

# Girawa Verbs

September 1987

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### 1. The Internal Structure of Independent Verbs

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#### 0. Introduction

The Girawa language is spoken by approximately 3500 people in the Begesin area of the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. Girawa is a Papuan language. It is a member of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, Madang-Adelbert Range Sub-phylum, Mabuso Stock, and the Kokon Family. In the same family are the Kein (Bemal) and the Munit languages, which are spoken in adjacent areas. No linguistic papers have been written on either of these languages.

Girawa is a SOV language. It has free-standing words for nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The verb is the most inflected part of speech. All these parts of speech can be negated. The verb can be suffixed to show object (direct or indirect), aspect, mood and subject agreement.

Verbs in Girawa form the nucleus of the clause. When inflected, they may stand alone manifesting the clause with its obligatory grammatical relations of subject and predicate. Verbs alone can occur as the predicate of a clause and no other part of speech can indicate both subject and predicate. When the verb is acting as the predicate of a clause it must contain morphemes to show subject agreement and tense. Morphemes to show object (direct or indirect), aspect and mood may also occur within the verb.

The first part of this paper deals with the internal structure of the independent verb. The second part will deal with the internal structure of the dependent verb.

All verbs in Girawa consist basically of a verb stem. The independent verb differs from the dependent verb in that it may not contain morphemes to indicate the subject of the following clause, or be subordinate to another verb. The independent verb must contain morphemes which show tense and agreement with the subject of the clause. Independent verbs may occur as the predicate of independent clauses, i.e. sentences independent of other clauses. Its general internal structure can include, following the stem, an object morpheme, certain aspect morphemes, certain mode morphemes, and obligatory tense and subject agreement morphemes, in the order given.

#### 1. Morphophonemics

In Girawa one general morphophonemic rule is that when a word or stem ends with the vowel /u/ and the suffix added starts with another vowel, the /u/ changes to /w/. This is manifested in the verb structure, when the third person singular present tense form is converted to past tense.

wew  
hit.3s.pres + on = wewon

manou + on  
go.3s.pres + on = manowon

kou + on  
come.3s.pres + on = kowon

## 2. Tense-subject compounds and portmanteaus.

Girawa independent verbs, as indicated, must include a morpheme which agrees with the subject of the clause in which occurs. The subject may or may not be more explicitly defined by a noun (or its phrase) or a free pronoun:

"ros po wewon"  
'man pig hit.3s.pst' = the man hit the pig

"ko wewon"  
'he hit.3s.pst = he hit it

"wewon"  
'hit.3s.pst' = he hit it

Girawa independent verbs must also contain a morpheme to indicate the time of the action. The tense subject-agreement morphemes are obligatory.

The following tenses occur: present, indicating an action that is still in process or will take place in the very near future, that is, today: manou 'he is going'; past, indicating an action which took place previous to the day in which the person is speaking: manowon 'he went'; and future, indicating an action that has not yet taken place: manai 'he will go'.

Girawa subjects indicated in the verb are first, second or third persons singular, first or second/third dual, and first or second/third plural. In the dual and plural there is no distinction between the second and third persons, thus seven contrasts occur.

A feature of the Girawa verb structure is the close-knit phonological relation between tense and subject agreement morphemes. Recurring particals occur for each, but it is easier to distinguish the combinations rather than the individual morphemes. In some cases the phonological fusion of the morphemes has progressed to the degree that particles are not definable as separate units. In this case the fusion is referred to as a portmanteau, but if separate morphemes are identifiable the combination is referred to as a compound.

### 2.1. Present tense-subject compounds and portmanteaus.

It is possible to divide the Girawa verbs into three classes, based on the initial vowel of the affix, but the following matrix will illustrate the morphemes which indicate the various person subjects with the present tense.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	em ~ om ~ im	em ~ om ~ um	eu ~ ou ~ u
D	emur ~ omur ~ umur		eir ~ oir ~ ir
P	em ~ om ~ um		ei ~ oi ~ i

Contrast for all three persons is found only in the singular, and for the three numbers in the first persons as opposed to non-first persons. In this set, the tense morpheme could be identified as the first vowel (e ~ o ~ i/u) of the suffix, but in the third person singular and second/third plural this vowel is fused into a one letter portmanteau morpheme, for person and tense. The other part of the compound or portmanteau indicates the subject agreement.

Number	Person			3
	1	2	3	
S	m	m	u	
D	mur		ir	
P	m		i	

## 2.2. Past tense compounds and portmanteaus.

The following matrix illustrates the morphemes which indicate the various person subjects with the past tense.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	emin ~ omin ~ imin	emon ~ omon ~ umon	ewon ~ owon ~ (u)won
D	emurin ~ omurin ~ umurin	eirin ~ oirin ~ irin	
P	emun ~ omun ~ umun	ein ~ oin ~ in	

The person subject-past tense suffixes can also be derived from the person subject-present tense morphemes by adding the following:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	-in	-in	-un
D	-on		-in
P	-(w)on		-n

Contrast for all three persons is found in the singular, and for the three numbers in first persons as opposed to non-first persons. We could identify the tense morpheme as the first vowel of the suffixes, e ~ o ~ i/u, plus the final vowel and the /n/, whilst the subject agreement morpheme is embedded with the tense morpheme.

If we observe that the past tense can be derived from the present tense, we can identify the new person subject markers (looking at the second matrix above) as the vowels, /i/, /o/ or /u/, and the tense marker as the /n/. This is perhaps easier to compose and learn.

The /won/ in the third person singular position is postulated by the morphophonemic rule which says when a vowel follows a /u/ the /u/ changes to /w/. The optional (u) in this position is present because national spellers prefer to write it, in verbs where the stem is /r/

as opposed to      aparu-won    =aparuwon  
                       rau-won     =rawon

## 2.3. Future tense-subject compounds.

Compounds marking the future tense and various persons-of-subject can be indicated by the following matrix.

	1	2	3
S	am ~ ʔam	am ~ ʔam	ai ~ ʔai
D	amur ~ ʔamur		aieir ~ ʔaieir
P	ai ~ ʔai		aiei ~ ʔaiei

The verbs that had /e/ as the initial vowel of the present tense-subject affix has the /ʔ/ as the initial vowel as the future tense morpheme, whilst the verbs that had /o/ or /i/~u/ in the present tense take the /a/ in the future tense. The subject agreement morphemes remain the same as in the present tense matrix for the first person and second person singular, but change in the third person singular to /i/, and are lengthened in the second/third persons dual and plural to /ieir/ and /iei/ respectively.

#### 2.4. Present Continuous tense portmanteaus.

Compounds marking the present continuous tense and various persons of subject are made up of the verb stem followed by the following morphemes:

1st/2nd singular	-ram
3rd singular	-ra
1/2/3/ dual	-rair
1/2/3/ plural	-rai

The stem always ends in its appropriate vowel before the above endings.

Question: Pita erapok? Answer: Kou -ra.  
 Peter where? Come\_pres.con.3s  
 Where is Peter? He's coming(now).

Is isan ro meie-won -us wai-ram.  
 I my man die -3s.pst-perf cry-pres.con.1s  
 My husband has died, (so) I am crying.

Ne an ore -rai.  
 Go.down water fill.up-pres.con.pl  
 Going down they are filling up (pots with water).

The singular 3rd person singular form is used frequently, but I have few examples of the other forms.

NOTE: These morphemes resemble the verb to stay/remain/be. Further investigation may reveal that they are connected directly with this verb.

### 3. Non-subject morphemes.

Besides the subject agreement morpheme, Girawa independent verbs may contain a non-subject referent morpheme. With some verbs it is obligatory. The non-subject referents may be related to the action as the direct object, or the indirect object or the benefactive.

#### 3.1. Object morphemes.

All verb stems which semantically may take an object (transitive stems) contain an object morpheme. These transitive verbs have stem allomorphs which in

a very minor way show the person of the object. This chart shows the verb stem allomorphs for the different object persons.

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Person of Object	1s/d/pl 2s	2/3-d/pl	3s
English			
Special cases			
see	apa	ap	apar
speak	a	a	aur
hit	iw	ak	we
give	o	o	nu
bring	imă	im	imăi
chase	em-e/o	em	emer
follow	tain-e/o	tain	tainor
call to	urw-e/o	ur	urw
beat (win over)	itim-e/o	itim	itimor
send	ăsim-e/o	asim	ăsimor

#### Other transitive verbs

basic stem-e/o    stem only    stem only

The e/o choice is a dialectal preference.

The object morpheme occurs after the verb stem and before the tense-subject morphemes.

The following matrix illustrates the morphemes which indicate the object of the verb:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	-ir-~-or-~-ur-	-it-~-ot-~-ut-	-ik-~-ok-~-uk-
D	-is-~-os-~-us-	-wat-~-at-	
P	o	-war-~-ar-	

The suffix with the initial /o/ follows a stem which ends in a consonant. The suffix with the initial /u/ occurs only with the verb m- 'put/do' which then often acts as a serial verb expressing the benefactive.

The following illustrates how the morphemes are manifested in various verbs; in each case the tense-subject will be past tense and third person singular.

1. apa-ir - owon  
see-1s0-3s.pst      He saw me.
2. a - is - owon  
speak-2s0-3s.pst      He spoke to you(s).

3. iw - ot - owon  
hit-1d0-3s.pst      He hit us(two).
4. 0 - ik - owon  
give-1p0-3s.pst      He gave it to us(plural).
5. im - wat - owon  
bring-2/3d0-3s.pst      He brought you/them(two).
6. em-war-owon  
chase-2/3p0-3s.pst      He chased you/them(plural).
7. tainor-  $\emptyset$  -owon  
follow-3s0-3s.pst      He followed him.

This object morpheme can indicate the direct object or the indirect object. However if both are to be indicated, then the indirect object is manifested by the benefactive morphemes. (see Dependent Verbs 7.3.)

#### 4. Aspect-like morphemes.

Girawa independent verbs optionally include in their internal structure aspect-like morphemes. These affixes are grouped together because of their semantic similarity - dealing with kind of action or time span.

Morphemes included in this section mark habitative, intensive, completive, distributive and repetitive. They are mutually exclusive.

##### 4.1. Habitative.

This morpheme marks an action that is habitually done - as a matter of habit. It can occur in any tense. The morpheme is '-ia-'. The morpheme is followed by the final set of Tense-person markers, (see section 2.1., 2.2., 2.3.) no matter what class the original verb was. When the first letter of the tense-person morpheme is an /a/ it is dropped, so that there are no double /a/s.

Is kas man-ia - im.  
I bush go- hab.-1s.pres.      I always go tho the bush.

Ma uku we -ia- (a)iei  
Taro seed hit-hab-3p.fut  
They will always plant taro seeds.

Ro ak towo ra -ia- in  
Man they together stay- hab-3p.pst  
When men all lived habitually together.

The habitative morpheme can occur with the object and the benefactive morphemes.

ak -war -ia -won  
hit-3p0-hab-3s.pst  
he always hit them.

apait mar-ia- u      ro  
show do.3p0-hab-3s.pres man

the man who habitually shows them (teacher)

ak    kon o        we            mur-ia- i  
they his food hit.3s0 do.3s0-hab-3p.pres  
they always serve his food out for him.

## 4.2. Intentive.

The intention marker -aur- indicates the intention or desire to do something. It can occur in all three tenses, taking the final set of tense-person markers as the habitative morpheme does.

Is kinin m -aur-im  
I story put-int-1s.pres  
I want to tell a story.

Ko n -aur(u)won  
He go.down-int - 3s.pst                      He wanted to go down.

Ak keser -aur-ai.  
You(p) do.thus-int-2p.fut  
(If) you intent to do that....

The intensive marker can occur with both the object and benefactive markers.

Iw -ot -aur-in  
Hit-2d0-int-3p.pst  
They intended to hit us(2).

Is kinin (m)mur-aur-im.  
I story do.3sO-int-1s.pres  
I want to tell a story for him.

Is na jer we mus-aur-im  
I you mark hit.3s0 do.2s0-int-1s.pres  
I intend to write to you.

Is nan o mis mus -aur-ia -im  
I your food pot do.2s0-int-hab-1s.pres

#### 4.3. Complete.

A completive morpheme -out- indicates that the action has been finished:

ak man-out-oin  
they go- com-3p.pst  
they went (not to return)

```
erek k    -out-oin
all  come-com-3p.pst
they all came completely (pinis).
```

#### 4.4. Repetitive.(??)

Repetition is usually expressed by repeating the verb.

ne, pe, ne, pe... went down, came up, went down, came up...

ik sarau mano-tar-on  
we work go -rep-ip.pres  
we repeatedly go to work.

I have found only this one example of this construction and therefore no examples yet of this morpheme occurring with the object or benefactive morphemes. More investigation is definitely required.

## 5. Mood-like morphemes.

Girawa independent verbs include in their internal structure mood-like morphemes. The tense-person morphemes discussed earlier (see 2.1-3.) were all in the indicative mood. Other mood morphemes replace or add to these, and occur, like them, at the end of the verb. The modes are imperative, hortatory, interrogative and dubitative.

### 5.1. Imperative.

The imperative mood is manifested by a person-mood compound morpheme, and occurs following the verb stem, object or benefactive marker. The imperative marker has not been observed following any aspect markers. The following matrix illustrates these compounds. Forms appear only with second person subjects. I use man- 'to go' to illustrate these.

S	man-O/o
D	man-er/ower/oier
P	man-e/owe/oie

The shorter form is the more emphatic, and also more commonly used. the short stemmed verbs that end in -em in present tense indicative, end in -ai for the single imperative.

päi	come up!
wäi	hit it!
jäi	eat it!

### 5.2. Hortatory.

The hortatory mood compounds occurs in the first person only, and carries the sense of "Let's..." The following matrix illustrates compounds.

S	man-Vmwie
D	man-Vmure
P	man-Vmwe/au

The V is replaced by whatever vowel it takes in the present indicative. The "manau" form is the most commonly used. (In the Negativity section it will be noted that "au" is called a Irrealis Marker but when negativity is indicated there is always the negative particle "wa" closely associated with it.)

### 5.3. Interrogative.

In Girawa the interrogative is often marked by a interrogative word such as:

owo "what", erapok "where", inok "who". These questions have NO interrogative marker present

However Yes-no questions are made up of indicative sentences, with the interrogative marker added after the final verb. It could be added directly to the verb but we have chosen to write it as a separate word.

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Na sou iwosou ra?  
You hunger it-hits-you QM?  
Are you hungry? /You are hungry, eh?

#### 5.4. Dubitative.

Dubitative expresses doubt or uncertainty. The action may still be in the thought process. It is formed of "r-" plus the future indicative tense-person markers with the initial /a/. I need to do a lot more investigation on this morpheme. My language teachers translate it "thinking". It follows the future indicative tense-subject markers plus /n/ if in the past.

Man-am -rai  
go- 3s.fut-du.3s  
thinking he will go

wām- r-aiein  
hit.it.1s.fut-du.3p.pst  
they thought he would shoot it

#### 6. Summary of independent verb structure.

I have discussed specific distributions of the various morphemes in their specific sections. In general, the object morpheme occurs contiguous to the verb stem. The aspect-like morphemes follow these and then finally the tense-person morphemes of the various moods. A summary diagram representing in general the internal structure of the Girawa independent verb is as follows:

+S +O +Aspect + Tense-subject-mood

Tense-subject + mood (in the case of dubitive or interrogative)

## 2. The Internal Structure of Dependent Verbs.

### 0. Introduction

1. Head-tail linkage medial verbs
2. Perfective aspect sequence medial verbs
3. Continuative aspect sequence medial verbs
4. Desirative aspect medial verbs
5. Imperative sequence medial verbs
6. Contrary-to-fact markers
7. Serial verbs

### 0. Introduction

The Girawa dependent verbs has the following characteristics. 1) It occurs as the predicate of dependent clauses. 2) The dependent verbs contains certain morphemes in its internal structure which do not occur with independent verbs

The dependent verb is formed of the verb stem plus one of a number of verbal medial markers. I have divided them up according to which of these endings are used.

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# 1. Head-tail linkage medial verbs.

These medial verbs are the most common and indicate whether the subject of the following clause is the same as the proceeding clause or not. This device forms a chaining system. Often the dependant verb is a recapitulation of the final verb of the previous sentence. Girawa does not use this device in every sentence but where it helps to keep the story going. Sometimes a summary verb is used instead of the actual verb used in the preceeding clause; e.g. keser- "like this" or ut- "leaving this" are used to summarize what has gone before.

This dependent verb is formed of the verb stem plus one of the following verbal medial markers.

If the subject of the following clause is the same as the preceeding clause:

-e/ia(nik)

-moi

-matara (1st/2nd singular)

-mara (3rd singular)

If the subject of the following clause <sup>?</sup>is different from that of the proceeding clause, the ending indicates the subject of the marked clause. These ending are:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	-ta	-ta	-nuk
D	-sa		-sa
P	-ta		-na/ma

All denote sequential action.

## 1.1. Same subject

The same subject or referent is marked in one of three ways: e/ia(nik), -moi, and -matara or -mara. The meaning difference between the three is not clear and it has been suggested by native speakers that there is no meaning difference, but rather that it is a dialectal difference. Up-river, -ia(nik) is preferred, centrally, -moi and down-river -mara.

Ensaru                      2 miles                      Sai                      4 miles                      Anminik



In a legend told by an Ensaru man, he used 100% -mara, whereas the same story told by an Anminik man used 45% mara, 45% -ia(nik) and 10% -moi.

In another legend told by a Sai man he used 100% -moi, whereas the Anminik man used 80% -ia(nik) and 20% -mara.

In another legend told by the same Sai man he used 91% -moi and 9% -mara, whereas the Anminik man used 48% -ia(nik), 30% -moi, and 22% -mara.

All the stories were in the third person, so that -mara was equally allowable in all.

Although there might have been a dialectical reason for the differences at one time, now, as there is much interaction and intermarriage between these villages and also the distances between them is so short, there is now no clear boundary between the dialects and each speaker seems to have a choice of what he uses for variety.

In 1105 occurrences of these endings in texts, there were  
594 occurrences of -e/ianik, (174 of -e/ia and 420 of -e/ianik)  
268 occurrences of -mara  
243 occurrences of -moi

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The morpheme -e/ia(nik) is seen to be the most commonly used. The longer form is often used to indicate a more pronounced discourse feature.

Anak kiro asinak apar-ia, ko nepipir -uwon.  
Mother that girl see-SS she happy-3s.pst  
The mother seeing that girl was happy.

Isan asik owa pot-ianik, ninai.

My wife house-to go -SS sleep-3s.fut

My wife going to the house will sleep.

Often whole strings of activities can be strung together with this ending.

Kuruk man-ianik, woi ur -ianik, am tor-ianik, musar  
kuner-ianik, ma w -eanik, sa uku wam.  
Bush go-SS garden clear-SS trees cut-SS branches  
chop -SS taro plant-SS sugar seed plant.1p.fut.  
Having gone to the bush, cleared a garden, cut down the trees,  
chopped off the branches, planted taro we will plant sugar.(Sai)

The morpheme -mara used only with third person singular subjects can also act as a recapitulation or chaining device in the same ways as -e/i(nik).

Om nawau ne-mara, juki nawau ne-won.  
Rain big come.down.-SS flood big come.down-3s.pst  
Heavy rain having fallen a big flood came down.

Pe-mara, owa tono-mara, sa je-mara, karian tatai-  
won.

come.up-SS house to enter-SS sugar eat-SS blood wipe -3s.pst  
Coming up, he entered the house, ate some sugar and then wiped  
up the blood. (Anminik)

The morpheme -moi does the same work as e/i(nik) and -mara.

\* O je-moi, nin-i(a)-aiei.  
Food eat-SS sleep-hab-3p.fut.  
Having eaten, they will sleep(habitually).

Po ou-moi, koi, po we-moi, ur ture-moi, mokoit manaiei.  
Pig get-SS come pig kill-SS soup boil-SS boys go-3p.fut  
Getting the pig, they will come, kill it, boil it and then go.  
(Sai)

Occasionally an extra morpheme -mo is inserted before the -moi. As yet I have been unable to give it any extra meaning. Is it possible that -moi is a shortened version of -momoi? I will have to investigate this more. Both could be derived from the do/put verb m-om "I do/put" A suggestion given was - "Could its occurrence be restricted to any particular final verb forms?" This will have to be investigated later.

Je -mo-moi, ra -i(a)aiei.  
eat-? -SS stay-hab-3p.fut  
Having eaten they will stay(habitually). (From same text as \*)

The effect of the focus slitic and the tenses of the following verb are things I may investigate later.

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The morpheme -matara for 1st/2nd singular has only been found so far in two natural text every time referring to the first person(first example). However I am told it is also useable for second person singular(second example).

Dumatara, ukumai oi tonmatara, Darmono -omin.  
Get-SS.1s coconut get enter-SS.1s Darmono give-1s,pst  
Getting a coconut, going in I gave it to Darmono.

Na ma ou-matara, je-mon.  
You taro get-SS.2s eat-2s.pst  
You got the taro and ate it.

## 1.2. Different subject

The different subject or referent is marked as follows:

Person	Number		
	S	D	P
1	-ta	-sa	-ta
2	-ta		
3	-nuk	-sa	-na/ma

The markers denote the number of the subject in the proceeding and present clause, but gives no indication as to the subject of the following clause.

Is po we-ta mei-ai.  
I pig hit-DS.1s die-3s.fut  
I hitting the pig, it will die.

Iu kou -sa, MaK man-owon.  
We(2) come-DS.2d MaK go-3s.pst  
We coming, MaK went. /When we arrived, Mark left.

Ik kasik nou -ta, kiro roat iw -ok -aiei.  
We outside go.down-DS.1p those men hit-0.1p-3p.fut  
(If we go outside, those men will kill us.)

Na ik ior a -ik-o-ta, ik pot-am.  
You(s) we O.K. say-0.1p-DS.2s we go -1p.fut  
You saying to us it's O.K., we will go.

Ani meie-nuk, is wai-emin  
Mother(my) die-DS.3s I cry-1s.pst  
When my mother died, I cried.

Waut ories urekeri-sa, mena ko -won.  
Wives two bring -DS.3d village come-3s.pst  
The two wives brought it and (the fire) came to the village.

Woi ure -na, ika ro am tor-ea -um  
Garden clear-DS.3p we man trees cut-hab-1p.pres  
When they(the women) have cleared the garden, we men cut down

the trees.

The -ma morpheme is rarely used. I think it is a dialect variation of -na.

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The vowel that sometimes occurs between the stem and the marker is inserted to prevent unacceptable consonant clusters. Stems that end in a vowel or sometimes "r" do not insert a vowel.

Keser -nuk, j -aiei.  
like.this-DS.3s eat-3p.fut  
He having done it like this, they will eat.

The verbs, like kou "come" and rau "stay, which have /u/ as their second vowel, distinguish the first and second different subject by changing the /u/ to /i/, as in the following examples using "kou".

1s	-	Is koita
2s	-	Na kouta
1p	-	Ik kouta
1d	-	Iu kousa
2/3d	-	Au koisa
3s	-	Ko kounuk
2/3p	-	Ak kouna

### 1.3. Apparent Exceptions to SS/DS coding.

There are some examples in texts where the same/different subject markers do not occur as one would expect.

Om nawau no -mara wa, om parak ka-mara, jetauk  
kis ko-ianik, am w-ia-u am me-ia-u  
Rain big come.down-SS.3s not rain thunder sound-SS.3s  
spirit here come-SS tree hit-hab.3s tree die-hab-3s

The big rain having not come, the thunder having sounded, the spirit of the spear coming hits(habitually) the tree and the tree dies(habitually).

There is a change of subject when the spirit comes to strike the tree, but the verb "come" is marked as same subject.

ik kar mena pot-ia, nin-ianik, tapera san pe -nuk, ik  
man-omun.  
we one village go -SS sleep-SS morning sun come.up-DS we  
go -1p.pst  
We going to a village and sleeping, in the morning when the sun  
rose, we went.

The verbs "go" and "sleep" are marked same subject, although the following subject is different.

Reesink (1982) has stated that a Switch Reference system operates in the following way: 1) It monitors the co-referentiality of the subjects in consecutive clauses, but not indiscriminately; 2) If the subject of the first clause is a strong candidate for topic-hood by being human or definite, and it is the experiaencer of the second clause, the transition is marked SS; 3) If the subject of the first clause is inanimate and indefinite and the next subject is definite or human, most languages mark the transition as DS.

Gasaway (1983) points out that in the first example above, the spirit has a lot of animacy as well as being the theme of the whole text, as well as the topic of this sentence. It may be that the spirit actually causes the rain and thunder and has the power so marked as SS. The second example follows

Reesink's principles by the fact that the "sun coming up" is inanimate, while "we" as humans are definite and so clauses are marked SS then DS.

Roberts (1987) claims that Switch Reference actually tracks themes or topics and not subjects. I will later need to look carefully at more data to verify or refute this claim 14

#### 1.4. Participant sets.

asik -et woi ur-ia-i. Woi ure -na, ika ro am  
tor-ea-um. Am toro-moi, ma we -ia -um.  
woman-pl garden clear-hab-3p.pres. garden clear-DS we man  
trees cut-hab-1p.pres trees cut -SS taro plant-hab-1pl.pres.  
The women clear the garden. Having cleared the garden, we men  
cut down the trees. Having cut down the trees we plant the taro.

The transition from women to men is marked DS, but the transition from men to men and women is marked SS. This illustrates who in the Girawa speakers' thinking can be included as participants in the same group.

In Girawa, 2nd and 3rd persons dual and plural are denoted by the same words ("au" and "ak"), so in investigating who is included in any set this needed to be considered. The following paradigm illustrates this.

3pl	includes	3s/2/3d		
2pl		2/3s/2/3d		
1pl		1/2s/1d		
3d		1/2/3p/2/3d	Depending on whether inclusive or	
exclusive.				
2d		2s/2p		
1d		1/2/3s/1/2d		
3s+		3s		
2s		2p/2d/	1s	1d/1p

I need to study more texts to verify this.

#### 2. Perfective aspect sequence medial verbs.

These medial verbs are not as common as the Head-tail linkage medial verbs. When the medial verb describes a perfective aspect action, an action that was completed or will be completed before the following action, in Girawa this is denoted by the verb marked by all the normal independent indicative endings followed by -i/us, which is homonymous with the focus clitic. Although it does refer to the main subject of the clause, at present I prefer to call it the Perfective marker. This verb never occurs sentence final, but in a non-final clause. It can occur in the future tense, but is more often found in the past tense. Same or different subject is not marked, but one can determine these from the indicative subject-tense markers which are embedded in the verbs themselves.

Kon wau woi-a mano-won-us pe -won.  
His wife garden-to go-3s.pst-perf come-3s.pst  
His wife having been to the garden came.

She didn't go to the garden in order to come, but had been there completed whatever needed doing, then came.

Kiro man po pai opok o-won-us apari-min-us imin  
-ia-im.  
That snake pig trap in got-3s.pst-perf see-1s.pst-perf afraid-  
hab-1s.pres.  
Having seen that snake caught in the pig trap I am now afraid (to go hunting alone)

The snake got caught and he saw it earlier. He subsequently became afraid

Sometimes, this form occurs in recapitulating the final verb of the previous sentence, but this is not true in most cases. 15

Au Ukarumpa pot-aieir. Pot-aieir-is, kou -sa kapenta oraut kowaiei.

They-2 Ukarumpa go-3d.fut Go-3d.fut-perf come-DS carpenter they come.3p.fut.

They two will go to Ukarumpa. Having gone,(when they will have gone) and come(back), (the) carpenters will come.

The use of -us versus -is seems to be dialectal as I have heard both on the same stem. e.g. rain-is / rain-us.

The verbs which are most usually used with perfective aspect are:

rau "stay" and ninou "sleep",

but other found are manou "go", kou "come", potou "go", noptou "go down, meieu "die" and aparau "see".

#### 2.4. Present Continuous tense-subject compounds.

Compounds marking the present continuous tense and various persons of subject are made up of the verb stem followed by the following morphemes:

1st/2nd singular -ram

3rd singular -ra

1/2/3 dual -rain

1/2/3 plural -rai

The stem always ends in its appropriate vowel before the above endings.

Question: Pita erapok? Answer: Kou-ra.

Pita where? come-pres.con.3s

Where is Peter? He's coming(now).

Is isan ro meie-won -us wai-ram.

I my man die -3s.pst-perf cry-pres.con.1s

My husband has died, (so) I am crying.

Ne an ore -rai.

Go.down water fill.up-pres.con.pl

Going down they are filling up (pots) with water.

The singular 3 person singular form is used frequently, but I have few examples of the other forms.

#### 3. Continuative aspect sequence medial verbs.

These medial verbs are, like the perfective aspect verbs, not as frequent as the Head-tail linkage verbs. The action described is continuing or proceeding whilst the action of the next clause is performed. The action taking place is continuous as described in the present continuous independent (verbs.2.4.) Simultaneous action can also be expressed in Girawa by serial verbs, which I will describe in a later section.

This construction is mostly used for the third person singular, although I have also seen it use for the third person plural. The continuative aspect medial verb consists of the verb stem followed by -rawa. It can depict same or different subject to follow.

Mokoi wai-rawa, anak aieu, "...  
 Boy cry-con mother say.3s.pres  
 As the boy is crying, the mother says, "...

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Ko apari-rawa, po jo -wa -s ne -mara, ...  
 He see -con pig bag-inside-from come.down-SS  
 As he was watching the pig coming out of the bag, ...

#### 4. Desirative aspect medial verbs.

These medial verbs act more on the clause level, (as does the infinitive of verbs, to express purpose) to express the desire of the subject of the clause. It is made up of first person future indicative marker -am, plus -rai/-raiep/-raien.

Is ro sosop-as ou -r- am -rai are rai -n.  
 I man many -foc got-01s-1s.fut-des talk stay-3p.pst.  
 Many men desiring to marry me stayed talking.

irin.  
 Kar asir anak ori an or -am -rai ne -

3d.pst  
 A woman small.sister with water fill.up-1s.fut-des go.down-  
 A woman and her small sister wanting to get water went down.

won  
 Anak rawa p -am -raiep, anak-us ep koser -  
 3s.pst  
 Mother towards go.up-1s.fut-des mother.foc fire put.out-  
 (The fire) wanting to go towards mother, she put it out.

won.  
 Ko muk -us w -am -raien, uto -mara, ipous sakau ato -  
 3s.pst  
 He spear-ins hit-1s.fut-des leave-SS hand-ins strong hold-  
 He wanted to spear it, but instead seized it with his hands.

The difference between the three forms -rai, -raiep and raien is not yet clear. The first person future marker seems to suggest an inner thought in the person doing the desiring. For instance in the last example, one can imagine the person thinking "I'd like to spear it." or "I will spear it." (Then changing his mind.)

#### 5. Imperative sequence medial verbs.

When two orders are given together to be followed out in sequence, or and order is followed by consequential clause, the initial order is followed by these endings:

singular	-nam
dual	-nair
plural	-nai

Apar-nam ninar.  
 see.-IC read.  
 Look then read.

Na en imai -nam, po nopt -ai.  
 You dog bring-IC pig come,down-3s.fut  
 You bring the dog and the pig will come down.

Kiro mena utenai, kar om o -ia raw -aiei.  
 This village leave-IC another ground get-SS stay-2p.fut.  
 Leave this village and taking other ground you will stay there.

## 6. Contrary-to-fact markers.

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The contrary-to-fact mode is marked in two ways. The contrary to fact protasis clause is marked with the ending -maro, whilst the consequential apodosis clause has a special set of subject markers on the verb.

These endings are illustrated by the following matrix:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	-wom	-wom	-wou
D	-womur		-woir
P	-wom		-woi
wom.	Apinaka po nak wa oi ko -won -maro, ik po wāpik ra-		
CF.1pl	Sisters pig little not got come-3s.pst-CF we pig not stay-		
without pigs.	If our sisters hadn't brought the piglet, we would (now) be		
	Ko aus sip mano-won-maro, ko wa rapor ra -wou.		
	He hospital go -3s.pst-CF he not well stay-CF.3s		
	If he hadn't gone to the hospital, he wouldn't be well (now).		
	Is Ukarumpa koi -min-maro, is kiro wa aparo-wom.		
	I Ukarumpa come-1s.pst-CF I that not see -CF.1s		
	If I hadn't come to Ukarumpa, I wouldn't have seen that.		

## 7. Serial Verbs.

"A serial verb construction consists of two or more verbs which occur in series with neither normal co-ordinating nor subordinating markers, which share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object-goal), and which in some sense function together semantically like a single predication." (D. James)

"Frequently one or more of the verbs exist as "stripped down" verb stems. The last verb in the series would be the only one which is fully inflected, but the specifications apply to all the verbs in the series." (R. Bugenhagen)

Both these statements hold true in Girawa.

Po oi mano-in.  
Pig get go -3p.pst.  
They got the pig and went./They took the pig.

Oi topte amai ra -won.  
Get go.up hide stay-3s.pst.                      Getting it he went up and  
stayed hiding.

In Girawa, serial verbs are used to show progression, simultaneous actions, benefactive and the distributive aspect.

### 7.1. Progression.

This may indicate movement from one location to another, or one state to another, or temporal distance.

Pot, pot, pot, pote, -- mena.  
 Go go go go -- village.  
 (he) went on and on till he reached his village.

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Is ow -a imine pote rai-min.  
 I house-in afraid go stay-1s.pst  
 I being afraid went into the house and stayed.

Ui orip rai rai pote ui koseru-won.  
 Sore with stay stay go sore break -3s.pst.  
 He stayed until the sore broke.

On a clause level, serialization of verbs can denote repetition.

Ipit me pote me pote patar -ia -(a)iei.  
 Fence put go put go finish-hab-3p.fut

They will repeated go and fetch the branches and fix them until  
 the fence is finished.

The example above show that the subject argument is shared by the serial  
 verbs. The object argument usually marked only once. In these cases the object  
 is common to both/all verbs serialized.

Au eteinak im -wate poto-won.  
 They-2 small bring-03d go -3s.pst  
 When they were small he took them.

However, in another case the object needed to be repeated in the third  
 verb.

Is-as im-wate koi pek -wato-min.  
 I-foc bring-02d come care.for-02d -1s.pst  
 I myself brought you and cared for you.

## 7.2. Simultaneous action.

This can be expressed by two constructions:

a) by use of the verb raun "to stay/remain

b) by repeating the medial verb.

a) Is tane rai -min, na is o iro -won.  
 I sit stay-1s.pst you me food give.me-3s.pst  
 While I was sitting you gave me food.

Using a medial verb construction the same sentence could be said:

Is tane rai-sa, na is o iro -won  
 I sit stay-DS you me food give.me-3s.pst  
 While I was sitting you gave me food.

These would contrast with:

Is tanoi-ta, na is o iro-won.  
 I sit -DS you me food give.me-3s.pst.  
 When I sat down you gave me food.

b) Using the repetition of the medial verb.

Jekop no -nuk, no-nuk, kon awak at'ai pe-won  
 Jekop go.down-DS go.down-DS his brother again come.up-3s.pst  
 While Jekop was going down, his brother came up again/returned.

Is kou-ta, kou-ta, meie-won.  
 I come-DS come-DS die-3s.pst  
 While I was coming, he died.

### 7.3. Benefactive.

Some transitive verbs may also include a morpheme to indicate that the subject acts on behalf of, instead of, for, or to another party. This benefactive is expressed by following the verb stem with the verb maun "to put/do" which is inflected with the object marker.

The following matrix illustrates the verb maun inflections minus the tense-subject markers:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	mur-	mus-	mur-
D	mut-		mat-
P	muk-		mar-

It will be noticed that the forms for first and third person singular are the same. In every case where the first person is indicated, the free standing pronoun is also present in the same clause. Context also makes it clear to which person the verb refers.

Kon waus ma mako mur-uwon  
 His wife taro bake do.3s0-3s.pst  
 His wife baked taro for him.

Ko isan ma mako mur-owon  
 He my taro bake do.1s0-3s.pst  
 He bake my taro for me.

Is kon o mis mur -am  
 I his food pot do.3s0.-1s,pres  
 I will cook his food for him.

Kos ik aru muk -owon.  
 He us bad do.1p0-3s.pst  
 He did wrong to us.

As the object morpheme for third person singular is the zero morpheme, serial verbs with both the object and the benefactive are not always obvious. Examples of verbs with both are:

Ko isan iu apar- O mur -uwon.  
 He my sore see -3s0 do.1s0-3s.pst  
 He looked at my sore for me.

Is okoro am kău jer we mus-om.  
 I this tree leaf mark hit.3s0 do.2s0-1s.pres  
 I am writing this letter to you

Kon mokoi anak ori kiropok ut -wat mat-e,  
His son mother with there leave-3d0 do.3d0-nf  
Leaving his(Dif.pos.) son and mother there for him, ...

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The repetitio of the Benefactive shows simultaneous action as with any other verb.

apu ätär mur-i muri ko -won.  
way show do.3s0 do.3s0 come-3s.pst  
Being continually shown the way, he came.

#### 7.4. Distributive.

The distributive aspect which indicates that the action is finished and in some way distributed or scattered is manifested in Girawa by a verb stem followed by the verb /kuraun/ "to distribute". The verb has a variety of meanings when translated into English;

tutu kuraun  
post ---inf  
to plant posts

up kuraun  
hole ---inf  
to bury (a person)

amuk kuraun  
eye ---inf  
to glance around

Ono kuraun  
Place ---inf  
to bring and leave a person at Ono.

ep uru kuraun  
fire in ---inf  
to throw into the fire

war kuraun  
ball ---inf  
to kick a ball

uku kuraun  
seeds ---inf  
to scatter seeds

uk kuraun  
hook ---inf  
to cast/throw a fishing hook

The object and benefactive morphemes occur with the free-standing verb following the stem and before the tense-person morpheme.

It is not easy to define this serial verb construction morpheme which I am calling distributive, but it does occur frequently. The fully inflected verb /kuraun/ follows other verb stems and occurs in the past tense (and also in dependent verbs.)

patar kur-ewon  
shoot dis-3s.pst  
he shoot (arrows)

ep koser kur-ewon  
fire put.out dis-3s.pst  
he put out the fire.

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jenjen jākāi kur-ewon  
spirit get.rid dis-3s.pst  
He got rid/shook off the spirit

Ak mano kur-ein  
they go- dis 3p.pst  
They went (back to their various villages after a feast)

This serial verb construction can occur together with the object or benefactive markers. The object marker occurs on the first verb, whereas the benefactive marker occurs after the distributive verb. A transition vowel is often required between the verbs.

ip - war-e kur-ein  
divide 3p0 dis-3p.pst  
they divided the food up (completely)

oi kur-e-mat-ewon  
get dis---2dB-3s.pst  
he got rid of it for us(two)

#### 7.5. Scope of negation in serial verbs

In a serial verb construction the negation occurs before the first verb of the series:

Ik wa su m- ia -um.  
we not rest do-hab-1p.pres  
We don't always rest.

Is wa ute kow -am.  
I not leave come-is.fut.  
I will not leave and come.

Ik ātai wa im -ware ar -ia -m.  
We again not bring-3p0 walk-hab-1p.pres.  
We will not walk and bring them again.

The negation thus effects the whole clause. Two negations in the one clause do not occur.

#### 7.6. Lexical serialisation.

If lexical serialisation indicates that the composite meaning of the serialised structure is different from or goes beyond the sum of the semantic contributions of the individual verbs, then I am not sure yet that Girawa contains any. But the following serialised verbs often occur together:

oi kou  
get come.3s.pres He brings it.

oi manou  
get go.3s.pres He takes it.

imāi kou  
bring come.3s.pres He fetches him(a person).

(wenuk meiewon.  
hit.DS die.3s.pst He killed it.)

## Abbreviations Used.

CF	contrary-to-fact marker
con	continuative
D	dual
des	desirative
dis	distributive
DO	direct object
DS	different subject
du	dubitative
fut	future tense
hab	habitual
IC	imperative conjoiner
O	Object
imp	imperative
inf	infinitive
ins	instrument
IR	irrealis marker
p/pl/P	plural
perf	perfective
pres	present tense
pst	past tense
QM	question marker
rep	repetitive
s/S	single
SS	same subject
V	appropriate vowel