# KUOT GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS\*

# Chul-Hwa Chung and Kyung-Ja Chung

### 1 Introduction

The Kuot language is spoken by approximately 2,000 people in 10 villages scattered along the east and west coasts of the north central part of New Ireland Province. There are no significant dialects in the Kuot language. It is the only non-Austronesian language of the nineteen languages spoken in New Ireland Province. It is classified as a family-level isolate in the New Britain stock in the East Papuan phylum. To the north it is bordered by Notsi on the east coast, and Nalik on the west coast. Madak borders it to the south on both coasts. Kuot speakers feel that their language is very diffcult to learn since it is so different from the neighbouring Austronesian languages.

### 2 Clause Level

The clause is a construction in which subject, predicate, object and indirect object are arguments. In terms of internal composition clauses can be divided into independent and dependent clauses. The normal unmarked word order for the Kuot clause is VSO.<sup>1</sup>

1) V S O

parak-on ira-ruan kamin
eat-3ss father-1sG yam

'my father eats yam'

<sup>\*</sup> Data for this paper was collected in Kabil, Bimun, Patlangat, and Panaras on both coasts between July 1989 and November 1992; the paper was written in September 1993. We wish to express our appreciation to the Kuot people for the patience and hospitality shown to us. Above all, Adam Mode and Jonathan Laraomeng have been most helpful in our attempts to understand the Kuot language.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The phonemes are listed in Appendix A; the grammatical abbreviations in Appendix B.

V S O
 a-kart-oŋ kaβuna migan-tuaŋ

 3so-bite-3ss dog friend-1sG
 'the dog bit my friend'

However, the subject may be fronted and followed by the subject focus marker *la* for emphasis. We have not found a case in which the object is fronted.

- 3) S V O

  irie migana la o-pul-on obinam an papa-ruan

  ND man SF 3sfO-steal-3sS canoe 3smG brother-1sG

  'this man stole my brother's canoe'
- 4) S V O

  lou-run la a-bit-ien kumebun
  sister-1sG SF 3so-beat-3sfs sow

  'my sister beats the sow'

# 2.1 Independent Clause

Independent clauses are able to 'stand alone as complete utterances initiating a conversation' (Elson Pickett, 1983:120) and are of three types: declarative, interrogative and imperative/prohibitive.

#### 2.1.1 Declarative Clause

Declarative clauses include intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and various stative clauses. All declarative clauses may consist of a single verb with no stated subject, object or indirect object. These constructions will be discussed under verbs. What we will discuss now is the construction in which stated subject, object and indirect object fill the appropriate slots in the clausal construction.

#### 2.1.1.1 Intransitive Clause

The intransitive clause is a clause in which there is a stated free form subject and an intransitive verb but no object. The nuclear constituents of intransitive clauses are:

Predicate + (Subject)

The verb always takes an affix agreeing in person, number and gender with the subject. Subjects may be noun phrases as in (5-7), pronouns as in (8-10) or proper nouns as in (11-13).

5)	me-la-ra	migap	nuam	'your friends have gone'
	3ps-go-COMPL	friends	2sG	

- 6) init-ien bugam-tuo 'I have a headache' pain-3sfs head-1sG
- 7) aga-u-lie ira-ruaŋ 'my father rests'
- 8) *u-i irie* 'he is looking'
- 9) *ibir-ieng urie* 'she is running'
- 10) muli<βa>ba paba 'we (ex) are ashamed' shame<1px> 1px
- 11) *i-mira maset desi* 'Desi hears well' 3sS-hear well Desi
- 12) *mu-o* lamuana titot 'Lamuana came today' come-3smS Lamuana today
- 13) te<u>aba adam 'Adam starts (to work)' start<3sms> Adam

Subjects can function semantically as agents or patients. In (14-15) the subject is the agent of the clause. (Agent means the actor, causer or doer of the action of the verb.)

- 14) *ibir-lion esau ga paul* 'Esau and Paul are running' run-3dms Esau CJ Paul
- 15) tego-on adam 'Adam is jumping' jump-3sms Adam

In (16-17), the subject is the patient of the clause. (Patient means the undergoer, recipient or experiencer of the action of the verb.)

Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

16) *me-lum kumep* 3ps-fall pigs

'pigs fell'

17) *i-riβa* danuot 3sfS-flow stream

'the stream is flowing'

#### 2.1.1.2 Transitive Clause

The transitive clause is a clause in which there is a transitive verb and a stated object. The nuclear constituents of the transitive clause are:

Predicate + (Subject) + (Object)

Most transitive verbs take affixes agreeing in person, number, and gender with both the subject and object.

- 18) ma-βas-meŋ tatak lop babap 'small children read books' 3pO-read-3pS small childen leaves
- 19) *u-abu-a ira-ruaŋ turuo bo labun* 3sms-put-3smO father-1sG 1s on desk 'my father put me on the desk'

Some transitive verbs, however, only take agreement markers according to the person, number, and gender of the subject. These include mira 'hear',  $ta\phi$  'drink', and parak 'eat'.

20) taφ-no burunam drink-2s water

'drink water'

21) parak-meŋ upaubip 'they ate food' eat-3ps food.PL

Objects may be noun phrases as in (22-23), proper nouns as in (24-25) or pronouns as in (26-27).

- 22) parak-ieg kumebun nirobu ila nei eat-3sfS sow coconut REL new 'the pig ate the new coconut palm'
- 23) o-gosar-on uro ubi 3sf0-make-3sms ND.sf work 'he did this work'

- 24) a-kar-on kaßuna lamuana 3smO-bite-3smS dog Lamuana 'the dog bit Lamuana'
- 25) le-bit-on migana desi ga dokas 3do-beat-3sms man Desi CJ Dokas 'the man beat Desi and Dokas'
- 26) *u-abu-a* adam turuo togo 3sms-put-3smo Adam 1s here 'Adam put me here'
- 27) me-aer-a papap nuam irie irobuan 3ps-leave-3smo brothers 2sG 3sm there 'your brothers left him over there'

A verbal comparative clause is a subtype of transitive clauses in which the subject and the object of the clause are compared. Comparative clauses are used to compare similar or dissimilar objects. When similar objects are compared, the comparative morpheme *are/gare* 'like' is used. The object being compared precedes the comparative marker and the object to which it is being compared follows the comparative marker.

- 28) ties-on gare koben iro migana speak-3sms COMP bird ND.sm man 'this man speaks like bird
- 29) paβa a la u-i are kumorot face 3smG SF look-3smS COMP pig 'his face looks like a pig'

When dissimilar objects are compared, the morpheme *me* 'than' is used. The structure is the same as when similar objects are compared.

- 30) ties-on iro migana kakani me koben speak-3smS ND.sm man big COMP bird 'this man speaks louder than a bird'
- 31) pura-ruan la u-i kakapi me pura-nuan chicken-1sG SF look-3sms small COMP chicken-2sG 'my chicken looks smaller than your chicken'

The object of comparison can be omitted as in (32).

32) *u-i* kakani pura ruaŋ ame look-3sms big chicken 1sG COMP 'my chicken looks bigger than it (m) '

#### 2.1.1.3 Ditransitive Clause

The ditransitive clause is a clause in which an indirect object occurs with a transitive verb. The direct object is obligatory in the ditransitive clause. The nuclear constituents for a ditransitive clause are:

Verb + (Subject) + (Indirect Object) + Direct Object

Ditransitive verbs take agreement markers according to the person, number and gender of both the subject and indirect object. The head position of the indirect object phrase construction may be filled by noun phrases as in (28-29), pronouns as in (30-31), or proper nouns as in (32-33).

- 33) a-me-lo magaulap poi ruan uro gas 3smO-3pS-tell women son 1s ND.sf story 'women told my son this story'
- 34) ma-gam-i magaulap onim kuot dagarip
  3p0-give-3sS women GEN Kuot eggs
  'he gave eggs to Kuot women'
- 35) a-me-lo teip irie uro gas
  3sOSm-3pS-tell men 3sm ND.sf story
  'men told him this story'
- 36) ma-gam-i mame abulap 3pO-give-3sS 3p fish.pl 'he gave fish to them'
- 37) ma-gam-i jodam dagarip 3p0-give-3sS Jodam eggs 'he gave eggs to Jodam'

38) i-u-lo laipak sition gas
3sf0-sSm-tell old.man Sition story
'the old man told Sition the story'

#### 2.1.1.4 Stative Clause

There are three types of stative clause: non-verbal equative clauses, non-verbal descriptive clauses, and non-verbal comparative clauses. A non-verbal clause is defined as a clause in which at least two phrases are present forming a complete thought without using verb.

The equative clause consists of two contiguous phrases which function as a predicate construction. The subject slot may be filled with a noun phrase, proper noun or a pronoun, while the predicate slot must be filled with a noun phrase.

- 39) tadasip la bo nunamap stones SF on table 'the stones are on the table'
- 40) migana irie man 3sm 'he is a man'

It is important not to confuse the equative clause with several similar constructions:

41) irie migana 'this man' irie la migana 'he is a man' migana la irie 'he is a man'

Examples (42-43) differ in the presence or absense of the subject focus marker la.

- 42) *urobu kabo la uro* kabo 'that nut is same as this nut' FD.sf nut SF ND.sf nut
- 43) *uro kabo urobu kabo* 'this nut is same as that nut'

Similarly, (44-45) differ in the presence of the subject focus marker *la* versus the relative marker *ula*.

- 44) *uro kimanam la kimanam ula tatalu*ND.sf soil SF soil REL old
  'this soil is an old soil'
- 45) kimanam ula tatalu uro kimanam soil REL old ND.sf soil 'this soil is an old soil'

The descriptive clause consists of a noun phrase contiguous to a possessive phrase. The subject slot may be filled with a noun phrase, proper noun or pronoun and the predicate slot may be filled with a possessive noun phrase or possessive pronoun.

- 46) iam naga run miro dagarip 3sfG mother 1sG these eggs 'these eggs are my mother's'
- 47) aŋ iroma kaβuna 3sm FD dog 'that dog is his'

The nonverbal comparative clause can be used for the comparison of similar objects, but not for dissimilar objects. The same comparative marker used in transitive comparative clauses, *are/gare* 'like' (see section 2.1.1.2) is used. The object being compared precedes the comparative marker and the object to which the subject is being compared follows the comparative marker.

- 48) iro migana la gare koben ND.sm man SF COMP bird 'this man is like a bird'
- 49) are kumorot paβa a
  COMP pig face 3smG
  'his face is like a pig'

#### 2.1.1.5 Other Constituents of the Declarative Clause

The optional constituents of the declarative clause are temporals, locatives and instrumentals. Temporals occur in pre-predicate, clause-initial position or in post-predicate, clause-final position. They may not, however, occur in both slots in the same clause. Time

words fill both slots. Locatives occur in the post-predicate position and locative phrase or locative words fill this slot. The nonverbal comparison and equative clauses can take neither locatives nor temporals as optional constituents. The expanded declarative clause constituents are as follows:

- 50) kalup eba muon poi ruan tomorrow FUT 3sms son 1sG 'tomorrow, my son will come'
- 51) eba muon poi ruan kalup

  FUT 3sms son 1sG tomorrow

  'my son will come tomorrow'
- 52) u-namu-a adam kumorot o alabun 3sms-kill-3smo Adam pig INST ax 'Adam killed the pig with an ax'
- 53) aru-men magaulap na kimanam o aru sweep-3ps women LOC ground INST broom 'women sweep the ground with a broom'
- 54) bet-on toruan rabaul arrive-3smS LOC Rabaul 'he arrived in Rabaul'
- 55) eba ta-ran uduma na panap FUT 1sS-take banana LOC bush 'I will take banana from the bush'

Prepositions do not differentiate between goal and source in Kuot. Instead, goal and source are distinguished by deictics as well as by the verb.

56) me-la na ubi 3pS-go LOC garden 'they go to garden'

- 57) mu-maio na ubi come-3ps LOC garden 'they come from garden'
- 58) bet-on todan kavieng toruan rabaul arrive-3sms LOC Kavieng LOC Rabaul 'he arrived at Kavieng from Rabaul'
- 59) u-la todan kavieng toruan rabaul 3smS-go LOC Kavieng LOC Rabaul 'he went to Rabaul from Kavieng'

The noun in the locative phrase can be omitted.

- 60) bet-on todan arrive-3sms LOC 'he arrived there'
- 61) eba ta-raŋ uduma irobuma

  FUT 1sS-take banana LOC

  'I will take the banana over there'

# 2.1.2 Interrogative Clause

There are two types of interrogative clauses: polar questions, which require a 'yes/no' response, and content question, which require a content-information response.

### 2.1.2.1 Polar Question

Polar question clauses differ from declarative clauses only in intonation. The only difference between (62) and (63) is the interrogative clause (62) has a clause-final rising pitch whereas the declarative clause (63) has a clause-final descending pitch.

- 62) taφa-oŋ me parak 'does he want something to eat?' sick-3sms GOAL food
- 63) taφa-oŋ me parak 'he wants something to eat!' sick-3sms GOAL food

Questions may be tagged with *tara* to receive an expected 'yes' or 'no' response. The clause is stated in the affirmative to indicate an expected 'yes' answer or in the negative to indicate an expected 'no' answer.

- 64) taφa-oŋ me parak, tara sick-3sms GOAL food TAG 'he wants something to eat, right?'
- 65) tale kan taφa-nuŋ me parak, tara

  NEG EMPH sick-2ss GOAL food TAG

  'you don't feel hungry, do you?'

### 2.1.2.2 Content Question

Content questions expect a response giving specific information rather than a simple 'yes/no' response. Any question word may be spoken in isolation as an independent utterance. A Kuot interrogative word occurs in the same position in the phrase or clause as the element it is questioning normally does. The required information may have the form of a noun, adjective, adverb, etc. If the required information is a noun that is normally inflected, then the inflection is suffixed to the interrogative word.

Questioning of core elements in verbal clauses is illustrated in (66-74). The subject is questioned in (66-69), the direct object in (70-73), and the indirect object in (74).

66)	eba a-la aga FUT 3sS-go who	'who is going?'
67)	aga la eba a-la who SF FUT 3sS-go	'who is going?'
68)	aga la parak-oŋ uduma who SF eat-3sS banana	'who ate the banana?'
69)	aga la u-alo irie un who SF 3smS-give FD 3sfB	'who gave that to her?'
70)	parak-nuŋ mani eat-2ss what	'what did you eat?'
71)	nu-ga mani 2ss-like what	'what do you like?'

### Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

72) *nu-ga man paga* 2sS-like which thing

'what thing do you like?'

73) *o-gam-ni mani* 3sfo-give-2ss what

'what did you give her?'

74) *nu-alo uduma aun aga* 2ss-give banana 3smB who 'to whom do you give the banana?'

Questioning of core elements in stative clauses is illustrated in (74-77).

75) auaŋ sakmes irie whose spear ND 'whose spear is this?'

76) auan iro sakmes whose ND.sm spear

'whose spear is this?'

77) irie migana la aga ND man SF who 'who is this man?'

78) aga la irie migana. who SF ND man

'who is this man?'

Manner and reason question words occur clause initially and finally. When they occur clause initially they are followed immediately by the causative conjunction. This construction represents a threatening question, emphasising an accusing attitude on the speaker's behalf.

- 79) ma-pul-og kubama purap tuam aremani 3pO-steal-3sms boy chickens 1sG how 'how did the boy steal my chickens?'
- 80) ma-pul-nug kubama purap tuam memani 3pO-steal-3sms boy chickens 1sG why 'why did you steal my chickens?'
- 81) aremani ga a-bit-oŋ kaβuna timoi how CJ 3smO-hit-3smS dog yesterday 'how did he hit a dog yesterday?'

82) memani ga a-bit-oŋ kaβuna timoi why CJ 3smO-hit-3smS dog yesterday 'why did he hit a dog yesterday?'

The location question word *lag* acts differently than the other question words discussed so far. It agrees in number and gender with the subject of the clause, although *lagum* is used in ordinary conversation for all numbers.

	masc.	fem.
sg.	lagi	lagu
dl.	lagin	lagin
pl.	lagim	lagum

The location question word occurs clause-finally in verbal clauses and clause-initially in non-verbal clauses.

83) *na-la lag-um* 'where are you going' 2sS-go where-2s

84) lag-in loβien-tuaŋan 'where are my two boys?' where-3d child.DL-1dG

85) lag-um pagap-tuam 'where are my things' where-3p things-1sG

## 2.1.3 Imperative and Prohibitive Clause

The imperative clause is constructed in one of two ways depending upon the emphasis. In the non-emphatic construction the simple second singular imperative form of the verb is used.

86) ubi-nan titot rogan 'work (it) right now' work-2s today just
87) na-bu-ŋ bo labun 'put (it) on the bench' 2ss-put-3sm on bench

The emphatic construction is identical except that it begins with  $e\beta a$  'must'.

88) *eβa ubi-naŋ titot* 'you must work (it) now' must work-2s today

### Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

89) eβa na-bu-ŋ bo labun 'you must put (it) on the bench'must 2ss-put-3sm on bench

Sometimes the emphatic word kan accompanies  $e\beta a$  to further emphasise the construction.

90) eβa kan na-la kavieng titot must EMPH 2sS-go Kavieng now 'you must go to Kavieng now'

The prohibitive clause is constructed with prohibitive word *buat* 'not' occurring clause initially with the imperative form of the verb.

91) buat ubi-nun titot 'don't work today'
NEG work-2s today

92) buat na-bu-ŋ isik bo labun 'don't put (it) on the bench'
NEG 2sS-put-3sm 3s on bench

Sometimes the emphatic word kan accompanies buat for emphasis.

93) buat kan ubi-nun titot 'you never work today'
NEG EMPH work-2s today

### 2.1.4 Negative Clause

In negative clauses the negative morpheme *tale* precedes the verb. It can occur in intransitive clauses as in (94-95), transitive clauses as in (96-97), ditransitive clauses as in (98-99), stative clauses as in (100-101), or interrogative clauses as in (102-103).

- 94) tale u-la migan tuan NEG 3sS-go friend 1sG 'my friend did not go'
- 95) inamaniap la tale me-nama labinim people SF NEG 3pS-sit ashore 'people did not sit down on the beach'
- 96) kubap la tale o-gosar-men uro ubi boys SF NEG 3sO-make-3ps ND.sf work 'boys didn't make this'

- 97) tale tu-abu-a bo labun

  NEG 2sS-put-3smO on desk

  'I did not put this on the desk'
- 98) magaulap la tale a-me-lo adam uro gas women SF NEG 3smO-3pS-tell Adam ND.sf story 'women didn't tell this story to Adam'
- 99) tale ma-gam-ti teip purap tuam

  NEG 3pO-give-1ss men chickens 1sG

  'I didn't give my chickens to the men'
- 100) iroma kaβuna la tale aŋ
  FD dog SF NEG 3sm
  'that dog is not his'
- 101) tale magan-ien na pirom

  NEG calm-3sfs LOC sea

  'the sea is not still'
- 102) mani la tale it-ua-mu timoi what SF NEG finish-3smS yesterday 'what didn't he finish yesterday?
- 103) tale ubi-nun memani titot
  NEG work-2ss why today
  'why don't you work today?'

## 2.2 Dependent Clause

Up to this point we have been discussing independent clauses, although an occasional illustration included a dependent clause. In this section we will describe in closer detail the various types of dependent clauses which occur in Kuot. There are two types of dependent clauses: relative and adverbial. Both are subordinate constructions and as such can be differentiated from independent clauses by the presence of dependent words such as demonstrative pronouns, locational words and time words.

#### 2.2.1 Relative Clause

Relative clauses are subordinate clauses within a main clause. They are constructed by using *la* which functions as a relative pronoun that is coreferent with the head of the phrase the relative clause modifies. The relative clause may modify the subject noun phrase as in (104), the direct object noun phrase as in (105-106) or the indirect object noun phrase as in (107). In each case the relative clause immediately follows the noun phrase it modifies.

- 104) migana la bet-on timoi la u-βarara titot man RP arrive-3sS yesterday SF 3sS-die today 'the man who arrived yesterday died today'
- 105) a-gima-run kumorot la a-sau-nun na sune
  3smo-see-1ss pig RP 3smo-buy-2ss LOC market
  'I saw the pig which you bought at the market'
- 106) na-laŋ kakep la to-marik-oŋ tinan aun lamuana 2sS-give money RP 1sO-ask-3sms before 3sB Lamuana 'give to Lamuana the money for which he asked me before'
- 107) na-laŋ kakep aun lamuana la to-marik-oŋ tinan 2ss-give money 3smB Lamuana RP 1sO-ask-3sms before 'give the money to Lamuana who asked me (for it) long before'

The examples thus far contain non-restrictive relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses, that is, clauses which help to identify or specify the modified head noun, take a final restrictiviser (RSTV).

- 108) a-duri-men luguan la komum nibanap a
  3smO-tear-3ps house RP rotten posts RSTV
  'they are tearing down the house whose posts are rotten'
- 109) le-namu-o puraibun la kire kibaβien o
  3ds-kill-3sf0 hen RP bad foot.DL RSTV
  'they (dl) killed the hen whose legs were bad'

#### 2.2.2 Adverbial Clause

Kuot adverbial clauses function as time clauses, location clauses, purpose clauses, and quotation clauses, each of which employ an introductory subordinating word appropriate to the function of the clause.

Subordinate time clauses are prepositional constructions introduced by *na* 'during/at'.

- 110) na tara bet-on lamuana u-\text{\beta}arara lagin
  LOC time arrive-3sms Lamuana 3sms-die Lagin
  'at the time Lamuana arrived, Lagin died'
- 111) *u-βarara lagin na tara bet-oŋ lamuana*3sms-die Lagin LOC time arrive-3sms Lamuana
  'Lagin died at the time Lamuana arrived'

Subordinate location clauses are subordinate clauses identifying the particular location of the event expressed in the predicate. They are introduced by the preposition *na* 'in/at'.

112) *u-nama na pianam la papot ma suveilap*3smS-stay LOC place RP many PL wild.animals
'he lives where the wild animals live'

The subordinate purpose clause is introduced by the purpose marker *eba* 'to/in order to'.

- 113) bet-on eba ma-sau-on kumep tuam arrive-3ss PURP 2pO-buy-3sms pigs 1sG 'he arrived in order to buy my pigs'
- 114) na-rin maranit uro iagur eba nu-lum lourup 2sS-hold strong ND.sf vine PURP 2sS-fall down 'hold on tightly to this vine lest you should fall down'

The subordinate quotation clause is introduced by verbs such as gama 'say', ait 'know', duriong 'dream', kuku\phion 'shout', amarikon 'ask', upta 'hear', agaton 'think', upto 'answer', umirong 'write'. The direct speech clause signifies the actual words of a speaker given second hand. In the direct speech clause, the first person pronouns and verb subject agreement markers are used in the subordinate clause.

115) *u-gama* sabalolotut tu-namuam numeip nuam na panap 3sms-say monster 1ss-kill family 2sG LOC bush 'Sabalolotut said, "I killed your family in the bush."

The indirect speech clause signifies a paraphrase of the speaker's words. The indirect speech clause employs the third person pronouns and verbal subject agreement markers.

116) *u-gama sabalolotut u-namuam numeip tuam na panap*3sms-say monster 3ss-kill family 1sG LOC bush
'Sabalolotut said he killed family in the bush'

### 3 Phrase Level

A phrase is a unit potentially composed of two or more words, but which does not have the propositional characteristic of a clause. Phrases are characterized as having a head and various modifiers indicating quality, quantity, possessor, augmentation, negation, etc. Kuot phrases include noun phrases, pronoun phrases, possessive pronoun phrases, adjective phrases, verb phrases, coordinate phrases, serial phrases and prepositional phrases.

### 3.1 Noun Phrase

The noun phrase consists of a noun head, relator and modifiers. The head is obligatory whereas relator and modifiers are optional. A noun phrase usually has very few elements. The phrase quickly changes to a descriptive stative clause if too many modifiers are present.

### 3.1.1 Descriptive Noun Phrase

Kuot descriptive noun phrases may be modified to indicate specificity (MOD<sub>1</sub>), quantity (MOD<sub>2</sub>), quality (MOD<sub>3</sub>), and possession (MOD<sub>4</sub>) as shown in the following chart:

$MOD_1$	$MOD_2$	HEAD	MOD <sub>3</sub>	MOD <sub>4</sub>
DP	QM	N	MW	PC

The noun may be made specific by adding a demonstrative pronoun preceding the head noun in the noun phrase. This demonstrative functions as a specifier.

117) nomurit kamin 'one yam'

#### Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands

118) *iro kamin* 'this yam' ND.sm yam

119) *uro magabun* 'this woman' ND.sf woman

Quantities indicated in  $MOD_2$  may be precise quantities (one, two, three, etc.) or quantity in general (some, many, etc). The quantifier may include the plural marker ma as in (122-123). Quantity modifiers (QM) occur following the specifier and preceding head noun.

120) *iro nomurit kamin* 'this one yam' ND.sm one yam

121) *uro nomurit magabun* 'this one woman'

122) *miro naien ma kamilip* 'these three yams' ND.p three PL yams

123) *mirobu papaluaip ma magaulap* 'those many women' FD.p many PL women

Nouns may also be modified to indicate a certain quality pertinent to that noun. The quality modifier with its relator follows directly after the head.

- 124) iro nomurit kamin ila muri ND.sm one yam REL good 'this one good yam'
- 125) uro nomurit magabun ula muru

  ND.sf one woman REL good

  'this one good woman'
- 126) miro naien ma kamilip mila murum

  ND.p three PL yams REL good

  'these three good yams'
- 127) mirobu papaluaip ma magaulap mila murum FD.p many PL women REL good 'those many good women'

There are three types of possessive noun phrases: those with a possessive relative construction in the  $MOD_4$  slot, those with a coreferent construction, and those with the possessive marker *onim*.

The possessive relative phrase construction consists of a head noun followed by a possessive pronoun construction (PPC) which functions as the possessor of the phrase.

- 128) iro nomurit kamin ila muri an lamuana
  ND.sm one yam REL good PN Lamuana
  'this one good yam of Lamuana'
- 129) *uro nomurit magabun ula muru an lamuana*ND.sf one woman REL good PN Lamuana
  'this one good woman of Lamuana'
- 130) miro naien kamilip mila lamuana ma murum am ND.p three PLvams REL good PN Lamuana 'these three good yams of Lamuana'
- 131) mirobu papaluaip ma magaulap mila murum am lamuana FD.p many PL women REL good PN Lamuana 'those many good women of Lamuana'

The PPC consists of a possessive preposition optionally followed by a proper noun or noun phrase.

- sakmes an spear 3sm 'his spear'
- 133) sakmes an lamuana spear 3sm Lamuana 'Lamuana's spear'
- spear 3sf clan REL big
  'big clan's spear' (the spear that belongs in the big clan)

The coreferent possessive construction is a noun-noun construction. The possessed head noun is followed by possessor modifying noun filling the MOD<sub>4</sub> slot. Either of the two

#### Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands

nouns may be fully modified with qualifiers, quantifiers, etc. Their coreferent relationship is what binds them together as a phrase.

135) kilan a amatao 'the handle of ax' arm PPI ax

136) kilan a adam 'Adam's arm' arm PPI Adam

The possessor may also take a possessive suffix to indicate an extended form of possession.

137) kilan a amatao tuang 'the handle of my ax' arm PPI ax 1sG

To extend the range of possession even further, another noun may occur specifying the pronoun.

138) kilan a amatao an adam arm PPI ax 3sm Adam 'the handle of Adam's ax'

139) kilan a amatao majon lop am adam arm PPI ax 3pG sons 3smG Adam 'the handle of Adam's sons' ax'

Finally, possession can be expressed using the free form possessive marker *onim* as a possesser relator word before a location word.

140) migana onim kuot 'Kuot man' man GEN Kuot

141) magabun onim rabaul 'Rabaul woman' woman GEN Rabaul

#### 3.1.2 Coordinate Noun Phrases

A coordinate phrase consists of two head elements joined by one of the conjunctions ga 'and' or o 'or'. Either head slot may be filled with common nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, or noun phrases as follows.

Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

HEAD	CJ	HEAD
CN	CJ	CN
PN		PN
PRO		PRO
NP		NP

142) turuo ga adam Adam 1s CJ

'I and (with) Adam'

143) *turuo o* adam 1s CJ Adam 'I or Adam'

144) migana ila kakani ga magabun ula popou man REL big-m CJ woman REL small 'the big husband and small wife'

#### 3.1.3 Serial Noun Phrase

The serial noun phrase is constructed using three or more head elements and a conjunction separating only the last two head elements in the phrase. Common nouns, proper nouns, pronouns and noun phrases fill the head slots as follows.

HEAD	HEAD	CJ	HEAD
CN	CN	CJ	CN
PN	PN		PN
PRO	PRO		PRO
NP	NP		NP

ionathan 145) adam ga turuo Adam Jonathan 1s 'Adam, Jonathan and I'

REL

bird

146) *koben* ula kanu, koben ula kapio, ga kibama

> big 'a big bird, small bird and mouse'

babam, pas, 147) igunam, kabo 0 man paga leaf fruit which branch root CJ thing 'leaf, branch, root, fruit or any thing'

bird

REL

small

CJ mouse

#### 3.1.4 Benefactive Noun Phrase

In a benefactive construction, a benefactive pronoun precedes the noun head. In this construction, the benefactive pronoun agrees in gender and number with the following noun.

148)		<i>lamuana</i> Lamuana			'for Lamuana'
149)	maun 3pB	<i>inamaniap</i> people	onim GEN	<i>kuot</i> Kuot	'to the Kuot people'
150)	un 3sfB	<i>magabun</i> wife	<i>tuŋ</i> 1sG		'for my wife'

### 3.2 Pronoun Phrase

The pronoun phrase is a head/modifier construction with the head being a free-form pronoun and the modifier serving a reflexive function as in (151), a specifier function as in (152), or adverbial functions as in (153-154).

151)	<i>irie</i> 3sm	<i>kan</i> REFL	'he himself'
152)	<i>irie</i> 3sm	isik SPEC	'this one'
153)	<i>irie</i> 3sm	talamet EX	'he alone'
154)	<i>irie</i> 3sm	gat INC	'he also'

#### 3.3 Number Phrase

#### 3.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

Cardinal numbers greater than ten are constructed as phrases. Numbers of this sort are  $HEAD_1$ -AXIS- $HEAD_2$  constructions where the  $HEAD_1$  slot is filled with a base number and an optional non-base number and the  $HEAD_2$  slot is filled with a non-base number. The AXIS slot is filled with the conjunction ga.

- 155) manaburuan ga nagala 'fourteen'
- 156) naien ma manaburualap ga gamiala three MULT ten CJ nine 'thirty nine'
- 157) naraen manaburualaßien ga gamura two ten.DL CJ seven 'twenty seven'

Numerals between 11 and 99 are formed as in (158-159):

- 158) manaburuan ga nomurit ma kumorot ten and one PL pigs 'eleven pigs'
- 159) naraen manaburualaßien ga gamiala ma kubap two ten.DL CJ nine PL boys 'twenty nine boys'
- 160) muanam ma manaburualap ga gamura ma magaulap five MULT ten.PL CJ seven PL women 'fifty seven women'

The numeral for 100 is a reduplicated form of *manaburuan* 'ten', so numerals from 100 to 999 are formed as in (161-162):

- 161) naraen manaburualaβien ma manaburualap ga naien ma manaburualap ga gamin
  - 'two hundred and thirty eight'
- 162) gamiala ma manaburualap ma manaburualap ga gamiala ma manaaburualap ga gamiala
  - 'nine hundred and ninty nine'

Numerals over 1000 are extremely rare except for year counting. It is possible to construct these numbers by further reduplication of *manaburuan* 'ten'. But speakers almost always switch to Tok Pisin for obvious reasons of economy.

163) manaburuan ma manaburualap ma manaburualap ga gamiala ma manaburualap ma manaburualap ga gamiala ma manaburualap ga naraen a karanim.

3smG year '1992 of year'

The special term  $ko\phi ibam$  'ten kina' is used when counting money to shorten the number of digits. This term is used only for counting money. It also has dual and plural forms like manaburuan 'ten':  $ko\phi ibavien$  and  $ko\phi ibap$ , respectively.

164) naraen koфibavien

'twenty kina'

165) manaburuan ma manaburualap ma koфibap 'thousand kina'

#### 3.3.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are generally formed by the ordinal number indicator (ONI) lama preceding a cardinal numeral construction.

166) lama gunamur

'sixth'

ONI six

167) lama manaburuan

'tenth'

ONI ten

168) na lama nagala o la me-la na ubi
T ONI four 3sfG day 3pS-go LOC garden
'on the fourth day they went to the garden'

The only exception is that the ONI nata is used for 'first'.

169) nata nomurit

'first'

The form natauan 'first' can also be used as a verb by adding a verb suffix as in (170).

170) urie la natauan-ien

'she is best'

3sfs SF first-3sf

#### 3.3.3 Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by the addition of *naritnarit* 'each', or *ut* 'every'.

- 171) mirier pialap ganam la me-maning puoranama narit narit every villages all SF 3pS-have boy.house each each 'there is a boy house in each village'
- 172) те-пит magaulap na alana ut naraen ut naraen 3ps-walk women road LOC every two every two 'the women walk along the road two by two'

#### 3.4 Locative Phrase

Location and direction prepositional phrases contain a location or direction preposition and a locative noun phrase axis.

- 173) ma-isin-on kakep am na alaŋ
  3p0-find-3ss money 3smG LOC road
  'he found his money on the road'
- 174) *u-βarara non laipak pat kuguom*3sS-die some old.man under tree
  'an old man died under the tree'

### 3.5 Negation Phrase

When negation is emphatic, emphatic markers occur following the negator.

175) karuk kan 'not at all'

NEG EMPH

176) karuk it 'certainly not'

NEG EMPH

177) tale kan 'never'

### 3.6 Verb Phrase

The verb phrase is a cluster of one or more verbs with its auxiliaries and modifiers that function as the predicate of a clause. The head of the verb phrase is the verb. The accompanying auxiliaries include the subject agreement marker, negation, tense, aspect, mood, and intensification. Manner adverbs are also incorporated into the verb phrase.

### 3.6.1 Agreement

A Kuot clause can consist of only a verb because the subject and object (if transitive) are reflected in it. It requires very strict agreement in person, gender and number with the subject and with most objects of the clause.

- 178) to-aga-na-lie kirat togo 1so-help-2s little here 'help me here for a minute'
- 179) le-igor-li-la kibaβien lion parabira
  3dO-change-3dS foot.DL 1sfG morning
  'they exchange trousers in the morning'
- 180) a-wan-me-la oron kakaliat ana luguan ang 3smO-wait-3pS big.man long inside house 3sm 'they waited for him in his house for a long time'
- a-u-lo 181) migana poi ula tatalıı an me aas 3smo-3sms-tell man child 3sm about old story REL 'a man told a traditional story to his son'
- 182) ma-me-la kubap papaluaip ma magalip na pirom 3pO-3pS-catch boys many PL crayfish LOC sea 'the boys caught many crayfish in the sea'

### 3.6.2 Negation Auxiliaries

Kuot has two negative words: *tale* in declarative clauses and *buat* in imperative clauses. The morpheme *tale* precedes the verb in a general verb phrase or is the last element in a stative clause. It can also occur with *karuk* 'no' as the complete answer to a yes/no question. In (183-185) if *tale* is deleted the resulting statement will be positive.

183) uro magabun la tale a-bit-ien kaβuna
ND.sf woman SF NEG 3smO-beat-3sfS dog

'this woman did not beat the dog'

- 184) karuk, tale papaluaip ma purap tuam no NEG many PL chickens 1sG 'no, I don't have any many chickens'
- 185) karuk, iro nirobu la tale kakani no ND.sm coconut SF NEG big 'no, this coconut is not big'

The morpheme *buat* precedes the verb in a negative imperative construction. It only occurs with present tense verbs.

- 186) buat aga-nu-lie titot

  NEG rest-2sS now

  'do not take a rest now'

### 3.6.3 Intensification Auxiliary

When the intensification auxiliary it occurs in a verb phrase it immediately follows the verb head.

- 188) a-gosar-nung mani duri-rung it
  3smS-make-2sS what sleep-1sS EMPH
  'what did you do? I just slept'
- 189) memani go u-namua migan ang bukbuk-ong it why 3sms.kill friend 3sG upset.3sms EMPH 'why did he kill his friend? He just got upset.'

#### 3.6.4 Modal Auxiliaries

Mood morphemes indicate the speaker's feelings about the reality of an event or signal the hearer how the verb and clause relate to him. These morphemes usually immediately precede the verb they modify.

190) buat tego-nan nakap eba nu-lum (Prohibitive) PROHIB climb-2s high FUT 2ss-fall

'never go up that high lest you fall down'

191) puo-ruŋ o-βas-tuŋ babam nuŋ (Ability) able-1sS 3sfo-read-1sS leaf 2sG

'I can read your book'

192) eba kan terigi-nan togo (Imperative Request)

FUT EMPH return-2ss here

'you must come here'

193) tu-ga ta-la toruan rabaul kakalait (Desirative)
1sS-want 1sS-go LOC Rabaul fast
'I would like to go to Rabaul as soon as possible'

#### 3.6.5 Adverbs

Adverbs describe the manner in which the action takes place.

- 194) *me-num teteiliat* 'they walk slowly' 3ps-walk slowly
- 195) kukup-on maranit me mani 'why does he yell loudly?' yell-3sS hard why

# 3.7 Prepositional Phrase

The prepositional phrase is made up of a preposition relator and noun phrase. The preposition does not modify or expand the meaning of the noun phrase, but it relates the noun phrase to the rest of the clause. Instumental phrases were illustrated in section 2.1.1.5 with the preposition o 'with/by'. Location and time prepositional phrases take the preposition na 'at/in' as shown in (196) and (197), respectively.

196) pa-la numeilup-tuam ga turuo na ubi
1ps-go family-1pG CJ 1s LOC garden
'my family and I went to garden'

197) mu-o iro laipak timoi na arubu come-3ss ND.sm old.man yesterday T night 'This old man came yesterday night'

The accompaniment prepositional phrase take the preposition ga 'with'.

198) tu-la ga poi ruan na ubi
1sS-go with child 1sG LOC garden
'I went to garden with my son'

The directional prepositional phrase take the preposition me which indicates direction.

199) i-lum koben me lourup 3sfS-fall bird D down 'a bird fell down'

### 3.8 Adjective Phrase.

Adjectives and their modifiers exhibit strict agreement in gender and number. Adjectives follow their modifiers.

200) *u-la mur-u* 'very good (sg.fem.)' sf-very good-sf

201) *i-la mur-i* 'very good (sg.masc.)' sm-very good-sm

202) *mi-la mumu-rum* 'very good (pl)' p-very good-p

### 3.9 Adverbial Phrase

Adverbs and their modifiers do not exhibit agreement. Adverbs follow their modifiers. The intensifier *mitara* modifies verbs or predicate adjectives. It is found immediately before the word it intensifies. Modifiers usually function as intensifiers.

203) mitara tevurus-men me morowa
EMPH glad-3pS D God

'they were delighted with God'

- 204) pianam mitara ula kakanu place EMPH REL big 'very big place'
- 205) mitara migat ties ang EMPH true language 3sG 'what he said is very true'

When a negative is intensified, the clitic *kan* precedes the verb.

- 206) irie la tale kan puo-oŋ
  PN SF NEG EMPH able-3sS
  'he is not able to (do)'
- 207) kikis-nun uro ubi karuk kan, na-run ume dislike-2ss ND.sf work no EMPH like-1ss ND.sm 'do you dislike this work? no, I like this very much'

### 4 Morphology

#### 4.1 Nouns

Nouns are words which designate or name people, places, or things. They function as the head of a noun phrase and can be the sole argument of the verb. They do not take case markers to specify gender, number, or animacy.

### 4.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns name specific people or places including mythical people and places. Proper nouns cannot be inflected to mark possession nor can they be counted.

- 208) *inamaniap onim kuot* people GEN Kuot 'The people of Kuot'
- 209) toi-gor-ula adam lso-change-3ss Adam 'Adam changed me'

#### 4.1.2 Common Nouns

Common nouns distinguish masculine and feminine gender in the singular and dual but lose the distinction in the plural. Although the criteria for gender is cultural, there are some guidelines as to whether a given noun is masculine or feminine.

Most nouns ending in *ma* are masculine. These generally include body parts and names of fruits and fish. Examples include *irama* 'eye', *nigunama* 'ear', *agabunima* 'nose', *dedema* 'bone', *kiraima* 'finger nail', *nirobuma* 'back bone', *muranama* 'spirit', *udlma* 'banana', *lekpanama* 'a type of fruit', *kasonama* 'mango', *puolanama* 'ton tree', *abuluma* 'fish', *magalima* 'clawfish', and *managrima* 'octopus'.

Most nouns ending in bun are feminine although they are few in number. Examples include *magabun* 'woman', *kubebun* 'lass', *kumebun* 'sow', *laibun* 'bitch', and *kalagalabun* 'butterfly'.

It is possible to categorise nouns on the basis of the mass/count distinction or by the possessive constructions they can occur in.

#### 4.1.2.1 Mass and Count Nouns

Count nouns can be counted, while mass nouns cannot be quantified. Some examples of mass nouns include:

ubiem 'sand/rice' burunam 'water' iφiφ 'wind'

223) tu-ga ma-sau-raŋ ubiem ba 1ss-want 3pO-buy-1ss rice some 'I want to buy some rice'

#### 4.1.2.2 Possessive Constructions

Common nouns can be divided into three classes based on possessive constructions. Some common nouns are closely associated with the possessor; these are inalienably possessed. A second group is more loosely associated with the possessor; these are alienably possessed nouns. A final group cannot be possessed. Common nouns can be classified as follows.

Possessed	Inalienable	Alienable	Unpossessable
Body parts	yes		
Kinship terms		yes	
Some Locations		yes	
Temporal nouns			yes
Natural beings			yes
All other nouns		yes	

Unpossessable nouns include panbinim 'sky', uduk 'thunder', irak 'thunder light', ubao 'fog', ubiem 'sand', pirom 'sea', kabinama 'mountain, muabari 'sun', ulaŋ 'moon', mataleŋleŋ 'star', paβaluma 'fly', ŋatŋarima 'mosquito' and panap 'bush'.

The inalienably possessed nouns, generally body parts, are obligatorily possessed. The regular suffixes are:

		s	singular	dual		plural	
1s	t person		-tuo/ruo	incl excl	-bi -i	incl excl	-buo -pa
2nd person		-пио		-me		-mi	
3r	d person	erson masc -a fem -o			-li		-ma
210)	<i>kiban-tuo</i> hand-1sG	<i>kiban-nuo</i> hand-2sG		<i>kiban-a</i> hand-3smG		<i>kibai</i> hand-	

'my hand' 'your hand' 'his hand' 'her hand' The first person suffix -*tuo* becomes -*ruo* when noun stems end in an open syllable.

211)	<i>irama-ruo</i> eye-1sG	<i>irama-nuo</i> eye-2sG	<i>irama-a</i> eye-3smG	<i>irama-o</i> eye <b>-</b> 3sfG
	'my eye'	'your eye'	'his eye'	'her eye'
212)	olabuan-bi	olabuan-me	olabuan-li	
	blood-1dnG	blood-2dG	blood-3dG	
	'our blood'	'your blood'	'their blood'	
213)	dalap-pa	dalap-mi	dalap-ma	
	heart-1pxG	heart-2pG	heart-3pG	
	'our heart'	'your heart'	'their heart'	

This construction is formed by a possesive pronoun following a possessed noun. The possessed nouns are generally certain kinship terms, common nouns, and even location words. The form of the pronoun changes depending on the person, number and gender of both the possessor and the possessed. The forms following singular nouns are:

Possessed	singular		dual			plural		
Possessor	masc fem			masc fem		masc	fem_	
1st person		-tuaŋ	-tuŋ	incl	-biŋ	-biŋ	-buaŋ	-buoŋ
		/-ruaŋ	/-ruŋ	excl	-iŋ	-iŋ	-раŋ	-раŋ
2nd person		-nuaŋ	-nuŋ		-теŋ	-теŋ	-miŋ	-miŋ
3rd person	masc	-aŋ	-aŋ		-liaŋ	-liaŋ	-maiaŋ	-maiaŋ
	fem	-іаŋ	-ieŋ		-liaŋ	-lioŋ	-maiaŋ	-maioŋ

The first person singular suffixes begin with t after closed syllables and r after open syllables. Examples of possessed masculine singular nouns are given in (214-216), of possessed feminine singular nouns in (217-218), of possessed dual and plural nouns in (219)

214)	<i>ira-ruaŋ</i> father-1sG	<i>ira-nuaŋ</i> father-2sG	ira-aŋ father-3smG	<i>ira-iaŋ</i> father-3sfG
	'my father'	'your father'	'his father'	'her father'
215)	tabeka-ruaŋ papaya-1sG	tabeka-nuaŋ papaya-2sG	tabeka-iaŋ papaya-3sfG	
	'my papaya'	'your papaya'	'her papaya'	
216)	kabil-tuaŋ Kabil-1sG 'my Kabil'	kabil-nuaŋ Kabil-2sG 'your Kabil'	(kabil: male villa	age name)
217)	naga-ruŋ mother-1sG 'my mother'	naga-nuŋ mother-2sG 'your mother'	naga-aŋ mother-3smG 'his mother'	naga-ieŋ mother-3sfG 'her mother'
218)	liadan-tuŋ Liadan.1sG 'my Liadan'	liadan-nuŋ Liadan.2sG 'your Liadan'	( <i>liadan</i> : female v	village name)

219)	tata-biŋ	tata-meŋ	tata-min	tata-maion
	uncle-1dnG	uncle-2dG	uncle-2pG	uncle-3pG
	'our uncle'	'your uncle'	'your uncle'	'their uncle'

The form of the possessive pronouns following dual nouns is identical to that following singular nouns with the addition of final an.

220)	loβien-tuaŋan	loβien-liaŋan	loβien-miŋan	
	child.DL-1sG	child.DL-3dG	child.DL-3pG	
	'my two children'	'their two children'	'your two children'	

The form of the possessive pronouns following dual nouns is identical to that following singular nouns except that the final y becomes m. (Kuot plural noun forms always end in p.)

221)	pebup-am banana.PL-3smG 'his bananas'	pebup-liam banana.PL-3dG 'their bananas'	<pre>pebup-mim banana.PL-2pG 'your bananas'</pre>	pebup-maiam banana.PL-3pG 'their bananas'
222)	abulap-iam fish.PL-3sfG 'her fish'	abulap-mem fish.PL-1dG 'your fish'	abulap-pam fish.PL-1pxG 'our fish'	

#### 4.1.3 Derived Nouns

Nouns can be derived from verbs as in (227-232).

- 223) ubi-on 'he works'  $\rightarrow ubi$  'garden'
- 224) magi-ieŋara 'she got married' → magi 'marriage'
- 225)  $te\beta urus$ -tuŋ 'I am happy'  $\rightarrow te\beta urus$  'happiness'
- 226)  $ta\phi a-nu\eta$  'you are sick'  $\rightarrow ta\phi a$  'illness'
- 227) marik-tuŋ 'I pray' → marik 'prayer'
- 228) ai-t 'he knows'  $\rightarrow ait$  'news'

Cognitive objects can be formed by reduplication.

Other nouns are derived by adding plural affixation.

230)	aganalie 'take a rest'	$\rightarrow$	aganuliap 'rest'
	usinnuala 'teach'	$\rightarrow$	usinnualap 'school'

A number of nouns are identical with the verbal forms.

232)	agat 'think' arubu 'dark'	agat 'thought' arubu 'night'
233)	taφa 'sick' marik 'ask'	taφa 'sickness' marik 'prayer'

#### 4.2 Verbs

Verbs are words which manifest the predicate tagmeme in an active clause. The verb in Kuot is the one obligatory item in a clause or sentence. The Kuot tense system is quite simple, consisting of future and non-future. The agreement system, however, is complex.

### 4.2.1 Agreement Affixes

Kuot verbs require very strict agreement with the subject according to person, number and gender in all clause types.

234)	•	papa-ruaŋ brother-1smG	'my brother died'
235)	-	papa-ruŋ sister-1sfG	'my sister died'

In transitive and ditransitive verbs there is generally also agreement between the verb and object although some transitive verbs do not take object markers as shown in (240-241).

236)	kikis-tuŋ dislike-1ss	'I dislike snakes'
237)	<i>taφ-maio</i> drink-3pS	'they drink water'

Ditransitive verbs show agreement with the indirect object, not the direct object.

- 238) a-gam-ti migan-tuan kumorot
  3smO-give-1sS friend-1sG pig
  'I gave a pig to my friend'
- 239) le-sin<br/>
  2d0-show<1px> money-1pxG<br/>
  'we showed our money to them'

Kuot verbs can be divided into seven classes according to the location of agreement affixation. Most singular affixes have different future and non-future forms.

#### 4.2.1.1 Class 1 Verbs

Class 1 verbs take only subject agreement prefixes.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		tu-	ta-	incl excl	bi- i-	bu- pa-
2nd person		nu-	па-		ma-	mi-
3rd person	masc fem	u- <i>i</i> -	a- i-		li-	me-

- 240) tu-la 'I go' eba ta-la 'I will go'
- 241) a. *nu-βina* 'you dance' eba na-βina 'you will dance'
  - b. *li-βina* 'they (dl) dance' *eba li-βina* 'they (dl) will dance'
- 242) *u-bila* 'it (m) ripens' eba *u-bila* 'it (m) will ripen'

The verb *pta* 'hear' has the future form *ptaŋ*, but the subject markers are the same as above.

243) bu-pta 'we (inc) hear' bu-ptaŋ 'we (inc) will hear'

The verb *nama* 'sit' has the future form *naŋ*, as well as a slightly different set of subject agreement prefixes.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
		Holl-Iutule	Tutule			
1st person		tu-	to-	incl excl	bio- io-	bu- pa-
2nd person		nu-	no-		ma/mo-	mio-
3rd person	masc fem	u- io-	o- io-		lio-	me/maio-

The second person dual and third person plural markers have two forms, used in the non-future and future tenses, respectively.

Similarly, the verb *nim* 'awaken' has the future form *muŋ*, as well as a slightly different set of subject agreement prefixes.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		ti-	te-	incl excl	bi- i-	bu- pa-
2nd person		ni-	ne-		me-	mi-
3rd person	masc fem	u- <i>i</i> -	e- i-		li-	mai-

#### Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands

245)	a.	ti-nim	'I awake'
		te-muŋ	'I will awake'
	b.	u-nim	'he awakes'
		е-тил	'he will awake'
	c.	bu-nim	'we (inc) awake'
		bi-muŋ	'we (inc) will awake'
	d.	pa-nim	'we (inc) awake'
		pe-mun	'we (inc) will awake'

#### 4.2.1.2 Class 2 Verbs

Class 2 verbs take only subject agreement suffixes.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		-tuŋ	-taŋ	incl excl	-biŋ -iŋ	-bиоŋ -paŋ
2nd person		-nuŋ	-паŋ		-таŋ	-miŋ
3rd person	masc fem	-оŋ -ieŋ	-аŋ -ieŋ		-lioŋ	-теŋ

Class 2 verb stems include *na* 'like', *kikis* 'dislike', *sa*\$\phi\$ 'hang', *bet* 'arrive', *kagai* 'swim', *tego* 'get on', *igo* 'run away', *ibir* 'run', and *init* 'feel pain'.

The verb mu 'come' takes a slightly different set of subject agreement suffixes.

		singular			dual	1 -	plu	
		non-fut	fut		non-fut	fut	non-fut	fut
1st per		-tuo	-taŋ	incl excl	-bio -io	-bioŋ -ioŋ	-buo -buo	-buo -buo
2nd per		-nuo	-naŋ		-mo	-тоŋ	-mio	-mio
3rd per	masc fem	-0 -i0	-oŋ -ioŋ		-lio	-lioŋ	-maio	-maio

#### **Kuot Grammar Essentials**

# Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

246) a. mu-ruo 'I come' mu-raŋ 'I will come'

b. mu-io 'we (dl ex) come/ she comes'
mu-ioŋ 'we (dl ex) will come/ she will come'

c. mu-mo 'you (dl) come' mu-moŋ 'you (dl) will come'

d. *mu-maio* 'they come' *mu-maioŋ* 'they will come'

Similarly,  $ta\phi$  'drink' takes a slightly different set of subject agreement suffixes.

		singular	Lo		dual	plural
		non-future	future			
1st person		-to	-to	incl excl	-bio -io	- bu -po
2nd person		-no	-по		-mo	-mio
3rd person	masc	-0	-0		-lio	-maio
	fem	-io	-io			

247) a. taφ-no 'you (sg) drink' eba taφ-no 'you (sg) will drink'

b. taφ-po 'we (ex) drink'eba taφ-po 'we (ex) will drink'

c. taφ-lio 'they (dl) drink'eba taφ-lio 'they (dl) will drink'

### 4.2.1.3 Class 3 Verbs

Class 3 verbs take only subject agreement infixes.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		-tu-	-ta-	incl excl	- bia- - ia-	- bu- - pa-
2nd person		-nu-	-па-		- <i>mai</i> -	-mi-
3rd person	masc fem	- u- -ia-	-a- -ia-		-1i-	-mei-

- 248) a. aga-ru-lie 'I rest' eba aga-ra-lie 'I will rest'
  - b. muli-bu-ba 'we (inc) are ashamed of'
    eba muli-bu-ba 'we (inc) will be ashamed of'
- 249) te-bia-ra 'we (dl inc) get up' eba te-bia-ra 'we (dl inc) will get up'
- 250) paba-mi-la 'you (pl) fly' eba paba-mi-la 'you (pl) will fly'
- 251) te-mei-nie 'they get off' eba te-mei-nie 'they will get off'

Class 3 verb stems include aga<>lie 'take a rest', it<>amu 'finish', pu<>ro 'start', muli<>ba 'ashamed', te<>aba 'start', paba<>la 'fly', and te<>nie 'get down'.

The verb *it*>*mu* 'finish' has the future form *it*<>*muŋ*; it takes the regular class 3 subject agreement infixes.

252) a. *it-u-amu* 'he finish' eba it-a-muŋ 'he will finish'
b. *it-lia-mu* 'they (dl) finish' eba it-lia-muŋ 'they (dl) will finish'

#### 4.2.1.4 Class 4 Verbs

Class 4 verbs take subject agreement prefixes and object agreement suffixes which are only inflected for the third person forms. The subject agreement prefixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		tu-	ta-	incl excl	bia- ia-	bu- pa-
2nd person		nu-	na-		ma-	mi-
3rd person	masc fem	u- ia-	a- <i>i</i> -		li-	mei-

The object agreement suffixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future	dual	plural
3rd person	masc	-a	-ŋ/aŋ	-an	-am
	fem	-0	- <i>ŋ</i>		

- 253) tu-abu-o eba ta-bu-n
- 'I put it (f)'
  'I will put it'

254) *u-bul-a a-bul-a* 

- 'he cuts it (m)'
  'he will cut it (m)'
- 255) a. lia-r-an eba lia-r-am
- 'they (dl) take them (dl)'
  'they (dl) take them (pl)'
- b. mea-r-am
- 'they (pl) take them (pl)'
- eba mea-r-an
- 'they (pl) take them (dl)'
- 256) tu-abi-am kuop na panap 1ss-bring-3pO trees LOC bush 'I brought trees from bush'
- 257) mea-r-an migap tuam daqarßien luquan kit па 3ps-take friends 1sG egg.DL LOC house INST fire 'they took two eggs from the kitchen'
- 258) bu-ari-o maranit pas ula kanu 1pns-hold-3sfO hard stick REL big 'we held a big stick firmly'

Class 4 verb stems include abu 'put', bul 'cut',  $\beta ul$  'answer', ar 'take', ari 'hold', aer 'leave', abi 'bring', and al 'give'.

#### 4.2.1.5 Class 5 Verbs

Class 5 verbs take subject agreement suffixes and object agreement prefixes, which are generally only inflected for the third person forms. The subject agreement suffixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		-tuŋ	-taŋ	incl excl	-biŋ -iŋ	-buoŋ -paŋ
2nd person		-nuŋ	-naŋ		-таŋ	-miŋ
3rd person	masc	-oŋ	-aŋ		-lioŋ	-теŋ
	fem	-ieŋ	-ieŋ			

Object agreement prefixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future	dual	plural
3rd person	masc	a-	a-	le-	ma-
	fem	0-	0-		

- 259) a-gosar-tuŋ eba o-gosar-taŋ
- 'I make it (m)'
  'I will make it (f)'
- 260) ma-rik-meŋ eba le-rik-lioŋ
- 'they (pl) cut them (pl)'
  'they (dl) will cut them (dl)'
- 261) le-φir-ieŋ magabun-tuŋ nur-βien 3do-scratch-3sfs wife-1sG coconut-DL 'my wife scratched two coconuts'
- 262) a-βure-oŋ sakmes ira a kumorot 3smO-shoot-3smO spear toward 3s pig 'he shot a pig with a spear'

263) eba ma-βas-lion lovien tuanan papaluaip ma babap FUT 3pO-read-3ds child.DL 1sG many PL leaves 'my two children will read many books'

Class 5 verbs include *gosar* 'make', *fir* 'scratch', *\beta as* 'read', *saga* 'sell', *sau* 'buy', *rik* 'cut', *rul* 'catch', *\beta ure* 'shoot', and *pul* 'steal'.

The class 5 verb *gam* 'give' takes different sets of subject agreement suffixes and object agreement suffixes. The subject agreement suffixes are as follows.

		singular	1		dual	l c.		ural
		non-fut	fut		non-fut	fut	non-fut	fut
1st per		-ti	-teŋ	incl excl	-bi -i	-biŋ -iŋ	-bi -pe	- <i>biŋ</i> - <i>peŋ</i>
2nd per		-ni	-пеŋ		-me	-теŋ	-mi	-miŋ
3rd per	masc fem	-i -i	-eŋ -iŋ		-li	-liŋ	-mai	-maieŋ

The object agreement prefixes are inflected for all persons.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		to-	to-	incl excl	bi- i-	bu- pa-
2nd person		no-	no-		me-	mi-
3rd person	masc	а-	a-		li-	ma-
	fem	0-	0-			

- 264) to-gam-maien koip ba
  1sO-give-3pS bowls some
  'they (pl) will give me some bowls'
- 265) ma-gam-li kumep 3pO-give-3dS pigs 'they (dl) give pigs to them (pl)'

### 4.2.1.6 Class 6 Verbs

Class 6 verbs take subject agreement prefixes and object agreement prefixes. The object agreement affixes precede the subject agreement prefixes. The subject agreement prefixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		ru-	га-	incl excl	bi- i-	bu- pa-
2nd person		nu-	па-		me-	mi-
3rd person	masc	u-	a-		li-	mai-
	fem	<i>i</i> -	j-			

The object agreement prefixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		to-	to-	incl excl	bi- i-	bu- pa-
2nd person		no-	по-		me-	mi-
3rd person	masc	<i>a</i> -	a-		le-	ma-
	fem	0-	<i>o</i> -			

- 266) to-u-lo 'he tells something (f) to me' eba no-ra-la 'I will tell you something (m)'
- 267) a-u-la 'he catches him' eba o-i-la 'she will catch her'
- 268) a-u-lo migana poi an me gas ula tatalu 3smO-3smS-tell man child 3smG about story REL old 'a man told a tumbuna story to his son'
- 269) ma-me-la kubap papaluaip ma magalip na pirom 3pO-3pS-catch boys many PL clayfish.PL LOC sea 'boys caught many clawfish in the sea'

270) o-ri-t-ara maset agat-nun na dalap nuo 3sf0-1ss-know-INCHO well think-1sG LOC heart 2sG 'I came to know what you are thinking of in your heart'

Class 6 verb stems include lo 'tell', nim 'resurrect', la 'catch', lae 'lose', and ri 'buy'.

The verb ra 'know' takes a slightly different set of subject agreement prefixes.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		ti-	te-	incl excl	bi- i-	bi- βe-
2nd person		ni-	пе-		me-	mi-
3rd person	masc fem	i- i-	e- <i>i</i> -		li-	mai-

271) a. no-ri-ra eba to-ne-ra 'I know you'

, 'you will know me'

b. *mi-βe-ra eba mi-βe-ra*  'we know you (pl)'
'we will know you (pl)'

272) tu-ga o-re-ra ties onim kuot 1sS-like 3sf0-1sS-know language GEN Kuot

'I like to know the Kuot language'

The verbs ri 'buy' and lae 'lose' have have the future forms  $re\eta$  and  $lae\eta$ , respectively, but they take the regular agreement prefixes.

273) a-u-ri 'he buys it (m)'
eba a-u-reŋ 'he will buy it (m)'

274) ma-bu-lae 'we (inc) lose them' eba ma-bu-laeŋ 'we (inc) will lose them'

#### 4.2.1.7 Class 7 Verbs

Class 7 verbs take subject agreement infixes and object agreement prefixes. Only three verbs belong to this category: aga<>lie 'help', igor<>la 'change', and wan<>la 'wait'. The subject infixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		-fu-	- <i>ra</i> -	incl excl	-bi- -i-	-bu- -pa-
2nd person		-nu-	- <i>na</i> -		-ma-	-mi-
3rd person	masc	- U-	-a-		-1i-	-me-
	fem	- <b>1-</b>	-1-	1		

The object prefixes are as follows.

		singular non-future	future		dual	plural
1st person		to-	to-	incl excl	bi- i-	bu- pa-
2nd person		no-	no-		me-	mi-
3rd person	masc fem	a- 0-	a- o-		le-	ma-

- 275) to-aga-u-lie 'he helps me' 'he will help me'
- 276) bu-igor-me-la 'they change us (inc)' eba bu-igor-me-la 'they will change us (inc)'
- 277) mi-uan-ila 'they (dl) wait for you' eba mi-uan-lila 'they (dl) will wait for you'
- 278) to-aga-na-lie kirat togo 1so-help-2s little here 'help me here for a minute'
- 279) le-igor-lila kibaßien lion parabira
  3dO-change-1ss foot.DL 1sfG morning
  'they exchange trousers in this morning'
- 280) a-uan-mela oron kakaliat ana luguan an 3smo-wait-3ps big.man long inside house 3sm 'they wait for him in his house for a long time'

## 4.2.1.8 Generalisations Concerning Agreement Affixes

There are a number of generalizations that can be made about the seven classes of verbs. First, when related morphemes differ in that one ends in p and does not, the form with final p is future or transitive. Second, if object agreement is marked with a suffix, then subject agreement is marked with a prefix. Third, if both subject and object agreement is marked with prefixes, the object agreement prefix precedes the subject agreement prefix.

Subject agreement marking seems more central to Kuot morphology than does object agreement. This can be seen in three areas. First, all transitive verbs show subject agreement, while only some show object agreement. Second, some subject agreement affixes are infixes, while no object agreement affixes are. Third, subject agreement affixes are closer to verb root than object agreement affixes if both occur as prefixes.

Verb class membership is partially determined by transitivity. Transitive Verbs belong to class 5, 6 and 7.

281) a	. o-gosar-oŋ 3sf0-make-3sms	'he made it'
b	. <i>o-gosar-oŋ obinam</i> 3sfo-make-3sms boat	'he made a boat'
282) a	. ma-vas-ieŋ titot 3po-read-3sfs now	'she reads them now'
b	. ma-vas-ieŋ babap 3p0-read-3sfs leaves	'she reads books'
283)	<i>u-abu-o</i> 3sdsm-put-3sf0	'he put it'
284)	o-φir-nuŋ 3sfo-scratch-2sS	'you scratched it'
285)	<i>a-gam-ti</i> 3smO-give-1sS	'I gave him'
Intrans	itive verbs belong to classes 1	and 3.
286)	<i>i-la</i> 3sfs-go	'she goes'

#### Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands

- 287) *u-bila* 'it is ripe' 3smS-ripen
- 288) *tu-nama* 'I sat'
- 289) *nu-pta* 'you hear' 2ss-hear

Stative verbs belong to classes 2.

- 290) magan-ien pirom 'sea is calm' calm-3sfS sea
- 291) pirom la mitara mus-ieŋ 'sea is very rough' sea SF very rough-3sfS
- 292) *init-on* bugam tuo 'I have a headache' pain-3sms head 1sG
- 293) *mitara teβurus-tuŋ* 'I am happy' very delight-1sS
- 294) susugun-men neip-tuo 'I feel cool' cool-3ps skin-1sG
- 295) madin-ien burunam o kin 'spring water is cold' cold-3sfs water INST spring

Di-transitive verbs belong to classes 4 and 5.

- 296) tu-a-la kamin aun 2ss-3sm0-give yam 3sB 'I gave a yam to him'
- 297) a-go-men kier ira ruo 3smO-throw-3ps spear toward 1s 'they threw a spear towards me'
- 298) a-βaik-tuŋ migan-tuaŋ mai tinan 3smO-introduce-1sG friend-1smG 3p before 'I introduced my friend to them before'

#### 4.2.2 Other Verbal Affixes

In addition to the agreement affixes, verbs can be marked to indicate tense/aspect, completion, reflexivity, reciprocity, and negation.

## 4.2.2.1 Tense/Aspect

There is no distinction between present tense and past tense in Kuot as far as the morphological level is concerned. The non-future forms of the agreement affixes can be used for either.

299) *li-la* 'they go/they went' 3d-go

Accordingly, time words may be added to differentiate present and past.

- 300) *ubi-on lai-ruan na ubi titot* work-3smS husband-1smG LOC garden now 'my husband works in the garden now'
- 301) *ubi-on lai-ruaŋ na ubi nata na arubu* work-3sms husband-1smG LOC garden last T night 'my husband worked in the garden last night'

Future tense can be differentiated morphologically by the agreement affixes when the subject is singular. Two other morphemes can be added to further specify the future tense. The morpheme *eba* indicates the future event is uncertain.

- 302) eba ta-la kavien titot nabit

  FUT 1sS-go Kavien today afternoon

  'I am supposed to go Kavien today afternoon'
- 303) eba magi-ien poi run ga poi nuan FUT marry-3sfS child 1sfG CJ child 2smG 'my daughter is going to get married to your son'

The morpheme er indicates the future event will occur in the near future.

304) er ta-la todan kavien

FUT 1sS-go LOC Kavieng

'I am about to go down to Kavieng right now'

(4h a da an ia alazad)

305) er ma-sau-buoŋ gararip na sune titot kan FUT 3pO-buy-1pnS betelnuts LOC market now just 'we will buy betelnut at the market right now'

The present imperative is marked with second person agreement affixes.

306) parak-naŋ parak-maŋ parak-miŋ
eat-2s eat-2d eat-2p
'eat!' 'you two, eat!' 'You all, eat!'

ta 0.....

The present exhortative is marked with first person inclusive affixes.

307) parak-biŋ parak-buoŋ
eat-ldn eat-lpn
'Let us two eat' 'Let us eat'

## 4.2.2.2 Completion

200) .. /.. ...

The morpheme -ara frequently occurs at the completion or change of an event over time. The shortened form -ra occurs when the verb root ends in an open syllable.

308)	<i>u-1u-ra</i> taβuna 3smS-close-COMPL door	'the door is closed'
309)	dak-oŋ-ara burunam fill-3ss-compl water	'water is filled'
310)	ne-ra finish-COMPL	'it is finished'
311)	<i>me-la-ra</i> 3p-go-COMPL	'they have gone'
312)	<i>pir-e-ra iro uduma</i> ripe-3sm-COMPL ND.sm banana	'this bunch of bananas got ripe'
313)	it <na>muŋ-ara finish&lt;2ss&gt;-COMPL</na>	'finish it, now'
314)	namuk-ara how-COMPL	'how much, now?'

#### **Kuot Grammar Essentials**

Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

315) kakan-i-ra 'he has grown up' big-3sm-COMPL

316) *misik-ara* 'are they?' 3ps-COMPL

317) bu-la-ra 'let us go (now)'
1pnS-go-COMPL

# 4.2.2.3 Reflexivity

Reflexive verbs are identified by the reflexive prefix te.

- 318) te-gima-men paßa ma
  REFL-see-3pS face 3pG
  'they look at their own face'
- 319) te-βadun-tuŋ kiban tuo o pas
  REFL-slam-1ss foot 1sG INST stick
  'I slamed a stick on my foot'
- 320) te-gos-min naip mio kakalait REFL-wash-2p skin 2pG quick 'wash your body as soon as possible'

The reflexive morpheme *kan* affects how participants are related to the verb.

- 321) *u.namu.a irie kan*3sS-kill-3sO 3sm REFL
  'he killed himself'
- 322) aga la eba a-gosar-oŋ ŋunuo kan who SF FUT 3sO-make-3sS you REFL 'who is supposed to do that? you yourself'

# 4.2.2.4 Reciprocity

Reciprocal verbs are identified by the reciprocal prefix *ne*-. It always co-occurs with dual or plural agreement affixes.

- 323) ne-li-nam naraen papaßien mirier lap ganam REC-2dS-fight two brother.DL several days total 'two brothers fight each other all the time'
- 324) ne-βuk-lila migana ga magabun o ties
  REC-talk-3ds man CJ woman INST language
  'husband and wife quarrel with each other'

# 4.2.2.5 Negation

Kuot has two negative words: *tale* in declarative clauses and *buat* in imperative clauses. The morpheme *tale* is used preceding the verb in a general verb phrase or as the last element of a stative clause. It negates the clause in which it occurs. It can also occur with *karuk* 'no' as the complete answer to a yes/no question. In the following examples deleting *tale* will make each negative statement into a positive statement.

- 325) uro magabun la tale a-bit-ieŋ kaßuna
  ND.sf woman SF NEG 3smO-beat-3sfS dog
  'this woman did not beat the dog'
- 326) karuk, tale papaluaip ma purap tuam no NEG many PL chickens 1sG 'no, I don't have any many chickens'
- 327) karuk, iro nirobu la tale kakani no ND.sm coconut SF NEG big 'no, this coconut is not big'

The morpheme *buat* is used preceding the verb in the negative imperative construction. It only occurs in the present tense.

- 328) buat aga<nu>lie titot
  NEG rest<2sS> now
  'do not take a rest now'
- 329) buat nu-ßiet na danuot
  NEG 2sS-bathe LOC river

  'do not take a bath at river'

In the preceding examples, deleting *buat* and changing the verb from the present tense to the future tense will make each negative statement into a positive statement.

- 330) aga<na>lie titot rest<2ss> now 'take a rest now'
- 331) na-\( \beta iet \) na danuot 2sS-bathe LOC river 'take a bath at the river'

#### 4.2.3 Derived Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs can be derived from intransitive verbs as in (332-335) or from adjectives as in (336-338) by adding object agreement affixes.

- 332) duri-oŋ → a-duri-oŋ
  3smo-sleep-3sms
  'he made it sleep/he broke it down'
- 333)  $sap\text{-}on \rightarrow a\text{-}sap\text{-}on$  3smO-hang-3smS'he hung it (m)'
- 334) dus-on  $\rightarrow$  a-dus-on 3sm0-erect-3sms 'he erected it'
- 335)  $aga<u>lie \rightarrow to-aga<u>lie$ 1sO-help<3sms> 'he helped me'
- 336) babau → a-babau-oŋ 3smo-cleanse-3sms 'he cleansed it'
- 337) laklage → o-laklak-naŋ
  3sf0-enlarge-2ss
  'you enlarge it (f)'

#### 4.3 Pronouns

There are three sets of pronouns in Kuot: subject, benefactive, and intimative.

## 4.3.1 Subject Pronouns

Subject pronouns are not generally used since the person and number of the subject is indicated by agreement markers on the verb. But when subjects are fronted for focus overt subjects (including free pronouns) occur clause initially as discussed in section 2. Subject pronouns are also used as responses to questions. The forms of the subject pronouns are as follows.

	sir	singular		dual		plural
1st person		turuo	incl excl	bibi ii	incl excl	bubuo paβa
2nd person		nunuo		mame		mimi
3rd person	masc fem	irie urie		litie		mirie

339) irie la u-la-ra he SF 3sm-go-COMPL 'he has gone'

340) aga la a-gosar-on iro mirie
who SF 3sm-make-3sm ND.sm 3pS
'who did this? they did.'

#### 4.3.2 Benefactive Pronouns

Benefactive pronouns end in un.

	singular	dual	plural	
1st person	toun	incl <i>biun</i> excl <i>iun</i>	incl buun excl paun	
2nd person	noun	meun	miun	
3rd person	masc aun fem un	liun	maun	

- 341) me-rili-a inamaniap luguan ila kani un magabun 3ps-build-3smO people house REL big 3sfB woman 'people built one big house for a woman'
- 342) a-sau-on migana ubiem aun numeilup am 3smo-buy-3sms man rice 3smB family 3sG 'a man bought rice for his family'
- 343) ties-tuŋ maranit maun inamaniap onim kuot speak-1ss hard 3pB people GEN Kuot 'I spoke for Kuot people'
- 344) na-lan nomurit dagar toun 'give me an egg' 2s-give one egg 1sB
- 345) paragiap ba paun 'some food for us' food.PL some 1pxB

### 4.3.3 Intimative Pronouns

Intimative nouns convey the meaning of 'close to' or 'get along'.

- 346) no-nan toi
  2ss-sit 1si
  'sit down close to me'
- 347) *luguan-aŋ la dus-ong ai alan* house-3sG sF stand-3sS 3smi Alan 'his house is standing by Alan's'

348) *mu-ruo ii dokas* come-1ss 3sfl Dokas

'I was with Dokas and come back'

Intimative pronouns end in i.

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	toi	incl bii excl ii	incl <i>bui</i> excl <i>pai</i>
2nd person	поі	mei	mii
3rd person	masc ai fem u	lii	mai

349) *mio-naŋ toi* 2p-sit 1si 'sit down close to me'

- 350) tu-ga a-vaik-taŋ migan tuaŋ noi 1ss-like 3smO-introduce-1ss friend 1smG 2sl 'I'd like to introduce my friend to you'
- 351) marik-buon maranit ira morowa pray-1pns hard toward God 'let us pray fervently to God'

#### 4.4 Deitics

Deictics include anything that helps the hearer pin down the exact person, time, and place being talked about. In Kuot deictics include demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adjectives, directional prepositions, and location words.

- 352) *li-gama, irie irobuma* 2d-say 3sm FD 'You say, "he is there"
- 353) me-la-ra toruan ukarumpa 3ps-go-COMPL LOC Ukarumpa 'they have gone to Ukarumpa'

354) mu-o toma namatanai titot come-3sms LOC Namatanai today 'he came from Namatanai today'

### 4.4.1 General Contrast Between Near And Far

There is a basic deictic contrast between near and far for animate and inanimate demonstrative pronouns and locations relative to the speaker. Deictics also exhibit gender distinctions.

Nea	ar	Far		
<i>irie</i> (animate) <i>urie</i> (animate)		<i>irobu</i> (animate) <i>urobu</i> (animate)	masculine feminine	
<i>iro</i> 'here' uro 'here'		iroma 'there' uroma 'there'	masculine feminine	
togo (inani) 'here'		tie (inani) 'there'		
355) aga irie		aga irobu		
	'who is this?'	'who is t	hat'	
356) mani iro		mani iroma		
	'what is this'	'what is t	that'	
357)	nonaŋ	togo-nonan tie		
	'sit here'	'sit there	,	

When -bu or -buma are suffixed to the deitic word they indicate a thing, location, or direction far away from the speaker.

#### 4.4.2 Deictic Center

The speaker represents the deictic center. The speaker can then refer to a person, place or thing by using a specific word to point the addressee to a certain direction or location.

	far	near	very near
higher elevation	toma	irima	tapma
lower elevation	todaŋ	toburaŋ	tidaŋ
sunrise/from sea	toruan	ittuan	tatuan
sunset	toruan	tataŋ	irodaŋ

# 4.5 Specifiers.

Specifiers are related to deictics in that they identify the noun for the hearer. They can be divided into non-referential, referential indefinite, and referential definite forms.

The free morpheme *noba* 'some, any, another' is a non-referential specifier. When the speaker uses *noba* to refer to a general category instead of to a particular entity. It precedes the noun it is modifies.

- 358) *u-\betaaraa noba migana na alaŋ timoi*3smS-die some man LOC road yesterday
  'someone died on the road yesterday'
- 359) karukara noba pagap togo NEG another things here 'aren't there other things here?

The referential indefinite specifier *non* is used when the speaker has a definite entity in mind but it is known to the hearer.

- 360) non migana la tapa-on me parak na ubi
  INDEF man SF sick-3smS D foods LOC garden
  'some man felt hungry in the garden'
- 361) o non la irie la terigi-aŋ me lourup
  T INDEF day 3sm SF return-3sfSu LOC down
  'he will come back down some day'

The referential definite specifiers are used when the speaker has a definite entity in mind that the hearer can also identify. The definite singular specifiers are *iro* for male and *uro* for female, respectively.

- 362) *iro kaβuna la mitara pupul-i*DEF dog SF very black-m
  'this dog is very black'
- 363) a-pul-on iro migana pura-nuan 3smO-steal3s DEF man rooster-2sG 'this man stole your rooster'
- 364) uro kumebun la mitara taφa-ieŋ
  DEF sow SF very sick-3sfS
  'this sow is very sick'
- 365) *i-lum* uro kuguom timoi 3sfS-fall DEF tree yesterday 'this tree fell down yesterday'

The word *liro* is the dual definite specifier.

- 366) liro tei-ßien la nebuk-li-la o ties lata na arubu

  DEF man-DL SF quarrel-DL INST language last T night

  'these man quarreled last night'
- 367) aga la u-namu-an liro pura-βien who SF 3sS-kill-3dO DEF rooster-DL 'who killed these two chickens?'

The word miro is the plural definite specifier.

- 368) maiaba kakeβ-up miro paga-p great money-PL DEF things 'these are very expensive'
- 369) miro inamaniap la onim kuot

  DEF people SF GEN Kuot

  'these people are from Kuot'

# 4.6 Adjectives

Adjectives are descriptive words that modify nouns in noun phrases or function as complements in stative descriptive clauses. Adjectives generally follow a noun head of a

noun phrase. They fill the adjective slot as in (370-371) or the predicate adjective slot as in (372-373).

370) *luguan ila tatali* 

'the old house'

371) kuguom ula tatalu tree REL old

'the old tree'

372) *luguan la ila tatali* house SF REL old

'house is very old'

373) kuguom la ula tatalu tree SF REL old

'tree is very old'

Two exceptional forms that precede the noun head are *tatak* 'small' and *maiaba* 'big'. These adjectives do not change for gender or number.

374) tatak kulot small boy 'small boy'

375) maiaba kakeβup big money

'large amount of money'

Nouns can join with other nouns to form a noun complex.

376) *kadi nunamap* bamboo chair

'bamboo chair'

377) begat afarat

'hat for rain'

Nouns with gender, like *lop* 'children', can used in a noun complex. These nouns function as adjectives.

378) lop mila teip children REL men

'boy children'

- 379) *lop mila maga* 
  - lop mila magaulap children REL women

'girl children'

Quantifiers precede the noun head. They can take several grammatical forms. The word papaluaip 'many' focuses on quantity while papot 'many' focuses on types.

#### Kuot Grammar Essentials

- 380) papaluaip ma teip ga magaulap many PL men and women 'many people'
- 381) papot ma upaubip many kind food.PL 'various kinds of food'

Quantifiers may also be used in the negative to indicate few.

- 382) karuk, tale kan papaluaip ma pagap no NEG EMPH many PL things 'No, there are not many things.'
- 383) tale kan papot ma udup

  NEG E many PL bananas

  'there are not various kinds of bananas'

Numerals also precede the noun head. The traditional counting system of Kuot is based on units of ten. These numbers are generally used to count common nouns. These numbers are:

```
ar 'one' aras 'two' naien 'three' nagala 'four' muanam 'five' gutnamur 'six' gamura 'seven' qamin 'eight' qamiala 'nine' manaburuan 'ten'
```

But when ar 'one' and aras 'two' are used as modifiers of nouns, they become nomurit and naraen, respectively.

```
384) nomurit la naraen laβien two day.DL 'one day' 'two days'
```

The dual and plural forms for manaburuan 'ten' are manaburualaßien and manaburualap, respectively.'

#### 4.7 Adverbs

Adverbs generally immediately follow the verb or adjective they modify. They describe how the action takes place.

### Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands

385) igo-meŋ kakalait ran-3ps quickly 'they ran away quickly'

386) *bu-num teteiliat* lpn-walk slowly

'let us walk slowly'

387) parak-men pebuop iat eat-3pS bananas together 'they eat bananas together'

388) to-uan-nala kirat 1so-wait-2ss little 'wait a minute!'

389) bu-la kalup parabira namur lpns-go tomorrow morning early 'let's leave early tomorrow morning!'

The adverb *mitara* intensifies verbs or predicate adjectives. It occurs immediately before the word it modifies

- 390) mitara tevurus-men me morowa
  EMPH glad-3pS D God

  'they were delighted with God'
- 391) pianam mitara ula kakanu place EMPH REL big 'very big place'
- 392) mitara migat ties an EMPH true language 3sG 'his talk is very true

When a negative is intensified, the clitic kan precedes the verb.

- 393) irie la tale kan puo-oŋ
  3sm SF NEG EMPH able-3sS
  'he is not able to (do)'
- 394) kikis-nun uro ubi karuk kan- na-run ume dislike-2ss ND.sf work no EMPH like-1ss ND.sm 'do you dislike this work? no, I like very much'

The morpheme -it 'just/only' qualifies or limits the condition or event of a clause. It often occurs peripheral slots of a clause or in a sentence fragment. Following a word ending in a vowel it is realised as -t.

- 395) *urie-t* 'that's all'
- 396) aga nunuo turuo-t
  who you 1s-LIM
  'who is it? just me'
- 397) ma-nula namuk ma abulap kirat-it
  3ps-catch how plI fish.pl few-LIM
  'how many fish did you catch? very few'

The modal adverbs *atabun* and *atabo* tend to modify a whole clause instead of just a verb. They communicate the speaker's attitudes or opinions about the content of the clause. These words generally appear as peripheral elements in the margin of a clause. The adverb *atabun* indicates a greater possibility than *atabo* that something will occur.

- 398) atabo eba u-lum aparat kalup perhaps FUT 3sS-fall rain tomorrow 'perhaps it will rain tomorrow'
- 399) atabun eba terig-ieŋ obinam lata na arubu perhaps FUT 3sfS-return canoe last T night 'the canoe probably came back last night'

Temporal adverbs refer to temporal sequential ordering.

- 400) marik-buon ka parak-buon bat pray-1pns first eat-1pns next 'let's pray and then have a meal'
- 401) la ula laike la malonim aga qa aga who SF go first CJ who SF last 'who goes first and then who goes last?'

402) tu-ga umir-tan tubiat 1ss-want write-1ss after 'I want to write later'

Directional adverb refer to location or direction.

- 403) na-bar tie, er ta-ba ro
  2sS-go FD FUT 1sS-go ND
  'you go that way, and I go this way'
- 404) ila obinam bubaro alaŋ
  3sfs canoe right.here road
  'that canoe went by right here'

# 4.8 Prepositions

Prepositions are relator words that link noun phrases to the rest of the clause. They function as directionals, locationals and temporals. Prepositions in Kuot include:

ga'with' ana'inside'
nakap'above' labie 'outside'
bo'on' taralap'side'
lourup'under' na'T, LOC'
pat'below' me'D'
laike'in front of' a, o, le, ma'INST'

pakur 'behind' ira 'toward'
405) teqo-nan bo obinam

- jump-2s on canoe 'get in the canoe'
- 406) a-go-men tadasip ira koben 3smo-throw-3ps stones toward bird
  - 'they threw stones at a bird'
- 407) dus-on luguan tuan taralap danuot stand-3sms house 1sG side river 'my house stands on the side of the river'

408) o-\(\beta\)is-men kumebun o iagur ula mamaranu 3sfO-bind-3pS sow INST vine REL strong 'they bound the sow with very strong vine'

## 4.9 Question Words

Question words include the following.

lagum 'where'are mani 'how'man 'which'me mani 'why'mani 'what'aga 'who'o man la 'when'auan 'whose'

## 4.10 Conjuctions

The conjunction qa' and' is used to join words, phrases, or clauses in a sentence.

- 409) *lai* ga kuala la terigi-lion titot bridegroom CJ bride SF return-3dS today 'the bridegroom and bride came back today'
- 410) *poi* poi la nelinam пиап qa ruan maranit child 2sG CJ child 1sG SF fight hard 'your son and my son are fighting hard'
- 411) ubi-ien papa-run ga sagu-on papa-ruan work-3sfs sister-1sG CJ play-3sms brother-1sG 'my sister works and my brother plays'

The conjunction o 'or' also joins words, phrases or clauses in a sentence.

- 412) aga eba a-la nunuo o turuo o aga who FUT 3sfSu-go you CJ I CJ who 'who is supposed to go? you or I or who?'
- 413) man uduma la maset uduma ila kani o ila kapi which big banana SF good banana REL CJ REL small 'which banana is better? the big one or the small one?

414) atabo migan nuan la duri-on o taφa-on guess friend 2sG SF sleep-3smS CJ sick-3smS 'perhaps your friend is sleeping or feels sick.'

### 5 Sentence Level

Kuot sentences are divided into coordinate and subordinate sentences.

#### 5.1 Coordinate Sentence

Coordinate sentences include two or more independent clauses joined using coordinating conjunctions as connectors or by juxtaposition. They include temporal sentences, contrastive sentences, and reason–result sentences.

### 5.1.1 Temporal Sentence

Temporal sentences indicate punctilliar time, simultaneous time or sequential time. A punctilliar time relation between two independent clauses is indicated by juxtaposing them. The punctilliar time reference is from the perspective of the second clause in the construction.

415) na tara u-βina pu-ruara

T time 3sm-dance sing-1ss

'when he dances, I sing'

The connector ga 'and' is used to join two independent clauses to indicate simultaneous time

416) *i-βina* magabun-tuŋ ga pu-ruara turuo 3sfS-dance wife-1sG and sing-1sS 1s 'my wife is dancing and I am singing'

The connectors ga 'and' and tubiat 'after/then' are used to connect two clauses to indicate a sequential time relation.

417) i-βina magabun-tun ga tubiat pu-ruara turuo 3sfs-dance wife-1sG CJ then sing-1sS 1s 'my wife dances and then I sing'

#### 5.1.2 Contrastive Sentence

Two clauses are connected by pa 'but' in a contrastive sentence.

418) bet-ton kavieng pa tale a-gima-run lamuana arrive-1ss Kavieng CJ NEG 3sms-see-1ss Lamuana 'I arrived in Kavieng but I did not see Lamuana.'

#### 5.1.3 Reason-Result Sentence

The reason-result sentence is constructed with a connector between two clauses whose verbs are fully inflected to indicate the subject. If the reason clause precedes the result clause, the clauses are connected by *are la* 'and/so' or *are ratmat* 'therefore'.

- 419) init-on bugam a are la tale puo-on aßure-on kumorot hurt-3sms head 3sm so NEG able-3sms shoot-3sms pig 'his head hurt so he was not able to shoot pig.'
- 420) init-on bugam a are ratmat tale puoon aßure-on kumorot hurt-3sms head 3sm therefore NEG able shoot-3sms pig 'his head hurt therefore he was not able to shoot pig.'

If the result clause precedes the reason clause, the clauses are connected by *me mani* 'because' or the stronger result-reason conjunction *me mani go* 'simply because'.

- 421) tale puoon aßure-on me mani init-on bugam a
  NEG able shoot-3sms because hurt-3sms head 3sm
  'he was not able to shoot him because his head hurt.'
- 422) tale puoon aßure-on me mani ga init-on bugam a
  NEG able shoot-3sms because hurt-3sms head 3sm
  'he could not shoot him just because his head hurt.'

#### 5.2 Subordinate Sentence

In a subordinate sentence, an independent clause and a dependent clause are joined by the use of a subordinating conjunction or by juxtaposition. When a subordinating conjunction is used, it immediately precedes the dependent clause. Subordinate sentences include purpose sentences, conditional sentences, quotative sentences and temporal sentences.

### 5.2.1 Purpose Sentence

In a purpose sentence a subordinate purpose clause is joined to an independent clause with the subordinating conjunction *eba* 'to, in order to'.

423) bet-men eba no-aga-melie arrive-3ps PURP 2sO-help-3ps 'they arrived in order to help you'

### 5.2.2 Conditional Sentence

A conditional sentence consists of a subordinate clause marked with the subordinating conjunction *leba* 'if', followed by an independent clause marked with the conjunction *eba* 'then'.

- 424) leba na-la todan kavieng eba ta-la ga nunuo
  CJ 2sS-go LOC Kavieng CJ 1sS-go with you
  'if you go to Kavieng, then I will go with you'
- 425) leba marik-paŋ maranit, eba pa-siŋ-uala alaŋ aŋ
  CJ pray-1ps strong CJ 1pO-show-3sms road 3sm
  'if we prayed fervently, then he would show his way to us'

## 5.2.3 Quotative Sentence

The quotative sentence is a relator-axis construction where the relator is the orienter and axis is the quotation. The orienter consists of the subject and an orienter verb such as 'say', 'think', 'pray' or 'write'. The quotation has no special introducer.

In direct quotations the verb in the axis takes first person agreement affixes as in (426-427), while in indirect quotations the verb in the axis takes third person agreement affixes as in (428-429).

- 426) ties-oŋ adam, u-gama, a-sak-tuŋ iro kaβuna say-3sms Adam 3sms-say 3smo-hit-1ss ND.sm dog 'Adam said, "I hit this dog.""
- 427) umir-ieŋ desi, i-gama, a-sak-tuŋ iro kaβuna write-3sfs Desi 3sfs-say 3smo-hit-1ss ND.sm dog 'Desi wrote, "I hit this dog."

## Chul-Hwa Chung and Kjung-Ja Chung

#### **Kuot Grammar Essentials**

- 428) ties-on adam, ugama, a-sak-on iro kaβuna say-3sms Adam ORI 3smO-hit-3sms ND.sm dog 'Adam said he hit this dog'
- 429) umir-ieŋ desi, igama, a-sak-ieŋ iro kaβuna write-3sfs Desi ORI 3smO-hit-3sfs ND.sm dog 'Desi wrote she hit this dog'

The quotative constuction is also used to indicate an animated action for the purpose of demonstration.

- 430) a-bit-on jodam kaβuna gare ro
   3smo-beat-3sms Jodam dog like ND
   'Jodam beat the dog this way...' (the speaker animates an action)
- 431) u-βarara saul gare tiro...
   3smS-die Saul like ND
   'Saul died this way...' (the speaker animates an action)

## 5.2.4 Temporal Sentence

A simultaneous time sentence consists of a dependent clause beginning with the subordinating conjunction *na tara* 'when' followed by an independent clause.

- 432) na tara pu-a-ra tu-βina when sing-3sms 1sS-dance 'when he sang I danced'
- 433) na tara ubi-nun na ubi duri-run na puoranama when work-2ss LOC garden sleep-1ss LOC boy.house 'when you worked in the garden, I slept at the boy house'

# 5.3 Sentence Periphery

Exclamations occur sentence initially and include exclamations of affirmation as in (434), negation as in (435), repetition as in (436), surprise as in (437), amazement as in (438), disgust as in (439), truthfulness as in (440), sympathy as in (441), acknowledgement as in (442), uncertainty as in (443-444), introduction as in (445-446) and vindication as in (447).

- 434) tie a-saga-ran kumorot ga terigi-ran yes 3sm0-sell-1ss pig CJ return-1ss 'yes, I will sell the pig and come back'
- 435) karuk kikis-tun iro ga na-run me irobu no dislike-1sS ND.sm CJ like-1sS GOAL FD.sf 'no, I do not like this and I like that'
- 436) are tie a-bit-ton ga igo-run such as 3smO-hit CJ flee-1sS 'that's what I did. I hit him and fled'
- 437) *ui tu-rup-nu-aba ga tu-rao*EX 1s-surprise-2sS CJ 1s-afraid
  'oh, you surprised me and I was afraid'
- 438) ubonubara tema-ien ga mitara tema-ien EX good-3sfs CJ EMPH good.3sfs 'wow, it was extremely, extremely good!'
- 439) sheesh a-gosar-nun mani
  EX 3smS-make-2sS what
  'sheesh, what are you doing?'
- 440) migat ties-nun la migat surely word-2sG SF true 'surely, your talking is true'
- 441) kadige u-βarara laipak-nuan EX 3smS-die grandfather-2sG 'sorry, your grand father died!'
- 442) aritara ubi-buoŋ iat kalup
  EX work-1pnS together tomorrow
  'ok, let's work together from tomorrow'
- 443) atabo eba mu-on nabit guess FUT come-3sfSu afternoon 'perhaps he will come at afternoon'

- 444) atabun, naga-nun la na binim guess mother-2sG SF LOC beach 'perhaps your mother would be at the beach'
- 445) miptan tu-ga ta-lan ait miun listen 1sS-like 1sS-give information 2pB 'listen! I like to give news to you'
- 446) a-gima-min tu-ga ta-lan ait miun
  3sS-look-2pO 1ss-like 1ss-give information 2pB
  'look! I like to give news to you'
- 447) oh ho nu-lum-ara
  EX FUT 2sS-fall-resul
  'uh huh! you fell!'

There may be more than one exclamation in the same sentence.

- 448) tie atabo ties-tuŋ-ara gare ro tinan yes perhaps speak-1sS-COMPL like ND before 'yes, maybe I said that before'
- 449) tsss are tie tu-namu-a ga u-βarara
  EX as such 1sS-kill-3smO CJ 3smS-die-pa
  'sheesh! that's what I said, I killed it!

# Appendix A: Phonology and Morphophonemics

The Kuot language has fourteen phonemic consonants and six phonemic vowels.

### Consonants

		Bilabial	Pre-Palatal	Post-palatal
Stops	- Voiceless	p	t	k
		$[p \sim p^h]$	$[t \sim t^h]$	$[k \sim k^h]$
	- Voiced	b	d	g
		[b]	[d]	[g]

Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands

#### Vowels

Front Back

High 
$$i$$
  $u$   $[i \sim i \sim y]$   $[u \sim \upsilon \sim w]$ 

Mid  $e$   $o$   $[e \sim \varepsilon]$   $[o \sim o]$ 

Low  $a$   $[a \sim \lambda]$ 

# **Morphophonemic Alternations**

A.3.1  $t \sim r$  Alternation: The initial /t/ in the possessive markers /-tuaŋ/, /-tuŋ/, /-tuo/ becomes /r/ after a morpheme ending in a vowel.

/-tuan/ 'my (alienable, masc. possessed)'

/'luguan-tuan/ 'my house /pa'pa-ruan/ 'my brother'
/ke'in-tuan/ 'my bag' /ma'mo-ruan/ 'my father'
/bup'tamat-tuan/ 'my clan' /ta'ta-ruan/ 'my uncle'
/kumo'rot-tuan/ 'my pig' /ta'beka-ruan/ 'my papaya'

/-tuŋ/ 'my (alienable, fem. possessed)'

```
/talau-run/ 'my nephew'
     /kumebun-tun/ 'my sow'
     /'ties-tun/ 'my language'
                                          /'naga-run/ 'my mother'
/-tuo/ 'my (inalienable)'
                                          /i'rama-ruo/ 'my eve'
     /'nanam-tuo/ 'my mouth'
     /'kiqinam-tuo/ 'my ear'
                                          /aga'bunima-ruo/ 'my nose'
                                          /ka'rima-ruo/ 'my belly'
     /'bugam-tuo/ 'my head'
     /'bonim-tuo/ 'my name'
                                          /a'roma-ruo/ 'my breast'
     /olabu'an-tuo/ 'my blood'
                                          /mura nama-ruo/ 'my spirit'
                                          /'logima-ruo/ 'my tooth'
     /'dalap-tuo/ 'my heart'
```

A.3.2 *Vowel Shortening Rule:* When the third person singular masculine suffix /-oŋ/ is added to vowel-final verb stems, the first vowel is generally not pronounced.

```
/agimaa-oŋ/ ['agimoŋ] 'he will see'
/asaga-oŋ/ [a'sagɔŋ] 'he sends it'
/lesau-oŋ/ [le'saɔŋ] 'he buys them (dl)'
/amaŋa-oŋ/ [a'maŋɔŋ] 'he peels it'
```

A.3.3 Voicing Rule: When vowel-initial suffixes such as /-oŋ/, /-aŋ/, /-ieŋ/, /-a/, /-o/, /-up/ are added to stems which end in voiceless consonants, those consonants become voiced. The phoneme /p/ becomes [ $\beta$ ], not [b], in this environment.

```
/obareit-on/
                    [oba'reidon]
                                         'he splits it'
/marik-on/
                    [ma'rigon]
                                         'he prays'
/aritik-on/
                    [ari'tigon]
                                         'he cuts it'
/abakba:k-on/
                    [abak'ba:qon]
                                         'he covers it'
/pu'rap-ien/
                    [pu'rabiyen]
                                         'her roosters (pl)'
/taф-o/
                    [ta¹ßo]
                                         'he drinks'
/'sip-on/
                    [ˈsißəŋ]
                                         'it comes out'
                    [agi'riβon]
                                         'he strips it'
/agirip-on/
/u'paubip-an/
                                         'his foods'
                    [u'paubi\u00e4n]
/irap-a/
                    [i'raßa]
                                         'her eyes'
/kakep-up/
                    [ka'ke\up]
                                         'money'
                    [na'\up]
                                         'part (pl)'
/nap-'up/
```

This voicing does not occur before voiced consonants.

/taф-¹meŋ/	[taф'meŋ]	'they drink'
/kukuф-meŋ/	[kuˈkuømeŋ]	'delicious (pl)'
/kukup-meŋ/	[ku'kupmen]	'they (pl) shout'
/sip-buoŋ/	[ˈʃipbuoŋ]	'we (pl) come out'
/agirip-maŋ/	[agi¹ripmʌŋ]	'slice it'
/u'paubip-lioŋ/	[uˈpaubɪpliyəŋ]	'their (dl) foods'
/i'rap-maioŋ/	[iˈrapmayɔŋ]	'their (pl) eyes'

# Appendix B: Abbreviations

Glosses for pronouns and agreement affixes consist of the person (1, 2, 3) and number (s, d, p). First person nonsingular is followed by inclusive or exclusive (n, x), while third person singular is followed by gender (m, f). Agreement affixes end with subject or object (s, O), while pronouns may end with genetive, benefactive, or intimate (G, B, I) markers. Deictics may also indicate person and gender. Angle brackets (<>>) indicate infixes.

BEN	Benefactive	INDEF	Indef Modality	PRO	Pronoun
CJ	Conjuction	INST	Instrument	<b>PURP</b>	Purpose
COMP	Comparative	LIM	Limitier	QM	Quantity Mod
COMPL	Completive	LOC	Locative	RC	Rel Clause
DEF	Definite	MULT	Multiplier	REC	Reciprocal
D	Direction	ND	Near Deictic	REFL	Reflexive
DL	Dual	NEG	Negator	REL	Relator
DO	Direct Object	NW	Number Word	RP	Rel Pronoun
DP	Demonstr Pron	ONI	Ord Num	<b>RSTV</b>	Restrictivizer
<b>EMPH</b>	Emphatic Pron	Indicator		S	Subject
FD	Far Deictic	PL	Plural	SF	Subject Focus
FUT	Future Tense	PN	Proper Noun	SPEC	Specifier
GEN	Genitive	PC	Poss Construct	T	Time
<b>GOAL</b>	Goal	PPI	Poss Pron	TAG	Yes/No Q Tag
IMP	Imperative	Indi	cator		
INCHO	Inchoative	PROHIB	Prohibitive		