

ISIRAWA CLAUSES

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0. INTRODUCTION¹

In this paper I will discuss Isirawa² clause structure. Section 1 describes the structure of the five basic clause types and section 2 deals with two special clause types, the relative clause and the noun clause.

1. BASIC CLAUSE TYPES

Isirawa clauses are of the following basic types:

One termed clauses:

CL₁ = (OPP) S (PP) PRED₁

CL₂ = (OPP) S CPRED₁

Two termed clauses:

CL₃ = (OPP) S (PP) O PRED₂

CL₄ = (OPP) S O CPRED₁

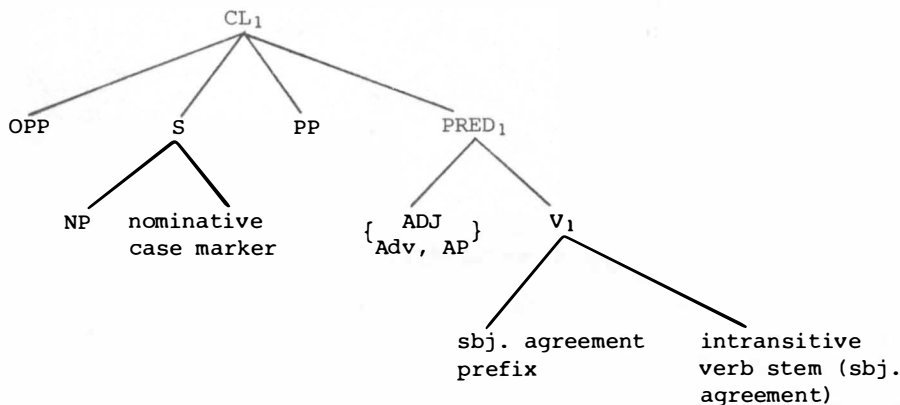
CL₅ = (OPP) S PN CPRED₂

Clauses are here classed according to the number of nuclear grammatical functions (i.e. subject (S) and object (O)) which are associated with the predicate (PRED) of each clause. Nuclear terms are formally distinct from non-nuclear ones (i.e. postpositional phrases (PP) and orientational postpositional phrases (OPP)) in that the verb is marked for *agreement* with nuclear terms, but not with non-nuclear terms.

1.1. One termed clauses

a. CL₁ = (OPP) S (PP) PRED₁

This expression can be more fully developed in the following tree diagram which summarises the basic constituents and their preferred order:



This clause type has the subject (S) as the only nuclear term. The nominative case marker -n(ii) occurs on S only if S is especially emphasised, or when the case of the subject NP is ambiguous for some reason. The intransitive verb (V₁) is the core of the predicate (PRED₁). The adjunct (ADJ) of the predicate includes either an adverb (Adv) or a derived adjective phrase (AP) (e.g. ii-rora *man-like*).

A non-nuclear constituent is the postpositional phrase (PP), which is used to convey such notions as accompaniment, source, instrument, direction, indirect destination and/or reason phrases. (See the Appendix for a listing of the PP types, with examples.) More than one of these may occur in the same clause. Isirawa clauses are usually, however, quite short, and do not typically take many such constituents.

Besides the PP's mentioned above, it is useful to identify an orientational postpositional phrase (OPP) which expresses only time or location and usually occurs clause initially, though occasionally may appear in the PP position or even after the PRED.

Subject-verb agreement is implemented as follows:

(i) The *verb prefix* agrees with the number and, if plural, the person of the subject. Number categories are singular, dual and plural. Person categories are first, second and third. In Isirawa all verbs are obligatorily marked with the subject number/person prefix.

(ii) The intransitive *verb stem* must agree with subject number, either singular/dual or plural. Subject number is marked in the stem either by vowel suppletion or by choice of stem.

Examples of CL_1 are the following:³

- (1)

S	PRED ₁
Tiira ce -n e- ripo -ii	
<i>child that-nom. sbj.3 pl.-grow(sbj.pl.)-pre.inc.</i>	
<i>Those children are growing.</i>	
- (2)

OPP (location)	S	PRED ₁
Taanaaina-vase warara-nii caan- rapo mai		
<i>mountain -loc. tree -nom. sbj.dl.-grow(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.inc.</i>		
<i>The (two) trees were growing on the mountain.</i>		

- S PP (direction) PRED₁
 (3) Iiye Sarme -ii afafa caan- sue -no
man name of city -dir. quickly sbj.dl.-go(sbj.sg./dl.)-t.n.p.c.
(Two) men went quickly to Sarmi.

- S PP (indirect destination) PRED₁
 (4) Efiware saticana -iiv e- vinana -mi
they(pl.)pitch pine-ind.dest. sbj.3 pl.-go(sbj.pl.)-f.p.c.
They went to get pitch pine.

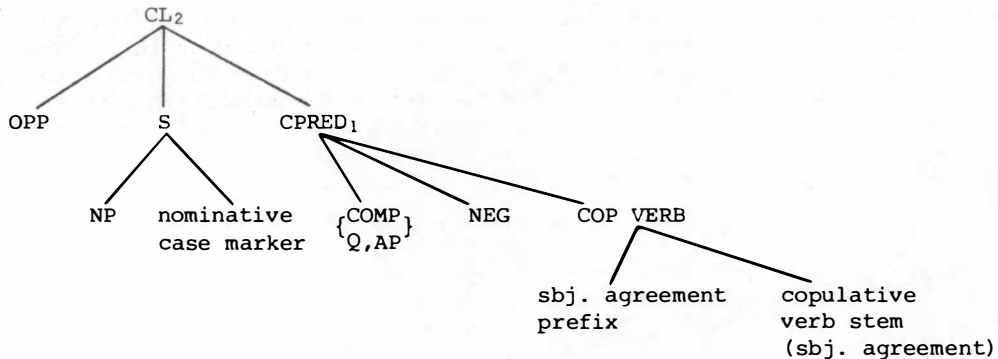
Example (1) is a simple intransitive clause. In (1) the verb stem *ripo* *grow* shows plural subject while in (2) the stem is *rapo* for the dual. This is an example of subject number being marked in the verb stem by vowel suppletion. It will be noted in (3) above that the verb prefix *caan-* marks number agreement with the subject and the verb stem *sue go* also uniquely signals the number of the subject as *singular/dual*. Note by contrast that for the *plural*, as in example (4), the stem *go* is not *sue* but *vinana*.

In examples (1) and (2) the subjects are marked with the nominative case marker *-n(ii)*.

Example (2) shows an OPP location phrase *taanaaina-vase on the mountain*, (3) gives an example of ADJ, and (3) and (4) give examples of PP.

b. CL₂ = (OPP) S CPRED₂

This clause type (called *stative* in Oguri 1976) can be more fully represented as follows:



This clause type also has the subject (S) as the only occurring nuclear term. The nominative case marker *-n(ii)* occurs on S, only if S is especially emphasised. The clause type differs from the CL₁ type in having a copulative predicate (CPRED₁) in place of a verbal predicate. The CPRED₁ consists of an obligatory complement (COMP), which may be a quantity word (Q) or an adjectival phrase (AP), and either a negative (NEG) or a copulative verb (COP VERB). The copulative verb is usually deleted. The only non-nuclear constituent that occurs with this clause type of OPP, which is generally clause initial.

Subject-verb agreement is as follows for CL₂:

- (i) The verb prefix, as with CL₁, agrees with the number and, if plural, the person of the subject.

(ii) Subject agreement is marked on the verb stem by choice of stem. Both subject number (singular/dual or plural) and *subject animateness* (animate or inanimate) are indicated in the stem, giving a four-way choice of verb stem (see chart 1).

Examples of Cl₂ clauses are the following:

- S CPRED₁(COMP:Q)
 (5) Ef tiire navsra
his child three
He has three children. (Lit. His children (are) three.)
- S CPRED₁(COMP:AP)
 (6) Sao ce vise sri
house that big very
That house (is) very big.
- S CPRED₁(COMP:AP)
 (7) Sao ce vise paii
house that big not
That house is not big.
- OPP(time) S CPRED₁(COMP:AP COP VERB)
 (8) Maamrari-se nani-ne avaaca a- navraau -mai
old-time-time dog -subj. good sbj.3 pl.-be(pl.ani.)-f.p.inc.
Long ago (all) dogs were good.

In examples (5) and (6) the copulative verbs are deleted. (5) is an example of a quantity word as a complement, while (6), (7) and (8) are examples of adjectival phrases as complements. Note that *paii* NEG occurs in (7) and the copulative verb may not co-occur with it. (8) is an example in which both an OPP and a copulative verb occur. It has *navraau* as the copulative verb stem because the subject is animate plural. If the subject is animate and non-plural (singular or dual) the stem is *maa*; if it is inanimate plural, then *amoi*; and if inanimate non-plural then *raa* or *ri*.

The following chart shows the copulative verb stem alternants:

number of S \ animateness of S	animate	inanimate
	non-plural	plural
non-plural	maa(n)	raa(v)/ri(n)
plural	navraau(n)	amoi(n)

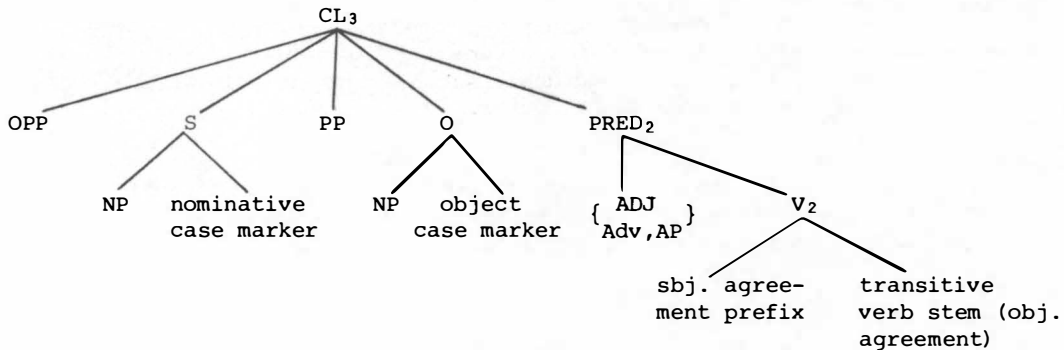
Chart 1: Copulative verb stem alternants

The full stem form includes the final -n or -v, but the full stem does not occur in independent indicative clauses.

1.2. Two termed clauses

a. $CL_3 = (OPP) S (PP) O PRED_2$

The constituents of CL_3 can be represented by the following tree diagram:



The predicate in this clause type has two nuclear terms, S and O. The nominative case marker -n(ii) and the object case marker -v(o) are usually deleted, unless one is being emphasised or there is a possibility of ambiguity between subject and object. V_2 is a transitive verb.

Concerning other constituents, this clause type has the same possibilities of occurrence as CL_1 type has (see 1.1.a.).

The formula above is the preferred order, but many kinds of permutations are allowed. If O is topicalised, it precedes either S or OPP, in which case both S and O are obligatorily marked with their case markers. If the preverbal information is too heavy, or if the speaker wants to add information as an afterthought, any of the arguments may be postposed after $PRED_2$. In such cases, the postposed argument usually occurs with its case marker. If PP is reason, direction or indirect destination, it is frequently permuted to follow O.

Agreement rules are as follows:

- (i) V_2 must agree with both S and O.
- (ii) The verb prefix agrees with the number and, if plural, the person of the subject.
- (iii) The verb also agrees with O such that:
 - (a) The verb stem indicates the number of the object (sg., dl. or pl.) by verb stem choice or a marker.
 - (b) If the object is singular, its magnitude (masculine gender or small size versus feminine gender or large size) is marked on the verb stem by vowel suppletion.
 - (c) When the subject is plural the verb stem forms are usually the same as for singular subject. However, when the object is also plural, there is a separate verb stem form.

See Chart 2 on the following page for examples of these different forms of agreement.

Examples of CL_3 are as follows:

- (9) S O PRED₂
 Mii efo e- viiviisu -mi
you (sbj.) him/her sbj.sg.-oppose (obj.sg.fem/big) -f.p.c.
You opposed her.
- (10) S O PP (Ind. Dest.) PRED₂
 Masetaanana pe aise taate -iiv e- ninaaina -mi
girl that shrimp father-ind.dest. sub.sg.-give (obj.dl.) -f.p.c.
The girl gave (two) shrimps to the father.
- (11) OPP (time) S O PRED₂
 Piniya-ve ave me sosowe omomet e- riraaaina -mi
night -time woman this vegetable secretly sub.sg.-give (obj.pl.) -f.p.c.
At night the woman secretly gave vegetables.
- (12) O S PRED₂
 Tiira-vo iririve-n ena- roiis -e
child-obj. hornet -sbj. sbj.3 pl.-bite (obj.sg.masc/small) -pres.c.
The boy was stung by hornets.
- (13) OPP (loc.) S PP (accompaniment) O
 Usira -se Fransa -ne teramoaii-cave wepii vise-vo
jungle-loc. boy's name-sbj. friend -acc. pig big -obj.
- PRED₂ PP (instrumental)
 caa- rowiis -mi, sapara-oofaii
sbj. dl.-shoot (obj.sg.fem/big) -f.p.c. arrow-inst.
In the jungle, Fransa and a friend shot a big pig with (bow and) arrows.

Example (9) above shows a simple form of CL₃. In (10) the verb stem *ninaaina* 'give', which signals dual object, shows contrast with *riraaaina* 'give', which signals plural object in example (11). If the object is singular masculine/small, the verb stem is *vraaaina*; if it is singular feminine/large, the verb stem is *vraauna*. If both the subject and the object are plural, it is *niaauna*. These forms can be charted as follows:

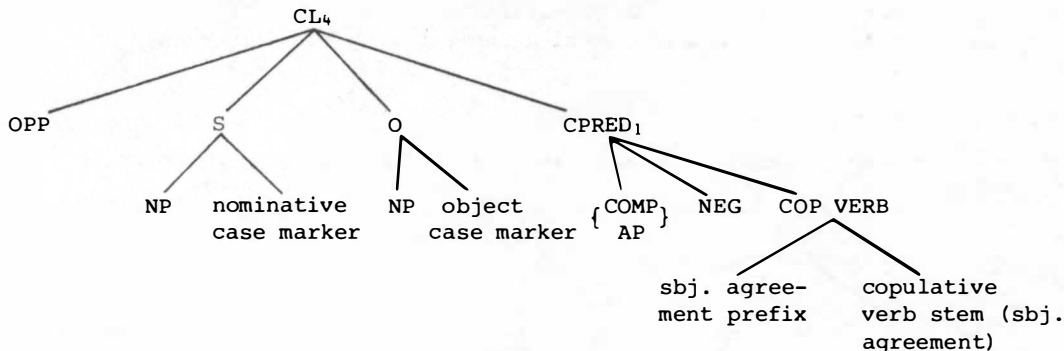
obj. sbj.	singular		dual	plural
	masculine/small	feminine/large		
non-plural	vraaaina	vraauna	ninaaina	riraaaina
plural				niaauna

Chart 2: Forms of the verb 'give'

(12) is an example of a clause in which the object has been preposed. The object is obligatorily marked by the object marker -v(o) and the subject is also obligatorily marked by the nominative marker -n(ii). The preverbal information in (13) is too heavy, so one of the arguments, instrumental PP, is postposed after the verb.

b. CL₄ = (OPP) S O CPRED₁

This clause type can be represented as follows:



This interesting clause type has two nuclear terms, S and O, as does the verbal clause type CL₃. The object noun phrase usually takes object marker -v(o) though it is not obligatory. The subject NP, however, (as in other clause types) generally occurs *without* its case marker. In this clause type the verb shows *no agreement with the object*; it only agrees with the subject. CPRED₁ consists of a complement, which is an adjectival phrase, and either NEG or the copulative verb, the same as in CL₂. A very limited number of adjectives occur as the nucleus of the adjectival phrase. So far only four adjectives have been observed in this construction. They are *niifota knowledgeable*, *taatora unknowledgeable*, *mona pleased with* and *viye displeased with*.

As in other copulative predicate clause types, OPP is the only non-nuclear constituent allowed.

Subject agreement rules are the same as for CL₂ (see 1.1.b.).

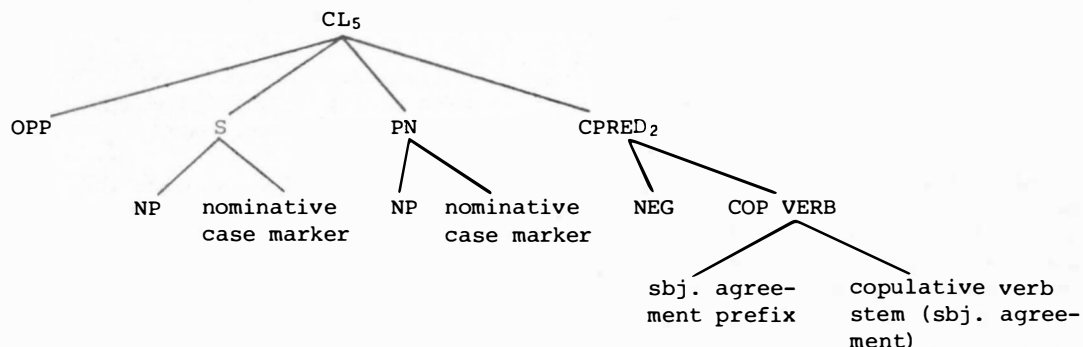
Examples of CL₄ are as follows:

- (14) S O CPRED₁(COMP:AP)
 Tiire efo mona
child him pleased with
Children like him. (Lit. Children are pleased with him.)
- (15) S O CPRED₁(COMP:AP COP VERB)
 Efoware rarara ma -vo niifot(a) e- maa -mai
he story this-obj. knowledgeable sbj.sg.-be(sbj.sg./dl.ani.)-f.p.inc.
He knew this story. (Lit. He was knowledgeable of this story.)
- (16) OPP (time) S O CPRED₁(COMP:AP COP VERB)
 Maamrare-se efiiware naafa -vo taatora sri
old-time-time they(pl.) sago pudding-obj. not-knowledgeable very
a- navraau -mai
sbj.3 pl.-be(sbj.pl.ani.)-f.p.inc.
Long ago they did not know at all about sago pudding. (Lit. In olden days they were very unknowledgeable of sago pudding.)

(14) is an example of a regular, simple form of this clause type. Though the literal translations may make it difficult to see why the O's are treated as objects, observe that the O's in both (15) and (16) have the object marker -vo and in (14) the pronoun is in the objective form. Examples (15) and (16) have copulative verbs which show the usual agreement with the number and animateness of S.

c. $CL_5 = (OPP) S PN CPRED_2$

This clause type (called equational in Oguri 1976) can be represented by the following tree:



This clause type has the predicate noun (PN) phrase as a nuclear term in addition to the subject (S). PN is the identification of the subject. It is obligatorily marked with the nominative marker only when the copulative verb occurs. It never receives a marker if the copulative verb is deleted. Just as in other copulative clause types (CL_2 , CL_4), COP VERB is usually deleted and never occurs in the context of NEG. Only time, but not location, is allowed in the OPP constituent.

Agreement rules are the same as in the CL_2 and CL_4 types (see 1.1.b.).

Examples of the CL_5 are as follows:

- (17) S PN
 Ce apre
that bird
That (is) a bird.

- OPP (time) S PN
 (18) Maamrarii-se ef wiiye Fransa
old-time -time his name boy's name
Long ago his name (was) Fransa.

- S PN
 (19) Ef ave -ne Siwanoro avi
his mother-nom. name of village woman
His mother (is) a woman of the Siwanoro village.

- S PN CPRED₂
 (20) Ce nenetora sao -n e- ri
that cannibal village-nom. sbj.sg.-be (sbj.sg./dl.inani.)
That is a cannibal village.

(17) is a regular simple form of this clause type. (18) is an example which has a time as OPP. In example (19) S is marked with the nominative case marker -n(ii). (20) is an example which has CPRED₂, therefore PN is obligatorily marked with the nominative marker -n(ii).

2. SPECIAL CLAUSE TYPES

2.1. Relative clauses

The relative clause is embedded within a noun phrase of an independent clause, and modifies the head of the noun phrase.

The relative clause is distinguished from the independent clause as to the form of its verb. The relative clause verb takes the following affixes:

{saa-}	verb	{-a(ii)}
{paa-}	stem	{-na(ii)}

If the relative clause indicates a future event, it takes the set of relative affixes saa- and -a(ii) and the full stem of the verb. If the clause indicates a non-future event, it takes the other set of relative affixes paa- and -na(ii) and a reduced verb stem plus a tense/aspect marker. There are other non-future relative prefixes depending on the distance between the speaker and the action, but for purposes of the present paper these details will not be discussed.

Examples of the relative clause are as follows:

- (21) Tiira saa- Ø- wariis -a ce faaraasa
child rel.-sbj.sg.-bear(obj.sg.masc./small)-rel. that holy
The child whom (you) will bear is holy.
- (22) Tiira pe -n paa- Ø- niia -pi -naii pe ef oorowa
child that-nom. rel-sbj.sg.-come(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.-rel. that his son
The child who came is his son.
- (23) Efoware sacana Saticana -vo pe -oo paa- Ø- sa
he arrow man's name-obj. that-inst.rel.-sbj.sg.-kill
 PRED
-mi -na pe -v e- ririipa -pi
(obj.sg.masc./small)-f.p.c.-rel. that -obj. sbj.sg.-bring(obj.pl.)-f.p.c.
He brought the arrows with which he killed Saticana.
- (24) Ii rarara pe -vo niifota pe paa- Ø- maa
man story that-obj. knowledgeable that rel.-sbj.sg.-be(sbj.sg./dl.ani.)
-mai -naii pe -n e- niia -pi
-f.p.inc.-rel. that nom.-sbj.sg.-come(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
The man who knew that story came.

(21) is an example in which the relative clause indicates a future event. The relative clauses of (22), (23) and (24) are non-future events. In example (21) a noun in the main clause is coreferential with the object in the relative

clause. In (22) the subject of the relative clause is coreferential with a noun of the main clause and in (23) it is the object of the PP which is coreferential with a noun of the main clause and in (23) it is the object of the PP which is coreferential. (24) is an example of a copulative clause type (CL₄) which has become a relative clause.

2.2. Noun clauses

The noun clause may be embedded in the major constituent slots of the independent clause wherever a noun phrase could occur.

Noun clauses are distinguished from main clauses as to the form of their verbs. Nominalised verbs are marked by reduplication and the suffix -a.

The reduplication is of the first two sounds (CV or VC) of the verb stem. If the first two sounds of the verb stem are both consonants, the reduplication takes the form of the first consonant and aa. If the subject is either dual or second person plural, reduplication does not occur and the regular subject marker occurs instead.

Examples of the noun clause are as follows:

- (25) S PRED
 Franse -n mi-miraniiv-a -n afafa sri
 boy's name-nom.run(sbj.sg./dl.)-nom.fast very
 nominalised v.
Franse's running is very fast.

- (26) S PRED
 Mii aoo ra-rarasin-a-vo ma- Ø- tei -mi?
 you I talk(obj.pl.)-obj.already-sbj.sg.-hear(obj.pl.)-f.p.c.
 nominalised v.
Did you hear me talking?

- (27) O PRED
 Efonafoware era -v a- rckriiman-a -ilv caan-
 they(two) fruit-obj. sbj.dl.-pick(obj.pl.)-ind.dest. sbj.dl.-
 nominalised v.
 sue -mi
 go(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
They went to pick fruit.

- (28) S PRED
 Aoo te-terapav-a -vase pu -n e- niia -pi
 I come back(sbj.sg./dl.)-time rain-nom.-sbj.sg.-come(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
 nominalised v.
When I was coming back, it rained.

In example (25), the noun clause *Franse-n mi-miraniiv-a Franse's running*, is embedded within the S of the main clause. (26) is an example in which the noun clause is embedded in O. In (27) and (28) the noun clauses are embedded in postpositional phrases, in (27) in an indirect destination PP and in (28) in a time OPP. In example (27), which has a dual subject, reduplication does not occur.

NOTES

1. The data on which this paper is based was collected between 1973 and 1979 under the auspices of the UNCEN/SIL Project. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr Ken Gregerson for suggestions regarding the general approach of this paper and to Marit Kana for all her help, especially in correcting the English of earlier drafts.
2. Isirawa is a language spoken by about 2,000 people who live on the north coast of Irian Jaya in the Jayapura district. It is a member of the Kwerba Stock of Papuan languages.
3. The following abbreviations appear in the examples in this paper:

acc.	accompaniment
ani.	animate
assoc.	association
c.	complete
cpn.	comparison
dir.	direction
dl.	dual
fem.	feminine
f.p.	far past
fut.	future
habit.	habitulative
inani.	inanimate
inc.	incomplete
ind. dest.	indirect destination
inst.	instrument
loc.	location
masc.	masculine
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
n.p.	near past
obj.	object
pl.	plural
pre.	present
rel.	relative marker
sbj.	subject
sg.	singular
t.	today
ten/asp.	tense/aspect
v.	verb
voc.	vocative

APPENDIX: ISIRAWA POSTPOSITIONS

Note that final vowels are usually changed to e or merged with the following vowel.

Indirect destination:

-iivo Ii ma -ne sosowe ofoa-iiv e- ririipa
man this-nom. vegetable you -ind.dest. sbj.sg.-bring

-no
(obj.pl.)-t.n.p.c.
This man brought vegetables for you.

Efoware era -v rorokriimana -iiv e- sue
he fruit-obj.pick(obj.pl.)-ind.dest. sbj.sg.-go
nominalised v.

-mi
(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
He went to pick fruit.

-iiye Mii naafa-iiye po- Ø- su
you sago -ind.dest. now-sbj.sg.-go(sbj.sg./dl.)
imperative

Go for some sago!

Mii ceva-iiye some-vo sa- neraai
you that-ind.dest. sago-obj. immediately give(obj.sg.
masc./small)
imperative
Give sago to that one immediately.

Accompaniment:

-caa (with animate)
Ii me tiirama -caa usira -ii caan- sue
man this younger brother-acc. jungle-dir. sbj.dl.-go

-no
(sbj.sg./dl.)-t.n.p.c.
The man went to the jungle with his younger brother.

-cavaii (with animate)
Masetaanana pe taate -cave na -ii e- vinana
girl that father-acc. there-dir. subj.3 pl.-go

-mi
(sbj.pl.)-f.p.c.
The girl went in that direction with her father.

-wave (with inanimate)

Ave pe ef oorowa-v awa -wave pe -vas e-
 mother that her son -assoc. bone-acc. that-loc. sbj.

maana -pi
 sg.-sit(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
 The mother sat there with her son's bone.

-oowa (with inanimate)

Mii nenfiivo ni avaaca-oo pii- ma- ye-
 you us(pl.) body good -acc. habit.-already-sbj.sg.-

nuras -ai
 wake(obj.pl.)-t.f.p.c.
 This morning you again woke us up with healthy bodies.

Efoware naafe apre-oow e- frii -mi
 he sago bird-acc. sbj.sg.-eat(obj.pl.)-f.p.c.
 He ate sago with bird meat.

Reason:

-tayaso Efoware sacama fiitowena pev -tayas e- fiitoweraaus
 he ear pain that-reason sbj.sg.-cry with pain

-mai
 (sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.inc.
 He was crying out because his ear hurt.

-vaavo Efoware sacama fiitowena pev -vaav e- fiitoweraaus
 he ear pain that-reason sbj.sg.-cry with pain

-mai
 (sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.inc.
 He was crying out because his ear hurt.

Location:

-so Efoware rara-s e- riita -pai
 he path-loc. sbj.sg.-sleep(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.inc.
 He slept on the path.

Ø- miiriisaapav rara-so
 sbj. 3 pl.-run(sbj.pl.) path-loc.
 completed
 They ran up to the path.

-vaso Niipara ce -vase raat
 bench that-loc. sleep(sbj.sg./dl.)
 imperative
 Sleep on that bench.

-vaoo U -vaoo rim- manapa -ii
 ground-loc. inceptive-land(sbj.sg./dl.)-pre.inc.
 It's just landing on the ground.

- iso Efoware sosowa -v e- feita -mi,
 he vegetables-obj. sbj.sg.-pick(obj.pl.)-f.p.c.
 Nokonaame muna -iso.
 river name mouth -loc.
He picked vegetables at the mouth of the Nokonaame River.

Time:

- so Piniyofa-se ce -soniife porim-Ø- poekraaus
 morning -time that-source start-sbj. 3 pl.-arrive(sbj.
 -ii
 pl.)-pre.inc.
In the morning they were arriving from there.
- vaso Nawace vaavresina -vase pii- Ø- suen
 moon shine(sbj.sg./dl.)-time habit.sbj.sg.-go(sbj.sg./pl.)
 nominalised v. potential
You can go while the moon is shining.
- wa Iiniiniiana-w e- poekrapo -mi
 evening -time sbj.sg.-arrive(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
He arrived in the evening.
- vo Pini ma -v e- ri -mi
 night this-time sbj.sg.-sleep(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
He slept through that night.

Source:

- sona Namoera -son e- tei -mi
 girl's name-source sbj.sg.-hear(obj.pl.)-f.p.c.
I heard it from Namoera.
- Naafa-sona caan- poekrapo -mi
 sago -source sbj.dl.-arrive(sbj.sg./dl.)-f.p.c.
They arrived from (getting) sago.
- soniifaii Piniyofa-se ma -soniif e- teriis -i
 morning -time this-source sbj. 3 pl.-go back(sbj.pl.)-t.f.p.c.
They went back from here this morning.
- pona Mii omana-pone Ø- niia -iito?
 you where-source sbj.sg.-come(sbj.sg./dl.)-pre.inc.
Where are you coming from?
- poniifaii Mana-poniife po- ar- e- taariis
 here-source now-polite imperative-sbj. 1 pl.-go down
 -Ø
 (sbj.pl.)-fut.
Let's go down from here.

