

# BARAI GRAMMAR HIGHLIGHTS

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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  |
| im     | immediate         | ss    | same subject  |
| impf   | imperfect         | subj  | subject       |
| imp    | imperative        | tns   | tense         |
| inc    | inceptive         | vblzr | verbalizer    |
| ind    | indicative        | voc   | vocative      |
| indef  | indefinite time   | 1     | first person  |
| int    | intensive         | 2     | second person |
|        | 3                 |       | third person  |

## 1.0 PHONOLOGY

Barai<sup>1</sup> phonemes<sup>2</sup> 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 ([dʒ] a voiced alveo-palatal affricate that fluctuates with [dʏ] a voiced alveolar stop with a palatal release), and a pre-nasalized voiced affricate z ([ʔdʒ] a pre-nasalized voiced alveopalatal affricate that fluctuates with [ʔdz] a pre-nasalized voiced alveolar affricate); two nasals, m, and n; and a voiced alveolar flapped vibrant r (which fluctuates with [ɹ] among some speakers); two front vocoids, i, and e (which is voiceless when unstressed word final); a central vocoid a ([ə] after stressed u and fluctuating with a word final); and two back vocoids, u, and o ([ʊ] when stressed and following u). The sequence ae following high vowels i or u becomes [ə].

There are two basic syllable types, V and CV, in sequences of up 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 contrastive 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: [ko *before*, ikò *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.<sup>3</sup>

## 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 1). 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.

do-duad-ie  
*water-thirsty-lsg*  
*Water is thirsting me.*  
*I'm thirsty.*

vajae fiad-ie  
*body pains-lsg*  
*The body is paining me.*  
*I'm in pain.*

ised-ie  
*displease-lsg*  
*(It) displeases me.*  
*I'm displeased.*

The *transitive* verbs frequently mark the person and number of the object with a first order suffix.

kan-a  
*hit-3sg*  
*hit him*

kan-ie  
*hit-lsg*  
*hit me*

if-uo  
*beat-lpl*  
*beat us*

if-ia  
*beat-3pl*  
*beat them*

However, other transitive verb forms ignore the person distinction and indicate number in the stem.

abe  
take (inanimate sg)

ke  
take (inanimate pl)

mesiri  
take (animate sg)

kaenamia  
take (animate pl)

*Ditransitive* verbs mark the number and person of the personal object with the first order suffix.

kuar-a  
tell-3sg  
tell (it) to him

kuar-ie  
tell-1sg  
tell (it) to me

nijas-a  
show-2sg  
show (it) to you

nijas-uo  
show-1pl  
show (it) to us

One ditransitive verb indicates the number of the direct object with a stem change as well.

m-a  
give(sg)-3sg  
give it to him

vaj-a  
give(pl)-3sg  
give them to him

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  
sit(sg)

kari  
sit(pl)

mani  
stand(sg)

ire  
stand(pl)

Others use only one stem with both singular and plural subjects.

ajia  
go up

dije  
cross

### 2.11.1 Common Suffixes

There are six orders of suffixes<sup>4</sup> 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 1).

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

vaj-uo-nami  
give(pl)-lpl-recip  
(they) give to us and  
we to (them)

ufu-se  
cut-pl  
cut them to pieces

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                               |
| -noe    | durative (after stressed front vowels) |
| -ru     | limitative                             |
| -dufuo  | purposive                              |

fu i-kiro  
3sg eat-des(sg)  
He wants to eat.

bu i-kuae  
3pl eat-des(pl)  
They want to eat.

Vito va-kuve  
Vito go-inc(sg)  
Vito is starting to go.

e boeje bu va-kuaeve  
people all 3pl go-inc(pl)  
Everybody is starting to go.

no kaukurare-moe  
lpl work-dur  
We are busy working.

no igia oe-noe  
lpl here wander-dur  
We keep wandering around here.

ja igia una rua-ru  
 2pl here go.back come-lim  
*All you do is come back here.*

fu mako ru-dufu  
 3sg 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 | future tense                  |
| -no   | imperative                    |

The imperative -no and the future -ko occur only in the quoted item 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 3sg talk this tell-lsg-p.tns  
*The white man who came yesterday told me this.*

fu kua na una iviaeko nisae-ko-no kua-e  
 3sg say lsg go.back new look.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:

-no quote  
 -do reason  
 -no reason-imperative  
 -je background

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 1pl 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 1sg benefactive  
 -ja 2sg benefactive  
 -je 3sg benefactive  
 -juo 1pl benefactive  
 -jia 2 and 3pl benefactive

bu dabe nija-jie-na va-e  
 3pl take put-ben(1sg)-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 |
| -ke   |                   |
| -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.*

e ruo-mo  
 person come-pre.tns  
*Someone is coming.*

no va-ko  
 lpl go-1m.fut.tns  
*We are going to go.*

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  
*food your eat-inc.imp*  
*Start eating your food!*

va-ne  
*go-imp(sg)*  
*Go!*

mukoe      kari-fo  
*well stay-imp(pl)*  
*Stay well!*

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 -no 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 | <i>quickly</i> | saroroba | <i>suddenly</i>  |
| kuke     | <i>again</i>   | mauki    | <i>carefully</i> |

Certain adjective stems can also occur as adverbs.

|         |                  |                    |
|---------|------------------|--------------------|
| saroe   | <i>slow</i>      | <i>slowly</i>      |
| boeje   | <i>many</i>      | <i>much, a lot</i> |
| uruvana | <i>very many</i> | <i>very much</i>   |
| mukore  | <i>good</i>      | <i>well</i>        |

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  
 3sg neg come-p.tns  
*He did not come.*

ibe      fare-ne  
 pro. touch-imp  
*Don't you dare touch it.*

kama      are-ne  
 emo.imp stop-imp  
*Please stop that!*

fu ni      igia fi  
 3sg oblig here sit  
*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)

-be future negative

-te dubitative

-ka intensive

-se alternative

-me casual

-ne indicative

i    fuone    a-do    kua  
 name his 2sg-pro say  
*Don't say his name.*

fu-be    una    rua-ke  
 3sg-fut.neg go.back come-fut.tns  
*He won't come back.*

fu-ka    ireobo  
 3sg-int big  
*He is really big.*

na-me    igia fi  
 lsg-cas here sit  
*I am just sitting here.*

bu-te    juare    va-e  
 3pl-dub garden go-p.tns  
*Perhaps they went to the garden.*

na-se    kisoese  
 lsg-alt swing  
*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) | accompaniment             |
| -na (pl) |                           |
| -fuo     | benefactive               |
| -re      | emphatic                  |

Vito-do  
 Vito-poss  
*belongs to Vito*

ate-ki  
 Dad-acc  
*with Dad*

## 2.43 Non-Human Nouns

Many but not all non-human nouns take a kind of classifying suffix. 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.

|                  |          |           |                     |            |
|------------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|------------|
| <u>mave</u> pig, | ma boeje | many pigs | <u>mave</u> inokoro | two pigs   |
| <u>are</u> place | ae none  | my house  | <u>are</u> ise      | poor house |

Although it is not common, a special accompaniment suffix, -kuma, occurs with certain non-human nouns.

|                           |                                   |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ni do-kuma i              | na fasi-kuma va-ke                |
| imp. water-acc eat        | lsg letter-acc go-fut.            |
| <i>Eat it with water!</i> | <i>I will go with the letter.</i> |

## 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*.

|            |                             |
|------------|-----------------------------|
| Itokama-ko | <i>from Itokama village</i> |
| Musa-ko    | <i>from the Musa valley</i> |

2.45 *Temporal Nouns*

Temporal nouns are the only nouns that may not be inflected in any way. They include words like *muge night*, *isume 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  | <i>big</i> (sg)   | mamekanu | <i>big</i> (pl)   |
| isekube | <i>small</i> (sg) | isesina  | <i>small</i> (pl) |

However, others indicate degree or intensiveness by a change of stem.

|         |              |            |                   |
|---------|--------------|------------|-------------------|
| ireobo  | <i>big</i>   | ireotabo   | <i>very big</i>   |
| abara   | <i>white</i> | abaemanago | <i>very white</i> |
| jiagado | <i>long</i>  | jiagadogo  | <i>very long</i>  |

The suffix *-ki* used as a similitative marker with demonstratives occurs as a kind of adjectivizer with certain noun, adjective, and verb stems.

|         |                 |   |     |   |          |                  |
|---------|-----------------|---|-----|---|----------|------------------|
| ui      | <i>point</i>    | + | -ki | = | uiki     | <i>strong</i>    |
| guvade  | <i>strength</i> | + | -ki | = | guvadiki | <i>strong</i>    |
| jijuae  | <i>slippery</i> | + | -ki | = | jijuaeki | <i>slippery</i>  |
| boeje   | <i>many</i>     | + | -ki | = | boeki    | <i>all</i>       |
| kufuime | <i>lie</i>      | + | -ki | = | kufuiki  | <i>lying one</i> |

2.52 *Quantifiers*

Quantifiers frequently reduplicate their stems resulting in a semantic change as well.

|         |             |                |                  |
|---------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
| bino    | <i>some</i> | binobino       | <i>different</i> |
| besu    | <i>one</i>  | besubesu       | <i>each</i>      |
| inokoro | <i>two</i>  | inokoroinokoro | <i>four</i>      |

## 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   | <i>inside</i>           | ado   | <i>on top</i>            |
| mumuabo | <i>far away</i>         | keke  | <i>outside</i>           |
| ae      | guove                   | mavua | ado                      |
|         | <i>house inside</i>     |       | <i>box on top</i>        |
|         | <i>inside the house</i> |       | <i>on top of the box</i> |

## 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   |
|------------|----------|----------|
| 1st 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 (subj. sg)             |                                 |
| -obiki (subj. sg)             | accompaniment                   |
| -ina (subj. pl)               |                                 |
| fu no- <u>efuo</u> ime        | na- <u>re</u> ije ufe-i         |
| 3sg lsg-ben <i>work</i>       | lsg-emp <i>this weave-p.tns</i> |
| <i>He works for me.</i>       | <i>I wove this one.</i>         |
| na fu- <u>obiki</u> rua-e     | bu ja- <u>ina</u> va-ke         |
| lsg 3sg-acc <i>come-p.tns</i> | 3pl 2pl-acc <i>go-fut.tns</i>   |
| <i>I came with him.</i>       | <i>They will go with you.</i>   |

Other affixes however are unique to the pronouns.

|         |           |
|---------|-----------|
| -onokua | exclusive |
| -osukua |           |
| -e      | reflexive |



|             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| -one        | possessive |
| koro-...-o} | intensive  |
| ko-...-o    |            |

bu bu-onokua Umuate va-e sari jo-one bu ise  
 3pl 3pl-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      |
| 3sg 3sg-refl hit-3sg   | 3sg int-3sg-int go   |
| <i>He hit himself.</i> | <i>He's walking!</i> |

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 | Plural  |
|------------|----------|---------|
| 1st person | kono     | konuvuo |
| 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:

|      |                                                                  |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| gar- | <i>that</i> , to the side generally                              |
| gam- | <i>that</i> , down at an angle generally                         |
| gaf- | <i>that</i> , up at an angle generally                           |
| gur- | <i>that</i> , to the side with reference to the person spoken to |
| gum- | <i>that</i> , straight down with reference to the speaker        |
| guf- | <i>that</i> , straight up with reference to the speaker          |
| ig-  | <i>this</i> general                                              |
| ij-  | <i>that</i> general                                              |
| iz-  | <i>what</i> general                                              |

To these stems, the following inflections are applicable. All of the affixation has been observed with the general stem *ij-*, but further research is needed to confirm that all the other combinations do in fact occur.

|                       |                                               |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| -ie                   | vocative                                      |
| -e                    | subject, object, time                         |
| -a, -are              | subject, object, time<br>emphatic             |
| -iebe                 | subject pl                                    |
| -ene                  | object pl                                     |
| -ia                   | location                                      |
| -ifure                | location, emphatic, sg                        |
| -ibure                | location, emphatic, pl                        |
| -aena                 | location opposite                             |
| -adufuo, -afuo, -aduo | possessive, destination,<br>benefactive, (sg) |
| -iebuo                | possessive, destination,<br>benefactive, (pl) |
| -eki                  | similitative                                  |
| -ege                  | manner                                        |
| -akuma                | together with                                 |
| -ena                  | accompaniment                                 |
| -akiro                | co-ordination of two                          |
| -akina                | co-ordination of more<br>than two             |
| -aru                  | limitative                                    |

e    gaf-ie    rua-fo  
people those-voc come-imp  
You people over there, come!

buki    gam-e    fu ireobo  
book that-subj 3sg big  
That book is big.

sigisi kavuane ij-are    no-one    e    ij-iebe    bu uria kari  
shirt red this-emp lsg-poss people this-subj.pl 3pl still stay  
That red shirt is mine.    These people are still here.

no buki    ij-ene    amaer-ia-e  
lpl book this-obj.pl make-3pl-p.tns  
We prepared these books.

bu    gam-ia    va-e  
3pl that-loc go-p.tns  
They went down there.

sime one    ij-ifure  
knife your there-loc.emp  
There is your knife.

bu    iz-ibure  
3pl what-loc.emp  
Where are they?

no do    ig-aena    kari-ke  
lpl water this-loc.opp sit-fut.tns  
We will sit on this side of the river.

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 banana ripe this-co-or watermelon these take-ss come-p.tns  
*He brought sugarcane, ripe bananas, and watermelon.*

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    | <i>and then</i>        |
| ijafuo   | <i>therefore</i>       |
| ijeja    | <i>concerning that</i> |
| ko, kinu | <i>while</i>           |
| kiro     | <i>after some time</i> |
| kie      | <i>next</i>            |

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.

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| iro ireobo fuone | vua ireobo fu kuaema          |
| yam big his      | talk big he spoke             |
| his big yam      | The big talk that he spoke... |

##### 3.12 The Co-ordinate Phrase

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.

uviafa none ij-akina asoerafa none ij-akina kajura 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-akiro 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 ijereneo  
*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 counsellor, the Jaure counsellor, 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 (sg) 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.

fu e fuone boeje ij-ena va-e  
*he people his many these-rel go-p.tns*  
*He went with many of his people.*

na asoe none ij-eki fi  
*I father my this-rel sit*  
*I am sitting with my father.*

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.

ni do boeje ij-akuma i  
*imper water much this-rel eat*  
*Eat (it) together with much water.*

fu tosi fuone ij-akuma rua-e  
*he torch his this-rel come-p.tns*  
*He came with his torch.*

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:

kofu bosi ij-afuo asie fu visi  
*coffee boss this-rel mother she sick*  
*The mother of the coffee boss is sick.*

e ireobo gar-aduo mave fu barone-i  
*person big that-rel pig it die-p.tns*  
*That large person's pig died.*

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-rel go 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 Naokanane 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.

isuname 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 *location 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 village, 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 Managalasi people, 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  
 I Int.Prn-I fix  
 I fixed it myself.

fu koro-fu-o va  
 he Int.Prn-he go  
 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  
 they they-Ref talk  
 They talk to themselves.

fu fu-e kana  
 he he-Ref hit  
 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.

na no-onokua fi  
 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  
 finish carry throw  
 completely finish (it)

ke dabe ifaje  
 take carry burn  
 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 fie  
 eat sense  
 taste

akoe ga  
 throw look  
 try throwing it and see

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.

fu a ga-ke rua-e  
*he you see-pur come-p.tns*  
*He came to see you.*

no kofu fuaeve-kuae va  
*we coffee sell-pur go*  
*We are going in order to sell coffee.*

## 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-1pl     |
| (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.

|                                            |       |    |        |       |                |
|--------------------------------------------|-------|----|--------|-------|----------------|
| nata                                       | boeje | fu | e      | ije   | vaj-ia-e       |
| coconut                                    | many  | he | person | these | give-3pl-p.tns |
| <i>He gave these people many coconuts.</i> |       |    |        |       |                |

### 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 |                          | person | that | he died-p.tns |
| <i>He is sitting here.</i> |      |     | <i>That person died.</i> |        |      |               |

### 4.5 The Equational Clause

In the equational clause 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 | 3sg | crooked |
| <i>Kinefa is a big person.</i> |    |        |        | <i>This stick is crooked.</i> |      |     |         |

## 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.<sup>5</sup> 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>intensive (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*

na mada-vo ba-ki

I angry.at.you-pre.tns no-emp

I am angry at you. Certainly not.

*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*

ari-ma ljeja 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 Sequence     | medial verb marker -Ma    | final verb                  |
| Past Sequence           | medial verb marker -Moga  | final verb non-future tense |
| Future Sequence         | medial verb marker -Kuma  | final verb future tense     |
| Delayed Past Sequence   | medial verb marker -EMa   | final verb non-future tense |
| Delayed Future Sequence | medial verb marker -Ekiro | final verb future tense     |

## Examples:

*Continuous*

bu ruo-ma ijia iri  
 they come- there stop  
*They kept coming until they stopped there.*

*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  
*They will go and then come back tomorrow.*

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.

fu ikuame suvae-ma furi-noga  
 he bamboo weave-(continuous) finish-(past sequence)  
 va-ema suake bino re-i  
 go-(delayed past sequence) morning other do-p.tns  
*He wove bamboo and when it was finished, he left and then in the morning did some more.*

## 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 Type      | Introductory Clause          | Quote Clause              | Closing Clause                              |
|--------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Realized Quote     | uninflected verb of saying   | dependent verb marker -no | final verb of saying only verb permitted    |
| Unrealized Quote   | verb of saying marker -ko    | dependent verb            | final verb of saying                        |
| Mental Quote       | verb of thinking marker -ro  | dependent verb marker -ro | None                                        |
| Sensation Quote    | verb of sensation marker -ke | dependent or final verb   | final verb of sensation only verb permitted |
| Confirmation Quote | personal pronoun 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*

fu kua-ko ke kua  
 he say- yes say  
 He will say "Yes".

*Mental Quote*

na viera-fe-ro fu e ma-ro  
 I think- he person good-  
 I think that he is a good person.

*Sensation Quote*

na fie-ke do abiese fie  
 I hear- water fall hear  
 I hear water falling.



*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 Conditional | medial verb<br>marker -bitie    | final verb<br>future tense               |
| Imperative Conditional    | medial verb<br>marker -kuManeja | final verb<br>some form of<br>imperative |

## 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 Link | Final Clause                            |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Co-ordinate   | medial verb<br>same or different<br>subj. marker                                                           | areme            | final verb                              |
| Simultaneous  | medial verb<br>markers -kinu<br>-koga                                                                      |                  | final verb<br>-kinu optional<br>to verb |
| Comparative   | medial verb<br>may take one of<br>the sequence<br>markers or one<br>of the other<br>co-ordinate<br>markers | ro<br><br>kie    | final verb                              |
| Alternative   | final verb<br>bite optional<br>marker                                                                      | ro<br>o<br>ke    | final verb<br>bite optional<br>marker   |

Examples:

*Co-ordinate*

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.

*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.

a    igia inauri-kumane ije    fu ise  
 you here get up-                      this it bad  
 If you get up here, this is bad.

## 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 like this*, though subject and mood clitic are also permitted.

bu            suke            mia-kinu marene ifaje-kinu ijere  
 they refreshment give-            fire fix-            do.this  
 They will give you refreshments and fix the fire and do this.

## 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.

fu boro abe va ukua            gamia            mani  
 he ball take go middle down.there stand  
 He takes the ball and goes and stands down there.

## 6.0 TEXT

How to Make a Garden<sup>6</sup>

- (1) 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  
 ufaie-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 una 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 3pl 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. (11) Rua oeno-ke fu maza keke-na kana-mama  
*stop-ss come come go.about-ds 3sg sun arrive-ss hit-contin*  
 vare ga. (12) Vare ga-kuva-ne ve 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 nituame 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. (16) Ijia are-na va-ekina nituame  
*there stop-ss go there stop-ss go-del.fut.seq day.after.*  
 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 ve be ro  
*build-ss go-contin end put go-del.fut.seq time another come*

kuke        una    kira-na   va...  
again do.again build-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 later in the morning we come back again and continue cutting limbs until it is completely finished. (10) When it is completely finished we stop and go back. (11) 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. (13) 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...

|              |                                                                                                 |                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                      |                                                                      |                    |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| ALL<br>VERBS | -ie<br>lsg<br><br>-a<br>2sg<br><br>-a,-e,-i<br>3sg<br><br>-ou<br>lpl<br><br>-ia<br>2 and<br>3pl | -nami<br>reciprocal<br><br>-se<br>object<br>plural | -kuve<br>present<br>inceptive<br><br>-noe<br>durative<br><br>-kiro<br>desiderative<br><br>-dufuo<br>purposive<br><br>-ru<br>limitative<br><br>-kuaeve<br>past<br>inceptive<br><br>-kuma<br>inceptive<br>imperative | -Mo present<br>-EMa past<br>-ko future<br>-no imperative                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                 | -no quote marker<br>-do reason marker<br>-no reason-imperative<br>marker<br>-je background<br>marker |                                                                      | DEPENDENT<br>VERBS |
|              |                                                                                                 |                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | BENEFACTIVE<br>-jie lsg<br>-ja 2sg<br>-je 3sg<br>-juo lpl<br>-jia 2 and<br>3pl                                                                                         | -Ma<br>continuous<br>-Mo<br>past sequence<br>-kuMa<br>future sequence<br>-EMa<br>delayed past<br>sequence<br>-Ekiro<br>delayed future<br>sequence<br>-ko ~-kinu<br>simultaneous | -na<br>same<br>subject<br>-ga<br>different<br>subject<br>-ne<br>indefinite<br>time                   | -kie<br>sequential<br>comparison<br>-ro<br>contrastive<br>comparison | MEDIAL<br>VERBS    |
|              |                                                                                                 |                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | -EMa completed past<br>-E general past<br>-Me imperfect<br>-Mo present<br>-ko immediate future<br>-ke general future<br>-kidufuo distant future<br>-ne ~-fo imperative |                                                                                                                                                                                 | -no emphatic<br>benefactive<br>-jie lsg<br>-ja 2sg<br>-je 3sg<br>-juo lpl<br>-jia 2 and 3pl          |                                                                      | FINAL<br>VERBS     |

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         | -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       | -e   |
| 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 Barai 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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