

**Data Papers on
Papua New Guinea Languages**

Volume 59

Mato Grammar Sketch

Scot F. Stober

2013
SIL-PNG Academic Publications
Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea

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René van den Berg, Series Editor

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Published 2013

Printed by SIL Printing Press
Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province
Papua New Guinea

ISBN 9980 0 3877 2

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Abbreviations

Ø	zero morpheme	DISTR	distributive aspect
1di	1 st person dual inclusive	DUR	durative aspect
1pe	1 st person plural exclusive	EMPH	emphatic adverb <i>ke</i>
1pi	1 st person plural inclusive	excl	exclusive
1s	1 st person singular	FR.INT	frustrated intention adverb <i>susu ~ sus</i>
1ti	1 st person trial inclusive	G	glide
2d	2 nd person dual	GOAL	goal preposition <i>la</i>
2p	2 nd person plural	INC	incompletive aspect clitic = <i>uyu ~ =u ~</i> = <i>kuyu ~ =guyu</i>
2s	2 nd person singular	INCEPT	inceptive aspect clitic = <i>uba ~ =kuba ~</i> = <i>guba</i>
2/3d	2 nd or 3 rd person dual	incl	inclusive
3d	3 rd person dual	IRR	irrealis aspect adverbs <i>bagula</i> and <i>yu</i>
3p	3 rd person plural	lit.	literally
3s	3 rd person singular	LOC	locative clitic = <i>ia</i>
ASS	association suffix <i>-am</i>	NEG	negative adverbs <i>ino, tai, te, tate</i> and <i>tegu</i>
C	consonant	NMLZ	nominaliser suffix <i>-nga, -linga</i>
CAUS	causative prefix <i>ha-</i>	NSPEC	nonspecification article <i>tela</i>
CMPR	complementiser <i>ba</i>	O	object
COLL	collective	OBL	oblique <i>ma (mana)</i>
CONJ	conjunction	PERF.CERT	certain perfective aspect adverb <i>ba</i>
DEM.far	distal proximity demonstrative <i>lo</i>	PERF.UC	uncertain perfective aspect adverb <i>lo</i>
DEM.mid	mid-distal proximity demonstrative <i>ba</i>		
DEM.near	near proximity demonstrative <i>li</i>		
DIM	diminutive suffix <i>-ita</i>		
DIR	directional prefix <i>ma-</i>		

PL	plural clitic = <i>di</i>	V	vowel
pl	plural	XQUES	question marker
POSS	possessive		suffix - <i>ta</i>
PROG	progressive aspect clitic = <i>u</i>	*	ungrammatical utterance
PROH	prohibitive particle <i>labu</i>	-	morpheme break
REC	recipient <i>na</i>	=	clitic break
RED	repetitive reduplication	/	alternate gloss
		//	phonemic notation
S	subject	[]	phonetic notation
sg	singular	< >	orthographic notation
sp.	species	~	alternates with
SPEC	specification suffix - <i>a</i> ~ - <i>ua</i> ~ - <i>wa</i>	.	syllable break
STAT	state	'	primary stress
TR	transitiviser suffix - <i>a</i> ~ - <i>ia</i>	'	secondary stress

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge René van den Berg, who provided consultant help during the revision process. I would also like to thank Robert Bradshaw, the consultant who worked with me on the initial version of this paper; and Wendy Nicholls, who prepared the manuscript for publication. Finally, I would like to thank the Mato people, without whom this grammatical description would not be possible. I am particularly indebted to Unganing Zelinggi, who has worked tirelessly to help me understand the nuances of his language. A great friend, Unganing is the senior member of the senior Mato clan. I am also grateful for the insights given by Ronu Nunggila, Hatayanga Zelinggi, Roi Mairi, Lisura Galek and Yaling Liwi. Their patience and gracious attitude have made it a joy to work with them.

1. Introduction

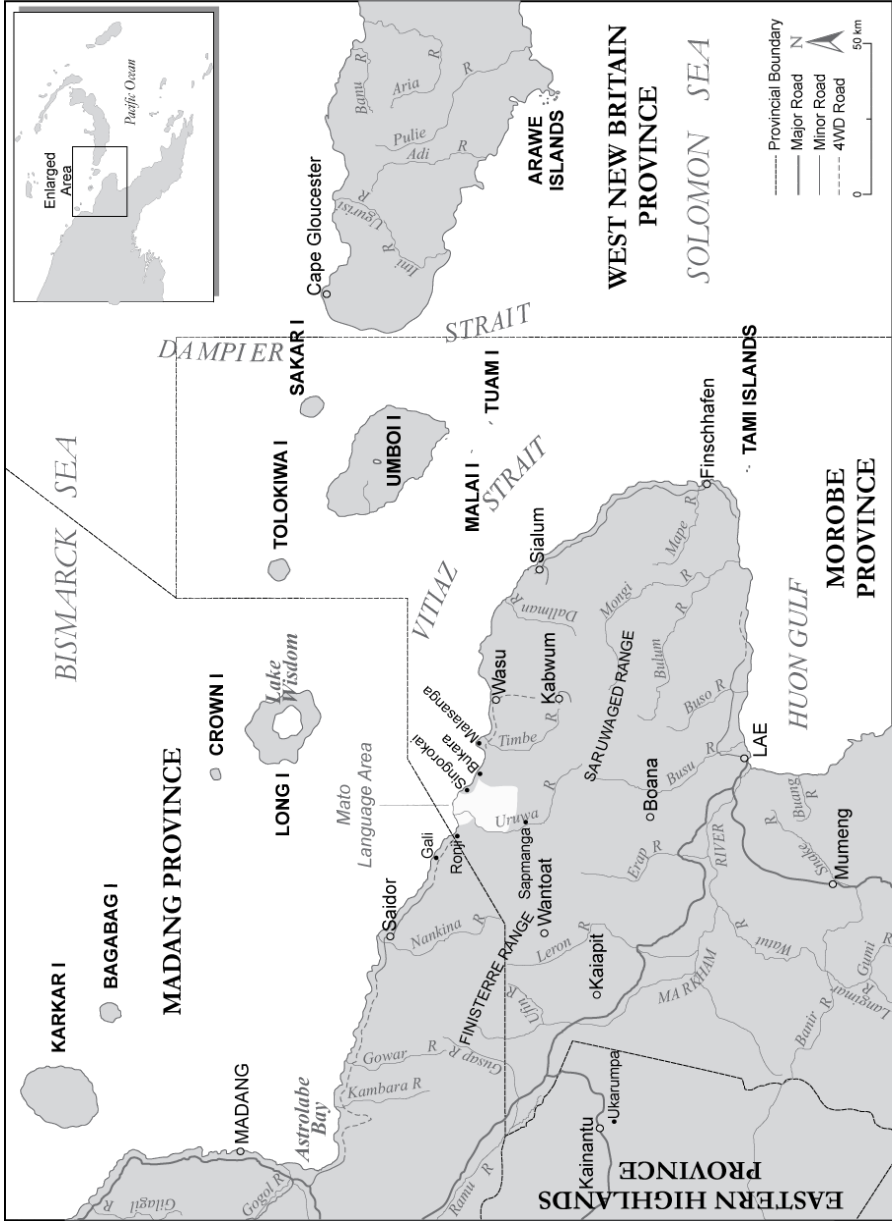
1.1 Location

Mato is a language spoken on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, just inside Morobe Province (see Map 1). Situated in the Uruwa River plain at the base of the Saruwaged Mountains, the Mato speakers live in six principal villages and number about 700. The language area is 38 km west of Wasu Station, 20 km north of Sapmanga Village, and approximately 55 km southeast of Saidor Station (located in Madang Province). The village of Bualu is on the beach; the others villages are inland (see Map 2).

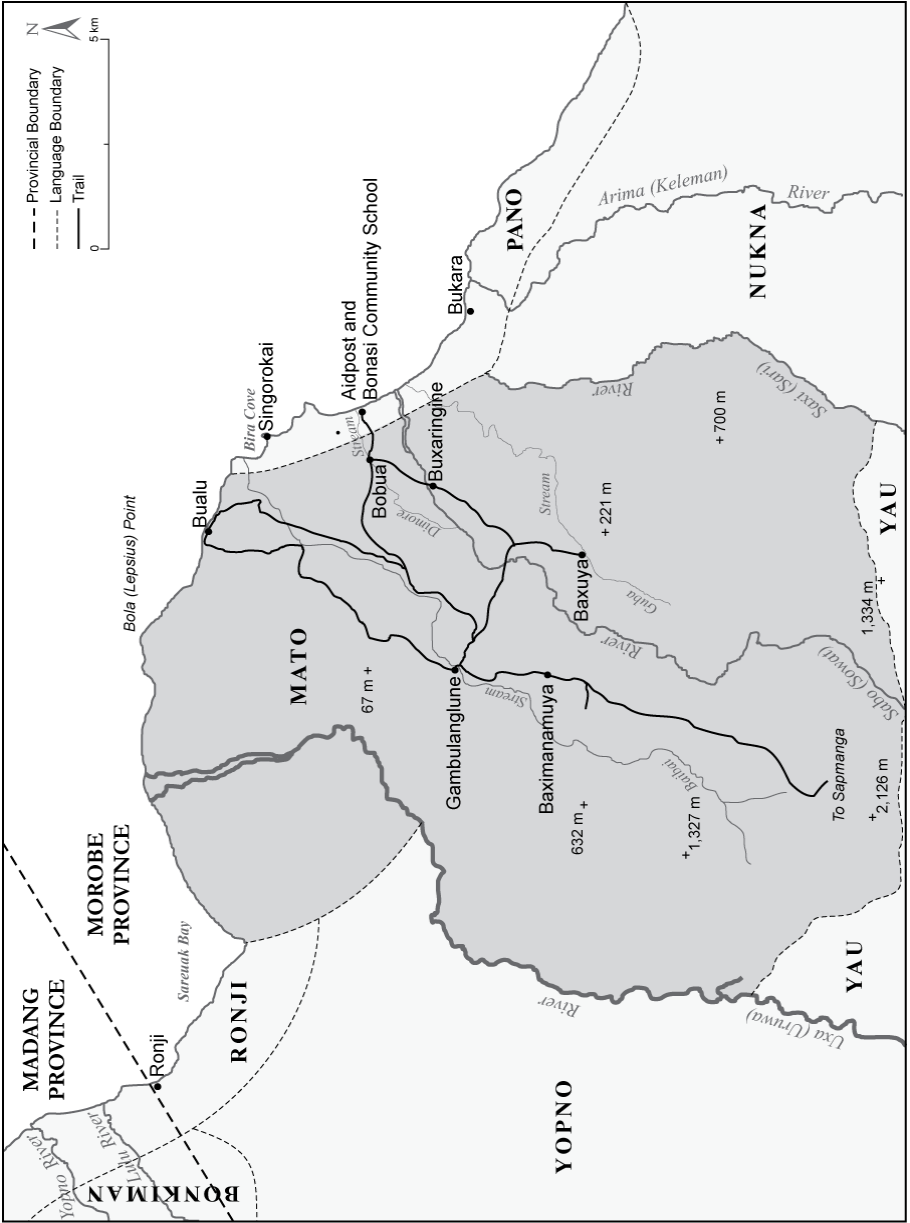
The Mato area covers approximately 220 km² of mountain slopes, plains and coastal regions. The Uruwa River, which drains the valley between the Saruwaged and Finnestere ranges, empties into the Bismarck Sea on the Mato coast near Lepsius Point. The land mass ranges from 5° 50.35 to 6° 0.55 S and from 146° 47.78 to 146° 55.58 E. The altitude ranges from sea level to about 2130 m, and so the ecosystem varies from savanna to tropical forest. Soil content appears to be mostly volcanic. The savanna is an old coral reef that has long since arisen from the sea, with coral fragments as high as 120 m.

1.2 Name

The language name Mato means ‘he comes now’. According to tradition it was the name of the first Mato man, given to him by his wife when she beckoned him to a meal she had prepared. As the story goes, after using the phrase *uma to* to call him, she decided this should be his name. Likewise, when Mato called his wife to sit with him at this meal using the phrase *uma urung* ‘come sit down’, he decided his wife’s name should be Manuring (it is assumed that different pronunciations are a result of years of language change).



MAP 1: MATO LANGUAGE AREA IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA



MAP 2: MATO LANGUAGE AREA ENLARGED

1.3 Economy

The Mato practise a swidden cultivation strategy. Sweet potatoes, yams and taro, as well as several varieties of bananas (54 species identified) are the staple crops. Regular sources of protein include fish, freshwater shrimp, eel, flying fox, bandicoot and various species of birds. Considered a delicacy, *wakwak hataxundi* are the large eggs of a coastal wild-fowl species that builds nests in huge mounds on the ground. Domesticated pigs are raised for special feasts and exchanges. Wild pigs, when they can be located, are hunted and eaten.

During the latter part of the 20th century, the main cash crop was copra. A depressed market motivated the move to a more profitable means of acquiring money, and cocoa was introduced in 1999. As of 2011, over 30,000 cacao trees were cultivated, with several cocoa dryers located in the area. With no road access to the area, all of the dried cocoa must be carried to the coast in bags, loaded into boats and transported to Madang for sale.

The immediate area offers no wage-earning opportunities. Mato people must seek employment in Wasu, Madang, Lae or other cities. The only wage earners living outside of the language group, known at this time, are a policeman in Port Moresby, a bricklayer in Popondetta, and a welder in Madang. Consequently, there are no Mato settlements in Madang or Lae, as there are with other language groups.

1.4 Transportation

Because the Mato area sits near the border of Madang and Morobe Provinces, it is isolated from transportation routes. A road system once extended from Madang to Saidor. At one time, a road from Wasu ran west as far as the Timbe River. Airstrips include Sapmanga, 18 km to the south, as well as a coastal airstrip in Wasu and a disused airstrip near Ronji. No one has traveled by plane or helicopter, except for SIL language program travel.

The preferred means of travel outside of the language area is by dinghy. A number of dinghy operations are in service, some regularly and some intermittently, depending on the condition and maintenance of the boat. Weekly trips to Wasu depart from Singorokai or Bukara. Less-frequented

routes to Madang are available for hire. Although Lae is the provincial capital for the Mato, they travel more frequently to Madang, due to its closer proximity. A dinghy trip to Wasu lasts approximately one hour, while Madang is about six hours away. To travel to Lae, a person takes a dinghy to Wasu and then books an overnight commercial passage on a ship around the Huon Peninsula. Cocoa sales, bank transactions and store purchases are all done in Madang. Usually the only person who travels to Lae is the local government member, who is attending to government business there.

1.5 Education

Educational opportunities for the Mato exist primarily outside the language area. In the mid-1990s, Mato people established vernacular preschools, and not only within their own language group but also in Ronji and Gali. (The interlanguage preschools lasted only a few years.) In the 2000s the Mato preschools developed into an elementary school for grades 1-3. The current elementary school is in Gambulanglune.

Most of the Mato children go on to primary school (offering grades 1-6) at Bonasi, on the coast in the Pano language area, just northeast of the Mato village of Bobua. The nonlocal children not from Bobua usually stay with families in Bobua or Singorokai while at school. Some children have also attended Uruwa Primary School in Sapmanga to the south.

Schools in Yalumet, Welowelo, Tapen and Wasu offer grades 7 and 8, and a few Mato children who have passed their grade 6 exams have attended these schools. Area high schools include Wasu (in Wasu), and Heltspat and Drega (near Finschhafen). Insufficient finances or poor test scores have kept Mato students from achieving anything higher than grade 10. However, with a recent emphasis on literacy, more children are advancing to higher grades before leaving school.

1.6 Religion

Aside from traditional religion, there is only one organised church in the Mato language area: the Lutheran church. Churches are located in Bobua, Baxuya and Gambulanglune. The local Lutheran parish, Maka Parish, includes these churches, as well as churches in Singorokai and Bukara. The parish pastor lives in Bukara and ministers primarily there.

1.7 History and linguistic situation

The precise date of the first European contact is unknown. Sio Lutheran evangelists initially evangelised the area in coastal Bualu probably between 1926 and 1928. But the Mato were mostly evangelised by Niniju, a Sialum-born Lutheran evangelist working from Boksawin, in the Yau language area to the south (Wagner and Reiner 1986:68). Today, the Lutheran church is still the only denomination among the Mato. The Japanese invaded the area in World War II but were driven out by the Allied forces by the end of the war. The Australian administration then governed the area until Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975.

No pre-contact recorded history exists. According to Mato folklore, Mato and Yau (a Papuan language to the south) were brothers from unknown origins who arrived on the beach near Bualu. The two agreed that Mato should rule the beach and foothill area and Yau would rule the hinterland. To this day, relationships are strong between the Mato and Yau people, and several intermixed marriages strengthen this relationship. There is also significant interaction between the Nukna and Mato people. In fact, approximately 50% of the people living in the Nukna village of Apalap speak Mato as their primary language (Gustafsson, Rueck and MacKenzie 2003:26). Under the strong influence of neighbouring Papuan languages, it is no surprise that recent linguistic analysis (Stober 2009:24-28) shows Mato to be more divergent from the other proximate Ngero-Vitiaz languages (see Table 1.1). At some point Ronji and Mato diverged, creating two different languages.

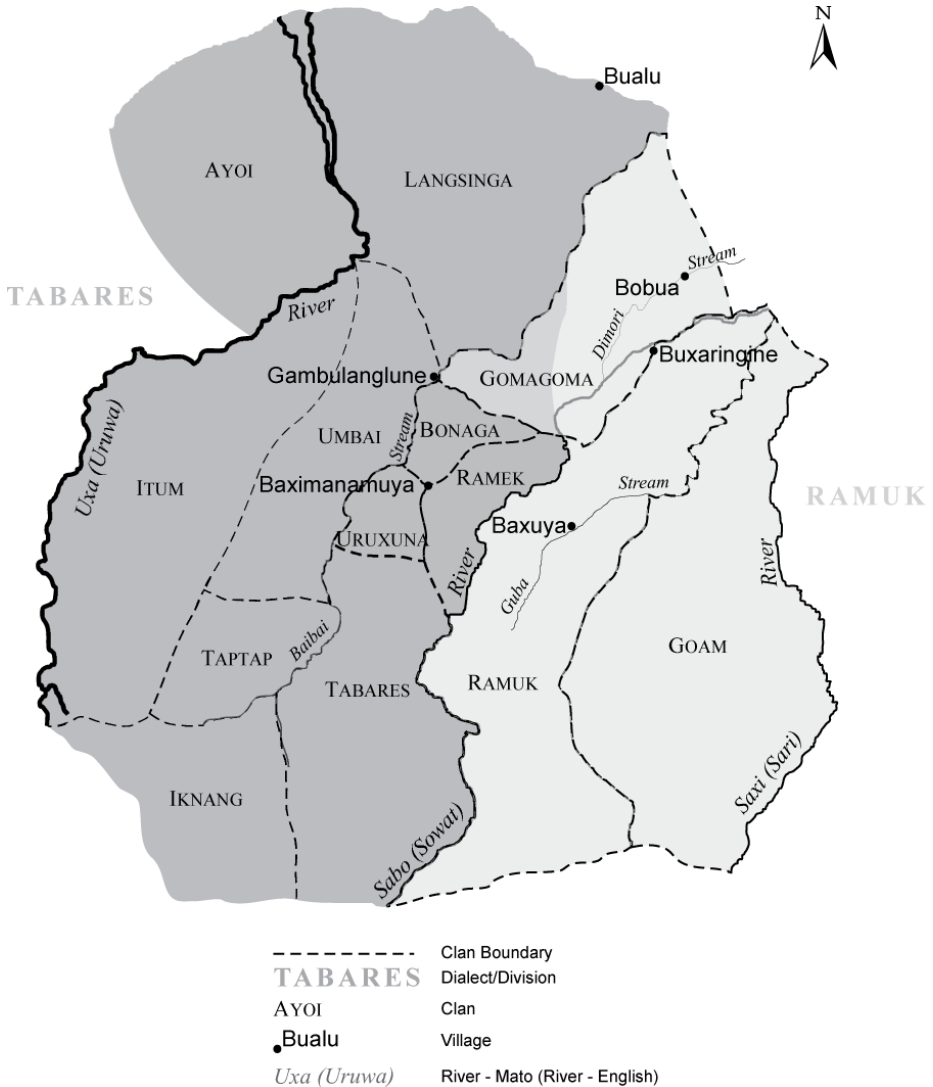
TABLE 1.1. LEXICAL SIMILARITY FOR PROXIMATE VITIAZ LANGUAGES

Arop-Lokep

83	Karnai					
29	33	Malalamai				
23	28	20	Mato			
71	76	32	29	Pano (Malasanga)		
65	73	28	32	88	Pano (Singorokai)	
33	36	28	54	36	39	Ronji

Mato is listed in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons, Fennig 2013) as Mato [met]. Alternate names given are Nenaya, Nengaya and Nineia, which refer to place names no longer inhabited. The language classification given there is Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic, Western Oceanic, North New Guinea, Ngero-Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Roinji-Nenaya. Other literature is varied as to language classification. McElhanon (1978:2) classifies Mato in the Siassi Family, Vitiazan Sub-family, Island Group, Nengaya. Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:880) categorise the language in this manner: Oceanic, Western Oceanic linkage, North New Guinea cluster, Ngero-Vitiaz family, Vitiaz linkage, Roinji-Nenaya. As expected, this Austronesian language exhibits an SVO typology.

There are two dialects in the Mato language: Tabares and Ramuk. These dialects follow a social delineation between clans that has some characteristics of a moiety. However, unlike a true moiety, marriage typically occurs within the division rather than across it. The dialects show a shared lexical percentage of 97%. Among cognates there is regular phonetic variation that occurs in the velar fricative (see §2.1). The grammatical systems of the dialects do not vary. The populations of the two dialects are roughly equal. My analysis is based on the Tabares dialect usage. See Map 3 for dialect and clan boundaries.



MAP 3: MATO DIALECT AND CLAN DIVISIONS

Mato is surrounded by several languages, but with no significant shift to these or the national languages of Tok Pisin and English. The linguistic situation is stable, due in part to the geographical isolation of the Mato

people. Social and linguistic identity also play a large part in retention of the Mato language in nearly every domain. Apart from Scripture readings—which, lacking a Mato translation, are read in Tok Pisin—the Mato use their own language for every domain of village life shared with other Mato speakers.

1.8 Methodology

The intent of this work is to provide a sketch description of the Mato grammar. This analysis is based upon oral and written texts that I gathered from speakers of both dialects from 1997 to 2010. The present work is a revised edition of an unpublished 2005 paper: *Essentials of Mato Grammar*. Since February of 1997, my wife Cherie and I, under the auspices of SIL International, have lived and worked among the Mato people. We have lived in Gambulanglune village, which has residents of both Mato dialects.

In this sketch I mostly follow an outline developed by Lynch, Ross and Crowley, presented in Chapter Three of *The Oceanic Languages*.

1.9 Typology

Regarding its typological profile, Mato shows many characteristics typical of Oceanic languages. These include the following:

- a relatively simple phonology with 16 consonants and 5 vowels (though with some unusual morphophonemic processes)
- four sets of pronominal elements: free pronouns, subject prefixes, object suffixes and possessor suffixes
- duals and trials in the free pronouns (but not in the other sets)
- fairly restricted verbal derivational morphology, limited to causative, directional, distributive and intensifying affixes, as well as reduplication
- productive nominalisation of verbs
- SVO order in transitive clauses
- prepositions (with one clitic postposition)
- verb serialisation.

The following features, however, are less typical of Oceanic languages in general, though all of them are found in the wider New Guinea area:

- no distinction between direct and indirect possession (and hence no possessive classifiers)
- no pronominal articles (though there is an article-like enclitic)
- with few exceptions, transitivity not explicitly marked on the verb
- a reduced numeral system, with few Proto-Oceanic reflexes
- an existential-copular verb
- a complex category of noun-like adjectives
- clause-final negation
- a relatively large number of conjunctions.

2. Phonology

The phonological analysis presented here is a summary of Stober (2005), with some additions.

2.1 Phonemes

Mato has sixteen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes, shown in the tables below.

TABLE 2.1. CONSONANT PHONEMES

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive vl	p	t		k	
vd	b	d		g	
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
fricative		s		x	h
trill		r			
lateral		l			
approximant	w		j		

In the Tabares dialect, the velar fricative /x/ is realised as [x] word initially and [ɣ] (voiced) intervocalically, except when followed by the high front vowel /i/, in which case it is also retroflexed [ɣ̣], giving the sound an r-quality. Word finally, /x/ is pronounced [ʔ], but only in isolated speech. Speakers of the Ramuk dialect pronounce /x/ as [ʔ] in all environments, as shown in the second pronunciation of the words in (1) - (3).

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------|--------|-------------------|
| (1) | /xalux/ | [xɑ.'luʔ] | 'door' | (Tabares dialect) |
| | | [ʔɑ.'luʔ] | | (Ramuk dialect) |
| (2) | /buxu/ | ['bu.ɣu] | 'pig' | (Tabares dialect) |
| | | ['bu.ʔu] | | (Ramuk dialect) |

- (3) /baxi/ ['ba.ɣi] 'medicine' (Tabares dialect)
 ['ba.ʔi] (Ramuk dialect)

Although many of the surrounding related Austronesian languages have prenasalised segments, Mato does not.

Word-finally, bilabial and velar plosives are neutralised, and always surface as voiceless segments (/t/ never occurs word finally). See §2.4.1 for polymorphemic examples.

- (4) /bubup/ [bu.'bup] 'vine sp.'
 /gumak/ [gu.'mak] 'pigeon'

TABLE 2.2. VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e		o
Open		a	

The front mid vowel /e/ is usually pronounced [ɛ] in word-final heavy syllables, [e] elsewhere. The variation can best be seen by contrasting 'ocean' with a specifier attached.

- (5) /gebugebu/ [,ge.bu.'ge.bu] 'tree sp.'
 /dudubaxek/ [,du.du.'ba.ɣək] 'cicada sp.'
 /tek/ ['tek] 'ocean'
 /tek-a/ ['te.gɑ] 'the ocean'

The back mid vowel /o/ is pronounced [ɔ] in only five words, [o] elsewhere (the words other than the examples below containing [ɔ] are compound words involving *song* 'fish').

- (6) /bogi/ ['bo.gi] 'eagle sp.'
 /ombaxak/ [,om.ba.'ɣək] 'bird sp.'
 /səŋ/ ['sɔŋ] 'fish'
 /oti/ ['ɔ.ti] 'to fly, to float'

In addition to the vowel phonemes, Mato has two diphthongs, /ai/ and /au/. This analysis is based on stress, which normally occurs on penultimate syllables (see §2.3). In rapid speech, the diphthong /au/ is often pronounced [o], and /ai/ coalesces to [e] in closed syllables.

(7)	/axaiba/	[a.ˈɣai.ba]	‘betel pepper’
	/wowai/	[wo.ˈwai]	‘mango’
	/hainj/	[ˈhainj] ~ [ˈheŋj]	‘woman’
	/gauta/	[ˈgau.ta] ~ [ˈgo.ta]	‘pig teeth necklace’
	/deŋmau/	[deŋ.ˈmau]	‘cicada sp.’

The default vowel in Mato is /i/. This analysis is motivated by epenthetic processes and feature spreading outlined in §2.4.1.

2.2 Syllable structure

Mato has six regular surface syllable structures: V, VC, CV, CVC, CVG and CVGC, where G is the second vowel of a glide sequence. VG also occurs, but only twice. Although CVGC occurs only 15 times in the analysed data set, it also appears in conjunctions that are ubiquitous in the language. Based on these characteristics, the maximal syllable template is CVGC. As V, VC and VG syllables occur, Mato operates under the weak variety of the Onset Principle: Avoid $\sigma[V$.

The following tables illustrate the statistics for syllable characteristics. Table 2.3 shows syllable frequencies—that is, how many one-syllable words, and so forth, exist in the corpus of 1213 monomorphemic lexical entries.

Table 2.4 demonstrates Mato syllable patterns. While all consonant phonemes may occur in the onset position, the syllable-final consonant position is restricted to the phonemes /p, k, m, ŋ, ʔ/. Consonant clusters within the syllable do not occur.

TABLE 2.3. NUMBER OF SYLLABLES IN MATO NOUNS, PRONOUNS AND VERBS

Lexical items	1 σ	2 σ	3 σ	4 σ	5 σ	6 σ
1213 total	143	606	270	155	38	1
100%	11.8%	50.0%	22.2%	12.8%	3.1%	0.1%

TABLE 2.4. SYLLABLE PATTERNS IN PHONETIC FORMS

	Word initial	Word medial	Word final	Frequency
V	i.'baʔ 'leech'	du.'a.ŋa 'old man'	'ri.a 'friend'	6.9%
VC	in.'dak 'plant sp.'	,ku.aŋ.'gep 'worm sp.'	,e.nu.'am 'vine sp.'	1.7%
CV	'bo.wa 'bamboo'	a.'sa.xa 'animal'	'hi.ta 'sago'	66.1%
CVC	kaŋ.'koŋ 'mosquito'	,ga.man.'riŋ 'tongs'	bun.'tuk 'eagle'	21.4%
VG	-	-	,kam.bi.'ai 'shark sp.'	0.1%
CVG	'bau.wa 'mother'	a.'xai.ba 'betel pepper'	deŋ.'mau 'cicada'	3.3%
CVGC	'haiŋ 'woman'	-	ha.'jaŋ 'hungry'	0.5%

2.3 Stress

Mato assigns stress by a moraic trochee. Hence, stress is predictable and usually falls on the penultimate syllable. Exceptions occur when heavy syllables (CVC, VC, VG, CVG, CVGC) attract word-final stress. The stressable element in Mato is the mora. Mato has bounded feet, parses right to left, and is quantity sensitive with left-headed stress. Extrametricality and clash removal are operative, while line conflation is not.

- (8) /koma/ [ˈko.ma] ‘dog’
 /haxiŋgu/ [ha.ˈɣiŋ.gu] ‘frog’
 /mambuŋa/ [mam.ˈbu.ŋa] ‘poison fish tree’
- (9) /kunenep/ [ˌku.ne.ˈnɛp] ‘gecko’
 /iriap/ [i.ri.ˈap] ‘bark blanket’
 /matuau/ [ˌma.tu.ˈau] ‘first born child’
 /kenakai/ [ˌke.na.ˈkai] ‘steel axe’

Affixation has various effects on stress. Prefixes categorically do not affect stress and, in fact, are never stressed. When building words with suffixes, stress transfers to the penultimate syllable, except when the final syllable is heavy, in which case it attracts stress. In the case of possessive suffixes, the final vowel in the long form is always extrametrical. Hence, it is excluded from stress assignment (see Table 3.2 for a list of possessive suffixes).

(10)	/numa/	[¹ nu.ma]	‘house’
	/numa-ma/	[nu. ¹ ma.ma]	‘your (sg) house’
	/numa-mam/	[₁ nu.ma. ¹ mam]	‘our (excl) house’
(11)	/naxuja/	[na. ¹ yu.ja]	‘narrate’
	/naxuja-ŋa/	[₁ na.yu. ¹ ja.ŋa]	‘narrative’
	/naxuja-ŋa-noa/	[na. ₁ yu.ja. ¹ ja.no.a]	‘his/her narrative’

The noun phrase clitics /=ia/ ‘LOC’ and /=di/ ‘PL’, as well as the verbal suffix /-uti/ ~ /-ti/ ‘break’ are extrametrical, except when the suffixation of /-uti/ results in a diphthong, creating a heavy syllable which attracts stress. There are several phonological constraints at work with the /-uti/ suffix, which influence its form and hence its syllabification (see §2.4).

(12)	/numa = ia/	[¹ nu.mi.a]	‘at the house’
	/numa = di/	[¹ nu.ma.di]	‘houses’
	/xim-uti/	[¹ xim.gu.ti]	‘section into two parts’
	/ruha-uti/	[ru. ¹ hau.ti]	‘step on so it breaks’

2.4 Morphophonemics

There are several morphophonemic processes at work in Mato. Epenthesis, deletion, coalescence and feature spreading all influence word-building. Mato is also saturated with reduplication, both productive and non-productive. Furthermore, there are phrase- and clause-level phonological processes.

2.4.1 Vowel insertion

Where nouns ending in consonants and consonant-initial possessive suffixes adjoin, an epenthetic vowel (the default vowel /i/) is inserted. The following examples also show another process in that, while there is word-final neutralisation of all plosives, all voiceless segments undergo voicing when suffixed with an adjoining vowel.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| (13) | /gahip-gua/ | [_l ga.hi.'bi.gu.a] | ‘my bamboo’ |
| | /hain-ma/ | [hai.'ni.ma] | ‘your (sg) wife’ |
| | /xalux-na/ | [_l xa.lu.'ɣi.na] | ‘its door’ |

Likewise, suffixation of the nominaliser /-ŋa/ to verb roots ending in consonants results in default vowel insertion. The roots in (14) are ‘to say’, ‘to think’ and ‘to dream’, respectively.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| (14) | /harua-ŋa/ | [_l ha.ru.'a.ŋa] | ‘speech’ |
| | /hatum-ŋa/ | [_l ha.tu.'mi.ŋa] | ‘thought’ |
| | /mip-ŋa/ | [mi.'bi.ŋa] | ‘dream’ |

2.4.2 Vowel deletion

Both of the noun phrase clitics motivate deletion when added to the end of the phrase. However, their operations are selective.

When suffixed to roots, the locative clitic /=ia/ invokes deletion of a root-final /a/. When suffixed to other vowel-final roots, there is no deletion, but rather /=ia/ surfaces as [ja]. When /=ia/ attaches to a possessive suffix, all vowels at the end of the possessive suffix are deleted.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| (15) | /tek=ia/ | [^l te.gi.a] | ‘at the sea’ |
| | /waga=ia/ | [^l wa.gi.a] | ‘in the boat’ |
| | /waxu=ia/ | [^l wa.ɣu.ja] | ‘on the vine’ |
| | /lu-gua=ia/ | [^l lu.gi.a] | ‘on my inside’ |

The plural clitic /=di/ initiates deletion, but only when attached to words with a possessive suffix of which the last consonant is a nasal. This includes five of the seven suffixes, but excludes *-gua* ~ *-gu* 1s.POSS and *-roa* ~ *-ra* 1p.POSS.

(16) /taŋa = di/	[¹ ta.ŋa.di]	‘net bags’
/taŋa-noa = di/	[ta. ¹ ŋan.di]	‘his net bags’
/taŋa-ma = di/	[ta. ¹ ŋam.di]	‘your (sg) net bags’
/taŋa-gua = di/	[ta. ¹ ŋa.gu.a.di] ~ [ta. ¹ ŋa.gu.di]	‘my net bags’
/taŋa-roa = di/	[ta. ¹ ŋa.ro.a.di] ~ [ta. ¹ ŋa.ra.di]	‘our (incl) net bags’

The adverb /to/ ‘first’ is currently in a state of flux. It sometimes operates much as does the plural clitic /=di/, in that the vowels at the end of possessive suffixes whose resulting juxtaposing consonants are nasals are elided. It freely varies with full forms, hence the orthography represents this adverb as a separate word and the elided forms are not written.

(17) /ta-sahi oxata to/	[ta. ¹ sa.hi o.ʎa.ta to]	‘we finish work first’
/u-sahi oxata-ma to/	[u. ¹ sa.hi o.ʎa. ¹ ta.ma to] ~	
	[u. ¹ sa.hi o.ʎa. ¹ tam to]	‘you finish your work first’

2.4.3 /u/-insertion

The specification marker in Mato is /-a/. As /a/ is the most common segment in Mato (it occupies 22% of all surface segment positions), many nouns end in this vowel. If allowed to attach as is to a noun ending in /a/, the vowels would degeminate and the contrast would be lost. Thus, there is a contrast preservation constraint that results in /-a/ becoming /-ua/ and the noun-final vowels being elided before suffixation. As shown in §2.4.4 (20), if the word ends in /x/, the suffix surfaces as /wa/.

(18) /ruaŋ-a/	[ru. ¹ a.ŋa]	‘the bow’
/tek-a/	[¹ te.ga]	‘the ocean’
/titi-a/	[¹ ti.ti.a]	‘the ground’
/wagu-a/	[¹ wa.gu.a]	‘the hand-drum’
/koma-a/	[¹ ko.mu.a]	‘the dog’
/numa-a/	[¹ nu.mu.a]	‘the house’

2.4.4 /x/-deletion

While the third example in (13) shows that /x/ is subject to the default vowel insertion constraint, when vowel deletion processes are invoked, /x/ operates under its own unique constraints. If the plural clitic /=di/ or locative clitic /=ia/ is attached, the /x/ is elided and no further elision is permitted. However, geminate vowel sequence coalescence (see §2.4.6) is allowed to dominate this process (that is, the resulting geminate vowels in the fourth example below coalesce before surfacing). Stress assignment according to root forms remains intact.

(19) /ibax = di/	[i. 'ba.di]	‘leeches’
/samanax = di/	[,sa.ma. 'na.di]	‘bandicoots’
/lamux = ia/	[la. 'mu.ja]	‘on the grass skirt’
/mokix = ia/	[mo. 'ki.a]	‘on the pandanus mat’

If the specification suffix /-a/ is attached to a noun ending in /x/, the /x/ is elided and no further elision is permitted. If the resulting elided form ends in anything other than /a/, then /-a/ is suffixed. However, if the resulting root ends in /a/, u-insertion takes over, /-ua/ is attached and the /u/ demoraifies to /w/.

(20) /mokix = a/	[mo. 'ki.a]	‘the pandanus mat’
/lipux = a/	[li. 'pu.a]	‘the person’
/ralax = a/	[ra. 'la.wa]	‘the arrow’

2.4.5 Vowel harmony

Feature spreading resulting in vowel harmony is evident with the third person plural subject prefix /dV-/ on verbs. In the environment in which it is prefixed to a consonant-initial root that does not allow spreading, the segment /v/ is filled with the default vowel /i/. However, the consonants /x/ and /h/ allow leftward spreading of features to the underspecified segment /v/ from the following vowel. Moreover, the consonant /w/ itself spreads roundness and height features to the vowel in /dV-/.

(21)	/dV-sugu/	[di.'su.gu]	‘they bathe’
	/dV-xaŋ/	[da.'xaŋ]	‘they eat’
	/dV-haŋ/	[da.'haŋ]	‘they fight’
	/dV-xu/	[du.'xu]	‘they fill’
	/dV-xola/	[do.'xo.la]	‘they are without’
	/dV-wa/	[du.'wa]	‘they are’

The second singular subject prefix /u-/ interacts with /o/ and /a/ following /x/, resulting in a reduction of height in the /u/, while /u/ spreads roundness to the right.

(22)	/u-sigi/	[u.'si.gi]	‘you join’
	/u-haŋ/	[u.'haŋ]	‘you (sg) shoot’
	/u-xim/	[u.'xim]	‘you (sg) section (it)’
	/u-xaŋ/	[o.'xoŋ]	‘you (sg) eat’
	/u-xap/	[o.'xop]	‘you (sg) get’
	/u-xola/	[o.'xo.la]	‘you (sg) are without’

2.4.6 Geminate vowel sequence coalescence

Where two identical vowels adjoin due to affixation, they degeminate into one segment.

(23)	/dV-juŋa-am/	[di.ju.'ŋam]	‘they left us (excl)’
	/ŋa-luŋu-uŋ/	[ŋa.lu.'ŋuŋ]	‘I heard you (sg)’

When /dV-/ is prefixed to vowel-initial verb stems, the segment /V/ is deleted.

(24)	/dV-uŋ/	[^h duŋ]	‘they kill’
	/dV-oti/	[^h do.ti]	‘they fly, they float’
	/dV-ida/	[^h di.da]	‘they day-hunt’

2.4.7 /k/-insertion

Any suffix or clitic that begins with /a/ or /u/, with the exception of the specification suffix /-a/, operates under normal constraints when attached to a word ending in a vowel. Therefore, if the resulting vowel combination potentially forms a diphthong, the combination inevitably syllabifies in that manner. If the juxtaposing vowels are the same, they degeminate.

(25) /Ø-haxa = uba/	[ha.ˈɣau.ba]	‘he is going to walk now’
/Ø-haxa = uju/	[ha.ˈɣau.ju]	‘he is still walking’
/Ø-ruha-uti/	[ru.ˈhau.ti]	‘he stomped-broke it’
/Ø-bala-uŋ/	[ba.ˈlaʊŋ]	‘he told you’
/dV-hali = uba/	[da.ˌha.li.ˈu.ba]	‘they are going to play now’
/dV-hali = uju/	[da.ˌha.li.ˈu.ju]	‘they are still playing’
/dV-taxi-ti/	[di.ˈta.ɣi.ti]	‘they cut it in two’
/dV-taxi-uŋ/	[di.ˌta.ɣi.ˈuŋ]	‘they cut you’
/lipux kabali-am/	[li.ˈpu ka.ˌba.li.ˈam]	‘bush person’
/dV-kinu = uba/	[di.ki.ˈnu.ba]	‘they are going to sleep now’
/dV-kinu = uju/	[di.ki.ˈnu.ju]	‘they are still sleeping’
/dV-gaxu-uti/	[di.ˈga.ɣu.ti]	‘they bit-crushed (chewed) it’
/dV-taha-aŋ/	[di.ta.ˈhaŋ]	‘they hit you all’
/bungina kaja-am/	[bu.ˈŋiŋ ku.ˈjam]	‘time of rain (= rainy season)’

However, suffixes or clitics that begin with /a/ or /u/ also operate under a constraint which specifies that if the word they attach to ends in a consonant, the consonant /k/ must be inserted before the suffix. The group of suffixes and clitics meeting this criteria include *-am* 1pe.O, *-ang* 2p.O, *-angtang* 2d.O, *-am* ASS, *-ung* 2s.O, *-uti* ‘break’, *-uyu* INC, *=u* PROH, *=u* PROG and *=uba* INCEPT. If the word ends in a voiced consonant, the segment /k/ becomes voiced (/g/).

(26)	/Ø-xaŋ baxup = uba/	[¹ ɣaŋ ,ba.ɣup. ¹ ku.ba]	‘he is going to eat a banana now’
	/dV-haiŋ = uju/	[da.haiŋ. ¹ gu.ju]	‘they are still ascending’
	/u-raxap-uti/	[u.ra. ¹ ɣap.ku.ti]	‘you (sg) shorten it’
	/dV-xap-aŋ/	[da.xap. ¹ kaŋ]	‘they got you (pl)’
	/lipux siaŋ-am/	[li. ¹ pu ,si.aŋ. ¹ gam]	‘money person (=businessman)’

The language allows this constraint to dominate the specification suffix /-a/ only when it is used in conjunction with a demonstrative (see §3.4 for a discussion of demonstratives).

(27)	/titi/	[¹ ti.ti]	‘land’
	/titi-a/	[ti. ¹ ti.a]	‘the land’
	/titi-a li/	[ti. ¹ ti.a ¹ li]	‘this (near) land’
	/maŋ/	[¹ maŋ]	‘bird’
	/maŋ-a/	[¹ ma.ŋa]	‘the bird’
	/maŋ-a lo/	[¹ maŋ.ga ¹ lo]	‘that (far) bird’

2.4.8 Repetitive reduplication

While reduplication remains productive among verbs in Mato, vestiges of reduplication which have ceased to be functional persist in the lexicon. The 1213-item lexical database contains 194 items that have four or more syllables. Of these 194, 60% are reduplicated in part or whole, and show little or no synchronic evidence of being derived from non-reduplicated forms. Most of these are nouns (77%). All syllables are reduplicated in 53% of these words; 27% exhibit reduplication of the first syllable; 3% reduplicate the first two syllables; 4% reduplicate the final syllable; 9% reduplicate the final two syllables, and 4% exhibit reduplication of one syllable internally.

(28) /jamajama/	[ja.ma.'ja.ma]	'Raggiana bird of paradise'
/bulibuli/	[bu.li.'bu.li]	'buttocks'
/namaŋnamaŋ/	[na,maŋ.na.'maŋ]	'foetus'
/ubugubugu/	[u, bu.gu.'bu.gu]	'lizard'
/bukbukkaxa/	[buk.buk.'ka.ɣa]	'butterfly sp.'
/dudubaxek/	[du, du.ba.'ɣek]	'cicada sp.'
/gusinggusingang/	[gi.siŋ, gu.siŋ.'ɣaŋ]	'flower sp.'
/kingguriri/	[kiŋ.gu.'ri.ri]	'pigeon'
/abidomdom/	[a.bi.dom.'dom]	'spider sp.'
/baxasaxasa/	[ba, ɣa.sa.'ɣa.sa]	'circumcision instrument'
/sikokori/	[si.ko.'ko.ri]	'heart'

When reduplication is productive, as in emphasising repetitive actions in verbs, the whole root is reproduced. The motivation for a reduplicative analysis here lies in the fact that the verbal arguments (in particular subject and object affixes) are only specified once for a reduplicated action. See §4.1.3 for more examples.

(29) ['xaŋ]	'eat'
[xaŋ.'xaŋ]	'he ate it all up'
['gam]	'pack'
[gam.'gam]	'he packed and packed'
['ha.ɣa]	'walk'
[ha.ɣa.'ha.ɣa]	'he walked and walked'
['si.a]	'transport'
[di.'si.a.'si.a 'tu.ɣa.di]	'They repeatedly transported the posts.'

2.4.9 Reduction of /noa/ and /na/ to /ŋ/

In the Mato noun phrase, any word ending in /noa/ or /na/ reduces to [ŋ] when followed by another noun, adjective or article. If the following noun or

3. Nouns and noun phrases

3.1 Pronouns

Mato has four pronominal paradigms. These include independent pronouns, possessor suffixes on nouns, subject prefixes on verbs, and object suffixes on verbs and prepositions (though two of the object suffixes are represented as separate words in the orthography – see §3.1.4). While each set is distinct as a whole, there is much overlap between individual forms.

3.1.1 Independent (free) pronouns

TABLE 3.1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1e	<i>nga</i>	<i>(am)tam</i>	<i>(am)tum</i>	<i>am</i>
1i		<i>(ki)tam</i>	<i>(ki)tum</i>	<i>kira</i>
2	<i>ung</i>	<i>(ang)tang</i>	<i>(ang)tung</i>	<i>ang</i>
3	<i>ina</i>	<i>(ding)tang</i>	<i>(ding)tung</i>	<i>ding</i>

The parentheses above identify that part of the word which is optional. The full form is most often used in isolation—that is, in answer to a question by itself with no clause. Also, it may be used for comparison or contrast. In most other instances, the short form is used, neutralising the distinctions between the first person exclusive and inclusive, and second and third person in the dual and trial forms, which are already distinguished on the verb. Thus, the long forms are heard infrequently.

- (1) *tam* *ga-sai* *asaxa*
1d 1pe.S-search animal
'we searched for game'

- (2) *Metil Sanaiyang tang di-ma baing am*
 Metil Sanaiyang 2/3d 3p.S-come and 1pe
ga-ma num=ia=uba
 1pe.S-come house=LOC=INCEPT
 ‘Metil and Sanaiyang came and we were coming to the house
 now’

There is an emphatic construction in which the free pronoun obligatorily occurs with *sibu* ‘self’.

- (3) *baing nga sibu-gu nga-uyu-Ø saing am*
 and 1s self-1s.POSS 1s.S-carry-3s.O and 1pe
ga-haxa-haxa laing bungbung
 1pe.S-walk-RED until afternoon
 ‘and I carried it myself and we walked and walked until
 afternoon’

Mato also has an isolation construction. The free pronoun must occur with this construction as well.

- (4) *nga gani-gu nga-tongtongia-di*
 1s alone-1s.POSS 1s.S-build-3p.O
 ‘I alone made them’

3.1.2 Possessor suffixes on nouns

TABLE 3.2. POSSESSOR SUFFIXES

	Singular	Plural
1e	-gua ~ -gu	-mama ~ -mam
1i		-roa ~ -ra
2	-ma ~ -m	-ima ~ -im
3	-noa ~ -na	-dinga ~ -ding

In most instances the explanation for the variance in forms lies in dialectal differences. The Tabares dialect uses the long forms and the Ramuk dialect uses the short forms. There are a few words, however, that take the short form no matter what the dialect. These include the emphatic and isolation forms in (3) and (4). No pattern is evident in the application of the short form in the Tabares dialect. When the suffixes beginning with a

consonant (all but 2p.POSS) are added to nouns ending in consonants, epenthesis occurs utilising the default vowel /i/ (note the ambiguity that results between 2s.POSS and 2p.POSS in (6)). Mato does not make a distinction between direct and indirect possession; every noun can potentially receive a possessive suffix.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--|
| (5) | <i>numa-gua</i>
house-1s.POSS
'my house' | <i>numa-mama</i>
house-1pe.POSS
'our (excl) house' | <i>numa-roa</i>
house-1pi.POSS
'our (incl) house' |
| | <i>numa-ma</i>
house-2s.POSS
'your (sg) house' | <i>numa-ima</i>
house-2p.POSS
'your (pl) house' | |
| | <i>numa-noa</i>
house-3s.POSS
'his/her house' | <i>numa-dinga</i>
house-3p.POSS
'their house' | |
| (6) | <i>waxang-igua</i>
knife-1s.POSS
'my knife' | <i>waxang-imama</i>
knife-1pe.POSS
'our (excl) knife' | <i>waxang-iroa</i>
knife-1pi.POSS
'our (incl) knife' |
| | <i>waxang-ima</i>
knife-2s.POSS
'your (sg) knife' | <i>waxang-ima</i>
knife-2p.POSS
'your (pl) knife' | |
| | <i>waxang-inoa</i>
knife-3s.POSS
'his/her knife' | <i>waxang-idinga</i>
knife-3p.POSS
'their knife' | |

3.1.3 Subject prefixes

Person and number for subjects are obligatorily marked on the verb by prefixes, with the exception of third person singular which is zero (except when used with *la* 'go' when it is *i-*). Regular variations occur within three of the other six prefixes. The more common usage is shown in Table 3.3 and in the examples in (7). As shown below, free pronouns are only required when the subject prefix is *gu-* or the ambiguous *ga-*.

TABLE 3.3. NOMINATIVE VERBAL PREFIXES

	Singular	Plural
1e	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ga- ~ a-</i>
1i		<i>ta-</i>
2	<i>u- ~ gu-</i>	<i>a- ~ ga-</i>
3	\emptyset ~ <i>i-</i>	<i>di-</i>

(7)	<i>nga-ma</i>	<i>am ga-ma</i>	<i>ta-ma</i>
	1s.S-come	1pe 1pe.S-come	1pi.S-come
	‘I come’	‘we come’	‘we come’
	<i>u-ma</i>	<i>a-ma</i>	
	2s.S-come	2p.S-come	
	‘you come’	‘you all come’	
	\emptyset - <i>ma</i>	<i>di-ma</i>	
	3s.S-come	3p.S-come	
	‘he/she/it comes’	‘they come’	

Within first person plural exclusive, *ga-* is the preferred form. The *a-* prefix is sometimes utilised in complex sentences when the initial verb has first used *ga-*. When *ga-* is used, the free pronoun *am* (or *tam* or *tum*) is obligatorily used as subject. When *a-* is used the pronoun is dropped.

(8)	<i>tibu-gu</i>	<i>tam</i>	<u><i>ga-la</i></u>	<i>ba</i>	<u><i>a-ida</i></u>
	father-1s.POSS	1d	1pe.S-go	DEM.mid	1pe.S- day.hunt
	‘my father and I went day-hunting’				

For second person singular, *u-* is by far the more common usage. Speakers indicate that the alternate form *gu-* (which is only found in combination with the free pronoun *ung*) is interchangeable and up to individual preference. Speakers have been observed using both forms interchangeably in the same situation.

(9)	<u><i>u-wa</i></u>	<i>xai?</i>	~	<i>ung</i>	<u><i>gu-wa</i></u>	<i>xai?</i>
	2s.S-be	good		2s	2s.S-be	good
	‘Are you well?’					

- (10) *u-waxata* ~ *ung* *gu-waxata*
 2s.S-work 2s 2s.S-work
 ‘you work’

For second person plural, *a-* is the preferred form, though *ga-* occurs frequently. When *ga-* is used, the free pronoun *ang* (or *tang* or *tung*) occurs obligatorily as subject. When *a-* is used the pronoun is dropped.¹

- (11) *a-wa* *xai?* ~ *ang ga-wa* *xai?*
 2p.S-be good 2p 2p.S-be good
 ‘Are you all well?’

3.1.4 Object suffixes

Person and number for objects are also obligatorily marked on transitive verbs. Again, the third person singular form is zero. Evidence that they are bound comes from the morphophonemics. When a verb ending in the same vowel as an object marker is suffixed, the vowels degeminate. If two dissimilar vowels are juxtaposed that are able to form one of the noted diphthongs, a diphthong inevitably occurs.

TABLE 3.4. ACCUSATIVE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

	Singular	Plural
1e	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-am</i>
1i		<i>-kira</i>
2	<i>-ung</i>	<i>-ang</i>
3	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-di</i>

¹ This distribution pattern means that the consonant-initial subject prefixes *gu-* and *ga-* appear to be triggered by the presence of a free pronoun. This could be analysed as morphologically conditioned allomorphy. The ungrammaticality of constructions such as **ung u-waxata* ‘you work’ and *ga-wa* ‘you are’ (without full pronoun) confirms this, though there are some counterexamples in the data.

- (12) a. /dV-taha-ŋa/ [di,ta.ha.'ŋa] *di-taha nga* 'they hit me'
3p.S-hit-1s.O
- b. /dV-taha-ŋ/ [di.ta.'haŋ] *di-taha-ung* 'they hit you'
3p.S-hit-2s.O
- c. /dV-taha-Ø/ [di.'ta.ha] *di-taha-Ø* 'they hit him/her/it'
3p.S-hit-3s.O
- d. /dV-taha-am/[di.ta.'ham] *di-tah-am* 'they hit us'
3p.S-hit-1pe.O
- e. /dV-taha-kira/[di,ta.ha.'ki.ra] *di-taha kira* 'they hit us'
3p.S-hit-1pi.O
- f. /dV-taha-aŋ/ [di.ta.'haŋ] *di-taha-ang* 'they hit you'
3p.S-hit-2p.O
- g. /dV-taha-di/ [di.'ta.ha.di] *di-taha-di* 'they hit them'
3p.S-hit-3p.O

Currently, the orthographic representation of the first singular and first plural inclusive suffixes has them separated from the verb. This is done to simplify reading. With respect to the first person singular object *-nga*, the only difference between it and a nominalised vowel-final verb root is stress assignment:

- (13) ,xabu¹bu-nga
cover-NMLZ
'covering'
- (14) Ø-xa¹bubu 'nga
3s.S-cover 1s.O
'it covered me'

3.2 Nouns

Nouns in Mato are characterised by their morphology. The most distinguishing characteristic is their affixation of the set of possessive pronominal suffixes. Nouns can also take the association marker *-am*, the specifier *-a*, the locative and plural clitics, and be modified by the set of demonstratives.

As expected in an Oceanic language, Mato has inalienable nouns as well as alienable nouns, but it also has local nouns and a set of alternate-form nouns.

There is a relatively small inalienable noun class in Mato. These nouns cannot stand in isolation; they must have a possessive suffix. Of these, there are four major categories: human body parts, kinship terms, parts of animals and parts of plants. In addition, a substantial number of terms (plants, animals, terms referring to geography and the environment) have an obligatory 3s possessive suffix.

Table 3.5 illustrates inalienable nouns that identify body parts. (Some are considered vulgar and therefore are not listed here.)

TABLE 3.5. INALIENABLE NOUNS INVOLVING HUMAN BODY PARTS

Noun	Gloss
<i>gaxugaxu-na</i>	'lung'
<i>gidu-na</i>	'nape (neck)'
<i>gua-na</i>	'skull'
<i>hatu-na</i>	'kidney'
<i>hisa-noa</i>	'umbilical cord/navel'
<i>kurunga-na</i>	'soft spot (of the skull)'
<i>laplabu-na</i>	'stomach'
<i>maxarab-ina</i>	'eyebrow'
<i>ramanramang-ina</i>	'rib cage'
<i>ringring-ina</i>	'chest'
<i>sakikix-ina</i>	'armpit'
<i>tuxu-na</i>	'joint'
<i>ubuxu-na</i>	'paraspinal muscles'
<i>ule-na</i>	'side'
<i>wagixa-na</i>	'rib'
<i>gaxum-ina</i>	'(nose) cartilage'

Some nouns that are typically inalienable in Oceanic languages have forms that differ between possessed and unpossessed in Mato. This small set of alternate-form nouns (14 examples to date) includes mostly body parts. The isolate normally displays some form of reduplication.

TABLE 3.6. ALTERNATE-FORM NOUNS

Isolate	Gloss	3s form
<i>gamogamu</i>	‘abdomen’	<i>gamo-na</i>
<i>kia</i>	‘leg’	<i>ki-na</i>
<i>kilangkilang</i>	‘spleen’	<i>kilang-ina</i>
<i>manggopmanggop</i>	‘cheek’	<i>manggob-ino</i>
<i>suxunguxungu</i>	‘mouth’	<i>suxungu-noa</i>
<i>toatua</i>	‘bone’	<i>tua-na</i>
<i>toxoloxolo</i>	‘hair’	<i>toxolo-na</i>
<i>toxotaxu</i>	‘head’	<i>toxona</i>
<i>uxauxa</i>	‘tail’	<i>uxa-na</i>
<i>aningoningo</i>	‘spirit’	<i>aningo-noa</i>
<i>bauwa</i>	‘mother’	<i>bau-na</i>
<i>samisami</i>	‘aroma’	<i>sami-noa</i>
<i>xuaxua</i>	‘language’	<i>xua-na</i>
<i>yaya</i>	‘name’	<i>ya-noa</i>

Table 3.7 illustrates inalienable nouns that refer to parts of animals.

TABLE 3.7. INALIENABLE NOUNS INVOLVING PARTS OF ANIMALS

Noun	Gloss
<i>abixinong-ino</i>	‘plume (of bird)’
<i>ba-na</i>	‘flipper (of sea turtle/dugong)’
<i>gua-na</i>	‘shell’
<i>hagaxa-na</i>	‘female animal’
<i>hataxu-na</i>	‘egg’
<i>kamataxam-ina</i>	‘scale’
<i>namangnamang-ina</i>	‘embryo’
<i>ngindingindi-na</i>	‘antenna (of insect)’
<i>oga-na</i>	‘tentacle (of octopus/squid)’
<i>tami-na</i>	‘egg membrane’
<i>tutub-ina</i>	‘young (animal)’
<i>uxa-na</i>	‘tail’
<i>yo-na</i>	‘long sharp teeth (of dog/crocodile)’

Table 3.8 illustrates inalienable nouns that refer to parts of plants.

TABLE 3.8. INALIENABLE NOUNS INVOLVING PARTS OF PLANTS

Noun	Gloss
<i>hanggaxob-ina</i>	‘husk’ (lit. ‘underneath’)
<i>imu-na</i>	‘root/runner’
<i>lo-na</i>	‘leaf’
<i>mida-na</i>	‘coconut husk’
<i>muxumuxu-noa</i>	‘shoot’
<i>oxa-na</i>	‘flower’
<i>ruxu-na</i>	‘thorn’
<i>tunrung-ina</i>	‘(tree’s) log’
<i>uxu-na</i>	‘shoot’
<i>yang-ina</i>	‘leaf’

The final category of inalienable nouns that can be identified concerns kinship terms. There are 11 nouns in this group, shown in Table 3.9. Notice that *mo-n=di* ‘married couple’ is obligatorily pluralised.

TABLE 3.9. INALIENABLE NOUNS INVOLVING KINSHIP

Noun	Gloss
<i>ayua-na</i>	‘husband’
<i>hain-inoa</i>	‘wife’
<i>haragaraganga-na</i>	‘twin’
<i>longa-noa</i>	‘in-law’
<i>loxong-ina</i>	‘in-law’
<i>mo-n=di</i>	‘married couple’
<i>moxongo-noa</i>	‘(female’s) brother’
<i>ni-na</i>	‘cousin’
<i>ranggi-na</i>	‘old/young (2 generations removed)’
<i>sabanga-noa</i>	‘older (same-sex sibling)’
<i>tibu-na</i>	‘father’

There is a large number of nouns referring to animals and plants that always have the 3s.POSS suffix *-noa* ~ *-na* attached (or the variants *-inoa* ~ *-ina* after consonant-final bases). Most of the animals and plants in this

class, listed in Table 3.10, are compounds of words that describe salient features of the animal or plant in question, such as *kangkongbauna* ‘horsefly’, which may be parsed into *kangkong* ‘mosquito’ and *bauna* ‘its mother’. Sometimes the word cannot be parsed (as in *bukkena* ‘octopus’), or makes no sense parsed.

TABLE 3.10. ANIMAL AND PLANT NAMES WITH 3s.POSS

Noun	Gloss	Constituent Gloss
<i>balianga-mugixi-na</i>	‘fish sp.’	‘loincloth colour’
<i>bang-sangga-na</i>	‘fish sp.’	‘taro skin’
<i>bup-lo-na</i>	‘butterfly fish’	‘pandanus leaf’
<i>ladi-song-ina</i>	‘damsel fish’	‘coral fish’
<i>langulang-song-ina</i>	‘fish sp.’	‘sand fish’
<i>langu-tai-na</i>	‘fish sp.’	‘fly excrement’
<i>xaidap-song-ina</i>	‘fish sp.’	‘day’s fish’
<i>song-xanrong-ina</i>	‘stonefish’	‘fish’s grandmother’
<i>baxup-moya-na</i>	‘shellfish sp.’	‘ripe banana’
<i>wawai-lo-na</i>	‘shellfish sp.’	‘mango leaf’
<i>titi-moxa-na</i>	‘snake sp.’	‘ground snake’
<i>uxa-lailai-na</i>	‘snake sp.’	‘Uruwa River’s tether’
<i>xaup-muru-na</i>	‘snake sp.’	‘it desires wild yams’
<i>bulam-yabubug-ina</i>	‘Green Triangle butterfly’	‘caterpillar’s butterfly’
<i>taxum-yabubug-ina</i>	‘butterfly sp.’	‘black palm’s butterfly’
<i>dubak-bau-na</i>	‘firefly’	‘biting ant’s mother’
<i>galung-mang-ina</i>	‘bird sp.’	‘coconut bird’
<i>galung-muru-na</i>	‘gecko sp.’	‘it desires coconuts’
<i>gamgom-saxang-ina</i>	‘wasp sp.’	‘yam’s fork’
<i>ging-wai-na</i>	‘leaf bug or katydid’	‘beetle’s teeth’
<i>kangkong-bau-na</i>	‘horsefly’	‘mosquito’s mother’
<i>ung-susu-na</i>	‘sea cucumber sp.’	‘killing venom’
<i>bukkena</i>	‘octopus’	
<i>bumlanguna</i>	‘fly sp.’	
<i>buxutabuxina</i>	‘lizard sp.’	
<i>duai bauna</i>	‘sea cucumber sp.’	
<i>ginggingsuxaina</i>	‘shrimp sp.’	
<i>likliktinana</i>	‘snake sp.’	
<i>longmatuona</i>	‘beetle sp.’	
<i>ralamaxungina</i>	‘snake sp.’	
<i>sixatinana</i>	‘bird sp.’	
<i>titimungharingina</i>	‘ant sp.’	

TABLE 3.10 (CONT'D)

Noun	Gloss	Constituent Gloss
<i>unihirabina</i>	'flounder'	
<i>xamsongina</i>	'Ocellaris clownfish'	
<i>baxup-yabug-ina</i>	'mushroom sp.'	'banana's mushroom'
<i>suam-yabug-ina</i>	'mushroom sp.'	'cassowary's mushroom'
<i>tanga-ranggi-na</i>	'mushroom sp.'	'old net bag'
<i>tinang-wai-na</i>	'mushroom sp.'	'mushroom's teeth'
<i>titi-yabug-ina</i>	'mushroom sp.'	'ground mushroom'
<i>haing-suina</i>	'banana sp.'	'woman's nipple'
<i>kong-giduna</i>	'banana sp.'	'old man's nape'
<i>kangkong-xai-na</i>	'flower sp.'	'mosquito's tree'
<i>xapmung-sangga-na</i>	'flower sp.'	'cucumber skin'
<i>waruk-muru-na</i>	'pumpkin greens'	'it desires pumpkins'
<i>banana</i>	'banana sp.'	
<i>mutungana</i>	'banana sp.'	
<i>banggumena</i>	'flower sp.'	
<i>muxaxurabalana</i>	'flower sp.'	
<i>toxolona</i>	'mushroom sp.'	

There are also a number of nouns with 3s.POSS that identify geographical features or the environment. These are listed in Table 3.11.

TABLE 3.11. INALIENABLE NOUNS INVOLVING GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Noun	Gloss
<i>boxana</i>	'lagoon'
<i>dingana</i>	'swamp'
<i>gamolingana</i>	'lake'
<i>gubinangana</i>	'chasm'
<i>mumulana</i>	'sapling'
<i>murukmurugina</i>	'dirty water'
<i>ongana</i>	'rainforest (traversable)'
<i>sabaluna</i>	'sky'
<i>suana</i>	'deep spot'
<i>uruxuna</i>	'shallows'
<i>wakmanangana</i>	'crater'
<i>waxungtongina</i>	'waterfall'
<i>xaxagana</i>	'hill'
<i>yuna</i>	'peninsula'

Mato also has a small set of local nouns. These are nouns which denote places so familiar in the environment that they are rarely possessed, especially when they are collocated with a locative.

TABLE 3.12. LOCAL NOUNS

Noun	Gloss
<i>namu</i>	‘base’
<i>numa</i>	‘house’
<i>saxuming</i>	‘floor’
<i>umanga</i>	‘garden’

- (15) *nga-la nga-sok xai namu=ya*
 1s.S-go 1s.S-arrive tree base=LOC
 ‘I went up to the tree(’s) trunk’
- (16) *nga-luki mala num=ia*
 1s.S-run DIR-go house=LOC
 ‘I ran away to (my) house’
- (17) *tibu-gu tam ga-la umang=ia*
 father-1s.POSS 1d 1pe.S-go garden=LOC
 ‘my father and I went to (our) garden’

By far the largest noun class is the set of alienable nouns. These nouns can stand alone or take a possessive suffix.

- (18) *babu moxa babu-na*
 picture snake picture-3s.POSS
 ‘picture’ ‘rainbow’ (lit. ‘snake’s picture’)
- (19) *rima rima-na Ø-sala*
 hand hand-3s.POSS 3s.S-hurt/burn
 ‘hand’ ‘her hand hurts’
- (20) *kilang kilang-igua Ø-maxaxa*
 axe axe-1s.POSS 3s.S-sharp
 ‘axe’ ‘my axe is sharp’

Mato has several experiential nouns, words which denote experiences but belong to the noun class based on morphology. See §5.1.2 for a fuller explanation.

- (21) *ayanga-gu*
sadness-1s.POSS
'I am sad'
- (22) *gesag-igu*
hunger-1s.POSS
'I am hungry'
- (23) *hauxa-ding*
disinclined-3p.POSS
'they do not want it; they do not want to do it'

Nouns can be derived from verbs by adding the nominaliser suffix *-nga* NMLZ. It is a fairly productive feature of the language.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (24) | <i>naxuya</i>
narrate
'narrate' | <i>naxuya-nga</i>
narrate-NMLZ
'story' |
| (25) | <i>haxa</i>
walk
'walk' | <i>haxa-nga</i>
walk-NMLZ
'journey' |
| (26) | <i>hatum</i>
think
'think' | <i>hatum-inga</i>
think-NMLZ
'thought/mind' |

There is a small set of one-syllable verbs (*la* 'go', *li* 'stand', *ma* 'come', *su* 'follow', *ta* 'put', *wa* 'be') that require the alternative form of the nominalising suffix: *-linga*.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---|
| (27) | <i>li</i>
stand
'stand' | <i>li-linga</i>
stand-NMLZ
'stance, standing' |
| (28) | <i>ma</i>
come
'come' | <i>ma-linga</i>
come-NMLZ
'coming, arrival' |
| (29) | <i>wa</i>
be
'be' | <i>wa-linga</i>
be-NMLZ
'life' |

The verbal suffix *-ia* NMLZ is also sometimes used but rarely, and must be accompanied by the third person possessive suffix (a form such as **sal-ia-gu* is unacceptable).

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (30) | <i>sala</i>
hurt/burn
'hurt, burn' | <i>sal-ia-na</i>
hurt/burn-NMLZ-3s.POSS
'pain; heat' |
|------|--|--|

There are a few complex compound nouns in Mato. These are composed of two roots and usually their corresponding suffixes, but may stand alone in the absence of possessive markers, except for 'parents' (33). They have one intonation contour and one corresponding meaning in the semantic domain.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (31) | <i>tanga-lia</i>
net.bag-middle
'ear' ² | <i>tanga-gu-lia-na</i>
net.bag-1s.POSS-middle-3s.POSS
'my ear' |
| (32) | <i>waxu-tu</i>
vine-bone
'neck/voice' | <i>waxu-m-tua-noa</i>
vine-2s.POSS-bone-3s.POSS
'your neck/voice' |
| (33) | <i>bau-ding-tibu-ding=di</i>
mother-3p.POSS-father-3p.POSS=PL
'their parents' | |

3.3 Articles

Articles in Mato are postposed to the noun head. Indefinite or non-specific nouns are not usually marked unless new information is being introduced to the discourse, in which case *tela* NSPEC signifies it as such.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (34) | <i>baing gara</i> | <u><i>tela</i></u> | <i>Ø-ting-Ø</i> | <i>saing am</i> |
| | and youth | NSPEC | 3s.S-throw-3s.O | and 1pe |
| | <u><i>tela=di</i></u> | <i>am</i> | <i>ga-hang-Ø</i> | |
| | NSPEC=PL | 1pe | 1pe.S-shoot-3s.O | |
| | '...so a kid threw it and some of us shot it' | | | |

² Although the semantic relationship between 'net bag' and 'ear' is not readily apparent, the word for 'ear' is synchronically clearly a compound. It is also possible that there is a relationship with Proto-Oceanic **taliŋa* 'ear'.

The Mato encoding of non-specified nouns extends to the semantic categories ‘another’ and ‘some’. Depending on the context, *tela* can differentiate one instance of a noun from another.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------------|--|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| (35) | <i>gara</i> | <i>tela</i> | | <i>gara</i> | <i>tela=di</i> |
| | child | NSPEC | | child | NSPEC=PL |
| | ‘a child; another child’ | | | ‘some children; some other children’ | |

Specification is achieved by suffixation of *-a* SPEC, or one its allomorphs. If the noun root ends in /a/, this vowel is deleted and *-ua* is suffixed to avoid ambiguity (see §2.4.3). In (36), the root words are *titi* ‘ground’ and *anginga* ‘food’. Other allomorphs of this morpheme are *-wa*, *-ka*, *-ga* (as well as the orthographic variant *-ya* in *xai-ya* ‘good’). See §2.4.4 and §2.4.7 for details.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|--|
| (36) | <i>Bagula</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>ga-la</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>ga-bagu</i> | <i>titi-a</i> | |
| | IRR | 1pe | 1pe.S-go | 1pe | 1pe.S-see | ground-SPEC | |
| | <i>sanga</i> | <i>ma-na</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>anging-ua</i> | <i>Ø-sok</i> | <i>xai</i> | |
| | able | OBL-3s.O | CMPR | food-SPEC | 3s.S-become | good | |
| | <i>baing</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>ga-tabl-Ø</i> | | | | |
| | and | 1pe | 1pe.S-mark-3s.O | | | | |
| | ‘We’ll go look at the land well suited for the food growing well and mark it off.’ | | | | | | |

3.4 Demonstratives

Mato employs a complex deictic system based on three demonstrative roots: *li* ‘this (near speaker)’ *ba* ‘that (near but further away from speaker)’ and *lo* ‘that (far away from speaker)’. These demonstratives take on different functions depending on how they are deployed in the discourse. They cannot stand alone in the noun phrase. When functioning as deictics they must be accompanied by a noun suffixed with a specification marker or the verb *bagu* ‘see’. Forms such as *bagu-li* ‘this’ can function as noun phrases. As these deictics are ubiquitous in the language, they are written as one word in the orthography, even though they are two stand-alone morphemes. When postposed on the noun phrase, the demonstratives function to track participants in the discourse. When postposed on the predicate, they mark perfective aspect. Depending which one is used, they may mark perfective aspect of which the speaker is either certain or uncertain. As the discourse markers are postposed on the noun phrase and the aspect markers are

postposed on the predicate, in this SVO language the markers can fill the same sentence-final slot and are sometimes ambiguous. Discourse functions will not be fully developed in this paper. For the aspectual features, see §5.3.3.

TABLE 3.13. DEMONSTRATIVES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Function	Near	Mid	Far
Deictic	<i>bagu-li</i> see-DEM.near 'this'	<i>bagu-ba</i> see-DEM.mid 'that (here)'	<i>bagu-lo</i> see-DEM.far 'that (there)'
Discourse	<i>li</i> DEM.near 'familiar'	<i>ba</i> DEM.mid 'unfamiliar'	
Aspect		<i>ba</i> PERF.CERT certain perfective aspect	<i>lo</i> PERF.UC uncertain perfective aspect

Various other demonstrative words are found containing the roots *li*, *ba* and *lo*. These include the nominal demonstratives *alali* 'this', *alaba* 'that (here)' and *alalo* 'that (there)', in which *a* is possibly a shortening of *axa* or *axamang* 'thing', and *la* the goal adverb. The plural clitic =*di* can also be attached to several forms. The following table displays the most commonly occurring demonstrative combinations, though more research is needed to determine their exact distribution and usage.

TABLE 3.14. DEMONSTRATIVE COMBINATIONS

<i>baguli</i>	‘this here’
<i>axa baguli</i>	‘this thing here’
<i>a baguli</i>	‘this thing here’
<i>alali</i>	‘this thing here’
<i>adi bagudili</i>	‘these things here’
<i>adi la li</i>	‘these things here’
<i>*adi li</i>	
<i>baguba</i>	‘that here’
<i>axa baguba</i>	‘that thing here’
<i>a baguba</i>	‘that thing here’
<i>alaba</i>	‘that thing here’
<i>adi bagudiba</i>	‘those things here’
<i>adi la ba</i>	‘those things here’
<i>*adi ba</i>	
<i>bagulo</i>	‘that there’
<i>axa bagulo</i>	‘that thing there’
<i>a bagulo</i>	‘that thing there’
<i>alalo</i>	‘that thing there’
<i>adi bagudilo</i>	‘those things there’
<i>adi la lo</i>	‘those things there’
<i>*adi lo</i>	

As noted above, the set of specification markers for definite/indefinite includes *-a* and *-ua*. When it co-occurs with a demonstrative within a noun phrase, the specification suffix operates under the consonant insertion constraint (see §2.4.7 for an explanation of this phonological process).

- (37) *taxak* *tahak tela* *tahag-a* *tahak-ka li*
 ladder ladder NSPEC ladder-SPEC ladder-SPECDEM.near
 ‘ladder’ ‘a ladder’ ‘the ladder’ ‘this ladder’
 (generic) (new info) (specific) (demonstrative)
- (38) *long* *long tela* *long-a* *long-ga ba*
 area area NSPEC area-SPEC area-SPEC DEM.mid
 ‘area’ ‘an area’ ‘the area’ ‘that area (near)’

- (39) *lipu lipu tela lipu-a lipu-a ba*
 person person NSPEC person-SPEC person-SPEC DEM.mid
 ‘person’ ‘a person’ ‘the person’ ‘that person (near)’
- (40) *waga waga tela wag-ua wag-ua lo*
 boat boat NSPEC boat-SPEC boat-SPEC DEM.far
 ‘boat’ ‘a boat’ ‘the boat’ ‘that boat (far)’

3.5 Numerals and number marking

3.5.1 Cardinal numbers

The Mato language typically employs a reduced number system with only a few numeral roots that are combined for numbers higher than three. Although seven, eight and nine can be constructed from the given numbers, Tok Pisin is nearly always utilised – *sevenpela*, *etpela*, *nainpela*. Numbers above ten are borrowed from Tok Pisin.

TABLE 3.15. CARDINAL NUMBERS

Numeral	Mato	English
0	<i>olang</i>	nothing/zero
1	<i>taininau</i>	one
2	<i>luwa</i>	two
3	<i>luwa hilia; tuwa</i>	two part-3s.POSS; three
4	<i>luwadi luwadi</i>	two=PL two=PL
5	<i>luwadi luwadi hiliadinga</i>	two=PL two=PL part-3p.POSS
6	<i>luwa luwa luwa; tuwa tuwa</i>	two two two; three three
7	<i>luwadi luwadi tuwa</i>	two=PL two=PL three
8	<i>luwadi luwadi luwadi luwadi;</i> <i>rima hataina luwa hilia</i>	two=PL two=PL two=PL two=PL; hand part-3s.POSS two part-3s.POSS
9	<i>rima hataina luwadi luwadi</i>	hand part-3s.POSS two=PL two=PL
10	<i>(rima) hataing hataina</i>	(hand) part-3s.POSS part-3s.POSS

The word for ‘one’ could be parsed as *tain-ina-u*, containing *tain* ‘one’, *-ina* 3s.POSS and an unknown element *-u*. There is a related phrase *taining tainina* which means ‘each’ or ‘few’. The root *hilia* (used in the words for ‘three’ and ‘five’) is similar in that it takes the plural possessive suffix *-dinga*. In addition, *hata* (used in the words for ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and

‘ten’) also takes the suffix; *hata* is a verb that means ‘to separate’; *hata-ina* means ‘part’.

Cardinal numbers are postposed on the noun phrase to the nominal head.

- (41) *buxu luwa hilia-na*
 pig two part-3s.POSS
 ‘three pigs’

3.5.2 Number marking

Number is marked by the plural clitic =*di* (same form as 3p.O) which is postposed on the noun phrase. The phrase *luwa=di luwa=di* ‘four’ is the only construction where =*di* clitic is found twice, on each head. It is often absent when occurring on a noun phrase subject as plurality is marked also on the juxtaposed verb.

- (42) *am ga-wagi-wagi mana koma=di*
 1pe 1pe.S-call-RED OBL dog=PL
 ‘we called and called for the dogs’
- (43) *buragina gara-n da-xap kixing-iding*
 tomorrow youth-3s.POSS 3p.S-get younger.brother-3p.POSS
kambag-inoa ma-la saing di-longia-Ø
 infant-3s.POSS DIR-go and 3p.S-lull-3s.O
 ‘the next day her children took their baby brother (down there)
 and pacified him’

In addition to the normal number marking, Mato utilises the vocative collective marker *mana* COLL when the speaker is addressing a group.

- (44) *Ria-gu mana a-lungu harua-nga-gua to.*
 friend-1s.POS COLL 2p.S-hear say-NMLZ-1s.POSS first
 ‘My friends, listen to what I have to say first.’
- (45) *Hainglup mana a-lungu harua-nga baguli, bing*
 women.men COLL 2p.S-hear say-NMLZ this must
a-ta gamo-im=ia.
 2p.S-put abdomen-2p.POSS=LOC
 ‘Ladies and gentlemen, listen to this talk, you must take it to heart.’

3.5.3 Other quantifiers

There does not seem to be a formal ordinal number system in Mato. First, second, middle and last can be constructed using the association marker *-am* (see §3.6.3 for further discussion of this suffix). Other ordinals follow the cardinal numbers while utilising singular pronominal subject prefixes on the verb.

TABLE 3.16. ORDINAL NUMBER CONSTRUCTIONS

‘first’	<i>muga-muga-nga-m</i> lead-RED-NMLZ-ASS					
‘second’	<i>ma</i> come	<i>kimu</i> behind	<i>ma-na</i> OBL-3s.O	<i>muga-muga-nga-m</i> lead-RED-NMLZ-ASS		
‘second’	<i>luwa</i> two					
‘third’	<i>tuwa</i> three					
‘fourth’	<i>luwa=di</i> <i>luwa=di</i> two=PL two=PL					
‘middle’	<i>liw-am</i> middle-ASS					
‘last’ / ‘very last’	<i>kimu-am</i> / <i>kimu</i> <i>sibuna</i> behind-ASS / behind very					
(46)	<i>Tauna,</i> okay	<i>kimuya</i> after	<i>ma-na,</i> OBL-3s.POSS	<i>lipu</i> person	<i>da-xabia</i> 3p.S-know	<i>baxi</i> medicine
	<i>baxup-kam,</i> banana-ASS	<i>gui-am,</i> yam-ASS	<i>axamang</i> something	<i>muga-muga-nga-m</i> lead-RED-NMLZ-ASS		
	<i>bagula</i> IRR	<i>du-xuma</i> 3p.S-plant	<i>gui</i> yam	<i>toxu-n=di</i> head-3s.POSS=PL	<i>muga.</i> first	
	‘Okay, after that, those men who know the garden magic of bananas, yams and all the first things will plant the yam sprouts first.’					

Mato has a quantifier used for relationships – *neng* ‘couple’. It is always used with the most senior relationship (i.e. *neng *kixing-in=di* younger.brother-3s.POSS=PL ‘a couple of brothers’ is collocationally unsuitable). It is the nominal head in the noun phrase, modified by the relationship.

- (47) *neng sabanga-n=di* *di-la* *da-haing-Ø*
 couple older.brother-3s.POSS=PL 3p.S-go 3p.S-ascend-3s.O
ung
 breadfruit
 ‘two brothers (older and younger) went and climbed a breadfruit tree’

Other quantifiers are outlined in the following table. Note that *longgalo* ‘all’ is written in the orthography as a single word.

TABLE 3.17. OTHER QUANTIFIERS.

- | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|--|---------------|--|
| | <i>unrangunrangina</i> | | ‘few’ | |
| | <i>taining tainina</i> | | ‘each’; ‘few’ | |
| | one one | | | |
| | <i>long-ga-lo</i> | | ‘all’ | |
| | area-SPEC-DEM.far | | | |
- (48) *Nga-la nga-haing ma-na, galung lang-in*
 1s.S-go 1s.S-ascend OBL-3s.O coconut water-3s.POSS
unrangunrangin=di.
 few=PL
 ‘I went and climbed (the coconut tree), there were few drinkable coconuts.’
- (49) *a-luki taining tainina ma-la ha lo*
 1pe.S-run one one DIR-go down DEM.far
 ‘each of you run down there’
- (50) *lipu taining tainina du-wa la li*
 person one one 3p.S-BE GOAL DEM.near
 ‘there are only a few people here’
- (51) *lipu longgalo da-xang laing Ø-sup*
 person all 3p.S-eat until 3s.S-complete
 ‘everyone finished eating’

3.6 Adjectives and nominal modifiers

Mato has several words that serve in modification roles to nouns. There is a small, closed set of words in Mato that do not adhere strictly to either the

noun or verb class in distribution or morphology. In addition, they do not share all of the same attributes with each other. Consider the following examples where the underlined words fill a modifier role in the noun phrase (only the underlined modifiers are in focus at this time).

- (52) *Lipu tutu-nga-m-a Ø-xap waxang kaxukana*
 person gut-NMLZ-ASS-SPEC 3s.S-get knife small
saing i-la Ø-tutu-Ø.
 and 3s.S-go 3s.S-gut-3s.O
 ‘The butcher gets a small knife and goes (and) guts it.’
- (53) *Moxa sabanga sibun tela Ø-hip-hip xai-yua*
 snake big very NSPEC 3s.S-coil-RED tree-SPEC
ma-tabu (xai-ya ba gelang maringin tela).
 DIR-at.rest tree-SPEC DEM.mid tree.sp. straight NSPEC
 ‘A very big snake was wrapped around the tree (that tree was a straight gelang tree).’
- (54) *da-haring-ia butu=di=uba.*
 3p.S-strong-DISTR bearer=PL=INCEPT
Da-xap waxu haringina bila ura waxu-na.
 3p.S-get vine strong like Caucasian vine-3s.POSS
 ‘they strengthen the bearers now. They get strong vines like nails (lit. ‘Caucasian vines’).’

The first observation that can be made from the examples above is that adjectives, like other modifiers in Mato, are postposed to the head noun. A second possible generalisation is that adjectives often end with what looks like the 3s.POSS marker *-(i)na*. Third, if we look at (54), we see that a shortened form of ‘strong’ functions as a verb, implying this is the root form, and the marker *-(i)na* possibly serves as an adjectiviser further on in the example. However, consider the following:

- (55) *baing axamang diana Ø-xap matia saing Ø-xap*
 and thing bad 3s.S-get corpse and 3s.S-get
ma Ø-ta-Ø num=ia
 come 3s.S-put-3s.O house=LOC
 ‘and something bad got a corpse and brought it and put it in the house’

- (56) (*ding*) *dian=di* **di-dia* **di-diana* **dia-ding* **diana-ding*
 3p bad=PL
 ‘they are bad’

The example in (56) shows a complete clause with ill-formed alternatives. Based on morphology alone, if the root form of *diana* was *dia* (and thus a verb), the second form (**di-dia*) in the above example should be grammatical, but it is not. Furthermore, if *diana* was a noun, the last alternative (**diana-ding*) should be grammatical, but again, it is not. Thus, morphological observations alone are not enough to determine the adjective class.

Turning now to distribution, there are several distributional paradigms that characterise nominal modifiers. First, there is the true adjective class, which may only occupy the modifier slot in the noun phrase or serve as the predicate in a copular construction. Then there are what we describe as multicategorical adjectives. These adjectives not only fill the modifier role in the noun phrase, but in varying degrees can also be part of a copular construction, or function as verbs, nouns and nominative attributes. These are each described below. Please note that throughout this description, adjectives are not parsed with respect to the 3s.POSS ending which many exhibit.

3.6.1 True adjectives

The most restrictive distributional class in Mato is true adjectives. True Mato adjectives may only appear as modifiers to nouns and in copular constructions. The adjectives observed to date are listed in the table below.

TABLE 3.18. TRUE ADJECTIVES

<i>abungina</i>	‘wild’	<i>rimamo</i>	‘right’
<i>diana</i>	‘bad’	<i>sabanga</i>	‘big’
<i>gamo</i>	‘short’	<i>sapsambagiak</i>	‘largest’
<i>hauna</i>	‘new’	<i>taibu</i>	‘better’
<i>lia</i>	‘middle’	<i>xana</i>	‘free of debris’
<i>manahana</i>	‘flat (stone)’	<i>xana</i>	‘kind’
<i>monina</i>	‘male (animal)’	<i>xangxana</i>	‘various’
<i>muganga</i>	‘old’	<i>xong</i>	‘left’
<i>nangnang</i>	‘domestic’	<i>xumana</i>	‘many’
<i>nanuna</i>	‘young’	<i>yabina</i>	‘difficult’
<i>rabangana</i>	‘vertical (cliff)’		

- (57) *Ø-yunga imang gamo=di ma-tabu num=ia*
 3s.S-leave waistcloth short=PL DIR-at.rest house=LOC
 ‘she left the baby blanket lying in the house’
- (58) *am ga-bo am ga-tau umanga haun³ tela*
 1pe 1pe.S-want 1pe 1pe.S-cook garden new NSPEC
 ‘we wanted to burn a new garden plot’
- (59) *Nga-bagu di-libu kubolu diang xumana.*
 1s.S-see 3p.S-do conduct bad many
 ‘I see they do many bad things.’

In addition to modifying nouns, these words can also serve an attributive role on their own in the predicate of a copular construction following the verb *wa*.

- (60) *du-wa sabanga*
 3p.S-be big
 ‘they are big’
- (61) *ina Ø-wa muganga*
 3s 3s.S-be old
 ‘it is old’

3.6.2 Multicategorical adjectives

A larger set of nominal modifiers has varying degrees of morphology in common with nouns and/or verbs. A subset includes the words *haringina* ‘strong’, *manrunga* ‘round’, *mauxana* ‘heavy’, *maxana* ‘light’, *xaringa* ‘cold’, and *yahana* ‘hot’. Suitable and unsuitable forms, illustrated for the third person plural form, are outlined in Table 3.19. A modifier is one that fills the modifier slot in the noun phrase. The possessive construction is a verbless clause akin to the nominal stative clauses (see §5.1.2 for more information). The pro-form can stand alone in a noun phrase, meaning, for example, ‘the round ones’. The copular construction identifies a state, whereas the change-state focuses on a state as a result of a process. The nominative construction fills the head noun slot in a noun phrase and is

³ The word *hauna* ‘new’ undergoes phrasal reduction to *haun* when followed by *tela* (see §2.4.9).

equivalent, for example, to ‘their roundness’. The possessive/nominative forms for *maxana* ‘light’ are irregular.

In reference to these categories, a larger set of words (around ten) functions in all these environments. Six of these are colour words, but other words also belong to this class. These are shown in Table 3.20. These words fill all the illustrated roles.

TABLE 3.19. RESTRICTED MULTICATEGORICAL ADJECTIVES

Gloss	Modifier	Possessive ‘they are ...’	Pro-form ‘the ... ones’
‘strong’	<i>haringina</i>	* <i>haring-iding</i>	<i>haringin=di</i>
‘round’	<i>manrungana</i>	<i>manrunnga-ding</i>	<i>manrunngan=di</i>
‘heavy’	<i>mauxana</i>	<i>mauxa-ding</i>	<i>mauxan=di</i>
‘light’	<i>maxana</i>	* <i>maxan-iding</i>	* <i>maxana=di</i>
‘cold’	<i>xaringana</i>	<i>xaringa-ding</i>	<i>xaringan=di</i>
‘hot’	<i>yahana</i>	* <i>yaha-ding</i>	<i>yahan=di</i>

Gloss	Copular ‘they are ...’	Change-State ‘they became ...’	Nominative ‘their ...-ness’
‘strong’	<i>du-wa haringina</i>	<i>da-haring</i>	<i>haring-inga-dinga</i>
‘round’	<i>du-wa manrungana</i>	<i>di-manrunnga</i>	* <i>manrunnga-nga-dinga</i>
‘heavy’	<i>du-wa mauxana</i>	* <i>di-mauxa</i>	<i>mauxa-nga-dinga</i>
‘light’	<i>du-wa maxana</i>	<i>di-maxana</i>	<i>maxan-iag-idinga</i>
‘cold’	<i>du-wa xaringana</i>	<i>da-xaringa</i>	* <i>xaringa-nga-dinga</i>
‘hot’	<i>du-wa yahana</i>	<i>di-yaha</i>	<i>yaha-nga-dinga</i>

TABLE 3.20. UNRESTRICTED MULTICATEGORICAL ADJECTIVES

Gloss	Modifier	Possessive 'they are ...'	Pro-form 'the ... ones'
'green'	<i>gamatana</i>	<i>gamata-ding</i>	<i>gamatan=di</i>
'straight'	<i>maringina</i>	<i>maring-iding</i>	<i>maringin=di</i>
'sharp'	<i>maxaxa</i>	<i>maxaxa-ding</i>	<i>maxaxa=di</i>
'long'	<i>maxaxaya</i>	<i>maxaya-ding</i>	<i>maxaxaya=di</i>
'black'	<i>mutuxuna</i>	<i>mutuxu-ding</i>	<i>mutuxun=di</i>
'short'	<i>raxabiana</i>	<i>raxabia-ding</i>	<i>raxabian=di</i>
'red'	<i>sabuxana</i>	<i>sabuxa-ding</i>	<i>sabuxan=di</i>
'yellow'	<i>sagayana</i>	<i>sagaya-ding</i>	<i>sagayan=di</i>
'orange'	<i>talaktalagina</i>	<i>talaktalag-iding</i>	<i>talaktalagin=di</i>
'white'	<i>usamana</i>	<i>usama-ding</i>	<i>usaman=di</i>

Gloss	Copular 'they are ...'	Change-State 'they became...'	Nominative 'their ...-ness'
'green'	<i>du-wa gamatana</i>	<i>di-gamata</i>	<i>gamata-nga-dinga</i>
'straight'	<i>du-wa maringina</i>	<i>di-maring</i>	<i>maring-inga-dinga</i>
'sharp'	<i>du-wa maxaxana</i>	<i>di-maxaxa</i>	<i>maxaxa-nga-dinga</i>
'long'	<i>du-wa maxaxaya</i>	<i>di-maxaya</i>	<i>maxaya-nga-dinga</i>
'black'	<i>du-wa mutuxuna</i>	<i>di-mutuxu</i>	<i>mutuxu-nga-dinga</i>
'short'	<i>du-wa raxabiana</i>	<i>di-raxap</i>	<i>raxabia-nga-dinga</i>
'red'	<i>du-wa sabuxana</i>	<i>di-sabuxa</i>	<i>sabuxa-nga-dinga</i>
'yellow'	<i>du-wa sagayana</i>	<i>di-sagaya</i>	<i>sagaya-nga-dinga</i>
'orange'	<i>du-wa talaktalagina</i>	<i>di-talaktalak</i>	<i>talaktalag-inga-dinga</i>
'white'	<i>du-wa usamana</i>	<i>d-usa</i>	<i>usa-nga-dinga</i>

- (62) *kira* *mutuxun=di* *ta-xola* *mana* *wit*
 1pi black=PL 1pi.S-lacking OBL wheat
 'we blacks do not have wheat'

- (63) *u-bagu* *long-a* *laing* *Ø-sabuxa*
 2s.S-see area-SPEC until 3s.S-red
 'you watch the area until it becomes red (brown)'

- (64) *moxa gamatana*
snake green
'the green snake'
- (65) *Haidanga=di gamata-ding.*
flower=PL green-3p.POSS
'The flowers are green.'
- (66) *u-gam-gam axamang mauxan=di bila siang xaung*
2s.S-pack-RED thing heavy=PL like stone and
anginga bu u-bagu Ø-haring kimbo tegu
food so 2s.S-see 3s.S-strong or no
'you pack tightly heavy things like stones and food (inside the net bag) to see if it's well constructed or not'
- (67) *Di-rai ruang haringing luwa.*
3p.S-carry bow strong two
'They carried two guns.'
- (68) *Naxuya-nga raxabiana asaxa-m waleu*
narrate-NMLZ short animal-ASS far.past
kambag-igu=yu.
infant-1s.POSS=INC
'(This) short story about an animal (happened) a long time ago while I was still an infant.'
- (69) *Baing nga-ma nga-tau lang yahana saing*
and 1s.S-come 1s.S-cook water hot and
nga-yaha ki-gua.
1s.S-heat leg-1s.POSS
'And I came and boiled hot water and I applied it to my foot.'

The suffix *-ita* is a diminutive which attaches to a small set of adjectives and multicategorical adjectives. It reduces a small degree even more.

- (70) *Naxuya-nga gamo-ita Ø-ma xung-Ø la.*
narrate-NMLZ short-DIM 3s.S-come fall-3s.O GOAL
'The very short story ends here.'

3.6.3 Further noun modification strategies

Reduplication in nouns is a very limited productive feature of Mato. While quite a few nouns exhibit reduplicated syllables, rarely does this differentiate meaning. Generalisation of the reduplicative function from the few examples available is not possible at this time.

- (71) *moxa* *moxamoxa*
 ‘snake’ ‘worm’
- (72) *mara* *maramara*
 ‘fruit seed’ ‘pebble’
- (73) *u-xuma* *bang*, *baraxing-baraxinta=di* *ma-luxu* *mana*
 2s.S-plant taro what-RED=PL DIR-enter OBL
long-ga *baguba*
 area-SPEC that
 ‘you plant taro (or) whatever inside of that area’
- (74) *ne* *u-bagu* *long-a* *nabu* *buxu* *da-xang* *bing*
 but 2s.S-see area-SPEC if pig 3p.S-eat then
bagula *u-tua* *xahi-yua* *ma-li* *yatua*
 IRR 2s.S-build shelter-SPEC DIR-stand up.near
lo *binabu* *bungingbunginalo* *u-ma* *bing*
 DEM.far so always 2s.S-come then
u-hamusia *ma-na=uba*
 2s.S-leave.scent OBL-3s.O=INCEPT
 ‘but you watch the area, if pigs are eating it, then you’ll erect a lean-to upwind there so that whenever you come then you’ll leave a (human) scent there now.’

Modification of nouns in the noun phrase is often achieved through adding an association marker *-am* to another noun. As shown in §2.4.6, this affix is subject to the consonant insertion constraint and geminate vowel sequence coalescence, resulting in the allomorphs *-kam*, *-gam* and *-m*. The suffixation of this marker signals that this noun is a modifier to the preceding head noun. The following table shows some commonly found noun phrases containing the association marker, followed by some clausal examples.

TABLE 3.21. ASSOCIATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

<i>asaxa</i>	<i>tek-kam</i>		sea creatures
animal	ocean-ASS		
<i>baxi</i>	<i>baxup-kam</i>		garden magic for
medicine	banana-ASS		bananas
<i>haing</i>	<i>yau-nga-m</i>		married woman
woman	marry-NMLZ-ASS		
<i>imang</i>	<i>xabubu-nga-m</i>		covering cloth, sheet
cloth	cover-NMLZ-ASS		
<i>kabukabu</i>	<i>anginga</i>	<i>ta-linga-n-am</i>	table for putting food
table	food	put-NMLZ-3s.POSS-ASS	on
<i>lipu</i>	<i>siang-gam</i>		business man
person	money-ASS		
<i>lipu</i>	<i>baxi-am</i>		orderly
person	medicine-ASS		
<i>lipu</i>	<i>wasa-nga-m</i>		guard
person	tend-NMLZ-ASS		
<i>lipu</i>	<i>tutu-nga-m</i>		butcher
person	gut-NMLZ-ASS		
<i>lipu</i>	<i>titi-am</i>		worldly person
person	land-ASS		
<i>lipu</i>	<i>oxata-m</i>		worker
person	work-ASS		
<i>naxuya-nga</i>	<i>asaxa-m</i>		animal story
narrate-NMLZ	animal-ASS		
<i>xai</i>	<i>oxata-m</i>		wood for work
wood	work-ASS		
<i>lipux-iding</i>	<i>salak</i>	<i>yaba-n-am=di</i>	their prisoners
person-3p.POSS	hurt/burn	place-3s.POSS-ASS=PL	
<i>lipu</i>	<i>buxu</i>	<i>wasa-nga-na-m=di</i>	pig herders
person	pig	tend-NMLZ-3s.POSS-ASS=PL	
<i>lipu</i>	<i>numa</i>	<i>tongtongia-nga-na-m=di</i>	carpenters
person	house	build-NMLZ-3s.POSS-ASS=PL	
<i>guxenga</i>	<i>giminak</i>	<i>xumana-m</i>	high-priced oil
oil	price	many-ASS	
<i>waxu</i>	<i>asaxa</i>	<i>sangga-na-m</i>	animal skin belt
vine	animal	skin-3s.POSS-ASS	
<i>uleg-in-am-a</i>			(his/her) messenger
message-3s.POS-ASS-SPEC			
<i>yaba-na-m=di</i>			(his/her) neighbours
place-3s.POSS-ASS=PL			

TABLE 3.21 CONT'D

<i>kubolu</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>sal-ia-na-m-a</i>		liver-burning conduct
conduct	liver	burn-NMLZ-3s.POSS-ASS-SPEC		(=intense anger)
<i>bunging</i>	<i>kuya-m-a</i>			rainy season
time	rain-ASS-SPEC			
<i>xai</i>	<i>susu-ng</i>	<i>sami-na-m=di</i>		aromatic tree sap
tree	secretion-3s.POSS	aroma-3s.POSS-ASS=PL		

- (75) *am ga-yunga xai-ding oxata-m,*
 1pe 1pe.S-release wood-3p.POSS work-ASS
xai-long-iding numa-m=di, xai numa-m=di
 wood-leaf-3p.POSS house-ASS=PL wood house-ASS=PL
ma-sup.

DIR-complete

‘We finished unloading their wood for work, roofing iron, all the wood for the house.’

- (76) *di-daudau-Ø ma-sup, lipu tutu-nga-m*
 3p.S-singe-3s.O DIR-complete person gut-NMLZ-ASS
Ø-xap waxang kaxukana saing i-la Ø-tutu-Ø.
 3s.S-get knife small and 3s.S-go 3s.S-gut-3s.O

‘They finish singeing it (the pig), the butcher gets a small knife and goes and guts it.’

- (77) *baing lipu siang-gam-ga ba Ø-bala-di*
 and person money-ASS-SPEC DEM.mid 3s.S-tell-3p.O
ba...

CMPR

‘so that businessman told them...’

3.7 Basic noun phrase structure

The Mato noun phrase consists of a head noun and a number of potential suffixes, modifiers or clitics. The following figure outlines the possible noun phrase constituents in their prescribed positions.

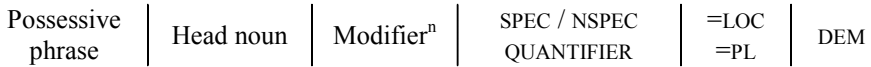


FIGURE 1. MATO NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

There are no examples collected to date that have all slots filled in the noun phrase. In the following examples, the head noun is underlined. It should be noted that the locative and plural clitics cannot co-occur. A different grammatical construction involving the oblique preposition *mana* is utilised to collocate a plural and a locative (87).

- (78) moxa sabanga sibun tela
snake big very NSPEC
'a very big snake'
- (79) buxira naxuya-nga-n tela
legend narrate-NMLZ-3s.POSS NSPEC
'a folktale'
- (80) maxa-ng luwa=di ba
eye-3s.POSS two=PL DEM.mid
'those two eyes of his'
- (81) niani nulana-m-ga ba
year near.past-ASS-SPEC DEM.mid
'a few years ago'
- (82) xalu sabanga CMB rubin=ia
door big CMB side=LOC
'the big door at the side of CMB (Copra Marketing Board)'
- (83) lipu giminak-kam siang-gam=di
person price-ASS money-ASS=PL
'the buyers'
- (84) longa-ma baxub-ing lon-ua ba
in.law-2s.POSS banana-3s.POSS leaf-SPEC DEM.mid
'that banana leaf of your in-law'
- (85) haing-ga ba buxu-noa
woman-SPEC DEM.mid pig-3s.POSS
'that woman's pig'

- (86) *tanga-m-lia-ng* *ginang-in=ia* *lo*
 net.bag-2s.POSS-middle-3s.POSS hole-3s.POSS=LOC DEM.far
 ‘in those ear canals of yours’
- (87) *du-wa* *mana* *numa-ding=di*
 3p.S-be OBL house-3p.POSS=PL
 ‘they are at their houses’

As noted in §2.4.9, there is a phonological process operating on the noun phrase level. Any word ending in /noa/ or /na/ reduces to /n/ or /ŋ/ when followed by another noun or adjective.

3.8 Possession

Mato has a relatively simple possession marking system. Nouns are marked with pronominal possessive suffixes. All nouns utilise the same set of suffixes, discussed in §3.1.2.

The possessive marker *-ia* is suffixed to free standing pronouns to indicate possession in the absence of a noun. Pronouns ending in vowels undergo deletion with the addition of the suffix. In the case of *nga* 1s, the resulting form *nga-yua* is irregular. This is the only suffixation allowed on pronouns, except for the plural clitic =*di*, which may be added to indicate plurality of the possessed items (e.g. *in-ia=di* ‘they are his’).

TABLE 3.22. SUBSTANTIVE PRONOMINAL POSSESSION

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1e	<i>nga-yua</i> ‘mine’	<i>amtam-ia</i> ‘ours’	<i>amtum-ia</i> ‘ours’	<i>am-ia</i> ‘ours’
1i	-	<i>kitam-ia</i> ‘ours’	<i>kitum-ia</i> ‘ours’	<i>kir-ia</i> ‘ours’
2	<i>ung-ia</i> ‘yours’	<i>angtang-ia</i> ‘yours’	<i>angtung-ia</i> ‘yours’	<i>ang-ia</i> ‘yours’
3	<i>in-ia</i> ‘his, hers, its’	<i>dingtang-ia</i> ‘theirs’	<i>dingtung-ia</i> ‘theirs’	<i>ding-ia</i> ‘theirs’

- (88) *Gara luwa=di li ngayua=di.*
 child two=PL DEM.near mine=PL
 ‘These two children are mine.’

- (89) *Ngayua=di bing di-ma muli rangua nga*
mine=PL must 3p.S-come again with/to 1s
li.
DEM.near
‘Mine must come back to me.’
- (90) *Baing songang-ga baguli, inia=di bing di-ma*
and elder-SPEC this his=PL must 3p.S-come
muli rangua-Ø.
again with/to-3s.O
‘And this elder here, his must come back to him.’

4. Verbs and verb phrases

4.1 Verbal inflection and derivation

Verbs in Mato take affixes for both inflection and derivation. The following figure illustrates the possible component parts of an inflected verb word.

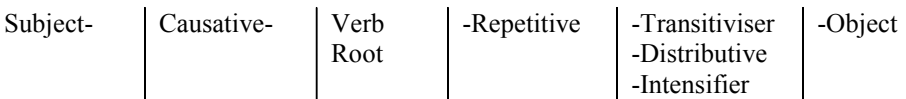


FIGURE 2. MATO VERB CONSTITUENTS

Other derivations include an adverbial directional (used in verb serialisation) and nominalisation. Verbs are nominalised by suffixation and can also be reduplicated.

4.1.1 Subject marker

As indicated in §3.1.3, the person and number of the subject is obligatorily indicated on the verb in the form of a pronominal prefix, with the exception of third person singular (which only retains the prefix on *la* ‘go’). The table included there is presented here again for clarity.

TABLE 4.1. VERBAL SUBJECT PREFIXES

	Singular	Plural
1e	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ga- ~ a-</i>
1i		<i>ta-</i>
2	<i>u- ~ gu-</i>	<i>a- ~ ga-</i>
3	\emptyset ~ <i>i-</i>	<i>di-</i>

- (1) *nga-ragu waga susu*
 1s.S-wait boat FR.INT
 ‘I waited for the boat, but it didn’t come’
- (2) *i-la baing Ø-ung xanam-ga ba*
 3s.S-go and 3s.S-kill tree.kangaroo-SPEC DEM.mid
baing Ø-ma muli
 and 3s.S-come again
 ‘he went and then he killed that tree kangaroo and came back’

4.1.2 Causative marker (*ha-*)

While not widely employed, the prefixation of *ha-* (glossed as CAUS) gives the sense of causation to the subject. If a verb is not transitive, the derivation often requires the transitivising suffix *-a* ~ *-ia*. The position of *hadali* ‘exceedingly’ indicates that this derivation functions as an adverb.

TABLE 4.2. THE VERBAL PREFIX *ha-*

Verb		Causative	
<i>bisi</i>	‘squeeze’	<i>ha-bisi-a</i>	‘to crowd’
<i>dali</i>	‘exceed, pass by’	<i>ha-dali</i>	‘exceedingly’
<i>haxi</i>	‘difficult’	<i>hak-haxi</i>	‘argue (causing difficulty)’
<i>haxuya</i>	‘answer’	<i>hak-haxuya</i>	‘exchange’
<i>kinu</i>	‘recline’	<i>ha-kinu</i>	‘knock down (at the legs)’
<i>kisi</i>	‘cross’	<i>ha-kisi</i>	‘carry (transporting a child)’
<i>lungu</i>	‘listen’	<i>ha-lungu</i>	‘discuss to the point of consensus’
<i>maring</i>	‘straight’	<i>ha-maring-ia</i>	‘straighten’
<i>mati</i>	‘die’	<i>ha-mati</i>	‘paralysed’
<i>musu</i>	‘dirty’	<i>ha-musu</i>	‘make dirty’
<i>rung</i>	‘sit’	<i>ha-rung-ia</i>	‘talk against (resulting in a sit-down or court)’
<i>tibaxaya</i>	‘lost’	<i>ha-tibaxaya</i>	‘dismiss (a crowd)’
<i>xaring</i>	‘cold’	<i>ha-xaring-ia</i>	‘cool (something hot with cold water)’
<i>xuru</i>	‘swollen’	<i>ha-xuru</i>	‘to heap up’
<i>yuyu</i>	‘bend over’	<i>ha-yuyu</i>	‘to bend something over’

- (3) *lipu tela i-la Ø-tuxu ki-n tela*
 person NSPEC 3s.S-go 3s.S-hold leg-3s.POSS NSPEC
Ø-ha-kinu-Ø *ma-ri*
 3s.S-CAUS-recline-3s.O DIR-descend
 ‘a man goes and grabs a leg to knock it (pig) down’
- (4) *Ø-kinu ha-dali*
 3s.S-sleep CAUS-exceed
 ‘he’s fast asleep’
- (5) *nga-ha-musu* *mina=di*
 1s.S-CAUS-dirty plate=PL
 ‘I dirtied the plates’
- (6) *lipu ki-ng rima-n da-ha-mati*
 person leg-3s.POSS arm-3s.POSS 3p.S-CAUS-die
 ‘the man is crippled (his hands and legs cause him to be like he’s dead)’

4.1.3 Repetitive reduplication

Verbal reduplication in Mato indicates repetitive action. The whole verb root is reduplicated.

- (7) *baing nga-sing-sing-di laing Ø-sup*
 and 1s.S-rip-RED-3p.O until 3s.S-complete
 ‘and I ripped them (copra bags) all open’
- (8) *baing di-gim-gim axamana na ding laing*
 and 3p.S-buy-RED something REC 3p until
Ø-sup
 3s.S- complete
 ‘and they finished buying several things for themselves’
- (9) *Ø-tau-Ø Ø-doa-doa bing bagula bila*
 3s.S-cook-3s.O 3s.S-ruined-RED then IRR like
ba=u bagula u-xim-ia bu
 DEM.mid=PROG IRR 2s.S-section-DISTR so
u-tung-tung-ia *laing Ø-sup*
 2s.S-light-RED-DIST until complete

‘(if) it (garden) burns poorly then it will stay like that, so you should make small piles to burn it all up’

- (10) *baing sabanga-noa Ø-kiri ung=di,*
 and older.brother-3s.POSS 3s.S-pick breadfruit=PL
tang di-kiri-kiri ung laing Ø-sup
 2/3d 3p.S-pick-RED breadfruit until 3s.S-complete
 ‘and his older brother picked breadfruits, the two of them picked all the breadfruits’

Occasionally, reduplicated verb stems may be further repeated (or reduplicated) to intensify the discourse. When this occurs, only the stem is reduplicated, not the affixes. In the orthography, this is represented by two words.

- (11) *baing am ga-li am ga-ragu-ragu ragu-ragu*
 and 1pe 1pe.S-stand 1pe 1pe.S-wait-RED wait-RED
laing bungbung
 until afternoon
 ‘and we stood waiting and waiting until the afternoon’

When such repetition occurs, no other constituents interpose between the verbs.

- (12) *am ga-luki-luki luki-luki tek liwe*
 1pe 1pe.S-run-RED run-RED ocean middle
 ‘we sailed on and on out on the ocean’

4.1.4 Transitivity (-a)

A seldom utilised feature of Mato is the use of the transitivity *-a* TR, to transform an intransitive verb into a transitive verb. Only a few examples have been found to date, including *sugu* ‘bathe (intr)’ and *sugu-a* ‘bathe (tr)’, *masisi* ‘laugh’ and *masisi-a* ‘laugh at’.

- (13) *Ne am gara tela=di, am ga-la am*
 but 1pe youth NSPEC=PL 1pe 1pe.S-go 1pe
ga-sugu Butaweng lang=ia.
 1pe.S-bathe Butaweng water=LOC
 ‘But some of us guys, we went and bathed in Butaweng River.’

- (14) *bau-ng-tibu-n=di* *di-sugu-a-Ø* *laing*
 mother-3s.POSS-father-3s.POSS=PL 3p.S-bathe-TR-3s.O until
Ø-sup
 3s.S-complete
 ‘her parents finished washing her’
- (15) *di-masisi* *laing* *Ø-sup*, *di-goxi-goxi-Ø*
 3p.S-laugh until 3s.S-complete 3p.S-tie-RED-3s.O
ma-sup
 DIR-complete
 ‘they laughed, then they tied it up completely’
- (16) *tang* *di-masisi-a-ding=guba*
 2/3d 3p.S-laugh-TR-3p.O=INCEPT
 ‘they started to laugh at themselves’

4.1.5 Distributive marker (-ia)

When suffixed to a verb stem, the distributive marker *-ia* DISTR indicates an action that is spatially distributed in a somewhat random manner.

- (17) *du-xup-xup* *tuxa=di*, *di-xim-xim-di* *kimbo*
 3p.S-uproot-RED post=PL 3p.S-section-RED-3p.O or
di-ki *gap=di* *ma-ri* *monga*
 3p.S-dig hole=PL DIR-descend bit
 ‘they remove all the posts, they cut them shorter or they dig the holes a little deeper’
- (18) *bagula* *u-xim-ia* *bu* *u-tung-tung-ia* *laing*
 IRR 2s.S-section-DISTR so 2s.S-light-RED-DISTR until
Ø-sup
 3s.S-complete
 ‘you will make small piles to burn it all up (here and there around the garden)’
- (19) *buxu* *da-xang-xang-ia* *mauli*
 pig 3p.S-eat-RED-DISTR around
 ‘the pigs forage’

- (20) *Ø-tah-ia* *gagap=di*
 3s.S-hit-DISTR dust=PL
 ‘he brushed off the dust (from his clothes/skin)’

4.1.6 Intensifier (-*uti* ~ -*ti*)

This manner suffix has been observed occurring with only 26 verbs to date. In 14 of those instances, it indicates the action has intensified to the point of breaking the object. In (21), the repeated hitting ruptures the lizard-skin top on the drum. In (22) the action is more of cutting until the fibrous root is shredded (referencing the process of making string). In (23) the door was not just fastened, but locked with a padlock. In five instances, there is no root to indicate a non-intensified form, but the ending signals an intensified or breaking action and they are noted here for reference. The verbs *xunggati* and *yugeti* are exceptions to the regular phonological suffixation rules.

TABLE 4.3. THE INTENSIFIER SUFFIX

Verb		Intensified form	
<i>bagu</i>	‘look/see’	<i>bagu-ti</i>	‘wake up’
		<i>bungguti</i>	‘dam up a stream’
<i>dudu</i>	‘to cap’	<i>dudu-ti</i>	‘block up (e.g. the ears with cotton)’
<i>gaxu</i>	‘bite’	<i>gaxu-ti</i>	‘chew’
<i>haturu</i>	‘cover’	<i>haturu-ti</i>	‘cover tightly’
<i>kinu</i>	‘recline’	<i>king-guti</i>	‘to sleep blocking in one’s pathway’
<i>kum</i>	‘seal’	<i>kum-guti</i>	‘to shut the mouth and not talk’
		<i>lungguti</i>	‘divide up tracts of land’
		<i>mumguti</i>	‘to be silent (by closing the mouth)’
		<i>rambaxuti</i>	‘to break by a snapping motion’
<i>rang</i>	‘place in ground’	<i>rang-guti</i>	‘blocked (by a downed tree)’
<i>raxap</i>	‘short’	<i>raxap-kuti</i>	‘to shorten by breaking/cutting’
<i>riba</i>	‘secure’	<i>riba-uti</i>	‘lock’
<i>ruha</i>	‘step on’	<i>ruha-uti</i>	‘to break by stepping on’
<i>soxa</i>	‘reach out’	<i>soxa-uti</i>	‘to block, to enclose, to shield’
		<i>taguti</i>	‘to break (e.g. glass or egg shell)’

TABLE 4.3 (CONT'D)

Verb		Intensified form	
<i>ta</i>	'put'	<i>ta-uti</i>	'to cover with the hands'
<i>taha</i>	'hit'	<i>taha-uti</i>	'to break by hitting'
<i>tau</i>	'cook/heat/burn'	<i>tau-ti</i>	'to break by burning'
<i>taxi</i>	'cut'	<i>taxi-ti</i>	'cut apart'
<i>xap</i>	'get'	<i>xap-kuti</i>	'adopt'
<i>xim</i>	'to section'	<i>xim-guti</i>	'sever'
<i>xung</i>	'fall down'	<i>xung-gati</i>	'to break falling down (e.g. a bone)'
<i>xuru</i>	'swollen'	<i>xuru-ti</i>	'burst'
<i>xuxu</i>	'slice'	<i>xuxu-ti</i>	'slice apart'
<i>yugi</i>	'shake'	<i>yug-eti</i>	'crack open/knock down by shaking'

- (21) *Ø-xap wagu-a saing Ø-taha-uti wagu laing*
 3s.S-get drum-SPEC and 3s.S-hit-break drum until
Ø-sup baing i-la
 3s.S-complete and 3s.S-go
 'he got the hand drum and hit the drum until it broke and he went'
- (22) *muga u-la u-taxi-ti bup imung*
 first 2s.S-go 2s.S-cut-break pandanus sp. root
xai-ya=di ba
 good-SPEC=PL DEM.mid
 'first you go cut up those good pandanus roots'
- (23) *baing am ga-la baing di-riba-uti xalu*
 and 1pe 1pe.S-go and 3p.S-secure-break door
sabanga CMB rubin=ia
 big CMB side=LOC
 'and we went and they had locked up the big door on the side of the CMB (Copra Marketing Board)'

4.1.7 Object marker

Verbal suffixation of object-marking pronouns was outlined above in §3.1.4. That suffix table is reiterated here.

TABLE 4.4. OBJECT SUFFIXES

	Singular	Plural
1e	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-am</i>
1i		<i>-kira</i>
2	<i>-ung</i>	<i>-ang</i>
3	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-di</i>

Mato does not require an object marker on a transitive verb. If an object is specified in a noun phrase, the object suffix does not occur on the verb. However, if there is no specified object, the object is obligatorily marked on the verb. Evidence that the pro-form is bound and not free comes from the morphophonemics as was outlined in §3.1.4.

- (24) *nga-su kabura* *laing* *Ø-sup*, *nga-raga-di*
 1s.S-pack copra until 3s.S-complete 1s.S-stitch-3p.O
laing *Ø-sup*
 until 3s.S-complete
 ‘I packed the copra and then I stitched them all shut’

In the preceding example, it could be argued that *kabura* ‘copra’ is a collective noun in singular form, thus raising the question of whether the 3s zero morpheme is not present in the verb *nga-su*. Further complicating the problem is the usage of the third person plural object marker *-di*. It carries the same form as the plural clitic =*di*, thus potentially neutralising third person plural environments where the object is not specified. Consider the following examples of environments contrasting specified and non-specified objects:

- (25) *am ga-xap tanga-mam=di*
 1pe 1pe.S-get net.bag-1pe.POSS=PL
 ‘we got our net bags’
- (26) *di-daudau-di*
 3p.S-singe-3p.O
 ‘they singed them (burned the hair off of the pigs)’

The case could be made that in the second example above, because there is no noun phrase, the plural clitic =*di* attaches instead to the verb. Syntactically, the third person plural does not provide the evidence needed to support or refute optional object markers. There is, however, a reflexive

construction that seems to support the optional postulation. If a free pronoun occurs as the object, the meaning becomes reflexive.

- (27) *i-la* *Ø-haing* *yonggam=ia* *saing* *Ø-ung*
 3s.S-go 3s.S-ascend tree.sp=LOC and 3s.S-kill

ina=uba

3s=INCEPT

‘he went and climbed a paired-leaf tree and killed himself (by hanging)’

- (28) *bing* *xalu-a* *Ø-xaxa* *ina* *baing* *Ø-sok*
 then door-SPEC 3s.S-open 3s and 3s.S-arrive

saing *i-la=uba*

and 3s.S-go=INCEPT

‘then the gate opened by itself and he came out and was leaving’

- (29) *lipu* *d-iti* *ding*
 person 3p.S-raise 3p

‘the men are arrogant (lit. they lift themselves up)’

In (29), though the object is plural, there is no verbal suffix to indicate this.

4.1.8 Directional derivation (*ma-*)

Mato utilises a derivational prefix *ma-* (glossed as DIR) that transforms the verb into a directional adverb indicating motion or spatial path. These forms never occur alone, but are always used adverbially in the predicate in a serial verb construction (see also §4.3). Meanings are contrasted in the following table. (The last two examples do not have a directional meaning; the root *tabu* does not normally occur by itself.)

TABLE 4.5. THE VERBAL PREFIX *ma-*

Verb		Directional adverb	
<i>haing</i>	‘ascend’	<i>ma-haing</i>	‘up’
<i>ri</i>	‘descend’	<i>ma-ri</i>	‘down’
<i>ma</i>	‘come’	<i>ma-ma ~ ma</i>	‘toward’
<i>la</i>	‘go’	<i>ma-la</i>	‘away’
<i>kisi</i>	‘cross’	<i>ma-kisi</i>	‘across’
<i>luxu</i>	‘enter’	<i>ma-luxu</i>	‘into’
<i>li</i>	‘stand’	<i>ma-li</i>	‘upright’
<i>sok</i>	‘arrive’	<i>ma-sok</i>	‘out of’
<i>sup</i>	‘complete’	<i>ma-sup</i>	‘completely’
<i>tabu</i>	-	<i>ma-tabu</i>	‘at rest’

(30) *Am ga-ting waxu=di ma-kisi mana xai*
 1pe 1pe.S-throw vine=PL DIR-cross OBL tree
maringina di-rang taxag=ia.
 straight 3p.S-place bridge=LOC
 ‘We threw the ropes across to a pole standing at the bridge.’

(31) *am ga-iti-di ma-haing*
 1pe 1pe.S-raise-3p.O DIR-ascend
 ‘we lifted them up’

(32) *am ga-ri ma-la*
 1pe 1pe.S-descend DIR-go
 ‘we disembarked (from the boat)’

(33) *da-xap xai tela ma di-simbaxang ma-luxu*
 3p.S-get wood NSPEC DIR 3p.S-thread DIR-enter
ki-n=ia i-la Ø-sok toxo-n=ia
 leg-3s.POSS=LOC 3s.S-go 3s.S-arrive head-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘they bring a pole and slide it between its (dead pig) tied legs
 through to its head’

When the verb *ma* ‘come’ is derived in this manner, it is often just shortened to *ma*; *mama* is heard only occasionally.

- (34) *Ne Aisam Ø-wa Gomdan saing Ø-ri*
 but Aisam 3s.S-be Gomdan and 3s.S-descend
ma-ma.
 DIR-come
 ‘But Aisam was at Gomdan and he came down.’
- (35) *Nga-la teg=ia saing nga-haing ma muli.*
 1s.S-go ocean=LOC and 1s.S-ascend DIR again
 ‘I went to the beach and I came back up.’

The verb *sup* means ‘complete’ or ‘done’. The directional derivative *ma-sup* implies temporal direction rather than spatial direction (that is, ‘it comes to an end’) and a good English equivalent is the adverb ‘completely’.

- (36) *Oxata Ø-sup.*
 work 3s.S-complete
 ‘The work is done.’
- (37) *u-tu xoxi-noa ma-sup*
 2s.S-weave strap-3s.POSS DIR-complete
 ‘you weave its strap completely’

4.1.9 Nominaliser (-nga and -ia)

Verbs are nominalised by suffixation in Mato. The most common method is by attaching *-nga* NMLZ to the verb. It is a very productive feature of the language. Only in a few instances has *-ia* NMLZ been observed (see discussion in §3.2).

- (38) *tui-nga-noa Ø-sup*
 fell-NMLZ-3s.POSS 3s.S-complete
 ‘its (the garden’s) tree-felling operation is over’
- (39) *muga-muga-nga-m di-sok=kuba*
 lead-RED-NMLZ-ASS 3p.S-arrive=INCEPT
 ‘the first ones are arriving now’

4.2 Basic verb phrase structure

The Mato verb phrase is fairly simple as Mato does not have grammaticalised tense. Reference to temporal events is made by way of time

or aspect adverbs (see §5.3.3 for more discussion). Time adverbs operate on a discourse level, meaning once the temporal setting is achieved, it is not mentioned again in the discourse unless there is a change. Thus, tense is often determined by the context. Example (40) shows the second sentence without time reference, as it was defined in the first. In fact, no further reference is made to the temporal setting in the discourse in question. The temporal aspect adverbs and adverbial clitics (durative, perfective, irrealis, progressive and intervening event), however, do operate on the clause level. The sentence in (41) occurs in the same discourse and therefore has past tense references in the free translation.

- (40) *Nga-bo nga-naxuya nulana Mande ba.*
 1s.S-want 1s.S-narrate near.past Monday DEM.mid

Metil tam¹ ga-la ha Samasingia...
 Metil 1d 1p.S-go down Samasingia

‘I want to tell a story that happened last Monday. Metil and I went down to Samasingia...’

- (41) *Nga-rung mua ne nga-ragu Metil Sanaiyang tang*
 1s.S-sit DUR but 1s.S-wait Metil Sanaiyang 2/3d

di-ma baing am ga-ma num=ia=uba.
 3p.S-come and 1pe 1p.S-come house=LOC=INCEPT

‘I sat for a while and waited for Metil and Sanaiyang to come and we headed to the house.’

4.3 Verb serialisation

Verb serialisation has already been alluded to in §4.1.8. All of the derived directional forms obligatorily occur with an inflected verb. A further example is (42):

- (42) *Ø-duduxang ma-la xalut=ia ba Ø-ri*
 3s.S-scoot DIR-go edge=LOC DEM.mid 3s.S-descend

taxag=ia=uba
 ladder=LOC=INCEPT

‘she scooted to the edge and started down the steps’

¹ The use of the dual pronoun *tam* in this example and of *tang* in (41) illustrates the inclusive use of dual pronouns in Mato.

There is another verb sequence that illustrates a serialised construction in which only one verb is inflected and tense-aspect-mood marking is initiated only once for the set. In this construction, the first verb indicates the action and the second the result. The object of the first verb is the subject of the second. The data indicate that this construction is limited in scope to an action and the verb *mati* ‘die’.

- (43) *nga-taxi-ti* *xai* *tela* *ba* *nga-taha moxa*
 1s.S-cut-break wood NSPEC CMPR 1s.S-hit snake
mati
 die

‘I cut off a stick to beat the snake to death’

- (44) *xung-Ø*² *ma-ri* *long* *diana* *baing* *xung-Ø*
 fall-3s.O DIR-descend area bad and fall-3s.O
mati=uba
 die=INCEPT

‘he fell down a cliff and he was falling to his death’

- (45) *nga-hang-Ø* *mati*
 1s.S-shoot-3s.O die
 ‘I shot it to death’

² Note that the verb *xung* ‘to fall’ is an intransitive verb that receives object inflection (see §5.2.1).

5. *Clause structure*

5.1 **Verbless clauses**

Mato clauses that are verbless fall into two categories. These are equative clauses, and nominal stative clauses.

5.1.1 **Equative clauses**

Equative clauses are characterised by subject and nominal predicate noun phrases juxtaposed without an intervening verb.

- (1) *axa ba anginga tela*
thing DEM.mid food NSPEC
'that thing is food'
- (2) *Am lipu titi-am=di.*
1pe person land-ASS=PL
'We are worldly people.'
- (3) *waga ya-noa Singgoba*
boat name-3s.POSS Singgoba
'the boat's name is Singgoba'
- (4) *Tibu-im baguba.*
father-2p.POSS that
'There is your father.'
- (5) *a-hang-gam mati, axamang kaxukana*
2p.S-shoot-1pe.O die something small
'(if) you kill us all, it doesn't matter'

5.1.2 **Nominal stative clauses**

Nominal stative clauses are verbless. They are characterised by the presence of a predicate noun affixed with a possessive suffix that refers to the subject, typically a possessor or an experiencer. A stative clause may consist

of a single predicate noun (or noun phrase), or two juxtaposed noun phrases. In the latter case the subject precedes the nominal predicate. When such a nominal subject occurs, the possessive suffix on the predicate is usually third person, and must agree with the subject in number and person. English translations of these clauses often have to supply the verb ‘to have’ or use adjectives or other verbs.

- (6) *Saxa-gua*.
sore-1s.POSS
‘I have a sore.’ (lit. ‘My sore’ or ‘I [have] a sore.’)
- (7) *Gamo-gua*.
abdomen-1s.POSS
‘I am pregnant.’ (lit. ‘My abdomen’ or ‘I [have] an abdomen.’)
- (8) *Gaxarea saxa-na?*
who sore-3s.POSS
‘Who has a sore?’
- (9) *Unungunung-igu*.
cough-1s.POSS
‘I have a cough / I have a cold.’
- (10) *Salaksalag-igu*.
sweat-1s.POSS
‘I am sweating.’
- (11) *Gesag-imam*.
hunger-1pe.POSS
‘We are hungry.’
- (12) *Memaya-roa*.
shame-1pi.POSS
‘We are ashamed.’
- (13) *Toxo-n te*.
head-3s.POSS NEG
‘He is an idiot.’ (lit. ‘He [has] no head.’)

In the following more complex examples the predicate noun is underlined. In the last three examples the noun is a nominalised verb or adjective.

- (14) *Nga-wasa ma-na laing anginga=di aningo-ding.*
 1s.S-tend OBL-3s.O until food=PL fruit-3p.POSS
 ‘I tended to it until food came forth.’ (lit. ‘...until the foods [had] their fruit.’)
- (15) *Baing Ø-taguxa dina=di baing sami-ding.*
 and 3s.S-rustle flower.sp=PL and aroma-3p.POSS
 ‘And he rustled the flowers and they gave off a scent.’
- (16) *Lipu-a ba hatum-inga-ng luwa.*
 person-SPEC DEM.mid think-NMLZ-3s.POSS two
 ‘That man is double-minded.’ (lit. ‘That man [has] two thoughts.’)
- (17) *Naxuya-nga raxab-ia-na.*
 narrate-NMLZ short-NMLZ-3s.POSS
 ‘It’s a short story.’ (lit. ‘The story [has] shortness.’)
- (18) *Ung muru-nga-ma.*
 2s desire-NMLZ-2s.POSS
 ‘Whatever you want / it’s your choice.’

Nominal stative clauses are also common with adjectives in predicate position. In these cases the possessive suffixes are simply affixed to the adjective. Since there is no overt nominalising suffix, it seems best to regard these constructions as nominalised adjectives through zero derivation.

- (19) *Dudu-na.*
 stubborn-3s.POSS
 ‘He is stubborn.’
- (20) *Haidanga=di gamata-ding.*
 flower=PL green-3p.POSS
 ‘The flowers are green.’
- (21) *Ayua-im=di kakaha-ding.*
 husband-2p.POSS=PL stupid-3p.POSS
 ‘Your husbands were dumb.’
- (22) *Kakaha-ma baru?*
 stupid-2s.POSS how
 ‘How can you be so stupid?’

- (23) *Gauri-gu buk.*
cold-1s.POSS excessively
'I am so cold.'
- (24) *Ora-na haringing sibuna.*
fat-3s.POSS strong very
'Its fat is very strong (= it is really rich/sweet).'

When the adjectives *dudu* 'stubborn', *hauxa* 'disinclined, ambivalent', *kakaha* 'stupid, crazy', and the nouns *memaya* 'shame', *murū* 'desire, like, want', function as the predicate of a nominal stative clause, they allow for an additional argument.¹ This argument is often a benefactive or a stimulus, presented in a prepositional phrase introduced by the multi-purpose preposition *ma* (see §5.3.1).

- (25) *Dudu-ding ma-ung.*
stubborn-3p.POSS OBL-2s.O
'They are stubborn toward you.'
- (26) *Memaya-gu ma-ng.*
shame-1s.POSS OBL-2p.O
'I am ashamed of you.'
- (27) *Hauxa-gu.*
disinclined-1s.POSS
'I don't want to.'
- (28) *Mete hauxa-na ma-ung te.*
Mete disinclined-3s.POSS OBL-2s.O NEG
'Mete is not tired of you. / Mete is not undesiring of you.'
- (29) *am muru-mam ma-ng*
1pe desire-1pe.POSS OBL-2p.O
'we like you (pl) / we are pleased with you (pl)'
- (30) *Nga muru-gu sibuna ma-ung.*
1s desire-1s.POSS very OBL-2s.O
'I love you.'

¹ It is not always clear whether some of these roots are nouns or adjectives. In each case, however, the result is a nominal stative clause.

5.2 Verbal clauses: core arguments

Mato is an SVO language. While an entire clause may consist of a single verb, a noun phrase specifying subject or object usually accompanies the verb. The only exception to the SVO word order is when a topicalised constituent is fronted in the clause. Grammatical relations are encoded by pronominal affixes (using a nominative-accusative system), as well as by constituent order.

5.2.1 Basic intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses have one core argument to the verb: the subject. The basic Mato intransitive clause, therefore, consists of an intransitive verb.

(31) *di-rung*
3p.S-sit
'they sit'

(32) *nga-luki*
1s.S-run
'I run'

Intransitive clauses in Mato may also include a noun phrase argument functioning as a subject. This precedes the verb.

(33) *Kuya sabanga Ø-mu.*
rain big 3s.S-rain
'It is raining hard.'

(34) *Koma-gua tela Ø-mati.*
dog-1s.POSS NSPEC 3s.S-die
'One of my dogs died.'

(35) *Gauri-nga-gua Ø-tubu.*
cold-NMLZ-1s.POSS 3s.S-swell
'I am growing cold.' (lit. 'My coldness is swelling.')

While some verbs are obligatorily intransitive (such as those above), other verbs such as *sala* 'hurt, burn', can be both transitive and intransitive.

- (36) *Sangga-gu di-sala.*
 skin-1s.POSS 3p.S-hurt/burn
 ‘I have a fever.’ (lit. ‘My skin is hurting/burning.’)
- (37) *toxo-gu Ø-sala nga*
 head-1s.POSS 3s.S-hurt/burn 1s.O
 ‘I have a headache’ (lit. ‘my head hurts/burns me’)

There is one intransitive verb in Mato which encodes its sole argument as an object, using object pronouns. That verb is *xung* ‘fall’. The usage suggests that falling down is something that is out of one’s control; it is something that happens to someone.

- (38) *xung-gung ma-ri*
 fall-2s.O DIR-descend
 ‘you fell down’

5.2.2 Basic transitive clauses

The most basic transitive clause in Mato is the verb, inflected for subject and object.

- (39) *U-tuxu-di.*
 2s.S-hold-3p.O
 ‘You hold them.’
- (40) *Di-tau-Ø.*
 3p.S-cook-3s.O
 ‘They cook it.’
- (41) *Di-gamia-ung.*
 3p.S-angry-2s.O
 ‘They were mad at you.’

The transitive clause, however, usually has one or more noun phrases functioning as subjects and objects. The constituent order is SVO.

- (42) *Xanronggi Ø-taxi-ung.*
 old.woman 3s.S-cut-2s.O
 ‘The old woman cut you.’

- (43) *hain-inoa* \emptyset -*hayau* *gara* *tela*
 wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-give.birth youth NSPEC
 ‘his wife gave birth to a child’
- (44) *Mura* \emptyset -*hang* *ki-gua*.
 Mura 3s.S-shoot leg-1s.POSS
 ‘Mura shot my foot.’
- (45) *Lipu* *oxata-m* *di-tongtongia* *numa* *xai* *sibuna*.
 person work-ASS 3p.S-build house good very
 ‘The workers built a very nice house.’

The following example illustrates a complex coordinated object noun phrase in apposition to the generic noun *xaling-in=di* ‘his possessions’:

- (46) *Baung-tibu-n=di* *di-gam-gam*
 mother-father-3s.POSS=PL 3p.S-pack-RED
xaling-in=di: *buxu-ng* *daba*,
 possession-3s.POSS=PL pig-3s.POSS basket
sala-nga-ng *daba*, *angaxi-ng* *daba*.
 make.bread-NMLZ-3s.POSS basket pili.nut-3s.POSS basket
 ‘Her parents packed up his possessions (gifts): a pig basket, a bread basket and a pili nut basket.’

5.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

A ditransitive clause has three core arguments. In addition to the subject and object, a recipient may occur to make a ditransitive predication in Mato.

To date, the only verb observed to be obligatorily ditransitive is *ulia* ‘give, share’. The recipient in Mato is nearly always marked by the preposition *na* REC. If the object is a pronoun, it comes from the object pronoun set and is suffixed to the preposition. In this type of predication, the object occurs first. However, *ulia* marks the recipient on the verb and the object appears separately.

- (47) \emptyset -*baxanga* *harua-ng-ua* *na* *haing* *lup=di*.
 3s.S-inform say-NMLZ-SPEC REC woman male=PL
 ‘He preached the message to the women and men.’

- (48) *A-ulia-nga kilang.*
 2p.S-give-1s.O axe
 ‘Share the axe with me.’
- (49) *Ø-ulia lipu=di axamana*
 3s.S-give person=PL something
 ‘he shares something with people’

Another verb for ‘give’, *sina* encodes recipient and object in the normal manner.

- (50) *Gaxarea Ø-sina song xaung gomi=di na-ng?*
 who 3s.S-give fish and giant.clam.shell=PL REC-2p.O
 ‘Who gave the fish and giant clam shells to you?’

5.2.4 Topicalised object

A shift of constituent order in the clause signifies topicalisation. Topicalised objects in Mato are fronted.

- (51) *buxu ba, koma=di du-xu-Ø ma-la*
 pig DEM.mid dog=PL 3p.S-chase-3s.O DIR-go
 ‘that pig, the dogs chased after it’
- (52) *lang-a nga-xu saing nga-ma baing*
 water-SPEC 1s.S-fill and 1s.S-come and
 ‘the water, I filled (it) and I came (already)’
- (53) *baing haing-ga ba sunai-yua Ø-xap-Ø*
 and woman-SPEC DEM.mid sea.snake-SPEC 3s.S-get-3s.O
 ‘and that woman, the sea snake got her’

5.2.5 Obligatory constituents

As shown above, the only obligatory constituent in the verbal clause is the verb. Overt subject and object constituents are not required. The subject prefix is always a required constituent. The object suffix is obligatory with transitive verbs, only if it is not overtly stated in a noun phrase. If an overt nominal object is specified, the suffix is absent. All other oblique arguments are optional, except with the ditransitive verb *ulia* ‘share, give’, which also requires a recipient.

(Subject) | Subject.prefix-Verb-(Object.suffix) | (Object)

FIGURE 3. OBLIGATORY VERBAL CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

5.2.6 Existential-copular clauses

A special clause type in Mato is formed by clauses containing the existential-copular verb *wa* ‘to be’. This verb, which is very similar to the Tok Pisin verb *stap*, is inflected like an ordinary intransitive verb and has several unique properties. Structurally, the following three distinctions can be made.

1. The verb *wa* has an existential or locative meaning (translated as ‘to be’, ‘to live’, ‘to stay’), and is usually followed by a locative complement. The locative complement can be a prepositional phrase, a locative adverb, the question word *bi* ‘where’, or a simple locative noun. However, *wa* also occurs in an absolute sense without a locative. These complements are illustrated below.

a. An adpositional phrase:

- (54) *du-wa mana numa-ding=di*
 3p.S-be OBL house-3p.POSS=PL
 ‘they are at their houses’
- (55) *du-wa mana long-ga Muguxunguna*
 3p.S-be OBL area-SPEC Muguxunguna
 ‘they lived at the place Muguxunguna’
- (56) *Tang du-wa rangua-m.*
 2/3d 3p.S-be with/to-1pe.O
 ‘The two of them stayed with us.’
- (57) *axamana ina Ø-wa rangua numa moxo-noa*
 something 3s 3s.S-be with/to house owner-3s.POSS
 ‘it is up to the homeowner (what he wants to do)’
- (58) *Du-wa hanggaxob-in=ia.*
 3p.S-be underneath-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘They are underneath it.’

- (59) *A-wa mua tabalaxa=ya.*
 2p.S-be DUR camp=LOC
 ‘You stay at the camp.’

b. A locative adverb:

- (60) *lipu taining tainina du-wa la li*
 person one one 3p.S-be GOAL DEM.near
 ‘there are only a few people here’
- (61) *ding du-wa hatawa*
 3p 3p.s-be down.far
 ‘they were down below there’

c. The question word *bi* ‘where’:

- (62) *Kaunsel luwa=di luwa=di du-wa bi?*
 council two=PL two=PL 3p.S-be where
 ‘Where are the four councilmen?’
- (63) *waxang-igua Ø-wa bi?*
 knife-1s.POSS 3s.S-be where
 ‘where is my knife?’

d. A simple noun, usually a place name:

- (64) *Ne Aisam Ø-wa Gomdan...*
 but Aisam 3s.S-be Gomdan
 ‘But Aisam was at Gomdan...’
- (65) *mana du-wa Niutaun*
 OBL 3p.S-be Newtown
 ‘for them to stay at Newtown’
- (66) *bungina du-wa gugunia-nga saing*
 when 3p.S-be gather-NMLZ and
 ‘when they were at a meeting and...’

e. When *wa* is used in an absolute sense (‘to be, to exist, to stay’), a locative complement often has to be added in the translation:

- (67) *Tam ga-wa=u.*
 1pe 1pe.S-be=PROG
 ‘We are here.’

- (68) *Muga-mugau sibuna lipu tela haini-noa tang*
 before-RED very person NSPEC wife-3s.POSS 3d
du-wa.
 3p.S-be
 ‘A very long time ago, there lived a man and his wife.’
- (69) *Tela=di du-xusunga ba, ‘Asaxa-roa*
 NSPEC=PL 3p.S-ask CMPR animal-1pi.POSS
Ø-wa=u?’
 3s.S-be = PROG
 ‘Some of them asked, “Is our animal here?”’
- (70) *A-wa mua to.*
 2p.S-be DUR first
 ‘You stay (there) for a while (wait a little bit and then we’ll do something else).’
- (71) *Labu ang tela=di a-wa=u tai!*
 PROHIB 2p NSPEC=PL 2p.S-be=PROHIB NEG
 ‘Not one of you can stay!’

2. The verb *wa* can also have a possessive meaning when it is followed by a noun. This usage appears to be rare.

- (72) *Saing du-wa sioti tate, du-wa olang*
 and 3p.S-be shirt NEG 3p.S-be nothing
sangga-ding=ia.
 skin-3p.POSS=LOC
 ‘And they didn’t have any shirts / And they didn’t have anything on their torsos.’

3. The verb *wa* is also used as a copular verb with a following adjective:

- (73) *u-wa xai?*
 2s.S-be good
 ‘are you well?’
- (74) *du-wa sabanga*
 3p.S-be big
 ‘they are big’

- (75) *ina Ø-wa muganga*
 3s 3s.S-be old
 ‘it is old’
- (76) *A-wa mosi bu ta-lungu harua-ng-ua.*
 2p.S-be relaxed so 1pi.S-hear say-NMLZ-SPEC
 ‘Be still so we can hear what’s being said.’

4. Finally, *wa* functions as a copular verb with a following noun. The difference between a copular clause and an equative clause without *wa* is not clear.

- (77) *waleu nga-wa gara=uyu*
 far.past 1s.S-be youth=INC
 ‘long ago while I was still a youth’
- (78) *sobag-a Ø-wa bang*
 moon-SPEC 3s.S-be taro
 ‘it’s a full moon’ (lit. ‘the moon is taro’)

5.3 Verbal clauses: peripheral arguments

5.3.1 Adpositional phrases

Mato has six prepositions. They relate noun phrases to the predicate in a specific manner. There are no postpositions in Mato, though the locative clitic =*ia* occurs phrase-finally. This clitic (like the plural clitic =*di*) is phonologically bound to the noun phrase. Prepositions can stand alone, though pronouns from the object pronoun set are suffixed to the preposition if the object is not overtly stated. The prepositions are listed below.

TABLE 5.1. MATO PREPOSITIONS

Mato	Gloss
<i>laing</i>	‘until’
<i>ma ~ mana</i>	OBL ‘about, at, by, for, in, of, to, with’
<i>na</i>	REC (recipient)
<i>rangua</i>	‘with, to, from’
<i>sangua</i>	‘from’
<i>xauna</i>	‘with’ (instrument/accompaniment)

The preposition *laing* ‘until’ can be followed by a noun phrase. More often, however *laing* functions as a conjunction and is followed by a clause. It signifies terminative aspect and complements the aspectual clitic =*uba*, which marks inceptive aspect.

(79) *am ga-haxa laing bungbung*
 1pe 1pe.S-walk until afternoon
 ‘we walked until afternoon’

(80) *Baing nga-sing-sing-di laing Ø-sup.*
 and 1s.S-rip-RED-3p.O until 3s.S-complete
 ‘And I ripped them all open.’

(81) *am ga-ma laing am ga-sok Niutaun*
 1pe 1pe.S-come until 1pe 1pe.S-arrive Newtown
 ‘we came until we arrived at Newtown’

The word *ma ~ mana* (glossed as OBL) is a multi-purpose preposition that has all manner of meaning. Depending on the verb and the context, it can be translated as ‘about’, ‘at’, ‘by’, ‘for’, ‘in’, ‘of’, ‘to’ and ‘with’. Furthermore, it can be used in a possessive or locative circumlocution. Occasionally *ma ~ mana* is reduced to *m*, in which case it is written as *'m*.

It is in the case of non-overtly stated objects that there is variation as to form. If the object is not stated overtly, then a suffix is attached from the set of object pronominal suffixes. Thus, the codified form of *mana* which occurs at all other times is the preposition plus 3s.O *-na*. There is, however, one deviation here. In the case of 3p.O *-di*, the suffix is attached to the codified form; hence, *manadi* in (87) and (88).

- (91) *Nga-hauli-di* *mana kabura-ding=di*
 1s.S-help-3p.O OBL copra-3p.POSS=PL
 ‘I helped them with their copra’
- (92) *bagula* *nga-tuba-tuba-ung* *mana umanga*
 IRR 1s.S-try-RED-2s.O OBL garden
oxata-na
 work-3s.POSS
 ‘I will teach you about garden work.’
- (93) *Mana Mato di-tongtongia numa baru, nga-bo*
 about Mato 3p.S-build house how 1s.S-want
nga-naxuya ma-na.
 1s.S-narrate OBL-3s.O
 ‘About how the Mato build houses, I want to explain about it.’
- (94) *U-bagu titi-a* *laing sanga* *mana ung*
 2s.S-see land-SPEC until able OBL 2s
hatum-inga-ma
 think-NMLZ-2s.POSS
 ‘You search for land until you find some that is agreeable to you
 (lit. until it is sufficient in your thinking).’
- (95) *Taung, xaidab-a* *Ø-xani,* *baing* *u-ta*
 okay, sun-SPEC 3s.S-shine, and 2s.S-put
yab-a *ma-na=uba.*
 fire-SPEC OBL-3s.O=INCEPT
 ‘Okay, the sun shines, and you light it (lit. put fire on it now).’
- (96) *ung* *gu-ri* *muga* *ma-m*
 2s 2s.S-descend ahead OBL-1pe.O
 ‘you go in (to the water) ahead of us’

In the following example, *mana* introduces a purpose clause and seems to function as a conjunction.

- (97) *Am ga-yunga Runeng rangua Mika mana*
 1pe 1pe.S-leave Runeng with/to Mika OBL
du-wa Niutaun.
 3p.S-be Newtown
 ‘We left Runeng with Mika for them to stay at Newtown.’

The recipient marker *na* was introduced in §5.2.3. It marks recipient or addressee and takes a pronominal object marker if there is no full nominal object.

- (98) *Ø-xau song, gomi ma saing*
 3s.S-gather fish giant.clam.shell DIR and
Ø-sina na gara-n=di
 3s.S- give REC youth-3s.POSS=PL
 ‘she gathered fish and giant clam shells together and gave (them) to her children’
- (99) *Ø-sina su na-ung*
 3s.S-give milk REC-2s.O
 ‘she breastfed you’
- (100) *Di-baxanga na haing lup=di ba, ‘...’*
 3p.S-inform REC woman man=PL CMPR
 ‘They inform the women and men, “...”’
- (101) *Ø-harua na-ng ba, ‘...’*
 3s.S-say REC-2p.O CMPR
 ‘He said to you, “...”’

The preposition *rangua* ‘with, to’ (and occasionally ‘from’) specifies the semantic notion of accompaniment, either within the action or as a result of it. If the object is not overtly stated, it takes on a pronominal object suffix.

- (102) *Bungina lub-a Ø-ma rangua haing-a,*
 when male-SPEC 3s.S-come with/to woman-SPEC
haing-a Ø-uxu ya-noa ba, ‘Mato’.
 woman-SPEC 3s.S-call name-3s.POSS CMPR Mato
 ‘When the man came to the woman, the woman named him Mato.’

- (103) *tang du-wa rangua-m*
 2/3d 3p.S-be with/to-1pe.O
 ‘the two of them stayed with us’
- (104) *axamana ina Ø-wa rangua numa moxo-noa*
 something 3s 3s.S-be with/to house owner-3s.POSS
 ‘it’s something that’s up to the homeowner (how he wants to break it up into rooms)’
- (105) *Ø-hang-Ø baing buxu-a ba Ø-yunga*
 3s.S-shoot-3s.O and pig-SPEC DEM.mid 3s.S-leave
koma=di saing Ø-luki ma rangua-Ø.
 dog=PL and 3s.S-run DIR with/to-3s.O
 ‘He shot it and that pig left the dogs and came running toward him.’
- (106) *i-la rangua hain-inoa xaung gara-na*
 3s.S-go with/to wife-3s.POSS and youth-3s.POSS
 ‘he went to his wife and child’

The preposition *sangua* ‘from, out of’ is a directional marker.

- (107) *Saxariong, ung gu-la sangua-m ne*
 Saxariong, 2s 2s.S-go from-1pe.O but
saxa-m=di da-ha-buya-m buk.
 sore-2s.POSS=PL 3p.S-CAUS-rancid-1pe.O excessively
 ‘Saxariong, go away from us, because your sores are so rancid.’
- (108) *‘U-ma sangua nga ne sambu axamang*
 2s.S-come from 1s.O but nearly thing
diana Ø-xang nga.’
 bad 3s.S-eat 1s.O
 ‘You came away from me and a horrible thing nearly ate me.’
- (109) *Ø-ting sangsang=di ma-la sangua num-ua*
 3s.S-throw refuse=PL DIR-go from house-SPEC
 ‘he threw the trash out of the house’

The preposition *xauna* ‘with’ (and its variant *xaung* when followed by another word; see §2.4.9) may be used to indicate an instrument. The

preferred way to indicate an instrument of the action, however, is to use the locative clitic =*ia* ~ =*ya*. The following sets are equivalent.

- (110) *Bulu Ø-taha koma ba xaung xai.*
 Bulu 3s.S-hit dog DEM.mid with wood
 ‘Bulu hit that dog with a stick.’
- (111) *Bulu Ø-taha koma ba xai=ya.*
 Bulu 3s.S-hit dog DEM.mid wood=LOC
 ‘Bulu hit that dog with a stick.’
- (112) *Ø-tui xai ma-ri xaung Goi waxang-inoa.*
 3s.S-fell wood DIR-descend with Goi knife-3s.POSS
 ‘He cut the tree down with Goi’s knife.’
- (113) *Ø-tui xai ma-ri Goi waxang-in=ia.*
 3s.S-fell tree DIR-descend Goi knife-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘He cut the tree down with Goi’s knife.’

The preposition *xauna* may also be used to signify accompaniment.

- (114) *am ga-haing muli xaung lipu tela=di*
 1pe 1pe.S-ascend again with person NSPEC=PL
 ‘we embarked (on a boat) again with some people’
- (115) *Ø-tuxu ruang haringin tela saing Ø-kinu*
 3s.S-hold bow strong NSPEC and 3s.S-sleep
xauna-Ø.
 with-3s.O
 ‘He held a gun and slept with it.’

Location is achieved in the noun phrase by way of a postpositional locative clitic =*ia* that attaches to the end of the noun phrase ahead of plural clitics and demonstratives. It does not collocate with proper nouns (e.g. place names) and neither is it found in combination with the specifying suffix *-a*.

- (116) *kixing-inoa Ø-rung eta ung*
 younger.brother 3s.S-sit up.far breadfruit
uxu-n=ia
 shoots-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘his younger brother sat up high in the breadfruit treetop’

- (117) *nga-la* *Mandang* *ba*
 1s.S-go Madang DEM.mid
 ‘I went to Madang’
- (118) *nga-la* *xah=ia* *rangua* *Mugariong*
 1s.S-go lean.to=LOC with/to Mugariong
 ‘I went to be with Mugariong at the lean-to’

5.3.2 Locatives

There is a set of morphemes that specify locations related to the predicate. These words are usually bound with the locative clitic. Three of these are inalienably bound with possessive suffixes, so are better classified as locative nouns than adverbs. They are *hanggaxop* ‘underneath’, *luna* ‘inside’ and *rubina* ‘side’.

- (119) *Du-wa* *hanggaxob-in=ia*.
 3p.S-be underneath-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘They are underneath it.’
- (120) *Ø-ri* *tek* *lu-n=ia=uba*
 3s.S-descend ocean inside-3s.POSS=LOC=INCEPT
 ‘she began to descend into the sea’
- (121) *am* *ga-la* *raxang* *rub-in=ia*
 1pe 1pe.S-go sword.grass side-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘we went to the perimeter of the sword grass field’

However, two of the position words are permanently bound with the locative clitic and are therefore represented here as peripheral arguments to the clause. These two never take possessive suffixes. They are *sabasabia* ‘outside’ and *singia* ‘adjacent’.

- (122) *Sabu-ng-ua* *Ø-sup,* *ta-la* *sabasabia*.
 pray-NMLZ-SPEC 3s.S-complete 1pi.S-go outside
 ‘The church service is over, let’s go outside.’
- (123) *di-gim-di* *singia*
 3p.S-buy-3p.O adjacent
 ‘they bought them next to (the copra buying house)’

5.3.3 Adverbs

There are several adverbs and adverbial clitics in Mato. They can be grouped into those which indicate position or location, manner, negative, degree, time and aspect-modality. These words all modify verbs, though some also modify nouns and adjectives as well. They do not undergo any morphological processes, except that a few that can be reduplicated for intensification. It should also be noted that the directionals, those non-finite verbs that are prefixed with *ma-* DIR, also serve to adverbially specify directionality of action. See §4.1.8 for a discussion of this derivation.

TABLE 5.2. COMMON MATO ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL CLITICS

	Mato	Gloss
Position	<i>eta ~ etua</i>	‘above, up far’
	<i>ha</i>	‘down’
	<i>hasoya</i>	‘far’
	<i>hata</i>	‘yonder’
	<i>hatawa</i>	‘down yonder’
	<i>hawa</i>	‘below’
	<i>haxek</i>	‘near’
	<i>kimu ~ kimuya</i>	‘later, after’
	<i>la</i>	GOAL
	<i>lia</i>	‘middle’
	<i>mauli</i>	‘around’
	<i>muga</i>	‘first, ahead’
	<i>taxa</i>	‘directly’
	<i>yata ~ yatua</i>	‘up near’
Manner	<i>bila</i>	‘like/thus’
	<i>doa</i>	‘ruined’
	<i>mosi</i>	‘relaxed’
	<i>muli</i>	‘again’
	<i>olang</i>	‘empty, only, just’
	<i>saha</i>	‘apart’
	<i>sap</i>	‘quickly’
	<i>sus ~ susu</i>	‘frustrated intention’
	<i>xai</i>	‘good’
Negative	<i>ino</i>	NEG
	<i>labu</i>	PROH
	<i>tai</i>	NEG

TABLE 5.2 CONT'D

	Mato	Gloss
	<i>tate</i>	NEG
	<i>te</i>	NEG
	<i>tegu</i>	'no'
Degree	<i>buk</i>	'excessively'
	<i>haringina</i>	'strong'
	<i>ke</i>	'emphatic'
	<i>monga</i>	'bit'
	<i>sabanga</i>	'big'
	<i>sambu</i>	'nearly'
	<i>sibuna</i>	'very'
Time	<i>bungbung</i>	'afternoon'
	<i>bungina</i>	'when'
	<i>bungingbunginalo</i>	'always'
	<i>buragina</i>	'tomorrow'
	<i>buraragina</i>	'morning'
	<i>hatata</i>	'now/today'
	<i>mari/mari to</i>	'future'
	<i>mena</i>	'today future'
	<i>menau</i>	'today past'
	<i>mugau</i>	'remote past'
	<i>nulau</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>nulana</i>	'near past'
	<i>rarauti</i>	'day after tomorrow'
	<i>waleu</i>	'far past'
Aspect - Modality	<i>ba</i>	PERF.CERT
	<i>bagula</i>	IRR
	<i>bola</i>	'maybe'
	<i>lo</i>	PERF.UC
	<i>mua</i>	DUR
	<i>to</i>	'first'
	= <i>uba</i>	INCEPT
	= <i>uyu</i>	INC
	= <i>u</i>	PROG
	<i>yu</i>	IRR

5.3.3.1 Position adverbs

The positional adverbs specify spatial or temporal position. They all function only as adverbs, with the exception of the verb *muga* ‘lead’ which, when used as an adverb, is uninflected and means ‘first, ahead’. The adverbs *muga* and *haxek* can be reduplicated for intensification.

- (124) *Baing bungbung tam ga-la eta Baximanamuya*
 and afternoon 1d 1p.S-go above Baximanamuya
saing tam ga-kinu.
 and 1d 1p.S-sleep

‘And in the afternoon we went up to Baximanamuya and slept.’

- (125) *Baing haing nanuna ba Ø-maxuwa xanronggi*
 and woman young DEM.mid 3s.S-afraid old.woman
saing Ø-li hasoya saing Ø-ting gumbak=di
 and 3s.S-stand far and 3s.S-throw bean.sp=PL
ma-la.
 DIR-go

‘And that little girl was afraid of the old woman and she stood at a distance and threw the beans (at the old woman).’

- (126) *A-ma ta-la bu ta-isi buxu tela*
 2p.S-come 1pi.S-go so 1pi.S-cook.in.pit pig NSPEC
nga-ta'-m² tabu hata lo.
 1s.S-put-DIR at.rest yonder DEM.far

‘Come on, let’s go so we can cook a pig I put aside over yonder.’

² The form *nga-ta'-m* is a contraction. The directional prefix *ma-* (usually attached to *tabu*) contracts to *m* and attaches to the preceding verb.

- (127) *Di-luki di-luki di-luki di-luki laing*
 3p.S-run 3p.S-run 3p.S-run 3p.S-run until
di-ri Wasu hatawa lang tela
 3p.S-descend Wasu down.yonder water NSPEC
ya-noa Kadsiya.
 name-3s.POSS Kadsiya
 ‘They rode on and on until they got down to the other side of Wasu, at a river whose name is Kadsiya.’
- (128) *di-la Etep Helt Senta, ning hawa*
 3p.S-go Etep Health Centre however below
 ‘they went to just below Etep Health Centre’
- (129) *Baing i-la haxek baing tauxai-ya ba*
 and 3s.S-go near and ghost-SPEC DEM.mid
Ø-mesa saing Ø-xu-Ø ma-la.
 3s.S-arise and 3s.S-chase-3s.O DIR-go
 ‘So he went near and that ghost got up and chased him away.’
- (130) *Nga-la to. U-ma kimu.*
 1s.S-go first. 2s.S-come later
 ‘I’ll go first. You come later.’
- (131) *Ding di-mesa kimuya di-xim-guti*
 3p 3p.S-arise later 3p.S-section-break
waxu-ng-tua-noa.
 vine-3s.POSS-bone-3s.POSS
 ‘They got up afterwards and cut off his head.’ (lit. ‘...severed his neck bone.’)
- (132) *Yab-a Ø-tau ma-la lia, baing am*
 fire-SPEC 3s.S-cook DIR-go middle and 1pe
ga-sok gaxumgaxum=ia.
 1pe.S-arrive charred.place=LOC
 ‘The fire burned to the middle (of the field) and we advanced on the charred portion.’

- (133) *Baing hain-inoa Ø-namnam saing Ø-rung-rung*
 and wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-upset and 3s.S-sit-RED
mauli numa rubin=ia.
 around house side=LOC
 ‘And his wife was upset and sat around the outside of the house.’
- (134) *Tegu. Nga-hang muga baing.*
 no 1s.S-shoot first and
 ‘No. I’ll shoot first.’
- (135) *Baing muga ba am ga-hau harua-nga*
 and first DEM.mid 1pe 1p.S-tie say-NMLZ
laing Ø-sup.
 until 3s.S-complete
 ‘And first we agreed on all the rules.’
- (136) *Baing Ø-xang gara-noa muga-muga=uba.*
 and 3s.S-eat youth-3s.POSS first-RED=INCEPT
 ‘And she began to eat the baby first.’
- (137) *Tam ga-haing ma-la ba, nga nga-muga*
 1d 1p.S-ascend DIR-go DEM.mid 1s 1s.S-lead
ne Aisam Ø-haxa kimuya nga-xoxi Mondo
 but Aisam 3s.S-walk after 1s.S-carry Mondo
kilang-ina sabanga saing nga-la muga ne
 axe-3s.POSS big and 1s.S-go first but
Aisam Ø-su ma-nga saing tam ga-la.
 Aisam 3s.S-follow OBL-1s.O and 1d 1p.S-go
 ‘We ascended up there, I led and Aisam walked behind me, I carried Mondo’s big axe and I went first and Aisam followed me and we went.’
- (138) *baing Mura Ø-hang mana banggem baing*
 and Mura 3s.S-shoot OBL wheel and
Ø-hang ki-gua taxa ubu-n=ia
 3s.S-shoot leg-1s.POSS directly back/top-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘and Mura shot at the wheel and shot right on top of my foot’

- (139) *Kixing-inoa* *Ø-haing* *laing*
 younger.sibling-3s.POSS 3s.S-ascend until
Ø-rung *taxa* *gembang* *rima-n=ia*.
 3s.S-sit directly breadfruit hand-3s.POSS=LOC
 ‘His little brother climbed until he sat right at the apex of the
 breadfruit tree.’
- (140) *A-haing* *bu* *ta-la* *yatua*.
 2p.S-ascend so 1pi.S-go up
 ‘Get in (the boat) so we can go up there.’

The adverb *ha* ‘down’ may combine with a noun and the locative clitic =*ia* to form a phrase meaning ‘down at’ (unless the place specified is a proper name, in which case there is no locative clitic). If the place name is indefinite, *ha* co-occurs with the deictic *lo*. It also shows evidence of being fused with several of the position adverbs shown in Table 5.2.

- (141) *nga-yunga-Ø* *ha* *teg=ia* *laing* *Ø-sup*
 1s.S-leave-3s.O down ocean=LOC until 3s.S-complete
 ‘I left it (bagged copra) down at the beach’
- (142) *nga-la* *ha* *lo*
 1s.S-go down DEM.far
 ‘I went down there (seaward)’

The adverb *la* often co-occurs with a demonstrative, though this is not obligatory.

- (143) *Am* *ga-yunga* *tela=di* *la* *ba*
 1pe 1pe.S-leave NSPEC=PL GOAL DEM.mid
 ‘We left some of them there.’
- (144) *Ina* *naga*, *naxuya-ng-ua* *Ø-ma* *xung-Ø* *la*.
 3s end narrate-NMLZ-SPEC 3s.S-come fall-3s.O GOAL
 ‘That’s all, the story ends here.’ (lit. ‘...the story comes to fall
 down here.’)

5.3.3.2 Manner adverbs

The manner adverbs indicate how the action is performed. The concept ‘thus’ or ‘like this/that’ is expressed through the adverb *bila*. The deictics often co-occur with it.

- (145) *Naxuya-nga Ø-sup bila.*
 narrate-NMLZ 3s.S-complete like

‘The story ends like that.’

- (146) *Di-libu di-libu bila ba ma-la laing*
 3p.S-do 3p.S-do like DEM.mid DIR-go until
hatata am ga-sok saing am ga-wa.
 now 1pe 1p.S-become and 1pe 1p.S-be

‘They did it like that over and over up until we were born and now live.’

The verb *doa* ‘ruined, bad’ can be used adverbially to mean ‘badly’. Furthermore, it can be reduplicated to intensify the manner.

- (147) *Ø-bagu tauxai-a ba saing Ø-ria doa*
 3s.S-see ghost-SPEC DEM.mid and 3s.S-shriek ruined

‘he saw that ghost and he let out a blood-curdling scream’

- (148) *nga-haxa doa-doa*
 1s.S-walk ruined-RED

‘I was limping’ (the speaker had been shot in the foot and was limping with each step)

The adverb *mosi* means ‘relaxed, easy, slowly, still, carefully’. This adverb can also be reduplicated for emphasis.

- (149) *A-wa mosi bu ta-lungu harua-ng-ua.*
 1pe.S-be relaxed so 1pi.S-hear say-NMLZ-SPEC

‘Be still so we can hear what’s being said.’

- (150) *u-la mosi=u ma-la u-tuxu-Ø nam i-la*
 2s.S-go relaxed=PROGDIR-go 2s.S-hold-3s.O otherwise 3s.S-go

‘creep up carefully and grab it, otherwise it will get away’

- (151) *U-haxa mosi-mos.*
 2s.S-walk relaxed-RED
 ‘Walk very slowly.’

While repetition of action relating to one event is realised through reduplication of the verb, repetition of separate events is realised by using the adverb *muli* ‘again’.

- (152) *Ø-xap-Ø baing Ø-ma Ø-harua muli ba,*
 3s.S-get-3s.O and 3s.S-come 3s.S-say again CMPR
 ‘*Patunru patanra*.’
 close open

‘He got it and came and said (to the gate) again, “Open up.”’ (a magic phrase to make the door open on its own)

- (153) *Baing bau-ding Ø-yum-yum ma-ri ruba*
 and mother-3p.POSS 3s.S-swim-RED DIR-descend waves
singia ne Ø-ulia-di song, gomi laing
 adjacent but 3s.S-give-3p.O fish giant.clam.shell until
sup, gara-ng kambag-inoa Ø-nam laing
 complete youth-3s.POSS infant-3s.POSS 3s.S-nurse until
sup, ina Ø-ri muli teg=ia.
 complete 3s 3s.S-descend again ocean=LOC

‘And their mother would surf down the waves and give them fish, then giant clam shells, then her baby would finish nursing, and she would descend again into the sea.’

The adverb *olang* means ‘without purpose, for nothing, empty-handed’. It is glossed as ‘nothing’.

- (154) *Ø-xang-xang laing Ø-sup, Ø-mesa*
 3s.S-eat-RED until 3s.S-complete 3s.S-arise
i-la olang muli num=ia.
 3s.S-go nothing again house=LOC

‘He ate it all up, then he got up and went to the house empty-handed again.’

- (155) *Ne ina Ø-xuma olang ne Ø-bagu*
 But 3s 3s.S-plant nothing but 3s.S-see
ria-n=di umanga=ding di-sok xai sibuna.
 friend-3s.POSS=PL garden-3p.POSS 3p.S-grow good very
 ‘But he planted without any (magic) and he saw his friends’
 gardens grow very well.’

Manner of speed is conveyed with the adverb *sap* ‘quickly’. It can also be reduplicated for emphasis. As shown in (151), *mosi* gives the opposite manner.

- (156) *U-ma sap, tam ta-la ida-ng=ia, nabu*
 2s.S-come quickly 1di 1pi.S-go day.hunt-NMLZ=LOC if
xaidab-a Ø-haring.
 sun-SPEC 3s.S-strong
 ‘Come quickly, we’re going on a day-hunt, and the sun’s already
 beating down.’

- (157) *U-sahi num-ua sap, nam kuy-ua*
 2s.S-finish house-SPEC quickly otherwise rain-SPEC
Ø-ma.
 3s.S-come
 ‘You’d better finish the house quick, lest the rains come.’

- (158) *A-ma sap-sap!*
 2p.S-come quickly-RED
 ‘You all come quickly!’

The manner adverb *saha* ‘apart’ is used with verbs that have a striking, cutting or tearing motion.

- (159) *u-bim saha ungu-ng-ua ba*
 2s.S-hold.cut apart chew.betelnut-NMLZ-SPEC DEM.mid
 ‘cut that betelnut in two’
- (160) *di-ning-Ø saha kilang=ia*
 3p.S-rip.cut-3s.O apart axe=LOC
 ‘they split it (wood) with the axe’

Another manner adverb is *susu* ~ *sus*, which expresses a frustrated intention – an intended consequence that did not develop. Selection of which

form to use is related to reduplication of the verb. If the verb is reduplicated, the short form is used; otherwise the long form is utilised.

- (161) *Di-tuba-tuba sus.*
 3p.S-try-RED FR.INT
 ‘They tried and tried, but they couldn’t do it.’
- (162) *Ne tibu-gu i-la Ø-ida susu*
 but father-1s.POSS 3s.S-go 3s.S-day.hunt FR.INT
baing Ø-ma saing Ø-daudau buxu-a.
 and 3s.S-come and 3s.S-singe pig-SPEC
 ‘But my father went to day-hunt (some more), but to no avail,
 and he came and singed the hair off the pig (the one he had
 previously killed).’

While *xai* ‘good’ can function as a verb and an adjective, it can also indicate the manner of another verb, with a resultant meaning of ‘well’.

- (163) *Di-tongtongia xai sibuna*
 3p.S-make good very
 ‘They built it very well.’
- (164) *Ø-tau xai bing bagula u-sia sangsang=di*
 3s.S-cook good then IRR 2s.S-carry refuse=PL
ma-la
 DIR-go
 ‘(if) it burns well then you will carry all the refuse away’

5.3.3.3 Negative adverbs

The negative adverbs negate a proposition. They are nearly always positioned at the end of the clause. The adverbs *te* and *tate* both mean ‘not’ and may be used interchangeably, though *te* occurs with more frequency in the language. As discussed in §6.1.2, *tai* is the negative imperative adverb accompanied by the prohibitive *labu*. The Mato word for ‘no’, expressed in a single clause, is *tegu*. The combination of *tegu* with the incomplete aspectual clitic =*yu* results in *tegu=yu* ‘not yet’.

- (165) *Baing Ø-ma Ø-ri, Ø-bala*
 and 3s.S-come 3s.S-descend 3s.S-tell
kixing-inoa te.
 younger.sibling-3s.POSS NEG
 ‘And he came down, (but) didn’t tell his little brother.’
- (166) *Baing Ø-harua na-Ø, xaiyom Ø-bo ba,*
 and 3s.S-say REC-3s.O cockatoo 3s.S-say CMPR
 ‘*Nga nga-sanga nga-xap-kung te.*’
 1s.S 1s.S-able 1s.S-get-2s.O NEG
 ‘And he said to him, the cockatoo said, “I’m not able to get you.”’
- (167) *Bau-ding Ø-bala-di ba, ‘Nga*
 mother-3p.POSS 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR 1s
nga-gamia-ng te.’
 1s.S- angry-2p.O NEG
 ‘Their mother told them, “I wasn’t mad at you.”’
- (168) *Baing tegu, xaiyom Ø-bo ba, ‘Nga nga-sanga*
 And no cockatoo say CMPR 1s 1s.S-able
tate.’
 NEG
 ‘But no, the cockatoo said, “I can’t.”’
- (169) *Baing nga-muga ma-la ba, nga-bagu*
 and 1s.S-lead DIR-go DEM.mid 1s.S-see
suhi tate...
 snake.sp NEG
 ‘And I was in the lead, I didn’t see the *suhi* (poisonous snake)...’

- (170) *Saing du-wa sioti tate, du-wa olang*
 and 3p.S-be shirt NEG 3p.S-be nothing
sangga-ding=ia. Imang xabubu-nga-m te.
 skin-3p.POSS=LOC cloth cover-NMLZ-ASS NEG
Di-king olang. Da-xang te. Du-wa
 3p.S-sleep nothing 3p.S-eat NEG 3p.S-BE
xaidap tela i-la sup.
 day NSPEC 3s.S-go complete
 ‘And they didn’t have any shirts, they didn’t have anything on their torsos. No sheets. They slept uncovered. They didn’t eat. They were there for a whole day.’

The only grammatical element of Tok Pisin that has entrenched itself into Mato is the use of the negative *ino* ‘not’. While speakers believe this usage to be poor Mato, nevertheless they use it consistently. In this type of construction, Mato has borrowed both the lexical and grammatical features from Tok Pisin. Hence, the negative occurs before the verb.

- (171) *Ino nga-xabia.*
 NEG 1s.S-know
 ‘I don’t know.’
- (172) *Ino di-libu xai ma-kira.*
 NEG 3p.S-do good OBL-1pi.O
 ‘They weren’t nice to us.’
- (173) *Ino di-diga daxang-ua.*
 NEG 3p.S-cut.grass path-SPEC
 ‘They didn’t cut grass along the path.’

5.3.3.4 Degree adverbs

The degree adverbs specify degrees of action. They are *buk* ‘excessively’, *haringina* ‘strong’, *ke* which is an emphatic (though its exact meaning and usage is elusive), *monga* ‘small amount’, *sabanga* ‘big’ and *sibuna* ‘very’.

- (174) *Sanga nga-xugia-Ø te, Ø-haring buk.*
 able 1s.S-turn-3s.O NEG 3s.S-strong excessively
 ‘I can’t turn it – it’s too tight.’

- (175) *Nga-sing gep, ina Ø-xang geb-imam=di*
 1s.S-tear grub 3s 3s.S-eat grub-1pe.POSS=PL
buk ne nga-yunga gaxamo-a
 excessively but 1s.S-detach black.palm-SPEC
ma-ri ne nga-taha-Ø mati.
 DIR-descend but 1s.S-hit-3s.O die
 ‘I tore grubs and he ate too much of our grubs so I broke off a piece of black palm and bludgeoned him to death.’
- (176) *Ø-kinu haringing sibuna.*
 3s.S-sleep strong very
 ‘He is fast asleep.’
- (177) *U-tuxu haringina.*
 2s.S-hold strong
 ‘Hold it tightly.’
- (178) *Di-langua ke.*
 3p.S-lie EMPH
 ‘They lied.’
- (179) *D-ulia nga te ke. D-ulia-ung baing.*
 3p.S-give 1s.O NEG EMPH 3p.S-give-2s.O and
 ‘They didn’t give it to me. They gave it to you.’
- (180) *Di-sabu laing Ø-sup, da-haxa monga*
 3p.S-pray until 3s.S-complete 3p.S-walk bit
baing ina naga...
 and 3s end
 ‘They finished praying, they walked a little way so then...’
- (181) *Ø-mesa ma-la Ø-xap kasi ulum tela*
 3s.S-arise DIR-go 3s.S-get tobacco covering NSPEC
Ø-ma Ø-sing saing Ø-xang monga-ita=u
 3s.S-come 3s.S-tear and 3s.S-eat bit-DIM=PROG
baing Ø-yunga hatainoa ma-tabu.
 and 3s.S-leave portion DIR-at.rest
 ‘He got up and went and brought a cigarette cover wrap and tore it and smoked very little and left the rest lying there.’

- (182) *Ø-wagi* *sabanga* *mana* *moxongo-noa*
 3s.S-call big OBL brother-3s.POSS
 ‘she hollered for her brother’
- (183) *U-haxa* *sabanga*, *ta-la* *sap* *num=ia*
 2s.S-walk big 1pi.S-go quickly house=LOC
nam *yambong*.
 otherwise night
 ‘Pick up the pace, we need to go to the house quickly, otherwise it will be dark.’

The amplification adverb in Mato is *sibuna* ‘very’. It can modify nouns, verbs, adjectives and other adverbs.

- (184) *Hain-igu* *Ø-lungu* *koma* *saing* *Ø-masisi-a*
 wife-1s.POSS 3s.S-hear dog and 3s.S-laugh-TR
nga *haringing* *sibuna* *mana* *la* *nga-xuni*
 1s.O strong very OBL GOAL 1s.S-hook
koma *ba*.
 dog DEM.mid

‘My wife heard the dog and she burst out laughing at me about my snaring that dog (with a fishhook).’

- (185) *A-sup* *sibuna* *ma-la*.
 2p.S-complete very DIR-go
 ‘Every last one of you go.’
- (186) *Am ga-kinu*, *buraraging* *sibuna* *tibu-gu*
 1pe 1p.S-sleep morning very father-1s.POSS
Ø-haunghaung *nga* *ba*, ‘*U-mesa* *ne*
 3s.S-awaken 1s.O CMPR 2s.S arise but
xaidab-a *Ø-haing* *lo*.’
 sun-SPEC 3s.S-ascend PERF.UC
 ‘We slept, very early in the morning my father shook me awake saying, “Get up, the sun’s up already.”’

The degree adverb *sambu* means ‘nearly, almost’ with negative connotations. It does not express potential consequences with positive results.

- (187) *'U-ma* *sangua* *nga* *ne* *sambu* *axamang*
 2s.S-come from 1s.O but nearly thing
diana *Ø-xang* *nga.*'
 bad 3s.S-eat 1s.O
 'You left me and a horrible thing nearly ate me.'
- (188) *Nga-haing* *galung* *ne* *sambu* *xung* *nga*
 1s.S-ascend coconut but nearly fall 1s.O
ma-ri.
 DIR-descend
 'I climbed a coconut tree but I nearly fell down.'
- (189) *Nga-la* *ongan=ia* *nga-lungu* *lipu* *dian=di*
 1s.S-go bush=LOC 1s.S-hear person bad=PL
sambu *d-ung* *nga* *mati.*
 nearly 3p.S-kill 1s.O die
 'I went to the bush; I heard the criminals and they nearly killed me.'

5.3.3.5 Time adverbs

While Mato has aspectual adverbs that specify irrealis and perfective events, time reference is often made by way of temporal adverbs. These adverbs usually occur clause-initially. They are exemplified below in the order they appear along a timeline.

- (190) *Mugau* *Sauxang* *muganga=di* *di-bo*
 remote.past Sauxang old=PL 3p.S-want
di-ma *di-la* *teg=ia.*
 3p.S-come 3p.S-go ocean=LOC
 'Long ago, the Sauxang elders wanted to come and go to the ocean.'
- (191) *Waleu* *nga-gugu* *bau-gu-tibu-gu=di*
 far.past 1s.S-accompany mother-1s.POSS-father-1s.POSS=PL
am *ga-la* *saing* *am* *ga-ida.*
 1pe 1pe.S-go and 1pe 1pe.S-day.hunt
 'Several years ago, I and my parents went day-hunting.'

- (192) *Baing di-sok mana duanga nulana*
 and 3p.S-arrive OBL old.man near.past
Ø-ma Ø-wa rangua kira la li.
 3s.S-come 3s.S-be with/to 1pi.O GOAL DEM.near
 ‘And they happened upon an old man who the day before
 yesterday had come and was with us here.’
- (193) *Ø-hisa ma-li mana long-a nulau*
 3s.S-hide DIR-stand OBL area-SPEC yesterday
Ø-rubu-rubu ba
 3s.S-build.fence-RED PERF.CERT
 ‘he hid upright behind that blind he had built the day before’
- (194) *Baing gara-ng haringina Ø-bala-Ø ba,*
 and youth-3s.POSS strong 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR
 ‘Tegu, menau nga-long-longia gara kambag-ina
 no today.past 1s.S-lull-RED youth infant-3s.POSS
mauli tek rub-in=ia ne nga-xap-di.
 around ocean side-3s.POSS=LOC but 1s.S-get-3p.O
 ‘And his firstborn child told him, “No, earlier I lulled the baby
 around the beach and I got them (the fish).”’
- (195) *Baing nga-xuma muli baing tibu-gu*
 and 1s.S-plant again and father-1s.POSS
Ø-ma Ø-bagu baing Ø-bala nga ba,
 3s.S-come 3s.S-see and 3s.S-tell 1s.O CMPR
 ‘Hatata u-xuma xai dup.’
 now 2s.S-plant good really
 ‘And I planted again and my father came and looked and told me,
 “Now you have planted really well.”’

An alternate expression for ‘now’ is *hata sibuna li*, which is equivalent to ‘just now’ or ‘immediately’.

- (196) *Hata sibuna li di-ma.*
 now very DEM.near 3p.S-come
 ‘They just got here.’

- (197) *Mena ta-la ha lo.*
 today.future 1pi.S-go down DEM.far
 ‘We’ll go down there in a little while.’
- (198) *Baing nga-bili dingtang ba, ‘Ta-kinu la*
 and 1s.S-forbid 3d CMPR 1pi.S-sleep GOAL
buragin to ta-la xauna ba.’
 tomorrow first 1pi.S-go with DEM.mid
 ‘And I forbid the two of them saying, “Let’s sleep first and tomorrow we’ll go there together.”’
- (199) *Rarauti bagula am ga-la teg=ia.*
 day.after.tomorrow IRR 1pe 1pe.S-go ocean=LOC
 ‘The day after tomorrow we’ll go to the ocean.’

The adverb for later, or some unspecified future time, is *mari*, sometimes collocated with *to* ‘first’. Notice in the following example how the certain perfective marker *ba* is used to make the promise a foregone conclusion.

- (200) *Mari to nga-haxuya buxu-ma ba.*
 future first 1s.S-answer pig-2s.POSS PERF.CERT
 ‘I’ll be certain to give you another pig later (for the one you have just given me).’

5.3.3.6 Aspect - modality adverbs

There are seven aspect-modality adverbs in Mato as well as three aspectual clitics. Aspect-modality categories include durative, perfective, irrealis, progressive and intervening event.

As noted in §3.4, the demonstratives *ba* DEM.mid and *lo* DEM.far are also used for perfective aspect. When used in an aspectual sense, *ba* marks a perfective aspect of which the speaker is certain. The *lo* marker indicates that the speaker is uncertain of a perfective event. It should be noted that the difference between these two markers is becoming obscured. Thus, they are often used interchangeably. The clearest example of their usage is when they are found in a question and answer exchange, as illustrated in (206). In this situation, *lo* is always used in the question and *ba* is always used in the answer. Due to the fact that the demonstratives occur at the end of the noun phrase and the aspect markers occur at the end of the predicate (many times a

noun phrase), sometimes the only clue to resolving the resulting ambiguity lies in the fact that the specification marker must co-occur with the demonstrative (see §3.4 for a discussion of demonstratives).

- (201) *Longa-ma sakoxa-ng lon-ua bagu*
 in.law-2s.POSS banana.sp-3s.POSS leaf-SPEC see
u-taxi-ti ba.
 2s.S-cut-break PERF.CERT
 ‘Your in-law’s banana leaf, look, you have cut it off.’
- (202) *Lang-ina nga-xu saing nga-ma ba.*
 water-3s.POSS 1s.S-fill and 1s.S-come PERF.CERT
 ‘I filled water and I have come.’
- (203) *Am ga-waxata mana-di da-xai ba.*
 1pe 1p.S-work OBL-3p.O 3p.S-good PERF.CERT
 ‘We worked on the ones that were good.’
- (204) *Baing kixing-inoa Ø-bagu-bagu sus.*
 and younger.sibling-3s.POSS 3s.S-look-RED FR.INT
Baing Ø-harua ba, ‘O, lip-ua li
 and 3s.S-say CMPR Oh person-SPEC DEM.near
xoxalubina Ø-ung-Ø lo saing da-xang-Ø
 madman 3s.S-kill-3s.O PERF.UC and 3p.S-eat-3s.O
lo.
 PERF.UC
 ‘And his little brother looked and looked (for his older brother), but to no avail. And he said, “Aha! This man (older brother), I bet the madman has killed him and they have eaten him.”’
- (205) *Nga-la baing teg-a Ø-maxa lo.*
 1s.S-go and ocean-SPEC 3s.S-ebb PERF.UC
 ‘I went and the ocean was at low tide.’
- (206) *U-sahi oxat-ua lo? Nga-sahi-Ø*
 2s.S-finish work-SPEC PERF.UC 1s.S-finish-3s.O
ba.
 PERF.CERT
 ‘Have you finished the work? I have finished it.’

One way of expressing unrealised events in Mato is through the irrealis marker *bagula* (possibly a frozen combination of *bagu* ‘see’ and *la* ‘go’ or GOAL). It is either fronted in the clause or occurs just before the verb.

- (207) *Baing di-bo ba, ‘Hatata bungbung 11:00*
 and 3p.S-say CMPR today afternoon 11:00
bagula am ga-la=uba.”
 IRR 1pe 1p.S-go=INCEPT

‘And they said, “This evening at 11:00 pm we will be leaving.”’

- (208) *Baing Ø-bala-di ba, ‘Sanga=u,*
 and 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR able=PROG
bagula nga-bim alali bu tam ta-ungu.’
 IRR 1s.S-cut this so 1pi 1pi.S-chew.betelnut

‘And he told them, “Okay, I’ll cut this (de-husk the betelnut) so we can chew betelnut.”’

- (209) *Bagula u-ma ta-la tam ta-tau axa*
 IRR 2s.S-come 1pi.S-go 1pi 1pi.S-cook thing
bagulo.
 that

‘You come and we’ll go burn that.’

The one temporal aspect adverb that usually follows the verb word is *mua* DUR. This adverb implies that the event takes place over a period of time.

- (210) *am ga-rung mua*
 1pe 1pe.S-sit DUR
 ‘we sat for a while’

- (211) *Hesia tam ga-li=u mua nawa*
 Hesia 1d 1p.S-stand=PROG DUR market
yaba-n=ia.
 place-3s.POSS=LOC

‘Hesia and I were standing for a while at the marketplace.’

- (212) *Am ga-ma, am g-oti mua la*
 1pe 1p.S-come 1pe 1p.S-fly/float DUR GOAL
ba, am ga-ragu mana Sali waga-noa
 DEM.mid 1pe 1p.S-wait OBL Sali boat-3s.POSS
Ø-haing ma Ø-xap-kam.
 3s.S-ascend DIR 3s.S-get-1pe.O
 ‘We came, we drifted for a while there, we waited for Sali’s boat
 to come out and get us.’

The aspect marker *to* means ‘first’. It implies that an intervening event must occur, then the agents may go on with something else. As noted in §2.4.2, this adverb sometimes attaches to the clause like a clitic, but in the orthography it is written as a separate word.

- (213) *A-wa mua to.*
 2p.S-be DUR first
 ‘You stay for a while (wait a little bit and then we’ll do
 something else).’
- (214) *Ta-kinu la buragin to, ta-la xauna*
 1pi.S-sleep GOAL tomorrow first, 1pi.S-go with
ba.
 DEM.mid
 ‘Let’s sleep here until tomorrow, then we’ll go there together.’
- (215) *Am ga-xau ma-la am ga-gung to.*
 1pe 1p.S-gather DIR-go 1pe 1p.S-heap first
 ‘We gather them together and make a pile first.’

The other irrealis adverb is *yu*. It occurs at the end of the clause where most temporal aspect markers appear. The difference in meaning between *bagula* and *yu*, if any, is unclear at this point.

- (216) *Nga-xap kabura ma-la Mandang yu.*
 1s.S-get copra DIR-go Madang IRR
 ‘I will take the copra to Madang.’

- (217) *Nga-yagua to. Kuya Ø-ma to, nga-waxata*
 1s.S-rest first rain 3s.S-come first 1s.S-work

yū.

IRR.

‘I’ll rest first. When the rainy season comes, then I will work.’

- (218) *U-waxata mua. Nga-la to nga-ma yū.*
 2s.S-work DUR 1s.S-go first 1s.S-come IRR

‘Keep working. I’ll come back later.’

The modal adverb *bola* means ‘maybe’ or ‘perhaps’ and occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- (219) *Nulau nga-bagu i-la teg=ia ne*
 yesterday 1s.S-see 3s.S-go ocean=LOC but

bola Ø-goxoya muli.
 maybe 3s.S-return again

‘Yesterday I saw him go to the ocean, but maybe he returned again.’

- (220) *Am ga-ma ba, ne ding bola*
 1p 1p.S-come PERF.CERT but 3p maybe

buragin³ to.
 tomorrow first

‘We have come, but maybe they’ll come tomorrow.’

- (221) *ne titi-a ba bola ora-na haringing*
 but land-SPEC DEM.mid maybe fat-3s.POSS strong

sibuna saing anginga baguba Ø-haing xai
 very and food that 3s.S-ascend good

sibuna
 very

‘but that soil, maybe it was really rich and that food grew really well’

³ The final vowel of *buragina* ‘tomorrow’ is elided before the adverb *to* (see 2.4.2).

5.3.3.7 Aspectual clitics

The three aspectual clitics in Mato =*uba*, =*uyu* and =*u* (shown in Table 5.2) always attach to the last word of the clause, which can be a verb, a noun or an adverb. As they all begin with the phoneme /u/, when they occur next to a word that ends in /a/, the syllabification process forms a diphthong from these two vowels. Thus, they become bound to the end of the clause.

The clitic =*uba* signals inceptive aspect, i.e. the event is about to occur, or is in the beginning stages of occurring. As mentioned in §4.1.8, the complement to inceptive aspect is terminative aspect, marked by the formulaic *laing sup*, which means ‘until it is done’.

- (222) *baing am ga-bo am ga-la=uba*
 and 1pe 1pe.S-want 1pe 1pe.S-go=INCEPT
 ‘so we wanted to leave now’

- (223) *Tauna, xaidab-a Ø-xani, baing u-ta*
 okay, sun-SPEC 3s.S-beat.down and 2s.S-put
yab-a ma-na=uba. u-ta yab-a ma-na,
 fire-SPEC OBL-3s.O=INCEPT 2s.S-put fire-SPEC OBL-3s.O
yab-a Ø-tau laing Ø-sup.
 fire-SPEC 3s.S-cook until 3s.S-complete
 ‘Okay, the sun beats down (on the dry garden) and it’s time for you to burn it now. You light it, the fire burns it all up.’

- (224) *U-lagi=uba. U-lagi laing Ø-sup,*
 2s.S-pull.out=INCEPT 2s.S-pull.out until 3s.S-complete
baing u-tu xoxi-noa.
 and 2s.S-weave strap-3s.POSS
 ‘You begin to remove (plastic spacing strips). When that’s done you weave its (net bag’s) strap.’

- (225) *am ga-ma num=ia=uba*
 1pe 1pe.S-come house=LOC=INCEPT
 ‘we are nearly home now’

The clitic =*uyu* at the end of the clause indicates incompletive aspect. It means that the event is still in progress, or yet to be completed.

- (226) *Waleu nga-wa gara=uyu baing am ga-hang*
 far.past 1s.S-be youth=INC and 1pe 1p.S-shoot
goxong ba.
 ball DEM.mid
 ‘Long ago while I was still a youth and we shot that ball.’
- (227) *Baing di-la=uyu baing Ø-bala xanronggi ba,*
 and 3p.S-go=INC and 3s.S-tell old.woman CMPR
 ‘*O-xong xanam gara-noa li bu*
 2s.S-eat marsupial youth-3s.POSS DEM.near so
muru-m ma-nga bu u-luba-luba waxu=di
 desire-2s.POSS OBL-1s.O so 2s.S-untie-RED vine=PL
ma-nga.’
 OBL-1s.O
 ‘And while they were still going, he told the old woman, “Eat
 this young marsupial here so you will desire me so you will untie
 the vines from me.”’
- (228) *Bunging tela nga-bo nga-la nga-xuni yambong*
 when NSPEC 1s.S-want 1s.S-go 1s.S-fish night
teg=ia. Xaidab-a Ø-ri tegu=yu.
 ocean=LOC sun-SPEC 3s.S-descend NEG=INC
 ‘One time I wanted to go fishing in the ocean at night. The sun
 hadn’t gone down yet.’

The monosyllabic clitic =*u* marks progressive aspect.

- (229) *Nga-la=u ma-la nga-tatuaki saing xung nga*
 1s.S-go=PROG DIR-go 1s.S-stumble and fall 1s.O
ma-ri.
 DIR-down
 ‘I was going along, I stumbled and I fell down.’
- (230) *Baing maxa-ng luwa=di da-harua ba, ‘Tam*
 and eye-3s.POSS two=PL 3p.S-say CMPR 1pe
ga-wa=u.’
 1pe.S-be=PROG
 ‘And his two eyeballs said, “We’re here.”’

- (231) *nga-xap uy-ua saing nga-ui monga=u*
 1s.S-get oar-SPEC and 1s.S-paddle bit=PROG
 ‘I got the oar and I was paddling out a little way’

5.3.4 Distribution of peripheral elements

The various constituents in the clause generally follow the order as specified in Figure 4.

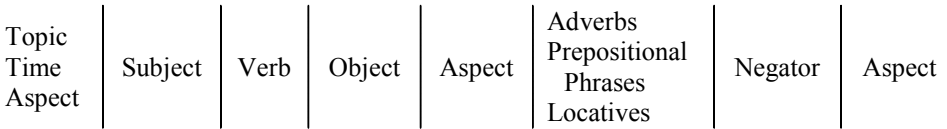


FIGURE 4. VERBAL CLAUSE PERIPHERAL ELEMENTS

5.3.4.1 Initial periphery

The initial peripheral elements (ignoring conjunctions) include topic, time and the irrealis aspect marker *baguli*. While the order of topic and time are fixed, the irrealis aspectual marker can float into different pre-verbal positions, as in (238) and (239). There are no examples to date with topic and time co-occurring in the same clause. Also, here the identifier ‘Time’ is used loosely and can refer to a temporal position adverb, as in (234).

- (232) **TOPIC**
Sali numa-ng rub-in=ia
 Sali house-3s.POSS side-3s.POSS=LOC
 VERB DIR LOCATION
di-yunga-m ma-ri la ba.
 3p.S-leave-1pe.O DIR-descend GOAL DEM.mid
 ‘At the side of Sali’s house, that’s where they left us off (the boat).’
- (233) **TOPIC** VERB CONJ VERB ASPECT
xai-noa nga-lua saing nga-ma ba
 wood-3s.POSS 1s.S-gather and 1s.S-come PERF.CERT
 ‘its (the fire’s) wood has been gathered by me and I have come’

- (234) **TOPIC** **ASPECT** **VERB** **MANNER**
Xuya-na *bagula* *di-tongtongia* *xai* *sibuna*
seed-3s.POSS IRR 3p.S-build good very
- MANNER**
bila *gui*, *bang*, *baxup* *xuya-na*, *xala-xala*
like yam taro banana seed-3s.POSS thing-RED
- CONJ** **VERB** **OBJECT**
longgalo *baing* *di-tongtongia* *xuya-ding=di*
all and 3p.S-build seed-3p.POSS=PL
- CONJ** **VERB**
saing *di-ta-di*.
and 3p.S-put-3p.O
- ‘The seed they will prepare very well such as yam, taro and banana seed, everything, and they prepare their seeds and store them.’
- (235) **CONJ** **TIME** **SUBJECT** **RELATIVE CLAUSE**
Tauna, *kimuya ma-na*, *lipu* *da-xabia* *baxi*,
okay after OBL-3s.O person 3p.S-know medicine
- baxup-kam* *gui-am*, *axamang* *muga-muga-nga-m*
banana-ASS yam-ASS thing lead-RED-NMLZ-ASS
- ASPECT** **VERB** **OBJECT** **POSITION**
bagula *du-xuma* *gui* *toxox-n=di* *muga*.
IRR 3p.S-plant yam head-3s.POSS=PL first
- ‘All right, after that, those men who know the medicine of bananas, yams and all the first things (normally planted), they will plant the yam sprouts first.’
- (236) **TIME** **ASPECT** **VERB** **MANNER**
Buragingburaginalo *bagula* *di-libu* *bila* *ba*.
always IRR 3p.S-do like DEM.mid
- ‘They would always do it like that.’

- (237) CONJ VERB ASPECT
Bungina di-gaxu-Ø mati, bagula
 when 3p.S-bite-3s.O die IRR
 SUBJECT VERB CONJ VERB DIR
moxo-dinga i-la saing Ø-xap ma.
 owner-3p.POSS 3s.S-go and 3s.S-get come
 ‘When they (dogs) bite it (pig) to death, their owner will go and bring it.’
- (238) ASPECT SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
bagula lipu tela Ø-ruha sinag-a
 IRR person NSPEC 3s.S-do distribution-SPEC
 BENEFICIARY
ma-na...
 OBL-3s.O
 ‘someone will do a distribution for it...’
- (239) SUBJECT ASPECT VERB OBJECT
lipu tela bagula Ø-ruha sinag-a...
 person NSPEC IRR 3s.S-do distribution-SPEC
 ‘someone will do a distribution ...’

5.3.4.2 Final periphery

The final peripheral elements, for the most part, have a loose distribution. Very few elements have a fixed position in the clause. While not a peripheral element, it should be noted that the object must occur first after the verb phrase. The aspectual clitics (=uba, =uyu, =u), perfective aspect (*ba*, *lo*), intervening event aspect (*to*), terminative aspect (*laing sup*) and negators (except for the borrowed *ino*) always occur clause finally. The only aspectual clitic that co-occurs with a negative is incompletive aspect. When they co-occur, the negative occurs first, forming the compound word *tegu=yu* ‘not yet’ (246). Most other elements move somewhat freely within the predicate.

- (240) VERB TIME LOCATION ASPECT
nga-kinu yambong luwa ha Dama laing
 1s.S-sleep night two down Dama until

Ø-sup

3s.S-complete

‘I slept two nights down at Dama’

- (241) SUBJECT VERB MANNER DIR DIR
am ga-goxoya muli ma-ri ma
 1pe 1pe.S-return again DIR-descend DIR

LOCATION

CMB

CMB

‘we returned again down to CMB (Copra Marketing Board)’

- (242) VERB ACCOMPANIMENT LOCATION
Ø-wa rangua kira la li
 3s.S-be with/to 1pi GOAL DEM.near

‘he was here with us’

- (243) VERB LOCATION ACCOMPANIMENT
nga-la xah=ia rangua Mugariong
 1s.S-go lean.to=LOC with/to Mugariong

‘I went to the lean-to (to be) with Mugariong’

- (244) VERB ASPECT ASPECT
u-wa mua to
 2s.S-be DUR first

‘you wait (a moment) first’

- (245) VERB OBJECT RECIPIENT ASPECT
di-gim-gim axamana na ding laing
 3p.S-buy-RED something REC 3p until

Ø-sup

3s.S-complete

‘they finished buying themselves things’

- (246) VERB MANNER NEG-ASPECT
nga-xabia *xai* *tegu-yu*
 1s.S-know good NEG-INC
 ‘I don’t understand very well yet’
- (247) SUBJECT VERB MANNER ACCOMPANIMENT
am *ga-haing* *muli* *xaung lipu* *tela=di*
 1pe 1pe.S-ascend again with person NSPEC=PL
 ‘we went up again with some other people’
- (248) SUBJECT VERB LOCATION MANNER
am *ga-ri* *la* *ba* *muli*
 1pe 1pe.S-descend GOAL DEM.mid again
 ‘we went down there again’
- (249) SUBJECT VERB LOCATION=ASPECT
am *ga-sok* *Gambulangle=uba*
 1pe 1pe.S-arrive Gambulangle=INCEPT
 ‘we were arriving at Gambulangle’

6. Imperative and interrogative sentences

6.1 Imperative sentences

6.1.1 Positive imperative

There is no structural marking in Mato imperative sentences with a positive command. A verb inflected for second person is the minimal imperative clause.

- (1) *A-haya!*
2p.S-vacate
'You all get out of here!'
- (2) *'Tauna, u-matai ha-dali saing*
okay 2s.S-close.eyes CAUS-exceed and
u-simbaxang rima-m=di ma-luxu
2s.S-poke hand-2s.POSS=PL DIR-enter
tanga-m-lia-na ginang-in=ia lo.'
net.bag-2s.POSS-middle-3s.POSS hole-3s.POSS=LOC DEM.far
'Okay, shut your eyes tightly and put your fingers in your ears.'

6.1.2 Negative imperative

Negative imperatives show a shift in form of the negative marker from *te* to *tai*. In addition, the prohibition marker *labu* may be added to the beginning of the clause to strengthen the imperative (or a string of imperatives, as in (7)). If *labu* is present, it requires the use of a corresponding prohibitive clitic =*u* on the verb as well.

- (3) *Nga-gami-ang te.*
1s.S-angry-2p.O NEG
'I'm not mad at you all.'

- (4) *U-ma tai.*
2s.S-come NEG
'you may not come'
- (5) *Labu u-ma=u tai!*
PROHIB 2s.S-come=PROHIB NEG
'You are forbidden to come!'
- (6) *Labu ang tela=di a-wa=u tai!*
PROHIB 2p NSPEC=PL 2p.S-be=PROHIB NEG
'Not one of you can stay!'
- (7) *Labu a-ha-gamia-na=u tai,*
PROHIB 2p.S-CAUS-angry-3s.POSS=PROHIB NEG
a-hanai=u tai, a-xawa mana
2s.P-steal-PROHIB NEG 2p.S-covet OBL-3s.O
haing yau-nga-m=di=u tai,
woman marry-NMLZ-ASS=PL=PROHIB NEG
a-harungia ria-im=di=u tai.
2p.S-talk.against friend-2p.POSS=PL=PROHIB NEG
'Do not cause one to be angry, do not steal, do not covet married women, do not talk against your friends.'

6.2 Interrogative sentences

6.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions do not differ in form from declarative sentences, but rather have an intonation rise at the end.

- (8) *Tela=di du-xusunga ba,*
NSPEC=PL 3p.S-ask CMPR
'Asaxa-roa Ø-wa=u?'
animal-1pi.POSS 3s.S-be=PROG
'Some of them asked, "Is our animal here?"'

- (9) *Tauna, ayua-na* *Ø-xusunga* *maxa-ng*
 Okay husband-3s.POSS 3s.S-ask eye-3s.POSS
luwa=di *ba,*
 two=PL CMPR
-
- 'Luwa maxa-na, tang ga-wa=u?'*
 two eye-3s.POSS 2d 2p.S-be=PROG
Baing maxa-ng luwa=di da-harua ba,
 and eye-3s.POSS two=PL 3p.S-say CMPR
-
- 'Tam ga-wa=u.'*
 1d 1pe.S-be=PROG

'Okay, her husband asked his two eyeballs, "Two eyeballs, are you there?"' And his two eyeballs said, "We're here."

When asking about completed events, the uncertain perfective marker *lo* is used for the question and the certain perfective marker *ba* is used if the answer is returned with content, rather than with 'yes' or 'no'. A rise in intonation is present in the first example (10), but not in the second.

- (10) *Di-ma* *lo?*
 3p.S-come PERF.UC
 'Have they come?'
- Di-ma* *ba.*
 3p.S-come PERF.CERT
 '(Yes) they have come.'

6.2.2 Content questions

Content questions in Mato have question words which, for the most part, carry a question marker *-ta*. These words are listed below. In addition to the occurrence of *-ta*, several of the words are built on the general question word *baru* 'how, how many, why'.

TABLE 6.1. QUESTION WORDS

Mato	Gloss
<i>baru</i>	‘how, how many, why’
<i>baruta</i>	‘why’
<i>baraxinta</i>	‘what, what thing’
<i>baruamta</i>	‘which’
<i>bi</i>	‘where’
<i>bungintabi</i>	‘when’
<i>gaxarea ~ ga tela</i>	‘who’
<i>raxata</i>	‘do what’

The intended meaning of the general question word *baru* ‘how, how many, why’ is dependent on context. Most often it means ‘how’. It is also the polite way to ask ‘why’, in a non-provoking manner.

- (11) *Hai! A-li to! A-li to! Ang*
 Hey! 2p.S-stand first 2p.S-stand first 2p
haing=di ne a-luki buk baru?
 woman=PL but 2p.S-run excessively how
 ‘Hey! Stop! Stop! You’re (just) women so how can you run so fast?’
- (12) *I-la baru?*
 3s.S-go how
 ‘Which way did he go?’
- (13) *Kakaha-ma baru?*
 stupid-2s.POSS how
 ‘How can you be so stupid?’
- (14) *U-tuxu siang-a baru?*
 2s.S-hold money-SPEC how
 ‘How much money do you have?’
- (15) *Di-libu bila ba baru?*
 3p.S-do like DEM.mid how
 ‘Why did they do that?’

The word *baruta* ‘why’ always occurs at the beginning of the clause. It is considered to be an inquisition, as opposed to the softer *baru*. It carries an air of annoyance.

- (16) *Nulau* *nga-bagu-ng* *ha* *lo.* *Baruta*
 yesterday 1s.S-see-2s.O down DEM.far why
u-ma *la* *li?*
 2s.S-come GOAL DEM.near
 ‘Yesterday I saw you down there. Why did you come here?’
- (17) *Baruta* *di-libu* *bila* *ba?*
 why 3p.S-do like DEM.mid
 ‘Why did they do that?’

The word *baraxinta* ‘what’ may be used to ask a question or as an indefinite pronoun. In rapid speech, this word is usually pronounced [‘bra’n.ta]. It may also be reduplicated to produce something equivalent to ‘whatever’.

- (18) *ta-nung* *mana* *baraxinta?*
 1pi.S-drink OBL what
 ‘What will we drink from?’
- (19) *U-sam* *bu* *ta-bagu* *baraxinta* *Ø-oti-oti*
 2s.S-hush.up so 1pi.S-see what 3s.S-fly/float-RED
ma *lo.*
 DIR DEM.far
 ‘You hush up, so we can see what is drifting in from out there.’
- (20) *U-xuma* *bang,* *baraxing-baraxinta=di*
 2s.S-plant taro what-RED=PL
ma-luxu *mana* *long-ga* *baguba.*
 DIR-enter OBL area-SPEC that
 ‘You plant taro, or whatever inside of that area.’

The Mato word for ‘which’, *baruamta* asks a question of choice. It is possible to break the word down into morphemes: *baru-am-ta* how-ASS-XQUES. In addition to this construction, the word may be broken apart as in (24), in which case the associative marker is dropped and the third person possessive marker is suffixed to the noun being distinguished. The meaning is the same. It can also be fronted to emphasise the question word.

- (21) *Ne u-bo nga-xap baruamta?*
 but 2s.S-want 1s.S-get which
 ‘So which one do you want me to get?’
- (22) *am ga-la am ga-hatanga titi baruamta*
 1pe 1pe.S-go 1pe 1pe.S-show ground which
bagula am ga-goli timung
 IRR 1pe 1pe.S-clear deep.bush
 ‘we go and identify which land we will clear the deep jungle (from)’
- (23) *A-mogu lipu baruamta?*
 2p.S-appoint person which
 ‘Which person did you choose?’
- (24) *A-mogu baru lipux-in-ta?*
 2p.S-appoint what person-3s.POSS-XQUES
 ‘Which person did you choose?’
- (25) *Baru buxu-n-ta a-xang?*
 what pig-3s.POSS-XQUES 2p.S-eat
 ‘Which pig did you eat?’

The Mato word for ‘where’, *bi*, always occurs at the end of the clause. A variant of this question word is *kabi*, which means ‘where is’ and is found in verbless or copular clauses, as the alternatives (28), and (29) show.

- (26) *Kaunsel luwa=di luwa=di du-wa bi?*
 council two=PL two=PL 3p.S-be where
 ‘Where are the four councilmen?’
- (27) *Koma di-la bi?*
 dog 3p.S-go where
 ‘Where did the dogs go?’
- (28) *waxang-igua kabi la?*
 knife-1s.POSS where.is GOAL
 ‘where is my knife?’
- (29) *waxang-igua kabi?*
 knife-1s.POSS where.is
 ‘where is my knife?’

- (30) *waxang-igua* \emptyset -*wa* *bi?*
 knife-1s.POSS 3s.S-be where
 ‘where is my knife?’

The word *bungintabi* ‘when’ (referring both to past and future time) may be broken into its constituent parts ‘when-XQUES-where’, that is, ‘where in time?’ Often it occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- (31) *Bungintabi* *bagula* *u-la* *Baxuya?*
 when IRR 2s.S-go Baxuya
 ‘When will you go to Baxuya?’
- (32) *Bungintabi* *kuya* \emptyset -*ma?*
 when rain 3s.S-come
 ‘When will it rain?’

Questions about the identity of a person are formed with the word *gaxarea* ‘who’, which occurs clause-initially or clause-finally. The word *gaxarea* can also be shortened to *ga* and followed by the indefinite marker *tela* to achieve the same meaning.

- (33) *Gaxarea* \emptyset -*sina* *song* *xaung* *gomi=di*
 who 3s.S-give fish and giant.clam.shell=PL
n-ang?
 REC-2p.O
 ‘Who gave the fish and giant clam shells to you?’
- (34) *Gaxarea* \emptyset -*hang* *buxu-a* *lo?*
 who 3s.S-shoot pig-SPEC DEM.far
 ‘Who shot that pig?’
- (35) *Ga* *tela* \emptyset -*hang* *buxu-a* *lo?*
 who NSPEC 3s.S-shoot pig-SPEC DEM.far
 ‘Who shot that pig?’
- (36) *Ung* *ya-ma* *ga* *tela?*
 2s name-2s.POSS who NSPEC
 ‘What is one of your names? / Who are you?’

The verb *raxata* ‘do what’ constitutes the predicate of an interrogative clause.

- (37) *Bungina* *u-bo* *u-xuma,* *baing* *u-raxata?*
 when 2s.S-want 2s.S-plant and 2s.S-do.what
 ‘When you want to plant, then what do you do?’
- (38) *U-raxata* *u-yum* *teg=ia* *ma* *ba?*
 2s.S-do.what 2s.S-swim ocean=LOC DIR DEM.mid
 ‘What were you doing swimming in the ocean to here?’
- (39) *U-raxata* *u-taxi-ti* *longa-ma*
 2s.S-do.what 2s.S-cut-break in.law-2s.POSS
baxub-in *lon-ua* *ba?*
 banana-3s.POSS leaf-SPEC DEM.mid
 ‘What were you doing cutting that banana leaf of your in-law?’

7. Complex sentences

7.1 Juxtaposition

Clauses depicting simultaneous events or a succession of events are often joined by simple juxtaposition, as shown by the underlining in the following examples.

- (1) *am ga-bo am ga-la am ga-sai*
1pe 1pe.S-want 1pe 1pe.S-go 1pe 1pe.S-search
anginga bu am ga-xang
food so 1pe 1pe.S-eat
‘we wanted to go to find food so we could eat’

- (2) *Nga-ma nga-yuyu ma-ri ba nga-tuxu*
1s.S-come 1s.S-bend DIR-descend DEM.mid 1s.S-hold
mana banggem.
OBL wheel
‘I came and I bent down there and I held onto the wheel.’

- (3) *Am ga-luki-luki luki-luki tek liwe,*
1pe 1pe.S-run-RED run-RED ocean middle
ma-ma ma-ma, laing am ga-ma, am
come-RED come-RED until 1pe 1pe.S-come 1pe
ga-ri Biliau.
1pe.S-descend Biliau
‘We sailed on and on out on the ocean until we came and put in at Biliau.’

7.2 Conjoined clauses

There are a number of conjunctions which serve to join clauses in Mato. They are discussed below according to function.

TABLE 7.1. CONJUNCTIONS

Mato	Gloss	Function
<i>baing</i>	‘and’	sequential
<i>saing</i>	‘and’	sequential, simultaneous
<i>saking</i>	‘then’	sequential
<i>bungina</i>	‘when’	simultaneous
<i>xauna</i>	‘and’	simultaneous
<i>kimbo</i>	‘or’	alternation
<i>ne</i>	‘but’	contrast
<i>ning</i>	‘however’	contraexpectation
<i>namua na</i>	‘because’	causal
<i>binabu</i>	‘therefore’	result
<i>nam</i>	‘otherwise’	undesired result
<i>tauna</i>	‘okay’	result
<i>nabu...bing</i>	‘if ... then’	condition/consequence
<i>bu</i>	‘so’	purpose

7.2.1 Continuity (*baing* and *saing*)

The coordinating conjunction *baing* ‘and’ is by far the most frequent conjunction in Mato; the discourse is saturated with it. It is used to connect sequential events that are not intimately related. The conjunction *saing* ‘and’ is used to coordinate the more closely related sequential events as well as simultaneous events in the discourse. While *baing* conjoins sentences and clauses alike, *saing* only coordinates clauses within the sentence.

- (4) *Baing nga sibu-gu nga-uyu-Ø saing am*
 and 1s self-1s.POSS 1s.S-carry-3s.O and 1pe
ga-haxa-haxa laing bungbung. Am ga-ma
 1pe.S-walk-RED until afternoon. 1pe 1pe.S-come
num=ia baing nga-bura yab-a saing
 house=LOC and 1s.S-build fire-SPEC and
nga-daudau-Ø laing Ø-sup. Baing
 1s.S-singe-3s.O until 3s.S-complete and
nga-tutu-Ø=uba.
 1s.S-gut-3s.O=INCEPT

‘And I carried it (the bandicoot) myself and we walked and walked until afternoon. We came to the house and I built the fire and I finished singeing the hair off. And I was going to gut it.’

There is a construction using *baing* in which the entire ensuing clause is elided. The popular Mato phrase *baing ina naga* ‘it is done / so then’ is often shortened to just *baing*.

- (5) *I-la baing.*
 3s.S-go and
 ‘He’s already gone.’
- (6) *Ø-sup baing.*
 3s.S-complete and
 ‘It’s already done.’

7.2.2 Sequential (*saking*)

The conjunction *saking* ‘then’ is used to delineate temporal sequential events. It distinguishes the final event in a string of sequential events in a sentence or paragraph, denoting a goal. It is also used to change the course of a discourse.

- (7) *Am ga-haxa buraragina Ø-ma, am*
 1pe 1pe.S-walk morning 3s.S-come 1pe
ga-naxu ulangulang ma-ma, am ga-uga
 1pe.S-follow sand DIR-come 1pe 1pe.S-ford
Uxa, saking am ga-ma bila Bualu.
 Uxa then 1pe 1pe.S-come like Bualu
 ‘We came walking in the morning, we came following the beach,
 we forded the Uxa River, then we came to Bualu.’
- (8) *Ø-xusunga Ø-xusunga sus, baing Ø-rabang-rabang*
 3s.S-ask 3s.S-ask FR.INT and 3s.S-lost-RED
saking xung-Ø ma-ri long diana baing
 then fall-3s.O DIR-descend area bad and
xung-Ø mati.
 fall-3s.O die
 ‘He asked and asked but to no avail and he was really lost and
 then fell down a cliff and died’

7.2.3 Simultaneous (*bungina*)

In addition to juxtaposition, simultaneous events can be achieved by using *bungina* ‘time/when/while’.

- (9) *bungina nga-xuma kakau Samuel Ø-diga*
 when 1s.S-plant cacao Samuel 3s.S-cut.grass
 ‘while I planted cacao, Samuel cut the grass’

7.2.4 Simultaneous (*xauna*)

Simultaneous events can also be coordinated by the conjunction *xauna* ‘and’. (The word *xauna* can also function as a preposition meaning ‘with’; see §5.3.1.)

- (10) *di-bagu ma-na bila kabukabu anginga*
 3p.S-see OBL-3s.O like table food
ta-linga-n-am xauna di-tongtongia long
 put-NMLZ-3s.POSS-ASS and 3p.S-build area
tau-nga-m
 cook-NMLZ-ASS
 ‘They look for (something) like a table for putting food on and (a place) to build a cooking area.’

7.2.5 Alternation (*kimbo*)

The alternation conjunction in Mato is *kimbo* ‘or’.

- (11) *u-tuba bu u-bagu Ø-haring kimbo tegu*
 2s.S-try so 2s.S-see 3s.S-strong or no
 ‘you try to see if it’s strong or not’
- (12) *di-xim-xim-di kimbo di-ki gap=di*
 3p.S-section-RED-3p.O or 3p.S-dig posthole=PL
ma-ri monga
 DIR-descend bit
 ‘they shorten them (posts) or they dig the postholes a little deeper’
- (13) *am ga-wa sobak tela kimbo sobak luwa*
 1pe 1pe.S-be moon NSPEC or moon two
 ‘we wait for a month or two.’

7.2.6 Contrast (*ne*)

The conjunction *ne* ‘but’ often contrasts clauses. Note that in (14), *kabura teladi* ‘some copra’ is the subject of the verb *doa* ‘ruined, bad’ and *tela* ‘some’ is the subject of *xai* ‘good’.

- (14) *Kabura tela=di di-doa ne tela da-xai*
 copra NSPEC=PL 3p.S-ruined but NSPEC 3p.S-good
baing lipu haringing CMB-am Ø-ma
 and person strong CMB-ASS 3s.S-come
saing ina naga Ø-hitixia-di.
 and 3s end 3s.S-reject-3p.O

‘Some of the copra was ruined but some of it was good and the CMB (Copra Marketing Board) boss came, so then he rejected some.’

- (15) *Bau-gu, xanronggi nga-la ne Ø-bo*
 mother-1s.POSS old.woman 1s.S-go but 3s.S-want
ba Ø-taxi nga mati Ø-xang nga.
 CMPR 3s.S-cut 1s.O die 3s.S-eat 1s.O

‘Mother, I went to the old woman but she wanted to cut me to death and eat me.’

- (16) *Nga-sina gep na-Ø ne Ø-xang-xang*
 1s.S-give grub REC-3s.O but 3s.S-eat-RED
geb-imam=di buk.
 grub-1pe.POSS=PL excessively

‘I gave a grub to him but he ate too many of our grubs.’

Ne is also used to switch the topic of discussion or to ask a question with a filler word like the English ‘so’.

- (17) *Ne, hatata bagula u-la muli bila?*
 but, now IRR 2s.S-go again like

‘So, now will you go that way again?’

- (18) *Ne, u-la bi?*
 but 2s.S-go where

‘So, where are you going?’

In some cases *ne* is used as a connector between clauses when no contrast is implied, as in sentence (17) of Text 1 in the Appendix. This could be due to influence from the similar-sounding Tok Pisin conjunction *na* ‘and’.

7.2.7 Contraexpectation (*ning*)

The conjunction *ning* ‘however’ indicates contraexpectation.

- (19) *Nulau nga-bo nga-la Baximanamuya ning*
 yesterday 1s.S-want 1s.S-go Baximanamuya however
lipu baxi-am da-harua mana Daum saing
 person medicine-ASS 3p.S-say OBL Daum and
nga-xap-Ø ma-la ha lo.
 1s.S-get-3s.O DIR-go down DEM.far

‘Yesterday I wanted to go to Baximanamuya, however the orderlies sent word about Daum and I took him down there.’

- (20) *Aiming Ø-xunumia salag-a ning Ø-xai*
 Aiming 3s.S-feel hurt/burn-SPEC however 3s.S-pull
waxu Ø-ma saing Ø-goxi-goxi buxu-a ba.
 vine 3s.S-come and 3s.S-tie-RED pig-SPEC DEM.mid
 ‘Aiming felt the pain, however he retrieved some bush rope and tied up that pig.’

7.2.8 Causal (*namua na*)

The construction *namua na* ‘reason OBL (= because)’ coordinates causal relationships between clauses. It stands alone if the order is result-reason, which occurs more frequently. If the order is reason-result, *baing* must be employed to enjoin the result clause. Fronting the reason places emphasis on it.

- (21) *Gananun di-la num=ia namua na kuy-ua*
 youth 3p.S-go house=LOC because rain-SPEC
Ø-mu.
 3s.S-fall

‘The youths went to the house because it was raining.’

- (22) *Namua na nga-busi baing nga-ma te.*
 because 1s.S-sick and 1s.S-come NEG

‘Because I was sick, I didn’t come.’

- (23) *Bungina baguba sanga nga-mati ne namua na*
 time that able 1s.S-die but because
xung nga ma-ri haringin te baing
 fall 1s.O DIR-descend strong NEG and
bagu hatata nga-wa li.
 see now 1s.S-be DEM.near
 ‘At that time I could have died but because I didn’t fall down
 hard, now I am living here.’

7.2.9 Result (*binabu*)

The result conjunction *binabu* ‘therefore’ introduces the result for a known reason.

- (24) *Xai tela Ø-haing saking Ø-mutuxu binabu*
 tree NSPEC 3s.S-ascend then 3s.S-dry therefore
ta-tui-Ø ma-ri.
 1pi.S-fell-3s.O DIR-descend
 ‘A tree grew then died so we cut it down.’
- (25) *Kuya sabanga Ø-mu binabu axaman*
 rain big 3s.S-fall therefore thing
da-haing muli=uba.
 3p.S-ascend again=INCEPT
 ‘A big rain fell so things are starting to grow again.’

7.2.10 Undesired result (*nam*)

The conjunction *nam* ‘otherwise/lest’ coordinates an action with an unwanted potential result from inaction.

- (26) *U-ung samanax-igua nam i-la.*
 2s.S-kill bandicoot-1s.POSS otherwise 3s.S-go
 ‘Kill my bandicoot, otherwise it will go (get away).’

- (27) *Bagula nga-wasa mana buxu-a nam*
 IRR 1s.S-guard OBL pig-SPEC otherwise

koma=di da-xang-Ø.
 dog=PL 3p.S-eat-3s.O

‘I’ll stand guard over the (freshly killed) pig, otherwise the dogs will eat it.’

7.2.11 Result (*tauna*)

Although the conjunction *tauna* ‘okay’ mostly coordinates propositions at a higher discourse level, indicating a shift in a story, it can be used within the sentence to emphasise a result. It is similar to Tok Pisin *orait*.

- (28) *ina i-la Ø-utu-utu gahip-ka*
 3s 3s.S-go 3s.S-pick-RED bamboo.sp-SPEC

di-ma Ø-gugunia, tauna Ø-xang
 3p.S-come 3s.S-gather okay 3s.S-eat

‘he went and picked and picked the bamboo (edible) and accumulated them, so he ate’

- (29) *Menau am ga-bala-ung ba, ‘Ta-la*
 today.past 1pe 1p.S-tell-2s.O CMPR 1pi.S-go

umang=ia’, ne hauxa-m, tauna
 garden=LOC but disinclined-2s.POSS okay

u-bagu dup.
 2s.S-see really

‘Earlier we told you, “We’ll all go to the garden”, but you didn’t want to, so you really see (what trouble you’ve got into).’

7.2.12 Condition/consequence (*nabu...bing*)

The conjunction *nabu* ‘if’ introduces a logical condition. The logical consequence marker *bing* ‘then’ must occur with *nabu*.

- (30) *Nabu ta-la bing bagula d-ung kira mati.*
 if 1pi.S-go then IRR 3p.S-kill 1pi.O die

‘If we go then they will kill us.’

- (31) *Nabu nga-la teg=ia bing nga-yum.*
 if 1s.S-go ocean=LOC then 1s.S-swim
 ‘If I go to the beach, then I will swim.’
- (32) *Doxokdoxok kimbo tum bau-ra, nabu tum*
 driftwood or 1ti mother-1pi.POSS if 1ti
bau-ra bing u-nam.
 mother-1pi.POSS then 2s.S-nurse
 ‘Driftwood or our mother, if it’s our mother then you nurse (at her breast).’

While *bing* must occur if *nabu* introduces the condition, *bing* may occur on its own to present the consequence.

- (33) *Bungina u-bo u-goli umang-ua*
 when 2s.S-want 2s.S-clear garden-SPEC
bing bagula u-la u-li u-bagu titi-a
 then IRR 2s.S-go 2s.S-stand 2s.S-see land-SPEC
to.
 first
 ‘When you want to clear off the garden, then you will go and stand and look at the plot first.’
- (34) *Bungina di-la tek rubin=ia bing*
 when 3p.S-go ocean side=LOC then
gara-ng haringina ba Ø-waya saing
 youth-3s.POSS first.born DEM.mid 3s.S-sing and
di-naxu ulangulang mauli.
 3p.S-follow sand around
 ‘When they went to the beach, that firstborn of hers sang and walked around on the beach.’
- (35) *Tam ta-la haxek mana lang-ga lo*
 1pi 1pi.S-go near OBL water-SPEC DEM.far
bing ung u-ri muga na-m.
 then 2s 2s.S-descend first REC-1pe.O
 ‘Let’s go near to the water there, then you go in ahead of us.’

This conjunction can also be used to introduce a story. In this case, it conjoins the entire story that follows.

- (36) *Gep* *bing...*
 grub.worm then
 ‘The grub worm story goes like this...’

7.2.13 Purpose (*bu*)

The purpose conjunction *bu* ‘so’ relates a second clause as the purpose of the first.

- (37) *am ga-bo* *am ga-la* *am ga-sai*
 1pe 1pe.S-want 1pe 1pe.S-go 1pe 1pe.S-search
anginga bu am ga-xang
 food so 1pe 1pe.S-eat

‘we wanted to go to find food so we could eat’

- (38) *Baing kaptan Ø-bala-m ba,* ‘*A-haing*
 and captain 3s.S-tell-1pe.O CMPR 2p.S-ascend
bu ta-la yatua.
 so 1pi.S-go up.near

‘And the captain told us, “Embark so we can go up there a little way.”’

- (39) *nga-xap waxang-a ba nga-taxi-ti*
 1s.S-get knife-SPEC DEM.mid 1s.S-chop-break
waxu=di bu nga-tui-Ø
 vine=PL so 1s.S-fell-3s.O

‘I got the machete to cut up the vines so I could fell (the tree which was wrapped in them)’

- (40) *Tang di-ma bu di-rai-ung ma-ri.*
 2/3d 3p.S-come so 3p.S-carry-2s.O DIR-descend
 ‘They can come to carry you down.’

- (41) *Ang, lipu longgalo, a-la bu a-diga*
 2p, person all 2p.S-go so 2p.S-cut.grass
galung namu=di.
 coconut base=PL

‘Every one of you, go to cut the grass around the coconut trees.’

- (42) *U-ma bu u-tuxula nga ma-la nga-xuni*
 2s.S-come so 2s.S-escort 1s.O DIR-go 1s.S-fish

xai waga-n=ia.
 wood boat-3s.POSS=LOC

‘Come so you can escort me and I’ll fish from the canoe.’

The conjunction *bu* can also introduce an indirect question.

- (43) *Ina Ø-xusunga Bulu bu i-la umang=ia.*
 3s 3s.S-ask Bulu so 3s.S-go garden=LOC

‘He asked Bulu to go to the garden.’

Purpose clauses are occasionally introduced by the complementiser *ba*:

- (44) *Baing am ga-goxoya muli ba am*
 and 1pe 1pe.S-return again CMPR 1pe

ga-bagu babu.
 1pe.S-see image

‘And we returned to see a movie.’

7.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Mato are postposed to the nominal head in the noun phrase and are syntactically unmarked. They are simply juxtaposed to the head noun without complementisers, relativisers or any other indicator of subordination, except for an optional clause final demonstrative *ba*. The relativised functions discovered so far are subject, object, possessor and oblique. Obliques appear to be different in that a question word introduces the relative clause, though this area needs more research. In the following examples, the head noun phrase is bolded, while the relative clause is included in brackets.

In (45) and (46) the relativised constituent is the subject of the relative clause:

- (45) *am ga-ting waxu=di ma-kisi mana xai*
 1pe 1pe.S-throw vine=PL DIR-cross OBL tree
maring-ina [di-rang taxag=ia]
 straight-3s.POSS 3p.S-place bridge=LOC
 ‘we threw ropes across to the posts that were standing at the bridge’
- (46) *Ung haing kimbo lup [u-bo u-yau]...*
 2s woman or male 2s.S-want 2s.S-marry
 ‘You woman or man who want to marry...’

In the next three examples the relativised constituent is the object of the relative clause:

- (47) *Sande baing Karkar=di waga-dinga [d-uxu*
 Sunday and Karkar=PL ship-3p.POSS 3p.S-call
ba Mamoke] Ø-ma.
 CMPR Mamoke 3s.S-come
 ‘It was Sunday and the Karkar islanders’ boat called Mamoke came.’
- (48) *Ati-ding=di da-xai te ma-na kubolu-a*
 liver-3p.POSS=PL 3p.S-good NEG OBL-3s.O conduct-SPEC
[lipu dian di-libu ba].
 person bad 3p.S-do DEM.mid
 ‘They were upset about what the criminals were doing (lit. the behaviours which the bad people did).’
- (49) *bagula da-harua xai sibuna ma-na kubolu-a*
 IRR 3p.S-say good very OBL-3s.O conduct-SPEC
[u-libu mana-di]
 2s.S-do OBL-3p.O
 ‘they will praise the way you treated them (lit. the behaviour which you did to them)’

In examples (50) and (51) the relativised constituent is an oblique argument in the relative clause, with the relative clause introduced by a question word in the first one.

- (50) *lipu-a* [gaxarea di-baxanga ba] xung-Ø
 person-SPEC who 3p.S-inform DEM.mid fall-3s.O
ma-ri *sigang=ia*
 DIR-descend dance-NMLZ=LOC
 ‘the man they spoke about fell down at the dance’
- (51) *Am ga-la am ga-hatanga titi baruamta*
 1pe 1p.S-go 1pe 1p.S-show land which
 [bagula am ga-goli timung].
 IRR 1pe 1p.S-clear deep.bush
 ‘We go and identify which land we will cut away the deep bush from.’

In the following two examples the relativised constituent is the possessor; in (52) in an equative clause, and in (53) in an intransitive clause. In combination with *lipu* ‘person’ (without the specifier *-a*), the use of the interrogative *gaxarea* ‘who’ signals an indefinite referent ‘whoever’.

- (52) *lang tela* [ya-noa Kadsywa]
 water NSPEC name-3s.POSS Kadsywa
 ‘a river whose name is Kadsywa’
- (53) *Lipu* [gaxarea maxa-ding da-haxatu] sanga
 person who eye-3p.POSS 3p.S-close able
ba du-waxata te.
 CMPR 3p.S-work NEG
 ‘Whoever is blind cannot work.’

7.4 Complement clauses

Mato has object complement and oblique complement clauses.

7.4.1 Object complement clauses

Object complement clauses in Mato are usually introduced by the complementiser *ba* (also a mid-distance demonstrative; see §3.3). Common verbs which take an object complement clause are *bagu* ‘see’, *sanga* ‘be able’, *xunumia* ‘feel’ and *bo* ‘want’.

- (54) *Alali di-sina guxam xai na-ung, baing*
 this 3p.S-give blessing good REC-2s.O and
u-bagu ba u-raxap ma-na aksamang tela
 2s.S-see CMPR 2s.S-lack OBL-3s.O something SPEC
te.
 NEG

‘These will give a good blessing to you, and you’ll see that you don’t lack anything.’

- (55) *Saing sanga ba o-xop rung-inga xai-ya*
 and able CMPR 2s.S-get sit-NMLZ good-SPEC
titi-a li te.
 earth-SPEC DEM.near NEG

‘And you won’t be able to have the good life on this earth.’

- (56) *Bunging tela hain-inoa Ø-bo ba*
 time NSPEC wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-want CMPR
Ø-kisi lamu.
 3s.S-shred grass.skirt

‘One time his wife wanted to shred (a plant for) a grass skirt.’

In the following example *ba* introduces an appositive clause modifying the noun *harua-ng-ua* ‘the talk, the word’.

- (57) *Nga-sina harua-ng-ua na Ramuk=di ba*
 1s.S-send talk-NMLZ-SPEC REC Ramuk=PL CMPR
da-xauxau ding-ia tela bu tam ga-ma
 3p.S-prepare 3p-POSS NSPEC so 1d 1pe.S-come
Ukarumpa bu tam ga-suli Matyu
 Ukarumpa so 1d 1pe.S-examine Matyu
Xailong-ina.
 book-3s.POSS

‘I sent word to the Ramuks to prepare one of them so that we could come to Ukarumpa to check the Book of Matthew.’

7.4.2 Oblique complement clauses

Oblique complement clauses are introduced by the general-purpose preposition *ma-na* and occupy the prepositional slot of a main clause.

Common verbs which take an oblique complement clause are *xabia* ‘know’, *hanaunau* ‘instruct’ and *sanga* ‘be able’.

- (58) *Ø-Haxa* *Ø-xabia* *ma-na* *labu* *Ø-ha-musu*
 3s.S-walk 3s.S-know OBL-3s.O PROHIB 3s.S-CAUS-dirty
buxu=di *baxuli-ding=di*.
 pig=PL pig.path-3p.POSS=PL

‘He walked knowing not to contaminate the path with his scent.’

- (59) *Haing-a* *bagula* *da-hanaunau* *ma-na* *Ø-wasa*
 woman-SPEC IRR 3p.S-instruct OBL-3s.O 3s.S-tend
mana *num-ua* *gara=di* *xaung* *ayau-na*.
 OBL-3s.O house-SPEC child=PL and husband-3s.POSS

‘They will instruct the woman about looking after the house, children and her husband’

The following example illustrates an oblique complement clause (following *sanga* ‘be able’), embedded within an object complement clause following the verb *xunumia* ‘feel’.

- (60) *Ung* *haing* *kimbo* *lup* *u-bo* *u-yau* *bing*
 2s woman or male 2s.S-want 2s.S-marry then
u-xunumia-ung *ba* *ung* *sanga* *ma-na* *u-naxu*
 2s.S-feel-2s.O CMPR 2s able OBL-3s.O 2s.S-follow
ma-na *yau-nga* *kubolu-ng* *longgalo*.
 OBL-3s.O marry-NMLZ conduct-3s.POSS all

‘You woman or man who want to marry, you must feel that you are able to follow all the ways of marriage.’

7.5 Direct and indirect speech

Direct speech is usually introduced with one of the regular speech verbs listed in Table 7.2.

TABLE 7.2. REGULARLY OBSERVED SPEECH VERBS

Mato	Gloss
<i>bala</i>	‘tell’
<i>baxanga</i>	‘inform, speak forth’
<i>bo</i>	‘say’
<i>harua</i>	‘say’
<i>haxuya</i>	‘answer’
<i>xusunga</i>	‘ask’

The complementiser *ba*, as a rule, immediately precedes the quote. When the addressee is specified, the verbs *harua* ‘say’, *baxanga* ‘inform’ and *haxuya* ‘answer’ encode it with the recipient preposition *na*. The verbs *bala* ‘tell’ and *xusunga* ‘ask’ mark the recipient in the object slot. The speech verb *bo* ‘say’ does not allow a recipient. In the following examples the speech verb, the complementiser and any recipients are underlined.

- (61) *Nga-ma* *nga-bala-Ø* *ba*, ‘*Urana* *Ø-wagi* *kitam*
 1s.S-come 1s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR God 3s.S-call 1di.O
ba ta-la ta-tuxu oxat-ua li.
 CMPR 1di.S-go 1di.S-hold work-SPEC DEM.near
 ‘I came and told him, “God called us to go and do this work.”’
- (62) *Baing* *kixing-inoa* *Ø-bala-Ø* *ba*,
 and younger.sibling-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR
 ‘*Nga-wagi* *mana* *sabanga-gua.*’
 1s.S-call OBL older.sibling-1s.POSS
 ‘And the younger brother told him, “I called for my big brother.”’
- (63) *Baing* *nga-bala-Ø* *ba*, ‘*Suhi* *Ø-bigarara*
 and 1s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR snake.sp 3s.S-miss
ma-nga saing bagu Ø-kinu ma-tabu daxanga
 OBL-1s.O and see 3s.S-sleep DIR-at.rest road
rubin=ia ba!’
 side=LOC DEM.mid
 ‘And I told him, “A *suhi* (poisonous snake) (struck and) missed me, and there it was, lying on the side of the path there!”’

- (64) *Bungina nga-la nga-ida nga-bala gara=di*
 when 1s.S-go 1s.S-day.hunt 1s.S-tell youth=PL
ba, 'A-wa mua tabalaxa=ya.'
 CMPR 2p.S-be DUR camp=LOC
 'When I went day-hunting, I told the youths, "You stay at the camp."'
- (65) *Saxariong ing gani-na i-la num=ia*
 Saxariong 3s alone-3s.POSS 3s.S-go house=LOC
saing Ø-baxanga na hain-iding=di ba,
 and 3s.S-inform REC wife-3p.POSS=PL CMPR
'Ayua-im=di kakaha-ding...'
 husband-2p.POSS=PL stupid-3p.POSS
 'Only Saxariong (escaped and) went to the house and informed their wives, "Your husbands were stupid..."'
- (66) *Ø-bo ba, 'Sanga=u a-haing.'*
 3s.S-say CMPR able=PROG 2p.S-ascend
 'He said, "Okay, you all embark."'
- (67) *Xoxalubina harua ba, 'Patunru, patanra.'*
 madman 3s.S-say CMPR close open
 'The madman said (to the gate), "Open up."' (a magic phrase to make the door open on its own)
- (68) *Kianda Ø-haxuya ba, 'Hoo-oo-oo, u-ma*
 Kianda 3s.S-answer CMPR Hey 2s.S-come
nga-hang buxu lo!'
 1s.S-shoot pig PERF.UC
 'Kianda answered, "Hey! Come here. I shot a pig!'"
- (69) *Nga-haxuya na-di ba, 'Tegu, a-la a-ma*
 1s.S-answer REC-3p.O CMPR no 2p.S-go 2p.S-come
to.'
 first
 'I answered them, "No, you go and come back first."'

- (70) *tibu-ding* *Ø-xusunga-di* *ba,* ‘*Gaxarea* *Ø-sina*
father-3p.POSS 3s.S-ask-3p.O CMPR who 3s.S-give
song xaung gomi=di *na-ng?’*
fish and giant.clam.shell=PL REC-2p.O
‘their father asked them, “Who gave the fish and giant clam shells to you?”’
- (71) *Ø-xusunga* *Kianda* *ba,* ‘*I-la* *baru?’*
3s.S-ask Kianda CMPR 3s.S-go how
‘He asked Kianda, “Which way did it go?”’
- (72) *Lipu* *xangxana* *bagula* *di-ma,* *bing* *labu*
person various IRR 3p.S-come then PROHIB
u-bagu-di *saing* *u-harua* *ba,* ‘*Si,*
2p.S-see-3p.O and 2p.S-say CMPR gee
lipu-a=di *li* *nga-xabia-di* *te-ke.’*
person-SPEC=PL DEM.near 1s.S-know-3p.O NEG-EMPH
‘All kinds of people will come so don’t look at them and say, “I don’t know these people.”’
- (73) *Bungina* *nga-ma* *nga-sok,* *nga-bagu* *Elunge*
when 1s.S-come 1s.S-arrive 1s.S-see Elunge
saing *Ø-harua* *ba,* ‘*Buragin* *to* *ta-la*
and 3s.S-say CMPR tomorrow first 1pi.S-go
ba.’
PERF.CERT
‘When I arrived, I saw Elunge and he said, “Tomorrow we’ll go.”’

The complementiser *ba* is also used to introduce a variety of quotes using less common speech act verbs such as *hatum* ‘think’, *waya* ‘sing’ and *wagi* ‘call’.

- (74) *Nga-hatum* *ba,* ‘*Nga-la* *teg=ia* *bu*
1s.S-think CMPR 1s.S-go ocean=LOC so
nga-sai *asaxa* *tek-kam.’*
1s.S-search animal ocean-ASS
‘I thought, “I’ll go to the ocean to look for sea creatures (fish, shellfish, etc.)”’

- (75) *i-la num=ia baing Ø-waya ba,*
 3s.S-go house=LOC and 3s.S-sing CMPR
 ‘Gebangto, gebangto, tanggito, gebangto, gep,
 gebangto gebangto tanggito gebangto grub.worm
 gep, gep’
 grub.worm grub.worm
 ‘he went to his house and sang, “(untranslatable), grub worm,
 grub worm, grub worm”’
- (76) *Haing-a Ø-wagi ba, ‘U-ma to.’*
 woman-SPEC 3s.S-call CMPR 2s.S-come first
 ‘The woman called, “Come (here) first.”’

Indirect speech clauses are seldom utilised in Mato. The complementiser *ba* also introduces indirect speech; the only distinguishing feature between direct and indirect quotations is the shift of pronominal reference in the quotation.

- (77) *Binabu di-la du-xusunga haing-a*
 therefore 3p.S-go 3p.S-ask woman-SPEC
bau-ng-tibu-n=di *ba sanga*
 mother-3s.POSS-father-3s.POSS=PL CMPR able
ma-na gara-dinga Ø-yau nanuhang-idinga.
 OBL-3s.O child-3p.POSS 3s.S-marry daughter-3p.POSS
 ‘So they go ask the girl’s parents if it is acceptable for their son
 to marry their daughter.’
- (78) *Ø-bala-di ba labu di-sauya long-ga*
 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR PROH 3p.S-leave area-SPEC
baguba sap-ku tai
 that quickly-PROH NEG
 ‘he told them not to leave that place quickly’
- (79) *Ina Ø-bo ba nga-la=uba.*
 3s 3s.S-say CMPR 1s.S-go=INCEPT
 ‘He told me to leave now.’
- (80) *Ina Ø-xusunga Bulu bu i-la umang=ia.*
 3s 3s.S-ask Bulu so 3s.S-go garden=LOC
 ‘He asked Bulu to go to the garden.’

8. *Idioms*

Idioms are usually not included in a grammar sketch. However, since this is often a neglected area in linguistic descriptions, and Mato is very rich in idioms (which also offer interesting insights into the culture and worldview), it was felt appropriate to include a chapter on them. To date, the corpus of Mato data includes 119 idioms. Most of these were elicited using a matrix system of body parts and common adjectives, as well as the list of animals in the Mato area. Several, however, have just emerged in conversation during sixteen years living amongst the people.

8.1 Body part idioms

Inasmuch as body parts idioms are the easiest to elicit, they represent the largest grouping of idioms in the data. Most meanings are predictable: the head represents the mind, the face shows emotions, the tongue and mouth characterise speech actions. There are three seats of emotion in the Mato worldview: the mind, the abdomen and the liver. Cognitive emotions live in the mind, while the abdomen and liver share significant overlap. Mild emotions are experienced in the abdomen, while intense emotions reside in the liver. Note that the Mato word for a person's liver is always pluralised. This is probably due to it having four lobes.

TABLE 8.1 HEAD/MIND IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>Ø-hatum xumana</i> 3s.S-think many 'he thinks much'	he's worried
<i>hatum-inga-noa mauxana</i> think-NMLZ-3s.POSS heavy 'his mind is heavy'	he's troubled
<i>hatum-inga-noa maxana</i> think-NMLZ-3s.POSS light 'his mind is light'	he's relieved
<i>hatum-inga-noa Ø-maxaya</i> think-NMLZ-3s.POSS 3s.S-long 'his mind is long'	he's wise/knowledgeable
<i>hatum-inga-noa Ø-raxap</i> think-NMLZ-3s.POSS 3s.S-short 'his mind is short'	he's uninformed
<i>toxo-n te</i> head-3s.POSS NEG 'he doesn't have a head'	he's an idiot
<i>toxo-na Ø-buya</i> head-3s.POSS 3s.S-decay 'his head is rotten'	he's an evil person
<i>toxo-na Ø-doa</i> head-3s.POSS 3s.S-ruined 'his head is ruined'	he's crazy/rebellious
<i>toxo-na Ø-haring</i> head-3s.POSS 3s.S-strong 'his head is hard'	he's stubborn

TABLE 8.2. LIVER IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>ati-n</i> <i>da-haring</i> liver-3s.POSS 3p.S-strong 'his livers are hard'	he's greedy
<i>ati-n</i> <i>da-xaringa</i> liver-3s.POSS 3p.S-cold 'his livers are cold'	he died
<i>ati-n</i> <i>di-doa</i> liver-3s.POSS 3p.S-ruined 'his livers are ruined'	he's angry
<i>ati-n</i> <i>di-moti</i> liver-3s.POSS 3p.S-snap.apart	he gives undeserved/unconditional generosity to him
<i>ma-na</i> OBL-3s.O 'his livers snap apart for him'	
<i>ati-n</i> <i>di-sala</i> liver-3s.POSS 3p.S-hurt/burn 'his livers are hurting/burning'	he's very angry
<i>ati-n=di</i> <i>xaringa-ding</i> liver-3s.POSS=PL cold-3p.POSS 'their livers have coldness'	they're reconciled
<i>ati-n=di</i> <i>yab-iding</i> liver-3s.POSS=PL fire-3p.POSS 'their livers have fire'	they are angry with each other
<i>Ø-lilia</i> <i>ati-n=di</i> 3s.S-flip liver-3s.POSS=PL 'he flips his livers'	he has magical influence over him

TABLE 8.3. ABDOMEN IDIOMS

Mato		Idiomatic meaning
<i>gamo-na</i> abdomen-3s.POSS	<i>Ø-doa</i> 3s.S-ruined	he's unhappy 'his abdomen is ruined'
<i>gamo-na</i> abdomen-3s.POSS	<i>Ø-haring</i> 3s.S-strong	he's greedy 'his abdomen is hard'
<i>gamo-na</i> abdomen-3s.POSS	<i>mauxana</i> heavy	he's troubled 'his abdomen is heavy'
<i>gamo-na</i> abdomen-3s.POSS	<i>maxana</i> light	he's calm 'his abdomen is light'
<i>gamo-na</i> abdomen-3s.POSS	<i>Ø-sala</i> 3s.S-hurt/burn	he's angry 'his abdomen hurts/burns'
<i>gamo-na</i> abdomen-3s.POSS	<i>Ø-xaringa</i> 3s.S-cold	he's reconciled 'his abdomen is cold'
<i>ta-xap</i> Ipi.S-get	<i>gamogamu tua-na</i> abdomen bone-3s.POSS	let's eat now 'we get the abdomen's bone'

TABLE 8.4. SIGHT/EYE IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>maxa-n</i> <i>di-sabuxa</i> eye-3s.POSS 3p.S-red 'his eyes reddened'	he's angry
<i>maxa-n=di</i> <i>bila</i> <i>yap=di</i> eye-3s.POSS=PL like fire=PL 'his eyes are like fire'	he's angry
<i>maxa-n=di</i> <i>ora-ding</i> eye-3s.POSS=PL fat-3p.POSS 'his eyes have fat'	he covets
<i>maxa-n=ia</i> eye-3s.POSS=LOC 'in his sight'	in his presence
<i>Ø-bagu</i> <i>yap</i> 3s.S-see fire 'he sees fire'	he has finalised the bride price and is about to be married
<i>Ø-ta</i> <i>maxa</i> <i>ma-na</i> 3s.S-put eye OBL-3s.O 'he puts the eye toward it'	he has hope without expectation of the outcome

TABLE 8.5. SPEECH/MOUTH/TONGUE IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>Ø-harua bila radio</i> 3s.S-say like radio 'he talks like a radio'	he's a chatterer
<i>Ø-harua kimu</i> 3s.S-say later 'he talks later'	he's envious
<i>harua-nga yang oti-nga</i> say-NMLZ wind fly/float-NMLZ 'wind floating talk'	a rumour
<i>lipu mana-ng luwa</i> person tongue-3s.POSS two 'the person has two tongues'	he's a hypocrite
<i>mana-noa Ø-maxaya</i> tongue-3s.POSS 3s.S-long 'his tongue is long'	he's a schemer
<i>mana-noa oga-na</i> tongue-3s.POSS crooked-3s.POSS 'his tongue is crooked'	he's inaccurate
<i>suxungu-noa Ø-doa</i> mouth-3s.POSS 3s.S-ruined 'his mouth is ruined'	he's a malicious talker
<i>suxungu-noa mauxana</i> mouth-3s.POSS heavy 'his mouth is heavy'	he's so upset he cannot talk about it
<i>suxungu-noa maxana</i> mouth-3s.POSS light 'his mouth is light'	he's open and willing to discuss the disagreement
<i>suxungu-noa Ø-sala</i> mouth-3s.POSS 3s.S-hurt/burn 'his mouth hurts/burns'	he's talkative

TABLE 8.6. CONT'D

Mato		Idiomatic meaning
<i>suxungu-noa</i>	<i>yab-ina</i>	
mouth-3s.POSS	fire-3s.POSS	he's a shouter
'his mouth has fire'		
<i>mana-noa</i>	<i>Ø-maxaya</i>	
tongue-3s.POSS	3s.S-long	he's a schemer
'his tongue is long'		

TABLE 8.7. BACK IDIOMS

Mato		Idiomatic meaning
<i>ubu-noa</i>	<i>Ø-bisa</i>	
back-3s.POSS	3s.S-tender	he's a hard worker/diligent
'his back is tender'		
<i>ubu-noa</i>	<i>Ø-haring</i>	
back-3s.POSS	3s.S-strong	he's lazy
'his back is hard'		
<i>ubu-noa</i>	<i>Ø-haring</i>	<i>te</i>
back-3s.POSS	3s.S-strong	NEG
'his back is not hard'		he's a good worker

TABLE 8.8. HAND/LEG IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>Ø-haxa mauli rangua tela</i> 3s.S-walk around with/to NSPEC 'he walks around with another'	he had illicit sex with her
<i>Ø-hixi ma-na</i> 3s.S-jump OBL-3s.O 'he jumps at it'	he's surprised/amazed
<i>ki-n=di di-maxaya</i> leg-3s.POSS=PL 3p.S-long 'his legs are long'	he's a traveller
<i>Ø-luki bila yab-a Ø-tau</i> 3s.S-run like fire-SPEC 3s.S-burn 'he runs like fire burns'	he's fast
<i>rīma-ng yab-ina</i> hand-3s.POSS fire-3s.POSS 'his hand has fire'	he's a good hunter
<i>rīma-n=di di-doa</i> hand-3s.POSS=PL 3p.S-ruined 'his hands are ruined'	he's a thief
<i>rīma-n=di di-maxaya</i> hand-3s.POSS=PL 3p.S-long 'his hands are long'	he's a thief
<i>rīma-ng uxu-n=di</i> hand-3s.POSS shoot-3s.POSS=PL	
<i>di-sala</i> 3p.S-hurt/burn 'the shoots of his hand (=fingers) hurt/burn'	he's a hard worker/diligent

TABLE 8.9. OTHER BODY PART OR FUNCTION IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>Ø-dudu-ti</i> 3s.S-stuff-break	
<i>tanga-n-lia-n=di</i> net.bag-3s.POSS-middle-3s.POSS=PL 'he blocks up his ears'	he's stubborn
<i>Ø-dongdongia sangga</i> 3s.S-litter body 'he litters the body'	he defiles himself
<i>sui-na Ø-xung-gati</i> breast-3s.POSS 3s.S-fall-break 'her breasts bend down'	she's a marriageable female
<i>ramramo-na Ø-haring</i> face-3s.POSS 3s.S-strong 'his face is hard'	he's angry
<i>ramramo-noa sabanga</i> face-3s.POSS big 'his face is large'	he's famous
<i>Ø-tabia badu-n=di</i> 3s.S-stick.out lip-3s.POSS=PL 'he sticks out his lips'	he disagrees, he refuses
<i>yaxu-na Ø-sala</i> shoulder-3s.POSS 3s.S-hurt/burn 'his shoulder hurts/burns'	he's a hard worker/diligent
<i>wai-n=di manemmanem</i> tooth-3s.POSS=PL mushroom.sp 'his teeth are a mushroom species'	he has clean, unstained teeth
<i>waxu-ng-tua-noa Ø-mamasa</i> rope-3s.POSS-bone-3s.POSS 3s.S-dry 'his neck is dry'	he is thirsty

TABLE 8.10. CONT'D

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>waxu-ng-tua-noa</i> rope-3s.POSS-bone-3s.POSS	he's extremely thirsty
<i>Ø-galai-na=uba</i> 3s.S-break-3s.O=INCEPT	
'his neck is breaking itself'	

8.2 Animal idioms

Dogs are in the majority of idioms in this data set. A dog's usefulness is expressed idiomatically much the same as a person's, while their fierceness when exposed to hunger is used to express people's hunger as well.

TABLE 8.11. ANIMAL IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>asaxa gara-noa Ø-haing</i> animal child-3s.POSS 3s.S-ascend	he had a seizure
<i>ma-na</i> OBL-3s.O 'an animal's young went upon him'	
<i>bandim</i> flying.fox 'he's a flying fox'	he's a wanderer
<i>bandim</i> flying.fox 'he's a flying fox'	he's a regular betelnut chewer
<i>Ø-gip bila bandim-a</i> 3s.S-spit like flying.fox-SPEC	he's a betelnut addict
<i>Ø-bia</i> 3s.S-defecate 'he spits like the flying fox defecates'	

TABLE 8.12. CONT'D

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>baxaliku</i> pigeon.sp 'he's a pigeon species'	he's a shy/quiet person
<i>bogi</i> eagle.sp 'he's an eagle species'	he eats his meat raw (with the blood still in it)
<i>buntut</i> eagle.sp 'he's an eagle species'	he eats his meat raw (with the blood still in it)
<i>toxu-ding=di</i> <i>bila</i> <i>buxu=di</i> head-3p.POSS=PL like pig=PL 'their heads are like pigs'	they are stubborn/they are rebellious
<i>gambuxam</i> mouse 'he's a mouse'	he's a skinny runt
<i>gaxap</i> crayfish 'he's a crayfish'	he's afraid, he's a chicken
<i>haxinggu</i> frog 'he's a frog'	he's a real skinny runt
<i>Ø-yum</i> <i>haxinggu</i> 3s.S-swim frog 'he swims (like a) frog'. ¹	he's a really good diver
<i>honu</i> sea.turtle 'he's a sea turtle'	he's a poor climber; he doesn't climb

¹ This is a rare occurrence of a noun following an intransitive verb, so far found only in this idiom.

TABLE 8.13. CONT'D

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>koma</i> dog 'he's a dog'	he's a womaniser, (he follows women around like a dog)
<i>koma Ø-bisa</i> dog 3s.S-tender 'the dog is tender'	it's a good hunting dog
<i>Ø-bagu-ng haringina bila koma</i> 3s.S-see-2s.O strong like dog 'he stares at you like a dog'	he wants to eat what you're eating
<i>koma Ø-gaxu gamo-gua</i> dog 3s.S-bite abdomen-1s.POSS 'the dog bites my stomach'	I'm famished
<i>koma yab-ina</i> dog fire-3s.POSS 'the dog has fire'	it's a good hunting dog
<i>koma Ø-gaxu-ng</i> dog 3s.S-bite-2s.O 'the dog bites you'	there's no food (the dogs will turn on you)
<i>niwa</i> spotted.cuscus 'he's a spotted cuscus'	he's a good climber
<i>suam</i> cassowary 'he's a cassowary'	1. he's a wanderer; 2. he's tall
<i>mauxana bila xuni=di</i> heavy like sea.turtle=PL 'he's heavy like sea turtles'	he's a poor climber/he doesn't climb
<i>Ø-oti bila mang=di</i> 3s.S-fly/float like bird=PL 'he flies like birds'	he's a traveller

8.3 Tool/object idioms

The idioms in this collection are grouped according to tools or common objects used in everyday life. The main observation in this data set is that people are identified by the objects they most often use (men/husbands: bow, arrow; women/wives: net bags, gardens).

TABLE 8.14. TOOL/OBJECT IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>gulu-na</i> <i>Ø-maxaxa</i> <i>te</i> arrow-3s.POSS 3s.S-sharp NEG 'his arrow isn't sharp'	his argument is unconvincing
<i>Ø-hanai</i> <i>tanga-noa</i> 3s.S-steal net.bag-3s.POSS 'he stole his net bag'	steal someone's wife, he had an affair
<i>Ø-hanai</i> <i>umanga-noa</i> 3s.S-steal garden-3s.POSS 'he stole his garden'	steal someone's wife, he had an affair
<i>numa</i> <i>Ø-galai-na</i> house 3s.S-break-3s.O 'the house is breaking itself'	the owner is rich/has many possessions
<i>numa</i> <i>Ø-haki</i> house 3s.S-creak 'the house creaks'	the owner is rich/has many possessions
<i>ruang-inoa</i> <i>Ø-galai-na</i> bow-3s.POSS 3s.S-break-3s.O 'his/her bow broke itself'	her husband died
<i>ruang-inoa</i> <i>Ø-haring</i> bow-3s.POSS 3s.S-strong 'his bow is strong'	he's a good warrior
<i>ruang-inoa</i> <i>yab-ina</i> bow-3s.POSS fire-3s.POSS 'his bow has fire'	he's a good warrior

TABLE 8.15. CONT'D

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>samoa</i> <i>Ø-hasia-na</i> outrigger 3s.S-loose-3s.O 'the outrigger fell off'	his wife/her husband died
<i>tanga-noa</i> <i>ginang-ina</i> net.bag-3s.POSS hole-3s.POSS 'his net bag has a hole'	he's financially inept, he's a squanderer
<i>tanga-noa</i> <i>Ø-sing-ina</i> net.bag-3s.POSS 3s.S-tear-3s.O 'his net bag is ripping itself open'	he's wealthy
<i>ulu-noa</i> <i>Ø-hasia-na</i> bow.string-3s.POSS 3s.S-loose-3s.O 'his/her bowstring came off'	her husband died
<i>ulu-noa</i> <i>Ø-moti</i> bow.string-3s.POSS 3s.S-snap.apart 'his/her bowstring snapped in two'	her husband died
<i>Ø-xap</i> <i>tanga</i> <i>tela</i> 3s.S-get net.bag NSPEC 'he got a net bag'	he married

8.4 Other idioms

This final set of idioms has no unifying factor.

TABLE 8.16. OTHER IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>angingo-na</i> fruit-3s.POSS 'it has fruit'	it was successful, it had positive results, it was fulfilled
<i>angingo-noa i-la baing</i> spirit-3s.POSS 3s.S-go and 'his spirit surely left'	he was very afraid
<i>kalai-yua Ø-galai-na</i> bean-SPEC 3s.S-break-3s.O 'the bean broke itself off'	it's harvest time
<i>lipu mutuxuna</i> person black 'he's a black person'	he's quiet/shy
<i>lang-a si-'m-Ø</i> river-SPEC flood-OBL-3s.O	
<i>xang-ing-ua laing Ø-sup</i> eat-NMLZ-SPEC until 3s.s-complete 'the river has flooded the food away'	he ate quickly
<i>salak yaba-noa</i> hurt/burn place-3s.POSS 'pain's place'	prison
<i>sobag-a Ø-wa bang</i> moon-SPEC 3s.S-be taro 'the moon is taro'	it's a full moon

TABLE 8.17. CONT'D

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>sanga- 'm-Ø daxang-ua te²</i> able-OBL-3s.O path-SPEC NEG 'it's not suitable/fitting for the path'	it's immoral
<i>Ø-ta ma-na daxanga diana</i> 3s.S-put OBL-3s.O path bad 'he put him on a bad path'	he enticed someone to do immoral behaviour
<i>Ø-ta ragu-nga ma-na</i> 3s.S-put wait-NMLZ OBL-3s.O 'he puts waiting toward it'	he hopes (with the expectation of a positive outcome)
<i>Ø-ting hasoya</i> 3s.S-throw far 'he throws (his feet) a long way'	he's a fast walker
<i>tinrung</i> toilet 'he's a toilet'	he's immoral
<i>Ø-tongtongia tai</i> 3s.S-make excrement 'he makes excrement'	he's immoral
<i>ungu-nga-noa</i> chew.betelnut-NMLZ-3s.POSS	he chews betelnut frequently
<i>Ø-haring</i> 3s.S-strong 'his betelnut is hard'	

² This phrase is normally pronounced with contraction. The full construction is *sanga mana daxangua te*.

TABLE 8.18. OTHER IDIOMS

Mato	Idiomatic meaning
<i>ungu-nga-noa</i> chew.betelnut-NMLZ-3s.POSS	he chews betelnut frequently
<i>yab-ina</i> fire-3s.POSS 'his betelnut has fire'	
<i>wa-linga-noa</i> <i>Ø-doa</i> be-NMLZ-3s.POSS 3s.S-ruined 'his life is ruined'	he's experiencing a famine
<i>xai</i> <i>sabanga</i> <i>moxo-na</i> tree big owner-3s.POSS	he has epilepsy/seizures
<i>Ø-haing</i> <i>ma-na</i> 3s.S-ascend OBL-3s.O 'a large tree's owner went up on him'	
<i>yang-a</i> <i>Ø-moti</i> wind-SPEC 3s.S-snap.apart 'the wind snapped apart'	the wind stopped blowing
<i>haing</i> <i>daxanga-m</i> woman path-ASS 'a woman of the path'	prostitute; a sexually promiscuous woman
<i>i-la</i> <i>Ø-xang</i> <i>tek</i> 3s.S-go 3s.S-eat ocean 'he goes to eat the ocean'	he's searching for seafood

Appendix: Texts

The following texts are presented with three lines in addition to the free translation. The first line is how the text is written in the orthography. The second line shows the morphemes in their full underlying forms, while the third line is the morpheme gloss line.

Text 1. *Sakoxa* (The banana/dugong story)

This story was told by Goi Sauwi in Gambulanglune village in 2001.

1. *Mugamugau sibuna lipu tela haininoa tang*
muga-mugau sibuna lipu tela hain-noa dingtang
before-RED very person NSPEC wife-3s.POSS 3d

duwa.

di-wa

3p.S-be

‘A very long time ago, there lived a man and his wife.’

2. *Bunging tela haininoa bo ba kisi*
bungina tela hain-noa Ø-bo ba Ø-kisi
time/when NSPEC wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-want CMPR 3s.S-shred

lamu.

lamu

grass.skirt

‘One time his wife wanted to shred (a plant for) a grass skirt.’

3. *Baing ila taxiti longanoa sakoxang*
baing i-la taxi-uti longa-noa sakoxa-noa
and 3s.S-go cut-break in.law-3s.POSS banana.sp-3s.POSS

lonua.

lona-ua
leaf-SPEC

‘And she went and cut off her in-law’s banana leaf.’

4. *Baing ayuana bala ba, ‘Uraxata*
 baing ayua-na Ø-bala-Ø ba u-raxata
 and husband-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 2s.S-do.what
utaxiti longama baxubing lonua ba?’
 u-taxi-uti longa-ma baxup-noa lona-ua ba
 2s.S-cut-break in.law-2s.POSS banana-3s.POSS leaf-SPEC DEM.mid
 ‘And her husband told her, “What were you doing cutting off that banana
 leaf of your in-law?”’

5. *Baing haininoa namnam saing rungrung mauli*
 baing hain-noa Ø-namnam saing Ø-rung-rung mauli
 and wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-upset and 3s.S-sit-RED around
numa rubinia.
 numa rubina=ia
 house side=LOC

‘And his wife was upset and sat around outside the house.’

6. *Baing ayuana bala ba, ‘Ngagamaung te*
 baing ayua-na Ø-bala-Ø ba nga-gamia-ung te
 and husband-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 1s.S-angry-2s.O NEG
ne ngabalaung ba, “Longama sakoxang
 ne nga-bala-ung ba longa-ma sakoxa-noa
 but 1s.S-tell-2s.O CMPR in.law-2s.POSS banana.Sp-3s.POSS
lonua bagu utaxiti ba.”
 lona-ua bagu u-taxi-uti ba
 leaf-SPEC see 2s.S-cut-break DEM.mid

‘And her husband told her, “I’m not angry with you, but I told you,
 ‘Your in-law’s banana leaf, look, you cut that off.”’

7. *Baing haininoa mesa kisikisi lamua*
 baing hain-noa Ø-mesa Ø-kisi-kisi lamu-a
 and wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-arise 3s.S-shred-RED grass.skirt-SPEC

<i>mala</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>laing</i>	<i>sup</i>		<i>baing</i>	<i>rang</i>	<i>lamu</i>
ma-la	ma-la	laing	Ø-sup		baing	Ø-rang	lamu
DIR-go	DIR-go	until	3s.S-complete	and	3s.S-place		grass.skirt

<i>tuanoa</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>baing</i>	<i>ri</i>		<i>tek</i>
tua-noa	ma-li	baing	Ø-ri		tek
bone-3s.POSS	DIR-stand	and	3s.S-descend		ocean

luniauba.

luna=ia=uba

inside=LOC=INCEPT

‘So his wife got up, made the grass skirt (by shredding the leaf) as she went until she was done and placed the grass skirt stem upright in the ground and started into the sea.’

8. *Baing ayuana* *gugu* *gagarandi*
 baing ayua-na Ø-gugu gara-noa=di
 and husband-3s.POSS 3s.S-accompany youth-3s.POSS=PL

dinaxu.

di-naxu

3p.S-follow

‘And her husband and children followed her.’

9. *Dinaxu, dinaxu, lamuadi* *kisidi* *saing*
 di-naxu di-naxu lamu-a=di Ø-kisi-di saing
 3p.S-follow 3p.S-follow grass.skirt-SPEC=PL 3s.S-shred-3p.O and

<i>dimotimoti</i>	<i>mari</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>laing</i>	<i>disok</i>	<i>mana</i>
di-moti-moti	ma-ri	ba	laing	di-sok	mana
3p.S-snap-RED	DIR-descend	PERF.CERT	until	3p.S-arrive	OBL

<i>lamu</i>	<i>tuana</i>	<i>rang</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>saing</i>	<i>ri</i>
lamu	tua-noa	Ø-rang	ma-li	saing	Ø-ri
grass.skirt	bone-3s.POSS	3s.S-place	DIR-stand	and	3s.S-descend

tegia.

tek=ia

ocean=LOC

‘They followed her, they followed the grass skirt clippings she shredded that were snapped in two and had fallen down until they arrived at where she had stood up the grass skirt stem and gone into the sea.’

10. *Baing digoxoya muli mala saing dikinu.*
 baing di-goxoya muli ma-la saing di-kinu
 and 3p.S-return again DIR-go and 3p.S-sleep
 ‘And they returned again and they slept.’
11. *Buragina garan daxap kixingiding*
 buragina gara-noa di-xap kixing-dinga
 tomorrow youth-3s.POSS 3p.S-get younger.brother-3p.POSS
kambaginao mala saing dilongia saing dinaxu
 kambak-noa ma-la saing di-longia saing di-naxu
 infant-3s.POSS DIR-go and 3p.S-lull and 3p.S-follow
tega mauli.
 tek-a mauli
 ocean-SPEC around
 ‘The next day her kids took their baby brother and they lulled him and they walked around on the beach.’
12. *Baing sabanganoa bala ba, ‘Usam bu*
 baing sabanga-noa Ø-bala-Ø ba u-sam bu
 and older.brother-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 2s.S-hush.up so
tabagu baraxinta otioti ma lo: doxokdoxok
 ta-bagu baraxinta Ø-oti-oti ma lo doxokdoxok
 1pi.S-see what 3s.S-fly/float-RED DIR DEM.far driftwood
kimbo tum baura.
 kimbo kitum bau-roa
 or 1ti mother-1pi.POSS
 ‘And his older brother told him, “You quiet down so we can see what’s floating in out there: driftwood or our mother.”’
13. *Ne tum baura bing unam.’*
 ne kitum bau-roa bing u-nam
 but 1ti mother-1pi.POSS then 2s.S-nurse
 ‘If it’s our mother then you can nurse.’”
14. *Baing dili mua baing bauding otioti*
 baing di-li mua baing bau-dinga Ø-oti-oti
 and 3p.S-stand DUR and mother-3p.POSS 3s.S-fly/float-RED

<i>malau</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ruba</i>	<i>singia</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>garang</i>
ma-la=u	ma-la	ruba	singia	Ø-bala	gara-noa
DIR-go=PROG	DIR-go	waves	adjacent	3s.S-tell	youth-3s.POSS

<i>haringinoa</i>	<i>ba,</i>	<i>'Oxop</i>	<i>kixingima</i>	<i>ma</i>
haring-noa	ba	u-xap	kixing-ma	ma
strong-3s.POSS	CMPR	2s.S-get	younger.brother-2s.POSS	DIR

<i>nam</i>	<i>saing</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ba</i>
Ø-nam	saing	a-la	muli	ne	nga	ba
3s.S-nurse	and	2p.S-go	again	but	1s	DEM.mid

<i>agamianza'm</i>	<i>baxubing</i>	<i>londi</i>	<i>ba.'</i>
a-gamia-nga-mana	baxup-noa	lona=di	ba
2p.S-angry-1s.O-OBL	banana-3s.POSS	leaf=PL	DEM.mid

‘And they stood for a while and their mother drifted from wave to wave and she told her eldest child, “Bring your baby brother to nurse and you all go back, but as for me, you all are angry with me about those banana leaves of his.”’

15. *Baing* *garang* *kambaginao* *nam* *laing*
baing *gara-noa* *kambak-noa* *Ø-nam* *laing*
 and *youth-3s.POSS* *infant-3s.POSS* *3s.S-nurse* *until*

<i>sup</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>tegia,</i>	<i>garan</i>
Ø-sup	Ø-ri	muli	tek=ia	gara-noa
3s.S-complete	3s.S-descend	again	ocean=LOC	youth-3s.POSS

<i>dila</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>numia</i>	<i>rangua</i>	<i>tibuding.</i>
di-la	muli	numa=ia	rangua	tibu-dinga
3p.S-go	again	house=LOC	with/to	father-3p.POSS

‘And her baby finished nursing and she descended again into the sea, her children went back to the house to their father.’

16. *Bungina* *ma* *ri* *saing* *garanoa*
bungina *Ø-ma* *Ø-ri* *saing* *gara-noa*
 when *3s.S-come* *3s.S-descend* *and* *youth-3s.POSS*
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>nam</i> | <i>ba</i> | <i>baing</i> | <i>xau</i> | <i>song,</i> | <i>gomi</i> |
| Ø-nam | ba | baing | Ø-xau | song | gomi |
| 3s.S-nurse | PERF.CERT | and | 3s.S-gather | fish | giant.clam.shell |

ma saing sina na garandi baing
 ma saing Ø-sina na gara-noa=di baing
 DIR and 3s.S-give REC youth-3s.POSS=PL and

garan daxap song xaung gomidi mala
 gara-noa di-xap song xauna gomi=di ma-la
 youth-3s.POSS 3p.S-get fish and giant.clam.shell=PL DIR-go

baing tibuding xusungadi ba, 'Gaxarea sina
 baing tibu-dinga Ø-xusunga-di ba gaxarea Ø-sina
 and father-3p.POSS 3s.S-ask-3p.O CMPR who 3s.S-give

song xaung gomidi nang?'
 song xauna gomi=di na-ang
 fish and giant.clam.shell=PL REC-2p.O

‘When she came down (onto the beach) and her child had nursed then she gathered fish and giant clam shells together and gave them to her children and her children took the fish and giant clam shells and their father asked them, “Who gave the fish and giant clam shells to you?”’

17. *Baing garang haringinoa bala ba, 'Tegu,*
baing gara-noa haring-noa Ø-bala-Ø ba tegu
 and youth-3s.POSS strong-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3s.OCMPR no

mena ngalonglongia gara kambagina mauli
menau nga-longia-longia gara kambak-noa mauli
 today.past 1s.S-lull-RED youth infant-3s.POSS around

tek rubinia ne ngaxapdi.'
tek rubina=ia ne nga-xap-di
 ocean side=LOC but 1s.S-get-3p.O

‘And his eldest child told him, “No one, earlier I lulled the baby around on the beach and I got them.”’

18. *Buragingburaginalo bagula dilibu bila ba.*
buragingburaginalo bagula di-libu bila ba
 always IRR 3p.S-do like DEM.mid
 ‘Every day they would do the same thing.’

19. *Bungina dila tek rubinia bing garang*
 bungina di-la tek rubina=ia bing gara-noa
 when 3p.S-go ocean side=LOC then youth-3s.POSS
haringina ba waya saing dinaxu ulangulang
 haringina ba Ø-way saing di-naxu ulangulang
 strong DEM.mid 3s.S-sing and 3p.S-follow sand
mauli saing duwaya.
 mauli saing di-way
 around and 3p.S-sing

‘When they went to the beach then her eldest child sang and they walked around on the sand and they sang.’

20. *Duwaya ba, ‘Kona, kona, tangle, tangle, leroya,*
 di-way ba kona kona tangle tangle leroya
 3p.S-sing CMPR

tangle, tangle, matabu ta, lera mumu.’
 tangle tangle matabu ta lera mumu

‘They sang, “(the individual words in the song have no recognised meaning).”’

21. *Sabangadinga harua ba, ‘Asauya bu tabagu*
 sabanga-dinga Ø-harua ba a-sauya bu ta-bagu
 older.brother-3p.POSS 3s.S-say CMPR 2p.S-leave so 1pi.S-see
baraxinta otioti ma lo xai kimbo
 baraxinta Ø-oti-oti ma lo xai kimbo
 what 3s.S-fly/float-RED DIR DEM.far wood or
mambunga marana kimbo tum baura
 mambunga mara-noa kimbo kitum bau-roa
 poison.fish.tree seed-3s.POSS or 1ti mother-1pi.POSS
bing ma bu sina su naung.’
 bing Ø-ma bu Ø-sina su na-ung
 then 3s.S-come so 3s.S-give milk REC-2s.O

‘Their older brother said, “Stop it so we can see what is drifting in out there, wood or a poison fish tree seed or our mother, then she’ll come to give milk to you.”’

22. *Baing* *bauding* *yummyum* *mari* *ruba*
baing *bau-dinga* \emptyset -yum-yum *ma-ri* *ruba*
 and *mother-3p.POSS* *3s.S-swim-RED* *DIR-descend* *waves*
singia *ne* *uliadi* *song,* *gomi* *laing*
singia *ne* \emptyset -ulia-di *song* *gomi* *laing*
adjacent *but* *3s.S-share-3p.O* *fish* *giant.clam.shell* *until*
sup, *garang* *kambaginao* *nam* *laing*
 \emptyset -sup *gara-noa* *kambak-noa* \emptyset -nam *laing*
3s.S-complete *youth-3s.POSS* *infant-3s.POSS* *3s.S-nurse* *until*
sup, *ina* *ri* *muli* *tegia.*
 \emptyset -sup *ina* \emptyset -ri *muli* *tek=ia*
3s.S-complete *3s* *3s.S-descend* *again* *ocean=LOC*

‘And their mother would surf down the waves and give them fish, then giant clam shells, then her baby would finish nursing and she would go back into the sea’

23. *Garan* *dila* *muli* *numia,* *baing* *tibuding*
gara-noa *di-la* *muli* *numa=ia* *baing* *tibu-dinga*
youth-3s.POSS *3p.S-go* *again* *house=LOC* *and* *father-3p.POSS*
xusungadi *ba,* *‘Gaxarea* *sina* *song* *xaung*
 \emptyset -xusunga-di *ba* *gaxarea* \emptyset -sina *song* *xauna*
3s.S-ask-3p.O *CMPR* *who* *3s.S-give* *fish* *and*
gomidi *nang?’*
gomi=di *na-ang*
giant.clam.shell=PL *REC-2p.O*

‘Her children went back to the house and their father asked them, “Who gave fish and giant clam shells to you?”’

24. *Baing* *garanoa* *bala* *ba,* *‘Tegu,* *menau*
baing *gara-noa* \emptyset -bala- \emptyset *ba* *tegu* *menau*
 and *youth-3s.POSS* *3s.S-tell-3s.O* *CMPR* *no* *today.past*
ngalongia *gara* *kambagina* *mauli* *tek* *rubinia*
nga-longia *gara* *kambak-noa* *mauli* *tek* *rubina=ia*
1s.S-lull *youth* *infant-3s.POSS* *around* *ocean* *side=LOC*

ne ngaxapdi.
 ne nga-xap-di
 but 1s.S-get-3p.O

‘And his child told him, “No one, earlier I lulled the baby around on the beach and I got them.”’

25. *Baing tibuding xap hatuminga ba, ‘Oho,*
 baing tibu-dinga Ø-xap hatum-nga ba Oh
 and father-3p.POSS 3s.S-get think-NMLZ CMPR Oh
garadi li bola bading sok
 gara=di li bola bau-dinga Ø-sok
 youth=PL DEM.near maybe mother-3p.POSS 3s.S-arrive
manadi mua ba.’
 mana-di mua ba
 OBL-3p.O DUR PERF.CERT

‘And their father got an idea, “Oh, these children, I bet their mother has already been meeting with them.”’¹

26. *Baing dikinu, buraragina dimesa saing dimuga ne*
 baing di-kinu buraragina di-mesa saing di-muga ne
 and 3p.S-sleep morning 3p.S-arise and 3p.S-lead but
tibuding ina su manadi mala saing
 tibu-dinga ina Ø-su mana-di ma-la saing
 father-3p.POSS 3s 3s.S-follow OBL-3p.O DIR-go and
hisa mali baing garan duwaya saing
 Ø-hisa ma-li baing gara-noa di-waya saing
 3s.S-hide DIR-stand and youth-3s.POSS 3p.S-sing and
dinaxu ulangulanga mala.
 di-naxu ulangulang-a ma-la
 3p.S-follow sand-SPEC DIR-go

‘So they slept, in the morning they got up and went first, but their father followed along behind them and hid standing up and his children sang and followed the beach along.’

¹ The combination of *bola* ‘maybe’ and the certainty marker *ba* in the same clause is unusual. It probably indicates that the speaker considers the assertion highly likely to be true.

27. *Baing bauding yumyum mari*
 baing bau-dinga Ø-yum-yum ma-ri
 and mother-3p.POSS 3s.S-swim-RED DIR-descend
- uliadi song gomi ne sina su*
 Ø-ulia-di song gomi ne sina su
 3s.S-share-3p.O fish giant.clam.shell but 3s.S-give REC
- na garang kambaginoa laing sup,*
 Ø-na gara-noa kambak-noa laing Ø-sup
 milk youth-3s.POSS infant-3s.POSS until 3s.s-complete
- ina ila.*
 ina i-la
 3s 3s.S-go

‘And their mother swam down (onto the beach), gave them fish and giant clam shells and gave milk to her baby, then she left.’

28. *Garan dila muli numia.*
 gara-noa di-la muli numa=ia
 youth-3s.POSS 3p.S-go again house=LOC
- ‘Her children went back to the house.’

29. *Ne tibuding ina ruburubu longa saing*
 ne tibu-dinga ina Ø-rubu-rubu long-a saing
 but father-3p.POSS 3s 3s.S-attach.wall-RED area-SPEC and
- ila muli numia baing dikinu, buragina*
 i-la muli numa=ia baing di-kinu buragina
 3s.S-go again house=LOC and 3p.S-sleep tomorrow
- dimesa, dimuga mana tibuding.*
 di-mesa di-muga mana tibu-dinga
 3p.S-arise 3p.S-lead OBL father-3p.POSS

‘But their father, he built a blind and went back to the house and they slept, in the morning they got up and went ahead of their father.’

30. *Ina su manadi mala saing hisa mali*
 ina Ø-su mana-di ma-la saing Ø-hisa ma-li
 3s 3s.S-follow OBL-3p.O DIR-go and 3s.S-hide DIR-stand

<i>mana</i>	<i>longa</i>	<i>nulau</i>	<i>ruburubu</i>	<i>ba.</i>
mana	long-a	nulau	Ø-rubu-rubu	ba
OBL	area-SPEC	yesterday	3s.S-attach.wall-RED	PERF.CERT

‘He followed them along and hid in the blind he had built the day before.’

31. *Baing garan duwaya mua baing baiding*
baing gara-noa di-waya mua baing bau-dinga
 and youth-3s.POSS 3p.S-sing DUR and mother-3p.POSS
- yumyum mari sina gomi song*
 Ø-yum-yum ma-ri Ø-sina gomi song
 3s.S-swim-RED DIR-descend 3s.S-give giant.clam.shell fish
- nadi ne sina su na garang*
 na-di ne Ø-sina su na gara-noa
 REC-3p.O but 3s.S-give milk REC youth-3s.POSS
- kambaginoa laing sup.*
 kambak-noa laing Ø-sup
 infant-3s.POSS until 3s.S-complete

‘And her children sang for a while and their mother swam down (onto the beach), gave fish and giant clam shells to them and finished giving milk to her baby.’

32. *Baing ayuana sok mala tuxu baing*
baing ayua-na Ø-sok ma-la Ø-tuxu baing
 and husband-3s.POSS 3s.S-arrive DIR-go 3s.S-hold and
- haininoa bala ba, ‘Asauya nga ne nga*
hain-noa Ø-bala-Ø ba a-sauya nga ne nga
 wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 2p.S-leave 1s but 1s
- ba agamianga’m baxubim londi*
ba a-gamia-nga-mana baxup-ma lona=di
 DEM.mid 2p.S-angry-1s.O-OBL banana-2s.POSS leaf=PL
- ba.*
 ba
 DEM.mid

‘And her husband came out and grabbed her and his wife told him, “Leave me alone, I have angered you about those banana leaves.”’

33. *Baing ayuana bala ba, 'Ngagamaiaung te.*
 baing ayuana Ø-bala-Ø ba nga-gamia-ung te
 and husband 3s.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 1s.S-angry-2s.O NEG
 'And her husband told her, "I'm not mad at you.'
34. *Ne ngabalaung ba, "Uraxata utaxiti*
 ne nga-bala-ung ba u-raxata u-taxi-uti
 but 1s.S-tell-2s.O CMPR 2s.S-do.what 2s.S-cut-break
longama baxubing lonua ba?"
 longa-ma baxup-noa lona-ua ba
 in.law-2s.POSS banana-3s.POSS leaf-SPEC DEM.mid
 'But I told you, "What were you doing cutting off that banana leaf of
 your in-law?"'
35. *Baing haininoa baladi ba, 'Nga ba*
 baing hain-noa Ø-bala-di ba nga ba
 and wife-3s.POSS 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR 1s DEM.mid
agama nga ba.
 a-gamia nga ba
 2p.S-angry 1s.O PERF.CERT
 'And his wife told them, "I have angered you.'
36. *Nga yagua "Ruba Ngaunang."*
 nga yayax-gua ruba Ngaunang
 1s name-1s.POSS waves bubble
 'My name is "The waves foam."'
37. *Baing ri muli tegia saing wa bila*
 baing Ø-ri muli tek=ia saing Ø-wa bila
 and 3s.S-descend again ocean=LOC and 3s.S-be like
ru.
 rui
 dugong
 'And she descended back into the sea and was like a dugong.'

38. *Naxuyanga* *ila* *bila* *ba* *mana* *songga*
 naxuya-nga i-la bila ba mana song-a
 narrate-NMLZ 3s.S-go like DEM.mid OBL fish-SPEC
duxu *ba,* ‘*Rui*’.
 di-uxu ba rui
 3p.S-call CMPR dugong

‘The story goes like that about the fish they call “Dugong”.’

39. *Ina naga,* *naxuyanga* *ma* *sup* *bila.*
 ina naga naxuya-nga Ø-ma Ø-sup bila
 3s end narrate-NMLZ 3s.S-come 3s.S-complete like

‘The end, the story comes to an end like that.’

Text 2. Mondo gets captured

This story was told by Malako Sauwi in Gambulanglune village in 2002.

1. *Nganaxuya mana kaunseldi bungina duwa gugunianga*
 nga-naxuya mana kaunsel=di bungina di-wa gugunia-nga
 1s.S-narrate OBL council=PL when 3p.S-be gather-NMLZ

saing lipu diandi dima daxapdi.
 saing lipu diana=di di-ma di-xap-di
 and person bad=PL 3p.S-come 3p.S-get-3p.O

‘I’m narrating about the councilmen, when they were at a meeting (in a village on the coast between the Mato language area and Wasu) and criminals came and got them.’

2. *Dikinu saing haxek sibuna xaidap, muxaxu*
 di-kinu saing haxek sibuna xaidap muxaxu
 3p.S-sleep and near very day chicken

diri teguyu.
 di-ri tegu-uyu
 3p.S-descend NEG-inc

‘They were sleeping and it was very nearly daybreak, the chickens hadn’t gone down yet (from their perches, i.e. they were still sleeping).’

3. *Baing ina naga, lipu diang luwadi luwadi*
 baing ina naga lipu diana luwa=di luwa=di
 and 3s end person bad two=PL two=PL

hiliadinga dima.
 hilia-dinga di-ma
 one-3p.POSS 3p.S-come

‘So then, five criminals came.’

4. *Daxap wagua ma saing diri lang tela*
 di-xap waga-a ma saing di-ri lang tela
 3p.S-get boat-SPEC DIR and 3p.S-descend river NSPEC

saing daxai mahaing baing dimauba.
 saing di-xai ma-haing baing di-ma-uba
 and 3p.S-pull DIR-ascend and 3p.S-come-INCEPT

‘They brought the boat and they went up (they entered a river from the sea) a river and they pulled it ashore and they were coming.’

5. *Dirai ruang haringing luwa.*
 di-rai ruang haringina luwa
 3p.S-carry bow strong two

‘They were carrying two guns.’

6. *Dima dahaing numia baing lipu*
 di-ma di-haing numa=ia baing lipu
 3p.S-come 3p.S-ascend house=LOC and person
wasangama kinu hadali ne xabia te.
 wasa-nga-am-a kinu ha-dali ne Ø-xabia te
 tend-NMLZ-ASS-SPEC sleep CAUS-exceed but 3s.S-know NEG

‘They came and climbed up into the house and the guard was fast asleep and wasn’t aware of it.’

7. *Tuxu ruang haringin tela saing kinu xauna.*
 Ø-tuxu ruang haringina tela saing Ø-kinu xauna
 3s.S-hold bow strong NSPEC and 3s.S-sleep with

‘He was holding a gun and sleeping with it.’

8. *Dima baing dahaunghaung ba, ‘Umesa.’*
 di-ma baing di-haunghaung ba u-mesa
 3p.S-come and 3p.S-awaken CMPR 2s.S-arise

‘They came and awakened him saying, “Get up.”’

9. *Dita ruanga mana toxonia li.*
 di-ta ruang-a mana toxo-noa=ia li
 3p.S-put bow-SPEC OBL head-3s.POSS=LOC DEM.near

‘They put the gun to his forehead.’ (The narrator pointed to his forehead when he told the story.)

10. *Dibala* *ba,* ‘*Umesa.*’
 di-bala-Ø *ba* *u-mesa*
 3p.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 2s.S-arise
 ‘They told him, “Get up.”’
11. *Mesa* *saing* *bagu* *mauli* *dibala* *ba,* ‘*Kaunsel*
 Ø-mesa *saing* Ø-bagu *mauli* di-bala-Ø *ba* *kaunsel*
 3s.S-arise and 3s.S-see around 3p.S-tell-3s.O CMPR council
luwadi *luwadi* *duwa* *bi?’*
 luwa=di luwa=di di-wa *bi*
 two=PL two=PL 3p.S-be where
 ‘He got up and looked around and they told him, “Where are the four councilmen?”’
12. *Baing* *baladi* *ba,* ‘*Bagu* *diking* *matabu*
 baing Ø-bala-di *ba* *bagu* di-kinu ma-tabu
 and 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR see 3p.S-sleep DIR-at.rest
lo.’
 lo
 DEM.far
 ‘And he told them, “Look, they’re sleeping there.”’
13. *Dila* *dahaunghaungdi* *saing* *dita* *ruanga*
 di-la di-haunghaung-di *saing* di-ta ruang-a
 3p.S-go 3p.S-awaken-3p.O and 3p.S-put bow-SPEC
manadi.
 mana-di
 OBL-3p.O
 ‘They went and awakened them and pointed the gun at them.’
14. *Dibaladi* *ba,* ‘*Amesa.*’
 di-bala-di *ba* *a-mesa*
 3p.S-tell-3p.O CMPR 2p.S-arise
 ‘They told them, “Get up.”’

15. *Dimesa* *daxap* *sioti* *te,* *daxap*
 di-mesa di-xap sioti te di-xap
 3p.S-arise 3p.S-get shirt NEG 3p.S-get
xalingidingdi *te,* *diluki* *olang.*
 xaling-dinga=di te di-luki olang
 possession-3p.POSS=PL NEG 3p.S-run nothing
 ‘They got up without getting their shirts, they didn’t get their things, they ran away empty-handed.’
16. *Dibaladi* *ba,* ‘*Am* *gali* *mua,* *ari*
 di-bala-di ba am ga-li mua a-ri
 3p.S-tell-3p.O CMPR 1pe 1pe.S-stand DUR 2p.S-descend
aluki.’
 a-luki
 2p.S-run
 ‘They (the criminals) told them (the councilmen), “We’ll stand here, you run down (to the boat).”’
17. *Diluki* *diluki* *diluki,* *Mondo* *ina* *luki* *kimu.*
 di-luki di-luki di-luki Mondo ina luki kimu
 3p.S-run 3p.S-run 3p.S-run Mondo 3s run after
 ‘They ran and ran and ran; Mondo ran last.’
18. *Dita* *ruanga* *mana* *saing* *dibala* *ba,* ‘*Uluki.*’
 di-ta ruang-a ma-na saing di-bala-Ø ba u-luki
 3p.S-put bow-SPEC OBL -3s.O and 3p.S-tell-3s.O CMPR 2s.S-run
 ‘They pointed the gun at him and told him, “Run.”’
19. *Lukiluki* *lukiluki* *luki* *laing* *yaga* *masuk*
 Ø-luki-luki luki-luki luki laing Ø-yaga ma-sup
 3s.S-run-RED run-RED run until 3s.S-breathe DIR-complete
xaung *lipu* *luwa* *hiliana.*
 xauna lipu luwa hiliana
 and person two one
 ‘He ran on and on until he was out of breath along with the other three (councilmen).’

20. *Kaunsel tuwa atiding daxai te mana*
 kaunsel tuwa ati-dinga di-xai te mana
 council three liver-3p.POSS 3p.S-good NEG OBL
kubolua lipu dian dilibu ba.
 kubolu-a lipu diana di-libu ba
 conduct-SPEC person bad 3p.S-do DEM.mid
 ‘The three councilmen weren’t very happy (lit. their livers weren’t good) about what the criminals were doing.’
21. *Dila dila diri langia, dabaladi ba,*
 di-la di-la di-ri lang=ia di-bala-di ba
 3p.S-go 3p.S-go 3p.S-descend river=LOC 3p.S-tell-3p.O CMPR
 ‘Ahaing wagia.’
 a-haing waga=ia
 2p.S-ascend boat=LOC
 ‘They went on and on down to the river and they told them, “Get in the boat.”’
22. *Dahaing mana dirung dita ruang haringina*
 di-haing mana di-rung di-ta ruang haringina
 3p.S-ascend OBL 3p.S-sit 3p.S-put bow strong
manadi dibaladi ba, ‘Talauba.’
 mana-di di-bala-di ba ta-la-uba
 OBL-3p.O 3p.S-tell-3p.O CMPR 1pi.S-go-INCEPT
 ‘They got in, sat down, pointed the gun at them and told them, “Let’s go now.”’
23. *Diluki diluki diluki diluki laing diri*
 di-luki di-luki di-luki di-luki laing di-ri
 3p.S-run 3p.S-run 3p.S-run 3p.S-run until 3p.S-descend
Wasu hatawa lang tela yanoa Kadsywa.
 Wasu hatawa lang tela ya-noa Kadsywa
 Wasu down.there river NSPEC name-3s.POSS Kadsywa
 ‘They ran and ran (in the boat) until they entered a river called Kadsywa on the other side of Wasu.’

24. *Duyunga* *wagua* *mua* *la* *ba,* *dahaxa*
 di-yunga waga-a mua la ba di-haxa
 3p.S-leave boat-SPEC DUR GOAL DEM.mid 3p.S-walk

ongania.

ongana=ia

bush=LOC

‘They left the boat there, they walked into the bush.’

25. *Dahaxa* *dahaxa* *dahaxa* *dahaxa* *laing* *disok*
 di-haxa di-haxa di-haxa di-haxa laing di-sok
 3p.S-walk 3p.S-walk 3p.S-walk 3p.S-walk until 3p.S-arrive

tarak *daxangania,* *Wasu* *stesin* *ning* *etua*

tarak daxanga-noa=ia Wasu stesin ning etua

truck road-3s.POSS=LOC Wasu station however

up.far

ba.

ba

DEM.mid

‘They walked on an on until they got to the road just above Wasu station.’

26. *Baing* *kaunsel* *luwadi* *luwadi* *ding* *bakbagidinga*
 baing kaunsel luwa=di luwa=di ding bakbak-dinga
 and council two=PL two=PL 3p family-3p.POSS

dibo *dahaing* *mala* *daxapdi* *ne* *lipu*

di-bo di-haing ma-la di-xap-di ne lipu

3p.S-want 3p.S-ascend DIR-go 3p.S-get-3p.O but person

diandi *dahang* *manadi* *baing* *digoxoya* *muli.*

diana=di di-hang mana-di baing di-goxoya muli

bad=PL 3p.S-shoot OBL-3p.O and 3p.S-return again

‘And the families of the four councilmen wanted to go up and get them but the criminals shot at them and so they came back.’

27. *Baing* *daxapdi* *taragia* *saing* *dila* *laing* *Etep*
 baing di-xap-di tarak=ia saing di-la laing Etep
 and 3p.S-get-3p.O truck=LOC and 3p.S-go until Etep

Helt Senta ning hawa.
 Health Centre ning hawa
 Health Centre however below

‘And they (the criminals) took them in a truck and they went as far as just below Etep Health Centre.’

28. *Dila saing diri hawa, langa ma*
 di-la saing di-ri hawa lang-a Ø-ma
 3p.S-go and 3p.S-descend below water-SPEC 3s.S-come
ting mari saing ding duwa hatawa.
 ting ma-ri saing ding di-wa hatawa
 throw DIR-descend and 3p 3p.S-be down.far

‘They went and descended just below there, at the waterfall and they were down below there.’

29. *Saing duwa sioti tate, duwa olang*
 saing di-wa sioti te di-wa olang
 and 3p.S-be shirt NEG 3p.S-be nothing
sanggadingia.
 sangga-dinga=ia
 skin-3p.POSS=LOC

‘And they didn’t have shirts on; they didn’t have anything on their bodies.’

30. *Imang xabubungam te.*
 imang xabubu-nga-am te
 waistcloth cover-NMLZ-ASS NEG

‘They didn’t have anything covering them.’

31. *Diking olang.*
 di-kinu olang
 3p.S-sleep nothing

‘They slept uncovered.’

32. *Daxang* *tate*.
 di-xang te
 3p.S-eat NEG
 ‘They didn’t eat.’
33. *Duwa* *xaidap* *tela* *laing* *sup*.
 di-wa xaidap tela laing Ø-sup
 3p.S-be day NSPEC until 3s.S-complete
 ‘They were there for a whole day.’
34. *Buragina* *tauna* *daxap* *anginga* *mala* *saing*
 buragina tauna di-xap anginga ma-la saing
 tomorrow okay 3p.S-get food DIR-go and
duliadi.
 di-ulia-di
 3p.S-share-3p.O
 ‘The next day they took food and they gave them (the food).’
35. *Duwa* *xaidap* *luwadi* *luwadi* *hiliadinga*
 di-wa xaidap luwa=di luwa=di hiliiana-dinga
 3p.S-be day two=PL two=PL one-3p.POSS
sup *baing* *ina* *naga*.
 Ø-sup baing ina naga
 3s.S-complete and 3s end
 ‘They were there five whole days, that’s right.’
36. *Lipu* *sianggam* *tela* *Wasu* *gugunia* *garadi*
 lipu siang-am tela Wasu Ø-gugunia gara-di
 person money-ASS NSPEC Wasu 3s.S-gather youth-PL
laing *sup* *baing* *xapdi* *saing* *dila*
 laing Ø-sup baing Ø-xap-di saing di-la
 until 3s.S-complete and 3s.S-get-3p.O and 3p.S-go
dahaing *mala*.
 di-haing ma-la
 3p.S-ascend DIR-go

‘A Wasu businessman gathered some youths together then took them and they went up there.’

37. *Disauya* *Wasu* *buraragina* *saing* *dila* *dila*
 di-sauya Wasu buraragina saing di-la di-la
 3p.S-leave Wasu morning and 3p.S-go 3p.S-go

dahaing *dahaing* *mala* *disok*.
 di-haing di-haing ma-la di-sok
 3p.S-ascend 3p.S-ascend DIR-go 3p.S-arrive

‘They left Wasu in the morning and they kept going up and up and (finally) arrived.’

38. *Didali* *Etep* *saing* *etua*.
 di-dali Etep saing etua
 3p.S-exceed Etep and up.far

‘They passed by Etep and (went) up (further).’

39. *Baing* *dirung* *saing* *disabu*.
 baing di-rung saing di-sabu
 and 3p.S-sit and 3p.S-pray

‘And they sat down and prayed.’

40. *Disabu* *laing* *sup,* *dahaxa* *monga* *baing*
 di-sabu laing Ø-sup di-haxa monga baing
 3p.S-pray until 3s.S-complete 3p.S-walk bit and

ina *naga*.
 ina naga
 3s end

‘They prayed, and then they walked a little way, that’s right.’

41. *Lipu* *diang* *luwadi* *luwadi* *hiliadinga* *dili*
 lipu diana luwa=di luwa=di hiliiana-dinga di-li
 person bad two=PL two=PL one-3p.POSS 3p.S-stand
hataing *hataina,* *dirai* *ruang* *haringindi* *saing*
 hataing hataina di-rai ruang haringina=di saing
 part part 3p.S-carry bow strong=PL and

duwasa mana daxangua.
 di-wasa mana daxanga-ua
 3p.S-tend OBL road-SPEC

‘The five criminals stood spread out, holding guns and guarding the road.’

42. *Bungina bakkakka dahaing mala baing ina naga*
 bungina bakkak-a di-haing ma-la baing ina naga
 when family-SPEC 3p.S-ascend DIR-go and 3s end
dahang.
 di-hang
 3p.S-shoot

‘When that group went up, so then, they started shooting.’

43. *Dahang dahang bila gulu.*
 di-hang di-hang bila gulu
 3p.S-shoot 3p.S-shoot like arrow

‘They shot and shot like arrows.’

44. *Luwadi luwadi hiliadinga sup.*
 luwa=di luwa=di hiliana-dinga Ø-sup
 two=PL two=PL one-3p.POSS 3s.S-complete

‘The five of them finished.’

45. *Dahang halianga manadi.*
 di-hang halianga mana-di
 3p.S-shoot apart OBL-3p.O

‘They fired (warning shots) to the side of them.’

46. *Baing lipu siangganga ba baladi*
 baing lipu siang-am-a ba Ø-bala-di
 and person money-ASS-SPEC DEM.mid 3s.S-tell-3p.O
ba, ‘Ahang nga sangau ngamati, axamang
 ba a-hang nga sanga-u nga-mati axamana
 CMPR 2p.S-shoot 1s.O able-PROG 1s.S-die thing

kaxukana.'

kaxuka-noa
small-3s.POSS

'And that businessman told them, "It's okay if you shoot me, that's just a little thing."'

47. *Lipu dian diluki duwagigia, dili hatawa,*
lipu diana di-luki di-wagigia di-li hatawa
person bad 3p.S-run 3p.S-encircle 3p.S-stand down.far
dahang manadi muli.
di-hang mana-di muli
3p.S-shoot OBL-3p.O again

'The criminals circled back and stood below and shot at them again.'

48. *Dahang dahang baing lipu sianggamga*
di-hang di-hang baing lipu siang-am-a
3p.S-shoot 3p.S-shoot and person money-ASS-SPEC
ba baladi ba, 'Sangau ung nga,
ba Ø-bala-di ba sanga-u u-ung nga
DEM.mid 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR able-PROG 2s.S-kill 1s.O
ngagugunia bakbagigudi saing am gama,
nga-gugunia bakbak-gua=di saing am ga-ma
1s.S-gather family-1s.POSS=PL and 1pe 1pe.S-come
ahanggam mati axamang kaxukana.'
a-hang-am mati axamana kaxuka-noa
2p.S-shoot-1pe.O die thing small-3s.POSS

'They opened fire and that businessman told them, "It's okay if you kill me, I and my group are coming, if you shoot us dead, that's a little thing."'

49. *Dila diluxu mana President mugangua*
di-la di-luxu mana President muganga-ua
3p.S-go 3p.S-enter OBL President old-SPEC
numanoa baing duxusunga ba, 'Ne kaunselimam
numa-noa baing di-xusunga ba ne kaunsel-mama
house-3s.POSS and 3p.S-ask CMPR but council-1pe.POSS

luwadi luwadi duwa bi?
 luwa=di luwa=di di-wa bi
 two=PL two=PL 3p.S-be where

‘They went and entered the old (Council) President’s house and they asked him (the old President), “So where are our four councilmen?”’

50. *Baing baladi ba, ‘Duwau.*
 baing Ø-bala-di ba di-wa-u
 and 3s.S-tell-3p.O CMPR 3p.S-be-PROG

‘And he told them, “They’re here.’

51. *Sangau ama saing aluxu saing abagudi*
 sanga-u a-ma saing a-luxu saing a-bagu-di
 able-PROG 2p.S-come and 2p.S-enter and 2p.S-see-3p.O

ba.

ba

DEM.mid

‘It’s okay if you come inside and see them there.’

52. *Ala, buragin to am gaxapdi mala yu.’*
 a-la buragina to am ga-xap-di ma-la yu
 2p.S-go tomorrow first 1pe 1pe.S-get-3p.O DIR-go IRR

‘You all go; tomorrow we will bring them.’”

53. *Baing buragina baing ina naga daxap kaunsel*
 baing buragina baing ina naga di-xap kaunsel
 and tomorrow and 3s end 3p.S-get council

dima muli Wasu.

di-ma muli Wasu

3p.S-come again Wasu

‘And so then the next day, they brought the councilmen back to Wasu.’

54. *Ina naga.*

ina naga

3s end

‘The end.’

55. *Naxuyanga* *ina* *naga.*
naxuya-nga ina naga
narrate-NMLZ 3s end
‘The story is over.’

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