Summer Institute of Linguistics

Pouye
Grammar Essentials

Alternate/previous name: Bouye
ISO 639-3 (Ethnologue) Code: [BYE]
Lumi District, Sandaun Province
Papua New Guinea
June 2011

Wendy Dede & Dorothea Reuter
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</tbody>
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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

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

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

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’greggen, 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1: CONSONANT PHONEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

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

### 2.2 Vowels and vowel glides

**TABLE 3: VOWEL PHONEMES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Close</strong></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Close-mid</strong></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open-mid</strong></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open</strong></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Table 4: Vowel Phonemes, Allophones and Orthographic Representation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthographic Symbol</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Allophones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>close front vowel</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>close central vowel</td>
<td>[i/ɨ/u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>close back rounded vowel</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>/ɨ/</td>
<td>near-close front vowel</td>
<td>[I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>close-mid front vowel</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>close-mid back vowel</td>
<td>[o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>open-mid front vowel</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>mid central vowel</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>open front vowel</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthographic Symbol</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Allophones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>/a ɨ/</td>
<td>open front with close back rounded vowel glide</td>
<td>[a ɨ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>/ə ɨ/</td>
<td>mid central with close back rounded vowel glide</td>
<td>[ə ɨ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>/o ɨ/</td>
<td>close-mid back with close back rounded vowel glide</td>
<td>[o ɨ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>/a i/</td>
<td>open front with close front vowel glide</td>
<td>[a i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>/ə i/</td>
<td>mid central with close front vowel glide</td>
<td>[ə i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>/e i/</td>
<td>close-mid front with close front vowel glide</td>
<td>[e i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iy</td>
<td>/I ɨ/</td>
<td>near-close front with close front vowel glide</td>
<td>[I ɨ']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.3 Syllable structure

Pouye has the following syllable patterns: V, VV, VC, VVC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, CC, 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 ɕi or ｗo are present in the penultimate position the stress if deferred to an adjacent syllable.

(1) /wil.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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.na</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pi.a.pi</td>
<td>‘teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ja.kri.a</td>
<td>‘snake species’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>‘garamut/slit drum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɕu.ji.kai</td>
<td>‘sister’s husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me.ɕu.ri</td>
<td>‘unable to say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tu.ri.ai</td>
<td>‘to go upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>ɕel</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɕok.rei</td>
<td>‘arrow type’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wir.ɕan.kar</td>
<td>‘plant (species)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tir.nok.im.ɭir</td>
<td>‘submerge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVC</td>
<td>auk</td>
<td>‘cold (flu)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɕuk.tl</td>
<td>‘clouds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rain.ɕuk.lai</td>
<td>‘liking again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wil.ouk</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>‘go!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka.wo.wi</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɕ.wa.li</td>
<td>‘fly (species)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonology

ar:pa  ‘he’

CVV
mau  ‘forest’
jau.wi  ‘how’
a.wai.ji  ‘fishnet’
ri.lai  ‘doing’

tar  ‘fill’

nam.₃i  ‘ours’
mel.kat.₃a  ‘snake (species)’
jan.wom  ‘children’

CVVC
keit  ‘bamboo’
wail.wi.₃i  ‘pregnant’
mask.naim.₃a  ‘thanks a lot’
wa.til.wouk  ‘bandicoot’

CCV
kli  ‘disappear’
kro.₃i  ‘dry’
kul.kla.ke.ji  ‘green coconut’
ka.pro  ‘quickly’

CCVV
krai  ‘old site’
prai.ji  ‘skilled hunter’
kukwai.lu  ‘on (the) fire pit’
tim.krei  ‘go shoo away’

CCVC
trar  ‘brother-in-law’
prin.prin  ‘bird (species)’
tim.ki.kil.pril.wi  ‘drive out’
jin.prin  ‘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 –ri 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 -ri following a vowel, a plosive, or multi-syllable word ending in a nasal.

(3) /jar-ri/ [jari]
    who-OBJ
    ‘whom’

(4) /pol-ri/ [poli]
    Paul-OBJ
    ‘Paul’

(5) /wan-ri/ [wani]
    /s-OBJ
    ‘me’

(6) /jou-ri/ [jo’ri]
    water/river-OBJ
    ‘water/river’

(7) /wəlouk-ri/ [wəlo’kri]
    snake-OBJ
    ‘snake’

(8) /ərpam-ri/ [ərpamri]
    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.)
Phonology

(9) /tɨlp-ru/  
    palm.floor-LOC  
    ‘onto the floor’

(10) /tau  wail-ru/  
    tree  tree.keel-LOC  
    ‘at the keel of a tree’

(11) /jIprar-ru/  
    chicken-LOC  
    ‘on the chicken’

(12) /pirit-ru/  
    ground-LOC  
    ‘on the ground’

(13) /ləu-ru/  
    house-LOC  
    ‘to the house/village’

(14) /milip-ru/  
    nut.tree-LOC  
    ‘on the nut tree (galip)’

(15) /ouk-ru/  
    ridge-LOC  
    ‘on the ridge’

(16) /maurom-ru/  
    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 /i/ is inserted between the plosives.
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 /ɨ/ is inserted at the morpheme boundary creating a proper syllable. When there is a syllable break at the morpheme boundary, the insertion of an /ɨ/ does not take place.

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

‘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) /mərət-ke-nim/ [mərətkenim]
    GOM-gather-PRF-P
    ‘they gathered there’

(26) /nam-ki/ [namki]
    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) /tətin-nin/ [tətinin]
    R-sew-PAS
    ‘has sewn’

(28) /jar-rɨ/ [jari]
    who-OBJ
    ‘whom’

(29) /təll-lai/ [tliɛ̃]
    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-ənək/ [ninək]
    IMP-hold
    ‘hold’
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31) /t-ake-ir/ [takeiɾ]  
R-see-around  
‘look around’

(32) /t-ə-lai-a/ [təlaiə]  
R-consume-CONT-HAB  
‘usually eat (considered edible)’

(33) /ra-ɬ-ətji/ [ralətʃi]  
REP-down-come  
‘come down again’

(34) /kw-atu-o-ke-nin/ [kwatuwokenin]  
QCK-hang.up-up-PRF-PAS  
‘quickly hung up (his bag) and left’
Phonology

(35) /ra-u_auu-wərji-nim/  [rawu_auu-wərji-nim]
    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-nim/  [palim]
    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 /e/ or /ɛ/ at a morpheme break, the /a/ is deleted.

(37) /t-ja-ej-ir-wit/  [tejirwit]
    R-up-COM-with-stand
    ‘come up and stand with’

(38) /ra-ej-ake/  [rejake]
    REP-COM-see
    ‘come and look again’

(39) /t-wa-ej-ki-nin/  [tejkinin]
    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-kwi/  [wanokw_i]
    1s-only-POS
    ‘my/mine 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 /t/.

(42) /na-t-par-lai/ [narparl:i]  
POT-R-sick-CONT  
‘is sick’

(43) /na-t-kapri/ [narkapri]  
POT-R-untie  
‘unties’

(44) /ya-t-pati-tamu/ [yarpitamu]  
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 /mau/ /lau/ ‘bush’, ‘house’  
b. maulau /maulau/ ‘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/ [pet me]  
EMPH say
Phonology

‘says/said’

(47) /pa-ki me/ [pakit me]
FCS-TMP say
‘then said’

(48) /lot meipir-ke/ [lotit me’pirke]
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 riyi ‘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-nin riţi/ [jatiniji]
NEG-R-go-PAS now
‘still has not gone’

(50) /t-ej-kw-ɔtir-nin riţi/ [tek”ɔtirnin riţi]
R-COM-QCK-die-PAS now
‘now they would die quickly’

(51) /t-i-t-m-okipei riţi/ [titmokipei riţi]
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.
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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 arpm Atmoyau t-uriai-nim sevenpela man.
and 3p Atmoyau R-go.upstream-P seven PDG.man
‘Seven men went upstream to Atmoyau.’

(53) Rapiyi, pina, ri-yi t-wa-ey-ki rapiyi, pina wa
bow knife this-OBJ R-later-COM-get bow knife and
kwaiyi 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-yamri-wi-ke-nim.
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-ri/ [barnabasi]
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) /mamruk/ ‘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 (Feldpauwch and Feldpauwch 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 –yi ‘nominaliser’. Below are a few examples:

\[(57)\]  \(a\-yi\) \(\text{eat-NOM}\) ‘food’
\[(58)\]  \(nak\-yi\) \(\text{hold-NOM}\) ‘holder/tongs’
\[(59)\]  \(ak\-yi\) \(\text{sit-NOM}\) ‘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).

\[(60)\]  \(\text{Yirapri-ki} \) \(\text{nam na-t-i.}\)
  \text{afternoon-TMP} \(1P\) \(\text{POT-R-go}\)
  ‘In the afternoon we will go.’

\[(61)\]  \(\text{Name\ sande-ki Kiliauto lau t-yamri-wi-ke-nim.}\)
  \(1P\) \(\text{Sunday-TMP Kiliauto village R-UPH-be-PRF-P}\)
  ‘On Sunday we were up at Kiliauto village.’

\[(62)\]  \(\text{a\-yi pa ni-ki nakyi-ki}\)
  \(\text{food FCS IMP-get holder (tongs)-INST}\)
  ‘get the food with tongs’
The suffix *-wa* signals direction.

(66)  
\[
\text{Wan } \text{lau-wa } \text{t-i.} \\
1S \text{ house-DIR } R\text{-go}
\]

‘I go to the house.’

(67)  
\[
\text{Yampo-wa} \\
\text{Yampo-DIR}
\]

‘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)  
\[
\text{Arpa } \text{lau-ru } \text{t-wi-ke.} \\
3S \text{ house-LOC } R\text{-be-PRF}
\]

‘He/she is at/in the house.’

(69)  
\[
\text{Tilpan-u } \text{n-ik.} \\
palm.floor-LOC \text{ IMP-sit}
\]

‘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)  
\[
\text{yau-lwɨ} \\
pig-INT
\]
Nouns and Noun Phrases

‘a large pig’

(71) **weitan-twi**
    part-INT
    ‘a large part’

Note there is a related adjective *luwi*, 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) **nip-imta**
    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) **api-wom**
    bag-\text{P}
    ‘bags’

(75) **tilim-wom**
    woman-\text{P}
    ‘women’

(76) **aya-wom**
    father-\text{P}
    ‘fathers’

(77) **yau-wom**
    pig-\text{P}
    ‘pigs’
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.

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

(82)  **lalim-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’
Nouns and Noun Phrases

(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) *tilin awik*
    woman man
    ‘people (general reference to women and men as a group)’

3.1.4 Object Marking

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

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

(89) *mati paplo nam-i t-ake*
    now buffalo 1P-OBJ R-see
    ‘now the buffalo sees us’

(90) *Wan Rapail-i t-a-ori.*
    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-towi-lai.*
    1P grass swing-cut-CONT
    ‘We (all) cut the grass.’

(92) * Tilim-wom pei-ki pei kalo takwel*
    woman-P palm.sheet-ACP palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo
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-i t-ake
now 1P-OBJ R-see
‘now [it] sees us’

(94) Tunde yirapri gras mar-towi-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-i moyei na-t-o.
2S-OBJ enemy POT-R-stab
‘The enemy might attack you.’

(96) Bob na-t-ir pailêt-i.
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 -ki and -kwɨ are possessive markers for all other pronouns (see section 3.2 Pronouns for more details).

(97) Saimon-wi lau
Simon-POS house
‘Simon’s house’

(98) Tutu-wi atwaryi
Tutu.clan-POS story
Nouns and Noun Phrases

‘Tutu clan’s story’

When referring to one’s own body part, the possession word wan-ki ‘1S-POS’ is not used. Instead wan-i ‘1S-OBJ’ is used. However when referring to somebody else’s body part the possessive suffix is used.

(99) Wan-i wai luwi.
1S-OBJ stomach plenty
‘My stomach (is) full.’

(100) Ri-kwi wai luwi.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound noun</th>
<th>Single nouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maulau</td>
<td>mau + lau</td>
<td>bush + house</td>
<td>‘house in the bush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youlau</td>
<td>you + lau</td>
<td>water + place</td>
<td>‘lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taumakwi</td>
<td>tau + makwi</td>
<td>tree + top</td>
<td>‘tree top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawayi</td>
<td>mau + ayi</td>
<td>bush + food</td>
<td>‘food from the bush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yowawi</td>
<td>you + ayi</td>
<td>water + food</td>
<td>‘water food (animals from rivers/lakes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawayi</td>
<td>tau + ayi</td>
<td>tree + food</td>
<td>‘fruit/nuts’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Intensifier</th>
<th>Plurality</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Possession</th>
<th>Object marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tili</td>
<td>-lwɨ/-mta</td>
<td>-wom</td>
<td>-ki/-wa/-ru</td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ACP OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‗with his wife‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilim</td>
<td>-wom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‗women‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aro</td>
<td>-wom</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aro</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>ACP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‗with Aro’s people‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nip</td>
<td>-mta</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trail</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‗to the correct road‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solwara</td>
<td>-mta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocean</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‗the big ocean‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‗the pig’s‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lau</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nouns and Noun Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aya</td>
<td>-wom -ki -wi</td>
<td>'for the house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>P TMP POS</td>
<td>'fathers’ from the past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yau</td>
<td>-lwi -wom -ki</td>
<td>‘with the big pigs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[(101) \] maulaki-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Exclusive</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>wan-ki</td>
<td>wan-kairi</td>
<td>wan-i</td>
<td>pra-wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>nan</td>
<td>nan-kwi</td>
<td>nan-kairi</td>
<td>nan-i</td>
<td>pra-nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>nam-ki</td>
<td>nam-kairi</td>
<td>nam-i</td>
<td>pra-nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>yin-kwi</td>
<td>yin-kairi</td>
<td>yin-i</td>
<td>yin-prin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>yintyin</td>
<td>yintyin-kwi</td>
<td>yintyin-kairi</td>
<td>yintyin-i</td>
<td>yin-prin-tyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>yim</td>
<td>yim-ki</td>
<td>yim-kairi</td>
<td>yim-i</td>
<td>yim-prim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Person ar-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>arpa</td>
<td>arpa-wi</td>
<td>yip-ri-kairi</td>
<td>arpa-ri</td>
<td>yip-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>arpa</td>
<td>arpa-ki</td>
<td>yip-rau-kairi</td>
<td>arpa-ri</td>
<td>yip-rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>arpa</td>
<td>arpa-ki</td>
<td>yip-rau-kairi</td>
<td>arpa-ri</td>
<td>yip-rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Person r-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ri-kwi</td>
<td>yip-ri-kairi</td>
<td>ri-yi</td>
<td>yip-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>rau</td>
<td>rau-ki</td>
<td>yip-rau-kairi</td>
<td>rau-ri</td>
<td>yip-rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ram</td>
<td>ram-ki</td>
<td>yip-rau-kairi</td>
<td>ram-i</td>
<td>yip-ram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(102)  
`yin-ɪ-kwi`

2S-OBJ-POS

‘yours (OBJ)’

(103)  
`pra-wan-ɪ`

RFL-1S-OBJ

‘myself (OBJ)’

Pronouns can take postposition markers as well.

(104)  
`yip-ri-ki`

RFL-3S-ACP

‘himself with (us)’
Nouns and Noun Phrases

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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwaiyi</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaiyi mauri</td>
<td>‘why’ (what reason-OBJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yar</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipa pa</td>
<td>‘which (one)’ (which + FCS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipa paki, yowiwikê</td>
<td>‘when’ (which + FCS-TMP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipou</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yowiwi, yowi</td>
<td>‘how/what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yowiwa</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(106) **Kwaiyi ki?**
what get
‘What happened?’

The interrogative pronoun kwaiyi ‘what’ can take the object marker –ri, as example (107) shows.

(107) **Kwaiyi-ri me-lai?**
what-OBJ say-CONT
‘What does this mean?’

\^No examples have been found to date.
(108) **Kwaiyi mau-ri 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 okwiyi armuk pa t-wi-ke ta, yin-kwi pa yipaa pa?**  
that ax three FCS R-be-PRF here 2S-POS FCS which FCS  
‘Which one of the three axes here is yours?’

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

(112) **Yin yipou ti-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-nin?**  
where-DIR R-go-PAS  
‘Where did he go?’

(114) **Pouye kil-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) **Yuwi pa yowiiwa?**  
money FCS how.much
Nouns and Noun Phrases

‘How much money?’

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

(117) …*t-wayi* *ri* t-una-lini-ka*lwɨ.*  
...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-kwi*  
‘who-POS’  
‘whose’

c. *yar-i*  
‘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 *ati* ‘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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ati</em></td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arpa</em></td>
<td>‘that (he, she, it)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ri</em></td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(119) *Ati* *tipa.*  
this  sago.jelly  
‘This is boiled sago.’

(120) *Wa* *pewa* *arpa* *stori*  
and enough  that  PDG.story  FCS  buffalo  PDG.story
‘And that is the whole water buffalo story.’

\[(121)\] \textit{arpa tau pirkwiyi-lwi}  
that wood rotten-INT  
‘that is just rotten wood’

\[(122)\] \textit{Mika ri t-atir-pla-nin.}  
before this R-die-CMP-PAS  
‘A long time ago all these (snakes) died.’

\[(123)\] \textit{Ri t-akwo-ke wa nam t-i.}  
this R-hunt-PRF and 1P R-go  
‘After we hunted in this (bush) we left.’

\[(124)\] \textit{Wan ri-yi la-m-r-ake.}  
1S this-OBJ down-GOM-REP-see  
‘I went down again and looked at this (black palm).’

\[(125)\] \textit{Nam talo yem nam ri-yi t-okipei.}  
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:

- \textit{tuwa} ‘one’
- \textit{yikir} ‘two’
- \textit{armuk} ‘three’
- \textit{arkonaiwa} ‘four’
Nouns and Noun Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yili-tuwa</th>
<th>‘five’</th>
<th>hand-one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yili-kalmau-tuwa</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>hand-thumb-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yili-kal-ikir</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>hand-thumb-twó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yili-kal-armuk</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>hand-thumb-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yili-kal-ko</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td>hand-thumb-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>hand-twó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa tuwa</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa yikir</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa armuk</td>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa arkonaiwa</td>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa lali-tuwa</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and foot-twó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa lali-kalmau</td>
<td>‘sixteen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and foot-toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa lali-kal-ikir</td>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and foot-toe-twó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa lali-kal-armuk</td>
<td>‘eighteen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and foot-toe-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil-ikir-wa lali-kar-ko</td>
<td>‘nineteen’</td>
<td>hand-twó-and foot-toe-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rami-tou tuwa</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>person?-one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

**TABLE 13: NON-NUMERAL QUANTIFIERS**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arkewa</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapukwa</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alweyou</td>
<td>‘plenty, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luwi</td>
<td>‘many, much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>womtan</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weitan</td>
<td>‘part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moutan</td>
<td>‘part of something, some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pouye</td>
<td>‘none’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yitan</td>
<td>‘another, other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- *-nan* ‘much, many’

Examples for the use of these quantifiers follow:

(129) *yan kikit arkewa*

child small all

‘all the little children’

(130) *yim arkewa*

2P all

‘you all’

(131) *Wan al tapukwa ku-na-nin.*

1S fish all give-many-PAS

‘I gave them all the fish.’

(132) *tapukwa yaiyi*

all group

‘everybody’
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(133) Arpa *alweyou* kil t-orau-lai.
3s plenty talk R-talk-CONT
‘He talks a lot.’

(134) *luwi* yau
many pig
‘many pigs’

(135) *womtan* keyi t-wei
some things R-carry
‘some carried (their) things’

(136) *yili* *weitan*-lwi
arm part-INT
‘a large part of the arm’

(137) *Moutan* luwi yaiyi, *moutan* kikit kikit.
part plenty group part small small
‘Some of the groups were large, and others were small.’

(138) *nam* lau-ru yaiyi 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 tilim-wom ri-kwi *yitan*.
And 1p PDG.share do woman-P 3S-POS other
‘We shared the other part with the women.’

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

The adjective *luwi* meaning ‘much, many’ is related to the suffix –*lwi* meaning ‘big, large’ as described in §3.1.2. Intensification. This can be confusing as seen in the examples below.
(141) **luwi yaiyi**
many group
‘a large group’ (meaning ‘many people in the group’, not ‘many groups’, which is described by a phrase or verb)

(142) **luwi yau**
many pig
‘many pigs’ (whereas *yau-lwi* 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mita</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilauk</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atmoni</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eipewa</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinkti</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amikwi</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawowi</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morokwi</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aplatwi</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wil</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auyara yawi</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(143) **Eipewa rami na-t-i.**
big man POT-R-go
‘The big man will go.’
Nouns and Noun Phrases

(144) Tau 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) Mikalu mita.  
    morning good  
    ‘Good morning.’

(146) Mikalu wilauk.  
    morning good  
    ‘Good morning.’

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

-\textit{lwi} ‘big, much’

-\textit{mta} ‘very, intensified’

(147) wilauk-\textit{lwi}  
    good-INT  
    ‘much good’

(148) wilauk-\textit{mta}  
    good-INT  
    ‘very good’

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

\textit{-nani} adjectiviser; noun + \textit{-nani} = adjective

(149) mai-nani  
    sun-ADJ  
    ‘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.

\[ (151) \] \textit{wîli-nani} \\
\textit{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 \textit{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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>adjective (one or more),</td>
<td>focus marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective (one or more),</td>
<td>noun word,</td>
<td>quantifier,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus phrase,</td>
<td>pronoun,</td>
<td>‘other’/’part’,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantifier + noun,</td>
<td></td>
<td>DEM.pronoun +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun,</td>
<td></td>
<td>adjective,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral,</td>
<td></td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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.
Nouns and Noun 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 tapi
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) meyilwi anim
big large.python
‘big snake’

(156) owiwɨ artaiɨ rami-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) yili weitan-lwɨ
arm part-INT
‘a large part of the arm’
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-ki kil 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 buffalos’

\[(163)\] *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) *api kikit kikit*
    bag small small
    ‘little bags’

(165) *yan kikit arkeiwa*
    child small all
    ‘all the children’

(166) *yilituwa aukwi kawowi lakiwi kikit 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) *wewaileyi pa-ri mita-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).
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 yilikir-wa ki-ke.
3S banana ten-only get-PRF
‘He got just ten bananas.’

Numerals most commonly follow the noun. One exception is for rami, ‘man/person’ when there are no other modifiers in the noun phrase.

(175) a) Tuwa rami
one man
‘one man (or person)’

b) tilim rami tuwa
female person one
‘one woman’

c) aya tuwa
father one
‘one father’
Nouns and Noun Phrases

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

(176) **tuwa**  
*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 -*wi* followed by the possessed noun.

(178) **Saimon-wi lau**  
*Simon-POS house*

‘Simon’s house’

(179) **Tutu-wi atwaryi**  
*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-ki kil 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) **rikwi paplo-ru**  
*this buffalo-LOC*
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-ri 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 rami 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) ayi tipa
    food sago.jelly
    ‘food and sago jelly’

(187) rapyi, pina wa kwaiyi ain nabaut
    bow knife and whatever iron PDG.around
    ‘bows, knives, and whatever metal (lying) around’
Nouns and Noun Phrases

(188) paplo tipa
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) *Tilim-wom-ri me, “Tipa meki n-ilya-nîm.”*

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

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

This table includes all affixes presently known to the researchers.
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-iwi
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-lwi 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-nim
IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P
‘you all cook (it)’

(202) -8-2-0

*ni-make
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-*tyi-t-ar-i
HRT-DICP-with-go
‘let’s (2) go now’

(206) -8-0 + 6

pe  *pa-*ri -nim?
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?*
Verbs and Verb Phrases

2S POT-R-go
‘Are you going to go?’

(208) -7-6-0
Wan ayi na-t-a.
1S food POT-R-consume
‘I’ll eat some.’

(209) -7-6-2-0 + 3
Nam na-ti-m-pani-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-atyi
POT-TWD-come
‘probably will come’

(211) -7-0
Wilawa, yin-i na-lini.
careful 2S-OBJ POT-fall
‘Careful, you might fall.’

The prefix ya- expresses negation.

(212) -7-6-0 + 2
ya-t-o-makni
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-wit-itwau-nan-ke-a*
    R-stand-just-many-PRF-awhile
    'many just stood there for awhile’

(215) -6-3-0-0 + 3 + 5
    *t-yamri-mar-tow-i-ke-nin*
    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
    *wi-m-ki-nin*
    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) \( -6-0-0 + 3 + 7 \)

\[ \text{yam meki amkai ri } k\text{-apri-ku-lai-a} \]

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

\[ \text{pa-tyi-t-ir-i} \]

HRT-D-ICP-with-go

‘let us two go now’

(222) \(-6-5-0-0\)

\[ \text{ti-ty-aratu-lini} \]

R-D-hang-fall

‘they (2) hang (it) over’

With the verb ‘to come’ the dual form becomes *int*.

(223) \(-6-5-2-0\)

\[ \text{t-int-in-atyi} \]

R-D-TWD-come

‘two come’

4.1.5 Temporal element (-4)

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

(224) \(-6-4-2-0\)
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\[ \text{Wan ayi } t\text{-a-m-a.} \]
1S food R-first-GOM-consume

‘I will eat first.’

(225) \[-6-4-2-1-0 + 5\]
\[ \text{Tau pa } t\text{-a-m-kwa-ki-nin.} \]
wood FCS R-first-GOM-QCK-get-PAS

‘He quickly got some wood first.’

The prefix \textit{au-} means ‘still’ or ‘yet’.

(226) \[-6-4-0 + 7\]
\[ w\text{-aw-ililo-pi} \]
IR-yet-pull-try

‘would still try to pull’

(227) \[-6-4-0 + 3\]
\[ t\text{-au-wi-ke} \]
R-yet-be-PRF

‘is still there’

The prefix \textit{t-} indicates the beginning or inception of an action. It is often used together with the word \textit{riyi}, which means ‘now’, as seen in the second example below.

(228) \[-8-5-4-1-0\]
\[ pa\text{-tyi-t-ir-i} \]
HRT-D-ICP-with-go

‘let us two go now’

(229) \[-6-4-2-0\]
\[ ti\text{-t-m-okipei} \quad \text{riyi} \]
R-ICP-GOM-cook.in.fire now

‘we started to cook’

The prefix \textit{wa-} means ‘later’.

(230) \[-6-4-2-0\]
Verbs and Verb Phrases

Wan  t-wa-in-atyi.
1s  R-later-TWD-come
‘I will come later.’

(231)  -6-4-2-1-0 + 2 + 3

t-wa-m-kok-wit-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-atyi
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-atyi-ke
down-come-PRF
‘came down’

(235)  -3-2-0

Matau  I-eyi-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
The prefix \textit{yakr}- means ‘upstream’.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-yakr-arat-ke}
\item R-UPS-gather-PRF
\item ‘was gathering upstream’
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-yakri-m-pam-karyi}
\item R-UPS-GOM-swim-PRG
\item ‘swimming upstream’
\end{itemize}

The prefix \textit{yaukr}- means ‘downstream’.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-yaukr-atyi-nim}
\item R-DNS-come-P
\item ‘they came downstream’
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tau-ri \ t-yaukr-ouk-lai-nim}
\item tree-OBJ R-DNS-chop-CONT-P
\item ‘they went downstream to chop the tree’
\end{itemize}

The prefix \textit{yamr}- means ‘uphill’.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-yamri-mar-towi-ke-nin}
\item R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS
\end{itemize}
Verbs and Verb Phrases

‘was uphill and had cut by swinging’

\[(243)\] -6-3-0
\[ t-ya\text{n}r\text{-}ake \]
\[ R-\text{UPH-see} \]
‘go up to look’

The prefix \textit{ya}ur- means the opposite: ‘downhill’.

\[(244)\] -4-3-0
\[ ra-ya\text{sur-}atyi \]
\[ REP-DNH-come \]
‘came back down’

\[(245)\] -6-3-0 + 5
\[ t-ya\text{uri-}walti-nin \]
\[ R-DNH-carry-PAS \]
‘carried it down’

The prefix \textit{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 \textit{ey}- indicates ‘coming toward’.

\[(247)\] -4-2-0
\[ r-ey-ake \]
\[ REP-COM-see \]
‘came and looked again’

\[(248)\] -6-2-0 + 6
\[ t-eyi-klati-nin \]
\[ R-COM-open-P \]
‘they come and open up (the cooking pit)’

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

(249) -6-4-2-0

*Wan t-wa-inatyi.*

1S R-later-TWD-come

‘I will come later.’

(250) -6-2-0+5

*t-in-animninin*

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-wit-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-ikrani-lwi-ke*

GOM-fall-split-INT-PRF

‘(it) has really split open and down’

(253) -6-2-0

*Wan ri-yi ti-ri.*

1S 3S-OBJ R-GOM-do

‘I will go do this.’

The prefix *lak*- means ‘out’.

(254) -8-2-0

*Ni-lakatyi.*

IMP-out-come

‘Come out.’
Verbs and Verb Phrases

(255) -2-0 + 3

Arpa-wi lalapi lak-atyi-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-wit-ke-nim
R-with-stand-PRF-P
‘they stood with (us)’

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

pa-tyi-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-wit-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

ti-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

witwit rami-ru t-uru-wi-ke-wi
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-nin  
QCK-hang.up-up-PRF-PAS  
‘quickly hung up (his bag) and left’

(262) -8-1-0  
Ni-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-ikpilma-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
Verbs and Verb Phrases

‘talking (in a) frustrated manner’

\[(267)\] 
\[-6.0 + 1 + 5\]
\[t-aminni-powa-nin\]
R-run-FRUS-PAS
‘tried to run but couldn’t’

The suffix \(-twau\) means ‘just/only’.

\[(268)\] 
\[-6.0 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 7\]
\[t-wit-twau-nan-ke-a\]
R-stand-just-many-PRF-HAB
‘many just stood there for awhile’

\[(269)\] 
\[-6.0 + 1 + 3\]
\[t-uyauwa-twau-karyi\]
R-walk-just-PRG
‘just kept walking’

The suffix \(-lawil\) adds the meaning of doing something mistakenly or in the wrong way.

\[(270)\] 
\[-6.0 + 1 + 3\]
\[t-apri-lawil-ke\]
R-throw-wrong-PRF
‘threw wrong/poorly’

\[(271)\] 
\[-6.0 + 1 + 3\]
\[t-aminni-lawil-lai\]
R-run-wrong-CONT
‘running poorly (tripping, falling, limping)’

The suffix \(-nal\) means ‘tightly’.

\[(272)\] 
\[-8.0 + 1\]
\[ni-nak-nal\]
IMP-hold-tightly
‘hold tightly’
Wan mat t-awił-nal-ke.
1S vine R-tie-tightly-PRF
‘I tied the vine tightly.’

The suffix –titaino means ‘a little bit’.

kw-atwar-titaino-ke-a
little-story-a.bit-PRF-awhile
‘finished telling a little bit of the story’

kw-ilni-titaino-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’.

Wan-i ni-ku-taina.
1S-OBJ IMP-give-pity
‘Oh please, give it to me.’

Pewa t-atiir-taina-nin.
enough R-die-pity-PAS
‘That’s it, sorry, he is dead.’

The suffix –pla means ‘completely’.

mar-towi-pla-ke
swing-cut-CMP-PRF
‘finished cutting’

The suffix –titaino means ‘a little bit’.

kw-atwar-titaino-ke-a
little-story-a.bit-PRF-awhile
‘finished telling a little bit of the story’

kw-ilni-titaino-ke
QCK-hurt-a.bit-PRF
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QCK-hurt-a.bit-PRF
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‘Oh please, give it to me.’

Pewa t-atiir-taina-nin.
enough R-die-pity-PAS
‘That’s it, sorry, he is dead.’

The suffix –pla means ‘completely’.

mar-towi-pla-ke
swing-cut-CMP-PRF
‘finished cutting’
Verbs and Verb Phrases

\[ \text{ya-t-atwar-pla} \]
\[ \text{NEG-R-story-CMP} \]
\[ '\text{not told it all'} \]

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.

\[(280)\]
\[ 0 + 1 + 5 + 6 \]
\[ \text{kar-o-ni-nim} \]
\[ \text{carry-up-PAS-P} \]
\[ '\text{they carried up'} \]

\[(281)\]
\[ -1-0+1+3+5 \]
\[ \text{kw-atu-wo-ke-nin} \]
\[ \text{QCK-hang.up-up-PRF-PAS} \]
\[ '\text{quickly hung up (his bag) and left'} \]

\[(282)\]
\[ -6-2+1+3 \]
\[ \text{t-ey-anke-yo-ke} \]
\[ \text{R-COM-put-up-PRF} \]
\[ '\text{came and piled it all up'} \]

\[(283)\]
\[ -6-2+0+1 \]
\[ \text{t-ey-ake-yo} \]
\[ \text{R-COM-see-up} \]
\[ '\text{come and look up'} \]

4.1.10 Degree (adverbial) (+2)

The suffix \(-ir\) means ‘around’.

\[(284)\]
\[ -6+0+1 \]
\[ \text{t-ake-yir} \]
\[ \text{R-see-around} \]
\[ '\text{look around'} \]

\[(285)\]
\[ -6+0+1+4 \]
The suffix –*yawa* means ‘completely and beyond’.

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

*t-ci-ti-*yawa-nin
R-COM-do-CMPB-PAS
‘came and went past’

(287)  -6-2-0+1

*t-in-atyi-*yawa*
R-TWD-come-CMPB
‘came all the way to’

The suffix –*nan* means ‘many’.

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

*t-wi-itwa-nan-ke-a*
R-stand-just-many-PRF-HAB
‘many just stood there for awhile’

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

*t-ir-arat-nan-ke-nim*
R-with-gather-many-PRF-P
‘many gathered together’

The suffix –*makni* means ‘well/good/better’.

(290)  -7-6-0+2

*ya-t-o-makni*
NEG-R-grow-well
‘not fully grown’ or ‘not grown enough’

(291)  -6-0+2+3

*t-wa-makni-ke*
R-hear-well-PRF
Verbs and Verb Phrases

‘heard well’

The suffix –*kalwi* means ‘all’.

(292)  -8-0 + 1 + 2 + 6  
*pa-kar-o*-*kalwi-nim*  
HRT-carry-up-all-P  
‘let’s carry up all of (our stuff)’

(293)  -6-2-0 + 2 + 5  
*t-in-atyi-*-*kalwi-nin*  
R-TWD-come-all-PAS  
‘came all the way’

The suffix –*lik* means ‘partially’.

(294)  -6-2-0 + 2 + 3  
*ayi* *ti-m-a-lik-iñe*  
food  R-GOM-consume-PRT-PRF  
‘went and ate only some of the food’

(295)  -6-2-0 + 2 + 3  
*ti-m-ki-lik-iñe*  
R-GOM-get-PRT-PRF  
‘went and got only some’

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

(296)  -2-0-0 + 2 + 3  
*m-ar-ikrani-lwï-iñe*  
GOM-fall-split-INT-PRF  
‘(it) has really split open and down’

(297)  -6-1-0 + 2 + 6  
*takwel* *tapi* *t-ir-u-lwï-nim*  
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-orí-pí-wa-nin
R-call-try-UNS-PAS
‘called out but no one heard’

(299) -2-0 + 2 + 5
m-akwa-wa-nin
GOM-hunt.drive-UNS-PAS
‘went hunting but didn’t get anything’

4.1.11 Aspect (+3)

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

(300) Paplo tipa t-a-ke-nim ri riyi
buffalo sago.jelly R-consume-PRF-P this now
-1-0 + 3 + 6
ra-uyauwa-karyi-nim.
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-karyi
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-nim
R-scrape-CONT-P
‘they are scraping’
Verbs and Verb Phrases

(303) 0 + 3

ri-lai
do-CONT
‘are doing’

The suffix –ke indicates perfective aspect.

(304) -3-0 + 3

law-atyi-ke
down-come-PRF
‘came down’

(305) -6-0 + 3 + 6

t-ou-ke-nim
R-cook-PRF-P
‘they cooked’

4.1.12 Beneficiary (+4)

The suffix –ku is marking a benefactive.

(306) 0 + 3 + 4 + 6

nam-i  mame-ke-ku-nim
1P-OBJ  shine-PRF-BEN-P
‘they provided a light for us’

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

nam-i  aya-wom  pe  t-atwar-ke-ku-nin-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 –nin possibly indicates ‘permanent aspect.’ The Bukiyp language has permanent aspect (Conrad & Wogiga, 1991:20), which seems to have similar characteristics to the Pouye –nin. 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 -\textit{ke} and -\textit{nin} are able to coocur in transitive verbs, as shown in the first example. This indicates that the event was completed (-\textit{ke}) and the agent is no longer at the location where the event took place (-\textit{nin}).

The following examples are with transitive verbs:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-yamri-mar-towi-ke-nin}
\item \textit{kar-o-ni-nin}
\end{itemize}

The next set of examples are with intransitive verbs:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-atir-nin}
\item \textit{t-i-nin}
\end{itemize}

Compare with -\textit{ke}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t-i-ke}
\end{itemize}
Verbs and Verb Phrases

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

4.1.14 Number (+6)

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

\[(313) \quad 0 + 3 + 4 + 6\]

\[mame-ke-ku-\text{n}i\text{m}\]

shine-PRF-BEN-P

‘they provided a light for (him/her/them)’

\[(314) \quad -8-0 + 6\]

\[n-ilya-\text{n}i\text{m}\]

IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P

‘you all cook (it)’

\[(315) \quad -8-0 + 6\]

\[pal-i-\text{n}i\text{m}\]

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.

\[(316) \quad -6-0 + 5 + 7\]

\[t-ipki-\text{n}i\text{-}i\]

R-bite-PAS-INC

‘tried to bite’

\[(317) \quad -4-2-0 + 2 + 5 + 7\]

\[r-cy-ake-na-nin-i\]

REP-COM-see-many-PAS-INC

‘was unable to come see enough again’
The suffix –\( wi \) indicates purpose, and can be glossed as ‘used for’.

\[ (318) \quad -6\,0 + 3 + 6 + 7 \]

\[ t-ou-ke-nim-\textit{wi} \]

R-cook-PRF-P-PUR

‘they were used for cooking’

\[ (319) \quad -6\,0 + 3 + 7 \]

\[ t-ou-lai-\textit{wi} \]

R-sing-CONT-P-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.

\[ (320) \quad -6\,0 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 7 \]

\[ t-wit-itwau-nan-ke-\textit{a} \]

R-stand-just-many-PRF-awhile

‘many just stood there for a while’

\[ (321) \quad -6\,0 + 3 + 7 \]

\[ ri-ku \quad t-ik-ike-\textit{a} \]

this-LOC R-sit-PRF-awhile

‘sat down at this place for a while’

\[ (322) \quad 0 + 3 + 7 \]

\[ \textit{pe} \quad ri-ke-\textit{a} \]

EMPH do-PRF-HAB

‘formerly did (this)’

\[ (323) \quad -7\,0 + 7 \]

\[ \textit{na-ku-wa} \]

POT-give-later

‘will give’

The suffix –\( ki \) means ‘when.’
Verbs and Verb Phrases

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

\textit{law-r-atyi-ke-ki}

down-REP-come-PRF-when

‘when he came down again’

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

\textit{ti-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.

\( (326) \) \textit{tunokli}

\textit{t-uma-okli}

R-sleep-rise

‘awaken’ (lit.: ‘sleep then wake up’)

\( (327) \) \textit{natnakikirke}

\textit{na-t-naki-kir-ke}

POT-R-hold-kill-PRF

‘squeezed to death’

\( (328) \) \textit{tililoki}

\textit{t-ililo-ki}

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.)

\( (329) \) \textit{t-wa-okli t-iraprau pi}

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) $\text{Ri-kwi yip-ri-wo me-powa me-powa.}$

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) $\text{Wa kama twi-lai-nim, twi-lai-nim, twi-lai-nim.}$

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.

**Table 17: Deictic Adverbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>paki</em></td>
<td>‘at this time’ (FCS-TMP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>riki</em></td>
<td>‘at this time’ (this-TMP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>riku</em></td>
<td>‘at this place’ (this-LOC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(332) $\text{Nam paplo pa-ki t-ake.}$

1P buffalo at.this.time R-see

‘At this time we saw the buffalo.’

(333) $\text{Til pa ri-ku t-wa-m-ikram-lai-nim.}$

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).
Adverbs

**TABLE 18: TIME ADVERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mati</td>
<td>‘now/today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meki</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wari</td>
<td>‘much later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munip</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mika</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amimai</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(334) Yam **mati** nam-ɨ t-ake.

turn now 1P-OBJ R-see

‘But now it was looking at us.’

(335) **Tipa meki** n-ilya-nim.

sago.jelly later IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P

‘Cook the sago later.’

(336) **Wan mika** t-a-ke.

1S before R-consume-PRF

‘I ate a long time ago.’

(337) **Amimai** wan Waurɨ-wa t-i-lai.

always 1S river.name-DIR R-go-CONT

‘I am always going to the Wauri river.’

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

**TABLE 19: TIME ADVERBS IN REFERENCE TO TODAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwamiki</td>
<td>‘two days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwlapiki</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wariki ‘tomorrow’

yuwauki ‘day after tomorrow’

mukiki ‘two days after tomorrow’

powiki ‘three days after tomorrow’

(338) Wan kwamiki Wauri-wa t-i-ke.
1s two.days.ago river.name-DIR R-go-PRF
‘Two days ago I went to the Wauri 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 20: LOCATIVE ADVERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta                        ‘over here/there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atu (ati-ru)              ‘here (at this)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(340) Wan ta.
1s over.here
‘I’m over here.’

(341) Meki atu t-yaur-atyi-nim 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 lauwikiyi pitik atu t-ir-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

\[
\text{Wan t\-auke-r\-i t\-ilyamu.} \\
1\text{S tobacco-OBJ R\-blow} \\
\text{‘I smoked a cigarette.’}
\]

(344) Subject Object Verb

\[
\text{Wan r\-yi l\-a-m-r\-ake.} \\
1\text{S 3S-OBJ down-GOM-REP-see} \\
\text{‘I went down again to see it.’}
\]

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

\[
\text{Nam gr\-as t\-yamri-mar-towi.} \\
1\text{P PDG\-grass R\-UPH\-swing\-cut} \\
\text{‘We went up to cut the grass.’}
\]

(346) Subject Object

\[
\text{T\-ilim-wom p\-ei-ki p\-ei kalo takwel} \\
\text{woman-P palm.sheet-ACP palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo} \\
\text{Verb} \\
\text{k\-ar-o-ni-nim.} \\
\text{carry-up-PAS-P} \\
\text{‘The women carried up palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo.’}
\]

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.
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-i 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-i 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-i t-ake paplo pa

now 1P-OBJ R-see buffalo FCS
Pouye Clause Structure

‘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-i 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-kwi i pa Aro.
      3S-POS name  FCS  Aro.
      ‘His name is Aro.’

The focus marker pa can also take the object marker –ri.

(355) wewaileyi pa-ri mita-mta
      thought  FCS-OBJ  good-INT
      ‘this really good thought/idea’

(356) Yemil owelala pa-ri 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-ɨi maulaki lalitan pe ti-tiy-aratu-lini.
      3S-OBJ  head  leg EMPH  R-D-hang-fall
      ‘They hung up the head and the leg.’

(358) Womtan keyɨ t-wei keyɨ ki-lwi tamiok keiman
      some things  R-carry  things  get-INT  PDG.ax  scraper
Some carried (their) things, axes, scrapers, and knives, and some of us carried the black palm pieces.

(359) Wa tamioke pe t-ir-we-lwi.
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
Clause with subject, object and verb:

(364) Subject Object Verb

Nam gras mar-towi-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-ati.

and 1P REP-DNH-come

‘And we came back down.’

(366) Tunde yirapi gras mar-towi-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-ati-yawa.

and R-TWD-come-CMPB

‘And (I) came all the way (there).’

(368) T-ouk-lini-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-yamri-mar-towi-

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

T-yamri-mar-towi-ke-nin, nam re-yaur-ati.

R-UPH-swing-cut-PRF-PAS 1P REP-DNH-come

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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 rami aya tuwa ri-kwi 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-yi 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 mìta.*

1S good

‘I am good/fine.’
Pouye Clause Structure

The same clauses can be used containing the verb \textit{twike}.

(376) \textit{Wan} \textit{t-wi-ke} \textit{ta}.
\begin{tabular}{c l}
1S & R-be-PRF \over.here \\
\end{tabular}

‘I’m over here.’

(377) \textit{Wan} \textit{mil-a} \textit{t-wi-ke}.
\begin{tabular}{c l}
1S & good R-be-PRF \\
\end{tabular}

‘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
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l}
\textit{Nam} & \textit{tilim-ki} & \textit{Yampo} & \textit{lau} & \textit{t-una-ke}.
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{c l l}
1P & woman-ACP & Yampo & village R-sleep-PRF \\
\end{tabular}

‘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
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l}
\textit{Nam} & \textit{Yampo-wa} & \textit{t-yei}.
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{c l l}
1P & Yampo-DIR & R-ascend \\
\end{tabular}

‘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
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l}
\textit{Yin} & \textit{tau} & \textit{lau} & \textit{aka-ru} & \textit{ni-m-anke}.
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{c l l l l}
2S & wood & house & under-LOC & IMP-GOM-put \\
\end{tabular}

‘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 \textit{–ki}.

(381) Subject Time Location Verb
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l}
\textit{Nam} & \textit{Sande-ki} & \textit{Kiliauto} & \textit{lau} & \textit{t-yamri-wi-ke-nim}.
\end{tabular}
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-towi-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) Kwaiyi ki?
what get/do
‘What happened?’

this what this sago.jelly
‘What is this? This is boiled sago.’

(386) Yinyar? 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-nim?
EMPH HRT-do-P
‘Are we really going to do (it)?’
Complex Sentence Structure

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-i ayi 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 keikeikiyi pa ya-r-ki tap yikir
    1s    like pain FCS NEG-R-get time two

wan-i    t-ipki-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
    Wilouk    t-i-ke,    pe    me    t-ililtu-a.
    snake    R-shoot-PRF    EMPH    place    R-lay.across-HAB
    ‘The snake he shot, laid across the stick.’

(392) Subject                Object
    Wan    ri-yi    t-yamr-arwaiyi-ke-nin.    yim-i    ariyi    pa
In the following two examples the relative clause stands in the object position.

(393) Subject Relative Clause/Object Verb

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 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

Wiliman village before R-sit-PRF this-LOC R-gather-many-PRF
‘Then he came to where Wiliman 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
Complex Sentence Structure

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-yaurs-atyi  tey-un-okli.  Nam teyi-un-okli-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-yi.  Wa nam le-nan-ke  turatu-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-okli  tirapau  pi
    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-i  t-ake
    child IR-give.birth 3S  turn now 1P-OBJ  R-see

    wa nam re-yaurs-atyi.
    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  turatu-nan-ke.
    and 1P  share-many-PRF  R-hang-many-PRF
‘And we divided up the pieces of meat (and then) hung them up.’
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\textit{Paki} is translated as ‘then’ or ‘at this time’, indicating that a subsequent action is to follow. The word can be parsed as \textit{pa-ki} ‘FCS-TMP.

\textbf{(401) Nam ti-m-iwaki-ke-nin nam paplo \textit{pa-ki} t-ake...} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
1P & R-GOM-work-PRF-PAS & 1P & buffalo & FCS-TMP & R-see & & &  \\
\end{tabular}
‘We finished our work and then we saw water buffalo...’

\textbf{(402) Nam t-in-atyi arpam-ri \textit{pa-ki} me,...} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
1P & R-TWD-come & 3P-OBJ & FCS-TMP & say &  \\
\end{tabular}
‘We were coming and then we said to them,...’

\textit{Yam} ‘turn’ is used to signal a turn of events. It is most commonly translated as ‘but’ or ‘then’.

\textbf{(403) Yan w-akre ri \textit{yam} mati nam-i t-ake.} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
child & 1R-give.birth & 3S & turn & now & 1P-OBJ & R-see & & &  \\
\end{tabular}
‘It was possibly going to give birth to its young, but now it was looking at us.’

\textbf{(404) Kar-o-nin-nim nam \textit{yam} yei kupou-lai.} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
carry-up-PAS-P & 1P & turn & skin & strip-CONT & & & & &  \\
\end{tabular}
‘After they had carried the things, we stripped off the skin.’

\textit{Yam} is used to refer to who’s turn it is. The first example is often heard in sports and games.

\textbf{(405) wan \textit{yam}} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
1S & turn & & & & & & &  \\
\end{tabular}
‘my turn’

\textbf{(406) Simeon ri \textit{yam} luwi pina pa t-w-akwatli-twau} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllllllllllll}
Simeon & 3S & turn & plenty & knife & FCS & R-later-cut-just & & & & & &  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llllllllllllll}
maulaki & tuwa & mar-towi-yi. & head & one & swing-cut-NOM & & & & & &  \\
\end{tabular}
‘Simeon took his turn and just cut its head with a big knife in one swing’

The conjunction \textit{yam} can also be used with the conjunction \textit{ai}, an uncommon conjunction meaning ‘if’, therefore creating an ‘if...then’ sentence.
Lexical Considerations

(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 yili na-t-me-pla pa ri yin-kwi yantip 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) **Lali katamu-ke o yili katamu-ke o kwaiyi ki-yi?**
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.
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(411) *Wani yini wimi rilai.*

wan yin-i wiri ri-laï

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-laï

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 katro-katro rilai.*

wan katro-katro ri-laï

1S happy do-CONT

‘I am happy.’ (Lit.: ‘I do happiness.’)

(414) *Wan naitulai.*

wan na-t-au-loi

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) \textit{yin tilim yauwi}
\begin{align*}
&\text{2s woman like} \\
&\text{‘you are like a woman’ (i.e., ‘you don’t hunt or do men’s work’)}
\end{align*}

(416) \textit{nam anim yauwi}
\begin{align*}
&\text{1p python like} \\
&\text{‘we are a peaceful people, but strong in defence’ (lit.: ‘we are like a python’)}
\end{align*}

(417) \textit{tau ti yauwi}
\begin{align*}
&\text{tree leaf like} \\
&\text{‘innumerable multitude’ (lit.: ‘like tree leaves’)}
\end{align*}

(418) \textit{yin wini yauwi}
\begin{align*}
&\text{2s mushroom like} \\
&\text{‘you are lazy’ (lit.: ‘you are like a mushroom’)}
\end{align*}

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

(419) \textit{yin yimarpuna}
\begin{align*}
&\text{2s mushroom.species} \\
&\text{‘you are a lazy person’ (lit.: ‘You are a mushroom’)}
\end{align*}

Below is another example of a metaphor.

(420) \textit{rami kwalapi makwi}
\begin{align*}
&\text{person tree.species trunk} \\
&\text{‘tall person’ (lit.: ‘a tree trunk person’, referring to the tallest tree in the forest)}
\end{align*}

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

(421) \textit{wan maki-laki ti-m-ri}
\begin{align*}
&\text{1s back-bone R-GOM-do}
\end{align*}
‘I go to the toilet’ (lit.: ‘I go do my backbone’)

The following are examples of metonymy.

(422) **Yukilau lau-ki t-ir-okli**
Yukilau village-ACP r-with-rise
‘Yukilau village arrived’ (meaning the people in the village)

(423) **Yin you tank t-alktani-nin riyi.**
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 ayi pa prai-pla-na-nin ri-yi mau laki 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-kalwi-lai**
water r-jump-all-CONT
‘the water is all jumping’ (meaning the noise of rushing water)

(426) **walaki t-yaur-atiy-i-lai**
nose R-DNH-come-CONT
‘the nose is coming down (running nose)’

The following is an example of synecdoche.

(427) **Wan-ki wirni-mta-ki t-ir-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 awik rami?**
2S male person
‘Aren’t you doing women’s work?’ (lit.: ‘Are you a man?’)
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(429) rami Kawri atiwi-lwi yei person Kawri 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) tilim witaï 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 wirni 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) tilim rami tau-ki ri-nin
woman person tree-ACP do-PAS
‘she is married’ (lit.: ‘the woman is with a tree’)

(433) awik rami api-ki ri-nin
male person string.bag-ACP do-PAS
‘he is married’ (lit.: ‘the man is with a string bag’)

(434) Yin toweilyî t-a-ke?
2S war.drug R-consume-PRF
‘Are you angry?’ (lit.: ‘Did you eat the homemade war concoction?’)

(435) Wa titeilyî titeilyî pa-ri artaiyi 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) *maï-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.
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 tilim-ki Yampo lau t-una-ke.
‘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 titariyonwalwi alau pa i go tertinpela
   Nam ti-tari-yonwa-lwi alau pa i go tertinpela
   1P R-shoot-inside-INT arrow FCS PDG PDG.go thirteen
   alau pewa timkilwanikea rikwi
   alau pewa ti-m-kilwani-ke-a rikwi
   arrow enough R-GOM-enter-PRF-awhile this-POS

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

‘We shot thirteen arrows that went into the water buffalo.’
Discourse Considerations

(444) Takwiramiminii’tainonin yam mati taislwiru
t-akwir-aminni-titano-nin yam mati tais-lwi-ru
R-?-run-a.bit-PAS turn now PDG.mud-INT-LOC
milaltapalin.
milaltapa-lini
?fall
‘It ran a short way, and fell in the mud.’

(445) Mati wan pina pa twainkuriprikautwaunani
Mati wan pina pa t-wa-in-kw-ir-iprikau-twau-na-nin
now 1S knife FCS R-later-TWD-QCK-with-jump-just-many-PAS
lalalai yitan lalalai yitan twaiyi ri tunalinikalwi.
lalalai yitan lalalai yitan t-waiyi ri t-una-lini-kalwi.
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 luwi pina pa twakwatlitwa
Simeon ri yam luwi pina pa t-w-akwatli-twau
Simeon 3S turn plenty knife FCS R-later-cut-just
maulaki tuwa martowiyi.
maulaki tuwa mar-towi-yi.
head one swing-cut-NOM
‘Simeon took his turn and just cut its head with a big knife in one swing.’

(447) Maulaki twamariyari.
Maulaki t-wa-mariyari.
head R-later-drop
‘Its head fell off.’

(448) Wa nam kikit yan rami tuwa salim rari, tilinwom
Wa nam kikit yan rami tuwa salim ra-ri tilim-wom
and 1P small child person one PDG.send REP-do woman-P
(449) **Tilinwom** peiki pei kalo takwel
**Tilim-wom** pei-ki pei kalo takwel
woman-P palm.sheet-ACP palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo

*karoninim*

**karo-o-nin-nim.**
carry-up-PAS-P

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

(450) **Karoninim** nam yam yei kupoulai tilimwom
**karo-o-nin-nim** nam yam yei kupou-lai tilim-wom
carry-up-PAS-P 1P turn skin strip-CONT woman-P

**kamap** tyamririnim.

**kamap** t-yamri-ri-nim.

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) **Tilimwom** taratnanke nam touyilwi.
**Tilim-wom** t-arat-nan-ke nam t-ouyi-lwi.
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) **Nimake** wailwiki yan wakre
**Ni-make** wai-lwi-ki yan w-akre
IMP-GOM-see belly-INT-ACP child IR-give.birth
Discourse Considerations

\[ \textit{ri} \text{ paplo pa.} \]
\[ \textit{ri} \text{ paplo pa.} \]
3S buffalo FCS

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

\[ \textit{Yan wakre ri yam mati nami take} \]
\[ \textit{Yan w-akre ri yam mati nam-\textit{i} t-ake} \]
Child IR-give.birth 3S turn now 1P-OBJ R-see

\[ \textit{wa nam reyauratyi.} \]
\[ \textit{wa nam re-yaur-\textit{atyi}.} \]
wa 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 \textit{riy}i ‘3S-OBJ’ for tracking the ongoing object.

\[(453) \textit{Rapiy}i, pina, \textit{ri-\textit{yi}} \text{ tweyiki} \text{ rapiy}i, pina \text{ wa} \]
\[ \textit{Rapiy}i, pina, \textit{ri-\textit{yi}} \text{ t-wa-ey-\textit{ki}} \text{ rapiy}i, pina \text{ wa} \]
bow knife this-OBJ R-later-COM-get bow knife and

\[ \textit{kwaiy}i \text{ ain} \text{ nabaut.} \]
\[ \textit{kwaiy}i \text{ ain} \text{ nabaut.} \]
what iron PDG.around

‘Get bows and knives and any other weapons lying around.’

\[ \textit{Ri-\textit{yi}} \text{ tweyikinin} \text{ tuwa} \text{ rami} \]
\[ \textit{Ri-\textit{yi}} \text{ t-wa-ey-\textit{ki-nin}} \text{ tuwa} \text{ rami} \]
this-OBJ R-later-COM-get-PAS one person

\[ \textit{lameyikinin} \text{ tiryei.} \]
\[ \textit{la-m-eyi-ki-nin} \text{ t-ir-yei.} \]
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 \textit{rikwi} ‘3S-POS’ is used differently then a typical possessive pronoun, as shown in the sentence below.
(455) Nam titi-rion-valwi alau pa i go tertinpela
   Nam ti-tari-yonwa-lwi alau pa i go tertinpela
   1P R-shoot-inside-INT arrow FCS PDG PDG.go thirteen
alau pewa timkilwanikea rikwi
alau pewa ti-m-kilwan-ke-a rikwi
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) Til-im-wom-rɨ me, “Tɨp meki n-ìlya-nìm.”
   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-karyi?”
   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. Yɨm 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.
Discourse Considerations

(458) “Yim lalimta nam tekiliwī.”
“Yim lalimta nam tekiliwī.
2p leg-INT 1p R-hunt-INT
“All of you big legs, we’re going to get you.”

(459) Em nau twamkokwitnanke,
Em nau t-wa-m-kok-wit-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) “Kwaiyi ki, lali katamuke o yili katamuke
“Kwaiyi ki, lali katamuke o yili katamuke-ke
what get leg break-PRF or arm break-PRF
o kwaiyi ki-yi?”
o kwaiyi ki-yi?”
or what get-NOM
“What happened? Did its leg break, or its arm break or what happened?”

(461) “Nimake wailwiki yan wakre
“Ni-make wailwiki yan wakre
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 nami take
Yan wakre ri yam mati nam-i t-ake
child IR-give.birth 3s turn now 1p-OBJ R-see
wa nam reyauratyī.
wa nam re-yauerdo-atyī.
and 1p REP-DNH-come

101
'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 martowilai yam Aro ri yam munip
nam gras mar-towi-lai yam Aro ri yam munip
1P PDG.grass swing-cut-CONT turn Aro 3s turn after
paki twainkwinatyikalwi.
pa-ki t-wa-inkw-in-atyi-kalwi
FCS-TMP R-later-?-TWD-come-all

‘We were still cutting the grass when later Aro arrived.’

(464) Nam kitikat martowilai Aro ri yam munip
nam kitikat mar-towi-lai Aro ri yam munip
1P grass swing-cut-CONT Aro 3s turn after
paki twainatyikalwi.
pa-ki t-wa-in-atyi-kalwi
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.
Unresolved Issues

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-kairi* ‘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 wilouk ati n-eyɨ-kwi-kir.*
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-mr-ake*
down-GOM-REP-see
‘went down again and looked’

The two motion prefixes *mr* ‘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
A similar problem occurs with the two prefixes $kw$- ‘quickly’ and $ir$- ‘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.

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.

### 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:

\[
\text{(472) Rami yar nam-i atmoni ri nam ri-lai,}
\]
\[
\text{person who 1P-OBJ bad do/this NEG do-CONT}
\]
\[
\text{ri-yi nam-ki kame.}
\]
\[
\text{this-OBJ 1P-POS friend}
\]
\[
\text{‘Whoever does not do wrong to us is our friend.’}
\]
11. Bibliography


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 tyamriwikenim.

Nam Sande-ki Kiliauto lau t-yamri-wi-ke-nim

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

‘On Sunday we were up at Kiliauto village.’
‘We went up to Yampo.’

‘Seven of the men were from Atmoyau, and they gathered there.’

‘We with our wives slept at Yampo village.’

‘After we slept at Yampo village, on Monday we went up to cut the grass.’

‘After we went up to cut the grass, we returned and went to sleep then awoke.’
(480) Nam teyJUnoklike wa TundeKi rayei.
Nam t-eY-un-okli-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 mikalu nam tyei.
Tunde mikalu nam t-yei.
Tuesday morning 1P R-ascend
‘On Tuesday morning we went up.’

(482) Nam timiwaknkenin nam paplo paki
Nam ti-m-cwakni-ke-nin nam paplo pa-ki
1P R-GOM-work-PRF-PAS 1P buffalo FCS-TMP
take tiraratnakenim luwi yaiyiinta.
take t-ir-arat-nan-ke-nim luwi yaiyi-cta.
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 titirimpowanin pouye pe
Nam ti-tirir-powa-nin pouye pe
1P R-hunt-FRUS-PAS none EMPH
twitiwaunankewa
t-wit-itwau-nan-ke-a
R-stand-just-many-PRF-awhile

paplo-lwi pa luwi yaiyi.
paplo-lwi pa luwi yaiyi.
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 laHitma nam tekililwi.”
“Yim lahi-mta nam t-ekili-lwi.
2P leg-INT 1P R-hunt-INT
‘All of you big legs, we’re going to get you.’”
Appendix

(485) *Em nau twamkokwitnanke,*
*Em nau t-wa-m-kok-wit-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) “*Kwaiyi ki, lali katamu ke o yili katamu ke*”
“*Kwaiyi ki, lali katamu-ke o yili katamu-ke*”
what get leg break-PRF or arm break-PRF
o kwaiyi kiyi?”
o kwaiyi ki-yi?”
or what get-NOM

“‘What happened? Did its leg break, or its arm break or what happened?’”

(487) *Nimake wailwiki yan wakre*
*Ni-m-a ke wai-lwí-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 nami take*
*Yan w-akre ri yam mati nam-i t-ake*
child IR-give.birth 3S turn now 1P-OBJ R-see
wa nam reyauratyi.
wa nam re-yaur-atyi.
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 martowiplake*
*Tunde yirapri gras mar-towi-pla-ke*
Tuesday afternoon PDG.grass swing-cut-CMP-PRF
wa nam reyauratyi.
wa nam re-yaur-atyi.
and 1P REP-DNH-come
‘Tuesday afternoon, we finished cutting the grass and came back down.’

(490) Trinde nam tyamrake twitnanke.
Trinde nam t-yamr-ake t-wit-nan-ke.
Wednesday 1P R-UPH-see R-stand-many-PRF
‘Wednesday, we went up and looked where they stood.’

(491) Nam Trinde gras martowipla i go tu
Nam Trinde gras mar-towi-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 turiai-nim sevenpela man.
Wa arpam Atmoyau t-uriai-nim sevenpela man.
and 3P Atmoyau R-go.upstream-P seven PDG.man
‘Seven men went upstream to Atmoyau.’

(493) Wa nam tweyauratyi.
Wa nam t-w-yaur-atyi
and 1P R-later-DNH-come
‘Then we came down afterward.’

(494) Nam faivpela man twainatyi nam paki
Nam faivpela man t-wa-in-atyi nam pa-ki
1P PDG.five PDG.man R-later-TWD-come 1P FCS-TMP
reyake tuwa rami salim ri maulauwa.
re-ey-ake tuwa rami 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.’
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(495) Rapiyi, pina, ri-yi tweyiki rapiyi, pina wa
Rapiyi, pina, ri-yi t-wa-ey-ki rapiyi, pina wa
bow knife this-OBJ R-later-COM-get bow knife and
kwaiyi ain nabant.
kwaiyi ain nabant.
what iron PDG.around
‘Get bows and knives and any other weapons lying around.’

(496) Ri-yi tweyikinin tuwa rami
Ri-yi t-wa-ey-ki-nin tuwa rami
this-OBJ R-later-COM-get-PAS one person
lameyikinin tiryei.
la-m-eyi-ki-nin t-ir-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 luwi pa rikwi matakiru
Wa nam paplo luwi pa ri-kwi matakri-ru
and 1P buffalo plenty FCS 3S-POS plant.species-LOC
timkirwitnanke riku wamkitiryi.
ti-m-kir-wit-nan-ke ri-ku wa-m-k-itir-yi.
R-GOM-?-stand-many-PRF this-LOC later-GOM-?-die-NOM
‘Many water buffalo were standing in the grass (kunai), .’

(498) Nam titariyonwalwi alau pa i go tertinpela
Nam ti-tari-yonwa-lwi alau pa i go tertinpela
1P R-shoot-inside-INT arrow FCS PDG PDG.go thirteen
alau pewa timkilwanikea rikwi
alau pewa ti-m-kilwani-ke-a rikwi
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 ran a short way, and fell in the mud.’

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

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

‘Its head fell off.’
‘We sent a boy back to go get the women at the bush house.’

(504) Tilimwom peiki pei kalo takwel
Tilim-wom pei-ki pei kalo takwel
woman-P palm.sheet-ACP palm.sheet bark.rope dry.bamboo
karoninim
kar-o-nin-nim.
carry-up-PAS-P
‘The women carried up palm sheets, bark rope and dry bamboo.’

(505) Karoninim nam yam yei kupoulai tilimwom
kar-o-nin-nim nam yam yei kupou-lai tilim-wom
carry-up-PAS-P 1P turn skin strip-CONT woman-P
kamap tyamririnim.
kamap t-yamri-ri-nim.
PDG.come.up R-UPH-do-P
‘After they had carried the things, we stripped off the skin while the women came up.’

(506) Tilimwom taratnanke nam touyi-lwi.
Tilim-wom t-arat-nan-ke nam t-ouyi-lwi.
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 tilimwom rikwi yitan.
Wa nam serim ri tilim-wom ri-kwi yitan.
and 1P PDG.share do woman-P 3S-POS other
‘We shared the other part with the women.’

(508) Tilimwom moutan karnim laplaki, titu karlwinim.
Tilim-wom moutan kar-nim laplaki, titu kar-lwi-nim.
woman-P part carry-P rib bone carry-INT-P
‘The women carried some of the ribs and bone.’
(509) Tauwi ri-kwi wakiti-kar-lwi lalitan pa yili weitan-lwi.
   Tauwi 3S-POS ri-kwi ?-carry-INT leg FCS arm part-INT
   ‘Tauwi carried a large part of a foreleg.’

(510) Wanokwi lalitan prawanwo twe.
   Wan-wo-kwi 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 ri-kwi yitan tyiwe.
   Kaum wo Stiven wo ri-kwi yitan tyi-we.
   Kaum D Steven D 3S-POS other D-carry
   ‘Kaum and Steven carried another.’

(512) Ri-yi maulaki lalitan pe tityaratulini.
   Ri-yi maulaki lalitan pe ti-ty-aratu-lini.
   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 rau-wokwi yitan tyiwe.
   Kaum wa Atiamo rau-wo-kwi yitan tyi-we.
   Kaum and Atiamo 3D-only-POS other D-carry
   ‘Kaum and Atiamo (returned?) and carried another.’

(515) Tilimwomri me, “Tipa meki nilyanim,
   Tilim-wom-ri me, “Tipa meki n-ilya-nim
   woman-P-OBJ say sago.jelly later IMP-cook.in.bamboo-P
   takouyinim.’
   tak-ouyi-nim
   hold-butcher-P
Appendix

‘We told the women, “Make the sago later, cut (the meat) now.”’

*(516)* Nam tilimwom takwel tapi tirulwinim.
Nam tilim-wom takwel tapi t-ir-u-lwi-nim.
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 tirwitkenim
Wa lain-ki t-ir-wit-ke-nim
and PDG.group-ACP R-with-stand-PRF-P
mamekekunim.
mame-ke-ku-nim
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 touyilai.
Pranam t-ouyi-lai.
RFL-1P R-butcher-CONT
‘We ourselves cut it up.’

*(519)* Pranam touyilai nam lauru ya yi
Pranam t-ouyi-lai nam lau-ru ya yi
RFL-1P R-butcher-CONT 1P village-LOC group
yatlekawa pouye.
yat-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 ya yi twau wo.
Pranam wok r-i-lai ya yi twau wo.
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 leyi.
Nam tuwa le-yi.

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 tilimwom ayi tipa milyanim
Na tilim-wom ayi tipa m-ilya-nim
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 parinin?”
Wa nam wewai le, “Pe pa-ri-nim?”

and 1P thought think EMPH HRT-do-P

‘We thought, “Are we really going to do it?”’
Later, seven men came down, but they didn’t work with us.’

We said, “No, forget it. Let’s carry up all of [our stuff].”

‘The women and we came to Pawiku River and we heated up stones in a fire.’

‘We went and did the work ourselves.’
‘We ourselves did all the work, and then they came downstream and opened up the cooking pit.’

(532) Wa ramikwi Atmoyau turianím sevenpela man ok
Wa ram-kwi Atmoyau t-uriai-nim sevenpela man ok
and 3P-POS Atmoyau R-go.upstream-P seven PDG.man ok
nami kwaïyi Yampowa tcauratyi.
nam-i kwaïyi Yampo-wa t-ey-ya-ry-atyi.
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) Rikwi moutan yankti pa nam yatatwarpla.
Rikwi 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 tinatyi sori i no
Nam Sarare nam t-in-atyi sori i no
1P Saturday 1P R-TWD-come PDG.sorry PDG PDG.no

Sarare Fraideki tinatyilainim.
Sarare Fraide-ki t-in-atyi-la-nim.
Saturday Friday-TMP R-TWD-come-CONT-P

‘On Saturday, no I mean Friday, we were coming.’

(536) Nam Fraide mikalu tinatyi moutan yaiyi
Nam Fraide mikalu t-in-atyi moutan yaiyi
1P Friday morning R-TWD-come part group

Atmoyauru twike tyauratyinim.
Atmoyau-ru t-wi-ke t-ya-ry-ati-nim.
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 rami aya tuwa rikwi i pa Aro.
Yam tuwa rami aya tuwa ri-kwi 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 riyi.
Youk lau-ru t-wi-ke riyi.
grass village-LOC R-be-PRF now
‘He lives in the village where the grass is.’

(539) Nam tinatyi arpamri paki me, “Paplo
Nam t-in-atyi arpam-ri pa-ki me, “Paplo
1P R-TWD-come 3P-OBJ FCS-TMP say buffalo
tipa takenim ri riyi rawuyauwakiyinim.”
tipa t-a-ke-nim ri riyi ra-uyauwa-karyi-nim
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 ramikwi tyauratyinim.
Wa ram-ikwi t-yaur-atyi-nim.
and 3P-POS R-DNH-come-P
‘And they were coming down toward us.’

(541) Tyauratyinim wa nam gras martowilai.
T-yaur-atyi-nim wa nam gras mar-tow-i-lai.
R-DNH-come-P and 1P PDG.grass swing-cut-CONT
‘They came as we were cutting the grass.’

(542) Nam gras martowilai yam Aro ri yam munip
nam gras mar-tow-i-lai yam Aro ri yam munip
1P PDG.grass swing-cut-CONT turn Aro 3S turn after
We were still cutting the grass when later Aro arrived.

Later, they became angry at us and we were going to go down and fight with Aro’s line.

‘Aro’s line came to fight, but Matias and Simeon (settled it?).’

‘(They came because they wanted to fight.)’

‘We felt sorry for them.’

‘We allowed him to just plead with us, (then) he himself left.’
Appendix

(548) *Rikwi yipiriwo mepowa mepowa*  
*ri-kwi yip-ri-wo me-powa me-powa*  
3S-POS RFL-3S-only say-FRUS say-FRUS

*wa les timkakrari.*
*wa les ti-m-kakra-ri*

and PDG.tired R-GOM-INAB-do

‘He himself came talking and talking, and we didn’t feel like fighting.’

(549) *Rapiyi twauwo timkwokweikwalyeinani*  
*Rapiyi twauwo ti-m-kwok-wei-kwalye-i-nan-nin*

*bow only R-GOM-inside-carry-?-many-PAS*

*yiprikwairi lauwa.*
*yip-ri-kwairi 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.’