

**WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN**

**LANGUAGES AND CULTURES**

**VOLUME 10 - IRIAN JAYA**



**Cenderawasih University**

**and**

**The Summer Institute of Linguistics**

**in cooperation with**

**The Department of Education and Culture**

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Margaret Hartzler,  
LaLani Wood,  
Editors

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Volume 10 - Irian Jaya

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## Prakata

Saya menyambut dengan gembira penerbitan buku *Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures*, Volume 10 - Irian Jaya. Penerbitan ini merupakan bukti kemajuan serta keberhasilan yang dicapai oleh Proyek Kerjasama Universitas Cenderawasih dengan Summer Institute of Linguistics, Irian Jaya.

Buku ini juga merupakan wujud nyata peranserta para anggota SIL dalam membantu pengembangan masyarakat umumnya dan masyarakat pedesaan Irian Jaya khususnya. Selain berbagai informasi ilmiah tentang bahasa-bahasa daerah dan kebudayaan suku-suku setempat, buku ini sekaligus mengungkapkan sebagian kecil kekayaan budaya bangsa kita yang berada di Irian Jaya.

Dengan adanya penerbitan ini, diharapkan penulis-penulis yang lain akan didorong minatnya agar dapat menyumbangkan pengetahuan yang berguna bagi generasi-generasi yang akan datang dan untuk kepentingan pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan. Saya mengucapkan terima kasih kepada para peneliti dan tenaga teknis SIL yang telah berupaya serta bekerja keras sehingga buku ini dapat diterbitkan.

Saya mengharapkan semoga buku ini berguna bagi para ilmuan, masyarakat akademis, para mahasiswa, pejabat pemerintah, dan masyarakat pembaca pada umumnya.

Jayapura, Agustus 1991

Universitas Cenderawasih,



Drs. August Kafiari, MA

## Preface

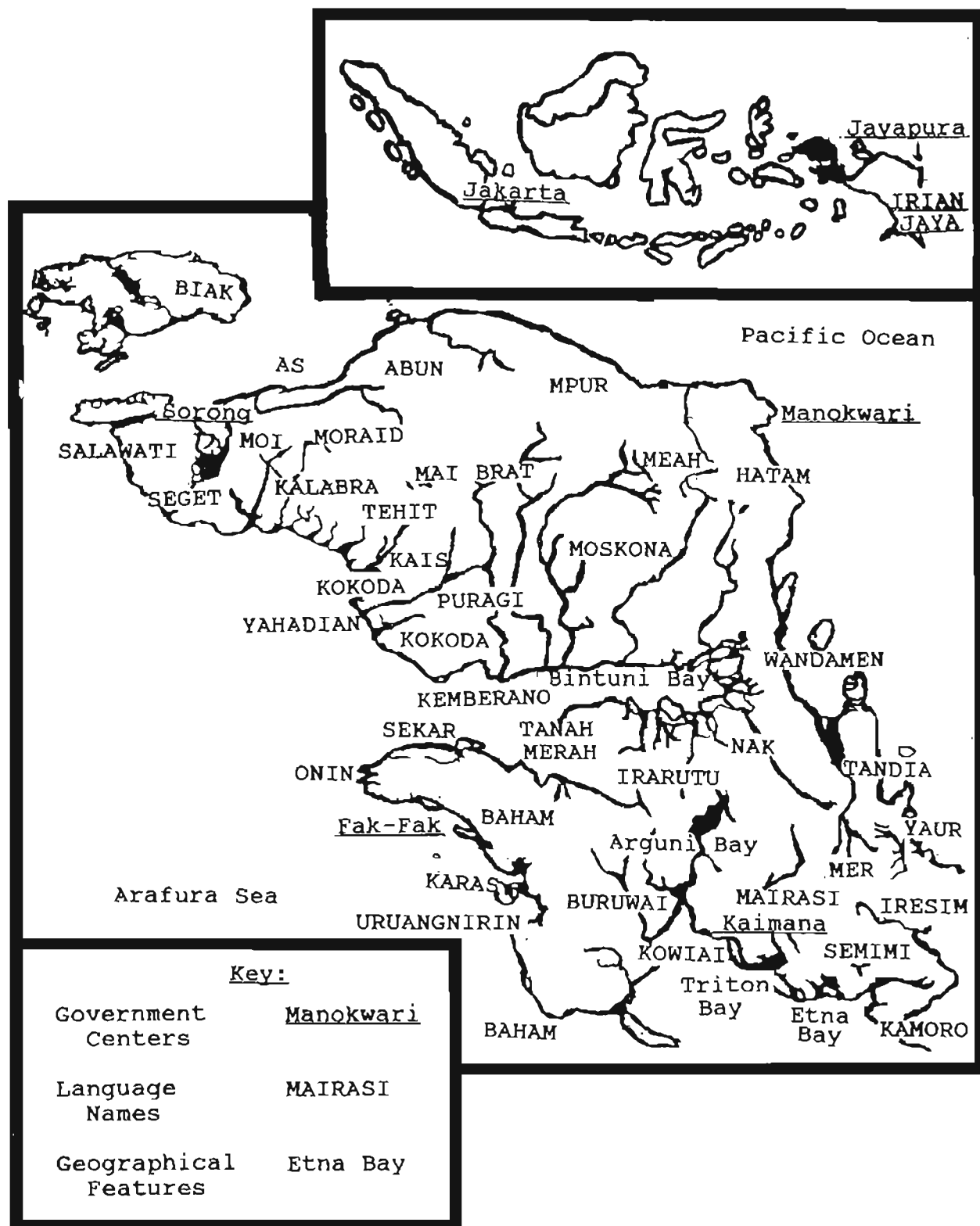
Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures is published occasionally by the Cooperative Programs between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Cenderawasih University in Irian Jaya, Hasanuddin University in Sulawesi and Pattimura University in Maluku. Its purpose is to share some of the knowledge gained as the result of research projects which are underway in these three provinces. This particular volume focuses on Irian Jaya.

In the first article in this volume the Gravelles describe the phonology of the Meah language, which is spoken in and around the district of Manokwari. The other four deal with languages which are spoken in the district of Fak-Fak. These include the Matsumuras' descriptions of Irarutu phonology and grammar; Lloyd Peckham's description of Mairasi phonology; and a report about a short language survey which he conducted in Etna Bay in 1985. These articles are presented here, in the hopes that they will serve to increase understanding of this region and to stimulate further research into the languages and cultures of Irian Jaya.

The editors would like to express our deep appreciation for Cenderawasih University and the government of Indonesia. Their sponsorship and encouragement have made this research possible.

LaLani Wood  
Abepura, Irian Jaya  
May, 1991

# A Language Map of Western Irian Jaya



**Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures**

**Volume 10 - Irian Jaya**

Margaret Hartzler,  
LaLani Wood,  
Editors

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OF THE IRARUTU LANGUAGE

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Irarutu is the name of the language spoken by a people who live on the coast of Arguni Bay, on the south coast of Bintuni Bay and in the interior west of Arguni Bay, in the southwestern part of Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

The word *iraru* means 'voice' or 'language' and *tu* is derived from *fitu* which means 'true'. The people traditionally believe that the world originated to the southeast (in the Nabi/Kuri language area) and that Irarutu is the true original language.

This language has been referred to as the Irahutu language but it seems that this name is only used by foreigners. The people in the village of Fruata (interior) and at the coastal villages refer to the language as Irarutu.

The Irarutu language is categorized by Anceaux (1958:116) and Voorhoeve (1975:54) as one of the few Austronesian languages in Irian Jaya. Matsumura's survey word list (1985) shows the high percentage of cognates with (Capell, 1976) Proto-Oceanic word list. According to Walker (1978) and Matsumura (1985), Irarutu has a high percentage of cognates with Nabi (Kuri) which is spoken in the Etna Bay area. For a full discussion of the phonology of Irarutu see Matsumura (1991a).

The language group is divided into two political regions. It is difficult, therefore, to count the whole population. In the 1988 census, around 3900 people were counted in the Arguni Region, excluding the Mairasi and Kuri people in Desa Tugarni. The total population could be more than 5000.

The language has three major dialects. Two dialects are in Arguni Bay, and one dialect is in Fruata in the interior, and in the Babo Bay area. The language might be divisible into smaller dialects; however, the writer has divided it into three groups on the basis of the following distinctive features (see below). The northern Arguni dialect is called dialect A, while the southern Arguni is dialect B, and the interior and Babo dialect is dialect C.

A vs B & C      /l/ & /r/ distinction in A vs. none in B and C.

C vs A & B      prenasalized stops in C vs. none in A and B.

This paper is a preliminary description of the grammatical structures of the northern Arguni dialect, focusing on the word and phrase levels, with less attention to clause and sentence structure.

## 2. SENTENCE LEVEL DESCRIPTION

### 2.1 Statements

Statements are marked by descending intonation at the sentence coda. There are no verb affixes or clitics which distinguish statements from other sentence types. As is typical of other Austronesian languages, Irarutu is an SVO language.

- 1)       Ja du-     ftut fide bunat.  
           I    prog.-make house new  
           I am building a new house.

### 2.2 Questions

#### 2.2.1 Yes/No Questions

A slight difference in intonation generally marks questions. There is no grammatical marker for identifying yes/no questions.

- 2)       Oro       gba                   Bofwer?  
           o-   ro   g-    m-   fa   Bofwer  
           you-foc want-2ps-go   Bofwer  
           Do you want to go to Bofwer?

- 3)       Oro gba Bofwer.  
           o-   ro   g-    m-   fa   Bofwer  
           you-foc want-2ps-go   Bofwer  
           You want to go to Bofwer.

Yes/no questions are distinguished by a greater intonational difference between the high point and the low point. On the other hand, statements are marked by the relatively flat intonation.

## 2.2.2 WH Questions

WH questions are marked by the presence of a WH question word in the sentence. Generally speaking, the intonation is high on the question word and at the coda of the sentence. The clitic **-e** is used at the end of the sentence when none of the following question words are used. The placement of the WH question word changes according to which WH question is used.

When the identity of a person is being requested, the word **gata** is used at the end of a sentence.

- 4)     **Matu adei-ro i- ro gata?**  
        man   that-foc he-foc who

Who is that man?

- 5)     **I- nu     fi gata?**  
        his-name   be   who

What is his name?

When the the identity of a thing is requested, the word **nia** is used. Normally, it occurs at the end of the sentence. However, in special cases, it may occur at the beginning as in example (8).

- 6)     **Oro mgur nia?**  
        o-   ro m-   mgur nia?  
        you-foc 2ps-buy   what

What did you buy?

- 7)     **Oro du-bguen nia?**  
        o-   ro du-   m-   fguen   nia  
        you-foc prog-2ps-see    what

What did you see?

- 8)     **Nia fnadei-e?**  
        what it is -QM

What is that?

- 9)     **Adini-ro nia?**  
        this-   foc what

What is this?

In order to identify possession, the verb **ri** 'have' follows the word **gata** 'who' and **uf** 'relative pronoun'.

- 10) **Buku adiniro gataf rie?**  
**buku adini-ro gata-uf ri- e**  
 book this- foc who- rel have-QM

Whose book is this?

The question word for asking about a place is **nenó**. The optional preposition **nene** (alternate form: **ne**) is used preceding the question word when the question asks only location, not direction.

- 11) **Oro gba neno?**  
**o- ro g- m- fa neno?**  
 you-foc want-2ps-go where

Where are you going?

- 12) **I- ro du- n- mi (nene) neno?**  
 he-foc prog-3ps-live at where

Where does he live?

- 13) **I- ro du- n- mi (ne) neno?**  
 he-foc prog-3ps-live at where

Where does he live?

The word 'when' does not exist in Irarutu. Time is identified more precisely by such phrases as 'what day', 'what time', 'how many days'. Such phrases consist of a time word plus the question word **nla**, if the time is past. If the time frame is future, **nla se** is used.

- 14) **Rut nla se i buna nmae?**  
**rut nla se i bu- n- ra n- ma- e**  
 ring what then she nonprog-3ps-begin 3ps-come-QM

What time is she going to arrive?

- 15) **Lé nla uf i bu- n- ma- e?**  
 date what rel she nonprog-3ps-come-QM

What date did she arrive here?

- 16) Oro gin gun nia se oro bubae?  
 o- ro gin gun nia se o- ro bu- m- fa-e  
 you-foc sleep day what then you-foc nonprog-2ps-go-QM

When (after you sleep how many days then) are you leaving?

Question words can occur in the form of a clause. In example (16), 'you sleep how many days then' is the equivalent of the word 'when' in English. However, if the words **oro gin** 'you sleep' are omitted, the time expression becomes a phrase. These time word phrases always precede the subject of the clause.

The question word **nia** 'what' and the relative pronoun **uf** 'which' are also used for asking the means or the instrument used by the addressee to do something.

- 17) Ir e- n- ir nia uf ir n- ma- e?  
 they past-3ps-be with what rel they 3ps-come-QM

How (by what means) did they come?

- 18) I enar nia uf na dba fun adie?  
 I e- n- ar nia uf n- ra n- tbem fun adi-e  
 he past-3ps-use what rel 3ps-? 3ps-hit dog the-QM

With what did he hit the dog?

The question word **nfnanuf** 'why' is used for inquiring the cause of the addressee's action. This word always occurs at the beginning of a sentence. It may be possible to divide **nfnanuf** into the smaller morphemes. However, it will be treated as a unit pending further research. The conjunction **mese** 'until' intensifies the degree of the question.

- 19) Nfnanuf (mese) i -ro n- ma -e?  
 why until he-foc 3ps-come-QM

Why did he come?

- 20) Nfnanuf (mese) o- mo -ro n- mtit-e?  
 why until your-child-foc 3ps-fall-QM

Why did your child fall?

The purpose question is expressed by a phrase that consists of the preposition **nir** 'with', the question word **nia** 'what', and the relative pronoun **uf** 'which'.

- 21) **Nir nia uf i- e n- fa Kiman- e?**  
 with what which she-past 3ps-go Kaimana-QM  
 Why did he go to Kaimana?

The manner question is expressed by the question word **fnaneno** 'how'.

- 22) **Kabei adi n- fror fnaneno?**  
 kangaroo the 3ps-run how  
 How does a kangaroo run?

There are two ways to inquire regarding the extent of a predication. The question phrase consists of two elements: the extent word plus the question word **nia** 'what' or **fnaneno** 'how'.

- 23) **Wara adi-ro meter nia?**  
 rope the-foc meter what  
 How long (how many meters) is the rope?
- 24) **O- ro m- sut fide adi-ro frifr nia?**  
 you-foc 2ps-measure house the-foc wide what  
 How wide is the house?
- 25) **O- ro du- g- gud mofni rir nia?**  
 you-foc want-get medicine pills amount what  
 How many pills do you want?
- 26) **O- ro e- mgur kad adi-ro fri nia?**  
 you-foc past-buy shorts the-foc price what  
 How much did you pay for the shorts?
- 27) **Sawat adi-ro mlo fnaneno?**  
 snake the-foc length how  
 How long was the snake?
- 28) **Kad adi-ro bidi fnaneno?**  
 shorts the-foc big how  
 How big are the shorts?
- 29) **Kad adi-ro grgan fnaneno?**  
 shorts the-foc look how  
 What do the shorts look like (color, shape)?

The question word **fnano** 'how' can have different implications, depending on the conversational context. When someone comes at the door, it conveys the meaning of 'Do you need something from me?' Example (30) illustrates this. This same sentence can however, convey the meaning 'How are you?' when the speaker has not seen the addressee for a long time. **Fnano** is also used to inquire about a person's condition. Example (31) illustrates this.

- 30)      **Oro          fnano?**  
         you-foc how

Do you need something from me?      or:  
How are you?

- 31)      **O-dan-ro          fnano?**  
         your-mother-foc how

How is your mother?

When a question inquires about alternatives, the words **uf** 'which' and **nenno** 'where' are used.

- 32)      **Sara i- die      fid      adi uf      nenno?**  
         Sarah her-father house the rel where

Which one is Sarah's father's house?

- 33)      **Uf      nenno      uf      nan?**  
         rel where rel sweet

Which is the delicious one?

- 34)      **Uf      nenno      uf      rimn      dir-i-e?**  
         rel where rel heavy very -QM

Which is the heavy one?

### 2.3 Imperatives

Commands in Irarutu are very simple. The verb stem with the second person marker is usually used without a subject. When more than one person is listening, **o** 'you, sg.' or **e** 'you, pl.' is put before the verb in order to clarify who the command/request is referring to. In Irarutu, a series of commands can be made in one sentence.

- 35) **Bri mtur!**  
 m- bri m-mtur  
 2ps-come in 2ps-sit down  
 Come in and sit down!
- 36) **E bri m- mtur**  
 you (pl) come in 2ps-sit down  
 You come in and sit down!
- 37) **Ba mud suri mama adini!**  
 m- ba m- ud suri m- ra- m- ma adini  
 2ps-go 2ps-get ax 2ps-bring-2s-come here  
 Go and get the ax and bring it over here!

## 2.4 Sentence Negation

### 2.4.1 Negation of Statements

The statement is negated by using the word **ti** 'not' at the end. This independent negation word always occurs clause final.

- 38) **Yahiaro dunin.**  
 Yahia-ro du- n- gin  
 John- foc prog-3ps-sleep  
 John is sleeping.
- 39) **Yahiaro dunin ti.**  
 Yahia-ro du- n- gin ti  
 John- foc prog-3ps-sleep not  
 John is not sleeping.
- 40) **Yahia-ro i- ro e- si Yakobus.**  
 John- foc he-foc pst-see Jacob  
 John saw Jacob.
- 41) **Yahia-ro i- ro e- si Yakobus ti.**  
 John- foc he-foc pst-see Jacob not  
 John did not see Jacob.
- 42) **Ja g- fa dedan.**  
 I want-go garden  
 I want to go to the garden.



- 43) **Ja g- fa dedan ti.**  
 I want-go garden not  
 I don't want to go to the garden.
- 44) **Ja g- tun fas nene matu du- n- ma ti.**  
 I want-cook rice for man prog-3ps-come not  
 I won't cook rice for the men who just came.
- 45) **I e- n- mat nir Malaria ti.**  
 he pst-3ps-die with Malaria not  
 He did not die of Malaria.

#### 2.4.2 Negation of Imperatives

Negation of imperatives is different than negation of statements. The optional word **o-bnate** 'you don't', **e-bnate** 'you (pl) don't' or **n-fnate** 'he shouldn't' precedes the imperative verb, and the obligatory word **of** 'don't' occurs at the end of the clause rather than the negative **ti**.

- 46) **Obnate o ba of!**  
**o- fnate o m- fa of**  
 you-don't you 2ps-go don't  
 Don't go!
- 47) **Ebnate o mtit ba wer of!**  
**e- fnate o m- tit m- fa wer of**  
 you (pl)-don't you 2ps-fall 2ps-go water don't  
 Don't fall into the water!
- 48) **O mtit ba wer of!**  
**o m- tit m- fa wer of**  
 you 2ps-fall 2ps-go water don't  
 Don't fall into the water.
- 49) **I e- n- fier n- tut ngge nfnate i n- fier of.**  
 he past-3ps-say 3ps-ban that don't he 3ps-say don't  
 He said that he should not say anything.

#### 2.4.3 Negation of Desire

Negation of desire has a different form than the two negations given above. The word used here is **ngabu** 'don't want' preceding the verb. **Ngabu** has a negative semantic element, so

the negative word **ti** does not appear in the sentence. This word changes according to person, i.e., **ngabu** (1ps) **ngobu** (2ps) **ngibu** (3ps).

- 50)     **Ja ngabu           gafi.**  
           I   don't want eat  
           I don't want to eat.
- 51)     **Oro ngobu           ba?**  
           you don't want go  
           Don't you want to go?
- 52)     **Iro ngibu           n- fa.**  
           he   don't want 3ps-go  
           He doesn't want to go.

#### 2.4.4 Negative Answer

When one is asked a yes/no question, the word for 'no' is **firati**. When the things which have been asked for are not available, the word **niati** 'empty, none' is used.

- 53)     **Firati, ja g-    fa Kiman   ti.**  
           no           I   want-go Kaimana not  
           No, I won't go to Kaimana.
- 54)     **Moe,   fas   adi-ro   bu       niati.**  
           sorry rice the-foc already none  
           Sorry, there is no more rice.
- 55)     **Moe,   fas   adi-ro   bu       firati.**  
           sorry rice the-foc already none  
           Sorry, there is no rice.

### 3. VERB PHRASE AND VERB MODIFIERS

#### 3.1 Verb Phrase

The verb phrase consists of one or more verb stems with an obligatory person marker and optional tense, aspect and mode markers.

### 3.1.1 Tense, Aspect, and Mode markers

Tense, aspect, and mode markers precede verb stems. The combination of these three elements makes the meaning of the verb very precise. It is not yet clear whether these markers are prefixes or independent words, but for the purpose of this paper they will be treated as prefixes. In addition, further investigation is needed to fully confirm this analysis.

Tense:	Aspect:	Mode:
<b>e</b> past	<b>du</b> progressive	<b>g</b> desiderative mode
	<b>bu</b> non-progressive	
	<b>su</b> completive	

- 56) Oro gba neno?  
 o- ro g- m- fa neno  
 you-foc want-2ps-go where  
 Where do you want to go? or:  
 Where are you going?
- 57) Oro duba neno?  
 o- ro du- m- fa neno  
 you-foc prog-2ps-go where  
 Where have you been?  
 (The listener is on the way home)
- 58) Oro dubtut nia?  
 o- ro du- m- ftut nia  
 you-foc prog-2ps-do what  
 What are you doing?
- 59) Oro eduba Jepang?  
 o- ro e- du- m- fa Jepang  
 you-foc past-prog-2ps-go Japan  
 Have you ever been to Japan?
- 60) Oro eba neno?  
 o- ro e- m- fa neno  
 you-foc past-2ps-go where  
 Where did you go?

- 61) I- ro bu- n- fa fide.  
he-foc nonprog-3ps-go house  
He has already left for home.  
(But presumably he has not yet arrived.)
- 62) I- ro bu- su- n- fa fide.  
he-foc nonprog-comp-3ps-go house  
He left for home (long time ago)  
and by this time he has arrived at his house.
- 63) Ja bu- g- fa fide.  
I nonprog-want-go house  
I want to go home.  
(I am telling someone that I want to go home.)
- 64) Ja du- g- fa gereja.  
I prog-want-go church  
I am going to church.  
(I am telling someone on the way that I am on the way to church.)
- 65) I- ro bu- su- n- ma kampun.  
he-foc nonprog-comp-3ps-arrive village  
He has already arrived in the village.
- 66) I-ro e- bu- su- n- ma kampun.  
he-foc past-nonprog-comp-3ps-arrive village  
He already arrived in the village (3 days ago).
- 67) I- ro e- bu- su- g- ne- ma kampun.  
he-foc past-nonprog-comp-want-3ps-arrive village  
He decided to come to the village.  
(He has not arrived in the village. His decision was in the past. Maybe he has already left for the village.)

The desiderative marker *g-* is rendered 'want to'. However, when a third person actor is the subject, the meaning indicates more of a future tense. This is verified by the fact that *g-* always describes the future when it is used with other aspect words like *-du-* or *-su-*.

Example (67) is particularly interesting because of the occurrence of both *e-* 'past tense' and *g-* 'desiderative mode' or an implied future tense. *e-* in combination with *bu-* and *su-*

indicate a past action. When **g-** is added to the configuration, the Irarutu speaker is stating that the past action has not yet been realized.

Examples (63) and (64), which are grammatically identical, show the difference between **du-** 'progressive' and **bu-** 'non-progressive'. In example (63), the use of **bu-** shows that a one-time action (ie. a decision to go) has been made, even though the action itself is incomplete. By changing the aspect marker to **du-**, as in example (64), we can see that the action of going is in progress.

### 3.1.2 Person Marker on Verb Stems

The Irarutu language has personal prefixes for the verb stem as well as free pronouns. Personal prefixes do not distinguish singular and plural.

<b>0-</b>	1st person
<b>m-</b>	2nd person
<b>n-</b>	3rd person

Verbs take pronominal prefixes that agree with the free pronoun in the subject slot.

- 68) **Ja ar pipisi ragi o.**  
**Ja 0- ar pipisi ragi o.**  
 I 1ps-give money to you  
 I give money to you.
- 69) **O mar pipisi magi ja.**  
**o m- ar pipisi magi ja.**  
 you 2ps-give money to me  
 You give money to me.
- 70) **I nar pipisi nane o.**  
**I n- ar pipisi nane o.**  
 He 3ps-give money to you  
 He gives money to you.

### 3.2 Verbal Modifiers

#### 3.2.1 Manner

Manner is usually expressed by an adverb. The verbalizer (here functioning as adverbializer) *fi* attaches to the adjective and makes it an adverb. The manner adverb follows the verb phrase.

- 71) **Kaprisur adi-ro ssiet**  
airplane the-foc fast

The airplane is fast.

- 72) **Ban bissiet!**  
**m- fan m- fi- ssiet**  
2ps-walk 2ps-verbalizr-fast

Walk very fast!

- 73) **A- fide adi-ro ntomn ti.**  
my-house the-foc straight not

My house is not straight.

- 74) **Amo nanune nfan nfintomn ti.**  
**A- mo n- ralun n- fan n- fi- ntomn ti**  
my-child 3ps-know 3ps-walk 3ps-verbalizer-straight not

My child does not know (how to) walk straight.

- 75) **Matu adei-ro dir.**  
man that-foc good

That man is good.

- 76) **Ban bidir!**  
**Ban m- fi- dir**  
walk 2ps-verbalizer-good

Walk carefully! or Bon voyage!

Note that adverbs conjugate like verbs, as in the word *bidir* '2ps-verbalizer-good'. Since some of the adverbs consist of a verbalizer and an adjective, adverbs could actually be treated as verbs in the Irarutu language.

### 3.2.2 Time

Time words usually precede the verb and even precede the subject. Time is sometimes expressed in a time phrase. The following is a list of Irarutu time words:

le adini	today
lor	tomorrow
loriri	the day after tomorrow
gun tur esi	three days from now
lofa	yesterday
lofa adifi	the day before yesterday
lofe adififi	three days ago
mingu adini	this week (Indonesian)
mingu fumta	next week
siba adini	this month
siba adififi	two months ago
taun adini	this year (Indonesian)
mumutie adi	this morning
lor mumutie	tomorrow morning
gnit adi	last night
lofa gnit	two nights ago
bunat ntini	right now
mese (esi)	later
le rfun	noon (middle of the day)
mbsgagr	dawn
lofa brbuen	sunset time
(esi)	
nene lofa	late afternoon

- 77) Lofa i- ro bu n- fa Kiman.  
yesterday he-foc already 3ps-go Kaimana  
He left for Kaimana yesterday.
- 78) Nene lofa o- ro g- m- fa dedan?  
in afternoon you-foc want-2ps-go garden  
Are you going to the garden this afternoon?
- 79) Lofa gnit i- ro bu- su- n- ma adini.  
yesterday night he-foc already.-comp-3ps-arrive here  
He arrived here two nights ago.
- 80) Siba adifi ja e- ftut a- fide adi fi- tim.  
month last I-past-make my-house the make-finish  
Last month I finished building my house.

### 3.2.3 Location

Location is expressed by a locational prepositional phrase following the verb phrase. The preposition for location is the very generic word **nene**; it can be translated as 'at, in, on' (almost the same function as the Indonesian word **di**). Location is described by the following formula:

Locational phrase = + **nene** + locational noun phrase (NP)  
 Locational NP = + noun + location word + demonstrative

- 81) **Ja fun fne nene witu.**  
 I kill pig in jungle  
 I killed a pig in the jungle.
- 82) **Ja tun sum nene tug.**  
 I cook fish in kitchen  
 I cook fish in the kitchen.
- 83) **Ja tun sum nene tug gan ad.**  
 I cook fish in kitchen inside the  
 I cook fish inside the kitchen
- 84) **Ja bu- si man dir nene tro ffu adi.**  
 I nonprog-see bird good on mountain top the  
 I saw an beautiful bird on the top of the mountain.
- 85) **Fir du nene gurdus tfu adi.**  
 ants be at carton under the  
 Ants are under the carton.
- 86) **Fir du nene meja tuifa adi.**  
 ants be at table under the  
 Ants are under the table.

### 3.2.4 Benefactive (for)

The preposition **nene** is also used for benefactives.

- 87) **Ja g- tun fas nene matu du- n- ma.**  
 I want-cook rice for people prog-3ps-come  
 I want to cook rice for the people who have come.



- 88) **Ja g- ftut ju nene a- mo.**  
I want-make canoe for my-child

I want to make a canoe for my child.

- 89) **Ja g- ftut ju nene o.**  
I want-make canoe for you

I want to make a canoe for you.

### 3.2.5 Instrumental, Comitative, Causal, and Referential

The preposition **nir** is used for instrumental (with), comitative (with, and), causal (because of), and referential (about).

- 90) **Ja e- tut sum nir warada.**  
I past-cut fish with knife

I cut fish with a knife.

- 91) **A- die dbe-ja nir efu.**  
my-father hit me with wood

My father hit me with a piece of wood.

- 92) **A- die dbe-ja nir adi.**  
my-father hit me with it

My father hit me with it.

- 93) **Matu nir i- sot n- fa adimai.**  
person with his wife 3ps-go over there

A man and his wife went over there.

- 94) **A- sot nir a- mo weni e bu- su- n- fa.**  
my-wife with my-child pl past aff.-comp-3ps-go

My wife and the children have already left.

- 95) **I- ro e- n- mat nir malaria.**  
he-foc past-3ps-die with malaria

He died of malaria.

- 96) **I- ro e- n- mat nir i e- n- ga sinief mabo.**  
he-foc past-3ps-die because he past-3ps-eat cassava  
poison

He died because he had cassava poisoning.

- 97) Oro du- m- fier- m- fi nir a -die i- snan.  
you prog-2ps-talk 2ps-make about my-father's his-word

You are talking about my father's word.

- 98) Iro bu- n- fier-fi nir i- mo adi.  
you prog-3ps-talk-make about his-child the

You are talking about his child.

Note that speech act verbs are used with the preposition **nir** in examples 98) and 99). This referential function of the conjunction is **only** used with the speech act verbs. Note, also that the preposition **nir** can introduce a clause, as in example (97). Thus, this preposition can **work as a** conjunction to connect two clauses.

#### 4. DIRECTIONALS

Directional information is deeply woven into the language, specifically in verbs.

It is not the locational phrase which indicates the direction but rather the verb, or a combination of verbs, which indicates the direction. Thus, these structures are best described separately.

##### 4.1 Distinctive Features

Direction is very precisely described in Irarutu by a verb or a combination of verbs. In other words, the directionals are not often described with a verb plus locational phrase (which would consist of a preposition and noun), but rather, the verbs have directional information directly encoded in them. One can precisely show direction by using those specific verbs. For example, the verb **iet** consists of two semantic components: 'go' and 'up'.

Distinctive features for directional verbs:

1. direction away from the speaker or toward the speaker

2. relative height difference between the places of the speaker and/or addressee, and between the places where they are going to or coming from,
  - i. upriver, downriver or across water,
  - ii. upward, downward or across land;
3. movement of the actor or patient in the direction indicated;
4. directions peculiar to the verb **ra** 'take, bring'.

#### Directional Verbs

+ away			- away		
<b>fa</b> 'go'			<b>ma</b> 'come'		
+ up	+ across	+ down	+ up	+ across	+ down
<b>let</b>	<b>ri</b>	<b>ro</b>	<b>briet</b>	<b>bri</b>	<b>bro</b>

These distinctive features define the directional verbs. The directional verbs appear as main verbs or as supplementary verbs to add directional information to the main verbs.

#### 4.2 Two Major Opposite Directions

All the directional verbs are divided into two major sets, i.e., 'go' (direction away from the speaker) and 'come' (direction towards the speaker). Generic verbs for these two directions are **fa** 'go' and **ma** 'come, arrive'.

- 99) **Ja g- fa dedan.**  
I want-go garden

I want to go to the garden.

- 100) **Ja bu- su- ma kampun.**  
I nonprog-comp-arrive kampun

I have arrived in the village  
(coming from somewhere else)

In addition, these generic verbs are also used when one cannot figure out upward or downward directions, either because the place that is referred is too far away from the speaker, or because he does not know anything about the place.

- 101) **Ja g- fa Japan.**  
 I want-go Japan  
 I want to go to Japan.
- 102) **Oro gba Danau Bira?**  
**oro g- m- fa Danau Bira.**  
 you want-2ps-go Danau Bira  
 Are you going to Danau Bira?

The verb **ma** 'come, arrive' is used for just describing the fact that the agent arrived or came to the place, ignoring the place where she/he came from (or, if it is too far away for the speaker to figure out the directional information).

- 103) **Ja du- mi Sorong bunate ma kampung.**  
 I prog-live Sorong new come village  
 I just returned from Sorong.
- 104) **Ja du- mi Japan bunate ma kampung.**  
 I prog-live Japan new come village  
 I just returned from Japan.

#### 4.3 Upward Directions

When a person goes in an upward direction, e.g., climbing a mountain or a house, the verb **iet** 'go up' is used. When a person comes up from a lower place, **briet** 'come up' is used.

This upward direction includes climbing mountains, hills, or anything higher than the current location. It also includes climbing into a boat, going or coming upriver, etc.

- 105) **Ja g- iet wetni.**  
 I want-go up river  
 I want to go up the river.
- 106) **Oro du- mi Kiman briet adini?**  
 you prog-live Kaimana come up here  
 Have you come (up) from Kaimana  
 (Kaimana is located downriver).
- 107) **Mat it iet ju adi.**  
 let's we (inc) climb into canoe the  
 Let's get into the canoe.

When this upward direction is vertical, such as climbing up a tree, the verb phrases **sa iet** 'climb up' and **sa briet** 'coming up' are used.

- 108) **M- sa m- iet umagi fru adi!**  
2ps-climb 2ps-go up coconut tree the

Climb up the coconut tree!  
(the speaker is up in the tree)

- 109) **M- sa briet umagi fru adi!**  
2ps-climb 2ps-come up coconut tree the

Climb up the coconut tree!

#### 4.4 Downward Direction

Downward directions are described by the words **ro** 'go down' and **bro** 'come down'. The usage is parallel to the upward direction, that is, the direction includes climbing down from trees or high places, or "getting down" from a canoe, or going or coming downriver.

- 110) **Ja bu- g- ro kampun.**  
I nonprog-want-go down village

I am ready to go down to the village.  
(The speaker is upriver and the village is located downriver.)

- 111) **Oro g- m- ro fide?**  
you want-2ps-go down house

Are you going (down) home?  
(The house is in a lower position than the present location.)

- 112) **Iro du- n- mi wetni bunat bro.**  
he prog-3ps-live river new come down

He has just come down from upriver.

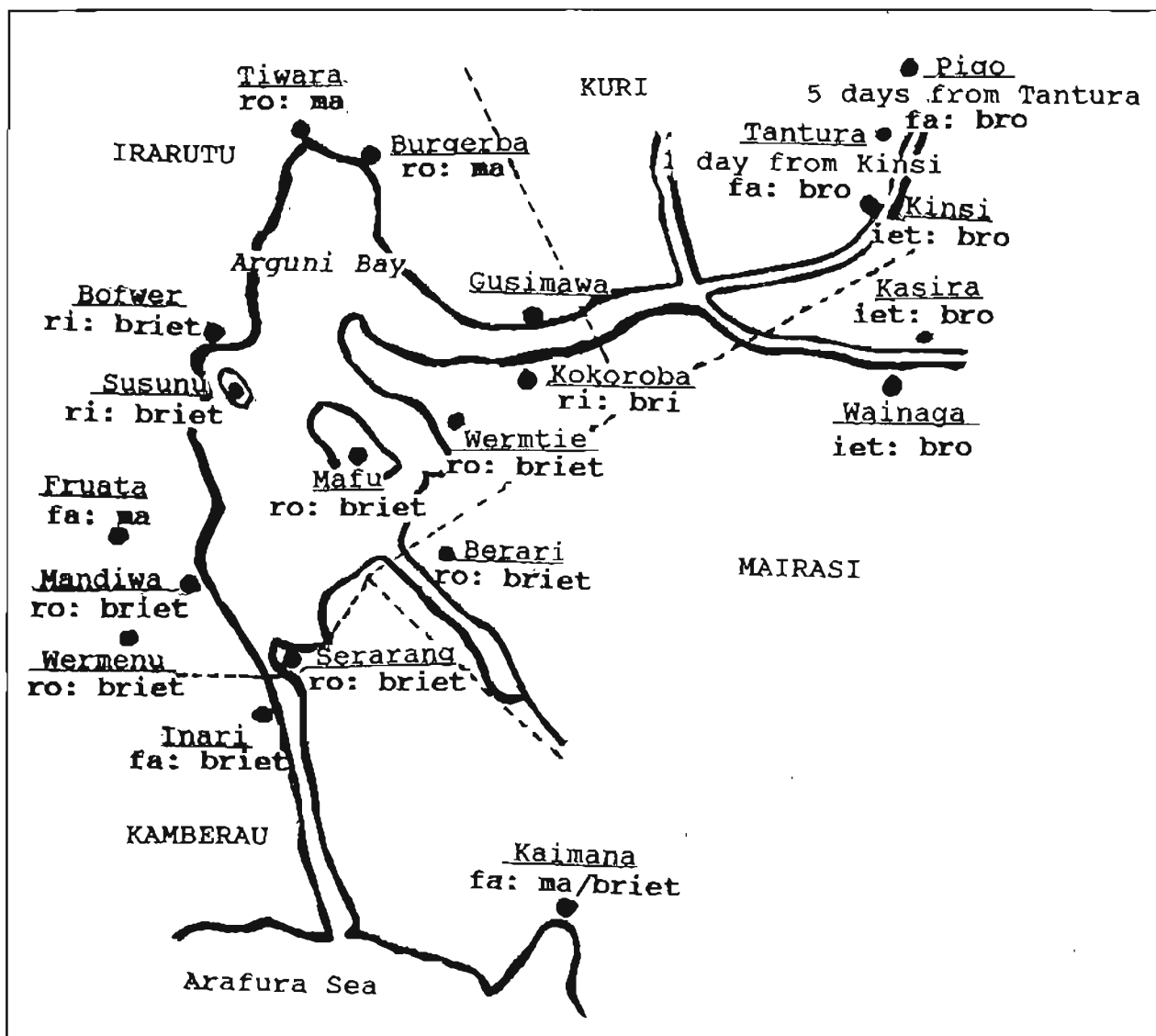
- 113) **Bro! Tot o m- tit.**  
come down otherwise you 2ps-fall

Come down (from the tree)! Otherwise you'll fall.

#### 4.5 Across Direction

When a person goes across a river, the verb **ri** 'go across' is used. When a person comes from the other direction, then the verb **bri** 'come across' is used. This is also applied to going and coming across a doorway or a street

The following map illustrates these directional verbs as they relate to coming and going from the village of Gusimawa.



114) Ja g- ri ti wer nene Mujan.  
I want-go across fetch water at Moyana

I want go (across the river and) fetch water  
from the Moyana (waterfall).

- 115) Oro du- mi Bofwer m- bri kampun?  
 you prog-live Bofwer 2ps-come across village  
 Have you come over (across the bay) from Bofwer?

- 116) M- bri m- mtur fide gan.  
 2ps-come in 2ps-sit house inside  
 Come (across the door) and sit down. (The speaker is inside the house and the addressee is outside the door.)

- 117) M- ri fide gan.  
 2ps-go in house inside  
 Go (across the door) into the house. (The speaker and the addressee are both outside the door of a house.)

#### 4.6 The Verb ra

The verb **ra** 'carry (take/bring)' always needs a directional verb to complete its meaning. In English, when someone says to a person a short distance away, "Get the hammer for me", the actions of the addressee for getting the hammer and for bringing the hammer to the speaker are implied. In Irarutu, almost all the motions are described with the directional information in the verb.

- 118) Ba mud mumu mabriet.  
 m- fa m- ud mumu m- ra- briet  
 2ps-go 2ps-get hammer 2ps-bring-come up  
 Go get the hammer (and come bring it) for me.

Note that there are four verbs in this sentence, namely, **ba** 'go', **ud** 'get', **ra** 'carry, take, bring' (2ps = **ma**), and **briet** 'come up'. These verbs carry following information:

- a. addressee was ordered to go to the hammer,
- b. addressee was ordered to get the hammer,
- c. addressee was ordered to carry the hammer,
- d. addressee was coming up to the speaker.

The last verb in the sentence carries the directional information which, in this case, shows that the speaker is in a higher location than the addressee.

By changing the final directional verb one can express precise actions. The following examples are derived from the example above but one of the verbs from each sentence has been changed.

- 119) Ba mud mumu mamiet.  
m- fa m- ud mumu m- ra- m- iet  
2ps-go 2ps-get hammer 2ps-carry-2ps-go up

Go get the hammer for me and take it to (the person uphill).

Note: Now addressee goes away from the speaker to give the hammer to someone else in a higher location.

- 120) Ma mud mumu mamiet.  
m- ma m- ud mumu m- ra- m- iet  
2ps-come 2ps-get hammer 2ps-carry-2ps-go up

Come and get the hammer for me and take it (to the person uphill).

Note: Now addressee goes away from the speaker to give the hammer to someone else in a higher location but he has to come to the speaker to get the hammer from him first.

- 121) Ma mud mumu mamri.  
m- ma m- ud mumu m- ra- m- ri  
2ps-come 2ps-get hammer 2ps-carry-2ps-go across

Go get the hammer for me and take it to (the person on the other side of the street or bay).

Note: Now addressee goes to the other side of the bay or river for the destination.

#### 4.7 Fi and Directional Verbs

The word *fi* can be translated as 'make, have' (causative verb). This verb comes with a directional verb and describes the direction of the patient. In the examples above, the agent moves himself. Here the agent moves the patient and the patient has a directional verb associated with it.

- 122) Ba mud mumu biniet nene atifro ffu adi.  
m- fa m- ud mumu m-fi- n-iet nene atifro ffu adi  
2ps-go 2ps-get hammer 2-cause-3-go up on roof top the

Get the hammer and put it on the roof.



Note that the agent 'you' causes the patient **mumu** 'hammer' to go up on the roof. Note also the person markers on the word **bi-n-iet** that the causative verb **fi** here is in second person and the directional verb **iet** is in third person. So the literal translation of this sentence is, "Go, get the hammer and cause the hammer to go up on the roof." The meaning here is that the agent 'you' won't go up on the roof but the patient 'hammer' will.

## 5. SUBJECT AND OBJECT

Subject and object usually do not carry markers to identify them. The grammatical pattern is very much like English. Noun Phrases preceding the verb are the subject and the ones following the verb are the object. However, the focus marker or relative clause marker (or it might be interpreted as a time conjunctive 'when') **ro**, is used heavily in this language.

### 5.1 Direct Object

The direct object is marked only by word order. The noun phrase following the transitive verb is the object.

123) I e- samt sum weni.  
he past-catch fish pl

He caught some fish.

In the example above, the direct object noun phrase **sum weni** comes right after the transitive verb **samt**.

When a direct object is in focus, it comes at the beginning of the clause. The focus marker follows the final element in the noun phrase. In example (124) the words **sum weni-ro** can be identified as a focused object instead of a subject because the singular subject pronoun **i** is following this plural phrase (if **sum weni** were the subject, the subject pronoun would be **ir**).

124) Sum weni-ro i e- samt.  
fish pl- foc he past-catch

These fish were caught by him.

## 5.2 Indirect Object

The indirect object appears in bitransitive clauses. The indirect object marker **ragi** appears to be a verb meaning 'to give to (a person)'. It is conjugated according to person, always showing agreement with the subject of the main verb. The indirect object is a pronoun or a noun phrase.

- 125) **Ja ar mofeni ragi o.**  
**ja o- ar mofeni o- ragi o**  
 I 1ps-give medicine 1ps-give to you

I am giving you medicine.

- 126) **Mar surti adi magi ja.**  
**m- ar surti adi m- ragi ja**  
 2ps-give letter the 2ps-give to me

Please give me the letter.

- 127) **I nar isuri adi nane matu.**  
**i n- ar i- suri adi n- ragi matu**  
 he 3ps-give his-ax the 3ps-give to man

He gave his ax to someone.

## 5.3 Subject

Subjects may be pronouns or noun phrases. When the subject in a clause is a noun or pronoun, the focus marker **ro** is usually attached to it (except for the first person pronoun **ja**). When the subject is a noun phrase, the focus marker is attached to the last element of the phrase. In many cases the subject noun phrase is followed by an additional pronoun having reference to the subject.

The subject is the main focus in unmarked situations. Thus, usually the focus marker attaches to the subject.

- 128) **I- ro g- n- fa dedan.**  
 she-foc want-3ps-go garden

She wants to go to the garden.

- 129) **O- ro du- btut nia adini?**  
 you-foc prg-do what here

What are you doing here?

- 130) **Ja bu- g- ro fide.**  
 I nonprog-want-go down house  
 I have to go (down) home.

- 131) **Mantri adi-ro i- ro bu- su- fa naft.**  
 health worker the-foc he-foc nonprog-comp-go hunt  
 The health worker has already left to go hunting.

However, in some cases the focus marker is not obligatory when the subject pronoun is used. Further research is required to analyze this pattern conclusively.

- 132) **I e- bu- su- fa fide.**  
 He past-nonprog-want-go down house  
 He already went (down) home.

#### 5.4 Other Usage Of the Focus Marker

The focus marker *ro* can focus not only noun phrases, but also embedded noun phrases, or even a clause.

- 133) **I e- bu- su- fa fide- ro lofa adifi.**  
 He past-nonprog-want-go down house-foc yesterday last  
 His going (down) home was the day before yesterday.

Note that the whole clause is focused in the above example.

- 134) **Buku fimmat bidi uf sarfu adi-ro ja-ri.**  
 book blue big rel thick the-foc I-have  
 The big blue thick book is mine.

In example (134) the complex noun phrase is focused as a whole.

## 6. PRONOUNS

### 6.1 Free Pronouns

Irarutu has one set of free pronouns. (The term 'free pronoun' here is used to mean that the pronouns are not affixes of the verb, but independent words.) In Irarutu the verb prefixes agree with person changes of these free pronouns, just as they do with other subjects. The free pronouns distinguish first, second, and third person and singular and plural. (Irarutu

also has a dual form. However, in this paper the dual is separated from other persons because the dual is considered to be a pronoun with the dual suffix rather than a dual pronoun per se.) The following is a list of the free pronouns in Irarutu.

	singular	plural
1st	ja/a	am (excl.) it (incl.)
2nd	o	e
3rd	i	ir

- 135) **Ja du- mi wetni bunat bro.**  
 1ps prog-live river new come down  
 I am just coming down from the river.
- 136) **E- ro du- btut e- fide adi.**  
 2ps-foc prog-make 2ps (pl)-house the  
 You (pl) are building your house.
- 137) **Mat it- ruru iet tro adi.**  
 let's 1ps (incl.)-two climb mountain the  
 Let's (two of us) climb the mountain.

A free pronoun is required in an independent clause. On the other hand, free pronouns are optional in dependent clauses, in a sequential text where the subject is clear, and continuously on the main line.

- 138) **Esi si bu n- fguen si, wagt weni-ro**  
 then 3ps-see already 3ps-look at when taro pl- foc  
**du n- mbor n- bro.**  
 prog 3ps-float 3ps-come down  
 When (he) saw (the river), taro was floating down this way.

## 6.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Irarutu consist of two basic classes of affixes which are added to the possessed nouns. One class is used with reference to parts of the human body and the other with general nouns. A combination of possessive prefixes and suffixes is used for describing body parts; for the general possessed

nouns, only possessive prefixes are used. The following is a list of these possessive prefixes and suffixes

	singular		plural		
1st	a-	-g	am-	-g	(excl.)
			it-	-g	(incl.)
2nd	o-	-m	e-	-m	
3rd	i-		ir-		

- |     |                             |                                     |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 139 | a- rímtá-g<br>lps-lips- lps | am- rímtá-g<br>lpl (excl)-lips- lps |
|     |                             | it- rímtá-g<br>lpl (incl)-lips- lps |
| 140 | o- rímtá-m<br>2ps-lips- 2ps | e- rímtá-m<br>2pl- lips- 2ps        |
| 141 | i- rímtá<br>3ps-lips        | ir- rímtá<br>3pl-lips               |

It is interesting to note that when referring to parts of the body, these possessive pronouns are obligatory.

	sg.	pl
1st	a-	am- (excl.) it- (incl.)
2nd	o-	e-
3rd	i-	ir-

- |     |                      |                              |
|-----|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 142 | a- fidi<br>lps-house | am- fidi<br>lpl (excl)-house |
|     |                      | it- fidi<br>lpl (incl)-house |
| 143 | o- fidi<br>2pl-house | e- fidi<br>2pl-house         |
| 144 | i- fidi<br>3ps-house | ir- fidi<br>3pl-house        |

## 7. NOUN PHRASE

### 7.1 Function of the Noun Phrase

The function of the noun phrase is to act as an element of the clause as subject preceding the verb phrase and as object following the verb phrase.

### 7.2 Structure of the Noun Phrase

#### 7.2.1 Simple Noun Phrase

The simple noun phrase has one element functioning as head. The following formulae illustrate this.

	Pre-Modifier	Head:	Post-Modifiers
Noun Phrase	= ± Possessive (+ Noun)	+ Noun (± Possessive Affix + Noun)	± Adjective Phrase (+ Adjective ± Adverb)
Post- Modifier	= ± Quantifier Phrase (+ Classifier + numeral)	± Demonstrative	+ Partatives

Nominal possessives are made up of a noun preceding a noun.

- 145) **Silas fide**  
Silas house  
  
Silas's house
- 146) **Sara i- die fide**  
Sara 3ps-father house  
  
Sara's father's house
- 147) **matu fide**  
person house  
  
someone's house

The adjective phrase consists of an adjective as the head with or without an adverb. Two adjectives can occur in a single noun phrase, but if a third adjective is added, it is expressed in a relative clause structure.

- 148) **buku fimmat bidi adi**  
 book blue big the  
 the big blue book
- 149) **buku fimmat bidi uf sarfu adi**  
 book blue big rel thick the  
 the big blue thick book
- 150) **fide bidi bnat uf bfut adi**  
 house big new rel white the  
 the big new white house

Two nouns can occur in sequence, in which case the second noun is attributive to the first.

- 151) **fide atifro**  
 house thatch  
 a thatched house
- 152) **fide kami**  
 house stone  
 a stone house

A classifier and a numeral may follow the noun head.

- 153) **matu teni tur**  
 person clsf three  
 body  
 three people
- 154) **umagi fu esuem**  
 coconut clsf one  
 piece  
 one coconut
- 155) **bigini fu esuem**  
 plate clsf one  
 piece  
 one plate
- 156) **sinief je esuem**  
 cassava clsf one  
 meat  
 one cassava

- 157)    **fud**    **jagfu**    **esuem**  
          banana clsf    one  
                  bunch  
          one bunch of bananas
- 158)    **sum**    **fin**    **esuem**  
          fish    clsf    one  
                  school  
          a school of fish
- 159)    **ema**            **brimt** **esuem**  
          firewood clsf    one  
                  load  
          a load of firewood
- 160)    **matu**    **weni**            **timebe**  
          person the (pl) all  
          all the people
- 161)    **fide**    **weni**            **timebe**  
          house the (pl) all  
          all the houses

A demonstrative follows the noun head.

- 162)    **fide**    **adi**  
          house the  
          the house
- 163)    **fide**    **adini**  
          house this  
          this house
- 164)    **fide**    **adei**  
          house that  
          that house
- 165)    **fide**    **adimai**  
          house that  
                  (farther)  
          that house over there



- 166) **fide adiro**  
house that  
      (lower)  
  
that house down there
- 167) **fide adiri**  
house that  
      (across the path)  
  
the house across the path
- 168) **fide adimari**  
house that  
      (across the water)  
  
the house across the lake
- 169) **fide ru weni**  
house two the (pl.)  
  
the two houses
- 170) **fide ru wenini**  
house two these  
  
these two houses
- 171) **fide ru wenimari**  
house two those  
      (across the water)  
  
those two house across the lake/river

The following example shows the relative ordering which holds when more than one modifier occurs, as shown in the formula above.

- 172) **matu Amerik bidi teni ru weni**  
person America big body two some  
  
the two big American people

#### 7.2.2 The Extended Noun Phrase

The extended noun phrase consists of two or more simple noun phrases functioning as a single phrase.

In the case of an apositional noun phrase, The two noun phrases are in apposition.

- 173)    **a- mo      Jun**  
          my-child Jun  
          my child, Jun
- 174)    **a- matu      Heret**  
          my friend Heret  
          my friend, Heret

In the case of an Alternative Noun Phrase, the structure is slightly different

- 175)    **Silas te ja te bu      n- fa dedan.**  
          Silas or I or already 3ps-go garden  
          Either Silas or I are ready to go to the garden.
- 176)    **Ja g- ga fud te sinief te.**  
          lps want-eat banana or cassava or  
          I want to eat a banana or some cassava.

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