Summer Institute of Linguistics

Pouye

Grammar

Essentials

Alternate/previous name: Bouye

ISO 639-3 (Ethnologue) Code: [BYE]

Lumi District, Sandaun Province

Papua New Guinea

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Contents

This entire paper is written using one font only: Doulos SIL [True Type Font, Unicode].

Cover page designed by Rocky Dede. Photo is of a tropical rainforest within the Pouye area. The side border is Pouye artwork.

List of Abbreviations

1	1st person		IR	irrealis
2	2nd person		LOC	location
3	3rd person		NCA	non-causative
ACP	accompaniment		NEG	negation
ADJ	adjectiviser		NOM	nominaliser
BEN	benefactive		OBJ	object
CMP	completely		P	plural
CMPB	completely and beyond		PAS	permanent aspect
COM	coming toward		PDG	Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin)
CONT	continuous aspect			
D	dual		POS	possessive
DEB	debitive		POT	potential
DEM	demonstrative		PRF	perfective aspect
DIR	direction		PRG	progressive aspect
DNH	downhill		PRH	prohibitive
DNS	downstream		PRT	partially
EMPH	emphatic		PSE	possessive exclusive
FCS	focus		PUR	purpose
FRUS	frustratedly		QCK	quickly
GOM	going away from		R	realis
HAB	habitual		REP	repetitive, again
HRT	hortative		RFL	reflexive
ICP	begin, inception		S	singular
IMP	imperative		TMP	temporal
INAB	inability		TWD	toward (patient)
INC	incapably		UNS	unsuccessfully
INST	instrument		UPH	uphill
INT	intensifier		UPS	upstream

1. Introduction

Pouye is a Papuan language, spoken by approximately 1400 speakers[1] in the Lumi District, Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea. The language area is indicated on the map below.

MAP 1
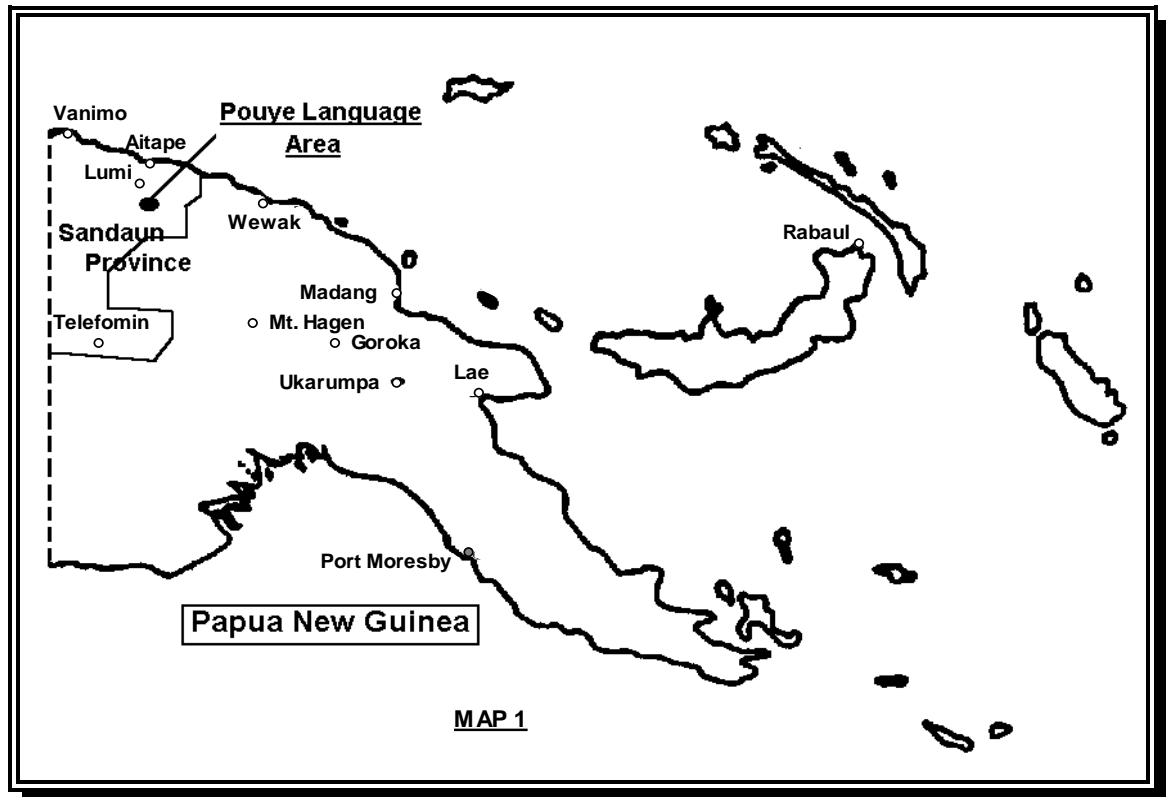
The language name "Pouye" means "none". In past documents the alternate spelling Bouye can be found. The ISO 639-3 (International Organisation for Standardisation) code for Pouye is BYE (Lewis, 2009: 633).

The language is classified as Sepik family, Ram (Lewis, 2009: 633). Languages in the same family are Awtuw and Karawa (Laycock & Z'graggen, 1977: 737; Lewis, 2009: 633). A grammar of the Awtuw language (Feldman, 1986), shows some similarities to the Pouye language, with approximately 30-40% of the morphemes cognate, as well as similar grammatical structures. Pouye and Karawa share a 67%

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[1] As per the 2000 National Census (National Statistical Office, 2002: 4), plus a study done by Rocky and Wendy Dede. The 2000 National Census lists approximately 1100 speakers. Discussions with people in the Pouye area revealed that there are more Pouye speaking people living in other parts of the country, which led to the total number of approximately 1400.

lexical similarity (Lewis, 2009: 633). Karawa, however, is now close to extinction. All remaining Karawa speakers also speak Pouye, and most of them are no longer able to speak pure Karawa.

Pouye is spoken in seven different villages. There are two dialects; six villages speak the main dialect and one village, Maurom, speaks a slightly different dialect, which is still at least 81% cognate with the main dialect. Most of the differences are phonetic changes (Ferree and Ferree, 1995: 3).

Previous studies on Pouye include "Organised Phonology Data, Bouye Language" (Ferree and Ferree, 1993), "Sociolinguistic report of the Pouye (Bouye) language group" (Ferree and Ferree, 1995), "Social Organization Paper of the Pouye Language Group" (Ferree and Ferree, 1996), Literacy studies "Pouye" (Ferree, 2000) and "Organised Phonology Data" (Ferree, Ferree and Dede, 2006).

The corpus of data of over 100 pages used in this analysis was collected by Steve Ferree, Rocky Dede and Wendy Dede between the years 1992 and 2004. The principal language helpers for this paper have been Barnabas Tuma, Peter Maiyena and Ben Yuwei. The data consists mainly of elicited stories and events by Pouye speakers. This includes traditional and personal narrative in first and third person as well as procedural texts.

Pouye is an SOV language. The verb words contain most of the information in a sentence.

2. Phonology

The texts in this paper are written using the current Trial Orthography, as described in the "Revised Pouye Organised Phonology Data (OPD)" by Ferree, Ferree and Dede (2006). The following is a brief description of the Pouye phonology according to what has been discovered so far.

Pouye has 12 consonants including three with secondary articulation and 16 vowels including seven vowel glides. The orthography has only six symbols for vowels as there are a few undifferentiated vowels. The orthography is still in its trial stage and will most likely change in the next few years.

2.1 Consonants

TABLE 1: CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p	t		k
Nasal	m	n		
Trill		r		
Approximant			j	
Lateral approximant		l		

w	voiced labial-velar approximant
t^w	voiceless alveolar labialised plosive
k^w	voiceless velar labialised plosive
t^j	voiceless alveolar palatalized plosive

The following table gives an overview of the consonant phonemes, their allophones and the orthographic representation. More information concerning the allophones can be found in the "Revised Pouye Organised Phonology Data (OPD)" (Ferree, Ferree and Dede, 2006).

TABLE 2: CONSONANT PHONEMES, ALLOPHONES AND ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

Orthographic Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
p	/p/	voiceless bilabial plosive	[p/b]
t	/t/	voiceless alveolar plosive	[t/d]
k	/k/	voiceless velar plosive	[k/g]
m	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	[m]
n	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal	[n]
r	/r/	voiced alveolar trill	[r]
y	/j/	voiced palatal semivowel	[j]
l	/l/	voiced alveolar lateral	[l]
w	/w/	voiced labial-velar semivowel	[w]
tw	/tʷ/	voiceless alveolar labialised plosive	[tʷ]
kw	/kʷ/	voiceless velar labialised plosive	[kʷ]
ty	/tʲ/	voiceless alveolar palatalized plosive	[tʲ]

2.2 Vowels and vowel glides

TABLE 3: VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i ɨ		u
	I		
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	ɛ	ə	
Open	a		

The following table gives an overview of the vowel phonemes, their allophones and the orthographic representation.

TABLE 4: VOWEL PHONEMES, ALLOPHONES AND ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

Orthographic Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
i	/i/	close front vowel	[i]
ɨ	/ɨ/	close central vowel	[ɨ/ʉ]
u	/u/	close back rounded vowel	[u]
i	/I/	near-close front vowel	[I]
e	/e/	close-mid front vowel	[e]
o	/o/	close-mid back vowel	[o]
e	/ɛ/	open-mid front vowel	[ɛ]
a	/ə/	mid central vowel	[ə]
a	/a/	open front vowel	[a]

Pouye contains seven vowel glides which are presented in the following table as well as their orthographic symbols. They are considered to be distinct vowel units in Pouye.

TABLE 5: VOWEL GLIDE PHONEMES, ALLOPHONES AND ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

Orthographic Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
au	/a^u/	open front with close back rounded vowel glide	[a^u]
au	/ə^u/	mid central with close back rounded vowel glide	[ə^u]
ou	/o^u/	close-mid back with close back rounded vowel glide	[o^u]
ai	/a^i/	open front with close front vowel glide	[a^i]
ai	/ə^i/	mid central with close front vowel glide	[ə^i]
ei	/e^i/	close-mid front with close front vowel glide	[e^i]
Iy	/I^i/	near-close front with close front vowel glide	[I^i]

2.3 Syllable structure

Pouye has the following syllable patterns: V, VV, VC, VVC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, CCV, CCVV, CCVC. Consonant clusters within a syllable may consist of a plosive followed by

a trill or approximant. The only example of two plosives in a consonant cluster is the velar plosive /k/ followed by the alveolar plosive /t/. A sequence of two vowels in a syllable is always interpreted as a vowel glide.

Syllable stress most commonly occurs on the penultimate syllable. If *wɨ* or *wo* are present in the penultimate position the stress if deferred to an adjacent syllable.

(1) / w*ɨl.**ouk** /   'snake'

(2) /**ka**.*wo.wi* /   'white'

See the following table for the complete syllable distribution. For each syllable pattern there are examples for a whole word and then in word initial, medial and final position. Examples are given in phonemic representation.

TABLE 6: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Type	Example	Gloss
V	**i**	'name'
	a.na	'uncle'
	pi.**a**.pɨ	'teeth'
	ja.kri.**a**	'snake species'
VV	**ei**	'garamut/slit drum'
	əu.jɨ.kai	'sister's husband'
	me.**əu**.ri	'unable to say'
	tu.ri.**ai**	'to go upstream'
VC	**əl**	'fish'
	ok.rei	'arrow type'
	wɨr.**an**.kar	'plant (species)'
	tɨr.nək.im.**ɨr**	'submerge'
VVC	**auk**	'cold (flu)'
	əuk.tIl	'clouds'
	rain.**ouk**.lai	'liking again'
	wɨl.**ouk**	'snake'
CV	**ni**	'go!'
	k**ə**.wo.wi	'white'
	ə.**wa**.li	'fly (species)'

	ar.**pa**	'he'
CVV	**mau**	'forest'
	jau.wi	'how'
	a.**wai**.jɨ	'fishnet'
	ri.**lai**	'doing'
CVC	**tar**	'fill'
	nam.kɨ	'ours'
	mɛl.**kat**.na	'snake (species)'
	jan.**wom**	'children'
CVVC	**keit**	'bamboo'
	wail.wɨ.ki	'pregnant'
	mək.**naim**.ta	'thanks a lot'
	wa.til.**wouk**	'bandicoot'
CCV	**kli**	'disappear'
	kro.nɨ	'dry'
	kul.**kla**.ke.jɨ	'green coconut'
	ka.**prə**	'quickly'
CCVV	**krai**	'old site'
	prai.jɨ	'skilled hunter'
	ku.**kwai**.lu	'on (the) fire pit'
	tɨm.**krei**	'go shoo away'
CCVC	**trar**	'brother-in-law'
	prɪn.prɪn	'bird (species)'
	tɨm.ki.kɨl.**pril**.wɨ	'drive out'
	jɪn.**prɪn**	'you yourself'

2.4 Morphophonemics

There are several morphophonemic alternations that occur in Pouye. Currently, when a deletion of a phoneme occurs, the word or phrase is spelled phonetically. There is some discussion among the speakers as to whether to keep the phonemes that are

deleted between words or not, or for some instances to use an apostrophe in their place, like contractions in English.

2.5 Morphophonemics within Words

2.5.1 Trill deletion

The trill is deleted from the nominal object marker –*rɨ* following a trill or a lateral approximant. It is also deleted after one syllable nouns ending in a nasal (further analysis is needed). It remains -*rɨ* following a vowel, a plosive, or multi-syllable word ending in a nasal.

(3) /jar-**rɨ**/   *[jarɨ]*
who-OBJ
'whom'

(4) /pol-**rɨ**/   *[polɨ]*
Paul-OBJ
'Paul'

(5) /wan-**rɨ**/   *[wanɨ]*
1S-OBJ
'me'

(6) /jou-**rɨ**/   *[joᵘrɨ]*
water/river-OBJ
'water/river'

(7) /wəlouk-**rɨ**/   *[wəloᵘkrɨ]*
snake-OBJ
'snake'

(8) /ərpam-**rɨ**/   *[ərpamrɨ]*
3P-OBJ
'them'

The locative marker –*ru* 'LOC' is realised as –*u* in fast speech when the root word ends in /n/, /l/, /r/, or /t/. This, however, is not the case if the root ends in a vowel, /p/, /k/, or /m/. (More information on the locative marker can be found in §3.1.1.)

(9) /tɨlpan-**ru**/   *[tɨlpanu]*
palm.floor-LOC
'onto the floor'

(10) /tau wail-**ru**/   *[taᵘ waⁱlu]*
tree tree.keel-LOC
'at the keel of a tree'

(11) /jIprar-**ru**/   *[jIpraru]*
chicken-LOC
'on the chicken'

(12) /pɨrɨt-**ru**/   *[pɨrɨtu]*
ground-LOC
'on the ground'

(13) /ləu-**ru**/   *[ləᵘru]*
house-LOC
'to the house/village'

(14) /mɨlɨp-**ru**/   *[mɨlɨpru]*
nut.tree-LOC
'on the nut tree (galip)'

(15) /ouk-**ru**/   *[oᵘkru]*
ridge-LOC
'on the ridge'

(16) /maurom-**ru**/   *[maᵘromru]*
Maurom-LOC
'at Maurom'

2.5.2 Vowel epenthesis

When a morpheme is added to a word causing two identical plosives to become adjacent, an /ɨ/ is inserted between the plosives.

(17) /t-t*I*nri-ke-n*i*n-a/   [t*i*t*I*nriken*i*na]

R-revenge-PRF-PAS-awhile

'had had revenge'

(18) /əm*i*k-**ki**/   [əm*i*k*i*k*i*]

night-TMP

'at night'

When a morpheme is added to a word causing two consonants to be adjacent that contradict the rules for syllable patterns (see §2.3), an /*i*/ is inserted at the morpheme boundary creating a proper syllable. When there is a syllable break at the morpheme boundary, the insertion of an /*i*/ does not take place.

In a few cases the two consonants coalesce into one phoneme, as described in §2.5.3.

(19) /wa**n**-**m**-wi-ke/   [wan*i*mwike]

DEB-GOM-be-PRF

'allow to go there and stay'

(20) /w*i*lau**k**-**m**ta/   [w*i*lá*u*k*i*mta]

good-INT

'great'

(21) /t-jam**r**-**m**ar-tow*i*-ke-n*i*n/   [t*i*amr*i*martow*i*ken*i*n]

R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS

'had cut by swinging uphill'

(22) /**n**-**k*i***/   [n*i*k*i*]

IMP-get

'get (it)'

(23) /**w**-**m**-k*i*-n*i*n/   [w*i*mk*i*n*i*n]

IR-GOM-get-PAS

'intended to get'

(24) /ʎ-ɛ**j**-**k**lat*i*-n*i*m/   [tej*i*klat*i*n*i*m]

R-COM-open-P

'they come and open up (the cooking pit)'

The following two examples have a syllable break at the morpheme boundary, so there is no insertion of /ɨ/.

(25) /m-ərət-ke-nɨm/   [mərətkenɨm]

GOM-gather-PRF-P

'they gathered there'

(26) /nam-ki/   [namkɪ]

1P-ACP

'with us'

2.5.3 Consonant coalescence

When at a morpheme boundary two identical nasals, trills or lateral approximants are adjacent, the two phonemes coalesce into one phoneme. For the trill this is also described under trill deletion above (§2.5.1).

(27) /t-ətɨn-nɨn/   [tətɨnɨn]

R-sew-PAS

'has sewn'

(28) /jar-rɨ/   [jarɨ]

who-OBJ

'whom'

(29) /t-Il-lai/   [tɪlaⁱ]

R-weave-CONT

'weaving'

This rule does not apply to the prefix *n-* 'imperative' in order to distinguish between the prefix and the root. Instead vowel epenthesis takes place (see §2.5.2).

(30) /n-nək/   [nɨnək]

IMP-hold

'hold'

15

2.5.4 Approximant consonant epenthesis

Approximant consonants are inserted to separate two vowels at morpheme boundaries. The palatal approximant /j/ is used after the close front vowels /e/ and /i/, the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/, the near-close front vowel /I/ as well as the close central vowel /ɨ/, and the labial-velar approximant /w/ is used after the close back vowel /u/, the close mid back vowel /o/ the mid central vowel /ə/ or the open front vowel /a/. The chart below visualizes the distribution of the vowels that take the two approximants. The vowels above the diagonal line take /j/, the vowels below take the /w/.

TABLE 7: VOWEL DISTRIBUTION FOR APPROXIMANT CONSONANT EPENTHESIS

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ɨ	u
		I	
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	ɛ	ə	
Open	a		

(31) /t-ak**e**-**ɨ**r/   *[takejɨr]*
      R-see-around
      'look around'

(32) /t-ə-lai-**a**/   *[təlá ͭja]*
      R-consume-CONT-HAB
      'usually eat (considered edible)'

(33) /ra-l**ə**-**a**tjɨ/   *[raləwaˡ ͭɨ]*
      REP-down-come
      'come down again'

(34) /kw-at**u**-**o**-ke-nɨn/   *[kʷatuwokenɨn]*
      QCK-hang.up-up-PRF-PAS
      'quickly hung up (his bag) and left'

> (35) /ra-ujauwə-kərjɨ-nɨm/   [rawujaᵘwəkərjɨnɨm]
>
>   *REP*-walk-PRG-P
>
>   'they are walking again'

One exception is with the hortative prefix *pa-*, that takes the lateral approximant /l/ before any following vowel, as shown in example (36).

> (36) /pa-i-nɨm/   [palinɨm]
>
>   HRT-go-P
>
>   'let's go'

Another exception is for an /a/ followed by /e/ or /ɛ/, which is described in §2.5.5 below.

2.5.5 Vowel deletion

When an /a/ is followed by an /e/ or /ɛ/ at a morpheme break, the /a/ is deleted.

> (37) /t-ja-ɛj-ɨr-wɨt/   [tʲejɨrwɨt]
>
>   R-up-COM-with-stand
>
>   'come up and stand with'

> (38) /ra-ɛj-ake/   [rejake]
>
>   REP-COM-see
>
>   'come and look again'

> (39) /t-wa-ɛj-kɨ-nɨn/   [tʷejkɨnɨn]
>
>   R-later-COM-get-PAS
>
>   'later came and got'

2.5.6 Labial-velar approximant deletion

The suffix −*wo* 'only' becomes −*o* when it is in the penultimate position. The syllable stress causes the −*wo* to become −*o*, since *wo* cannot fall in the penultimate position; semantically this suffix is emphasised. If the −*wo* is the ultimate syllable of a word, and therefore no longer carries the syllable stress, it does not change to −*o* (see §2.3 Syllable structure).

> (40) /wan-wo-kwɨ/   [wanokʷɨ]
>
>   1S-only-POS
>
>   'my/mine only'

(41) /prə-wan-**wo**/   *[prəwanwo]*

RFL-1S-only

'myself only'

2.5.7 Dissimilation

When the combination of the prefixes *na-* 'potential' or *ya-* 'negation' and *t-* 'realis' is followed by a morpheme beginning with a plosive, the realis marker becomes /r/.

(42) /na-**t**-par-lai/   *[narparlaⁱ]*

POT-R-sick-CONT

'is sick'

(43) /na-**t**-kapri/   *[narkapri]*

POT-R-untie

'unties'

(44) /ya-**t**-patɨ-tamu/   *[yarpatɨtamu]*

NEG-R-twist-break

'didn't break'

2.5.8 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony occurs with compound words; the open front vowel /a/ in the first part of the compound becomes the open-mid central vowel /ə/, agreeing with that vowel in the second part.

(45) a. *mau, lau*   /m**a**u/ /l**ə**u/   'bush', 'house'

       b. *maulau*   /m**ə**ulə**u*/   'bush-house'

No other examples have yet been found for this morphophonemic change. More information about compound nouns can be found in §3.1.6.

2.6 Morphophonemics between Word Breaks

2.6.1 Alveolar plosive epenthesis

The alveolar plosive /t/ is inserted at the end of a word when the following word begins with an /m/. If a word already ends in /t/, then vowel epenthesis takes place (see §2.5.2).

(46) /pe   me/   *[pɛt me]*

EMPH   say

'says/said'

(47) /pa-ki   me/   *[pakɨt me]*
      FCS-TMP   say

'then said'

(48) /lot   meipɨr-ke/   *[lotɨt meʲpɨrke]*
      Lot   laugh-PRF

'Lot laughed'

2.6.2 Trill deletion

A similar change to the one with the locative marker –*ru* described in §2.5.1 above can be seen with the word *riyɨ* 'now'. The trill /r/ is deleted when the preceding verb ends in a /n/. Since some examples have been found where the /r/ is not deleted, this morphophonemic change might be due to fast speech as well.

(49) /ja-t-i-nɨn   **riyɨ**/   *[jatinɨnijɨ]*
      NEG-R-go-PAS   now

'still has not gone'

(50) /t-ɛj-kw-ətɨr-nɨn   **riyɨ**/   *[tekʷətɨrnɨn riyɨ]*
      R-COM-QCK-die-PAS   now

'now they would die quickly'

(51) /tɨ-t-m-okɨpɛi   riyɨ/   *[tɨtmokɨpɛi riyɨ]*
      R-ICP-GOM-cook.in.fire   now

'we started to cook'

2.7 Phonology of loan words

Most loan words in Pouye are of Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin) origin. Many have come into the language when there were no prior terms, such as days of the week, or in the case of numbers higher than five, which can otherwise become very long using the Pouye system (see §3.4.1 Numerals). Sometimes Pouye speakers mix Tok Pisin words with Pouye in their speech, even if the particular word exists in Pouye. For this reason the abbreviation 'PDG' is included in the gloss of these words to indicate that they are Pidgin words and not part of the Pouye language.

The borrowed words maintain Tok Pisin orthographic conventions for the phonemes /b, d, g, v, s/. The syllable structure of Pouye agrees with that of Tok Pisin. The following examples show the orthography and use of borrowed words in a sentence context.

(52) *Wa arpam Atmoyau t-uriai-nɨm*   **sevenpela   man**.
and 3P   Atmoyau R-go.upstream-P   seven   PDG.man
'Seven men went upstream to Atmoyau.'

(53) *Rapiyɨ, pina, ri-yɨ*   *t-wa-ey-kɨ*   *rapiyɨ, pina   wa*
bow   knife this-OBJ   R-later-COM-get   bow   knife   and

kwaiyɨ **ain   nabaut**.
 what   iron PDG.around
'Get bows and knives and any other weapons lying around.'

Loan words can take affixes from Pouye.

(54) *Nam* **sande-ki**   *Kiliauto lau   t-yamrɨ-wi-ke-nɨm.*
1P   Sunday-TMP   Kiliauto village R-UPH-be-PRF-P
'On Sunday we were up at Kiliauto village.'

The trill deletion rule described in § 2.5.1 applies for borrowed words. Nouns ending in /s/ follow this rule.

(55) /barnabas-**rɨ**/   *[barnabasɨ]*
Barnabas-OBJ
'Barnabas'

One word was found that did not originate from Tok Pisin. There are neighbouring unrelated languages that use the same word, but it is not clear from which language it is originated.

(56) */mamruku/*   'crowned pigeon'

Other words have been coined for objects new to Pouye culture, as shown in section §8.5 Coining.

3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

In this section we will discuss the various types of Pouye nouns and noun phrases. From this point on throughout the remainder of the paper the orthography will be used for examples in Pouye rather than the phonemic or phonetic representations.

3.1 Nouns

A noun is a word denoting a person, place, object or idea. It functions as the head of a noun phrase. Pouye nouns do not have gender classification, as is the case with other Sepik area languages, like Awtuw (Feldman 1986) , Au (Scorza 1976) and Namia (Feldpausch and Feldpausch 1992). Pouye nominal suffixes, which are optional, include postpositions, intensification, plurality, object marking and possession. They are discussed in more detail below. A large number of nouns are derived from verb roots which are nominalised with the suffix –*yɨ* 'nominaliser'. Below are a few examples:

(57)   *a-**yɨ***   eat-NOM   'food'

(58)   *nak-**yɨ***   hold-NOM   'holder/tongs'

(59)   *ak-**yɨ***   sit-NOM   'chair'

3.1.1 Postpositions

The suffixes *-ki, -ki, -ki, -wa* and *-ru* are nominal postpositions.

There are three homophonous *-ki* postpositions; one is used to mark time (TMP), another marks instrument (INST) and the third marks accompaniment (ACP).

(60)   Yirapri-**ki**   nam   na-t-i.
       afternoon-TMP   1P   POT-R-go

       'In the afternoon we will go.'

(61)   *Nam sande-**kɨ***   *Kiliauto   lau   t-yamrɨ-wi-ke-nɨm.*
       1P   Sunday-TMP   Kiliauto   village   R-UPH-be-PRF-P

       'On Sunday we were up at Kiliauto village.'

(62)   *ayɨ   pa   nɨ-kɨ   nakyɨ-**kɨ***
       food FCS   IMP-get   holder (tongs)-INST

       'get the food with tongs'

(63) Wan t-i-ke   alau-**ki**.

1S   R-shoot-PRF   arrow-INST

'I shot it with an arrow'

(64) Wan yan-**ki**   na-t-i.

1S   child-ACP   POT-R-go

'I will go with the child.'

(65) Nam tɨlɨm-**ki**   Yampo lau   t-una-ke.

1P   woman-ACP   Yampo village   R-sleep-PRF

'We with our wives slept at Yampo village.'

The suffix -*wa* signals direction.

(66) Wan lau-wa   t-i.

1S   house-DIR   R-go

'I go to the house.'

(67) Yampo-wa

Yampo-DIR

'to Yampo (area)'

The suffix -*ru* signals location, as in 'at', 'in', and 'on'. In fast speech, -*ru* may become -*u* (as discussed in §2.5.1 Trill deletion above).

(68) Arpa lau-ru   t-wi-ke.

3S   house-LOC   R-be-PRF

'He/she is at/in the house.'

(69) Tɨlpan-u   n-ɨk.

palm.floor-LOC   IMP-sit

'Sit on the palm floor.'

3.1.2 Intensification

The suffix -*lwɨ* when added to a noun means 'big' or 'large'. (Note in Section 4.1 Verbs, that -*lwɨ* can also be used to indicate intensification on a verb.)

(70) yau-**lwɨ**

pig-INT

'a large pig'

(71)   weitan-**lwɨ**
        part-INT
        'a large part'

Note there is a related adjective *luwɨ*, meaning 'much, many, plenty' (see §3.4.2 Non-numeral Quantifiers).

The suffix -*mta* serves as an intensifier of the noun, similar to the meaning 'really' or 'truly'. It also can be added to noun phrases (see §3.5.2 Intensified Noun Phrase).

(72)   nɨp-**ɨmta**
        trail-INT
        'real/big trail'

(73)   aya-**mta**
        father-INT
        'real father' (infers having many children)

3.1.3 Plurality

The suffix -*wom* is used to make a noun plural. It can be used for objects, people and also for proper nouns.

(74)   apɨ-**wom**
        bag-P
        'bags'

(75)   tɨlɨm-**wom**
        woman-P
        'women'

(76)   aya-**wom**
        father-P
        'fathers'

(77)   yau-**wom**
        pig-P
        'pigs'

(78) *Aro-**wom***

Aro-P

'the Aro clan people'

(79) *Yelɨplou-**wom***

Yelɨplou.village-P

'the Yelɨplou village people'

(80) *Daniel-**wom***

Daniel-P

'Daniel and his group'

Some mass nouns like 'water' or 'rain', as well as ideas, cannot take the plural morpheme. Also, if a quantifier is used in a noun phrase, the noun cannot take the plural marker.

(81) *luwɨ   yau*

many pig

'many pigs'

The plural suffix *–yen* is used instead of *-wom* for the following groups:

(82) *lalɨm-**yen***

young.woman-P

'young (unmarried) woman'

(83) *kale-**yen***

young.man-P

'young (unmarried) men'

(84) *pikam-**yen***

sister-P

'sisters'

(85) *mo-**yen***

mother's.brother's.kin-P

'mother's brother's kin'

(86) *auwa-yen*

mother's.father's.kin-P

'mother's father's kin'

Another plural form is to put natural groups together forming compounds:

(87) *ami   aya*

mother   father

'parents (meaning older women and men)'

(88) *tɨlɨm   awɨk*

woman   man

'people (general reference to women and men as a group)'

3.1.4 Object Marking

The suffix *-rɨ* functions as object marker, which in some morphophonemic contexts can change to *-ɨ* (as discussed in §2.5.1 Trill deletion).

Below the object marker is used with regular SOV word order:

(89) *mati   paplo   nam-ɨ   t-ake*

now   buffalo   1P-OBJ   R-see

'now the buffalo sees us'

(90) *Wan   Rapail-ɨ   t-a-orɨ.*

1S   Raphael-OBJ   R-first-call

'I first called out to Raphael.'

The object marker can be left out if the object is in the default position within a clause.

(91) *Nam youk   mar-towɨ-lai.*

1P   grass   swing-cut-CONT

'We (all) cut the grass.'

(92) *Tɨlɨm-wom pei-kɨ   pei   kalo   takwel*

woman-P   palm.sheet-ACP   palm.sheet   bark.rope   dry.bamboo

kar-o-nɨ-nɨm.

carry-up-PAS-P

'The women carried up palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo.'

If the subject of the clause is already known, the object may be stated first, with or without an object marker. Both examples are taken from the middle of a story where the subject had been stated in a previous clause.

(93)　*mati　nam-ɨ　　t-ake*

　　　now　1P-OBJ　　R-see

　　　'now [it] sees us'

(94)　*Tunde　　　yirapri　　　**gras**　　　mar-towɨ-pla-ke.*

　　　Tuesday　　　afternoon　　　PDG.grass　　　swing-cut-CMP-PRF

　　　'Tuesday afternoon, we finished cutting the grass.'

When the object is not in the normal object position, the object marker clarifies which noun is the object of the clause.

(95)　*Yin-ɨ　　moyeyɨ　na-t-o.*

　　　2S-OBJ　　enemy　POT-R-stab

　　　'The enemy might attack you.'

(96)　*Bob　na-t-ir　　　pailet-ɨ.*

　　　Bob　POT-R-scold　　pilot-OBJ

　　　'Bob got angry with the pilot.'

3.1.5 Possession

Nouns mark possession with the suffix *-wɨ*. This suffix is also used for the third person singular pronoun *arpa*, while *-kɨ* and *-kwɨ* are possessive markers for all other pronouns (see section 3.2 Pronouns for more details).

(97)　*Saimon-**wɨ**　lau*

　　　Simon-POS　house

　　　'Simon's house'

(98)　*Tutu-**wɨ**　　　atwaryɨ*

　　　Tutu.clan-POS　　story

'Tutu clan's story'

When referring to one's own body part, the possession word *wan-kɨ* '1S-POS' is not used. Instead *wan-ɨ* '1S-OBJ' is used. However when referring to somebody else's body part the possessive suffix is used.

(99) *Wan-ɨ*   *wai*   *luwɨ.*
      1S-OBJ   stomach plenty
      'My stomach (is) full.'

(100) *Ri-kwɨ*   *wai*   *luwɨ.*
       3S-POS   stomach plenty
       'His/her stomach (is) full.'

3.1.6 Compound Nouns

Pouye has a number of compound noun words. They can be formed by no more than single nouns. The second part functions as head so that the first element modifies the second. The stress of the words do not change in the compound. Below are some examples:

TABLE 8: COMPOUND NOUNS

Compound noun	Single nouns	Gloss	Free translation
maulau	*mau + lau*	bush + house	'house in the bush'
youlau	*you + lau*	water + place	'lake'
taumakwɨ	*tau + makwɨ*	tree + top	'tree top'
mawayɨ	*mau + ayɨ*	bush + food	'food from the bush'
yowawɨ	*you + ayɨ*	water + food	'water food (animals from rivers/lakes)'
tawayɨ	*tau + ayɨ*	tree + food	'fruit/nuts'

3.1.7 Noun Suffix Order

Nouns can either stand alone or take up to three suffixes. In most cases nouns do not take more than one suffix, but there are a few examples of two and three suffixes that co-occur. The noun suffix order is noun-intensifier-plurality-postposition-possession-object marking as the following table shows.

TABLE 9: NOUN SUFFIX ORDER

Noun	Intensifier -lwɨ/-mta	Plurality -wom	Postposition -ki/-wa/-ru	Possession -wɨ	Object marking -rɨ
tɨlɨ wife			*-ki* ACP		*-rɨ* OBJ
'with his wife'					
tɨlɨm woman		*-wom* P			*-rɨ* OBJ
'women'					
Aro Aro		*-wom* P	*-ki* ACP		
'with Aro's people'					
nɨp trail	*-mta* INT		*-ru* LOC		
'to the correct road'					
solwara ocean	*-mta* INT				*-rɨ* OBJ
'the big ocean'					
yau pig				*-wɨ* POS	*-rɨ* OBJ
'the pig's'					
lau house			*-ru* LOC	*-wɨ* POS	

'for the house'			
aya	*-wom*	*-ki*	*-wɨ*
father	P	TMP	POS
'fathers' from the past'			
yau	*-lwɨ*	*-wom*	*-ki*
pig	INT	P	ACP
'with the big pigs'			

One example was found where two postpositions occur on the same noun.

(101) *maulakɨ-wa-ki*

head-DIR-INST

'toward and with the head'

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Pronouns are used to replace a noun or noun phrase. Pouye personal pronouns distinguish three different persons. For the third person there are two different sets of pronouns, and presently it is not clear why this is the case and when exactly which set is used. It seems that third person pronouns beginning with *ar-* are used at the first occurrence, whereas those beginning with *r-* are used in regular discourse where the pronouns occur more often. Third person pronouns beginning with *ar-* could be translated as "this man/woman, those men/women" while the ones beginning with *r-* could better be translated as "he/she/they." Pouye pronouns distinguish between singular, dual and plural number. There is no gender distinction.

Pronouns can be marked with possessive, possessive exclusive, object or reflexive affixes. In the possessive exclusive and the reflexive form, the two third person pronouns are the same. In the third person the possessive exclusive form is derived from the reflexive pronoun form and the possessive exclusive suffix.

Below is the pronoun chart for Pouye, including pronouns and pronoun words.

TABLE 10: PRONOUN CHART

	Subject	Possessive	Possessive Exclusive	Object	Reflexive
1st Person					
Singular	*wan*	*wan-kɨ*	*wan-kairɨ*	*wan-ɨ*	*pra-wan*
Dual	*nan*	*nan-kwɨ*	*nan-kwairɨ*	*nan-ɨ*	*pra-nan*
Plural	*nam*	*nam-kɨ*	*nam-kairɨ*	*nam-ɨ*	*pra-nam*
2nd Person					
Singular	*yin*	*yin-kwɨ*	*yin-kwairɨ*	*yin-ɨ*	*yin-prin*
Dual	*yintyin*	*yintyin-kwɨ*	*yintyin-kwairɨ*	*yintyin-ɨ*	*yin-prin-tyin*
Plural	*yim*	*yim-kɨ*	*yim-kairɨ*	*yim-ɨ*	*yim-prim*
3rd Person ar-					
Singular	*arpa*	*arpa-wɨ*	*yip-ri-kwairɨ*	*arpa-rɨ*	*yip-ri*
Dual	*arpau*	*arpau-kɨ*	*yip-rau-kairɨ*	*arpau-rɨ*	*yip-rau*
Plural	*arpam*	*arpam-kɨ*	*yip-ram-kairɨ*	*arpam-rɨ*	*yip-ram*
3rd Person r-					
Singular	*ri*	*ri-kwɨ*	*yip-ri-kwairɨ*	*ri-yɨ*	*yip-ri*
Dual	*rau*	*rau-kɨ*	*yip-rau-kairɨ*	*rau-rɨ*	*yip-rau*
Plural	*ram*	*ram-kɨ*	*yip-ram-kairɨ*	*ram-ɨ*	*yip-ram*

All the pronouns in the chart above can be modified with the object marker.

(102) *yin-ɨ-kwɨ*

2S-OBJ-POS

'yours (OBJ)'

(103) *pra-wan-ɨ*

RFL-1S-OBJ

'myself (OBJ)'

Pronouns can take postposition markers as well.

(104) *yip-ri-ki*

RFL-3S-ACP

'himself with (us)'

The suffix -*wo* adds the meaning 'only' or 'alone' to any pronoun. This suffix comes immediately after the pronoun root or the reflexive pronoun form, and before any other pronoun suffixes.

(105)   a. *pra-wan-wo*   RFL-1S-only   'myself only'

            b. *yim-prim-wo*   2P-RFL-only   'yourselves only'

            c. *wan-wo-kwɨ*   1S-only-POS   'my/mine only'

            d. *rau-wo-kwɨ*   3D-only-POS   'their (2) only'

            e. *wan-wo*   1S-only   'I alone'

3.2.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Below is a table showing all the known interrogative pronouns in Pouye. Interrogative words occur in the same position as the phrase they are replacing.

TABLE 11: INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Interrogative Word	Definition
kwaiyɨ	'what'
kwaiyɨ maurɨ	'why' (what reason-OBJ)
yar	'who'
yipa pa	'which (one)' (which + FCS)
yipa paki, yowɨwikɨ[2]	'when' (which + FCS-TMP)
yipou	'where'
yowɨwi, yowi	'how/what'
yowiwa	'how many'

(106) **Kwaiyɨ** *kɨ?*

      what   get

      'What happened?'

The interrogative pronoun *kwaiyɨ* 'what' can take the object marker –*rɨ*, as example (107) shows.

(107) **Kwaiyɨ-rɨ** *me-lai?*

      what-OBJ   say-CONT

      'What does this mean?'

---

[2] No examples have been found to date.

(108) *Kwaiyɨ mau-rɨ* *yin t-i-ke?*
what reason-OBJ 2S R-go-PRF
'Why did you go?'

(109) *Yin yar?*
2S who
'Who are you?'

(110) *Arpa okwiyɨ armuk pa t-wi-ke ta, yin-kwɨ pa yipa pa?*
that ax three FCS R-be-PRF here 2S-POS FCS which FCS
'Which one of the three axes here is yours?'

(111) *Yipa pa-ki t-i-ke?*
which FCS-TMP R-shoot-PRF
'When did you shoot it?'

(112) *Yin yipou tɨ-m-ro-ke?*
2S where R-GOM-climb-PRF
'Where did you climb up at?'

The interrogative pronoun *yipou* 'where' can take the directional suffix −*wa*, as can be seen in example (113) .

(113) *Yipou-wa t-i-nɨn?*
where-DIR R-go-PAS
'Where did he go?'

(114) *Pouye kɨl-ki pa yowi me-lai?*
Pouye talk-INST FCS how say-CONT
'How do you say this in Pouye?'

(115) *Wan meki yowi pe ri?*
1S later how EMPH do
'What am I going to do?'

(116) *Yuwɨ pa yowiwa?*
money FCS how.much

'How much money?'

Kwaiyɨ seems to be *k-waiyɨ* 'NCA-what', as examples have been found where *waiyɨ* takes the realis prefix *t-*, becoming *twaiyɨ*, which changes the interrogative into a statement. (See §4.1 Verbs for more information on these prefixes.)

(117) …*t-wayɨ ri   t-una-linɨ-kalwɨ.*

...R-what do R-sleep-fall-all

'…whatever (I) did, caused it to fall down.'

The interrogative pronoun *yar* 'who' can also take the possessive and objective suffixes just like personal pronouns. It cannot take the possessive exclusive or reflexive forms.

(118) a. *yar*   'who'   'who'
       b. *yar-kwɨ*   'who-POS'   'whose'
       c. *yar-ɨ*   'who-OBJ'   'who'

3.3 Demonstratives

The third person personal pronouns can also function as demonstrative pronouns, in which case they can take the object marker. Another demonstrative is *atɨ* 'this', which cannot take the object marker. Below is a table showing all the known demonstratives in Pouye. They function as both adjectives and pronouns.

TABLE 12: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative	Definition
atɨ	'this'
arpa	'that (he, she, it)'
ri	'this'

In the first example below the demonstrative pronoun occurs in a copula construction.

(119) **Atɨ** *tɨpa.*

this sago.jelly

'This is boiled sago.'

(120) *Wa pewa **arpa** stori   pa paplo stori.*

and enough that PDG.story FCS buffalo PDG.story

'And that is the whole water buffalo story.'

(121) **arpa** *tau* *pɨrkwiyɨ-lwɨ*
that   wood rotten-INT

'that is just rotten wood'

(122) *Mɨka* **rɨ** *t-atɨr-pla-nɨn.*
before this R-die-CMP-PAS

'A long time ago all these (snakes) died.'

(123) **Rɨ** *t-akwo-ke* *wa* *nam* *t-i.*
this R-hunt-PRF and 1P   R-go

'After we hunted in this (bush) we left.'

(124) *Wan* **rɨ-yɨ** *la-m-r-ake.*
1S   this-OBJ   down-GOM-REP-see

'I went down again and looked at this (black palm).'

(125) *Nam* *talo* *yem* *nam* **rɨ-yɨ** *t-okɨpei.*
1P   taro.species banana 1P   this-OBJ R-cook.in.fire

'Then we cooked some taro and bananas on the fire.'

3.4 Quantifiers

3.4.1 Numerals

Cardinal numerals are based on the hands, feet and whole person (body). The number five literally means 'one hand', while the number ten means 'two hands'. Numbers higher than ten include the feet, so that fifteen is two hands and one foot, on up to twenty, which is 'one person'. Though rarely used today, it is possible to communicate numbers over twenty. For example, two people and one hand is forty-five; three people, two hands, one foot and three is seventy-eight. For numbers higher than five, people usually use Tok Pisin words, because in Pouye the words become very long. Here are the numbers from one through twenty:

tuwa   'one'
yikir   'two'
armuk   'three'
arkonaiwa   'four'

yilɨ-tuwa	'five'	hand-one
yilɨ-kalmau-tuwa	'six'	hand-thumb-one
yilɨ-kal-ikir	'seven'	hand-thumb[3]-two
yilɨ-kal-armuk	'eight'	hand-thumb-three
yilɨ-kal-ko	'nine'	hand-thumb-four[4]
yil-ikir	'ten'	hand-two
yil-ikɨr-wa tuwa	'eleven'	hand-two-and one
yil-ikɨr-wa yikɨr	'twelve'	hand-two-and two
yil-ikɨr-wa armuk	'thirteen'	hand-two-and three
yil-ikɨr-wa arkonaiwa	'fourteen'	hand-two-and four
yil-ikɨr-wa lalɨ-tuwa	'fifteen'	hand-two-and foot-one
yil-ikɨr-wa lalɨ-kalmau	'sixteen'	hand-two-and foot-toe
yil-ikɨr-wa lalɨ-kal-ikɨr	'seventeen'	hand-two-and foot-toe-two
yil-ikɨr-wa lalɨ-kal-armuk	'eighteen'	hand-two-and foot-toe-three
yil-ikɨr-wa lalɨ-kar-ko	'nineteen'	hand-two-and foot-toe-four
ramɨ-tou tuwa	'twenty'	person-?-one

Ordinal numbers are expressed by the words *muka* 'first', *lapan* 'middle' and *mu* 'last'. If there is more than one number in the middle, the word for 'middle' is not used. Instead the expression for 'next' is used continually for all the middle positions. Examples (127) and (128) show the use of the ordinal numbers.

(126) a. *muka*   'first'

      b. *lapan*   'middle'

      c. *mu*   'last'

      d. *riku manei*   'next'

(127) *Yin **muka**, wan **lapan** wa arpa **mu**.*

     2s   first   1s   middle   and   3s   last

     'You first, me in the middle and her last.'

(128) *Yin **muka**, wan **riku-manei**, Ana **riku-manei** wa arpa **mu**.*

     2s   first   1s   next   Ana   next   and   3s   last

     'You first, me next, Ana next and him/her last.'

---

[3] *Kalmau* 'thumb/toe' gets shortened to *kal* in the numbers seven, eight, nine, seventeen, eighteen and nineteen.

[4] *Arkonaiwa* 'four' gets shortened to *ko* in the numbers nine and nineteen.

3.4.2 Non-numeral Quantifiers

There are some non-numeral quantifiers in Pouye:

<div align="center">

TABLE 13: NON-NUMERAL QUANTIFIERS

</div>

arkewa	'all'
tapukwa	'all'
alweyou	'plenty, a lot'
luwɨ	'many, much'
womtan	'some'
weitan	'part'
moutan	'part of something, some'
pouye	'none'
yitan	'another, other'

One verb suffix has the function of a quantifier as well:

-nan 'much, many'

Examples for the use of these quantifiers follow:

(129) yan kɨkɨt **arkewa**
child small all
'all the little children'

(130) yim **arkewa**
2P all
'you all'

(131) Wan al **tapukwa** ku-**na**-nɨn.
1S fish all give-many-PAS
'I gave them all the fish.'

(132) **tapukwa** yaiyɨ
all group
'everybody'

(133) *Arpa* **alweyou** *kɨl* *t-orau-lai.*
3s plenty talk R-talk-CONT
'He talks a lot.'

(134) **luwɨ** *yau*
many pig
'many pigs'

(135) **womtan** *keyɨ* *t-wei*
some things R-carry
'some carried (their) things'

(136) *yilɨ* **weitan**-*lwɨ*
arm part-INT
'a large part of the arm'

(137) **Moutan** *luwɨ* *yaiyɨ,* **moutan** *kɨkɨt* *kɨkɨt.*
part plenty group part small small
'Some of the groups were large, and others were small.'

(138) *nam lau-ru* *yaiyɨ* *ya-t-le-kawa* **pouye**
1P village-LOC group NEG-R-share-deal none
'we did not share any with the village'

(139) *Wa nam serim* *ri tɨlɨm-wom ri-kwɨ* **yitan**.
And 1P PDG.share do woman-P 3S-POS other
'We shared the other part with the women.'

(140) *tɨlɨm-wom t-arat-**nan**-ke*
woman-P R-gather-many-PRF
'the women all gathered together'

The adjective *luwɨ* meaning 'much, many' is related to the suffix –*lwɨ* meaning 'big, large' as described in §3.1.2. Intensification. This can be confusing as seen in the examples below.

(141) **luwɨ** *yaiyɨ*

many group

'a large group' (meaning 'many people in the group', not 'many groups', which is described by a phrase or verb)

(142) **luwɨ** *yau*

many pig

'many pigs' (whereas *yau-lwɨ* means 'a large pig')

3.4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are words that modify nouns. As described in §3.5.1 Modified Noun Phrase, adjectives may precede or follow the head noun in a noun phrase. Here is a list of common adjectives.

TABLE 14: ADJECTIVES

mɨta	'good'
wɨlauk	'good'
atmoni	'bad'
eipewa	'big'
kinkti	'small'
amɨkwi	'black'
kawowi	'white'
morokwi	'red'
aplatwi	'blue'
wɨl	'green'
auyara yawi	'yellow'

The following examples show the use of adjectives in a sentence context.

(143) **Eipewa** *ramɨ na-t-i.*

big   man   POT-R-go

'The big man will go.'

(144) T*au pa*   **kawowi**.

tree FCS   white

'The tree (is) white.'

Semantically no difference has been found between the two words glossed as 'good'. In the following two examples, the first one is more common, yet the second one is becoming increasingly common.

(145) *Mɨkalu*   **mita**.

morning good

'Good morning.'

(146) *Mɨkalu*   **wɨlauk**.

morning good

'Good morning.'

Adjectives in Pouye may be modified by one of two suffixes as shown below. Both suffixes indicate intensity.

-*lwɨ*   'big, much'

-*mta*   'very, intensified'

(147)   *wɨlauk-***lwɨ**

good-INT

'much good'

(148)   *wɨlauk-***ɨmta**

good-INT

'very good'

Nouns can become adjectives by adding the suffix –*nani*. This adjectiviser replaces the intensifier suffix, so they cannot co-occur on the same word.

-*nani*   adjectiviser; noun + -*nani* = adjective

(149)   *mai-***nani**

sun-ADJ

'sunny'

(150) mai-**lwɨ**

sun-INT

'much sun' or 'very sunny'

The suffix –*nani* is often added to an adjective even though the word is already considered a descriptive word. Adding this suffix seems to make the adjective more of a statement.

(151) wɨli-**nani**

heavy-ADJ

'is heavy'

3.5 Noun Phrase

In Pouye noun phrases can be modified as numeral, possessive and postpositional noun phrases. Several noun phrases can be coordinated.

The word order for the noun phrase is illustrated in the table below. One item from each column may be used to create a noun phrase. However the same kind of modifier cannot be on both sides of the head within one noun phrase. For example Pouye does not allow the sequence adjective-noun-adjective. The focus marker *pa* 'FCS' in the last column can be added to any noun phrase. (See §6.2 Focus and Emphasis for more details on the focus marker.)

TABLE 15: NOUN PHRASE WORD ORDER

Modifier	Head	Modifier	Modifier
noun, adjective (one or more), focus phrase, quantifier + noun, pronoun, numeral, quantifier	noun, noun word, pronoun,	adjective (one or more), quantifier, 'other'/'part', DEM.pronoun + adjective, numeral	focus marker

3.5.1 Modified Noun Phrase

The head of a modified noun phrase, which can be a noun, a noun word or a pronoun, is modified by preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives or focus phrases.

Another possibility is for the adjectives or pronouns to follow the head noun. A focus marker may be added in the last position of a noun phrase.

The most common noun phrase entails a noun or adjective preceding the main noun. However, as seen in the chart above, parts of a whole, and quantity, including number, follow the main noun in the noun phrase.

The following are examples of a modifying noun preceding the main noun:

(152) youk   lau
       sword.grass   village
       'sword grass village'

(153) takwel   tapɨ
       dry.bamboo   fire
       'bamboo fire/torch'

Examples for one or two adjectives preceding the main noun are:

(154) apra   yan
       new   child
       'new child'

(155) meyilwɨ   anim
       big   large.python
       'big snake'

(156) owiwɨ   artaiyɨ   ramɨ-lwɨ
       old   tall   person-INT
       'big tall old man'

The following are examples for a noun followed by an adjective, which describes a part of the whole.

(157) yilɨ   weitan-lwɨ
       arm   part-INT
       'a large part of the arm'

(158)   Atmoyau   moutan

   Atmoyau   part

   'some from Atmoyau'

When in the above example *moutan* takes the focus marker, the focus phrase precedes the head noun.

(159)   moutan pa   Atmoyau

   part   FCS   Atmoyau

   'some from Atmoyau'

There is also one example for a preceding quantifier in combination with a noun modifying the head noun, as shown below:

(160)   luwɨ   yila ni

   plenty rain noise

   'big rain noise'

Examples for pronouns preceding the main noun could only be found for possessive noun phrases (see §3.5.4 Possessive Noun Phrase).

(161)   wan-kɨ   kɨl   yankti pa

   1S-POS   talk   little   FCS

   'my little speech'

The following examples show an adjective following the main noun. In the first example the adjective is a quantifier.

(162)   paplo   luwɨ

   buffalo   plenty

   'many water buffalo'

(163)   yan   yankti

   child little

   'little child'

Two or more adjectives can also be found following a noun. In the first example, the reduplication of the adjective makes the noun plural. In the second example, the second adjective is a quantifier. Although it is not very common, more than two

adjectives may be added to a noun, as the third example shows, in which case there can be a combination of adjectives preceding and following the main noun.

(164) *apɨ kɨkɨt kɨkɨt*
      bag small small
      'little bags'

(165) *yan kɨkɨt arkeiwa*
      child small all
      'all the children'

(166) *yilɨtuwa aukwɨ kawowɨ lakiwɨ kɨkɨt pa*
      five   dog   white   skinny small FCS
      'five little white skinny dogs'

The head noun can also be followed by a demonstrative pronoun and an adjective, as the following example shows.

(167) *wewaileyɨ pa-rɨ   mɨta-mta*
      thought   FCS-OBJ   good-INT
      'this really good thought/idea'

The head of a noun phrase can also be a pronoun. The examples below show two pronouns together forming a noun phrase, and a pronoun followed by an adjective (quantifier).

(168) *wan pra-wan*
      1S   RFL-1S
      'I myself'

(169) *yim arkeiwa*
      2P   all
      'you all'

3.5.2 Intensified Noun Phrase

The suffix –*mta* serves as an intensifier on the noun phrase. The last word in the noun phrase takes the suffix. It also can be added to a single noun (see §3.1.2 Intensification) or a single adjective (see §3.4.3 Adjectives).

(170) *luwɨ yaiyɨ-**mta***
    many group-INT
    'a really large group'

(171) *yowowiyɨ luwɨ-**mta***
    high.water plenty-INT
    'really high water'

(172) *wewaileyɨ pa-rɨ mɨta-**mta***
    thought FCS-OBJ good-INT
    'this really good thought/idea'

(173) *ramɨ lauwakiyɨ arkeiwa-**mta***
    person villager all-INT
    'really all the villagers'

3.5.3 Numeral Phrase

When a numeral is used in a phrase, it often takes the suffix -*wa*. This is particularly true for those numerals which do not already end in -*wa*. The suffix adds the meaning 'only' to the number, indicating that it is just that amount and not more.

(174) *Arpa yam yilikɨr-**wa** kɨ-ke.*
    3S banana ten-only get-PRF
    'He got just ten bananas.'

Numerals most commonly follow the noun. One exception is for *ramɨ*, 'man/person' when there are no other modifiers in the noun phrase.

(175) a) ***Tuwa** ramɨ*
    one man
    'one man (or person)'

  b) *tɨlɨm ramɨ **tuwa***
    female person one
    'one woman'

  c) *aya **tuwa***
    father one
    'one father'

Another exception is with phrases that have been translated from Tok Pisin into Pouye. Here are some examples:

(176) **tuwa**   *wai*

    one   *stomach*

    'at peace' (PDG: *wan bel*)

The heart is more commonly used for feelings and emotions toward another person, not the stomach, as Tok Pisin often uses.

(177) *Nan*   **tuwa**   *pouyau.*

    2D   one   body

    'We are one body (referring to marriage).' (PDG: Mitupela wan bodi.)

3.5.4 Possessive Noun Phrase

A Possessive Noun Phrase consists of the possessor with the possessive suffix *-wɨ* followed by the possessed noun.

(178) *Saimon-***wɨ**   *lau*

    Simon-POS   house

    'Simon's house'

(179) *Tutu-***wɨ**   *atwaryɨ*

    Tutu.clan-POS   story

    'Tutu clan's story'

The possessor may also be a pronoun with the possessive suffix. An adjective and a focus marker can also be part of a possessive noun phrase.

(180) *wan-***kɨ**   *kɨl*   *yankti* *pa*

    1S-POS   talk   little   FCS

    'my little speech'

3.5.5 Postpositional Noun Phrase

Postpositional markers are suffixes on a noun phrase. The head noun in a noun phrase takes the postpositional marker. It can also be added to a possessive noun phrase.

(181) *rikwɨ* *paplo-***ru**

    this   buffalo-LOC

'at/on this buffalo'

(182) *youk*   *lau-ru*

sword.grass   village-LOC

'at sword grass village'

(183) *yipri-kwairɨ* *lau-wa*

3S-PSE   house-DIR

'inside his own house'

3.5.6 Appositional Noun Phrase

An appositional noun phrase contains two noun phrases joined together, yet referring to the same person or group as seen in the following examples:

(184) *moutan pa Atmoyau pa-rɨ*   *sevenpela man*

part   FCS   Atmoyau   FCS-OBJ   seven   PDG.man

'seven of the men were from Atmoyau' or more literally 'some from Atmoyau, these seven men'

(185) *tuwa ramɨ*   *aya*   *tuwa*

one   person   father   one

'one man, (who is) a father (or 'one father person')'

3.5.7 Coordinate Noun Phrase

Coordination between two or more nouns or noun phrases is performed by juxtaposition. When proper nouns are used, however, the word *wa* 'and' or the dual equivalent *wo* is inserted.

A list of two or more items may or may not include the conjunction *wa*. Below are examples of common nouns in a list:

(186) *ayɨ*   *tɨpa*

food   sago.jelly

'food and sago jelly'

(187) *rapyɨ, pina **wa** kwaiyɨ*   *ain nabaut*

bow   knife   and   whatever   iron   PDG.around

'bows, knives, and whatever metal (lying) around'

(188) *paplo*   *tɨpa*
       buffalo   sago.jelly
       'buffalo and sago jelly'

The first item in the following list includes the accompaniment marker -*ki*, and then the item is repeated and included with the rest of the list following.

(189) *pei-ki*   *pei*   *kalo*   *takwel*
       palm.sheet-ACP palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo
       'with palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo'

When two new characters or objects are introduced in speech, the dual *wo* is used.

(190) *Ben* **wo** *Barnabas* **wo**
       Ben D   Barnabas D
       'Ben and Barnabas'

(191) *yik*   **wo** *you*   **wo**
       wind D   water D
       'the wind and the water'

The following example shows the coordination of proper nouns using *wa*. It should be noted here that *wa* is used in example (192), rather than *wo*, we believe because the name 'Kaum' had been referred to previously in the story.

(192) *Kaum* **wa** *Atiamo*
       Kaum and Atiamo
       'Kaum and Atiamo'

The conjunction *o* 'or' is possibly borrowed from Tok Pisin.

(193) *Wokien* **o** *Kalnam*
       Wokien or Kalnam
       'Wokien or Kalnam'

The conjunctions *wa* 'and' and *o* 'or' are also used on the sentence level (see §7.3 Coordination).

4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

4.1 Verbs

Since Pouye is a Papuan language, much of the information in a clause is contained within the verb word. From what has been observed so far, there can be up to seven prefixes and seven suffixes on one verb root. There are eight slots for prefixes in the Pouye verb affix table on the following page. If position -8 Deontic Modality is present in the verb word, then positions -7 Epistemic Modality and -6 Mood cannot also be present.

Verb roots are typically bound, so at least one affix is needed to complete the word. However, there is a set of verbs that do not need any affixation. It seems this is due to phonological reasons. Though more analysis is necessary, it appears that any verb root that begins with a consonant (except /t/) may omit the default realis prefix *t-*, and therefore stand on its own. The following are a few examples of verb roots which are able to stand alone:

(194)   *Wan   pina   **ki**.*
      1S   knife get

      'I got the knife.'

(195)   *Nam   atmoni   **ri**.*
      1P   bad   do

      'We are doing bad.'

(196)   *Tɨlɨm-wom-rɨ   **me**, "Tɨpa   meki   n-ɨlya-nɨm."*
      woman-P-OBJ   say   sago.jelly later   IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P

      '(We) told the women, "Make the sago later."'

Pouye verbal affixation indicates deontic and epistemic modality, mood, agent, temporal element, spatial location, direction, adverbs, manner, degree, beneficiary information, aspect and number. Pouye does not specify switch reference on the verb, like some of its neighbouring Papuan languages. Note that two verb roots can be juxtapositioned to form a compound (see §4.2 Compound Verbs).

TABLE 16: POUYE VERBAL AFFIXES

#	SLOT NAME	AFFIXES[5]	GLOSS	ABBREV
-8	Deontic modality	*ara-*	'prohibitive'	PRH
		kakra-	'inability'	INAB
		n-	'imperative'	IMP
		wan-	'debitive'	DEB
		pa-	'hortative'	HRT
-7	Epistemic modality	*na-*	'potential'	POT
		ya-	'negation'	NEG
-6	Mood	*t-*	'realis'	R
		w-	'irrealis'	IR
-5	Agent	*k-*	'non-causative'	NCA
		ty-	'dual'	D
-4	Temporal (element)	*a-*	'first'	
		au-	'still'	
		t-	'begin, inception'	ICP
		wa-	'later'	
		ra-	'again, repetitive'	REP
-3	(Spatial) location	*la-*	'down'	
		ya-	'up, uphill'	
		yakr-	'upstream'	UPS
		yaukr-	'downstream'	DNS
		yamr-	'uphill'	UPH
		yaur-	'downhill'	DNH
		tu-	'flat, gradual down or up'	
-2	Direction	*ey-*	'coming toward'	COM
		in-	'toward (patient)'	TWD
		m-	'going away from'	GOM
		lak-	'out'	
-1	Adverbial -1	*ɨr-*	'with'	
		kok-	'inside'	
		uru-	'outside'	
		kw-	'quickly, little'	QCK
		r-	'again, repetitive'	REP
0	STEM / ROOT			

---

[5] This table includes all affixes presently known to the researchers.

#	SLOT NAME	AFFIXES[5]	GLOSS	ABBREV
+1	Manner (adverbial) +1	*-powa*	'frustratedly'	FRUS
		-twau	'just'	
		-lawɨl	'wrong'	
		-nal	'tightly'	
		-tɨtaino	'a bit'	
		-taina	'pity'	
		-pla	'completely'	CMP
		-o	'upward'	
+2	Degree (adverbial) +2	*-ɨr*	'around'	
		-yawa[6]	'completely and beyond'	CMPB
		-nan	'many/much'	
		-maknɨ	'well'	
		-kalwɨ	'all'	
		-lɨk	'partially'	PRT
		-lwɨ	'intensifier/very'	INT
		-wa	'unsuccessfully'	UNS
+3	Aspect 1	*-karyɨ*	'progressive'	PRG
		-lai	'continuous'	CONT
		-ke	'perfective'	PRF
+4	Beneficiary	*-ku*	'benefactive'	BEN
+5	Aspect 2	*-nɨn*	'permanent aspect'	PAS
+6	Number	*-nɨm*	'plural'	P
+7	Adverbial +7	*-i*	'incapably'	INC
		-wɨ	'purpose'	PUR
		-a	'awhile',	
			'habitual',	HAB
			'later'	
		-ki	'when'	

Below are examples for the use of each verbal affix. The verb slot positions correspond to the Pouye verbal affixes table above. For discussion about morphophonemic changes see §2.5.

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[6] Suffixes in parentheses have not been tested extensively enough yet to know whether each belongs in Adverbial +1 or Adverbial +2. For the present they are listed in the Adverbial +2 slot.

4.1.1 Deontic modality (-8)

Deontic modality includes the following modes: prohibitive, inability, imperative, debitive and hortative.

The prefix *ara-* adds a prohibitive meaning to the verb. Examples are:

(197) -8-0

> **ara**-*mari*
>
> PRH-hit
>
> 'don't hit'

(198) -8-2-0

> **ara**-*m-iwɨ*
>
> PRH-GOM-bathe
>
> 'don't go wash'

The prefix *kakra-* expresses inability as in one 'cannot' or 'would not' do something.

(199)   -8-0

> *Wan yau-lwɨ* **kakra**-*kar.*
>
> 1S   pig-INT   INAB-carry
>
> 'I can't carry the big pig.'

(200)   -8-0

> *Wan yau* **kakraw**-*a.*
>
> 1S   pig   INAB-eat
>
> 'I can't eat the pig.'

The prefix *n-* is used to indicate a command.

(201) -8-0＋6

> **n**-*ilya-nɨm*
>
> IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P
>
> 'you all cook (it)'

(202) -8-2-0

> **nɨ**-*m-ake*

IMP-GOM-see

'look over there'

The prefix *wan-* has a debitive meaning. It means to allow or permit something to happen, it also can be a necessity or obligation or mean 'should' or 'must.'

(203)   -8-1-0

wan-*kw-ikli*

DEB-QCK-heal

'let heal quickly' or 'it should heal quickly'

(204)   -8-0

wan-*i*

DEB-go

'let (him) leave'

The prefix *pa-* has a hortative meaning, in the sense of 'let (us)'.

(205)   -8-5-4-1-0

pa-*tyɨ-t-ar-i*

HRT-D-ICP-with-go

'let's (2) go now'

(206)   -8-0+6

pe   **pa**-*ri -nɨm?*

EMPH   HRT-do-P

 'are we really going to do it?'

4.1.2 Epistemic modality (-7)

Epistemic modality includes potential and negation.

Epistemic modality prefixes usually co-occur with a realis prefix in position -6. When this happens the prefix *na-* in the slot position -7 means 'potential,' expressing a possible action in the immediate future. The exception to this is when the suffix *–lai* 'imperfective' is also used on the verb the meaning changes to an ongoing action.

(207)   -7-6-0

Yin **na**-*t-i?*

> 2S   POT-R-go
>
> 'Are you going to go?'

(208)   -7-6-0

> *Wan ayɨ* **na**-*t-a.*
>
> 1S   food POT-R-consume
>
> 'I'll eat some.'

(209)   -7-6-2-0 + 3

> *Nam* **na**-*tɨ-m-panɨ-lai.*
>
> 1P   POT-R-GOM-wander-CONT
>
> 'We are wandering around.'

If the potential marker occurs without a realis prefix the meaning becomes more of a possibility and less of a reality.

(210)   -7-2-0

> **na**-*in-atyɨ*
>
> POT-TWD-come
>
> 'probably will come'

(211)   -7-0

> *Wɨlawa, yin-ɨ*   **na**-*linɨ.*
>
> careful 2S-OBJ POT-fall
>
> 'Careful, you might fall.'

The prefix *ya-* expresses negation.

(212)   -7-6-0 + 2

> **ya**-*t-o-maknɨ*
>
> NEG-R-grow-well
>
> 'not fully grown' or 'not grown enough'

(213)   -7-6-0 + 1

> **ya**-*t-atwar-pla*
>
> NEG-R-story-CMP
>
> '(have) not told it all'

4.1.3 Mood (-6)

Mood includes both realis and irrealis. Realis is the default mood in Pouye, and so sometimes is unmarked, as mentioned above.

The prefix *t-* means factive or realis. Note the verbal compounding in the second example (see, §4.1.16).

(214)　-6-0+1+2+3+7

　　　t-wɨt-ɨtwau-nan-ke-a

　　　R-stand-just-many-PRF-awhile

　　　'many just stood there for awhile'

(215)　-6-3-0-0+3+5

　　　t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ-ke-nɨn

　　　R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS

　　　'was uphill and had cut by swinging'

(216)　-6-0

　　　t-i

　　　R-go

　　　'go'

The prefix *w-* on the other hand means non-factive or irrealis. It is used for an action that will possibly occur later. The context of the first example is of a buffalo acting strangely, and the speaker is offering ideas as to what might be the cause of its behaviour.

(217)　-6-0

　　　w-akre

　　　IR-give.birth

　　　'possibly about to give birth'

(218)　-6-2-0+5

　　　wɨ-m-kɨ-nɨn

　　　IR-GOM-get-PAS

　　　'intended to get'

4.1.4 Agent (-5)

Agent is marked by non-causative or dual.

The prefix *k-* stands for non-causative, meaning that the action is done without a causing agent.

(219)   -6-0-0+3+7

*yam meki amkai   ri   **k**-apri-ku-lai-a*

turn   later evil.spirit this NCA-throw-give-CONT-awhile

'then later the spirit would go away/cast out'

(220)   -6-0+3

***k**-aprani-ke*

NCA-tear-PRF

'(it) broke'

The prefix *ty-* makes the subject dual.

(221)   -8-5-4-1-0

*pa-**tyi**-t-ir-i*

HRT-D-ICP-with-go

'let us two go now'

(222)   -6-5-0-0

*ti-**ty**-aratu-lini*

R-D-hang-fall

'they (2) hang (it) over'

With the verb 'to come' the dual form becomes *int-*.

(223)   -6-5-2-0

*t-**int**-in-atyi*

R-D-TWD-come

'two come'

4.1.5 Temporal element (-4)

The prefix *a-* has the meaning that something happens first.

(224)   -6-4-2-0

>
> *Wan ayɨ   t-**a**-m-a.*
> 1S   food R-first-GOM-consume
> 'I will eat first.'

(225)   -6-4-2-1-0 + 5

> *Tau   pa   t-**a**-m-kwa-kɨ-nɨn.*
> wood FCS   R-first-GOM-QCK-get-PAS
> 'He quickly got some wood first.'

The prefix *au-* means 'still' or 'yet'.

(226)   -6-4-0 + 7

> *w-**aw**-ɨlilo-pɨ*
> IR-yet-pull-try
> 'would still try to pull'

(227)   -6-4-0 + 3

> *t-**au**-wi-ke*
> R-yet-be-PRF
> 'is still there'

The prefix *t-* indicates the beginning or inception of an action. It is often used together with the word *riyɨ*, which means 'now', as seen in the second example below.

(228)   -8-5-4-1-0

> *pa-tyɨ-**t**-ɨr-i*
> HRT-D-ICP-with-go
> 'let us two go now'

(229)   -6-4-2-0

> *tɨ-**t**-m-okɨpei   riyɨ*
> R-ICP-GOM-cook.in.fire   now
> 'we started to cook'

The prefix *wa-* means 'later'.

(230)   -6-4-2-0

     *Wan t-**wa**-in-atyɨ.*

     1S   R-later-TWD-come

     'I will come later.'

(231)   -6-4-2-1-0＋2＋3

     *t-**wa**-m-kok-wɨt-nan-ke*

     R-later-GOM-inside-stand-many-PRF

     'later a lot had gone and stood inside (a specific area)'

The prefix *ra-* means 'again'. This prefix *r-* meaning 'again' is also commonly found in the affix slot Adverbial (-1) [see §4.1.8 Adverbial (-1)].

(232)   -4-2-0

     r-ey-ake

     REP-COM-see

     'come and look again'

(233)   -4-3-0

     ra-law- atyɨ

     REP-down-come

     'come down again'

4.1.6 Spatial location (-3)

The prefix *la-* has the meaning 'down/downstream/downhill' or 'under/below'.

(234)   -3-0＋3

     law-atyɨ-ke

     down-come-PRF

     'came down'

(235)   -3-2-0

     Matau l-eyɨ-ri.

     whistle down-COM-do

     'He came below (the house) whistling.'

The prefix *ya-* means 'up' or 'uphill'.

(236)   -6-3-2-0＋1＋3＋5

t-ya-m-anke-yo-ke-nɨn

R-up-GOM-put-up-PRF-PAS

'I went up and put everything together'

(237)   -6-3-2-1-0

t-y-ey-ɨr-wɨt

R-up-COM-with-stand

'come up and stand with'

The prefix *yakr-* means 'upstream'.

(238)   -6-3-0+3

t-yakr-arat -ke

R-UPS-gather-PRF

'was gathering upstream'

(239)   -6-3-2-0+3

t-yakrɨ-m-pam-karyɨ

R-UPS-GOM-swim-PRG

'swimming upstream'

The prefix *yaukr-* means 'downstream'.

(240)   -6-3-0+6

t-yaukr-atyɨ-nɨm

R-DNS-come-P

'they came downstream'

(241)   -6-3-0+3+6

tau-rɨ   t-yaukr-ouk-lai-nɨm

tree-OBJ   R-DNS-chop-CONT-P

'they went downstream to chop the tree'

The prefix *yamr-* means 'uphill'.

(242)   -6-3-0-0+3+5

t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ-ke-nɨn

R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS

'was uphill and had cut by swinging'

(243) -6-3-0

*t-**yamr**-ake*

R-UPH-see

'go up to look'

The prefix *yaur-* means the opposite: 'downhill'.

(244) -4-3-0

*ra-**yaur**-atyɨ*

REP-DNH-come

'came back down'

(245) -6-3-0 + 5

*t-**yaurɨ**-walwɨ-nɨn*

R-DNH-carry-PAS

'carried it down'

The prefix *tu-* means 'flat' or 'gradual uphill or downhill'. The example below is the only one that could be found.

(246) -3-0

tu-liwa

flat-descend

'went gradually down'

4.1.7 Direction (-2)

The prefix *ey-* indicates 'coming toward'.

(247) -4-2-0

*r-**ey**-ake*

REP-COM-see

'came and looked again'

(248) -6-2-0 + 6

*t-**eyɨ**-klatɨ-nɨm*

R-COM-open-P

'they come and open up (the cooking pit)'

The prefix *in-* means 'toward (the patient)'.

(249)   -6-4-2-0

        *Wan t-wa-**in**-atyɨ.*

        1S   R-later-TWD-come

        'I will come later.'

(250) -6-2-0 + 5

        *t-**in**-amɨmnɨ-nɨn*

        R-TWD-run-PAS

        'ran toward (it)'

The prefix *m-* indicates 'going away from'.

(251) -6-4-2-1-0 + 2 + 3

        *t-wa-**m**-kok-wɨt-nan-ke*

        R-later-GOM-inside-stand-many-PRF

        'later a lot had gone and stood inside (a specific area)'

(252) -2-0-0 + 1 + 3

        ***m**-ar-ɨkranɨ-lwɨ-ke*

        GOM-fall-split-INT-PRF

        '(it) has really split open and down'

(253)   -6-2-0

        *Wan ri-yɨ   tɨ-**m**-ri.*

        1S   3S-OBJ R-GOM-do

        'I will go do this.'

The prefix *lak-* means 'out'.

(254) -8-2-0

        *Nɨ-**lak**-atyɨ.*

        IMP-out-come

        'Come out.'

(255)   -2-0 + 3

      Arpa-wɨ lalapi **lak**-*atyɨ-ke.*

      3S-POS   tongue out-come-PRF

      'He stuck out his tongue.'

4.1.8 Adverbial (-1)

The prefix *ɨr-* has the meaning 'with, together, or accompaniment'.

(256) -6-1-0 + 3 + 6

      *t-**ɨr**-wɨt-ke-nɨm*

      R-with-stand-PRF-P

      'they stood with (us)'

(257) -8-5-4-1-0

      *pa-tyɨ-t-**ɨr**-i*

      HRT-D-ICP-with-go

      'let us two go now'

The prefix *kok-* means 'inside'.

(258) -6-4-2-1-0 + 2 + 3

      *t-wa-m-**kok**-wɨt-nan-ke*

      R-later-GOM-inside-stand-many-PRF

      'later a lot had gone and stood inside (a specific area)'

(259) -6-2-1-0 + 3

      *tɨ-m-**kok**-wi-ke*

      R-GOM-inside-be-PRF

      'had gone inside'

The prefix *uru-* means 'outside'. The following example is the only one that could be found.

(260)   -6-1-0 + 3 + 7

      wɨtwɨt ramɨ-ru   *t-**uru**-wi-ke-wɨ*

      things person-LOC R-outside-be-PRF-PUR

      'things that are for the outside of the person'

The prefix *kw-* indicates that an action is done quickly or in a short time. It also can have the meaning of 'a little bit'.

(261)   -1-0 + 1 + 3 + 5

kw-atu-wo-ke-nɨn

QCK-hang.up-up-PRF-PAS

'quickly hung up (his bag) and left'

(262)   -8-1-0

Nɨ-kw-reiyo.

IMP-QCK-climb

'Quick, climb up here.'

(263)   -1-0 + 3

kwɨ-ku-ke

little-give-PRF

'gave a little bit'

The prefix *r-* means 'again'.

(264)   -6-2-1-0 + 3

t-e-r-ɨkpɨlma-ke

R-COM-REP-rest-PRF

'came again and rested'

(265)   -3-2-1-0

la-m-r-ake

down-GOM-REP-see

'went down again and looked'

4.1.9 Manner (adverbial) (+1)

The first suffix slot contains manner adverbial markers: frustratedly, just, wrong, tightly, a bit, pity, around, completely, completely and beyond, and upward.

The suffix –*powa* means 'frustratedly'.

(266)   0 + 1

me-powa

say-FRUS

'talking (in a) frustrated manner'

(267)   -6-0 + 1 + 5

t-am*i*mn*i*-**powa**-n*i*n

R-run-FRUS-PAS

'tried to run but couldn't'

The suffix -*twau* means 'just/only'.

(268)   -6-0 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 7

t-w*i*t-**itwau**-nan-ke-a

R-stand-just-many-PRF-HAB

'many just stood there for awhile'

(269)   -6-0 + 1 + 3

t-uyauwa-**twau**-kary*i*

R-walk-just-PRG

'just kept walking'

The suffix -*law*i*l* adds the meaning of doing something mistakenly or in the wrong way.

(270)   -6-0 + 1 + 3

t-apri-**law*i*l**-ke

R-throw-wrong-PRF

'threw wrong/poorly'

(271)   -6-0 + 1 + 3

t-am*i*mn*i*-**law*i***-lai

R-run-wrong -CONT

'running poorly (tripping, falling, limping)'

The suffix –*nal* means 'tightly'.

(272)   -8-0 + 1

n*i*-nak-**nal**

IMP-hold-tightly

'hold tightly'

(273)   -6-0 + 1 + 3

       *Wan mat t-awɨl-**nal**-ke.*

       1S   vine R-tie-tightly-PRF

       'I tied the vine tightly.'

The suffix *–tɨtaino* means 'a little bit'.

(274)   -1-0 + 1 + 3 + 7

       *kw-atwar-**tɨtaino**-ke-a*

       little-story-a.bit-PRF-awhile

       'finished telling a little bit of the story'

(275)   -1-0 + 1 + 3

       *kw-ilnɨ-**tɨtaino**-ke*

       QCK-hurt-a.bit-PRF

       'it hurt a little bit for a short time'

The suffix *–taina* means 'pity, to give or receive compassion'.

(276)   -8-0 + 1

       *Wan-ɨ   nɨ-ku-**taina**.*

       1S-OBJ   IMP-give-pity

       'Oh please, give it to me.'

(277)   -6-0 + 1 + 5

       *Pewa   t-atɨr-**taina**-nɨn.*

       enough R-die-pity-PAS

       'That's it, sorry, he is dead.'

The suffix *–pla* means 'completely'.

(278)   0-0 + 1 + 3

       *mar-towɨ-**pla**-ke*

       swing-cut-CMP-PRF

       'finished cutting'

(279)   -7-6-0 + 1

> *ya-t-atwar-**pla***
>
> NEG-R-story-CMP
>
> 'not told it all'

The suffix -*o* means 'upward'. If the suffix is used with the verb 'put' it adds the meaning 'to pile something up', as example (282) shows. See §2.5.4 Approximant consonant epenthesis for an explanation of the variations of this suffix.

(280) $0+1+5+6$

> *kar-**o**-nɨ-nɨm*
>
> carry-up-PAS-P
>
> 'they carried up'

(281) -1-0+1+3+5

> *kw-atu-**wo**-ke-nɨn*
>
> QCK-hang.up-up-PRF-PAS
>
> 'quickly hung up (his bag) and left'

(282) -6-2-0+1+3

> *t-ey-anke-**yo**-ke*
>
> R-COM-put-up-PRF
>
> 'came and piled it all up'

(283) -6-2-0+1

> *t-ey-ake-**yo***
>
> R-COM-see-up
>
> 'come and look up'

4.1.10 Degree (adverbial) (+2)

The suffix -*ɨr* means 'around'.

(284) -6-0+1

> *t-ake-**yɨr***
>
> R-see-around
>
> 'look around'

(285) -6-0+1+4

> *t-atwar-**ir**-ku*
> R-story-around-BEN
> 'spreading the story around to (people)'

The suffix *–yawa* means 'completely and beyond'.

(286)   -6-2-0+1+5

> *t-eyɨ-ri-**yawa**-nɨn*
> R-COM-do-CMPB-PAS
> 'came and went past'

(287)   -6-2-0+1

> *t-in-atyɨ-**yawa***
> R-TWD-come-CMPB
> 'came all the way to'

The suffix *–nan* means 'many'.

(288)   -6-0+1+2+3+7

> *t-wɨt-ɨtwau-**nan**-ke-a*
> R-stand-just-many-PRF-HAB
> 'many just stood there for awhile'

(289)   -6-1-0+2+3+6

> *t-ɨr-arat-**nan**-ke-nɨm*
> R-with-gather-many-PRF-P
> 'many gathered together'

The suffix *–maknɨ* means 'well/good/better'.

(290)   -7-6-0+2

> *ya-t-o-**maknɨ***
> NEG-R-grow-well
> 'not fully grown' or 'not grown enough'

(291)   -6-0+2+3

> *t-wan-**maknɨ**-ke*
> R-hear-well-PRF

'heard well'

The suffix –*kalwɨ* means 'all'.

(292)   -8-0 + 1 + 2 + 6

    *pa-kar-o-**kalwɨ**-nɨm*

    HRT-carry-up-all-P

    'let's carry up all of (our stuff)'

(293)   -6-2-0 + 2 + 5

    *t-in-atyɨ-**kalwɨ**-nɨn*

    R-TWD-come-all-PAS

    'came all the way'

The suffix –*lɨk* means 'partially'.

(294)   -6-2-0 + 2 + 3

    *ayɨ   tɨ-m-a-**lɨk**-ɨke*

    food R-GOM-consume-PRT-PRF

    'went and ate only some of the food'

(295)   -6-2-0 + 2 + 3

    *tɨ-m-kɨ-**lɨk**-ɨke*

    R-GOM-get-PRT-PRF

    'went and got only some'

The suffix –*lwɨ* works as an intensifier. It also occurs on nouns and adjectives.

(296)   -2-0-0 + 2 + 3

    *m-ar-ɨkranɨ-**lwɨ**-ke*

    GOM-fall-split-INT-PRF

    '(it) has really split open and down'

(297)   -6-1-0 + 2 + 6

    *takwel   tapɨ t-ɨr-u-**lwɨ**-nɨm*

    dry.bamboo fire R-with-light-INT-P

    'they lit a big fire with dry

The suffix –*wa* means 'unsuccessfully'.

(298)　-6-0-0＋2＋5

　　　t-orɨ-pɨ-wa-nɨn

　　　R-call-try-UNS-PAS

　　　'called out but no one heard'

(299)　-2-0＋2＋5

　　　m-akwa-wa-nɨn

　　　GOM-hunt.drive-UNS-PAS

　　　'went hunting but didn't get anything'

4.1.11　Aspect (＋3)

The suffix –*karyɨ* indicates progressive aspect. Progressive aspect is a type of imperfective aspect that describes a process, as opposed to a state.

(300)　*Paplo*　　　　*tɨpa*　　　*t-a-ke-nɨm*　　　　*ri*　*riyɨ*

　　　buffalo　　　sago.jelly　R-consume-PRF-P　　this　now

　　　　-1-0＋3＋6

　　　ra-uyauwa-karyɨ-nɨm.

　　　REP-walk-PRG-P

　　　'We finished eating the water buffalo and sago as they were walking back (toward us).'

(301)　-2-0＋3

　　　m-akwo-karyɨ

　　　GOM-hunt-PRG

　　　'kept hunting as they went'

The suffix –*lai* stands for continuous aspect. Continuous aspect is a type of imperfective aspect that is an "ongoing, but not habitual, occurrence of the state or event expressed by the verb." (Loos, 2003).

(302)　-6-0＋3＋6

　　　t-wi-lai-nɨm

　　　R-scrape-CONT-P

　　　'they are scraping'

(303) 0 + 3

    *ri-**lai***

    do-CONT

    'are doing'

The suffix –*ke* indicates perfective aspect.

(304) -3-0 + 3

    *law-atyɨ-**ke***

    down-come-PRF

    'came down'

(305) -6-0 + 3 + 6

    *t-ou-**ke**-nɨm*

    R-cook-PRF-P

    'they cooked'

4.1.12 Beneficiary (+4)

The suffix –*ku* is marking a benefactive.

(306)   0 + 3 + 4 + 6

    nam-ɨ   *mame-ke-**ku**-nɨm*

    1P-OBJ   shine-PRF-BEN-P

    'they provided a light for us'

(307)   -6-0 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 7

    nam-ɨ *aya-wom*   *pe*   *t-atwar-ke-**ku**-nɨn-a*

    1P-OBJ father-P   EMPH R-story-PRF-BEN-PAS-HAB

    'this is how the fathers told the story to us'

4.1.13 Aspect (+5)

The suffix –*nɨn* possibly indicates 'permanent aspect.' The Bukiyip language has permanent aspect (Conrad & Wogiga, 1991:20), which seems to have similar characteristics to the Pouye –*nɨn*. It was originally glossed as 'go away', as it seemed to indicate that the agent performed the action and then left. For transitive verbs, the

agent is no longer present at the location where the event took place. For intransitive verbs, however, the agent seems to remain present where the event took place.

Note that the perfective aspect -*ke* and –*nɨn* are able to coocur in transitive verbs, as shown in the first example. This indicates that the event was completed (-*ke*) and the agent is no longer at the location where the event took place (-*nɨn).*

The following examples are with transitive verbs:

(308) -6-3-0-0＋3＋5

    *t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ-ke-**nɨn***

    R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS

    'had gone uphill and had cut by swinging'

(309) 0＋1＋5＋6

    *kar-o-**nɨ**-nɨm*

    carry-up-PAS-P

    'they carried it up'

The next set of examples are with intransitive verbs:

(310) -6-0＋5

    *t-atɨr-**nɨn***

    R-die-PAS

    'died'

(311) -6-0＋5

    *t-i-**nɨn***

    R-go-PAS

    '(she) has gone' or 'she left'

Compare with –*ke*:

(312) -6-0＋3

    *t-i-**ke***

    R-go-PRF

    '(she) had gone'

Note that when the suffix –*ke* is used, the agent had gone but has returned, perfecting the event, whereas the example with –*nɨn*, the agent has not returned.

4.1.14 Number (+6)

The suffix –*nɨm* indicates a plural subject. It is used for all verbs referring to third person, but also is used for the imperative and hortative.

(313) 0+3+4+6

*mame-ke-ku-**nɨm***

shine-PRF-BEN-P

'they provided a light for (him/her/them)'

(314) -8-0+6

*n-ilya-**nɨm***

IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P

'you all cook (it)'

(315) -8-0+6

*pal-i-**nɨm***

HRT-go-P

'let's all go'

4.1.15 Adverbial (+7)

The last affix slot on a verb is again for adverbial suffixes.

The suffix -*i* means 'incapably', used in the sense of wanting to do something but for some reason being unable to.

(316) -6-0+5+7

t-ɨpkɨ-nɨn-i

R-bite-PAS-INC

'tried to bite'

(317) -4-2-0+2+5+7

r-ey-ake-na-nɨn-i

REP-COM-see-many-PAS-INC

'was unable to come see enough again'

The suffix *–wɨ* indicates purpose, and can be glossed as 'used for'.

(318) -6-0 + 3 + 6 + 7

t-ou-ke-nɨm-wɨ

R-cook-PRF-P-PUR

'they were used for cooking'

(319) -6-0 + 3 + 7

t-ou-lai-wɨ

R-sing-CONT-PUR

'used for singing'

The suffix *–a* indicates an extended length of time. When the emphatic marker *pe* comes before a verb with the suffix *–a*, the meaning becomes 'habitual'. If the suffix is used in combination with the prefix *na-*, it also can refer to the distant future.

(320) -6-0 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 7

t-wɨt-ɨtwau-nan-ke-a

R-stand-just-many-PRF-awhile

'many just stood there for a while'

(321)   -6-0 + 3 + 7

ri-ku   *t-ɨk-ɨke-a*

this-LOC   R-sit-PRF-awhile

'sat down at this place for a while'

(322)   0 + 3 + 7

pe   *ri-ke-a*

EMPH   do-PRF-HAB

'formerly did (this)'

(323) -7-0 + 7

na-ku-wa

POT-give-later

'will give'

The suffix *–ki* means 'when.'

(324) -3-1-0 + 3 + 7

*law-r-atyɨ-ke-**ki***

down-REP-come-PRF-when

'when he came down again'

(325) -6-2-0 + 3 + 7

*tɨ-m-ro-ke-**ki***

R-GOM-climb-PRF-when

'when he climbed up'

4.2 Compound Verbs

Pouye often allows two verb roots to form one compound word through juxtaposition. The separate actions can often be seen as a whole. Some examples are shown below.

(326) *tunoklɨ*

*t-**una-oklɨ***

R-sleep-rise

'awaken' (lit.: 'sleep then wake up')

(327) *natnakɨkɨrke*

*na-t-**nakɨ-kɨr**-ke*

POT-R-hold-kill-PRF

'squeezed to death'

(328) *tɨlilokɨ*

*t-**ɨlilo-kɨ***

R-pull-get

'pull to get (out)'

4.3 Verb Phrase

Somewhat rare, is the occurrence of a verb phrase, in the form of serial verbs. (See §7.2 Serial Verbs for more information.)

(329) *t -wa-oklɨ*   *t-iraprau*   *pɨ*

R-later-rise   R-stretch   TRY

'Later he got up and tried to stretch'.

Repetition may be used in a story for a more dramatic emphasis. Two verbs are repeated for this type of emphasis here:

(330) *Ri-kwɨ*   *yip-ri-wo*   ***me-powa***   ***me-powa****.*
        3S-POS   RFL-3S-only   say-FRUS   say-FRUS

        'He himself came talking and talking [in a] frustrated manner.'

And in example (331), the continued repetition signifies that the same action went on for a long period of time.

(331) *Wa*   *kama*   ***twi-lai-nɨm,***   ***twi-lai-nɨm,***   ***twi-lai-nɨm.***
        And   sago   scrape-CONT-P   scrape-CONT-P   scrape-CONT-P

        'And they were scraping, scraping and scraping the sago.'

5. Adverbs

Adverbial notions are more commonly marked in the verb word with suffixes (slots -1, +1, +2 [and possibly +7]; see §1.1.8-1.1.10, [and possibly 1.1.15]). Below are deictic adverbs that come before the verb in a clause.

<div align="center">

TABLE 17: DEICTIC ADVERBS

</div>

paki	'at this time' (FCS-TMP)
riki	'at this time' (this-TMP)
riku	'at this place' (this-LOC)

Note that the locative suffix for *ri* is *–ku* and not *–ru* (cf. §3.1.1 Postpositions).

(332) *Nam*   *paplo*   ***pa-ki***   *t-ake.*
        1P   buffalo   at.this.time   R-see

        'At this time we saw the buffalo.'

(333) *Til*   *pa*   ***ri-ku***   *t-wa-m-ikram-lai-nɨm.*
        stone   FCS   this-LOC   R-later-GOM-heap.fire-CONT-P

        'They built a fire near the stones.'

Time is marked by adverbs, and not within the verb. Below are all the known temporal adverbs. Most commonly they stand before the subject, but may also occur after the subject or even after the object, as can be seen in example (335).

TABLE 18: TIME ADVERBS

mati	'now/today'
meki	'later'
wari	'much later'
munɨp	'after'
mɨka	'before'
amɨmai	'always'

(334)   *Yam* **mati** *nam-ɨ*   *t-ake.*
turn   now   1P-OBJ   R-see
'But now it was looking at us.'

(335)   *Tɨpa*   **meki** *n-ɨlya-nɨm.*
sago.jelly   later   IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P
'Cook the sago later.'

(336)   *Wan* **mɨka**   *t-a-ke.*
1S   before   R-consume-PRF
'I ate a long time ago.'

(337)   **Amɨmai** *wan* *Waurɨ-wa*   *t-i-lai.*
always   1S   river.name-DIR   R-go-CONT
'I am always going to the Waurɨ river.'

More specifically, time can be marked in reference to today.

TABLE 19: TIME ADVERBS IN REFERENCE TO TODAY

kwamiki	'two days ago'
kwlapiki	'yesterday'

wariki	'tomorrow'
yuwauki	'day after tomorrow'
mukiki	'two days after tomorrow'
powɨki	'three days after tomorrow'

(338) *Wan* **kwamɨki** *Waurɨ-wa* *t-i-ke.*
1S   two.days.ago   river.name-DIR   R-go-PRF
'Two days ago I went to the Waurɨ river.'

(339) **Wariki** *nam Bulowa-wa* *na-t-i.*
tomorrow   1P   Bulowa-DIR   POT-R-go.
'Tomorrow we will go to Bulowa.'

The following are locative adverbs.

<center>TABLE 20: LOCATIVE ADVERBS</center>

ta	'over here/there'
atu (atɨ-ru)	'here (at this)'

(340) *Wan* **ta**.
1S   over.here
'I'm over here.'

(341) *Meki* **atu** *t-yaur-atyɨ-nɨm* *arpam sevenpela* *man* *pa.*
later   here   R-DNH-come-P   3P   seven   PDG.man   FCS
'Later seven men came down here.'

(342) *Nam pra-nam lauwɨkiyɨ pɨtɨk* **atu** *t-ɨr-wi-ke.*
1P   RFL-1P   birthplace   close   here   R-with-be-PRF
'Our original village was close to there.'

6. Pouye Clause Structure

6.1 Order

As mentioned earlier, Pouye is an SOV language; that is with Subject, Object, Verb word order. The object takes the suffix, *-rɨ* 'OBJ'. The order may be changed to indicate

focus on the subject or the object. Whichever element is stated last, with the focus marker *pa*, becomes the focus of the clause. (For examples and further discussion on the focus marker see §6.2 Focus and Emphasis)

The following examples show SOV clauses with object marking.

(343)   Subject   Object   Verb

      Wan   *tauke-rɨ*   *t-ɨlyamu.*

      1S   tobacco-OBJ   R-blow

      'I smoked a cigarette.'

(344)   Subject   Object   Verb

      Wan   *ri-yɨ*   *la-m-r-ake.*

      1S   3S-OBJ   down-GOM-REP-see

      'I went down again to see it.'

If the object is located in the default position in a clause, the object marker is not necessarily used. (For more information on the object marker see §3.1.4.)

Examples (345) and (346) below show SOV clauses that do not have the object marker.

(345)   Subject   Object   Verb

      Nam   *gras*   *t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ.*

      1P   PDG.grass   R-UPH-swing-cut

      'We went up to cut the grass.'

(346)   Subject   Object

      Tɨlɨm-wom *pei-ki*   *pei*   *kalo*   *takwel*

      woman-P   palm.sheet-ACP   palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo

      Verb

      kar-o-nɨ-nɨm.

      carry-up-PAS-P

      'The women carried up palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo.'

Examples (347), (348) and (349) show SVO, OVS and OSV clause order. In the first two examples emphasis is on the last word of the clause. In the last example the object is emphasized by moving it into the first position, signalling a change of referent in the story.

(347) Subject Verb   Object

　　　 Bob   na-t-irɨ   pailet-ɨ.

　　　 Bob   POT-R-scold   pilot-OBJ

　　　 'Bob got angry with **the pilot**.'

(348)   Object   Verb   Subject

　　　 Wa   nam-ɨ   pa-ki   t-ilyel   Bob.

　　　 and   1P-OBJ   FCS-TMP   R-cry   Bob

　　　 'Then **Bob** cried for us.'

(349) Object   Subject Verb

　　　 Nam-ɨ   Bob   tɨ-t-me   riyɨ.

　　　 1P-OBJ   Bob   R-ICP-say   now

　　　 'That's what Bob started to say **to us** now.'

6.2 Focus and Emphasis

Pouye draws attention to a noun or noun phrase by adding the focus marker *pa* to the end of the phrase. The focus marker also follows a relative clause. The *pa* marker allows disruption of phrasal word order to draw attention to a particular word or phrase.

The following examples show how the focus marker *pa* can affect order in a phrase. Example (350) shows the sentence without a focus marker.

(350) *mati paplo   nam-ɨ   t-ake*

　　　 now   buffalo   1P-OBJ   R-see

　　　 'now the buffalo sees us'

In example (351) the focus marker is added without changing the word order.

(351) *mati paplo   pa   nam-ɨ   t-ake*

　　　 now   buffalo   FCS   1P-OBJ   R-see

　　　 'now **the buffalo** sees us'

In example (352) the subject is moved to the end of the sentence and takes *pa* to show emphasis. The change in word order compared to example (351) probably makes the focus stronger.

(352) *mati nam-ɨ   t-ake   paplo   pa*

　　　 now   1P-OBJ   R-see   buffalo   FCS

'now it is **the buffalo** that sees us.'

Example (353) shows that the object of the sentence can also take the focus marker and be moved to a different position in the sentence.

(353) mati paplo   t-ake   nam-ɨ   **pa**
      now buffalo   R-see   1P-OBJ   FCS

'now the buffalo sees **us**'

The focus marker functions as a copula in verbless clauses. An example in giving someone's name is seen below.

(354) Ri-kwɨ   i   **pa**   Aro.
      3S-POS   name FCS   Aro.

'His name is Aro.'

The focus marker *pa* can also take the object marker *–rɨ.*

(355) wewaileyɨ **pa-rɨ**   mɨta-mta
      thought   FCS-OBJ good-INT

'this really good thought/idea'

(356) Yemil   owelala   **pa-rɨ**   ariyɨ   t-oktaka.
      big.wind lightening FCS-OBJ   coconut   R-blow.over

'A big wind and lightening came and blew over the coconut trees.'

It also can take the temporal suffix *–ki,* which makes it an adverb (see §5 Adverbs).

On the verb or clause level the emphatic marker *pe* is used. The *pe* puts the emphasis on the following verb. Examples (358) and (359) belong together. In example (359) the same verb that is used in the previous sentence is repeated with the emphatic marker to draw even more attention to the verb.

(357) Ri-yɨ   maulakɨ lalitan **pe**   tɨ-ty-aratu-linɨ.
      3S-OBJ   head   leg   EMPH   R-D-hang-fall

'They **hung up** the head and the leg.'

(358) Womtan keyɨ   t-wei   keyɨ   kɨ-lwɨ   tamiok   keiman
      some   things   R-carry things get-INT PDG.ax   scraper

> *na   pina   na   nam womtan wɨtwei.*
> PDG.and knife PDG.and 1P   some   black.palm
>
> 'Some carried (their) things, axes, scrapers, and knives, and some of us carried the black palm pieces.'

(359) *Wa tamiok **pe**   t-ɨr-wei-lwɨ.*
       and PDG.ax   EMPH   R-with-carry-INT

'We **carried** the axes along with all the other things.'

However, *pe* is also used before a verb which ends in the habitual suffix *-a*, which means '(we) habitually do this' or 'this is how (we) perceive this'.

(360) *Nam **pe**   t-a-lai-**ya.***
       2P   EMPH   R-consume-CONT-HAB

'We eat this / we consider this edible.'

(361) *Wa wan **pe**   t-ake-ke-**a.***
       and 1S   EMPH   R-see-PRF-HAB

'And that is how I saw it.'

It seems that the *pe* marker causes the clause to become an exclamation in some situations. Note the *pe* comes after the verb in this example.

(362) *N-i   **pe**!*
       IMP-go   EMPH

'Just go!'

6.3 Clause Types

6.3.1 Simple Clause

A simple clause in Pouye may contain only the verb, but more commonly the subject and the verb, or the subject, object and verb. If the subject is already known, only the object and verb are used. Likewise, if the subject is known from previous context, and the object is known or not necessary (for intransitive verbs), then merely the verb may be stated.

Clause with subject and verb only (intransitive):

(363) Subject Verb

> *Nam   re-yaur-atyɨ.*
>
> 1P   REP-DNH-com*e*
>
> 'We came back down.'

Clause with subject, object and verb:

> *(364)* Subject   Object   Verb
>
> *Nam   gras   mar-towɨ-lai.*
>
> 1P   PDG.grass   swing-cut-CONT
>
> 'We (all) cut the grass.'

In the following two clauses the second example contains only the object and verb, since in the first clause the subject was already stated.

> *(365)* *Wa nam re-yaur-atyɨ.*
>
> and 1P   REP-DNH-come
>
> 'And we came back down.'

> *(366)* *Tunde   yirapri   gras   mar-towɨ-pla-ke.*
>
> Tuesday   afternoon   PDG.grass   swing-cut-CMP-PRF
>
> 'Tuesday afternoon, (we) finished cutting the grass.'

A verb word may also make up an entire clause (or even sentence).

> *(367)* *Wa   t-in-atyɨ-yawa.*
>
> and   R-TWD-co*me*-CMPB
>
> 'And (I) came all the way (there).'

> *(368)* *T-ouk-linɨ-ke.*
>
> R-chop-fall-PRF
>
> '(I) chopped (it) down.'

Sometimes this is caused by tail-head linkage. The following is an example of tail-head linkage with the second verb making up an entire clause.

> *(369)* *Mande   nam gras   t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ.*
>
> Monday   1P   PDG.grass   R-UPH-swing-cut.
>
> *T-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ-ke-nɨn,   nam   re-yaur-atyɨ.*
>
> R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS   1P   REP-DNH-come

'On Monday we went up to cut the grass. Having finished cutting the grass we came down again.'

6.3.2 Verbless Clause

When stating someone's name, no verb is used, however the focus marker is used (see, § 6.3 above).

(370) *Yam   tuwa   ramɨ   aya   tuwa   ri-kwɨ   i   pa   Aro.*

      turn   one   person   father   one   3S-POS   name   FCS   Aro

      'There was also an older man named Aro.'

Also, the statement for ending one's story does not contain a verb.

(371) *Wa   pewa   arpa   stori   pa   paplo   stori.*

      and   enough   3S   PDG.story   FCS   buffalo   PDG.story

      'That is the end of the water buffalo story.'

Here are a few more examples of verbless clauses, where a stative verb is non-existent.

(372) *Yan   kako.*

      child   coming

      'The child is coming.' (Note: This word *kako* is a noun and takes noun affixes, see §3.1 Nouns).

(373) *Wan   par-yɨ   pouye.*

      1S   sick-NOM   none

      'I'm not sick.'

The following clauses lack the verb *twike* 'be'.

(374) *Wan   ta.*

      1S   over.here

      'I'm over here.'

(375) *Wan   mɨta.*

      1S   good

      'I am good/fine.'

The same clauses can be used containing the verb *twike*.

(376) *Wan* *t-wi-ke*   *ta.*
     1S   R-be-PRF   over.here

     'I'm over here.'

(377) *Wan* *mɨta* *t-wi-ke.*
     1S   good R-be-PRF

     'I am good/fine.'

6.3.3 Postpositional Phrase

The postpositional phrase occurs after the noun it modifies or is the indirect object in the clause.

The first example is with accompaniment which is modifying the subject.

(378) Subject Accompaniment Location Verb
     Nam   ***tilɨm-ki***   *Yampo* *lau*   *t-una-ke.*
     1P   woman-ACP   Yampo village R-sleep-PRF

     'We with our wives slept at Yampo village.'

Here is an example with direction which is in the indirect object position.

(379) Subject Direction   Verb
     Nam   ***Yampo-wa*** *t-yei.*
     1P   Yampo-DIR R-ascend

     'We went up to Yampo.'

Here is another example showing location. The postpositional phrase is referring to the object and in the indirect object position.

(380) Subject Object Location   Verb
     Yin   *tau*   ***lau***   ***aka-ru***   *nɨ-m-anke.*
     2S   wood house   under-LOC IMP-GOM-put

     'Put the wood under the house.'

Time is indicated using temporal adverbs. Time most commonly comes before or after the subject. The temporal words do not necessarily take on the temporal suffix *–ki*.

(381) Subject Time   Location   Verb
     Nam ***Sande-ki***   *Kiliauto lau*   *t-yamrɨ-wi-ke-nɨm.*

1P   Sunday-TMP   Kiliauto   village   R-UPH-be-PRF-P

'On Sunday we were up at Kiliauto village.'

(382)   Subject   Time   Object   Verb

          Nam   **Trinde**   *gras*   *mar-towɨ-pla.*

          1P   Wednesday PDG.grass swing-cut-CMP

'On Wednesday, we cut all the grass.'

(383)   Time   Subject   Verb

          Tunde   **mikalu**   *nam*   *t-yei.*

          Tuesday morning 1P   R-ascend

'On Tuesday morning we went up.'

6.3.4 Interrogative Clause

In an interrogative clause, the word order does not change. The interrogative fills the same position as the answer to the question.

(384)   **Kwaiyɨ** *kɨ?*

        what   get/do

        'What happened?'

(385)   *Atɨ* **kwaiyɨ**?   *Atɨ*   *tɨpa.*

        this *w*hat   this   sago.jelly

        'What is this? This is boiled sago.'

(386)   *Yin* **yar?**   *Wan* *Saimon.*

        2S who   1S   Simon

        'Who are you? I'm Simon.'

Intonation is different for a question and a statement. In the middle of the question the tone rises higher than it does in a statement. The following statements can be changed into questions merely by changing the intonation.

(387)   *Pe*   *pa-ri-nɨm?*

        EMPH   HRT-do-P

        'Are we really going to do (it)?'

As a statement without question intonation, this would mean 'Let's do it.'

(388) *Yin na-t-i?*

    2S   POT-R-go

    'Are you going to go?'

If said without question intonation this would mean 'You are going to go.'

6.3.5 Passive type construction

A passive type of construction occurs in Pouye in which the subject of the verb is not indicated.

(389) *T-wi-ke   wa yirapri **nam-ɨ** **ayɨ** **pa** **ku.***

    R-be-PRF   and afternoon 1P-OBJ food FCS give.

    'After we stayed awhile, in the afternoon we were given food.'

(390) *Wan pewi keikeikiyɨ pa ya-r-kɨ   tap yikɨr*

    1S   like pain   FCS NEG-R-get time two

    wan-ɨ   **t-ɨpkɨ-ke**   **pa.***

    1S-OBJ   R-bite-PRF   FCS

    'I didn't get pain like this the two times I was bitten before.'

7. Complex Sentence Structure

7.1 Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a full sentence in the subject, object or oblique position of the main clause. The relative clause often ends with the focus marker *pa*.

The first two examples show the relative clause in the subject position.

(391) Relative Clause/Subject   Verb

    Wɨlouk t-i-ke,   *pe   me   t-ɨliltu-a.*

    snake   R-shoot-PRF   EMPH place R-lay.across-HAB

    'The snake he shot, laid across the stick.'

(392) Subject   Object

    Wan ri-yɨ   t-yamr-arwaiyɨ-ke-nɨn, yim-ɨ   ariyɨ   pa

1S   this-OBJ R-UPH-shoot-PRF-PAS   2P-OBJ coconut FCS

 Relative Clause/Subject

ria   t-ouk-ataka-ke-a.

that   R-chop-blow.over-PRF-awhile

'The one that I shot was like that coconut tree that blew over on you.'

In the following two examples the relative clause stands in the object position.

(393) Subject Relative Clause/Object   Verb

Abram ***Rolan t-eyi-me-ke-ku-wɨ***   ***kɨl pa*** t-wan-ke.

Abram Roland R-COM-say-PRF-BEN-POS talk FCS R-hear-PRF

'Abram heard the words which Roland had spoken.'

(394) Subject Relative Clause/Object   Verb

Yau   ***Rocky alamkal t-oukwɨ-kɨr-ke pa***   *t-ake-ke.*

pig   Rocky rat   R-hunt-kill-PRF FCS   R-see-PRF

'The pig saw the rat that Rocky had killed.'

The next example shows the relative clause in the oblique position.

(395) Relative Clause/Oblique   Verb

Wɨliman lau   mɨka t-ɨkɨ-ke *ri-ku*   *t-arat-nan-ke.*

Wɨliman village before R-sit-PRF this-LOC R-gather-many-PRF

'Then he came to where Wɨliman village used to be and stopped there.'

7.2 Serial Verbs

Serial verbs are used when a compound verb is not possible. They are more common when tail-head linkage occurs. Otherwise, the conjunction *wa* is much more commonly used between verbs. The same subject is maintained on the verbs and much of the same affixation is used.

Aikenvald (2004:1) states:

> A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt maker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verbs describe what is conceptualised as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value. Serial verbs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of a serial verb construction must be able to occur on its

own. Within a serial verb, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.

Pouye follows this definition for serial verb constructions well. Below are examples of serial verb constructions in Pouye. The first sentence is the tail of a tail-head link, while the second examples is the head of a tail-head link and the last is not part of such a link.

(396) *Nam* **re-yaur-atyɨ**   *t-ey-un-oklɨ.*   *Nam* *t-eyɨ-un-oklɨ-ke*

1P   REP-DNH-come R-COM-sleep-rise 1P   R-COM-sleep-rise-PRF

'We came down again and went to sleep then awoke.'

(397) *Nam* *tuwa* *le-yɨ.*   *Wa* *nam* **le-nan-ke**   **t-uratu-nan-ke**.

1P   one   share-NOM and 1P   share-many-PRF R-hang-*many*-PRF

'We wanted to share one piece. And we divided up the pieces of meat (and then) hung them up.'

(398) **t -wa-oklɨ**   *t-iraprau* *pɨ*

R-later-rise   R-stretch   try

'Later he got up and tried to stretch'.

7.3 Coordination

The most commonly used sentence level conjunction in Pouye is *wa* 'and'. In the glossed texts in the appendix alone (§12.1) the conjunction *wa* is used 24 times, as also seen in the example below.

(399) *Yan*   *w-akre*   *ri* *yam* *mati* *nam-ɨ*   *t-ake*

child IR-give.birth   3S turn now 1P-OBJ R-see

wa *nam* *re-yaur-atyɨ.*

and 1P   REP-DNH-come

'It was possibly giving birth to its young, but now it was looking at us, and (so/then) we came down again.'

Wa can be used to initiate a sentence or clause as well.

(400) **Wa** *nam* *le-nan-ke*   *t-uratu-nan-ke.*

and 1P   share-many-PRF   R-hang-many-PRF

'And we divided up the pieces of meat (and then) hung them up.'

Paki is translated as 'then' or 'at this time', indicating that a subsequent action is to follow. The word can be parsed as *pa-ki* 'FCS-TMP.

(401) Nam *tɨ-m-iwaknɨ-ke-nɨn*   nam paplo **pa-ki**   t-ake...

    1P   R-GOM-work-PRF-PAS 1P   buffalo FCS-TMP R-see

    'We finished our work and then we saw water buffalo… '

(402) Nam   *t-in-atyɨ*   arpam-rɨ **pa-ki**   me,…

    1P   R-TWD-come   3P-OBJ   FCS-TMP   say

    'We were coming and then we said to them,…'

Yam 'turn' is used to signal a turn of events. It is most commonly translated as 'but' or 'then'.

(403) Yan *w-akre*   ri **yam**   mati nam-ɨ t-ake.

    child IR-give.birth 3S turn   now   1P-OBJ R-see

    'It was possibly going to give birth to its young, but now it was looking at us.'

(404) K*ar-o-nɨn-nɨm*   nam **yam** yei kupou-lai.

    carry-up-PAS-P   1P   turn   skin strip-CONT

    'After they had carried the things, we stripped off the skin.'

Yam is used to refer to who's turn it is. The first example is often heard in sports and games.

(405) wan   **yam**

    1S   turn

    'my turn'

(406) Simeon ri **yam** luwɨ pina pa   t-w-akwatli-twau

    Simeon 3S turn plenty knife FCS   R-later-cut-just

    maulakɨ   tuwa   mar-towɨ-yɨ.

    head   one   swing-cut-NOM

    'Simeon took his turn and just cut its head with a big knife in one swing'

The conjunction *yam* can also be used with the conjunction *ai*, an uncommon conjunction meaning 'if', therefore creating an 'if…then' sentence.

(407) **Ai** *yin na-t-i,*   *wan* **yam** *na-t-wa-wi-ke.*

    if 2S POT-R-go 1S   turn POT-R-later-be-PRF

    'If you go, then I'll stay.'

The same sentence can be stated without the *yam*, in which case there is no indication of the second action being subsequent to the first.

(408) **Ai** *yin na-t-i,*   *wan na-t-wa-wi-ke.*

    if 2S POT-R-go 1S POT-R-later-be-PRF

    'If you go, I'll stay.'

Below is another sentence without *yam*. It is possible that it is not needed because of the reference to time *meki* 'later'.

(409) **Ai** *yin yilɨ na-t-me-pla*   *pa* *ri yin-kwɨ yantɨp*   *pa*

    if   2S hand POT-R-say-CMP FCS 3S 2S-POS   offspring FCS

    meki pewi-a.

    later like-this

    'If you were able to count [them] all, that is how many your offspring will be.'

The conjunction *o* means 'or'. The following example shows *o* on the clause level. (See §3.5.7 Coordinate Noun Phrase for the use of *o* on the noun phrase level.)

(410) *Lalɨ katamu-ke* **o** *yilɨ katamu-ke* **o** *kwaiyɨ kɨ-yɨ?*

    leg break-PRF or arm break-PRF or what   get-NOM

    'Did its leg break, or its arm break or what happened?'

8. Lexical Considerations

8.1 Abstractions

The use of abstractions in Pouye is fairly common. They are conveyed using a describing noun or adjective plus a verb. A verb is always necessary in abstractions, and the term for fear is the only known abstraction without a supporting noun or adjective.

Below are the two most common ones. The first example is of love.

(411) Wan yini **wɨrnɨ** **rilai**.

       wan yin-ɨ wɨrnɨ ri-lai

       1P   2S-OBJ heart   do-CONT

       'I love you (I have compassion on you).'

The next example is of thinking.

(412) Wan **wewai** **lelai**.

       wan wewai le-lai

       1S   thought think-CONT

       'I am thinking.'

In the next two examples emotions are expressed, in the first one joy, in the second one fear.

(413) Wan   **katyo-katyo** **rilai**.

       wan   katyo-katyo   ri-lai

       1S   happy   do-CONT

       'I am happy.' (Lit.: 'I do happiness.')

(414) Wan nataitulai.

       wan na-t-aitu-lai

       1S   POT-R-fear-CONT

       'I am afraid.'

8.2 Implied Speech

The use of proper names is rare. If necessary, a person's name or the topic of a conversation is mentioned only a few times at the beginning. Throughout the rest of the conversation it is omitted (see §9.3 Ellipsis) or pronouns are used instead. Therefore, if someone else begins to listen to the conversation midway through, he/she will find it rather difficult to understand what is going on.

Names are used more often in stories where the hearers had heard nothing of the events described. But in everyday conversations, people's proper names are rarely used, as is common in many Papua New Guinean cultures.

8.3 Figures of speech

In Pouye several types of figures of speech can be found. The following are examples of similes.

(415) *yin tɨlɨm   yauwi*
      2s   woman   like
      'you are like a woman' (i.e., 'you don't hunt or do men's work')

(416) *nam anɨm   yauwi*
      1p   python like
      'we are a peaceful people, but strong in defence' (lit.: 'we are like a python')

(417) *tau ti   yauwi*
      tree leaf like
      'innumerable multitude' (lit.: 'like tree leaves')

(418) *yin wɨnɨ   yauwi*
      2s   mushroom like
      'you are lazy' (lit.: 'you are like a mushroom')

A similar expression can also be used as a metaphor, as the next example shows.

(419) *yin   yimarpuna*
      2s   mushroom.species
      'you are a lazy person'(lit.: 'You are a mushroom')

Below is another example of a metaphor.

(420) *ramɨ   kwalapɨ   makwɨ*
      person tree.species trunk
      'tall person' (lit.: 'a tree trunk person', referring to the tallest tree in the forest)

Euphemisms are used in Pouye, too. Most concern private matters, and so it was felt that they would be unappropriate for this paper.

(421) *wan makɨ-lakɨ tɨ-m-ri*
      1s   back-bone R-GOM-do

'I go to the toilet' (lit.: 'I go do my backbone')

The following are examples of metonymy.

(422)   *Yukilau   lau-ki   t-ɨr-oklɨ*
        Yukilau   village-ACP   R-with-rise

        'Yukilau village arrived' (meaning the people in the village)

(423)   *Yin   you   tank   t-alktanɨ-nɨn   riyɨ.*
        2S   water   tank   R-dry-PAS   now

        'You drank (lit.: dried) the whole water tank.' (meaning the water in the tank)

The example above could also be seen as hyperbole. The next one is hyperbole as well.

(424)   *Yin   ayɨ   pa   prai-pla-na-nɨn   ri-yɨ   mau   lakɨ   twawa.*
        2S   food   FCS   hunt-CMP-many-PAS   3S-OBJ   bush   bone   only

        'You hunted everything, the forest is bare.' (meaning 'You hunted a lot')

Personifications can also be found in the language.

(425)   *you   t-apri-kalwɨ-lai*
        water   R-jump-all-CONT

        'the water is all jumping' (meaning the noise of rushing water)

(426)   *walakɨ   t-yaur-atyɨ-lai*
        nose   R-DNH-come-CONT

        'the nose is coming down (running nose)'

The following is an example of synecdoche.

(427)   *Wan-kɨ   wɨrnɨ-mta-ki   t-ɨr-ouklo-ke.*
        1S-POS   heart-INT-ACP   R-with-appear-PRF

        'I really have come to believe.' (lit.: 'I arose with my true heart.')

The closest thing to irony that could be found are the following examples.

(428)   *Yin   awɨk   ramɨ?*
        2S   male   person

        'Aren't you doing women's work?' (lit.: 'Are you a man?')

(429)   *ramɨ   Kawrɨ atiwi-lwɨ   yei*
      person Kawrɨ just.like-INT not

      'you are not just like Kawrɨ' (meaning 'you are not smart'; Kawrɨ was a very wise person in a folktale. This is used only for males.)

(430)   *tɨlɨm   wɨtai atiwi   yei*
      female angel just.like not

      'you are not like an angel' (meaning 'you are not wise and perceptive, like an angel.' This is used only for females.)

8.4 Idioms

There are various idioms used in Pouye. Below are some examples. An area where many idioms are used is in taboo speech. See §8.6 for more information.

(431)   *Yin   itap   wɨrnɨ   pa   t-a-ke?*
      2S   cassowary heart   FCS   R-consume-PRF

      'Are you scared?'

When literally translated this means, 'Did you eat a cassowary's heart?' This is similar in meaning to the English 'Scaredy-cat.' We believe this comes from how cassowaries react when they are afraid, hiding their heads or running away in the face of danger.

Following are more examples of idioms.

(432)   *tɨlɨm   ramɨ   tau-ki   ri-nɨn*
      woman person tree-ACP   do-PAS

      'she is married' (lit.: 'the woman is with a tree')

(433)   *awɨk ramɨ   apɨ-ki   ri-nɨn*
      male person string.bag-ACP   do-PAS

      'he is married' (lit.: 'the man is with a string bag')

(434)   *Yin toweilyɨ   t-a-ke?*
      2S   war.drug R-consume-PRF

      'Are you angry?' (lit.: 'Did you eat the homemade war concoction?')

(435)   *Wa tɨteilyɨ tɨteilyɨ pa-rɨ   artaiyɨ t-apri.*
      and far   far   FCS-OBJ   long   R-throw

'This happened a long long time ago.' (lit.:A long throw, far far away.)

(436) Arpa wilouk wirni t-apri-lai.
      3S   snake   heart R-throw-CONT

'He's in a coma.' (lit.: 'His heart is beating like a snake.')

(437) Lalimyen-wom wirni t-ou-lai-nim.
      young.woman-P heart R-sing-CONT-P

'The young girls are happy.' (lit.: 'Their hearts are singing.')

(438) Wan matilaki t-arni-ke.
      1S   ear   R-forget-PRF

'I forgot.' (lit.: 'My ear forgot.')

8.5 Coining

New words have been created to accommodate objects that are new to Pouye culture. This shows the vitality of the language.

(439) lali-wei
      foot-guard
      'shoe'

(440) mai-laki
      sun/time-bone
      'wristwatch'

(441) alpei paki
      turtle shell
      'car'

8.6 Slangs, jargons, argots

We have not found any evidence of slang, jargons or argots. Many idioms are used when talking about taboo topics. Euphemisms are used for topics that have to do with sexuality, private body parts, pregnancy and also for everything that has to do with spirit houses. People cannot say the name of their god or name certain bush areas. The

euphemisms that are used for these things are often known to only a few people, ranging from a whole village to a single family unit.

9. Discourse Considerations

9.1 Text Genre

The genre of the texts that have been studied to some extent include narrative, hortatory, and debate. Narratives are the most common, and most of the written texts collected are narratives. The hortatory and debate are mostly in oral format. One of the reasons these have not yet been written much is because the speech in these genres is particularly fast. The debates were elicited from court cases in the village. These were very hard to follow, as idioms are used a lot more often in this genre. Hortatory speeches are mostly from sermons. These recordings are similar to narratives, in that they begin with a lot of tail-head linkage and in the climax of the sermon the speech becomes faster and much louder, and then become more hortatory in nature. The point of the sermon is repeated in various ways at least three times.

9.2 Tail-Head Linking

Tail-Head Linkage is common in Pouye. This is particularly used when the speaker is describing a series of actions pertaining to the same subject or event. It seems to be used more repeatedly when setting the stage of a story. Also, it only occurs when there is no intervening change of subject.

The following paragraph is from the Buffalo Story, near the beginning of the story (see §12.1).

(442) *Nam tɨlɨm-ki* **Yampo lau** *t-una-ke*.

1P	woman-ACP	Yampo	village	R-sleep-PRF		

Nam **Yampo lau t-una-ke,**

1P	Yampo	village	R-sleep-PRF

Mande nam gras **t-yamri-mar-towɨ.**

Monday	1P	PDG.grass	R-UPH-swing-cut

T-yamri-mar-towɨ-*ke-nɨn nam re-yaur-atyɨ* **t-ey-un-oklɨ.**

R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS	1P	again-DNH-come R-COM-sleep-rise

Nam **t-ey-un-oklɨ**-*ke wa Tunde-ki ra-yei.*

1P	R-COM-sleep-rise-PRF	and	Tuesday-TMP	again-ascend

'We (all) with our wives slept at Yampo village. Having slept at Yampo village, Monday we went up to cut the grass. Having cut (the grass), we (all) came down again, and went to sleep then awoke. We (all) awoke, and then Tuesday we ascended again.'

9.3 Ellipsis

Ellipsis particularly occurs once the subject or object has been previously established in the discourse. This is also discussed in §6.3.1 Simple Clause.

In the case of the story in the appendix (see §12.1 Glossed Text), the buffalo remains the object and topic for quite a number of sentences. The segment below begins with the last mention of the word 'buffalo' but it remains the topic of the story until a slight change in focus occurs in sentence (448), where the women are reintroduced into the action of the story. Note this sentence begins with the conjunction *wa* 'and'. But, without explicitly naming the buffalo again, the verbs again continue to refer to the buffalo as the object at sentence (450).

(443)	*Nam*	*tɨtariyonwalwɨ*	*alau*	*pa*	*i*	*go*	*tertinpela*
	Nam	*tɨ-tari-yonwa-lwɨ*	*alau*	*pa*	*i*	*go*	*tertinpela*
	1P	R-shoot-inside-INT	arrow	FCS	PDG	PDG.go	thirteen

	alau	*pewa*	*tɨmkɨlwanikea*		*rikwɨ*
	alau	*pewa*	*tɨ-m-kɨlwani-ke-a*		*rikwɨ*
	arrow	enough	R-GOM-enter-PRF-awhile		this-POS

	paploru	*pa.*
	paplo-ru	*pa.*
	buffalo-LOC	FCS

'We shot thirteen arrows that went into the water buffalo.'

(444)   *Takwɨramɨmnɨtɨtainonɨn   yam mati taislwɨru*
           t-akwɨr-amɨmni-tɨtano-nɨn yam mati tais-lwɨ-ru
           R-?-run-a.bit-PAS   turn now PDG.mud-INT-LOC

           milaltapalinɨ.
           milaltapa-linɨ
           ?-fall

           'It ran a short way, and fell in the mud.'

(445)   *Mati wan pina pa   twainkurɨprikautwaunanɨn*
           Mati wan pina pa   t-wa-in-kw-ɨr-ɨprikau-twau-na-nɨn
           now 1S   knife FCS R-later-TWD-QCK-with-jump-just-many-PAS

           lalalai yitan lalalai yitan twaiyɨ ri   tunalinɨkalwɨ.
           lalalai yitan lalalai yitan t-waiyɨ ri   t-una-linɨ-kalwɨ.
           tendon other tendon other R-what do R-sleep-fall-all

           'Now with my knife I just jumped and jumped toward **it** and cut **its** tendon and then **its** other tendon and **it** went down.'

(446)   *Simeon ri   yam luwɨ   pina pa   twakwatlitwau*
           Simeon ri   yam luwɨ   pina pa   t-w-akwatli-twau
           Simeon 3S turn plenty knife FCS   R-later-cut-just

           maulakɨ tuwa martowɨyɨ.
           maulakɨ tuwa mar-towɨ-yɨ.
           head   one   swing-cut-NOM

           'Simeon took his turn and just cut **its** head with a big knife in one swing.'

(447)   *Maulakɨ twamariyari.*
           Maulakɨ t-wa-mariyari.
           head   R-later-drop

           '**Its** head fell off.'

(448)   **Wa** *nam kɨkɨt yan   ramɨ   tuwa salim   rari,   tɨlɨmwom*
           Wa nam kɨkɨt yan   ramɨ   tuwa salim   ra-ri   tɨlɨm-wom
           and 1P   small child person one   PDG.send   REP-do   woman-P

lami	*rakɨnɨm*	*mau*	*lauru.*	
la-m-i	*ra-kɨ-nɨm.*	*mau*	*lau-ru.*	
down-GOM-go	REP-get-P	forest	house-LOC	

'We sent a boy back to go get the women at the bush house.'

(449)

Tɨlɨmwom	*peiki*	*pei*	*kalo*	*takwel*
Tɨlɨm-wom	*pei-ki*	*pei*	*kalo*	*takwel*
woman-P	palm.sheet-ACP	palm.sheet	bark.rope	dry.bamboo

karonɨnɨm
kar-o-nɨn-nɨm.
carry-up-PAS-P

'The women carried up palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo.'

(450)

Karonɨnɨm	*nam*	*yam*	*yei*	*kupoulai*	*tɨlɨmwom*
kar-o-nɨn-nɨm	*nam*	*yam*	*yei*	*kupou-lai*	*tɨlɨm-wom*
carry-up-PAS-P	1P	turn	skin	strip-CONT	woman-P

kamap	*tyamrɨrinɨm.*
kamap	*t-yamrɨ-ri-nɨm.*
PDG.come.up	R-UPH-do-P

'After they had carried the things, we stripped off the (buffalo's) skin while the women came up.'

(451)

Tɨlɨmwom	*taratnanke*	*nam*	*touyɨlwɨ.*
Tɨlɨm-wom	*t-arat-nan-ke*	*nam*	*t-ouyɨ-lwɨ.*
woman-P	R-gather-many-PRF	1P	R-butcher-INT

'The women all gathered together, while we butchered (the buffalo).'

9.4 Topic Tracking

The third person pronoun *ri* is also used for topic tracking.

This example uses *ri* for tracking the ongoing subject. Note in this particular example the *ri* is clarified with the following noun-focus phrase *paplo pa*.

(452)

Nɨmake	*wailwɨki*	*yan*	*wakre*
Nɨ-m-ake	*wai-lwɨ-ki*	*yan*	*w-akre*
IMP-GOM-see	belly-INT-ACP	child	IR-give.birth

> *ri* *paplo* *pa.*
> *ri* *paplo* *pa.*
> 3S buffalo FCS

'Look, the buffalo is pregnant and possibly about to give birth.'

> *Yan* *wakre* *ri* *yam* *mati* *namɨ* *take*
> *Yan* *w-akre* *ri* *yam* *mati* *nam-ɨ* *t-ake*
> Child IR-give.birth 3S turn now 1P-OBJ R-see

> *wa* *nam* *reyauratyɨ.*
> *wa* *nam* *re-yaur-atyɨ.*
> and 1P REP-DNH-come

'It was possibly giving birth to its baby/offspring, but now it was looking at us, and (so) we came down again.'

This example uses *riyɨ* '3S-OBJ' for tracking the ongoing object.

> (453) *Rapiyɨ,* *pina,* *ri-yɨ* *tweyɨkɨ* *rapiyɨ,* *pina* *wa*
> *Rapiyɨ,* *pina,* *ri-yɨ* *t-wa-ey-kɨ* *rapiyɨ,* *pina* *wa*
> bow knife this-OBJ R-later-COM-get bow knife and

> *kwaiyɨ* *ain* *nabaut.*
> *kwaiyɨ* *ain* *nabaut.*
> what iron PDG.around

'Get bows and knives and any other weapons lying around.'

> *Ri-yɨ* *tweyɨkɨnɨn* *tuwa* *ramɨ*
> *Ri-yɨ* *t-wa-ey-kɨ-nɨn* *tuwa* *ramɨ*
> this-OBJ R-later-COM-get-PAS one person

> *lameyɨkɨnɨn* *tɨryei.*
> *la-m-eyɨ-kɨ-nɨn* *t-ɨr-yei.*
> down-GOM-COM-get-PAS R-with-ascend

'One man went down and got those things and brought them back.'

In the glossed text in the appendix (see §12.1 Glossed Text), in sentence (454), where the buffalo is last explicitly stated, the word *rikwɨ* '3S-POS' is used differently then a typical possessive pronoun, as shown in the sentence below.

(455) Nam tɨtariyonwalwɨ   alau   pa   i   go   tertinpela
       Nam tɨ-tari-yonwa-lwɨ   alau   pa   i   go   tertinpela
       1P   R-shoot-inside-INT   arrow FCS PDG PDG.go thirteen

       alau   pewa   tɨmkɨlwanikea   rikwɨ
       alau   pewa   tɨ-m-kɨlwani-ke-a   rikwɨ
       arrow   enough R-GOM-enter-PRF-awhile   this-POS

       paploru   pa.
       paplo-ru   pa.
       buffalo-LOC   FCS

       'We shot thirteen arrows that went into the water buffalo.'

It is uncertain whether this word is signalling the start of the main topic or playing some other role in the clause or story. See §9.3 Ellipsis for more information concerning this portion of the glossed text.

9.5 Direct Speech

Direct speech is realised in a story in two main ways. The most common method is for the speaker to state what someone said (answered, yelled, etc.) and then begin the direct quote immediately following. Here are some examples:

(456) Tɨlɨm-wom-rɨ me, "Tɨpa   meki n-ɨlya-nɨm."
       woman-P-OBJ   say sago.jelly later IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P

       '(We) told the women, "Make the sago later."'

(457) Ri-kwɨ ri-ki   t-ori-me, "Pa-rɨ   yin yar t-uyawa-karyɨ?"
       3S-POS this-TMP   R-call-say FCS-OBJ   2S   who R-walk-PRG

       'He then calls out and says, "Who's been walking with you?"'

Another method for switching to direct speech is when a narrative is being told in first person and addresses someone or something in the second person. The following examples belong together and are from the Buffalo Story in §12.1 Glossed Text. *Yim* in example (458) addresses the herd of buffalo, and the speaker resumes his story in the next example. In examples (460) and (461) it is not fully clear who the speaker is talking to, but it is mostly likely what he and his group were talking about among themselves.

(458) "**Yɨm** lalɨmta nam tekililwɨ."

"Yɨm lalɨ-mta nam t-ekili-lwɨ.

2P   leg-INT   1P   R-hunt-INT

"'All of you big legs, we're going to get you.'"

(459) Em   nau   twamkokwɨtnanke,

Em   nau   t-wa-m-kok-wɨt-nan-ke,

PDG.3S   PDG.now   R—later-GOM-inside-stand-many-PRF

nam paki   take.

nam pa-ki   t-ake.

1P   FCS-TMP   R-see

'Alright now we see where many had later stood.'

(460) "**Kwaiyɨ**   **kɨ**, lalɨ katamuke o yili katamuke

"Kwaiyɨ   kɨ, lalɨ katamu-ke o yili katamu-ke

what   get leg break-PRF   or arm break-PRF

o kwaiyɨ   kɨyɨ?"

o kwaiyɨ   kɨ-yɨ?"

or what   get-NOM

"'What happened? Did its leg break, or its arm break or what happened?'"

(461) "**Nɨmake**   wailwɨki   yan wakre

"Nɨ-m-ake   wai-lwɨ-ki   yan w-akre

IMP-GOM-see   belly-INT-ACP child IR-give.birth

ri paplo   pa."

ri paplo   pa."

3S buffalo   FCS

"'Look, the buffalo is pregnant and possibly about to give birth.'"

(462) Yan wakre   ri yam mati namɨ   take

Yan w-akre   ri yam mati nam-ɨ   t-ake

child IR-give.birth 3S turn now 1P-OBJ   R-see

wa nam reyauratyɨ.

wa nam re-yaur-atyɨ.

and 1P   REP-DNH-come

'It was possibly giving birth to its baby/offspring, but now it was looking at us, and (so) we came down again.'

9.6 Written vs. Oral Style.

There is a tendency for Pouye speakers to speak very quickly, leaving many opportunities for not pronouncing every phoneme in a word. Written or slow deliberate speech will often differ from normal (fast) speech. Differences include changes in vowel sounds; stumbling through longer words adding phonemes that shouldn't be there; saying a word twice, because the second instance is more grammatically correct; and using more Tok Pisin.

The following example is of what was said orally in a story, and following that is the 'corrected' proper written Pouye.

(463) *Nam* *gras* *martowɨlai* *yam Aro ri* *yam munɨp*
       nam *gras* *mar-towɨ-lai* *yam Aro ri* *yam munɨp*
       1P PDG.grass swing-cut-CONT turn Aro 3S turn after

       paki *twainkwinatyɨkalwɨ.*
       pa-ki *t-wa-inkw-in-atyɨ-kalwɨ*
       FCS-TMP R-later-?-TWD-come-all

       'We were still cutting the grass when later Aro arrived.'

(464) *Nam* *kitɨkat* *martowɨlai* *Aro* *ri* *yam* *munɨp*
       nam *kitɨkat* *mar-towɨ-lai* *Aro* *ri* *yam* *munɨp*
       1P grass swing-cut-CONT Aro 3S turn after

       paki *twainatyɨkalwɨ.*
       pa-ki *t-wa-in-atyɨ-kalwɨ*
       FCS-TMP R-later-TWD-come-all

       'We were still cutting the grass when later Aro arrived.'

10. Unresolved Issues

Much is yet to be learned about the Pouye language, and not everything has been explained in this paper. What is written here entails merely a first attempt analysis of Pouye grammar.

Some grammatical features of Pouye were not able to be resolved in this research. Following are some unresolved issues.

10.1 Pronouns

As described in §3.2 Pronouns there are two different third person pronoun sets, one beginning with *ar-*, one beginning with *r-*. Although some differences in use of these pronouns have been mentioned, it is not yet entirely clear when each is used and why there is no differentiation in the possessive exclusive and reflexive forms, e.g. *yip-ri* 'RFL-3S' and *yip-ram-kairɨ* 'RFL-3P-PSE'.

In the following example it is not clear why the demonstrative pronoun follows after the noun, whereas in most cases it stands before the noun (see §3.3 Demonstratives).

(465) *N-in-atyɨ*   *wɨlouk* **atɨ** *n-eyɨ-kwi-kɨr.*
          IMP-TWD-come   snake   this IMP-COM-QCK-kill
          'Come and kill this snake quickly.'

10.2 Verbal affixes

There are also many questions about some verbal affix positions. The verb prefix *ra-* 'again' sometimes occurs in the verbal affix slot -4 and sometimes in slot -1.

(466) -4-3-0
          ra-*law-atyɨ*
          REP-down-come
          'come down again'

(467) -3-2-1-0
          *la-m-***r**-*ake*
          down-GOM-REP-see
          'went down again and looked'

The two motion prefixes *m-* 'go (away) motion' and *ey-* 'come (toward) motion' may stand together in the same verb as some examples show. So there might have to be two different motion prefix slots with the 'go' motion first, followed by the 'come' motion.

(468) -3-2-2-0 + 5

*la-**m-eyɨ**-kɨ-nɨn*

down-GOM-COM-get-PAS

'went down and got'

(469) -6-3-2-2-1-0

*t-ya-**m-eyɨ**-r-ake*

R-up-GOM-COM-REP-see

'went back up and came to see'

A similar problem occurs with the two prefixes *kw-* 'quickly' and *ɨr-* 'with'. There is one example where both prefixes are used in the same word, although other examples indicate that both of them are positioned in the -1 affix slot.

(470) -6-4-2-1-1-0 + 1 + 2 + 5

*t-wa-in-kw-ɨr-ɨprikau-**twau**-na-nɨn*

R-later-TWD-QCK-with-jump-just-many-PAS

'right after, (he/she) just jumped and jumped toward (it)'

Most examples indicate that the location prefix stands in slot -3 [see §4.1.6 Spatial location (-3)] and comes before the motion prefix in slot -2 [see §4.1.7 Direction (-2)], but there is one example that appears to contradict this rule.

(471) -6-2-3-0

wɨ-m-yaur-i

IR-GOM-DNH-go

'may go downhill'

10.3 Negation

The particle *nam* negates the clause. It is uncertain if it is an affix or a separate word. And it is uncertain whether it is modifying a noun or a verb. It often appears after the word *ri*, although it is unclear if the *ri* is the verb 'do' or the demonstrative 'this'. Below are some examples:

(472) *Ramɨ   yar   nam-ɨ   atmoni ri   **nam**   ri-lai,*

person   who   1P-OBJ   bad   do/this   NEG   do-CONT

ri-yɨ   nam-kɨ   kame.

this-OBJ   1P-POS   friend

'Whoever does not do wrong to us is our friend.'

(473) *Yin wan-kɨ ramɨ   armuk atɨ kwaiyɨ kɨ **nam** ri?*
2s   1s-pos   person three   this what   get neg   do/this
'What negative things have you done to my three people?'

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12. Appendix

12.1 Glossed Text

The following story was told by Clement on 6 August 1991 in Kiliauto village, a Pouye speaking village in Sandaun Province. It is part of the corpus of data used as basis for this grammar analysis.

Buffalo Story

(474)	Nam	Sandeki	Kiliauto	lau	tyamrɨwikenɨm.
	Nam	*Sande-ki*	*Kiliauto*	*lau*	*t-yamrɨ-wi-ke-nɨm*
	1P	Sunday-TMP	Kiliauto	village	R-UPH-be-PRF-P

'On Sunday we were up at Kiliauto village.'

(475)   *Nam Yampowa   tyei.*

       Nam Yampo-wa   t-yei.

       1P   Yampo-DIR   R-ascend

       'We went up to Yampo.'

(476)   *Moutan pa   Atmoyau parɨ   sevenpela   man riku*

       Moutan pa   Atmoyau pa-rɨ   sevenpela   man   ri-ku

       part   FCS   Atmoyau FCS-OBJ   seven   PDG.man   this-LOC

       maratkenɨm.

       m-arat-ke-nɨm.

       GOM-gather-PRF-P

       'Seven of the men were from Atmoyau, and they gathered there.'

(477)   *Nam tɨlɨmki   Yampo lau   tunake.*

       Nam tɨlɨm-ki   Yampo lau   t-una-ke.

       1P   woman-ACP   Yampo village R-sleep-PRF

       'We with our wives slept at Yampo village.'

(478)   *Nam Yampo lau   tunake   Mande   nam*

       Nam Yampo lau   t-una-ke   Mande   nam

       1P   Yampo village R-sleep-PRF   Monday   1P

       gras   tyamrɨmartowɨ.

       gras   t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ

       PDG.grass   R-UPH-swing-cut

       'After we slept at Yampo village, on Monday we went up to cut the grass.'

(479)   *Tyamrɨmartowɨkenɨn   nam*

       t-yamrɨ-mar-towɨ-ke-nɨn   nam

       R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS   1P

       reyauratyɨ   teyunoklɨ.

       re-yaur-atyɨ   t-ey-un-oklɨ.

       REP-DNH-come   R-COM-sleep-rise

       'After we went up to cut the grass, we returned and went to sleep then awoke.'

(480) Nam teyunoklɨke   wa Tundeki   rayei.
       Nam t-ey-un-oklɨ-ke   wa Tunde-ki   ra-yei.
       1P   R-COM-sleep-rise-PRF   and Tuesday-TMP   again-ascend
       'On Tuesday, we awoke and ascended again.'

(481) Tunde   mɨkalu   nam tyei.
       Tunde   mɨkalu   nam t-yei.
       Tuesday   morning 1P   R-ascend
       'On Tuesday morning we went up.'

(482) Nam tɨmiwaknɨkenɨn   nam paplo   paki
       Nam tɨ-m-iwaknɨ-ke-nɨn   nam paplo   pa-ki
       1P   R-GOM-work-PRF-PAS   1P   buffalo   FCS-TMP

       take   tɨraratnankenɨm   luwɨ   yaiyɨmta.
       t-ake   t-ɨr-arat-nan-ke-nɨm   luwɨ   yaiyɨ-mta.
       R-see   R-with-gather-many-PRF-P   plenty group-INT
       'We finished our work and then we saw many water buffalo gathered together.'

(483) Nam tɨtinɨrpowanɨn   pouye pe
       Nam tɨ-tinɨr-powa-nɨn   pouye pe
       1P   R-hunt-FRUS-PAS   none   EMPH

       twɨtɨtwaunankea
       t-wɨt-ɨtwau-nan-ke-a
       R-stand-just-many-PRF-awhile

       paplolwɨ   pa   luwɨ   yaiyɨ.
       paplo-lwɨ   pa   luwɨ   yaiyɨ.
       buffalo-INT   FCS   plenty   group
       'We were unable to hunt the water buffalo, because there were too many of them just standing there.'

(484) "Yim lalɨmta   nam tekililwɨ."
       "Yim lalɨ-mta nam t-ekili-lwɨ.
       2P   leg-INT   1P   R-hunt-INT
       "'All of you big legs, we're going to get you.'"

Appendix

(485) *Em   nau   twamkokwɨtnanke,*
Em   nau   t-wa-m-kok-wɨt-nan-ke,
PDG.3S   PDG.now   R-later-GOM-inside-stand-many-PRF

nam paki   take.
nam pa-ki   t-ake.
1P   FCS-TMP   R-see

'Alright now we see where many had later stood.'

(486) *"Kwaiyɨ kɨ, lalɨ katamuke o yilɨ katamuke*
"Kwaiyɨ kɨ, lalɨ katamu-ke o yilɨ katamu-ke
what   get leg break-PRF   or arm break-PRF

o kwaiyɨ   kɨyɨ?"
o kwaiyɨ   kɨ-yɨ?"
or what   get-NOM

'"What happened? Did its leg break, or its arm break or what happened?"'

(487) *Nɨmake   wailwɨki   yan wakre*
Nɨ-m-ake   wai-lwɨ-ki   yan w-akre
IMP-GOM-see   belly-INT-ACP   child IR-give.birth

ri paplo   pa.
ri paplo   pa.
3S buffalo   FCS

'Look, the buffalo is pregnant and possibly about to give birth.'

(488) *Yan wakre   ri yam mati namɨ   take*
Yan w-akre   ri yam mati nam-ɨ   t-ake
child IR-give.birth 3S turn now 1P-OBJ   R-see

wa nam reyauratyɨ.
wa nam re-yaur-atyɨ.
and 1P   REP-DNH-come

'It was possibly giving birth to its young, but now it was looking at us, and (so) we came down again.'

(489) *Tunde   yirapri   gras   martowɨplake*
Tunde   yirapri   gras   mar-towɨ-pla-ke
Tuesday   afternoon PDG.grass   swing-cut-CMP-PRF

wa   nam   reyauratyɨ.

wa   nam   re-yaur-atyɨ.

and 1P   REP-DNH-come

'Tuesday afternoon, we finished cutting the grass and came back down.'

(490) Trinde   nam tyamrake   twɨtnanke.

Trinde   nam t-yamr-ake   t-wɨt-nan-ke.

Wednesday   1P   R-UPH-see   R-stand-many-PRF

'Wednesday, we went up and looked where they stood.'

(491) Nam Trinde   gras   martowɨpla   i   go   tu

Nam Trinde   gras   mar-towɨ-pla i   go   tu

1P   Wednesday PDG.grass swing-cut-CMP PDG PDG.go PDG.two

kilok   nam riki   pinis   wok ri.

kilok   nam ri-ki   pinis   wok ri.

o'clock 1P   this-TMP PDG.finish work do

'On Wednesday we finished cutting the grass at two o'clock.'

(492) Wa arpam Atmoyau turiainɨm   sevenpela man.

Wa arpam Atmoyau t-uriai-nɨm   sevenpela man.

and 3P   Atmoyau R-go.upstream-P   seven   PDG.man

'Seven men went upstream to Atmoyau.'

(493) Wa nam tweyauratyɨ.

Wa nam t-w-yaur-atyɨ

and 1P   R-later-DNH-come

'Then we came down afterward.'

(494) Nam faivpela man   twainatyɨ   nam paki

Nam faivpela man   t-wa-in-atyɨ   nam pa-ki

1P   PDG.five PDG.man   R-later-TWD-come   1P   FCS-TMP

reyake   tuwa ramɨ   salim   ri maulauwa.

r-ey-ake   tuwa ramɨ   salim   ri mau-lau-wa.

REP-COM-see   one   person PDG.send   do forest-house-DIR

'Five of us came and looked again, and sent one man to the bush house.'

(495) Rapiyɨ, pina, ri-yɨ   tweyɨkɨ   rapiyɨ, pina wa
Rapiyɨ, pina, ri-yɨ   t-wa-ey-kɨ   rapiyɨ, pina wa
bow   knife this-OBJ   R-later-COM-get   bow   knife and

kwaiyɨ   ain   nabaut.
kwaiyɨ   ain   nabaut.
what   iron   PDG.around

'Get bows and knives and any other weapons lying around.'

(496) Ri-yɨ   tweyɨkɨnɨn   tuwa ramɨ
Ri-yɨ   t-wa-ey-kɨ-nɨn   tuwa ramɨ
this-OBJ   R-later-COM-get-PAS   one   person

lameyɨkɨnɨn   tɨryei.
la-m-eyɨ-kɨ-nɨn   t-ɨr-yei.
down-GOM-COM-get-PAS   R-with-ascend

'One man went down and got those things and brought them back.'

(497) Wa nam paplo   luwɨ pa rikwɨ   matakriru
Wa nam paplo   luwɨ pa ri-kwɨ   matakri-ru
and 1P buffalo   plenty FCS 3S-POS   plant.species-LOC

tɨmkɨrwɨtnanke   riku   wamkɨtɨryɨ.
tɨ-m-kɨr-wɨt-nan-ke   ri-ku   wa-m-k-ɨtɨr-yɨ.
R-GOM-?-stand-many-PRF   this-LOC   later-GOM-?-die-NOM

'Many water buffalo were standing in the grass (kunai), .'

(498) Nam tɨtariyonwalwɨ   alau pa i go   tertinpela
Nam tɨ-tari-yonwa-lwɨ   alau pa i go   tertinpela
1P R-shoot-inside-INT   arrow FCS PDG PDG.go   thirteen

alau pewa tɨmkɨlwanikea   rikwɨ
alau pewa tɨ-m-kɨlwani-ke-a   rikwɨ
arrow enough R-GOM-enter-PRF-awhile   this-POS

paploru   pa.
paplo-ru   pa.
buffalo-LOC FCS

'We shot thirteen arrows that went into the water buffalo.'

(499) *Takwɨramɨmnɨtɨtainonɨn   yam mati taislwɨru*
　　 t-akwɨr-amɨmnɨ-tɨtano-nɨn yam mati tais-lwɨ-ru
　　 R-?-run-a.bit-PAS　　　　　 turn now   PDG.mud-INT-LOC

　　 milaltapalinɨ.
　　 milaltapa-linɨ
　　 ?-fall

　　 'It ran a short way, and fell in the mud.'

(500) *Mati wan pina pa   twainkurɨprikautwaunanɨn*
　　 Mati wan pina pa   t-wa-in-kw-ɨr-ɨprikau-twau-na-nɨn
　　 now   1S   knife FCS   R-later-TWD-QCK-with-jump-just-many-PAS

　　 lalalai yitan lalalai yitan twaiyɨ   ri tunalinɨkalwɨ.
　　 lalalai yitan lalalai yitan t-waiyɨ   ri t-una-linɨ-kalwɨ.
　　 tendon   other tendon   other R-what   do R-sleep-fall-all

　　 'Now with my knife I just jumped and jumped toward it and cut its tendon
　　 and then its other tendon and it went down.'

(501) *Simeon ri   yam luwɨ   pina pa   twakwatlitwau*
　　 Simeon ri   yam luwɨ   pina pa   t-w-akwatli-twau
　　 Simeon 3S   turn plenty knife FCS   R-later-cut-just

　　 maulakɨ tuwa martowɨyɨ.
　　 maulakɨ tuwa mar-towɨ-yɨ.
　　 head   one   swing-cut-NOM

　　 'Simeon took his turn and just cut its head with a big knife in one swing'

(502) *Maulakɨ twamariyari.*
　　 Maulakɨ t-wa-mariyari.
　　 head   R-later-drop

　　 'Its head fell off.'

(503) *Wa nam kɨkɨt yan ramɨ   tuwa salim   rari,   tɨlɨmwom*
　　 Wa nam kɨkɨt yan ramɨ   tuwa salim   ra-ri   tɨlɨm-wom
　　 and 1P   small child person one   PDG.send REP-do   woman-P

　　 lami   rakɨnɨm   mau lauru.
　　 la-m-i   ra-kɨ-nɨm   mau lau-ru.
　　 down-GOM-go   REP-get-P   forest house-LOC

'We sent a boy back to go get the women at the bush house.'

(504) Tɨlɨmwom peiki   pei   kalo   takwel
       Tɨlɨm-wom pei-ki   pei   kalo   takwel
       woman-P   palm.sheet-ACP palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo

       karonɨnɨm
       kar-o-nɨn-nɨm.
       carry-up-PAS-P

       'The women carried up palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo.'

(505) Karonɨnɨm   nam yam yei kupoulai   tɨlɨmwom
       kar-o-nɨn-nɨm   nam yam yei kupou-lai   tɨlɨm-wom
       carry-up-PAS-P   1P turn skin strip-CONT woman-P

       kamap   tyamrɨrinɨm.
       kamap   t-yamrɨ-ri-nɨm.
       PDG.come.up   R-UPH-do-P

       'After they had carried the things, we stripped off the skin while the women
       came up.'

(506) Tɨlɨmwom   taratnanke   nam   touyɨlwɨ.
       Tɨlɨm-wom t-arat-nan-ke   nam   t-ouyɨ-lwɨ.
       woman-P   R-gather-many-PRF   1P   R-butcher-INT

       'The women all gathered together, while we butchered the buffalo.'

(507) Wa nam serim   ri tɨlɨmwom rikwɨ   yitan.
       Wa nam serim   ri tɨlɨm-wom ri-kwɨ   yitan.
       and 1P PDG.share do woman-P   3S-POS   other

       'We shared the other part with the women.'

(508) Tɨlɨmwom   moutan karnɨm   laplakɨ, titu   karlwɨnɨm.
       Tɨlɨm-wom moutan kar-nɨm   laplakɨ, titu   kar-lwɨ-nɨm.
       woman-P   part   carry-P   rib   bone   carry-INT-P

       'The women carried some of the ribs and bone.'

(509) Tauwi rikwɨ   wakɨtikarlwɨ lalitan pa   yilɨ weitanlwɨ.
      Tauwi ri-kwɨ   wakɨti-kar-lwɨ lalitan pa   yilɨ weitan-lwɨ
      Tauwi 3S-POS   ?-carry-INT   leg   FCS arm part-INT
      'Tauwi carried a large part of a foreleg.'

(510) Wanokwɨ   lalitan prawanwo   twe.
      Wan-wo-kwɨ   lalitan pra-wan-wo   t-we.
      1S-only-POS   leg   RFL-1S-only R-carry
      'I carried one leg by myself.'

(511) Kaum wo Stiven wo rikwɨ   yitan tyɨwe.
      Kaum wo Stiven wo ri-kwɨ   yitan tyɨ-we.
      Kaum D   Steven D   3S-POS   other D-carry
      'Kaum and Steven carried another.'

(512) Riyɨ   maulakɨ lalitan pe   tɨtyaratulinɨ.
      Ri-yɨ   maulakɨ lalitan pe   tɨ-ty-aratu-linɨ.
      3S-OBJ   head   leg   EMPH R-D-hang-fall
      'They hung up the head and the leg.'

(513) Robetki   sori   Kaumki   ya   Robetki.
      Robet-ki   sori   Kaum-ki   ya   Robet-ki.
      Robert-ACP   PDG.sorry Kaum-ACP   NEG   Robert-ACP
      'With Robert, sorry with Kaum not with Robert.'

(514) Kaum wa Atiamo rauwokwɨ   yitan tyɨwe.
      Kaum wa Atiamo rau-wo-kwɨ   yitan tyɨ-we.
      Kaum and Atiamo 3D-only-POS   other D-carry
      'Kaum and Atiamo (returned?) and carried another.'

(515) Tɨlɨmwomrɨ   me, "Tɨpa   meki nɨlyanɨm,
      Tɨlɨm-wom-rɨ   me, "Tɨpa   meki n-ɨlya-nɨm
      woman-P-OBJ   say sago.jelly later IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P

      takouyɨnɨm."
      tak-ouyɨ-nɨm
      hold-butcher-P

'We told the women, "Make the sago later, cut (the meat) now.'

(516) Nam tɨlɨmwom takwel   tapɨ tɨrulwɨnɨm.
       Nam tɨlɨm-wom takwel   tapɨ t-ɨr-u-lwɨ-nɨm.
       1P   woman-P   dry.bamboo fire R-with-light-INT-P

'The women and we lit a big fire with dry bamboo.'

(517) Wa lainki   tɨrwɨtkenɨm
       Wa lain-ki   t-ɨr-wɨt-ke-nɨm
       and PDG.group-ACP   R-with-stand-PRF-P

       mamekekunɨm.
       mame-ke-ku-nɨm
       provide.light-PRF-BEN-P

'Then the group (of women) stood there with us and kept the fire going for us (kept the [bamboo torch] lit so we could see).'

(518) Pranam   touyɨlai.
       Pra-nam   t-ouyɨ-lai.
       RFL-1P   R-butcher-CONT

'We ourselves cut it up.'

(519) Pranam   touyɨlai   nam lauru   yaiyɨ
       Pra-nam   t-ouyɨ-lai   nam lau-ru   yaiyɨ
       RFL-1P   R-butcher-CONT   1P village-LOC group

       yatlekawa   pouye.
       ya-t-le-kawa   pouye.
       NEG-R-share-deal none

'Since we cut it up ourselves, we did not share any with the village.'

(520) Pranam   wok   rilai   yaiyɨ twauwo.
       Pra-nam wok   ri-lai   yaiyɨ twauwo.
       RFL-1P   PDG.work do-CONT group only

'We were the only ones doing all the work (insinuating, we did not get help)'

(521) Atmoyau yen   sevenpela orait   nam pranam.
       Atmoyau yen   sevenpela orait   nam pra-nam.
       Atmoyau P   seven   PDG.ok   1P   RFL-1P

       'It was the seven of us at Atmoyau (there were seven from Atmoyau and then us).'

(522) Nam tuwa leyɨ.
       Nam tuwa le-yɨ.
       1P   one   share-NOM

       'We wanted to share one piece.'

(523) Wa nam lenanke   turatunanke.
       Wa nam le-nan-ke   t-uratu-nan-ke.
       and 1P   share-many-PRF   R-hang-many-PRF

       'We divided up the pieces of meat and then hung them up.'

(524) Na   tɨlɨmwom ayɨ tɨpa   mɨlyanɨm
       Na   tɨlɨm-wom ayɨ tɨpa   m-ɨlya-nɨm
       PDG.and woman-P   food sago.jelly GOM-cook.in.bamboo-P

       nam take   nam taratke.
       nam t-a-ke   nam t-arat-ke.
       1P   R-consume-PRF   1P   R-gather-PRF

       'And the women made the food and sago, and we ate and then sat around together.'

(525) Wa nam tuna.
       Wa nam t-una.
       and 1P   R-sleep

       'Then we slept.'

(526) Wa nam wewai le,   "Pe   parinɨm?"
       Wa nam wewai le,   "Pe   pa-ri-nɨm?"
       and 1P   thought think EMPH HRT-do-P

       'We thought, "Are we really going to do it?"'

(527) *Meki atu tyauratyɨnɨm arpam sevenpela man pa*
  Meki atu t-yaur-atyɨ-nɨm arpam sevenpela man pa
  later here R-DNH-come-P 3P seven PDG.man FCS

  wa rike namki nogat.
  wa ri-ke nam-ki nogat.
  and do-PRF 1P-ACP PDG.no

  'Later, seven men came down, but they didn't work with us.'

(528) *Nogat nam me, "Maski nam pakarokalwɨnɨm."*
  Nogat nam me, "Maski nam pa-kar-o-kalwɨ-nɨm."
  PDG.no 1P say PDG.nevermind 1P HRT-carry-up-all-P

  We said, "No, forget it. Let's carry up all of [our stuff]."

(529) *Wa nam tɨlɨmwomrɨ Pawɨkuru putim*
  Wa nam tɨlɨm-wom-rɨ Pawɨku-ru putim
  and 1P woman-P-OBJ Pawɨku-LOC PDG.put

  tɨmrikenɨm wa riku til pa riku
  tɨ-m-ri-ke-nɨm wa ri-ku til pa ri-ku
  R-GOM-do-PRF-P and this-LOC stone FCS this-LOC

  twamikramlainɨm.
  t-wa-m-ikram-lai-nɨm.
  R-later-GOM-heap.fire-CONT-P

  'The women and we came to Pawɨku River and we heated up stones in a
  fire.'

(530) *Wa pranam wok tɨmri.*
  Wa pra-nam wok tɨ-m-ri.
  and RFL-1P PDG.work R-GOM-do

  'We went and did the work ourselves.'

(531) *Pranam wok tɨmri nam wok*
  Pra-nam wok tɨ-m-ri nam wok
  RFL-1P PDG.work R-GOM-do 1P PDG.work

  riplake tyaukratyɨnɨm arpam teyɨklatɨnɨm.
  ri-pla-ke t-yaukr-atyɨ-nɨm arpam t-eyɨ-klatɨ-nɨm
  do-CMP-PRF R-DNS-come-P 3P R-COM-open-P

'We ourselves did all the work, and then they came downstream and opened up the cooking pit.'

(532) Wa ramɨkwɨ Atmoyau turiainɨm   sevenpela   man   ok
      Wa ram-kwɨ Atmoyau t-uriai-nɨm   sevenpela   man   ok
      and 3P-POS   Atmoyau R-go.upstream-P seven   PDG.man ok

      namɨ   kwaiyɨ   Yampowa   teyauratyɨ.
      nam-ɨ   kwaiyɨ   Yampo-wa   t-ey-yaur-atyɨ.
      1P-OBJ   what   Yampo-DIR   R-COM-DNH-come

      'Seven men from Atmoyau started to go upstream, while we came down to Yampo bush camp.'

(533) Wa pewa   arpa stori   pa   paplo   stori.
      Wa pewa   arpa stori   pa   paplo   stori.
      and enough 3S   PDG.story FCS   buffalo   PDG.story

      'That is the end of the water buffalo story.'

(534) Rikwɨ moutan yankti pa   nam yatatwarpla.
      Rikwɨ moutan yankti pa   nam ya-t-atwar-pla.
      this   part   little FCS   1P   NEG-R-story-CMP

      'A small part of the story we have not told it all to you.'

(535) Nam Sarare   nam tinatyɨ   sori   i   no
      Nam Sarare   nam t-in-atyɨ   sori   i   no
      1P   Saturday   1P   R-TWD-come PDG.sorry PDG PDG.no

      Sarare   Fraideki   tinatyɨlainɨm.
      Sarare   Fraide-ki   t-in-atyɨ-lai-nɨm.
      Saturday   Friday-TMP   R-TWD-come-CONT-P

      'On Saturday, no I mean Friday, we were coming.'

(536) Nam Fraide   mɨkalu   tinatyɨ   moutan yaiyɨ
      Nam Fraide   mɨkalu   t-in-atyɨ   moutan yaiyɨ
      1P   Friday   morning R-TWD-come part   group

      Atmoyauru   twike   tyauratyɨnɨm.
      Atmoyau-ru   t-wi-ke   t-yaur-atyɨ-nɨm.
      Atmoyau-LOC   R-be-PRF   R-DNH-come-P

'On Friday morning we came and another group also came down to Atmoyau.'

(537)   *Yam tuwa ramɨ   aya   tuwa rikwɨ   i   pa   Aro.*
       Yam tuwa ramɨ   aya   tuwa ri-kwɨ   i   pa   Aro.
       turn one person father one 3S-POS name FCS Aro
       'There was also an older man named Aro.'

(538)   *Youk lauru   twike   riyɨ.*
       Youk lau-ru   t-wi-ke   riyɨ.
       grass village-LOC R-be-PRF now
       'He lives in the village where the grass is.'

(539)   *Nam   tinatyɨ   arpamrɨ paki   me, "Paplo*
       Nam   t-in-atyɨ   arpam-rɨ pa-ki   me, "Paplo
       1P   R-TWD-come 3P-OBJ   FCS-TMP say buffalo

       tɨpa   takenɨm   ri   riyɨ rawuyauwakɨryɨnɨm."
       tɨpa   t-a-ke-nɨm   ri   riyɨ ra-uyauwa-karyɨ-nɨm
       sago.jelly R-consume-PRF-P this now REP-walk-PRG-P
       'We were coming when we said to them, "We ate the water buffalo and sago and now they are walking toward us."'

(540)   *Wa ramɨkwɨ tyauratyɨnɨm.*
       Wa ram-ɨkwɨ t-yaur-atyɨ-nɨm.
       and 3P-POS   R-DNH-come-P
       'And they were coming down toward us.'

(541)   *Tyauratyɨnɨm   wa nam gras   martowɨlai.*
       T-yaur-atyɨ-nɨm wa nam gras   mar-towɨ-lai.
       R-DNH-come-P   and 1P PDG.grass swing-cut-CONT
       'They came as we were cutting the grass.'

(542)   *Nam gras   martowɨlai   yam Aro ri yam munɨp*
       nam gras   mar-towɨ-lai   yam Aro ri yam munɨp
       1P   PDG.grass swing-cut-CONT turn Aro 3S turn after

paki   *twainkwinatyɨkalwɨ.*

pa-ki   *t-wa-inkw-in-atyɨ-kalwɨ*

FCS-TMP   R-later-?-TWD-come-all

'We were still cutting the grass when later Aro arrived.'

(543)   *Meki*   *alupriyɨ*   *pa*   *kwaiyɨ*   *lameyɨkɨ*   *nam*

            Meki   *alupriyɨ*   *pa*   *kwaiyɨ*   *la-m-eyɨ-kɨ*   *nam*

            later   anger   FCS   what   down-GOM-COM-get   1P

            pa   *kɨtinei*   *patyɨ*   *Arowomki.*

            pa   *kɨ-tinei*   *pa-atyɨ*   *Aro-wom-ki.*

            FCS   get-fight   HRT-come   Aro-P-ACP

            'Later, they became angry at us and we were going to go down and fight with Aro's line.'

(544)   *Arowomki*   *pa*   *kɨtinei*   *patyɨ*   *yam* *mati* *Matias*

            Aro-wom-ki *pa*   *kɨ-tinei*   *pa-atyɨ*   *yam* *mati* *Matias*

            Aro-P-ACP   FCS   get-fight   HRT-come   turn   now   Matias

            Simeon *meki* *riwaki.*

            Simeon *meki* *riwaki*

            Simeon   late   ?

            'Aro's line came to fight, but Matias and Simeon (settled it?).'

(545)   *Wa*   *wɨtitantaikratyɨ.*

            Wa   *wɨtitantaikr-atyɨ.*

            and   ?-come

            '(They came because they wanted to fight.)'

(546)   *Wa*   *nam*   *wɨrnɨ*   *rike.*

            Wa   *nam*   *wɨrnɨ*   *ri-ke.*

            and   1P   heart   do-PRF

            'We felt sorry for them.'

(547)   *Waneyɨmetwautainɨkenɨn*   *yipriwokɨ*   *ti.*

            Wan-eyɨ-me-twau-tainɨ-ke-nɨn   *yip-ri-wo-kɨ*   *t-i*

            DEB-COM-say-just-pity-PRF-PAS   RFL-3S-only-POS   R-go

            'We allowed him to just plead with us, (then) he himself left.'

Appendix

(548) *Rikwɨ*   *yipriwo*   *mepowa*   *mepowa*
       ri-kwɨ   *yip-ri-wo*   *me-powa*   *me-powa*
       3S-POS   RFL-3S-only   say-FRUS   say-FRUS

       wa   les   *tɨmkakrari.*
       wa   les   *tɨ-m-kakra-ri*
       and PDG.tired   R-GOM-INAB-do
       'He himself came talking and talking, and we didn't feel like fighting.'

(549) *Rapiyɨ*   *twauwo*   *tɨmkwokweikwalyeinanɨn*
       Rapiyɨ   *twauwo*   *tɨ-m-kwok-wei-kwalyei-nan-nɨn*
       bow   only   R-GOM-inside-carry-?-many-PAS

       yiprikwairɨ   *lauwa.*
       yip-ri-kwairɨ   *lau-wa*
       RFL-3S-PSE   house-DIR
       'Carrying only his bow, he went inside his own house.'

(550) *Orait*   *arpa* *stori*   *pewa,*   *Arowomki.*
       Orait   *arpa* *stori*   *pewa,*   *Aro-wom-ki.*
       PDG.ok   3S   PDG.story   enough   Aro-P-ACP
       'That is the end of the story about Aro's line.'

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