Tentative Grammar Description

for the [khz] Kalo language

spoken in Central Province

Written by Phil King with Momoro Kini and Aimo Pokana Raka

June 2014

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Signed by:

Name: Phil King   Language: English   Province: UK

Name: Momoro Kini   Language: Kalo   Province: Central

Name: Aimo Pokana Raka   Language: Kalo   Province: Central

The following works are covered by this form

Description	Contribution	Signatures	Date
Tentative Grammar Description	author	Phil King	10 June 2014
Tentative Grammar Description	language data and checking	Aimo Pokana Raka, Momoro Kini	6 June 2014
Text collection – written and audio	author	Momoro Kini	10 June 2014

1 INTRODUCTION

Language name: Kalo (listed in the Ethnologue as a dialect of Keapara [khz])

Classification: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic, Western Oceanic, Papuan Tip, Peripheral, Central Papuan, Sinagoro-Keapara

Location of Language Group: Spoken in Kalo village, Central Province, coast east of Hood Point / Hula Point.

Dialect(s) represented in this description: Kalo

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Location where most data has been collected: Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province

Texts used to help produce this description:

Kelenigepagepa "Man Eater"; *Lema Rakagau?* "What is stealing?"; *Auna numa egalana aonai au rakagau pana kala* "If my house is on fire, what would I do?"; *Translators' Training Course Mulinai Au Pana Kala Gaura* "The things I will do after TTC"

Kalo Village

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This grammar is very tentative. It has been written by Phil King during the five-week long Translators' Training Course at Ukarumpa, at which the two Kalo speakers, Aimo Pokana Raka and Momoro Kini, were participants. The course itself focused on other assignments, so the data for this grammar was just collected and written up in spare moments between other sessions. The analysis is based on little more than four natural texts written by Momoro Kini and a selection of elicited sentences. Gerhard Tauberschmidt's *A Grammar of Sinaugoro* was incredibly helpful in providing grammatical background for the languages in this area. There may well be errors due to the time pressure in producing this document, and some inconsistencies within the analysis. We are thankful to Sissie D'Jernes for reading the paper and pointing out some of the worst inconsistencies, some of which have been corrected, whilst others have been footnoted for others to research further. Despite its tentative nature, we hope this grammar will be helpful to speakers of the Kalo language, and to others who want to learn more about the language. Hopefully, it provides a foundation for others to build upon in the future.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this document:

~	Alternates with
1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
ADJ	Adjective
CTS	Continuous (an action perceived as ongoing)
DEM	Demonstrative
EXC	Exclusive (does not include the person you are speaking to)
FUT	Future
IMV	Imperative (command)
INC	Inclusive (includes the person you are speaking to)
IRR	Irrealis (covers things in the future, but also other things that might or might not happen)
NUM	Numeral
OBJ	Object
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
REC	Recent past
REFL	Reflexive
SBJ	Subject
SG	Singular

2 WRITING SYSTEM AND SOUNDS

The following letters are used in the Kalo writing system:

<a e g i k kw l m n o p r t u v w>

The letter <g> represents a velar fricative, a 'softer' sound than in English.

The previous Organised Phonology Data[1] also used the letters <q> and <q^w> to show a difference between the uvular stop q (at the back of the throat, called by some a 'heavy k') and the velar stop k (less far back in the mouth, called a 'light k'). Although there are still differences between these sounds, they are not being shown in the current writing system.

TABLE 1: Words showing the difference between 'light k' and 'heavy k'

Previous spelling		Current spelling
kala 'grow'	*qala* 'make'	*kala*
kale 'shellfish'	*qale* 'taro'	*kale*
kavu 'ash'	*qavu* 'fireplace'	*karu*
kaka 'small stream'	*qaqa* 'brother'	*kaka*

3 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

3.1 Pronouns and Possessive Suffixes

Our pronouns are shown in the charts below. Section 3.1.1 shows normal pronouns; 3.1.2 shows normal possessive pronouns; 3.1.3 shows the special possessive pronouns used for edible items; 3.1.4 discusses the suffixes used for inalienably possessed objects (such as *tamaku* 'my father'); and section 3.1.5 shows the reflexive pronouns used when someone does something to themselves.

3.1.1 Normal Pronouns

Normal pronouns are words like *I, you* and *they*, which stand in place of other noun phrases. These are some technical words used to talk about pronouns and other grammatical features:

1st **person (1)** = the speaker. English: 'I', 'we'

2nd **person (2)** = the listener. English: 'you'

3rd **person (3)** = neither the speaker nor the listener. English: 'he/she/it/they'

Singular (SG) = just one person/thing. English: 'I/he/she/it'

Plural (PL) = more than one. English: 'we/they'

1st **person exclusive (1 EXC)** = the speaker and some other people, but not the listener. Tok Pisin *mipela*.

1st **person inclusive (1 INC)** = the speaker and the listener (and maybe other people too). Tok Pisin *yumi*.

Some languages have different pronouns for the subject and object of the sentence. In English,'I' is used for the first person singular subject pronoun, and 'me' is the first person singular object pronoun. Kalo does not have different pronouns for subjects and objects. However, there are object suffixes that are attached to verbs, as described in Section 5.1.2.

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[1] Online at http://www-01.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=928474542234.

		Normal Kalo pronoun	English / *Tok Pisin*
singular	1st person	*au*	I / *mi*
	2nd person	*goi*	you / yu
	3rd person	*ia*	he, she, it / *em*
plural	1st person inclusive	*ita*	we / *yumi*
	1st person exclusive	*ai*	we / *mipela*
	2nd person	*gomi*	you / *yupela*
	3rd person	*ira*	they / *ol*

Here is an example sentence using a normal pronoun:

Example 1

au	*p-*	*a-*	*ripa*	*au*	*-na*	*numa*	*kalova*	*-na*	*e-*	*gala*	*-a*	*-na*
1SG	REC	1SG.SBJ	know	1SG	POSS	house	fire		3SG.POSS	3SG.SBJ	burn	3SG.OBJ	PRES

'If I knew that my house was burning' (literally, 'my house's fire, it burned it')

3.1.2 Normal Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are pronouns used when something belongs to someone. In Kalo we have different possessive pronouns for something that belongs to someone (normal possessive pronouns) and something that someone is going to eat (possessive pronouns for edible items). Table 3 lists our Kalo normal possessive pronouns. First and second person plural possessive pronouns are formed by adding the suffix *–na* to the normal pronouns listed in Table 2. These normal possessive pronouns are used for something that belongs to someone, but is not part of their body, a member of their family, or something to eat.

TABLE 3: Normal possessive pronouns

		Possessive pronoun	English / Tok Pisin equivalent	Example	Translation
singular	1st person	*geku*	my	*geku numa*[2]	my house
	2nd person	*gemu*	your	*gemu numa*	your house
	3rd person	*gena*	his, her ,its	*gena numa*	his, her, its house
plural	1st person inclusive	*itana*	our / *bilong yumi*	*itana numa*	our (inc) house
	1st person exclusive	*aina*	our / *bilong mipela*	*aina numa*	our (exc) house
	2nd person	*gomina*	your / *bilong yupela*	*gomina numa*	your (plural) house
	3rd person	*geria*	their	*geria numa*	their house

Examples (2) and (3) show sentences using possessive pronouns. Usually the possessive pronoun comes before the noun itself:

Example 2

ne	Kipa	e-	vaikila	-a	-to	**ge**	**-na**	numa	-i	pene	laka
then	Kipa	3SG.SBJ	tell	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	POSS	3SG.POSS	house	at	3SG.IRR	go

'Then he told Kipa to go to his house'

Example 3

Peka	p-	e-	kila
Peka	REC	3SG.SBJ	say

goi	vanuga	talima	-ra	**ge**	**-ria**	pae	-ta	p-	o-	lema	-a
2SG	village	people	PL	POSS	3PL.POSS	pig	one	REC	2SG.SBJ	steal	3SG.OBJ

'Peka said you stole the village people's pig'

3.1.3 Possessive Pronouns for Edible Items

There are a special set of possessive pronouns used for things that are to be eaten. They are similar in form to the normal possessive pronouns, but all begin with *ga-*.

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[2] Note that *au-na numa* 'my house' is also used, as in Example 1, where a possessive pronoun has been formed by adding *–na* to the normal pronoun.

		Possessive pronoun	English / Tok Pisin equivalent	Example	Translation
singular	1st person	*gaku*	my	*gaku galivata*	my banana
	2nd person	*gamu*	your	*gamu galivata*	your banana
	3rd person	*gana*	his, her ,its	*gana galivata*	his, her, its banana
plural	1st person inclusive	*gara*	our / *bilong yumi*	*gara galivata*	our (inc) banana
	1st person exclusive	*gama*	our / *bilong mipela*	*gama galivata*	our (exc) banana
	2nd person	*gami*	your / *bilong yupela*	*gami galivata*	your (plural) banana
	3rd person	*garia*	their	*garia galivata*	their banana

The choice of using the normal or 'edible' possessive pronoun depends on the context. The edible possessive pronoun is used for the person who will eat something, whereas the normal possessive pronoun may be used to show that the same thing belongs to someone else.

Example 4
ga   *-na*   *pae*
EDIBLE   3SG.POSS   pig
 'his/her pig' (that is, it is his/hers to eat)

Example 5
ge   *-na*   *pae*
NON-EDIBLE   3SG.POSS   pig
'his/her pig' (that is, it belongs to him/her)

3.1.4 Possessive Suffixes

Possessive suffixes are another way to show who something belongs to (possession), by adding something to the end of the word. These possessive suffixes are often used with words for family relationships or body parts (such as *ear*, *eye, brother* or *father*), rather than using a separate word. Further discussion of different ways to show possession is given in Section 3.7.

These are some examples of words with possessive suffixes in Kalo. The word with a possessive suffix can either be used on its own, or with the normal pronoun preceding it.

Example 6

mata-ku / au mata-ku	'my eye'
tama-mu / goi tama-mu	'your father'
poka-na / ia poka-na	'his mouth'
tega-ria / ira tega-ria	'their ears'

Table 5 shows our possessive suffixes:

TABLE 5: Possessive suffixes

		Possessive suffix	Word with possessive suffix	English / Tok Pisin equivalent
singular	1st person	*-ku*	*(au) tamaku*	my father
	2nd person	*-mu*	*(goi) tamamu*	your father
	3rd person	*-na*	*(ia) tamana*	his/her father
plural	1st person inclusive	*-ra*	*(ita) tamara*	our (inc) father
	1st person exclusive	*-mai*	*(ai) tamamai*	our (exc) father
	2nd person	*-mi*	*(gomi) tamami*	your father
	3rd person	*-ria*	*(ira) tamaria*	their father

The main kind of words that use possessive suffixes in the Kalo language are body parts and kinship terms, but the possessive suffixes are also used for some other words that are closely related to a person, as in example (7). In linguistic terminology, these are often called *inalienably possessed* words, because they cannot usually appear without a suffix saying who they belong to (see Section 3.7.1).

Example 7

ara-ku / au ara-ku	'my name'
vali-ku / au vali-ku	'my news'

3.1.5 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are words like 'myself' and 'himself'. They are used when the actor and patient refer to the same person.

In Kalo, reflexive pronouns are made by adding possessive suffixes to the stem *matotau*, as shown in the table below.

TABLE 6: Reflexive pronouns

		Reflexive pronoun	English / Tok Pisin equivalent
singular	1st person	*matotauku*	myself
	2nd person	*matotaumu*	yourself
	3rd person	*matotauna*	himself, herself, itself
plural	1st person inclusive	*matotaura*	ourselves / *yumi yet*
	1st person exclusive	*matotaumai*	ourselves / *mipela yet*
	2nd person	*matotaumi*	yourselves / *yupela yet*
	3rd person	*matotauria*	themselves / *ol yet*

In clauses like 'he hit himself', the reflexive pronoun is used, but the verb also begins with the reflexive prefix *ve-,* as in the example below:

Example 8
au	***matotau***	***-ku***		*p-*	*a-*	***ve-***	*kwari*
1SG	REFL	1SG.POSS		REC	1SG.SBJ	REFL	hit/strike

'I hit myself'

3.1.6 Translation Issues for Pronouns

In Kalo, we make a difference between the first person inclusive pronoun *ita* and the first person exclusive pronoun *ai*. However, English, Greek and Hebrew do not make this difference. So, when we are translating from these languages into Kalo, we need to decide whether to use *ita* or *ai.*

In Kalo there is just one pronoun *ia* that is used for men or women or animals, whereas English makes a difference between 'he' and 'she' and 'it'.

3.2 Nouns

Nouns are naming words that are often used for objects that can be seen and touched, such as people, places and things. However, some nouns are things that cannot be seen, such as invisible things (wind, electricity); times (morning, day); abstract things (friendship, love) and actions (prayer, suffering).

Nouns in Kalo are not usually marked for singular or plural on the noun itself, so you cannot tell from the noun whether it is singular or plural. However, it is possible to tell whether something is plural by markers on other words that go along with the noun in the noun phrase, or through markers on the verb, or other parts of the sentence, as shown in examples (10) to (17).

These are some example nouns in Kalo:

Example 9

v*ugae*	'crocodile / crocodiles'
pae	'pig / pigs'
galivata	'banana / bananas'
numa	'house / houses'
kupa	'sky' (in Kalo thinking, there is just one sky)
amoamo	'morning / mornings'
velekwa	'feast / feasts'
maru	'man / men'
talima	'person / people'
rinaga	'possession / possessions'

When there is more than one of something, this can sometimes be seen by using a numeral to say how many there are, even though the noun does not change at all, as in examples (10) and (11).

Example 10
numa   kwapuna
house   one
'one house'

Example 11
numa   ruala
house   two
'two houses'

When adjectives are used with a noun, the adjectives take the suffix –*na* if the noun is singular, and the suffix –*ra* if the noun is plural. There is more information on adjectives in Section 3.3.

Example 12
pae   kamu   -na   kwapuna
pig   big   SG   one
'one big pig'

Example 13

*pae   kamu   -**ra**   ruala*
pig   big   PL   two
'two big pigs'

When nouns are used as the **subjects** of verbs, different prefixes are used on the verb to show whether the subject noun is singular or plural. For example, the prefix *e-* on the verb shows a third person singular subject, and the prefix *ge-* shows a third person plural subject, as shown below:

Example 14

SINGULAR SUBJECT		VERB		
vo	*vugae*	***e-***	*laka*	*-to*
DEM	crocodile	3SG.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT

'That crocodile went.'

Example 15

PLURAL SUBJECT		VERB		
vo	*vugae*	***ge-***	*laka*	*-to*
DEM	crocodile	3PL.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT

'Those crocodiles went.'

When a noun is the **object** of a verb, the verb has a suffix which shows whether the noun is singular or plural. For example, when the object is in the third person, the suffix *–a* is used if the noun is singular, and the suffix *–ra* if the noun is plural, as shown below.

Example 16

SUBJECT		SINGULAR OBJECT		VERB			
Pita	*-na*	*vo*	*vugae*	*e-*	*gita*	***-a***	*-to*
Pita	ERGATIVE	DEM	crocodile	3SG.SBJ see		SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'Peter saw that crocodile.'

Example 17

SUBJECT		PLURAL OBJECT		VERB			
Pita	*-na*	*vo*	*vugae*	*e-*	*gita*	***-ra***	*-to*
Pita	ERGATIVE	DEM	crocodile	3SG.SBJ see		PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'Peter saw those crocodiles.'

3.2.3 Translation Issues for Singular and Plural Nouns

Since Kalo does not show a difference on the noun between singular and plural things, we will need to make sure when we are translating that the readers can tell whether something is singular or plural.

3.3 Adjectives

3.3.1 Normal Adjectives

Adjectives are words which describe a noun. Adjectives might describe the size, shape and colour of something, the age or feelings of a person, or the appearance of a place.

Some English Adjectives are: big, small, round, square, triangular, red, blue, green, tall, short, young, old, happy, sad, stressed, relaxed, rocky, wet, dry, hot and cold. There are many more! Kalo as well as English seems to have many adjectives.

Table 7 shows some adjectives in Kalo.

TABLE 7: Examples of adjectives

Adjective	Gloss	Example sentence
kamu	big	vo vugae **kamu** -na DEM crocodile big SG 'that big crocodile'
kei	small	vugae **kei** -na crocodile small SG 'a small crocodile'
gaoka	hard	guria **gaoka** -na betelnut hard SG 'a hard betelnut'
nama	good	melo **nama** -na boy good SG 'a good boy'
rakava	bad	melo **rakava** -na boy bad SG 'a bad boy'
moga	long	galivata **moga** -ra toitoi banana long PL three 'three long bananas'
kune	old	numa **kune** -ra ruala house old PL two 'two old houses'
verovero	smooth/slippery	gautupu lau -na **verovero** -na trees leaf SG smooth SG 'the smooth leaf'
valigu	new	gati **valigu** -na canoe new SG 'a new canoe'
pala	cold	nanu **pala** water cold 'cold water'[3]
tiavu	hot	nanu **tiavu** water hot 'hot water'
kalovakalova	red	rapuga **kalovakalova** -na clothing red SG 'red clothing'

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[3] *Nanu pala* is the normal way of referring to 'cold water' as something to drink. However, *nanu pala-na* could be used when the 'coldness' of the water is in focus, as opposed to 'hot' water.

ruparupa	black (also used for brown skin, a black painted house, and some pigs)	*kwaeva* **ruparupa** *-na* dog black SG 'a black dog'
kulokulo	white	*vanagi* **kulokulo** *-na* door white SG 'a white door'
polapola	yellow	*tiare* **polapola** *-ra* flowers yellow PL 'yellow flowers'

The adjectives come after the noun in Kalo, and usually take either a *–na* or *–ra* suffix depending on whether the noun they are describing is singular or plural (although sometimes the adjective has no suffix).

All the colour adjectives have repeated stems, and also some others such as *verovero* 'smooth, slippery'.

In English, words like *very* and *a bit* can be used to describe the strength of an adjective. For example a book may be *very interesting* or a child may be *a bit small.*

These are some examples of how we make adjectives stronger or less strong in Kalo.

To make an adjective stronger, the suffix *–vagi* is added on to the adjective.

Example 18
*vo   vugae   kei   -**vagi***
DEM   crocodile small   very
'that crocodile is very small'

Example 19
*vo   vugae   kei   -**vagi** -ra*
DEM   crocodile small   very   PL
'those very small crocodiles'

Example 20
*pae   mona **-vagi***
pig   fat   very
'a very fat pig'

The word *para* 'great' can also be used following the adjective *kamu* for something that is very big. *Para* does not take a singular or plural suffix.

Example 21
*vo   numa   kamu -na   **para***
DEM   house   big   SG   great
'that great big house'

To make an adjective less strong, the suffix *–lagi* is used between the adjective and the singular or plural suffix.

Example 22

vo   vugae   kei   **-lagi**   -na
DEM   crocodile   small   bit   PL
'that somewhat small crocodile'

3.3.2 Comparatives

In English, the size, shape or quality of things can be compared by using the marker '–er' on adjectives, or by using the word 'more' with other adjectives. For example, 'Your dog is bigg<u>er</u> <u>than</u> mine', 'he is <u>more</u> careful <u>than</u> I am'.

Here is an example of how we compare things in Kalo. We do not have an easy way to say something is 'bigger than' something else, we need to say one thing is small, and the other is big.

Example 23

au -na   kwaeva kei   -na   na   ia -na   kwaeva kamu -na
1SG POSS dog   small SG   but 3SG POSS   dog   big   SG
'my dog is small, but his dog is big'

In English we can say that something is better than all other examples by using the marker '–est' at the end of an adjective, or by using the word 'most'. For example, 'she is the <u>most</u> beautiful woman', 'Everest is the tall<u>est</u> mountain'.

In Kalo, the best way to say something is the biggest or the smallest is to add the suffix *–iwavagi* 'very much beyond', between the adjective and the plural or singular suffix, as in example (24).

Example 24

*numa   kamu   **-iwa**   **-vagi** -na*
house   big   beyond very   SG
'the biggest house'

3.3.3 Translation Issues for Adjectives

In English a comparative or superlative can be made with just one word, such as 'bigger' or 'biggest', whereas in Kalo we usually need to write a whole sentence to convey the same idea.

3.4 Numerals and Number-Marking

3.4.1 Traditional Counting System

This is our traditional Kalo counting system:

TABLE 8: Traditional counting system

Number	Kalo	English meaning (if there is one)
1	*kwapuna*	one
2	*ruala*	two
3	*toitoi*	three

4	*vativati*	four
5	*imaima*	five
6	*taula-toitoi*	two threes
7	*taula-toi kwapuna*	two threes plus one
8	*taula-vativati*	two fours
9	*taulavati kwapuna*	two fours plus one
10	*gagalana*	
11	*gagalana kwapuna*	
12	*gagalana ruala*	
13	*gagalana toitoi*	
14	*gagalana vativati*	
15	*gagalana imaima*	
16	*gagalana taula-toitoi*	
17	*gagalana taula-toi kwapuna*	
18	*gagalana taula-vativati*	
19	*gagalana taula-vati kwapuna*	
20	*gagala ruala*	
30	*gagala toitoi*	
40	*gagala vativati*	
50	*gagala imaima*	
60	*gagala taula-toitoi*	
70	*gagala taula-toi kwapuna*	
80	*gagala taula-vativati*	
90	*gagala taula vati*	

	kwapuna	
100	*tinavuna*	

We use our traditional numbers rather than Tok Pisin or English for all our counting. Numbers usually come after the main noun, as in examples (10) and (11) above.

3.4.2 Other Quantity Words

Quantifiers are words like 'some', 'many', 'all', or 'a few' in English, which do not tell us a specific number, but rather a general quantity.

The quantifiers we have found in Kalo are given below. Examples (25) and (26) show how they are used.

maine	'few' (less than 10)
geleta	'some' (literally, 'one row')
reketa	'some' (maybe spread all over the place, including a variety of objects)
vogo	'many'
ati vogo	'not many / few'

Example 25
talima   maine
people   few
'a few people'

Example 26
kwaeva   reketa
dogs   some
'some dogs'

3.4.3 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are used to show the order in a group of items, like 'first', 'second', 'third' in English.

Kalo does not have easy ways of saying first, second, third, etc. However, we can say 'first', 'next' and 'last', as in examples (27) – (31).

Example 27
*ia   p-   e-   kwara   **kune***
3SG REC 3SG.SBJ arrive   first
'he arrived first'

Example 28
*ia   **tovotovo**   -na   -i   p-   e-   kwara*
3SG   beginning   3SG.POSS   at REC 3SG.SBJ arrive
'he came first (at the beginning)'

Example 29

ia	p-	e-	kwara	***tovotovo***
3SG	REC	3SG.SBJ	arrive	beginning

'he came first'

Example 30

ia	p-	e-	kwara	***kapi***
3SG	REC	3SG.SBJ	arrive	later

'he came next'

Example 31

ia	p-	e-	kwara	***kapi***	***-vagi***
3SG	REC	3SG.SBJ	arrive	later	very

'he came very last'

It is possible to use the word *vega* with a numeral to express ideas like 'second', 'third' and so on, as in example (32).

Example 32

ia	***vega***	***toitoi***	-na	e-	vogomai	-to
3SG	make	three	3SG.POSS	3SG.SBJ	come	PAST.PERFECT

'he came a third time'

3.4.4 Translation Issues for Numerals and Number Marking

We need to remember to use the word *vega* in order to translate ordinal numerals like 'second', 'third', 'fourth'.

3.5 Demonstratives and Articles

In English, an **indefinite article** tells us that an item is one of a set of things (for example, '**a** car'). A **definite article** tells us that we are supposed to know which member of the set it is ('**the** car') or that it is the only one of its kind ('**the** sun'). Many PNG languages do not have articles, but some do.

A **demonstrative** (often called a "pointing" word) points you towards the place where the people or things are. They might be near the person speaking (for example '**this** dog'), or somewhere away from the person who is speaking (for example '**that** man'), or in some other direction or place.

3.5.1 Articles

The word *ta* seems to function somewhat like an indefinite article, to identify singular nouns that have not previously been introduced into the discourse. We have not found anything parallel to this for plural nouns.

Example 33

velekwa	**ta**	pia	gani	ulanana	.
feast	one	3PL.IRR	eat	because	

'. . . because they were going to eat a feast'

The word *ta*, is glossed above as meaning 'one', however further study is needed to be clear about the meaning.

3.5.2 Demonstratives

Objects near the speaker use the demonstrative prefix **e-** 'this'. Usually, this is written attached to the following noun, in order to distinguish it from *e* 'and'.

Example 34

e- *galivata ono veni -ku*
this banana 2SG.IMV give 1SG.OBJ
'give me this/these banana(s)'

Objects that are near the hearer use the demonstrative prefix *ne-.* Again, this is usually written joined to the following noun.

Example 35

ne- *galivata ono veni -ku*
that banana 2SG.IMV give 1SG.OBJ
'give me that/those banana(s) (close to you)'

Objects that are further from both the speaker and the hearer, at any distance, use the demonstrative *vo* 'that'. At the moment, this is sometimes written as a separate word, but sometimes written joined onto the following noun.

Example 36

vo *galivata ono veni -ku*
DEM banana 2SG.IMV give 1SG.OBJ
'give me that/those banana(s) (far from both of us)'

3.5.3 Translation Issues for Articles and Demonstratives

English only has two demonstratives, 'this' and 'that', for things that are near and far, respectively. Kalo has three demonstratives, so when we are translating we need to decide whether something is near to the speaker, near to the hearer, or far from both of them. For example, when God speaks at Jesus' baptism and says 'this is my son', the Kalo translation would be **ne** *au natuku* 'this (near hearer) is my son' rather than **e** *au natuku* 'this (near speaker) is my son'.

3.6 Basic Noun Phrase Structure

A **noun phrase** is a group of words that together describe a particular object, such as 'those two big noisy dogs' in English. Usually there is a common order for the different parts of speech in a noun phrase.

3.6.1 Noun Phrase Examples

In Kalo, the common order for the parts of the noun phase is for demonstratives to come before the noun, and adjectives and numerals to follow the noun. There is also a common order of adjectives depending on what kind of adjective is used.

This can be represented in the following way. The brackets show parts of the noun phrase that do not need to be there in every noun phrase, showing that demonstratives, adjectives and numerals are all optional.

Noun Phrase (NP):

(DEMONSTRATIVE) **NOUN** (ADJECTIVE^{Size}) (ADJECTIVE^{Colour}) (NUMERAL)

Here is an example of a noun phrase in the usual order in Kalo. The demonstrative 'those' comes before the noun for 'dog'. The dog is described using both an adjective of size and one of colour, in that order. The final element in the phrase is the numeral.

Example 37

DEM	NOUN	ADJ^{Size}		ADJ^{Colour}		NUM
vo	*kwaeva*	*kamu*	*-ra*	*ruparupa*	*-ra*	*ruala*
those	dogs	big	PL	black	-PL	two

'Those two big black dogs'

3.7 Possession

The noun phrases above do not however show how possession is expressed by the noun phrase in Kalo. There are two basic ways of showing possession in Kalo, direct and indirect.

3.7.1 Direct (Inalienable)

Direct possession is when a possessed noun has part of the word itself telling you who it belongs to, usually as a possessive suffix. Direct possession is usually used for nouns which *have* to belong to someone, such as body parts and family members. These kinds of nouns are said to be **inalienable.** Some examples of direct possession are given in section 3.1.4. Four examples are also given here, and labelled to show which is the possessor and which is the possessed noun. For these inalienable nouns, there does not usually need to be a separate word to show who is the possessor, because the suffix gives this information.

The structure for direct possession of inalienable nouns (that use possessive suffixes) is:

(POSSESSOR) **NOUN**_{Inalienable}

Example 38

NOUN	
tama	*-ku*
father	1SG.POSS

'my father'

Example 39

POSSESSOR	NOUN	
Momoro	*tama*	*-na*
Momoro	father	3SG.POSS

'Momoro's father'

Example 40

POSSESSOR	NOUN	
Palagu	*palagu*	*-na*
God/spirit	spirit	3SG.POSS

'God's spirit (Holy Spirit)'

3.7.2 Indirect (Alienable)

Indirect possession is when you have one or more separate words that go with a noun to show you to whom the noun belongs. Often indirect possession is used for **alienable** nouns, which do not *have* to belong to someone (like *house* or *car*). In Kalo both alienable noun possession and edible noun possession are shown using indirect possession. In both cases a possessive pronoun is usually used.

The usual structure for indirect possession of alienable or edible nouns is:

(POSSESSOR)   POSSESSIVE PRONOUN   **NOUN**_{Alienable/Edible}

Examples (41-43) show this pattern for indirect possession. Examples (42) and (43) show that the pattern is the same for edible and non-edible nouns, the only difference being the type of possessive pronoun that is used.

Example 41

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN		**NOUN**
ge	*-na*	*numa*
NON-EDIBLE	3SG.POSS	house

'his house'

Example 42

POSSESSOR	**POSSESSIVE PRONOUN**		**NOUN**
Aimo	*ge*	*-na*	*numa*
Aimo	NON-EDIBLE	3SG.POSS	house

'Aimo's house'

Example 43

POSSESSOR	**POSSESSIVE PRONOUN**		**NOUN**
Kika	*ga*	*-na*	*galivata*
Kika	EDIBLE	3SG.POSS	house

'Kika's banana'

And in a more complex sentence:

Example 44

POSS PRONOUN		**NOUN**						
goi	***-na***	*puka*	*rakagau*	*-na*	*p-*	*e-*	*gani*	*-a*
2SG	POSS	book	what	ERGATIVE	REC	3SG.SBJ	eat	3SG.OBJ

'What ate your book?'

Sometimes, a possessive suffix *–na* is added to the possessor rather than using a possessive pronoun, as in the following structure:

POSSESSOR-*na*   **NOUN**_{Alienable/Edible}

This can be seen in examples (45– 46). In example (45), the first person singular pronoun *au* is optional if the possessive pronoun *geku* is used, but must be present if the structure with the possessive suffix *–na* is used.

Example 45

(POSSESSOR)	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN	NOUN		POSSESSOR		NOUN
(au)	*geku*	*puka*	~	*au*	*-na*	*puka*
1SG	1SG.POSS	book		1SG	POSS	book

'my book'

Example 46

POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN	NOUN		POSSESSOR		NOUN
Kika	*gena*	*vanuga*	~	*Kika*	*-na*	*vanuga*
Kika	3SG.POSS	village		Kika	POSS	village

'Kika's village'

4 POSTPOSITIONS

In English, words like 'by', 'at', 'to' and 'in' are called **prepositions,** because they come before the noun phrase they are related to, as in '**in** the house'. In Kalo, there are no prepositions. Instead there are words or parts of words which have similar meanings to the English prepositions, but they come *after* the noun phrase they are related to. Because they come after the noun phrase, they are called **postpositions.**

4.1 Examples

These are some examples of postpositions in our language:

4.1.1 The Postposition –*ai/-i* 'at'

The suffix –*ai* is the most common postposition and means something like the English preposition 'at', and can be used to describe location or time. When it is suffixed to a word that already ends in *a,* the suffix is shortened to –*i* on its own*.* Sometimes this postposition is written as a separate word, as in the first example below, but usually it is written as a suffix to a noun.

4.1.1.1 Using –*ai* for locations
Location (-*ai* following a noun)

The suffix -*ai* can follow proper nouns to express locations as shown below (a destination in example (47), and a location where something is happening in example (48)):

Example 47

Moresby	*ai*	*pana-*	*laka*
Moresby	at	1SG.IRR	go

'I will go to Moresby'

Example 48

Keapara	*-i*	*velekwa*	*-i*	*ge-*	*gani*	*gatu*	*-to*	*muli*	*-na*	*-i*
Keapara	at	feast	at	3PL.SBJ	eat	finish	PAST.PERFECT	after	3SG.POSS	at

'After they finished eating at the feast at Keapara, . . . '

However, it is also very commonly used with inalienable nouns for the top, side, bottom or other part of an object, to give meanings that are expressed in English with prepositions like 'on', 'beside', or 'under'. For example, the English prepositional phrase 'on that crocodile' is expressed in Kalo as *vo vugae ata –na –i,*

literally in English 'that crocodile top.his.at'. Similarly, 'on those crocodiles' only differs by using the 3rd person plural possessive suffix –*ra*, as in *vo vugae ata –ra –i*, literally 'that crocodile top.theirs.at'.

Here are some further examples:

Example 49

gau	*lau* -*na*		*kamu* -*na*	*palaka*	*ata*	-*na*	**-*i***
tree	leaf 3SG.POSS		big SG	bilum	top	3SG.POSS	at

'the big leaf is on the bilum'

Example 50

vo	*kwakwa*	*ao*	-*ra*	**-*i***
DEM	leftover	inside	3PL.POSS	at

'amongst/in those leftovers'

Example 51

ao	-*ku*	**-*ai***
inside	1SG.POSS	at

'in me'

A larger list of nouns to which –*ai* can be attached to show location relationships is given in table 9. For simplicity, the 3rd person singular suffix has been used with the noun in the examples, before the –*ai* postposition.

TABLE 9: Examples of location nouns

	Meaning	Example sentence
ao –na –i	at the inside of it	*wai ao –na -i* river inside 3SG.POSS at 'in the river' (when following a clause, *aonai* has the meaning 'during/in the time when...', as described below in 4.1.1.2)
pipi –na –i	at the side of it	*wai pipi -na -i* river side 3SG.POSS at 'beside the river'
kava –na –i	at the opposite side of it (eg. a river bank)	*wai kava -ta -i* river side one at 'on the other side of the river'
laga –na –i	at the side of it	*palaka laga -na -i* bilum side 3SG.POSS at 'beside the bilum'
ata –na –i	at the top of it	*vo vugae ata -na -i* DEM crocodile top 3SG.POSS at 'on that crocodile'
nuga –na –i	at the middle of it	*wai nuga -na -I* river middle 3SG.POSS at 'in the middle of the river'

kapule –na –i	at the underneath of it	*palaka kapule -na -i* bilum underneath 3SG.POSS at 'under the bilum'
muli –na –i	at the back of it	*numa muli -na -i* house back 3SG.POSS at 'behind the house'
waila –na -i	at the front of it	*au waila -ku -ai* 1SG front 1SG.POSS at 'in front of me'
kuku –na -i	at the top of it	*gautupu kuku -na -i* tree top 3SG.POSS at 'on top of the tree'
kwala –na -i[4]	at the foot of it / under it	*gautupu kwala -na -i* tree foot 3SG.POSS at 'at the foot of the tree'

Location (-*ai* attached to demonstrative)

The suffix -*ai* can also be used with a demonstrative in the word *vonai* to mean 'at that place'.

Example 52

vo   -na   -i talima vo   vugae   ata -na   -i ge-   ragekau -wai
DEM 3SG.POSS at people DEM crocodile top 3SG.POSS at   3PL.SBJ board   PAST.CONTINUOUS
'There(at that place) people would get on that crocodile'

4.1.1.2 Using –*ai* for time

The suffix –*ai* can also be attached to time nouns to express the time at which something happened:

Example 53

kune -na   -i vugae   kamu -na para Kalo   vanuga -na wai   -na
old   3SG.POSS at crocodile big   SG great Kalo   village   POSS river   POSS
ao   -na   -i e-   talu -wai
inside   3SG.POSS at   3SG.SBJ stay PAST.CONTINUOUS
' Before, a great big crocodile it was staying inside Kalo village river.'

Example 54

tovotovo -na   -i Palagu -na   kupa e   tano -para
first   3SG.POSS at Spirit ERGATIVE sky   and earth great
e-   kala   -ra   -to
3SG.SBJ   do/make 3PL.OBJ PAST.PERFECT
'At the first, God made sky and earth.'

Some of the location nouns listed above with the –*ai* suffix can also be used at the end of clauses to show the time relationship between clauses, as follows:

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[4] It seems like the conjunction *kwalana* 'because' (section 7.1.3.2) is related to this, meaning something like 'at the root of it…'

TABLE 10: Relationship between location and time meanings

	Location meaning	Time meaning
muli –na –i	at the back of	after
waila –na –i	at the front of	before
ao –na –i	at the inside of	at the same time / while

These uses are shown in the following examples:

Example 55

Keapara	*-i*	*velekwa*	*-i*	*ge-*	*gani*	*gatu*	*-to*	***muli***	***-na***	***-i***
Keapara	at	feast	at	3PL.SBJ	eat	finish	PAST.PERFECT	after	3SG.POSS	at

lavi	*ge-*	*waikule*	*-to*	*Kalo*	*vanuga*	*-na*	*-i*
afternoon	3PL.SBJ	go.back	PAST.PERFECT	Kalo	village	3SG.POSS	at

'In Keapara, after (at the back of) they finished eating the feast, in the afternoon they went back to Kalo village.'

Example 56

ai	*ga-*	*kila*	*kila*	*-vo*	*-na*	*Victor*	*p-*	*e-*	*matoga*	***waila***	***-na***	***-i***
1PL.EXC	1PL.EXC.SBJ	say	say	here	PRES	Victor	REC	3SG.SBJ	come in	front	3SG.POSS	at

'We were talking before (at the front of) Victor came in'

Example 57

wai	*pipi*	*-na*	*-i*	*ge-*	*vekwara*	*-to*	***ao***	***-na***	***-i***
river	side	3SG.POSS	at	3PL.SBJ	arrive	PAST.PERFECT	inside	3SG.POSS	at

vo	*vugae*	*ira*	*e-*	*ripa*	*-ra*	*-to*
DEM	crocodile	3PL	3SG.SBJ	know	3PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'When they arrived at the side of the river, the crocodile knew them'

4.1.1.3 Other uses of *-ai*

Although the basic meaning of *–ai* is something like 'at' in English, there are times when it is better translated as 'in' or 'by'. Here are two examples where the meaning in the free translation for English has to be changed from 'at'.

Example 58

ia	*gima*	*-na*	*-i*	*ge*	*-na*	*kolova*	*e-*	*gapi*	*-a*	*-to* .
3SG	hand	3SG.POSS	at	POSS	3SG.POSS	spear	3SG.SBJ	take	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'he took his spear in his hand'

Example 59

toti	*maeka*	*-na*	*-i*	*pae*	*e-*	*voro*	*-a*	*-to*
torch	light	3SG.POSS	at	pig	3SG.SBJ	cut	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'he cut up the pig in/by the light of the torch'

4.1.2 The postposition *–ria* 'with'

The postposition *–ria* is used as a suffix to mean something like the preposition 'with' in English:

Example 60

vo   vugae   talima   -ria   ve-   marana
DEM   crocodile people   with   RECIPROCAL be.friends
'That crocodile was friendly with people'

4.1.3 The postposition *goti* 'with' and prefix *ma-* 'with'

The word *goti* also means something like the English word 'with', and comes after someone or something that is accompanying someone else. The accompanying person is also often marked by the prefix *ma-,* as shown below.

Example 61

*ne   **ma-** garawa -na   **goti** -na*
then   with wife   3SG.POSS with   ERGATIVE[5]

pae   e-   voro   kinikini -a   -to   gau   -ra
pig   3SG.SBJ   cut   pieces   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT thing PL

ge-   vua   -ra   -to   numa   -i   ge-   lakagi -ra   -to
3PL.SBJ   carry PL.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT house   at   3PL.SBJ   brought PL.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT
'then (he) with his wife carried the pieces of pig they cut up and brought them to the house'

4.1.4 The postposition *na/−na* 'from' SOURCE or 'with' INSTRUMENT

The postposition *–na* is used to show a location that is a source for someone who is moving from one place to another. It is sometimes written as a word, and sometimes as a suffix.

Example 62

*Aperaamo Ur   **na**   e-   ago   -to   Haran*
Abraham   Ur   from 3SG.SBJ   go   PAST.PERFECT Haran
'Abraham went from Ur to Haran'

Example 63

*pae   muli   -na   **na**   e-   veiga   rage   -to*
pig   behind 3SG.POSS   from 3SG.SBJ   stalk   up   PAST.PERFECT
'he stalked up from behind the pig'

It can also be used for a source of something that is taken from somewhere else:

Example 64

*vo   araga   ao   -ra   **na**   ganigani ge-   rawali -wai*
DEM   garden inside PL   from   food   3PL.SBJ   receive PAST.CONTINUOUS
'the food they were receiving from inside that garden'

The same word or suffix, *na/-na* can also be used to mark an instrument that somebody uses to carry out an action.

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[5] We have not observed whether this can occur without ergative marking as well.

Example 65

*Tom   pereti   kativa   **-na**   p-   e-   voro   -a*
Tom   bread   knife   INSTRUMENT REC   3SG.SBJ   cut   3SG.OBJ
'Tom cut bread with a knife'

Example 66

*nanu   **-na**   p-   e-   gunu   -a*
water   INSTRUMENT REC   3SG.SBJ   extinguish   3SG.OBJ
'he put it out with water'

5 VERBS

5.1 Person and Number Marking

5.1.1 Subject Marking

Many languages have markers on the verb to show who or what the **subject** is. The following table shows the prefixes in Kalo which show who (or what) the subject is:

TABLE 11: Subject marking on verbs

		Subject marker	Example of a verb with subject prefixes	English translation
singular	1st person	*a-*	*alakana*	'I am going'
	2nd person	*o-*	*olakana*	'you are going'
	3rd person	*e-*	*elakana*	'he/she/it is going'
plural	1st person inclusive	*ta-*	*talakana*	'we (inc) are going'
	1st person exclusive	*ga-*	*galakana*	'we (exc) are going'
	2nd person	*go-*	*golakana*	'you (plural) are going'
	3rd person	*ge-*	*gelakana*	'they are going'

Here are some example sentences:

Example 67

*vo   vugae   **ge-**   laka   -to*
DEM   crocodile   3PL.SBJ   go   PAST.PERFECT
'Those crocodiles went'

Example 68

*ia   p-   **e-**   laka*
3SG   REC   3SG.SBJ   go
'He/she went (recently)'

5.1.2 Object Marking

Many languages also have markers on the verb to show who or what the **object** is. The following table shows the suffixes on the verb in Kalo which show who or what the object is. These object suffixes on verbs are very similar to the possessive suffixes on nouns that were listed in section 3.1.4. The object may also appear before the verb as a pronoun, but it does not need to be present.

Example 69

*Pita   -na   p-   e-   kwari **-ku***
Pita   ERGATIVE   REC   3SG.SBJ   hit/strike   1SG.OBJ
'Peter hit me'

TABLE 12: Object marking on verbs

		Object marker	Example of a verb with object marker	English / Tok Pisin translation
singular	1st person	*-ku*	*(au) p-e-vale-ku*	'he hit me'
	2nd person	*-mu*	*(goi) p-e-vale-mu*	'he hit you'
	3rd person	*-a*	*(ia) p-e-vale-a*	'he hit him'
plural	1st person inclusive	*-ra*	*(ita) p-e-vale-ra*	'he hit us (inc)'
	1st person exclusive	*-mai*	*(ai) p-e-vale-mai*	'he hit us (exc)'
	2nd person	*-mi*	*(gomi) p-e-vale-mi*	'he hit you (pl)'
	3rd person	*-ra*	*(ira) p-e-vale-ra*	'he hit them'

5.1.3 Reflexive / Reciprocal Marker *ve-*

The prefix *ve-* is added before the verb stem when the verb describes a **reflexive** situation (where someone is doing something to themselves) or a **reciprocal** situation (where people are doing the same thing to each other).

This is an example of the reflexive meaning:

Example 70

*au   matotau   -ku   p-   a-   **ve-**   kwari*
1SG   REFLEXIVE   1SG.POSS   REC   1SG.SBJ   REFLEXIVE   hit/strike
'I hit myself'

This is an example of the reciprocal meaning:

Example 71

vo	vugae	talima	-ria	**ve-**	marana
DEM	crocodile	people	with	RECIPROCAL	be.friends

'That crocodile was friendly with people'

5.1.4 Recipient Marking

Some languages have markers on the verb to show who or what the **recipient** is, for verbs where something is given to someone. We haven't found any evidence of recipient markers in Kalo.

5.1.5 Benefactive Marking

Some languages have markers on the verb to show who or what the **beneficiary** is, when somebody does something for someone else. These are called **benefactive** markers. We haven't found any evidence of benefactive markers in Kalo.

5.2 Tense, Aspect and Mood Markers

5.2.1 Introduction

We have found several morphemes on Kalo verbs which show a combination of tense, aspect and mood and in some cases these also combine with subject marking. That is, these morphemes express when an action took place (tense), whether it is completed or continuing (aspect) and whether it is used in a statement about something real, a statement about a possibility, or a command (mood), and sometimes the subject agreement marking as well.

5.2.1.1 Past tense suffixes *–to* and *–wai*

When actions happened two days before the time of an utterance, or at any time before that, past tense suffixes are used. These suffixes also indicate the aspect (whether the action is continuing or completed). There are two alternative suffixes that can be used:

> *-to*   past perfect (used for completed actions in the past);

> *-wai*   past continuous (used for continuing actions in the past).

When either of these suffixes is attached to a verb, it is usually the final suffix in the word. See examples (72-74).

Example 72

au	watana	a-	laka	**-to**
1SG	day.before.yesterday	1SG.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT

'I went the day before yesterday'

Example 73

vugae	-na	pae	e-	gani	-a	**-to**
crocodile	ERGATIVE	pig	3SG.SBJ	eat	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'that crocodile ate the pig'

Example 74

kune	*-na*	*-i*	*vugae*	*kamu*	*-na*	*para*	*Kalo*	*vanuga*	*-na*	*wai*	*-na*
old	3SG.POSS	at	crocodile	big	SG	great	Kalo	village	POSS	river	POSS

ao	*-na*	*-i*	*e-*	*talu*	***-wai***
inside	3SG.POSS	at	3SG.SBJ	stay	PAST.CONTINUOUS

'Before, a great big crocodile was staying inside Kalo village river.'

5.2.1.2 Recent past tense prefix *p-*

For actions that happened yesterday or today, the recent past tense is used. In this case, there is no tense suffix, and instead the prefix *p-* is used before the verb.

Example 75

au	***p-***	*a-*	*laka*
1SG	REC	1SG.SBJ	go

'I went (recently)'

When the *p-* prefix precedes a subject prefix that begins with a consonant, an extra vowel is inserted to match the vowel in the subject prefix, as shown below.

TABLE 13: Examples of recent past prefix

		Subject prefix	Verb with subject prefix and recent past prefix	English translation
singular	1st person	*a-*	***p-*** *a- laka*	'I went recently'
	2nd person	*o-*	***p-*** *o- laka*	'you went recently'
	3rd person	*e-*	***p-*** *e- laka*	'he/she/it went recently'
plural	1st person inclusive	*ta-*	***pa-*** *ta- laka*	'we (inc) went recently'
	1st person exclusive	*ga-*	***pa-*** *ga- laka*	'we (exc) went recently'
	2nd person	*go-*	***po-*** *go- laka*	'you (plural) went recently'
	3rd person	*ge-*	***pe-*** *ge- laka*	'they went recently'

5.2.1.3 Present tense suffix *-na*

For actions happening at the same time as an utterance, the suffix *–na* is used.

Example 76

au	*a-*	*laka*	*-**na***
1SG	1SG.SBJ	go	PRES

'I am going'

5.2.1.4 Irrealis prefixes

For actions that have not happened yet at the time of an utterance, the set of prefixes listed below are used.

Pana- / pono- / pene- / pita- / paia- / pio- / pia-	Future tense / Irrealis mode (used for actions that haven't happened, but might or might not happen in the future)

These could be called **future tense** prefixes. However, they are also used when describing what someone would do *if* something else happened. That is, for things that might not happen at all. To illustrate this, the sentences below show these forms being used both when someone has definite plans for what they will do next week, and where someone is talking about what they *would* do *if* their house caught fire.

Example 77

*TTC muli -na   -i au geku   rinaga   **pana**   tao koukou -ra*
TTC after 3SG.POSS at 1SG 1SG.POSS possessions 1SG.IRR put together 3PL.OBJ
'After TTC, I *will* get my possessions together'

Example 78

au p- a-   ripa   au -na   numa kalova -na   e-   gala -a   -na,
1SG REC 1SG.SBJ know 1SG POSS house fire   3SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ burn 3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS
*au   e   gau   -ra **pana**   kala   -ra*
1SG   these thing PL 1SG.IRR   do/make 3PL.OBJ
'If I knew that my house was burning, these are the things I *would* do.'

Since these prefixes are used in both situations, it is more helpful to call them **irrealis (IRR)** prefixes. The term 'irrealis' covers several different situations which have not actually happened. PNG languages often have a difference between realis and irrealis mode. **Realis** refers to the more real and certain events, while **irrealis** refers to possible or doubtful events.

This prefix is typically written in the Kalo writing system as a separate word, but for this table they have been treated as prefixes. The prefixes are shown in the table below. Most include the letter *n*. These prefixes replace the usual subject prefixes for other tenses.

TABLE 14: Examples of irrealis verbs

		Usual subject prefix	Irrealis subject prefix	Verb with irrealis prefix	English translation
singular	1st person	*a-*	*pana*	*pana laka*	'I will / would go'
	2nd person	*o-*	*pono*	*pono laka*	'you will / would go'
	3rd person	*e-*	*pene*	*pene laka*	'he/she/it will / would go'
plural	1st person inclusive	*ta-*	*pita*	*pata laka*	'we (inc) will / would go'

	1st person exclusive	*ga-*	*paia*	*paia laka*	'we (exc) will / would go'
	2nd person	*go-*	*pio*	*pio laka*	'you (plural) will / would go'
	3rd person	*ge-*	*pia*	*pia laka*	'they will / would go'

5.2.1.5 Imperative / Intentive Prefixes

A set of prefixes that are very similar to the irrealis prefixes are used for commands (commands are also called **imperatives**) and for expressing something someone wants to do right now. These prefixes are just the same as the irrealis prefixes, but without the initial *p*.

In the *Grammar of Sinaugoro,* Gerhard Tauberschmidt describes similar prefixes in Sinaugoro as 'intentive / imperative', so we have used the same term here. **Intentive** describes something that someone intends to do: that is, they want to do it right now. Examples are given in table 15.

TABLE 15: Examples of imperatives

		Usual subject prefix	Imperative / intentive subject prefix	Verb with intentive / imperative prefix	English translation
singular	1st person	*a-*	*ana*	*ana laka*	'I want to go'
	2nd person	*o-*	*ono*	*ono laka*	'you must go'
	3rd person	*e-*	*ene*	*ene laka*	'he/she/it must go'
plural	1st person inclusive	*ta-*	*ita*	*ita laka*	'we (inc) want to go'
	1st person exclusive	*ga-*	*aia*	*aia laka*	'we (exc) want to go'
	2nd person	*go-*	*io*	*io laka*	'you (plural) must go'
	3rd person	*ge-*	*ia*	*ia laka*	'they must go'

5.3 Aspect

Aspect has to do with the timing of an action or event itself. For example an action might be continuing, completed, repeated, and so on.

5.3.1 Continuous

Continuous aspect (———) describes an action or event that is viewed as carrying on at some point in time. For example, in Tok Pisin, *mi ritim buk **i stap*** or *mi **wok long** ritim buk.* Both of these expressions could describe reading happening in the past or in the present, but the significant thing is that I am continuing to read.

Continuous aspect in the past in Kalo uses the suffix *–wai* (see section 5.2.1.1) and continuous aspect in the present uses the suffix *–na* (section 5.2.1.3). Since there is more than one kind of past tense, the examples have labels that show when the past tense is also continuous (PAST.CONTINUOS). On the otherhand, present tense is always continuous in Kalo and that is the only kind of present tense. So, it is just labelled with the simple abbreviation PRES.

5.3.2 Habitual

Habitual aspect (••••••••) describes an action or event that happens several times, whether in the past or the present. For example, in Tok Pisin, *em i **save** ritim buk,* or in English 'he **used to** read books' or 'he **often** reads books'.

We didn't find any evidence of a separate marker to show habitual action in Kalo, other than the continuous aspect markers. For example, the story about the habitual action of a crocodile in the past contains clauses like this, using the suffix *–wai* for habitual action in the past:

Example 79

ge-	ago	-**wai**	vo	vugae	e-	vealo	-**wai**	kapu	-na	-i
3PL.SBJ	go	PAST.CONTINUOUS	DEM	crocodile	3SG.SBJ	wait	PAST.CONTINUOUS	place	SG	at

'they would go to the place where that crocodile would be waiting'

Habitual aspect can also be shown on conjunctions by using plural rather than singular suffixes. For example, *school mulinai* means 'once after school' whereas *school mulirai* means 'habitually after school'. See Section 7.1.2.5.

5.3.3 Completed

Completed aspect (———) describes an action or event that is viewed as having finished. For example, in Tok Pisin, *em i ritim buk **pinis**,* or in English '*he read a book'.*

In Kalo, the word *gatu* can be added to the verb stem to show completed aspect, as shown in this example:

Example 80

kalova	mapa	-ra	-na	paia	gunu	**gatu**	-a	muli	-na	-i
fire	all	PL	POSS	1PL.EXC.IRR	extinguish	finish	3SG.OBJ	after	3SG.POSS	at

'after we have finished putting out all the fire, . . .'

At other times, the suffix *–tali* can be added to the verb to show a completed action, as shown here:

Example 81

pene	ago	kalova	paia	gunu	**-tali**	-a
until		fire	1PL.EXC.IRR	extinguish	completely	3SG.OBJ

'until we have completely extinguished the fire'

5.4 Compound Verbs

There are many **compound** verbs in Kalo which are made up of a root alongside one or more other elements that modify the meaning. These compound verbs include verbs that begin with *vega* 'make' in order to give a causative meaning, verbs that end with something like the English prepositions 'on', 'across', 'up', 'down', and verbs that end with something that expresses the manner of the verb, like the English 'quickly', 'slowly' or 'well'.

5.4.1 Verbs with *vega* 'make'

There are many verb stems that are created by adding the root *vega-* 'make' to another root. Some examples are given in the following table, with example sentences below the table showing how these verbs are used in a larger context. The use of *vega* can change an adjective into a verb, an intransitive verb into a transitive verb, or a transitive verb into a ditransitive verb (see section 6.1-6.3 for definitions of these words).

TABLE 16: Examples using *vega*

Changing adjectives to verbs:	
veaga 'forbidden / holy'	*vega - veaga* 'make forbidden, sanctify'
nama 'good'	*vega - nama* 'make good'
rori 'straight'	*vega - rori* 'make straight'
Changing intransitive to transitive verbs:	
leu 'move'	*vega - leu* 'drive (make something move)'
vanagi 'cross'	*vega - vanagi* 'translate (make something cross)'
gevo 'leave'	*vega - gevo* 'leave somewhere'
Changing transitive to ditransitive verbs:	
ripa 'know something'	*vega - ripa* 'make something known to someone'

Example 82

ne	*kapu*	*pono*	***vega***	*veaga*	*-a*
that.near.hearer	place	2SG.IRR	make	forbidden/holy	3SG.OBJ

'you will make that place holy'

Example 83

kepi	*ono*	***vega***	*nama*	*-a*
trouble	2SG.IMV	make	good	3SG.OBJ

'sort out that trouble (literally, make it good)'

Example 84

ne	*motuka*	*pene*	***vega***	*leu*	*-a*	*Kalo*	*ai*
then	car	3SG.IRR	make	roll/move	3SG.OBJ	Kalo	at

'then he will drive the car to Kalo'

Example 85

puka **vega** *vanagi talima -ra*

book make cross people PL

'translators' (this phrase is given in context in example (86))

Example 86

au -na puka vega vanagi talima -ra pana **vega** *ripa -ra*

1SG ERGATIVE book make cross people PL 1SG.IRR make know 3PL.OBJ

au warauna p- a- kwara vanuga -i

1SG already REC 1SG.SBJ arrive village at

'I will make known to the people who translate books that I already arrived'

Example 87

ge -ku laka raupara -na Training Centre talima -ra -na

POSS 1SG.POSS go way/manner 3SG.POSS Training Centre people PL 3SG.POSS

pia kala **vega** *rori -a*

3PL.IRR do/make make straight 3SG.OBJ

'the people of the Training Centre will make straight the way of my journey'[6]

Example 88

au Ukarumpa pana **vega** *gevo -a*

1SG Ukarumpa 1SG.IRR make leave 3SG.OBJ

'I will leave Ukarumpa'[7]

5.4.2 Compound verbs with direction / location modifiers

Many verbs in Kalo include a modifier after the root, specifying the action more clearly.

This modifier may have a meaning expressing the location or direction of an action (similar to the concepts expressed by prepositions in English). In Kalo, the modifiers can come from different word classes, including other verb stems and postpositions.

TABLE 17: Examples of verbs with modifiers

Verb root	Root + modifier
rage 'go up'	*rage - kau* 'board (go up on)'
tao 'put'	*tao - koukou* 'put together' *tao - vanagi* 'put across'
ago 'go'	*ago - veni* 'go towards'
veni 'give'	*veni - ago* 'take and give (to someone at a distance)'
popo 'pour'	*popo - kau* 'pour on'
voro 'cut'	*voro - kinikini* 'cut to pieces'
rai 'berth sideways'	*rai - kau* 'berth sideways on' *rai - kavi* 'berth sideways near'

---

[6] Notice here that there are actually three roots that make up the verb stem: *kala* 'do/make'; *vega* 'make'; and *rori* 'straight'.

[7] We do not have examples of *gevo* 'leave' occurring alone, so are unable to say the difference in meaning if *vega* is not present.

Example 89

ma-	*talima*	*reketa*	***tao***	***vanagi*** *-ra*	*ula*	*-ra*	*-na,*
other	people	some	put	cross PL	so.that	PL	3SG.POSS

togatoga	*-i*	*e-*	*raikavi*	*-to*
ford	at	3SG.SBJ	berth (sideways)	PAST.PERFECT

ne	*ia*	*ata*	*-na*	*-i*	*ge-*	***rage***	***-kau***	*-to*
then	3SG	top	3SG.POSS	at	3PL.SBJ	board	on	PAST.PERFECT

'in order to put some other people across, it berthed at the ford, and then they went on board, on his top'

Example 90

ne	*ira*	*e-*	*ago*	***-veni***	*-ra*	*-wai*
then	3PL	3SG.SBJ	go	towards	3PL.OBJ	PAST.CONTINUOUS

'then it would go towards them'

Example 91

e	*puka*	*Aimo*	*ono*	*veni*	***ago***	*-a*
this	book	Aimo	2SG.IMV	give	go	3SG.OBJ

'pass this book to Aimo'

Example 92

ne	*kalova*	*ata*	*-na*	*-i*	*paia*	*popo*	***-kau***
then	fire	top	3SG.POSS	at	1PL.EXC.IRR	pour	on

'then we would pour (the water) on the fire'

5.4.3 Compound verbs with manner modifiers

Verbs can also take modifiers to show the manner in which something is done, such as *veleke* 'quick', *kwaipo* 'slow', *namanama* 'well'. The description of manner can be part of the verb stem, and occur before the object suffix, but if the quantifier *vagi* 'very' is used, the manner adverb must come as a separate word, after the object suffix, as shown below. Further examples are given in Section 6.6.

Example 93

p-	*e-*	*gunu*	***veleke***	*-a*
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	quickly	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out quickly'

Example 94

p-	*e-*	*gunu*	*-a*	***veleke***	***-vagi***
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	3SG.OBJ	quickly	very

'he put it out very quickly'

Example 95

p-	*e-*	*gunu*	***kwaipo***	*-a*
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	slowly	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out slowly'

Example 96

p-	e-	gunu	-a	**kwaipo**	**-vagi**
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	3SG.OBJ	slowly	very

'he put it out very slowly'

Example 97

p-	e-	gunu	**nama**	**nama**	-a
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	good	good	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out well'

5.7 Verbs with a Demonstrative Marker -*vo*

The suffix -*vo* 'there' can be attached to verbs to show where something took place with reference to the speaker.[8]

Example 98

ai	ga-	kila	kila	**-vo**	-na,	Victor	p-	e-	matoga	waila	-na	-i
1PL.EXC	1PL.EXC.SBJ	say	say	DEM	PRES	Victor	REC	3SG.SBJ	come in	before	3SG.POSS	at

'We were talking there before Victor came in'

6 CLAUSES

6.1 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses include a subject (S), a verb (V) and an object (O).

6.1.1 Discussion

In Kalo, the usual word order for a transitive clause is SOV. The subject is the actor in the clause, and is usually marked with *na* following the actor. This is not used after the subject (or actor) in intransitive clauses (see section 6.2). For this reason, *na* is called an **ergative marker**, rather than a subject marker. In the current writing system, this ergative marker is written as a separate word, although this is still being discussed.

Example 99

SUBJECT		**OBJECT**	**VERB**			
Pita	**na**	kwaeva	p-	e-	kwari	-a
Pita	ERGATIVE	dog	REC	3SG.SBJ	hit/strike	3SG.OBJ

'Peter hit the dog'

Since the object is always marked on the verb, it does not always need to be written as a separate noun, as shown below.

Example 100

SUBJECT		**VERB**			(OBJECT)
Pita	**na**	p-	e-	vale	-ku
Pita	ERGATIVE	REC	3SG.SBJ	hit	1SG.OBJ

'Peter hit me'

---

[8] The function of *vo* in different contexts would benefit from further study. There may be better ways to analyse it.

Since the actor in a transitive clause is marked by the ergative marker –*na*, it is possible to bring the object to the front of a clause (to create an OSV order), and the meaning is still understood because of the ergative marker.

This can be seen in the following example where 'those people' are the object, but they have been brought to the front of the sentence in order to focus on them.

Example 101

OBJECT		SUBJECT			VERB					
vo	*taunilimalima*	*vo*	*vugae*	***na***	*e-*	*tao*	*vanagi*	*-ra*	*-to*	.
DEM	people	DEM	crocodile	ERGATIVE	3SG.SBJ	put	cross	3PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	

'Those people, that crocodile, it put them across'

Since both the subject and object of a transitive clause are marked on the verb, it is possible to have a clause without any separate words for the subject or object.

In some sentences, the ergative marker can be omitted from the actor of a transitive clause. We have not done enough analysis of Kalo to explain the reasons for this. However, the 1992 paper 'Transitivity and Ergativity in Sinauḡoro' by Gerhard Tauberschmidt and Alfred Bala gives more details about the similar situation in the neighbouring Sinaugoro language. This paper is available from www.pnglanguages.org.

6.1.2 Translation Issues for Transitive Clauses

In English, there always needs to be a separate word for the subject and the object, but this is not necessary in Kalo. For example, the English sentence 'he went' could just be one word *pelaka* in Kalo. So we need to remember that we don't need to translate every pronoun in English as a separate word. When we add the pronoun in Kalo, it makes that person more heavily emphasised, so we need to be careful not to do this if the person is not emphasised in the original story.

6.2 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses contain a verb that usually cannot take an object. For example, *he walked, he laughed, he jumped* in English.

6.2.1 Discussion

There is no marker on the single subject of an intransitive clause.

Here are some examples of intransitive clauses:

Example 102

			SUBJECT								
kune	*-na*	*-i*	***vugae***	***kamu***	***-na***	***para***	*Kalo*	*vanuga*	*-na*	*wai*	*-na*
old	3SG.POSS	at	crocodile	big	SG	great	Kalo	village	POSS	river	POSS

			VERB			
ao	*-na*	*-i*	***e-***	***talu***	***-wai***	
inside	3SG.POSS	at	3SG.SBJ	stay	PAST.CONTINUOUS	

'Before, a great big crocodile it was staying inside Kalo village river.'

Example 103

SUBJECT						VERB	
vo-	*upe*	*ira*	*ge*	*-ria*	*numa*	*-i*	*pia*	*waikule*
DEM	after	3PL	POSS	3PL.POSS	house	at	3PL.IRR	go.back

'After that they will go back to their houses'

Since the subject of an intransitive clause is marked on the verb, there does not need to be a separate word for the subject in every clause, as in the example below.

Example 104

VERB				
pana	*kwara*	*muli*	*-na*	*-i*
1SG.IRR	arrive	after	3SG.POSS	at

'after I arrive'

We have not found any differences in intransitive clauses for voluntary and involuntary actions. For example, in the following sentence, the people involuntarily fall into the river (when the crocodile turns over), but there are no different markers on the subject or the verb.

Example 105

SUBJECT					VERB			
talima	*wai*	*ao*	*-na*	*-i*	*ge-*	*keto*	*rai*	*-to*
people	river	inside	3SG.POSS	at	3PL.SBJ	fall	in	PAST.PERFECT

'The people fell into the river'

6.2.2 Translation Issues for Intransitive Clauses

We need to remember the same issue as for transitive clauses (section 6.1.2). That is, in English, there always needs to be a separate word for the subject in an intransitive clause, but this is not necessary in Kalo. For example, the English sentence 'he went' could just be one word *pelaka* in Kalo. So we need to remember that we don't need to translate every pronoun in English as a separate word. When we add the pronoun in Kalo, it makes that person more heavily emphasised, so we need to be careful not to do this if the person is not emphasised in the original story.

6.3 Di-transitive clauses

Clauses that have both an object and a recipient are called **di-transitive**. An English example is: *I gave the book to him.*

6.3.1 Discussion

In Kalo, usually the recipient comes between the person who is giving something and the object that is being given, as in the sentence below. However, the words can be in different orders if the speaker wishes to emphasise a different participant, as in example (107) where the emphasis is on the book (the object) rather than the recipient. Also either the subject or the object can be omitted because they are marked on the verb.

Example 106

SUBJECT		RECIPIENT	OBJECT	VERB			
aneru	*-na*	*Elizah*	*ganigani*	*e-*	*veni*	*-a*	*-to*
angel	ERGATIVE	Elijah	food	3SG.SBJ	give	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'An angel gave food to Elijah'

Example 107

OBJECT		RECIPIENT	VERB			
e	*puka*	***Aimo***	*ono*	*veni*	*ago*	*-a*
this	book	Aimo	2SG.IMV	give	go	3SG.OBJ

'Pass *this book* to Aimo'

See further examples in Section 6.4.9.

6.4 Semantic roles

6.4.1 Agent

An **agent** deliberately makes an action or event happen. Eg. '**Cain** murdered his brother'

We have not found any evidence of special marking for an agent in Kalo. They are marked just the same way as other actors, using the ergative *na* marker in transitive clauses.

Example 108

Cain	***na***	*tari*	*-na*	*e-*	*vagi*	*-a*	*-to*
Cain	ERGATIVE	small brother	POSS	3SG.SBJ	kill	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'Cain killed/murdered his brother'

6.4.2 Force

A **force** makes an action happen but not deliberately. E.g. '**the wind** blew down Job's house'

We have not found any evidence of special marking for forces in Kalo. They are marked just the same way as other actors, with the ergative *na* marker in transitive clauses. In the example below, the wind, *agi*, is the force and the subject of the sentence, and it occurs after the object (so the order here is OSV, not the normal SOV order). However, this is just because the author was more interested in the house, and the sentence could equally well have been said with the wind in the first position in the sentence.

Example 109

OBJECT			SUBJECT (FORCE)		VERB				
Job	*-na*	*numa*	***agi***	***na***	*e-*	*lavu*	*-lau*	*-a*	*-to*
Job	3SG.POSS	house	wind	ERGATIVE	3SG.SBJ	blow	down	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'The wind blew Job's house down'

6.4.3 Experiencer

An **experiencer** does not control what happens, and they are not changed by what happens. They feel what happens with their senses or emotions. E.g. '**Samuel** heard the sheep', '**Jonah** felt angry'

When someone experiences something with their senses (such as seeing and hearing) the pattern is just the same as for other actions, using the ergative marker *na*:

Example 110

Samuel** **na *mamoe* *e-* *kamonagi* *-ra* *-to*
Samuel   ERGATIVE   sheep   3SG.SBJ   hear   3PL.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT
'Samuel heard sheep'

However, for some experiences, such as feeling hungry, feeling cold or feeling sad, the verb takes an object suffix as well as a subject prefix, even though only one person is involved.

Example 111

Samuel *p-* *e-* *vito* ***-a***
Samuel   REC   3SG.SBJ   be.hungry   3SG.OBJ
'Samuel felt hungry' (perhaps, 'he was made hungry')

Example 112

Samuel *p-* *e-* *nakula* ***-a***
Samuel   REC   3SG.SBJ   be.cold   3SG.OBJ
'Samuel was cold'

Example 113

Samuel *ma-* *vetuga* *-na* *p-* *e-* *vetuga* ***-a***
Samuel   with   sadness   3SG.POSS   REC   3SG.SBJ   sad   3SG.OBJ
'Samuel was sad with sadness'

However, this pattern does not hold for all emotions. For example, 'being angry' does not need the object marker on the verb.

Example 114

Samuel *e-* *paru* *-to*
Samuel   3SG.SBJ   be.angry   PAST.PERFECT
'Samuel felt angry'

'Anger' can also become the subject of the clause, and act as the thing 'which fills someone', but we are not sure why there is no object marker on this verb.

Example 115

 (Samuel) *paru* *-na* *e-* *vonu* *-to*
(Samuel)   anger   ERGATIVE   3SG.SBJ   fill   PAST.PERFECT
'Anger filled (Samuel)'

6.4.4 Possessor

A **possessor** is someone who has something. E.g. '**Joseph** has a coat'

Possession is shown by using a possessive pronoun with the prefix *ma-* 'with' between the possessor and the possessed object.

Example 116

Iosep   ma-   ge   -na   kativa
Joseph   with POSS 3SG.POSS knife
'Joseph has a knife'

6.4.5 Location

A **location** is where an action or event takes place. E.g. 'Eli slept in **his bed**', 'She found the coin under **the table'**

Most locations in Kalo are described by using a locative noun (like 'top', 'underneath', 'side') with a singular or plural possessive suffix and the postposition *–ai* 'at', as discussed in section 4.1.1.1. Here is a further example.

Example 117

*ia   na   kativa numa   **kapule**   **-na**   **-i**   e-   rawali -a   -to*
3SG ERGATIVE   knife   house underneath 3SG.POSS   at   3SG.SBJ find   3SG.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT
'She found the knife underneath the house'

6.4.6 Source / destination

A **source** is where something moves from, a **destination** is where something moves to. E.g. 'Abraham travelled from **Ur** (source) to **Haran** (destination)'

Sources in Kalo can be shown by the postposition *na*, as in the example below.

Example 118

	SOURCE					DESTINATION

*Aperaamo **Ur** **na**   e-   ago -to   **Haran***
Abraham   Ur   from   3SG.SBJ go   PAST.PERFECT   Haran
'Abraham went from Ur to Haran'

In the previous example, the destination is given in isolation, as an unmarked noun, after the verb. However, destinations can also occur before the verb, with the suffix *–ai* 'at'.#

Example 119

*Aperaamo Ur   na   **Haran**   **-ai** e-   ago   -to*
Abraham   Ur   from   Haran   at   3SG.SBJ   go   PAST.PERFECT
'Abraham went from Ur to Haran'

Example 120

*au   **vanuga**   **-i**   pana   laka*
1SG village   at   1SG.IRR go
'I will go to the village'

6.4.7 Instrument

An **instrument** is something used by someone to make something happen. E.g. 'Jael killed Sisera with **a tent peg**'; 'Saul attacked David with **a spear**'.

Instruments in Kalo can be marked with the postposition *-na*.

Example 121

*Tom na   pae **kolova** **-na**   p-   e-   kini   -a*

Tom ERGATIVE pig spear   INSTRUMENT REC 3SG.SBJ spear   3SG.OBJ

'Tom speared a pig with a spear'

6.4.8 Accompaniment

Accompaniment describes a situation in which someone does something with someone else. E.g. 'Moses went to Pharaoh with **his brother**'

There are some different ways of showing accompaniment in Kalo. The first set uses either the prefix *ma-* 'with' attached to the noun phrase of the person accompanying someone else, as in example (122a) below; or the postposition *goti* 'with' following the noun phrase that tells who went with someone else, as in ....below; or both *ma-* and *goti* can be used as in example (122c).

Example 122

a. *Tau   **ma-**   tari   -na   ge-   navu   -to*

    Tau   with   small brother   3SG.POSS   3PL.SBJ swim   PAST.PERFECT

b. *Tau   tari   -na   **goti** ge-   navu   -to*

    Tau   small brother POSS   with 3PL.SBJ swim   PAST.PERFECT

c. *Tau **ma-**   tari   -na   **goti** ge-   navu   -to*

    Tau with   small brother 3SG.POSS with 3PL.SBJ swim PAST.PERFECT

    'Tau swam with his brother'

Another way to show accompaniment is to make use of the postpositional suffix *–ria* 'with', as in example (123) below. Further investigation is needed to clarify the reasons for choosing one way of describing accompaniment over another.

Example 123

*Tau tari   -na   **-ria** ge-   navu -to*

Tau   small brother POSS   with   3PL.SBJ swim PAST.PERFECT

'Tau swam with his brother'

6.4.9 Recipient

A **recipient** receives something from someone else. E.g. 'The angel gave food to **Elijah**'

A recipient normally is not marked with any suffix in Kalo. It can occur before or after the object, depending on the preference or emphasis of the speaker.

Example 124

OBJECT   **RECIPIENT**

*e   puka   **Aimo**   ono   veni   ago -a*

this book Aimo   2SG.IMV give   go 3SG.OBJ

'pass this book to Aimo' (emphasising the book)

Example 125

RECIPIENT   OBJECT

vugae	*velekwa*	*-i*	*gani*	*kova*	*geleta*	*ge-*	*veni*	*-a*	*-to* .
crocodile	feast	at	eat	leftover	some	3PL.SBJ	give	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'they gave the crocodile some leftovers' (emphasising the crocodile as recipient)

6.4.10 Beneficiary

A **beneficiary** is someone who benefits from an action done by someone else. E.g. 'Dorcas made clothes for **the children**'.

We have found no special marking for a beneficiary, which may occur between the actor and an object, as shown below.

Example 126

           BENEFICIARY   OBJECT

Dorcas	*girigiri*	*ge*	*-ria*	*rapuga*	*e-*	*kala*	*-to*
Dorcas	children	POSS	3PL.POSS	clothing	3SG.SBJ	do/make	PAST.PERFECT

'Dorcas made the children their clothes'[9]

6.4.11 Patient

A **patient** is someone or something an action happens to. E.g. 'John ate **a locust**'

There is no special marking on the patient in Kalo sentences. The patient usually occurs in the expected place for objects, between the subject and the verb.

Example 127

John	*koi*	*-ta*	*e-*	*gani*	*-a*	*-to*
John	grasshopper	one	3SG.SBJ	eat	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'John ate a grasshopper'

6.5 Time

6.5.1 Words for Time

These are several words for time in Kalo. The table below gives some examples.

TABLE 18: Words for time

Time word	English gloss
watauilagita	'three days ago' (the day before the day before yesterday)
watana	'the day before yesterday'
walagani	'yesterday'
etoma	'today' (lit. 'this day')
pogipogi	'tomorrow'
ilagaita	'the day after tomorrow'
watauilagaita	'the day after the day after tomorrow'
kapinai	'later'

---

[9] Perhaps this example should be translated better as 'Dorcas made the children's clothes', in which case it does not give an example of a beneficiary.

amoamo	'in the morning'
lavi	'in the afternoon'
pogi	'at night'
garogota	'during the day'

6.6 Manner

Sometimes the manner in which something is done can be included as part of the verb. For example, when a fire is extinguished quickly, the adverb 'quickly' is included as part of the verb, before the object suffix. However, when it is done 'very' quickly, the adverb occurs after the verb, as shown below.

Example 128

p-	e-	gunu	-a
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out'

Example 129

p-	e-	gunu	**veleke**	-a
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	quick	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out quickly'

Example 130

p-	e-	gunu	-a	**veleke**	**-vagi**
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	3SG.OBJ	quick	very

'he put it out very quickly'

The same pattern holds for doing something 'slowly', 'well' or 'silently'.

Example 131

p-	e-	gunu	**kwaipo**	-a
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	slowly	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out slowly'

Example 132

p-	e-	gunu	-a	**kwaipo**	**-vagi**
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	3SG.OBJ	slowly	very

'he put it out very slowly'

Example 133

p-	e-	gunu	**nama**	**nama**	-a
REC	3SG.SBJ	extinguish	good	good	3SG.OBJ

'he put it out well'

Example 134

e-	laka	**garigari**	-to	e-	ago	-to
3SG.SBJ	go	silently	PAST.PERFECT	3SG.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT

'he went silently'

So far, all of these descriptions of manner could be considered as adverbs added onto the verb root. However, the next example is complex, with *poepoe* explaining that he was watching and expecting to see something (a pig) as he went along.

Example 135

e-   laka poepoe   -to
3SG.SBJ   go   looking(intentionally.to.find) PAST.PERFECT
'he went along with his eyes open hoping to see something'

6.7 Negative Clauses and Negation

Negative clauses are those which include a meaning like 'no' or 'not' in English.

In Kalo the most common way to indicate negation is to use the negative word *ati* 'not'. This word can be used in noun phrases to negate an adjective, or at the clause level to negate a verb.

Example 136

pae ati kamu   -na
pig NEG   big   SG
'a not-big (small) pig'

Example 137

ati   p-   e-   ago
NEG   REC   3SG   go
'she did not go'

The negative can be made stronger by adding the suffix *–vagi* 'very', to make *ativagi* 'never'.

Example 138

ati   -vagi   pene   gani   -a
NEG   very   3SG.IRR eat   3SG.OBJ
'he must never eat it'

The word *ragaina* 'must not' can also be used in negative clauses, for something that the speaker strongly thinks should not happen, as shown in the following examples.

Example 139

Liza   pogipogi   ati   pene   vogomai
Liza   tomorrow NEG   3SG.IRR   come
'Liza will not come tomorrow'

Example 140

Liza   pogipogi   ragaina   pene   vogomai
Liza   tomorrow   must.not   3SG.IRR   come
'Liza must not come tomorrow'

Ragaina is also used in negative commands as in example (141).

Example 141

ragaina *ono* *gani* *-a*
must.not   2SG.IMV   eat   3SG.OBJ
'you must not eat it'

The suffix *–vagi* can also be added to make an even stronger statement.

Example 142

Pita *ragaina* ***-vagi*** *pene* *talu*
Pita   must.not   very   3SG.IRR   stay
'Peter must never stay'

In Kalo, if we are not sure whether something will happen or not, the word *noo* 'possibly' can be used, or we can add the question particle *pa* at the end of the sentence.

Example 143

*Liza ati   pene   vogomai pogipogi   **pa***?
Liza NEG   3SG.IRR   come   tomorrow   QN
'Liza might not come tomorrow?'

Example 144

*Liza **noo**   ati   pene   vogomai pogipogi*
Liza   possibly   NEG   3SG.IRR   come   tomorrow
'Liza possibly will not come tomorrow'

7 SENTENCES

7.1 Conjunctions

7.1.1 Discussion

Here are some conjunctions in Kalo. They are summarised in the table and then given in more detail below. The conjunctions are divided into **coordinating** conjunctions, which join two clauses together at the same level, and **subordinating** conjunctions, which join two clauses together so that one clause supports another 'main' clause.

TABLE 19: Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions	Meanings and usage
e	'and'
ne	'then' (the clause following *ne* happens in time after the clause preceding *ne*)
na	'but' (the clause following *na* is something unexpected, given the previous clause)
aonai	'when/while' (the clause ending in *aonai* happens at the same time as the adjacent clause)

mulinai	'after' (the clause ending in *mulinai* happens before the adjacent clause)
wailanai	'before' (the clause ending in *wailanai* happens after the adjacent clause)
pe	'so that' (the clause following *pe* is a purpose of the previous clause)
voupe	'after that' (the clause following *voupe* comes sequentially in time after the preceding clause)[10]
Subordinating conjunctions	
gaurai	'because' (usually, the clause ending in *gaurai* gives the reason for the main clause)
genai	'therefore' (? Not completely sure of the meaning of this one)
kwalana	'because' (the clause beginning in *kwalana* gives the reason for the main clause)
ularana / ulanana	'in order to' (the clause ending in *ularana* or *ulanana* gives the purpose for the main clause*)*

7.1.2 Coordinating Conjunctions

7.1.2.1 The conjunction *e* 'and'

The conjunction *e* can be used to join together either noun phrases or clauses. In example (145), the conjunction *e* joins together the noun phrases *kupa* 'sky' and *tanopara* 'earth'.

Example 145

tovotovo -na   -i Palagu -na   kupa e   tano -para
first   3SG.POSS at spirit   ERGATIVE sky   and earth great
e-   kala   -ra   -to
3SG.SBJ   do/make 3PL.OBJ PAST.PERFECT
'At the first, God made sky and earth.'

In the next example, the conjunction *e* joins together two clauses, the first clause is about the crocodiles living in the river, and the second is about them eating people.

Example 146

vo   toma -na   vegata vugae   Kalo wai -na   ao   -na   -i
DEM day   3SG.POSS onwards crocodile Kalo river 3SG.POSS inside 3SG.POSS at
ge-   talu -na   e   talima   ge-   gani -ra   -na
3PL.SBJ stay PRES   and people   3PL.SBJ eat   3PL.OBJ PRES
'From that day onwards, crocodiles live in the Kalo river and eat people.'

---

[10] We do not have enough data to show how *voupe* differs from *mulinai,* above*.*

7.1.2.2 The conjunction *ne* 'then'

The conjunction *ne* is usually used between two clauses that happen after each other in time. The clause before *ne* happens first, and the clause after *ne* happens afterwards, as in this example.

Example 147

talima	wai	ao	-na	-i	ge-	ke	-to	raito
people	river	inside	3SG.POSS	at	3PL.SBJ	fell	PAST.PERFECT	into

ne	vugae	-na	e-	gani	-ra	-to .
then	crocodile	ERGATIVE	3SG.SBJ	eat	3PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'The people fell into the river, then the crocodile ate them.'

7.1.2.3 The conjunction *na* 'but'

The conjunction *na* is used when the following clause is in some way unexpected. In the example below, the people are doing something unexpected when they give the crocodile meat as they are crossing the river, rather than just riding on the back of the crocodile.

Example 148

vo	taunilimalima	vo	vugae	na	e-	tao	vanagi	-ra	-to
DEM	people	DEM	crocodile	ERGATIVE	3SG.SBJ	put	cross	3PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

na	e-	tao	vanagi	-ra	-wai		ao	-na	-i
but	3SG.SBJ	put	cross	3PL.OBJ	PAST.CONTINUOUS		inside	3SG.POSS	at

vugae	velekwa	-i	gani	kova	geleta	ge-	veni	-a	-to
crocodile	feast	at	eat	leftover	some	3PL.SBJ	give	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'Those people, that crocodile, it put them across, but when it put them across, they gave the crocodile some of the leftovers from the feast'

7.1.2.4 The conjunction *aonai* 'while / when'

The word *aonai* literally means something like 'at the inside of' (see section 4.1.1), but when it is used to join two clauses together it means that the following clause happens at the same time that the action of the preceding clause is happening. One example is given in example (148) in section 7.1.2.3, in which the people give leftovers to the crocodile at the same time that they are crossing the river. Another example is given below, in which the people have gone to the crocodile, and at the same time, because the crocodile knows them, it has already gone to the bank to await them.

Example 149

wai	pipi	-na	-i	ge-	vekwara	-to	*ao*	*-na*	*-i*
river	side	3SG.POSS	at	3PL.SBJ	arrive	PAST.PERFECT	inside	3SG.POSS	at

vo	vugae	ira	e-	ripa	-ra	-to	gaurai
DEM	crocodile	3PL	3SG.SBJ	know	3PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	therefore

togatoga	-i	e-	rai	-kau	-to .
ford	at	3SG.SBJ	berth	on	PAST.PERFECT

'When they arrived at the side of the river, the crocodile knew them so it was already berthed at the ford.'

7.1.2.5 The conjunction *mulinai / mulirai* 'after'

The literal meaning of *mulinai* is something like 'at the back of' (see section 4.1.1), but it can also be used to express the time relationship between events in two clauses. It shows that the clause immediately preceding *mulinai* occurs in time before the other clause.

Example 150

Keapara -i   velekwa -i   ge-   gani   gatu -to   muli -na   -i
Keapara at   feast   at   3PL.SBJ eat   finish PAST.PERFECT after 3SG.POSS at
lavi   ge-   waikule -to   Kalo   vanuga -na   -i
afternoon 3PL.SBJ go.back PAST.PERFECT Kalo   village   3SG.POSS at
'In Keapara, after they finished eating the feast, in the afternoon they went back to Kalo village.'

When the conjunction *mulirai* is used instead of *mulinai*, the meaning is that something happened regularly or habitually after something else, as in example (151). Notice that here that the clause which happens later in time (making gardens) occurs before the clause about what happened earlier in time (going to school).

Example 151

Ira ma- garawa -ria   e   ma- natu -ria   araga ge-   kala -wai
3PL with wives 3PL.POSS and with child 3PL.POSS garden 3PL.SBJ make PAST.CTS
lavilavi   ai -na,   school muli   -ra   -i.
afternoon   at 3SG.POSS school after   3PL.POSS   at
 'They would make gardens in the afternoon with their wives and children, (regularly) after school'

7.1.2.6 The conjunction *wailanai* 'before'

The word *wailanai* literally means something like 'at the front of' (see section 4.1.1), but when it is used to join clauses together it shows that the action in the clause of which it is a part happened later in time than the other clause to which it is related. Thus, it has a similar meaning to the English conjunction 'before'. In the example below, note that the first clause still happens first in time, but it is the second clause which is marked with the conjunction *wailanai* 'before'.

Example 152

ai   ga-   kila kila -vo -na   Victor p- e-   matoga waila -na   -i
1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC.SBJ say say here PRES Victor REC 3SG.SBJ come in before 3SG.POSS at
'We were talking before Victor came in'

7.1.2.7 The conjunction *pe* 'so that'

In the data we have, the conjunction *pe* is used between clauses to show that the following clause is the purpose for the preceding clause, similar to 'so that' in English.

Example 153

laga -ku   talima -ra ve- veakava pia   vogomai
side 1SG.POSS people PL for help   3PL.IRR come
maki[11]   ge   -ria   nanu gapi gau -ra   pia   gapi
also POSS   3PL.POSS water take thing PL 3PL.IRR take
pe   nanu paia   gutu   kalova ata -na   -i paia   popo -kau
so.that water 1PL.EXC.IRR collect fire   top   3SG.POSS at 1PL.EXC.IRR pour on
pene ago kalova   paia   gunu   -tali   -a
until   fire   1PL.EXC.IRR extinguish completely 3SG.OBJ
'My neighbours would come to help and also get their water collecting things, so that we can collect water, and we would pour it on the fire until the fire is completely extinguished.'

---

[11] This word could be studied further.

7.1.2.8 The conjunction *voupe* 'and after that'

The conjunction *voupe* is used between clauses to show that the clause following *voupe* happened in time after the clause before *voupe.* The conjunction is made up of two morphemes, *vo* is a demonstrative, 'that', referring back to the action of the previous clause, and *–upe* means something like 'after'.

Example 154

au	*ma-*	*geku*	*numa*	*talima*	*-ra*	*paia*	*tanutagaole*	*.*
1SG	with	1SG.POSS	house	people	PL	1PL.EXC.IRR	rest	

vo-	***upe***	*au*	*pana*	*verenagi*	*kalova*	*raka*	*p-*	*e-*	*wala*	*-tiwa*
DEM	after	1SG	1SG.IRR	ask	fire	how	REC	3SG.SBJ	happen	how

'My household and I will rest and after that I will ask "how did this fire happen?"'

7.1.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions join two clauses together so that one clause supports another 'main' clause.

7.1.3.1 The conjunction *gaurai* 'because / therefore'

The word *gaurai* usually comes at the end of a clause which gives a reason for the main clause, giving it a meaning something like 'because' in English (although in English, 'because' needs to come at the start of the clause).

Example 155

kalova	*kei*	*-vagi*	***gaurai,***	*au*	*vo*	*kalova*	*pana*	*gunu*	*-a*	*ripa*
fire	small	very	because	1SG	DEM	fire	1SG.IRR	extinguish	3SG.OBJ	able.to

'Because the fire is very small, I am able to put it out.'

Example 156

vo	*vugae*	*talima*	*-ria*	*ve-*	*marana*	***gaurai,***
DEM	crocodile	people	with	RECIPROCAL	be.friends	therefore/because

ia	*wai*	*pipi*	*-na*	*-i*	*e-*	*vealo*	*-wai*	*.*
3SG	river	side	3SG.POSS	at	3SG.SBJ	wait	PAST.CONTINUOUS	

'Because that crocodile was friendly with people, it was waiting at the side of the river'

However, the conjunction *gaurai* can also come at the beginning of a clause, as in the next example. Perhaps this is an unusual case because it is the last sentence in a story

Example 157.

gaurai	Kalo	taunilimalima	*-ra*	*-na*	*vo*	*vugae*	*ara*	*-na*
therefore/because	Kalo	people(several)	PL	ERGATIVE	DEM	crocodile	name	3SG.POSS

ge-	*kea*	*-a*	*-to*	*"Kelenigepagepa"*
3PL.SBJ	call	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	man.eater

kwalana	*ia*	*taunilimalima*	*e-*	*gani*	*-ra*
because	3SG	people(several)	3SG.SBJ	eat	3PL.OBJ

'Therefore, Kalo people called that crocodile's name, "Man Eater" because it eats people.'

7.1.3.2 The conjunction *kwalana* 'because'

Along with *gaurai,* the conjunction *kwalana* is also best translated as 'because' in English, but it is used after a main clause and at the *start* of a clause that gives the reason for the main clause. One example is given in section 7.1.3.1 above (see example (157)), another is given here in example (158).

Example 158

pana	vaikila	-ra	e-	toma	nama,
1SG.IRR	tell	3PL.OBJ	this	day	good

kwalana	kalova	pa-	ta-	gunu	veleke	-a	.
because	fire	REC	1PL.INC.SBJ	extinguish	quick	3SG.OBJ	

'I will tell them, "Today was good, because we put the fire out quickly." '

7.1.3.3 The conjunction *ulanana / ularana* 'so that'

The conjunction *ulanana* or *ularana* is used to mark a purpose clause. Purpose clauses are normally introduced by 'in order to' or 'so that' in English. In Kalo, the clause which ends with *ulanana/ularana* gives the reason for the main clause, but this kind of reason specifically shows the purpose, or 'thinking beforehand', of the participants in the story. Thus, in the example below, the Kalo people go to Keapara village 'so that' or 'in order to' eat a feast.

Example 159

ne	ge-	laka	-to	Keapara	vanuga	-na	-i
then	3PL.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT	Keapara	village	3SG.POSS	at

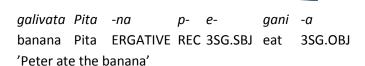| velekwa	-ta	pia	gani	**ulanana**
feast	one	3PL.IRR	eat	so.that

'Then they went to Keapara village in order to eat a feast.'

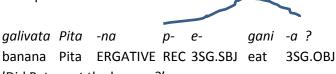## 7.2 Questions (Interrogative Sentences)

7.2.1 Yes-No Questions

Yes-no questions normally have the same structure as statements, but a change in intonation (a rise in pitch near the end) shows that it is a question.

Example 160

galivata	Pita	-na	p-	e-	gani	-a
banana	Pita	ERGATIVE	REC	3SG.SBJ	eat	3SG.OBJ

'Peter ate the banana'

Example 161

galivata	Pita	-na	p-	e-	gani	-a ?
banana	Pita	ERGATIVE	REC	3SG.SBJ	eat	3SG.OBJ

'Did Peter eat the banana?'

7.2.2 WH Questions

When we want to find out more than just 'yes' or 'no', in English we ask questions using question words such as 'Who? What? Which? How many? When? Where? How? Why?' (People sometimes call these WH questions because most of these English question words start with 'wh'.)

7.2.2.1 'Who' questions

The word *rai* is used for 'who' questions. If the person being asked about is the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb, *rai* is used on its own. If the person being asked about is the actor of a transitive verb, the ergative marker *na* is added.

Example 162

rai p- e-   laka taoni ai?
who   REC 3SG.SBJ go   town   at
'Who went to town?' (subject of an intransitive verb)

Example 163

rai Pita   na   pe   kwari -a?[12]
who   Pita   ERGATIVE so.that hit/strike 3SG.OBJ
'Who did Peter hit?' (object of a transitive verb)

Example 164

rai **na**   galivata e-   gani -a   -to?
who   ERGATIVE   banana   3SG.SBJ eat   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT
'who ate the banana?' (actor of a transitive verb)

7.2.2.2 'What' questions

The word *rakagau* is used for 'what' questions. Again, *rakagau* is used on its own when the thing being asked about is the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb, and the ergative suffix –*na* is added when the actor of a transitive verb is in question. The question word usually comes in the same place in the sentence as the thing that is being asked about. That is, it comes at the start of the sentence when the subject of a transitive verb is being asked about, but in the place of the object if the object of a transitive verb is being asked about.[13]

Example 165

Pita **rakagau** p- e-   gani?
Pita   what   REC 3SG.SBJ eat
'What did Peter eat?' (object of a transitive verb)

Example 166

vuata -i   **rakagau** e-   keto -tali   -to?
floor   at   what   3SG.SBJ fall   on   PAST.PERFECT
'What fell on the floor?' (subject of an intransitive verb)

Example 167

rakagau **-na**   goi -na   puka p- e-   gani -a?
what   ERGATIVE 2SG POSS book REC 3SG.SBJ eat   3SG.OBJ
'What ate your book?' (actor of a transitive verb)

7.2.2.3 'Why' questions

The phrase *rakagau gaurai* 'because of what' can be used to question why somebody did something.

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[12] It would be equally normal to change the order of the first two words, and say *Pitana rai pekwaria?*

[13] However, there is flexibility with the word order depending on the emphasis that the speaker wishes to place on different parts of the sentence.

Example 168

rakagau gaurai *Pita -na galivata p- e- gani -a?*
what   because Pita ERGATIVE banana REC 3SG.SBJ eat 3SG.OBJ
'Why did Peter eat the banana?'

7.2.2.4 'When' questions
In Kalo, 'when' questions are created by using the word *arigi*, which means something like 'which', with another word for time, such as *toma* 'day/time' or *lagani* 'time'.

Example 169

arigi toma *p- o- laka taoni ai?*
which time REC 2SG.SBJ go   town at
'When did you go to town?'

Example 170

arigi lagani *Pita -na galivata p- e- gani -a?*
which time Pita ERGATIVE banana REC 3SG.SBJ eat 3SG.OBJ
'When did Peter eat a banana?'

7.2.2.5 'Where' questions
'Where' questions also use the word *arigi* 'which' with a singular suffix and the suffix *–ai / -i* 'at'.

Example 171

arigi *-na -i o- laka -na?*
which SG   at   2SG.SBJ go   PRES
'Where are you going?'

7.2.2.6 'How many' questions
The word *vira* is used to question 'how many' of something.

Example 172

Pita -na galivata ***vira*** *p- e- gani -ra?*
Pita ERGATIVE banana how.many REC 3SG.SBJ eat PL.OBJ
'How many bananas did Peter eat?'

7.2.2.7 'How' questions
When we are questioning the manner of a verb, to find out 'how' someone did something, Kalo adds the question word *raka* before the verb, and adds the suffix *–tiwa* to the verb itself.

Example 173

Pita taoni ai ***raka*** *p- e- laka* ***-tiwa*** *?*
Pita town at   how REC 3SG.SBJ go   how
'How did Peter go to town?'

7.3 The Mirative Particle *–aikina*
Miratives are words that introduce unexpected or surprising parts of a story. The word *aikina* is used to introduce a clause that is expected but still somewhat surprising at this point in the narrative, so it can be called a mirative particle.

The word 'lo' is perhaps the best translation in English, although this is not a common word in English.

The following sentence gives an example of its use in a text where we already know that pigs sometimes break into people's gardens, and now somebody is going to look in their garden with the hope that perhaps he will find a pig there.

Example 174

e-	laka	poepoe	-to,							
3SG.SBJ	go	looking(intentionally.to.find)	PAST.PERFECT							

aikina,	*vanuga*	*pae*	*-na*	*kwapuna*	*ia*	*-na*	*araga*	*-i*	*e-*	*ganigani*	*-wai*
lo!	village	pig	3SG.POSS	one		3SG POSS	garden	at	3SG.SBJ	food	PAST.CTS

e-	*gita*	*-a*	*-to*
3SG.SBJ	see	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT

'He went looking to see if anything was there, and lo!, he saw a village pig eating his garden'

7.4 Relative Clauses

Sometimes the subject, object, location or other parts of a sentence have a clause embedded within them. Such clauses are called **relative clauses**.

Due to the limited amount of time to work on this paper, I have not been able to analyse them in any detail. However, some examples are given below.

This example shows a relative clause for the subject of an intransitive verb in the main clause. The subject of the main clause is *talimamai maparamai* 'all of us people'and the main clause says the subject was 'boarding the PMV (bus).' The relative clause describes the subject further as 'the people who would go on that car'. Thus these people are the subject of an intransitive verb (*ragekau* 'board') in the main clause, but also the subject of an intransitive verb (*rage* 'go up') in the relative clause. A rectangle has been drawn around the relative clause, which includes the subject for the main clause.

Example 175

	RELATIVE CLAUSE					SUBJECT				
ne	*vo-*	*motuka-i*	*paia*		*rage*	*talima*	*-mai*		*mapa*	*-ra*	*-mai*
then	DEM	car	at 1PL.EXC.IRR		up	people	1PL.EXC.POSS	all	PL 1PL.EXC.POSS	

MAIN VERB

paia	*ragekau*
1PL.EXC.IRR	board

'Then we all *who want to board that car*, will board.'

The next example shows a relativized addressee. The author is planning to give a message to his nephew, *who drives a Kalo PMV.* In Kalo, there is no relative pronoun (like 'who' in English). In this example, the nephew is the addressee in the main clause, and the actor of a transitive verb in the relative clause (the one who drives the PMV). The word *vogaku* 'nephew' which refers to him, occurs at the start of the relative clause.

Example 176

MAIN SUBJECT	**ADDRESSEE**							
au	**_voga_**	**_-ku_**	**_Kalo_**	**_PMV_**	**_-ta_**	**_e-_**	**_giu_**	**_-a_**	**_-na_**
1SG	sister's.child	1SG.POSS	Kalo	PMV	one	3SG.SBJ	drive	3SG.OBJ	PRES

MAIN VERB			CONTENT OF MESSAGE				
pana	*vaikila*	*-a*	*au*	*vanuga*	*-i*	*pana*	*laka*
1SG.IRR	tell	3SG.OBJ	1SG	village	at	1SG.IRR	go

'I will tell my nephew (who drives a Kalo PMV) that I will go to the village'

Another similar example has the author later on giving a message to the people, *who translate books.* Once again, these people are the addressee in the main clause and semantically they are the actors of a transitive verb in the relative clause (literally, they make books go across). However, they do not occur in the actor position at the start of the relative clause, nor does the verb begin with the *ge-* subject prefix, so this is a different kind of sentence to the previous type.

Example 177

MAIN SUBJECT		ADDRESSEE				MAIN VERB			
au	*-na*	***puka***	***vega***	***vanagi***	***talima***	***-ra***	*pana*	*vega*	*ripa*	*-ra*
1SG	ERGATIVE	book	make	cross	people	PL	1SG.IRR	make	know	3PL.OBJ

CONTENT OF MESSAGE							
au	*warauna*	*p-*	*a-*	*kwara*	*vanuga*	*-i*
1SG	already	REC	1SG.SBJ	arrive	village	at

'I will make know to the people who translate books that I already arrived'

This example shows a relativized *location.* The main clause is about people going, and they go to 'the crocodile it-was-waiting place-at'.

Example 178

MAIN VERB			LOCATION							
ge-	*ago*	*-wai*	***vo***	***vugae***	***e-***	***vealo***	***-wai***	***kapu***	***-na***	***-i***
3PL.SBJ	go	PAST.CTS	DEM	crocodile	3SG.SBJ	wait	PAST.CTS	place	SG	at

'They would go to the place that crocodile would wait'

In every example here, the noun about which the relative clause gives more information is explicit (shown in a bold box). For all but *vogaku* in example (176), this noun comes at the end of the relative clause: *talimamai maparamai; talimara* and *kapunai.* We have found no examples of any kind of relative pronoun being used ('who', 'that', 'where'…).

Finally, here is a more complicated sentence in which both the subject and the object of the main clause use relative clauses to provide further descriptions. This is further complicated by the fact that both subject and object refer to food! However, the subject is food ***that is received from the garden*** (and this food is marked with the ergative marker *–na* in the main clause), whereas the object is food ***that is given out weekly by the college.***

Example 179

<table>
<tr><td colspan="9">RELATIVE CLAUSE 1</td><td colspan="4">MAIN CLAUSE SUBJECT</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>vo</i></td><td><i>araga</i></td><td><i>ao</i></td><td><i>-ra</i></td><td><i>na</i></td><td><i>ganigani</i></td><td><i>ge-</i></td><td><i>rawali</i></td><td><i>-wai</i></td><td><i>ganigani</i></td><td><i>-ra</i></td><td><i>-na</i></td><td>.</td></tr>
<tr><td>DEM</td><td>garden</td><td>inside</td><td>PL</td><td>from</td><td>food</td><td>3PL.SBJ</td><td>receive</td><td>PAST.CTS</td><td>food</td><td>PL</td><td>ERGATIVE</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td colspan="11">RELATIVE CLAUSE 2</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>college</i></td><td><i>-na</i></td><td><i>wik</i></td><td><i>kwapuna</i></td><td><i>ao</i></td><td><i>-na</i></td><td><i>-i</i></td><td><i>ira</i></td><td><i>e-</i></td><td><i>veni</i></td><td><i>-ra</i></td><td><i>-wai</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>college</td><td>ERGATIVE</td><td>week</td><td>one</td><td>inside</td><td>3SG.POSS</td><td>at</td><td>3PL</td><td>3SG.SBJ</td><td>give</td><td>3PL.OBJ</td><td>PAST.CTS</td></tr>
</table>

MAIN CLAUSE OBJECT

<table>
<tr><td><i>ganigani</i></td><td><i>-na</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>food</td><td>3SG.POSS</td></tr>
</table>

MAIN VERB

e-	*veakava*	*-a*	*-wai*
3SG.SBJ	help	3SG.OBJ	PAST.CONTINUOUS

'The food that they received from in these gardens, helped the food that the college gave to them each week'

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Appendix: Texts Used for this Analysis

Auna numa egalana aonai au rakagau pana kala

'What I would do if my house was burning'

1.1 au   p-   a-   ripa   au   -na   numa kalova -na
    1SG   REC   1SG.SBJ   know   1SG   POSS   house fire   3SG.POSS

e-   gala   -a   -na   , au   e   gau   -ra   pana kala   -ra   .
3SG.SBJ   burn   3SG.OBJ   PRES   1SG   this   thing   PL   1SG.IRR do/make   3PL.OBJ

If I knew that my house was burning, these are the things I would do.

1.2 kalova kei   -vagi gaurai   , au   vo   kalova pana   gunu   -a   ripa
    fire   small   very   therefore/because   1SG   DEM   fire   1SG.IRR   extinguish   3SG.OBJ   able.to

If the fire was very small, I might be able to put it out.

1.3 kalova rogotina e-   gala kamu kamu gaurai   au   -na   numa
    fire   not.yet   3SG.SBJ   burn   big   big   therefore/because   1SG   POSS   house

laga   -na   numa   -ra talima   -ra pana vega   ripa   -ra   , au   -na   numa   -i
side   3SG.POSS   house   PL   people   PL   1SG.IRR make   know   3PL.OBJ   1SG   POSS   house   at

kalova .
fire

If the fire has not yet become very big, I will let the people in the houses beside my house know that there is a fire at my house.

2.1 au   ma-   geku   numa talima   -ra nanu gutu   gau   -ra paia   gapi
    1SG   with   1SG.POSS   house   people   PL   water collecting/fetching   thing   PL   1PL.EXC.IRR   take

ne   nanu kapu   -na   vekavi   -na   -i nanu paia   gapi ne   kalova
then   water   place   3SG.POSS   near   3SG.POSS   at   water 1PL.EXC.IRR   take   then   fire

ata   -na   -i paia   popo   -kau .
top   3SG.POSS   at   1PL.EXC.IRR   pour   on

I and the people living in my house would get water collecting things, then get water from nearby water sources, then we would pour it on the fire.

2.2 laga   -ku   talima   -ra ve-   veakava pia   vogomai maki ge   -ria   nanu gapi
    side   1SG.POSS   people   PL   for   help   3PL.IRR come   also   POSS   3PL.POSS   water take

gau   -ra pia   gapi pe   nanu paia   gutu   kalova ata   -na   -i paia
thing   PL   3PL.IRR take   so.that   water   1PL.EXC.IRR collect   fire   top   3SG.POSS   at   1PL.EXC.IRR

popo   -kau pene ago kalova paia   gunu   -tali   -a   .
pour   on   until   fire   1PL.EXC.IRR extinguish   completely   3SG.OBJ

My neighbours would come to help, they would also bring their water collecting things, so that we could collect water, and we could pour on the fire, until we had completely put it out.

3.1

kalova	mapa	-ra	-na	paia	gunu	gatu	-a	muli	-na	-i ,
fire	all	PL	POSS	1PL.EXC.IRR	extinguish	finish	3SG.OBJ	after	3SG.POSS	at

numa	-i	kalova	gunugunu	-na	-i	momo	pa-	ga-	kala	-ra
house	at	fire	extinguishing	3SG.POSS	at	rubbish	REC	1PL.EXC.SBJ	do/make	3PL.OBJ

gau	-ra	paia	aleva	-ra .
thing	PL	1PL.EXC.IRR	clean	PL

After we had finished putting out all the fire, we would clean up the rubbish that we made while we were putting out the house fire.

3.2

kalova	kapu	-na	paia	aleva	gatu	-a	muli	-na	-i ,	au	-na
fire	place	3SG.POSS	1PL.EXC.IRR	clean	finish	3SG.OBJ	after	3SG.POSS	at	1SG	POSS

numa	talima	-ra	e	laga	-mai	talima	-ra	-na	pe-	ge-
house	people	PL	and	side	1PL.EXC.POSS	people	PL	ERGATIVE	REC	3PL.SBJ

veakava	-mai	, au	-na	pana	vega	nama	-ra	, vo-	upe	ira
help	1PL.EXC.POSS	1SG	ERGATIVE	1SG.IRR	make	good	3PL.OBJ	DEM	after	3PL

ge	-ria	numa	-i	pia	waikule .
POSS	3PL.POSS	house	at	3PL.IRR	go.back

After we finished cleaning the place where the fire was, we would thank (literally, 'make good to') our neighbours who helped us, and after that they would go back to their house.

4.1

au	ma-	geku	numa	talima	-ra	paia	tanutagaole	vo-	upe	au	pana
1SG	with	1SG.POSS	house	people	PL	1PL.EXC.IRR	rest	DEM	after	1SG	1SG.IRR

verenagi	kalova	raka	p-	e-	wala	-tiwa .
ask	fire	how	REC	3SG.SBJ	happen	how

My household and I would rest and after that I would ask 'how did this fire happen?'

4.2

au	pana	ripa	vo-	upe	numa	talima	-ra	pana	vaikila	-ra	kalova	pia
1SG	1SG.IRR	know	DEM	after	house	people	PL	1SG.IRR	tell	3PL.OBJ	fire	3PL.IRR

gitatago	-a	vo-	vetai	-na [14]	ragaina	ma	pene	wala	-wai
look.after	3SG.OBJ	DEM	like	3SG.POSS	must.not	again	3SG.IRR	happen	PAST.CONTINUOUS

I would find out, and after that I would tell the people in my house, and they would be careful with fire, so that something like that would not happen again.

---

[14] This example illustrates the need to further investigate the function of *vo*, and whether it should be classified as a root or a suffix.

4.3 pana vaikila -ra e toma nama kwalana kalova pa- ta- gunu
1SG.IRR tell 3PL.OBJ this day good because fire REC 1PL.INC.SBJ extinguish

veleke -a .
quickly 3SG.OBJ

I would tell them, "Today was good, because we put the fire out quickly."

4.4 pia ve- gitatago irauna kapi -ra -i numa kalova -na irauna
3PL.IRR REFL look.after otherwise later 3PL.POSS at house fire 3SG.POSS otherwise

nee gala verovero -a -na .
might burn completely 3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS

They would look after themselves, otherwise later on fire might burn their houses completely.

Kelenigepagepa

'Man eater' (crocodile)

1 kune -na -i vugae kamu -na para Kalo vanuga -na wai -na
before 3SG.POSS at crocodile big SG great Kalo village POSS river 3SG.POSS

ao -na -i e- talu -wai .
inside 3SG.POSS at 3SG.SBJ stay PAST.CONTINUOUS

Before, a great big crocodile was staying inside Kalo village river.

2 vo vugae talima -ria ve- marana gaurai , ia wai
DEM crocodile people with RECIPROCAL be.friends therefore/because 3SG river

pipi -na -i e- vealo -wai .
side 3SG.POSS at 3SG.SBJ wait PAST.CONTINUOUS

That crocodile was friendly with people, therefore it was waiting at the side of the river

3.1 talima ge- ririwa -wai wai kava -ta -i pia vanagi
people 3PL.SBJ want PAST.CONTINUOUS river side one at 3PL.IRR cross

ne- ge- tiwa -wai genai , ge- ago -wai vo vugae
therefore 3PL.SBJ go PAST.CONTINUOUS DEM crocodile

e- vealo -wai kapu -na -i ne vo vugae
3SG.SBJ wait PAST.CONTINUOUS place SG at then DEM crocodile

e-	ripa	-wai		ne	ira	e-	ago	-veni	-ra	-wai		,
3SG.SBJ	know	PAST.CONTINUOUS	then		3PL	3SG.SBJ	go	towards	PL	PAST.CONTINUOUS		

ia	e-	ve-	rai	-kavi	-wai		togatoga	-i	.
3SG	3SG.SBJ	REFL	berth.sideways	near	PAST.CONTINUOUS		ford	at	

People who were wanting to cross to the other side of the river went to the place that crocodile was waiting, then the crocodile would know them and go towards them and berth at the ford

3.2
vo	-na	-i	talima	vo	vugae	ata	-na	-i
DEM	SG	at	people	DEM	crocodile	top	3SG.POSS	at

ge-	ragekau	-wai		ne	e-	vanagi	agi	-ra	-wai		wai
3PL.SBJ	board	PAST.CONTINUOUS	then		3SG.SBJ	cross	PL	PAST.CONTINUOUS		river

kava	-ta	-i	,	ne	ge	-ria	ririwa	kapu	-ra	-i	ge-	laka	-wai
side	one	at	then		POSS	3PL.POSS	want	place	PL	at	3PL.SBJ	go	PAST.CONTINUOUS

There people would get on that crocodile, then it would cross them to the other side of the river, then they would go to the places they wanted (literally, 'want places')

3.3
amoamo	kwapuna	Kalo	talima	-ra	reketa	vo	vugae		-na
morning	one	Kalo	people	PL	some	DEM	crocodile	ERGATIVE	

e-	vanagi	-agi	-ra	-to		wai	vo-	kava	-na	-i	,	ne
3SG.SBJ	cross		PL	PAST.PERFECT	river	DEM	side	3SG.POSS	at	then		

ge-	laka	-to		Keapara	vanuga	-na	-i	,	velekwa	-ta	pia	gani
3PL.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT	Keapara	village	3SG.POSS	at		feast	one	3PL.IRR	eat	

ulanana	.
so.that	

One morning, some Kalo people were taken by that crocodile to the other side of the river, then they went to Keapara village so that they will eat a feast

3.4
Keapara	-i	velekwa	-i	ge-	gani	gatu	-to		muli	-na	-i	,
Keapara	at	feast	at	3PL.SBJ	eat	finish	PAST.PERFECT	after	3SG.POSS	at		

lavi	ge-	waikule	-to		Kalo	vanuga	-na	-i	.
afternoon	3PL.SBJ	go.back	PAST.PERFECT	Kalo	village	3SG.POSS	at		

In Keapara, after they finished eating the feast, in the afternoon they went back to Kalo village.

3.5
wai	pipi	-na	-i	ge-	vekwara	-to		ao	-na	-i	,	vo
river	side	3SG.POSS	at	3PL.SBJ	arrive	PAST.PERFECT	inside	3SG.POSS	at		DEM	

vugae	ira	e-	ripa	-ra	-to		gaurai		togatoga	-i
crocodile	3PL	3SG.SBJ	know	3PL.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	therefore/because		ford	at	

e-	rai	-kau	-to	.
3SG.SBJ	berth.sideways	on	PAST.PERFECT	

When they arrived at the side of the river, the crocodile knew them so it was berthed (sideways) at the ford

3.6 vo taunilimalima vo vugae -na e- tao vanagi -ra -to .
DEM people(several) DEM crocodile ERGATIVE 3SG.SBJ put cross 3PL.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

Those people, that crocodile, it put them across

3.7 na e- tao vanagi -ra -wai ao -na -i vugae
but 3SG.SBJ put cross 3PL.OBJ PAST.CONTINUOUS inside 3SG.POSS at crocodile

velekwa -i gani kova geleta ge- veni -a -to .
feast at eat leftover some 3PL.SBJ give 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

But when (lit. at inside) it put them across, they gave the crocodile some of the leftovers from the feast

3.8 vo kwakwa ao -ra -i pae ge- gani -to kova -ra geleta
DEM leftover inside 3PL.POSS at pig 3PL.SBJ eat PAST.PERFECT leftover PL some

maki vugae ge- veni -a -to e- gani -to .
also crocodile 3PL.SBJ give 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT 3SG.SBJ eat PAST.PERFECT

In those left overs was some pig. They ate the leftovers and also they gave to the crocodile.

3.9 vugae -na pae e- gani -a -to mami -na
crocodile ERGATIVE pig 3SG.SBJ eat 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT taste 3SG.POSS

nama -vagi .
good very

The crocodile ate the pig, it tasted very good

3.10 vo -ia muli -na -i ma- talima reketa tao vanagi -ra
DEM after 3SG.POSS at other people some put cross PL

ula -ra -na , togatoga -i e- raikavi -to ne ia
so.that PL 3SG.POSS ford at 3SG.SBJ berth (sideways) PAST.PERFECT then 3SG

ata -na -i ge- ragekau -to .
top 3SG.POSS at 3PL.SBJ board PAST.PERFECT

After that, in order to put across come other people, it berthed at the ford then they went on it.

3.11 ge- vanagi -wai ao -nai vugae pae mami -na
3PL.SBJ cross PAST.CONTINUOUS inside at crocodile pig taste 3SG.POSS

e- gapi kuneato nama -vagi , ne e- tugamagi -to pae vo
3SG.SBJ take earlier good very then 3SG.SBJ think PAST.PERFECT pig DEM

taunilimalima mami -ra , gaurai wai nuga -na -i vugae
people(several) taste PL therefore/because river middle 3SG.POSS at crocodile

e- geno mapio -to .
3SG.SBJ sleep overturn PAST.PERFECT

When they were crossing, the crocodile the pig taste it take at first very good, then it thought pig was people taste, therefore in the middle of the river the crocodile slept overturned.

3.12 talima wai ao -na -i ge- keto rai -to ne
people river inside 3SG.POSS at 3PL.SBJ fall in PAST.PERFECT then

vugae -na e- gani -ra -to .
crocodile ERGATIVE 3SG.SBJ eat 3PL.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

The people fell into the river and the crocodile ate them

3.13 vo toma -na vegata vugae Kalo wai -na ao -na -i
DEM day 3SG.POSS onwards crocodile Kalo river 3SG.POSS inside 3SG.POSS at

ge- talu -na e talima ge- gani -ra -na , kwalana talima
3PL.SBJ stay PRES and people 3PL.SBJ eat 3PL.OBJ PRES because people

mami -ra pae ve- tai -ra .
taste 3PL.POSS pig RECIPROCAL be.like PL

From that day onwards, crocodiles stay inside the Kalo river and eat people, because people taste like pig.

3.14 gaurai Kalo taunilimalima -ra -na vo vugae ara -na
therefore/because Kalo people(several) PL ERGATIVE DEM crocodile name 3SG.POSS

ge- kea -a -to " Kelenigepagepa " kwalana ia taunilimalima
3PL.SBJ call 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT man.eater because 3SG people(several)

e- gani -ra .
3SG.SBJ eat PL.OBJ

Therefore Kalo people called that crocodile its name, "Man Eater" because it eats people.

Lema Rakagau?

'What is Stealing?'

1.1 lawes college ai ripa ge- tavu -wai talima -ra , araga
Lawes College 1PL.EXC knowledge 3PL.SBJ seek PAST.CONTINUOUS people PL garden

maki ge- kala -wai .
also 3PL.SBJ do/make PAST.CONTINUOUS

At Lawes College, the people seeking knowledge (students) were also making gardens.

1.2
ira	ma-	garawa	-ria	e	ma-	natu	-ria	araga
3PL	with	wife	3PL.POSS	and	with	child	3PL.POSS	garden

ge-	kala	-wai	lavilavi	ai	-na	, school	muli	-ra	-i .
3PL.SBJ	do/make	PAST.CONTINUOUS	afternoon	at	3SG.POSS	school	after	3PL.POSS	at

They, with their wives and their children, were making gardens in the afternoon, after school.

1.3
vo	araga	ao	-ra	na	ganigani	ge-	rawali	-wai
DEM	garden	inside	PL	from	food	3PL.SBJ	receive	PAST.CONTINUOUS

ganigani	-ra	-na	college	-na	wik	kwapuna	ao	-na	-i ira
food	PL	ERGATIVE	college	ERGATIVE	week	one	inside	3SG.POSS	at 3PL

e-	veni	-ra	-wai	ganigani	-na
3SG.SBJ	give	3PL.OBJ	PAST.CONTINUOUS	food	3SG.POSS

e-	veakava	-a	-wai	.
3SG.SBJ	help	3SG.OBJ	PAST.CONTINUOUS	

The food that they received from in these gardens, helped the food that the college gave to them each week.

2.1
ripa	ge-	tavu	-wai	talima	-ra	-na	araga	, taem	vogo	vanuga
knowledge	3PL.SBJ	seek	PAST.CONTINUOUS	people	PL	POSS	garden	time	many	village

pae	-ra	-na	ge-	gani	-ra	-wai	.
pig	PL	ERGATIVE	3PL.SBJ	eat	3PL.OBJ	PAST.CONTINUOUS	

Many times, village pigs would eat the students' gardens.

2.2
lavi	-ta	, ripa	tavu	talima	-na	-ta	ge	-na	araga	ene
afternoon	one	knowledge	seek	people	3SG.POSS	one	POSS	3SG.POSS	garden	3SG.IMV

kapulagu	-a	e-	laka	-to	.
check	3SG.OBJ	3SG.SBJ	go	PAST.PERFECT	

One afternoon, one student went to check his garden

2.3
ia	gima	-na	-i ge	-na	kolova	e-	gapi	-a	-to	.
3SG	hand	3SG.POSS	at POSS	3SG.POSS	spear	3SG.SBJ	take	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	

He took his spear in his hand.

2.4
e-	laka	poepoe	-to	, aikina ,	vanuga	pae	-na
3SG.SBJ	go	looking(intentionally.to.find)	PAST.PERFECT	lo	village	pig	3SG.POSS

kwapuna	ia	-na	araga	-i e-	ganigani	-wai
one	3SG	POSS	garden	at 3SG.SBJ	food	PAST.CONTINUOUS

e-	gita	-a	-to	.
3SG.SBJ	see	3SG.OBJ	PAST.PERFECT	

He went looking to see if anything was there, and lo!, he saw a village pig eating his garden.

2.5 e-   laka garigari -to   e-   ago -to   .
    3SG.SBJ go   silently   PAST.PERFECT 3SG.SBJ go   PAST.PERFECT

He went silently.

2.6 pae muli -na   na e-   veiga rage -to   .
    pig after 3SG.POSS from 3SG.SBJ stalk up   PAST.PERFECT

He stalked up from behind the pig.

2.7 e-   vekavi -a   -to   , ne   gima -na   -i kolova gaunana
    3SG.SBJ near   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT then hand 3SG.POSS at spear which

e-   kini   -a   -to   .
3SG.SBJ spear(archaic) 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

He came near to it, then with the spear in his hand, he speared it.

2.8 veganamo   , e-   gapi -a   -to   , e-   vagi
    immediately 3SG.SBJ take 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT   3SG.SBJ kill

kwarega -a   -to   .
die   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

Immediately, he took it and killed it completely.

2.9 e-   rolo -a   -to   e-   agoagi -a   -to
    3SG.SBJ pull 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT 3SG.SBJ take to 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

gautupu   -ta kwala -na   -i e-   tao veavuga -a   -to   .
trees(general) one under 3SG.POSS at 3SG.SBJ put hide   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

He pulled it and took it to the foot of a tree and hid it.

3.1 ia   e-   laka -to   ge   -na   numa -i kativa -ta
    3SG 3SG.SBJ go   PAST.PERFECT POSS 3SG.POSS house at knife one

e-   gapi -a   -to   e   garawa -na
3SG.SBJ take 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT and wife   3SG.POSS

e-   vaikau -a   -to   ne   ge-   waikule -to   pae
3SG.SBJ brought 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT then 3PL.SBJ go.back PAST.PERFECT pig

e-   tao -a   -to   kapu -na -i .
3SG.SBJ put 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT place SG at

He went to his house he took a knife and he brought his wife and then he went back to the place where he put the pig.

3.2 pae e-   rinu   -a   -to   vo-   upe
    pig 3SG.SBJ burn.pig's.hair 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT DEM   after

e-   laka -to   toti -ta e-   gapi -a   -to   , toti
3SG.SBJ go   PAST.PERFECT torch one 3SG.SBJ take 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT   torch

maeka -na   -i pae e-   voro -a   -to   , ne
light 3SG.POSS   at pig 3SG.SBJ cut 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT   then

ma-   garawa -na   goti -na   pae e-   voro kinikini -a   -to
with   wife   3SG.POSS   with ERGATIVE pig 3SG.SBJ cut pieces   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

gau   -ra ge-   vua   -ra   -to   numa -i
thing PL 3PL.SBJ carry.on.shoulder PL.OBJ PAST.PERFECT house at

ge-   lakagi -ra -to   .
3PL.SBJ brought PL PAST.PERFECT

He burnt the hair of the pig and after that he went and got a torch. By the light of the torch he cut up the pig and then with his wife they carried the pieces of pig that they had cut up and brought them to the house.

3.3 pogi ao   -na   -i pae ge-   ware verovero -a   -to   ,
    night inside 3SG.POSS   at pig 3PL.SBJ share completely 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

taukava -na   mapa -ra -ra e-   veni -ra   -to   , e
partner 3SG.POSS all   PL PL 3SG.SBJ give PL.OBJ PAST.PERFECT   and

vevegaripa   talima -ra reketa maki .
making known (teaching) people   PL some   also

In the night they completely shared the pig , he gave some to all the fellow students and also some teachers.

4.1 ripa   tavu talima -ra ao   -ra   -i talima -ta vo   -a
    knowledge seek people PL inside 3PL.POSS   at people one DEM 3SG.OBJ

ma-   ge   -na   tugamagi rakava , pae e-   vagi -a   -to
with   POSS 3SG.POSS   think   bad   pig 3SG.SBJ kill 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT

talima -na   genai   .
people ERGATIVE   therefore

Amongst the students there was one person who thought badly about the person who killed the pig, and so...

4.2 gaurai   e-   ago -to   principal e-   vaikila -to   ,
    therefore/because 3SG.SBJ go PAST.PERFECT   principal 3SG.SBJ tell   PAST.PERFECT

n- e-   tiwa -to   " Kipa (ati ia ara -na   ) -na   vanuga
?   3SG.SBJ speak PAST.PERFECT   Kipa   NEG 3SG name 3SG.POSS   ERGATIVE village

talima -ra ge -ria   pae -ta p- e-   lema -a   ."
people PL POSS 3PL.POSS   pig one REC 3SG.SBJ steal 3SG.OBJ

Therefore he told the principal, he said "Kipa (not his name)[15] stole the village people's pig"

4.3 principal -na   Kipa e-   vetuguagi   -a   -to   .
    principal ERGATIVE Kipa 3SG.SBJ   send for   3SG.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT

The principal sent for Kipa.

4.4 e-   vaikila -a   -to   , Peka (ati ia ara   -na   )
    3SG.SBJ tell   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT Peka NEG 3SG name   3SG.POSS

p-   e-   kila goi vanuga talima -ra ge   -ria   pae -ta
REC   3SG.SBJ say 2SG village people PL POSS 3PL.POSS pig one

p-   o-   lema -a   , n- e-   pe- tiwa .
REC   2SG.SBJ steal 3SG.OBJ ? 3SG.SBJ   REC speak

He told him, "Peka (not his name) said (that) you stole one of the village people's pigs." he said.

4.5 Kipa na principal e-   vaikila   -a   -to
    Kipa but principal 3SG.SBJ tell   3SG.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT

, n- e-   tiwa   -to   " p- a-   lema -a   ati
  ? 3SG.SBJ speak PAST.PERFECT   REC 1SG.SBJ steal   3SG.OBJ NEG

ripa   -ku   na p- a-   vagi -a   ripa   -ku   ."
knowledge 1SG.POSS but REC 1SG.SBJ kill   3SG.OBJ knowledge 1SG.POSS

Kipa told the principal and said, "I don't know if I stole it, but I know I killed it."

4.6 principal e-   ali   kalakala -to   , ne   Kipa
    principal 3SG.SBJ look hard   PAST.PERFECT then Kipa

e-   renagi -a   -to   , n- e-   tiwa -to   , "
3SG.SBJ ask   3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT ? 3SG.SBJ speak PAST.PERFECT

p- o-   lema -a   ati ripa   -mu   na p- o-   vagi -a
REC 2SG.SBJ steal 3SG.OBJ NEG knowledge 2SG.POSS but REC 2SG.SBJ kill   3SG.OBJ

ripa   -mu   gani   -na   rakagau ?"
knowledge 2SG.POSS meaning 3SG.POSS what

The principal looked hard, then he asked Kipa saying, "You don't know you stole it, but you do know you killed it - what does this mean?"

5.1 Kipa na principal e-   vaikila -a   -to   , n- e- tiwa -to , " pae
    Kipa but principal 3SG.SBJ tell   3SG.OBJ   PAST.PERFECT   pig

p- a-   vagi -a   , p- a-   voro -a   , pe   student
REC 1SG.SBJ kill 3SG.OBJ REC 1SG.SBJ cut   3SG.OBJ so.that student

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[15] The speaker is presumably doing this to conceal the identity of the person.

mapa -ra -ra p- a- ware veni -ra e vevegaripa talima -ra
all PL PL REC 1SG.SBJ share give PL.OBJ and making known (teaching) people PL

reketa maki .
some also

Kipa told the principal saying, "I killed a pig, cut it up, so that I shared it with all the students and also some teachers."

5.2 Peka maki p- a- veni -a , na goi ati p- a- veni -mu
Peka also REC 1SG.SBJ give 3SG.OBJ but 2SG NEG REC 1SG.SBJ give 2SG.POSS

kwalana pae ati p- e- kamu ."
because pig NEG REC 3SG.SBJ be.big

"I also gave some to Peka, but I did not give you any, because the pig was not big (enough)."

5.3 pere p- a- ra lema -a genai au -mo ma- garawa -ku e
If REC 1SG.SBJ steal 3SG.OBJ therefore 1SG only with wife 1SG.POSS and

ma- natu -ku p- a- gara gani , talima -ta ati pere ripa .
with child 1SG.POSS REC 1SG.SBJ should eat people one NEG If knowledge

"If I had stolen it then only I and my wife and my children should have eaten it, without another person knowing about it."

5.4 principal repa -na e- kwarakwara -a -to , ne Kipa
principal head 3SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ shook 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT then Kipa

e- vaikila -a -to ge -na numa -i pene laka .
3SG.SBJ tell 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT POSS 3SG.POSS house at 3SG.IRR go

The principal shook his head and told Kipa to go to his house.

5.5 Kipa e- kuliiti -to , principal
Kipa 3SG.SBJ got.up PAST.PERFECT principal

e- vega neka -a -to ne ge -na numa -i
3SG.SBJ make goodbye 3SG.OBJ PAST.PERFECT then POSS 3SG.POSS house at

e- laka -to .
3SG.SBJ go PAST.PERFECT

Kipa got up, said goodbye to the principal, and went to his house.

Translators Training Course Mulinai Au Pana Kala Gaura

'What I will do after the Translators' Training Course'

1.1 TTC muli -na -i au geku rinaga pana tao koukou -ra ne
TTC after 3SG.POSS at 1SG 1SG.POSS possessions 1SG.IRR put together 3PL.OBJ then

pana kala maavu Moresby ai pan- a- laka .
1SG.IRR do/make ready Moresby at

After TTC, I will get my possessions together, then I will get ready to go to Moresby.

1.2 ge -ku laka raupara -na Training Centre talima -ra -na pia
POSS 1SG.POSS go way/manner 3SG.POSS Training Centre people PL 3SG.POSS 3PL.IRR

kala vega rori -a .
do/make make straight 3SG.OBJ

The people of the training centre will make straight the way of my trip.

1.3 ge -ku raupara pia kala -a vetai -na -i , au
POSS 1SG.POSS way/manner 3PL.IRR do/make 3SG.OBJ like 3SG.POSS at 1SG

Ukarumpa pana vega gevo -a plane ai pana rage , pana rau pene ago
Ukarumpa 1SG.IRR make leave 3SG.OBJ plane at 1SG.IRR get.on 1SG.IRR fly until

Jackson's Airport , Moresby .
Jackson's Airport Moresby

According to how they organise my journey, I will leave Ukarumpa by getting on a plane and flying to Jackson's Airport, Moresby.

2.1 pana kwara muli -na -i ge -ku gapi gapi gau -ra pana
1SG.IRR arrive after 3SG.POSS at POSS 1SG.POSS belongings thing PL 1SG.IRR

gapi -ra , pana ago taxi ge- vealo -na kapu -na -i .
take 3PL.OBJ 1SG.IRR go taxi 3PL.SBJ wait PRES place SG at

After I arrive, I will take my things, I will go to the place where the taxis are waiting.

2.2 vo -na -i taxi -ta pana gapi -a , pana ago , neamo au natu -ku
DEM SG at taxi one 1SG.IRR take 3SG.OBJ 1SG.IRR go until 1SG child 1SG.POSS

vavine -na e- talu -na kapu -na -i , Rainbow .
female 3SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ stay PRES place SG at Rainbow

There I will take a taxi, I will go, until the place where my daughter is staying, at Rainbow.

2.3 vo -na -i paia maitu pene lagania , au voga -ku Kalo PMV -ta
    DEM SG at 1PL.EXC.IRR sleep until daybreak 1SG sister's.child 1SG.POSS Kalo PMV one

e- giu -a -na pana vaikila -a au vanuga -i pana laka .
3SG.SBJ drive 3SG.OBJ PRES 1SG.IRR tell 3SG.OBJ 1SG village at 1SG.IRR go

There, we will sleep until daybreak, I will tell my nephew (who drives a Kalo PMV) that I will go to the village.

2.4 ia -na pene ve- ura -ku Rainbow ai ne paia ago Kalo
    3SG POSS 3SG.IRR REFL collect 1SG.POSS Rainbow 1PL.EXC then 1PL.EXC.IRR go Kalo

PMV motuka -ra ge- vealo -na kapu -na -i 4 mile .
PMV car PL 3PL.SBJ wait PRES place SG at 4 mile

He himself will collect me at Rainbow, then we will go to the place where Kalo PMV cars are waiting, at 4 mile.

3.1 vo -na -i paia vealo pene ago motuka ge -ria leu
    DEM SG at 1PL.EXC.IRR wait until car POSS 3PL.POSS roll/move

taem -na pene kwara .
time 3SG.POSS 3SG.IRR arrive

There, we will wait until the time for the moving of the cars. (lit. the cars, their moving time, it will arrive)

3.2 ne vo- motuka -i paia rage talima -mai mapa -ra -mai
    then DEM car at 1PL.EXC.IRR up people 1PL.EXC.POSS all PL 1PL.EXC.POSS

paia ragekau .
1PL.EXC.IRR board

Then those people who want to go on that car, all of us will get on board.

3.3 motuka giu talima -na pene ragekau ne motuka pene vega
    car drive people 3SG.POSS 3SG.IRR board then car 3SG.IRR make

leu -a Kalo ai paia laka Kalo ai pogi paia kwara .
roll/move 3SG.OBJ Kalo at 1PL.EXC.IRR go Kalo 1PL.EXC night 1PL.EXC.IRR arrive

The driver will get on board, then he will make it move (drive it) to Kalo, we will go to Kalo and we will arrive at night.

4.1 pene lagania , au -na puka vega vanagi talima -ra pana vega ripa -ra
    until daybreak 1SG ERGATIVE book make cross people PL 1SG.IRR make know 3PL.OBJ

au warauna p- a- kwara vanuga -i , e ge -ma inagulu koukou
1SG already REC 1SG.SBJ arrive village at and POSS 1PL.EXC.POSS work together

toma -na pana virigi -a .
day 3SG.POSS 1SG.IRR choose 3SG.OBJ

I will make known to the translators (lit. book making across people) that I already arrived in the village, and that I will choose a day for our working together.

4.2 pe	toma	-na	-i	ai	mapa	-ra	-mai	au	-na	numa	-i
so.that	day	3SG.POSS	at	1PL.EXC	all	PL	1PL.EXC.POSS	1SG	POSS	house	at

paia	verawali	ne	ge	-ma	inagulu	ma	paia	tina	-a	.
1PL.EXC.IRR	meet	then	POSS	1PL.EXC.POSS	work	again	1PL.EXC.IRR	start	3SG.OBJ	

So that, on that day we will meet at my house and then we will resume our work.