ARAPESH AND BUKIYIP (MOUNTAIN ARAPESH) COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR NOTES

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0. Symbols and abbreviations

Ag	agent
asp	aspect
ben	benefactive
cer	certainty
cfc	contrary to fact conditional
cl	noun class
Cl	clause
cont	continuous
d	dual
dem	demonstrative
d.ref	displaced reference
Exp	experiencer
fe	feminine
f	future
gft	general future
im	imperative mood
indef	indefinite
io	indirect object
ir	irrealis mood
ir.neg	irrealis negator
lim	limiter
loc	locative word or enclitic
m	masculine
mix	mixed gender
neg	negative
nom	nominalizer
o	object
Pat	patient
perm	permanent aspect
pl	plural
pos	possessive
p.t.	past tense
r	realis mood
refl	reflexive
rel	relative clause
r.neg	realis negator
sg	singular
s	subject

v verb
V any vowel
we2 we two
Ø zero morpheme
? morpheme of uncertain meaning
<_n-> the class of affixes of which _n is a member
+ high central vowel
@ mid central vowel
# word boundary
& and (joining morphemes, etc.)
=== becomes (in rules and transformations)

1. Introduction

It is the purpose of this study to compare some aspects of the phonology and grammar of Bukiyip, hereafter called B, and Coastal Arapesh (Arapesh), hereafter called A.

B, also called Mountain Arapesh,, is a member of the Arapesh family of the Kombio stock of the Torricelli phylum in Papua New Guinea (Laycock 1973:14-15). It is spoken by 5,000 people living on the southern slopes ofthe Prince Alexander Range between Yangoru and Maprik in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. The subdialect variations are Chamaun, Buki, Lohuhim, and Yamil. The differences are primarily phonological. Yamil has one distinct grammatical diference: verbal affix h- 'male plural subject' is changed to m-.

There is another major dialect (actually two related dialects) which is spoken by 4-5000 people living on the ocean west of Wewak between Banak and Sowom and also in the mountains to the south (Conrad, Simatab and Inowor, 1990). The two dialects of this major dialect are called Rohuhim, defined by their use of phonemes r and sh, and Shamaun, which uses l and ch instead. Although these groupings use the same name as two of the previously described Bukiyip variations, they refer to distinct groups of people speaking slightly different dialects.

In fact, this comparison between A and B is an oversimplification. It is a comparison betwen two groups which have minor phonological and grammatical differences within them. We take as a given that the entire Arapesh language family is one long dialect chain extending from Banak to Sowom and inland through the 25 B villages on to the edge of Maprik and then west to Bonahoi (between Maprik and Dreikikir) and south to Ilahita and Mui.

Nevertheless this comparison is possible. Conrad (1978:59-61 ~~1981:CHECK THIS ONE~~) FOUND 86% (~~check this one!!~~) probable cognates between B and A using a modified Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) word list. In fact, speakers of B and speakers of A can communicate reasonably well in the ordinary exchanges of life, with an estimated 80-90% intelligibility level. When discussing non-cultural subjects, however, the intelligibility decreases. Within B, the dialects ranged between 85% and 99% probable cognates, while within A the range was 90-100% for the SIL 50 word list and approximately 81 to 100% for the SIL standard 200 word list.

2. Comparative Phonology

The phnological analysis of B which we will use in this analysis (Conrad 1971) posits the following phonemes:

Consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar
Stops	vl	p	t		k
	vd	b	d		g
Non-resonant continuants	vl			tsh	h
	vd			dz	
Resonant continuants					
nasal		m	n	~n	
non-nasal					
lateral			l		
non-lateral		w	r	y	

Vowels:

	front	central	back
high	i	+	u
mid	e	@	o
low		a	

Where + represents the high central vowel, and @ the mid central vowel.

The phonology of A (Conrad and Simatab, 1990) has the following phonemic inventory:

Consonants:

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar
Stops	vl	p	t		k
	vd	b	d		g
Continuants non-res	vl			sh	h
	vd			dz	
resonant nasal		m	n	~n	
non-nasal		w	r	y	

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
high	i	+	u
mid	e	@	o
low		a	

In comparing the phonemic inventories of B and A, it is clear thatthe only difference is that A has the phoneme r while B has both l and r. Actually B is an overall "l" dialect group (corresonding to Arapesh Shamaun dialelct group) and r occurs in B only about 6-8 times in 2500 words. In Tok Pisin loan words with r, many B speakers still use l instead of r.

Other minor phonological (sub-phonemic) differences are:

1. B has /tsh/ but A has /sh/. This correspondence is almost completely regular.

2. B has /k/ (? glottal stop in one minor dialect group) while A has 3 allophones of /k/: (k), (k), and (x). Again the correspondence is regular. In addition /k/ in A becomes ? glottal stop in the Lowon area of the Western coastal dialect.

3. The voiceless allophones of /w/ (W) which occur in A word finally on certain classes of nouns, namely those ending in /kw/ (kU), /gw/ (gU), and /hw/ (hU) are somewhat lenis (softer) in A than in B. However, they are still present and are, with one or two minor exceptions, incorporated into the noun class system and verbal affixation in the same way as in B.

The only part of the phonological analysis of B which is problematic is the issue of the central vowels--whether there are two /@/ and /a/ or an additional high central vowel /+/.

For A we have chosen the three central vowel analysis as in B (Conrad 1971). The distribution of the vowels would favor the two central vowel solution, since the distribution with three vowels is very irregular. However, to choose two central vowels means ignorning some of the data--at least a dozen words which have a 3-way contrast in the three central vowels, but only word medially. Part of the reason for this is that /+/ does not occur initially and /@/ does not occur word finally, except possibly in one word.

Because of the close similarity in the phonologies of A and B, it was possible in the case of virtually every phoneme, to establish its existence and show the contrasts using almost the very same words as were used in the B phonology paper (Conrad 1971). There were of course some word replacements. However, most of the changes from B to A were covered by the following regular sound changes:

sound change:	example:
l--r	bul--bur 'pig'
tsh--sh	tshanak--shanak 'they went'

~n--~ni ~nak--~niak 'you singluar'

lp--rup wilpat--urupat 'house'

gl--gVr nagl+k--nag+r+k 'he fell down'

kl--kVr tshakli--shakari 'they said'

lm--lVm @lmatokW--aramatokW 'woman'

rm--rVm m@rmin--m@r@min 'grease'

lgw--rVgw algwel+l+h--aragwer+r+h ALUIS CHK 'bamboo tongs'

V/-# ---0 word final only beat+ -- beat; tshan+ -- shan

4. Fewer syllable patterns occur in A than in B. Of the 12 syllable patterns occurring in B, only 9 occur in A. CCV, CCVC, VC, and CCVVC do not occur in A due to vowel insertion between the consonant clusters. All 12 types are listed below with the corresponding example in A as well.

B: A:

CV n@ganin+ -- n@ganin 'son'

CVC dam -- doudam 'spider'

*CCV blawag -- barawag 'spear'

*CCVC blagl+k -- bag@r+k 'water pours down'

*VC @rmatokU -- @ramatok 'woman'

V inak -- inak

CVV lueheo -- rueheu 'flies'

CVVC keitsh -- keish

CCVV gwauh -- gwauh 'to be red (as in blood)'

*CCVVC @blaukU -- @b@raukU 'coconut shell'

VVC aun-- aun 'luminary'

VV ainab -- ainab 'insect type plural'

5. Fewer syllable patterns in 2 syllable words occur in A than in B. Out of 9 patterns in B, only 7 occur in A. VC.CV and CCV.CCV do not occur. Usually this is due to vowel insertion between two consecutive consonants. The examples are listed below.

V.CVC etschaX -- eshaX

*VC.CV tshalhas -- sharwa

CV.CV nani -- nani 'he (distant)'

CV.CVC nobat -- nubat 'dog'

CV.VC keitsh --keish 'bows and arrows'

CVC.CV m+lbiXU -- m+r@biXU, but sharwa 'they ran away afraid'

Reduplication:

CCVC.CCVC kulkul -- kwirkwir 'black bug type'

Note that B does not have CCVC.CCVC but instead CVC.CVC.

*CCV.CCV hlahli -- harhi, 'bamboo tongs (distant)' which is again CVC.CV.

6. Of the ten syllable patterns in 3 syllable words in B (Conrad '71), none carry over to A, primarioly because of vowel insertion between two consecutive consonants. A has two syllable patterns in 3 syllable words and three in four syllable words which do not ococur in B. Agan, these are mostly due to vowel insertion between two consecutive consonants, giving a different pattern then in B.

3 syllable words:

CVCVCVC g@r@git /garagit/ 'ball made of leaves'??

VCVCVC ibomen 'I will repay'

4 syllable words:

CVCVCVCV shanok@nu /shanokanu/ 'it is sufficient'

CVCVCVCVC n+tar@bas /nutarabas/ 'he will ur;inate'

VCVCVCVC @r@k@b+s /arakabus/ 'claws', 'fingernails'

7. The basic stress pattern is the same in A as in B. There is penultimate stress with accompanying length on virtually every word. However, negative, interrogative, question and imperative clauses have their own specific intonation, as explained in section 3.

In conclusion, we summarize the above data which has shown the very close similarity between the phonology of A and B. The basic differences in transferring from B to A are that tsh --sh, l -- r, vowel insertion between most consecutive consonants, loss of word final vowel and slightly different phonetic values for /k/ and /r/. The high central vowel, not distinguished in the Bukiyip practical orthography because of high predictability, is symbolized by + for convenience for non-native speakers. Due to hardware constraints the mid central vowel will be symbolized by @.

3.MORPHOPHONEMICS

The basic 18 morphophonemic rules (Conrad 90) are the same, with the corresponding sound changes applying along with the deletion of the word final vowel.

3.1 Final Intonation

(1)

```
Wanebih    m-       u-  nak  m-       u-  bro      rowa-s.
3days.     3pl.subj-unr-go   3pl.subj-unr cut      tree-cl.3.pl
after.
today
```

'Three days from now we will go and cut down trees.'

Note the sentence final falling intonation and the stress (higher pitch) on the penultimate syllable of every word.

3.2 Nonfinal Intonation

(2)

```
Kadak  esha-h        h-            u-  rari      um,  ta  mare
later. rain-cl.13.pl cl.13.pl.subj-unr-fall.down if   fut fut.neg
today

m-       u-   nak.
3pl.subj- unr  go
```

'If it rains later today, we will not go.'

Note the high non-falling Nonfinal Intonation on the morpheme *um*. This encodes the first clause as a supposition or presupposition, whether or not the *um* is there.

3.3 Interrogative Intonation

(3)

```
Nyak   ny       -+   -nak      wa-      bur?
you.sg 3.sg.subj-unr -go       village- cl.2.sg
'Are you going to the village?'
```

Note that the intonation on the final syllable of the clause remains high in contrast to the lower intonation on the Final (Declarative) Intonation pattern (Section 3.1).

3.4 Imperative Intonation

(4)

```
Nyak       ta    ny-       +-  nak          urupa-t!
2sg.pn     imper 2.sg.subj-imp-go           house-cl.11.sg
'You go to the house.'
```

3.5 Alternative Interrogative Intonation

(5)

```
Eig     i-            na-m   eny+      aka      wak?
1.sg.pn 1.sg.irr.subj-go-BEN-2sg.obj   alt      neg
'Will/May I go with you or not?'
```

3.6 Realis Negation Intonation

(6)

```
madai      n-          +-   d+ke-    m-     esh
negation   3m.sg.subj-irr- know     BEN    cl.8.mix.obj
'He didn't know about them.'
```

The basic forms for irrealis and realis mood are + and a, as indicated in (7) and (8):

(7)
```
n-          +-  t+r-+n
3m.sg.subj-irr-see-3m.sg.obj
'He will/may see him.'
```

(8)
```
n-          a-t+r-+n
3m.sg.subj-r-see-3m.sg.obj
'He saw him.'
```

Basic forms for first person singular subject prefixes are i- '1.sg.subj.irr' , and y- '1.sg.subj.r'.

The form i- is derived by applying MP rule 2, i&+ ==i, giving

i- & + & nak ==inak. Therefore as in (9),

(9)
```
i-            nak.
1.sg.subj.irr-go
'I will/may go.'
```

Similarly in (10),

(10)
```
y-          a-nak.
1.sg.subj-r-go
'I went.'
```

The basic forms for the third person free pronouns when the referent is near the speaker and hearer are essentially the same in A and B. The formula is @C(C)aC(C). See (11) through (13).

(11) @nan 'he, class 7sg nearby'

(12) ohohw 'it, class 12sg nearby'

(13) @rab 'it, class 2sg nearby'

In the morphophonemic rules below, the following abbreviations are used:

Vr = u, o (rounded vowels)

Vc = +, @, a (central unrounded vowels)

Vu = Vc & i, e, ae (unrounded vowels)

C = any consonant

Calv = y, ny, ch, j (alveopalatal consonants)

Cr = m, b, h, w, p (rounded consonants)

Vf = i, e, ae (front vowels)

In the examples illustrating these rules, a number in brackets after the rule indicates the rule which describes the change.

With these definitions and conventions, the partially ordered morphophonemic rules are as follows:

RULE 1. VcCalv == VfCalv

(14) h-+-shuh == hishuh

(15) p-a-shuh == peshuh

(16) n-a-shir == neshir

(17) p-+-nyah == pinyah

(18) @ny@ny == enyeny

(19) at+ny == atiny

RULE 2. w & + == u,

u & w == uw,

i & + == i (semivowel rule)

(20) i-+-nak == inak

(21) w-+-nak == unak

For example of + & w == uw, see RULE 11.

RULE 3. ny & u == ny+, unless another u phoneme occurs in the following syllable within the phonological word.

(22) ny & upwe == ny+pwe

(23) barainy & um == barainy um

(24) ny-+-suh == nyusuh

(25) ny & uwu == nyuwu

(26) nyunuk 'snake type' occurs by ny+nuk does not.

RULE 4. +CrVr == uCrVr ; @CrVr == oCrVr

(27) p-+-hok == puhok, but p-+-b+k does not become pub+k

(28) n-+-bo == nubo, but n-+-b+k does not become nubuk

(29) esh@buk == eshobuk

(30) p-@-k@m+k == (10) p@k@muk == (4) p@komuk
This example does not occur in A.

RULE 5. a & CVc == @CVc

(31) n-a-bah == n@bah

(32) n-a-sah == n@sah

(33) n-a-m+nek == n@m+nek

(34) p-a-rau == p@rau, but nar, not n@r

RULE 6. If Vc is not a, Vc & C & w == VrCw

(35) ny-+-hwesh == nyuhwesh (does not apply in A.)

(36) @hwahw == (6) ohwohw == (7) ohohw

(37) @gwagw == (6) ogwogw == (7) ogogw

(38) But @hah and @gag do not change

RULE 7. Cw & Vr == CVr
See (36) and (37).

RULE 8. i# & i == i

(39) i-+-tak == (2) iitak == (8) itak

RULE 9. #w & @ == #wo

(40) #w-@-nak == (9) wonak

(41) kw-@-nak == (9) kwonak == (7) konak
RULE 7 does not apply in A in this case.

RULE 10. m# & + == mu, except when m+ precedes the sequence voiced stop & +; m@n == mon. (Does not apply in A.)

(42) m-+-kurup == (10) mukurup, but m+d+kemesh occurs, not mud+kemesh

(43) m-+-bo == (10) mubo

(44) m-a-nak == (5) m@nak == (10) monak

RULE 11. #Vc & tVr == otVr

(45) @tobuk == otobuk

(46) But @t+dak is unchanged.

(47) at+we == (2) atuwe == (11) otuwe

(48) But at+n is unchanged.

RULE 12. e# & +k ==eik

(49) nape & +k == (12) napeik

(50) shape & +k == (12) shapeik

RULE 13. C# & CVc == CVcCVc (in which the Vc are the same vowel)

C# & Calv & i == Cr iCalv i
(51) shagas & b+k == (13) shagas+b+k
(52) atap & shi == (13) atapishi
RULE 14. + & C# & u == uCu
(53) u-t+r-+g+n &ugu == (14) ut+r+gunugu == (14) uturugunugu
RULE 15. +# & C & u# == oCu#
(54) natur+n & -gu == (15) naturunugu
RULE 16. VrCr# & + == VrCru
(55) neshuh & -+k == (16) neshuhuk
(56) nowashoh & -+k == (16) nowashohuk
(57) shakaripom & +k == (16) shakaripomuk
(58) kw+h+r == (2) kuh+r == (16) kuhur
(59) m+h+r == (10) muh+r == (16) muhur
RULE 17. u# & + == uwu
(60) sheyotu & -+k == (17) sheyotuwuk
(61) natu & +k == (17) natuwuk
(62) nutuwaru & -+k == (17) nutuwaruk
RULE 18. +# & u == o

This rule does not hold in A because all word final vowels are deleted. The following examples (63) - (65) apply only to B.

(63) eigin+ & um == (18) eiginum
(64) t+kanit+ & um == (18) t+kanitum
(65) kabi eigin yain & um == (18) kabi eigin yainum

4. OVERVIEW OF BUKIYIP AND ARAPESH INCLUDING CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Arapesh and Bukiyip have very similar clause structure. The unmarked indicative clause order is SVO, as in (66).

(66) B
Ani- n+ n- a-bo nuba-t.
father-cl.7.sg cl.7.sg.subj-r-hit dog- cl.11.sg
'Father hit the dog.'

A
Yai- n n- a-bo nuba-t.
father-cl.7.sg cl.7.sg.subj-r-hit dog- cl.11.sg
'Father hit the dog.'

The noun class system and the strategy of its use in almost every part of the grammar are essentially the same for A and B. Except for a very few minor uninflected word classes such as responses, exclamations, adverbs, locative and temporal words, every word in the language is inflected according to the to the noun class system with its 18 classes each defined by the suffix for singular and the corresponding suffix for plural within each of the 18 classes. This system is outlined in Chart 1 and Chart 2, Noun Class Matrix 1 and 2 respectively. All the 3rd person pronouns, all the demonstratives and all the verbal affixes (marking subject, direct object, indirect object and benefactive) agree with the noun class numeral suffixes. In addition there is noun phrase concordance, so that every element (modifier) in a noun phrase agrees with the class and number of the head noun. This will be discussed in detail in section 5.

Example of juxtaposed clauses, same subject (67):

(67) B Alu- dak nebe-li bu- l
dem.cl.10.sg-nr.dem big- cl.10.sg.adj pig-cl.10.sg

l- a-nak lah l- a-wak lohu- hw. [13]
cl.10.sg.subj-r-go jungle cl.10.sg.subj-r-eat sago.palm-cl.12.sg
'This big pig went to the jungle and ate sago palm.'

A Aru- da debei-ri bu -r
dem.cl.10.sg-nr.dem big- cl.10.sg.adj pig-cl.10.sg

r- a-nak urah r- a-wok rohu- hw.
cl.10.sg.subj-r-go jungle cl.10.sg.subj-r-eat sago.palm-cl.12.sg
'This big pig went to the jungle and ate sago palm.'

(68) B Anan n- u- tul-unu.
he 3.m.sg.subj-irr-see-3.m.sg.obj
'He will see him.'

A Anan n- u- tur-un.
he 3.m.sg.subj.-irr-see-3.m.sg.obj
'He will see him.'

(69) B Okwok kw- a-tul-utu.
she 3.f.sg.subj-r-see-cl.11.obj
'She saw the class 11 object (dog, chicken,house, or any other item encoded as class 11: ending in -t or -tu in the singular).'

A Okok kw- a-tur-ut.
she 3.f.sg.subj-r-see-cl.11.sg.obj.
'She saw the (dog, chicken, house, or any other item encoded as class 11: ending in -t or -tu in the singular).'

Notice how in (70) the ending on adjective nebeli 'big' agrees with the ending on the singular form for 'pig', bul.

(70) B Alu- dak nebe-li bu- l
dem.cl.10.sg-nr.dem big- cl.10.sg.adj pig-cl.10.sg

l- a-nak ulah l- a-wak lohu-hw.
cl.10.sg.subj-r-go jungle cl.10.sg.subj-r-eat sago-cl.12.sg.
'This big pig went to the jungle and ate sago.'

A Aru- da debei-ri bu- r
dem.cl.10.sg-nr.dem big- cl.10.sg.adj pig-cl.10.sg

r- a-nak urah r- a-wak rohu-hw.
cl.10.sg.subj-r-go jungle cl.10.sg.subj-r-eat sago-cl.12.sg.

'This big pig went to the jungle and ate sago palm.'

(71) Fronting to mark clause topic can occur with relative clauses being fronted

B Amam h- a-sanuk nyubla- s uli,

3.m.pl.pn 3.m.pl.subj-r-pull slit.gong-cl.9.pl. nom/rel

echech wa- bul- ich- i
3.mix.pl.pn village-cl.2.sg-3.mix.pl.-nom

ch- a-bil- om- ech.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-feed-ben-3.mix.pl.obj.

'Conerning the men who pulled the slit gong drums, the village people fed them.'

A Amam h- a-sanuk nyubara- s iri ara
3.m.pl.pn 3.m.pl.subj-r-pull slit.gong-cl.9.pl rel and

eshesh wa- bur- ish- i
3.mix.pl.pn village-cl.2.sg.-3.pl.mix-nom/rel

sh- a-bir- om- esh.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-feed-ben-3.mix.pl.obj

'The men pulled the slit gong drums and the village people gave them food.'

(72) B NM104

Yek i- k- um- onu wabo- k
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-give-ben-3.m.sg.obj black.palm.stick-cl.4.sg

an- anu.
indef-3.m.sg

'I will hit someone (male) with a black palm stick.'

A: Note that ananu 'indefinite third masculine singular' in B is reduced to anan in A, so that the one form means both definite ('he') and indefinite (some one male).

Eig i- k- um- on wabo- k
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-give-ben-3.m.sg.obj black.palm.stick-cl.4.sg

an- an.
indef-3.m.sg

' I will hit someone (male) with a black palm stick.'

(73) XC403 B

At- unu n- a-k- ana- li sulu-hw
one-3.m.sg. 3.m.sg.subj-r-give-3.m.sg.obj.-come ring-cl.10.sg.

naukline- nu.
father.in.law-3.m.sg.

'One man brought one ring and gave it to his father-in-law.'

A
Chk (73 A)

```
At-  un     n-          a-k-   ana-        ri   suru-hw
one-3.m.sg. 3.m.sg.subj-r-give-3.m.sg.obj.-come ring-cl.10.sg

     naukarinei-   n.
     father.in.law-3.m.sg.
```

'One man brought one ring and gave it to his father-in-law.'

5. NOUN CLASS SYSTEMS

The noun class systems for B and A are essentially the same. Noun Class Matrix 1 and Noun Class Matrix 2 illustrate the 18 noun classes and the latter shows some of the exceptions.

NOUN CLASS MATRIX 1

N	Gloss	Example		Noun Suffix		Adj Suffix		Verb Prefix	
Cl		Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	betel nut	b+b	b+b+s	-b	-b+s	-bi	-b+si	b-	s-
2	village	wabur	warub	-bur	-rub	-biri	-rubi	b-	b-
3	feces	ubah	ubas	-bah	-bas	-bahi	-basi	s-	s-
4	woman	aramatokw	aramago	-kw	-o	-kwi	-wori	kw-	w-
5	banana	apam	apas	-m	-s	-mi	-si	m-	s-
6	moon	aun	aub	-n	-b	-ni	-bi	n-	b-
7	man	araman	aramom	-n	-m	-ni/ -nari	-mi	n-	h-
8	child	batawiny	batawish	-ny	-sh	-nyi	-shi	ny-	sh-
9	leaf	shup	shus	-p	-s	-pi	-si	p-	s-
10	mosquito	aur	aguh	-r	-guh	-ri	-guhi	r-	hw-
11	dog	nubat	nubagw	-t	-gw	-ti/ -tari	-gwi	t-	gw-
12	sago palm	rohuhw	rohuruh	-hw	-ruh	-hwi	-ruhi	hw-	h-
13	road	yah	yeh	-V1h	-V2h	-hi	-hi	h-	h-
14	box	kes	kes	-s	-s	-si	-si	s-	s-
15	small pig	burigun	buruguhis	-gun	-is	-guni	-si	n-	s-
16	garden	nubarig	nubarigas	-g	-gas	-gi	-gasi	g-	s-
17	personal names							n-/ kw-	h-/w-
18	place names							b-	-

Chart 2 NOUN CLASS MATRIX 2 (IRREGULARITIES)

N Cl	Gloss	Example		Noun Suffix		Adj Suffix		Verb Prefix	
		Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	bee	marun	marubus	-n	-bus	-ni/ -nari	-busi	n-	s-
2	bamboo	mahorog	mahorog-ahas	-g	-gahas	-nyi	-shi	ny-	sh-
3	head	barag	baragas	-g	-gas	-gi	-gasi	g-	s-
3	firewood	nyigah	nyigas	-h	-s	-nyi	-gasi	ny-	s-
4	grand-mother	yamegikw	yameheu	-kw	-eu	-kwi	-wi/ -wori	kw-	w-
4	coconut palm tree	ohokw	ohorib	-kw	-rib	kwi-	-wori	kw-	w-
4	red parrot	ahuk	ahumeb	-kw	-meb	-kwi	-wori	kw-	w-
4	woman's breast	nyumab	nyumeb	-mab	-meb	-bi	-bi	b-	b-
5	tongue	yaham	yehep	-m	-p	-mi	-pi	m-	p-
5	stone	utom	utabar	-m	-bar	-mi	-bari	m-	b-
6	tree snake	rowon	rowonab	-n	-nab	-ni	-bi	n-	b-
7	father	yaian yain	yaianomi yainomi	-n	-nomi	-nori	-mi	n-	h-
7	mother's brother	wawen	wawenomi	-n	-nomi	-nori	-mi	n-	h-

8	trouble	ina	inahas	-0	-has	-nyi	-shi	ny-	sh-
8	fish net	rak	rakuhas	-k	-kahas	-nyi	-shi	ny-	sh-
8	language	barainy	barainy	-ny	-ny	-nyi	-nyi	ny-	ny-
8	door	wit	witogw	-t	-gw	-tari	-gwi	t-	gw-
10	bird	aramir	aramiguh	-r	-guh	-ri	-guhi	r-	hw
11	wild sugar cane	arohw	araruh	-hw	-ruh	-hwi	-ruhi	hw-	h-
12	net bag	ashauhw	asharuh	-hw	-ruh	-gi	-gasi	g-	s-
13	feather	harup	harus	-p	-s	-pi	-si	p-	s-
2	hornbill	dabarun	dabarub	-n	-b	-ni	-bi	n-	b-
15	food	worigun	worigun	-gun	-gun	-guni	-guni	n-	n-

There are minor differences between B and A in the verbal and nominal affixation. In class 4, -ou in B becomes -o in A.

In classes 6 and 7, -nali in B becomes - ni or -nari in A. The form -nari is used to refer to one male in a group, while -ni is the form used for addressing a male directly.

In exceptions in class 8 (Noun Class Matrix 2, Chart 2), some of the -has noun suffixes in B go to -gas in A, while some of the -gas noun suffixes in B go to -kahas in A.

The only other changes in the two noun class matrices (Tables 1 and 2) are those resulting from the phonological constraints in A. Word final vowels are deleted and consonant clusters have a vowel inserted between them in many cases and in other cases the second consonant is lost.

For example, in class 7 the singular noun suffix -nu in B becomes -n. This is a special case of the general constraint that all word final vowels are deleted.

6. PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

Except for the regular sound changes between B and A, the free subject and object pronouns are identical.

The Bukiyip and Arapesh free ponouns are listed in charts 3 and 4 respectively. Forms for distant reference (third person only) are shown following a slash "/".

Chart 3 Bukiyip free subject and object pronouns

Number/	Singular	Dual	Plural

Gender:			
1	yek	ohwak	apak
2	nyak	ipak bipu	ipak
3 m	anan/nani	amam biam	amam/mami
3 f	okwok/kwakwi	owo biou	owo/wawi
3 mix		echech biech	echech/chachi

Chart 4 Arapesh free subject and object pronouns

Number/ Gender:	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	eig	ohak	apak
2	nyak	ipak biep	ipak
3 m	anan/nani	amam biom	amam/mami
3 f	okokw/kwakwi	owou biou	owou/wawi
3 mix		eshesh biesh	eshesh/shashi

The demonstratives in A for itermediate and distant reference are formed by a slightly different strategy than the corresponding Bukiyip forms. The comparative forms for B and A are classes 7 and 10 are listed below.

Noun Class:	DEMONSTRATIVES Nearer to Speaker Sg	Pl	Nearer to Hearer Sg	Pl	Distant Sg	Pl
B 7	anudak	omudak	anobuk	omobuk	nani	mami
A 7	anudak	omudak	nunadak	nomadak	nanudak	mamudak
B 10	aludak	oguhudak	alobuk	oguhobuk	lali	gwaguhi
A 10	aradak	aguhudak	naradak	noguhudak	raradak	gwaguhadak

The differences in the demonstratives for languages A and B are in the forms encoding "Nearer to Hearer" and "Distant". The demonstrative suffix -dak is used in both sets of these forms. In the case of the category "Nearer to Hearer" , -dak replaces the Bukiyip suffix -buk. In addition, the A forms for "Nearer to

Speaker" are prefixed by n- in order to form the forms for "Nearer to Hearer". Then the forms for "Nearer to Hearer" are modified by replacing the n- by the key consonant of the noun class which is being referred to. (This key consonant is the second phoneme in the "Nearer to Speaker" demonstratives.) In class 7, this consonant is n and in class 10 it is l in B and r in A.

7. VERBS

Virtually every verb structure and affix found in B also appears intact in A, with these qualifications: word final vowels in B are deleted in A and in general l in B goes to r in A. The morphophonemic rule in B ti == tul becomes ti === tur in A.

Most of the morphophonemic verb stem changes in B also occur in A. (See example (74).

(74) B W- a-ti anan. W- a-tul-unu.
1.dl.subj.-r-see 3.m.sg.pn. 1.dl.subj-r-see-3.m.sg.obj.

'We two saw him.'

A W- a-ti anan. W- a-tur-un.
1.dl.subj.-r-see 3.m.sg.pn. 1.dl.subj.-r-see-3.m.sg.obj.

'We two saw him.'

The so-called dative verbs (experiential verbs) carry over from B to A (75) with an occasional verb stem change in which A encodes the proposition as an intransitive verb rather than as a dative verb (76). The experiencer is always encoded as grammatical object if a dative verb is used. If an intransitive verb is used as in (76), then the experiencer is encoded as grammatical subject.

(75) B Yek abla- ny - iwe.
1.sg.pn shame-cl.8.sg.subj-1.sg.obj.
'Concerning me, I am ashamed.'

A Eig abara- ny- iwe.
1.sg.pn shame-cl.8.sg.8.sg.subj-1.sg.obj.
'Concerning me, I am ashamed.'

B Ut- om ama- m.
stone-cl.5.sg heavy-cl.5.sg.obj.
'The stone is heavy.'

A Ut- om ama- m.
stone-cl.5.sg heavy-cl.5.sg.obj

'The stone is heavy.'

B Ohwak dagal- ohu.
1.dl.pn be.full.of.food-1.dl.obj.
'Concerning the two of us, we are full (of food).'

A Ohok dagar- oh.
1.dl.pn be.full.of.food-1.dl.obj.
'Concerning the two of us, we are full (of food).'

The proposition 'to be afraid' is encoded by a dative berb in B, but by an intransitive verb in A (76) and (77).

(76) B Apak elgei- pu.
1.pl.pn be.afraid-1.pl.obj.
'Concerning us, we are afraid.'

A Apak m- a-nagugur.
1.pl.pn 1.pl.subj-r-be.afraid
'Concerning us, we are afraid.'

(77) B Nuba-t elgei- t omu nebe-li
dog-cl.11.sg be.afraid-cl.11.sg.obj about big-cl.10.sg.adj

bu- l.
pig-cl.10.sg

'The dog is afraid of the big pig.'

A Nuba-t t- a-nagugur um debei-ri
dog-cl.11.sg cl.11.sg.subj-r-be.afraig about big-cl.10.sg.adj.

bu- r.
pig-cl.10.sg.

'The dog is afraid of the big pig.'

In a few cases, a Bukiyip verb (as in nyihihichinu 'he is hot') is replaced by a topic-comment clause (78).

(78) B Anan nyihihichi-nu.
3.m.sg.pn hot- 3.m.sg.obj.
'As for him, he is angry.'

A Anan nyi-bur juwehasi-bur atu- bur.
3.m.sg.pn. stomach-cl.2.sg hot- cl.2.sg. lim-cl.2.sg.
'As for him, his stomach was just hot (he was very angry).'

Alternate form for A:

Anan mishi-ny juwehasi-ny ati-ny.
3.m.sg.pn. heart-cl.8.sg. hot- cl.8.sg. lim-cl.8.sg.
'As for him, his heart (emotions) were just hot (he was very angry).'

Intransitive verbs are very similar in both B and A, as in (79) and (80).

(79) Because word-final vowels are deleted in A, the contrast between anan 'he' and ananu 'indefinite singular member of class 7' is lost in A. Therefore (79) A is ambiguous as indicated in the two translations.[21]

B An- anu alma-n n- a-naki.
indef-3.m.sg man-cl.7.sg. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-come
'A man came.'

A Anan arama-n n- a-naki.
3.m.sg.pn. man- cl.7.sg. 3.m.sg.subj-r-come
'He came/a man came.'

(80) B W- a-pe.
1.dl.subj.-r-remain
We two are remaining (here).'

A W- a-pe.
1.dl.subj.-r-remain
'We two are remaining (here).'

Transitive verbs are of several types. Some occur with object prefixes (81), (82), some with no object marking but only a free object (84), some with object suffixes on the verb as in (85) and some with two objects and a benefactive marker as well (83).

(81) B Ny- u- chu- buk.
2.sg.subj-imper-cl.8.pl.obj.-put
'You singular put them (things) there.'

A Ny- u- shu- buk
2.sg.subj.-imper-cl.8.pl.obj.-put
'You singular put them (things) there.'

(82)
B Ch- wak kakwi-ch, ch- a-ch- ah.
3.mix.pl.subj-eat food- cl.8.pl 3.mix.pl.subj-r-cl.8.pl.-eat
'They ate food and they ate it and finished it.'

A Sh- wak kakwi-ch, sh- a-sh- ah.
3.mix.pl.subj-eat food- cl.8.pl 3.mix.pl.subj-r-cl.8.pl.-eat

'They ate food and they ate it and finished it.'

(83) B K- o-piake-ny- um- ohu.
3.f.sg.subj-r-wrap- cl.8.sg.obj-ben-1.dl.obj.
'She wrapped it for us two.'

A K- o-piake-ny- um- oh.
3.f.sg.subj-r-wrap -cl.8.sg.obj-ben-1.dl.obj.
'She wrapped it for us two.'

(84) B W- a-O- ch- i mahi- ch.
1.dl.subj-r-hit/kill-cl.8.pl.obj.-rel animal-cl.8.pl

'The animals which we two hit/killed.'

A W- a-O- gas- i mahi- gas.
1.dl.subj-r-hit/kill-cl.10.pl.obj.-rel animal-cl.10.pl.
'The animals which we two hit/killed.'

(85) B W- a-O- t- ali nuba-t.
1.dl.subj.-r-hit/kill-cl.11.sg.obj.-rel dog- cl.11.sg
'The dog which we two hit/killed.'

A W- a-O- t- i nuba-t.
1.dl.subj-r-hit/kill-cl.11.sg.obj.-rel dog- cl.11.sg.
'The dog which we two hit/killed.'

(86) Only B has the verb stem -nubu meaning 'very, really'. In A a form *abom* 'very' is sometimes used.

B Oku- dak nuga- wikw kw- a-nubu
cl.4.sg.dem-nr.dem daughter-cl.4.sg. cl.4.sg.subj-r-very

kw- o-nehilau mu okwokw- i- kw
cl.4.sg.subj.-r-be.happy about 3.sg.f.pn-poss-cl.4.sg.

namu-kwi budani- kw.
new-cl.4.sg.adj. bicycle-cl.4.sg.
'This daughter is very happy about her new bicycle.'

A Oku- dak nuga- wikw
cl.4.sg.dem-nr.dem daughter-cl.4.sg.

kw- o-nepurpurao abom um okokw- i- kw
cl.4.sg.subj.-r-be.happy very about 3.sg.f.pn-poss-cl.4.sg

namu-kwi meri- kw.
new- cl.4.sg.adj. bicycle-cl.4.sg.
'This daughter is very happy about her new bicycle.'

Various time words are used to encode the time of an action. There are other verbal particles associated with these time words--a much richer set that those used for Bukiyip. These particles in Arapesh are discussed in Section 21. Verbal Particles, Clause and Sentence Connectives. Only the time words will be treated here.

(87) B Apak a- m- a-tul-ich.
1.pl.pn p.t.-1.pl.subj-r-see-3.mix.pl.obj .
'We saw them.'

A Apak m- a-tig iganigadai.
1.pl.pn 1.pl.subj-r-see p.t./already
'We saw (them/it)/We already saw them.'

(88) B Anan a- n- a-naki.
3.m.sg.pn p.t.-3.m.sg.subj-r-come
'He came/He has returned.'

A Anan iganigadai n- a-naki.
3.m.sg.pn p.t./already 3.m.sg.subj.-r-come
'He came/he has already returned.'

(89) The same form douk with different meanings is used in (89) B and A. In B it means 'local topic' while in A it means 'now, today'

B Okwokw douk kw- a-nak yawi- has
3.f.sg.pn top. 3.f.sg.subj-r-go garden-cl.16.s./pl.

ali igani kw- a-tanomali wa- bul.
but already 3.f.sg.subj-r-return village-cl.2.sg.

'Concerning her, she went to the garden but already has returned to the village awhile ago.'

A
Okokw douk kw- a-na-m nubari-g
3.f.sg.pn now 3.f.sg.subj-r-go-ben garden-cl.3.sg.

aria iganigadai ta k- u-tanomori wa-bur.
but already fut.cer 3.f.sg.subj-r-return village-cl.2.sg.
'She went to the garden today/now but has already certainly returned home.'

(90) Although B has different verb stems *suh* and *hw* for the lexeme 'hold, grasp' depending on whether the verb is suffixed or not, these two stems reduce to *suh* and *suw* in A.

B Suh echu- dak. Apak m- a-hw- ech.
hold cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem 1.pl.pn. 1.pl.subj-r-hold-cl.8.pl.obj
'"Hold these things." "We are holding them." '

Suh echu- dak. Apak m- a-suw- esh.
hold cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem 1.pl.pn 1.pl.subj-r-hold-cl.8.pl.obj.
'"Hold these things." "We are holding them." '

(91) B N- a-ku elpe- ch.
3.m.sg.subj-r-give person-cl.8.pl.
'He gives (food and things) to people.'

A N- a-ka arape- sh.
3.m.sg.subj-r-give person-cl.8.pl.
'He gives (food and things) to people.'

(92) Often the B form nameitu 'now' is replaced in A by douk 'now, today'.

B I- nak nameitu.
1.sg.subj.irr.-go now
'I will go/am going now.'

A I- nak douk.
1.sg.subj.irr.-go now
'I will go/am going now.'

(93) The temporal enclitic -abali in B, based on nyultab 'time, day' is replaced by abi in A.

B We- bus- aba- li ch- e-chuh.
night-cl.1.pl. cl.6.pl. rel 3.mix.pl.subj-r-sleep
'At night/during the night time they slept.'

A We- bus- ab- i sh- e-shuh.
night-cl.1.pl. cl.6.pl. rel 3.mix.pl.subj-r-sleep
'At night/during the night time they slept.'

(94) The verb in B ch-a-natimoguk 'all', which is declined for every noun class, is replaced by ihishmorim 'all' which is not declined and is not a verb.

B Echech ch- a-natimoguk ch- a-nak.
3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj-r-all 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-go
'They all went.'

A Eshesh ihishmorim sh- a-nak.
3.mix.pl.pn. all 3.mix.pl.subj-r-go
'They all went.'

(95) The B form yuh 'completely, all' is replaced in A by the form iah with essentially the same function.

B Ch- a-nak yuh.
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-go completely/all
'They all went.'

A Sh- a-nak iah.
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-go completely/all
'They all went.'

(96)
B
Ohwak eke w- i- agwleh yuh, ali yek
1.dl.pn fut 1.dl.subj-irr-talk finish and.then 1.sg.pn.

i- nak.
1.sg.subj.irr.-go
'When we two have finished talking, I will go.'

A
Ohwak ta w- i- agureh iah, ara
1.dl.pn. fut 1.dl.subj-irr-talk finish and.then

eig i- nak.
1.sg.pn. 1.sg.subj.irr.-go

'When we two have finished talking, I will go.'

(97) The B limiter ati 'just, only' is replaced in A by the form atin. The deletion of word final vowels in A may have been a factor in this replacement.

B Kw- a-nak chokubul ati.
3.f.sg.subj.-r-go carefully only
'She went really carefully/ very carefully.'

A Kw- a-nak shokubor atin.
3.f.sg.subj.-r-go carefully only
'She went really carefully/very carefully.'

(98) B Ch- e-nek-eny namu-dak ati.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-do- cl.8.sg. like-nr.dem only
'They did it just like that.'

A Sh- e-neg-eny namu-dak atin.
3.mix.p.subj.-r-do- cl.8.sg. like-nr.dem only
'They did it just like that.'

(99) The form kalbu 'good, well' in B is replaced by the form wasik in A. Wasik is also used a lot in B, even in some contexts where kalbu can be used.

B N- e-nek-eny kalbu.
3.m.sg.subj.-r-do- cl.8.sg.obj. well
'He did it well.'

A N- e-neg-eny wasik.
3.m.sg.subj.-r-do- cl.8.sg.obj. well
'He did it well.'

(100) The adverb nebegun 'strongly' in B is not used in A. Instead the form debeg is used with the same general function.

B W- e-leh nebegun.
3.f.pl.subj.-r-cry strongly
'They female cried strongly.'
a W- e-reh debeg
3.f.pl.subj.-r-cry strongly
'They female cried strongly.'

(101) The form wisnabul 'quickly' in B generally corresponds to arigah 'quickly' in A.

B Ch- e-nek-eny wisnabul ali julug.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-do- cl.8.sg.obj. quickly and.then finished
'They did it quickly and then it was finished.'

A

Sh- e-neg-eny arigah arigah aria jurug.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-do- cl.8.sg.obj quickly quickly and.then finished
'They did it quickly and then it was finished.'

8. REFLEXIVIZATION

Usually the reflexive verb prefix nV- is used to encode actions in which the actor acts on himself (105)-(111). The vowel symbolized by V depends on the following consonant. It is o- preceding rounded consonants, e- preceding alveopalatal consonants and a- preceding other consonants. In propositions in which the actor is in very strong focus, the reflexive-limiter kanak is used (104), (106). Occasionally meyoh 'for no reason' is substituted for kanak (111), 112). Infrequently kanak also occurs with the nV- reflexive construction (105).

(104)
B Echech kanak ch- a-kli
3.mix.pl.pn. refl.lim. 3.mix.pl.subj-r-say

ch- u- nak Lae.
3.mix.pl.subj-irr-go Lae
'They themselves want to go to Lae.'

A Eshesh kanak sh- a-kana
3.mix.pl.pn. refl.lim. 3.mix.pl.subj-r-say/want

sh- u- nak Lae.
3.mix.pl.subj-irr-go Lae
'They themselves want to go to Lae.'

(105) In this example the form kanak 'reflexive limiter' is not necessary.
B Anan kanak n- a-no- bo.
3.m.sg.pn refl.lim. 3.m.sg.subj-r-refl-hit/kill
'He (himself) hit/killed himself.'

A Anan kanak n- a-no- bo.
3.m.sg.pn. refl.lim 3.m.sg.subj.-r-refl-hit/kill
'He (himself) hit/killed himself.'

(106) XXXChk
B Ch- a-bo echech kanak.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-hit/kill 3.mix.pl.pn refl.li.m
'They (themselves) hit/killed themselves.'

A Sh- a-bo eshesh kanak.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-hit 3.mix.pl.pn. refl.lim.
'They (themselves) hit/killed themselves.'

Sh-a-na-bo eshesh kanak is also acceptable, with the same meaning. (na- = reflexive)

(107) B Y- a-na- topak.
1.sg.subj-r-refl.-cut
'I cut myself.'

A Y- a-na- rapakuk.
1.sg.subj-r-refl.-cut
'I cut myself.'

(108) B Y- a-na- saglik.
1.sg.subj.-r-refl.-scratch
'I scratched myself (where it itched).'

A Y- a-na- sagrig.
1.sg.subj.-r-refl.-scratch
'I scratched myself (where it itched.)'

(109) B Y- a-ne- chlokuh.
1.sg.subj-r-refl.-wash

'I washed myself.'

A Y- a-ne- shirokuh.
1.sg.subj.-r-refl.-wash
'I washed myself.'

(110) B Nyi- h h- a-nu- we.
fire-cl.13.sg./pl. cl.13.sg./pl.subj-r-burn-1.sg.obj
'Fire burned me./I burned myself.'

A Y- e-ne shaiwehuguk.
1.sg.subj-r-refl.-burn
'I burned myself.'

(111) In (111) A the reflexive cannot be used. The reflexive form does not occur with verbs of motion in A.

B Ch- a-na- nak meoh.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-refl.-go for.no.reason
'They themselves went for no reason.'

A Ch- a-nak meoh.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-go for.no.reason
'They went for no reason.'

(112) B N- e-ne- leh meoh.
3.m.sg.subj-r-refl.cry for.nothing
'He himself cried for no reason.'

A N- e-ne- reh meoh.
3.m.sg.subj.-r-refl.-cry for.nothing
'He himself cried for no reason.'

9. MINOR WORD CLASSES

Locative and temporal uninflected stems undergo the normal sound changes fro B to A (113)-(115). However, a few of the most frequently used time words in B are replaced by different forms in A (116), (117).

(113) B Echech ch- a-nak gani.
3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj-r-go over.there
'They went over there.'

A Eshesh sh- -a-nak gani.
3.mix.pl.pn 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-go over.there
'They went over there.'

(114) B Amam h- a-pe agundak.
3.m.pl.pn. 3.m.pl.subj-r-be here
'They male are here.'

A Amam h- a-pe agundak.
3.m.pl.pn. 3.m.pl.subj-r-be here
'They male are here.'

(115) B Owo kadak u- nak.
3.f.pl.pn. later.today 3.f.pl.subj.irr.-go

'They female will go later today.'

A Awau kadak u- nak.
3.f.pl.pn. later.today 3.f.pl.subj.irr.-go
'They female will go later today.'

(116) The form nuhut in A is related to luhut 'morning' in B. This could result in some confusion for those who are not aware of these useages.

B Kamon ch- u- nak.
tomorrow 3.mix.pl.subj-irr-go
'Tomorrow they will go.'

A Nuhut sh- u- nak.
tomorrow 3.mix.pl.subj.-irr-go
'Tomorrow they will go.'

(117) The time words nameitu and douk (in A) both mean 'now', 'today'. Nameitu is used only in Bukiyip. Douk is used in Bukiyip in a different way --as a local topic marker. See Section 15 Clause Topicalization

B Nameitu n- a-nak.
now 3.m.sg.subj.-r-go
'He is going now/he went just now.'

A N- a-nak douk.
3.m.sg.subj.-r-go now
'He is going now/he went just now.'

The following response words are used in both B and A. Two identical vowels are used to indicate that the vowel is long.

(118) oo 'yes'

(119) ee 'no'

(120) wak 'no'

(121) wotak 'not, not yet'

(122) wasik 'ok, all right, affirmative reply'

10. NOMINALS AND NOMINALIZATION

10.1 Noun Phrases

The noun phrase structure in A is essentially the same as in B with one known exception. The structure proper name + noun used in B is not used in A. Instead, a possessive pronoun is inserted following the proper name. (123)

(123)
B
Echech ch- e-agwleh umu Manohweh bu- l.
3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj-r-talk about Manohweh pig-cl.10.sg.
'They talked about Manohweh's pig.'

A
Eshesh sh- e-agureh um Manohweh
3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj-r-talk about Manohweh

anan- i- r bu- r.
3.m.sg.pn poss cl.10.sg. pig-cl.10.sg.
'They talked about Manohweh's pig.'

There is essentially no distinction bwtween relativization and nominalization in B nor in A with our data. Therefore the morph identification used will be nom, arbitrarily chosen instead of rel or nom/rel. The forms used for relativization or nominalization are the enclitic -i following consonants and -li following vowels and the full form uli often as a separate word.

(124) B yowe-ny
bad- cl.8.sg.
'bad state or condition'

yowe-ny- i
bad- cl.8.sg.-nom
'that which is bad'

A yowe-ny
bad- cl.8.sg.
'bad state or condition'

yowe-ny- i
bad- cl.8.sg.-nom
'that which is bad'

yowe-ch- i
bad- cl.8.pl.-nom
'things/people who are bad'

(125) B yopu-nu
good-3.m.sg.obj.
'a male who is not sick'

yopu-na- li
good-3.m.sg.-nom
'a good male (good character)/elder brother'

A yopu-n
good-3.m.sg.obj.
'a male who well (not sick)'

yopu-na- ri
good-3.m.sg.-nom
'a good male (good character)/elder brother'

An alternate form for yopunari in A is:

yopu-n- i
good-3.m.sg.-nom
'a man's elder brother'

(126) B iluh
'above, sky'

iluh-ich- i
above-3.pl.mix.obj.-nom
'those who are above'

A iruh
'above, sky'

iruh-ish- i
above-3.pl.mix.obj.-nom
'those who are above'

(127) B Ch- e-nek yowe-chi- luli
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-do bad- 3.mix.pl.adj.-nom
'those who do bad (things)'

A Sh- e-neg yowe-shi- iri
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-do bad- 3.mix.pl.adj.-nom
'those who do bad (things)'

(128) B ch- a-gak-uli
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-die-nom
'those who have died'

A sh- a-gak-iri
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-die-nom
'those who have died'

(129) B Mamaki-k wak ok- ana- li, mohuki-k
mother-cl.4.sg. not 3.f.sg.-3.m.sg.-nom sister-cl.4.sg.

kw- a-suh abla -k.
3.f.sg.subj-r-hold coconut.shell-cl.4.sg.

A Amake-gw wok ana- ri, mohokwi-kw
mother-cl.4.sg not 3.m.sg.-nom sister- cl.4.sg

kw- a-suh abara- kw.
3.f.sg.subj-r-hold coconut.shell-cl.4.sg.
'Concerning the male who did not have a mother, his sister held the coconut shell.'

(130)
B Ch- o-hw- emu chihah yaule-luh
3.mix.pl.subj-r-cl.12.sg-put on.top wooden.plate-cl.12.pl

ch- a-bal- uluh uta- bal uli.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-carve-cl.12.pl.obj. stone-cl.5.pl rel
'They put the wooden plate on top of the wooden plates which they had carved with stone (tools).'

A Sh- o-wem shihah-iruh yaure-ruh
3.mix.pl.subj-r-put on.top-cl.12.pl. wooden.plate-cl.12.pl

sh- a-bar- uruh uta-bar iri.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-carve-cl.12.pl.obj. stone-cl.5.pl rel
'They put (the wooden plate) on top of the wooden plates which they had carved with stone (tools).'

11. IMPERATIVE MOOD

The three main types of transformations from declarative mood to imperative mood all carry over from B to A as illustrated in (131), (132), and (133).

(131) other person/mood === 2 singular/plural imperative mood

In this example there is a slight difference in the verb stems because B uses -bo 'hit, kill' only if there is no object suffix on the verb and uses ho 'hit, kill' if there is an object subject present. In this example we will gloss -bo and ho as 'hit' instead of 'hit/kill' for brevity.

B N- u- bo anan. === Ny- u- bo anan!
3.m.sg.subj-irr-hit 3.m.sg.pn 2.sg.subj-im-hit 3.m.sg.pn.
'He will hit/kill him.' === '(You sg) hit/kill him!

Alternate form for this imperative transformation:

=== Ho- nu!
hit.im-3.m.sg.obj.
'(You sg/pl) hit/kill him!'

A

N- u- bo anan. === Bo- an! /Ka-bo- an!
3.m.sg.subj-irr-hit 3.m.sg.pn. hit-3.m.sg.obj/im-hit-3.m.sg.obj.
'He will hit/kill him.' === '(You sg/pl) hit kill him!'

(131A) ta mare 'certainly do not' is a mild form for imperatives in A:

Ta mare bo- an!
fut.cer ir.neg hit-3.m.sg.obj
'Don't hit him.'

(132)

declarative mood person-number prefix === kwa-/ki- 'imperative'

B

N- a-itak- uk. === Kwa-itak- uk!
3.m.sg.subj.-r-get.up-perm im- get.up-perm
'He got up and stood up.' === 'Get up and stay standing!'

(133)

person-number prefix + mood marker === verb stem only

```
B  N-           a-suh.   ===    Suh!
   3.m.sg.subj.-r-hold           hold
   'He held (it).'      ===   'Hold (it)!'

A  N-           a-suh    ===   Suh!
   3.m.sg.subj.-r-hold   ===   hold
   'He held (it).'       ===   'Hold (it)!'
```

12. INTERROGATIVE MOOD

There are five major interrogative transformations from declarative mood to interrogative mood in B. The corresponding transformations in A involve substituting different interrogative morphemes, often in a different position in the clause.

I. declarative clause === monoken da(kia) + clause?

(134)

B

```
Ch-          a-O-       nu.          ===
3.mix.pl.subj-r-hit/kill-3.m.sg.obj.

          Monoken+dakia ch-            a-O-       nu?
          why           3.mix.pl.subj.-r-hit/kill-3.m.sg.obj.
'They hit/killed him.'   ===  'Why did they hit/kill him?'
```

A

```
Sh-           a-O-       n.           ===
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-hit/kill-e.m.sg.obj.

                 Sh-            a-O-       n           um  mare?
                 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-hit/kill-3.m.sg.obj. ben why
'They hit/killed him.'   ===   'Why did they hit/kill him?'
```

II. declarative clause === Malmu da + declarative clause?

(135)

B

```
Apak     dadagowi-pa       -li      ===
1.pl.pn  strong-  1.pl.obj.-nom

                          Malmu+da apak     dadagowi-pa        li?
                          why      1.pl.pn  strong-  1.pl.obj.-nom
'We are (those who are) strong.'  ===

                          'Why are we (those who are) strong?'
```

A

```
Apak    dedegishi-p.    === Apak    dedegishi-p         um  mare?
1.pl.pn strong-   1.pl.obj. 1.pl.pn strong-   1.pl.obj. ben why
'We are strong.'   ===      'Why are we strong?'
```

III. declarative clause === declarative clause + umu monoken?

(136)

B

```
N-          a-nak.    ===   N-           a-nak  umu  monoken?
3.m.sg.subj-r-go            3.m.sg.subj.-r-go   ben  what
'He went.'            ===   'Why did he go?'
```

A

```
N-          a-nak.    ===   N-           a-nak  um   mare?
3.m.sg.subj-r-go            3.m.sg.subj.-r-go   ben  what/why
'He went.'            ===   'Why did he go?'
```

IV. grammatical subject or object replaced by mei- or ami
+ interrogative intonation

(137)

In (137B), meinali 'who/what male' can be replaced by meinyi elpen 'What person, who' to give a slightly more general translation 'Who went?' without committing to the assumption that the person is male.

b

In (137A), meinari 'who/what male' can be replaced by ami arapen 'What person, who'. This results in the same slightly more general translation 'Who went?'

```
B  Alm-an       n-           a-naki. === Mei-na-    li
   man-cl.7.sg. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-come     who-3.m.sg-nom


                                                 n-          a-naki?
                                                 3.m.sg.subj-r-come
'A man came.'                      ===  'Who/what male came?'

A  Aram-an      n-           a-naki. ===  Mei-na-     ri
   man- 3.m.sg. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-come      who-3.m.sg.-nom

                                                 n-          a-naki?
                                                 3.m.sg.subj-r-come
'A man came.'  ===   'What/who (male) came?'
```

V. Grammatical subject or object ==== omuni 'Who/what male' (B)
or meinari 'What/who (male) (A) or meinyi 'Who' (A)
(138)

```
B Chinyamia n-          a-bo  Lowenam. ===
  Chinyamia 3.m.sg.subj.-r-hit Lowenam

                        Omuni  n-          a-bo  Lowenam?
                        who    3.m.sg.subj-r-hit Lowenam
'Chinyamia hit Lowenam.' ===  'Who (male) hit Lowenam?'

A  Chinyamia n-         a-bo   Lowenam. ===
                    Mei-na    -ri  n-          a-bo Lowenam?
                    who-3.m.sg-nom 3.m.sg.subj.-r-hit Lowenam
'Chinyamia hit Lowenam.'     Who (male) hit Lowenam?'
```

(138A) has an alternate form for the question. This form uses class 8 singular to encode 'who'. Since this is the most generic class, there is no assumption as to the gender of the actor.

Mei-nyi ny- a-bo Lowenam?
who-cl.8.sg. cl.8.sg.subj-r-hit Lowenam
'Who hit Lowenam?'

(139)

B Omuni ny- u- kli ny- u- nak
who cl.8.sg.subj-irr-say cl.8.sg.subj.-irr-go

nebe-hi ula- h?
big-cl.13.sg. jungle-cl.13.sg
'Who wants to go to the dense jungle?'

A Ami ny- a-kana ny- u- na-m
who cl.8.sg.subj-r-like cl.8.sg.subj.-irr-go-ben

debei-hi ura- h?
big- cl.13.sg. jungle-cl.13.sg.
'Who wants to go to the dense jungle?'

VI. declarative clause === declarative clause + malmu' 'what'(B) or monoken 'why' (with -m 'benefactive' obligatory on the verb in B) or mare 'what' in A

(140)

B Echech ch- a-kli. ===
3.mix.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-say

Echech ch- a-kli malmu?
3.mix.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-say what
'They said X.' === What did they say?'

A Eshesh sh- a-kari. ===
3.mix.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-say

Eshesh sh- a-kari mare?
3.mix.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-say what
'They said X.' === 'What did they say?'

(141) Note that malmu 'what' (140B) and monoken 'why' in (141B) both become mare 'what/why' in A (140A, 141A). However, mare 'what'? often but not always has um 'benefactive' occurring with it as in (141A) in order to have the meaning of 'what'.

B Amam h- a-nak-umo-li monoken?
3m.pl.pn. 3.m.pl.subj.-r-go- ben-come why
'Why did the men come?/For what purpose did the men come?'

A Amom h- a-naki um mare?
3m.pl.pn. 3.m.pl.subj.-r-come ben what
'Why did the men come?/For what purpose did the men come?'

(142) The topic can be topicalized by a relative clause preceeding the question.

Echech ch- a-pe lougun uli ch- a-kli
3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-be distant rel 3.mix.pl.subj-r-say

malmu?
what
'Concerning those who live a long way away, what do they want/say?'

A

Eshesh sh- a-pe rougun ari sh- a-kari
3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-be distant rel 3.mix.pl.subj-r-say

mare?
what
'Concerning those who live a long way away, what do they want/say?'

13. ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

In B, these clauses are formed from the corresponding declarative (or imperative clauses by adding o wak 'or not' at the end of the clause and changing the intonation to the typical Alternative Interrogative Intonation (see Section 3.5, Alternative Interrogative Intonation).

(143)

B P- u- k- e ana- bal uta- bal! ===
2.pl.subj.-imp-give-1.sg.obj. indef-cl.5.pl. stone-cl.5.pl.

P- u- k- e ana- bal uta- bal o wak?
2.pl.subj-imp-give-1.sg.obj. indef-cl.5.pl. stone-cl.5.pl or not
'You plural give me some money!' ===
'Will you plural give me some money or not?'

A P- u- k- e ana- bal uta- bal! ===
2.pl.subj.-imp-give-1.sg.obj. indef-cl.5.pl. stone-cl.5.pl.

P- u- k- e ana- bar uta- bar aka uwok?
2.pl.subj-imp-give-1.sg.obj indef-cl.5.pl stone-cl.5.pl or not
'You plural give me some money!' ===
'Will you plural give me some money or not?'

14. NEGATION

The basic negation operators in B are the discontinuous realis negation operator wo ... e 'realis negator/DO not' as in (146) and in (147) and the irrealis negation operator kobi 'irrealis negator/will not' as in (144), (145), and (148). The corresponding forms for negation in A are madai 'realis negator/DO not' as in (146) and (147) and ta+mare 'irrealis negator/will not' as in (144), (145), and (148).

(144)

Echech- i- p ulkwi-p p- -a-lu sisah. ===
3.mix.pl.pn.-pos-cl.5.pl heart-cl.5.pl cl.5.pl.subj-r-be bad/sad

Kobi ulkwi-p p- u- lu sisah.
irr.neg. heart-cl.5.pl cl.5.pl.subj.-irr-be.inside bad/sad
'They are sad.' === 'They will not be sad.'

A

Eshesh- i- p uruku-p yowe-p. ===
3.mix.pl.pn.-pos-cl.5.pl. heart-cl.5.pl. bad- cl.5.pl.

Eshesh- i- p uruku-p ta+mare yowe-p.
3.mix.pl.pn.-pos-cl.5.pl. heart-cl.5.pl. irr.neg bad- cl.5.pl.
'They are sad.' === 'They will not be sad.'

(145)

B

En- ech elpe-ch ch- a-lahe... ===
indef-cl.8.pl. person-cl.8.pl. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-walk.around

Kobi en- ech elpe- ch ch- -u -lahe...
irr.neg indef-cl.8.pl person-cl.8.pl 3.mix.pl.subj-irr-walk.
around
'Some people walked around...' ===
'There will not be any people walking around.'

A

An- esh arape-sh sh- a-rahen... ===
indef-cl.8.pl person-cl.8.pl 3.mix.pl.subj-r-walk.around

An- esh arape-sh ta+mare sh- a-rahen...
indef-cl.8.pl person-cl.8.pl irr.neg 3.mix.pl.subj-r-walk.around
'Some people walked around...' ===
'There will not be any people walking around...'

(146) B

Ch- e-nek en- ech- i+ en- ech. ===
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-do indef-cl.8.pl.-pos+indef-cl.8.pl.

Wo ch- u- nek en- ech- i+ en- ech e.
neg 3.mix.pl.subj.-irr-do indef-cl.8.pl.-pos+indef-cl.8.pl. neg
'They do/did all kinds of things.' ===
'They didn't do all kinds of things.'

A

Sh- e-neg an- esh- i+ an- esh. ===
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-do indef-cl.8.p.l-pos+indef-cl.8.pl.

Madai sh- e-neg an- esh- i+ an -esh uwe.

r.neg 3.mix.pl.subj-r-do indef-cl.8.pl-pos+indef-cl.8.pl. r.neg
'They do/did all kinds of things.' ===
'They didn't do all kinds of things.'

(147) This example shows how a declarative clause encoding availability or existence can be negated using a clause topicalization (fronting) transformation (section 15).

B S- a-kus Wiwek Lei Rabaul. ===
cl.5.pl.subj.-r-be Wewak Lae Rabaul

Wiwek Lei Rabaul wok en- as e.
Wewak Lae Rabaul r.neg indef-cl.5.pl r.neg
'(These knives) are available in Wewak, Lae, and Rabaul.' ===
'As for Wewak, Lae, and Rabaul, they don't have these knives.'

S- a-kus Wiwek Lei Rabaul. ===
cl.s.pl.subj.-r-be Wewak Lae Rabaul

Wiwek Lei Rabaul madai an- as uwe.
Wewak Lae Rabaul r.neg indef.-cl.5.pl. r.neg
'(These knives) are available in Wewak, Lae and Rabaul.' ===
'As for Wewak, Lae and Rabaul, they don't have these knives.'

(148)

B

Wotak m- u- lpok. === Kobi wotak m u- pok.
more 1.pl.subj.-ir-fight irr.neg more 1.pl.subj.-ir-fight
'We will fight some more/we will still fight.' ===
'We will not fight any more.'

A
Wotak m- u rupok. == Ta+mare m u- rupok.
more 1.pl.subj.-ir-fight irr.neg 1.pl.subj.-ir-fight
'We will fight some more/we will still fight.'
'We will not fight any more.'

15. CLAUSE TOPICALIZATION

In B, clause topicalization is often accomplished by fronting of the non-subject clausal element to clause initial position. (149), (150). If the grammatical subject is already in subject position and the speaker decides topicalization is necessary for his clear communication, then he postposes the subject with the local topic marker douk, a form.

In A, the fronting strategy is used. Postposing by douk, however, is less frequent since douk is used to signal 'now, today'. But in certain contexts it can be used to signal both time ('now') and topic (apak 'we plural). (151)

(149)

B

Bi-as, bi-as at- up w- i- chu luh.
2- cl.9.pl 2- cl.9.pl one-cl.9.sg 3.f.pl.subj-ir-cl.8.pl.obj-cook
'Concerning the two or three pots of food, this is the amount the women will cook.'

A

Bi-as, bi-as ot- p u- shu- ruh.
2 -cl.9.pl 2-cl.9.pl one-cl.9.sg 3.f.pl.subj.ir-cl.8.pl.obj-cook
'Concerning the two or three pots of food, this is the amount the women will cook.'

(150)

B

Bul-guh bi-oguh h- a-duk- oguh
pig-cl.10.pl. 2 -cl.10.pl. 3.m.pl.subj.-r-kill-cl.10.pl.obj.

bulaw-as.
spear-cl.3.pl.
'Concerning two pigs, the men killed them with spears.'

A

Bur- uguh bi-oguh h- a-duk- oguh
pig-cl.10.pl. 2- cl.10.pl. 3.m.pl.subj.-r-kill-cl.10.pl.obj.

baraowo-s.
spear- cl.3.pl.
'Concerning two pigs, the men killed them with spears.'

(151) B Apak douk m- u- nak (nameitu).
1.pl.pn top 1.pl.subj.-ir-go now
'As for us, we will go now.'

A Apak douk m- u- nak.
1.pl.pn now 1.pl.subj-ir-go
'We will go now.'/ 'As for us, we will go now.'

(151A) A

Aru- dak bu- r eig ga
cl.10.sg.dem-nr.dem pig-cl.10.sg 1.sg.pn p.t

y- a-tur-ur
1.sg.subj-r-see-cl.10.sg.obj
'Concerning this pig, I saw it.'

16. POSSESSION

Possession is encoded in both B and A by the possessive suffix -i followed in nearly every instance by the appropriate noun suffix from Chart 1 or Chart 2. That is, the possessive modifier is marked by the noun suffix from the noun it modifies.

(152) B Nyak- i- hw sulu-hw.
2.sg.pn-pos-cl.12.sg. ring-cl.12.sg.
'Your singular ring.'

A Nyak- i- hw suru-hw.
2.sg.pn-pos-cl.12.sg. ring-cl.12.sg.
'Your singular ring.'

(153) B Ya- h Yangore-i- h.
road-cl.13.sg. Yangoru-pos-cl.13.sg.
The road of/to Yangoru. /The Yangoru road.'

A Ya- h Yangoru-we- h.
road-cl.13.sg. Yangoru-pos-cl.13.sg.
'The road of/to Yangoru./ The Yangoru road.'

(154) In this example the forms for B balany 'talk, speech' and A barainy 'talk, speech are the same for singular and plural since the referent of the noun is often/usually ambiguous.

B Apak- i- ny bala-ny.
1.pl.pn-pos-cl.8.sg./pl. talk-cl.8.sg./pl.
'Our talk.'

A Apak- i- ny barai-ny.
1.pl.pn-pos-cl.8.sg./pl. talk- cl.8.sg./pl.
'Our talk.'

(155)

B Dram sowel tamiok Wanguen anan- i- ch.
drum shovel axe Wanguen 3.m.sg.pn-pos-cl.8.pl.
'As for the drum, shovel and axe, they belonged to Wanguen.'

A Dram sowel tamiok Wanguen anan- i- sh.
drum shovel axe Wanguen 3.m.sg.pn-pos-cl.8.pl.
'As for the drum, shovel and axe, they belonged to Wanguen.'

(156) If the modifier is complex a possive pronoun (ananihw 'his class 12 singular object') is used to carry the possessive marker and the noun class marker.

B Nebe- nali ani- nu anan- i- hw
important-cl.7.sg.adj. father-cl.7.sg. 3.m.sg.pn-pos-cl.12.sg.

awe- hw.
song-cl.12.sg.
'Important father (God)'s song.'

A Debe- nari yai- n anan- i- hw
important-cl.7.sg.adj. father-cl.7.sg. 3.m.sg.pn-pos-cl.12.sg.

awe- hw.
song-cl.12.sg.

'Important father (God)'s song.'

17. ACCOMPANIMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

In B the form anagun 'also' along with variants alagun and[40] nagun are used to encode addditional participants, usually human who are desiring to be included in a group or were included in a group. These participants are often the grammatical subject, but are occasionally encoded in the Tail (sentence final) using the formula X (nominal) alagun.

In A the form anagun is replaced by shaponeg 'also' and used in basically the same contexts as anagun/alagun/nagun (157), (158).

The other strategy for accompaniment in B is a verb SubjVnu 'to be included/and', in which V is the modal vowel, low vowel for realis and higher vowel for irrealis. The subject prefix Subj always occurs. The same strategy is used in A, except that the verb is SubjVni (159).

(157)
B Yek anagun y- a-kli i- nak Wiwek.
1.sg.pn also 1.sg.subj.-r-say 1.sg.subj.ir-go Wewak
'I also want to go to Wewak.'

A Eig shaponeg y- a-kana i- nak Wiwek.
1.sg.pn also 1.sg.subj-r-say 1.sg.subj.ir-go Wewak
'I also want to go to Wewak.'

(158)
B Echech tuwa- g- omi apak anagun.
3.mix.pl.pn European-cl.3.sg-those.with.them 1.pl.pn also
'The Europeans and us (Papua New Guineans) also.'

A

Eshesh tuwa- g- omi apak shaponeg.
3.mix.pl.pn European-cl.3.sg-those.with.them 1.pl.pn also
'The Europeans and us (Papua New Guineans) also.'

(159) B Raka n- a-nu okwok kw- a-nu
Raka 3.m.sg.subj.-r-and 3.f.sg.pn 3.f.sg.subj.-r-and

batowi-ch ch- a-nak.
child- cl.8.pl. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-go
'Raka and she (his wife) and the children went.'

A Raka n- a-nu okok kw- a-nu
Raka 3.m.sg.subj.-r-and 3.f.sg.pn. 3.f.sg.subj.-r-and

batowi-sh sh- a-nak.
child- cl.8.pl. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-go
'Raka and she (his wife) and the children went.'

18. LIMITERS

In B the form of the limiter is at- 'just, only, one' followed by the corresponding verbal person number object suffix (161), (162). The form of the limiter is the same as the

uninflected numeral one. In addition the uninflected form ati 'only' occurs in clauses such as (160). (160)

B Ch- e-nek-ech namu-dak ati.
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-do- 3.mix.pl.obj. like-near.dem lim
'They did it just like that.'

A Sh- e-neg-esh namu-dak ati.
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-do- 3.mix.pl.obj. like-near.dem lim

(161) B Awe- hw ohu- dak ot- uhw.
song-cl.12.sg. cl.12.sg.-near.dem lim-cl.12.sg.
'This song only./Only this song.'

A Awe- hw ohu- dok ot- uhw.
song-cl.12.sg. cl.12.sg.-near.dem lim-cl.12.sg.
'This song only./ Only this song.'

(162) B Yek ot- uwe.
1.sg.pn. lim-1.sg.obj.
'I only.'

A Eig ot- uwe.
1.sg.pn. lim-1.sg.obj.
'I only.'

19. SIMILARITY CONSTRUCTIONS

In B, the discontinuous morpheme (ko)bidou(k)...umu 'like, similar to' occurs preceeding and following the linguistic form being compared to something else. The item being compared occurs preceeding the enclitic umu which is described in Section 20.1. This enclitic functions like a nominalizer or relativizer inthis construction and is glossed 'that'.

In A, the corresponding discontinuous morpheme encoding similarity is kabi...um. The form kabi varies with kobi. The loss of the final u is a special case of the general rule that very few word-final vowels occur in A, and no word-final u's.

(163) B Bidouk echech ch- a-kli-mu.
like 3.mix.pl.pn. 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-say-that
'Like they said.'

A Kabi eshesh sh- a-kari-um.
like 3.mix.pl.pn 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-say- that
'Like they said.'

(164) B Unalu- k bidou mamaki-k umu.
cassowary-cl.4.sg. like mother-cl.4.sg. that
'The cassowary is like a mother.'

A Unaru- k kabi+da mamaki-gw um.
cassowary-cl.4.sg. like mother-cl.4.sg. that
'The cassowary is like a mother.'

(165) B Nyak bidou yek- i- no- mu.
2.sg.pn. like 1.sg.pn.-pos-3.m.sg.obj. that

'You are like my male (my husband).'

A Nyak kabi eig- i- n um.
2.sg.pn. like 1.sg.pn.-pos-3.m.sg.obj. that
'You are like my male (my husband).'

20. ENCLITICS

In this section we use the following definitions from Tagmemics.

A clitic is a form which is grammatically free but phonologically bound. An enclitic suffixes itself to the final word in the construction in which it occurs. A proclitic prefixes it self to the first word of the construction in which it occurs.

20.1 PURPOSIVE-INSTRUMENTAL-TEMPORAL-LOCATIVE ENCLITIC

The form umu is used in both B and A to mark everything in the purposive, locative-temporal and instrumental semantic area. It is glossed as 'for', 'with', 'about', 'loc', 'temp', and 'concerning'. In A the final vowel u is deleted. It is also used to signal temporal margin, purpose, conditional clause and reason (when occurring with 'why' --monoken in B amd mare in A).

The form umu is reduced to -m when it is used to mark benefactive and occurs as a suffix within the verb (83). See Section 7 for more examples. This form is therefore considered a separate but related morpheme.

(166) B Y- a-salik stoakipa mu mabe- guh.
1.sg.subj.-r-ask storekeeper for marble-cl.10.pl.
'I asked the store clerk for marbles.'

A Y- a-sarik stoakipa um mabe- guh.
1.sg.subj.-r-ask storekeeper for marble-cl.10.pl.
'I asked the store clerk for marbles.'

(167)

B Ch- a-hlitak umu an- al bu- l.
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-argue about indef-cl.10.sg. pig-cl.10.sg.
'They argued about a pig.'

A Sh- a-kitak um an-ar bu-r.
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-argue about indef-cl.10.sg. pig-cl.10.sg.
'They argued about a pig.'

(168)

B

H- a-duk- ech umu katres ileven-pelei-s.
3.m.pl.subj-r-kill-cl.8.pl.obj with bullet eleven-adj- cl.14.pl
'They male killed them (cows) with 11 bullets.'

A

H- a-duk-esh um katres ileven-pelei-s.

3.m.pl.subj-r-kill-cl.8.pl.obj with bullet eleven-adj- cl.14.pl
'They male killed them (cows) with 11 bullets.'

(169) B Ch- a-lak wilpa-t aguno-buk
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-build house-cl.11.sg. there-nr.hearer

nubuwakih ch- a-lpok umu.
few.days.ago 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-fight loc
'They built the house over there where they had fought a few days ago.'

A Sh- a-rak urupa-t ganu- dak
3.mix.pl.subj.-r-build house-cl.11.sg. there-nr.hearer

nubokuhi sh- a-rupok um.
few.days.ago 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-fight loc
'They built the house over there where they had fought a few days ago.'

(170)

B Seiwok bawogos umu Iluhw-i- nu at- unu
long.ago root.base temp above-pos-cl.7.sg. lim-cl.7.sg.

n- a-pe.
3.m.sg.subj.-r-be
'Long ago at the base/root time (beginning), only Iluhwinu the Man from above existed.'

A Seiwok baug at- in um Iruhw-i- n
long.ago root.base lim-cl.7.sg. temp above-pos-cl.7.sg.

at- un n- a-pe.
lim-cl.7.sg. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-be

'Long ago at the base/root time (beginning), only Iluhwinu the man from above existed.'

(171) B H- a-nak gani echech- umu.
3.m.pl.subj.-r-go there 3.mix.pl.pn-loc
'They male went over to their (male and female) place.'

A H- a-nak gani eshesh um ak um.
3.m.pl.subj.-r-go there 3.mix.pl.pn. loc place loc
'They male went over to their (male and female) place.'

20.2 TEMPORAL ENCLITIC

In addition to the temporal enclitic umu used in B (170), there is another temporal enclitic abali 'temp' also used in B. This form can be analyzed as aba- li.
cl.6.pl.-rel
time/when
The class 6 referent is nyulto-b
time.day-cl.6.pl.
which has been deleted from the relative clause ending in the relativizer -li. Therefore abali can be more fully glossed as 'the time when' or, when suffixed to a plural temporal noun, just 'time' (172).

(172) B Nyumne-gwih- abali ch- a-pe
day- cl.13.pl.-temp 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-be

atap, we- bus- abali wak.
below night-cl.1.pl.-temp no
'During the daytime they stayed on the ground, but not at night.'

A Nyamane-gwih um sh- a-pe atap
day- cl.13.pl. temp 3.mix.pl.subj.-r-be below

we- bus um wak.
night-cl.1.pl. temp no
'During the daytime they stayed on the ground, but not at night.'

20.3 LOCATIVE ENCLITICS

In addition to the locative enclitic umu/um (169), (171), there is another locative enclitic in B which specifically marks location and occurs suffixed to the last word in a locative phrase. The form is -ahah 'there/location' in B and -ehah in A (173).

(173) In (173 A), the name of the tributary lohichitu was replaced by the term beat 'tributary', since in the area where A is spoken there was no known tributary of a larger river by this name.

B

H- a-Ø- nu n- a-nak n- a-bih
3.m.pl.subj-r-hit-3.m.sg.obj 3.m.sg.subj-r-go 3.m.sg.subj-r-go.
down

n- a-pe atap gani wobel- ahah lohich-itu.
3.m.sg.subj-r-be below there other.side loc lohich-cl.11.sg.
'They male hit him and he ran away afraid and went down and lay on the ground there on the other side of the tributary named Lohichitu.'

A

H- a-Ø- n n- a-nak n- a-buh
3.m.pl.subj-r-hit-3.m.sg.obj 3.m.sg.subj-r-go 3.m.sg.subj-r-go.
down

n- a-pe atap gani wobur- ehah bea- t.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-be below there other.side-loc tributary-cl.11.sg
'They male hit him and he ran away afraid and and went down and lay on the ground there on the other side of the tributary.'

21. VERBAL PARTICLES

The area of verbal particles is an area of considerable complexity in A, with eleven different particles occuring in our data not counting several combinations which are possible. In B the situation is much simpler, with only four verbal particles in our data. The fact that a few of these particles also occur as clausal and sentence connectives and that some of those are

nearly identical in form but different in meaning from certain connectives or verbal particles in A makes for considerable difficulty in understanding the overall system. In Bukiyip the Tok Pisin loan i save has replaced the longer traditional Bukiyip encoding of habitual.

Verbal particles contrast with clausal and sentence connectives in their distribution. The particles allways occur preceeding the verb phrase and can occur immediately preceeding the irrealis negator kobi (B)/ mare (A). The connectives, on the other hand, occur clause or sentence initial or clause final and normally do not occur immediately preceeding the realis negator mare.

Chart 3 shows the various verbal particles in B and A and indicates an approximate meaning with a brief gloss. Discussion and examples of each particle and its counterpart in the other dialect follow the chart. Separate discussions and examples are given for the particles which have no analogue in the other dialect. To assist in comparing the two series of particles, they are listed in alphabetical order in Chart 3 and in the sections following which discuss each particle. Arapesh forms which have no clear Bukiyip equivalents are marked with an asterisk *. Some of these are not thoroughly understood at present.

CHART 3 VERBAL PARTICLES IN BUKIYIP AND ARAPESH

Bukiyip	Meaning	Arapesh	Meaning
a	'recent past'	a	'and'
ati	'I think'	ati	'I think'
deke	'abilitative'	--	
eke	'future'	ko*, ta*	
i save	'habitual'	apa	'habitual, continuous'
--		ga	
		iga	'past tense, same day?'
		ko	'fut. moderate certainty'
		ta	'future certainty'

21.1 BUKIYIP PRE-VERBAL PARTICLES

Bukiyip does not have a wealth of pre-verbal particles. Our data indicates only three which have no evidence of borrowing from Tok Pisin: a 'recent past' deke 'abilitative' and eke 'future'. The forms ati 'I think' and isave 'habitual' are assumed to be Tok Pisin loans which have been incorporated into the language so they are part of current Bukiyip speech. Where

possible a tentative roughly equivalent Arapesh particle is illustrated by an example (174), (175), (177) and (180).

21.1.1 a 'recent past'

This form is used in B to encode recent past, usually indicating the past action occurred the same day. It always occurs with realis mood. Arapesh has two forms to encode this--*iga*, *iganigadai*, with no known difference in meaning. A similar form *ga* (*gi* in the Wautogik dialect) means 'general past', not limited to the same day, previous week, etc. See section 21.2.4 for examples.

(174) B A n- a-nak.
p.t. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-go
'He went (sometime today).'

A Iga n- a-nak.
p.t. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-go
'He went (sometime today).'

21.1.2 ati 'I think'

(175) B Ati anan n- a-gak.
I.think 3.m.sg.pn. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-die
'I think he died.'

A Ati anan n- a-gak.
I.think 3.m.sg.pn. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-die
'I think he died.'

21.1.3 deke 'abilitative'

There is no specific abilitative form in A. The corresponding forms are *ko* 'general future' and *ta* 'future certainty'.

(176) B Yek deke i- nak.
1.sg.pn. abil 1.sg.subj.irr-go
I can go./I am able to go.'

A Eig ko/ta i- nak.
1.sg.pn. fut/fut.cer 1.sg.subj.irr-go
'I can/will go.'

21.1.4 eke 'future'

The form eke 'future' is used in conjunction with irrealis mood to encode future with reasonable certainty in B. In A there are two roughly corresponding forms, ko 'uncertain/general future' and *ta* 'future certainty'.

(177)
B Anan eke n- u- nak.
3.m.sg.pn. fut 3.m.sg.subj.-irr-go
'He will go.'

A Anan ta n- u- nak.
3.m.sg.pn. fut.cer 3.m.sg.subj.-irr-go

21.1.5 isave 'habitual' 47

The Tok Pisin loan form isave is used in this generation by Bukiyip speakers to encode customary or habitual aspect. In Arapesh, a vernacular form apa is still used today (180). To encode this specific concept in Bukiyip prior to the incorporation of this form into the language, the people probably used some construction such as:

(178) B
Seiwak aliga nameitu anan n- a-lak
long.ago until now 3.m.sg.pn. 3.m.sg.subj.-r-build

wilpa-t namu-dak.
house-cl.11.sg. like-near.dem
'From long ago until now he built a house/houses like that.'

In the present generation this is reduced to (179):

179 B

Anan isave n- a-lak wilpa-t namu-dak.
3.m.sg.pn habit 3.m.sg.subj-r-build house-cl.11.sg like-nr.dem
'He habitually builds house(s)like that.'

(180) B

Ali ohwak w- a-nak at- uh w- a-lto
and.then 1.dl.pn 1.dl.subj-r-go one-cl.13.sg 1.dl.subj-r-go.up

gani helikopta isave ny- a-buh umu.
there helicopter habit cl.8.sg.subj-r-go.down loc
'And then we two went one day (together) and went up there to the place where the helicopter habitually goes down (lands).'

A Aria w- o-nak ati-ny w- a-to
and.them 1.dl.subj-r-go lim-cl.8.sg 1.dl.-subj-r-go.up

gani helikopta apa ny- a-buh um.
there helicopter habit cl.8.sg.subj.-r-go.down loc
'And then the two of us went together/just went and went up to the place where the helicopter habitually goes down (lands).'

21.2 ARAPESH PRE-VERBAL PARTICLES

This section includes the 7 pre-verbal particles in our data: apa, ati, da, ga, iga, ko and ta. The criteria for distinguishing these particles from those which function to join clauses or sentences are as follows:

1. occur immediately preceeding the verb or a negator of the verb phrase

2. encode the time of action or kind of action of the verb they modify

3. only infrequently occur at the beginning or ending of a clause and never at the beginning or ending of a sentence

The pre-verbal particle apa 'continuous/habitual aspect' functions both as a pre-verbal particle and an intra-clausal relator.

21.2.1 *apa* 'habitual/continuous'

This form is used both as a pre-verbal particle to signal habitual aspect (181), (182), (183) and as a clause joiner of two clauses the second of which is still in process--not yet completed. If the second event is completed, then a different connective (*ara*, *aria*, or *a*) is used instead of *apa*. See Section 21.2.6.

(181) A Aluis1.nar8

...w- o-mene buru-guh apa
1.dl.subj.-r-hear pig-cl.10.pl. habit/contin

hw- -a-ropok rohu-hw.
cl.10.pl.subj.-r-fight sago-cl.12.sg.
'.we two heard pigs fighting continuously over a sago palm tree.'

(182) A NTC1.52

Eig y- a-pe apa y- a-wok worigun.
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj.-r-be habit 1.sg.subj.-r-eat food
'I continued to eat food.'

(183) A H- a-rauri debebei-bisi aho-bus
3.m.pl.subj-r-bring big- cl.1.pl eel-cl.1.pl

s- a-ni ei- guh
cl.1.pl.subj-r-and fish-cl.10.pl

h- e-he- buk agana-da
3.m.pl.subj-r-cl.10.pl.obj-put here- near.dem

apa h- a-bo manar- ah 'um.
contin 3.m.pl.subj-r-hit tree.bark-cl.13.sg loc
'They male brought big eels and big fish to the place where they had been pounding the (poisonous) tree bark.'

21.2.2 ati 'I think'

See example (175 A).

21.2.3 *da* 'local topic'

This form is one of the most illusive of the Arapesh pre-verbal particles. The analysis of *da* is still tentative. It fits the criteria for a pre-verbal particle, since it occurs before such negatives as *madai* 'realis negator and before other verbs, most of which are the dative verb type: *dodagow-ish* strong.3.mix.pl. 'strong trees' and *jirigar-en*

'broken-cl.8.sg. 'broken log'. At present *da* is assumed to mean 'local topic' and will be glossed 'top'. This means that in such examples as (185) da could be a relative clause marker.In the combination da madai 'will never', the form da possibly changes to mean 'future' but could still be analyzed as 'local topic'(185). See also (209) where da follows a contrary to fact conditional clause. In that case da is indeed a local topic, marking the presupposed part of the sentence--the contrary to fact conditional clause. The same comment holds for da mare (185A). More data is needed to make a firm decision.

(184) A AB 285

Eig shopuneg y- a-kana ta
1.sg.pn also 1.sg.subj-r-want fut.cer

i- dukemesh
1.sg.subj.irr-know

um mare-sh mugu- has da sh- u- neg
about what-cl.8.pl thing-cl.8.pl top 3.mix.pl.subj-irr-do

rowa-s ba rowa-s da dodogowi-sh at- ish.
tree-cl.3.pl and tree-cl.3.pl top strong-cl.8.pl lim-cl.8.pl

Namu-dak ba rowa-s da dodogowi-sh at- ish
like-nr.dem and tree-cl.3.pl top strong- cl.8.pl lim-cl.8.pl

aria amupu-m da madai
and white.ants-cl.7.pl top r.neg

m- u- nuni- sh
cl.7.pl.subj-irr-destroy-cl.8.pl.obj

ba yowe-sh ue, uwok.
and bad- cl.8.pl r.neg no

'I also wanted to know for sure about what kind of things would make trees/logs/lumber very strong. In this way the trees/logs/lumber will be very strong, and (then, so) the white ants will not destroy it and it will not be bad (rotten), definitely not.'

(185)

Aria eig y- a-karip Bob um rowa-g da
and 1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-tell Bob about tree-cl.3.sg top

jirigar- en ara kapa- has
broken- cl.8.sg and roof.iron-cl.8.pl

sh- a-buh sh- e-ir atap-um.
cl.8.pl.subj-r-hang.down cl.8.pl.subj-r-hang down-loc

'And I told Bob about the tree (timber) that was broken and (so) the roofing iron hangs down (too low).'

21.2.4 ga 'general past'

The form ga 'general past' is used to signal that the time of the action is in the general past time. There is no indication of how long ago the action occurred. This may be the same as the form gi used at Wautogik.

(185A) Nuba-t ga t- a-naki.
dog-cl.11.sg gp cl.11.sg.subj-r-come
'The dog has come/the dog came.'

21.2.5 iga 'recent past today'

(186) Mak 5:35
Nyak- i- kw nugawi- kw iga kw- a-gok.
2.sg.pn-pos-cl.4.sg daughter-cl.4.sg rpt cl.4.sg.subj-r-die
'Your daughter recently died.'

(187) Mak 14:44-6

Anu- dok yowei-ni ko n- i- abigom
cl.7.dem-nr.dem bad- cl.7.sg.adj fut 3.m.sg.subj-ir-betray

Jisas iri da iga n- a-karip eshu- dok
Jisas rel top rpt 3.m.sg.subj-r-tell cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem

sabai-shi arape- sh
many- cl.8.pl.adj person-cl.8.pl

sh- e-ir on iri namu-dok.
cl.8.pl.subj-r-hang-3.m.sg.obj nom like-nr.

'Concerning this bad man who would (later) betray Jesus, he had recently told this to these many people who followed him: '

(187A)
Y- a-ti bu- r iga r- a-gak.
1.sg.subj-r-see pig-cl.10.sg rpt cl.10.sg.subj-r-die
'I saw a pig that recently died.'

(188) Mak 15:42-6

Aria Pailat n- o-kitak yowiyok-uk um
and.then Pilate 3.m.sg.subj.-r-arise bad- perm about

n- o-muneg namu-dok Jisas iga n- a-gok.
3.m.sg.subj.-r-hear like-nr.dem Jesus rpt 3.m.sg.subj.-r-die

And then Pilate arose badly (was very surprised) about hearing that Jesus had recently died (that day).'

(189) the variant form iganigadai 'recent past tense' does not occur frequently.

Anan iganigadai n- a-gok.
3.m.sg.pn rpt cl.7.sg.subj-r-die
'He died today.'

21.2.6 ko 'general future'

The form *ko* 'general future' encodes a general future time when an event may occur. There is considerable uncertainty as to whether the event actually will occur or not. *ko* will be glossed 'gfut' (general future). This form has the same general area of[51] meaning as Bukiyip *eke* 'fut'. Indeed the two forms have a number of similar functions. *ko* 'gfut' contrasts with another pre-verbal particle *ta* 'fut.cer' which encodes stronger certainty than *ko*. (See (191) and also Section 20.2.7).

This form has a temporal semantic area 'then, at that time' as well as encoding a general future time, when occurring in a result clause which follows a conditional clause, such as one ending in *um* 'conditional if' (190).

(190)

Kadak nyak ny- i- tir-ish um,
later.today 2.sg.pn 2.sg.subj.-ir-see-3.mix.pl.obj condit

ko ny- i- kirip-esh- um- oh ara
gfut 2.sg.subj.-imp-tell- 3.mix.pl.obj-ben-2.dl.obj and

sh- u- naki.
3.mix.pl.subj-imp-come
'Later today if you see them, then you must tell them for the two of us and they must come.'

(191)
Nuhut belo eig ta mare i- naki
tomorrow noon 1.sg.pn fut.cer ir.neg 1.sg.subj.ir-come

arigah ue, eig ta i- pei-m- an
quickly neg 1.sg.pn fut.cer 1.sg.subj.ir-be- ben-3.m.sg.obj.

arigah+a n- u- naki ara ko i- nak.
until 3.m.sg.subj.-ir-come and gfut 1.sg.subj.ir-come
'Tomorrow noon I will certainly not come quickly, I will wait for him to come first and then I will go.'

21.2.7 *ta* 'strong future certainty'

The form *ta* 'fut.cer' contrasts with ko 'gfut' in that the former encodes much stronger certainty than the latter (191).

(192) Mark 3:29

Eny- dok ina ta ny- u- pe
cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem trouble fut.cer cl.8.sg.subj-ir-be

arama-n aramato-k namu-dok ati-n
man- cl.7.sg woman- cl.4.sg like-nr.dem lim-cl.8.sg

arigah a eshesh sh- u- gak ara
until and 3.mix.pl.pn 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-die and

abu- -dak amuna-b b- u- tahu- guk

cl.6.pl.dem-nr.dem ground-cl.6.pl cl.6.pl.subj-ir-finish-perm

shapuneg.
also

'This trouble will really remain with men and women just like that until they die and this ground also will be permanently finished.'

(193)

Nyak ta ny- a-nak Wiwak aka uwak?
2.sg.pn fut.cer 2.sg.subj-ir-go Wewak or not
'Will you (surely) go to Wewak or not?'

(194)

Eig y- -a-kari namu-dok aria nyak ta
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-say like-nr.dem and 2.sg.pn fut.cer

ny- u- dakem-esh.
2.sg.subj-ir-know- 3.mix.pl.obj
'I told you like that and you will/do certainly know/understand it.'

When ara 'and' precedes ta 'future certainty', the meaning is slightly changed to '(certainly) at that time' or possibly even 'customarily' (194), (195):

(195)

Ara ta mahi- gas sh- u- naki.
and at.that.time animal-cl.7.sg cl.7.pl.subj-ir-come
'At that time animals (certainly) came.'

(196) Amom h- a-pe- um ta
3.m.pl.pn 3.m.pl.subj-r-remain-ben at.that.time

h- u- bak baki- sh at- ish
3.m.pl.subj-ir-bake solid.food cl.7.pl lim-cl.7.pl

h- a-sh- ah ara h- -a-pe.
3.m.p.subj-r-cl.7.pl.obj-eat and 3.m.pl.subj-r-remain(alive)
'These men remained (every day of their lives) by baking (mumuing) (solid?) food only and eating it and (so, in this way) they stayed alive.'

(197) The future certainty particle ta also occurs frequently preceeding mare 'irrealis negative'.

Nyak ta mare ny- i- bir- am eig
2.sg.pn fut.cer ir.neg 2.sg.subj-ir-give.food-ben 1.sg.pn

um, eig ta mare i- bir- am
condit 1.sg.pn fut.cer ir.neg 1.sg.ir.subj-give.food-ben

nyak shapuneg.
2.sg.pn also

'If you sg. will not give food to me, I will not give food to you sg.either.'

21.2.8 ba 'nr.pres' encodes action that is relatively near to the preent time reference--immediate future (184), (198) as well as immediate past. It is also used to encode adversative and contrafactual.

This form by itself is also used as an intraclausal connector and also occurs in combination with other intraclausal connectors in the following sequences: aba ba 'but', namudak ba 'therefore', nuhut ba 'tomorrow'

(198)

Nuhut ba en- esh arap- esh
tomorrow nr.pres indef-cl.8.pl person-cl.8.pl

sh- u- naki! Aria apak ta
cl.8.pl.subj-irr-come and.then 1.pl.pn fut.cer

m- i- atok mou- r.
1.pl.subj-ir-finish work-cl.8.sg
'Tomorrow some people will come! And then we will certainly finish the work.'

(199) Because the time of the command "You will come and fix my hair now" is near/immediate future, the particle *ba* 'near present' is used instead of the general (uncertain) future particle *ko*.

N- a-kana, yarapina- m- e,
3.m.sg.subj-r-say companion-ben-1.sg

ny- a- nak- ugu ba ny- u- duko-m- e
2.sg.subj-ir-come-dis.r nr.pres 2.sg.subj-ir-fix- ben-1.sg.o

eig- i- g bara-g douk.
1.sg-poss-cl.3.sg hair-cl.3.sg now

'He said, 'My companion, you will come and fix my hair now.'

The use of *ba* 'nr.pres' in the last clause in (200) implies that the person is just now finishing eating. If the person had already finished eating, the *ba* would be replaced by *ga* 'rpt'.

(200)

Shoku-nar- i n- a-rik Debe- nar- i,
young-male-rel 3.m.sg.subj-r-ask older-male-rel

"Yarpina- m- e, eshu- da mugu- has douk
companion-ben-1.sg cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem thing-cl.8.pl now

ny- e-sh- uru- m- e im kui- n

2.sg.subj-r-cl.8.pl.obj-give-ben-1.sg.obj with sago-cl.8.sg

ba y- a-sh- ah- i,
nr.pres 1.sg.subj-r-cl.8.obj-eat-nom

ny- o-paroge-sh momamariah?
2.sg.subj-r-find- cl.8.pl.obj how

'The younger man asked the older man, " My companion, concerning these things which you now gave to me with the sago and I just now ate them, how did you find them?'

22. Intraclausal and Intrasentential Connectives

The intraclausal and intrasentential connectives are those particles which join clauses and sentences and encode various logico-semantic relationships between the two clauses or sentences. They are distinguished from verbal particles in that they occur only infrequently preceeding verbs and occur frequently at the beginning or end of clauses or sentences.

There are approximately 14 of these connectives in our data in Bukiyipand about 24 in Arapesh. The Bukiyip connectives along with an approximate equivalent in Arapeshare listed in Chart 4. Each Arapesh connective will then be discussed in detail (Section 22.2). The Bukiyip connectives are discussed in Conrad 1991, especially in section 7.

Two of these Arapesh connectives also function as pre-verbal particles: apa 'continuous, habitual' and ba 'nr.pres, adversative, the time when'

CHART 4 INTRACLAUSAL AND INTRASENTENTIAL CONNECTIVES IN BUKIYIP AND ARAPESH

In Chart 4 the ? symbolizes interrogative intonation. A comma symbolizes non final intonation and is very important in encoding a real condition in the first clause. In Bukiyip the connective ali is sometimes replaced by a Tok Pisin equivalent (orait, na). Often this replacement has higher level discourse significance, marking a summary of the preceeding narrative explanation. (Conrad 1991:281).

There are a number of reasonably close equivalents between Bukiyip and Arapesh in this area of the grammar. Where the equivalence is weak or uncertain, the Arapesh form is marked with an asterisk*. Comparision of Charts 3 and 4 shows a remarkable correspondence between Bukiyip and Arapesh connectives which join clauses and sentences, but a significant lack of equivalence between the verbal particles in these two dialects.

Bukiyip	Meaning	Arapesh	Meaning

connective ali is sometimes replaced by a Tok Pisin equivalent (orait, na). Often this replacement has higher level discourse significance, marking a summary of the preceeding narrative explanation. (Conrad 1991:281).

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Bukiyip	Meaning	Arapesh	Meaning
adakia	'and then'	aria	'and, and then'
ali (orait, na)	'and, but'	ara	'and'
		aria	'and, and then'
ali dakia	'and then'	aria	'and, and then'
aliga	'continue and, until'	arigah	'until'
aligali galiga	'continue until'	arigah a	'continue until'
douk	'given the preceeding proposition'	douk	'given the preceeding proposition'
ele	'contrary to fact condition'	akare	'contrary to to fact condition'
namudak	'like that, therefore'	namudak	'like that, therefore'
namudak ali	'therefore'	namudak aria	'therefore'
o (wak o)?	'or (not)?'	aka uwak?	'or not?'
umu	'purpose'	um, um mare*	'purpose'
umu,/,	'real condition, if'	um,	'real condition, if'
wakuli	'and, contrary to expectation'	ara*	'and, contrary to expectation'

There are approximately 14 connectives which join clauses and sentences. Where two of them occur together, the combination will be listed along with the first connective.

22.1.1 **a** 'and', **a?** 'echo question'

The connective a 'and' often occurs following arigah 'until'. The examples will be given under the section 21.1.9, which discusses arigah 'until'. When a occurs joining clauses and is not preceeded by arigah 'until', very frequently the following clause is short and often it is the final clause of the sentence (201), (203). Sentences are defined by falling intonation and also ocasionally by falling intonation plus a typical sentence-closing word such as shaponeg 'also' or uwak 'no'.

(201) Aluis 1.nar.4

An- en w- a-ny- -ah, an- en
indef-cl.8.sg 1.dl.subj-r-cl.8.sg.obj-eat indef-cl.8.sg

k- o-piak- enyu- m- oh a
3.f.sg.subj-r-wrap.up-cl.8.sg.obj-ben-1.dl.obj and

w- e-nyu -ruk.
1.dl.subj-r-cl.8.sg.obj-put.inside(net bag, etc.)
'Some (sago) we ate and some she wrapped up for us and we put it in our bags.'

The same form a is used as a carrier of the echo question intonation, so this form will be discussed here. It is symbolized as "a?".

(202) Mark 4:13

Ara Jisas n- a-karip amom disaipel namu-dok,
and Jesus 3.m.sg.subj-r-tell 3.m.pl.pn diciple like-nr.dem

"Ipak madae p- u- dukamesh- um
2.pl.pn r.neg 2.pl.subj-ir-understand-about

bauge-ny- um enyu- dok wobur- en
base- cl.8.sg-about cl.8.sg.dem nr.dem partial-cl.8.sg

barai-n, a?
talk- cl.8.sg do.you.pl
'And Jesus said to the disciples, "You plural don't understand the meaning of this partial talk (parable), do you?" '

(203) Aluis 1.nar.18

W- o-kitak w- o-hur bu- r
1.dl.subj-r-get.up 1.dl.subj-r-lift.up pig-cl.10.sg

w- o-r- asah, a w- o-tanam
1.dl.subj-r-cl.10.sg.obj-carry and 1.dl.subj-r-return

w- a-naki wa- bur.
1.dl.subj-r-come village-cl.2.sg
'We two got up, lifted up the pig, carried it and returned and came back to the village.'

22.1.2 aba 'and (continuous action follows)/but'

This conjunction may possibly be interpreted as meaning 'the time when' or 'at that time', with the additional semantic component of continuous action in the following clause if it is not negated. The conjunction is related to ba 'nr.pres' and also occurs frequently following arigah 'until'.

It will be glossed as 'cont' (204), (206) or 'but' (205), (207) depending on the context.

(204) AS story 6.sabak bakish

Uta- bar han- a-bar aba b- a-tagar
stone-cl.5.pl be.hot-r-cl.5.pl cont cl.5.pl.subj-r-become

mamo- k- i- bar ausi-bar ara
mother-cl.4.sg-poss-cl.5.pl red- cl.5.pl and

h- a-takak toko-toko-ni- gas ni- gas
cl.13.subj-r-take.away part-part-firewd-cl.3.pl firewd -cl.3.pl

s- a-ni iruh- i- bar uta- bar.
cl.3.pl.subj-r-and above-poss-cl.5.pl stone-cl.5.pl

'The stones were very hot and continued to become mother red stones (the hottest possible red stones) and they male took away part of the firewood and the stones which were on top.'

(205) This example has two closely related meanings.

Eig y- a-naki aba anan madai
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-come but 3.m.sg.pn r.neg

n- u- pe.
3.m.sg.subj-ir-be
'I came but he was not there.'/ 'When I came, he was not there.'

There is an alternate form of (205) in which *aba* is replaced by *aba ba* 'but at that time'. The second alternative English translation corresponds to this alternate form for (205).

(206) AS 6 Sabak Bakish

Baki-sh sh- a-r sh- a-tao aba

food-cl.8.pl cl.8.pl.subj-r-be.inside cl.8.pl.subj-r-stand contin

sh- a-na- weh sh- a-na bak,
cl.8.pl.subj-r-refl-bake cl.8.pl.subj-r-refl-cook.by.steaming

wabigep-i- b nyita-b ara
afternoon-poss-cl.1.sg time-cl.1.sg and

k- 0-shatake- sh, sh- i-shiaish
3.f.sg.subj-r-take.out-cl.8.pl.obj 3.mix.pl.subj-r-deal.out-
3.mix.pl.obj

ara sh- i- sh- ah.
and 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-3.mix.pl.obj (worigun-'food')-eat

'Concerning the food, it is inside (the stone oven) and standing there and continuing to be baked and cooked by steaming it, and in the afternoon time she (a woman) takes it out and they deal it out and they will eat it.'

The combination aba jurug 'when finished' occurs only once in our data (207).

(207) AS #3, Debenari nani Shokunari

Yarapina-m- e, ny- i -gabiagan aba jurug,
companion-ben-1.sg cl.8.sg.subj-imp-straighten when finished

ny- i-na ny- i- atu rougun,
cl.8.sg.subj-r-go cl.8.sg.subj-imp-stand at.a.distance

ny- i- har ny- i- naki ara
2.sg.subj-imp-run 2.sg.subj-imp-come and

ny- u- nuh nyak- i- ruh
2.sg.subj-imp-bite 2.sg.pn-poss-cl.12.pl.adj

naru- h agana eshu-r r- a-r um.
tooth-cl.12.pl here grub-cl.10.sg cl.10.sg.subj-r-be.inside loc
'My companion, when you finish, go and stand at a distance and run and come and bite your teeth here where the tree grub is, inside the tree.'

(208)

Eig y- a-urim y- a-urim aba uwak.
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-find 1.sg.subj-r-find but no
'I tried and tried to find it, but I didn't.'

22.1.3 akare 'contrary to fact condition'

The form akare 'contrary to fact condition' is used to encode an unreal condition which did not occur in past time.

(209) In this example, da presumably topicalizes the first clause.

Ohok u- nak akare, da mare
2.dl.pn 2.dl.subj.ir-go pst.cfc top neg.fut

i- naki e, uwak.
1.sg.subj.ir-come neg neg

'If we two had gone, then I would have not come back.'

22.1.4 apa 'continuously, and continuously'

The form *apa* 'cont' is used to encode continuous action in the following clause (210), (211) continuous (212) or habitual action (213) in a locative clause. It occurs infrequently with no preceeding clause, (214) but more often in a sentence with two or more clauses (215). If two clauses are joined by *apa*, the second clause encodes an event still in progress--not yet completed. If the second event is completed, then ara, *aria*, or *a* will be used to conjoin the clauses instead of *apa*.

(210) AS 2.nar6

Nabat- i -b nyita-b ruahep, arama-m
yesterday-poss-cl.1.sg time-cl.1.sg morning man- cl.7.pl

h- a-su nyi-h, h- -a-hiak
3.m.pl.subj-r-hold fire-cl.13.sg 3.m.pl.subj-r-light.up

woru- b h- a-tig ei-guh apa
river-cl.1.sg 3.m.sg.subj-r-see fish-cl.10.pl cont

hw- a-gak atu-guh.
cl.10.pl.subj -r-die lim-cl.10.pl
'Yesterday in the morning men held fire (leaf torches?) and went lighting up the river and saw fish which were just dying continuously.'

(211) AS1. nar8

W- a-nak w- a-tagarogu haraharak- um
1.dl.subj-r-go 1.dl.subj-r-arrive close.close-loc

rohu- hw seiwok n- a-boro-hw- i,
sago.tree-cl.12.sg long.ago 3.m.sg.subj-r-cut-cl.12.sg.obj-rel

w- o-mene buru-guh apa hw- a-ropok
1.dl.subj-r-hear pig-cl.10.pl cont cl.10.pl.subj-r-fight

rohu- hw.
sago.tree-cl.12.sg
'When we two came up very close to a sago palm tree that he had cut a long time ago, we heard pigs fighting over the sago.'

(212) AS 2.nar8

H- a-rauri debei-bisi aho-busi

3.m.pl.subj-r-bring big- cl.1.pl.adj eel-cl.1.pl

s- a-ni ei- guh, h- e-shu-buk
cl.1.pl.subj-r-and fish-cl.10.pl 3.m.pl.subj-r-put-perm

agana-da apa h- a-bo manar- ah um.
here- nr.dem cont 3.ms.pl.subj-r-pound tree.bark-cl.13.sg loc
'The men brought big eels and fish and put them where they had been pounding the (posionous) tree bark.'

(213) AS Bob nani Eig Woruk Wabur

Ohak bi- oh w- o-kitak w- a-to
1.dl.pn two-1.dl 1.dl.subj-r-get.up 1.dl.subj-r-go.up

w- e-atu w- a-tig ana- t urupa-t
1.dl.subj-r-stand 1.dl.subj-r-see indef-cl.11.sg house-cl.11.sg

t- a-ni wanyigebu- r aria ami
cl.11.sg.subj-r-and piper.methisticum.vine-cl.10.sg and ?

w- o-neg atin w- a-to gani helikopta
1.dl.subj-r-do one 1.dl.subj-r-go.up there helicopter

apa ny- a-buh um.
cont cl.8.sg.subj-r-come.down loc
'The two of us got up and went up and stood and saw a house with a piper methisticum vine and then we went up to the place where the helicopter habitually comes down (helicopter pad).'

(214) Eig apa y- a-takor nagao-hw.
1.sg.pn cont 1.sg.subj-r-cut.off taro- cl.12.pl
'I am now peeling taro.'

(215) NTC1.52

Eig y- a-pe apa y- a-wok worigun.
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-remain cont 1.sg.subj-r-eat food
'I continued to eat food.'

22.1.5 ara 'and'

The form *ara* 'and' joins clauses which encode completed actions which are in realis mood (216), (217), (218), (219) and also joins some imperative clauses (220). The combination *ara ta* 'therefore/therefore certainly' is illustrated in (217).

(216)

Au- n n- a-oruruah
luminary-cl.6.sg cl.6.sg.subj-r-be.overhead

aru- h- ib nyita-b, debe- mi
12.o.klock-cl.13-cl.6.sg time- cl.6.sg important-cl.7.pl

arama-m h- a-nataram h- a-naki
man- cl.7.pl 3.m.pl.subj-r-return 3.m.pl.subj-r-come

h- e-tu atagun ara h- a-sia

3.m.pl.subj-r-stand together and 3.m.pl.subj-r-distribute

debei-bisi aho-bus, debei-guhi ei- guh.
big- cl.1.pl.adj eel-cl.1.pl big- cl.10.pl.adj fish-cl.10.pl[61]
'When the sun was directly overhead at belo (12 o'clock) the important men returned and came and stood together and distributed big eels and big fish (to the people).'

(217) This example illustrates both **ara** 'and' and **ara ta** 'therefore certainly'

Amu- dak bi- om h- a-kana
cl.7.pl.dem-nr.dem two-cl.7.pl 3.m.pl.subj-r-want

h- u- rim mahi- gas s- a-ni
3.m.pl.subj-ir-find animals-cl.3.pl cl.3.pl.subj-r-and
o
worigun um ara amom h- u-wem
food-cl.15.pl loc and 3.m.pl.pn 3.m.pl.subj-r-put

manu- guh. Ara ta mahi- gas s- a-naki
magic-cl.10.pl and fut.cer animals-cl.3.pl cl.3.pl.subj-r-come

huru-huruk ara h- a-O- gas ara arape-sh
near-near and 3.m.pl.subj-r-kill-cl.3.pl.obj and person-cl.8.pl
shapuneg eshesh sh- u-rau- m om- i
also 3.mix.pl.pro 3.mix.pl.subj-r-bring-ben-cl.8.pl.obj-come

wori-gun.
food-cl.15.pl

'These men wanted to find the location of animals and food and (so) they uttered magic spells. Therefore certainly at that time animals came and very close (to the men) and the men killed them and people also brought food to those men.'

(218) AS 1.nar13

Wawe- n n- e-re barawo-g kei-n,
uncle-cl.7.m.sg 3.m.sg.subj-r-fit arrow-cl.3.sg bow-cl.8.sg

n- a-pahure-n ara n- a-sue- n
3.m.sg.subj-r-draw- cl.8.sg.obj and 3.m.sg.subj-r-hold-cl.7.sg.obj

n- a-pe bu-r arigah aba
3.m.sg.subj-r-remain pig-cl.10.sg until when

r- a-naki huru-huruk um agana-dak
cl.10.sg.subj-r-come near-near loc here- nr.dem

n- e-tu- m.
3.m.sg.subj-r-stand-loc
'(My) mother's brother fitted the arrow to the bow, drew the bow tight and he held it and remained (waiting) for the pig until the time when the pig came very close to the place where he stood.'

(219) AS Bob Nani Eig Woruk Wabur

Aria eig y- a-ni Bob ta w- a-tanom[62]
and.then 1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-and Bob fut.cer 1.dl.subj-r-return

w- a-buhi ara Bob n- a-karip eig
1.dl.subj-r-come.down and Bob 3.m.sg.subj-r-tell 1.sg.pn

um i- wem enyu- dak ohok-i- n
about 1.sg.subj.ir-put cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem 1.dl-poss-cl.8.sg

rahai-n apu- dak shu- p.
trip- cl.8.sg cl.9.sg.dem-nr.dem leaf-cl.9.sg

'And then Bob and I certainly returned and came down and Bob told me about writing this little trip on this leaf (paper).'

(220) AS debenari shokunari

Yarapina-m- e, ny- i-gabia-gun aba jurug,
companion-ben-1.sg 2.sg.subj-imp-sweep-loc when finished

ny- i- nak ny- i- atu rougun,
2.sg.subj-imp-go 2.sg.subj-imp-stand at.a.distance

ny- a- hur ny- a- naki, ara
2.sg.subj-imp-run 2.sg.subj-imp-come and

ny- u- n- uh naru- h aguna eshu-r
2.sg.subj-imp-cl.8.sg.obj-sink tooth-cl.12.pl here grub-cl.10.sg

r- o-r um.
cl.10.sg.subj-r-be.inside loc
'My companion, clear the place and when you finish that, go and stand up at a distance and run and come and bite the place where the tree grub is with your teeth.'

(221) Example (217) and (221) show how the combination ara ta 'and certainly/at that time' is used to encode cause and effect.

Arigah ara w- o-nak w- a-gimabuk
until and 1.dl.subj-r-go 1.dl.subj-r-follow

ana- b shoku-bi woru-b. Ara ta
indef-cl.2.sg small-cl.2.sg.adj river-cl.2.sg and fut.cer

mahi- gas sh- a-naki.
animal-cl.8.pl cl.8.pl.subj-r-come
'We two did like that until we went and followed a small river. And certainly, at that time, the animals came.'

22.1.6 aria 'and, and therefore'

The form *aria* 'and, and therefore' is very closely related to the form *ara* 'and' (see section 21.1.5 and (222)). The form *ara* does not occur sentence initial. Instead, *aria* is used (222). *Aria* does not occur frequently in our data. In nearly every instance it occurs joining a previous clause to the last

main clause in the sentence (213), (223), (225), (226). *Aria* also occurs followed by *ko* (224). One of the important functions of aria, wherever it occurs, is to signal anew timereference. Note in particular (223).

(222) AS

This same event is encoded in two ways, first using aria and then using ara:

Ohwak w- a-buhi. Aria w- o-tanom
1.dl.pn 1.dl.subj-r-come.down and 1.dl.subj-r-return

w- a-buhi ara Bob n- a-karip eig um
1.dl.subj-r-come.down and Bob 3.m.sg.subj-r-tell 1.sg.pn ben

i- nak Maprik.
1.sg.subj-ir-go Maprik
'We two went down. And we returned and went down and Bob told me about my going to Maprik.'

Ohwak w- a-buhi ara Bob n- a-karip
1.dl.pn 1.dl.subj-r-come.down and Bob 3.m.sg.subj-r-tell

eig um i- nak Maprik.
1.sg.pn ben 1.sg.subj-ir-go Maprik
'We two went down and Bob told me about my going to Maprik.'

The first of these examples in (222) is ungrammatical of Aria is replaced by Ara at the beginning of the sentence.

(223) Luke 1:6 Note aria in the middle of the sentence signalling a new time reference.

Douk wotak sh- a-pe Betlehem aria nyiato-b
now still 3.mix.pl.subj-r-remain Bethlehem and time-cl.1.sg

b- a-tagur um Maria um
cl.1.sg.subj-r-arrive ben Mary ben

k- u- banuh.
3.f.sg.subj-ir-give birth

'Now when they were still at Bethlehem then the timke came for Mary to give birth.'

(224) the combination **aria ko** is usually translated as 'and then' or then with irrealis mood in the following verb.

AS

Apak m- i-agureh apak- i- n barai-n
1.pl.pn 1.pl.subj-ir-talk 1.pl.pn-poss-cl.8.sg talk-cl.8.sg

ba jurug i-ah aria ko m- i-agureh
and enough finished and fut 1.pl.subj-ir-talk

nyak- i- n.
2.sg.pn-poss-cl.8.sg

'When we have finished talking our talk, then we will talk about yours.'

(225) This is the last sentence of (184), which has a fuller[64] preceeding context. *rowa-s* 'trees-class 3 plural' are referred to in the rest of the sentence using *-sh* 'class 8 plural'. Also amipun 'white ants' is a mass noun in which there is no distinction in singular and plural endings.

```
Namu-dak     ba      rowa-s       da  dodogowi-sh    ati-sh
like-nr.dem  nr.pres tree-cl.3.pl top strong-cl.8.pl lim-cl.8.pl

aria amipu-     n          da   madai
and  white.ants-cl.6sg/pl top  r.neg

n-           u- nuni-sh
cl.7.pl.subj-ir-ruin-cl.8.pl.obj

ba        yowe-sh        ue,     uwok.
nr.pres   bad- cl.8.pl   r.neg   no
```

'Therefore the trees will soon be very strong and concerning the white ants, they will not ruin them (the trees) and they will son be bad, no.'

(226)

```
Eshesh      sh-           e-meneg um    sh-           a-rapok
3.mix.pl.pn 3.mix.pl.subj-r-hear  about 3.mix.pl.subj-r-fight

um      aria    ihishmorim     sh-           a-naki.
nom     and     everyone/all   3.mix.pl.subj-r-come
```

'They (men and women) heard about their (others) fighting and everyone came.'

22.1.7 arigah 'until'

The form *arigah* 'until' does not occur in our data without another conjunction following. The combinations occurring are: *arigah_a* 'until, to' (192), (227), (228), (229), and *arigah aba* 'until then' (218) in section 22.1.5. This form encodes a continuous action in the preceeding clause and joins that clause to a following clause encoding what happened after the continuous action ceased.

(227) AS This is the only example of arigah 'until' functioning as an adverb 'quickly'.

```
Nuhut    belo  eig      ta      mare   i-           naki arigah
tomorrow noon  1.sg.pn  fut.cer ir.neg 1.sg.subj.ir-come quickly

ue,  eig     ta      i-          pei-m-     an       arigah_a
neg  1.sg.pn fut.cer 1.sg.subj.ir-be-ben-3.m.sg.obj until

n-          u- naki  ara  ko    i-          nak.
3.m.sg.obj-ir-come  and  gfut  1.sg.subj.ir-come
```

'Tomorrow noon I will certainly not come quickly; I will wait for him to come (first) and then I will go.'

(228) AS.ITM sent12

N- e-tu apa n- a-ti- gugu arigah_a,
3.m.sg.subj-r-stand cont 3.m.sg.subj-r-look-disp.ref until

n- a-ti- gu ana- n debei-ni
3.m.sg.subj-r-see-displ.ref indef-cl.8.sg big- cl.8.sg.adj

aba- n n- a-tagar n- a-naki.
male-cl.8.sg cl.8.sg.subj-r-appear cl.8.sg.subj-r-come
'He stood and continually looked at another place until he saw a large male pig and it came.'

(229) Mark 15:38

Aho- dok debei-hi rupa- h
cl.13.sg.dem-nr.dem large-cl.13.sg.adj cloth-cl.13.sg

h- a-taur tempel iri h- a-no burig
cl.13.sg.subj-r-hang temple rel cl.13.sg.subj-r-refl-tear

um bie-h, h- a-no- burig gani iruh
into two-cl.13.sg cl.13.sg.subj-r-refl-tear there above

arigah_a agunu atap.
until here below

'Concerning this big cloth which hangs in the temple, it tore itself into two pieces, it was torn from top to bottom.'

22.1.8 ba 'near present'

The connective ba 'near present' functions as a temporal modifier in the verb phrase (see section 21.2.8) as well as joining clauses encoding either a temporal relationship referring a time soon to the present ('when', 'at that time' as in 230), (231)) or an adversative relationship '(but' as in (231)). The combination nuhut ba 'tomorrow when' (232).

(230) AS Debenari Shokunari

Yarapina-m- e, ny- i- na ura- h ba
companion-ben-1.sg 2.sg.subj-imp-go jungle-cl.13.sg nr.fut

ny- i- tig ana-h iru- h
2.sg.subj-imp-see indef-cl.13.sg bread.fruit.tree-cl.13.sg

h- u- tu h- u- kuh atap ba
cl.13.sg.subj-ir-fall cl.13.sg.subj-ir-be ground nr.but

eshu-guh- i- bas uba- s s- a-tem-ah,

'My companion,when you go to the jungle and when you soon) see an old breadfruit tree which has fallen down onthe ground and when you soon see tree grub faeces on it, ...'

(231) AS

Eig y- a-nak gana- da ba eig
1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-go there-nr.dem but/at that time 1.sg.pn

madae i- dukemesh um eshesh- i- n
r-neg 1.sg.subj.ir-understand ben 3.mix.pl.pn-poss-cl.8.sg

barai-n.k
talk- cl.8.sg
'I went there but/at that time I did not understand their language/what they were talking about.'

(232)AS

Nuhut ba en- esh arape- sh
tomorrow nr.pres indef-cl.8.pl person-cl.8.pl

sh- u- naki! Aria apak ta
cl.8.pl.subj-ir-come and 1.pl.pn fut.cer

m- i- atok mou- r.
1.pl.subj-ir-finish work-cl.10.sg
'Tomorrow is the time when some people will come soon. And then we will certainly finish the work.'/ 'Tomorrow when some people come soon, we will certainly finish the work.'

22.1.9 douk 'now'

The form **douk** 'now' is used as a temporal adjective meaning 'now' as in (199). (233) Luke 2:4. In this example **douk** functions as local topic.

Wabu- r Betlehem douk b- a-pe provins Judia
village-cl.2.sg Bethlehem top cl.2.sg.subj-r-be province Judia

iri.
rel

'Concerning the village of Bethlehem, it is a village which is in the province of Judia.'

22.1.10 namudak 'like that'

The form namudak 'like that' is used to encode cause and effect when joined with aria 'and' (234)

and when combined with ba 'near future' (235). When namudak 'like that' occurs alone, it is not used as a connective joining clauses or sentences. A combination like

(234) AS

Eig	y-	a-kari	namu-dak	aria
1.sg.pn	1.sg.subj-r-say		like-nr.dem	and

nyak		
2.sg.pn		

ta	ny- u- dakemesh.
fut.cer	2.sg.subj-ir-understand

'I said that and so/and therefore you certainly will understand.'

(235) AS This is the same example as (184).

Eig	shopuneg	y-	a-kana	ta	i -	dukemesh
1.sg.pn	also	1.sg.subj-r-want		fut.cer	1.sg.subj.ir-understand	

um	mare-sh	mugu-	has	da	sh- u-	neg
about	what-cl.8.pl	thing-cl.8.pl		top	cl.8.pl.subj-ir-do/cause	

rowa-s	ba	rowa-s	da	dodogowi-sh	at- ish.
tree-cl.3.pl	nr.fut	tree-cl.3.pl	top	strong-	cl.8.pl lim-cl.8.pl

Namu-dak	ba	rowa-s	da	dodogowi-sh	at- ish
like-nr.dem	nr.fut	tree-cl.3.pl	top	strong-	cl.8.pl lim-cl.8.pl

amupu-	m	da	madai m-	u- nuni-sh
white.ants-cl.7.pl		top	r.neg cl.7.pl.subj-ir-ruin-cl.8.pl.obj	

ba	yowe-sh	ue,	uwok.	
nr.fut	bad- cl.8.pl	neg	no	

'I also wanted to know for sure about what kinds of things make/cause trees to become very strong soon. Therefore/like that they will soon be very strong and as for white ants, they will not be able to ruin them (trees/poles/timbers) so that they would soon be bad, no.'

22.1.11 aka uwak 'or not'

The form aka uwak 'or not' is added to a declarative clause to change it into an alternative question.

It is different from the other connectives in that it occurs with only one clause.

(236)

Nyak	ta	ny-	i- nak	Wiwek	aka	uwak?
2.sg.pn	fut.cer	2.sg.subj-ir-go		Wewak	or	not

'Will you really to to Wewak, or not?'

22.1.12 um, 'if'

The form um which normally encodes benfactive, relativizes locations, and also means 'about, to, for, concerning' functions as a carrier for the non-final intonation symbolized by a comma, so the entire form is symbolized as um, with the intonation giving the primary meaning of simple conditionality to the preceeding clause. (197), (237), and (238). This form is also related to the form umum, with which it may be interchangeable. See (239).

There is a contrast between um followed by non-final intonation, symbolized as um, and um with no non-final intonation following it. The examples with um, are listed here: (237) and (238). Note that in nearly every instance of um, 'if' , the verb(s) in the clause ending in um, are in irrealis mood. A contrastive example without um (240) shows the function of um is 'about' or 'concerning'.

(237)

Kadak asha-h h- u- r
Later rain-cl.13.sg cl.13.sg.subj-ir-fall

h- u- buh um, ta mare m- u-nak.
cl.13.sg.subj-ir-come.down if fut.cer ir.neg 1.pl.subj-ir-go
'Later if it rains, we will certainly not go.'

(238)

Kadak nyak ny- i- tir-ish um, ko
later 2.sg.pn 2.sg.subj-ir-see-3.mix.pl.obj if gft

ny- i- kiripe-sh- um- oh ara
2.sg.subj-ir-tell- 3.mix.pl.obj-ben-1.dl.obj and

sh- u- naki.
3.mix.pl.subj-ir-come
'Later today if you see them (men and women), you tell them to come.'

(239) The form umum 'if',as a carrier for non-final intonation, is assumed to be identical in function with um, 'if'.

Asha-h h- a-rari umum, eig ta
rain-cl.13.sg cl.13.sg.subj-r-fall if 1.sg.pn fut.cer

mare i- -nak.
ir.neg 1.sg.subj.ir-go
'If it rains, I will certainly not go.

(240) W- a-pe ara w- a-bo barai-n
1.dl.subj-r-sat and 1.dl.subj-r-hit talk- cl.8.sg

um nuhut- i- h nyumun-ah oho- bi- oh

about tomorrow-poss-cl.13.sg day- cl.13.sg 1.dl-two-1.dl

u- nam debei-hi ura- h
1.dl.subj.ir-go big- cl.13.sg jungle-cl.13.sg

u- ri m wanabi-guh buru-guh.
1.dl.subj.ir-look-ben wild- cl.10.pl pig- cl.10.pl
'We two sat and hit talk (discussed and planned) about the two of us going to the big (deep) jungle tomorrow and looking for wild pigs.'

(241) The form mare 'irrealis negative' occasionally follows um 'if'
Add Aluis ex 241A

22.1.13 umum mare 'why?'

The combination umum mare 'why' is not included with um, 'if' because of contrastive intonation difference and a different position in the clause string. umum mare 'why?' occurs following the non-final intonation, while um 'if' occurs preceeding it.

(242) AS NTC Gr 3:15

Eig douk y- a-naki, umum_mare nyak
1.sg.pn now 1.sg.subj-r-come why 2.sg.pn

ny- a-kana ny- i- tig eig.
2.sg.subj-r-want 2.sg.subj-ir-see 1.sg.pn
'Now I came. Why? You want to see me.' / 'Now I came because you want to see me.'

22.1.14 uwok um, 'if not'

The form uwok um, 'if not' (literally 'no if') is the negation of um, 'if'. It is included here for completeness and in order to give a better understanding of its function (243), (244).

(243) AS NTC GR3:15

Ara kwoipon eshesh sh- u- dukamesh uwok um,
and much.later 3.mix.pl.pn 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-understand not if

apak- i- n barai-n Arapesh kwoipon
1.pl.pn-poss-cl.8.sg talk- cl.8.sg Arapesh much.later

ny- u- gok ny- u- buh- uguk.
cl.8.sg.subj-ir-die cl.8.sg.subj-ir-go.down-perm
'And a long time later they (men and women) will understand (the local language), and if not, then our language, Arapesh, will later die permanently.'

(244) AS

Douk nyak ny- u- pe aga- ndak akare,
Today 2.sg.pn 2.sg.subj-ir-stay here- nr.dem cfc

nyak ny- i- tur-an. Uwak um, ta uwak. 70
2.sg.pn 2.sg.subj-ir-see-3.m.sg.obj not if fut.cer no
'If you would stay here today, you would see him. If not, then you surely will not see him.'

23. Discourse Features

In general the major Bukiyip discourse features are found to be the same in Arapesh. This will be illustrated by comparisons from the areas of participant identifiction, contrastive features of bakcground versus event material in narrative texts, signals of definite and indefinite information and markers of larger than sentence structures.

23.1 Participant identification

A standard list of successively weaker identifications of a participant may (Conrad 1994?:) include the following, beginning with the strongest.

1. Rhetorical Question

2. Cleft sentence

3. Name

4. Noun Phrase

5. Free Pronoun

6. Verbal Affix

7. 0 (Zero)

All but number 7 are found in Bukiyip and Arapesh with very similar functions.

1. Rhetorical Question

(245) B (At one of the crucial points in the story) RM 022

The spirit man reveals himself to the real man using this rhetorical question (the spirit man is talking to the real man).

Ali anan n- o-wanomali yeha- m
and 3.m.pn 3.m.sg.subj-r-turn tongue-cl.5.sg

n- a-lik, "Ny- a-0- guh
3.m.sg.subj-r-ask 2.sg.subj-r-hit/kill-cl.10.pl.obj

ny- o-ku omuni ny- a-ho- guh
2.sg.subj-r-give who 2.sg.subj-r-hold-cl.10.pl.obj

ye- guh?
fish-cl.10.pl
'And he turned his tongue (changed his voice) and asked (him), "You singular hit and killed the fish and WHO did you give them[71] to and he held them?"

A From Mark 4:35-41 (same Rh Q holds in Arapesh):

The men identify Jesus with a Rhetorical question.

(246) Ka- kuri anu- dak meini arama-n?
imper-tell.us cl.7.sg-nr.dem what man- cl.7.sg
'Tell us who is this man!"

2. Cleft sentence (May be equivalent to clause fronting in this language family.)

(247) B Mamaki-k wak ok- ana- li, mohuki-k
mother-cl.4.sg no cl.4.sg-c.7.sg-nom sister-cl.4.sg

kw- a-hok obla- k.
cl.4.sg.subj-r-hold coconut.shell-cl.4.sg
'If he is one who does not have a mother, his sister holds the coconut shell.(in a special ceremony)'

(248) A

Eig ta p- u- kirip-e mare-n barai-n?
1.sg.pn fut.cer 2.pl.subj-ir-tell- 1.sg.ob what-cl.8.sg talk-cl.8.sg
'Concerning me, what will you all surely tell me?'

3. Name

(249) B This is the initial mention of Labepim in the narrative.

Labepim n- a-suh bul-guh bio-guh.
Labepim 3.m.sg.subj--tie.up pig-cl.10.pl two-cl.10.pl
~Labepim tied up two pigs.(for a pig exchange celebration)

(250) A AS NTC Story 7. This is a story describing an elephant. The plural -omi of tuag 'white man' includes both men and women and is thus analyzed as a variant of cl.8.mix.pl -sh.

Gani rougun- um tua- g- omi
there distant-loc white.man-cl.cl.3.sg-cl.8.mix.pl

amam- i rub wa- rub, ane- n mahi- n
cl.7.pl-poss-cl.2.pl village-cl.2.pl indef-cl.8.sg animal-cl.8.sg

ny- a-pe. Tua- g -omi
cl.8.sg.subj-r-be white.man-cl.3.sg-cl.8.mix.pl

h- o-hare-n um elepan.
3.m.pl.subj-r-call-cl.8.sg.obj ben elephant

'There in a distant location (country) in the villages of the white people there is an animal. They call it "elephant".

4. Noun Phrase

The noun phrases are underlined in part (1.) of each example.

(251) B NM This is the beginning and the first point in an explanatory text about the reason for a fight.

(1.)
Sabul umu enyu- dak bala-n ny- a-itak
first when cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem talk-cl.8.sg cl.8.sg.subj-r-arise

umu, ny- a-itak umu oku- dak Semetokwa.
when cl.8.sg.subj-r-arise about cl.4.sg.dem-nr.dem Semetokwa
'At first, when this problem arose, it arose about this woman Semetokwa.'

Ali Inanduwu n- a-nu nugami-m, Wial, Lowonem
And.then Inanduwu 3.m.sg.subj-r-and son- cl.7.pl Wial, Lowonem

Wiaman ch- a-hlitak.
Wiaman 3.mix.pl.subj-r-argue
'And then Inanduw and his son, Wial, Lowonem and Wiaman argued.'

(2.)

Ch- a-hlitak, apak m- a-itak
3.mix.pl.subj-r-argue 1.pl.pn 1.pl.pn.subj-r-arise

m- o-nak.
1.pl.subj-r-go
'They argued and we arose and went (to another village).'

(252) AS Story 1. Urim mahish. This is the beginning of a hunting story

(1.)
Ana b wa- b
indef-cl.1.sg night-cl.1.sg

eig- i n wawe- n
1.sg.pn-poss-cl.7.sg mother's.brother-cl.7.sg

n- a-ni eig w- a-pe apa
3.m.sg.subj-r-and 1.sg.pn 1.dl.subj-r-sat cont

w- a-kari, seiwok w- a-rahain ura- h
1.dl.subj-r-say long.ago 1.dl.subj-r-go.around jungle-cl.13.sg

ba w- a-0- gasi mahi- gas.
nr.pres 1.dl.subj-r-kill-cl.8.pl.obj-rel animal-cl.8.pl
'One night my mother's brother and I sat talking (about) when we went around in the jungle hunting animals a long time ago.'

(2.)
Wawe- -n n- a-har kei-n
mother's bro-cl.7.sg cl.7.sg.subj-r-take bow-cl.8.sg

ny- a-ni barawo-s, eig y- a-har
cl.8.sg.subj-r-and arrow- cl.3.pl 1.sg.pn 1.sg.subj-r-take

ata-g debei-gi barawo-g.
one-cl.3.sg big- cl.3.sg.adj spear- cl.3.sg
'Mother's brother took a bow and arrows and I took one big spear.'

5. Free pronoun

The free pronouns are double underlined in part (2.) of examples (251) and (252).

6. Verbal affixes

A sample verbal affix (prefix) is double underlined in part (2.) of each of the above examples, (251) and (252).

7. A zero (0) participant identification on the verb occurs only in two contexts in Bukiyip and Arapesh. One is where there is repeated action by the same actor in a narrative or explanatory text (253), (254). The other is in the intensive imperative construction.(255). In all other contexts, including mild imperative, a person-number-gender affix is required on the verb.

(253) B Explanatory text NM

Aliga bo-take bo-take bo- take, aliga ch- a-bih
until hit-cont hit-cont hit-cont until 3.mix.pl.subj-r-go.down

gani owin.
there below

'(The men) continued hitting him repeatedly until they went down below.'

(254) AS

Amom h- e-neg bo- tak- an,
3.m.pl.pn 3.m.pl.subj-r-do hit-still-3.m.sg.obj

bo- tak- an, bo- tak- an, arigah_a
hit-still-3.m.sg.obj hit-still-3.m.sg.obj until

h- a-buh gani owin.
3.m.pl.subj-r-go.down there below
'The men continued to hit him and hit him and hit him until they went down below.'

(255) B Ho- nu!
hit-3.m.sg.obj
'Hit him!'

A Bo- an!
hit-3.m.sg.obj
'Hit him!'

23.1 The general rule for narrative texts that background information is in irrealis mood and event information is in realis moode applies to both B and A. Thus the verbs in conditional clauses (237), (238) and in contrfactual clauses (involving akare 'contrary to fact conditional' (244) are all in irrealis mood, since these clauses encode background information, not event information.

For details in B, see Conrad 199?? (Kinds of Information in Bukiyip).

The major exception to this rule is that a description of historical or tradtional practices (such as the significance of taking off one's shoe in the Old Testament book of Ruth chapter 4, verse 7 is encoded in irrealis (256), perhaps because the practice being referred to occurred so long ago that it seems unreal.

(256) Ruth 4:7 (partial text):

B

Douk ch- u- kli ch- u- gabe ene- n
given 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-want 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-fix.up indef-cl.8.sg

bala-n ... o ch- u- k- ech ene- ch
talk-cl.8.sg or 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-give-cl.8.pl.obj indef-cl.8.pl

echech- i- ch echu- dak kipah-ech- i
3.mix.pl-poss-cl.8.pl cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem other-cl.8.pl-nom

ch- u- tol-ich umu, enyu- dak douk
3.mix.pl.subj-ir-buy-cl.8.pl.obj if cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem top

ny- u- k- ech echu- dak umu
cl.8.sg.subj-ir-give-cl.8.pl.obj cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem in.order to

ch- u- tol-ich uli eke ny- u- wal
3.mix.pl.subj-ir-buy-cl.8.pl.obj rel fut cl.8.sg.subj-ir-take.off

enyeny- i- u su ny- u- ku enyu- dak
cl.8.sg-poss-cl.4.pl shoe cl.8.sg.subj-ir-give cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem

douk ny- -u- kli ny- u- tal
top cl.8.sg.subj-ir-want cl.8.sg.subj-ir-buy

echu- dak uli.
cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem nom
'Given (thehis law said) if they want to fix up a problem...or give some oftheir things to others (for) them to buy, concerning this person who will give them things in order that they will buy them, he will take off his shoe and give it to this person, the one who wants to buy these things.'

B

Douk sh- u- iri sh- u- gabe ane- n
top 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-want 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-fix.pl indef-cl.8.sg

barai-n ...o sh- u- k- esh ene- sh
talk- cl.8.sg or 3.mix.pl.subj-ir-give-cl.8.pl.obj indef-cl.8.pl

eshesh- i- sh eshu- dak kupai- sh- i
cl.8.pl.pn-poss-cl.8.pl cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem other-cl.8.pl-nom

sh- u- tar- ish um, enyu- dak douk
3.mix.pl.subj-ir-buy-cl.8.pl.obj if cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem top

ny- u- k- esh eshu- dak um
cl.8.sg.subj-ir-give-cl.8.pl.obj cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem in.order.to

sh- u- tar-ish iri ta ny- u- war
3.mix.pl.subj-ir-buy-cl.8.pl.obj nom fut.cer cl.8.sg.subj-ir-take off

en i- u su ny- u- ku
cl.8.sg-poss-cl.4.pl shoe cl.8.sg.subj-ir-give

enyu- dak douk ny- u- kiri
cl.8.sg.dem-nr.dem top cl.8.sg.subj-ir-want

ny- u- tar eshu- dak iri.
cl.8.sg.subj-ir-buy cl.8.pl.dem-nr.dem nom
'Given (this law), if they want to fix up a problem or give some others some of their things to buy them, concerning this person who wants to give them these things in order that they will buy them, he will certainly take off his shoe and give it to this person, the one who wants to buy these things.'

This useage of irrealis mood is also illustrated in (258) in the first line of the story. Because it was long ago that the village now called Urip was called Maguer, the clause

m u- hara-gun um Maguer
1.pl.subj-ir-call-cl.18.sg.obj ben Maguer
'we called it (the village) Maguer'

uses irrealis mood. The calling of the village by the name "Maguer" is indeed a traditional practice. It is also true that this clause is also background and not event information, thus giving another reason why it should be encoded with irrealis mood.

For Arapesh, note that in (248) the verb is in irrealis mood simply because it is in a question, and by definition for this analysis all questions are off the event line and are therefore background information. In (250) and (252) all the verbs are in realis mood because they are all encoding event information.

For one more example,consider (257). All the verbs are in realis mood and consequently are all on the event line except for one--the one verb which is encoding the purpose of (his) eating food. This is a background explanation and does not encode a real event. Therefore it is in irrealis mood (see double underlining).

(257) AS Stori 3. Debenari nani Shokunari (final episode only)

Giha-p-an Shoku-nari n- a-didi
sorry 3.m.sg young-cl.7.sg.adj 3.m.sg.subj-r-break

anan- i- ruh na- ruh n- e-ata- ruh,
3.m.sg-poss-cl.12.pl tooth-cl.12.pl 3.m.sg.subj-r-finish-cl.12.pl

n- o-kusehi aushi-bar b- a-ni
3.m.sg.subj-r-spit.out blood-cl.5.pl cl.5.pl.subj-r-and

na- ruh h- a-tagarari anan- i- t
TOOTH-CL.12.PL 3.M.PL.SUBJ-R-COME.OUT 3.M.SG-POSS-CL.11.SG

nuka- t. Shoku-nari anan na- ruh uwak
mouth-cl.11.sg young-cl.7.sg.adj 3.m.sg.pn tooth-cl.12.pl no

um n- u- wok wori-gun,...
ben 3.m.sg.subj-ir-eat food-cl.15.sg
'Sorry for the young man who broke his teeth and finished them all and spit out blood and teeth--these came out of his mouth. The young man did not have teeth for the purpose of eating food, ...'

23.3 The two dialects B and A have the same strategy for encoding the contrast between definite and indefinite. See example (72).

The basic contrast involves distinguishing between indefinite (often new) information, which is often but not always the status of nominals being introduced into the story for the first time. The indefinite form is VnVC(vC) + the noun, while the definite form is a demonstrative + the noun. Both of these are illustrated in (258). The indefinite form anap awirop 'a family' and the definite form apada awirop 'this family'are both underlined. In the indefinite formula VnVC(vC), V = a, the n stays n and the C is p. The final (optional) (vC) is zero. That part of the formula only applies for noun endings which have a vowel in them, such as wa-bur 'village', for which the indefinite form is ana-bur, so that the first V in the formula is a, the n is n, the next V is a and the first C = b and the v = u and the last C = r.

(258) AS stori 3: Debenari nani Shokunari

Seiwok gani Meigur douk m- u- hara-gun um
long.ago there Meigur top 1.pl.subj-ir-call-cl.18.sg ben

Maguer (Urip). Ana- p awiro- p aka arape-sh
Maguer Urip indef-cl.9.sg family-cl.9.sg or person-cl.8.pl

sh- a-pe, sh- a-na- hwara-m um
3.mix.pl.subj-r-be 3.mix.pl.subj-r-refl-call- cl.7.m.pl ben

Sabigur. Apa- da awiro- p aka arape- sh
Sabigur cl.9.sg.dem-nr.dem family-cl.9.sg or person-cl.8.pl

sh- a-na- pruk um iruh airoh.
3.mix.pl.subj-r-refl-hit ben above below
Long ago at Meigur village, the one we call Maguer (Urip), a family or (group of) people lived who called themselves Sabigur. This family or group of people hit eachother above and below (hit eachother all over, very hard).'

23.4 Higher level markers

The most common higher level markers in B are ali 'and, and then, therefore', and orait 'and then' Ali is also the most common marker to signal return from background to the event line. The form orait 'and then' is also used (259).

(259) B NM This text illustrates the use of the higher level (section) marker orait 'and then, and so' and also the use of ali 'and, and then' to return to the event line following a quotation (which is background information).

N- e-ak takani-pi, n- a-ku Lowonem.
3.m.sg.subj-r-take.out part -cl.9.sg 3.m.sg.subj-r-give Lowonem

Orait Ogimailu n- a-pe n- a-gabe-agas.
and.so Ogimailu 3.m.sg.subj-r-remain 3.m.sg.subj-r-fix- cl.9.pl
"p- u- k- e ana- bal uta- bal o
2.pl.subj-ir-give-1.sg.obj indef-cl.5.sg money-cl.5.sg or

wok o?" Orait yek opa- hw yowe-hw,

neg or and.so 1.sg.pn stomach-cl.sg.12 bad- cl.12.sg

y- a-itak y- a-lik-anu,
1.sg.subj-r-arise 1.sg.subj-r-ask-3m.sg.obj

"Nyak ny- u- mnek.
2.sg.pn 2.sg.subj-imper-listen
'He took out part of a leaf (one kina) and gave it to Lowonem. And so Ogimaila continued to fix up the problem. ... "Will you all give me some money or not?" And so I had a bad stomach (was angry) and I arose and asked him, "You listen!

The most common higher level marker in A is aria, 'and, and then', which often occurs sentence initial and marks a larger stretch of text.

(260) AS

Aria anan n- a-pe n- a-tuk
and.then 3m.sg.pn 3.m.sg.subj-r-be 3.m.sg.subj-r-catch

subai-guhi ei-guh. Aria anan
many- cl.10.pl.adj fish-cl.10.pl and.then 3.m.sg.pn

n- a-rao ana- guh ei- guh um
3.m.gf.sub-r-take indef-cl.10.pl fish-cl.10.pl ben

anan- i- k maki- k.
3.m.sg.pn-poss-cl.4.sg father's.sister-cl.4.sg
'And then he continued to catch many fish. And then he took some fish to his father's sister.'

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