (b) may be replaced by an embedded nominal of type (c).

No eti pe-peni mahu heriso aravo [ike-so-a].
your bag pl.-big old two that give-fut.-(you)-ind.
 '[Give me] those two big old bags of yours.'

(e) Except when a nominal is functioning as subject, object, or comment, it is followed by one of the postpositions listed in section 7 to indicate its function in the sentence. (If the last word of the nominal is a demonstrative the postposition combines with it as indicated in Table 6.)

Nau bande ta eto [puv-e-n-a].
my house from come-near past-I-ind.
 '[I have just come] from my house.'

[Na] hasiwo peni ami-na [tiuke-a].
I knife big that-with cut-(far past I)-ind.
 '[I cut it] with that big knife.'

If a nominal is functioning as a location expression within the clause, then the obligatory postposition may be followed or preceded by one of the location demonstratives *ei* 'here', *ai* 'there' or *oi* 'there'.

Gaga suvu ta ei [mih-e-r-a].
platform under here be-pres.-they-ind.
 OR Gaga suvu ei ta [mih-e-r-a].
 '[They are] here under the platform.'

(f) Several nouns or nominals may be coordinated either by postposing *te* to each or by inserting *eto* between the last two, or by both methods together.

[Dago] ba te pina te u te [ind-aro-r-a].
we taro and tapioca and coconut and eat-pres. hab.-we-ind.
 '[We eat] taro, tapioca and coconut.'

Ba piye eto ena [ovu jo ta ra].
taro bananas and greens pot in ind.

OR Ba te piye te eto ena te [ovu jo ta ra].
 '*Taro, bananas and greens [are in the pot].*'

Nominals followed by a postposition do not seem to be coordinated as described above. The second of two such nominals may either follow the whole clause (rather like an afterthought) or may be incorporated into a second clause.

Mama nau ta ike eto no imboro ta.
father ny to give-(imp.) and your uncle to
 '*Give it to my father and your uncle.*'

Embo ta dei iki-ti-e ami-ta meni ta ike.
man to give-?-SA him-of son to give-(imp.)
 '*Give it to the man and his son.*'

9. CLAUSES

At least five basic types of clause may be distinguished on the basis of their internal structure. All of them may have an optional free subject, and each has one or more other parts which are characteristic of that particular clause type. The subject consists of a nominal optionally followed by the emphatic postposition *na*.

(a) The *Equational Clause* has one characteristic part following the subject - an obligatory comment. The comment consists of a nominal (other than pronoun or demonstrative) with or without a postposition such as *embo* 'for' or *ta* 'of'.

Ovu orovi eha ra.
cooking pot that new ind.
 '*That cooking pot (over there) is new.*'

Aravo on.
that lime pot
 '*That is a lime pot.*'

Ovu erevi umo avo embo.
cooking pot this you for
 '*This cooking pot is for you.*'

Ambe amo nau meni ta ra.
sago that my son of ind.
'That sago is my son's.'

(b) The *Locational Clause* has two characteristic parts following the subject - an obligatory location expression consisting of a nominal (other than pronoun or adjective) with a locational postposition and this may be optionally followed by a form of the verb mihi 'be', 'stay'.
 Dagota o ovu jo ta ra.
our meat cooking pot in ind.
'Our meat is in the cooking pot.'

Ungota hasiwo ovu pe ta mih-e-r-a.
your pl. knife pot in front be-pres.-they-ind.
'Your knives are in front of the cooking pot.'

(c) The *Intransitive Clause* has one characteristic part following the subject - an obligatory intransitive verb or verb phrase.
 Evohu okose avo pehih-i-j-a.
woman old that die-mid past-she-ind.
'That old woman died.'

(d) The *Transitive Clause* has two characteristic parts following the subject - an optional object, and following this, an obligatory transitive verb or verb phrase. Here and in (e), the object consists of a nominal. When a reflexive verb phrase occurs, the object consists of oenga 'self' or a nominal including this word.
 Dago u indi-e-r-a.
we coconut eat-mid past-we-ind.
'We ate the coconut.'

Amo oenga te-n-a.
he self hit-he far past-ind.
'He hit himself.'

(e) The *Ditransitive Clause* has three characteristic parts following the subject - an optional object, followed by an optional indirect object consisting of a nominal with an indirect object postposition, in turn followed by an obligatory ditransitive verb or verb phrase (e.g. 'give to', 'show to', 'tell to', 'take from').

Na nau eti nau iae embo iki-he-n-a.
I my bag my daughter to give-near past-I-ind.
'I gave my bag to my daughter.'

Avo hasiwo meni ta degi totohumbu-n-a.
she knife baby from take away-she far past-ind.
'She took the knife from the baby.'

(f) *Quotative Clauses* have not been investigated.

Any of the clause types except (a) may also contain a time expression preceding the subject, and any except (a) and (b) may also contain a location expression, an instrument expression, an accompaniment expression, or presumably any combination of these, preceding or following the verb. The rigidity or otherwise of the order of the various parts of a clause needs further investigation.

Iji amina dago amo kog-a-r-a.
time that we him see-mid past-we-ind.
'We saw him at that time.'

Amo pambu-n-a gan na.
he go-he far past-ind. canoe with
'He went by (means of) canoe.'

Na pamb-e-n-a embere ta.
I go-near past-I-ind. road on
'I went by road.', 'I went along the road.'

The basic clause types may be varied in several ways.

(1) If a reciprocal verb phrase (see section 2.6.(d)) occurs in a clause of type (c), (d) or (e), the subject of the clause is plural.

(2) When the negative adverb *mane* occurs it is the last item of an Equational Clause and precedes the verb in all other types of clause. It may precede either the first or second word of a complex verb.

Emo pina mane ra.
this tapioca not ind.
'This is not tapioca.'

Na puvu-he ke mane ai-so-n-a.
I come-SA speech not talk-fut.-I-ind.
'While I am coming I will not talk.'

Amo mane si e-agu-j-a. OR Amo si mane e-agu-j-a.
she not cry cry-pres.hab.-she-ind.
'She does not cry.'

In negative clauses there is a tendency to use *mane* with the future, imperative, permissive and present habitual forms of the verb and to use a negative verb ending in *-ae* or a negative phrase for the various past tenses and some present tenses. The usages and meanings of the two types of negative deserve further investigation. In the future at least there seems to be a slight difference of meaning.

The sentence-final mood markers are:

M o o d	Mood suffixes on finite verbs	Mood particles follow- ing non-finite verbs and other parts of speech
Indicative	-a	ra (optional)
Yes-No Questions	-e, -e te	rete
Information Questions	-e	re
Alternative Questions		

In information questions, one of the clauses contains one of the question words listed in Tables 5 and 6 or *doinge* 'how many', *deite* 'when?', *do eto* 'why?', *dainge eto*, *deingeto* 'how?', or *do e* 'do what?', in addition to the mood marker at the end of the sentence. (The basic stem *do e* 'do what?' does not occur as an abrupt imperative, but it may be readily seen in the far past *Avo do e-a*. 'What did he do?'.) The Yes-No Question markers *-e te* and *rete* are also used with the meaning 'or' following the first half of alternative questions.

Yes-No Questions:

Ungo on ere o-v-e?
you pl. lime pot still (make)-pres.-you pl.-int.
'Are you making a lime pot?'

Umo ba ere agi-e te?
you taro still cook-pres. (you) int. int.
'Are you cooking taro?'

Amo keroja rete?
that sweet potato int.
'Is that sweet potato?'

Information Questions:

Umo do ere o-e?
you what still (do)-pres. (you)-int.
'What are you doing?'

Dainge ere pah-o-e?
where still go-pres.-(you)-int.
'Where are you going?'

Nau hasiwo deita re?
my knife where int.
 'Where is my knife?'

Ka amo amunu re?
girl that who int.
 'Who is that girl?'

Do indi-to ambure e-to peh-ehe-i?
what eat-PS sick sick-PS die-mid past-he int.
 'What did he eat that he got sick and died?'

Alternative Questions:

Avo keroja rete kae?
that sweet potato or yam
 'Was it sweet potato or yam?'

Amo enda no rete amita re?
that land your or his int.
 'Is that your land or his?'

Dago ki-ae amo puv-e-i te puvur-ae re?
we know-not he come-near past-he or or come-not int.
 'We don't know whether he came or not.'

Usually the final clause in each sentence is marked as either indicative or interrogative. However, sentences sometimes end with a dependent verb, perhaps implying another subsequent or consequent action. Sentences with final dependent verbs may be regarded as indicative, and such sentences, especially those with verbs in the permissive aspect (22), may be made interrogative by intonation or *te*.

Umo amo siosao ai-si puvu-to?
you it destroy destroy-des. come-PS
 'Have you come to destroy it?'

Do uje ere-o-e degi no ta a-n-o?
what want want-pres.-(you)-int. for you for (do)-perm.-I-dep.
 'What do you want me to do for you?'

Verbs in non-final clauses may be either dependent or independent. For those tenses which have both dependent and independent forms further research is required to establish how their usage in non-final clauses is conditioned and the exact nature of the meaning differences involved (simultaneous actions versus sequence of actions is one possibility).

Pambu-ro-n-o tai-su-i-a.
 go-fut.-I-dep. hit-fut.-he-ind.
 'If I go he will hit me (while I am going).'

Pamba-so-n-a tai-su-i-a.
 go-fut.-I-ind. hit-fut.-he-ind.
 'If I go he will hit me (after I arrive).'

Causation seems to be conveyed by a separate clause containing a dependent form of the verb ike 'put, give' or e 'do' (or 'say'?).

Enana na meni ik-a-r-o pambu-n-a.
 they subj. child put-perm.-they-dep. go-far past he-ind.
 'They sent the child away.' OR 'They let the child go.'

Embo na ami-ta meni e-n-u ji neinei humbu-to
 man subj. him-of son do-far past he-dep. wood some take-PS
 puvu-n-a.
 come-far past he-ind.

'The man made his son fetch some firewood.'

Table 1

STEM VARIANTS AND SUFFIX COMBINATIONS

Stem Variant	Ref. No.	Tense or Aspect	Finite or Non-Finite	Suffix Combinations mostly for first person singular	
				Indicative	Dependent
Basic Stem with characteristic final vowel	1	Abrupt Imperative (sg.)	NF	-	
	2	Far Past	F	-a	-o
	3	Present Habitual A Ind. Future Dependent	F	-ro-n-a	-ro-n-o
	4	Avolitional	F	-o-n-a	
	5	Punctiliar Sequence	NF		-to
Stem-Final e > i	6	Simultaneous Action	NF		-e
	7	Continuative Sequence	NF		-ma
	8	Mid Past A	F	-he-n-a	
	9	Past Habitual Indicative Future Dependent	F	-ro-n-a	-ro-n-o
	10	Far Past Habitual	F	-hae-n-a	
	11	Present A	F	-ehe-n-a -he-n-a	
	12	Present B	F	-o-n-a	
	13	Mid Past B	F	-ha-n-a	
Stem-Final e > a u > a i > e	14	Future	F	-so-n-a	
	15	Potential	F	-si-n-a	
	16	Desiderative	NF	-si	
Stem with final vowel dropped	17	Present Habitual B	F	-ago-n-a	
	18	Present Habitual C	F	-aro-n-a	
	19	Polite Imperative (sg.)	NF	-a	
	20	Purposive	F	-o-n-e	
	21	Abilitative	F	-ahae-n-a -ae-n-a	
	22	Permissive	F	-a-n-a	-a-n-o
	23	Infinitive	NF	-ari	
	24	Reciprocal	NF	-ara	
	25	Negative	NF	-ae	
	26	Near Past	F	-e-n-a -ehe-n-a	-e-n-o -ehe-n-o

Table 2
REGULAR VERB PARADIGMS

Ref. No.	Tense/Aspect/Mood	'break'	'walk'	'hear'
1.	Abrupt Imperative (sg.)	poeke	hembu	ingi
2.	Far Past	poeke-a	hembu-a	ingi-a
3.	Present Habitual A Ind.	poeke-rona	hembu-rona	ingi-rona
	Future Dependent	poeke-rono	hembu-rono	ingi-rono
4.	Avolitional	poeke-ona	hembu-ona	ingi-ona
5.	Punctiliar Sequence	poeke-to	hembu-to	ingi-to
6.	Simultaneous Action	poeki-e	hembu-e	ingi-e
7.	Continuative Sequence	poeki-ma	hembu-ma	ingi-ma
8.	Mid Past A	poeki-hena	hembu-hena	ingi-hena
9.	Past Habitual Indicative	poeki-rona	hembu-rona	ingi-rona
	Future Dependent	poeki-rono	hembu-rono	ingi-rono
10.	Far Past Habitual	poeki-haena	hembu-haena	ingi-haena
11.	Present A	poeki-(e)hena	hembu-(e)hena	ingi-(e)hena
12.	Present B	poeki-ona	hembu-ona	ingi-ona
13.	Mid Past B	poeki-hana	hembu-hana	ingi-hana
14.	Future	poeka-sona	hembra-sona	inge-sona
15.	Potential	poeka-sina	hembra-sina	inge-sina
16.	Desiderative	poeka-si	hembra-si	inge-si
17.	Present Habitual B	poek-agona	hemb-agona	ing-agona
18.	Present Habitual C	poek-arona	hemb-arona	ing-arona
19.	Polite Imperative (sg.)	poek-a	hemb-a	ing-a
20.	Purposive	poek-one	hemb-one	ing-one
21.	Abilitative	poek-(ah)aena	hemb-(ah)aena	ing-(ah)aena
22.	Permissive Indicative	poek-ana	hemb-ana	ing-ana
	Permissive Dependent	poek-ano	hemb-ano	ing-ano
23.	Infinitive	poek-ari	hemb-ari	ing-ari
24.	Reciprocal	poek-ara	hemb-ara	ing-ara
25.	Negative	poek-ae	hemb-ae	ing-ae
26.	Near Past Indicative	poek-(eh)ena	hemb-ena	ing-ena
	Near Past Dependent	poek-(eh)eno	hemb-eno	ing-eno

Table 3

IRREGULAR VERB PARADIGMS

Ref. No.	Tense/Aspect/Mood	'fall'	'leave'	'hit'	'see', 'know'
1.	Abrupt Imperative (sg.)	ve	to	te	ki
2.	Far Past	ve-a	to-a	te-a	ki-a
3.	Present Habitual A Ind.	ve-rona	to-rona	te-rona	ki-rona
	Future Dependent	ve-rono	to-rono	te-rono	ki-rono
4.	Avolitional	ve-ona	to-hona	te-ona	ki-ona
5.	Punctiliar Sequence	ve-ro	to-to	te-to	ki-to
6.	Simultaneous Action	vovu-e	toru-e	tohu-e	kogu-e
7.	Continuative Sequence	vovu-ma	toru-ma	toru-ma	kogu-ma
8.	Mid Past A	vovu-hena	toru-hena	toru-hena	kogu-hena
9.	Past Habitual Indicative	vovu-rona	toru-rona	to-rona	kogu-rona
	Future Dependent	vovu-rono	loru-rono	to-rono	kogu-rono
10.	Far Past Habitual	vovu-haena	toru-haena	toru-haena	kogu-haena
11.	Present A	vovu-ehena	toru-ehena	toru-ehena	kogu-ehena
12.	Present B	vov-ona	toru-ona	tor-ona	kog-ona
13.	Mid Past B	vov-ana	toru-hana	tor-ana	kog-ana
14.	Future	vea-sona	toa-sona	tai-sona	kei-sona
15.	Potential	vea-sina	toa-sina	tai-sina	kei-sina
16.	Desiderative	vea-si	toa-si	tai-si	kei-si
17.	Present Habitual B	ve-agona	to-agona	te-agona	ki-agona
18.	Present Habitual C	ve-arona	to-arona	te-arona	ki-arona
19.	Polite Imperative (sg.)	-	-	-	-
20.	Purposive	ve-one	-	-	ki-one
21.	Abilitative	ve-haena	to-haena	t-ahena	ki-haena
22.	Permissive Indicative	ve-ana	te-ana	t-ana	ki-ana
	Permissive Dependent	ve-ano	to-ano	t-ano	ki-ano
23.	Infinitive	ve-ari	to-ari	t-ari	ki-ari
24.	Reciprocal	ve-ara	to-ara	t-ara	ki-ara
25.	Negative	ve-ae	to-ae	t-ae	ki-ae
26.	Near Past Indicative	v(eh)-ena	to-ena	t(eh)-ena	k(eh)-ena
	Near Past Dependent	v(eh)-eno	to-eno	t(eh)-eno	k(eh)-eno

Comment: Notice that the verbs to 'leave' and te 'hit' are homophonous in forms 7, 8, 10, and 11.

Continued on page 61.

Table 3 (continued)

IRREGULAR VERB PARADIGMS

Ref. No.	'come'	'come'	'be', 'stay'	'do', 'make'	'say'
1.	puve	ha-e	mihi	e	e
	puve-ve (pl.)	ha-ve (pl.)	-	-	-
2.	puvu-a	-	mihi-a	e-a	e-a
3.	puvu-rona	-	mihi-rona	e-rona	e-rona
	puvu-rono	-	mihi-rono	e-rono	e-rono
4.	puvu-ona	hu-rona	mihi-ona	e-ona	e-ona
5.	puvu-to	hu-to	mihi-to	e-to	e-to
6.	puvu-e	hu-e	mih-e	u-e	iji-e
7.	puvu-ma	hu-ma	mihi-ma	u-ma	iji-ma
8.	puvu-hena	-	-	u-hena	iji-ena
9.	puvu-rona	-	mihi-rona	uru-rona	iji-rona
	puvu-rono	-	mihi-rono	uru-rono	iji-rono
10.	puvu-haena	-	mi-haena	u-haena	iji-haena
11.	puvu-ehena	-	mi-hena	er-ena	er-ena
12.	puvu-ona	hu-hona	mi-hona	ere-ona	ere-ona
13.	puvu-hana	-	mi-hana	u-hana	iji-hana
14.	puvure-sona	hure-sona	mihere-sona	ai-sona	ai-sona
15.	puvure-sina	hure-sina	-	ai-sina	ai-sina
16.	puvure-si	hure-si	-	ai-si	ai-si
17.	puv-agona	hur-agona	mih-agona	e-agona	e-agona
18.	puvur-arona	hur-arona	mih-arona	e-arona	e-arona
19.	puvur-a	hur-a	mih-a	-	-
20.	puvur-one	hur-one	mih-one	one	one
21.	puvur-aena	hur-aena	mih-aena	ahena	ahena
22.	puvur-ana	-	-	ana	ana
	puvur-ano	-	-	ano	ano
23.	puvur-ari	hur-ari	-	ari	ari
24.	puvur-ara	hur-ara	-	ara	ara
25.	puvur-ae	hur-ae	mih-ae	ae	ae
26.	puv-ena	-	mih(eh)-ena	(eh)ena	(eh)ena
	puv-eno	-	mih(eh)-eno	(eh)eno	(eh)eno

Comments: Notice that the verb e 'say' is homophonous with e 'do' except in forms 6-10 and 13. Forms 11 and 12 obligatorily contain ere 'still' and seem to have no overt stem (neither do forms 20-26).

Table 4

Finite Endings Composed of Tense Vowel, Subject Person-and-Number
Suffix, and Mood Suffix

		<i>Subject</i>	<i>Indic.</i>	<i>Inter- rog.</i>	<i>Depen- dent</i>
		I	ana	ane	ano
Tense Suffixes ending in a:		you sg.	a	ae	ao
		he, she, it	aja, aia	ai	au
-ha	Mid Past B (13)	we	ara	are	aro
-a	Permissive (22)	you pl.	awa	ave	avo
		they	ara	are	aro
<hr/>					
Tense Suffixes ending in e:					
-he	Mid Past A (8)	I	ena	ene	eno
-hae	Far Past Habitual (10)	you sg.	ea	e	eo
-he } -ehe }	Present A (11)	he, she, it	ija	ei	ei
		we	era	ere	ero
-ahae } -ae }	Abilitative (21)	you pl.	ewa	eve	evo
		they	era	ere	ero
-e } -ehe }	Near Past (26)				
<hr/>					
Tense Suffixes ending in o:					
-ro	Present Habitual A (3)	I	ona	one	ono
-o	Avolitional (4)	you sg.	oa	oe	o, oho
-ro	Past Habitual (9)	he, she, it	uja, uia,	oi	ou
-o	Present B (12)		ua		
-o	Purposive (20)	we	ora	ore	oro
-so	Future (14)	you pl.	owa	ove	ovo
-ago	Present Habitual B (17)	they	ora	ore	oro
-aro	Present Habitual C (18)				
<hr/>					
No Tense Suffix:					
		I	a	a	o
		you sg.	a	i	o
		he, she, it	na	nu	nu
		we	a	a	o
Far Past (2)		you pl.	awa, a	o	avo, o
		they	a	o	o

Continued on page 63.

Table 4 (continued)

	Subject	Indic.	Inter-rog.	Depen- dent
-si Potential (15)	I	ina		
	we	ira		
	(other endings need checking)			

Table 5

P R O N O U N S

Usage: Person-and- Number	Unemphatic Subject; Object	Emphatic Subject	Indirect Object 'for'	Possessive; Indirect Object 'to'	Coordina- tion 'and'
I	na	nanena	na embo	nau	namote
you (singular)	umo	inena	umo embo	no	umote
he/she/it	{ emo, amo,avo omo	emina	emo embo	emita	emite
		amina	amo embo	amita	amite
		omina	omo embo	omita	omite
we (exclusive)	dago	dagona	dago embo	dagota	dagote
we (incl.dual)	ungae	ungaena	ungaena embo	ungaenau	ungaenamote
we (incl.pl.)	ungote	ungotena	ungotena embo	ungotenau	ungotenamote
you (plural)	ungo	ungona	ungo embo	ungota	ungote
they	enana	enanana	enana embo	enanata	enanate
who?	-	amunu	amunu embo	amuta	amute

Table 6

DEMONSTRATIVES

Usage:	<i>this, these, here (near me)</i>	<i>this, these, here (near me pointing)</i>	<i>that, those, there (near you)</i>	<i>that, those, there (near you pointing)</i>	<i>that, those, there (yonder)</i>	<i>that, those, there (yonder pointing)</i>	<i>what? where?</i>	<i>what? where? (pointing?)</i>
Subject, Object	emo	eremo erevi	amo avo (unseen)	aramo aravo	omo	oromo orovi	do	dairamo dairami
Emphatic Subject; Instrumental 'with'	emina	eremina	amina	aramina	omina	oromina	deina	dairamina
Coordination 'and'; Time 'at'	emite	eremite	amite	aramite	omite	oromite	deite	dairamite
Accompaniment 'with'	emiga	eremiga	amiga	aramiga	omiga	oromiga	deiga	dairamiga
Possessive; Indirect Object 'to'; Location	emita	eremita	amita	aramita	omita	oromita	deita	dairamita
Location	ei	erei	ai	arai	oi	oroi		
Destination 'to'; 'like'	einge		ainge	arainge	oinge	oroinge	dainge	

Healey, A., Horombo, A. and Chittiborough, M. "Preliminary Notes on Orokaiva Grammar". In Capell, A., Healey, A. and Wilson, D. editors, *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics* No. 9. A-18:33-64. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1969. DOI:10.15144/PLA18.23
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