KAIRIRU GRAMMAR

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T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This grammar describes the phonology, morphology and clause structure
of Kairiru, a language of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian, which is
spoken on islands north-west of Wewak off the northern coast of New
Guinea.

Chapter 1 gives information about the external relationships of
Kairiru, the Kairiru speech community and previous studies of Kairiru
language and society, along with details of the research, and an explanation
of abbreviations and other notational conventions.

Chapter 2 deals with the phonology of Kairiru. It is apparent that
the segmental phonology of Kairiru is undergoing two sound changes. The
final section discusses certain orthographic aspects of the language.

Chapters 3-7 deal with morphology and syntax. Chapter 3 deals with
the noun phrase and chapter 4 with the verb phrase. Also in chapter 4
the indexing of subject and object arguments in the verb, as well as
various morphophonemic processes that affect the verb, are discussed in
some detail. An analysis is given in Chapter 5 of nominal and verbal
clause types and their structure, together with an account of the formation
of negative constructions. Chapter 6 deals with verb serialisation in
Kairiru, a phenomenon which leads to the positing of an intermediate level
in the syntactic hierarchy between the clause and the sentence - the
complex clause. Chapter 7 provides a brief sketch of the various types
of complex sentence construction and the functional relationships that
are overtly or implicitly indicated between clauses. The final section
treats topic marking in Kairiru discourse.

Chapter 8 gives a brief overview of the dialects of Kairiru, and summarises the findings of a dialect survey undertaken by the writer. Three appendices are included. Appendix I is a chart outlining the Kairiru phonemes, their allophones and their suggested orthographic equivalents. Appendix II includes two Kairiru texts together with both a morpheme-by-morpheme translation and a free translation. In Appendix III a list is given of the 212 items of the wordlist used in the dialect survey.

1	Sera	8	Terebu
2	Sissano	9	Kis
3	Tumleo	10	Wogeo
4	Ali	11	Bam
5	Ulau-Suain	12	Manam
6	Kairiru	13	Sepa
7	Kaiep	14	Medebur

0   50   100 km

3°S

VANIMO

1

3
2   4

AITAPE

WEST SEPIK PROVINCE

VOKEO ISLAND

KAIRIRU
ISLAND   10

6

5

WEWAK

MAPRIK

7
8

9

11

ANGORAM

AMBUNTI

EAST SEPIK PROVINCE

12   MANAM ISLAND

BOGIA

13

14

KARKAR ISLAND

MADANG PROVINCE

143° E
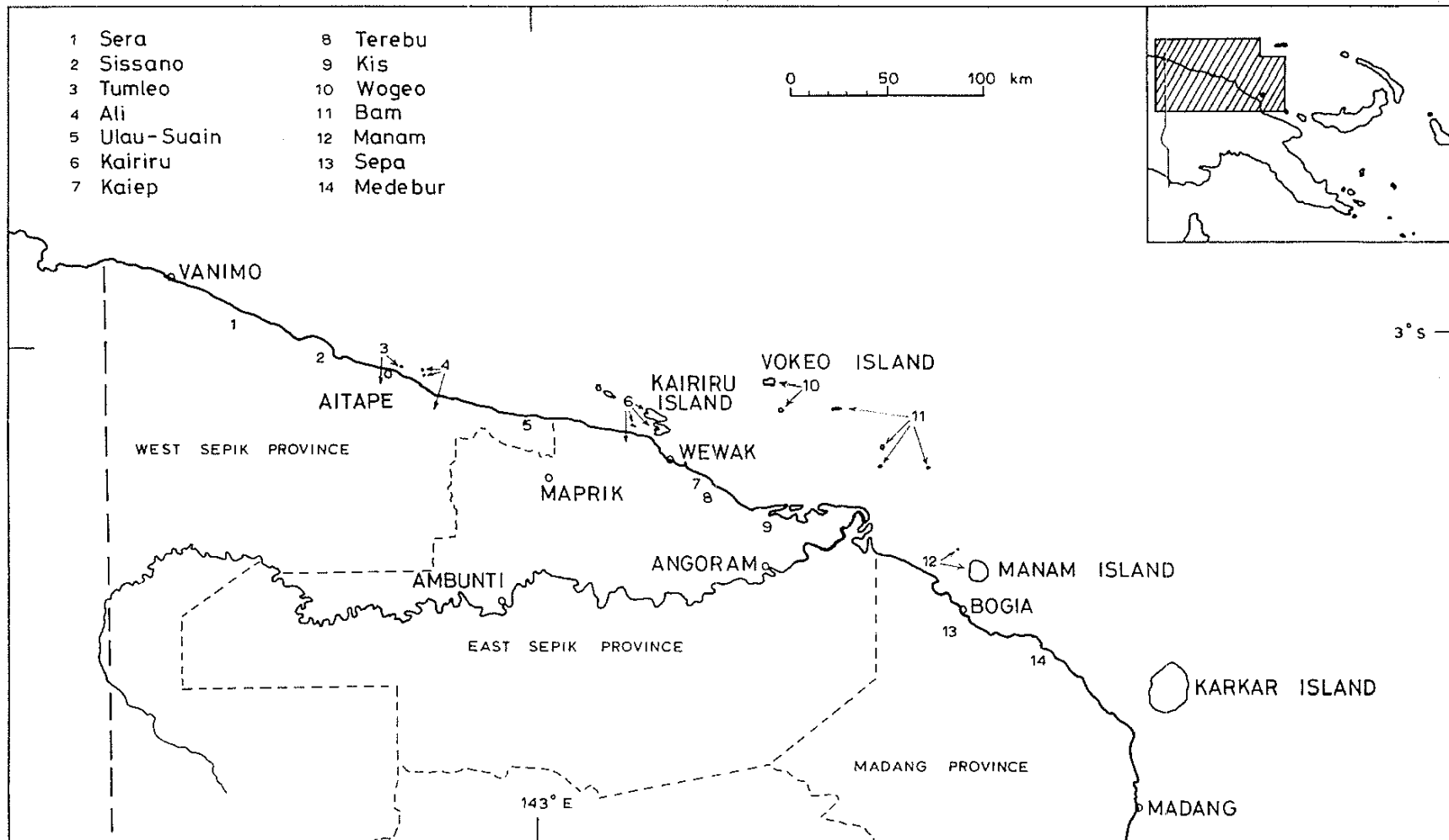
MADANG

MAP ONE : AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF THE SEPIK AND WESTERN MADANG AREA

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.0.   General Setting

The Kairiru language area is situated north-west of Wewak in the
East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Kairiru is spoken on the
islands of Kairiru (previously known as D'Urville) (3°20'S 143°33'E),
Karesau (Paris) (3°23'S 143°26'E), and Yuo (Guap) (3°24'S 143°29'E), and
in several coastal villages situated on the mainland between Cape Karawop
and Cape Samein. It is also spoken in the northern and western parts of
Mushu Island (Gressien) (3°25'S 143°35'E). According to the 1977 Kiap
Census there were 3,507 Kairiru language speakers living in the area or
domiciled elsewhere.

Together with thirteen other coastal languages of the Sepik and
Madang Provinces (see Map One), Kairiru falls into a 'Sepik-Madang'
subgroup within the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family (Grace 1955;
Laycock 1973, 1976; and Ross 1977). The other Sepik-Madang languages are:
Sera, Sissano, Tumleo, Ali, Ulau-Suain, Kaiep, Terebu, Kis, Wogeo, Bam,
Sepa, Manam and Medebur. Within this group Kairiru's closest relatives
are Kaiep and Terebu. It is difficult to say what its next closest
relatives are. On the one hand, Laycock (1976:400) includes Kairiru in
an 'Eastern' group, which he contrasts with a 'Western' group, viz:

I.   Western (sub-sub) group:

```
        ┌── 1.  Sera
      ┌─┤
      │ └── 2.  Sissano
    ┌─┤──── 3.  Tumleo
    │ │   ┌── 4.  Ali
  ┌─┤ └───┤
  │ │     └── 5.  Ulau-Suain
```

II. Eastern (sub-sub) group:

```
  │       ┌── 6.  Kairiru
  │     ┌─┤
  │     │ └── 7.  Kaiep¹
  └─────┤──── 8.  Kis
        └──── 9.  Wogeo
          ┌──────10.  Bam
        ┌─┤     ┌─11.  Sepa
        └─┤   ┌─┤
          └───┤ └─12.  Manam
              └───13.  Medebur
```
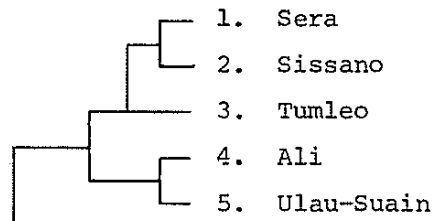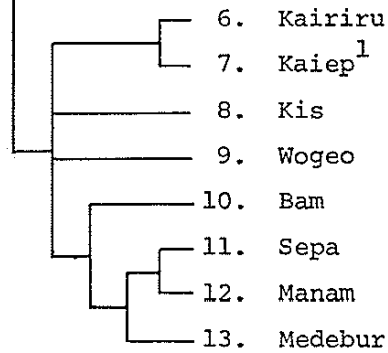
Ross (1977:79), on the other hand, places it in the Western Group:

I.   Western

```
          ┌── 1.  Sera
        ┌─┤
        │ └── 2.  Sissano
      ┌─┤ ┌── 3.  Tumleo
      │ └─┤
    ┌─┤   └── 4.  Ali
    │ └────── 5.  Ulau-Suain
    │       ┌──6.  Kairiru
    └───────┤
            │ ┌── 7.  Kaiep
            └─┤
              └── 8.  Terebu
```

II. Eastern

```
    │         ┌── 9.  Kis
    │       ┌─┤
    │       │ └──10.  Wogeo
    └───────┤ ┌──11.  Bam
            ├─┤
            │ └──12.  Manam²
            └────13.  Medebur
```
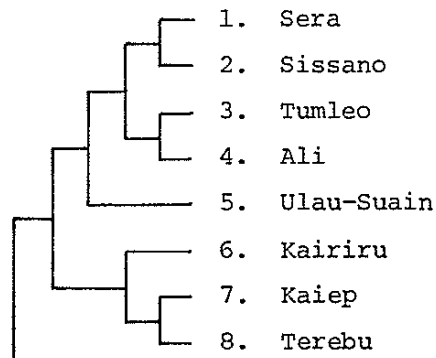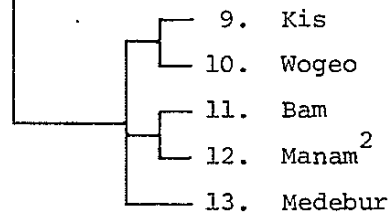
1.   Laycock treats Terebu as a dialect of Kaiep (p.407)

2.   Ross treats Sepa as a dialect of Manam (p.1)

The Kairiru people refer to their language by one of two names. The first, _leiny qairiru_ 'Kairiru language', is normally used by only the inhabitants of Kairiru Island. The other term, _leiny tau_ 'Tau language', is used by all other speakers of the language. One reason for this duality of terms is that non-Kairiru Island residents feel that the name 'Kairiru' only refers to the island itself and not to the speech community in general. A second reason is that, before European contact, Kairiru Island was actually named Tau Island and that the name Kairiru referred only to the lake that is situated in the centre of the island. In line with previous linguistic and anthropological publications, I will use the term Kairiru rather than Tau to refer to the wider language community.

With the exception of a few of the elderly women most Kairiru speakers are bilingual in the vernacular and Tok Pisin. A number of the younger people, especially amongst the men, also have some knowledge of English.

1.1.   Previous Work on and in the Kairiru Language and Society

Little has been published previously on the Kairiru Language. The Rev. W. Schmidt (SVD), then the priest in charge of Karesau Island, published two sets of short texts (1907 and 1909). Three vocabularies have been cited in comparative studies. The first of these was collected by A.C. Capell in 1950 and subsequently appeared in a comparative vocabulary of the 'Northern Mainland Languages' (Capell 1971). D.C. Laycock has also collected a wordlist, which he used as evidence in an internal subgrouping of the Sepik and Western Madang AN languages (Laycock 1973, 1976). A third vocabulary was elicited by M. Ross and used in his (1977) investigation of the Sepik-Madang group. The present writer (Wivell 1979) edited a trilingual reader in Kairiru, Tok Pisin and English, containing eleven folk-tales.

The writer is also at present preparing a Kairiru-English and English-
Kairiru dictionary for publication.

There has been only one translated work into Kairiru. A Roman Catholic
Catechism was translated into the Yuo dialect of the language (Jerome n.d.).

In addition to the linguistic materials on the Kairiru speech community,
M. Smith's (1978) dissertation, Good Men Face Hard Times In Koragur :
Ideology and Social Change in a New Guinea Village, presents a detailed
description of Koragur Village and Kairiru society in general. Also the
research forming the base of J.G. Wivell's (1980) education thesis, Child
Development and the Community School Curriculum in Papua New Guinea : A Case
Study, was carried out on Kairiru Island. Most of the data was collected
in the community school serving Koragur and other northern facing villages
on the island.

1.2.   Kairiru Ecology and Social Organisation

In contrast to other islands inhabited by the Kairiru speech
community, Kairiru Island is a prominent landmark in the Bismarck Sea. This
is not because of its length (13 km) or breadth (5.5 km) but because of its
height (3021 m). Kairiru Island is an extinct volcano. What little flat
ground there is on this rugged island can be found on a coastal hinterland
strip, which varies in width between fifty and four hundred and fifty metres.
It is on this strip and beside the fast-flowing mountain streams that all the
villages except one, Sabar, are built. Surrounding the villages are
coconut groves belonging to individual families, while the village gardens
may be as much as a two hour walk from the settlement. Often the gardens
are situated on the very steep and fairly infertile slopes of the mountain.

The other islands in the speech community, Mushu, Yuo and Karesau, are very different to Kairiru. Not only are they fairly flat and low-lying but they also consist of coral strand rather than basalt. Unlike the others Mushu has a covering of volcanic ash which has made its soil extremely fertile.

The tropical climate has two distinct seasons: <u>yavar</u> and <u>wau</u>. <u>yavar</u>[3] refers to the northwest monsoon which lasts for seven or eight months from September until April. This season is both a windy and stormy time for the northern villages of Kairiru Island and many of them become quite inaccessible by boat. <u>wau</u>[4], an east north easterly wind, lasts from May until August, the seas becoming much calmer during this time. It is during this season that the men use their outrigger canoes to fish on or beyond the reef.

The people live in fairly well defined nucleated settlements called <u>vanu</u> 'village'. These village settlements are further divided up into distinct residential units, termed <u>qoyeng</u> 'clan', which Smith (1978:23) observes are patrilineally based. In some cases a clan or clans have split off from the remainder of the village and have gone and set up new villages, often as far as thirty minutes walk away.

The community's economy is basically a subsistence one with copra being the main cash crop. However on parts of Mushu Island chili peppers and cocoa are grown either by individuals or by cooperatives on a commercial basis.

In general a swidden method of agriculture is practised. The men clear and burn off an area in the bush and the women do the planting, cultivating and harvesting of crops. Each year a new swidden is made and the old one

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3. Tok Pisin: <u>taleo</u>
4. Tok Pisin: <u>rai</u>

is left in fallow for a period of ten to fifteen years. The most important

subsistence crops are: mukajyou 'sweet potato', mwau 'taro', minam 'yam',

pamkin 'pumpkin' and various greens such as kutau 'spinach (Armanthus

gangeticus), pyek 'tulip (Gnetum gnemon) etc. Villagers also tend small

stands of rapi 'sago (Metroxylon spp.). This diet is augmented by rice and

tinned fish which are available at the village trade store. Occasionally

wild pork and fresh fish are also eaten.

1.3.   Details of Research

The fieldwork for this present study was conducted in 1979 under the

auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.). A total of eight

months was spent in the field between March and November. Most of this

time was spent in Koragur Village, on the north coast of Kairiru Island.

In June and July 1979 I undertook a preliminary dialect survey of the

whole Kairiru language area, the findings of which appear in Chapter Eight.

In order to carry out this survey most of the villages on Kairiru and

Mushu Islands as well as the settlement of Meni in Wewak were visited, and

wordlists and tape recordings of folk-tales were collected.

Although many informants, from various dialect areas were consulted,

my two main informants were Alois Kitok and Michael Woshul, both of Koragur

Village. Generally my elicitation was carried out in Tok Pisin, though

towards the end, as my competence in leiny gairiru increased, an increasing

proportion of data was elicited in the vernacular.

1.4.   Abbreviations and Conventions

The following abbreviations and conventions are used in this thesis.

Those that are not obvious are also explained when they are first used.

In general, though this is not always so, abbreviations referring to sentence,

clause and phrase types begin with an upper case letter; those that refer to either word or morpheme classes are in lower case; and those that refer to case relations or grammatical case are in capitals.

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
Alt NP	Alternate Noun Phrase
APL	alternate phrase linker
App NP	Appositional Noun Phrase
BEN	Benefactive Case or Marker
Ben Ph	Benefactive Phrase
c.a.	completed action
Cl	Clause
COM	Comitative Marker
com n	common noun
Com NP	Common Noun Phrase
Comp Cl	Complex Clause
comp n	compound noun
Comp NP	Complex Noun Phrase
Coord NP	Coordinate Noun Phrase
CPL	coordinate phrase linker
c.v.s.	compound verb stem
dem	demonstrative
dl	dual
DO	Direct Object
d.v.s.	derived verb stem
Eq Cl	Equational Clause
excl	exclusive
HAB/FUT	habitual/future tense aspect marker
incl	inclusive
ind pers pron	independent personal pronoun
ind pos pron	independent possessive pronoun
inl n	inalienable noun
inl pos pron	inalienable possessive pronoun
INST	Instrumental Case or Marker

Inst Ph	Instrumental Phrase
int.	intensifier
IO	Indirect Object Case
LOC	Locative Case
n	noun
n_{inl}	noun, class inalienable
NEG	Negative
NEG IMP	Negative Imperative
nom	noun as modifier
NP	Noun Phrase
num	quantifier
o.p.m.	object person marker
part	pre-verbal particle
pl	plural
place n	place name
POC	Proto-Oceanic
POS	possessive marker
Poss Cl	Possessive Clause
Poss Cl_a	Alternative Possessive Clause
Poss NP	Possessive Noun Phrase
Poss NP_a	Alternative Possessive Noun Phrase
PREP	preposition
prop n	personal name
Prop NP	Proper Noun Phrase
psd	possessed element
Psd NP	Possessed Noun Phrase
psr	possessor element
Psr NP	Possessor Noun Phrase
psu	phrase summary
RCl	Relative Clause
sg	singular
Simp Cl	Simple Clause
Simp NP	Simple Noun Phrase
sing.	singular
s.o.	someone
SOU/COM	Source/Comitative Case or Marker

Sou/Com Ph	Source/Comitative Phrase
s.p.m.	subject person marker
s.t.	something
SUBJ	Subject Case
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TOP	Topic Marker
v	verb
v_1	intransitive verb
v_2	stative verb
v_3	transitive verb
v_4	ditransitive verb
Vb Cl	Verbal Clause
VP	Verb Phrase
v.r.	verb root
v.s.	verb stem
1	first person
1st	first person
2	second person
2nd	second person
3	third person
3rd	third person
.	syllable boundary
+	morpheme boundary
#	word boundary

2.0. Introduction

In this chapter the main phonological features of Kairiru will be discussed. These include the segmental phonemes, the prosodic features and the phonotactics. A short section is also devoted to a practical ortho-graphy, which in certain respects is distinct from a phonemic one.

Kairiru segmental phonology is relatively straightforward, however it is slightly complicated by two factors; firstly there is a certain amount of regional variation within the Kairiru language community; this will be dealt with in full in chapter eight. Secondly there is also variation across age-groups. It appears that the phonetic representation of three of the phonemes has changed. These changes have become apparent by their usage, either in total or in part, by speakers under the age of approximately forty-five years. This phenomenon is discussed in section 2.1.2.1.1.

2.1. Segmental Phonology

There are fifteen consonant phonemes /p, t, k, q, f, v, s, j, m, n, ñ, ŋ, l, r, r̃/, two glide phonemes /w, y/ and five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/. These are tabulated below.

2.1.1. Chart of Phonemes

2.1.1.1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Back Velar
Stops	p	t		k	q
Fricatives					
vl.	f	s	j		
vd.	v				
Nasals	m	n	ñ	ŋ	
Liquids		l			
		r			
		r̃			

2.1.1.2. Glides

	Back rounded	Front unrounded
	w	y

2.1.1.3. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

2.1.2. Description of Phonemes

2.1.2.1. Consonants

2.1.2.1.1. Stops

/p/ Bilabial stop[1]. /p/ has two sets of allophones. The use of one set over another correlates with the age of the speaker.

For the speakers aged about forty-five years and upwards /p/ has two allophones [p˙] and [b]. [p˙][2] occurs in word final position only while [b] occurs in all other environments.

[wɔláp˙]   /wolap/   'big, large'

[ñar̃búəp˙]   /ñar̃puop/   'butterfly'

[bo]   /po/   'and (phrase linker)'

---

1.   To date others, principally Laycock (1976) and Ross (1977), have disagreed on whether or not there is a /p/, /b/ distinction in the language.   Laycock says,
> On the phonological level all the languages [i.e. the thirteen Sepik-Madang languages] lack a voiced/voiceless distinction in stops, although there are some indeterminate areas that make it worthwhile preserving the distinction for the time being. (1976:404)

In his comparative wordlist (p. 413-417) he maintains the contrast.
Ross in his paper says that,
> All three [Kairiru, Kaiep, Terebu] have the voiceless series /p, t, k/ and a voiced /b/.   (Ross 1977:12).

However neither the table on p.14 (Table 9.:Main reflexes of POC consonants in Sepik-Madang languages) nor the subsequent examples bear this out as /b/ only is shown to be present.

2. [c˙] signifies an unreleased consonant.

[bi̯yɛ́ɩ]	/piyei/	'where?'
[lùbalə́p˙]	/lupalap/	'thirteenth month'
[abɩ́k˙]	/apik/	'he takes it'
kuɾbu̯k˙]	/kurpuk/	'my liver'
[səbáɩ]	/spai/	'sometimes'
[bya̯l]	/pyal/	'house'
[byɛk˙]	/pyek/	'tulip (<u>Gnetum gnemon</u>)'

For speakers under the age of forty-five years /p/ has the allophones [p˙], [p], [b], [pʰ].

[p˙] Unreleased voiceless bilabial stop, occurs word finally only.

[wɔlə́p˙]	/wolap/	'big, large'
[ñãr̃bú̯əp˙]	/ñãr̃puop/	'butterfly'
[šɩp˙]	/jip/	'brown skin'

[p] Unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop, occurs following an /s/ or preceding the glides /w/ and /y/.

[spáɩ]	/spai/	'sometimes'
[aspóu̯ŋ]	/aspouŋ/	'he smells it'
[pwa̯l]	/pwal/	'parrotfish'
[pwɔʔ˙]	/pwoq/	'lump'
[pya̯l]	/pyal/	'house'
[wupyú]	/wupyu/	'I cook them on the fire'

[b] Voiced bilabial stop, occurs (a) following the (homorganic) nasal /m/, and (b) in free variation with [pʰ], cf. below, and with [p] when followed by a glide.

[numbú̯əŋ náɩ]	/numbuoŋ nai/	'yesterday'
[nɩm̃bamɩ́n]	/nimpamin/	'<u>Colocasia var</u>.'
[bwap]	/pwap/	'great great grandparent/grandchild'
[byɛk˙]	/pyek/	'tulip (<u>Gnetum gnemon</u>)'

[pʰ] Aspirated voiceless bilabial stop. This occurs in free variation with [b]. Both allophones occur in syllable initial position when followed by a vowel.

[lùbaláp˙]ᴧʃ[lùpʰaláp˙]   /lupalap/   'thirteenth month'

[kʊrbʊ́ñ]ᴧʃ[kʊrpʰʊ́ñ]   /kurpuñ/   'his liver'

[biyɛ́ɩ]ᴧʃ[pʰiyɛ́ɩ]   /piyei/   'where?'

[bʊr]ᴧʃ[pʰʊr]   /pur/   'pig'

/t/ [t˙] Unreleased voiceless alveolar stop. Generally occurs word final.

[ḳat˙]   /qat/   'canoe'

[ramát˙]   /ramat/   'person, man'

However it does occur syllable final in the following reduplicative.

[kīət˙kíət˙]   /kietkiet/   'black'

[t] Voiceless alveolar stop. Occurs in all other positions and environments.

[tɔláʊ]   /tolau/   'easterly wind'

[tamáñ]   /tamañ/   'his father'

[ɔʊští]   /oujti/   'it is full up'

[atyɛ́n]   /atyen/   'she is pregnant'

/k/ [k˙] Unreleased voiceless velar stop. Occurs word finally.

[šʊk˙]   /juk/   'elderly'

[apʰɩ́k˙]   /apik/   'he catches it'

[bak˙]ᴧʃ[pʰak˙]   /pak/   'island'

[g] Voiced velar stop. Occurs intervocalically between a high and a non-high vowel. It is in free variation with [k].

[mɔgín]ᴧ[mɔkín]	/mokin/	'good, well'
[mʊ̀gašyɔ́ʊ]ᴧ[mʊ̀kašyɔ́ʊ]	/mukajyou/	'sweet potato'
[pʰagʊ́r̃]ᴧ[pʰakʊ́r̃]	/pakur̃/	'drinking coconut'

[k] Voiceless velar stop. Occurs elsewhere.

[kyat˙]	/kyat/	'sago thatch, leaf'
[kyɛs]	/kyes/	'half-banded sea perch'
[kwáι]	/kwai/	'star'
[kɔp˙]	/kop/	'step on a ladder'
[kř̌am]	/kram/	'slit-gong'
[pʰakéo]	/pakeo/	'shark (gen.)'
[bakɛ́r̃]	/paker̃/	'sago stem'

/q/ Like /p/, /q/ has two sets of allophonic variants and the selection of one set over another correlates with the age of the speaker. Set one is used by all speakers over the age of forty-five as well as a proportion of younger speakers that directly decreases with age till the cut-off point of twenty years. The second set is used by all speakers under the age of twenty as well as those in the twenty to forty-five age group that do not use set one. In effect we are seeing a gradual change from a back velar point of articulation to a glottal one.

(i) <u>Set one</u>

[ḵ˙] Voiceless unreleased back velar stop. Occurs word finally.

[manʊ́ḵ˙]	/manuq/	'sore'
[pwɔḵ˙]	/pwoq/	'lump'

[x̣] Voiceless backed velar fricative. Occurs intervocalically between two like vowels and is in free variation with [ḵ].

[sax̣ár]ᴧ[saḵár]	/saqar/	'reef'

[àxanám]∿[àḳanám]　　/aqanam/　'it bites me'

[yuxúñ]∿[yuḳúñ]　　/yuquñ/　'tail'

[ɣ̣] Voiced backed velar fricative. Occurs intervocalically between vowels that are neither high nor fronted, it occurs in free variation with [g̣].

[šnayɔ́r̃]∿[šnag̣ɔ́r̃]　　/jVnaqor̃/[3]　'kin prohibition term'

[g̣] Voiced backed velar stop. cf. above.

[ḳ] Voiceless backed velar stop. Occurs elsewhere.

[ḳat˙]　　　　　/qat/　'canoe'

[ḳaβár̃]　　　　/qavar̃/　'pandanus type'

[ḳẁo]　　　　　/qwo/　'sea-shell type'

[ḳɩráʊ]　　　　/qirau/　'Colocasia (var.)'

(ii) Set two

[ʔ˙] Unreleased glottal stop. Occurs word finally.

[manú̃ʔ˙]　　　　/manuq/　'sore'

[pwɔʔ˙]　　　　/pwoq/　'lump'

[ʔ] Glottal stop. Occurs elsewhere.

[ʔat˙]　　　　　/qat/　'canoe'

[ʔaβár̃]　　　　/qavar̃/　'pandanus type'

[ʔwo]　　　　　/qwo/　'sea-shell-type'

[šnaʔɔ́r̃]　　　　/jVnaqor̃/[3]　'kin prohibition term'

[yuʔúñ]　　　　/yuquñ/　'tail'

2.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

/f/ [Φ] Voiceless bilabial fricative. Occurs in all positions.

[Φɔ̃Φ]　　　　　/fof/　'mother's brother's wife, husband's sister's daughter'

---

3. /jVnaqor̃/ is assumed to contain a phonemic vowel between /j/ and /n/ but the value of it cannot be determined.

[ɸlɔʊk̩ˊ']   /flouq/   'contamination of an article by a woman'

[k̩aɸéŋ]   /qafeŋ/   'basket'

[aɸwat˙']   /afwat/   'he is floating'

[aɸyás]   /afyas/   'he appoints him'

/v/ [β] Voiced bilabial fricative. Occurs in all positions.

[βat˙']   /vat/   'table, platform'

[βyat˙']   /vyat/   'four'

[k̩ɔβís]   /qovis/   'plant the taro!'

[aβyál]   /avyal/   'he is walking'

[wʊsíβ]   /wusiv/   'I peel them (the sweet potatoes)'

/s/ [s] Voiceless alveolar fricative. Occurs in all positions.

[sæŋ]   /saŋ/   'turtle'

[sas]   /sas/   'father's younger brother, elder brother's sibling'

[smatám]   /smatam/   'your face'

[wʊsβí]   /wusvi/   'I peel it (the sweet potato)'

[wʊsɔ́ι]   /wusoi/   'I am washing it'

[aswár]   /aswar/   'she scrapes her foot along the ground'

/j/ Voiceless alveopalatal. /j/ has two allophones: [č], a voiceless
alveopalatal affricate; and [š], a voiceless alveopalatal
fricative. There is a tendency for [č] to be used by the age-
group over the age of forty-five while [š] is used by speakers
under that age.

[šabʊ́m]ᵕ[čabʊ́m]   /jabum/   'wet, moistened'

[šιnáι]ᵕ[čιnáι]   /jinai/   'blood, tribe'

[šyεŋ]ᵕ[čyεŋ]   /jyeŋ/   'stake'

[šyaš]ᴧ̣[čyač]   /jyaj/   'fish, meat'

[wùškatí]ᴧ̣[wùčkatí]   /wujkati/   'I move it into position'

[ašɔ́r]ᴧ̣[ačɔ́r]   /ajor/   'he shouts'

2.1.2.1.3. Nasals

/m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal.   Occurs in all positions.

   [máʊ]   /mau/   'heavy'

   [mwáʊ]   /mwau/   'taro (Colocasia)'

   [mɪnám]   /minam/   'yam (Dioscorea)'

   [ḳamɔ́s]   /qamos/   'post'

   [mùmur̩í]   /mumuri/   'sorcery'

   [šɪm]   /jim/   'cloud'

/n/ [n] Voiced alveolar nasal. Occurs in all positions.

   [naɸ]   /naf/   'mango'

   [níu]   /niu/   'coconut'

   [mɪnám]   /minam/   'yam (Dioscorea)'

   [βanú]   /vanu/   'village, place'

   [mɔ́ɪn]   /moin/   'female'

   [aβyán]   /avyan/   'he climbs'

/ñ/ [ñ] Voiced palatal nasal. Occurs in all positions.

   [ñar̃]   /ñar̃/   'pebble'

   [ñɛp˙]   /ñep/   'body waste'

   [matáñ]   /matañ/   'his/her eye'

   [isúñ]   /i.suñ/   'area,environ'

   [wɔñáʊ]   /woñau/   'dog'

/ŋ/ [ŋ] Voiced velar nasal. Occurs in all positions.

[ŋʊm]	/ŋum/	'sweat'
[ŋyɛt˙]	/ŋyet/	'apica'
[æŋyɔ́ʊ]	/aŋyou/	'he plucks it'
[ŋιŋ]	/ŋiŋ/	'breadfruit (Artocarpus atilis var. seminifera)'
[wɔȓyǽŋ]	/woȓyaŋ/	'sun, daytime'

2.1.2.1.4. Liquids

/l/ [l] Voiced alveolar lateral. Occurs in all positions.

[lιl]	/lil/	'sand, rice'
[lal]	/lal/	'dug-out part of a canoe'
[ilέιl]	/ileil/	'tilipia'
[ɛιlpʰíl]	/eilpil/	'she pretends'
[pʰʊlpʰʊ́l]	/pulpul/	'knee-cap'

/r/ /r/ has two allophones: [ɽ] retroflex 'r', and [ȓ], voiced alveolar flap. They are in free variation with each other and they both occur in all positions.

[ɽyɛk˙]∿[ȓyɛk˙]	/ryek/	'kunai grass (Imperata arundinacea)'
[ɽamát˙]∿[ȓamát˙]	/ramat/	'person, male'
[ɽʋ̀kɔɽáʋ]∿[ȓʋ̀kɔȓáʋ]	/rukorau/	'floor'
[maɽák̚˙]∿[maȓák̚˙]	/maraq/	'string-bag twine'
[wʊɽ]∿[wʊȓ]	/wur/	'crayfish'
[šιɽ]∿[šιȓ]	/jir/	'swamp'

/ȓ̃/ [r̃] Voiced alveolar trill. Occurs in all positions.

[r̃yέt˙]	/r̃yet/	'shooting star'
[r̃akέñ]	/r̃akeñ/	'councillor, branch'

[r̃ipyál]	/r̃ipyal/	'household'
[wɔr̃yǽŋ]	/wor̃yaŋ/	'sun, daytime'
[ñar̃pʰúəp˙]	/ñar̃puop/	'butterfly'
[wʊr̃]	/wur̃/	'banana'
[pʰɔpwír̃]	/popwir̃/	'goby'

Contrasting /l/, /r/ and /r̃/

[wʊl]	/wul/	'dead coconut frond'
[wʊr̩]∿[wʊř]	/wur/	'crayfish'
[wʊr̃]	/wur̃/	'banana'

2.1.2.1.5. Non-phonemic Palatalisation and Labialisation

In all the dialects except Yuo and Wom there occurs a type of consonantal palatalisation and labialisation that is optional and non-contrastive.

In general, these forms of consonantal modification occur between the onset consonant and the following vowel in syllables that have primary word stress placed on them.

The palatalisation process may be summed up in two rules. Firstly any consonant may be palatalised if it precedes an /i/ or /e/ in a final closed syllable of a polysyllabic word.

$$C > C^y / \cdot \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \acute{V} \\ +\text{front} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} (V) \ C \ \#^4$$

[k̬aɸʸéŋ]∿[k̬aɸéŋ]	/qafeŋ/	'basket'
[šæŋʸéŋ]∿[šæŋéŋ]	/jaŋeŋ/	'fishing spear'
[k̬ɔr̃ʸél]∿[k̬ɔr̃él]	/qor̃el/	'plenty'
[k̬ɔk̬ʸéak̬˙]∿[k̬ɔk̬éak̬˙]	/qoqeaq/	'frog (gen.)'

---

4. · Signifies a syllable boundary.

[abˠí⌐]ᴎ[abíl]   /apil/   'year'

in contrast with;

[ḳar̥éo]   /qareo/   'moon, month'

[ḳʊsɾu]   /qusiu/   'rat'

    Secondly, any consonant that is neither a back velar nor an alveolar may be palatalised if it precedes an /a/ in the final syllable of a polysyllabic word.

    $C > C^y /\cdot$ —— a C #

[ḳr̃apˠám]ᴎ[ḳr̃apʰám] /qr̃apam/   'your (sing.) shoulder'

[mɔŋˠán]ᴎ[mɔŋán]   /moŋan/   'male'

[ḳašˠáḳ˙]ᴎ[ḳašáḳ˙]   /qajaq/   'crab (gen.)'

There are two groups of exceptions to this latter rule, firstly all forms of reduplicatives are exempt;

[nanát]   /nanat/   'child'

[ΦæŋΦǽŋ]   /faŋfaŋ/   'quickly'

and secondly all monosyllabic morphemes that occur in a polysyllabic word or compound, for example intransitive verb stems.

    In the case of labialisation any apical consonant may be optionally labialised if it occurs in the onset position of a final CVC syllable where V is represented by the mid back vowel /o/;

[atʷɔ́l]ᴎ[atɔ́l]   /atol/   'egg'

[yɛsʷɔ́ḳ˙]ᴎ[yɛsɔ́ḳ˙]   /yesoq/   'European'

[šʷɔm]ᴎ[šɔm]   /jom/   'rat'

    In the following section the phonemic counterparts of the above forms of consonantal modification will be dealt with. There they are interpreted as being consonant plus glide sequences rather than as being modified (palatalised and labialised)

consonant phonemes.

2.1.2.2.   Glides

The phonemes /w/ and /y/ have been categorised as glides and not
as consonants. This is due to their limited distribution within the
syllable. Both phonemes can only occur in the onset position directly
preceding a vowel. Consonants on the other hand may occur in the
onset in either or both positions as well as in the coda, (cf. 2.3.1).
These two phonemes are also distinct from the two high vowels /u/ and
/i/ in that there is a phonemic contrast between /wu, wi/ and /u, ui/,
and between /yi, yu/ and /i, iu/.

/w/ [w] Voiced back rounded glide. Occurs as the onset or as part of
     the onset of the syllable. When occuring as the latter, i.e. in
     a CG sequence, the only consonants that may precede it are /p, f,
     m, s, k, q/

     [wʊr̃]   /wur̃/   'banana'

     [mʊwɔ́ŋ]   /muwoŋ/   'old'

     [awɔ́t˙]   /awot/   'he/she talks'

     [kwʊɸ]   /kwuf/   'bamboo type'

     [lʊmwɔ́k˙]   /lumwok/   'blow-fly'

     [pwi̯ət˙]   /pwiet/   'cardinalfish'

     [k̬wo]   /qwo/   'shell type'

     [aswár̥]   /aswar/   'she scrapes'

and [r̃iwi̯š]   /r̃iwij/   'they collect them up'

     in contrast with;

     [r̃iβís]   /r̃ivis/   'they plant taro'

/y/ [y] Voiced front unrounded glide. Occurs as the onset or as part

of the onset of the syllable. When occuring as the latter, i.e.
in a CG sequence, the only consonants that may precede it are
/p, f, v, m, t, j, k, ŋ, l, r̃, r/.

[yawɔ́s]	/yawos/	'fire'
[yíu]	/yiu/	'spear'
[ḳɔyéŋ]	/qoyeŋ/	'clan'
[pʰiyéι]	/piyei/	'where'
[Φɔlyék˙]	/folyek/	'live fish'
[Φyar]	/fyar/	'hibiscus'
[æŋyɔ́ʊ]	/aŋyou/	'he plucks it'
[pyɛk˙]	/pyek/	'Gnetum gnemon'
[ryɛk˙]	/ryek/	'kunai grass (Imperata arundinacea)'
[ryɛt˙]	/ryet/	'shooting star'
[βyat˙]	/vyat/	'four'
[šyɛŋ]	/jyeŋ/	'stake'
[škyap˙]	/jikyap/	'bone'

2.1.2.3.   Vowels

/i/ [i] High tense front unrounded vowel. Occurs in open syllables
where (a) it alone comprises the vowel nucleus, or (b) it is the
first vowel in a vowel sequence.

[kíət˙]	/kiet/	'ladder'
[tíu]	/tiu/	'garden stake'
[winí]	/wini/	'I drink it'
[ibwɔ́ñ]	/ipwoñ/	'his/her head'
[pʰiyéι]	/piyei/	'where'

[ι]   High lax front unrounded vowel. Occurs elsewhere.

[šéιk˙]	/jeik/	'net-bag'
[wɔ́ι]	/woi/	'paddle'

[ɣɪ r̃]   /yir̃/   'hair'

[k̩ɔmɪnanɪ́u]   /qominaniu/   'land crab'

/u/ [u] High tense back rounded vowel. Occurs in open syllables where (a) it is the only vowel in a vowel nucleus, or (b) it is the first vowel in a vowel sequence, or (c) following an /i/.

[bu]   /pu/   'betel nut (Areca catechu)'

[muwɔ́ŋ]   /muwoŋ/   'old'

[ř ǔo]   /ruo/   'rafters'

[ñař bǔəp˙] /ñařpuop/   'butterfly'

[nɪ́u]   /niu/   'coconut (Cocos nucifera)'

[ùnanú]   /unanu/   'place to place'

[ʊ] High lax back rounded vowel. Occurs elsewhere.

[ɸlɔ́ʊk̩˙]   /flouq/   'contamination of an article by a woman'

[mʷáʊ]   /mwau/   'taro (Colocasia var.)'

[šɪnšʊ́n]   /jinjun/   'wild'

[k̩ʊt˙]   /qut/   'louse'

/e/ [e] Mid tense front unrounded vowel. Occurs as the initial vowel of a vowel sequence where the following vowel is either an /a/ or an /o/.

[k̩aɾéo]   /qareo/   'moon, month'

[méɔʊ]   /meou/   'eel'

[k̩ɔk̩éak̩˙]   /qoqeaq/   'frog'

[ɸéar]   /fear/   'stingray'

[ə] Mid lax central unrounded vowel. Occurs after a stressed /i/ in a vowel sequence and is in free variation with [ɛ].

[kɪ́ət˙]∿[kɪ́ɛt˙] /kiet/   'ladder'

[mɪ́əm]∿[mɪ́ɛm] /miem/   'my mother'

[ɛ] Mid lax front unrounded vowel. Occurs elsewhere.

[šmɛšɛ́m]	/jemejem /	'morning'
[tɛ́ιk·]	/teik/	'my brother'
[ɛιpʰáι]	/eipai/	'no!'

/o/ [o] Mid tense back rounded vowel. Occurs word finally only.

| [ḳató] | /qato/ | 'windpipe' |
| [r̃ío] | /r̃io/ | 'floor material' |

[ə] Mid lax central unrounded vowel. Occurs after a stressed /u/ in a vowel sequence and is in free variation with [ɔ].

[wúəs]∿[wúɔs]	/wuos/	'Get out of the way!'
[ar̃úəŋ]∿[ar̃úɔŋ]	/aruoŋ/	'he listens, hears'
[r̥úəm]∿[r̥úɔm]	/ruom/	'breadfruit (Artocarpus atilis var. apyrena)'

[ɔ] Mid lax back rounded vowel. Occurs elsewhere.

[wɔláp·]	/wolap/	'big, large'
[bɔḳúŋ]	/poquŋ/	'wood knot'
[atʷɔ́ι]	/atol/	'egg'
[wɔ́ι]	/woi/	'paddle'
[sabɔ́ʊ]	/sapou/	'cockatoo'

/a/ [æ] Low tense front unrounded vowel. Occurs before a velar nasal only, it is in free variation with [a]·

[sæŋ]∿[saŋ]	/saŋ/	'turtle'
[ŋæŋíu]∿[ŋaŋíu]	/ŋaŋiu/	'wasp'
[yæŋyǽŋ]∿[yaŋyáŋ]	/yaŋyaŋ/	'yellow'

[a] Fronted low lax central unrounded vowel. Occurs elsewhere.

[ramát·]	/ramat/	'person'
[atíu]	/atiu/	'it is hot'
[r̃áʊ]	/rau/	'stake'

2.1.2.3.1. Non-phonemic Shwa

There are three environmentally defined manifestations of the
Shwa:

First, /o/ and /e/ have a tendency to become centralised when follow-
ing a stressed high vowel in the syllable form C(G)VVC.

$$C \ (G) \begin{bmatrix} \acute{V} \\ +high \\ \alpha front \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -high \\ -low \\ \alpha front \end{bmatrix} \quad C > C(G)\acute{V}\partial C$$

[kíət˙]	/kiet/	'ladder'
[pwíət˙]	/pwiet/	'cardinalfish'
[arǔən]	/aruon/	'it is finished'
[ñarbúəp˙]	/ñarpuop/	'butterfly'

Secondly, in rapid speech /i/ also tends to become centralised when it
occurs in the first syllable of a non-monosyllabic word, given that the
syllable is of the form Ci(C).

[mìlamáI]>[məlamáI]	/milamal/	'custom'
[tìlιŋyéñ]>[təlιŋyéñ]	/tiliŋyeñ/	'his/her ear'
[tιnóʊ]>[tənóʊ]	/tinou/	'thatch material'
[šιnáι]>[šənáι]	/jinai/	'blood'
[šικyáp˙]>[šəkyáp˙]	/jikyap/	'bone'

Further where /j/ is manifested as [š] in the onset consonant slot of
the syllable /i/ can be deleted altogether thus creating an apparent
consonant cluster.

[šimwáʊ]>[šmwáʊ]	/jimwau/	'bush'
[šikyáp˙]>[škyəp˙]	/jikyap/	'bone'
[šιnáι]>[šnáι]	/jinai/	'blood'

Thirdly, an epenthetic shwa sometimes occurs as a consonant breaker
between an otherwise word initial consonant cluster where those two
consonants are a sequence of either, a stop and the liquids /l, r/ or,

/f/ and /l/, or, /s/ and a non-fricativised consonant.

[pʰə̀labúəl]>[plabúəl] /plapuol/ 'round'

[ḳə̀ř̥apʰáñ]>[ḳř̥apʰáñ] /qřapañ/ 'his/her shoulder'

[Φə̀lɔ́ʋḳˑ]>[Φlɔ́ʋḳˑ]   /flouq/   'contamination of an article by a woman'

[sənʋ́pˑ]>[snʋpˑ]   /snup/   'stopper for vessel'

[səpʰáɩ]>[s.páɩ]   /spai/   'sometimes'

[səř̥ú]>[sř̥u]   /sř̥u/   'a pair'

[səḳáiŋ]>[sḳáɩŋ]   /sqaiŋ/   'small'

[səlʃəŋ]>[slʃəŋ]   /slieŋ/   'coconut fibre'

2.2. Suprasegmental Phonology

2.2.1. Stress

2.2.1.1. Within the word

The average word length is either di- or trisyllabic. However quadrasyllabic words exist as do a number of quintrasyllabic ones. The latter are exclusively derivations of certain trisyllabic transitive verb stems. Word stress is placed as follows: Primary stress falls upon the ultima, secondary stress on the antipenultima and so on.

$$(((\breve{S}_5)\ \grave{S}_4)\ \grave{S}_3)\ S_2\ \acute{S}_1$$

[kap·ɣám]   /kapyam/   'your (sing.) back'

[ku·táʋ]   /kutau/   'spinach'

[mɩ̀s·i·síu]   /misisiu/   'hiccough'

[ša·rɛ̀m·pa·rɛ́m] /jaremparem/ 'threadfin fish'

[a·yɩ̀·βi·ɣáʋ]   /ayiviyau/ 'it is hot'

[ḳɔ̌·ḳa·Φìt·a·ř̥ú] /qoqafitař̥u/ 'you (sing.) reject them (dl)'

[ř̥ǎ·kʋk·ù·ra·ḳáɩ] /ř̥akukuraqai/ 'they come together'

2.2.1.2. Within the syllable

In syllables containing a complex vowel nucleus, stress falls upon the first vowel of the vowel sequence in that particular syllable.

$$\cdot (C) \quad \left\{ {(C) \atop (G)} \right\} \quad {V \atop [+ \text{ stress}]} \quad (V) \quad (C) \cdot$$

$$\cdot C \quad {V \atop [+ \text{ stress}]} \quad V \quad V \cdot$$

[bu]	/pu/	'betel nut (Areca catechu)'
[mwáʋ]	/mwau/	'taro (Colocasia)'
[níu]	/niu/	'coconut (Cocos nucifera)'
[éɪs]	/eis/	'he sharpens it'
[mɔ́ɪt˙]	/moit/	'blade'
[nʋm·púəŋ]	/numpuoŋ/	'yesterday'
[méɔʋ]	/meou/	'eel'

2.2.2.   Intonation and Pause

2.2.2.1.   Intonation

There are several intonation patterns present that have a contrastive significance in relation to meaning.
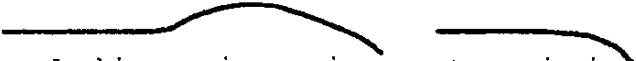
(i)   Question Intonation.   Generally questions that involve the use of question words, i.e. WH questions, follow the pattern: Mid intonation that rises on the penultimate word and then falls on the final syllable.

(1)   yieq   asa-m   yit
      you(sg) name-2sg who
      'what is your name?'

(2)   yieq   pu   yit qo-qaku-i
      you(sg) betel palm who 2sg-make taboo -3sg
      'whose betel palm are you making taboo?'

Where the question also involves an alternative the above patterning applies and the alternative segment is marked with a low and level

intonation contour, as in,
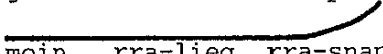
(3)   yieq   moul kiu   pai   qo-im   tap eipai
      you   work what HAB/ 2sg-make   or   NEG
      (sg)   FUT   (3sg)

     'what work do you have to do, or don't you?'

(ii) Declarative Intonation. For producing clause-final intonation in declarative statements the pitch is raised on the last syllable of that clause.

(4)   niu   rra-kuok   rra-tu
      coconut 3pl-gather 3pl-stand
                up(3pl)

     'they gather the coconuts up into piles'
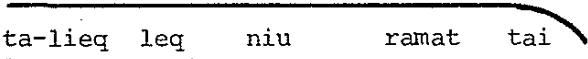
(5)   rri   moin   rra-lieq rra-snap
      they woman 3pl-go   3pl-tie up into
      (pl)   bundles(3pl)

     'the women go and tie them up into bundles'

    Sentence-final intonation in statements and possibly also in imperatives is produced by falling tone on the last syllable of that sentence.

(6)   niu   a-marang   rra-takil   rra-fuos
      coconut 3sg-be dry 3pl-pick up 3pl-break open
                       (3pl)   (3pl)
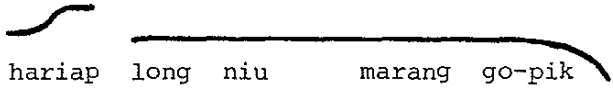
      rra-qur   qafeng rra-lieq rra-nang   rra-tu
      3pl-put into sacks   3pl-go   3pl-put(3pl) 3pl-stand
         (3pl)

      ta-lieq leq   niu   ramat   tai
      1pl-go   again   coconut person one

      'When the copra is dry it is cut up and put into sacks, then we
      will go and do some other person's copra.'

(iii) Imperative Intonation. In imperatives the sentence is marked with a rise from mid to high tone on the second syllable. Then the remainder
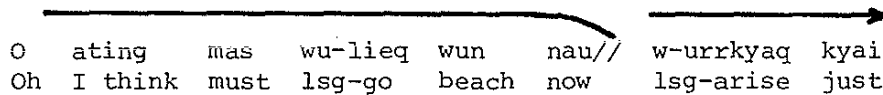
of the sentence displays a declarative intonation pattern.
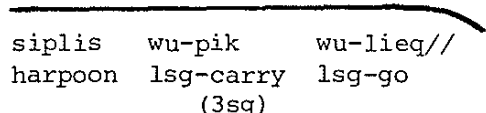
(7) hariap long niu   marang go-pik
    hurry   PREP coconut dry   2sg-carry
     up   (3sg)

'Hurry and get the dry coconut!'

2.2.2.2. Pause

There are two distinct lengths of pause that are correlated with intonation patterns.

Breaks between phonological sentences are distinguished in speech by a long pause, marked by // , as well as by sentence intonation. For example,

(8) O   ating   mas   wu-lieq wun   nau// w-urrkyaq kyai
    Oh   I think must 1sg-go   beach now   1sg-arise just

    siplis   wu-pik   wu-lieq//
    harpoon 1sg-carry   1sg-go
          (3sg)

'(I thought) I should go to the beach now. So I just got up, took the harpoon and went.'

Short pauses occur within the phonological sentence. These are marked by /. They are used with clause intonation to distinguish one clause from another.

(9) /moin mongan ta-1s-i / pai rri   moin   rra-qur   jeik /
    woman male   1pl-chop in HAB/ they woman 3pl-put   net-bag
            half-3sg   FUT (pl)   into (3pl)

'us men and women cut them in half and then the women put them into the net-bags'

Also they may be used to separate one noun phrase from another in an

alternate noun phrase construction. For example,

(10) /orait niu   ramat wuru o ramat tuol pai rra-woq
     so   coconut person two or person three HAB/3pl-pierce(3pl)
                                                FUT

     rra-qur   bag qolem tai o/ qolem wuru mwang /
     3pl-put into(3pl) sack ten   one or ten   two half

     'So two or three people's copra will come to either ten or
     twenty-five sacks.'

2.3.   Phonotactics

2.3.1.   Syllable Types

There are twenty-one syllable types, the nuclei of which consists

of either a vowel or a vowel sequence. For a justification of this

analysis see 2.2.1 on stress.   These syllable types may be

formalised in the following two syllable structures:

(1) ·(C) $\left\{ {(C) \atop (G)} \right\}$ V (V) (C)·

(2) ·CVVV·

(1) V· Occurs independently and both initially and medially in poly-
     syllabic words.

                    /o/   'or'

                    /i·suñ/   'half'

                    /a·mu·mut/   'he vomits'

                    /mil·a·woñ/   'long'

                    /mul·o·miel/   'directly'

(2) VV· Occurs independently and initially in polysyllabic words.

                    /iu/   'spear'

                    /ei/   'he, she'

                    /ou·qa·kyau/   'he shoots me'

/ei·na·myat/   'he sleeps'

(3) VC· Occurs independently and initially in polysyllabic words.

/ap/   'future marker'

/aj·mi/   'cloud'

/al·sr̃u/   'he chops them (dl) down'

(4) VVC· Occurs independently and initially in polysyllabic words.

/eis/   'he sharpens it'

/oum·pa·la·qai/   'it capsizes'

(5) CV· Occurs independently and in all positions in polysyllabic
words.

/po/   phrase conjunction

/fi·nien/   'this one'

/aj·mi/   'cloud'

/ru·ko·rau/   'floor'

/qui·mo·ri/   'end piece'

(6) GV· Occurs independently and both initially and medially in
polysyllabic words.

/wu/   'ceremonial stone'

/a·wo·pui/   'he rolls it up'

/wu·poup/   'tuna, mackerel'

(7) CVC· Occurs independently and in all positions in polysyllabic
words.

/faŋ/   'live coconut leaf'

/liŋ·kiu/   'black skin'

/ska·sek/   'small'

/r̃i·pil·pil/   'they tell lies'

(8) GVC· Occurs independently and both initially and finally in
polysyllabic words.

/yit/   'who'

/wur·a·wer/   'taro (<u>Colocasia var.</u>)'

(9) CVV· Occurs independently and both initially and finally in
polysyllabic words.

/lei/   'ginger'

/qou·ta·qau/   'show me!'

(10) GVV· Occurs independently and in all positions in polysyllabic
words.

/woi/   'paddle, oar'

/i·tam·yai/   'garden boundary'

/wui·wui/   'house bearer'

/lu·wai·lu·wai/   'zebra moray, girdled moray'

(11) CCV· Occurs independently and in all positions in polysyllabic
words.

/sr̃u/   'pair, brace'

/sma·sam/   'sawfish'

/for·pr̃u/   'spotted snake eel'

/a·pri·ma·r̃u/   'he persuades them (dl)'

(12) CGV· Occurs independently and initially in polysyllabic words.

/qwo/   'sea-shell type'

/pwa·peq/   'bream'

(13) CVVC· Occurs independently and both initially and finally in
polysyllabic words.

/kiet/   'ladder'

/map·joul/   'lizard type'

/puol·puol/   'sago type'

(14) GVVC· Occurs independently only.

/wuos/   'get out of the way!'

/weim/   'leatherjacket fish'

(15) CCVC· Occurs independently and both in initial and final

positions in polysyllabic words.

/snup/	'bottle stopper'
/poŋ·kruf/	'cucumber'
/smaq·a·moq/	'crocodile'

(16) CGVC· Occurs independently and both initially and finally in polysyllabic words.

/vyat/	'four'
/i·pwoñ/	'his/her head'
/pwaq·a·peq/	'sweeper fish'

(17) CCVV· Occurs independently and finally in polysyllabic words.

/spai/	'how much?'
/a·qrei/	'it is raining'

(18) CGVV· Occurs independently and finally in polysyllabic words.

/kwai/	'star'
/mu·ka·jyou/	'sweet potato'

(19) CCVVC· Occurs independently only.

/spiãr/	'coconut scraper'

(20) CGVVC· Occurs independently only.

/mwoui/	'adze type'
/pwiet/	'cardinal-fish'

(21) CVVV· Occurs independently and word-finally in polysyllabic words.

/meou/	'eel'
/wu·qoj·koui/	'I tie it up'

2.3.2. Clusters and Sequences

2.3.2.1. Consonant Clusters

(a) Within the syllable

Consonant clusters can only occur in the onset position of the syllable. There are two types of consonant clusters. First, a stop

followed by an alveolar liquid;

/for·p̃ru/	'spotted snake eel'
/plek/	'trick'
/a·qrei/	'it is raining'
/wun·t̃ru/	'I close the door'

The second type of CC is where a voiceless fricative is followed by a non-fricative consonant;

/flouq/	'contamination of an article by a woman'
/snup/	'bottle stopper'
/ska·sek/	'small'

(b) Across syllable boundaries

Most consonant combinations may occur across syllable boundaries without restriction. There are no instances of geminate clusters, however.

/liŋ·kiu/	'black skin'
/kiet·kiet/	'black'
/jin·jun/	'wild, undomesticated'
/put·pwat/	'chicken-pox'
/ñar̃·puop/	'butterfly'
/for·p̃ru/	'spotted snake eel'

2.3.2.2. Vowel Sequences

Vowel sequences can only occur within the syllable and do not occur across syllable boundaries. In any complex vowel nucleus each vowel is of, or almost of, equal timing in relation to each of the other vowels.[5]

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5. This interpretation makes the postulation of certain vowel sequences as dipthongs in the language a redundant notion. The adoption of the above analysis is justified in that the placement of stress within the syllable then becomes predictable (see 2.2.1. on stress).

/mwau/	'taro (<u>Colocasia</u>)'
/pi·pui/	'hot'
/wu·riem/	'bush rat, bandicoot'
/meou/	'eel
/a·qoj·koui/	'he ties it up'

2.3.2.3.   <u>Consonant Glide Sequences</u>

cf. 2.1.2.2.

2.4.   <u>Orthography</u>

A 'practical' orthography has been adopted for typing reasons in the chapters relating to the issues of morphology and syntax. This 'practical' orthography, which was in part used in <u>Nikanik Leiny Tau</u>, a small triglot book of Kairiru folk tales, differs from the phonemic one in that <u>ny</u> is substituted for /ñ/, <u>ng</u> for /ŋ/, and <u>rr</u> for /ř/.

For a full list of Kairiru phonemes, their allophonic variants and a suggested orthography see Appendix I.

CHAPTER THREE : NOUN PHRASE

_____

3.0.   Introduction

The first four sections of this chapter are concerned with a description
of the basic noun phrase types. Sections five through to eight are given
over to describing the form and function of the various classes of modifiers
that are used to modify the head of a noun phrase. In the final section a
summary is given of the noun phrase rules that have been discussed in the
previous sections.

3.1.   The Noun Phrase: An Overview

There are three primary types of noun phrase (NP):   Simple Noun Phrase
(Simp NP), Complex Noun Phrase (Comp NP), and Appositional Noun Phrase (App NP).
Each of these types differs from the other two in the number of head
slots it contains. The simple noun phrase consists of only one head. The
complex noun phrase consists of at least two heads that are linked together
by means of either a co-ordinating or an alternating conjunction. The
appositional noun phrase consists of only two heads, which not only stand
juxtaposed to each other but in semantic terms also refer to different
descriptions of or names for the one referent. These types are described
in more detail below.

It is also convenient at this point in the description to discuss
another constituent of the noun phrase; the Phrase Summary (psu). This
occurs lineally after all the other elements of the noun phrase.

$$NP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simp NP} \\ \text{Comp NP} \\ \text{App NP} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{(psu)}$$

37.

The phrase summary consists of the three third person independent personal pronouns <u>ei</u> 'he, she, it'; <u>rru</u> 'they (dl)', <u>rri</u> 'they (pl)'. One of these forms is used to sum up the contents of the noun phrase that it occurs in.

The phrase summary is restricted in its use, however, in that it can only occur in noun phrases that: a) refer to a human referent, and possibly to other higher animates such as dogs, hens etc.; and b) occur as a non-oblique case in the clause. Examples of the use of the psu are:

(1) <u>kyau   rri   ramat   tuol   rri</u>   w-un-rri
      I   they   man   three   they (pl)   1sg-strike-3pl
             (pl)   (psu)

     'I hit the three men'

(2) <u>moin   Rrinrrin ei</u>   o-ur   wun   nau   a-q-i
      woman Rr.   she   3sg-   beach   salt-   3sg-fetch
                       (psu)   descend   water   -3sg

     'The woman Rrinrrin, she went down to the beach to fetch some
      saltwater'

(3) <u>foyeq</u>   Masos   rru   miem   Samen   <u>rru</u>   rri-lieq
      great grand-   M.   cpl   mother S.   they(dl)   3dl-go
            parent   (my)   (psu)

     rryan   Smolau
     river   S.

     'great-grandfather Masos and my mother Samen went to the river
      at Smolau'

But <u>rri</u> is not grammatical in the following because the NP occurs as an oblique case,

(4) (yieq)   monyeq   qo-ny-rri   <u>rri</u>   ramat   tuol   (*rri)
      you(sg) food   2sg-give-3pl   they(pl)   man   three they(pl)
                                                                 (psu)

     'Give the food to the three men!'

3.2.   Simple Noun Phrase

The simple noun phrase (Simp NP) consists of only one head. In this section, two basic types of simple noun phrase are discussed; the Common Noun Phrase (Com NP) and the Proper Noun Phrase (Prop NP).

$$\text{Simp NP} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Com NP} \\ \text{Prop NP} \end{Bmatrix}$$

These two types of simple noun phrase differ from each other in two

ways. Firstly, the head of a common noun phrase can be filled only by

either a common noun, regardless of whether it is mass or count or inalien-

able or alienable; or by a nominal compound. The head of a proper noun

phrase on the other hand can only consist of either a proper name, a place

name, or an independent personal pronoun. The second difference is that in

the former noun phrase type the head may be modified in meaning by a phrasal

periphery comprised of certain modifying elements such as adjectives,

numerals, demonstratives etc. In contrast to this the proper noun phrase

consists of only one constituent - the head - and this cannot be modified

in any way.

3.2.1.   Common Noun Phrase

The Common Noun Phrase (Com NP) in Kairiru consists of an

obligatory head and a group of optional modifiers. It is

convenient to recognise two types of Com NP: The Modified Noun

Phrase in which the head is modified by ordinary modifiers, i.e.

those modifiers specifying quality, quantity, spatiality etc.;

and the Possessive Noun Phrase in which the head is modified by

possessive modifiers i.e. a modifier acting as a possessor.

3.2.1.1.   Modified Noun Phrase

The Modified Noun Phrase (Mod NP) consists of a nominal

head and a number of post-nominal modifiers. One possible

ordering of these elements is defined by the following rule:

$$\text{Mod NP} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{com n} \\ \text{comp n} \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{(nom) (adj) (adj) (num) (dem) (RCl)}$$

The Mod NP is either simple or complex. A simple head

consists of a common noun (com n); a complex head consists of a

nominal compound (comp n). Nominal modifiers include such

constituents as: nouns acting as modifiers (nom) (see section
3.2.1.1.2.); adjectives (adj) specifying colour, size and other
qualitative attributes (see 3.5); quantifiers (num), these
include numerals as well as other quantifier forms (see 3.6);
demonstratives (dem) (see 3.8).; and relative clauses (RCl)
(see 7.4.1).

The following are examples of modified noun phrase
structures:

(5) kyau <u>qat</u>   wu-rrim   rruon
     I   canoe   1sg-see   c.a.
                   (3sg)

     'I saw the canoe'

(6) <u>qai   naf   wolap</u> a-tu   nai
     tree   mango   large   3sg-stand   there

     'the large mango tree stands over there'

(7) ei   <u>jyau   kiu</u>   a-pik
     he/   thing what   3sg-carry
     she   (3sg)

     'What is he/she carrying?'

(8) <u>makyat   wusatai</u>   yieq   qo-pak   nimpai   an
     fish   how many   you   2sg-take   day   this
                         (sg)   (3pl)

     'how many fish did you catch today?'

(9) <u>niu   nai</u>   wolap   sek
     coconut   that   large   too

     'that coconut is too big'

(10) <u>moin   qujul   nai</u>   a-mayek   ei   a-tyen
     woman   adolscent   that   3sg-have   she   3sg-pregnant
                                shame

     'the young woman was ashamed because she was pregnant'

(11) <u>jeik   mokin   tai   meramer</u>
     net-bag   good   one   red

     'one good red net-bag'

(12) kyau monyeq wu-ny-rri rri   <u>ramat   rra-moul kyau   malal</u>
     I   food   1sg-give- they person   3pl-work I   garden
                   3pl

     'I will give food to those people who work my garden'

(13) kyau   rri   <u>ramat   ·tuol ·rri</u>   w-un-rri
     I   they   person three (psu)   1sg-strike
                                          -3pl

     'I struck three people'

The ordering of the Mod NP constituents is, in the main,

fairly strict. However the ordering of the adjectival and

quantitive modifiers when modifying the same head is variable.

It is possible therefore to have the permutations (adj) (num)

(adj) and (num) (adj) (adj) occurring in the NP as well as (adj)

(adj) (num). The function of these two former alternatives is to

highlight the first modifier in the string over the remainder.

These orderings are much less often used than the basic one,

however.

A further point that should be made is that it is more usual

to have only one adjectival modifier, rather than two, present in

any one Mod NP, this is especially so in spontaneous speech.

(14) yieq   <u>milamal   mokin</u>   qo-im
     you   behaviour good   2sg-do(3sg)
     (sg)

     'Be of good conduct!'

(15) <u>rryau   rurri   lipa-rri   meramer   tai</u>
          book   large-3pl red   one

     'one large red book'

(16) <u>jeik   meramer tai mokin</u>
     net-bag red   one good

     'one good red net-bag'

(17) <u>jeik   mokin tai meramer</u>
     net-bag good   one red

     'one good red net-bag'

3.2.1.1.1.   Modified Noun Phrase Heads

There are two types of head in the Modified Noun Phrase;

the Simple Head, and the Complex Head.

(i) The Simple Head

The simple head is filled by a common noun. The common noun
in turn is divided into two further categories: mass nouns and
count nouns. Mass and count nouns only differ from each other in
two respects:

Firstly by the type of quantifying modifier they take. The word
spai 'some, how much?' can only occur with mass nouns or with
count nouns that are used in a mass noun context.

(18) lil   spai   a-tu   pyal
     rice   some   3sg-   house
                    stand

    'how much rice is there in the house?' or 'there is some
    rice in the house'

(19) lil   wolap   a-tu
     rice   plenty 3sg-
                     stand

    'there's plenty of rice'

(20) ei   a-wot -i- ny- rri   pur spai an   rra-pak   rra-qwau
     he   3sg-talk-pl-give-   pig some this 3pl-carry 3pl-go
                       3pl   (3pl)   away

    'he told them to take away the pork (lit. this portion
    of cooked pig)'

Although the co-occurrence of other numerals and quantifiers with
mass nouns is prohibited on semantic grounds, tai 'one, some' can
be used to mark both mass and count nouns for indefiniteness.

(21) yit wopuk   tai   a-tu
     who lime   some 3sg-stand

    'who has some lime?'

(22) yieq pu   tai   rra-tu
     you   betel   some 3pl-stand
           nut

    'do you have any betel nut?'

Count nouns on the other hand can take both quantifiers such as
qorrel 'many, plenty', srri 'small group' and numerals.

(23) kyau <u>mukajyou</u> <u>qorrel</u> wu-nang malal wokyau
    I   sweet   many   1sg-plant garden POS(1sg)
          potato   (3pl)

'I planted many sweet potatoes in my garden'

(24) Maki <u>muli</u>   <u>srri</u>   <u>tai</u> a-muom   ny-i Smouwai
    M.   orange small one 3sg-pick off BEN- S.
               group   a tree(3pl) 3sg

'Maki picked a small cluster of oranges for Smowai'

(25) kyau <u>niu</u>   <u>wuru</u> wu-quja-rru ny-ieq yieq
    I   coconut two   1sg-shell-3dl BEN-2sg you

'I shell two coconuts for you'

The second difference between mass and count nouns is that mass
nouns tend to be marked in the verb as being singular rather
than plural, though this is not always so. Count nouns on the
other hand are marked according to their number.

(26) <u>leiny</u> <u>spai</u> a-rir   a-lieq a-fur qeq-rri Mushu
    talk some 3sg-run 3sg-go 3sg- SOU/COM M.
                         arrive -3pl

literally: 'some talk has come from they of Mushu'
'a message was sent from Mushu'

(27) a) <u>lil</u>   <u>spai</u> a-tu   pyal
       rice some 3sg-stand house

    b) <u>lil</u>   <u>spai</u> rra-tu   pyal
       rice some 3pl-stand house

       'there's some rice in the house' or 'how much rice
       is there in the house?'

(28) <u>pu</u>   <u>tai</u>   rra-tu
    betel some 3pl-stand
    nut

'there are some betel nuts'

(29) <u>pu</u>   <u>tai</u>   a-tu
    betel some 3sg-stand
    nut

'there is one betel nut'

(ii) The Complex Head

The complex head is filled by a nominal compound.[1] There

are two classes of nominal compounds, both classes having an

extremely small membership. The first class consists minimally

of two nouns and their respective relative particles: ramat yit

'whoever', jyau kiu 'whatever'. Each constituent i.e. ramat,

yit, jyau, and kiu can occur independently as a head in an NP.

The following are examples of this class of compound:

(30) rri   jyau   kiu spai   rra-yem   o   rraqui spai   rra-yem
      they whatever   some   3pl-make or   soup   some   3pl-make
      (pl)   (3pl)   (3pl)

      'they prepare soup etc. (literally 'or whatever')'

(31) ramat yit jyau kiu   a-pik   a-myai   a-ning
      whoever   whatever   3sg-take   3sg-come   3sg-put down
                             (3sg)   (3sg)

      'whoever brings whatever (referring to food) and puts
      it down'

---

1. There is an alternative to this analysis of the complex head that has
    some merit. This would be to argue that the nominal compounds as well
    as some of the taxonomic constructions (which are treated in the next
    section) are in themselves lexicalised phrases. That is to say that
    though the phrase is internally analysable syntactically, it does
    however carry a minimal unitary meaning. The function of such
    lexicalised phrases is to fill any lexical gaps that may occur in the
    native speaker's lexicon. Pawley and Syder (1976) define a 'lexical
    gap' as being:

              the absence of a lexical item to refer to an
              institutionalised conceptual category, whose
              existence is attested by various non-linguistic
              modes of behaviour. (p.25)

    The advantage of this approach is that one can do away with the notion
    of Complex Head altogether and instead treat the lexicalised phrases
    as single common nouns. However with this advantage comes an
    insurmountable problem for the analyst to solve. And that is how can
    the analyst equip himself with an adequate amount of the 'native
    speakers' intuition' when he, himself, is not a native speaker in
    order to be able to delineate between phrases to be treated as such
    and those to be analysed as single units.

There are only two examples of the second class of nominal

compounds. These are the phrases: <u>rryau</u> <u>rou-ny</u> 'page, leaf
                                 leaf   leaf-3sg

of a book' and <u>rryau</u> <u>rurri</u> 'book' as in:
               leaf   leaf-3pl

(32) kyau u-wot   nikanik Taunur qon wu-nun   pai   ei
      I   1sg-say story   T.   int. 1sg-recount HAB/ he
                                       (3sg)   FUT

      'I will recount the story of Taunur so that he can put

      a-nang   (long) <u>rrau ruony</u>
      3sg-put down PREP   paper
        (3pl)

      it down on paper'

(33) <u>rryau rurri lipa-rri   meramer tai</u>
        book   large-3pl   red   one
      'One large red book'

These two phrases are clearly of recent origin, however.

3.2.1.1.2. <u>Nouns as Modifiers (nom)</u>

      Certain nouns can function as modifiers. The function of

these modifying nouns, like that of other modifiers, is to make

the referent in the head more specific. This type of modifier is

used, however, exclusively in referring to various taxonomic

phenomena. The term 'taxonomic' not only refers to traditional

taxa such as: trees, shrubs, legumes, grasses, birds, fish etc.

but is also equally applicable to other natural classes such as

demographic types, bladed instruments etc.. The following are

examples of the various taxonomic constructions:

(34) <u>jyaj fearr</u>   'Ray (generic)'
      fish ray

(35) <u>fearr   terakau</u>   'Duck-billed Ray, Spotted Eagle Ray,
      ray   Devil Ray'

(36) <u>qai   naf</u>   'mango tree'
      tree mango

(37) <u>was</u> <u>kutau</u>   'native spinach (Aramanthus gangeticus)'
     legume spinach

(38) <u>kutau</u> <u>qaqai</u>   'white variety of Aramanthus gangeticus'
     spinach

(39) <u>ramat</u> <u>jakur</u>   'person from Shagur'
     person Shagur

(40) <u>ramat</u> <u>yesoq</u>   (literally: A Yesoq person) 'European'
     person

     N.B. Yesoq was a legendary being who deceived his brother
           the head of the Kairiru people.

(41) <u>ramat</u> <u>pwoyau</u>   'Japanese person'
     person pawpaw

     N.B. The Japanese were reputed to have eaten a lot of
           pawpaw during their occupation of the island during
           World War Two.

(42) Qitoq <u>qoyeng</u> <u>Qu</u>   'Qitoq is from Qu clan'
         clan   Q.

(43) <u>porri</u> <u>pung</u>   'axe'
     blade stone

(44) <u>porri</u> <u>pokel</u>   'knife'
     blade

(45) <u>moin</u> <u>qujul</u>   'young woman'
     woman adolescent

(46) <u>ramat</u> <u>juk</u>   'the old man'
     man   elderly

(47) <u>nat</u> <u>moin</u>   'daughter'
     child woman

A further quality of these modifying nouns is that they can occur

as noun heads themselves, either being further specified (as in

examples (34,35) and (37, 38)) or standing independently, for

example

(48) <u>juk</u>   a-morr pyal palal
     elderly 3sg-sit house inside

     'the old person sat inside the house'

3.2.1.2.   Possessive Noun Phrase

Possessive constructions (Poss NP) in Kairiru specify a range of semantic relationships between the two referents that make up the construction. These semantic relationships include not only 'true' possession, that is ownership, but also kinship, body-part, spatial relations etc..

There are two basic possessive constructions. The first consists of an inalienable noun (n_{inl}) to which is suffixed an inalienable possessive pronoun (inl pos pron); this type of construction is described below in 3.2.1.2.2.   .   The second type on the other hand is structurally similar to the modified noun phrase in that it consists minimally of a head and an attribute. In this case the head is filled by the possessed noun phrase (Psd NP), that is the referent that is being possessed. The attribute is filled by the possessor noun phrase (Psr NP), the referent that is doing the possessing. The construction can also contain a further attribute, but of a different type, the modifier qon 'true, real'. This modifier which is optional in its occurrence re-inforces the relationship between the two elements.

These two possessive constructions can be formally represented as follows:

$$\text{Poss NP} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} n_{inl} + \text{inl pos \quad pron} \\ \text{Psd NP \ Psr NP \quad (qon)} \end{Bmatrix}$$

In looking at the second type more specifically. The possessed element (Psd NP) or the head normally consists of a common noun phrase.

$$\text{Psd NP} \longrightarrow \text{Com NP}$$

The possessor element on the other hand can be filled not only by any noun phrase type but also by an independent possessive pronoun.

Psr NP ⟶ { NP
           ind pos pron }

The following sentences contain examples of both types of possessive constructions described above:

(49) qajuo   -rri   rra-lieq napakoi
      cousin- 3pl   3pl-go   Napakoi

      'Their cousins went to Napakoi'

(50) qalaq Pita o-un-i   ipwo-ny
      stick P.   3sg-strike   head-3sg
                   -3sg

      'the stick strikes Peter on the head'

(51) kyau yawos wu-tou-i   juok   Smowai rru Jawor
      I   fire   1sg-make-3sg   boundary   S.   cpl J.
                   a fire

      'I make a fire on Shawor's and Smowai's (garden) boundary'

(52) Wosau rrakeny rri   Koragur
      W.   council they K.
                      (pl)

      'Wosau is Koragur (village's) council' (literally: 'Wosau
      is they, the Koragur's council')

(53) qaqu nai yieq sauqwei qo-pak   qo-lieq qo-nang
      tomorrow you   tobacco 2sg-take 2sg-go   2sg-plant(3pl)
                               (3pl)

      malal   yieqayieq
      garden   POS(2sg)

      'Tomorrow, go and plant the tobacco in your garden'

(54) nat   kyau qon wu-karat-i   jeik
      child I   int 1sg-place   net-bag
                        into-3sg

      'I put my child into the net-bag'

(55) rri   ramat qat   rri   ramat tuol   mai rra-wowu-i
      they   man   canoe they man   three TOP 3pl-build-3sg
      (pl)   a canoe

      ny-rri
      BEN-3pl

      'the men make a canoe for the three men'

(56) monyeq nai   <u>wonyau Waimin yaqai</u>   (qon)
     food   that dog   W.   POS(3sg)   int.

     'that food belongs to Waimin's dog'

(57) <u>wonyau yit   qon</u> a-qan-ieq
     dog   who   int. 3sg-bite-2sg

     'whose dog has bitten you?'

The Psd NP and Psr NP constituents of the second type of

possessive may, by a movement transformation, be transposed. The

transformation is however conditioned so that it can only take

place when the possessor constituent is not a complex noun phrase.

     Poss NP $\xrightarrow{a}$ Psr NP   Psd NP

                    condition: Psr NP must either be an App NP
                                or a Simp NP.

This alternative construction is used as a means to focus on

the possessor element rather than on the possessed. For example,

(58) <u>kyau   pou-k</u> mwal
     I   smell   purpur
            -1sg

     'I smell of purpur'

(59) <u>Jalmung mata-ny</u> rra-kapuop   ei   nat   sqaing pwaq
     J.   eye-3sg   3pl-be dark   he   child   small   yet

     'Shalmung has been blind since he was a small child'
     (literally: 'Shalmung's eyes have been darkened since
     he was a small child')

(60) <u>Nur yaqai   qajuo-ny</u>   ramat   skapai
     N.   POS(3sg) cousin-3sg person bad

     'Nur's cousin was an evil person'

(61) <u>nat   nai   pyal</u> a-tu   Poluos
     child that house 3sg-stand P.

     'that child's house is at Poluos'

(62) <u>qat   anka</u> wu-laqa-i
     canoe anchor 1st-throw
                    away-3sg

     'I threw away the canoe's anchor'

(63) Qitoq a-tu   <u>yieq mumuri-m</u>
     Q.   3sg-stand you   behind-2sg

     'Qitoq is standing behind you'
     (literally: 'Qitoq is standing at your behind')

(64) monyeq nai   moin   Pisaqan awo-ny   (qon)
       food   that   woman P.   spouse- int.
                                        3sg

'That food belongs to Pisaqan's wife'
(literally: that food belongs to the woman, Pisaqan's wife)

3.2.1.2.1. Possessive Pronouns

There is, as some of the foregoing examples show, a set of

independent possessive pronouns (ind pos pron). These forms are

tabulated below.[2]

TABLE ONE:

INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

		Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	incl.	-	taqatu	tamoit
	excl.	wokyau	taqatu	taqait
2nd		yieqayieq	moqum	maqam
3rd		yaqai	rraqarru	rraqarri

These pronouns only occur as the possessor in a possessive

construction; for example,

(65) Penau foyeq   taqait   qon
      P.   ancestor POS(1pl int
                           excl)

'Penau was our ancestor'

(66) lu-k   a-wotany-i a-wot,   kyes yaqai   Pun
      brother 3sg-tell-   3sg-say name POS(3sg) P.
      -1sg   3sg

'my brother told him that his name was Pun'

They are often used interchangeably with the independent

---

2.   In this table the forms of the Koragur dialect are displayed. Each
       dialect has its own set of possessive pronouns. These forms are set
       out in a comparative manner in Table 8 which may be found in 8.3.2,

personal pronouns (see 3.2.2.) in these constructions;

as in,

(67) pyal wokyau isau qon
     house POS(1sg) far int.

     'my house is far away'

(68) pyal kyau isau qon
     house I   far int.

     'my house is far away'

(69) a) qat   yieqayieq (qon)   b) qat   yieq (qon)
        canoe POS(2sg)   int.   canoe you int.
                                            (sg)

        'your (sing.) canoe'   'your (sing.) canoe

There are however two instances where the possessive pronoun

may be used alone in a noun phrase. The first is where the

possessor element precedes the possessed, as in:

(70) Nur yaqai   qajuo-ny rra-morr Punajiel
     N. POS(3sg) cousin- 3pl-sit P.
                  3sg

     'Nur's cousins lived at Punajiel'

(71) qai nai Pisaqan yaqai   awo-ny
     wood that P.   POS(3sg) spouse
                                -3sg

     'that wood belongs to Pisaqan's wife'

Secondly, it may occur in an elliptical sentence where the

possessed referent is not present, as in

(72) ramat tai a-lieq niu   yaqai qon, ramat tai a-lieq
     man   one 3sg-go coconut POS   int. man   one 3sg-go
                              (3sg)

     qon, o   rru awo-ny
     int. or cpl spouse-3sg

     'A man will go to his coconut grove, a man will go to it,
      or together with his wife'

3.2.1.2.2. <u>Inalienable Nouns</u>

The existence of different noun classes becomes apparent in the Kairiru language in two distinct areas: noun modification and possession. This first area has been discussed in some detail in 3.2.1.1.1.. In this section it was seen that there were two types of common noun: mass and count. Though this distinction was made on semantic grounds there were certain lexical and structural implications that became apparent as a result. These were essentially (1) collocational restrictions imposed upon the noun head and quantifying modifier relationship, and (2) difference in number marking in the verb.

In the area of possession a different form of noun categorisation emerges. This categorisation was touched upon at the start of this section; it was shown there that there are two basic Poss NP constructions existing in the language: inalienable possessive constructions and Mod NP-like constructions consisting of a possessed NP and a possessor NP. In the first type of construction only inalienable nouns (inl n) may be used. (Inalienable nouns are those nouns that are obligatorily suffixed with a possessive pronoun which acts as the possessor). In the second construction type both alienable and inalienable nouns may be used as the possessed NP.

The classification of nouns into inalienable and alienable classes is only partially predictable in that inalienable nouns come from but do not enitrely make up the semantic areas referring to kinship terms, body parts (whether human or otherwise) and words that describe relative position. So all nouns that refer to anything that is not covered in the above semantic areas will be

alienable but those that would be covered may or may not be inalienable.

However before elaborating upon the treatment of referents subsumed in these semantic areas it is necessary to describe the structure of the inalienable possessive construction. As mentioned above an inalienable noun consists of a noun and an obligatory pronominal suffix (inl pos pron)

$$n_{inl} + \text{inl pos pron}$$

The inalienable possessive pronouns used in this type of construction are set out in the table below.

TABLE   TWO:

INALIENABLE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural	
1st incl.	-	-tu	-qait	
excl.	-k	-tu	-qait	
2nd	-m	-qum	-qam	-miu
3rd	-ny	-rru	-rri	

NOTE: There is no distinction made here as is the case in verb agreement of inclusive and exclusive persons. -miu is a dialectal varient of -qam.

Examples:

(73) ana-k
      parent-in-law
                -1sg

      'my parents-in
                -law '

(74) asa-m
      name-2sg

      'your name'

(75) isu-ny
      ares-3sg

      'its area'

(76) tina-ny
      mother-3sg

      'his/her mother

(77) mata-rru
      eye/face-3dl

      'their eyes/
              faces'

(78) ru-rri
      leaf-3pl

      'their leaves'
      (referring to
       trees)

(79)   kyau   pou-k   mwal
       I   small   purpur
              -1sg

       'I smell of purpur' (literally: 'my smell is purpur')

(80)   Jalmung   mata-ny   rra-kapuop
       J.   eye-3sg   3pl-be dark

       'Shalmung is blind' (literally: 'Shalmung's eyes they are
                                        darkened')

As was mentioned above inalienable possessive constructions are only used with certain kinship terms, body parts and words describing relative position. Each of these areas will be looked at in turn.

(i)   Kinship Terminology

Out of all the three areas in which inalienable nouns can occur kinship is probably the most predictable in designating whether a referent can be expressed by an inalienable noun or not. Out of a total of eighteen terms collected half of them were alienable and the other half inalienable. Those terms that were inalienable were the ones that expressed important kin relations within the social structure, while the alienable ones were those that expressed fairly unimportant roles. Before tabulating the kin-terms it should be noted that all the terms except tama 'father', tina 'mother', tupu 'ancestor', nat/natu 'child' express a reciprocal relationship.

Inalienable Kinship Terms:

ana-ny	his/her	parents-in-law/children-in-law
awo-ny	"	spouse
lu-ny	"	opposite sex sibling
tupu-ny	"	ancestor, forebears
tina-ny	"	mother

tama-ny	his/her	father
tei-ny	"	same sex sibling
natu-ny	"	child
qajuo-ny	"	cousin

The latter two terms, i.e. 'child' and 'cousin' also have an alienable alternative. Further the terms to express 'father' and 'mother' have a special first singular form, these are mam and miem respectively. This form is the only one that occurs for this particular person and number; the form tamak and tinak then would not refer to kin terms, the latter can be glossed as 'intestines', it is an alienable noun.

The alienable kinship terms cover those relationships that are either directly cross-generational or that describe aunts, uncles, nephews, neices etc.. They also cover the terms for 'cousin' and 'child' when used impersonally. Examples of these are:

fof	'mother's brother's wife/husband's sister's daughter
foyeq	'great grandparent/great grandchild'
qoraq	'great great great grandparent/great great great grandchild
sas	'father's younger brother/edler brother's child'
qaj	'cousin'
nat	'child'

(ii) Body Parts

Most parts of the body can be expressed by inalienable nouns, for example,

kawe-ny	'his/her hand/arm'
tilinga-k	'my ear'
mama-m	'your (sing.) tongue'

kifa-rri	'their (pl) outer skin/epidermis'
qusile-ny	'his/her elbow'
ngapoye-ny	'his/her chin'
asa-m	'your (sing.) name'
qinapa-qait	'our (pl) worries/anxieties'

Some body parts may be expressed either inalienably or alienably using pairs of different lexemes. In some cases the use of alternate forms is because of dialectal variation where in any one dialect only one form will be used. However in other referents both forms are in free variation, for example:

ngapoye-ny	'his/her chin'
ngies	'chin'
asa-ny	'his/her name'
kyes	'name'
ipwo-ny	'his/her head'
qarai	'head'

Other body parts, and these include body liquids and secretions as well as certain organs are expressed only by alienable nouns. For example:

pulpul	'knee-cap'
sus	'breast, milk'
naka	'finger, toe'
qaq	'rib'
jinai	'blood'
jikyap	'bone'
mij	'flesh'
yirr	'hair'
pui	'breath'
tapek	'faeces'
tamrryan	'urine'
ngum	'sweat'

(iii)   Positional Relations

Positional Relation nouns refer to those constructions that
specify location with respect to another object. Like kin and
body part terms this set of nouns is divided between inalienable
and alienable nouns for their expression. Examples of inalienable
positional relations are:

(81) pwarr   lupwo-ny
      saucepan   under-3sg

      'under the saucepan'

(82) Qitoq   a-tu   kyau   rraka-k
      Q.   3sg-stand   I   side-1sg

      'Qitoq is standing at my side'

(83) qai   wolop   tai   a-tu   jyel   sange-ny
      tree   big   one   3sg-stand   track   bank-3sg

      'there is a large tree standing on one of the banks
      of the track'

(84) Laipoq   a-fur   a-tu   yaqai   pyal   jlawo-ny
      L.   3sg-   3sg-   POS(3sg) house   front-3sg
               appear   stand

      'Laipoq appeared and stood in front of his house'

Amongst those constructions that take alienable nouns are
ones that express some of the antonymic equivalents of the above
examples:

(85) tapirr   a-yin   vat   qayet
      plate   3sg-lie   table   on top

      'The plate is on the table'

in contrast with

(86) tapirr   a-yin   vat   lupwo-ny
      plate   3sg-lie   table   under-3sg

      'the plate is under the table'

and

(87) ei   a-lieq   a-tu   a-tamis   yaqai   pyal   jul
      he/   3sg-go   3sg-   3sg-   POS(3sg)   house   rear
      she   stand   urinate

      'he/she went to the rear of his/her house and urinated'

in contrast with

(88) ei   a-lieq   a-tu   a-tamis   yaqai   pyal   jlawo-ny
      he/   3sg-go   3sg-   3sg-   POS(3sg)   house   front-3sg
      she   stand   urinate

      'he/she went to the front of his/her house and urinated'

3.2.2.   Proper Noun Phrase

A Proper Noun Phrase (Prop NP) in Kairiru consists of a head

constituent only with subclasses as shown in the following

formula:

$$\text{Prop NP} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prop n} \\ \text{place n} \\ \text{ind pers pron} \end{array} \right\}$$

Personal names (prop n) include the names given to various

singsings; place names (place n) include all uniquely names

places (e.g. qoyeng 'clan', pyal 'house', vanu 'village', rramony

'point, cape', jimwau 'bush' etc.); and independent personal

pronouns (ind pers pron), these also include the particle yit 'who'

and its derivatives when they are both used interrogatively and

occur independently.

As has been mentioned in the foregoing description the

Prop NP cannot be modified in any way, if any of the members of

the constituent are modified (and then this would only conceivably

happen with personal nouns and place names) they would be regarded

as common nouns and would therefore function as a normal

constituent in the Common Noun Phrase. For example in English

'Peter' and 'Mary' in the phrases of 'that Peter' and 'the slim

Mary' would be treated as common animate nouns as we are

differentiating between two or more 'Peters' and 'Marys'. Though

the Prop NP cannot be modified it can however occur as the Psr NP

in a normal possessive construction.

The reason then for bringing these three otherwise diverse

members together within the same constituent is that their functions

within the phrase are identical. The following are examples of

personal names and place names functioning within the sentence:

(89) Penau foyeq   qitaqait qon
     P.   ancestor   our(pl)   int.

     'Penau was our ancestor'

(90) Wojul ipwo-ny   Qareo qalaq kyai o-un-i
     W.   head-3sg   Q.   stick INST 3sg-strike
                                                 -3sg

     'Wojul strikes Qareo's head with a stick'

(91) rri rra-tu   sal   rro-uq
     they 3pl-stand singsing 3pl-shoot
                                  (3sg)

     'they stood up and made the singsing Sal'

(92) yieq qo-lieq Bou sapin
     you   2sg-go   B.   NEG IMP

     'Don't go to Bou!'

(93) pyal   rra-tu   nai   qait Qu
     house 3sg-stand there we   Q.
                              (pl
                              excl)

     'our houses are over there' (literally: 'we of Qu's house
                                                stand over there')

(94) yieq ramat Jakur
     you   man   J.

     'Are you from Shagur?' (literally: 'Are you a Shagur man?)

Independent Personal Pronouns

The set of independent personal pronouns that occur as a

constituent in the Prop NP are like the independent possessive

pronouns that were discussed earlier in Section 3.2.1.2.1 of this

chapter in that the members of the set vary from dialect to

dialect.[3] Most variation, however, occurs within the dual forms

---

3. See Tables 7 and 8.

of the three persons as well as in the inclusive exclusive

dichotomy. The following table is the set used by the Koragur

dialect.

TABLE THREE:

INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		Singular	Dual	Plural
1st incl.		-	tuyieq	taqam
	excl.	kyau	tu	qait
2nd		yieq	qum	qam
3rd		ei	rru	rri
3rd interrogative		yit/yitei	yitrru	yitrri

Examples of the independent personal pronouns when used in the

sentence are,

(95) kyau nata-k blanket kyai wu-jqu-i
      I   child- blanket INST 1sg-cover
            1sg   -3sg

      'I cover up my child with a blanket'

(96) ramat porri tamiok a-pik   qeqe-i   nat   nai
      man   axe   3sg-take SOU/COM child that
                            (3sg)   -3sg

      ny-am   kyau
      BEN-1sg I

      'the man took the axe off the child for me'

(97) yit-rri rra-lieq malal
      who-3pl 3pl-go   garden

      'who are going to the garden?'

(98) yit qon   a-myai   monyeq
      who int. 3sg-come food

      'who is coming to eat?'   (literally: 'who is coming for food?)

3.3.   Complex Noun Phrase

      A Complex Noun Phrase (Comp NP) consists of more than one

head. Each head consists of a simple noun phrase, and the heads

are linked together by means of a head linker.

There are two types of complex noun phrase; the Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (Coord NP), and the Alternate Noun Phrase (Alt AP).

$$\text{Comp NP} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Coord NP} \\ \text{Alt} \quad \text{NP} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Both these types normally contain no more than three heads. Any further heads are either incorporated into another clause or are dealt with by a different strategy within the clause. For example, the English sentence 'Nimpoyen, Nuyet, Kour and he built the canoe' is rendered as

(99) Nuyet Nimpoyen Kour rra-morr qe-i qat rra-wowu-i
     N.   Ni.   K.   3pl-sit SOU/COM canoe 3pl-build
                                 -3sg   -3sg

    'Nuyet, Nimpoyen and kour stayed with him, and they (all
    four) built the canoe'

3.3.1. Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

The coordinate noun phrase consists of either two or three noun phrases that act as heads. These heads are linked together by means of Co-ordinate Phrase Linkers (CPL). In Benefactive Phrases (see 5.2.1.2.) however, a maximum of two heads are permissible. The structure of the co-ordinate noun phrase is as follows:

Coord NP⟶ NP CPL NP (CPL NP)

$$\text{CPL} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{po} \\ \underline{rru} \\ \underline{rri} \\ \emptyset \end{Bmatrix}$$

The co-ordinate linkers rru and rri are used to link Simple NPs that contain nameable referents of the class termed here as 'animate'; that is humans, ancestral spirits and dogs. The

decision to use one of these linkers over the other is based upon
whether the total number of referents in the Coord NP are 'two' in
number or 'three or more' respectively. It must be borne in mind
that any one Simp NP can refer to a plurality of participants.
Examples of the use of rru and rri are

rru:

(100) numpuong nai Qitoq rru awo-ny   rru rru-lieq Bou
      yesterday   Q.   cpl spouse   psu 3dl-go   B.
                           -3sg

      'yesterday Qitoq and his wife went to Bou'

(101) rri   pyal   rra-ning   ny-rru   moin   juk   rru   natu-ny
      they   house 3pl-build BEN-3dl woman old   cpl   child-3sg
      (pl)   (3sg)

      'they built the house for the old woman and her child'

(102) ei rru Nuyet qat   rru-wowu-i
      he cpl N.   canoe 3dl-build a
                      canoe-3sg

      'He and Nuyet built the canoe'

rri:

(103) Wojul rri awo-ny   Ø   natu-ny   rra-morr pinien
      W.   cpl spouse- cpl   child-3sg 3pl-sit   here
              3sg

      'Woshul, his wife and his child are (settled) here'

(104) rri moin juk   rri nat   sisqaing rri nat sus
      PDT old   woman cpl small children cpl babies

      rra-morr Vanu
      3pl-sit   village

      'the old women, the small children and the babies stayed
      in the village'

The following however is unacceptable due to the fact that the
benefactive phrase has more than two heads in it,

(105) a) *rri   ramat qat   rra-wowu-i ny-rri   Umari rri
           they   man   canoe 3pl-build- BEN-3pl U.   cpl
                            3sg

        Kamyau rri Nimpoyen
        K.   cpl N.

      'the men built a canoe for Umari, Kamyau and Nimpoyen'

This may be resolved by either making the content of the benefactive

phrase the possessor of the object,

(105) b) rri   ramat qat   Umari Kamyau Nimpoyen rri
         they   man   canoe U.   K.   N.

         rra-wowu-i
         3pl-build canoe
                 -3sg

         'the men built Umari's, Kamyau's and Nimpoyen's canoe'

or by making two sentences where the first mentions the three

names and the second says,

(105) c) rri   ramat rri   ramat tuol   mai rra-wowu-i ny-rri
         they man   they man   three TOP 3pl-build   BEN-3pl
                                                           -3sg

         'the men built a canoe for the three men (that are
         aforementioned)'

It appears that Source/Comitative phrases are exempt from

the restriction of having a maximum of two heads as the following

example shows:

(106) ei   pwarr   a-pik   qeq-rri Smowai rri Jawor
      she   saucepan 3sg-take SOU/COM S.   cpl J.
                     (3sg)   -3pl

      rri Mong
      cpl M.
      'she took the saucepan away from Smowai, Shawor and Mong'

The use of <u>po</u> as a linker may be restricted to Simple NPs that

remain non-specific. But there is insufficient evidence to

state this definitively.

(107) jo   rri   Jem po   Jakur po   Mwalal rra-wor   rra-lieq
      so   they J.   cpl J.   cpl Mw.   3pl-leave   3pl-go

      vanu   rri
      village their

      'so they of Shem, Shakur and Mwalal left and went to
      their village'

(108) ei mai moin po   nat   mai a-puka-rri   rra-lieq wun
       he TOP woman cpl child TOP 3sg-take-3pl 3pl-go   beach

       'he took his wife and children and they went to the beach'

(109) rri   moin   juk po   nat   Ø   wonyau mwau rra-qan
       they woman old cpl child cpl dog   taro 3pl-eat(3sg)

       'the old women, the children and the dogs at the taro'

Ø morpheme is also used as a linker,

(110) Wojul Ø   Waliet Ø   Lui rri rra-lieq Baru
       W.   cpl W.   cpl L.   psu 3pl-go   B.

       'Woshul, Waliet and Lui went to Bou'

(111) rri   ramat Ø   moin   rra-lieq rruon jimwau
       they man   cpl woman 3pl-go   c.a.   bush

       'the men and women went into the bush'

(112) moin   mukajyou tai Ø   mwau tai Ø   minam tai Ø
       woman sweet   one cpl taro one cpl yam   one cpl
              potato

       a-nau
       3sg-cook(3pl)

       'the woman cooked the sweet potato, the taro and the yam'

Co-ordinate noun phrases cannot occur within the instrumental

noun phrase. For example the following sentence is not permissible.

(113) a) *ei qat   porri po   mwoul kyai a-qal-i
           he   canoe axe   cpl canoe INST 3sg-hew out a
                                   adze   canoe-3sg

       'he used an axe and a canoe adze to hew out the canoe'

Instead the English sentence would have to be rendered as,

(113) b) ei porri po   mwoul a-pak   a-lieq qat   a-qal-i
           he axe   cpl canoe 3sg-take 3sg-go canoe 3sg-hew
                           adze   (3pl)   out-3sg

       'he took the axe and the canoe adze and went and built
       (hew out) the canoe'

where the instrument has become the object of the first clause.

3.3.2.   Alternate Noun Phrase

The structure of the Alternate Noun Phrase can be stated thus:

       Alt NP—> NP APL NP (APL NP)

       APL —> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{o} \\ \underline{tap} \end{array} \right\}$

The Alternate Noun Phrase (Alt NP) consists of up to three

heads, though two heads are more common. Each of these heads

consists of a noun phrase and they are linked together by either

of the Alternate Phrase Linkers (APL) tap and o, both glossed 'or'.

The linker o may well be a borrowing from the Tok Pisin o 'or',

tap and o appear to function interchangeably.

```
(114)  rri   moin   tap  nat    tap  wonyau  rra-morr  vanu
       they  woman  or   child  or   dog     3pl-sit   village
```

    'Is it the women, the children or the dogs that are in
    the village?'

```
(115)  rri   Qumtatui   rre-im    wus   o    wau   jo  rri   ramat
       they  cassowary  3pl-make  rain  or   wind  so  they  man
             spirit     (3sg)
```

```
       qon   rra-wor
       true  3pl-leave
```

    'When the cassowary spirits made it rainy or windy the real
    men would leave'

In a Source/Comitative Phrase where there are three heads

present the first linker is deleted.

```
(116)  ei  qat    a-wowu-i   qe-i     Belal  (*tap)  Nuyet  tap  Kour
       he  canoe  3sg-build  SOU/COM  B.             N.     or   K.
                  -3sg       -3sg
```

    'Is he building the canoe with Belal, Nuyet or Kour?'

However this is not the case in the other Relator Phrase, the

Benefactive.

```
(117)  rri   qat    rra-wowu-i    ny-i   Umari  tap  Kamyau
       they  canoe  3pl-build-    BEN-   U.     or   K.
                    canoe-3sg     3sg
```

```
       tap Nimpoyen
       or  N.
```

    'Are they building the canoe for Umari, Kamyau or Nimpoyen?'

If the alternate noun phrase occurs as a Subject or Direct

Object (i.e. those NPs that normally occur in a pre-verbal slot

and do not take any overt case marker) it becomes fragmented or

discontinuous. That is, one part of the Alt NP remains in its

correct case slot while the other part together with the linker

occurs at the end of the clause.

(118) a) yieq mwau $\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ tap \end{matrix} \right\}$ minam qo-qan

you taro or yam 2sg-eat(3sg)

(118) b) yieq mwau qo-qan $\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ tap \end{matrix} \right\}$ minam

you taro 2sg-eat or yam

(3sg)

'do you eat taro or yam?'

(119) ei rru Nuyet qat rru-wowu-i tap Ø rru Belal

he cpl N. canoe 3dl-build or cpl B.

canoe-3sg

'Did he build the canoe with Nuyet or with Belal?'

N.B. ei has become Ø in the second part of the Subject NP.

3.4. Appositional Noun Phrase

In 3.2.1.1.2. it was seen that certain nouns were able to act as

modifiers to the head noun. Some of the examples in the section were

straightforward, e.g. examples (34)-(44), where the second noun modified

the first by making it more specific. On the other hand in examples (45)-

(47) it was hard to decide purely on semantic grounds which was the noun

head as both nouns seemed to some extent to be in attribution to each other.

The decision to make the first noun in the sequence the noun head was based

instead on two structural reasons: Firstly, the normal position for

modifying constituents is post-nominal (examples (34)-(44) attest this).

Secondly, the two constituents in question cannot change places with each

other and still retain their same meaning. In many cases such a

transposition would result in an ungrammatical string.

The Appositional Noun Phrase (App NP), like the modifying construction

discussed above, consists of two nominal constituents. However in contrast

to the latter the nominal constituents of the App NP are two mutually

attributable heads. They are mutually attributable in as much as they both

describe the same referent and provide complementary information about it.

They both act as heads in that a) they can be reversed[4] , and b) either

of them may be deleted. A second point of contrast is that where the

modifying noun construction can only consist of two nouns the appositional

noun phrase can consist of other nominal constituent types, for example

Mod NPs, Coord NPs, Poss NPs, App NPs, ind pos prons etc, etc.

The appositional noun phrase can formally be represented as follows:

$$\text{App NP} \longrightarrow \text{NP} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{ind pos pron} \end{array} \right\}$$

Conditions: (i) Both constituents must refer to the same referent.

(ii) When the second constituent is ind pos pron:

a) The two App NP constituents cannot occur inverted.

b) The App NP can only occur as the Psr NP in a Poss NP construction.

Sufficient grounds have been cited for setting up the appositional noun

phrase as a distinct construction. The question that faces us now is how to

classify the App NP in terms of the major types of noun phrase. Should it

(1) be classified as a Simple Noun Phrase or a Complex Noun Phrase, or

(2) be regarded as a separate major type?

In structural terms it is distinct from the Simple NP in that it does

have two heads. Unlike all other Complex Noun Phrase types, however, it

operates under the restriction of having only two heads.

---

4. This is not the case if the second constituent is an independent possessive pronoun, cf. the conditions in the re-write rule below.

From a semantic perspective the Appositional Noun Phrase resembles the Simple Noun Phrase in that both heads refer to a single referent, though they do describe different facets of the referent's character.

There seems to be no decisive solution to this question. For this reason I treat the Appositional NP as being a distinct noun phrase type, while noting that it shares certain properties with both the Simple NP and the Complex NP.

Examples of Appositional NPs are:

(120) monyeq   nai   wonyau <u>Waimin yaqai</u>
       food   that   dog   W.   POS(3sg)

      'that food belongs to Waimin's, her, dog'

(121) <u>Taunur ramat qait</u>   ei   a-lieq ei   mai a-rrim
       T.   man   our(pl   he   3sg-go he   TOP 3sg-see(3sg)
                      excl.)

      'Taunur, our man, he went to see it'

(122) <u>tuwoi   an   yesoq</u>   <u>Rripop rru Wanqau</u> rru-morr Vokeo nai
       we(dl   here   ancestor R.   cpl W.   3dl-sit V.   there
       excl.)   spirit

      'our ancestors, Rripop and Wanqau, lived over on Wokeo, there'

(123) <u>ei   ramat mai</u>   rruon a-fur   nau
       he   man   TOP   now   3sg-arrive sea

      'he, the man now arrived at the sea'

(124) <u>moin   Rrinrrin ei</u> o-ur   wun   nau   a-qi
       woman R.   she 3sg-go beach salt- 3sg-fetch
                      down   water (3pl)

      'the woman Rrinrrin, she went down to the beach in order
      to get some saltwater'

(125) <u>moin   Miniriem rru Qaqmwau awo-ny</u> a-jin-rru rri-lieq Bukif
       woman M.   cpl Q.   spouse 3sg-send 3dl-go B.
                                -3sg   -3dl

      'the women, Miniriem and Qaqmwau, his wives, he sent them to
      Bukif'

3.5.   Adjectives

3.5.1.   Overview

There are two distinct types of adjectives that exist in Kairiru, and as will be seen this distinction is also made in the analysis for the adverbs (see 4.3.1.).   The first type (Type One) consists of adjectives that in general terms specify colour, size and other qualitative attributes. The second type on the other hand consists of only three recorded forms; these are gon 'really, truly', sek 'very, too', and kyai 'only, just'. It can be seen by their glosses that the function of these Type Two adjectives is to either intensify or to limit the head that it modifies. This section looks at both these adjectival types more closely.

3.5.2.   Type One Adjectives (adj$_1$)

Type One adjectives (adj$_1$) are, themselves, sub-classified into two distinct sub-types. Their sub-classification can be made either according to an individual adjective's morphological properties or according to its syntactic distribution. Both criteria yield the same two class sets.

(i)   Morphological Properties

Morphologically there are two types of adjectives: those that are morphologically complex and those that are morphologically simple.

The simple form adjectives are those adjectives that are morphologically underived from another source. For example,

(126) ramat   qoqar
       person   strong

       'a strong person'

(127) worryang pipui
      sun   hot

      'the hot sun'

(128) yieq   moin   mokin
      you(sg) woman good

      'you are a good woman'

Morphologically complex adjectives on the other hand are adjectives that are derived from a nominal source by a process of either partial or complete reduplication on the noun base. For example,

(129) rryau rurri lipa-rri   meramer tai
      book   large-3pl red   one

      'a large red book'

      (mer (noun) 'red paint made from the fruit of a tree')

(130) moin   salau   wonyau nanat o-un-i
      woman foolish dog   young 3sg-strike-3sg

      'the foolish woman struck the young dog'

      (nat (noun) 'child')

(ii) Syntactic Distribution

Although all adjectives, by definition, function as attributes to the noun head, only certain of them may occur as the predicate and then as a non-verbal one, as the following examples show.

(131) jeik meramer
      net- red
      bag

      'the net bag is red' or 'the red net bag'

(132) rryau rouny yangyang
      paper   yellow

      'the paper is yellow' or 'the yellow paper'

In contrast to these the following adjectives can only occur as nominal attributes and not as clausal predicates.

(133) a) <u>moin   mokin</u>
           woman   good

           'the good woman' but not *'the woman is good'

(134) a) <u>niu   marang</u>
           coconut   dry

           'the dry coconut' but not *'the coconut is dry'

(135) a) <u>worryang   pipui</u>
           sun   hot

           'the hot sun' but not *'the sun is hot'

However for these latter adjectival forms there exists a

homonymous stative verb counterpart (v_{2i}) that can,

(133) b) moin a-mokin
           woman 3sg-be good

           'the woman is good'

(134) b) niu   rra-marang
           coconut   3pl-be dry

           'the coconuts (pl) are dry'

(135) b) worryang   a-pipui
           sun   3sg-be hot

           'the sun is hot'

Now when bringing these two properties together it can be
seen that those adjectives that are morphologically derived from a
noun base constitute the same set as those that may occur as a
non-verbal predicate in a clausal construction. Similarly those
adjectives that cannot themselves occur as a predicate but instead
have a homonymous stative verb form that can are those same ones
that are morphologically underived from another source.

There is, however, an adjective which has two related forms
that proves to be an exception to the above classification. These
forms are <u>wolap</u> and <u>lipa</u> 'large, bit'. <u>wolap</u> is used when the
referent is a singular one, as in

(136) kyau <u>ramat   wolap</u>
      I   man   big

      'I am a big man (elder)

(137) ei a-lieq <u>haus sik wolap</u>
      he 3sg-go   hospital big

      'he went to the large hospital'

<u>lipa</u> is used when the referent is non-singular in number and it

is marked in the same way as inalienable nouns, that is it is

affixed with an inalienable possessive pronoun form (cf. 3.2.1.2.2.).

For example,

(138) tuyieq   <u>ramat   lipa-tu</u>
      we(dl incl.)   person   large-dl

      'you and I are big men (elders)'

(139) <u>rryau rurri lipa-rri   meramer tai</u>
          book   big-3pl   red   one

      'a large red book'

In distributional terms again <u>wolap</u> and <u>lipa</u> are unique.

If they refer to a third person referent then and only then may

they occur as a predicate, otherwise in all other instances they

can only occur as an attribute.

(140) niu   nai   <u>wolap sek</u>
      coconut that   large too

      'that coconut is too large'

(141) kyau   <u>ramat wolap</u>
      I   man   big

      'I am a big man (elder)'

but not,

(142) *kyau wolap
       I   big

      'I am big'

As the related forms for 'big, large' are the only exception

it may well transpire that they together are better regarded as

being an inalienable noun with an adjectival alternant. However

Lichtenberk's description of Manam (1980:318-322) shows that in

Manam there does exist a distinct class of adjectives that take

inalienable possessive marking.

3.5.3.   Type Two Adjectives (adj$_2$)

As mentioned in 3.5.1.the adjectives qon 'really, truly',[5]

sek 'very, too' and kyai 'just, only' make up a small closed set

of adjectives that though similar to Type One adjectives in many

ways stand distinct from them.

As with Type One adjectives these adjectives modify the noun

head, as in,

(143)   rri   ramat kyai rra-lieq rra-vyan moul an   rra-rrom
        they   man   only 3pl-go   3pl-climb work this 3pl-see
        (pl)   (3pl)

        'only the men went up and saw this work'

(144)   Laipim a-tak-i   a-wot 'piyei' tap ei a-wot
        L.   3sg-ask   3sg-   where?   but he 3sg-say
                -3sg   say

        janapai   kyai
        close to   only

        'Laipim asked him 'where?' but he replied "only nearby"'

(145)   yieq   vanu   isau qon
        you(sg) village far   really
                          away

        'your village is really far away'

(146)   ei mai naqa-ny qon   rra-rir eipai
        he TOP thought real 3pl-run NEG
                 -3sg

        'he didn't really think'
        (literally: 'his real thoughts did not run')

---

5.   Elsewhere in this thesis qon is glossed as 'intensifier' (int.)

However where Type Two adjectives co-occur within the same

phrase as type one adjectives two things become apparent. First

syntactically the lineal ordering is such that an adj_2 always

follows an adj_1. And secondly, in semantic terms the adj_2 modifies

not only the head but also the modifiers that stand in between the

head and it. For example,

(147) <u>ramat tai+nyes kyai</u> a-morr Rokur kies yaqai Jinarek
     person one.alone only 3sg-sit R. name POS J.
                                            (3sg)

'Only one person lived at Rokur, his name was Jinarek'

(148) kyau wu-klakil a-lieq Poraurr tap <u>nau pulau sek</u>
     I 1sg-gaze 3sg-go P. but sea murky too

'I gazed down onto Poraurr (reef) but the sea was too murky'

In the case of <u>qon</u> it is most often used in possessive constructions

(cf. 3.2.1.2.) where it reinforces the relationship between the

possessed NP (the head) and the possessor NP (the modifier).

(149) ei <u>nyep</u> Paj <u>qon</u> <u>mai</u> a-pu-i rruon
     he body P. int. TOP 3sg-burn c.a.
        waste   -3sg

'he burnt Paj's body waste'

(150) <u>qarrui kyes yaqai</u> <u>qon</u> Pukalil
     sail name POS(3sg) int. P.

'the sail's name was Pukalil'

3.6. Quantifiers

There are two types of quantifier in Kairiru: numerals and indefinite

quantifiers. Both of these function in much the same way as adjectives do,

that is, they act as modifiers of the noun head. Also, as was noted in

3.2.1.1. both adjectives and quantifiers share a special relationship

with each other in that their relative ordering within the modified noun

phrase may be reversed.

In this section we will be primarily concerned with describing the various forms of quantifier that occur in the Mod NP. In the final sub-section, however, other constructions using quantifiers will be looked at briefly.

3.6.1.　　Cardinal Numbers

Before actually describing the various counting systems that exist in the language it is necessary to make some comments on the function of Kairiru counting systems in general.

In a section devoted to Kairiru counting Smith (1978:385-9) correctly observes that,

> The use of the number system seems .... to be closely tied to counting specific entities as opposed to manipulating numbers in the abstract.
> (p.385)

This point was borne out when I often had to resort to using sago stems, match-sticks, or pebbles in order to elicit numbers higher than 'ten' in what will be referred to as the 'one unit' system and higher than 'forty' in the 'four unit' system. A second point that Smith brings out is that the number system in general is often used with a distributive function, for instance the distribution of coconuts, taro, fish, sago thatch etc., rather than being used cumulatively. This is not always the case obviously, there are times when head counts are made at a church meeting or when numerical units are referred to in conversation.

There are three basic and widely used counting systems present in the language. Each system is in theory open ended generating an infinite set of number expressions, however, in practice it rarely goes beyond four hundred. The first two

systems that will be described, the 'one unit' and the 'four unit',

can be characterised as being 'imperfect quinary', that is they

are basically quinary but have special terms for certain numbers

above five.

(i) The 'one unit' System

This system counts in units of one and is used for

counting small numbers of entities regardless of what they are.

tai	'one'
wuru	'two'
tuol	'three'
vyat	'four'
vilrri or lim	'five'
lim-tai	'six'
lim-wuru	'seven'
lim-tuol	'eight'
lim-vyat	'nine'
qolem tai	'ten'
qolem tai tai	'eleven'
qolem tai wuru	'twelve'
qolem tai lim-tai	'sixteen'
qolem wuru	'twenty'
qolem wuru tai	'twenty-one'
qolem tuol	'thirty'
qolem vyat	'forty'
valuny	'fifty' (literally: 'a half')
qolem lim-tai	'sixty'
wurol tai	'one hundred'
wurol tai tai	'one hundred and one'
wurol tai qolem tai	'one hundred and ten'
wurol tai qolem tai lim-tai	'one hundred and sixteen'

wurol '100' was the highest integer recorded and valuny was seen

by my informants as being 'half' of wurol. Examples of the use

of modified noun phrases constructed in the 'one unit' are as

follows:

(151) ei moin wuru yaqai a-jina-rru rri-myai Mowush rri-rrim
      he woman two   his   3sg-send-3dl 3dl-come M.   3dl-see
                                                            (3sg)

'he sent his two wives to go and see Mowush'

(152) niu   ramat wuru o   tuol   pai   rra-woq   rra-fur
      coconut man   two   or three then 3pl-pound 3pl-come up

bag qolem tai o   qolem wuru
bag ten   one or ten   two

'they pound two or three people's copra into the bags,
and between ten or twenty of them are produced'

(153) apil vyat
      year four

'four years'

(ii) The 'four unit' System

This system counts in units of four, that is its
integers refer to four, eight, twelve, sixteen, twenty, etc. The
system is used when counting large numbers of a specific commodity
and it is especially used when a distribution of a commodity takes
place. The system is characterised by the use of three numerical
classifiers: nyau, wi and qwaq. Each of these classifiers
stands as the head and is modified by numerals similar to those
in (i). The classifier nyau refers to building and commercial
materials; for instance, coconuts, sago stems, sago thatch etc.
wi is used to refer to fish but it can also refer to other forms
of meat. qwaq is used when the count involves vegetable (and
especially root crop) foods. For example, taro, sweet potato,
bananas, etc.

In explaining this system the classifier nyau used of
coconuts will be used.

nyau tai	'four coconuts'
nyau wuru	'eight coconuts'
nyau tuol	'twelve coconuts'

nyau vyat	'sixteen coconuts'
wusung	'twenty coconuts'
wusung nyau tai	'twenty-four coconuts'
wusung nyau wuru	'twenty-eight coconuts'
wusung nyau tuol	'thirty-two coconuts'
wusung nyau vyat	'thirty-six coconuts'
wusung or qolem tai	'forty coconuts' or 'one pile of coconuts'

If the count is a distributional one then the coconuts are sorted into piles of forty. Smith notes that 'forty' was the standard quantity to fill one net-bag (p.385-6). The term which is used when a pile is completed was wusung, so after every other wusung a new pile is begun. However if the count is a cumulative one the term qolem tai is used on the completion of the first pile, qolem wuru for the second, qolem tuol for the third etc. However, when the fifth pile is completed the counter shouts out valuny nyau 'two hundred coconuts'. The sixth through to the ninth pile is referred to as valuny qolem tai, valuny qolem wuru, valuny qolem tuol etc.. The tenth pile is referred to as wurol or piping. In theory this system, like the 'one unit' system, is open ended. In practice a count won't usually go much beyond fifty piles.

(iii) Human Count

The system for counting human beings is very much like the 'one unit' system. In this system the person counting uses his hands and (optionally) his feet as well. He starts the count with his left hand, continues onto his right hand and then either reverts back to his left hand or goes onto his right foot and then on to his left. The system that employs the counter's

hands only is the more usual of the two. After each cycle qolem

and its modifying number are then called out. The first five

numbers in the count are unique in that they are never again repeated

in that count.

	Left Hand (Nos one to five)	Right and Left Hand (subsequent nos)
Little Finger	tai	manyeny or manyarri tai
Ring Finger	wuru	manyarru or manyarri wuru
Middle Finger	tuol	manyarri tuol
Index Finger	vyat	manyarri vyat
Thumb	vilrri	manyarri lim

After each successive group of ten:

qolem tai	'ten'
qolem wuru	'twenty'
qolem tuol	'thirty'
qolem vyat	'forty'
qolem vilrri	'fifty'
etc.	

3.6.2.   Ordinal Numbers

No expressions for ordinal numerals were intentionally

elicited, so it cannot be clearly ascertained whether or not a

distinct category of ordinals is present in Kairiru.

In one particular narrative, however, three possible ordinal

constructions were given by the story-teller. In two of the

instances he used the Tok Pisin words nambawan 'first' and

nambafaiv 'fifth', these two instances in their clausal context

were,

(154) orait   imur   <u>jyau</u>   <u>nambawan</u>   e-im
      so   behind thing first   3sg-make(3sg)

'so after he made the first point'

(155) orait   <u>nambafaiv</u> ei   a-wotany-i   a-wot   kyau   w-urrkyaq
      so   fifth   he   3sg-tell-3sg   3sg-   I   1sg-arise
                                               say

      tap   pwaq   yieq   qo-monyeq   mu
      but   before you   2sg-eat   first
                    (sg)

      'So fifth he told him, saying. "Before I get up you must
      eat first!" '

In the third example the Kairiru word <u>tuol</u> 'three' was used,

(156) jo   <u>tuol</u>   ei   a-wotiny-rri   qam   ramat   moin ...
      so   three he   3sg-tell-3pl   you   man   woman
                                       (pl)

      'so he told them the third thing "You men and women ..." '

While these sentences <u>may</u> contain examples or ordinal

expression, it is not clear that this is necessarily the case.

3.6.3.   <u>Indefinite Quantifiers</u>

        In 3.2.1.1.1. certain quantitative modifiers were looked

at in passing when dealing with the mass versus count distinction

in the common noun. In this section a list will be given of the

more important quantifiers together with their glosses, their

contextual rules of occurrence and examples of their usage.

        <u>spai</u>   'some'   / common n $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ count} \end{bmatrix}$

(157) <u>lil   spai</u> a-tu   pyal
      rice some 3sg-stand house

      'there is some rice in the house'

      <u>wusatai</u>   'some'   / common n $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ count} \end{bmatrix}$

(158) ei   <u>rapi   wusatai</u>   a-pak
      he   sago   some   3sg-carry(3pl)

      'he carries some containers of sago'

wolap   'plenty'   / common n [- count]

(159)   lil   wolap   a-tu
          rice plenty 3sg-stand

'there's plenty of rice'

tai   'some'   / common n [- count]

(160)   yit wopuk tai a-tu
          who lime   some 3sg-stand

'who has some lime?'

qorrel   'many', 'plenty'   / common n [+ count]

(161)   kyau mukajyou qorrel wu-nang   malal   wokyau
          I   sweet   plenty   1sg-plant garden my
               potato   (3pl)

'I planted plenty of sweet potatoes in my garden'

sqainy   'little, small amount'   /common n [- count]

(162)   yieq monyeq sqainy qo-pik
          you   food   small   2sg-take(3sg)
                    amount

'you can take a little food'

s-rru   'pair, brace'   / common n [+ count]

(163)   ei a-wot ayem paqat mai moin   s-rru   mai   lek
          he 3sg- like   that   TOP woman group TOP   then
               talk   -3dl

          arruon rru-wor
                   3dl-left

'after he talked thus the pair of them (the women) went away'

s-rri   'small group'   / common n [+ count]

(164)   Maki muli   s-rri tai a-muom   ny-i   Smouwai
          M.   orange group- a   3sg-pick BEN-3sg S.
                    3pl   (3pl)

'Maki picked a small number of oranges for Smouwai'

3.6.4.   Other Constructions Using Quantifiers

3.6.4.1.   Adverbialised Numerals

To express the number of times an event is repeated the affix jai- is prefixed to the numeral concerned. For example,

(165) jai-tai   'once'

(166) jai-wuru   'twice'

(167) jai-tuol   'three times'

As with other verb modifiers adverbialised numerals normally occur

after the verb, that is, unless some form of ellipsis has taken

place first.

(168) ei   a-woraq   moin mai o-un-i   a-yin   e-im   pinien
      he   3sg-arise   woman TOP 3sg-strike 3sg-   3sg-do this
                                  -3sg   lie   (3sg)

      .... a-lieq jai-tai ei o-uraq   o-un-i   leq
           3sg-go once   he 3sg-arise 3sg-strike again
                                           -3sg

      moin   a-jn-i   natu-ny" ....
      woman   3sg-ask   child-3sg
              -3sg

      'he got up and hit the woman, this went on for some time
      until he did it once more and then the woman told her
      child" ....

(169) rri   rruon   rra-morr   rruon   jai-tai   rruon   rra-myai
      they then   3pl-sit   c.a.   once   then   3pl-come

      rra-morr   rre-imajul
      3sg-sit   3pl-make conversation

      'they then sat down once more and then they came, sat
      down and talked with them'

3.6.4.2.   Distributive Numerals

These distributive constructions are formed by repeating the

numeral. For example,

(170) tai tai   'one at a time'

(171) tuol tuol   'in threes' or 'three at a time'

(172) rri   Sipaparu   rra-wor   tai tai   rra-myat   rruon
      they S.   3pl-leave   one one   3pl-die   c.a.

      'the poeple of Sipaparu left and one by one they died'

(173) rapi tai a-lieq qoyeng tai tai
       sago one 3sg-go clan   one one
       'a container of sago will go to each clan'

3.7. Interrogatives

This section is concerned with the use and occurrence of the nouns

yit 'who', kiu 'what', piyei 'where' and saris 'when' both in certain

questions, i.e. those approximating the English WH questions, and in certain

conditional sentences. The nominal modifiers spai 'how much and wusatai

'how many' (whose declarative function was looked at in 3.6.3.) will

also be discussed with reference to their interrogative function.

yit, kiu, piyei, and saris can each occur either as a noun head or

as a modifying noun. All of these except saris have been recorded in

conditional as well as in interrogative sentences (we have no data on saris

in conditionals). When acting as the noun head in an interrogative

construction these nouns express an 'absolute' WH question, that is, the

speaker wishes to know what the referent or class of referent is. On the

other hand when acting as attributes they express a 'selective' WH question,

i.e. the speaker wishes to know of a specific referent out of a known class

of referents.

yit and kiu share two further qualities. Firstly, when either occur as

Subject or Direct Object in a sentence they, like all other NP types, are

marked in the verb. Secondly, both nouns are mutually exclusive in their

terms of reference, yit is used to express a higher animate referent while

kiu is used when the referent is a non-higher animate i.e. a lower animate

or an inanimate referent.

Examples of these interrogative nouns are:

yit   'who'

(174)   pu   at   yit a-qaku-i
        betel   that who 3sg-put taboo
        nut   on-3sg

        'who has put a taboo on that betel nut palm?'

(175)   yieq asa-m   yit
        you   name-2sg   who

        'what is your name?'

(176)   ta-lieq ta-lieq ta-lieq yit qon   juluk   eipai
        1pl-go   .... until   who int. conversation   NEG

        'we go on and on until no-one else has got anything
        to say'

(177)   ramat yit jyau   kiu   a-pik   a-myai   a-ning
        man   who thing what 3sg-carry   3sg-come   3sg-put down
                                 (3sg)   (3sg)

        'whoever brings whatever things ...'

(178)   wonyau yit qon   a-qan-yieq
        dog   who int.   3sg-bite-2sg

        'which/whose dog bit you?'

kiu   'what'

(179)   yieq qo-wot   kiu
        you   2sg-say what

        'what did you say?'

(180)   mwau kiu   qon   a-mokin   taqam   ta-qan
        taro what int.   3sg-good   we(incl)   1pl-eat(3sg)

        'which is the good type of taro to eat?'

(181)   at   jyau   kiu
        that thing what

        'what is that?'

(182)   ramat nai   qai   jyau   kiu   kyai   e-ip
        man   that tree thing what INST   3sg-chop down(3sg)

        'what is that man using to chop down the tree with?'

(183)   yieq qo-lieq Wewak jyau   kiu   qo-im
        you   2sg-go   W.   thing what 2sg-make(3sg)

        'you are going to Wewak to do what?'

(184)   laliu o qongyar o wurr   o <u>jyau</u> <u>kiu</u> ta-pak
          canarium nuts   or banana or thing what 1pl-carry
                                                               (3pl)

          ta-lieq
          1pl-go

          'we would take types of canarium nut or banana or
          whatever and go'

          <u>piyei</u>   'where'

(185)   miem   a-morr   <u>piyei</u>
          mother 3sg-sit where
          (1sg)

          'where is my mother?'

(186)   <u>vanu</u>   <u>piyei</u> rra-fur   rra-jyal
          place where 3pl-arrive 3pl-help

          'the place where they come and help'

(187)   <u>qapas</u> <u>piyei</u> ap kyau qat   u-wowu-i   qaqu   nai
          site   where FUT I   canoe 1sg-build   day plus that
          ʼ   canoe-3sg one

          'where will I build my canoe tomorrow?'

(188)   pai   qait   ta-lieq <u>piyei</u> monyeq spai ta-sap
          HAB/ we   1pl-go where food   some 1pl-look for
          FUT   (excl)   (3pl)

          'we will go to where we can look for some food'

          <u>saris</u>   'when'

(189)   <u>saris</u> kapuop
          when   night

          'when/what time is night?'

(190)   <u>saris</u> a-qon   Pater a-myai   vanu
          when   3sg-true P.   3sg-come village

          'when is Pater really coming to the village?'

(191)   <u>qat</u>   <u>saris</u> a-lieq Wewak
          canoe when   3sg-go W.

          'when is the/a canoe going to Wewak?'

The phrase <u>jarkyem pitau</u> which means 'when, how' can also be used

interrogatively, for example;

(192)   jarkyem pitau yieq qo-myai   kyau vanu
                          you 2sg-come I   village

          'when are you coming to my village?'

It is not known whether _saris_ and _jarkyem pitau_ are interchangeable in all

contexts. In ordinary declarative constructions _puony_ 'day, day when' and

jarkyem 'time when' are used, (cf. 5.3).

    spai and _wusatai_ are used attributively only. However like the fore-

going nouns they can occur both as questions and as indefinite quantifiers

in declarative constructions. _spai_ and wusatai are mutually exclusive in

that _spai_ can only occur with mass nouns and _wusatai_ with count. When used

interrogatively they mean 'how much?' and 'how many?' respectively. For

example:

    (193)   _lil   spai_   a-tu   pyal
                  rice how much 3sg-stand house

                'how much rice is there in the house?'

    (194)   _makyat wusatai_ yieq qo-pak   nimpai
                  fish   how many you   2sg-take today
                                            (3pl)

                'how many fish did you catch today?'

An example of their declarative use is:

    (195)   so ei a-myai   _lil   spai_ a-pik   o   pur tai a-pik
                  so he 3sg-come rice some 3sg-carry or pig one 3sg-carry
                                            (3sg)   (3sg)

                o   _rapi wusatai_ a-pak
                or   sago some   3sg-carry(3pl)

                'So he should come bringing some rice, or a pig or some
                containers of sago'

The formation of 'how' questions is dealt with in 4.3.4.

3.8.   Demonstratives

    Demonstratives are used both exophorically (spatial pointing) and

endophorically (text). It is convenient to categorise the various demonstrative

forms that exist in the language according to these two functions.

3.8.1.   Exophoric Usage

         There are two sets of demonstratives that have a spatial

pointing function: a non-selective set and a selective set. Both

these sets may occur in the noun phrase either as the head or as

a modifier.

         The non-selective set is fairly straightforward. It contains

the following three forms: an 'this, these, here' (marking

proximity to the speaker); at 'that, those, there' (marking

proximity to the hearer); and nai 'that, those, there' (marking

distance away from both the speaker and the hearer), which are

illustrated below.

(196) kyau leiny an   wu-ruong rruon
       I   talk   this   1sg-hear c.a.

       'I heard this conversation'

(197) pu   at   yit a-qaku-i
       betel   that who 3sg-make taboo-3sg
       palm

       'who has made that (near hearer) betel palm taboo?'

(198) ei a-woraq   moin   nai   o-un-i
       he 3sg-get   woman that 3sg-strike-3sg
               up

       'he got up and hit that woman'

(199) wu-pataq   wu-morr Qorakur saqar at   yawos wu-to-i
       1sg-arrive 1sg-sit K.   reef   there fire   1sg-light
          at   fire-3sg

       leq   at
       again there

       'I arrived and sat down at Koragur Reef there, and I
       lit a fire again there'

(200) qaing a-tu   an
       palm   3sg-stand here

       'the palm standing here'

(201) wonyau a-yin   nai
       dog   3sg-lie there

       'the dog is lying over there (away from speaker and hearer)'

The forms <u>paqan</u> 'here' and possibly <u>paqat</u> 'there' are used

in certain contexts as alternatives to an and at. However it

appears that when they are used in this way they are always the

noun head.

(202)   qo-pik   qo-myai   <u>paqan</u>
        2sg-carry   2sg-come   here
            (3sg)

        'bring it here!'

(203)   a-tu   <u>paqan</u> leq
        3sg-stand   here   again

        'he stood up here again'

However their usual usage is an endophoric one.

The second set of demonstratives have a selective function,

that is they are used to express selection out of a set which has

been mentioned or is understood. There are two basic forms, <u>nien</u>

'this one, these ones, here' and <u>niet</u> 'that one, those ones, there'.

However there are, it appears, various other alternative forms;

these are <u>pinien</u>, <u>piniet</u>, <u>finien</u>, <u>finiet</u>, <u>nekifinien</u> and <u>nekifiniet</u>.

All these selective demonstrative forms have the same functional

and distributional characteristics as <u>nien</u> and <u>niet</u>.

(204)   qaing   a-tu   <u>nien</u>
        palm   3sg-stand   here

        'the palm standing here (selective, near speaker)'

(205)   jarkyem   <u>ramat   niet</u>   lu-k   jawo-ny   a-rrim
        time when   man   that one   sibling   spirit   3sg-see(3sg)
                             opp.   -1sg   -3sg

        'the time when that (selective, away from speaker) man saw
        my brother's soul'

(206)   pyal   qa-ning   ny-i   <u>pinien</u>
        house   2pl-build   BEN-3sg here
                    (3sg)

        'Build a house here (selective, near speaker) for him!'

(207) ei   a-myai   a-pataq   qeq-rri   <u>ramat finiet</u>
      he/   3sg-come 3sg-   SOU/COM   man   that
      she   arrive   -3pl

'he arrived with those (selective, away from speaker) men'

(208) ei   <u>moin   nekifiniet</u>
      she woman   that

'she, that women (selective, away from speaker)'

3.8.2.   <u>Endophoric Usage</u>

The proximal demonstratives (<u>an</u>, <u>at</u>, <u>nien</u>, <u>niet</u> etc.) apart

from having an exophoric function are also used as a pointing

device within a text, as the following examples show;

(209) "Ooo pij   aroo Paj aroo qo-myat qo-lieq" ei   a-wot
      <u>ooo</u> earth   <u>aroo</u> P.   <u>aroo</u> 2sg-die 2sg-go   he   3sg-say

      <u>a-yem</u> pagat mai moin   s-rru   mai rru-wor
      3sg-   that   TOP woman   couple   TOP 3dl-run away
      make

' "Ooo to the earth ooo Pash you die you go" he said thus
and the two women ran away'

(210) <u>an</u>   <u>an</u>   nikanik qait Sipaparu tupo-qait pwap
      this here story   we   S.   ancestor   grandparent
                                           -lpl

      Wurasup rru Warrmoq rru mu   rru-morr <u>vanu</u>   <u>finien</u>
      W.   cpl W.   they first 3dl-sit   village this
                             (dl)

'This here is us Sipaparu's story of how our grandparents
Wurasup and Warrmoq were the first to settle in this
(Sipaparu) village'

Two further forms, <u>anamai</u> 'this' and <u>atamai</u> 'that' are also

used endophorically. These two forms appear to be analysable into

the demonstratives <u>an</u> and <u>at</u> and the topic marker <u>mai</u>.

(211) jo rri   rra-morr <u>worap atamai</u> rruon
      so they(pl) 3pl-sit   feast   that   c.a.

'so they sat down to that feast'

3.9. Summary of Noun Phrase Rules

1. NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Simp NP} \\ \text{App NP} \\ \text{Comp NP} \end{Bmatrix}$ (psu)

   Condition: psu occurs only when the NP referent is $\boxed{+\text{human}}$ and $\boxed{-\text{oblique}}$ case.

2. Simp NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Com NP} \\ \text{Prop NP} \end{Bmatrix}$

3. App NP $\longrightarrow$ NP $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{ind pos pron} \end{Bmatrix}$

   Conditions: (i) Both constituents must refer to the same referent.

   (ii) When the second constituent is ind pos pron:

   a) the two two App NP constituents cannot occur inverted.

   b) The App NP can only occur as the Psr NP in a Poss NP construction.

4. Comp NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Coord NP} \\ \text{Alt NP} \end{Bmatrix}$

5. Com NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Mod NP} \\ \text{Poss NP} \end{Bmatrix}$

6. Prop NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{prop n} \\ \text{place n} \\ \text{ind pers pron} \end{Bmatrix}$

7. Coord NP $\longrightarrow$ NP CPL NP (CPL NP)

8. Alt NP $\longrightarrow$ NP APL NP (APL NP)

9. Mod NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{com n} \\ \text{comp n} \end{Bmatrix}$ (nom) (adj) (adj) (num) (dem) (RCl)

10. Poss NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} n_{\text{inl}} + \text{inl pos pron} \\ \text{Psd NP Psr NP (qon)} \end{Bmatrix}$

11. Poss NP$_a$ $\longrightarrow$ Psr NP Psd NP

    Condition: Psr NP must either be an App NP or a Simp NP.

12. Psd NP $\longrightarrow$ Com NP

13. Psr NP $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{ind pos} \quad \text{pron} \end{Bmatrix}$

14. psu $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{ei} \\ \underline{rru} \\ \underline{rri} \end{Bmatrix}$

15. CPL $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{po} \\ \underline{rru} \\ \underline{rri} \\ \emptyset \end{Bmatrix}$

16. APL $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} o \\ tap \end{Bmatrix}$

4.0.   Introduction

The Kairiru verb phrase, in keeping with those of other Oceanic
languages, contains a verb base and a series of satellites which are
distributed around it.   These verbal satellites include; subject and object
clitic pronouns, auxiliaries, tense and aspect markers, and modifiers.   As
a distinct unit the verb phrase not only can constitute one breath segment
but it is also the minimum manifestation of the clause.   In this chapter we
examine the internal structure of the verb phrase.

The verb phrase (VP) consists of four constituents occurring in the
following order: pre-verbal particle (part), a verb (v), and two mutually
exclusive sets of adverbial modifiers (adv_1 and adv_2 respectively).   The
verb is the only constituent that is obligatory. The structure of the verb
phrase may be expressed thus:

$$VP \longrightarrow (\text{part}) \quad v \quad (adv_1) \quad (adv_2)$$

Examples of verb phrases within the setting of a clause follow.   The
VP constituent is underlined.

(1)   ei   a-wotany-ieq   mokin   qon
      he/   3sg-tell-2sg   well   int.
      she

      'he is explaining it to you very well'

(2)   Alois   a-wot   a-lieq   fangfang   nyes
      A.   3sg-say   3sg-go   quickly   very

      'Alois says he would like to go quickly'

(3)   arruon   wu-tapul   leq
      after   1sg-return   again

      'after that I returned again'

(4)   yieq   pai   qo-tapul   leq
      you   HAB/   2sg-return   again
             FUT

      'you will return again'

(5) rri   moin   rra-lieq   rruon   malal
    pl   woman 3pl-go   c.a.   garden

'the women have gone (completive) to the garden'

(6) Sap e-im   nyam   a-qanaqan kyai
    S.   3sg-make   mosquito 3sg-bite   only
         (3sg)

   '?Sap made the mosquito only bite and bite him'

(7) mwau qo-pik   vanaq   sapin
    taro 2sg-take   illegal NEG IMP
          (3sg)

'don't steal the taro!'

4.1.   The Verb

4.1.1.   Overview

In these sections I will be concerned with the internal
structure of the verb. Firstly, the person/number system will be
described; and then secondly certain other aspects of the verb
stem will be investigated, namely morphophonemic and derivational
processes.

The verb in Kairiru consists minimally of a verb stem (v.s.)
plus a subject person marker prefix. The verb stem is made up of
a verb root (v.r.), a derived verb stem (d.v.s.) or a compound
verb stem (c.v.s.). To all verb stems is prefixed a subject
person marker prefix (s.p.m.), all transitive and ditransitive
verbs also carry an object person marker suffix (o.p.m.).

4.1.2.   Person/Number Agreement

The term 'person/number agreement' is often used to refer to
a situation whereby the person and/or number of an argument is
indicated in two places in the clause. In this description the
term refers to the indexing of the person and number of the subject,

and of the direct object or indirect object in the verb,

regardless of whether these arguments are represented by a full NP

elsewhere in the clause. It must be remembered that the minimum

manifestation of the clause can be the occurrence of the verb phrase

alone (see chapter five). In such minimal clauses the verb is

still marked for person and number of subject and (with transitive

verbs) object. In the case of third person affixes in minimal

clauses the arguments that are indexed in the verb are assumed to

be known by the hearer either by linguistic or by extralinguistic

context. The following is an example of foreknown linguistic

context.

(8) ramat purung a-lieq qai   a-quot   rra-tu rri   moin
         owner   3sg-go fire-   3sg-break up   3pl-   they woman
                            wood   firewood(3pl)   stand   (pl)

     rra-lieq rra-snap   rra-pak   rra-myai ramat purung
     3pl-go   3pl-tie in   3pl-carry 3pl-come   owner
               bundles(3pl)   (3pl)

     'the owner goes and breaks up some firewood into a pile,
     then the women go and tie them up and bring them to
     the owner'

     A further aspect of indexing is the marking of the number of

a noun phrase in the verb where the NP itself remains unmarked for

number. For example,

(9) a) kyau wonyau q-un-i
         I   dog   1sg-strike-3sg

         'I hit the dog'

(9) b) kyau wonyau w-un-rru
         I   dog   1sg-strike-3dl

         'I hit the two dogs'

There are two sets of person/number agreement affixes. One

set marks the subject and this will be referred to as subject

person marking (s.p.m.). The other set marks either the direct

object of transitive verbs or the indirect object of ditransitives

and will be referred to as object person marking (o.p.m.). Both

these sets distinguish three numbers: singular, dual and plural,

as well as three persons: first, second and third. There is,

however, no distinction made between first person inclusive

(hearer included) and exclusive (hearer not included) in these

sets, although they are distinguished in the independent personal

pronoun set (see Table Three, p.60). The third person dual when

used normally refers to humans or higher animates only, but under

certain circumstances it can be used to index other types of

countable referents, for example when the speaker wishes to

specify the exact number of inanimate referents. Each of these

sets will now be looked at in turn.

4.1.2.1. Subject Marking

In the following table the subject person markers are set out:

TABLE FOUR:

SUBJECT PERSON MARKERS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	wu- (u-,w-,wi-)	tu- (ti,t-)	ta- (te-,to-)
2nd	qo-	qu- (qi-,q-)	qa- (qe-,qo-)
3rd	a- (e-,o-)	rru- (rri-,rr-)	rra- (rre-,rro-)

The forms within the parentheses are surface (and alternative)

variants of the main underlying form (that stands to their left

outside the brackets). These variants are derived from the

underlying form as follows:

1. The underlying form of the first singular prefix

wu- becomes u- when the following stem to which it is

affixed starts with the glide w̲.

Rule 1.   w̲u̲- > u̲-/#____+w

2.   The underlying forms of the first singular (w̲u̲-), the

first dual (t̲u̲-), the second dual (q̲u̲-), and the third

dual (r̲r̲u̲-) become:

(i)   w̲i̲-, t̲i̲-, q̲i̲-, and r̲r̲i̲- respectively when the

following verb stem to which they are affixed starts

with the glide y̲.

Rule 2.
$$
\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{w} \\ \underline{t} \\ \underline{q} \\ \underline{rr} \end{Bmatrix} \underline{u} \text{->} \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{w} \\ \underline{t} \\ \underline{q} \\ \underline{rr} \end{Bmatrix} \underline{i}\text{-} \;/\text{\#}\;\underline{\qquad}\;+y
$$

The first, second and third dual forms can, although it

it is optional, also undergo the same process in a

further environment, that is, when the following verb

stem begins with a sequence of a consonant and/or glide

followed by a non-back vowel.

Rule 3.
$$
\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{t} \\ \underline{q} \\ \underline{rr} \end{Bmatrix} \underline{u} \text{->} \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{t} \\ \underline{q} \\ \underline{rr} \end{Bmatrix} \underline{i}\text{-} \;/\text{\#}\;\underline{\qquad}\;+C\,(G)\quad \underset{[\text{-back}]}{V}
$$

(ii)   w̲-, t̲-, q̲-, and r̲r̲- respectively when the

following verb stem to which they are affixed starts

with the vowels i̲ or u̲.   N.B.   It has been assumed,

arbitrarily, that where two identical vowels occur

contiguously it is the vowel of the affix that is deleted.

Rule 4.
$$
\begin{Bmatrix} \underline{w} \\ \underline{t} \\ \underline{q} \\ \underline{rr} \end{Bmatrix} \underline{u} \text{->} \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{w} \\ \underline{t} \\ \underline{q} \\ \underline{rr} \end{Bmatrix} \;/\text{\#}\;\underline{\qquad}\;+ \underset{[\text{+ high}]}{V}
$$

3. The underlying forms of the third singular (a-), the first

plural (ta-), second plural (ga-) and the third plural

(rra-) become:

(i) e-, te-, ge-, and rre- respectively when the

following verb stem starts with the vowel i.

Rule 5.
$$\begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ t \\ q \\ rr \end{Bmatrix} \; a\text{->} \; \begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ t \\ q \\ rr \end{Bmatrix} \; e\text{-} \; /\#\underline{}+i$$

(ii) o-, to-, go-, and rro- respectively when the

following verb stem starts with the vowel u.

Rule 6.
$$\begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ t \\ q \\ rr \end{Bmatrix} \; a\text{->} \; \begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ t \\ q \\ rr \end{Bmatrix} \; o\text{-} \; /\#\underline{}+u$$

In citing examples from here on of verb forms, the following

notational convention will be adopted; where a morphophonemic

process has altered the underlying form of a sequence both the

surface and underlying representations will be given, the under-

lying representation placed below the surface representation.

Examples of the use of these subject marking prefixes are set out

below.

(10) (kyau)   wu-   lt -i
    I   1sg-rub in-3sg
               hand

'I am rubbing it in my hand'
'I rub it in my hand'

(11) (kyau)   u-wot
             wu-   wot
    I   1sg-talk

'I am talking'
'I talk'

(12) (kyau)   wi-yei
            wu-   yei
    I   1sg-swin

'I am swimming'
'I swim'

(13) (kyau)   w-in-i
            wu-   in -i
    I   1sg-drink-3sg

'I am drinking it'
'I drink it'

(14) (yieq) qo-uq
             qo- uqa -i
      you   2sg-shoot-3sg
      (sg)

      'you(sg) are shooting it'
      'you(sg) shoot it'

(15) nat   a-tang
      child 3sg-cry

      'the child is crying'
      'the child cries'

(16) (ei)   e-ip
             a- ipa -i
      he/   3sg-chop -3sg
      she   down

      'he/she chops it down'

(17) (ei)   o-urat-i
             a-   urat -i
      he/   3sg-sweep-3sg
      she

      'he/she is sweeping it'
      'he/she sweeps it'

(18) tu   tu-mayek
      we(dl 1dl-be ashamed
      excl)

      'we(dl excl) are ashamed'

(19) tu   ti-yiviyau
             tu-   yiviyau
      we(dl 1dl-be new
      excl)

      'we (dl excl) are new'

(20) tuyieq ti-lieq
                tu-   lieq
      we(dl 1dl-go
      incl)

      'we (dl incl) are going'

(21) tuyieq t-irau
                tu- irau
      we(dl 1dl-be friends
      incl)   with each other

      'we (dl incl) are friends
      with each other'

(22) tu   tu-un-qum
             tu-   un -qum
      we(dl 1dl-strike-2dl
      excl)

      'we (dl excl) strike you(dl)'

(23) (qum)   qu-   papop
      you(dl) 2dl- be blind

      'you(dl) are blind'

(24) (qum)   qi-yei
               qu- yei
      you(dl) 2dl-swim

      'you (dl) are swimming'

(25) (qum)   qi-myai
               qu-   myai
      you(dl) 2dl-come

      'you (dl) come'

(26) (qum)   q-ul-i
               qu- ui-i
      you(dl) 2dl-buy-3sg

      'you (dl) are buying it'

(27) (qum)   q-iqe-i
               qu- iqe -i
      you(dl) 2dl-soak-3sg

      'you(dl) are soaking it'

(28) nat   (wuru) rru-sap-i
      child two   31d-look
                         for-3sg

      'the two children are
      looking for it'

(29) (rru)   rri-yin
             rru-   yin
      they   3dl-recline
      (dl)

      'they (dl) lie down'

(30) (rru) ramat rri-pilpil
        rru-pilpil
    they man 3dl-lie
    (dl)

    'the two men are telling lies'

(31) (rru) rr-is
        rru- isa -i
    they 3dl-sharpen-3sg
    (dl)

    'they (dl) sharpen it'

(32) moin rr-urr
        rru- urra -i
    woman 3dl-pour into-3sg

    'the two women pour it into it'

(33) qait ta-lieq
    we(pl excl) 1pl-go

    'we (pl excl) are going'

(34) taqam te-im
        ta- ima -i
    we(pl 1pl-make-3sg
    excl)

    'we (pl incl) are making it'

(35) qait to-unat-i
        ta- unat -i
    we(pl 1pl-block off-3sg
    excl)

    'we (pl excl) are block-
    ing it off'

(36) (qam) qa-jm-i
    you 2pl-chew betel nut-3sg
    (pl)

    'you (pl) are chewing betel nut'

(37) (qam) qe-in-i
        qa- in -i
    you 2pl-drink-3sg
    (pl)

    'you(pl) are drinking it'

(38) (qam) qo-un-am
        qa- un -au
    you 2pl-strike-1sg
    (pl)

    'you (pl) hit me'

(39) moin juk rra-myat
    woman old 3pl-be dead

    'the old women are dead'

(40) (rri) rro-ut
        rra- uta -i
    they 3pl-break open
    (pl) lengthwise-3sg

    'they break it open lengthwise'

(41) (rri) nat rre-iwun
        rra iwun
    they child 3pl-fight
    (pl) each other

    'the children are fight-
    ing each other'

4.1.2.2. Object Marking

The basic forms of the object person marking suffixes are set out below.

TABLE FIVE:

OBJECT PERSON MARKERS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-au (-kyau, -am)	-tu	-qait
2nd	-ieq (-yieq)	-qum	-qam
3rd	-i (-∅)	-rru	-rri, -∅

Some additional comments concerning the object suffixes are
required:

1. The underlying form of the first singular suffix -au becomes:

    (i) -kyau when the verb stem to which it is suffixed ends
    in a vowel.

    Rule 7. -au > -kyau /V+____#

    (ii) -am when the verb stem ends in a non-bilabial nasal.

    Rule 8. -au > -am / V   +____#
                         $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{bilabial} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$

2. The underlying form of the second singular -ieq becomes -yieq
    when the preceding verb stem ends in a vowel.

    Rule 9. -ieq > -yieq /V+____#

3. The underlying form of the third singular -i is deleted, or
    becomes a zero morpheme, when the preceding verb stem ends in
    a high front vowel.

    Rule 10. -i > -Ø /i+____#

    The -i suffix is also deleted, along with the final vowel of
    the preceding verb stem, if the verb stem's last three
    segments are in lineal terms: a non-low vowel (that is all
    the vowels except a), followed by a consonant, and finally
    by a low vowel (the vowel a).

    Rule 11. $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \end{bmatrix}$ + i > Ø / $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix}$ C____#

The following are examples of the use of all the object
suffixes except the third plural, which will be dealt with in the
next paragraph.

(42) Anton (kyau) a-pal-au
      A.   I   3sg-lie-1sg

      'Anton is lying to me'

(43) (yieq)   (kyau)   qo-rrma-kyau
      you(sg)   qo-rrima-au
                    I   2sg-see-1sg

      'you (sg) see me'

(44) tina-m   (kyau)   o-un-am
                             a- un -au
      mother-2sg   I   3sg-strike-1sg

      'your mother hit me'

(45) nat   rra-ny-am   (kyau)
             rra-ny -au
      child 3pl-give-1sg   I
                to

      'the children give (it) to me'

(46) (kyau) (yieq) wu- kaj -ieq
      I   you(sg) 1sg-be cross with -2sg

      'I am cross with you'

(47) ramat wolap (yieq)   a- nypo -yieq
                              a- nypo -ieq
      man   big   you(sg)   3sg-work sorcery -2sg
                                   upon

      'the big man is working sorcery upon you'

(48) (kyau) myan tok w- umu -i
                        wu- umu -i
      I   chicken   1sg-cook in   -3sg
                                 earth oven

      'I cook the chicken in the earth oven'

(49) (kyau) pia   w- in -i
                    wu- in -i
      I   beer 1sg-drink-3sg

      'I am drinking the beer'

(50) (ei)   tapirr a-si-∅
                      a- si -i
      he/she plate   3sg-wash something-3sg

      'he/she is washing the plate'

(51) (rri)   nat   naf   rra- mum
                                rra- muma   -i
      they(pl)   child   mango 3pl-pick fruit -3sg
                                    from a tree

      'the children (pl) pick the mango from the tree'

(52) (kyau) natu-ny   wu- qafit
                          wu- qafita -i
      I   child-3sg 1sg-reject-3sg

      'I reject his/her child'

(53) ramat kram   o-uq
                     a- uqa -i
      man   slit-   3sg-hit-3sg
             gong

      'the man is hitting (playing) the slit-gong'

(54) (yieq)   wurr   quli-ny   qo- laqa -i
      you(sg) banana skin-3sg 2sg-throw-3sg
                                      away

      'throw away the banana skin!'

(55) (ei)   e- imajule -tu   tu
                a- ima+jule -tu
      he/she 3sg-make+conversation-1dl we(dl excl)

      'he/she is conversing with us (dl excl)'

(56) wonyau (qum)   a- qan -qum
      dog   you(dl) 3sg-bite-2dl

      'the dog is biting you(dl)'

(57) (rri) moin   ramat myat rra- ting -rru
      they   woman man   dead 3pl-weep over -3dl
      (pl)

      'the women weep over the two dead men'

(58) (yieq)   qait   qo- un -qait
      you(sg) we(pl 2sg-strike-1pl
               excl)

      'you (sg) hit us (pl excl)'

(59) (rri) (qam)   rra- kaj -qam
      they   you(pl) 3pl-be cross-2pl
      (pl)   with

      'they (pl) are cross with you (pl)'

      The third person plural has two basic variants, -rri and -∅.

The adoption of one of the suffixes instead of the other is made

on semantic grounds. If the object refers to a higher animate,

that is, a human or a domesticate then -rri is selected. For

example:

(60) moin   nat   a-lsa   -rri
      woman   child   3sg-wash someone-3pl

      'the woman washes the children'

(61)   (kyau) ramat juk wu- rrima -rri
        I   man   old 1sg-see -3pl

     'I see the old man'

(62) nat   myan tok a-tilka -rri
      child chicken 3sg-pick up-3pl

     'the child picks up the chickens'

If, however, the object refers to a lower animate or an inanimate

then the verb is marked by the zero morpheme (-Ø).

(63) Alois niu pakurr tuol e- in -Ø   rruon
                          a- in -Ø
      A.   drinking   three 3sg-drink-3pl c.a. =
           coconut

     'Alois drank three coconuts'

(64) (ei)   qat   vyat a-rrom-Ø
                         a- rrima -Ø
      he/she canoe four 3sg-see-3pl

     'he/she sees the four canoes'

(65) (kyau) rapi wusatai wu- pak -Ø   wu- myai
                          wu- pika -Ø
      I   sago some   1sg-carry-3pl 1sg-come

     'I am bringing some containers of sago'

Some exceptions to this were noted. Out of a total of one

hundred and one transitive verbs in the corpus only three were

found to be aberrant. For example:

(66) ramat juk a-nyep-Ø
                a- nypo -Ø
      man   old 3sg-work sorcery upon -3pl

     'the old man works sorcery upon them'

Here the object is understood to be human yet the verb is indexed

as for a [-higher animate] referent.

When the -Ø suffix is used to index lower animate or

inanimate plural objects, certain changes may take place in the

verb stem.[1] The remainder of this section deals with these changes.

In many cases the verb stem becomes susceptible to some form

of phonological reduction. There are two types of reduction.

Firstly, all verb stems that are minimally bi-syllabic and end in

either the segments <u>as</u> or <u>at</u> have the final consonant deleted (i.e.

<u>s</u> or <u>t</u>). Secondly, all verb stems ending in a vowel when following

a consonant have that vowel deleted. These two rules will be

termed as Stem Reduction Rules. It must be noted that they must

also be ordered in such a way that the consonant deletion rule

comes before the vowel deletion rule. These rules may be formal-

ised in the following way:

Consonant Deletion Rule:

Rule 12. $\begin{Bmatrix} s \\ t \end{Bmatrix} > \emptyset/(C)VCa\_\_\_\_\#$

Vowel Deletion Rule:

Rule 13. $V > \emptyset/C\_\_\_\_\#$

---

1. There are, however, some verb stems that do not undergo any form of
change when indexing a [−higher animate] plural object. For example:

(67) (ei)   (rri)   a-sap
                            a-sap-$\emptyset$
      he/she they(pl)   3sg-search for-3pl
      'he/she searches for them (pl)'

      ei   a-sap-i
      he/she   3sg-search for-3sg
      'he/she searches for him/her/it'

Also;
(68) a-pul   (70) e-in
      'he/she pours it into them (pl)'   'he/she drinks them(pl)'

      a-pul-i   e-in-i
      'he/she pours it into it'   'he/she drinks it'

(69) a-sit
      'he/she sews them (pl) up'

      a-sit-i
      'he/she sews him/her/it up'

An example of the derivation of the verb qurat 'put into something' with the -∅ suffix is as follows:

(71) a- qurat -∅ Underlying Representation

      a- qura -∅ Rule 12 applied

      a- qur -∅ Rule 13 applied

      a- qur   Surface Representation
      3sg-put into

      'he/she puts it into them (pl)'

qunaqa 'stand something(s) up' on the other hand has Rule 13 only applied to it:

(72) a- qunaqa -∅ Underlying Representation

      a- qunaq -∅ Rule 13 applied

      a- qunaq   Surface Representation
      3sg-stand up

      'he/she stands them (pl) up'

Other examples include the following (where both the singular and plural object forms are shown for comparison):

(73) a-j(e)mat-i
      3sg-hang up-3sg

      'he/she hangs it up'

      a-jem
      3sg-hang up

      'he/she hangs them (pl) up'

(74) a-r(a)kat-i
      3sg-lift-3sg

      'he/she lifts him/her/it up'

      a-rak
      3sg-life

      'he/she lifts them (pl) up'

N.B. In both the above examples vowel syncope has possibly taken place within the stem in the singular form. cf. 4.1.3.1.

(75) o-urri-∅
      a-urri-∅
      3sg-put on/in the ground-3sg

      'he/she put it in/on the ground'

o-urr
3sg-put on/in the ground
'he/she puts them (pl) in/on the ground'

(76) a-qaku-i
3sg-make betel palm taboo-3sg
'he/she makes the betel palm (sg) taboo'

a-qak
3sg-make betel palm taboo'
'he/she makes the betel palms (pl) taboo'

Apart from stem reduction there is another type of stem modification that occurs in certain verb stems when indexed with the -∅ suffix; these will be referred to as Stem Alternation Rules.

This type consists of a set of at least eight stem internal alternation patterns which will be looked at in turn below. Each verb that undergoes this type of modification adopts only one of the patterns, and the adoption of any one pattern is determined by the verb stem's phonological form. As will be borne out by the examples, the rules specifying stem internal changes apply after Rule 12 and before Rule 13.

(i) There are a number of verb stems of the form: high vowel, consonant, low vowel, i.e. iCa and uCa. In the plural these become yeCa and w $\left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ o \end{matrix} \right\}$ Ca respectively. In the latter form there doesn't appear to be any rule that predicts whether the u or the o occurs.

Rule 14.   iCa > yeCa/_____+∅

Rule 15.   uCa > w $\left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ o \end{matrix} \right\}$ Ca/_____+∅

These two rules must be applied to the verb stem before Rule 13. For example:

(77)   a- uta -∅   Underlying Representation

      a- wota -∅   Rule 15 applied

      a- wot -∅   Rule 13 applied

      a- wot   Surface Representation
      3sg-break open
          lengthwise

      'he/she breaks them (pl) open lengthwise'

(78)   a- ima -∅   Underlying Representation

      a- yema -∅   Rule 14 applied

      a- yem -∅   Rule 13 applied

      a- yem   Surface Representation
      3sg-do

      'he/she does them (pl)'

(79)   a- unat -∅   Underlying Representation

      a- una -∅   Rule 12 applied

      a- wuna -∅   Rule 15 applied

      a- wun -∅   Rule 13 applied

      a- wun   Surface Representation
      3sg-block off

      'he/she blocks them (pl) off'

But as would be expected these two rules would not apply to <u>in</u>

'drink' and <u>umu</u> 'cook in an earth oven',

(80)   a- in -∅   Underlying Representation

      a- in -∅   Rule 5 applied

      e- in   Surface Representation
      3sg-drink

      'he/she drinks them (pl)'

(81)   a- umu -∅   Underlying Representation

      a- um -∅   Rule 13 applied

      o- um -∅   Rule 6 applied

      o- um   Surface Representation
      3sg-cook in earth
          oven

      'he/she cooked them (pl) in an earth oven'

(ii) Verb stems ending in the vowel sequence o(w)u become

au when indexing [-higher animate] plural object.

Rule 16.   o(w)u > au/_____ +

For example:

(82) a- nou -i
      3sg-cook in-3sg
          saucepan

'he/she cooks it in the saucepan'

      a- nau -∅
      3sg-cook in -3pl
          saucepan

'he/she cooks them (pl) in the saucepan'

(83) a- rou -i
      3sg-put on top-3sg

'he/she puts it on top'

      a- rau -∅
      3sg-put on top-3pl

'he/she puts them (pl) on top'

(84) a- wowu -i
      3sg-build canoe-3sg

'he/she builds a canoe'

      a- wau -∅
      3sg-build canoe-3pl

'he/she builds the canoes (pl)'

(iii) Verb stems of the form +(CV)CiCa+ become +(CV)CaCa+

in the plural

Rule 17.   i > a/C_____Ca+

For example:

(85) a- pika -∅   Underlying Representation
      a- paka -∅   Rule 17 applied
      a- pak -∅   Rule 13 applied

      a- pak   Surface Representation
      3sg-carry

'he/she carries them (pl)'

(86) a- lifa -∅   Underlying Representation

a- lafa -∅   Rule 17 applied

a- laf -∅   Rule 13 applied

a- laf   Surface Representation
3sg-singe

'he/she singes them (pl)'

(87) a- qafita -∅   Underlying Representation

a- qafata -∅   Rule 17 applied

a- qafat -∅   Rule 13 applied

a- qafat   Surface Representation
3sg-reject someone

'he/she rejects them (pl)'

There are, however, some verb stems of this canonical form that do

not obey Rule 17. Instead the stem internal vowel of these verbs

becomes a non-low back one in the plural

(88) a- rripa -∅   Underlying Representation

a- rrepa -∅

a- rrep -∅   Rule 13 applied

a- rrep   Surface Representation
3sg-carry bilum

'he/she carries the bilums (pl)'

(89) a- rrima -∅   Underlying Representation

a- rroma -∅

a- rrom -∅   Rule 13 applied

a- rrom   Surface Representation
3sg-see

'he/she sees them (pl)'

(90) a- nina -∅   Underlying Representation

a- nuna -∅

a- nun -∅   Rule 13 applied

a- nun   Surface Representation
3sg-tell story

'he/she tells the stories (pl)'

With more data it may turn out that these three latter verbs may
be incorporated into Rule 17, with a modification so as to cover
all forms of vowel change.

(iv)   Verb stems of the form CuCa become CuoCa when indexed
for the [-higher animate] plural object.

Rule 18.   u > uo/C____Ca+

This rule like Rules 14 and 15 must be applied before Rule 13.

(91)   a- muma -∅   Underlying Representation
  a- muoma -∅   Rule 18 applied
  a- muom -∅   Rule 13 applied

  a- muom   Surface Representation
  3sg-pick fruit from tree

  'he/she picks fruit from the trees (pl)'

(92)   a- pula -∅   Underlying Representation
  a- puola -∅   Rule 18 applied
  a- puol -∅   Rule 13 applied

  a- puol   Surface Representation
  3sg-make round

  'he/she makes them (pl) round'

(93)   a- furas -∅   Underlying Representation
  a- fura -∅   Rule 12 applied
  a- fuora -∅   Rule 18 applied
  a- fuor -∅   Rule 13 applied

  a- fuor   Surface Representation
  3sg-wring coconut meat

  'he/she wrings the coconut meat (pl) (in making coconut cream)'

Three other stem internal alternation patterns have been
observed, although for each of these patterns only two verb stems
have been recorded. These patterns are: (1) the verb stems jim
'chew betel nut' and jin 'send something to someone' become jiem
and jien respectively. (2) the verb stems lt 'rub something in

one's hand' and <u>ls</u> 'chop in half' become <u>lut</u> and <u>lus</u> respectively.
The latter two stem forms may well have undergone vowel syncope
when indexing singular or dual objects, however, in which case the
plural forms would be regular. Compare:

(94)   a- ls -i   a- ls -rru   a- lus

       a- lus -i   a- lus -rru   a- lus -∅
       3sg-chop in half-3sg   3sg-chop in half-3dl   3sg-chop in half
                                                     -3pl

(95)   a- lt -i   a- lt -rru   a- lut

       a- lut -i   a- lut -rru   a- lut -∅
       3sg-rub in one's-3sg   3sg-rub in one's-3dl   3sg-rub in one's
          hand   hand   hand-3pl

(3)   the verb stems <u>jaj</u> 'collect something' and <u>qant</u> 'weed a taro
garden' become <u>jij</u> and <u>qin</u>. In the case of <u>qant</u> a rule such as 12
would delete the final stop.

These eight patterns account for approximately 94% of the
verb stem internal alternations found within the corpus. It is
noteworthy that in the majority of the cases, the stem alternation
patterns apply only to those verbs whose surface representations
would otherwise show no distinction between the forms indexing a
singular and a [-higher animate] plural object. For example, if
Rule 15 was not applied <u>uqa</u> 'shoot, pierce' would have the same
forms for both singular and plural objects.

(96) With Singular Ojbect

      a- uqa -i   Underlying Representation

      a- uq   Rule 11 applied

      o- qu   Rule 6 applied - Surface Representation
      3sg-shoot.3sg

      'he/she shoots him/her/it'

With [-higher animate] Plural Object

a)   where rule 15 is not applied:

a- uqa -∅   Underlying Representation

*a- uq -∅   Rule 13 applied

*o- uq -∅   Rule 6 applied

*o- uq   Surface Representation
*3sg-shoot-3pl

'he/she shoots them (pl)'

b)   where rule 15 is applied:

a- uqa -∅   Underlying Representation

a- woqa -∅   Rule 15 applied

a- woq -∅   Rule 13 applied

a- woq   Surface Representation
3sg-shoot.3pl

'he/she shoots them (pl)'

Whereas the singular and plural object forms of umu 'cook in earth
oven' are distinguishable from each other without the application
of alternation rule 15, viz:

(97)   With Singular Object·

a- umu -i   Underlying Representation

o- umu -i   Rule 6 applied - Surface Representation
3sg-cook in earth
    oven-3sg

'he/she cooks it in the earth oven'

With Plural Object

a- umu -∅   Underlying Representation

a- um -∅   Rule 13 applied

o- um -∅   Rule 6 applied

o- um   Surface Representation
3sg-cook in earth
    oven.3pl

'he/she cooks them (pl) in the earth oven'

It may well be that these alternation patterns are explicitly functioning as rules disambiguating two otherwise identical surface forms.

Finally, there are three verb stems of the form (CV)CiC that display no distinction between singular and plural object indexation. These verbs are: pil 'peel skin off something by hand', takil 'pick something up', and fis 'mix something'. So,

(98)   a- pil

    'he/she peels the skin off it by hand'
    'he/she peels the skin off them (pl) by hand'

(99)   a- takil

    'he/she picks it up'
    'he/she picks them (pl) up'

(100) a- fis

    'he/she mixes it'
    'he/she mixes them (pl)'

4.1.3.   Verb Stem

4.1.3.1. Other Morphophonemic Processes

Apart from the Stem Reduction and the Stem Alternation rules that were dealt with in the previous section there are at least three other morphophonemic processes operating on the verb stem. These include: various vowel assimilation rules; vowel syncope; and certain processes that involve the deletion or change of quality of the final vowel in certain verb stems in certain environments.

(i)   Vowel Assimilation

Both regressive (leftward) and progressive (rightward) forms of vowel assimilation can be applied to the first, or only, vowel of the verb stem when the latter begins with a consonant.

In the case of regressive assimilation this applies only (and then optionally) to verb stems that begin with the underlying segments /qa/. The quality of this low stem vowel is determined by the quality of the preceding vowel in the prefix when and only when the low stem vowel in question is followed by, in the next syllable, a combination of a consonant and either a glide or a high vowel, viz:

$$\text{Rule 19.} \quad a > V_1/V_1 + q\underline{\quad\quad}(C)\ (C).C \left\{ \begin{matrix} G \\ V\ [+high] \end{matrix} \right\}$$

For example:

(101) qan 'bite, eat'

wu- qan -Ø	Rule 19 not applicable
1sg- eat -3sg	

'I eat it'

qo- qan -rru	Underlying Representation	
qo- qon -rru	Rule 19 applied – Surface Representation	
2sg-eat -3dl		

'you (sg) eat them (dl)'

wu- qan -rri	Underlying Representation	
wu- qun -rri	Rule 19 applied – Surface Representation	
1sg-eat -3pl		

'I eat them (pl)'

(102) qafita 'reject someone, send someone away'

wu-qafita -i	Underlying Representation	
wu-qafit	Rule 11 applied	
wu-qufit	Rule 19 applied – Surface Representation	
1sg-reject-3sg		

'I reject him/her'

qo- qafita -Ø	Underlying Representation	
qo- qafata -Ø	Rule 17 applied	
qo- aqfyat -Ø	Rule 13 applied	
qo- qofyat	Rule 19 applied – Surface Representation	
2sg-reject-3pl		

'you (sg) reject them (pl)'

(103) qant 'weed taro garden'

    rru- qant -i   Underlying Representation

    rru- qunt -i   Rule 19 applied - Surface Representation ↓
    3dl-weed taro garden-3sg

    'they (dl) weed the taro garden'

But not:

    wu- qin
    1sg-weed taro garden (pl)

    'I weed the taro gardens (pl)'

In examples (106) and (107) Rule 19 is not applicable as the first

stem vowel is not a low one.

(104) qojkou 'bind/tie up something'

    a- qojkou -i
    3sg-bind up-3sg

    'he/she binds it up'

    wu- qojkou -∅   Underlying Representation

    wu- qojkyau   Rule 16 applied - Surface Representation ↓
    1sg-bind up-3pl

    'I bind them (pl) up'

(105) qunaqa   'stand something up'

    rra- qunaqa -i
    3pl-stand up-3sg

    'they (pl) stand it up'

    qo- qunaqa -∅   Underlying Representation

    qo- qunaq   Rule 13 applied - Surface Representation ↓
    2sg-stand up-3pl

    'you (sg) stand them (pl) up'

Progressive, or rightward, vowel assimilation can operate on

verb stems having the canonical forms: Ci(Ca)Ca and CaC when they

index the third person dual or plural object. In these forms the

quality of the first vowel of the stem is determined by the quality

of the following suffix vowel.

Rule 20. a) i > V/+C_____(Ca)Ca+CV

b) a > V/+C_____C+CV

Condition: where the segments CV represent the
third person dual or plural object
person marker.

For example:

(106) rrima 'see'

a-rrim
3sg-see-3sg

'he/shee sees him/her/it'

a-rruma-rru
3sg-see-3dl

'he/she sees them (dl)'

a-rrima-rri
3sg-see-3pl

'he/she sees them (pl)'

(107) minyaqa 'hide someone/something'

a-minyaqa-i
3sg-hide-3sg

'he/she hides him/her/it'

a-munyaqa-rru
3sg-hide-3dl

'he/she hides them (dl)'

a-minyaqa-rri
3sg-hide-3pl

'he/she hides them (pl)'

(108) tak 'ask someone'

a-tak-i
3sg-ask-3sg

'he/she asks him/her'

a-tuk-rru
3sg-ask-3dl

'he/she asks them (dl)'

a-tik-rri
3sg-ask-3pl

'he/she asks them (pl)'

There are, however, exceptions to the application of this rule.

In some instances it is not applied at all, as with the verbs ninga

'plant, upbuild, place' and visa 'plant taro'.

(109)   a-ning   a-ninga-rru
       3sg-build-3sg   3sg-build-3dl

       'he/she builds it' 'he/she builds them (dl)'

       a-ninga-rri
       3sg-build-3pl

       'he/she builds them (pl)'

(110)   a-vis
       3sg-plant taro-3sg

       'he/she plants the taro (sg)'

       a-visa-rru
       3sg-plant taro-3dl

       'he/she plants the taro (dl)'

In others it is only partially applied, as with pika 'carry'

(111)   a-pik
       3sg-carry-3sg

       'he/she carries him/her/it'

       a-puka-rru
       3sg-carry-3dl

       'he/she carries them (dl)'

       a-puka-rri
       3sg-carry-3pl

       'he/she carries them (pl)'

No phonological conditions for these exceptions are known at

present.

(ii) Vowel Syncope

There are a number of instances where verb stems are subject

to vowel syncope when indexed by certain object person marking

suffixes. In all these cases the stem vowel that is deleted is

the one that occurs either in an unstressed syllable or one that

is marked for secondary stress. Some of the more widespread forms
of vowel syncope are set out below.

(1) Verb stems having the forms CiC or CVCat have their first, or
only, vowel deleted when indexed with the third singular
object suffix -i.

Rule 21. a) i > $\emptyset$/+C_____C+i

b) V > $\emptyset$/+C_____Cat+i

(112) jim 'chew betel nut'

a- jm -i
3sg-chew betel nut-3sg

'he/she chews the betel nut'

a- jim -rru
3sg-chew betel nut-3dl

'he/she chews the betel nuts (dl)'

(113) pil 'peel skin off cooked vegetable'

a- pl -i
3sg-peel-3sg

'he/she peels the skin off the cooked vegetable'

a- pil -$\emptyset$
3sg-peel-3pl

'he/she peels the skin off the cooked vegetables (pl)'

(114) jemat 'hang something up'

a- jmat -i
3sg-hang up-3sg

'he/she hangs it up'

a- jem -$\emptyset$
3sg-hang up-3pl

'he/she hangs them (pl) up'

(115) rakat 'pull up'

a- rkat -i
3sg-pull up-3sg

'he/she pulls it up'

a- rak   (Underlying form: a-rakat-$\emptyset$)
3sg-pull up-3pl

'he/she pulls them (pl) up'

(2) Verb stems of the canonical form LiCa (where L is a liquid l,

ř or r) have the first vowel deleted when they are indexed

with any one of the object person marking suffixes except the

third singular-$\underline{i}$ or the third plural non higher animate

variant -∅.

Rule 22.   i $>$ ∅/ $\boxed{\begin{matrix} C \\ \text{+liquid} \end{matrix}}$ ──Ca+ $\left\{\begin{matrix} C \\ G \end{matrix}\right\}$

(116) <u>rrima</u> 'see'

```
qo-rrma-kyau
2sg-see-1sg
```

'you (sg) see me'

```
wu-rrma-yieq
1sg-see-2sg
```

'I see you (sg)'

(117) <u>lifa</u> 'singe'

```
a-lfa-kyau
3sg-singe-1sg
```

'he/she/it singes me'

```
wu-lfa-rri
1sg-singe-3pl
```

'I singe them (pl)'

This syncope rule does not apply if the initial consonant of the

stem is a non-liquid, as in:

(118) <u>pika</u> 'carry'

```
a-puka-kyau
3sg-carry-1sg
```

'he/she carries me'

```
a-puka-rru
3sg-carry-3dl
```

'he/she carries them (dl)'

```
wu-pak
1sg-carry-3pl
```

'I carry them (pl)'

(119) <u>visa</u> 'plant taro'

a-vis
3sg-plant taro-3sg

'he/she plants the taro (sg)'

qo-visa-rru
2sg-plant taro-3dl

'you (sg) plant the two taro'

(120) <u>ninga</u> 'upbuild'

wu-ninga-yieq
1sg-upbuild-2sg

'I upbuild you (sg)'

a-ning
3sg-upbuild-3sg

'he/she upbuilds him/her'

a-ninga-rru
3sg-upbuild-3dl

'he/she upbuilds them (dl)'

(iii) The Loss or Change of the Final Stem Vowel

Verb stems that have as their three final segments /aqa/

frequently lose the final vowel except when indexed with the third

singular object person marking suffix -<u>i</u>.

Rule 23. $a > \emptyset / aq\_\_\_\_ + \begin{Bmatrix} V \\ C \end{Bmatrix} V$

For example:

(121) <u>utaqa</u> 'show something to someone'

qo-utaq-au
2sg-show-1sg

'you (sg) show it to me'

w-utaq-rri
1sg-show-3pl

'I show it to them (pl)'

but not,

*w-utaqa-i
1sg-show-3sg

'I show it to him/her'

(122) minaqa 'recognise someone'

    a-minaq-ieq
    3sg-recognise-2sg

    'he/she recognises you (sg)'

    a-minaq-rru
    3sg-recognise-3dl

    'he/she recognises them (dl)'

but not,

    *wu-minaqa-i
    1sg-recognise-3sg

    'I recognise him/her'

Verb stems ending in /Cu/ undergo two processes. Firstly, when stems of this form are indexed with the first singular object person marker -au, the two final segments are replaced by, or are fused as a single labialised consonant.

Rule 24. $Cu > C^{w}/\_\_\_\_+au$

(123) wopu 'roll someone/something up'

    qo-wop^{w}-au
    2sg-roll up-1sg

    'you (sg) roll me up'

but not,

    u-wopu-i
    1sg-roll up-3sg

    'I roll him/her/it up'

(124) ruqu 'squeeze, hold, take captive'

    a-ruq^{w}-au
    3sg-hold-1sg

    'he/she is holding me'

The second process is similar to the one formulated in Rule 23. The final stem vowel /u/ is deleted when the verb is indexed with any one of the object person markers except those referring

to either a first or third person singular object.

Rule 25. $u > \emptyset /$_____$+$ $\begin{Bmatrix} ieq \\ CV (C) (C) \end{Bmatrix}$

(125)   u-wop-ieq
     lsg-roll up-2sg

     'I roll you (sg) up'

     rra-wop-rru
     3pl-roll up-3dl

     'they (pl) roll them (dl) up'

(126)   ta-ruq-rri
     lpl-take prisoner-3pl

     'we take them (pl) prisoner'

(127)   o-um-rru
     3sg-cook in earth oven-3dl

     'he/she cooks them (dl) in an earth oven'

Rules 23 and 24 must be ordered so as to apply before Rule 7 in the derivation. If this were not so then anomalous forms would be generated. For example:

(128)   rra- minaqa -au   Underlying Representation   ↓

     *rra- minaqa -kyau   Rule 7 applied - Surface Representation ↓
     3pl-recognise-lsg

     'they (pl) recognise me'

Instead,

     rra- minaqa -au   Underlying Representation   ↓

     rra- minaq -au   Rule 23 applied - Surface Representation ↓
     3pl-recognise-lsg

     'they (pl) recognise me'

4.1.3.2. Derivation and Compounding

It was stated at the outset that the verb stem in Kairiru is made up of either a verb root, a derived verb stem, or a compound verb stem. This section is concerned with the formation of derived and compound verb stems.

4.1.3.2.1.   Derivation

Four derivational processes have been observed where one
type of verb is derived in some way from another. The corpus
contains only one or two examples of most of these processes,
however, and it is hard to ascertain to what extent each represents
a productive process.

(i) Reciprocal Prefix i-

A reciprocal verb construction is obtained by prefixing the
reciprocal prefix i- to a transitive verb root. There is one
clear instance of this, deriving iwun 'fight each other' from the
verb un 'strike', viz:

i-	w-	un
reciprocal	buffer	strike

(129) rri   Mushu rra-fur   rre-iwun   qeq-rri leq
       they M.   3pl-appear 3pl-fight   COM-3pl again
                    -3pl   each other

       'the men from Mushu arrived and they fought each
       other once again.'

Two other possible instances of reciprocal verbs have been noted.

These are: irau 'be friendly with each other' and itit 'have

sexual intercourse with'.

(130) rri   rre-irau
       they 3pl-be friendly with each other
       (pl)

       'they are friendly with each other'

(131) rri   rre-itit
       they 3pl-have intercourse
       (pl)

       'they have intercourse'

However in neither case are there any traceable root forms.

(ii) Stativising Prefix ma-

The ma- prefix derives stative verbs (v_{2ii}) from the non-

higher animate plural variant of transitive verbs (v_3). There

are two examples of this: makuos 'be broken in half (of wood
only)', kus 'break in half'; and mawot 'break up completely (of
anything except wood)', uta 'break open lengthwise'.

```
ma-     kuos
        kus-∅
stat.   break in half-3pl

ma-     wot
        uta-∅
stat.   break open lengthwise-3pl
```

(132) kiet a- makuos
       step 3sg-be broken in half

       'the step (on a ladder) is broken in half'

(133) pwarr   a- mawot
       saucepan   3sg-be broken up completely

       'the saucepan is broken'

(iii) Intensification by Reduplication

Intensification of an activity is often marked by redupli-
cation of the verb stem. This reduplication may either be total
as in: pilpil 'be constantly lying' derived from pil 'lie to'

(134) ei   a- pilpil
       he/she 3sg-be constantly lying

       'he/she is a liar'

and qanaqan 'bite repeatedly' from qan 'eat, bite'

(135) Sap e- im   nyam   a- qanaqan   kyai
       S.   3sg-make   mosquito 3sg-bite repeatedly   only
            (3sg)   (3sg)

       '?Sap made the mosquito only bite and bite him'

or it may be reduplicated partially, as in momorr 'wait a long
time' derived from morr 'sit'.

(136) ei a-rryau   a- momorr
       he 3sg-hide   3sg-wait for a long time
           oneself

       'he hid himself and waited for a long time'

(iv)   Transitive/Intransitive Doublets

There are a number of verb stems that have both a transitive

(v_3) and an intransitive (v_1) verb form, these being phonologically

distinct. Though these forms are probably historically related

there is no way to show synchronically that any one form is

derivable from the other. For example: luos 'wash oneself' and

lisa 'wash someone'

(137) kyau wu-lieq wu-los
       I   1sg-go   1sg-wash oneself

       'I am going to wash myself'

(138) tama-m   nat meramer a-lis
       mother-2sg baby   3sg-wash-3sg

       'your mother washed the new-born baby'

and tang 'cry (intransitive)' with ting 'cry/weep for (transitive)'

(139) kyau wu-yin   tap nat Kirar a-tang   a-tang
       I   1sg-recline but child   K.   3sg-cry   3sg-cry

       'I lay down but the child Kirar cried and cried'

(140) rru   rru-morr tirakyau rri- ting -i
       they(dl)   3dl-sit   hawk   3dl-weep over-3sg

       'they (dl) sat down and wept over the hawk'

4.1.3.2.2.   Compounding

Compound verbs are derivable by the fusing together of either

two verb roots, or of a verb root with a member of another word

class (namely either a noun or a modifier). The resultant compound

may be either transitive or an intransitive verb. For example:

(141) inamyat 'sleep' (v_1)

       in   + a + myat $(v_1 + v_1/adv)$
       recline.buffer.dead

       nyam   eipai   ei e-inamyat rruon
       mosquito NEG EX he 3sg-sleep c.a.

       'there weren't any mosquitos so he went to sleep'

(142) <u>imajul</u> 'converse, talk with' (v_1)

    <u>ima</u> + <u>jul(uq)</u> $(v_3 + n)$
    make.   talk

    ramat nai   e-imajul-au   kyau
    man   that   3sg-converse with-1sg I

    'that man was talking with me'

(143) <u>ipatuta</u> 'cut open' (v_3)

    <u>ipa</u> + <u>tuta</u> $(v_3 + v_3)$
    sever. cut

    rri   rre-ipa-tuot
    they(pl) 3pl-cut open(3pl)

    'they cut them open'

(144) <u>pikmyai</u>   'bring something here'
    <u>pakmyai</u>   'bring somethings here'

    <u>pika</u> + <u>myai</u> $(v_3 + v_1)$
    carry. come

    rri   rra-lieq rryan   rra-pikmyai
    they 3pl-go   water   3pl-bring(3sg)here
    (pl)

    'they went and brought some water here'

(145) <u>wotany</u> 'tell someone something, brings news to' (v_3)

    <u>wot</u> +   <u>a</u> + <u>ny</u> $(v_1 + v_4)$
    talk. buffer. give

    rri   rra-morr pyal   tina-ny   a-wotany-i   tirakyau
    they 3pl-sit   house mother 3sg-tell-3sg hawk
    (pl)   -3sg

    'they (pl) were sitting in the house and his mother told
    the hawk'

4.1.3.3. Deriving Nouns From Verbs

    There exists in the language a fairly productive nominalising

prefix <u>qo-</u>. This affix when prefixed to a verb derives a noun

that refers to the instrument used in the performing of the action.

For example:

(146) <u>jyal</u>   'help' (v_{2iii})

    <u>qojyal</u> 'handle'   as in: <u>porri qojyal</u> 'axe handle'

(147)   tawal   'pray/incant to' (v_{2iii})

        qotawal   'prayer, incantation'

(148)   qr-i   'scrape a coconut (marked with third singular
                                        o.p.m.) (v_3)

        qoqri   'coconut scraper'

4.2.   Verbal Auxiliaries

Five pre-verbal particles or verbal auxiliaries have been recorded, all
of which display certain aspectual or tense-marking characteristics. They
are wot, 'intend, desire'; rruon 'now, at present'; pes 'try'; pai and
ap 'habitually, in the future'. These particles normally occur directly
preceding the verb, though ap and pai may instead precede the subject NP,
and wot may follow the subject NP. Each of these particles will now be
looked at separately.

        (i)   wot   'intend, desire'

(149)   tuyieq   wot   ti-lieq   piyei
        (we dl incl) intend   1dl-go   where

            'where do we (dl incl) intend going?

(150)   nimpai   an   taqam   an   monyeq wot   ta-qum
            today   this we(pl   here food   intend   1pl-plant yam(3pl)
                           incl)

            'today we intend planting yams'

(151)   taim   rri   Worak   wot   moul   rre-im   rri   Qumtatui
            when   they W.   intend work   3pl-make   they   Q.
                   (pl)   (3sg)   (pl)

            rre-im   wus   o   wau
            3pl-make   rain or   wind
               (3sg)

            'when the Worak men wanted to work the Qumtatui would
            make it rain or make the wind blow'

wot is in all probability the stem form of the verb wot 'say, talk'.

Evidence to support this claim is that when the verb wot occurs in

conjunction with another verb it may convey a meaning similar to the

desiderative particle <u>wot</u>. For example:

(152)   Waipyai a-wot   a-lieq malal   sauqwei
          W.   3sg-say 3sg-go garden tobacco

          'Waipyai { is intending
                      says that he is } going to the tobacco garden'
                    { is talking of

(153)   ei   a-wot   a-tawal leq
          he/she   3sg-say 3sg-pray again

          'he/she { is intending to pray
                     is talking of praying   } once more.
                   { says that he/she will pray

The alternative ordering of the desiderative <u>wot</u> to occur directly following

the subject NP may also be further evidence that it is the reduced form of

the verb <u>wot</u>. Compare

(154) a) rri   Worak wot   moul rre-im
           they(pl) W.   intend work 3pl-do(3sg)

           'the Worak people intend to work'
           (literally: 'the Worak people intend to do work')

with

       b) rri   Worak rra-wot moul rre-im
           they(pl) W.   3pl-say work 3pl-do(3sg)

                                { say that they will
           'the Worak people   { talk of   } do(ing) work'
                                { intend to

(ii) <u>rruon</u> 'now, at the present'

(155) a) jo   rruon a-morr   worap yaqai   qon
           so   now   3sg-sit feast POS(3sg) int.

           'so he now sat down to his feast'

(156) a) kyau rruon w-urrkyaq
           I   now   1sg-arise

           'I am now getting up'

The particle <u>rruon</u> may be derived (historically if not synchronically) from

the stative verb and sequential marker <u>arruon</u> '(it is)finished)'.

The Tok Pisin word <u>nau</u> 'now, then' may also be used as an alternative

to <u>rruon</u>. When it is used, it occurs (as in Tok Pisin) following the verb.

(155) b) jo   a-morr   nau .worap yaqai   qon
         so   3sg-sit   now feast POS(3sg) int.

         'so he now sat down to his feast'

(156) b) kyau   w-urrkyaq nau
         I   1sg-arise now

         'I am now getting up'

   (iii) pes 'try'

   pes is used to denote trying or attempting, as in:

(157)   jyau   kiu   pes qo-takil ny-am   a-myai
         thing   what   try 2sg-pick BEN-1sg 3sg-come
                                                up(3sg)

         'what are you trying to bring here for me?'

   (iv)   ap and pai

   The particles ap and pai are often used synonomously to mark either

or both habitualness and future tense. For example:

(158)   pai   ta-lieq niu   lain   ta-jloyaq, pai   arruon
         HAB/ 1pl-go coconut grove   1pl-clean   HAB/   3sg-be
         FUT   (3pl)   FUT   finish

         'we would go and clean the coconut grove, then when that
         is finished ...'

(159)   ei   pai   a-wotany-qait a-yem   pitau
         he/ HAB/ 3sg-tell-1pl   3sg-make   how
         she FUT   (3pl)

         'what is he going to tell us?'

(160)   pai   rri   moin   rra-qur   jeik
         HAB/ they   woman 3pl-put   net bag
         FUT   (pl)   into(3pl)

         'the women will/always put them into the string bags'

(161)   nating   yieq pai   qo-tapul   leq
         I think you   HAB/ 2sg-return again
                  (sg) FUT

         'I think you will return again'

(162)   qat   ap   rra-lieq qiep   pwarr
         canoe   HAB/   3pl-go   Kaiep   saucepan
                 FUT

         'the canoes will/always go to Kaiep for the saucepans'

It may well be that the form <u>pai</u> is a borrowing from Tok Pisin <u>bai</u>
'will, shall'.

4.3.   Verbal Modifiers (Adverbs)

There are two types of adverb in Kairiru, which will be referred to in
this section as Type 1 and Type 2 adverbs. Although both are used in the
verb phrase they differ from each other both in function and distribution,
as specified below.

4.3.1.   Type 1 Adverbs (adv$_1$)

Adverbs of this type are those that pertain to manner and
together they form a mutually exclusive class. A sample list of
these is as follows:

<u>fangfang</u>	'quickly'	<u>vanaq</u>	'illegally'
<u>mokin</u>	'well'	<u>woiwoi</u>	'strongly, loudly'
<u>mulomiel</u>	'directly'	<u>woq</u>	'less than full power'
<u>plek</u>	'pretendingly'	<u>tainyes</u>	'as one'

Examples of their use are:

(163) nat   e-ina+myat mokin a-yin   rukorau
       child   3sg-sleep   well   3sg-   floor
                                  recline

'the child sleeps well lying down on the floor'

(164) kyau u-wot   woq
       I   1sg-talk loudly

'I talk loudly'

(165) jo Nyaplau a-lieq plek   tamrryan
       so N.   3sg-go pretendingly urinate

'So Nyaplau pretended to go and urinate'

(166) mwau qo-pik   vanaq   sapin
       taro 2sg-carry   illegal NEG IMP
                 (3sg)

'Don't steal the taro!'

(167) ei   a-rir   rryan fangfang rruon
        he/ 3sg-run river quickly   c.a.
        she

        'he/she ran quickly to the river'

In the last example the two adverbs <u>fangfang</u> and <u>rruon</u> are separated from the remainder of the verb phrase by one of the verb's arguments. This distinction often occurs without apparent change in meaning.

We may note in passing that some of the adverbs listed in the sample above also occur as adjectives, for example:

(168) ramat   vanaq
        person illegal

        'thief'

(169) moin   mokin
        woman good

        'good woman'

while others such as <u>plek</u> 'tricky' can also occur as nouns,

(170) yieq   plek   qo-im
        you(sg) trick 2sg-make(3sg)

        'you are making a trick/what trick are you making?'

4.3.2.   <u>Type 2 Adverbs (adv$_2$)</u>

        Type 2 adverbs include the following:

        <u>rruon</u>   completed action (c.a.), 'finished'
        <u>leq</u>   repetition, 'again'
        <u>qon</u>   intensifier (int.), 'really, truly'
        <u>sek</u>   excessiveness, 'overly, too much'
        <u>kyai</u>   restrictive, 'merely, only'

        These adverbs are mutually exclusive in the VP. Examples of their use are:

(171) Kras i-no a-morr nai   Kras a-wor rruon a-lieq Baru
        K.   NEG 3sg-sit there K.   3sg-   c.a.   3sg-go B.
                                        leave

        'Kras wasn't there she had already left for Baru village'

(172) a-rruon   wu-tapul leq   wu-myai wu-luot   pinien
       3sg-be   lsg-turn again lsg-come lsg-arrive here
       finish   around   at top

      'Afterwards I turned around again and came up here'

(173) nat   nai   rre-ij   qon
       child that 3pl-be int.
                    satisfy

      'those children are truly satisfied'

(174) ei   a-monyeq a-monyeq a-pwau   sek
       he/   3sg-eat   3sg-eat   3sg-ignore too much
       she

      'he/she ate and ate too much'

(175) Sap e-im   nyam   a-qanaqan kyai
       S.   3sg-make mosquito 3sg-bite   only
             (3sg)   (3sg)

      '?Sap made the mosquito only bite and bite him'

The adverbs qon, sek and kyai are also used to modify nouns.

  For example:

(176) rri   ramat kyai rra-lieq Napakoi
       they(pl) man only 3pl-go   N.

      'only the men went to Napakoi'

(177) wu-klakil a-lieq Poraurr tap nau pulau sek
       lsg-look 3sg-go P.   but sea murky too

      'I looked into the water at Poraurr but it was too murky'

(178) pyal Laipok qon   a-tu   isau pyal yieq qon
       house L.   int. 3sg-stand far house you int.
                               away   (sg)

      'Laipok's house stands far away from your (sg) house'

For further discussion of these three adverbs see 3.5.3.

4.3.3.   Co-occurrance of Adverbs

Type 1 adverbs may co-occur with some of Type 2 adverbs, but

adv$_1$ will always precede adv$_2$, as in:

(179) ei   a-rir   rryan fangfang rruon
       he/she 3sg-run water quickly   c.a.

      'he/she ran quickly to the river'

(180) Qitoq a-wotany-ieq mokin qon
Q.   3sg-tell-2sg well   int.

'Qitoq explained it very well to you'

4.3.4.   The Adverb pitau.

It is uncertain whether the adverb pitau 'how, why, reason

why' is a Type 1 or Type 2 adverb as there are no instances of it

co-occurring with any other verb modifier. pitau normally

modifies the verb ima 'make, do', although there is one instance

of it occurring with the verb ij '(be) fit, healthy, satisfied'.

Like the quantifiers spai 'same, how much' and wusatai 'same,

how many' (see 3.7.) pitau may be used either interrogatively or

in declarative constructions.

(181) yieq   nat   qo-im   pitau a-tang
      you(sg) child 2sg-make   how   3sg-cry
                       (3sg)

      'What did you do to make the child cry?'
      (literally: 'How did you make the child cry?'

(182) taqam   ta-yem   pitau ramat an   spai ta-rrim
      we(pl   1pl-make how   person this some 1pl-see(3sg)
      incl)   (3pl)

      'How can we see this person?'
      (literally: '*we do things how in order to see some of
                    this person?')

(183) nikanik Jiem a-fur   a-yem   pitau a-morr Jakur
      story   J.   3sg-   3sg-make how   3sg-sit J.
                     appear   (3pl)

      'The story of how Shiem came to settle in Shagur"

(184) ei ramat e-ij   pitau
      he man   3sg-be   how
                 healthy

      'Why is the man healthy?'
      (literally: 'How is it that the man is healthy?')

CHAPTER FIVE : THE CLAUSE

_____

5.0.   Introduction

In Kairiru there are two types of clause; the nominal clause,
and the verbal clause. A nominal clause contains two noun phrases, but has
no verb phrase. A verbal clause contains a verb phrase, and may also
contain one or more noun phrases that occur as arguments of the verb.

Clauses may be dependent or independent, simple or complex. In this
chapter only the simple independent clause and its constituent structures
are described. Dependent clause types are treated in chapter seven.
Complex clauses are discussed in chapter six.

5.1.   Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses fall into two types, equational and possessive,
according to whether they assert either an equational or a possessive
relationship between the two noun phrases that make up the clause.

5.1.1.   Equational Clauses

In an equational clause it is always possible to distinguish
between the topic and the comment constituents. The topic refers
to information that is already given. The comment either asserts
or asks for new information about that topic. The topic is
normally the first NP, the comment the second NP.

The equational clause may thus be formally represented as:

                    (topic)   (comment)
       Eq Cl———>   NP   NP
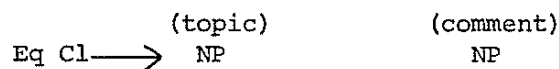
The following is an example taken from a narrative:

(1) Nur yaqai   qajuo-ny   rri   rra-morr Punajiel.
    N.   POS(3sg) cousin-3sg   they(pl)   3pl-sit   P.

            (topic)   (comment)
    Punajiel ramat wolap Nyaplau
    P.   chief   N.

    'Nur's cousins lived in Punajiel. Punajiel's chief was
    Nyaplau'

Other examples of equational clauses are:

(2) at   jyau   kiu
    that   thing what

    'what is that?'

(3) Nufoung jVnaqorr   kyau qon
    N.   taboo kin I   int.

    'Nufoung is my father-in-law

(4) yieq   vanu   isau   qon
    you(sg)   village far away   int.

    'your village is really far away'

(5) Qitoq qoyeng Qu
    Q.   clan   Q.

    'Qitoq is from Qu clan' (literally: Qitoq is a Qu clan man)

(6) kyau Pun Failau
    I   P.   F.

    'I am Pun from Failau' (literally: I am Failau's Pun)

(7) qarrui kyes   yaqai   qon   Pukalil
    sail   name   POS(3sg) int.   P.

    'the sail's name was Pukalil'

5.1.2.   Possessive Clauses

    In a possessive clause one NP functions as the possessed

element in the relationship while the other functions as the

possessor. Their relative ordering is based upon which part of

the relationship is focussed. The focussed NP always occurs first.

For example:

```
            (psd)              (psr)
(8)  pyal  a-tu   nai     kyau  qon
     house 3sg-   there   I     int.
           stand
```

'the house standing over there is mine'

```
     (psd)               (psr)
(9)  monyeq  nai     wonyau  Waimin  ei   qon
     food    that    dog     W.      she  int.
```

'that food belongs to Waimin's dog'

```
        (psd)      (psr)                  (psr)       (psd)
(10) a) pyal       yieqayieq   (10) b)  yieqayieq    pyal
        house      POS(2sg)              POS(2sg)    house

        'the house is yours'              'the house is yours'
```

```
      (psr)           (psd)
(11)  Jalmung     wonyau  wuru
      J.          dog     two
```

'Jalmung has two dogs'

```
            (psr)            (psd)
(12)  rri         Vanuiviyau   niu    qorrel
      they(pl)    V.           copra  plenty
```

'Vanuiviyau (clan) has plenty of copra'

```
      (psr)          (psd)
(13)  yit    wopuk   tai    a-tu
      who    lime    some   3sg-stand
```

'who has got some lime?'

5.1.3.   A Concluding Remark About Nominal Clauses

It should be noted that the constituent structures of nominal clauses in many ways resemble two noun phrase types that were described in chapter three. On the one hand, the equational clause is structurally similar to the appositional noun phrase (see 3.4), viz:

```
                  (topic)          (comment)
        Eq Cl——>  NP               NP

        App Np——> NP               { NP          }
                                   { Ind Pos Pron }
```
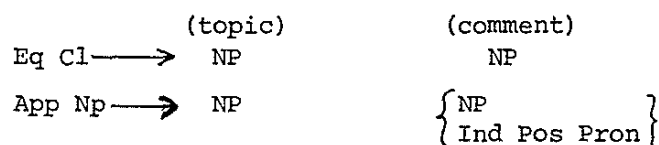
On the other hand, the possessive clause's structure is identical
to that of the possessive noun phrase (see 3.2.1.2.), viz:

$$\text{Poss Cl} \longrightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{(psd)} \\ \text{NP} \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{(psr)} \\ \text{NP} \end{matrix}$$

or

$$\text{Poss Cl}_a \longrightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{(psr)} \\ \text{NP} \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{(psd)} \\ \text{NP} \end{matrix}$$

$$\text{Poss NP} \longrightarrow \text{psd NP} \quad \text{psr NP}$$

or

$$\text{Poss NP}_a \longrightarrow \text{psr NP} \quad \text{psd NP}$$

It is nevertheless apparent that the nominal clause as a
construction type is distinct from the noun phrase. It differs
from the two noun phrase types in that as a clause it has a
clausal intonation pattern placed upon it, whereas the latter will
undergo no such placement.

5.2.   Verbal Clauses

A verbal clause consists minimally of a verb phrase, as the
following two examples show:

(13) rra-myat   rruon
      3pl-die   c.a.

      'they died'

(14) qo- ny -am
      2sg-give-1sg

      'you (sg) give to me'

However in addition to this it also often contains one or more noun phrases
that act as arguments of that verb. There are seven verbal arguments, or
cases, present in the language, they are: Subject (SUBJ), Direct Object (DO),
Indirect Object (IO), Instrumental (INST), Source/Comitative (SOU/COM),
Benefactive (BEN), and Locative (LOC).

There are also four types of verbal clause present: Intransitive,
Stative, Transitive, and Ditransitive. These different clause types differ

from each other not only in the class of verb that is contained within them, but also in the type and number of cases that each of these verb classes may take.

Both these aspects of the verbal clause will now be looked at in greater detail.

5.2.1. Case

Cases are divided up into two categories, direct and oblique. The direct cases are those of subject, direct object, and indirect object; while the oblique cases consist of instrumental, source/ comitative, benefactive, and locative. These two categories differ from each other in three respects. First, only direct cases are indexed in the verb by the person/number marking process discussed in 4.2.1. The direct case NP, however, carries no case-marker. In contrast, oblique case NPs are not indexed in the verb, but they are normally case-marked by either a prepositional verb or a postpositional particle. A third difference is that the direct case NPs are restricted in that they may only occur with certain verb classes. For example an indirect object cannot occur as an argument of a transitive verb, nor a direct object with an intransitive verb. With the exception of the instrumental case the oblique cases, on the other hand, may occur with any verb class.

The normal ordering of the constituents of the verbal clause can be represented as follows:

Vb Cl—> (SUBJ) (DO) (INST) VP (SOU/COM) (BEN) (IO) (LOC)

Certain other orders are possible though and these are noted below. We will now look at the cases in greater detail.

5.2.1.1.   Direct Cases

The direct cases are <u>subject</u>, <u>direct object</u> and <u>indirect object</u>. These three cases are distinguishable from each other in three ways; by their occurrence, their distribution, and their manner of indexation, or lack of it, in the verb.

Subject NPs may occur in all types of verbal clause. They are unmarked and are normally positioned at the beginning of the clause, though they may be preceded by a temporal phrase (see 5.3.). Further, a subject, whether it occurs as an explicit constituent in the clause or not, is always indexed in the verb by a subject person/number marking prefix (s.p.m.) (see 4.1.2.1.).

			SUBJ		LOC
(15)	saris	a-qon	<u>pater</u>	a-myai	vanu
	when	3sg-true	priest	3sg-come	village

'when exactly is Father coming to the village?'

	SUBJ	DO			IO
(16)	(<u>kyau</u>)	mukajyou	tai	wu-tak-ieq	yieq
	I	sweet	one	1sg-show-2sg	you(sg)
		potato			

'I show you a sweet potato'

		SUBJ	DO	INST		
(17)	qaqu nai	(<u>ei</u>)	qat	mwoul	kyai	a-qal-i
	tomorrow	he	canoe	canoe	INST	3sg-hew out-3sg
				adze		

'tomorrow he will carve out a canoe with a canoe adze'

	SUBJ	
(18)	<u>Jalmung mata-ny</u>	rra-papop
	J. eye-3sg	3pl-be closed

'Jalmung is blind'   (literally: 'Jalmung's eyes are closed')

Direct objects occur with a restricted class of verbs; namely transitives, distransitives and nominal statives. They cannot occur with either intransitive verbs or with stative verbs

other than nominal statives. The direct object NP normally stands

between the subject and the verb, but if an instrumental is

present then it will stand between the subject and that instrumental.

When the verb is transitive (v_3) the direct object, regardless of

whether it is present in the clause or not, is obligatorily

indexed in the verb by means of an object person/number marking

suffix (o.p.m.) (see 4.1.2.2.).

```
        SUBJ            DO
(19)  qurit      tirakyau wuru    o-un-rru     rruon
      octopus    hawk      two    3sg-strike   c.a.
                                  -3dl
```
'the octopus struck two hawks'

```
                    SUBJ    DO
(20)  numpuong nai  (kyau)  (yieq)   wu-rrma-yieq
      yesterday     I       you(sg)  1sg-see-2sg
```
'I saw you yesterday'

```
      SUBJ    DO   INST
(21)  Jawor   mwau  quj       kyai   a-vyas
      J.      taro  digging   INST   3sg-plant  taro(3pl)
                    stick
```
'Jawor planted the taro (pl) with the digging stick'

An indirect object can only occur with ditransitive verbs

(see 5.2.2.4.). With ditransitive verbs it is the indirect object

NP that is indexed in the verb rather than the direct object NP.

The indirect object is placed after the verb.

```
      SUBJ                      IO              LOC
(22)  Waipyai  a-wotany-i       Saulep  pyal  Waipyai  qon
      W.       3sg-tell-3sg     S.      house W.       int
```
'Waipyai told Saulep in Waipyai's house'

```
      SUBJ    DO                              IO
(23)  (kyau)  rryan  w-urra-rru            niu      les
      I       water  1sg-pour into-3dl     coconut  shell
```
'I poured the water into two coconut shells'

```
         SUBJ  DO                    IO
(24)   (ei)  lil  spai  a-ny-am   (kyau)
        he   rice  some  3sg-give   I
                               -1sg
```

'He gave me some rice'

5.2.1.2. Oblique Cases

5.2.1.2.1. Instrumental

The structure of the instrument phrase may be formally

represented as follows:

Inst Ph ──→ NP kyai

Conditions: (i)   Only occurs in a transitive verbal clause.
                (ii) Refers to inanimates only.
                (iii) NP cannot be a coordinate noun phrase.

An instrumental (case) phrase (Inst Ph) consists of two

constituents; a noun phrase and the instrument marker kyai

which follows it. The instrumental phrase directly precedes the

verb phrase.

There are three restrictions associated with this case.

First, it can only occur in a transitive clause. Second, it may

only refer to an inanimate referent. And third, the NP constituent

cannot be a coordinate noun phrase.

```
       SUBJ        DO        INST
(25)   yieq      jyaj  tai  yiu    kyai  qo-uq
       you(sg)   fish  one  spear  INST  2sg-stab(3sg)
```

'you stab the fish with a spear'

```
       SUBJ       DO              INST
(26)   kyau  qai   naf   porri tamiok  kyai  w-ip
       I     tree  mango  axe          INST  1sg-chop down(3sg)
```

'I chopped down the mango tree with an axe'

```
                    SUBJ  DO              INST
(27)   ngayor   qaqu nai  ei   qat   porri  tap  mwoul  kyai  a-qal-i
       perhaps  tomorrow  he   canoe  axe    or   canoe  INST  3sg-hew
                                                   adze          out-3sg
```

'perhaps tomorrow he will hew out a canoe with either an
axe or a canoe adze'

In those circumstances where English might use an animate instrument in a transitive clause, or a coordinate NP constituent, Kairiru uses a complex clause. Compare the following two pairs of examples:

		SUBJ	DO		INST	
(28)	a)	*kyau	wuriem	wonyau kyai	wu-qumou-i	
		I	bandicoot	dog INST	1sg-hunt-3sg	

'I am hunting the bandicoot with the dog(s)'

		SUBJ	DO			
	b)	kyau	wonyau	wu-pak	wu-lieq	wu-qumou-i
		I	dog	1sg-take	1sg-go	1sg-hunt-3sg
				(3pl)		

'I took the dogs and went and hunted it (the bandicoot)'

		SUBJ	DO			INST	
(29)	a)	*ei	qat	porri po mwoul	kyai	a-qal-i	
		he	canoe	axe and canoe	INST	3sg-hew out-3sg	
				adze			

'he used an axe and a canoe adze to hew out the canoe with'

	b)	ei	porri	po mwoul	a-pak	a-lieq	qat	a-qal-i
		he	axe	and canoe	3sg-take	3sg-go	canoe	3sg-hew
				adze	(3pl)			out-3sg

'he took the axe and the canoe adze, went and hewed out the canoe'

Occasionally the source/comitative case is used rather than the instrumental to mark, what in English may be classed as, an instrument.[1]

---

1. The example,

(30)	ramat	jyaj	tai	o-uq	qe-i	yiu
	man	fish	one	3sg-stab(3sg)	SOU/COM-3sg	spear

'the man stabs a fish with a spear'

was also elicited from the informant as an alternative construction to the one given in (25). This alternant is however of marginal grammaticality.

This then may lead to the conclusion that the instrumental case may be further restricted to occur only with a certain semantic type of transitive verb. While for the remainder an alternative construction must be used.

```
          SUBJ   DO                    SOU/COM
  (31)    nat    mwau  a-qan    qe-i      yiu  man
          child  taro  3sg-eat  SOU/COM        spoon
                       (3sg)    -3sg
```

'the child ate the taro with a spoon'

5.2.1.2.2.   Source/Comitative and Benefactive Cases

It is convenient to deal with source/comitative and benefactive

phrases together because their respective constituent structures

are identical except for the case-marking element. The structure

of the source/comitative phrase (Sou/Com Ph) may be shown as

follows:

$$\text{Sou/Com Ph} \longrightarrow \text{qe} + \text{o.p.m.} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simp NP} \\ \text{Comp NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

The structure of the benefactive phrase (Ben Ph) is:

$$\text{Ben Ph} \longrightarrow \text{ny} + \text{o.p.m.} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simp NP} \\ \text{Comp NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

The source/comitative and benefactive cases both minimally

consist of what shall be referred to as a prepositional verb.

There are two prepositional verbs in Kairiru: ny which marks

the benefactive case, and qe or its doublet qeqe which marks

source or comitativity. Both these prepositional verbs are

inflected in the same way as transitive or ditransitive verbs in

that they take the object person/number marking suffix (see

4.1.2.2.). In addition to the prepositional verb a non-

appositional noun phrase may also be present. It must be noted

that though this NP is optional the referent is still obligatorily

indexed in the prepositional verb.

The following sentences are examples of the use of these two

cases:

```
       SUBJ        SOU/COM
(32)  kyau  imur  qeqe-i
      I     behind SOU/COM-3sg
```

'I followed him' (said in the context of being born)

```
                              SOU/COM
(33)  rra-qwau   rra-yin  qeqe-i   ramat  kyes  Mowuj
      3pl-go up  3pl-lie  SOU/COM  man    name  M.
                          -3sg
```

'they went up and stayed with the man Mowuj'

```
      SUBJ                                DO         SOU/COM
(34)  ei   a-tapul   leq   a-myai   leiny a-ruong  qeq-rru  rru
      he   3sg-return again 3sg-come talk  3sg-hear SOU/COM  they
                                                    -3dl     (dl)
```

'he returned again and listened to what they had to say'
(literally: 'he returned again and heard the talk that
            came from them')

```
      SUBJ       DO                SOU/COM
(35)  moin  juk  tapirr  a-pik     qeq-au   kyau  a-lieq  a-s-i
      woman old  plate   3sg-take  SOU/COM  I     3sg-go  3sg-wash
                         (3sg)     -1sg                   -3sg
```

'the old woman took the plate off me and went and washed it'

```
      SUBJ                      DO                     BEN    LOC
(36)  rri  rra-wot   pyal  Kamyau  qon  rra-ning   ny-i   jimwau
      they 3pl-talk  house K.      int  3pl-build  BEN    bush
      (pl)                              (3sg)      -3sg
```

'they are talking of building Kamyau's house for him
in the bush'

```
      SUBJ      DO                      BEN
(37)  qam   qai  piniet  qa-yep    ny-am     (kyau)  sapin
      you(pl) tree that  2pl-chop  BEN-1sg   I       NEG IMP
                         down(3pl)
```

'Don't chop those trees down for me!'

```
      SUBJ      DO                BEN
(38)  kyau  sarur  tai  w-im      ny-rri    myan  tok
      I     fence  one  1sg-make  BEN-3pl   bird  hen
                        (3sg)
```

'I built a fence for the hens'

Though examples (30) and (31) in the previous section are an

exception to this, the source/comitative case cannot as a rule be

used if the case referent is a non-higher animate (i.e. a non-
domesticate animate or an inanimate). For example the following
sentence would be seen as being unacceptable if the case constit-
uent referred to a wild or feral pig.

```
          SUBJ                        SOU/COM
(39)  ramat   a-yin    a-motau    qeq-rri        pur
      person  3sg-lie  3sg-watch  SOU/COM-3pl    pig
```
'the man lay down and watched with the pigs'

Similarly the following example is unacceptable,

```
          SUBJ                     SOU/COM
(40)  *Pelal  a-yin    pyal    qe-i           kopra
       P.     3sg-lie  house   SOU/COM-3sg    copra
```
'Pelal stayed in the house with the copra'

For it to be grammatical the construction would have to be
rephrased thus:

```
          LOC              SUBJ           SUBJ           LOC
(41)  pyal   Pelal  qon   kopra  rra-yin. ei  a-yin    palal
      house  P.     int.  copra  3pl-lie  he  3sg-lie  inside
```
'there is copra in Pelal's house and he is inside too'

This case constituent is also used in nominal, and possibly
in verbal clauses to mark an object of comparison.


```
(42)  Penau  sqainy  qon  sek   qe-i        Flal
      P.     small   int  very  SOU/COM     F.
                                 -3sg
```
'Penau is very much samller than Flal'

```
(43)  wurr    yieq    qon  mokin  qe-i        Waimin  qon
      banana  you(sg) int  good   SOU/COM     W.      int
                                   -3sg
```
'your banana is better than that of Waimin's'

```
(44)  qai   isu-ny  an    wolap  qon  qe-i       qai   isu-ny  nai
      wood  piece   this  big    int  SOU/COM    wood  piece   that
            -3sg                       -3sg             -3sg
```
'this piece of wood is really bigger than that piece of wood'

The benefactive case constituent, like the source/comitative, can only be used if it refers to a higher animate referent. If however the referent is a non-higher animate then the prepositional verb is omitted. For example:

	SUBJ	DO		BEN	
(45) qaqu nai	yieq	monyeq	qo-im	worap	sapin
tomorrow	you(sg)	food	2sg-make	feast	NEG IMP
			(3sg)		

'Don't prepare any food for the feast tomorrow!'

A further restriction in the use of the benefactive is that its noun phrase, providing that it is present, must not contain a coordinate NP that has more than two heads in it. (This restriction was first mentioned in the section on the coordinate noun phrase - see 3.3.1.)

There are various reasons for terming the stem forms ny and qe (or qeqe) as 'prepositional verbs', that is, for recognising a category that exhibits some properties of a full lexical verb and some of the properties of a preposition. Two respects in which they resemble lexical verbs have already been mentioned: First, like transitive verbs, the prepositional verbs take an object person/number marking suffix (o.p.m.). And second, like transitive verbs they need not have an object NP present as the referent is already indexed in the prepositional verb itself. In addition there is a third reason, namely, the prepositional verbs ny and and qe are morphologically identical or similar to the lexical verbs ny 'give to' and qoje 'accompany, follow' respectively. Further, the indexed object NP constituent of these two lexical verbs usually occurs directly following the VP, as these two examples show:

```
              SUBJ                    DO
(46)  kyau  wu-qoje-i         ei    tu       ti-lieq  Wiwak
      I     1sg-accompany     he/   we(dl)   1dl-go   W.
              -3sg            she
```

'I went with him to Wewak' (literally: I accompany him, we
                                          go to Wewak')

```
      SUBJ    DO                  IO
(47)  ei      monyeq  a-ny-am   kyau
      he/     food    3sg-give  I
      she             -1sg
```

It is this ordering, i.e. verb plus its overt object NP,

that is characteristic of the constituent ordering in source/

comitative and benefactive phrases.

These prepositional verbs, however, still cannot be regarded

as full verbs on a variety of grounds. Firstly, unlike all other

classes, they do not take subject person marking. Second, they

always mark a certain case relation; this being their prepositional

function. And thirdly, they must always co-occur with either a

full verb or with nominal predicate in the clause.

5.2.1.2.3.   Locative

The locative case is used to refer to either a person, place

or thing that has the semantic role of non-participant goal and/or

location within a clause. It is the only oblique case that is

unmarked by a preposition, consisting either of a noun phrase or

a demonstrative (see also Positional Relations 3.2.1.2.2.). It is,

however, marked by its position, except when focussed, occurring

after all the other case constituents in the clause.

```
                        SUBJ                 LOC
(48)  jemejem  mai   qait    ta-lieq  Poluos  lotu
      morning  TOP   we(pl   1pl-go   P.      church
                     excl)
```

'This morning we went to church at Poluos'
(literally: 'this morning we went to Poluos church')

	SUBJ		LOC$_1$		LOC$_2$
(49)	kyau	wu-vyal	<u>jyel</u>	wu-lieq	Rumlal
	I	1sg-travel	path	1sg-go	R.

'I walked on the road to Rumlal'

	LOC		SUBJ	DO		
(50)	<u>qapas piyei</u>		Yuok	sauqwei	a-qum	numpuong nai
	site	where	Y.	tobacco	3sg-plant	yesterday
					(3pl)	

'where did Yuok plant the tobacco yesterday?'

	SUBJ	DO	INST			LOC
(51)	Wojul	Laipim	qalaq	kyai	o-un-i	<u>ipwo-ny</u>
	W.	L.	stick	INST	3sg-strike	head-3sg
					-3sg	

'Wojul struck Laipim on the head with a stick'

	SUBJ	DO		LOC
(52)	kyau	nat	wu-nang	<u>rukorau</u>
	I	child	1sg-place	floor
			(3pl)	

'I put the children down on the floor'

	DO		BEN	LOC
(53)	pyal	qa-ning	ny-i	<u>pinien</u>
	house	2pl-build	BEN-3sg	here
		(3sg)		

'build a house for him here!'

	SUBJ		LOC	
(54)	ei	a-sil	<u>pung</u>	<u>poru</u>
	he/she	3sg-enter	stone	cavity

'he/she went into the cave'

	SUBJ		LOC		
(55)	Qitoq	a-tu	<u>Moraf</u>	<u>rrake-ny</u>	<u>nyai</u>
	Q.	3sg-stand	M.	beside-3sg	left

'Qitoq is standing on the left hand side of Moraf'

	SUBJ			LOC		
(56)	qai	wolap	tai	a-tu	<u>jyel</u>	<u>sange-ny</u>
	tree	big	one	3sg-stand	path	bank-3sg

'there is a large tree standing on the side of the track'

5.2.1.3.   A General Rule Governing the Co-occurrance of Cases

There is a co-occurrence restriction that applies only to

oblique cases. It is that a maximum of two oblique cases can occur

in any one clause (or as arguments of any one verb). For example:

	SUBJ	DO		INST			LOC
(57)	Saulep	qat	porri	kyai	a-qal-i		wun
	S.	canoe	axe	INST	3sg-hew	out	beach
					-3sg		

'Saulep hews out the canoe with an axe on the beach'

(58)	Saulep	qat	a-qal-i		ny-i	Qitoq	wun
	S.	canoe	3sg-hew	out	BEN-3sg	Q.	beach
			-3sg				

'Saulep hews out the canoe for Qitoq on the beach'

	SUBJ	DO		INST			BEN	
(59)	Saulep	qat	porri	kyai	a-qal-i		ny-i	Qitoq
	S.	canoe	axe	INST	3sg-hew	out	BEN-3sg	Q.
					-3sg			

'Saulep hews out the canoe with an axe for Qitoq'

but not,

	SUBJ	DO		INST			BEN		LOC
(60)	*Saulep	qat	porri	kyai	a-qal-i		ny-i	Qitoq	wun
	S.	canoe	axe	INST	3sg-hew	out	BEN-3sg	Q.	beach
					-3sg				

'Saulep hews out the canoe with an axe for Qitoq on the beach'

5.2.1.4.   Noun Phrase Movement (Focus)

A noun phrase can be made the focussed constituent by moving

it out of its basic position and into the clause-initial position.

Compare the following examples:

		SUBJ		DO				IO
(61)	a)	ei	wonyau	yaqai	qon	o-utaq-au	kyau
		he/	dog	POS(3sg)	int	3sg-show-1sg	I
		she					

'he shows his dog to me'

	DO	SUBJ	IO

(61) b) <u>wonyau yaqai qon</u> ei o-utaq-au <u>kyau</u>

'it is his dog that he is showing me'

SUBJ	DO

(62) a) <u>yieq</u> <u>makyat wusatai</u> qo-pak nimpai
you fish how many 2sg-take today
(sg) (3pl)

'you caught how many fish today?'

	DO	SUBJ

b) <u>makyat wusatai</u> <u>yieq</u> qo-pak nimpai

'how many fish did you catch today?'

SUBJ	DO	INST

(63) a) <u>kyau</u> <u>mwau</u> <u>quj</u> kyai wu-vyas
I taro digging INST 1sg-plant(3pl)
stick

'I plant taro with a digging stick'

INST	SUBJ	DO

b) <u>quj kyai</u> <u>kyau</u> <u>mwau</u> wuvyas

'with the digging stick I plant the taro'

SUBJ	DO		LOC

(64) a) <u>Yuok</u> <u>sauqwei</u> a-qum <u>qapas piyei</u> numpuong nai
Y. tobacco 3sg-plant site where yesterday
(3pl)

'Yuok planted the tobacco where yesterday?'

	LOC	SUBJ	DO

b) <u>qapas piyei</u> <u>Yuok</u> <u>sauqwei</u> a-qum numpuong nai

'at what place did Yuok plant the tobacco yesterday?'

Occasionally more than one NP can be focussed, as in:

INST		DO	SUBJ

(65) <u>quj</u> kyai <u>mwau</u> <u>kyau</u> wu-vyas
digging INST taro I 1sg-plant taro(3pl)
stick

'with the digging stick it is the taro that I plant'

Focussing by movement to clause-initial position can apply to

all NPs other than those that are case-marked by a prepositional

verb, i.e. source/comitative and benefactive. An equivalent

semantic effect is achieved for source/comitatives and benefactives

by making the NP the possessor element of a possessive noun phrase

in the direct object. Compare 66(a) and (b):

```
             SUBJ    DO                     BEN            LOC
(66)  a)  rri   ramat  pyal  rra-ning   ny-i     Kamyau  jimwau
          they  man    house 3pl-build  BEN-3sg  K.      bush
          (pl)               (3sg)
```

'the men build the house for Kamyau in the bush'

```
             SUBJ        DO                          BEN      LOC
      b)  rri   ramat  pyal  Kamyau  qon  rra-ning   ny-i     jimwau
          they  man    house K.      int  3pl-build  BEN-3sg  bush
          (pl)                            (3sg)
```

'the men build Kamyau's house for him in the bush'

Note that in benefactives the prepositional verb remains in its

original position functioning as a trace element. In source/

comitatives on the other hand the prepositional verb disappears

altogether. Compare 67(a) and (b).

```
          SUBJ    DO                      SOU/COM
(67)  a)  ei    porri tamiok  a-pik       qeqe-i   nat   nai
          he/         axe     3sg-take    SOU/COM  child that
          she                 (3sg)       -3sg
```

'he/she took the axe from that child'

```
          SUBJ          DO
      b)  ei    porri  nat   nai   a-to-i
          he/   axe    child that  3sg-take-3sg
          she
```

'he/she took back the child's axe (from him/her)'

5.2.2.   Types of Verbal Clause

We have noted (e.g. in 5.2.) that a verbal clause consists of

a verb phrase and its various nominal arguments or cases. It was

shown in 5.2.1. that certain of these arguments, namely the direct

object, the indirect object and the instrumental cases, cannot occur as arguments of every verb type, while other cases (source/ comitative, benefactive and locative) can occur as arguments of any verb type. It follows that several types of verbal clause may be distinguished according to the number and type (i.e. direct object, locative, etc.) of arguments they may take.

Four types of verbal clause have been set up for this analysis corresponding to the four major verb classes: intransitive, stative, transitive and ditransitive. Each of these types will now be dealt with individually, together with the corresponding verb class.

5.2.2.1. Intransitive Clause

An intransitive clause consists of an intransitive verb (v_1) and its four arguments; subject, source/comitative, benefactive, and locative. Out of all these cases though only the subject is indexed in the verb. This is done by means of the subject person/ number pronominal prefix. The intransitive verbs denote forms of motion and posture, for example:

rir	'run'	myai	'come'
ruo	'fly'	lieq	'go'
fuos	'descend'	tapul	'turn around'
fur	'arrive at speaker'	yin	'recline, lie down'
wor	'move away from'	tu	'stand'

The ordering of the intransitive clause constituents is as follows:

SUBJ   VP   SOU/COM   BEN   LOC

As will be seen in some of the following examples, however, the order of the post-verbal cases is not rigid.

```
           SUBJ   VP
(68)  yit   a-myai
      who   3sg-come

      'who is coming?'
```

```
           SUBJ               VP           LOC
(69)  rri    ramat  moin   rra-lieq  rruon  jimwau
      they   man    woman  3pl-go    c.a.   bush
      (pl)

      'the men and women went to the bush'
```

```
      SUBJ  VP        LOC   SOU/COM
(70)  nat   a-fwat    nau   qeq-au   kyau
      child 3sg-bathe sea   SOU/COM  I
                            -1sg

      'the child bathed in the sea with me'
```

```
      SUBJ         VP       SOU/COM              LOC
(71)  moin  juk    a-morr   qe-i    Parok   pyal   kyau  qon
      woman old    3sg-sit  SOU/COM P.      house  I     int.
                            -3sg

      'the old woman sat with Parok in my house'
```

```
      SUBJ         VP         LOC
(72)  tina-ny      a-qwau     rryan  Arup
      mother-3sg   3sg-come   river  A.
                   over

      'his mother came over to Arup River'
```

```
           SUBJ             VP        BEN
(73)  myan  tok    nai    a-tu      ny-am    kyau
      bird  chicken that  3sg-stand BEN-1sg  I

      'that chicken is for me'
```

5.2.2.2.   Stative Clause

Stative verbs refer to the state of a referent or to a bodily process that the referent may undergo. The stative clause contains a stative verb (v_2) and its various arguments. There are three types of stative verb and the number of arguments each type can take differ.

The first type of stative (v_{2i}) are those stative verbs that have an adjectival homonym. Examples of these are:

mokin	'be good'	qoqar	'be strong'
papop	'be dark'	pipui	'be hot'
myat	'be dead'	tyen	'be pregnant'
qon	'be true, exact'	marang	'be dry'

These verbs tend to occur with only one argument, the subject, to form a subject-comment like construction. For example,

```
             SUBJ              VP
(74)  Jalmung  mata-ny   rra-papop
      J.       eye-3sg   3pl-be dark
      'Jalmung is blind'

             SUBJ              VP
(75)  moin  qusul      nai    a-tyen
      woman adolescent that   3sg-be pregnant
      'that young woman is pregnant'

      SUBJ   VP
(76)  kyau  wu-foi      qon
      I     to-be light int.
      'I am very light'

                        SUBJ                      VP
(77)  numpuong nai  ramat  wolap  qait   qon  a-myat       rruon
      yesterday     man    big    we(pl  int. 3sg-be dead  c.a.
                                  excl)
      'yesterday our big man died'
```

The second form of stative verb (v_{2ii}) is one that is derived from a transitive verb by adding the stativising prefix ma- to the non-higher animate plural variant of the verb stem. This was described in 4.1.3.2.1.

As with the first type of stative verb this type can only take the subject as an argument. For example:

```
          SUBJ        VP
(78)  pwarr       a-ma-wot
      saucepan    3sg-STAT-break lengthwise

      'the saucepan broke up'

          SUBJ        VP
(79)  kiet        a-ma-kuos
      ladder      3sg-STAT-break in half

      'the ladder broke in two'
```

The third category is made up of those stative verbs (v_{2iii}) that have a homonymous noun. For example,

tamis	'urinate'	jyal	'help'
monyeq	'eat'	toung	'know'
tapek	'defecate'	worap	'feast'

This category of statives differs from the two preceding types in two ways. Firstly, it can take in addition to the subject the source/comitative case. And secondly, the verb can take a generic object. Unlike other nominals, this generic object is incorporated into the verb phrase. It occurs directly preceding the verb and consists of either the verb's nominal homonym ('cognate object') or one of the near synonyms of the nominal homonym.[2]

```
          SUBJ             VP
(80)  ei        monyeq   a-monyeq
      he/she    food     3sg-be eating

      'he/she is eating food'

            SUBJ              VP            SOU/COM
(81)  nikanik  Qumtatui  rra-jyal  qeq-rri      ramat  Worak
      story    cassowary 3pl-help  SOU/COM-3pl  man    W.
               spirit

      'the story of the cassowary spirits helping the men of Worak'
```

---

2. As there are no real structural differences this construction type could alternatively be analysed as a defective and restricted form of transitive clause; where the verb though not indexing a direct object by the normal means of pronominal marking still has it as one of its syntactic arguments.

```
         SUBJ                    VP
(82) kyau   tapek   rryan   wu-tapek   rruon
     I      faeces  water   1sg-be     c.a.
                            defecate
```

'I defecated diarrhoea'

```
     SUBJ            VP          SOU/COM
(83) qait   leiny   ta-ruong   qeq-rru      rru
     we(pl  talk    1pl-hear    SOU/COM-3dl  they(dl)
     excl)
```

'we heard their talk'

5.2.2.3.   Transitive Clause

A transitive clause consists of a transitive verb (v_3) and

its arguments, which may number up to six. These arguments are:

subject, direct object, instrumental, source/comitative,

benefactive and locative. The constituents of the transitive

clause normally occur in the following order:

SUBJ   DO   INST   VP   SOU/COM   BEN   LOC

Like other verbs, the transitive verb indexes the subject,

but in addition to this it indexes the direct object. This is

done by means of an object person/number pronominal marker being

suffixed to the verb stem (see 4.1.2.2.).[3] Examples of transitive

verbs are:

un	'strike, hit'	sit	'sew up s.o. or s.t.'
qan	'bite, eat'	qunaqa	'stand s.o. up'
rrima	'see'	ima	'make, do'
wowu	'build canoe(s)'	unat	'block off'
in	'drink'	nou	'cook in saucepan'

---

3. In the examples of transitive clauses only the surface representation
    of the verb is given. Consequently its o.p.m. may be lost due to the
    various stem reduction and alternation rules having already operated.

	SUBJ	DO		VP		LOC
(84)	rri ramat	moin	juk	rra-qumu-i	rruon	Poluos
	they man	woman	old	3pl-bury-3sg	c.a.	P.
	(pl)					

'the men buried the old woman at Poluos'

	SUBJ	DO	INST		VP
(85)	yieq	qai	jyau kiu	kyai	qo-ip
	you(sg)	tree	thing what	INST	2sg-chop down(3sg)

'what do you use to chop the tree down with?'

	SUBJ	DO	INST		VP	LOC
(86)	Wojul	Laipim	qalaq	kyai	o-un-i	ipwo-ny
	W.	L.	stick	INST	3sg-strike -3sg	head-3sg -3sg

'Wojul struck Laipim on the head with a stick'

	SUBJ	DO		VP	BEN	
(87)	kyau	niu	wuru	wu-quja-rru	ny-ieq	yieq
	I	coconut	two	1sg-shell coconut-3dl	BEN-2sg	you(sg)

'I shelled two coconuts for you'

	SUBJ	DO		VP	SOU/COM		
(88)	ramat	porri tamiok	a-pik	qeqe-i	nat	nai
	man		axe	3sg-take (3sg)	SOU/COM -3sg	child	that

BEN	
ny-am	kyau
BEN-1sg	I

'the man took the axe from that child for me'

	SUBJ	DO	VP	SOU/COM	
(89)	qait	wuriem	ta-pik	qe-i	wonyau
	we(pl excl)	bandicoot	1pl-take (3sg)	SOU/COM -3sg	dog

'I took the bandicoot from the dog'

There are, however, a handful of verbs, for example _imajul_ 'make conversation with' and _qoje_ 'accompany, follow' that take only two arguments: subject and direct object. Further, their direct object must, when specified, follow the verb.

```
        SUBJ        VP          DO
(90)  ei        e-imajul-au    kyau
      he/she    3sg-make       I
                conversation-1sg
```

'he/she is conversing with me'

```
        SUBJ        VP                    DO
(91)  yieq      qo-qoje-i      nat    sqaing   nai
      you(sg)   2sg-accompany  child  little   that
                -3sg
```

'accompany that little child!'

5.2.2.4.   ‑Ditransitive Clause

The ditransitive clause consists of a ditransitive verb (v_4)
and its arguments. While its full range of arguments is uncertain,
ditransitive verbs do take at least the cases subject, direct
object, indirect object and locative. There were no examples
elicited though using either the source/comitative or the
benefactive cases.

Only five ditransitive verbs have been recorded:

ny	'give to'	qurat	'put into s.t.'
utaq	'show to'	urra	'decant into s.t.'
tak	'ask s.o.'		

The ditransitive verb is structurally identical to the
transitive verb. It is indexed with the two sets of pronominal
affixes that were associated with the transitive verbs; and some
of the verb stems, namely qurat 'put into s.t.' and urra 'decant
into s.t.' also undergo certain forms of stem reduction and
alternation processes that were mentioned in the previous chapter.
However, the ditransitive's object pronominal marking set of
suffixes index the indirect object of the clause and not the
direct object. Both the direct object and the indirect object in

a ditransitive clause stand as unmarked cases, though they are
still differentiable by their syntactic positions; the direct
object following the subject (unless it is focussed, cf. example
(61b)) and the indirect object following the verb.

The following are examples of ditransitive clauses:

	SUBJ	DO		VP	IO	LOC
(92)	yit	jyau	nai	a-ny-i	tina-m	nai
	who	thing	that	3sg-give	mother-2sg	there
				-3sg		

'who is giving that thing to your mother over there?'

	SUBJ	DO		VP	IO
(93)	ei	wonyau	tai	o-utaq-rru	nat
	he/she	dog	one	3sg-show-3dl	child

'he/she showed the dog to the two children'

	SUBJ	DO	VP	IO		
(94)	kyau	nau	w-urra-rri	niu	les	rruon
	I	salt-	1sg-decant	coconut	shell	c.a.
		water	into-3pl			

'I poured the saltwater into the coconut shells'

	SUBJ	DO	VP	IO		
(95)	rri	moin	niu	rra-qur	jeik	rraqarri
	they	woman	coconut	3pl-put	net-bag	POS(3pl)
	(pl)			into(3pl)		

'the women put the coconuts into their string bags'

	SUBJ	VP	IO			
(96)	kyau	wu-tak-i	Waipyai	yieq	qo-lieq	piyei
	I	1sg-ask-3sg	W.	you(sg)	2sg-go	where

'I asked Waipyai, "where are you going?"'

5.3. The Use of Temporals

Both verbal and nominal clauses may contain a temporal phrase.
This temporal element occupies the most peripheral slot in the clause, that
is it may either occur clause initially or finally.

A temporal phrase normally consists of either a noun phrase or an
embedded clause, either of which should contain a temporal noun. Following

are some of the temporals currently found in the language with examples of their use.

(i) Parts of the Day

	<u>worryang</u>	'day-time (literally: 'sun')'
	<u>rurr</u>	'night-time (literally: 'darkness')'
or	<u>kapup</u>	'night-time'
	<u>rururr</u>	'5.00 am-6.00 am (literally: 'very dark)'
	<u>jamout</u>	'dawn'
	<u>jemejem</u>	'morning, 6.00 am-9.00 am'
	<u>worryang yet</u>	'9.00 am-12.00 pm (literally:'the sun is up')'
	<u>kram</u>	'midday (literally: 'garamut', maybe a borrowing from Tok Pisin <u>belo</u>)'
	<u>worryang a-tapul</u>	'12.00 pm-3.00 pm (literally: 'the sun turns back or, 'the sun turns over')'
or	<u>worryang o-umpalaqa-i</u>	'12.00 pm-3.00 pm'
	<u>apuony</u>	3.00 pm-6.00 pm'
	<u>jem aqus</u>	'dusk'
	<u>worryang a-fuos</u>	'sunset, 6.30 pm-7.00 pm (literally: 'the sun goes down)'
	<u>kururau</u>	'7.00 pm-11.00 pm'
	<u>pung rouj</u>	'11.00 pm-2.00 am'
	<u>jem qayet</u>	'2.00 am-4.00 am (<u>jem</u> is a navigating star that rises in the eastern sky at this time)'

(97) ei   a-lieq a-lieq a-lieq <u>kapup</u>
     he/she 3sg-go 3sg-go 3sg-go dark

'he/she went and went and went until dark'

(98) <u>jemejem mai</u> qait ta-lieq Poluos lotu
     morning TOP we(pl 1pl-go P.   church
                   excl)

'in the morning we went to church at Poluos'

(99) <u>rurr   mokin</u>
     night good

'good night'

(ii)   Days Relative to the Present

     apuony   'day'

As the temporal element in the clause the following terms, apart from

nimpai 'today', are modified by the demonstrative nai 'that, there'. nimpai

on the other hand, may either stand by itself or be modified by an 'this,

here'.

pongyar	(nai)	'day plus three, three days hence'
malal	(nai)	'day plus two, two days hence'
qaqu	(nai)	'day plus one, tomorrow'
nimpai	(an)	'today'
numpuong	(nai)	'day minus one, yesterday'
norr	(nai)	'day minus two, two days ago'
jamang	(nai)	'day minus three, three days ago'
or arau	(nai)	'day minus three, three days ago'

(100)   numpuong nai nau spai a-mokin, nimpai nau sek
         yesterday   sea some 3sg-be   today   sea bad
                                 good

'the sea was good yesterday, but today it is bad'

(101)   qaqu nai qon Pater a-myai   vanu
         tomorrow int. P.   3sg-come village

'tomorrow to be exact Father is coming to the village'
(said in reply to the question framed in example (105))

(102)   Laipim awo-ny   o-un-i   ipwo-ny   norr nai
        L.   spouse-3sg 3sg-strike head-3sg day minus two
                          -3sg

'Laipim hit his wife on the head the day before yesterday'

(103)   yawos a-to-i   a-lieq puony vilrri
        fire   3sg-light 3sg-go day   five
               -3sg

'he lit the fire and it went for five days'

(iii)   Months of the Year

A lunar calendar consisting of thirteen months is used. The month

names are based on the conditions of the sea and reef; and these occur in

the following sequence. <u>mwar</u> approximates the month of March.

1.	<u>mwar</u>	
2.	<u>wopum</u>	
3.	<u>wilek</u>	
4.	<u>saqar marang</u>	(time of 'the dry reef')
5.	<u>mouq</u>	
6.	<u>lumlum tawoq</u>	
7.	<u>korr a-lieq korr a-myai</u>	(possibly extreme tides; <u>korr</u> 'low-tide')
8.	<u>munuwan</u>	
9.	<u>jir</u>	(<u>jir</u> 'black, swamp'; time where weed from the Sepik River occurs as flotsam)
10.	<u>qusanu</u>	
11.	<u>qileqel</u>	
12.	<u>qui</u>	(<u>qui</u> 'rough sea')
13.	<u>lupalap</u>	

(iv) <u>Other Temporals</u>

<u>momu</u>	'very long before'
<u>monjuk</u>	'long ago'
<u>naiwar</u>	'now, at this present time'
<u>saris</u>	'when'

(104) <u>naiwar an</u> nikanik tai wu-nin   ny-i   an
      now   this story   one 1sg-recount BEN-3sg here
                                  (3sg)

'Now I am recounting a story for him here'

(105) <u>saris</u> a-qon   Pater a-myai   vanu
      when   3sg-true P.   3sg-come village

'when exactly is Father coming to the village?' (cf. example (101))

(106) <u>momu qon</u> Germani rra-fur   eipai pwaq
      long int. G.   3pl-appear NEG   yet
      before

'(It happened) long before, Germany had not arrived yet'

5.4.   The Formation of Negatives

There are three negative forms; these are <u>ponoq</u>, <u>eipai</u> 'no, not, none' and <u>sapin</u> 'don't, refrain from'. All three occur at the end of the

clause that they negate.

The forms ponoq and eipai are used in declarative and interrogative constructions.

(107)   Jem milamal an   rra-rrim   ponoq
        J.   custom   this 3pl-see(3sg) NEG

        'Shem village did not see this custom'

(108)   kyau qat   qu-sau   woiwoi ponoq
        I   canoe 1sg-paddle slow   NEG

        'I don't paddle the canoe slowly'

(109)   kyau ramat eipai
        I   man   NEG

        'I am not a man'

(110)   rri   ramat pyal   Kamyau qon   rra-ning ny-i jimwau eipai
        they man   house K.   int.   3pl-build BEN bush   NEG
        (pl)   (3sg)   -3sg

        'the men didn't build Kamyau's house in the bush for him'

(111)   Mulkiu myal   eipai
        M.   loin-cloth NEG

        'Mulkiu doesn't have a loin-cloth'

(112)   mukajyau a-yin   qorrang qayet eipai
        sweet   3sg-lie platform on top NEG
        potato

        'There aren't any sweet potatoes on the table'

(113)   jemejem mai yieq   qo-lieq Wiwak tap ponoq
        morning TOP you(sg) 2sg-go W.   or   NEG

        'Are you going to Wewak this morning or not?'

Both these forms may also occur as negative existentials, that is they may act as the predicate of a clause.

(114)   qo-pik   qo-myai   paqan! ponoq
        2sg-take 2sg-come here   NEG
          (3sg)

        'Bring it here!' 'No!'

(115)   qapas eipai
        space NEG

        'there is no space left'

(116) kyau   pu   eipai
      I   betel nut   NEG

      'I don't have any betel-nut'   (literally: 'my betel-nut is none')

Though these two forms are normally used interchangably in the language,

it does appear that to some speakers the form ponoq is stronger than eipai.

For example:

(117) yieq pu   tai   rra-tu?   eipai. yieq pu   tai   rra-tu?
      you   betel some 3pl-stand NEG   you   betel some 3pl-stand
      (sg) nut   (sg) nut

      ponoq
      NEG

      'Do you have any betel nut?'   'No'. 'Do you (really) have no
      betel nut?'   'NO'

sapin on the other hand, is used in imperative constructions. As in

the following:

(118) qo-lieq Bou sapin,   qo-morr   vanu
      2sg-go   B.   NEG IMP   2sg-sit   village

      'Don't go to Bou, stay here!'

(119) qaqu nai yieq   monyeq qo-im   worap   sapin
      tomorrow   you   food   2sg-make   feast   NEG IMP
                 (sg)   (3sg)

      'Don't prepare the food for the feast tomorrow!'

(120) qam   qai   piniet   qa-ip   ny-am   kyau   sapin
      you   tree that one 2pl-chop   BEN-1sg   I   NEG IMP
      (pl)   down(3sg)

      'Don't cut that tree down for me!'

6.0.   Introduction

There exist in Kairiru certain constructions that minimally consist

of two or more verbs strung together without any intervening conjunctions.

In descriptions of other languages where 'serial verb' constructions occur,

e.g. in the languages of Western Africa, South and East Asia, and Papua New

Guinea, these have been analysed in various ways. They have been analysed

as either (i) a single verb phrase unit; or (ii) a series of reduced

clauses; or (iii) a series of juxtaposed verb phrases within the one

clause. However, it appears that the serial verb constructions of Kairiru

cannot conveniently be analysed in any of the above ways. Instead it is

argued that Kairiru serial verb constructions are best analysed as series

of reduced juxtaposed clauses that have formed 'complex clauses'. The

complex clause constitutes an intermediate structural level between the

clause and the sentence.

6.1.   Serial Verb Constructions: An Overview

Over the past ten or fifteen years there have been many references

made in the literature to verb serialisation, for instance, Bailey (1966),

Stahlke (1970), Li and Thompson (1973), Schachter (1974), Hyman (1975),

Givón (1975), Lightfoot (1979) amongst others. Many of these works, however,

have been primarily occupied with looking at diachronic syntax in the light

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1.   An earlier version of this chapter was originally presented to the
      Third New Zealand Linguistics Society Conference, Auckland 1980, under
      the title of 'Serial Verb Constructions in Kairiru: One Clause or
      Many?'

of these constructions. For all this the phenomenon of serial verb
constructions (SVC) has still remained an ill-defined one.

Various working definitions of SVCs that have been adopted in the past,
for whatever reason, have varied from being very restrictive on the one
hand to being almost all-embracing on the other. It does appear, however,
that scholars are fairly well agreed on certain phonological, syntactic and
semantic properties as characterising serial verb constructions.

(i) Phonological Properties

In phonological terms an SVC occurs within a clause-like
intonation unit (Bradshaw 1979:14). This means that a sequence of
verbs is not regarded as an SVC if it is normally broken by a boundary-
marking intonation contour.

(ii) Syntactic Properties

Syntactically, SVCs are constructions of either verbs or verb
phrases that stand juxtaposed to each other without the presence of any
intervening conjunctions. In many languages a further constraint has
been observed. It is that the verbs in juxtaposition agree in tense,
aspect, mood and positive/negative polarity.

(iii) Semantic Properties

From a semantic perspective two issues emerge. Each issue offers
two alternatives about which opinion is divided.

The first issue concerns how many propositions are communicated
by the clause. One group of scholars that include Dempwolff (1939),
Stahlke (1970) and Givón (1975) have argued that SVCs should be
analysed as manifesting one semantic proposition. They view verb
serialisation as a syntactic device that describes one event or action

for which the language lacks a single lexical item. In the translated words of Dempwolff

"There lies in every serial sentence one thought structure"[2]

The second group of scholars, includes Foley (1980) and Li and Thompson (1973), argue that SVCs are multi-propositional clauses. In their view a serial verb is a further development of the one that precedes it in the propositional sequence.

The second issue involves the degree to which the referential identity of the grammatical subjects of the verbs are constrained in an SVC. Those who define SVCs restrictively feel that the grammatical subjects of all the verbs in the construction must refer to the same participant. On the other hand, those favouring a broader definition (for example, Foley (1980) and Bradshaw (1979)) allow for a change in grammatical subject under certain circumstances. They believe that the grammatical subject of a serial verb need only refer to any participant in the preceding verb phrase within that SVC. For instance, this allows for an SVC in which the subject of the second verb is the direct object of the first.

As was noted in 6.0. SVCs have been analysed by investigators in a number of different ways. For example in Kalam, a New Guinea Highlands language, the construction is seen in terms of a series of verbs within in one verb phrase (Pawley 1966:96-99); while in Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1973:96) as well as in various West African languages (Hyman 1975:136, Foley 1980:3-4) SVCs are analysed as a series of directly juxtaposed verb phrases embodied by some means into the one clause.

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2. liegt in jedem Reihansatz eine Gedankengliederung vor (1939:81)

We now turn to the Kairiru material to see how best to analyse the phenomenon of verb serialisation there. We shall do this by seeking to answer the following two questions: (1) Where in the syntactic structure of the language does the serial verb construction fit, for example is it analysable as a verb phrase, a clause, or a sentence? (2) What is the range of semantic relations that are expressed by serial verb constructions?

6.2.   Verb Serialisation in Kairiru

6.2.1.   Syntactic Properties

To recapitulate, Kairiru exhibits certain constructions involving two or more verb phrases (see Chapter Four) occurring in series without any intervening conjunctions.

The verbs in these strings may either be all generally intransitive (v_1 and v_2):

(1) kyau wu-myai wu-fur   pinien
     I   1sg-come 1sg-arrive here
                     here

    'I came here'

(2) rri   rra-vyan   rra-jyal
     they(pl) 3pl-climb up 3pl-be help

    'they came up and helped'

(3) rri   ramat wolap rra-lieq rra-wot   Bou
     they(pl) man   big   3pl-go   3pl-talk   B.

    'the elders go and talk to Bou village"

(4) qait   ta-lieq ta-pataq   ta-morr rryan
     we(pl   1pl-go   1pl-arrive 1pl-sit river
     excl)   there

    'we went and arrived at the river and sat down'

or all generally transitive (v_3 and v_4):

(5) qait   rais at   ta-nou-i   ta-qan
     we(pl   rice that 1pl-cook in   1pl-eat-3sg
     excl)   saucepan-3sg

    'we cooked the rice and ate it'

(6) moin   pwarr   a-sult-i   a-ning   rukorau
    woman   saucepan   3sg-take   3sg-put   floor
                       off-3sg   (3sg)

    'the woman took the saucepan off (the fire) and put
    it on the floor'

(7) yit   kyai   jyau   nai   a-takil   a-ny-i   tina-m
    who   only   thing   that   3sg-pick up 3sg-give   mother-2sg
                                (3sg)   -3sg

    '?only who picked up that thing and gave it to your mother?'

or a combination of all verb types:

(8) qat   tai   wu-jaqa-i   wu-suqo-i   wu-pik   wu-lieq
    canoe   one   1sg-launch   1sg-paddle   1sg-take   1sg-go
                  -3sg   -3sg   (3sg)

    wu-pataq   Namasil
    1sg-arrive   N.
      there

    'I launched a canoe, paddled it, and took it to Namasil (bay)'

(9) ei   wonyau   a-pak   a-lieq   a-qumou-i
    he   dog   3sg-take   3sg-go   3sg-hunt marsupial-3sg
                  (3pl)

    'he took the dogs and went and hunted the marsupial'

(10) yawos   wu-to-i   wu-morr   wu-juqu-i   wu-muk
     fire   1sg-ignite   1sg-sit   1sg-roll   1sg-smoke
             -3sg   cigarette-3sg   cigarette-3sg

    'I lit the fire, sat down, rolled a cigarette and smoked it'

How should these constructions be analysed? In the previous

section it was noted that in the case of Kalam a verb phrase can

be filled by either a single verb stem,

(11) k-jp-yt
    'you/they (dl) are sleeping' (Pawley 1966:180)

or by a sequence of verb stems,

(12) mon   pk   d   ap   ay-p-yn
     wood   strike   get   come   I have put

    'I have gathered and brought some wood' (Pawley 1966:98)

Such an analysis does not seem satisfactory for Kairiru. In

Kairiru the verbs within a serial verb construction may be

individually modified in one of two ways: (1) Each verb can take

one or more overt noun phrase arguments. Compare the following

pairs of examples:

(13) a) kyau wu-fuos   wu-lieq wu-sap-i
        I   1sg-descend 1sg-go 1sg-search for-3sg

        'I go down and/to look for him/her'

     b) kyau wu-fuos   wu-lieq Kras wu-sap-i
        I   1sg-descend 1sg-go K.   1sg-search for-3sg

        'I go down and/to look for Kras'

(14) a) Wojul a-morr a-juqu-i
        W.   3sg-sit 3sg-roll up tobacco-3sg

        'Wojul sat down and/to roll(ed) it up (referring to
        tobacco)'

     b) Wojul a-morr sauqwei a-juqu-i
        W.   3sg-sit tobacco 3sg-roll up tobacco-3sg

        'Wojul sat down and/to roll(ed) up the tobacco leaf'

(15) a) yieq   qo-lieq qo-puka-rru
        you(sg) 2sg-go 2sg-take-3dl

        'go and/to get them(dl)!'

     b) yieq   qo-lieq Poluos niu   marang wuru
        you(sg) 2sg-go P.   coconut dry   two

        qo-puka-rru
        2sg-take-3dl

        'go to Poluos and/to get two dry coconuts!'

(2) Each verb may be modified by an adverb, for example:

(16) kyau w-urrkyaq wu-morr mokin
     I   1sg-arise 1sg-sit well

     'I get up and/to sit down comfortably'

(17) Sanai a-wor   rruon a-lieq Baru
     S.   3sg-move c.a. 3sg-go B.
                     away

     'Sanai has already moved off {and gone} towards Baru village'
                                   {to go   }

(18) ei   a-tapul   leq   a-myai   a-luot   pinien
      he/   3sg-turn   again 3sg-come 3sg-arrive here
      she   around   at the top

      'he/she turned around again ⎰and came⎱ here'
                                 ⎱to come ⎰

As verbs in Kairiru serial verb constructions can be individ-

ually modified, either by an adverbial or by one or more arguments,

then clearly they cannot be analysed as being equivalent to a

single verb, or verb phrase.
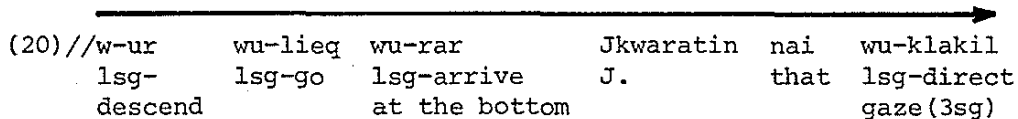
Is it possible then, that these constructions are really not

serial verb constructions at all but a series of reduced conjoined

clauses? There are a number of counter-arguments that can be used

in arguing against this analysis.

Firstly, in phonological terms a serial verb construction

differs from most clause sequences in that the former corresponds

to a single clause intonation group and a single pause group

assigned to it. The sentence on the other hand, which is made up

of one or more clauses, is assigned sentential intonation and

pause. (See 2.2.2.). Compare the two following examples. In

(19) each clause has a separate boundary-marking intonation contour.

(19) // orait Paula/   kyau wu-qwau   jimwau/
         OK   P.   I   1sg-come   bush
                                over

      mwau tai   wupak/   wurr   wu-pak   wu-fur   apuong/
      taro some 1sg-take banana 1sg-take   1sg-arrive pm
                  (3pl)   (3pl)

      yieq   qo-lieq Poluos niu   marang wuru qo-puka-rru/
      you(sg)   2sg-go   P.   coconut   dry   two   2sg-take-3dl

      'Alright Paula, I will go to the bush at dusk to get some
       some taro and bananas, you to Poluos and get two dry coconuts'

In (20) the verbs all fall within a single intonation contour.

```
(20)//w-ur      wu-lieq  wu-rar          Jkwaratin  nai   wu-klakil
     1sg-        1sg-go   1sg-arrive      J.         that  1sg-direct
     descend              at the bottom                    gaze(3sg)

     Kras wu-sap-i/    tasol Kras  i no  a-morr/
     K.   1sg-search   but   K.    NEG   3sg-sit
          for-3sg

     Kras a-wor      rruon a-lieq Bou//
     K.   3sg-move   c.a.  3sg-go B.
          away
```

'I went down to Shkwaratin (clan) to look for Kras but
she wasn't there, she had already left and gone to
Bou (village)'

Secondly, serial verb constructions are constrained in such

a way that only one subject NP will occur in every construction.

This constraint, however, does not apply to coordinate clauses.

```
             Cl₁                        Cl₂
(21)  qait  lain   ta-tuot    imur,    rri   moin   rra-lieq
      we(pl group  1pl-sever  after    they  woman  3pl-go
      excl)        (3sg)               (pl)

      rra-kuok.
      3pl-gather up(3pl)
```

'After we as a group have cut them down the women go and
gather them up'

```
             Cl₁
(22)  qait  ta-lieq  ta-pataq   ta-morr  rryan,  Taunur
      we(pl 1pl-go   1pl-arrive 1pl-sit  river   T.
      excl)          there

             Cl₂
      a-rir    a-pataq     a-wot ...
      3sg-run  3sg-arrive  3sg-say ...
               there
```

'we went, arrived at the river and sat down, Taunur arrived
running and said ...'

It may be argued of course that all that has happened is that

co-referential noun phrase deletion has taken place in (21) and

(22). However this explanation does not adequately account for

the 'deletions' in resultative constructions[3] such as (23) and

(24), when the subjects are not co-referential and where there

should theoretically be two overt subject NPs present.

(23)   rri   wonyau nat   rre-im   a-tang
       they dog   child   3pl-make 3sg-cry
       (pl)   (3sg)

       'the dogs made the child cry'

(24)   Tom wonyau o-un-i   a-myat   rruon
       T.   dog   3sg-strike 3sg-die c.a.
                   -3sg

       'Tom killed the dog' (literally: 'Tom hit the dog and it
                                       died')

Thirdly, the serial verb constructions unlike other clause

sequences, but like the simple clause is modifiable by only one

negative particle and/or verbal auxiliary,[4] for example:

(25) Qitoq a-morr Napakoi a-qwau   worreng a-myai
     Q.   3sg-sit N.   3sg-come mountain 3sg-come
                           over

     a-fur   eipai
     3sg-arrive NEG

     'Qitoq who is at Napakoi did not come over the mountain
     to here'

(26)   rri   ramat rra-lieq Bou rra-wot eipai
       they man   3pl-go   B.   3pl-say NEG
       (pl)

       'the men are not going and talking to Bou village'

---

3.   Resultative constructions are dealt with in 6.2.2.

4.   Each verb, however, carries its own subject and pronominal clitics
      and may be modified by an adverb.

(27) yieq   qo-lieq Namasil Qajau qo-rrim sapin
     you(sg)   2sg-go N.   Q.   2sg-see NEG IMP
                                               (3sg)

'Don't go to Namasil to see Qashau!'

(28) pai   ei   a-vyan   a-morr   qorrang
     HAB/ he/ 3sg-climb 3sg-sit   platform
     FUT   she

'he will climb up and sit down on the platform'

(29) pai   ta-lieq niu   lain   ta-jloyaq, pai   a-rruon,
     HAB/ 1pl-go coconut grove 1pl-clean   HAB/ 3sg-be
     FUT   (3pl)   FUT   finish

     rri   moin   mongan ramat   tai a-lieq niu   yaqai
     they   woman man   person one 3sg-go coconut POS(3sg)
     (pl)

'we will go and clean up the grove, then when that is
finished the men and women or the man (the owner) will
go to his coconut grove'

(30) ei ramat mai rruon a-fur   nau a-wot   yieq
     he man   TOP now   3sg-arrive sea 3sg-say you(sg)

     qai   kiu   qo-sap-i
     thing what 2sg-search for-3sg

'the man now arrived at the sea (beach) and said 'what
are you looking for?'

Taken together, these three pieces of evidence amount to a

strong case in favour of treating SVCs as single clauses in

Kairiru.

6.2.2. Semantic Properties

We turn now to the second question posed in 6.1. - What is

the range of semantic relations that are expressed by serial verb

constructions?

Firstly, SVCs may express a simple sequence of events where

the ordering of the verbs in the construction corresponds to a

chronological sequence of occurrence of those events. Such

constructions are often translatable into English by a single verb

or a verb and an adverbial.

(31) qaqu nai   yieq   sauqwei qo-pak   qo-lieq qo-nang
      tomorrow you(sg) tobacco 2sg-take 2sg-go 2sg-plant
                                (3pl)   (3pl)

      malal   yieqayieq
      garden POS(2sg)

      'Plant the tobacco in your garden tomorrow!'

(32) rri   moin   niu   rra-pak   rra-myai paila
      they   woman coconut 3pl-take 3pl-come drying house
      (pl)   (3pl)

      'the women bring the coconuts to the drying house'

(33) kyau   wonyau wu-pak   wu-lieq wu-qumou-i
      I   dog   1sg-take 1sg-go   1sg-hung marsupial-3sg
                    (3pl)

      'I hunted the marsupial with the dogs'

(34) kyau   wu-vyan   wu-morr morreng qayet
      I   1sg-climb 1sg-sit chair   on top

      'I sit down on top of the chair'

However, the subjects in a serial construction need not be

co-referential.

(35) ta-lieq niu   ramat tai ta-quoj, a-myai   ta-ls-i
      1pl-go coconut man   one 1pl-husk 3sg-come 1pl-chop in
                                 (3pl)   half-3sg

      'we go and husk a person's coconuts, they (referring to the
      husked coconuts) come and we chop them in half'

(36) kyau   qat   anka   wu-laqa-i a-fwat   Namasil
      I   canoe anchor 1sg-throw 3sg-float N.
                          -3sg

      'I threw the canoe anchor out and it (referring to the canoe)
      floated at Namasil Reef'

Secondly, SVCs may be used to express 'purpose' relations.

This is where the first verb denotes the act done in order to

achieve the act or state denoted by the second verb. For example:

(37) tuqum tu-fas-i ti-samu-i
      we(dl 1dl-take 1dl-mash-3sg
      excl) out-3sg

      'we take it out to mash it'

(38) w-inamyat   wu-yin
      1sg-sleep   1sg-recline

      'I lay down to sleep'

(39) jyaj   qo-pik   qo-myai   t-ut
      fish   2sg-take   2sg-come   1dl-break open
             (3sg)   lengthwise(3sg)

      'Bring the fish here so we can break it open lengthwise'

(40) niu   marang   qo-pik   qo-myai   ti-rieq   long   tapirr
      coconut   dry   2sg-take   2sg-come   1dl-   PREP   plate
                         (3sg)   sprinkle

      'Bring the dry coconut so we can sprinkle it onto the
      plate!'

      Third, SVCs are also used to refer to repetition of an

event or an activity, for example:

(41) jo   tirakyau   a-lieq   a-lieq   a-lieq   a-fur   jimwau
      so   hawk   3sg-go   3sg-go   3sg-go   3sg-   bush
                                                 arrive

      'so the hawk went and went and went and finally arrived
      at the bush'

(42) Kirar   a-tang   a-tang   a-tang
      K.   3sg-cry   3sg-cry   3sg-cry

      'Kirar just cried and cried and cried'

      And finally, SVCs are used as 'resultative constructions'.

These are defined by Bradshaw (1979) in the following way:[5]

          In this serial construction the grammatical
          object of the preceding verb acts as the
          subject of the following verb. The first verb
          indicates the CAUSE and the second the RESULT
          (1979:13)

(43) rri   nat   salau   wonyau   rro-un-i   a-myat   rruon
      they   child   foolish   dog   3pl-strike 3sg-die   c.a.
      (pl)   -3sg

      'the foolish children killed the dog'

---

5. Bradshaw calls this construction type 'causative serialisation'.

(44) yieq   nat   qo-im   a-tang   sapin
      you(sg)child 2sg-make 3sg-cry NEG IMP
                  (3sg)

      'Don't make the child cry!'

(45) Wojul qanaq wuru a-ninga-rru   ny-am   kyau rri-yin
      W.   betel two   3sg-plant-3dl BEN-1sg I   3dl-recline
             catkin

      jimwau
      bush

      'Wojul plants two betel catkins (Piper betel) for me
      in the bush'

(46) kyau pung   wu-laqa-i   a-myai   w-un-ieq
      I   stone 1sg-throw-3sg 3sg-come 1sg-strike-2sg

      'I throw the stone at you'

(47) kyau wu-klakil a-lieq Poraurr, tap nau pulau sek
      I   1sg-direct 3sg-go P.   but sea murky too
             gaze(3sg)

      'I looked down at Poraurr but the sea was too murky'
      (literally: 'I direct (my) gaze it went to Poraurr, but
                   the sea was too murky')

The range of semantic relations that are expressed by SVCs is relatively great in Kairiru. However, it is nevertheless implicit that in all forms of verb serialisation that occur in the language there is always, inherent in the linear ordering of the constituent verbs, an unfolding of real world events.

6.3.   Concluding Remarks

To summarise, a Kairiru Serial Verb Construction constitutes a complex clause, rather than a sequence of clauses or a single verb phrase. At the same time it is distinct from the simple clause in that it minimally contains more than one constituent verb phrase. These constructions are used to express a variety of relations held between acts and/or states.

CHAPTER SEVEN : INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONSHIPS

7.0.   Introduction

This grammatical sketch deals principally with the structure of clauses and lower-level units. A brief account of interclausal syntax, based on limited data, is however given in this chapter.

An independent clause, that is, one not standing in construction with another clause, is referred to as a simple sentence. Any sentence consisting of two or more clauses that are juxtaposed to each other separated by non-final juncture, or are linked together by a clause linker or marker, is a complex sentence.

This chapter is mainly concerned with describing the various types of complex sentence construction and the functional relationships that are overtly or implicitly indicated between clauses. The final section, however, is devoted to a brief overview of topic marking in Kairiru discourse.

There are several characteristic features of interclausal syntax in Kairiru. The first is that a very large proportion of the complex sentences in everyday speech consists of coordinate clauses, clauses of equal status. By contrast, sentences containing subordinate clauses are much rarer. Two types of subordinate clause have been elicited; they are relative clauses (7.4.1.) clausal complements (7.4.2.)

Another feature is that in complex sentence constructions the relationship between the constituent clauses is very often implicit rather than explicit.

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7.1.   Clausal Juxtaposition in Complex Sentences

The juxtaposing of two coordinate clauses is by far the most common way of forming complex sentences. A variety of semantic relationships between clauses are expressed by clause juxtaposition and are aided by pragmatic inference procedures including the following:

    (i)   Reason:

(1) moin   qusul   nai   a-mayek, ei   a-tyen.
      woman adolescent that 3sg-be   she 3sg-pregnant
                             ashamed

      'the young woman is ashamed because she is pregnant'

(2) ei   mata-ny manuq, qas   a-sil.
      he/   eye-3sg sore   smoke 3sg-enter
      she

      'his/her eyes are sore because there is smoke in them'

    (ii)   Result:

(3) yieq qori qo-im,   kyau w-ipsil.
      you   fun   2sg-make I   1sg-laugh
      (sg)   (3sg)

      'you make me laugh'
       (literally: 'you make fun and I laugh')

(4) kyau wu-vyan   wu-tu kiet,   kiet   kop   tai o-uks-i.
      I   1sg-climb   1sg-   ladder ladder step   one 3sg-break in
                     stand   half-3sg

      'when I climbed the ladder a step broke'

(5) rri   ramat rra-moul ny-am kyau, ap   kyau monyeq spai
      they   man   3pl-work BEN   I   HAB/ I   food   some
      (pl)   -1sg   FUT

      wu-ny-rri.
      1sg-give-3pl

      'those men who are working for me I will give them food'
      (literally: 'the men are working for me, and I will give some
                    food to them')

    (iii)   Purpose:

(6) rri   moin   rapi rra-kyar, rri   worap rre-im   vanu.
      they   woman sago 3pl-stir   they feast 3pl-make village
      (pl)   sago(3pl) (pl)   (3sg)

      'the women are preparing the sago for the party in the village'
      (literally: 'the women are stirring the sago, they are making
                   a feast in the village')

(iv) <u>Alternative Course</u>

(7) go-lieq Bou sapin,   qo-morr vanu.
    2sg-go B.   NEG IMP 2sg-sit village

    'don't go to Bou, stay here!'

(v) <u>Simultaneous Action</u>

(8) rri   moin   rapi rra-kyar ny-rri, Pranyau jyaj tai
    they woman sago 3pl-stirr BEN-3pl P.   fish one
    (pl)   sago(3pl)

    rra-pik   rro-ur.
    3pl-carry 3pl-go down
        (3sg)

    'the women are preparing sago for them, and Pranyau (clan)
    are bringing down a fish'

(9) tu   tu-morr qat,   kyau u-wotany-i.
    we(dl   1dl-sit canoe I   1sg-tell-3sg
    excl)

    'I told him on the boat'
    (literally: 'we sat on the boat and I told him')

(vi) <u>Comitative:</u>

(10) kyau wu-quj-ieq   yieq, tuyieq tu-lieq Wiwak.
     I   1sg-accompany   you   we(dl   1dl-go   W.
               -2sg   (sg)   incl.)

     'I'll go with you to Wewak'
     (literally: 'I will accompany you, you and I will go to Wewak')

(11) pyal   Pelal qon   kopra rra-yin, ei a-yin   palal.
     house P.   int. copra 3pl-lie   he 3sg-lie   inside

     'Pelal stayed in the house with the copra'
     (literally: 'the copra is in Pelal's house, and he is inside')

(vii) <u>Comparison:</u>

(12) numpuong nai nau spai a-mokin, nimpai nau sek.
      yesterday   sea some 3sg-be   today   sea bad
                             good

     'the sea was better yesterday than it is today'

(13) qai   isu-ny an   wolap qon sek, qai   isu-ny nai
     wood piece   this big   int. very wood piece   that
           -3sg   -3sg

     'this piece of wood is much bigger than that piece of wood'

(viii) Temporal Sequence:

(14) ramat pur jinjun tai o-uq,   pur a-qan
      man   pig wild   one 3sg-shoot pig 3sg-bite(3sg)
                              (3sg)

'the man shot the pig, and then the pig bit him'

(15) ei a-tu   qe-i   juk rryan Smolau, kyau wu-pataq
      he/ 3sg- SOU/COM old water S.   I   1sg-arrive there
      she stand -3sg

'he was standing with the old person at Smolau when I
arrived there'

(16) kyau wu-morr Serasin, kyau Moraf wu-rrim.
      I   1sg-sit S.   I   M.   1sg-see(3sg)

'when I was in Serasin I saw Moraf'

(ix) Condition:

(17) ramat a-myai,   rri   rra-lieq wulai
      man   3sg-come they 3pl-go   singsing
                     (pl)

'when/if the man comes they can go to the singsing'

Complex sentences may be made up of more than two coordinate clauses.

However this is only so when the construction is expressing temporal

sequentiality, as the following example illustrates.

(18) kyau wu-tapul leq   wu-myai wu-vyan Wuruwap, qat   wu-pik
      I   1sg-turn again 1sg-come 1sg-climb W.   canoe 1sg-take
             around   (3sg)

      wu-vyan   wu-r-i,   yawos wu-to-i, wu-morr sauqwei
      1sg-climb 1sg-pull canoe fire   1sg-light 1sg-sit tobacco
                  up-3sg   -3sg

      wu-juqu-i, wu-muk   qon.
      1sg-roll   1sg-smoke int.
      tobacco up   (3sg)
        -3sg

'I turned around again and came up to Wuruwap, then I pulled
the canoe up (onto the beach), then I lit a fire, then I
rolled a cigarette, and then I really smoked it.'

7.2.   Conjunctions

Kairiru has two interclausal conjunctions, both of which have a

coordinating function. They are _tap_ 'but' and _tap/o_ 'or'.

7.2.1. tap 'but'

The conjunction tap 'but' is used to express contrast, or some form of opposition between two clauses. It occurs at the beginning of the second clause.

(19) rri   rra-morr,   tap tar a-myai   leq,   rri   rro-urrkyaq
     they   3pl-sit   but war 3sg-come again   they   3pl-arise
     (pl)   (pl)

     rra-myai   rra-qwau Jem.
     3pl-come   3pl-come J.
                over

     'they settled down, but the war came again, and so they
     got up and came over to Shem.'

(20) rru   moin   rri-myai   rru-fur   vanu,   tap rru
     they   woman 3dl-come   3dl-appear   village   but they
     (dl)   (dl)

     rru-ruong Paj a-myat,   rri   vanu   rra-morr rra-tang.
     3dl-hear   P.   3sg-die   they   village   3pl-sit   3pl-cry
                               (pl)

     'the two women came to the village but they heard of
     Paj's death, so the village sat down and wept'

(21) ei a-tik-i   a-wot piyei,   tap ei a-wot janapai kyai.
     he 3sg-ask   3sg-   where?   but he 3sg-   nearby   only
             -3sg say   say

     'he asked him where, but he said that it was only nearby.'

(22) kyau w-urrkyaq, tap pwaq   yieq qo-monyeq mu.
     I   1sg-arise   but before you   2sg-eat   ahead
                               (sg)

     'I will get up, but first you must eat.'

7.2.2. tap/o 'or'

The conjunctions tap 'or' and o 'or' are used to mark clauses as alternatives. As noted in 3.3.2. these two conjunctions also occur as conjuncts within a complex noun phrase. Like tap 'but' these conjunctions occur at the beginning of the second clause and subsequent disjunctive clauses if any. However, unlike the construction with tap 'but' the second in a series of disjunctive

clauses may undergo some form of ellipsis.

(23) yieq pwarr   qo-pik   qeqe-i   Judi qo-si   ny-i,
      you   saucepan   2sg-take   SOU/COM J.   2sg-wash   BEN-3sg
      (sg)   (3sg)   -3sg   (3sg)

      tap eipai.
      or   NEG

      'did you take the saucepan from Judy and wash it for her,
      or not?'

(24) nat   mwau   a-qan   tap/o minam
      child   taro   3sg-eat   or   yam
                  (3sg)

      'does the child eat taro, or yam?'

(25) minam   rra-qum,   o   mwau   rra-qum,   o   tuo,   o   was.
      yam   3pl-plant or   taro   3pl-plant or   sugar-   or   greens
            (3sg)   (3pl)   cane

      'they planted yams, or they planted taro, or sugarcane,
      or green vegetables.'

(26) Nyaplau   a-lieq   qeqe-i   Nur   Arai   rru   rru-morr,   Nur
      Ny.   3sg-go   SOU/COM N.   A.   they   3dl-sit   N.
                  -3sg   (dl)

      a-myai   qeqe-i   Nyaplau   Punajiel   rru
      3sg-come   SOU/COM Ny.   P.   they (dl)
             -3sg

      'Nyaplau would either go with Nur to Arai where they would
      sit down, or Nur would come with Nyaplau to Bunashiel
      where they would sit down.'

7.3.   Temporal Sentences

There are various temporal constructions in Kairiru. In this section
two of the more important constructions of this type are described.

7.3.1.   Contemporaneity

To indicate contemporaneity of two events denoted by
separate clauses the marker puony 'time when'[1] is used. It is

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1.   puony is normally a noun and literally means 'day, time'.

placed at the start of the first clause in the construction.

(27) puony yieq qo-myat, suqup qo-snaqa-i   a-vyan.
     time   you   2sg-die   spear 2sg-stand s.t.   3sg-climb
     when   (sg)   up-3sg

'(the time) when you die stand a spear up (in the ground)
and it will go up'

(28) puony wurr   mujeng, rri ramat rri rra-myai pipiny
     time   banana ripe   they man   they 3pl-come   together
     when   (pl)   (pl)

     rra-morr tainyes.
     3pl-sit   as one

'at the time when the bananas became ripe the men came
in a group and sat down together.'

7.3.2.   Temporal Sequence

In 8.1. it was noted that an inference of temporal sequence
can be given to certain clauses that stand in juxtaposition to
each other. However, to express the sequentiality of events
explicitly the sequential marker arruon 'and then'[2] is used.
arruon, which often has a clause intonation contour of its own,
separates one clause from another.

(29) ap   kyau w-urrkyaq wu-morr mokin, arruon,   yieq qo-sil
     HAB/ I   1sg-arise 1sg-sit well   and then   you   2sg-
     FUT   (sg) enter

'I will get up and make myself comfortable and then you
can come in.'

(30) pai   rri   moin rra-lieq rra-kuok,   arruon,   qait   ramat
     HAB/ they woman 3pl-go   3pl-gather and then we(pl   man
     FUT   (pl)   up(3pl)   excl)

     ta-lieq ta-quoj   arruon   moin   mongan ta-ls-i.
     1pl-go   1pl-husk   and then woman male   1pl-cut in
              coconut(3pl)   two-3sg

'the women will go and gather them up, and then we men
will husk them, after that all of us (both men and women)
will cut them in half.'

---

2.   arruon is a stative verb and literally means 'it is finished!

(31) ei   a-ruong   rruon,   arruon,   ei   a-lieq a-morr.
     she   3sg-hear c.a.   and then she 3sg-go 3sg-sit

     'she heard and then afterwards she went and sat down'

(32) kyau naq   wu-ning pwaq,   arruon,   yieq qo-wot.
     I   thought 1sg-put already and then you 2sg-talk
                    (3sg)   (sg)

     'I will think first and then after that you can talk'

7.4.   Subordinate Clauses

There are two types of subordinate clause in Kairiru, these are

relative clauses and clauses that act as verbal complements to other clauses.

Both these types of subordinate clause are unmarked.[3]

7.4.1.   Relative Clauses

It was noted in 3.2.1.1. that a relative clause occurs as

the last in a string of postnominal modifiers within a Modified

Noun Phrase. Like other forms of nominal modifier the relative

clause may be used to modify any noun regardless of the latter's

syntactic function in the clause. For example,

Subject Relativisation:

(33) nau a-qui   a-myai
     sea 3sg-be 3sg-come
           rough

     'a rough swell is coming'

(34) minam wuru rri-yin an   rra-qau   tainyes
     yam   two   3dl-lie here 3pl-appear as one

     'the two yams that are here look the same'

---

3.   Because of this they will be underlined so as to differentiate them
    from the remainder of the phrase or clause that they are embedded
    into.

Direct Object Relativisation:

(35) kyau wu-rrim pur tai <u>Umari o-uq</u>
  I   1sg-see pig one U. 3sg-shoot(3sg)
     (3sg)

 'I saw the pig that Umari shot'

(36) ramat pur tuol <u>rra-nguk</u> ei a-ruong
  man pig three 3pl-snort he 3sg-hear

 'the man heard the three pigs that snorted'

Indirect Object Relativisation:

(37) kyau monyeq wu-ny-rri rri ramat <u>rra-moul kyau malal</u>
  I   food 1sg-give they man 3pl-work I   garden
        -3pl (pl)

 'I give food to the men that work in my garden'

Location Relativisation:

(38) kyau wu-lieq qapas rryan <u>moin luoso-ny</u>
  I   1sg-go place water woman wash-3sg

 'I went to the water place where the women do their washing'

Temporal Relativisation:

(39) saris <u>a-qon</u> Pater a-myai vanu
  when 3sg-true P. 3sg-come village

 'when exactly is the Father coming to the village?'

7.4.2. Complement Clauses

   When a clause acts as a verbal complement, i.e. as a

sentential direct object, it normally follows the verb. For

example,

(40) kyau wu-ruong <u>ei rrakeny a-wot</u>
  I   1sg-hear he council 3sg-talk

 'I heard the council speak'

(41) nat nai a-toung <u>jyel a-lieq Baru</u>
  child that 3sg-know path 3sg-go B.

 'that child knows that the road goes to Baru'

(42) kyau wu-toung <u>kyat wu-sit</u>
  I   1sg-know sago 1sg-sew up(3pl)
        thatch

 'I know how to make sago thatch'

Complement clauses are also used to express quoted speech, whether it be indirect or direct;

(43) ei   a-qlau   ny-am kyau . pu   tai   qo-ny-am
     he/   3sg-shout BEN   I   betel some   2sg-give-1sg
     she   -3sg   nut

'he/she shouted to me "Give me some betel nut!'

(44) Dik   a-luot   a-tik-yau a-wot   yieq moul kiu   qo-im
     D.   3sg-arrive 3sg-ask   3sg-say   you   work what 2sg-make
           at top   -1sg   (sg)   (3sg)

'Dick arrived and asked me (saying) "What type of work
are you doing?"'

(45) ei   a-wot   ei wuling   pur
     he   3sg-say   he look for pig

'he said that he was looking for pigs'

(46) tap   Nur a-wotany-rri rri   Arai monyeq kyai rre-im
     but   N.   3sg-tell-3pl they A.   food   only 3pl-make
                              (pl)   (3sg)

ny-i
BEN-3sg

'But Nur told the people of Arai to make only some food
for him"

It is often the case in quoted speech that indirect speech

is embedded into direct speech, as in the following example,

(47) Taunur a-rir   a-pataq   a-wot   O Sanai mai a-wot
     T.   3sg-run   3sg-arrive 3sg-   Oh S.   TOP 3sg-say
                       there   say

mai qo-lieq jyel qo-ivat-i ei   a-wot mit   tai   o-ul-i
TOP 2sg-go   door 2sg-open   she 3sg-   meat some 3sg-buy
                    -3sg   say   -3sg

'Taunur arrived there running and said "Oh Sanai says that
you should go and open up the store, she says that she
wants to buy some meat."'

7.5.   The Topic Marker mai

A topic particle mai often occurs in discourse and especially in

narratives. In some respects it behaves like the Tok Pisin particle ia

which has been described in some detail by Sankoff and Brown (1976).

mai occurs after the constituent that it marks as topic. This

constituent may either be a noun phrase, as in:

(48) ei mai moin po nat mai a-puka-rri rra-lieq wun
     he TOP woman and child TOP 3sg-take   3pl-go   beach
                                   -3pl

'he took his wife and children and they went to the beach'

(49) tap nakel   mai a-wot ...
     but namesake TOP 3sg-say

'but the namesake said ...'

or a VP, as in:

(50) ei a-pak   a-lieq mai a-qur   a-lieq qafeng
     he 3sg-take 3sg-go TOP 3sg-put 3sg-go basket
              (3pl)   into(3pl)

'he took them and put them into the basket'

(51) ramat qon   qinaqon ei a-morr mai a-woraq   a-rrima-rri
     man   int. real   he 3sg-sit TOP 3sg-arise 3sg-see-3pl

'the real man was sitting down and he got up and saw them'

Three uses of _mai_ as a topic marker may be distinguished. Firstly,

mai may be used anaphorically, that is to refer the hearer back in the

discourse to identify a referent which has been previously mentioned by the

speaker. For example,

(52) tirakyau jyef   rra-tarak rra-myai rra-mwar. Rrinrrin rru
     hawk   feather   3pl-fall 3pl-come 3pl-come Rr.   cpl
                         apart   ashore

     Wolal   rri-wij   rri-nang rri-fyar   paker.
     small beach 3dl-pick 3dl-place 3dl-sink into   sago stem
     bird   up(3pl)   (3pl)   soft wood(3pl)

     jyef   mai rra-tu   rra-qeq.
     feather TOP 3pl-stand 3pl-dance

'The hawk's feathers fell apart and were washed ashore.
Rrinrrin and the small beach bird picked them up and drove
them into a sago stem. These feathers then stood up and began
to dance.'

The _jyef mai_ 'the feathers' refer the hearer back in the narrative to where

there was more information on the feathers in question (in this case where

it was first mentioned in the text).

A similar relationship occurs in the following example. The hearer is referred back to a prior reference where more information was given.

(53) Taunur ramat qait ei a-lieq ei mai a-rrim, nau mai
     T.   man   our he 3sg-go he TOP 3sg-see sea TOP
            (pl excl.)   (3sg)

     a-korr   a-yem   nimpai an. ei mai moin po nat   mai
     3sg-low 3sg-make today   he TOP woman and child TOP
       tide   (3pl)

     a-puka-rri   rra-lieq wun. ei mai a-vyal   a-luot,
     3sg-take-3pl 3pl-to beach he TOP 3sg-walk 3sg-arrive
                                         at top

     ei mai a-rrim pu   mai a-sat-i   rruon.
     he TOP 3sg-see betel TOP 3sg-pick betel c.a.
           (3sg)   nut   nut-3sg

     'Taunur, our man, he was going to see it (his betel palms).
     The sea was at low tide today. He took his wife and children
     and they all went to the beach. He went up on top, and he saw
     that his betel palms had already been picked.'

Secondly, mai may be used to focus upon something that is known already to the hearer though it has been mentioned before in the narrative; for example,

(54) jemejem mai qait   ta-lieq Poluos lotu,
     morning TOP we(pl 1pl-go P.   church
               excl)

     'this morning we went to church at Poluos'
     (this was the first sentence in a narrative text where I, the
     hearer, was expected to know which morning the speaker was
     referring to.)

(55) Taunur a-rir a-pataq   a-wot   o Sanai mai a-wot mai...
     T.   3sg-run 3sg-arrive 3sg-say oh S.   TOP 3sg-   TOP
                 there   say

     'Taunur came running up and said "Oh Sanai said ..."'
     (The hearer is expected by Taunur to know who Sanai is.)

Lastly, mai may be used cataphorically, that is to refer forward in the narrative. It functions as a signal that new information is about to be given. In the piece of discourse cited in (53) there are two instances

of cataphoric <u>mai</u>:

(56) <u>moin</u>   <u>po</u>   <u>nat</u>   <u>mai</u> a-puka-rri   rra-lieq wun
     woman and child TOP 3sg-take-3pl 3pl-go   beach

     'as for the woman and children, he took them and they all
     went to the beach'

and

(57) <u>nau</u> <u>mai</u> a-korr
     sea   TOP 3sg-low tide

     'as for the sea, it was at low tide'

CHAPTER EIGHT : DIALECTS OF KAIRIRU

8.1.   General

There are ten dialects of Kairiru (see Map 2). These dialects are
listed below together with the settlements that they are comprised of and
their approximate total number of speakers of each dialect;

DIALECT[1]	SETTLEMENTS WHERE DIALECT SPOKEN	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS[2]
1. Koragur	Koragur, Minamasil and Baru villages (Kairiru Island).	428
2. Shagur	Bou and Shagur villages (Kairiru Island).	412
3. Rumlal	Rumlal, Surai and Shauwer villages (Kairiru Island).	282
4. Serasin	Serasin and Purawan villages (Kairiru Island).	137
5. Shem	Shem and Taka villages (Kairiru Island).	153
6. Yiwun	Yiwun, Sabar, Qos, Brauniak and Yavik villages (Kairiru Island).	423
7. Sup	Sup No 1 and Sup No 2 villages (Mushu Island).	193
8. Marai	Marai and Failau villages (Mushu Island).	45
9. Yuo	Warak, Pausum and Sibabaru villages (Mushu Island); Yuo and Karesau Islands: and various isolated settlements on Cape Ulekup (Kairiru Island) and on the mainland opposite Yuo and Karesau Islands.	1198
10. Wom	Wom (Cape Wom) and Meni (Wewak) villages.	236

1.   Each dialect is referred to by the name of the main settlement within
     its community.

2.   Figures are taken from the 1977 Kiap Census for the East Sepik Province.
     The census figures for the Wewak District are held at the Wewak
     District Office.

KAIRIRU

Surai Rumlal

Shagur
Bou
Shauwer Minamisil
3 Koragur
2
Purawan
4 Kairiru
Island 1 Baru
5
Taka
Serasin 6 Sabar
Shem Brauniak Yavik
Yiwun

Karesau I 9

Yuo I Sibabaru
8 Marai
Mushu
Pausum Mushu
Island 7
Warak Bam
Sup
Small Mushu

BOIKEN

Raboin I

DIALECTS
1 Koragur
2 Shagur Wom
3 Rumlal
4 Serasin —— Language boundary
5 Shem --- Dialect boundary
6 Yiwun
7 Sup 0 km 5
8 Marai
9 Yuo 10 Meni
10 Wom WEWAK

MAP TWO : DIALECTS OF KAIRIRU

Though all these dialects share the same syntactic structure they are

nevertheless distinguishable from each other in various ways. First, there

has occurred from a diachronic perspective a fair degree of localised

phonological change from the sound system attributable to Proto-Kairiruan.

Secondly there is a certain amount of diversity in morphological and lexical

forms between one dialect and another. This is especially so in the

Independent Possessive and Independent Personal Pronoun sets. Third, there

are instances of semantic shift having taken place in otherwise standard

lexical items. And finally, there is the question of speakers' attitudes

or language pride, that is, what does the native speaker feel constitutes a

different dialect to the one that he or she speaks. In the remainder of this

chapter these four aspects are looked at in turn.

8.2.   Phonological Differences [3]

There are four instances of phonological change that have taken place

within one or more dialects, as noted below. All of these involve some

form of phonemic change.

8.2.1.   The Merging of /ñ/ with /ŋ/

In the Koragur and Yiwun dialects and also to a certain degree

in the Shagur dialect the alveopalatal nasal /ñ/ has merged with

velar nasal /ŋ/ to become one phoneme that is phonetically [ŋ]

For example,

	OTHER DIALECTS	KORAGUR, YIWUN, SHAGUR
'his eye'	/matañ/	/mataŋ/
'butterfly'	/ñar̃puop/	/ŋar̃puop/
'dog'	/woñau/	/woŋau/

---

3.   The phonological description of the language that appeared in chapter
     two was primarily based upon the dialect spoken in Koragur village.
     However as this dialect lacks a phonemic contrast between /ñ/ and /ŋ/
     (see below) both phonemes were described.

An exception to this though is /ñam/ 'mosquito' which is

phonetically represented as [ñam] throughout the whole speech

community.

8.2.2.   Loss of Final Vowel

In the Wom dialect there is a fairly regular process by which

the final vowel in the word-final sequences /iu/ and /eo/ is lost;

as in,

	OTHER DIALECTS	WOM
'coconut'	/niu/	/ni/
'rat'	/qusiu/	/qusi/
'snake'	/vaniu/	/vani/
'it burns'	/atiu/	/ati/
'moon, month'	/qareo/	/qare/

8.2.3.   Loss of the Glide /y/ in Cy Sequences

In both the Yuo and Wom dialects there are normally no

occurrences of the sequence consonant plus the glide /y/

	OTHER DIALECTS	YUO, WOM
'road, path'	/jyel/	/jel/
'water, river'	/r̃yan/	/r̃an/
'house'	/pyal/	/pal/
'he /she, walks'	/avyal/	/aval/
'he/she comes'	/amyai/	/amai/
'feather'	/kyaf/	/kaf/

Also in certain cases this loss of glide can produce homonymous

pairs of words, as in

	OTHER DIALECTS	YUO, WOM
'four'	/vyat/	/vat/ ⎫
'table, platform'	/vat/	/vat/ ⎭
'topic marker'	/mai/	/mai/ ⎫
'between'	/myai/	/mai/ ⎭

One notable exception to this /y/ glide loss though is /kyau/ 'I'

which is used in all dialects.

8.2.4. Other Morphophonomic Modifications

There are many words that differ irregularly in their form between the dialects but which are clearly cognate. This is particularly the case with certain transitive verbs that are marked with a third person object. Compare the following sets of examples;

	KORAGUR, RUMLAL, SHEM	YUO	MARAI, SUP
'I see it'	/wur̃im/	/wur̃im/	/wur̃am/
'I see them (pl)'	/wur̃om/	/wur̃am/	/wur̃om/
'he builds it'	/aniŋ/	/aniŋ/	/anaŋ/
'he builds them (pl)'	/anaŋ/	/anaŋ/	/anaŋ/
'you (sg) carry it'	/qopik/	/qopuk/	/qopak/
'you (sg) carry them (pl)'	/qopak/	/qopak/	/qopak/
'I singe it'	/wulif/	/wulif/	/wulaf/
'he/she singes them (pl)'	/alaf/	/alaf/	/alaf/

Two things emerge from these examples. First, there is a difference in the stem internal vowels. It was shown in 4.1.2.2. that in certain transitive verbs the stem internal vowel changes according to the number of the third person object; these changes were referred to as 'stem alternation' rules. The alternations, themselves, differ from dialect to dialect. And secondly, in Marai and Sup dialects these alternation patterns (except in the verb 'see') do not exist.

Also it has been observed that in the Wom dialect the third person singular object marking suffix -i̱ occurs on the verbs qan 'eat, bite', rrima 'see' and uqa 'shoot, stab, pierce' whereas this is not so in the other dialects,

	OTHER DIALECTS	WOM
'they (pl) eat it'	/r̃aqan/	/r̃aqani/
'I shoot it'	/wuq/	/wuqoi/
'he/she sees it'	/ar̃im, ar̃am/	/ar̃emi/

Transitive verbs are not the only word class that can occur in slightly different forms over the whole language, other parts of speech may do so too. In many of these cases though it is the Wom dialect that shows the greatest divergence; for example,

	OTHER DIALECTS	WOM
'his sister'	/luñ/	/luwiñ/
'male'	/moŋan/	/mokan/
'lime'	/wopuk/	/pwopuk/
'mango'	/naf/	/nof/
'sand'	/lil/	/lel/
'outside beyond the reef'	/masau/	/mosou/

However this is not always so, for example

	OTHER DIALECTS	SHEM
'person'	/ramat/	/ramet/

and,

	YUO, WOM	MARAI, SUP	SHEM, YIWUN	KORAGUR, SHAGUR, RUMLAL, SERASIN
'feather'	/jof/	/jyaf/	/jafoñ/	/jyef/

8.3.   Lexical Differences

8.3.1.   Lexicostatistical Evidence

The general relationship between the dialects is shown by the lexicostatistical percentages in Table Six below. These percentages are based upon 212 words drawn from a dialect survey wordlist that was collected by myself (see Appendix III).

TABLE SIX:

LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISON OF KAIRIRU DIALECTS

```
KORAGUR
92  YIWUN
88  87  SHAGUR
88  88  89  RUMLAL
87  87  90  92  SERASIN
88  89  88  92  90  SHEM
84  85  83  88  87  89  MARAI
82  84  84  85  85  86  88  SUP
84  84  82  84  86  83  87  85  YUO
77  78  76  79  79  78  81  79  81  WOM
```

Three points may be drawn from the above percentage cognates.
First, the Wom dialect clearly displays the greatest divergence
from the others. The following examples illustrate this:

	OTHER DIALECTS	WOM
'his/her mouth'	smany/simany	puriny
'his/her hand'	koweny/kaweny	tawony
'his/her elbow'	qusileny	pulpul
'beach'	wun	wotin, wun
'sugar-cane'	kwaf/tuo	topwei
'he/she sleeps'	einamyat (Yuo: alamat)	aqalis
'round'	plapuol (Yuo: qijapur)	sapon
'yellow'	yangyang	qowerr
'red'	meramer	jininai
'white'	punpun (Yuo: rrefarref)	[spəpər]

Yuo is the next most divergent; for example,

	OTHER DIALECTS	YUO
'yesterday'	numpuong (nai)	rrapuong (nai)
'round'	plapuol (Wom: sapon)	qijapur
'it is full up'	oujti	ajeng
'white'	punpun (Wom: [spəpər])	rrefarref
'it is burning'	atiu	awou
'he/she sleeps'	einamyat (Wom: aqalis)	alamat

Koragur and Yiwun share more cognates with each other than either
of them does with any other dialect; for example,

	OTHER DIALECTS	KORAGUR, YIWUN
'village rat'	qusiu	jom
'afternoon'	malkony	apuong
'his/her head'	qarai	ipwong
'tail'	kapiny/nyuquny	yuqung

In addition, only in these two dialects has there been a
merging of the alveopalatal and the velar nasals (as was
described in 8.2.1.). These facts suggest that Koragur
and Yiwun have shared a common history apart from other members
of the Kairiruan dialect group.

It may be that the dialects of Rumlal, Serasin, Shem and
possibly Shagur also form a subgroup. However, their respective
high percentage of shared cognates may be due in part to recent
borrowing along the dialect chain as there is good communication
between these areas. The effects of borrowing would also account
for the high degree of cognation between Marai and Shem and Shem
and Yiwun.

8.3.2   Comparison of Independent Pronoun Sets

Though all the independent pronominal forms that occur
throughout the dialects are clearly cognate with each other, there
are nevertheless quite a variety of forms used. These are
displayed in the two following tables (Tables seven and eight).

TABLE SEVEN:

A DIALECTAL COMPARISON OF INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	KORAGUR	SHAGUR	RUMLAL	SERASIN	SHEM	YIWUN	SUP	MARAI	YUO	WOM
Singular										
1st	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau	kyau
2nd	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq	yieq
3rd	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei
Dual										
1st incl.	tuyieq	tumoi	tuyieq	–	tuyieq	tuyieq	tuyieq anas	tuyieq	tu	–
excl.	tu	tuwoi	tuwoi	tuwoi	tuwoi	tu	tu anasakei	tuqum	tu	tarriny
2nd	qum	qumoi	qumoi	tuqum	qumei	qum	qumei	qumei	qum	qarrum
3rd	rru	rruwoi	rruwoi	rruwoi	rruwoi	rru	rruwei	rru	rru	rru
Plural										
1st incl.	taqam	taqam	taqam	–	taqam	taqam	taqam asanyakei	taqam	taqam	–
excl.	qait	qait	taqam	taqam	qait	qait	qait anas	qait	qait	taqam
2nd	qam	qam	qait	qam	qam	qam	qam	qam	qam	qam
3rd	rri	rri	rri	rri	rri	rri	rri	rri	rri	rri

NOTE:

– no data

A DIALECTAL COMPARISON OF INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

	KORAGUR	SHAGUR	RUMLAL	SHEM	YIWUN	SUP	MARAI	YUO
Singular								
1st	wokyau	wokyau	wokyau	wokyau, qokyau	wokyau	wokyau	wokyau	wukau
2nd	yieqayieq	yieqayieq	yieqayieq	yieqayieq	yieqayieq	wuqayieq	woqoyieq	Ø
3rd	yaqai	yoqai	yoqoi	yaqai	yaqai	woqai	woqai, yaqai	yaqai
Dual								
1st incl.	taqatu	taqatu	–	tuqatu	Ø	taqatuyieq	woqatu	Ø
excl.	taqatu	taqatu	–	Ø	taqatu	taqatu	woqatu	Ø
2nd	moqum	qumaqum	–	woqum	qumaqum	qumakum	woqum	Ø
3rd	rraqarru	rraqarru	–	rroqarru	rruqarru	rroqarru	woqarru	Ø
Plural								
1st incl.	tamoit	tamqait	–	Ø	taqamaqait	taqamaqait	woqait	Ø
excl.	taqait	tamqait	–	taqait	qotaqait	taqanaqait	woqait	Ø
2nd	maqam	qonaqam	–	waqam	qumaqam	qamaqan	woqam	Ø
3rd	rraqarri	rraqarri	rraqarri	rriqarri	rraqarri	wuqarri	woqarri	Ø

NOTES: No data collected from Wom or Serasin dialects.

       – means no data.

       Ø means no form in use, independent personal pronoun used instead.

8.3.3.   Semantic Extension and Semantic Shift

When comparing the ten dialects of Kairiru with each other

it can be seen that in a number of instances a cognate lexical

item has a different meaning in one or more of these dialects.

Some of the observed differences may be put down to inadequacies

of the elicitation method. However there are a number of cases

where a change in meaning clearly has taken place in certain

dialects.

Two types of semantic change have been observed. In the

first type, which is by far the more common, the lexical item

extends its standard meaning to include one or more further

referents. In the following three examples the Wom dialect

differs from the remainder:

	OTHER DIALECTS	WOM
'knee joint'	pulpul	pulpul
'(his/her) elbow'	qusileny	pulpul
(cf. POC *sikun 'elbow, joint')		
'blood'	jinai	jinai
'red'	meramer	jininai
(cf. POC *meRa 'red')		
'four coconuts'	nyau tai	nyau tai
'four'	vyat	nyau tai
(cf. POC *pati 'four')		

In the fourth example, in all the dialects except Wom worreny

is glossed as 'mountain'. However worreny is also used in some

dialects to refer to 'coral reef' as well. In other dialects

though the term saqar (cf. POC *sakaRu) is used while yet in others

the term is <u>worreny saqar</u>. The distribution is as follows,

- <u>worreny</u>: Rumlal, Marai and Sup.

- <u>saqar</u>: Koragur, Shagur, Serasin, Yuo, Marai, Sup and possibly Yiwun.

- <u>worreny saqar</u>: Wom, Shem and Yuo.

In the second form of semantic change the word shifts rather than extends its meaning. This shift of meaning may either be partial or total.

An instance of partial shift would be the use of the words <u>meou</u> and <u>tun</u>, both of which may be loosely glossed as 'eel'. In the Rumlal and Marai dialects <u>tun</u> (cf. POC *<u>tuna</u> 'freshwater eel') is the generic term. In some other dialects, namely Shagur, Koragur, Yiwun, Serasin, Shem and in some parts of Yuo, <u>tun</u> refers only to the freshwater eel while <u>meou</u> is the generic term.

One possible instance of total semantic shift is seen in an extension of the <u>worreny</u> example given above. It was said there that in all the dialects except Wom <u>worreny</u> is glossed as 'mountain'. It was further pointed out that in many of them, including Wom, <u>worreny</u> is used either as part of a compound or by itself to also refer to 'coral reef'. The Wom form for 'mountain' is <u>waq</u> and this form may well have been introduced so as to disambiguate the two referents.

8.4.   Language Pride

The phenomenon of language pride often exerts itself in Kairiru. It is frequently heard from a speaker that people of other dialects speak a corrupt version of his own. For example one Koragur speaker said that while Koragur and Yiwun people talk normally, the people from Sup 'talk through

their noses', and the Shagur people 'pull' their words a lot. Speakers of

any one dialect regularly agree on the demarcation of the boundaries of all

the others. They will often say that this group of villages speak the same

dialect while another group that are adjacent to them speak another.

Further, these subjective boundaries completely coincide with the major

boundaries indicated by the bundles of isoglosses (see 8.2.).

APPENDIX I

Kairiru Phonemes, their allophones and their suggested orthographic equivalents

Phoneme	Allophonic varients	Suggested Orthography
/p/	[p˙], [p], [pʰ], [b]	p
/t/	[t˙], [ŧ]	t
/k/	[k˙], [g], [k]	k
/q/	[ḳ˙], [x̣], [ɣ], [ʔ], [ḳ], [g], [ʔ˙]	q
/f/	[Φ]	f
/v/	[β]	v
/s/	[s]	s
/j/	[š], [č]	j, sh
/m/	[m]	m
/n/	[n]	n
/ñ/	[ñ]	ny
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	ng
/l/	[l]	l
/r/	[ṛ], [ř]	r
/r̃/	[r̃]	rr, d
/w/	[w]	w
/y/	[ʸ]	y
/i/	[i], [ɪ], [ə]	i
/u/	[u], [ʊ]	u
/e/	[e], [ɛ], [ə]	e
/o/	[o], [ɔ], [ə]	o
/a/	[a], [æ]	a

APPENDIX II: TEXTS

0.   Introduction

There are two texts presented here. The first is a narrative, given

by Alois Kitok, aged about thirty-eight years, of Koragur village. In this

text he describes how he and his clan make copra. The second text is a

Kairiru folk tale told by Joesph Kashau who is aged about fifty-five years

and comes from Minamasil village.

Each text is divided up into grammatical sentences. Under each word

of the sentence a morpheme-by-morpheme translation is given. [1] The sentences

are numbered for the purpose of cross reference with their free translation;

this appears after the text in question.

1.   'Making Copra'

1.   qait   ta-lieq niu   ta-kuok,   pai   ta-lieq niu   lain
      we (pl   1pl-go   coconut 1pl-gather HAB/FUT 1pl-go   coconut   group
      (excl)   (3pl)

ta-jloyaq, pai   a-rruon,   rri   moin   monyan ramat   tai a-lieq niu
1pl-clean   HAB/FUT 3sg-be   they woman man   person one 3sg-go coconut
   (3pl)   finish   (pl)

yaqai   qon,   ramat   tai a-lieq yaqai   qon,   o   rru awo-ny   o   tai
POS(3sg)   int.   person one 3sg-go POS(3sg)   int.   or   cpl spouse   or   one
                                                                            3sg

ta-lieq ta-tu   wantaim, pai   lain   ta-tuot.   2.   lain   ta-tuot
1pl-go   1pl-   COM   HAB/FUT group   1pl-sever   group   1pl-sever(3pl)
         stand   (3pl)

imur,   rri   moin   rra-lieq niu   rra-kuok,   niu   rra-kuok
follow   they woman 3pl-go   coconut 3pl-gather   coconut 3pl-gather
         (pl)   (3pl)   (3pl)

---

1.   A glossary of abbreviations that includes those used in these texts
      may be found in 1.4.

```
rra-tu,      ta-lieq  niu       ramat    tai  ta-quoj,   a-myai    ta-ls-i,
3pl-stand    1pl-go   coconut   person   one  1pl-husk   3sg-come  1pl-chop
                                              (3pl)                 in half
                                                                    (3sg)


moin   mongan  ta-ls-i    pai      rri    moin    rra-qur       jeik,      rra-pak
woman  man     1pl-chop   HAB/FUT  they   woman   3pl-put into  net-bag    3pl-carry
               in half-            (pl)           (3pl)                     (3pl)
               3sg


rra-myai  paila,  pai      rra-fur     paila  jlawo-ny,  pai      ramat    wuru
3pl-come  drier   HAB/FUT  3pl-arrive  drier  front of   HAB/FUT  person   two
                                              house-3sg


rri-vyan   rru-morr  qorrang,   rru-morr  niu      rra-nang,  rra-nang  a-rruon,
3dl-climb  3dl-sit   platform   3dl-sit   coconut  3pl-put    3pl-put   3sg-be
                                                   (3pl)      (3pl)     finish


a-lieq  bed  nai   o-ujti,  pai      rru   rru-wot,  "niu      a-rruon, qapas
3sg-go  bed  that  3sg-full HAB/FUT  they  3dl-say   coconut   3sg-be   space
                   up                (dl)                      finish


eipai."  3.   orait     niu       mwang  a-tu,      so   ramat   purung   a-lieq
NEG           alright   coconut   half   3sg-stand  so   person  bottom   3sg-go
                                                                 (owner)


niu       niet,  pai      a-lieq  qai,   qai   a-quot,          rra-tu,    rri
coconut   that   HAB/FUT  3sg-go  wood   wood  3sg-break up     3pl-stand  they
                                               firewood(3pl)    (3pl)      (pl)


moin   rra-lieq  rra-snap,   rra-pak    rra-myai,  ramat   purung   bilong
woman  3pl-go    3pl-tie up  3pl-carry  3pl-come   person  bottom   POS
                 (3pl)       (3pl)                         (owner)


niu       niet  a-morr    yawos  a-to-i,    pai      a-to-i      puony   vilrri
coconut   that  3sg-sit   fire   3sg-ignite HAB/FUT  3sg-ignite  day     five
                                 -3sg                -3sg


pai      niu       a-marang.  4.   niu       a-marang,    rra-takil   rra-fos
HAB/FUT  coconut   3sg-be dry       coconut   3sg-be dry   3pl-pick up 3pl-break
                                                          (3pl)       open
                                                                      (3pl)


rra-qur       qafeng  rra-lieq  rra-nang  rra-tu,    ta-lieq  leq    niu
3pl-put into  bag     3pl-go    3pl-put   3pl-stand  1pl-go   again  coconut
(3pl)                           (3pl)


ramat   tai.  5.   pai      rri    moin    rra-lieq  ta-quoj,   a-rruon,  moin
person  one        HAB/FUT  they   woman   3pl-go    1pl-husk   3sg-be    woman
                            (pl)                     (3pl)      finish


mongan  ta-ls-i,   rri    moin   rra-qur       jeik     rra-pak    rra-myai
man     1pl-chop   they   woman  3pl-put into  net-bag  3pl-carry  3pl-come
        in half-   (pl)          (3pl)                  (3pl)
        3sg
```

```
paila,   rra-qur,       ramat   purung bilong niu      niet pai     ei
drier    3pl-put into   person  bottom POS    coconut  that HAB/FUT he
         (3pl)                  (owner)


a-vyan      a-morr    qorrang,   a-rruon  a-fuos,  yawos a-to-i      pai
3sg-climb   3sg-sit   platform   3sg-be   3sg-go   fire  3sg-ignite  HAB/FUT
                                 finish   down           -3sg


yawos  a-to-i      a-lieq puony vilrri o   tai manyeny, pai      niu
fire   3sg-ignite  3sg-go day   five   or  six          HAB/FUT  coconut
       -3sg


a-marang,   rra-takil, o    yawos wuru a-rruon,  pai      rri   rra-rrom,
3sg-be dry  3pl-pick up or   fire  two  3sg-be    HAB/FUT  they  3pl-see (3pl)
            (3pl)                       finish             (pl)


a-rruon  rra-wot,  "niu      inap   ta-woq."  6.   orait    niu      ramat
3sg-be   3pl-say   coconut   enough 1pl-pierce     alright  coconut  person
 finish                             (3pl)


wuru  o    ramat   tuol   pai      rra-woq     rra-fur     bag  qolem tai  o
two   or   person  three  HAB/FUT  3pl-pierce  3pl-arrive  bag  ten   one  or
                                   (3pl)


qolem wuru  mwang, pai      qat    a-myai,   Pakeo o  Rafail pai
ten   two   half   HAB/FUT  canoe  3sg-come  P.    or R.     HAB/FUT
            (twenty five)


a-myai     a-sil       pinien.  7.   so  rri   ramat   pai      rra-myai niu
3sg-come   3sg-enter   here          so  they  person  HAB/FUT  3pl-come coconut
                                         (pl)


rra-pak      rro-ur        wun,   rra-pak      rra-lieq rra-rar     rra-nang
3pl-carry    3pl-descend   beach  3pl-carry    3pl-go   3pl-arrive  3pl-put(3pl)
   (3pl)                          (3pl)                 at bottom


wun,    qat     tai   rra-jaqa-i,  pai      niu      rra-nang qat    vat,
beach   canoe   one   3pl-launch   HAB/FUT  coconut  3pl-put  canoe  platform
                      -3sg                           (3pl)


rra-pak      rro-ur        qat.  8.   a-rruon,  ramat   a-lieq niu      a-vyan
3pl-carry    3pl-descend   canoe      3sg-be    person  3sg-go coconut  3sg-climb
   (3pl)                              finish


qat,    rra-pak      rra-lieq CMB.             9.   rra-lieq rra-sil   Wewak,
canoe   3pl-carry    3pl-go   copra marketing      3pl-go   3pl-enter W.
        (3pl)                 board


niu       at     rra-takil    rra-vyan   pris,  rra-lieq car  rra-sap    car
coconut   that   3pl-pick up  3pl-climb  wharf  3pl-go   car  3pl-search car
                 (3pl)                                        (3pl)


tai   rra-rrim,     a-myai    niu      a-pak      a-lieq long pyal  niu.
one   3pl-see(3sg)  3sg-come  coconut  3sg-carry  3sg-go PREP house copra
                                       (3pl)
```

10.   pai   a-lieq   a-pataq   pyal   niu,   ta-pak   ta-lieq pyal
      HAB/FUT 3sg-go   3sg-arrive house copra 1pl-carry 1pl-go house
                                                     (3pl)

tenaqa-ny, pai   rri   rre-ipa+tuot, rra-rrom, pai   niu   tai
other-3sg   HAB/FUT they   3pl-cut open 3pl-see   HAB/FUT copra one
                     (pl)   (3pl)   (3pl)

rro-uks-i   rra-rrim, niu   a-mokin, a-rruon, rri   rra-sa-i   leq,
2pl-break in 3pl-see   copra 3sg-be   3sg-be   they   3pl-sew up again
  half-3sg   (3sg)   good   finish   (pl)   -3sg

ta-pak   leq   to-ur   pyal   tenaqa-ny, rra-lieq rra-vyan   skel,
1pl-carry again 1pl-   house   other-3sg   3pl-go   3pl-climb weighing
  (3pl)   descend   scales

a-rruon,   pepa   rra-ny-qait o   smar   rra-ny-qait o   rri   rra-wot,
3sg-be   receipt 3pl-give-1pl or   money   3pl-give-1pl or   they   3pl-say
  finish   (pl)

"qaqu   nai   qa-myai smar   qa-pak."
day plus that 2pl-come money 2pl-carry(3pl)
one

Free Translation

1.   When we want to gather up coconuts, we (first) go and clean up the grove, then when that is finished the men and women, or a man (the owner) will go to his coconut grove. A man either goes by himself, or with his wife, or with us, and then we would cut them (the coconuts) down. 2.   After we have cut them down the women then go and gather them up into piles, then we go and husk the coconuts belonging to this particular person, and then both the men and the women, all of us, split the coconuts into two halves. Then the women put them into their string bags and bring them to the front of the drying house. Two people will go inside and sit on the wire mesh floor placing the coconuts onto it until it is full up, then they will say "No more coconuts, there is no space left!" 3.   Alright, when the coconut halves are stacked thus the owner of them will go and cut up some firewood, then the women will go and tie it up into bundles and bring it back to the owner of the copra. He will light a fire and keep it alight for five days and by then the copra

will have dried out. 4. When the copra is dry it is cut up and put into sacks, then we will go and do some other person's copra. 5. The women will go and gather them up, afterwards we men will husk them and then everyone will cut them into two. The women then put them into their string bags and bring them to the drying house. The owner of those particular coconuts will go inside and while sitting on the wire mesh floor place the coconuts upon it. He then lights the fire and it will be kept alight for five or six days, then when the copra is dry he picks it up or he may give it two more firings. When they see that it is ready they will say "It is time to put it into sacks." 6. So two or three people's copra will altogether go into ten or twenty-five bags. Then the boat will come, the Bakeo or the Raphael, it will come inside the passage here. 7. Then the men will come and carry the bags of copra off down to the beach and put them down on the stones, and then they will launch an outrigger and put the bags of copra onto the canoe platform and then they will transfer them into the boat. 8. After that they will climb into the boat and set off for the copra marketing board. 9. They go into Wewak harbour and then they stack the bags of copra onto the wharf, then they go and search for some transport. When they find a car they come and pick up the copra and take it off to the C.M.B. 10. Arriving at the C.M.B. we carry the copra into the first building. Here they cut open the sacks and take a piece of copra out of each, breaking it into pieces to see whether it is alright or not. Then when that is finished they sew up the sacks once more and we carry them again into the second building where they are weighed. When this is done they either give us a cheque, or some money, or they say "Come back tomorrow and pick up your money!"

2.   nikanik moin   Rrinrrin.
      story   woman Rr.

1.   moin   Rrinrrin ei   o-ur   wun   nau   a-q-i,   rri
      woman   Rr.   she 3sg-descend beach salt- 3sg-fetch they
                                                  water   -3sg   (pl)

rra-morr rra-yem. 2.   tamyaj rra-nou-i.   3.   ei   o-ur
3pl-sit   3pl-make   feast   3pl-cook in   she 3sg-descend
       (3pl)   saltwater-3sg

a-rar   wun   nau   a-q-i   a-pak   a-lieq a-luot   a-tu
3sg-arrive beach salt- 3sg-fetch 3sg-carry 3sg-go 3sg-arrive 3sg-
at bottom   water   -3sg   (3pl)   at top   stand

kyai   jyel, a-tu   a-qeq, awo-ny a-morr e-ingyaq, eipai awo-ny o-our
only   road   3sg-   3sg-   spouse 3sg-sit 3sg-wait   NEG   spouse 3sg-descend
           stand dance   -3sg

a-rar   a-rrim,   yiu   kyai   e-irriqe-i a-lieq nai   e-ipa+tit
3sg-arrive 3sg-see   spear INST 3sg-throw 3sg-go grass 3sg-cut
at bottom   (3sg)   -3sg   skirt open(3sg)

qeqe-i. 4.   moin   o-ur   a-rar   wun,   talis   a-kuok
SOU/COM   woman 3sg-descend 3sg-arrive beach almond 3sg-gather
-3sg   at bottom   (3pl)

a-pak   a-lieq a-morr a-fos   a-lieq kowe-ny a-tit-i
3sg-carry 3sg-go 3sg-sit 3sg-break 3sg-go hand-3sg 3sg-crush
  (3pl)   open(3pl)   -3sg

5.   jinai a-ning   a-fuos rryau rouny tai a-lieq o-ujti.   6.   jo
    blood 3sg-put 3sg-go   leaf   leaf one 3sg-go 3sg-full   so
        (3pl) down   (3sg)   up

jinai a-tu   rruon a-kuok   pwoq wuru. 7.   imur   rru   rru-fur
blood 3sg-   now   3sg-gather lump two   afterwards they 3dl-appear
     stand   (3pl)   (dl)

atol. 8.   rru-rrumowot tenaqa-ny, a-fur   tirakyau, tenaqa-ny a-fur
egg   3dl-hatch out other-3sg 3sg-appear hawk   other-3sg 3sg-
                                                        appear

wolal.   9.   rru   rru-fur   rru-morr qeqe-i   tina-ny. 10.   rru
small beach   they 3dl-appear 3dl-sit   SOU/COM mother-   they
    bird   (dl)   -3sg   3sg   (dl)

rri-lieq makyat rri-pik   rri-myai qeqe-i   tina-ny rri-qan. 11. makyat
3dl-go   meat   3dl-carry 3dl-come SOU/COM mother- 3dl-eat   meat
               (3sg)   -3sg   3sg   (3sg)

rru-pu-i   kyai worryang. 12. puony tai tina-ny a-jn-i   tirakyau
3dl-roast- INST sun   time   one mother- 3sg-send hawk
  -3sg   3sg   -3sg

```
a-lieq  yawos  sai   a-pik      a-myai,   rri    makyat  rra-pyu
3sg-go  fire   some  3sg-carry  3sg-come  they   meat    3pl-roast
                     -3sg                                 (3pl)
```

```
13.  rra-morr  Rrinrrin  nai     eipai  ei   a-jn-i     tirakyau  a-lieq
     3pl-sit    Rr.       grass-  NEG    she  3sg-send   hawk      3sg-go
                          skirt             -3sg
```

```
nai     tai  a-pik      ny-i   a-myai.   14.  ei   nai     o-uq       a-morr,
grass-  one  3sg-carry  BEN-   3sg-come       she  grass-  3sg-get    3sg-sit
skirt        (3sg)      3sg                        skirt   into(3sg)
```

```
Rrinrrin  a-jn-i     tirakyau  a-lieq  leq    pyal   tai  a-rkat-i   a-pik
Rr.       3sg-send   hawk      3sg-go  again  house  one  3sg-pull   3sg-carry
          -3sg                                            out-3sg    -3sg
```

```
a-myai    a-qunaqa-i.    15.  rri   rra-morr  pyal   tina-ny  a-wot+any-i
3sg-come  3sg-stand up        they  3pl-sit   house  mother-  3sg-tell-3sg
          -3sg                (pl)                    3sg
```

```
tirakyau,  "yieq  qo-lieq  rramo-ny  Qapwaq  nai    yieq  qo-motau  qurit
hawk        you   2sg-go   head-3sg  Q.      there  you   2sg-be    octopus
            (sg)                                     (sg)  careful
```

```
wolap  tai  a-morr.   16.  qurit    yesoq  a-fur    o-un-ieq."   17.  tirakyau
large  one  3sg-sit        octopus  devil  3sg-     3sg-strike        hawk
                                           appear   -2sg
```

```
a-wot,    "miem    a-morr   piyei?  18.  qo-utaq-au   mokin."  19.  tina-ny
3sg-say   mother   3sg-sit  where        2sg-show-1sg well          mother-
          (1sg)                                                     3sg
```

```
a-wot,    "a-morr   rramo-ny  Qapwaq.  20.  qo-lieq  sapin,   qo-lieq  ei
3sg-say   3sg-sit   head-esg  Q.            2sg-go   NEG IMP  2sg-go   ne
```

```
o-un-ieq."   21.  tirakyau  a-wot,    "a   miem    kyau  w-ij    w-un-i.
3sg-strike        hawk      3sg-say   ah  mother   I     1sg-be  1sg-strike
-2sg                                      (1sg)          fit     -3sg
```

```
22.  kyau  w-un-i."   23.  jo  tirakyau  a-lieq  a-lieq  a-lieq  a-vyan,
     I     1sg-strike      so  hawk      3sg-go  3sg-go  3sg-go  3sg-climb
           -3sg
```

```
a-fwat     a-kil     a-fuos  a-rrim  jo  a-fuos  a-rar      a-rruqu-i
3sg-float  3sg-gaze  3sg-go  3sg-see so  3sg-go  3sg-arrive 3sg-take hold
                     down    (3sg)      down    at bottom  -3sg
```

```
24.  atuk     qurit    kyai  laqau     tuol   a-fyas     25.  rruon  atuk
     winner   octopus  INST  tentacle  three  3sg-take        now    winner
                                              out(3pl)
```

```
qurit    kyai  tirakyau  o-un-i      a-pik      a-fuos.  26.  tirakyau  jyef
octopus  only  hawk      3sg-strike  3sg-carry  3sg-go        hawk      feather
                         -3sg        (3sg)      down
```

rra-tarak   rra-myai   rra-mwar.   27.   Rrinrrin   rru   wolal   rri-wij
3pl-fall   3pl-come   3pl-come   Rr.   cpl   small   3dl-pick
   apart   ashore   beach bird   up(3pl)

rri-nang   rri-fyar   paker.   28.   jyef   mai   rra-tu   rra-qeq.
3dl-put   3dl-sink into   sago   feather   TOP   3pl-stand   3pl-dance
   (3pl)   soft wood(3pl) stem

29.   rru   rru-morr   tirakyau   rri-ting-i   pyal   rri   rra-fuos   rra-tu
      they   3dl-sit   hawk   3dl-weep over   house   they   3pl-go   3pl-stand
      (dl)   -3sg   (pl)   down

pij   rra-qeq,   "wolas-a-wi   tai   kurang   kurang   30.   jo   Rrinrrin
ground   3pl-dance   bean   one   (sound of beating   so   Rr.
                                                   drums)

a-myai   a-qau   a-ruong   a-rrima-rri   a-wot,   "o   qam   lekan   qa-fur
3sg-come   3sg-look   3sg-hear   3sg-see-3pl   3sg-say   oh   you   this   2pl-appear
           like   (pl) one

qa-tu   qa-qeq   mai."   31.   a-rruon,   rri   rra-qau   leq   jyef
2pl-stand   2pl-dance TOP   3sg-be   they   3pl-look   again   feather
                                     finish   (pl)   like

eipai,   rri   rra-qau   kyai   rruon   ramat   rruon   rra-morr   qeqe-i.
NEG   they   3pl-look   only   c.a.   person   now   3pl-sit   COM-3sg
         (pl)   like

32.   wolal   tina-ny   tap   po   minam   a-qur   ny-i   a-pak   a-wor
      small   mother-   yam   and   yam   3sg-put   BEN-   3sg-carry   3sg-
      beach   3sg   (type)   (type) into   3sg   (3pl)   move

a-myai   a-qwau   rryan   Arup.   33.   a-lieq   rri   nimpai   an   Boiking
3sg-come   3sg-ascend   river   A.   3sg-go   they   day   this   B.
                                                        (pl)

jimwau   rri   minam   qorrel   wurr   qorrel   mwau   qorrel   a-lieq   a-fur
bush   cpl   yam   plenty   banana   plenty   taro   plenty   3sg-go   3sg-
                                                                              appear

ryek   a-myai   a-fur   qai   wantaim.   34.   jo   tirakyau   a-lieq
kunai grass   3sg-come   3sg-   tree   COM   so   hawk   3sg-go
                          appear

a-qwau   Yangour,   a-morr   Yangour.   35.   ei   a-morr   a-qoje-i   milamal
3sg-ascend   Y.   3sg-sit   Y.   he   3sg-sit   3sg-follow   custom
                                                                 -3sg

tina-ny   myal   eipai,   nai   eipai,   rri   rra-morr   kyai   walpim
mother-3sg   loin-   NEG   grass-   NEG   they   3pl-sit   only   naked
              cloth   skirt   (pl)

rra-morr,   jo   rri   yesoq   rra-fur   siket   klos   quliny   po   trausis
3pl-sit   so   they   European   3pl-   skirt   clothes   laplap   and   trousers
                 (pl)   appear

```
rra-ny-rri.   36.   rri   rra-qau   ramat   rri   rra-qau   moin    nimpai   an
3pl-give-           they  3pl-look   person  they  3pl-look  woman   day      this
    3pl             (pl)     like            (pl)     like


rra-morr  nai.   37.   tirakyau  a-lieq   mumus    a-nuna-rri.   38.    an
3pl-sit   there        hawk      3sg-go   sorcery  3sg-teach            this
                                                   -3pl


tirakyau  a-qoje-i     nikanik  tina-ny   ei   qon.   39.   kyau  nikanik  wokyau
hawk      3sg-follow   story    mother-   he   int.         I     story    POS
          -3sg                  3sg                                        (1sg)


qon    a-lieq   a-pataq     pinien.
int.   3sg-go   3sg-arrive  here
```


Free Translation

"The story of the woman Rrinrrin'

1.   The woman Rinrrin, she was going down to the beach to get some saltwater
while the others prepared the food.   2.   They were cooking a large feast.

3.   She went down to the beach, got the saltwater, and carried it up onto
the path.   There she began to dance.   Her husband who was waiting for her (to
come home) went down to look for her, when he saw her (dancing) he threw his
spear at her and it cut through the draw string of her grass-skirt.   4.   The
woman went down to the beach where she collected Indian almonds.   She took
them and went and sat down, however while she was breaking them open she
crushed one of her fingers.   5.   She let the blood drip into a leaf container
until it was full up.   6.   The blood then split and formed two lumps.

7.   These in turn turned into two eggs.   8.   When they both hatched out one
was a hawk while the other a small beach bird.   9.   They came and lived with
their mother.   10.   They would often go and catch a fish and bring it home
with their mother and then they would eat it.   11.   They cooked the fish by
drying it in the sun.   12.   One day their mother sent the hawk away to get
some fire so that they could cook and then eat the fish.   13.   Also their
mother didn't have a grass-skirt so she again sent the hawk out to (find one
and) bring it back for her.   14.   She put on the grass-skirt.   Then Rrinrrin

sent the hawk away again, he went and pulled out a house, brought it back and stood it up. 15. While they were living in the house their mother said to the hawk, "If you go to Point Qapwaq you must be careful as there is a large octopus living there. 16. The octopus is a devil and if it appears it will attack you". 17. But the hawk replied, "Mother where does it live? 18. Show me clearly!" 19. His mother said, "It lives at Point Qapwaq." 20. Don't go because if you do it will attack you!" 21. However the hawk replied, "Ah mother I am fit enough to attack it. 22. I will fight it." 23. So the hawk went, he climbed up in the air, he glided and looked about, then he dived and he saw it. So he dived down and took hold of it (the octopus). 24. However the octopus was going to win, he took out three of his tentacles and struck him. 25. Now the only winner was the octopus and he took down the body of the hawk with him. 26. However the hawk's feathers detached themselves from the body and were washed ashore. 27. Rrinrrin and the small beach bird picked up the feathers and drove them into sago stems. 28. These feathers stood up and began to dance. 29. While they sat in the house mourning for the hawk, the feathers turned into men and stood up on the ground and began to make a ceremonial dance about beans. 30. So Rrinrrin came out to see what was happening. When she was what was going on she said, "Oh I see that you are making a ceremonial dance." 31. Immediately the men changed back into feathers. The feathers then drove themselves into the sago stems that were beside her. 32. Then the small beach bird's mother put some yams and mami into a string bag for him and he flew off with them. He climbed up and followed the course of the Arup River. 33. He went thus and that is why today the Boiken people are rich in yams, bananas, and taro and the area in which they live extends as far as the kunai grass (Imperata arundinacea) and the large trees. 34. The hawk however went up to Yangoru and lived in that place. 35. There he followed the customs and ways of his mother. No-

one there wore either loin-cloths or grass-skirts, instead they were naked.
And they lived in this way until the Europeans introduced skirts, laplaps,
trousers and other types of clothing. 36. Today they look like proper men
and women and they are still living in that area. 37. The hawk also taught
them about sorcery. 38. In this he followed his mother's counselling.
39. So that is how my story goes.

APPENDIX III: DIALECT SURVEY WORDLIST

The wordlist that was used in the dialect survey was based upon the following items from the S.I.L. Standard Survey Wordlist as well as its Lowland Supplement:

hair (his)	head (his)	mouth (his)
nose (his)	eye (his)	neck (his)
belly (his)	skin (his)	knee (his)
ear (his)	tongue (his)	tooth (his)
breast (her)	hand (his)	foot (his)
back (his)	shoulder (his)	forehead (his)
chin (his)	elbow (his)	thumb (his)
leg (his)	heart (his)	liver (his)
bone	blood	person
man	woman	old man
old woman	boy	girl
baby	father	mother
brother (his)	sister (his)	bird
dog	meat	egg
pig	wild pig	eel
turtle	crab	crocodile
mosquito	feather	wing
tail	cassowary	flying fox
rat	frog	snake
fish	louse	coconut palm
betel palm	lime	sago
pawpaw	mango	bamboo
tree	root	leaf
taro	sugarcane	yam
banana	sweet potato	bean (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus)
vine	stick	bark
seed	tobacco	limbum mat
canoe	paddle	fish trap
fish net	fishing spear	ocean
beach	sand	coral reef

island	swamp	garden
wind	road	stone
fire	smoke	ashes
sun	moon	star
cloud	rain	water
earth	mountain	basket
bilum	grass skirt	comb
sago thatch	house	axe
knife	spear	morning
night	afternoon	yesterday
tomorrow	big	little
good	bad	long
short	heavy	light
cold	hot	old
new	many	round
wet	dry	full
white	black	yellow
red	what thing	who
where	yes!	no!
one	two	three
four	five	ten
he paddles	he sits	he stands
he reclines	he walks	he hears
he knows	he drinks it	he eats it
he gives it to me	he sees it	he comes
he sleeps	he dies	it burns
it flies	he swims	he runs
he falls down	he strikes it	he catches it
he coughs	he laughs	he dances
he goes	I	thou
he/she	we (dual excl.)	you (dual)
they (dual)	we (plur. excl.)	you (plur.)
they (plur.)		
he is hungry	he eats sugarcane	he laughs a lot
one man stands	two men stand	three men stand
the man goes	the man went yesterday	

the man will go tomorrow

the man eats the yam

the man ate the yam yesterday

the man will eat the yam tomorrow

the man hit the dog

the man didn't hit the dog

the big man hit the little dog

the man gave the dog to the boy

the man hit the dog and went

the man hit the dog when the boy went

the man hit the dog and it went

the man shot and ate the pig

In addition to the above the following items were also elicited:

today

we (dual incl)

we (plur. incl.)

I go

you (sing.) go

he/she goes

we (dl incl.) go

we (dl excl.) go

you (dl) go

they (dl) go

we (pl incl.) go

we (pl excl.) go

you (pl) go

they (pl) go

my dog(s)

your (sing.) house(s)

his/her garden(s)

our (dl incl.) canoe(s)

our (dl excl.) canoe(s)

your (dl) canoe(s)

their (dl) dog(s)

our (pl incl.) canoe(s)

our (pl excl.) yam(s)

your (pl) grass skirt(s)

their (pl) house(s)

I see you

I see the canoe

I see three canoes

he makes me shout

he makes it

he makes them

he chops the tree down

yesterday he chopped three trees down

he cut me with the axe

he builds the house

he builds the houses (pl)

the woman carries the saucepan

the woman carries three pawpaws

he washes me

the woman washes her baby

the woman washes the children

the fire singed me

I singed the bamboo

the fire singed the trees

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