YADE GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

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APRIL 1987

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ABBREVIATIONS

```
1..................first person
2..................second person
3..................third person
accom..............accompaniment
adject.............adjectivizer
adv mkr............adverb marker
away...............away from speaker
bcl................b class verb
ben................benifactive
cmpl...............completive
co.................command
comp...............comparative
conn...............connecter
cont...............continuous
dt.................detransitivizer
dir................direction
du.................dual
dubi...............dubitative
dcl................d class verb
e..................east
end mkr............marks end of story
enum...............enumerator
f..................feminime
far................distance
fu.................future
hd.................hesitational device
imp................imperative
indic..............indicative
infin..............infinitive
inst...............instrumental
inter..............interjection
intn...............intensifier
irr................irrealis
kcl................k class verb
loc................locative
m..................masculine
mle................main line event marker
mkr................marker
neg................negative
nonhum.............nonhuman
ob.................object
ob mkr.............object marker
pl.................plural
poss...............possessive
pr.................present
prep...............preposition
purp or pur........purpose
pst................past
ques...............question
redup..............reduplication
rlu................relative location unmarked
s..................singular
spec...............specifier
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sb................subject
spkr..............speaker
sud...............suddenly
t.................t class verb
tc................transitional consonant
tv................transitional vowel
twds..............towards
voc...............vocative
w.................west
```

Acknowledgements

1.0 Introduction

The Yadë (Nagatman, Nagatiman) language is first mentioned by Loving and Bass (1964) as a linguistic isolate. D.C. Laycock (1975) classifies it as a Trans-New Guinea Phylum level isolate. (see also Laycock (1973))

The Yadë language is a Non-Austronesian language spoken by approximately 580 speakers living in the West Sepik Province. The eight villages which comprise the language group are located in the lowland rainforest halfway between Amanab and Edwaki. There are no known dialects.

In May 1984 we began language study and analysis in the village of Nagatiman following a monoligual approach. The information presented in this paper is based primarily on spoken texts and other data obtained during our stays in the language area.

1.1 MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following morphophonemic rules are general tendencies to note for future reference.

a) ë + ë or e ----> ë

b) C + CV -----> CeCV

c) o + o ------> owo

d) dV + NV -----> nVNV
   where N is a nasal consonant

2.0 WORDS

2.1 NOUNS

Nouns can occur by themselves, or they can be suffixed to indicate plurality. Only a few nouns take a plural suffix. Nouns can also be possessed.

2.1.1 PLURALIZING NOUNS

A plural suffix -rë or -re is added on to certain nouns to indicate plurality. The stress is shifted to remain on the penultimate syllable when the plural suffix is added. The pluralized form is one phonological unit.

1) `nëba            në`ba-re
   child   child-pl

   `child'          `children

2) `ama             a`ma-re
   dog   dog-pl

   `dog'            `dogs'

3) `dife            di`fe-rë
   village   village-pl

   `village'        `villages'

Some nouns take on completely different forms when being pluralized.

4) mise   one
   woman   women

   `woman'          `women'

There are certain plural suffixes which can only occur with kin terms. They are used in conversational speech, as well as in texts.

5) Sebo bi afu-nino ëtani me-na-me-t-r-a.
 1pl poss grandfather-pl long ago like-dt-3pl.sub-pst-d-pl

 'Our grandfathers did it like this long ago.'

6) Sebo bi semre-nino   o aia-nino ......
 1pl poss great grand parent-pl or father-pl ....

 'Our great grandparents or our fathers ....'

2.1.2 COUNTABLE NOUNS

Countable nouns include common nouns, animal and plant names, and animate and inanimate objects. They can be modified and possessed.

7) **do**
 house

 'house'

8) **ama**
 dog

 'dog'

9) **nage**
 sago palm

 'sago palm'

10) **Bo bo bi do wa n-u-i-o.**
 1s 1 poss house to 1.sb-go-s.sb-indic

 'I'm going to my house.'

11) **Bo ama-re tëde.**
 1s dog-pl two

 'I have two dogs.'

12) Bo sëfa debotako.
    1s arrow many

    `I have many arrows.'

2.1.3 PROPER NAMES

Proper nouns include peoples' names, and land and river names. A person's name may be the name of a common noun, such as `bat', `mouse', `spider' or `grubworm'. When these common nouns are used to signal a person's name, they cannot be possessed.

13) Anisowai
    male name

    `Anisowai'

14) Kanëko
    land name

    `name of bush'

15) Mara
    river name

    `name of river'

16) Jede
    female name, fruit bat

    `Jede' or `fruit bat'

2.1.4 UNCOUNTABLE NOUNS

Proper nouns and mass nouns make up the set of uncountable nouns. Following is a list of some mass nouns: These nouns cannot generally be possessed.

17) tu
    water

    `water'

18) wino
    blood

    `blood'

19) ahëa
smoke

`smoke'

2.1.5 INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS

Kinterms make up the only set of inalienable possessed nouns. The bound prefix is used to distinguish second and third possessive. First person possessive uses the free pronoun with the possessive marker bi, along with the kin term. Even though it is acceptable to use the possessive marker bi along with the second and third possessed kin terms, it is more common to use the bound possessed forms alone.

Some of the kin terms follow a phonological pattern when possessed in the second and third person. The vowel i always appears with the second person possessive morpheme. The vowel o always appears with the third peson possessive morpheme. A transitional consonant -j- is infixed in kin terms that begin with the vowel a.

20) afa
older sibling

`older sibling'

21) bri-j-aha
2 poss-tc-older sibling

`your older sibling'

22) Bodi-j-aha   gadi Dawi.
2 poss-tc-older sibling talk Dawi

`His older sibling, Dawi said.'

23) Ke   bodi-j-aya   me   sede-mo-t-r-o-bë.
that 3 poss tc father   ob mkr   trick-3du.sb-t-3sm.ob-du-when

`When those two were tricking their father.

24) Aya   me   gadi-no-do-d-ë.
father ob mkr   talk-1s.sb-d-3sm.ob-s

`I say to my father.'

25) bri-j-aya
    2 poss-tc-father

    `your father´

26) Ekokwadome   bri-j-afu-ju   na.
    2s.sb/go east/co 2 poss-tc-father in law-? with

    `You go east with your father-in-law´s.´

Some kin terms have irregular possessed forms that do not resemble
the unpossessed forms.

27) bo bi   fiweni
    1s poss sister´s child

    `my sister´s child´

28) ju bi   bi-noda
    2s poss 2 poss-sister´s child

    `your sister´s child´

29) bu bi   bo-noda
    3s poss 3 poss-sister´s child

    `his sister´s child´

30) bo bi   nëba
    1s poss child

    `my child´

31) ju bi   bi-ko
    2s poss 2 poss-child

    `your child´

32) bu bi   bo-ko
    3s poss 3 poss-child

    `his child´

Body parts do not appear to be inalienably possessed, and can stand by themselves. If they are possessed, they take on the possessive marker bi.

33) ato   afabo   bu bi
    body   flesh   3s poss

   'his/her flesh'

34) Fato   me   hi-dë-g-re-me.
    shin   ob mkr   eat-3sm.sb-fu-d-fu

   'He bites the shin.'

2.2 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions function as locatives, referentials, instrumentals, accompaniment, and exclusives, as in 'only' and 'also'.

mago	'from' or 'thing used for'
wa	'to' or 'only'
na	'with'
me	'object marker', 'locative', purpose', 'about something'
matabo	'also', 'same', 'that's the way it is'
mata	'also'
fawa	'only'
mu	'really'

35) Ke   tato   nage na   mohueijo
    those   lizzard sago with 3du.sb/carry/from bush3pl.ob

    bota   mago.
    3 poss mother   from

   'Those two carry back from the bush those lizzards with sago from their mother.'

36) Na   Ke   gade   fa-më-t-o   matasfa wa fo.
    and that turtle take-3pl.sb-t-du-sb   sky   to throw up

    `And those two took that turtle and threw [it] up <u>to</u> the sky.

37) Na   mo   me   ke   na   hohui-në-t-aya.
    and fish ob mkr these with look for-1.sb-t-3pl.ob

    `And we look for fish <u>with</u> these.´

    The postposition me appears to operate on a human/animate,
nonhuman/inanimate hierarchy, when occuring as the object marker in a
clause. Although no conclusive data is yet available, several examples
seem to substantiate this theory. Me always marks the object of a
clause when that object is a proper name or pronoun. It does not mark
the object of a clause when that object is an inanimate object such as
`stone´ or nonhuman object, such as `dog´.

38) Bo Misawadiji <u>me</u>   hui-no-d-Ø-ë.
    1s name   ob mkr   see-1.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

    `I see Misawadiji.´

39) Bo bu <u>me</u>   hui-no-d-Ø-ë.
    1s 3   ob mkr   see-1.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

    `I see her.´

40) Bo ama teke-no-d-Ø-ë.
    1s dog hit-1s.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

    `I hit the dog.´

41) Bo aniji hui-no-d-Ø-ë.
    1s stone see-1s.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

    `I see the stone´.

42) Ta   bo ebë   gadi <u>me</u>   Këme   gadi-ne-d-ë.
    finish 1s this talk about therefore talk-1.sb-d-1s.sb

    `Now that is why I´m talking <u>about</u> this talk.´

43) Wetëke këme   Dëmëji <u>me</u>   dëde   yanowai na.
    Weteke therefore Demeji ob mkr shoot sorcery with

    `That is why Weteke shot Demeji with sorcery.´

44) Kwe bo dunuju do **me** nëdebëmëme.
but 1s wounds house in rest/1.sb/3pl.ob

'But I rest my wounds <u>in</u> the house.'

45) Na bota nage **me** tuju.   3sf.s/pst/go
and 3 poss mother sago purpose

'And their mother went out for the <u>purpose</u> of getting sago.'

46) Na sebo bi aya-nino na **matabo**.
and 1pl poss father-pl and <u>same</u>

'And it was the <u>same</u> with our forefathers.'

47) Kredi dëde jowa <u>wa</u>.
pig shoot one only

'We shot <u>only</u> one pig.'

48) Na kwe bu <u>wa</u> hi-me-d-a-me
and but 3 <u>only</u> eat-3pl.sb-d-pl-?

'But they <u>alone</u> eat [pig].'

Fawa means 'only' when two or more people could be included in the thought, but only one is mentioned.

49) Na mogo bu me <u>**fawa**</u> hui-to-d-∅-ë.
and corpse 3 ob mkr <u>only</u> see-pst-d-3sf.ob-1s.sb

'And I saw <u>only</u> her corpse.'

50) Na bu me <u>**fawa**</u> huju-të-t-∅-ë.
and 3 ob mkr <u>only</u> get up-pst-t-3sf.ob-1s.sb

'And I got <u>only</u> her up.'

The intensifier **mu** is a postposition which modifies nouns, adjectives and negatives.

51) Na ti feidawa **mu** fata-me-t-r-e.
and wood many intn appear-3pl.sb-pst-d-tv

'And a <u>whole lot</u> of wood appeared.'

52) Ëtani   ho   <u>mu</u>   kë   wame-me-t-r-a-bë.
    long ago   man   real those   fight-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb-when

    'When those <u>real</u> men (warriors) fought long ago.'

53) Kwe   hanane   <u>mu</u>   fa-fa   me.
    but   neg   really   redup-take   ob Kmr

    'Then you <u>really</u> will not catch [fish].'

2.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

The following forms make up the demonstrative pronouns. **Ebë** means 'this' or 'these' and usually refers to things that are close. **Kë** means 'that' or 'those' and usually refers to things farther away.

	CLOSE	FAR
DEMONSTRATIVE	ebë	kë

54) Ebë   ihe   tako yadë bi-ne.
    this   canoe   big who poss-ques

    'Whose big canoe is this'?

55) Ke   kredi   mogo   Kide-n-u-d-ë-me.
    that   pig   carcus leave-1-far-d-s.sb-?

    'I left that pig carcus [far away] behind.'

56) Ta   ebë   Dëmëji   bi   gadi   të-no-t-r-ë.
    finish   this   Demeji   poss   talk   tell-1s.sb-t-3sm.ob-s.sb

    'I am now telling this talk of Demeji's.'

Kë when used in conjuction with the morpheme na, see example 59,
means `with'.   When Kë is used with the morpheme bë and affixed to the
verb, it marks a relative clause. See section 4.4 in Relative Clause.
Kë is also the normal form of the demonstrative used to encode
definite-given information is texts. It ususlly occurs preceding the
noun it modifies.

57) Na   mana   Kë   gade   fa-më-t-o.
    and   then   that turtle take-3du.sb-t-du.sb

    `And then those two took that turtle.'

58 Na   Kë   mi-si-a.
   and those   3pl.sb-come-pl.sb

   `And they return.'

59) Na   sëga-tami   meta wë-no-k-ou   na   kë
    and   sago basket   in   pour-1pl.sb-k-back and forth and   that

    na   mana kedi-damë.
    with then set-3sf.sb

    `And we pour [the water] back and forth into the sago basket, and
    with that [water], the [sago] sets.'

Occasionally Kë occurs following the noun it is modifying, as in
example 60.

60) Na   gade   Kë   fa-fa-më-t-r-a.
    and turtle those redup-take-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

    `And they took those turtles.'

2.4 PRONOUNS

Free pronouns are free forms which occur in subject and object position in clauses and substitute for nouns in the noun phrase. They are possessable. Pronouns also serve as referentials in texts when the name of the participants are not mentioned . They are listed in chart below.

PRONOUNS

Person	singular	Number dual & plural
1	bo	sebo/se
2	ju	sobo/so
3	bu	bu

Pronouns fill object slots in clauses. The shortened form of the pronouns occurs when it functions as the object of the clause.

61) Sebo Korabë ase-t-u-d-o.
    1pl   night   walk-pst-far-d-1du.sb

    `We two went walking at night.´

62) Bo tosë   enino na   Kahuru-të-t-Ø-ë.
    1s torch   teeth with clench-pst-t-3sf.ob-1s.sb

    `I clenched the torch with my teeth.´

63) Ju dadowa-ne.
    2s well-ques

    `Are you alright?´

64) Bo me   bu me-mi-n-a.
    1s ob mkr   3   3pl.sb-spear-1s.ob-pl.sb

    `They speared me.´

65) Bu me   ini-sike-wa.
    3   ob mkr   all-give(pl)-all

    `[They] give all [of it] to him.´

66) Bu   se   me   hui-do-do-na.
    3   1pl   ob mkr   see-3sm.sb-d-1pl.ob

    'He sees us.'

67) Bu   so   me   hui-do-dë-o.
    3   2pl   ob mkr   see-3sm.sbd-2pl.ob

    'He sees you all.'

68) Naba bu   bi   yaya-wa-me-t-r-a.
    eye   3   poss   crazy-cmpl-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

    'Their eyes were completly crazy.'

69) Sebo bi   adiji   fieme-edidi-me-de-ne.
    1pl   poss intestine why-pain-3pl.sb-d-ques.

    'Why are our bellies aching'?

70) Kwe   bo   bi   ato   wa-sabu-t-re.
    but   1   poss   body   cmpl-exhausted-3ps-pst-d

    'But my body felt exhausted.'

71) Bu   bi   adibaho   jine-tretre.
    3   poss   spirit   send back-3sm.sb/3sm.ob

    'He sent his spirit back.'

2.5 NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

The counting system is quinary. To form the numbers five on up additional suffixes are added. When the plural suffix -rë is suffixed to toba 'hand', it becomes toba-rë, and the meaning changes from 'hand' to 'five'.

2.5.1 NUMERALS

joa   'one'

tëde   'two'

aona   'three'

nidina   'four'

toba-rë			`five'

toba-rë	ita	joa	`six'
hand-pl	again	one	

toba-rë	ita	tëde	`seven'
hand-pl	again	two	

toba-rë	ita	aona	`eight'
five-pl	again	three	

toba-rë	ita	nidina	`nine'
hand	again	four	

Some numerals undergo phonological changes when the morpheme afe, meaning `times', is suffixed to it to indicate how many times something occured. A verb can be added after this, and that will show what action occured.

72)
Ao-afe	ni	nidi-afe	ni	na	tobarë-afe	me
three-times	sleep	four-times	sleep	and	five-times	on

tebo-da-t-re.
bad-dt-pst-3s.sb

`For the 3rd night, 4th night, and 5th night he was getting sick.'

There is another classifying suffix occuring with numerals which is used for counting human nouns only, from two on up. The suffix —madë encodes this. It is not acceptable to use it for counting inanimate or non-human animate entities. These are counted by using the unaffixed number words.

73)
nidi-madë	ho
four-enum	man

`four men'

74)
ao-madë	ho
three-enum	man

`three men'

75)
kredi	aona
pig	three

`three pigs'

76) Kredi dëde jowa wa.
    pig   shoot one   only

    `[We] shoot only one pig.'

2.5.2 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers are words which modify nouns. There is a distinction between partial and complete, as in `some' and `all.'

77) nëba-re feidawa
    child-pl many

    `many children.'

78) Wesibi tokwefo dëgehidena.
    thing   small   carry/3sm.sb/3sm.ob

    `He brings back a few small things.'

79) Ato   afabo bu bi   ini hi-medetra.
    body flesh 3 poss all eat-3pl.sb/3sm.ob

    `They ate all of his flesh.'

80) Bo inedu   tëde wa   ju me   sike.
    1s greens two   only 2s ob mkr give(pl)

    `I'm giving you a few greens.'

81) debotako   ho
    many   man

    `many men'

82) Wadi ho   mujame.
    some man go/3pl.sb

    `Some men go.'

83) Kwe fri   wa   mujame.
    but others only 3pl.sb/go

    `But only the others go.'

84) Di   gwa-metetaia.
    other put-3pl.sb/3sf.ob

    `They put the other aside.'

Two words are used to express the whole part as opposed to the
remaining part, i.e., not whole. Manogwa and anata both mean `the whole
part', whereas dëne means what is left over. Examples (85-87) will show
these.

85) Wame   sëfa   dei   manogwa tika.
    fight arrow bind whole   open

    `[They] unwrap all of the arrows [that are bound].'

86) Niji   anata bu me   edëdemo
    breadfruit whole 3   ob mkr   you/give/him/co

    `Give him the whole breadfruit.'

87) Bu me   dëne   siKe   asa.
    3   ob mkr   left over give(pl)   neg

    `Don't give him part of it.'

2.6 TEMPORALS

Temporals manifest the time slot on the clause level. All
unanalyzed words are single morphemes. Following is a list of the
temporals observed thus far.

odobadë	`morning'
krijina	`afternoon'
tabokri	`dusk'
kodabë	`night'
eije	`today, immediate past'
edi	`now, immediate future'
yame	`yesterday'
ëbame	`before, distant past'
ëtani	`remote past'

Këodëna   `day after tomorrow'

diodëna   `two days after tomorrow'

uniji   `tomorrow'

tokwafe   `later'

yaoame   `last time'

anebo   `long ago'

88) O   sebo u   dabu   wa ne-u-o   eije-o.
    oh   1pl   spirit ground to 1.sb-go-du.sb today-indic

    `O we two went to the spirit ground today.'

89) Bo   anebo   gadi   te-no-go-t-r-ë-me.
    1s   long ago talk   tell-1.sb-fu-t-3sm.ob-1s.sb-fu

    ` I'm going to tell the talk from long ago.'

90) Ëtani   me-na-metra.
    remote past   like this-dt-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

    `They did it like this many years ago.'

91) Yame   bo   me-na-ne.
    yesterday   1s   like this-dt-1s.sb

    `I did it like this yesterday.'

92) Tosë   na   t-u-i   kodabë.
    torch with   pst-go-1s.sb   night

    `At night I went with a torch.'

93) Odobadë   esogo-tredëdë.
    morning   follow-pst/1s.sb/3sm.ob

    `In the morning I followed it.'

94) Uniji   sebo   negëuna.
    tomorrow 1pl   go/fu/1du.sb

    `Tomorrow we two will go.'

2.7 NEGATIVES

There are three forms of negatives. Hanane is used for negating a stative clause or negating ownership. Asa occurs exclusively with imperative clauses. Jua and the longer form adujua mean 'without' or 'not available.'

95) **Ebë   fresu   hanane.**
   this   hornbill neg

   'This is not a hornbill.'

96) **Asa   eju.**
   neg   2p.sb/go/co

   'Don't [you sing.] go.'

97) **Du   asa.**
   touch neg

   'Don't touch.'

98) **Bo fratobowa eho   jua.**
   Is naked   clothes without

   'I was naked, without clothes.'

99) **Do   adujua.**
   house without

   'There are no houses available.'

2.8 LOCATIVES

Locatives are a class of different location words which follow the noun. Stative locatives are formed by a location word followed by complex stative verbs, which when inflected, mark gender, number and characteristics of position. It appears that there are several different acceptable ways of stating any position. The demonstrative kë and këbo are used to designate the item being described. Kë refers to things close, and Këbo refers to things farther away.
   Following is a list of the location words.

   dokwadëfe   'underneath'

   meta   'on'

   di-meta   'next to'

dëmadu   `under'

mëtawa   `outside of'

The three charts below show the morphemes that make up the different locative words. The first column indicates whether the item being described is masculine or feminine. The second column indicates the location of the object (on top, down below, in). The third column indicates whether the item is seen or unseen. Note: Unseen objects do not encode the location morpheme.

MASCULINE

The Knife is..	gender	loc	seen/unseen
in the water (unseen)	dë	Ø	temudo
in the bilum (unseen)	dë	Ø	temodo
in the bilum (seen)	dë	du	be
up on top of (unseen)	d	o	temodo
up on top of (seen)	d	o	be
on top (seen)	dë	Ø	be
down below (seen)	do	to	be

FEMININE

The money is..	gender	loc	seen/unseen
in the water (unseen)	e	Ø	temëja
in the bilum (unseen)	e	Ø	temoëa
in the bilum (seen)	e	du	bamë
up on top of (unseen)	Ø	o	tomëa
up on top of (seen)	Ø	o	bamë
on top (seen)	Ø	o	bamë
down below (seen)	e	to	bamë

PLURAL

The Knives are	gender	loc	seen/unseen
in the water (unseen)	më	Ø	temudo
in the bilum (unseen)	më	Ø	temodo
in the bilum (seen)	më	du	be
up on top of (unseen)	m	o	temode
up on top of (seen)	m	o	be
on top (seen)	më	Ø	be
down below (seen)	mo	to	be

The enclitics bedë and edë mean `towards' or `near'. Bedë is used exclusively with humans and edë is used with non humans.

```
100) Ju  aya-bedë        eju.
     2s  father-towards  2s.sb/go/co

     `Go to father.'
```

101) Nage wayo di-edë   me.
     sago base next to-near   to

'Neat to the base of the sago palm.'

Dodi means 'close' and Kakë means 'far'. Jede means 'the other side'. The morpheme fo 'sap', when added to jede means 'across the water'.

102) Tobo   jedë   dë   jedë
     plate support other side put in ground   other side

     dë
     put in ground

'[I] put one plate support in the ground on one side, and one plate support in the ground on the other side.'

103) Sebo jede   fo   wa   su-tëkakëjo.
     1pl other side to   cross over-pst/move/1du.sb

'We [two] crossed over to the other side [of the water].'

2.9 INTERROGATIVES

An indicative statement is turned into a question by adding an interrogative enclitic -ne to the final element of the clause. Question words are inserted in a clause either preceding a verb or noun which is being interrogated, or clause final. The intonation in a question clause usually drops down at the point where the question enclitic is inserted.

Following is a list of question words.

habedë or ha	'where'
hame or hameta	'where'
fieme	'why'
fie	'what'
yadë or ya	'who'
habenadë	'when'
afena or habedi	'how'
habenju	'how many, how much'
habë	'which'

104) Ju habedë eju-ne.
     2s where   2s.sb/do-ques

     'Where are you going?'

105) Ju ha   mago esi-ne.
     2s where from 2s.sb/come-ques

     'Where have you come from?'

106) Bo bi   fiso   hameta-ne.
     1s poss   knife where-ques

     'Where is my knife?'

107) O ju fieme esi-ne.
     o 2s why   2s.sb/come-ques

     'Oh, why have you come?'

108) Sebo bi   adiji   fieme edidi-mede-ne.
     1pl   poss intestine why   pain-3pl.sb-ques

     'Why are our bellies aching?'

109) Ta   fie   toba-nëgedëme-ne.
     now what handle-1s.sb/fu-ques

     'Now what will I handle next?'

110) Fię wesibi hohui-ëtatre-ne.
     what thing   look for-2s.sb-ques

     'What things are you looking for?'

111) Sebo bi   sega ya   owë-dëde-ne.
     1pl   poss sego who mix-3sm.sb-ques

     'Who made our sago?'

112) Ebë   ihe   tako yadë bi-ne.
     this canoe big   who   poss-ques

     'Whose big canoe is this?'

        When a question, such as (111) is used, the third person singular
masculine form of the verb is used. The response is unknown and the
speaker does not know who is responsible for a certain action.

113) Inie nage me   ya   na   mëu-ne.
     Inie sago purpose who with 3du/go-ques

    `Who did Inie go with to get sago?'

    Question (113) assumes that only two people went somewhere, thus
    the third person dual form of the verb is used.

114) Ju Amanab wa habenadë egujume-në.
     2s Amanab to when   2s.sb/go/fu-ques.

    `When are you going to Amanab?'

115) Ju habë   adëge egujume-ne.
     2s which trail 2s.sb/go-ques

    `Which trail are you going to take?'

116) Ju bu me   habë   gadi-ne.
     2s 3   ob mkr which talk-ques

    `What relation are you to him/her?'

117) Habedi yahi-nëgedime-ne.
     how   write-1s.sb/fu-ques

    `How will I write it?'

118) Afena doene-mëgrame-ne.
     how   Know-3pl.sb/fu-ques

    `How are they supposed to know?'

    Example (117) seems to indicate more certainty, i.e. there is a
    solution to the problem. Example (118) refers to a situation where the
    people involved had no possible way of Knowing what was going to happen.

119) Ju habenju-afe   ni-egubëme-ne.
     2s how many-times sleep-2s.sb/fu-ques

    `How many nights will you spend [in the bush]?'

120) Habebenju   ho-ne.
     how many   man-ques

    `How many men are there?'

Reduplication can occur on question words, as in (120).

121) Ebë   kosi   baditi   habenju-ne. many-ques
     this   knife   money   how

     `How much did this knife cost?'

Words occuring by themselves can take the question enclitic -ne and thereby change to an interrogative.

122) Ju   dadowa-ne   Dëmëji-o.
     2s   well-ques   Demeji-indic

     `Djemjeji, are you alright?'

123) Bo-ne.
     1s-ques

     `Me?'

Free pronouns, standing by themselves can take on the enclitic -ne, and it becomes a question, as in (123).

2.10 HESITATIONAL DEVISES

Hesitational devises do not occur frequently in texts, but they are often heard in everyday speech.

124) Mise   neho   mago   bë-o.
     woman   hd   from   spec-indic

     `You know, the woman from....'

125) Bo   yafe   neho   notokwefrëme. away/1s.sb/3sm.ob
     1s   attempt   hd   get

     `I tried, um, to get away from him.'

126) E   na   esodehuba   gadi   na.
     Um   and   hair   talk   with

     `Um, and the hair talks.'

2.11 RESPONSES

Responses to questions carry heavy intonational devises as well as actual morphemes which encode responses to questions. The basic responses to polar questions are as follows.

wë	`yes'
we	`no'
tokwafe	`later'

The intonational patters on the two response words, wë, and we are distinctly different. The intonation on wë starts low and goes high. The intonation on we starts high and goes low.

The response ei has the same intonational pattern as the response we. When the suffix -ta is added on, ei is the response to a question which reveals that the questioner is mis-informed about the situation. Ei is also a response to a threatening question, i.e., one which may reveal the true intent of the person being questioned, be it good or bad.

127) Ju budame   emi-ne.
     2s cassowary   2s/shoot-ques

     `Did you shoot a cassowary?'

128) Wë bo budame   mogo   kide-nedë-o
     yes 1s cassowary   carcus leave-1s.sb-indic

     `Yes, I left a cassowary carcus behind [in the bush].'

129) Ju da-eju-ne.
     2ps ?-2s.sb/go-ques

     `Are you going?'

130) We bo hana-nui-o.
     no 1s neg-1s.sb/do-indic

     `No, I'm not going.'

131) Ju habinadë egujume-ne.
     2s when   2s.sb/go-ques

     `When are you going?'

132) Bo tokwafe noguimo.
     1s later   1s.sb/fu/go

     `I'm going later.'

133) Bu bi   ato   fieme-sëse-dëde-ne.
     3   poss body why-swell-3sm.sb-ques

     `Why is his body swollen?'

134) Ei ta bu bi   ato   afabo wa-hi-meda.
     no no 3   poss body flesh cmpl-eat-3pl.sb

     `No, they ate his flesh (worked sorcery  on  him.)'   (`It is not
     swollen because of the reason you are referring to.')

     The above examples, (133) and (134) show the use of the negative
response ei ta. In question (133) the speaker is assuming that the body
is just swollen for no reason at all when really it is swollen because
of sorcery and the person responding has this special knowledge and is
correcting him.

135) Sobo ha   mago esijo-ne.
     2pl   where from 2pl.sb/come-ques

     `Where have you all come from?'

136) Sebo Kainantu wa nitowo.
     1pl Kainantu to 1du/go north

     `We two have gone north to Kainantu.'

137) Fieme eito-ne.
     why   2pl/go north-ques

     `Why have you gone north?'

138) Ei sebo boksin hui-me-nitia-o.
     no 1pl boxing see-purp-1pl.sb/go north-indic

     `No, we all have gone north [to Kainantu] to see the boxing
     matches.'

     Examples (135-138) show a series of questions that were asked and
the responses that were given. We inquired as to the reason for the
response ei to question (137), and our helpers indicated that they were
fearful that we would be upset with them because they had spent their

market money on buying public transportation to Kainantu. They were defending themselves by replying this way. See (138).

2.12 MODIFIERS

Modifiers make up both adverbs and adjectives, and fill the modifier slot in both the Verb Phrase and the Noun Phrase. It appears that certain words can fill both the adverb and adjective slot. Usually adverbs appear preceding the verb in a clause.

2.12.1 ADVERBS

Following is a list of all the know adverbs.

adabuju   `carefully' or `slowly'

hokwinawa   `quickly'

yafe   `unsuccessfully'

dadowa   `well' or `able'

tako   `big'

atineha   `accidentally'

139) Na   bo kë   adabuju   fe-nekakëme.
     and 1s those carefully move-1s.sb/move

     `And I carefully move [those wounds].'

140) Bo yafe   neho notokwefrëme.
     1s unsuccessfully try hd   get away/1s.sb/3sm.ob

     `I tried, um, to get away from him.'

141) Tafa-tre   dadowa.
     sit-pst/3s.sb   well

     `He was doing alright.'

142) Bu   tako   sigri-da-dedo.
     3   big   grow up-dt-3sm.sb

     `It grows up big.'

143) Bo atineha   tëkene.
    1s accidently   hit

    `I accidently hit [it].'

2.12.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives do not follow any set pattern of position in the Noun Phrase. They can occur either preceding or following the noun, depending on what is being emphasized.

Following is a list of Known adjectives.

tako	`big'
tokwefo	`little'
afuduja	`short'
kaia	`bitter'
tebo	`bad'
dade	`good'
odokofo	`green' (modifies fruit)
nigriji	`ripe' (modifies fruit)
amayo	`stingy'

144) Wesibi tokwefo dëgehidena.
     thing   small   3sm.sb/bring/3sm.ob

     `He brings back a few small things.'

145) nou   nigriji
     banana ripe

     `ripe bananas'

146) ti   wayo tako
     tree base big

     `big tree base'

147) Bu dade ho.
     3   good man

     `He is a good man.'

148) Bu amayo ho.
    3   stingy man

'He is a stingy man.'

2.12.3 COLOR WORDS

Most color modifiers are made up of a noun or a combination of nouns plus the similarity postposition -wa, 'like'. The word for 'color' is a combination of the word ato 'body' and the postposition -wa 'like'. Thus if you want to ask, 'What color is it?', the proper form to use is:

Ebë fie ato-wa-ne.
this what body-like-ques

The color words fill the modifier slot in a Modified Noun Phrase. Like adjectives, there is no set order that they appear in the noun Phrase.

Following is a list of known color words.

tati-wa	palm heart-like	'white'
odo-fo-wa	ginger-sap-like	'yellow'
swadë-fo-wa	ginger-sap-like	'yellow'
wino-wa	blood-like	'red'
krë-ato-wa	mud-body-like	'blue'

There are some exceptions to the normal form of color words.

daba-tuja	leaf-fresh	'green'
nibitu-dego	unanalyzed morphemes	'black'

149) Ju tati-wa   ho mu.
     2s palm heart-like man intn

'You're really a white man.'

150) Bu bi   ama nibitudego.
     3   poss dog black

'His black dog.'

2.13 CONJUNCTIONS

The words na, Kwe and mana all function as conjunctions. Mana has two different meanings. They are 'remain' and 'then'. Kwe functions as an adversative conjunction. It can co-occur with the conjunction na. Na functions as instrument, accompaniment, as a connector between clause or sentence level and as a main line event marker on the discourse level.

151) <u>Na</u>   sëga-tami   meta wë-nokou   <u>na</u> kë
    mle   sago-basket   in   pour-1pl.sb/back and forth   and   that

    <u>na</u>   <u>mana</u>   Kedi-damë.
    with   then   set-3sf.sb

    'We pour [the water] back and forth into the sago basket and then it sets, with that [water].'

152) <u>Na</u>   kë   kokwedi fe-nëdedëda   <u>na</u>   <u>mana</u>   momweiji-dëde.
    mle   that   behind   move-1pl.sb/3sm.ob   and   remain   burrow-3sm.ob

    'And we move [from] behind and it is still burrowing in the ground.'

153) Bo me-nane.   Tosë   <u>na</u>   tui.
    1s like this-1s.sb   torch   with   pst/go/1s.sb

    'I did it like this. I went <u>with</u> a torch.'

154) Mo   taba   gro-tra   <u>na</u>   të-tëke-tra.
    fish   vine   get(pl)-pst/1pl.sb   and   redup-beat-pst/1pl.sb

    'We got some fish vines and we beat [them].'

155) <u>Na</u>   tokwafe   fri   wa   mujame   <u>kwe</u>   bo   do   me
    mle   later   others   only   3pl.sb/go   but   1s   house   in

    nëdebëmëme.
    rest/1s.sb/3pl.ob

    'Later only the others go, but I rest [my wounds] in the house.'

156) Bo   bonë   <u>na</u>   yafe   dëde   <u>Kwe</u>   dasogo.
    1s   bamboo arrow   with   attempt   shoot   but   miss

    'I try to shoot [them] with an arrow, but I miss.'

Kwe also co-occurs with the conditional and contrary to fact aspect of the verbs. It is like the 'if...then' clause.

157) Bo sega nëgebë **Kwe** ju me   nëgrëmo-feno.
     1s sago 1s.sb/have then 2s ob mKr give/1s.sb/2s.ob

     `If I had some sago, then I would give [it] to you.'

2.14 PARTICLES

The uninflected particles ta, te, tei, se and sei occur widely in conversational speech. However, the particles ta and tei appear more frequently in text material. Ta functions as a marker of closure, either to signify the end of a particular discourse or the end of an entire text. It can be seen and understood more fully on the discourse level. Particles te and se usually occur with imperatives, both directed imperatives (`you go') and suggested imperatives (`let's go').

158) **Ta**   sebo neba-re-tono ebë   Këme   esogo-nëdedëda.
     finish   1pl child-pl-?   this therefore   follow-1pl.sb/3sm.ob

     Ta   **tei**   bo bi gadi.
     finish finish   1s poss talk

     `Now that's why we children follow it. My talk is finished.'

159) **Te**   ma-nuja.
     come on   let-1pl.sb/go

     `Come on! Let's go!'

160) **Se**   ma-nuja.
     come on let-1pl.sb/go

     `Come on! Let's go!'

2.15 COMPLEX FORMATIONS

Complex formations consist of compound noun stems, derived stems and reduplication.

2.15.1 COMPOUND NOUN STEM

When two nouns are joined together, the stress patterns are altered and stress shifts one syllable to the right on the compound noun stem.

    161) `tobo   +   `ti   =   to`boti
         arm   +   wood   =   top plate (house)

162)	`maba	+	`ti	=	ma`bati
	breast	+	wood	=	rafter (house)

163)	`nëba	+	`musu	=	në`bamusu
	baby	+	bilum	=	womb

164)	`mise	+	`ti	=	mi`seti
	woman	+	wood	=	old woman

165)	`mise	+	`nëba	=	mi`senëba
	woman	+	baby	=	sister or young girl

166)	`one	+	`ti	=	o`neti
	women	+	wood	=	old women

167)	`naba	+	`tu	=	na`batu
	eye	+	water	=	tear

Sometimes the stress pattern remains on the first syllable of the first word of the compound stem. These words all have to do with people. We have not found any other examples with this stress pattern that did not involve people.

168)	`one	+	`ho	=	`oneho
	women	+	man	=	people

170)	`mise	na	`ho	=	`misenaho
	woman	with	man	=	married man

171)	`ho	na	`mise	=	`honamise
	man	with	woman	=	married woman

172)	`mise	+	`ho	=	`miseho
	woman	+	man	=	brother-in-law

2.15.2 DERIVED STEM

Adjective stems can be derived from verbs by adding the adjectivizer -tabo onto the verb root.

173) Bo   ti   kaka-notomëo.
     1s   wood   split-1s.sb/3pl.ob/indic

`I`m splitting wood.´

174) ti   kaka-tabo
     wood   split-adject

`The wood that is split´ or `The split wood.´

175) bo atëte-nanedëo
    1s hot-1s.sb/indic

    `I am hot'

176) atëte-tabo tu
    hot-adject water

    `hot water'

The verb roots kaka- and atëte- when attached to the adjectivizer
-tabo become adjectives.

Adjective stems can also be derived from nouns.

177) Tomaba-tabo   dekrifa-notoma   nage.
    coconut mesh-adject unwrap-1pl.sb/3pl.ob sago

    `We unwrapped the coconut meshed sago.'

The suffix -dego is added onto some words and it appears that these
words become adjectives. In some cases the words can be used by
themselves without the -dego with the same meaning, but the derived form
with dego is prefered. The word dego-, when used by itself means
`noise'.

178) tri-dego   tu
    cold-adject water

    `cold water'

179) fra-dego
    soft-adject

    `soft'

Below is an example of the derived stem for `hard', but we have not
determined the meaning of kade and have not heard kade in isolation.

180) kade-dego
    ???-adject

    `hard'

One verb stem hi- occurs preceding the noun wesibi `thing' to form the noun `food.'

181) Ita   adibaho   wa-toba-medëme   hi-wesibi.
     again   spirit   cmpl-hand-3pl.sb/3pl.ob   eat-thing

`Again the spirits handled the food.'

2.15.3 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication can occur with verbs as well as nouns and adjectives. Usually the first two phonemes of the verb stem are reduplicated and prefixed to the stem.

Reduplication signals plurality of object with reduplicated verbs, and plurality of the head noun with reduplicated adjectives.

Some nouns, when reduplicated to indicate plurality, also have a meaning of exclusiveness when suffexed by -wa. Following are some reduplicated forms.

VERBS

gwa	`put'	gogwa	`put many'
sike	`put in'	sisike	`put many in'
fë	`call a name'	fëfë	`call many names'
okri	`jump'	okokri	`jump many times'
trë	`cut'	të-trë	`cut many'
fri	`pull out'	fifri	`pull out many'
tiji	`close'	titiji	`close many'

ADJECTIVES

tako	`big'	tatako	`many big'
tokwefo	`little'	tokwetokwë	`many small'
tebo	`bad'	tetebo	`completely bad'

NOUNS

iko   `boy'           ikoiko-wa      `only boys'

nemosa `girl'        nemosanemosa-wa `only girls'

182) Ho   wenji   fë-fë-totometenë.
      man   name   call-redup-3s.sb/pst/3pl.ob

      `She told me the mens' names.'

183) juba   ta-tako
      sore   redup-big

      `many big sores'

184) Bu   bi   neba-re   iko-iko-wa.
      3   poss   child-pl   boy-redup-only

      `He/she has only boy children.'

2.16 VERBS

Verbs are an open class of words defined by a set a special affixes. There are two basic types of verbs. The most common type are the subject suffix verbs where the subject#1 marker is suffixed to the verb root. The other less common type are the subject prefix verbs where the subject#1 marker is prefixed to the verb root. They are illustrated by Charts I and II on the following pages. Section 2.16.1 - 2.16.9 refer primarily to subject suffix verbs.

2.16.1 VERB ROOT

The verb root of the subject suffix verbs may be reduplicated. In most cases, only the first syllable is reduplicated. Reduplication seems to be indicating that the object of the action is plural. It also may be indicating that the action is repeated. We have not come to a definate conclusion about this because more research data is needed.

185) Na   të-tëke-Ø-t-r-a.
     and   redup-beat-1.s-pst-d-pl.sb

     `And we beat [the fish vine]. (repeatedly?).'

186) Na   sebo   ino   ti-tiji-në-d-a.
     and   1pl   door   redup-close-1.sb-d-pl.sb

     `And we close the doors.'

187) Sëfa   kë   me   go-gwa-në-d-ë.
     arrow that on   redup-place-1.sb-d-s.sb

     `I placed the arrows on that.'

See Section 3.15.3 for more on reduplication.

ASPECT	VB RT	ASPECT	DETRAN	SUB#1	DIST	TENSE
wa (cmpl)	redup	wa (cmpl)	da (dt)	nV (1s/pl/du)	u (far)	Ø (pres)
ma (?)		ma (?)		Ø/e (2s)	e (neut.)	tV (past)
hana (neg)		hana (neg)		dV (3sm)		gV...m (fut)
da.... (sudnly)		...wa (cmpl)		e/eo (3sf)		
				e (2du/pl)		
				mV (3pl)		

continued

CLASS	MOTION	OBJECT	SUB#2	MOOD	OTHER?
dV	kakë (?)	n (1s/pl)	ë (1s)	o (indic)	bë (?)
tV					
bV	bakë (?)	Ø (2s)	Ø (2s)	mo (com)	na (when?)
kV	eke (?)	d (3sm)	Ø (3sm)	ne (ques)	me (?)
s					
	bou (?)	ë (3sf)	Ø (3sf)	nawa (dubit)	
	te (?)	ëo (2du/pl)	o (1/3du)	fe (intn)	
	kou (?)	m (3pl)	a (/3pl)		
		m (3pl)	o (2du/pl)		

CHART I
SUBJECT SUFFIX VERB

ASP	DT	S#1	TNS	VB RT	MOTION	OBJ	S#2	MOOD	OTHER

CHART II
SUBJECT PREFIX VERB
(TENATIVE)
We have not had time to analyze this type of verb completely and so the ordering indicated in the charts is tentative.

Although chart II cannot be filled in at this time, we do make the following observations.

a. There appears to some differences in the subject and object markers when compared with the subject suffix verbs.

b. This type of verb does not appear to have a class marker.

c. In some verbs, the verb root is hard to determine and some of the verb roots seem to change when the object is plural.

A fuller analysis of this type of verb will follow at a later date.

The following are some examples of this type of verb:

188) Ne-mi-d-ë.
    1.sb-shoot-3sm.ob-s.sb

    `I shoot him.'

189) Ø-te-mi-de.
    3s.sb-pst-shoot-3sm.ob

    `He shot him.'

190) Ni-si-o.
    1s.sb-come-indic

    `I come.'

191) Me-mi-n-o-wo.
    3du/pl.sb-shoot-1s.ob-du.sb-indic

    `Those 2 shoot me.ª

2.16.2 ASPECT

There are several aspect markers in Yadë. The aspect marker occurs immediately before or after the verb root.

WA

Wa indicates completed action. Wa occurs with the uninflected verb root, the present tense form of the verb, and sometimes with the past tense form of the verb.

192) Na   mogo   wa-hui.
     and   carcus cmpl-see

     'And [I] saw the carcus.'

193) O   Dëmëji   wa-huju-o   wa-huju-o.
     oh   Demeji   cmpl-get up-indic   cmpl-get up-indic

     'Oh, Demeji got up, [he] got up.'

194) O   bo   me   kredi   wa-hi-de-d-o.
     Oh   is   ob mrk pig   cmpl-eat-3s.sb-d-indic

     'Oh, a pig bit me."

195) Naba   bu   bi   yaia-wa-me-t-r-a.
     eye   3   poss   crazy-cmpl-3su/pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

     'There eyes became crazy.' '(They were disoriented)'

196) Bo   bi   ato   wa-sabu-t-re.
     1s   poss   body   cmpl-exhaust-pst-d

     'My body was exhausted.'

Da..........Wa

Da usually occurs in combination with wa to indicate an action which took place suddenly. Da always precedes the verb root and rarely occurs without wa. Wa follows the verb root when it occurs with da in subject suffix verbs, but it comes at the end of the verb word in subject prefix verbs. In all these cases, where wa occurs with da, we feel the wa is the same morpheme as the wa mentioned above and indicates completed action.

Da with Wa after the verb root:

197) Na   mogo   da-gri-wa-t-re.
    and   carcus suddenly-die-cmpl-pst-d

`And the carcus suddenly died."

198) Na   Dëmëji   da-gri-wa-t-re.
    And   Demeji   suddenly-die-cmpl-pst-d

da with wa at the end of the verb:

199) Kwe   bu   ifinu   fuduju   wa
    but   3   stem base hole   to

    da-Ø-të-te-ti-gwia-wa.
    suddenly-3s.sb-pst-?-fall-3sf.sb-cmpl

    `But it [tree possom] suddenly fell into the hole at the base of
    the stem.'

da without wa

    Occasionally the da occurs without the wa. At this point we are not
sure if there is a difference in meaning or why the wa does not occur.
Possibly the da without the wa may be a lack of emphasis on the action
being completed.

200) Bo   me   da-hui-do-Ø-no-në.
    1s   ob mkr   suddenly-see-3sm.sb-pr-d-1s.sb

    `He suddenly sees me.'

ma

    We have very few cases of ma, which occurs either before of after
the verb root.   We have not noticed it co-occuring with other aspect
markers and it does occur in the same place as other aspect markers. Ma
seems to indicate a suggested course of action but it's exact meaning is
not clear yet.

201) Ahoju   me   sa-ma-ne-Ø-d-o.
    fire   by   dry-let-1.sb-pr-d-du.sb

    `Let us two dry by the fire.'

202) Ma-ne-dedu-j-o   kofekofe   me.
    let-1.sb-bring-3sf.ob-du.sb   exchange   purpose

    `Let us to bring her in order to exchange [her].'

203) Ma-Ø-t-rë-bou-ja.
let-3s.sb-pst-?-run away-3sf.sb

`Let it run away.'

hana

The morpheme hana negates the verb in all tenses. It always occurs either immediately before or after the verb root. It cannot stand alone or be separated from the verb root by other words or morphemes.

204) Hana-huju-Ø-t-re.   Tei   gri-Ø-t-re.
neg-get up-3s.sb-pst-d   finish   die-3s.sb-pst-d

`He did not get up.' `He was dead!!'

205) Gari-hana-dë-g-re-me.
talk-neg-3sm.sb-fut-d-fut

`He will not talk.'

Hanane

Hanane is related to hana although its distibution is different. In those cases where it occurs either immediately before of after the verb root, it is functioning the same as hana. In other cases where it's distribution is different, it appears to be functioning as a clause level negator. (Refer to section 4.5 for more examples and explaination.)

2.16.3 Detransitivisor or Continuous Marker

We are not sure at this point of the total function of the morpheme -da. -Da occurs before the subject#1 slot. In some ways it seems to be functioning as a detransitivisor. At times when no object is mentioned, then -da is used in the verb. (Compare example 225) with examples 226) - 228) .)

With object specified

206) Bo sega hi-Ø-ne-d-ë-o.
1s sago eat-dt-1.sb-d-s.sb-indic

`I am eating sago.'

With object unspecified

207) Bo Ø hi-na-ne-d-ë-o.
    1s ob eat-dt-1.sb-d-s.sb-indic

    `I am eating.'

208) Tri-na-ne-d-o.
    cold-dt-1.sb-d-du.sb

    `We two are cold (are in a state of being cold?).'

209) Ho   mu   wame-na-me-t-r-a.
    Man intn fight-dt-3du/pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

    `The warriors were fighting. (fought?).'

At other times, da seems to be indicating incomplete action.
Possibly it is an aspect marker indicating an action which is or was on
going. We have occasionally noticed two verbs used side by side in a
text where the only difference is the presence of da in one of the
verbs. We have not observed da occuring with other aspect markers.

210) Gri-da-Ø-t-re.   Gri-Ø-t-re.   Na   ita
    die-dt-3s.sb-pst-d   die-3s.sb-pst-d   and   again

    huju-Ø-t-re.
    get up-3s.sb-pst-d

    `He was dying. He died. And he got up again.'

211) Ao-wafe   ni   nidi-afe ni   na   tabadi-afe me
    three-enum   sleep   four-enum sleep and   five-enum on

    tebo-da-Ø-t-re.   Tebo-Ø-t-re.   Na   gri-Ø-t-re
    sick-dt-3s.sb-pst-d   sick-3s.sb-pst-d   and   die-3s.sb-pst-d

    mana
    then

    `For the 3rd night, 4th night, and 5th night he was getting sick.
    He got sick. And then he died.

We are considering the possiblility that da indicates continuous or
incomplete action and thereby lowers the transitivity of the verb. It
is also possible that in certain verbs, which indicate state, da is
acting as the verb `to be'.

Da needs more study to come to any definate conclusions. Since it
does not occur often in texts, we cannot draw any definate conclusions

at this time. (When it occurs in examples, it will be glossed as `dt´ meaning detrasitivizor.)

2.16.4 SUBJECT AFFIXES

The person and number of the subject is marked in the verb word by a set of affixes which basically remain the same with only minor variations when they co-occur with the object suffixes.

Subject suffixes are indicated in the following chart.

	SUBJECT#1	SUBJECT#2	COMMENTS
1s	-nV.........	.......-ë	
2s	-e or -eo...	.......-Ø	-eo when object is 3sf
3sm	-dV.........	.......-Ø	
3sf	-eØ or -eo..	.......-Ø	-eo when object is 3sf, 2s, or 2pl
1pl	-nV.........	......-a	a --> Ø when object is 1pl
1du	-nV.........	......-o	
2du/pl	-e..........	......-o	o --> a when object is 1pl
2du/pl	-e..........	......-a	when object is 1s
3pl	-mV.........	......-a	
3du	-mV.........	......-o	

SUBJECT AFFIXES

Rules: When object is 2du/pl, subject#2 is Ø.

If subject is 2du/pl, and object is 1pl, subject#2 is Ø.

NOTES:
1. We only found one case where there was an -a in the subject#2 slot for 3sf. Normally no marker is found there. We attribute this to speaker error or individual variation.

2. Although the usual form for the dual subject#2 marker is -o and the plural suject#2 marker is -a, the marker for both `you dual´ and `you plural´ is always -o. `You plural´ is never marked by -a.

3. In our data we found one case when the subject#2 marker did not drop off when the object was 1pl. In that particular case, the dual marker -o occured in the subject#2 slot. This did not occur in

other paradigms with other speakers so possibly this was speaker error or individual variation.

There appear to be some differences in the subject 2 markers in Subject Prefix Verbs and in some forms of the subject suffix verbs. These have not been analyzed yet and so these differences will not be discribed at this time.

EXAMPLES OF SUBJECT AFFIXES

1s.sb

212) Hi-ne-d-ë-o.
     eat-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

     `I eat.'

2s.sb

213) Hi-e-d-Ø-o.
     eat-2.sb-d-2s.sb-indic

     `You eat.'

3sm.sb

214) Hi-de-d-Ø-o.
     eat-3sm.sb-d-3sm.sb-indic

     `He eats.ª

3sf.sb

215) Hi-e-d-Ø-o.
     eat-3sf.sb-d-3sf.sb-indic

     `She eats.'

1du.sb

216) Hi-ne-d-o-wo.
     eat-1.sb-d-du.sb-indic

     `We 2 eat.'

1pl.sb

217) Hi-ne-d-a-o.
     eat-1.sb-d-pl.sb-indic

     `We eat.'

2du/pl

218) Hi-e-d-o-wo.
     eat-2.sb-d-du.sb-indic

     `You 2 or you all eat.'

3du.sb

219) Hi-me-d-o-wo.
     eat-3du.sb-d-du.sb-indic

     `Those 2 eat.'

3pl.sb

220) Hi-me-d-a-o.
     eat-3pl.sb-d-pl.sb-indic

     `They eat.'

2.16.5 OBJECT SUFFIXES

The person and number of the object is marked in the verb word by a set of suffixes which are shown in the following chart:

PER/NUM	OBJECT SUFFIX	COMMENTS
1s	-ne	subject singular
	-n	subject plural
2s	-e	subject singular
	-eo	subject plural (1)
3sm	-d	
3sf	-e	(2)
1pl	-na	
1du	no data (3)	
2du/pl	-o	
3pl	-m	
3du	no data (3)	

OBJECT SUFFIXES

NOTES

(1)   We are assuming that the speaker was using the 2pl/du form of the object marker when the subject became plural. If this is so, it would account for the 2du/pl form -eo which is shown here

(2)   The verb paradigms for 3sf and 2s are usually almost identical. The differences found in the object markings could be due to the to the problems discussed in number (1) above.

(3)   We could not consistantly elicit data for 1du and 3du objects. Possibly there is no differenciation between plural and dual objects.

EXAMPLES OF OBJECT SUFFIXES

1s.ob

221) Hui-do-no-në-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-1s.ob-indic

`He sees me.'

2s.ob

222) Hui-do-d-ë-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-2s.ob-indic

`He sees you.'

3sm.ob

223) Hui-do-do-d-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-3sm.ob-indic

`He sees him.'

3sf.ob

224) Hui-do-d-ë-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-3sf.ob-indic

`He sees her.'

1pl.ob

225) Hui-do-do-na-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-1pl.ob-indic

`He sees us.'

2du/pl.ob

226) Hui-do-d-ëo-wo.
see-3sm.sb-d-2du/pl.ob-indic

`He sees you all.

3pl.ob

227) Hui-do-do-m-o.
    see-3sm.sb-d-3pl.ob-indic

    `He sees them.'

2.16.6 RELATIVE LOCATION

The vowel occuring after the subject#1 marker indicates the relative distance of the action with respect to the speaker or hearer.

228) Bo tafa-n-e-d-ë-o.
    1s sit-1.sb-rlu-d-1s.sb-indic

    `I am sitting.' (non specific location)

229) Bo tafa-n-u-d-ë-o.
    1s sit-1.sb-far-d-1s.sb-indic

    `I am sitting.' (distant location)

There appear to be two forms:

1. -e is the neutral form and is illustrated in example 228) above. This is the most common form when the speaker is not specific whether the action is close or far from the speaker/hearer.

2. -u is the marked form and is illustrated in example 229) above. This form is uncommon but is used where the speaker wishes to be specific about the location. We have not determined when this form must be used.

2.16.7 TENSE

There are three basic tense distinctions: Present, Past, and Future.

PRESENT

The present tense encodes an action which occurs approximately simultaneous with the speech act although it is commonly used to refer to an action which has recently been completed. In some texts, the present tense is used even though the action took place in the past. Possibly this is a discourse feature related to genre type or speaker style. The present tense is the unmarked form, which contrasts with -tV `past' and -gV.....-m `future'.

PAST

The past tense indicates an action which has been completed at a point sometime before the speech act. It is marked by the suffix -tV.

FUTURE

The future tense indicates an action which will occur at a time after the speech act. The future tense is marked by the discontinuous affix -gV.....-m. (The -m occurs after the subject#2 slot.

PRESENT TENSE

		eat-sub-pr-d-sub-indic	
1s		hi -ne -∅ -d- ë -o	`I am eating.´
2s		hi -e -∅ -d- -o	`you are eating.´
3sm		hi -de -∅ -d- -o	`he is eating.´
3sf		hi -e -∅ -d- -o	`she is eating.´
1du		hi -ne -∅ -d- o -wo	`we 2 are eating.´
1pl		hi -ne -∅ -d- a -o	`we are eating.´
2du/pl		hi -e -∅ -d- o -wo	`you all are eating.´
3du		hi -me -∅ -d- o -wo	`they are eating.´
3pl		hi -me -∅ -d- a -o	`those 2 are eating.´

PAST TENSE

	eat-sub-pst-d-sub-indic	
1s	hi - Ø -te -d- ë -o	`I ate.´
2s	hi - Ø -t -r- -o	`you ate.´
3sm	hi - Ø -t -r- -o	`he ate.´
3sf	hi - Ø -t -r- -o	`she ate.´
1du	hi - Ø -te -d- o -wo	`we 2 ate.´
1pl	hi - Ø -t -r- a -o	`we ate.´
2du/pl	hi - Ø -te -d- o -wo	`you all ate.´
3du	hi -me -te -d- o -wo	`they ate.´
3pl	hi -me -t -r- a -o	`those 2 ate.´

RULE: When the verb is in the past tense subject#1 ---> Ø except for the 3pl marker -me. This means there is no disticntion between 2s, 3sm and 3sf forms of the the past tense verbs. Also there is no distinction between 1du and 2du/pl forms of the past tense verb.

FUTURE TENSE

	eat-sub-fu-d-sub-fu-indic	
1s	hi -ne -ge-d- ë -m -o	`I will eat.´
2s	hi - e -ge-d- e -m -o	`you will eat.´
3sm	hi -de -ge-d- e -m -o	`he will eat.´
3sf	hi - e -ge-d- e -m -o	`she will eat.´
1du	hi -ne -ge-d- o -m -o	`we 2 will eat.´
1pl	hi -ne -ge-d- a -m -o	`we will eat.´
2du/pl	hi - e -ge-d- o -m -o	`you all will eat.´
3du	hi -me -ge-d- o -m -o	`they will eat.´
3pl	hi -me -ge-d- a -m -o	`those 2 will eat.´

2.16.8 VERB CLASS

Verbs may be classified according to a consonant occuring in the middle of the verb. (see Chart I and II). So far we have grouped the verbs into 5 classes on the basis of 5 different consonants which occur. The classes are: -d class, -t class, -b class, -K class, and the subject prefix verb type, without a class marker called -s class.

We have observed the following tendancies:

-d class verbs. Tend to be either intransitive or less transitive than -t class verbs. Included in this class of verbs are verbs which encode emotions or states (.i.e wama- `angry', flesu- `happy', tebo- `bad') bodily functions (i.e. tëtreKo- `cough', hëhë- `smell', atisisi- `sneeze). Other actions which are lower in transitivity or actions which partially affect the patient but not necessarily alter the patient, (i.e. hui- `see', kiki- `combing hair') are also included in this class.

We have noticed some -d class verbs which don't seem to fit: (i.e. tëKe- `hit', sëserë- `butcher").

-t class verbs. Tend to be highly transitive. With many of these verbs, the agent is altering the state or condition of the patient. (i.e. fufu- `slice', trë- `cut', sere- `sharpen', tebo- `cause sickness').

-b class verbs. The few exampled found are highly intransitive. -b class verbs include a state in which the subject is inactive, inert or not functioning. Some indicate a state where the person's spirit is thought to have left the body. (i.e. ni- `sleep', debo- `die', mumu- `to be ignorant'.

-s class or subject prefix verbs. Tend to depict motions or movement. i.e. (duju- `he goes', disi- `he comes', dehou- `he carries away', dedebou- `he runs away', also `release', `give', `distribute'. Note: since -s class verbs tend to be somewhat irregular and since the verb root is not always apparent we have not given vernacular examples for some of these.

-K class verbs. The very few examples in our data tend to also indicate motions: (i.e. su- `crossing over', and fe- `go up into'. It is possible that these verbs may be verbs of other classes which have had the class marker replaced by one of the motion morphemes, many of which begin with a -K.

These are just the tendencies. There are verbs in each class which don't seem to fit exactly. Part of this is probably due to our peceived degree of transitivity being different than the peoples'.

There is also a difference in class with some verbs depending on whether the object is singular or plural. For example: When opening one door the verb root tiKa- takes a -t class marker but when opening two or more doors, the same verb root takes a -d class marker.

Possibly when the object is plural then the action is less individuated and lower in transitivity.

Sometimes a verb will be changed to another class to indicate a change in transitivity or movement.

230) Ho   tëbo-dë-de.
     Man   bad-3sm.sb-d class

     `A man is sick"

231) Sakë   adibaho   tëbo-do-te-d-o.
     sake   spirit   bad-3sm.sb-t class-3sm.ob-indic

     `A sake spirit makes him sick."

In the above examples (230) and 231)) the switch is from a -d class to a -t class verb with increased trasitivity encoded.

232) Kosi   na   wa   ji-Ø-te-d-ë.
     Knife   with   only   fly-1.sb-pst-d class-1s.sb

     `I flew with only a knife."

233) Ji-Ø-to-K-ou-ë.
     fly-1.sb-pst-K class-movement-1s.sb

     `I flew along.'

In the above examples (232) and 233)), the switch is from a -d class verb to a -K class verb and possibly indicates more movement.

2.16.9 MOOD

There are several mood suffixes which occur verb final. (see Chart I and II)

Mood markers include: indicative, interrogative, imperative, dubitative, and emotive.

Indicative

The indicative mood is indicated by an optional suffix -o. The rules of occurance are not known.

234) O   bo   me   Kredi wa-hi-dë-d-o.
     oh   bo   obj mkr   pig   cmpl-eat-3sm.sb-d-indic

     `Oh, a pig bit me!'

235) We,   bo   budame   mogo   kide-ne-d-ë-o.
     Yes, 1s   cassowary carcus leave-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

     `Yes, I left behind a cassowary carcus.'

236) Na   sebo kë   wesibi hi-ne-d-a-o.
     and 1pl   that   thing   eat-1.sb-d-pl.sb-indic

     And we eat those things.'

237) Egu   hohui-ne-ta-t-ë-o-wo.
     Possum look for-1.sb-?-pst-3sf.ob-du.sb-indic

     `We two are looking for a tree possum.'

     The intonational pattern rises slightly on the penultimate syllable
     and then drops again on the final syllable and remains constant.

Interrogative

     The interrogative is marked with -ne. The intonational pattern is
essentially the same as the pattern mentioned above for the indicative.
It rises slightly on the penultimate syllable and then drops again on
the final syllable (on the -ne) and remains constant.

     -ne is used to indicate either a polar or information question.

238) Sobo   sega hi-e-d-o-ne.
     2du/pl sago eat-2.sb-d-du/pl.sb-ques

     `Are you eating sago?'

239) Ju   bu me   hui-e-do-d-Ø-e-ne.
     You 3 ob mkr   see-2.sb-d-3sm.ob-2s.sb-tv-ques

     `Do you see him?'

240) Ju   budame   e-mi-Ø-ne.
     2s   cassowary 2.sb-shoot-2s.sb-ques

     `Did you shoot a cassowary?'

241) O   ju   fieme   e-si-Ø-ne.
     Oh   2s   why   2.sb-come-2s.sb-ques

`Oh, why did you come?'

-ne is also used to indicate a question with non-verbal words. See
Section 2.9 for examples.

Dubitative

The morpheme -nawa functions to indicate doubt or uncertainty. The
intonation rises slightly at the beginning of -nawa and remains at the
same pitch over both syllables.

242) Bu   di-gi-si-m-e-nawa.
     3   3sm.sb-fu-come-fu-tv-dubi

`Is he coming (or not)?'

243) Bu   gri-nawa.
     3   die-dubi

`Is he dead (or not)?

The morpheme -nawa can also occur immediately after a noun. In
most cases when it occurs after a noun a verbal idea has been deleted
but is recoverable from previous context.

244) Na   degresi   nawa,   dabu   nawa.
     and wall   dubi,   floor dubi

`And perhaps [I will do] the walls, perhaps [I will do] the floor.'

This may be better analyzed as a dubative postpositional phrase.
We are not sure at this time.

Another example of where -nawa follows a noun is when there is
uncertainty about the answer to a question. In this case the speaker
will sometimes answer using this morpheme.

245) Ebi   fie   wesibi   ne.
     This what thing   ques

`What is this thing?'

246) Fie wesibi nawa.
    What thing dubi

    `What could it be?'

Imperative

The imperative is formed in several ways. In all forms the intonation drops on the last syllable of the verb. Also the volume is usually louder and the syllables more stacato.

a) The verb root alone can be used, (with the above mentioned intonation), to signal the imperative mood.

247) Huju.
    get up

    `[you] get up!!'

A difference can be made between singular or plural addressees if necessary by the addition of a free pronoun.

b) The present tense form of the verb including its affixes minus the modal affixes can also be used. (with proper intonation.)

248) Huju-e-∅-d-e.
    get up-2.sb-pr-d-tv

    `You stand up!!'

The indicative form of this verb is

249) Huju-e-∅-d-o.
    get up-2.sb-pr-d-indic

    `You are standing up?'

The interrogative form of this verb is:

250) Huju-e-∅-d-e-ne.
    get up-e-pr-d-tv-ques

    `Are you standing up.'

c) The full form of the imperative includes -mo suffixed to the fully inflected present tense verb.

251) Ita   huju-e-Ø-d-e-mo.
     Again get up-2.sb-pr-d-tv-imp

     `You stand up again!!´

252) Sobo   huju-e-d-o-mo.
     2p   stand up-2.sb-d-du.sb-imp

     `You all stand up.´

It seems like the shorter the imperative form, then the stonger the command. The longest form used with the suffix -mo may be considered a polite command in most cases.

Intensifier

The morpheme -fe seems to be indicating intense emotion. It does not co-occur with any other mood markers so perhaps it should be considered another mood marker. It seems to indicate high speaker or hearer interest such as regret, excitement or disappointment.

253) O   Kë   ho   Kwe budame   mogo.   Kide-dë-d-e-fe
     Oh that man ?   cassowary carcus leave -3sm.sb-d-s.sb-intn

     `Oh, that man left [behind] a cassowary carcus!!!

254) Tu   na   momweiji-dë-d-e-fe.
     water in   burrow-3sm.sb-d-s-sb-intn

     `Oh boy!! [A pig] is burrowing in the wet ground!´

255) Oue Iwau bi   neba   me-mi-ti-a-fe.
     Oh   Iwau poss child 3pl.sb-shoot-?-pl.sb-intn

     `Oh no!! They are spearing (working sorcery on) Iwau´s child.´

256) Yafe hohui-ne-ta-t-ë-o-fe.
     try   look for-1.sb-pst-t-3sf.ob-du.sb-intn

     `Oh!!! We 2 unsuccessfully looked for it!!´

Sometimes -fe occurs after a noun. Even in these cases it seems to be indicating intense emotion and a verbal idea is implied.

257) Bo Kwe bo   me   aribaho fe.
     1s   ?   1s   ob mkr   spirit   intn

`Oh no!! A spirit [is after] me!!'

2.16.10 UNRESOLVED VERBAL AFFIXES

There are several verbal affixes which we have not fully analyzed yet. They will be mentioned here with our priliminary observations and comments.

-me

-me occurs verb finally. It does not co-occur with other mood markers. It seems to subsitute for the indicative marker. We have not found any clear pattern in its occurance. In some texts the majority of the verbs end in this suffix. In other similar type texts only a few or no verbs end in -me. We notice -me occuring most frequently in text materials. The text where it occured most frequently was a true story which was about an emotional experience.

Possibly -me indicates some sort of mood or possibly it has a discourse function of benefactive.

See See Section 2.2 for an explaination of -me in other contexts indicating purpose when it occurs with a verb root and as an object marker. Possibly these are related forms.

258) Tekre-tekre-no-t-r-e-me.
     redup-hit-1.sb-t-3sm.ob-s.sb-?

`I repeatedly hit him.'

259) Tu   me ko   swa-no-to-m-ë-me.
     water in blood   wash-1.sb-t-3pl.ob-1s.sb-?

`I wash the blood in the water.'

260) Na   bo Kë   adabuju   fe-ne-K-aK-ë-me.
     and 1s that   carefully move-1.sb-K-movement-s.sb-?

`And I carefully move those [wounds].'

-na

The morpheme -na occurs verb finally. It does not co-occur with other mood markers. In some cases it seems to indicate when. In other cases it seems to indicate if or a conditional.

-na indicating when

261) ëtani   afu-nino   ëtani
     before   grandfather-pl before

     me-me-da-më-t-r-a   kredi   me
     redup-like this-dt-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb   pig   ob mkr

     yonoti-me-t-r-a-na.
     can't kill-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb-when

     `Before, the grandfathers did it like this, when they could not
     kill pigs.'

-na indicating conditional (or possibly when)

262) Ju   waiye   hi-e-g-r-e-na.   kwe,   ju
     2s   millipied eat-2s.sb-fu-d-s.sb-if (when?)   then   2s

     gri-e-g-e-m-o
     die-2s.sb-fu-d-2.sb-fu-indic

     `If you eat millipieds, then you will die!!'

     -na does not occur very often in texts.

-bë

     The morpheme -bë occurs verb finally. It does not co-occur with
other mood markers. Bë seems to be indicating `when' or simultaneous
action and relates two clauses. Usually the clause with the -bë occurs
first and the other clause follows.

     -bë is often associated with -gV or -g which usually occurs in the
same verb along with -bë. At times the -gV or -g could be taken to
indicate future (see section 2.16.7 on tense). At other times the past
tense marker -tV occurs in the same verb immediately before the -gV. We
have not sorted this out yet. We have not yet been able to determine if
it is a present tense (with tense unmarked) with a -gV inserted or just
a future tense verb.

Examples of -gV.....-bë

263) Do   wa ni-gi-si-bë   na   kwe bu adibaho
     house to 1s.sb-?-return-when   conn then 3 spirit

     arëge me tafa-dë-d-e.
     trail on sit-3sm.sb-d-tv

     `While, I was returning to the house, then his spirit was sitting
     on the trail!´

264) Erefi-Ø-te-g-r-Ø-e-bë   na   bu
     dance-3sf.sb-pst-?-d-3sf.sb-tv-when   conn 3

     gari-Ø-te-r-Ø-e.
     talk-3sf.sb-pst-d-3sf.sb-tv

     `While she was dancing, she said,´

265) Na   bo me   tafa-Ø-të-ge-r-ë-bë   na
     conn   1s this way   sit-1s.sb-pst-?-d-1s.sb-while conn

     ni-Ø-të-ge-b-ë-bë   na   Daita me   mana
     sleep-1s.sb-pst-?-b-1s.sb-while   conn Daita ob mkr then

     hi-më-t-r-a.
     eat-3pl.sb-pst-d-3pl.sb

     `And while I was sitting in this way, and while I was sleeping,
     then they ate (worked sorcery on) Daita.´

Motion, Movement, or Location

     We have not fully analyzed this part of the verb.   There are
several morphemes which occur in the verb word which indicate that a
type of motion is going on, or specify a location.

     We initially think that these morphemes indicate if the action is
coming toward the speaker or away, or towards the bush or away from it.
Also some of these seem to indicate action such as `back and forth´.

     Not all but many of these morphemes have a -K in them.   We think
that possibly these morphemes are substituting for the class marker in
some verbs. That could help to explain what we have previously called k
class verbs. (see section 2.16.8).

266) Na   sega-tami   meta wë-no-k-ou.
     conn   sago-basket into pour-1.sb -K-movement along

     `And we pour [the water] along the basket.´

267) Ji-Ø-to-k-ou-ë.
fly-1.sb-pst-k-movement along-1.sb

`I flew along.'

268) Na   bo   adabuju   fe-ne-k-ak-ë-me.
conn   1.sb   carefully   move-1.sb-k-move away-1s.sb-bene?

`And I carefully moved away.'

Some of these morphemes seem to specify where an action is located.

269) Bo   tafa-ne-d-ekef-ë-o.
1s   sit-1.sb-d-here-1s.sb-indic

`I sit here (at this place).'

270 Bu   tafa-me-d-ekef-o-wo.
3   sit-3pl.sb-d-here-du.sb-indic

`They sit here (at this place).'

This set of examples does not completely cover this set of morphemes. We have simply listed a few more obvious ones. Much more investigation is needed.

3.0 PHRASE

Phrases are constructions composed of two or more words.

3.1 NOUN PHRASE

3.1.1 MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE (MNP)

The MNP consists of one or more modifiers and a noun. A possessive modifier will always be followed by the possessive marker bi. The MNP has the following order.

MODIFIER(S) + N or N + MODIFIER(S)

There does not seem to be a fixed order as to where the modifier(s) in a MNP can occur. Further investigation will have to be made, but possibly the order depends on the linguistic content or pragmatic factors of the text.

The number of acceptable modifiers in a MNP is usually one, but occasionally two. If there are two modifiers, one is almost always a possessive or demonstrative, (see examples 276) and 277)).

271) nëba-re   feidawa
     child-pl   many

     `many children'

272) feidawa   ho
     many   man

     `many men'

273) imo   sebo bi
     stomach   1pl   poss

     `our stomachs'

274) Hawa   bi   esodahuba.
     Hawa   poss   hair

     `Hawa's hair'.

275) Iwau   bi   nëba   memitia.
     Iwau   poss   child   spear/3pl.sb/3sf.ob

     `They shot Iwau's child'.

276) ebë   ihe   tako
     this   canoe   big

     `this big canoe'

277) bo   bi   tokwefo   gadi
     1s   poss   small   talk

     `my short talk'

278) masta   tatiwa   enëne   bë
     master   white   people   spec

     `the white people'

3.1.2 APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE (ANP)

The ANP consists of a noun and a MNP which are in apposition to each other. The intonational features of the ANP are a rising in intonation on the second word(s), and a dropping off of intonation at the end of the phrase. There does not appear to be a pause between the two nouns that are in apposition to each other.

It has the following order:

     MNP + N   or   N + MNP   or   N + N   or   MNP + JNP

279) bo   bi   misenëba   Idei
     1s   poss   sister   Idei

     `my sister, Idei'

280) Kemao   sebo   bi   yanowai   ho
     Kemao   1pl   poss   sorcerer   man

     `Kemao, our sorcerer'

281) sebo   yanowai
     1pl   sorcerer

     `we sorcerers'

3.1.3 COORDINATE NOUN PHRASE (CNP)

The CNP consists of a series of from two to five nouns, or MNP sometimes followed by the enumerator -o.

The intonational features of the CNP vary depending on whether the enumerator -o is present. If the enumerator -o is attached to the nouns in the CNP, the intonational pattern drops down at each word, and picks up at the start of the next word. It follows this pattern for the entire length of the noun phrase. If the enumerator -o is not used, as in (283), the intonation rises at the end of each word, instead of dropping.

The CNP has the following order:

(MNP or N +/- -o) + (MNP or N +/- -o) etc.

282) nou   daba-o   fie   daba-o   yagibe   daba-o
     banan   leaf-enum   what   leaf-enum   wild coconut   leaf-enum

     atokouba   daba-o   marë   daba-o
     vine   leaf-enum   wild banana   leaf-enum

     `banana leaves, this or that leaf, wild coconut leaves, vine leaves, wild banana leaves'

283) hi   wesibi   sega   babaia   kredi   fie   fie   wesibi
     eat   things   sago   papaya   pig   what   what   thing

     `food, sago, pig, papaya, all kinds of things'

3.1.4 JUXTAPOSED NOUN PHRASE (JNP)

This type of noun phrase consists of two nouns juxtaposed, and has the following formula:

N + N

The first noun usually modifies the second.

284) yabe   ho
     friend   man

     `man friend'

285) tu   dabu
     water   place

     `water hole'

286) sëfa   wenji
     arrow   name

     `name of arrow'

287) matafa   wesibi
     sky   thing

     `star'

288) esi   sëfa
     sago stem arrow

     `sago stem arrow'

289) kredi   miti
     pig   track

     `pig tracks'

3.2 VERB PHRASE

There are three types of verb phrases: These   are   the   repeated, serial and modified.

3.2.1 REPEATED VERB PHRASE

A verb may be repeated several times in a sequence. This repetition seems to encode several things. Primarily it encodes an action or an event which is taking place over time and encodes the passage of time in a discourse. A repeated verb phrase is also used to indicate reported speech which was repeated over and over again in a story.

When an action or event is being encoded the verb is usually fully inflected, but when repeated speech is being encoded the verbs have either little or no inflection.

Often the repeated verb phrase is used when the speaker is relaying a highly emotive situation with lots of excitment.

A repeated verb phrase has the following formula.

+/- ADVERB + VERB +/- ADVERB + VERB.......

The verb is repeated as often as necessary.

Repeated verb phrase indicating passage of time.

290) (Biaka dife   di)   sigri-to-t-r-a   (di)
     (Biaka village another)   pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb another

     sigri-to-t-r-a   (di)   sigri-to-t-r-a
     pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb   another   pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb

     (di)   sigri-to-t-r-a.
     another   pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb

     `We   passed (another Biaka village), we passed (another), we passed
     (another), we passed (another), we passed (another).'

291). Mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë
    still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

    mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë
    still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

    mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë
    still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

    mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë.
    still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

    `We continued to fly, and to fly, and to fly, and to fly.´

292) T-u-gu-ja-bë   t-u-gu-ja-bë   t-u-gu-ja-bë
    pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont

    t-u-gu-ja-bë   t-u-gu-ja-bë.
    pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont

    `We went, and we went, and we went, and we went, and we went.´

    Repeated verb phrase indicating repeated speech act.

293) (Demeji) wa-gri-o   wa-gri   wa-gri   wa-gri
    (Demeji) cmpl-die-indic cmpl-die cmpl-die cmpl-die

    wa-gri-o.
    cmpl-die-indic

    `(Demeji) has died, has died, has died, has died, has died!´

294 (Demeji) wa-huju-o   wa-huju-o.
    (Demeji) cmpl-get up-indic cmpl-get up-indic

    `(Demeji) got up, got up!´ [rose from the dead]

3.2.2 SERIAL VERB PHRASE

We have not found any examples of serial verb phrases. There are lots of cases where two or more different verbs occur in a sequence but we have analyzed them as separate verbs and not part of a verb phrase. We have not found any cases where a sequence of verbs has a special meaning when considered together. Possibly as we obtain more data we will discover some of these.

3.2.3 MODIFIED VERB PHRASE

The most common type of verb phrase is the modified verb phrase. In most cases the modifier comes first and then the verb. There is usually only one modifier.

The modified verb phrase has the following formula:

+/- MODIFIER + MODIFIER + VERB +/- MODIFIER

295) (Na   bo) adabuju fe-ne-k-ak-ë-me.
     conn 1s slowly move-1.sb-away-1s.sb-?

     `(and I) carefully moved away.'

296) Ø-t-u-ite-r-ë   adabuju.
     1.sb-pst-go-?-3sm.ob-s.sb   slowly

     `I slowly went [towards] him.'

297) Tei   gri-Ø-t-r-e.
     finish   die-3s.sb-pst-3sm.ob-tv

     `He is really dead.'

298) Ita   yafe   ahokwane.
     again   try unsuccessfully   hear

     `[I] tried to listen again.'

4.0 CLAUSE

There is no significant distinction between medial and final clauses. With the exception of a few verbs, which will be discussed below, every verb which is analyzed as a separate clause (i.e. not part of a verb phrase) is affixed in essentially the same way--(as described in section 2.16 under Subject Suffix Verb Root and Subject Prefix Verb Root.)

When the verbs in clauses are not fully inflected this can usually be explained by the pragmatics of the situation. The exceptions are the following types of verbs.

1. Imperative forms are often uninflected or only partially inflected. The fully inflected imperative has the sufix -mo and is the more polite form of the imperative. The less inflected or uninflected forms indicate a stronger command. (See imperative under section 2.16.9)

299) tafa
     sit

     `sit!!'

300) kuju
     quiet

     `Be quiet!!'

2. A few verbs which are analyzed as separate clauses have little or no affixation. The precise condition for the occurance of non-affixed or partially affixed verbs include discourse content and pragmatic considerations beyond the scope of this paper. However, they seem to have the following characteristic:

    When they are part of an expectancy chain and are describing an expected cultural event, the second verb is often uninflected or partially inflected.

301) Sebo natoba   yafe titititi-trë-Ø-të-o.   Yafe hohui.
     1pl   sego stem try   redup-cut-1.sb-pst-du.sb try   look for

     `We 2 repeatedly tried to cut the sego stem. [We 2] tried to look for [it].'

302) Na   hede-Ø-dë-de-Ø-dë.   Na   mogo hui.
     and   track-pr-3sm.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb   and   carcus see

     `And he tracked it. And saw the carcus.'

303) Diji   atobeida wa   fa-Ø-të-ta-t-Ø-ë.   Ke
     cane   cane   only   take-1s.sb-pst-ben-t-3sf.ob-1.sb   that

     toku. Toba meta gwa.
     give   hand in   put

`I took only the cane for her. [I] gave that [to her]. [I] placed
[it] in the hand.'

In clauses, excluding the above exceptions, both agent and patient
are marked on the verb. In contempory narrative texts, and presumably
many others as well, the normal clause contains the verb, a subject only
if different from the subject in the previous clause, and an object if
one is required by the case frame of the verb.

4.1 TRANSITIVE/INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The most frequent and normal order of the elements in a clause is
as follows:

   TIME - SUBJECT - OBJECT - INSTRUMENT - LOCATION - VERB

The order is determined by linguistic context and pragmatic
factors, and variations in this order are often found. It is unusual to
have more than 2 or 3 elements occuring together in one clause.

Examples of various orderings.

   Subject - Object - Verb

304) Bo kredi mogo   kide-ne-d-ë-o.
     1s pig   carcus leave-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

     `I leave a pig carcus behind'

305) Sebo ho   tabi-në-d-a.
     1pl   man   count-1.sb-d-pl.sb

     `We count the men.'

   Object - Verb

306) Mogo   hui.
     carcus see

     `[He] sees the carcus'

Subject- Instrument- Verb

307) One   sodo   na   fa-fa.
     women   fish net with   take-take

`The women take [fish] with the fishnet.'

Time - Subject - Verb - Location

308) Uniji   sebo   ne-gë-o-na   difeku   wa.
     tomorrow 1pl   1pl.sb-go-du.sb-?   village to

`Tomorrow, we two will go to the village.'

Locative - Verb

309) Do   meta   ni-më-be
     house   in   sleep-3pl.sb-b

`They sleep in the house.'

Time - Subject - Verb

310) Eije   Faifo   wafi-gadi-dë-de.
     today   Faifo   cmpl-talk-3sm.sb-d

`Today Faifo already talked.'

Transitive clauses include both a subject and object. There are degrees of transitivity as has been discussed at more length in the section on verb class, section 2.16.8.

Intransitive clauses do not occur with an object. The intransitrive clauses are generally made up of -d class verbs and -b class verbs. See section on verb class, 2.16.8.

The subject of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive clause are marked in the same way, thus Yadë is not an ergative-absolutive system.

4.2 DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The usual order of elements in a ditransitive clause is as follows:

SUBJECT - INDIRECT OBJECT - DIRECT OBJECT - VERB

The subject and indirect object are indicated in the verb by affixation, but the direct object is not indicated in the verb.

Many verbs can take the benefactive affixation on them, and are considered ditransitive verbs. Some of the verbs that fit into this category are tell, teach, distribute, etc.

311) Bo Wëku   me   kredi në-d-∅-ë-o.
     1s female name ob mkr pig 1.sb-give-3sf.ob-s.sb-indic

     `I give Weku the pig.'

312) Bo Asi   me   kredi në-dë-d-ë-o.
     1s male name ob mkr pig 1-give-3sm.ob-s.sb-indic

     `I give Asi the pig.'

313) Ju musu adëge   bo me   gwa-e-ta-te-në-mo.
     2s bilum custom 1s ob mkr put-2s.sb-ben-t-1s.ob-co

     `[You] teach me how to make a bilum'.

314) Bu nage se me   sa-de-ta-te-na.
     3 sago 1pl ob mkr distribute-3sm.sb-ben-t-1pl.ob

     `He distributes sago to us'.

4.3 STATIVE CLAUSE

Our text data does not include constructions which could be considered stative clauses.

The following are probable examples because:

a. they can stand alone.

b. they cannot be used as a noun phrase in the subject slot of a clause.

315) Ju dade mise mu.
     2s good woman intense

     `You [are] a good woman.'

316) Bu amaiyo ho.
     3 stingy man

     `He [is] a stingy man.'

317) Sebo bi   dife   Natimane.
     1pl poss village Natimane

     `Our village [is] Natimane.'

Although constructions similar to the following are often heard by themselves, we are not sure if they can be used as noun phrases in the subject slot of a clause. When asked, native speakers indicate that this is acceptable, but we have not heard this in natural speech or found examples of this in the texts. Possibly these stative clauses are homophonous with the stative clauses above.

318) **Ebë   badega   tokwefo.**
     This bat   small.

     `This bat is small'

319) **Ebë   ihe   tako.**
     This canoe   big.

     `This canoe is big.

4.4 RELATIVE CLAUSE

The relative clause is formed by adding the demonstrative kë to the beginning of the verb and the specifier bë to the end of the verb, which is inflected. Usually the phoneme -g- is affixed in the verb, although we have not determined the total function of this.

320) **(Nemo hamene.) Aia   kë   sade-dë-ta-t-Ø-ë-bë**
     (bow   where)   father   that   made-3sm.sb-ben-t-3sf.ob-s.sb-spec

     `(Where is the bow?), the one that father made for her.'

321) **Yame   bo Kë   dëde-Ø-të-g-rë-d-ë-bë   kredi**
     yesterday   is that   shoot-1-pst-?-d-3sm.ob-s.sb-spec pig

     (sebo kë   Kredi   hi-ne-d-a).
     (1pl   that   pig   eat-1.sb-d-pl.sb)

     `(We are eating that pig), the one that I shot yesterday.'

4.5 CLAUSE NEGATION

The negative word hanane is placed before or after the verb word to negate the clause. We have found very few examples of this in our data. Usually the verb is negated as described in section 2.16.2 under hana.

322) Kwe   sega hi   hanane.
     then   sago eat   neg

     `Then [you will] not eat sago.'

323) Kwe   kredi hanane   hi-me.
     then   pig   neg   eat-?

     `Then [you will] not eat pig.'

324) Kredi   hi   hanane   mu.
     pig   eat   neg   intn

     `[You] really [will] not eat pig!!'

325) Kwe   hanane   mu   fa-fa-me.
     then   neg   intn   redup-take-?

     `Then [you] really [will] not catch [fish]!!'

5.0 QUOTATION

The normal structure for quotations involves a clause which usually indicates the addresser and sometimes the addressee and contains the verb for to speak, gadi. The verb gadi, is sometimes inflected and sometimes uninflected. This clause is followed immediately by the reported speech. The following formula indicates this structure:

+/- ADDRESSER +/- ADDRESSEE + GADI +/- INFLECTION + REPORTED SPEECH

326) Wia gadi fie-e-d-o-ne
     Wia say   what-2.sb-d-du.sb-ques

     `Wia said, "What are you doing?"`

327) Gadi-ne-ka-k-ë   bo kredi mogo
     talk-1.sb-away-k-1s.sb   1s pig   carcus

     Kide-ne-d-ë-o.
     leave-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

     `I say, "I leave a pig carcus behind."`

328) Bo Wesia me   gadi tri-na-ne-d-o.
     1s Wesia ob mkr   talk cold-?-1.sb-d-du

     `I say to Wesia, "We two are cold."`

329) Bu gadi-do-no-n-ë   bo me   bo
     3   talk-3sm.sb-d-1s.ob-s.sb   1s ob mkr 1s

     wa-gri-ne-dë-o.
     cmpl-die-1.sb-d-indic

     `He said to me, "I have died."`

We have not found any indirect quotes in the data nor in normal speech. Normally a direct quote is used.

We have found very few cases of quoted thought and no cases of quoted intention, frustration or evaluation.

In the case of quoted thought, our analysis is only tentative because of limited data. Quoted thought seems to have some of the following characteristics.

1. A change in person/number from the normal person/number used throughout the discourse.

2. A change to a stative clause.

3. Either no quote formula, or quote introduced by the verb hui `to see', in the preceding clause.

4. A change in intonation from the normal story telling intonation to the intonation normally used in conversational speech.

330) Na   hui-∅-t-ro-d-e   um   bo   kwene   kredi   kwe
     and   see-3sm.sb-pst-d-3sm.ob-s.sb   aha is   ?   pig   but

     hi-dë-g-r-e.
     eat-3sm.sb-fu-d-s.sb

     `Oh boy. I will get a pig eating [the pulp].'

331) Na Aiiba yafe   hui-∅-t-r-e   Oh nëba   dade   fe.
     and Aiiba tried see-3sf.sb-pst-s.sb   oh child   good   intn.

     Masiwa-fe.
     sorry-intn.

     `And Aiiba sees (is aware). Oh that's a good child. What a pity.'

6.0 SEQUENCES OF SENTENCES

6.1 PRONOMINAL REFERENCE SYSTEM

The pronominal reference system makes extensive use of the relative pronoun Kë `that or those', and the specifier pronoun bë `the one', when the focus is on two or more participants in the text. Many times when making second and third references to these participants, their names are not mentioned, rather they are referred to as Kë ho `that man', or Kë ho bë `that particular man' or Kë bë `that one'.

In texts where the focus is on only one participant at a time, the participant is usually introduced using his name. Subsequent references to that participant are usually made by use of a free pronoun. Usually the speaker very quickly changes to just refering to the participant by using verbs, which when fully inflected, encode gender, number and person.

In certain texts, many kin terms are used and participants are often referred to as someone's sister or brother, etc.

In a text describing when the men used to war with other villages, the narrator describes how the men from his village would go and fight men from a neighboring village. The story teller then refers again to the men from his village, after they returned from a fight, and uses the pronominal referent kë. It is clear to the speaker and hearer who kë refers to, given the assumed knowledge of the hearer.

In a text describing a sister-exchange, the narrator continually refers to his wife's brother as Kë ho bë `that particular man'. We feel the reason for this is because the narrator cannot say his wife's brother's name. There is a kin term baso used when addressing or referring to one's brother-in-law.

6.2 CONTRAST, CAUSE AND RESULT

Contrast, result and cause can be indicated by simple sequencing of sentences. Normally the cause is followed by the result. The word Këme meaning `therefore', is used to indicate the result of a cause. The word nëgeme is a cause word which we have been translating `because'.

CAUSE				RESULT	
332) Tu	dëgeto-me	nëgeme	adëge	Këme	hëhade-dë-de-o.
rain	fall-?	because	trail	therefore	slip-3sm.sb-d-indic

`The trail is slippery because it rained.'

The words Këme and nëgeme do not always co-ccur in sequences of sentences, but the cause or result theme is still carried in the clause.

333) **Ahodo wa-ti-tiji-o.**   **Bo gri bë nëgeme-o.**
    ear   cmpl-redup-close-indic   1s die spec because-indic

`I'm deaf because I was dead'.

334) **Na tebo-Këme-dëdo**   **sakei adibaho-o.**
    mle sick-therefore-3sm.sb sakei spirit-incid

`That is why he is sick [because of] the sakei spirit'.

Contrast is also indicated by sequencing of sentences. The contrasting conjunction kwe is used to show this contrast of actions.

335) **Na tokwafe fri wa mujame.**
    mle later   others only go/3pl.sb

    Kwe bo do me nëdebëmëme dunuju.
    but 1s house in rest/1s.sb/3pl.ob wound

`Later only others go, but I rest my wounds in the house'.

6.3 INTONATIONAL FEATURES

In texts, we have noticed a drop in intonation at the end of a sentence. Often, but not always, a sentence is begun with the particle na which we are analyzing as a main line event marker. Woven through the texts, it highlights the salient features of the particualar discourse. There does not seem to be any special intonational features occuring with na.

6.4 NARRATIVE FEATURES

When someone is telling us a story, often he will start out the text with how they perceive the event as beginning. Sometimes it will begin with a sentence describing the setting of the event, or the time the event took place, e.g., night, morning. We have not noticed one stereo typed formula that is consistently used to begin a narrative. However, nearly all texts end with the ending particles, ta tei.

The following structures are commonly used to introduce a text.

a. Narratives of current or recent events.

A large number of narratives of current or recent events are often started with a time word such as yesterday or before and a form of a verb which means `in this way'.

336) Yame   bo   me-na-ne.
     yesterdy 1s   in this way-dt-1.sb

     `Yesterday I did it this way.'

337) Ëbame   me-na-ne   sebo.
     before   in this way-dt-1.sb   1pl

     `Before, we did it this way.'

338) Bo   meme-na-ne-d-ë.
     1s   in this way-dt-1.sb-d-1s.sb

     `I did it this way.'

b. PROCEDURAL OR DESCRIPTIVE NARRATIVES

Procedural or decriptive narratives are often began with the words `our custom' followed by a description of the procedure or custom. Often if it is a description of a custom passed down from their ancestors it will include the phrase `our grandfathers' customs'.

339) sebo bi   adege
     3pl   poss   custom

     `Our custom,'

340) sebo yanowai   sebo bi   adege
     3pl   sorcerers 3pl   poss   custom

     `We sorcerers, our custom,'

341) sebo bi   adëge,   sebo bi   afu-nino   bi   adëge
     1pl   poss   custom , 1pl   poss   grandfather-pl   poss   custom

     `Our custom, our ancestors' custom,'

c. TRADITIONAL STORIES

Traditional stories or stories of events which took place a long time ago are often started with the phrase, `I will tell the ..X..talk.

342) Yeme gadi të-no-t-r-ë-me.
    moon talk tell-1.sb-t-3sm.ob-1s.sb-?

    `I will tell the moon talk."

343) Bo anebo   gadi, u   anebo   gadi
    is long ago talk, dead long ago talk

    të-no-go-t-r-ë-me.
    tell-1.s-fu-t-3sm.ob-1s.sb-fu

    `I will tell you about the talk of long ago, the dead warrior talk
    of long ago.'

7.0 WRITTEN VS. ORAL STYLE

At this stage we only have a small amount of written materials in the language, therefore, the following observations are tentative. These observations are mainly from two sources: 1. Letters written to us, and 2. Stories, including ancestral stories, descriptions of customs, and stories of cultural events.

The written stories are, in general, very similar to oral stories and we notice no significant differences in style or structure. Some of the written stories lack the clear introduction which usually comes with oral stories or the introduction says, "I am writing a story about...." rather than, "I am telling a story about...".

There seems to be a tendency to use less verb inflection in written stories and the clauses appear to be shorter and less complex.

The style of the language in letters is also very similar to oral style except that there is usually a greeting mentioning the name of the person to whom it is written and a salutation mentioning the writer's name.

8.0 MISCELLANEOUS CONSIDERATIONS

a. **Passive** - We have not noticed any constructions which might be considered passive constructions and have not been able to elicit any.

b. **Abstractions** - Although we are not familiar with the way many abstractions are expressed, some are expressed using verbs.

> **Thought** - the verb doane `to know' is used to express thought. Often when someone is trying to remember something he will say, "bo doane" meaning `I am thinking.'

> **Fear** - the verb udi means `to be afraid' and is used to express fear.

> **Joy** - the verb fresu means `to be happy' and is used to express happiness or joy.

> **Sorrow** - the expression of this is a bit different in that a body part is used. The heart is considered to be the center of emotions. Sorrow is expressed as follows:

344) Bo   ju   me   tako maninibo.
     1s   2s   ob mkr   big   heart

`I have a big heart towards you.' or `I feel sorry for you'.

Maninibo is sometimes given full verbal inflection.

c. **Figures of Speech**

> Hyperbole

345) Ini-wa,   Ini-ye-wa.
     all-only all-cry-only

`They all cried.' meaning `Many cried.'

> Metonymy

346) Na   Weku   me-tokwad-a.
     and village name 3pl.sb-come east-pl.sb

`And Weku came east.' meaning `The people of Weku came east.'

Personification

347) Tu   ye-dë-kakë.
    water   cry-3ps.sb-away from speaker

`The water goes away crying.' meaning `The rain is stopping.'

d. Borrowing - Borrowed items from Melanesian Pidgin, such as nouns and
   verbs are fitted into the language without being marked in a special
   way. If these items are verbs, they are affixed in the same way as
   normal verbs. Borrowed nouns are fitted into the language in the
   same way as normal nouns. There is often a phonological adjustment
   in order to fit the borrowed item into the phonological structure of
   the language.

In the following example the speaker was talking about buying a ticket
and borrowed the pidgin word baim meaning `to buy".

348) Sebo   bai-Ø-t-r-a.
    1pl   buy-1.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

`We bought [them].'

The pidgin word bai is used with full inflection.

e. Ellipsis - From our initial investigations is appears that ellipsis
   of a verb is not acceptable when clauses are conjoined.

349) * Weno sega na   Mau de   hi-me-r-o-wo.
     * Weno sago conn Mau grub worm eat-3du/pl.sb-d-du.sb-indic

`Weno eats sago and Mau grubworms.'

This form was not acceptable, rather two clauses were used.

350) Weno sega hi-dë-de.   Mau de   hi-dë-de.
    Weno sago eat-3sm.sb-d   Mau grub worms eat-3sm.sb-d

`Weno eats sago.' `Mau eats grub worms.'

    Ellipsis of the object of a clause is acceptable when clauses are
conjoined.

351) Inia sega we-e-ta   na   Weno hi-dë-de.
    Inia sago make-3sf.sb-t   conn Weno eat-3sm.sb-d

`Inia makes sago and Weno eats [it].'

f. Number System - Often we hear small numbers being refered to using the vernacular system, but in many cases, especially when money is being refered to, then the Melanesian Pidgin system is used. Larger numbers (above 10) can be refered to in the vernacular, but usually Melanesian Pidgin is used.

Distributives are treated by repeating the number word.

352) Jowa jowa ho da-de-huei.
one   one   man ?-3sm.sb-carry

`One man at a time carries [it].'

353) Të-tëde ho na-huei-ja.
two-two man 1.sb-carry-pl.sb

`The men carry [it] two by two.'

The number system is not used to express ordinals. Rather separate words are used for first, middle and last.

354) degouta ho
first   man

`the first man'

355) ku   mago ho
middle   from man

`the man in the middle'

356) nagi mago ho
last mago man

`the last man'

We have only heard the word degouta used with the specifier bë to form a substantive.

357) degouta bë   ho
first   spec man

`the first one'

g. Body Parts and Psychological Functions - We have found a few cases where body parts are associated with idioms and psychological

functions. The maninibo or `heart' is associated with sorrow or pity. (see 344) above for an example.)

We have heard people say:

358) Ju bi   eso   ka   kadedego.
     2s poss head brain hard

`Your head brains are hard.' or `You are stupid.'

(The people seem to indicate that this particular expression is not traditional and may be a translation of an expression borrowed from Melanesian Pidgin.)

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Appendix

A

Interlinear Texts

KILLING A WILD PIG   by Kowei

```
Bo meme-na-ne-d-ē.
bo meme        -na-ne  -d  -ē
1s in this way-dt-1.sb-dcl-1s.sb
```

I do it in this way.


```
Sebo iniwa memedi-na-nē-d-a.
sebo iniwa memedi      -na-nē -d  -a
1.pl all   in this way-dt-1.sb-dcl-pl.sb
```

We all do it this way.


```
Tu     deto.
tu     deto
water fall
```

It is raining.


```
O  fitu-dë-de-b-r-e
o  fitu       -dë   -de-b -r     -e
or morning rain-3sm.sb-? -bcl-3sm.ob-s.sb
```

It's raining in the morning.


```
Na    odobadē nemo wa    glo-nē-d-a
na    odobadë nemo wa    glo    -nē -d  -a
conn morning bow  only take.pl-1.sb-dcl-pl.sb
```

In the morning we take only our bows.


```
Na    n-u-ja       asē-me       waduju asē-me.
na    n   -u -ja    asē -me       waduju asē -me
conn 1.sb-go-pl.sb hunt-infin bush    hunt-infin
```

We go out to the bush to hunt.


```
Na    waduju asē-nē-d-a
na    waduju asē -nē  -d  -a
conn bush    hunt-1.sb-dcl-pl.sb
```

We hunt in the bush.

```
Na    kredi miti    ge-no-t-r-a.
na    kredi miti    ge  -no  -t  -r    -a
conn  pig    tracks spot-1.sb-tcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb

We spot pig tracks.


Tu    na    momëiji-dë-d-e-fe
tu    na    momëiji-dë     -d  -e   -fe
water with  burrow  -3sm.sb-dcl-s.sb-intn

He is burrowing in the mud!


Na    esogo-në-de-dë-d-a.
na    esogo -në  -de-dë -d      -a
conn  follow-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb

We follow it.


Esogo-në-de-dë-d-a.
esogo -në  -de-dë -d      -a
follow-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb

We follow it.


Na    hui-no-do-d-a
na    hui-no  -do -d      -a
conn  see-1.sb-dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb

We see it.


Momëiji-dë-d-e
momëiji-dë     -d  -e
burrow  -3sm.sb-dcl-s.sb

It is burrowing.


Momëiji-dë-d-e
momëiji-dë     -d  -e
burrow  -3sm.sb-dcl-s.sb

It is burrowing.
```

```
Na    fe-në-de-dë-d-a                 ti   dëkefo
na    fe  -në -de-dë -d      -a       ti   dëkefo
conn  stalk-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb  tree root


kwokedi-o     o   ti    wayo tako-w-o
kwokedi-o     o   ti    wayo tako-w -o
behind -enum  or  tree  base big  -tc-enum


We stalk it from behind a big tree root or from behind the base of a
big tree.



Na    kë    kwokedi   fe-në-de-dë-d-a.
na    kë    kwokedi   fe  -në -de-dë -d      -a
conn  that  behind    stalk-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb


We stalk it from behind those.



Na    mana   momëiji-dë-d-e
na    mana   momëiji-dë     -d  -e
conn  still  burrow -3sm.sb-dcl-s.sb


It is still burrowing in the mud.



Na    sade-në-ta-t-r-a.
na    sade     -në -ta -t   -r      -a
conn  pull back-1.sb-tcl-ben-3sm.ob-pl.sb


We draw the [bow] to get it.



Sade-në-ta-t-r-a.
sade     -në -ta -t  -r      -a
pull back-1.sb-tcl-ben-3sm.ob-pl.sb


We pull back [the bow] to get it.



Na    sëfa   ne-de-kë-kakë-a.
na    sëfa   ne  -de    -kë -kakë-a
conn  arrow  1.sb-let go-kcl-away-pl.sb


We let the arrow fly away.



Ne-mi-d-a.
ne  -mi  -d      -a
1.sb-shoot-3sm.ob-pl.sb


We shoot it.
```

```
Na    sëfa   tutuku-dë-de-dë-kakë
na    sëfa   tutuku  -dë       -de-dë -kakë
conn  arrow  run  away-3sm.sb-? -dcl-away

afri    na    na    wino   na.
afri    na    na    wino   na
squeal  with  conn  blood  with

[The pig] runs away squealing and bleeding with the arrow in it.


Na    ko    me    esogo-në-de-dë-d-a.
na    ko    me    esogo -në   -de-dë -d       -a
conn  blood obmkr follow-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb

We follow the blood.


Yafe de-dëb-ou.
yafe de      -dëb -ou
try  3sm.ob-flee-away.spkr

It tries to run away.


Na    mogo    da-gri-wa-dë-d-e.
na    mogo    da -gri-wa  -dë       -d  -e
conn  carcus  sud-die-cmpl-3sm.sb-dcl-s.sb

It suddenly dies.


Na    hede-në-de-dë-d-ë.
na    hede -në   -de-dë -d       -ë
conn  track-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-1s.sb

I track it.


Hede-në-de-dë-d-a.
hede -në   -de-dë -d       -a
track-1.sb-? -dcl-3sm.ob-pl.sb

We track it.


Na    mogo    wa-hui.
na    mogo    wa -hui
conn  carcus  cmpl-see

We see the carcus.
```

```
Mogo    kwe    dë-gë-be
mogo    kwe    dë    -gë    -be
carcus  there  3sm.sb-inan-be
```

There is the carcus.


```
Na    tobo taba dëi-në-de-t-r-a.
na    tobo taba dëi -në -de -t  -r      -a
conn  hoof vine bind-1.sb-dcl-ben-3sm.ob-pl.sb
```

We bind its hooves with vine.


```
Na    kide.
na    kide
conn  leave
```

We leave [it].


```
Na    ita    feka-do-k-ëi.
na    ita    feka-do    -k  -ëi
conn  again  run -3sm.sb-kcl-towards
```

He runs towards [the village].


```
(No-k-ëi-ja).
(no  -k  -ëi      -ja)
(1.sb-kcl-towards-pl.sb)
```

(We run [towards the village].)


```
O   bo wa    no-g-u-i-bë-o.
o   bo wa    no  -g  -u  -i       -bë   -o
or  1s only  1.sb-irr-go-1s.sb-spec-enum
```

Or will I be the one to go?


```
Na    feka-no-k-ëi          do    wa.
na    feka-no   -k  -ëi      do    wa
conn  run  -1.sb-kcl-towards house to
```

I run towards the house.


```
Gadi-ne-k-akë.
gadi-ne   -k  -akë
talk-1.sb-kcl-away
```

I announce.

```
Bo kredi mogo   kide-ne-d-ë-o.
bo kredi mogo   kide -ne -d -ë    -o
1s pig    carcus leave-1.sb-dcl-1s.sb-emph
```

I left a pig carcus behind.

```
Sësedi   me  no-g-u-ja-m-o
sësedi   me  no -g -u -ja   -m -o
butcher pur 1.sb-irr-go-pl.sb-irr-emph
```

We go out to butcher it.

```
Na    one   në-de-du-m-a.
na    one   në -de-du           -m    -a
conn women 1.sb-? -bring along-pl.ob-pl.sb
```

We bring the women along.

```
Bo bi   mise-o      fie  afa       bi   mise-o    o
bo bi   mise -o     fie  afa       bi   mise -o   o
1s poss woman-enum which older sib poss woman-enum or

fie  ho bi   mise-o      yabe ho bi   mise-o.
fie  ho bi   mise -o     yabe ho bi   mise -o
which man poss woman-enum friend man poss woman-enum
```

[Will we take] my wife, one of my brothers' wives, or some man's wife,
a friend's wife?

```
Na   bu me    në-de-du-m-a.
na   bu me    në -de-du           -m    -a
conn 3  obmkr 1.sb-? -bring along-pl.ob-pl.sb
```

We bring them along.

```
Në-de-du-m-ë.
në -de-du           -m    -ë
1.sb-? -bring along-pl.ob-1s.sb
```

I bring them along.

```
Sësedi-në-de-dë-m-ë.
sësedi -në -de  -dë -m    -ë
butcher-1.sb-accom-dcl-pl.ob-1s.sb
```

I butcher [the pig] with them.

```
Fiso    na    o   eguju        kē    na
fiso    na    o   eguju        kē    na
knife   with  or  bamboo knife that  with

sēsedi-nē-de-dē-m-ē.
sēsedi -nē  -de   -dē  -m    -ē
butcher-1.sb-accom-dcl-pl.ob-1s.sb

I butcher it with them with a knife or a bamboo knife.


Na    mo-hwë-ja
na    mo   -hwë            -ja
conn  3pl.sb-carry twds pl.-pl.sb

We carry it [towards the village].


Sa-në-ta-të-m-ë.
sa               -në  -ta -të -m      -ë
distribute many-1.sb-tcl-ben-pl.ob -s.sb

I distribute it to them.


Na    mo-hwë-ja
na    mo   -hwë            -ja
conn  3pl.sb-carry twds pl.-pl.sb

We carry it [to the village].


Ni-si-a        do    wa.
ni -si  -a     do    wa
1.s-come-pl.sb house to

We come to the house.


Na    ahujume-ahujume-me-d-a.
na    ahujume-ahujume-me       -d   -a
conn  cook    -cook    -3pl.sb-dcl-pl.sb

We cook it.


Do     mago me    sa-në-ta-të-m-a.
do     mago me    sa               -në  -ta -të  -m      -a
house from prep distribute many-1.sb-tcl-bene-pl.ob-pl.sb

We distribute it to them from the house.
```

```
Tabi-në-g-r-a-bë.
tabi  -në  -g   -r   -a      -bë
count-1.sb-? -dcl-pl.sb-cont

We are counting it out.


Na    në-dë-m-a.
na    në  -dë  -m    -a
conn  1.sb-give-pl.ob-pl.sb

We give it to them.


Ahujume-ahujume-me-d-a.
ahujume-ahujume-me      -d  -a
cook   -cook    -3pl.sb-dcl-pl.sb

They cook it.


Na    hi-në-d-a.
na    hi -në  -d  -a
conn  eat-1.sb-dcl-pl.sb

We eat it.


Ta       tëi     bo bi    gadi
ta       tëi     bo bi    gadi
end mkr  finish  1s poss  talk

That's the end of my talk.
```

```
Ebame   menane      sebo.
ebame   menane      sebo
before  in this way  1.pl
```

'We did it this way before.'


```
Krabë  asë-t-u-d-o              Këda na.
krabë  asë -t  -u  -d  -o       Këda na
night  hunt-pst-far-dcl-du.sb   Këda with
```

'We two, Keda and I, went hunting at night.'


```
Na    ti-si-j-o.
na    ti -si  -j -o
conn  pst-come-tc-du.sb
```

'And we came back.'


```
ti-si-j-o              dodi wa ebedë
ti -si  -j -o          dodi wa ebedë
pst-come-tc-du.sb near to here
```

'And we two came back near here.'


```
Dodi  wa ti-si-j-o.
dodi  wa ti -si   -j -o
near  to pst-come-tc-du.sb
```

'We came back near here.'


```
Na    egu          bu fiji-to-k-wëi-j-a.
na    egu          bu fiji -to -k  -wëi  -j -a
conn  tree possum 3  swing-pst-kcl-toward-tc-nonhum
```

'And a tree possum swung toward me.'


```
Egu           bu fiji-to-k-wëi-j-a
egu           bu fiji -to -k  -wëi -j -a
tree possum 3  swing-pst-kcl-twds-tc-nonhum

nage-huba       nage-huba        wa.
nage      -huba nage      -huba wa
sago palm-leaf  sago palm-leaf  to
```

'A tree possum swung toward me from one sego branch to another.'

```
Na     bo hui a     egu      e-si-a-fe                tosë       na.
na     bo hui a     egu      e    -si  -a    -fe      tosë       na
conn   1s see oh boy tree possum 2.sb-come-nonhum-intn flashlight with
```

'And I saw with my flashlight, "Oh boy, a tree possum is coming!"'

```
Na     bo tosë        enino na    kahudu-të-t-ë
na     bo tosë        enino na    kahudu          -të -t  -ë
conn   1s flashlight  tooth with  clench in teeth-pst-tcl-1s.sb
```

'And I clenched the flashlight with my teeth.'

```
Na     egu        magwë         na   dëde
na     egu        magwë         na   dëde
conn   tree possum type of arrow with shoot
```

'And I shot the tree possum with an arrow.'

```
Egu           magwë         na   dëde-t-r-ë
egu           magwë         na   dëde -t  -r  -ë
tree possum   type of arrow with shoot-pst-dcl-1s.sb
```

'I shot the tree possum with an arrow.'

```
Na     egu        bu a-fë-fri-t-o-d-a
na     egu        bu a    -fë  -fri   -t  -o    -d  -a
conn   tree possum 3  squeal-redup-squeal-pst-dir.e-dcl-nonhum
```

'And the tree possum squealed.'

```
A-fë-fri-t-o-d-a
a      -fë   -fri   -t  -o    -d  -a
squeal-redup-squeal-pst-dir.e-dcl-nonhum
```

'It squealed.'

```
Kwe bo sade-fene-da-të-t-ë
kwe bo sade-fene    -da-të -t  -ë
but 1s pull-attempt-dt-pst-tcl-1s.sb
```

```
nage-huba        na.
nage      -huba na
sago palm-leaf conn
```

'And I tried to pull back the sago branches.'

```
Kwe egu           da-tofie-wa.
kwe egu           da -tofie     -wa
but tree possum sud-pull out-sud
```

'But the tree possum pulled it out.'


```
Na    t-rëb-ou-j-a.
na    t  -rëb -ou        -j -a
conn pst-flee-away.spkr-tc-nonhum
```

'And it ran away.'


```
Yafe hohui-të-ta-t-ë-o
yafe hohui    -të -ta -t  -ë        -o
try  look for-pst-tcl-ben-3sf.ob-du.sb
```

'We tried to look for it.'


```
Kosi          na  natoba     yafe
kosi          na  natoba     yafe
bush knife with sego stem try
```

```
titi-titi-t-rë-t-ë-o
titi -titi -t  -rë -t  -ë        -o
pound-pound-pst-dcl-ben-3sf.ob-du.sb
```

'We two tried to pound the sego stems to get it.'


```
Kwe bu ifinu          fuduju wa
kwe bu ifinu          fuduju wa
but 3  base of stem hole    to
```

```
da-të-te-tig-wë-a-wa.
da -të -te-tig -wë-a       -wa
sud-pst-? -fall-? -nonhum-to
```

'And it fell into a hole at the base of the stem.'


```
Kwe sebo natoba      yafe
kwe sebo natoba      yafe
but 1.pl sego stem try
```

```
titi-titi-t-rë-t-ë-o
titi -titi -t  -rë -t  -ë        -o
pound-pound-pst-dcl-ben-3sf.ob-du.sb
```

'But we tried to pound the sago stems to get at it.'

Yafe hohui.
yafe hohui
try look for

'[We] tried to look for [it].'

O matëbe.
o matëbe
oh forget it

'Oh forget it.'

Na   Wia ti-si.
na   Wia ti -si
conn Wia pst-come

'And Wia came.'

Wia gadi fie-e-d-o-ne.
Wia gadi fie -e -d -o   -ne
Wia talk what -2.sb-dcl-du.sb-ques

'Wia said, "What are you two doing?"'

Na   sebo gadi, egu
na   sebo gadi egu
conn 1.pl talk tree possum

hohui-në-ta-t-ë-o-w-o
hohui   -në -ta -t -ë   -o   -w -o
look for-1.sb-tcl-ben-3sf.ob-du.sb-tc-indic

'And we said, "We are looking for a tree possum."'

Egu   ëije ebedë eke
egu   ëije ebedë eke
tree possum today twds here

fiji-e-k-wëi-j-a.
fiji -e   -k -wëi -j -a
swing-2.sb-kcl-twds-tc-nonhum

'Today, a tree possum swung toward us.'

```
Bo sëfa    na    në-ge-mi-bë.
bo sëfa    na    në  -ge-mi   -bë
1s arrow  with  1.sb-? -shoot-spec
```

'I tried to shoot it with an arrow.'


```
Këda na    sebo jede-fo-wa
Këda na    sebo jede       -fo -wa
Këda conn 1.pl other side-sap-to
```

```
su-te-k-akë-j-o
su         -te -k  -akë -j -o
cross over-pst-kcl-away-tc-du.sb
```

'Keda and I crossed over to the other side of the water.'


```
Na    ita    jede-fo-wa           yafe
na    ita    jede       -fo -wa yafe
conn again other side-sap-to try
```

```
hohui-të-ta-t-ë-o
hohui    -të -ta -t  -ë       -o
look for-pst-tcl-ben-3sf.ob-du.sb
```

'And we tried to look for it again on the other side of the water.'


```
Kwe egu          bu kwe me        ëho-t-r-a              ibu
kwe egu          bu kwe me        ëho -t  -r  -a          ibu
but tree possum 3  but in this way hide-pst-dcl-nonhum stem base
```

```
fuduju me.
fuduju me
hole    prep
```

'But the tree possum hid like this in the hole of the stem base.'


```
Na    këme        kide na    doko.
na    këme        kide na    doko
conn therefore leave conn ?
```

'And so we left it.'


```
O  tëi    tëbo no.
o  tëi    tëbo no
oh finish bad  intn
```

'Oh, it's ruined for good.'

Matëbo.
matëbo
forget it

'Forget it.'

Yafe hohui-në-ta-t-ë-o-fe
yafe hohui   -në -ta -t -ë   -o   -fe
try look for-1.sb-tcl-ben-3sf.ob-du.sb-intn

'We really tried to look for it.'

Ma-t-rëb-ou-j-a.
ma -t -rëb -ou -j -a
let-pst-flee-away-tc-nonhum

'Let it run away.'

Na   ita   Këda bu odobadë
na   ita   Këda bu odobadë
conn again Këda 3 morning

kre-t-r-e.
kre   -t -r -e
climb down-pst-dcl-s.sb

'And in the morning Keda went down again.'

Na   ita   Këda bu odobadë
na   ita   Këda bu odobadë
conn again Këda 3 morning

hohui-të-ta-t-ë
hohui   -të -ta -t -ë
look for-pst-tcl-ben-3sf.ob

'In the morning Keda looked for it again.'

Ti   dë.
ti   dë
tree put in ground

'[He] put a stick in the ground.'

```
Ifinu          yafe titi-t-o-de-t-ë
ifinu          yafe titi -t  -o    -de -t  -ë
base of stem try  pound-pst-dir.e-dcl-ben-3sf.ob
```

'He tried to pound the base of the stem to get at it.'


```
Yafe hohui
yafe hohui
try  look for
```

'[He] tried to look for [it].'


```
Kwe egu          wa-t-rëb-ou-j-a.
kwe egu          wa -t -rëb -ou  -j -a
but tree possum cmpl-pst-flee-away-tc-nonhum
```

'But the tree possum had already run away.'


```
Euwe          fieme-tëbo-ne-ne.
euwe          fieme-tëbo-ne-ne
eëclamation why   -bad -? -ques
```

'Oh, why did this happen?'


```
Matëbe.
matëbe
forget it
```

'Forget it.'


```
Ta       tëi    bo bi   gadi.
ta       tëi    bo bi   gadi
end mkr finish 1s poss talk
```

'That's the end of my talk.'