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Doromu-Koki Grammar Sketch

Robert L. Bradshaw

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Papers in the series Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages express the authors' knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

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Table of Contents

List of maps and tables	v
Abbreviations	vii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Location and speakers	1
1.2 Language name and dialects	4
1.3 Affiliation and earlier studies.....	4
1.4 Cultural sketch	5
1.5 Language vitality.....	12
1.6 Typological features	14
1.7 Acknowledgments.....	16
2. Phonology	17
2.1 Phonemes.....	17
2.2 Allophonic rules.....	20
2.2.1 Voiceless velar plosive backing.....	20
2.2.2 Mid front vowel raising.....	21
2.2.3 Vowel nasalisation.....	21
2.3 Distribution.....	21
2.4 Syllable structure.....	26
2.4.1 One syllable.....	27
2.4.2 Two syllables.....	27
2.4.3 Three syllables.....	28
2.4.4 Four syllables.....	28
2.4.5 Five syllables.....	29
2.4.6 Six syllables.....	29
2.5 Vowel sequences.....	29
2.6 Stress	33
2.7 Orthography.....	33
2.8 Intonation.....	34
2.8.1 Statement.....	34
2.8.2 Incomplete sentence.....	35
2.8.3 Question	35

2.8.4	Emotion	36
2.8.5	Listing.....	36
2.8.6	Calling	37
2.9	Morphophonemics	38
2.9.1	Vowel epenthesis	38
2.9.2	Vowel raising	38
2.9.3	Approximant epenthesis	38
2.9.4	Tap deletion	39
3.	Pronouns, nouns and noun phrases	41
3.1	Pronouns	41
3.1.1	Personal	41
3.1.2	Possessive	43
3.1.3	Reflexive.....	44
3.1.4	Demonstrative	46
3.2	Nouns	50
3.2.1	Plural nouns	52
3.2.2	Repetition of nouns and pronouns	54
3.2.3	Compound nouns	56
3.3	Noun phrase	59
3.3.1	Adjectives and adjective phrase	60
3.3.2	Colours	65
3.3.3	Comparison	66
3.3.4	Quantifiers	66
3.3.5	Numbers.....	69
4.	Verbs and verb phrases	74
4.1	Tense-aspect-mood	76
4.1.1	Tense	77
4.1.2	Aspect.....	84
4.1.3	Mood	86
4.2	Switch reference	94
4.3	Verbs of movement.....	96
4.4	Causative.....	98
4.5	Transitiviser.....	100
4.6	Verb phrase	100
4.6.1	Serial verb constructions.....	101
4.6.2	Adjunct verb phrases	103

4.6.3	Impersonal verb constructions	108
4.6.4	Adverbs	108
4.7	Nominalisation	112
5.	Minor word classes.....	115
5.1	Particles	115
5.1.1	Topic marker	115
5.1.2	Affirmative	117
5.1.3	Question words	118
5.1.4	Exclamations	118
5.1.5	Negative	119
5.1.6	Vocative	120
5.2	Conjunctions	121
6.	Clause structure	122
6.1	Verbal clauses	122
6.1.1	Postpositions and postpositional phrases	123
6.1.2	Locatives	130
6.1.3	Interrogatives	134
6.1.4	Temporal periphery.....	136
6.2	Non-verbal clauses	142
6.2.1	Equative	142
6.2.2	Descriptive	142
7.	Complex sentence structure.....	144
7.1	Coordination	144
7.1.1	Temporal/switch reference	144
7.1.2	Coordinating conjunctions	145
7.2	Subordination.....	148
7.2.1	Cause-effect.....	149
7.2.2	Result-reason	151
7.2.3	Condition-consequence	152
7.2.4	Apprehensive.....	153
7.2.5	Purpose.....	153
7.3	Direct and indirect speech	154
7.4	Relative clauses.....	156
7.4.1	Restrictive RCs.....	156
7.4.2	Non-restrictive RCs	158
7.4.3	Relativiser	159

7.4.4	Accessibility hierarchy	160
8.	Discourse considerations	163
8.1	Discourse genres	163
8.2	Discourse devices	164
8.2.1	Switch reference.....	164
8.2.2	Prominence	169
8.2.3	Topic.....	173
9.	Lexical issues	175
9.1	Kinship terms	175
9.2	Homonyms	176
9.3	Figures of speech	177
9.3.1	Metaphor.....	177
9.3.2	Simile.....	177
9.4	Idioms	178
9.5	Names and nicknames.....	181
9.6	Onomatopoeia and rhymes.....	182
9.7	Borrowed words	184
9.8	Biblical key terms	200
10.	Appendix.....	204
Text 1.	<i>Tau Yagabo</i>	204
Text 2.	<i>Meda yokoiri mida remanu garasi diyadi</i> ‘One day my two sons went with their diving glasses’	207
Text 3.	Letter 1	208
Text 4.	<i>Meda yokoi dadiyaka rufu di nai mida Adam niyaka</i> ‘One day I got up and told my son Adam’	211
Text 5.	Letter 2.....	214
Text 6.	<i>Vasa bona iya</i> ‘Sand and star’	216
Text 7.	<i>Gokai ida dudu meino moyafa</i> ‘How we got peace’	218
Text 8.	<i>Keni Raku</i>	222
References	227

List of maps and tables

Map 1.1	Doromu-Koki language area, Central Province, Papua New Guinea	2
Map 1.2	The Doromu-Koki language in relation to neighbouring languages	3
Map 1.3	The Doromu-Koki language area	3
Table 2.1	Consonant phonemes	18
Table 2.2	Marginal consonant phonemes	19
Table 2.3	Vowel phonemes	20
Table 2.4	Consonant phoneme distribution	22
Table 2.5	Vowel phoneme distribution	23
Table 2.6	Attested vowel sequences	30
Table 3.1	Personal pronouns	41
Table 3.2	Possessive pronouns	43
Table 3.3	Reflexive pronouns	45
Table 3.4	Demonstratives	46
Table 3.5	Plural nouns	53
Table 3.6	Compound nouns	56
Table 3.7	Quantifiers	67
Table 3.8	Numbers	70
Table 4.1	Verb formation	77
Table 4.2	Tense Affixes	78
Table 4.3	Comparison of moods	87
Table 4.4	Hortative affixes	89
Table 4.5	Imperative affixes	90
Table 4.6	Jussive affixes	91
Table 4.7	Switch reference affixes	94
Table 4.8	Verbs of movement	96
Table 4.9	Causation	99
Table 4.10	Core layer level of increasing openness to serialisation	103
Table 4.11	Adjunct verb phrases	104
Table 4.12	Manner adverbs	109

Table 4.13 Degree adverbs	111
Table 6.1 Locative postpositions	123
Table 6.2 Directional postpositions.....	124
Table 6.3 Non-local postpositions	126
Table 6.4 Adverbial demonstratives.....	131
Table 6.5 Locative adverbs.....	132
Table 6.6 Interrogatives.....	134
Table 6.7 Calendrical temporal periphery	136
Table 6.8 Cyclical temporal periphery	137
Table 6.9 Days	138
Table 6.10 General time words	139
Table 7.1 Coordinating conjunctions	145
Table 7.2 Subordinating conjunctions.....	149
Table 9.1 Kinship terms	175
Table 9.2 Similes	177
Table 9.3 Idioms	178
Table 9.4 Nicknames.....	181
Table 9.5 Onomatopoeia	182
Table 9.6 Rhyming jingles.....	184
Table 9.7 Biblical key terms	201

Abbreviations

-	affix	FUT	future
∅	null, zero	GEN	genitive
+	morpheme boundary	H	head
=	clitic	HAB	habitual
1	first person	HORT	hortative
2	second person	HYP	hypothetical
3	third person	IMP	imperative
ABL	ablative	INST	instrument
ACCM	accompaniment	INTR	interrogative
ADJ	adjective	INTS	intensifier
ADJN	adjunct	INTV	intensive
ADJP	adjective phrase	IO	indirect object
ADV	adverb	JUS	jussive
BEN	benefactive	N	noun
C	consonant	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominaliser
DEM	demonstrative	NP	noun phrase
DM	development marker	NUM	number
DO	direct object	OBL	oblique
DS	different subject	OCOMP	object of comparison
DUR	durative	PL	plural

POSB	possible	SIM	simultaneous
POSS	possessive	SOV	subject-object-verb
POT	potential	sp	species
PRED	predicate	SQ	sequential
PRES	present	SS	same subject
PRHB	prohibitive	SUBJ	subject
PRO	pronoun	SVC	serial verb construction
PST	past	SVO	subject-verb-object
PURP	purpose	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
Q	question word	TOP	topic marker
RC	relative clause	TRNS	transitiviser
REFL	reflexive	V	verb, vowel
REP	repetition	VOC	vocative
S	sentence, singular, subject, syllable	VP	verb phrase

1. Introduction

1.1 Location and speakers

The Doromu-Koki [do'romũ 'qok^{hi}] language is a non-Austronesian (or Papuan) language of Central Province, Rigo Inland District, Papua New Guinea.

This grammar of the language is based on the Koki dialect. Data were collected by the author under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the Rigo Inland District, mainly in the village of Kasonomu, between 2001 and 2011. Other villages where Doromu-Koki is spoken include Kaikanomu ('Ai'anomu), Amuraika, Badaika (Badai'a), Gagaradobu, Iaromenomu, Mamanu(geagi), Nemonomu, Nevore, Nimunimu, Oduika, and Sirimu. In some of these villages data were also collected.

This document is based on the analysis of 101 pages (181 KB) of texts of various genres (including current personal and non-cultural narrative, traditional narrative, history, procedural, description, dialogue, drama, expository, and correspondence), as well as elicited sentences.

The Doromu-Koki language group is located in the lowland rainforest areas of the Owen Stanley ranges of the Rigo Inland District of Central Province, approximately 80 kilometres east-southeast of Port Moresby (136 kilometres by road and foot). Part of the language group extends into Oro Province in the east 'Origo dialect area. The village of Kasonomu (Efaika) is located at 9° 40' south latitude, 147° 52' east longitude at 147 metres elevation. The language group occupies an area of approximately 400 square kilometres (Quigley and Quigley 1993:1) and comprises the Mimani (Kemp Welsh) River, Uma (Margaret) River (a tributary of the Kemp Welsh River) and Ora (Ormond) River valleys to the west of Mount Brown (Dutton 1970:890). The Doromu-Koki language area is bounded by the Barai

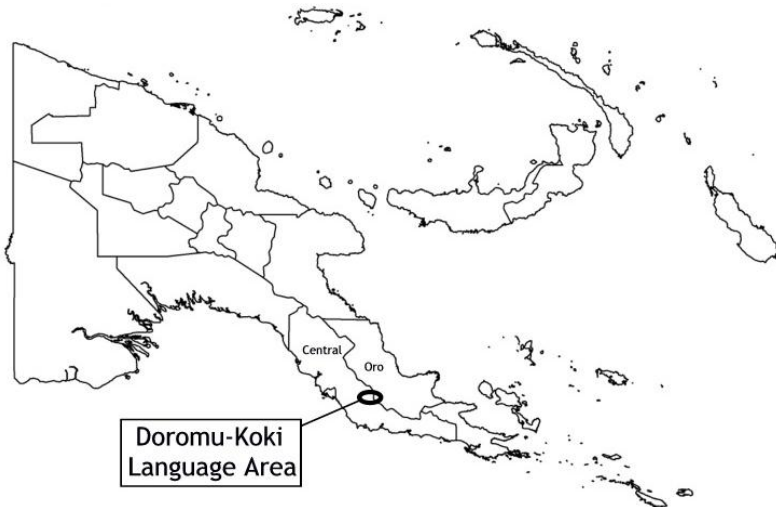
language (a Koiari/Baraic language) to the north and west, Sinaugoro (an Austronesian language) to the south, Maria (a Manubaran language) to the southeast, by the Uare language (a Kwalean language) to the west, Grass Koiari (a Koiaric language) to the northwest, and an uninhabited area to the east in Oro Province.

The area is at an elevation of between 300-1200 metres, with average temperatures of 20-28°C (King and Ranck 1982:95). The wet season is from December through March, and the annual rainfall is at 2000-3500 mm (Rannells 1990:18).

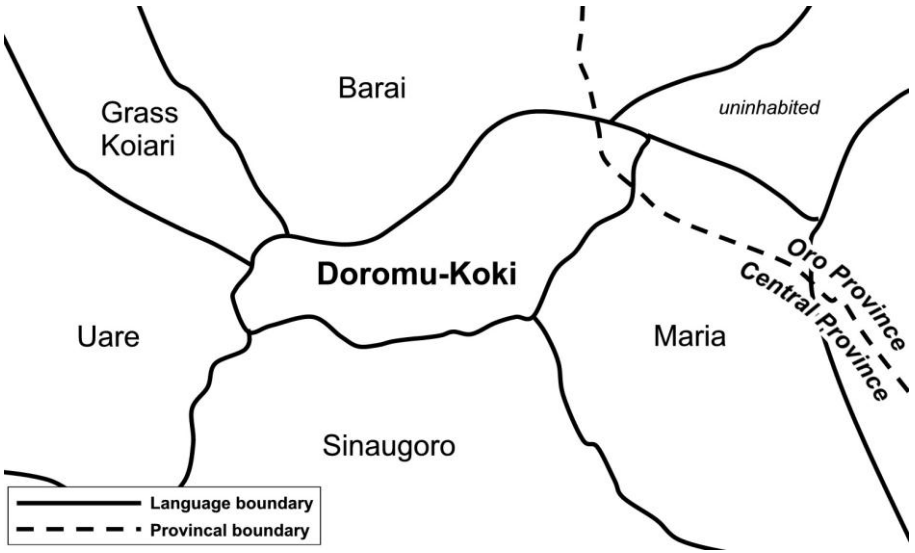
The **maps** below include: 1) The location of the Doromu-Koki language in Central Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG); 2) The Doromu-Koki language in relation to neighbouring languages; and 3) The Doromu-Koki language area including dialect boundaries.

Central Province is located in the Southern, or Papuan region of Papua New Guinea. Doromu-Koki is in the lower half of the province, along the inland border with Oro Province, east-southeast of Port Moresby. It is to the north of the largest language in the Rigo District, Sinaugoro, and is composed of the three dialects of Koki, Kokila and 'Origo (see Bradshaw 2008).

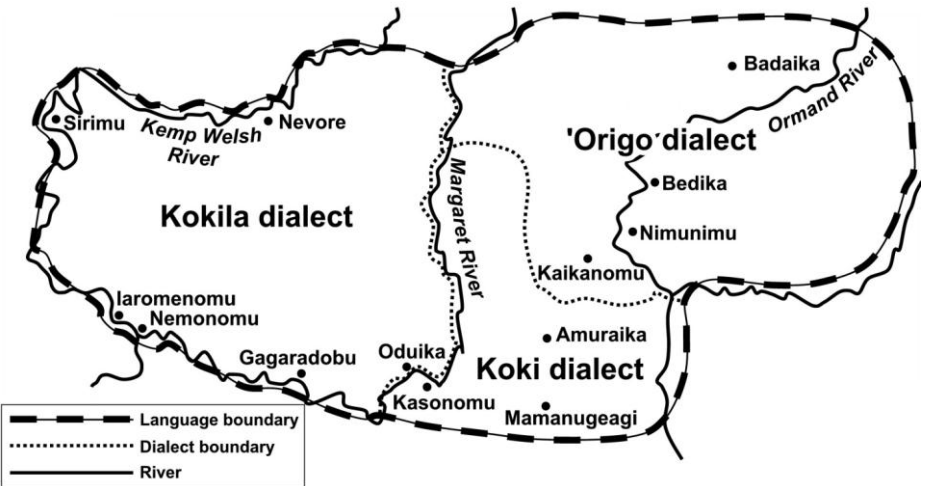
MAP 1.1 DOROMU-KOKI LANGUAGE AREA, CENTRAL PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA



MAP 1.2 THE DOROMU-KOKI LANGUAGE IN RELATION TO NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES



MAP 1.3 THE DOROMU-KOKI LANGUAGE AREA



1.2 Language name and dialects

Alternative names for the language include Doromu, Dorom, and Koki. The name Koki is actually the name of the central dialect. There are three dialects (Koki, Kokila, and 'Origo). Koki is 93.3% cognate with Kokila, and 91.7% with 'Origo. Kokila is also 91.7% cognate with 'Origo (Bradshaw 2008:5).

1.3 Affiliation and earlier studies

The Doromu-Koki language is a Papuan language of the Trans-New Guinea family, Southeast Papuan, Manubaran (Pawley 2005:94),¹ spoken by approximately 1,500 people, half of whom are living in the capital, Port Moresby. The other language in the subgroup is Maria (or Manubara), for which a brief linguistic description has been written (Dutton 1970: 879-983), comparing the Manubaran and Kwalean languages. Note that '[t]he Manubaran Family is named after *manubara*, the local pronunciation of "Mount Brown" a prominent peak in that area' (Dutton 1970:978).

Before the present field work with the Doromu-Koki people, there had been only brief descriptions of the language (Dutton 1970, 1975; Kikkawa 1999), and so a more in-depth study of this unique and endangered language is of particular linguistic interest. This detailed description is not only for the benefit of general linguistic knowledge, but also to augment and promote interest in language development for the community of Doromu-Koki speakers, whose culture embraces this language. Language is an integral part of the culture, and thus necessary to a good understanding of the distinctive culture of the Doromu-Koki people.

Dutton (1975:621) states: '...there are still families such as the Kwalean and Manubaran which are virtually unknown and should be given top priority in future research programmes', and also (Dutton 1970:884): 'Very little is known about the structure of the Manubaran languages and nothing has been published in any of them.'

¹ Previously identified as *Doromu*, in the Trans-New Guinea phylum, Central and South-eastern stock, Manubaran family (Dutton 1970:882; Wurm 1975:614; Wurm 1982:163-4; Lewis 2009).

So now, some forty years later, this is an attempt to do that. According to experts, language extinction has greatly accelerated during the last two hundred years: ‘Hundreds of languages, especially indigenous languages...have died during this period, and hundreds more are destined to meet the same fate in the foreseeable future’ (Wurm 1991:1-2). Since the Doromu-Koki language has only about 750 speakers permanently residing in the language area, it is especially ‘...at risk of extinction (Dixon 1991:230),’ as has already been the case with other languages in Central Province. Along with this grammar, literature and literacy efforts can help to prevent this same outcome from coming upon the Doromu-Koki language community. And it is a strong desire of the community to see that done:

The people say our God is a foreign God because He speaks to us in foreign language. We have made it our business to make sure the Bible is translated into our Koki language... Then...we shall stand and say to the rest of the world that in the hills and valleys of Doromu, Kokila and Origo there lives a True God who speaks to His people in Koki language. ...by translating God’s word into Koki, like the Word of God that has survived plagues, wars, fires and floods over the last two thousand years, the Koki language will stand up to the test of times for the next 2000 years (Magdalene Roroa and Chris Magio 2002, personal communication).

1.4 Cultural sketch

The Doromu-Koki **language area** is very mountainous, so that the people reside either in river valleys or on ridge summits. Travel between villages is primarily by bush tracks, which in many parts traverse mountain ridges and then follow stream and river courses. To get to the village area from Port Moresby one must first travel 130 kilometres by road. Past Kwikila (Rigo District) Station the road is unsealed, and therefore travel is more difficult, especially during the rainy season. The Sinaugoro village of Debadagoro is located at the road’s closest point to the language group. From there, one hikes for approximately six kilometres to arrive in the language area, descending the mountain ridge to the Uma River, and from there following the river course to the village of Gagaradobu. This is the first Doromu-Koki village, part of the Kokila dialect area. From there, one can hike on to

Oduika, and then on to the main village of Kasonomu, in the Koki dialect area. Travel to other areas in the language group is much the same, over mountainous tracks, though sometimes by dinghy or raft in the Kokila dialect area, as the villages are primarily along the Mimani river.

An airstrip is located at Orom, in the Maria language area, and is one to two days' walk from 'Ai'anomu; there is also an airstrip at Dorobisoro, in the Barai language area, three days' walk from 'Ai'anomu. People do not normally use them.

The **subsistence crop** is banana, of which there are many varieties (King and Ranck 1982:51). There are over 30 terms in the dictionary to date (see Bradshaw 2007). Other foods, in relative order of consumption, are yams, taro, aibika (*Abelmoschus manihot*), fish, prawns, coconut, pineapple, sweet potato, tomatoes, wild sugarcane (*Saccharum robustum*), Malay apple (*Eugenia malaccensis*), mango, okari (*Terminalia impediens*), *tua* (not presently scientifically identified), and pandanus (*Pandanus julianettii*) (Scientific names taken from Bourke (2007), *Compton's Interactive Encyclopedia – 1995* (1994), and Mihalic (1971)). People also purchase store-bought items such as rice, flour, tinned meats, butter, oil, tea, coffee, sugar, milk powder, biscuits, and cordial.

Half of the group is living and working in the National Capital District, Port Moresby, due mainly to the isolation of the language area. The major concentration of the people within the language area is in Kasonomu village, but otherwise they are more or less evenly distributed throughout the language area.

Originally the language area was administered by the London Missionary Society (LMS), but after some Doromu-Koki people attended a Catholic school in Hanuabada they decided to invite the Catholic Church.

The **Roman Catholic Church** is now the only established church in the language area, and first arrived in 1964. Currently the Doromu-Koki area is administered by Filipino priests of the Missionaries of the Society of the Philippines (MSP), based at Boregaina Mission in the Sinaugoro language group (Taboro dialect) area.

There is only one primary **school** in the area, St. Stephen's Dorom Primary School, in Kasonomu village. (Previously there was a school located

at Nimunimu.) It caters to children in Kasonomu and neighbouring villages. Instruction is in English, except for the elementary component, in which some explanation in Doromu-Koki is used. They have limited materials in the vernacular at this time. The children use Doromu-Koki with each other during recess and lunch, but at other times English. Children learn their own village dialect before going to school. The school has approximately 40 children; the majority are from Kasonomu, and the rest are from Oduika. Children also come from Amuraika and Gagaradobu. The literacy rate in English is approximately 27%, and 24% in Doromu-Koki (Bradshaw 2004:14).

Most children finish grade 6, and some finish high school. Those who go on to high school go to Boregaina, Kwikila or Port Moresby. In Port Moresby the majority of children living in Hohola go to Sacred Heart Primary School – Hohola.

People are primarily oriented to 1) their *usika ourena* ‘family’ (lit. ‘younger older’), then 2) to their *rubu* ‘clan,’ and then 3) to their dialect group (named according to the respective dialect names Koki, Kokila, and ‘Origo). For example, in working a new garden, clan and family are involved, but in working on an established garden, only immediate family are involved.

Since people are oriented first to their immediate family, this is the **minimal social unit** (MSU) for the culture. The family, in Doromu-Koki society, is the extended family. Members of the *usika ourena* ‘family’ are such by blood or marriage relationships, or adoption or residence. Therefore, a person can also be referred to by one of these kin terms without actually being a direct member of the *usika ourena*, and then the same responsibilities and obligations are expected. So, once one is adopted into the *usika ourena*, there is no longer a difference in relationship.

Relationships can be strained, in which case respect can be lost, but one is still considered part of the *usika ourena*. One cannot be expelled. Some choose to leave, usually due to a disagreement or argument. Some leave due to marriage or to work in town, and some leave for other unknown reasons.

The *usika ourena* works together in gardening, bride price, other festivities, and sharing food, materials things, and general care. The elder men represent the *usika ourena* in its relations with another *usika ourena*.

A group of two or more MSUs is a *rubu* ‘clan.’ *Rubu* membership comes through birth, marriage, or adoption into one of the families. Just as one becomes a part of an *usika ourena*, one is also a part of the *rubu*; whatever applies to the *usika ourena* also applies to the *rubu*.

A group of *rubu* ‘clans’ would make up a *rautu* ‘village’. The *rubu* belong to the *rautu*, and therefore all that applies to the *rubu* and the *usika ourena* also applies to the *rautu*.

Terms based on age include *tora vene* ‘big/older people’, and *keika vene* ‘little/younger people.’ These also apply to terms such as *aufa* ‘grandparent/great-uncle/great-aunt,’ *baba* ‘father/uncle,’ and *nono* ‘mother/aunt.’ Terms based on sex include *rema* ‘woman,’ and *rumana* ‘man.’ The term *asini* ‘friend’ or ‘partner’ is based on friendship.

Hunters are referred to as *vara/suma/u bodo vene* ‘handle person/bush/kill and go people,’ while fishermen are referred to as *koru rafena vene* ‘water washing people.’ *Muro vene* are ‘gardeners.’ *Anarauda vene* are ‘charitable,’ or ‘unselfish people.’ *Yava akuna vene* are ‘builders.’ *Adena vene* are ‘dancers.’ *Isira vene* are ‘sports players,’ while *irakuna vene* are ‘those who prepare feasts.’ *Guruo vene* are ‘mourners.’

Marriage is normally between clans. In the past they were arranged to establish alliances, looking for a dominant clan and wanting some benefits from them, such as to provide a work force. Now, however, they are no longer arranged, and people are free to marry whomever they choose, yet still usually across clans. Some distant cousins now marry, but this is not very common, and is not considered wise. One problem with this is who pays and who receives the bride price, since they are both from the same clan. It can, however, be acceptable to give some and then receive some.

Growth is seen through various rites of passage **ceremonies**, which are performed in the immediate family and clan, and sometimes even involving the whole village. These *irakuna* ‘feasts’ or celebrations include 1) birth, 2) first haircut, 3) transition to manhood, 4) marriage/bride price, 5) end of mourning and 6) offering feast. The most important Doromu-Koki celebration by far is the bride price feast.

Most of these celebrations are times for the family to get together and forget about failed relationships in the past. They are times of joy for those

who have not seen each other for quite a long time due to work commitments, etc. They are times for reunion amongst family, individuals, and clans. The children have the opportunity to meet their cousins, uncles, aunts and other relatives. Other family matters are discussed, and disagreements are settled in preparation for such events.

Politics are sometimes discussed at these celebrations due to the number of people present, because many people come from other places and want to compare how the local governments are operating.

Many people see these celebrations as a time for reconciliation and forgiveness. Special meals are prepared and invitations sent to the one with whom the person wants to reconcile. Upon acceptance of an invitation, they eat a meal together and apologise to one another.

Nearly all these celebrations cost a lot of money and many resources go into a celebration, depending on the number of participants, transportation costs, amenities, and length of the celebration. These can be a financial drain to the individual, family or clan involved.

Such a celebration is usually a time for the organiser to show his or her status among the people. Those who contribute are viewed favourably and considered worthy of reciprocity in their own time of need.

Birth or *vata nina* is an important event in a family, particularly the birth of a couple's firstborn child. The name is given within a couple of days, sometimes even before birth. The child is always named after someone, and a birth always involves a celebration.

When the stump of the umbilical cord dries up and falls off it is called *asika ya reyo*, 'umbilical cord fell off.' Once this has happened the wife is free to come back and be with the family.

The **first cutting of a baby's hair**, or *ada iye bobonu siko* is usually done by the child's *vada* 'uncle' or namesake. (See Bradshaw [2006] for more details on the obligations of a *vada*.) Then they have tea together with the family to celebrate. Sometimes the hair is placed in the fronds of a young coconut tree or the blades of some sword grass, as it is believed these plants will cause the baby's hair to grow fast like these plants do.

There is no **male initiation** as such in Doromu-Koki culture; rather, restrictions are placed on a young man from age 15 to 16, which begin his transition to manhood. A boy is not considered a man until he marries. During this transition period, or *godua yaku oyo rego* ‘teenage boy will have restrictions,’ the young man is to strive to look young, smart and strong. In order to do so he cannot eat prawns (*aka*), eel (*gaibana*), bandicoot (*moda*), and some types of banana (*tauga*). To do so will make him look old and be weak. During this time his father will teach him the spells (*sesere*) using ginger (*uke*) for hunting, fishing, fighting, and gardening, as well as teaching him about marriage. At the bride price feast, the restrictions are lifted as a piece of bamboo is split open above his head, indicating that the *oyo* ‘restrictions’ have been ‘broken open.’

Marriage is seen as the perpetuation of the family, so children are the focal point of Doromu-Koki life and culture. The woman is chosen by the husband’s clan, since she is important to the economic strength of the clan, as well as being a child bearer. Children are seen as social security for their parents. Because most marriages are arranged between two clans, relationships with in-laws are of absolute importance in ensuring wives for succeeding generations. There is no place in society for unmarried women.

Bride price, or *rema voi* ‘buying/paying for the wife,’ is a very important practice for a married couple. It takes place some years after the marriage, since the husband’s relatives want to ascertain first that the wife is hard-working, respectful and bearing children. There are other matters which also help to determine the payment of the bride price, such as demands from the bride’s family, or not wanting to wait until her characteristics have been observed, but wanting the payment right away. A modern issue that is changing bride price is competition.

A widow or widower is required to wear black clothes for the first year after his or her spouse’s death. The relatives of the deceased fast from certain foods (*oyo rego* ‘he/she will do restriction’) or other activities during that period. The foods to be avoided are decided upon by the widow or widower and are usually foods that the deceased particularly liked. *Goro* ‘activity/location restriction’ refers to those activities or locations that the deceased particularly enjoyed or visited, and therefore the survivor ‘fasts’ from them during this time period. These can include such things as cutting

or combing the hair, going to a certain river or piece of ground, or fishing or hunting in a certain place. All these activities are avoided out of respect for the deceased.

After this period is over, a feast is held, and then the widow or widower may remove his or her black clothing, and the restrictions are lifted.

The **offering feast** (or feast of first crops), called *aira*, is an annual feast which a landowner prepares. It takes place in March or April, on Holy Thursday, or now more commonly on the Saturday between Good Friday and Easter Sunday, when the first crops of yams (*kiroma*) from a new garden are harvested. Every family member is obligated to contribute toward the feast by hunting, fishing or gathering garden foods.

The purpose of the feast is to appease and thank *Sei* 'God' for all his blessings in the abundant provision of the harvest, particularly of yams. Normally, the offering consists of wild sugarcane (*pitpit*), *aibika* greens, one bit of leftover old yam, and one new harvested yam. A stone oven is made, and the food is burned or smoked. A bit of the food is eaten and then some leaves and vines from the stone oven are placed on the lintel of the door frame. Each family normally does this on their own or together with one other family. People believe that after the celebration, when they return to normal harvesting, there will be plenty of food, especially yams.

Many significant events take place during the *aira*, including preparation of food for a family as a formal invitation to bride price. The recipient of the food knows from the food and invitation that he or she is now obligated to prepare for the particular event at the specified time.

Traditionally, **music** involved only singing (*adena*) and using the hourglass drum (*efana*), but now people also use Western instruments, such as the guitar.

Singing and dancing are referred to as *adena*, as noted above. Anyone can sing and dance; children especially are encouraged to do so. Most dancing is done during a bride price ceremony. Songs are about love, war, death, joy, or loneliness. There are no songs to spirits; all the dances are for people only.

Today most dancing is for enjoyment. In the past, war songs were sung to boost the warriors' morale.

When the dancing gear is prepared no one is permitted to sleep with his wife. There are also *oyo* 'restrictions' observed to make the dancer look 'smarter', for his headdress to sway in a particular manner, for the hourglass drum to give the best sound, or to have a harmonious voice. These were traditionally observed for one day, but now they are no longer observed. The restrictions included not chewing betel nut, smoking, or disturbing the one preparing the dancing gear, lest he make a mistake. Those who dance are either the ones to receive the bride price or the ones who are invited.

There are six dances used by the Doromu-Koki people, which have all come from outside. They include: 1) *Kitoro* (from the grasslands toward the coast, particularly Bonanamu and Golobu), 2) *Ubi* (from Nobone), 3) *Kaniku* (from the Taboro area along the Mimani [Kemp Welsh] river), 4) *Vaiga* (from the Boku area), 5) *Sisiva* (from Popondetta and Dorobisoro, primarily used in the 'Origo dialect area), 6) and *Dandan* (also from Popondetta and Dorobisoro). The first three are the main ones used today.

New music forms are accepted and even played by today's generation. Music is also used in church worship, using shells, hourglass drums and guitars. Contemporary music has been integrated with the old forms, and people compose songs that are accompanied by guitar.

Art, or *bera* 'design,' is employed primarily in house flooring. Each family has its own design, similar to a 'coat of arms.' Other designs are used in tattoos, which are primarily a remedy against severe pain, such as in the back. There is no magic associated with *bera*, although the tattoos presumably have some religious significance, since they are used as a remedy.

1.5 Language vitality

The Doromu-Koki language is relatively stable. While there is much influence from Hiri Motu and English, there is a high value on use of the vernacular. The main influence of the languages of wider communication is the borrowing of words. Some Doromu-Koki people see this as a threat and want to do what they can to preserve the original language terms. Thus, there

is a great desire for a dictionary; a trial edition has recently been distributed. Apart from that, Hiri Motu and English are primarily used for communication with outsiders, or in church services, due to the unavailability of vernacular materials. This is also changing, as people are translating the church liturgy into the vernacular and using it in the services.

Even those living in Port Moresby continue to use their language, because many of them live in Doromu-Koki speaking neighbourhoods and regularly interact with village residents who have travelled to town. If more services were offered in the rural communities, more people would spend longer periods of time there, instead of in the city. For more details see Bradshaw (2004, 2006).

With a Barai speaker people normally speak Hiri Motu. Some Kokila dialect speakers might know a few Barai words, due to closer proximity.

People rarely go to Tabunomu and Dirinomu, Uare language villages: only for elections, passing through on the way to Sirimu, or for church gatherings every few years. Therefore, use of the Uare language is limited to a very few old people, or those who have intermarried, as in the case of the Uare village of Buridobu/Buridomu.

On the way to Port Moresby, people often pass through Baugabuna village, which is in the Boku dialect of Sinaugoro, and located about 3.5 kilometres from Kasonomu. Debadagoro village, in the Taboro dialect of Sinaugoro, is also important as a key place on their route to Port Moresby, where they can leave things when they pass through. It is important for them to keep good relations with that village, and therefore they value learning their language to some extent, although they primarily speak Hiri Motu with Sinaugoro speakers. 'Origo dialect speakers do not know any Sinaugoro, unlike Koki and Kokila speakers.

The 'Ai'anomu village people go to Buradubura, in the Maria (Manubara/Mt. Brown) language area, which is a five-hour walk away. When they go to Buradubura, they speak 'Origo, but slightly change their accent, and the Maria people can then understand them. The 'Origo people are the only ones who understand some Maria.

The people have a good knowledge of English (especially the young people, and those living in Port Moresby) and Hiri Motu, but they mainly use

these languages when interacting with outsiders. Those who have spent time in Port Moresby do know Tok Pisin. The younger people do not know Hiri Motu as well as the older people. Doromu-Koki is used in the schools only in vernacular instruction.

1.6 Typological features

Typologically, the Doromu-Koki language exhibits the following characteristics, somewhat unusual for a Papuan language:

- The relative clause is postnominal rather than prenominal, which is more common for an SOV language (§7.4) (Downing 1978:383).
- There are relatively few affixes on nouns and verbs. There is no indication of inalienable possession, gender, animacy, shape, object, controlled, uncontrolled, or number classes (chapters 3 and 4).
- There is no noun class system or any classificatory verbs, in spite of the claims of Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975:169) that they are ‘...wide-spread amongst Trans-New Guinea...languages’.

Also, Doromu-Koki has the following, typically Papuan, characteristics:

- A switch-reference system using four suffixes: *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’, *-ma* ‘sequential different subject’, *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’, and *-si* ‘sequential same subject’ (§4.2).
- Adjunct verb phrases which make use of the generic verbs *ni* ‘say’, *re* ‘do’, and *ri* ‘make’ (§4.6.2).
- Three postpositional clitics =*ri* ‘at, in’, =*u* ‘by, on, in, with’ and =*sa* ‘with’ (§6.1.1).

This study begins with a phonological and morphological description, and then discusses various grammatical constructions of the language. Discussion also includes discourse and lexical considerations, especially as they relate to the promotion of Doromu-Koki language development. For the most part, Doromu-Koki follows the norms of Trans-New Guinea, Southeast

Papuan languages. It has a few variances, chief of which is a lack of a noun classification system. Doromu-Koki exhibits a switch-reference system, some verb serialisation, productive adjunct verb phrases, and subject-object-verb word order.

Doromu-Koki has a basic phonological inventory consisting of 12 consonants and five vowels. However, nine other consonant phonemes are seen in the borrowing of words – a very productive phenomenon in Doromu-Koki. Borrowing takes place mainly from Hiri Motu, the main trade language of the area, and from the national language English. There are also some minor influences from neighbouring languages, and Biblical languages in the case of liturgy materials (see §9.7 for details).

The Doromu-Koki syllable structure is straightforward, with four basic syllable patterns: V, VV, CV, CVV. Sometimes borrowed words conform to these structures, and sometimes not. Doromu-Koki has few phonological rules, and few mophophonemic alternations. Stress and intonation are rather straightforward.

Doromu-Koki nouns are generally not marked for plurality, except for kin terms, while verbs exhibit affixes to cover mood, aspect, and tense/person/number (a portmanteau suffix). Doromu-Koki makes extensive use of the derivational nominaliser affix.

The language distinguishes coming and going movement on levels of up, over and down.

The Doromu-Koki number system is a five-based system. Because of this fact, higher numbers can be cumbersome, and so English numbers are used.

Although Doromu-Koki word classes have been posited and most words fit well into these classes, some words are more fluid and able to serve well in multiple word classes. Such a word is *tora* ‘big’, which has been categorised as primarily an adjective, but which also functions as a noun (‘elder’), an adverb (‘very’) or an adjective in an adjunct verb phrase.

Doromu-Koki distinguishes between personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, and general pronouns. There are several reflexive pronouns, and the distinction between them is not completely clear.

It is very interesting that Doromu-Koki has a rich distinction between words for days in the past, and yet exhibits only one past tense. Further research may shed more light on this.

As with other Papuan languages, Doromu-Koki has a productive system of adjunct verb constructions, mainly using the verbs *ni* ‘say’, *re* ‘do’, and *ri* ‘make’, while serial verb constructions are less prevalent.

Doromu-Koki makes frequent use of the topic marker *bi* as well as a development marker *yaku* on the discourse level.

The language employs many means of cohesion, one of which is the switch-reference system. Another strategy is through tail-head linkage, although it appears to be much less productive than in other Papuan languages.

Doromu-Koki has a rich vocabulary of idioms and onomatopoeic forms, but other figures of speech, such as metaphors and similes, are used more sparingly. Abstractions are an area of particular concern to the language’s development, and seem to be most productive in the use of *uka* ‘stomach’, the seat of emotion in the Doromu-Koki culture.

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2. *Phonology*

This chapter discusses the phonology of the language, with emphasis on the phoneme inventory, their distribution, syllable structure, vowel sequences, the various phonological rules exhibited, as well as stress and intonation, and morphophonemics.

2.1 Phonemes

This is an overview of the phonology of the Doromu-Koki language. For further discussion and examples, see Bradshaw (2002, 2010). In this chapter the appropriate phonetic and phonemic symbols are used in the examples; after this section the orthography is used throughout.

The Doromu-Koki language has 12 consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. This is in agreement with Dutton (1975:624), regarding Trans New Guinea, Southeast Papuan languages, in which there are no complex consonants. The consonant phonemes occur at three points of articulation (labial, coronal, and velar), in five manners (plosives, fricatives, nasals, tap, and approximant). Only the plosives and fricatives distinguish voicing, while all the other consonants are voiced only. The vowels are either front, central, or back, high, mid, or low. The allophonic variations for the phonemes will be outlined in the discussion of the applicable allophonic rules (§2.2).

TABLE 2.1 CONSONANT PHONEMES

	labial	coronal	velar
voiceless plosives		t ^h	k ^h [k ^h] [q]
voiced plosives	b	d	g
voiceless fricatives	f	s	
voiced fricative¹	β		
nasals	m	n	
tap		r	
approximant		j	

The following phonemes will be represented as indicated in the orthography: /g/ <g>, /β/ <v>, /r/ <ɾ>, and /j/ <y>.

In addition to the above, the consonant phonemes below are found in loan words, along with their corresponding orthographic representation. Note that /h/, /l/, /p^h/, /w/ and /ʔ/ are used in the other dialects, or in very limited situations. (/w/ in native words is being interpreted as the sequence /ua/.) For example, 'Origo /h/ is realised in the Koki dialect as /s/, and 'Origo /ʔ/ is realised in Koki as /k/ (see Bradshaw, 2008:5,6).

¹ Note that, like Maria, Doromu-Koki has three fricatives, whereas Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975:168) claim in regards to Trans New Guinea, Southeast Papuan languages: 'fricatives are often restricted to one phoneme per language' However, Dutton (1975:622) says: 'On the phonological level all south-east Trans-New Guinea phylum languages usually have...**some** fricatives' [emphasis added].

TABLE 2.2 MARGINAL CONSONANT PHONEMES

				source/dialect
/h/	<h>	<i>henagi</i>	‘long ago’	’Origo dialect
		<i>huai</i>	‘suicide’	
		<i>dehi</i>	‘come and’	
		<i>rehi</i>	‘do and’	
/tʃ/	<ch>	<i>Charles</i>		from English
/dʒ/	<j>	<i>Jesus</i>		from Greek
		<i>Jonathan</i>		from Hebrew
/l/	<l>	<i>lagani</i>	‘year’	from Hiri Motu
		<i>Lalana</i>	‘person’s name’	
		<i>Kokila</i>	‘place name’	
		<i>Palaka</i>	‘person’s name’	
/p ^h /	<p>	<i>Palaka</i>	‘person’s name’	from English
		<i>Peter</i>	‘name’	
/k ^w /	<ku>	<i>kuaita</i>	‘ritual yam harvest’	from English
		<i>maita</i>		
		<i>kuini</i>	‘queen’	
/w/	<u>	<i>ue</i>	‘crocodile’	
		<i>ueta</i>	‘feather, body hair’	
		<i>Warika</i>	‘person’s name, chief’	
		<i>Wasina</i>	‘person’s name, boast, praise’	
/z/	<z>	<i>zipa</i>	‘zipper’	from English
/ʔ/	<’>	<i>a’a</i>	‘prawn’	’Origo dialect
		<i>’oru</i>	‘water’	

The five Doromu-Koki vowel phonemes are shown below.

TABLE 2.3 VOWEL PHONEMES

	front	back
high	i	u
mid	ε [ε] [e]	o
low		ɑ

The following phonemes will be represented as indicated in the orthography: /ε/ <e>, /ɑ/ <a>.

Doromu-Koki has 17 phonemes, compared to the 21 of Maria, the only other language in the Manubaran sub-group. However, in addition /h/ and /ʔ/ <'> occur in the 'Origo and Kokila dialects (see Bradshaw 2008), bringing the Doromu-Koki total to 19. (The two additional Maria phonemes are /æ/ and /ŋ/.)

2.2 Allophonic rules

There are three allophonic rules exhibited in the language: voiceless velar plosive backing, mid front vowel raising, and vowel nasalisation.

2.2.1 Voiceless velar plosive backing

The voiceless velar plosive /k^h/ is realised as [q] when it precedes back vowels. Notice the regular allophone [k^h] before front vowels.

[^h bεq ^h u]	/bεk ^h u/	<beku>	'push'
[^h mεq ^h o]	/mεk ^h o/	<meko>	'fruit'
[^h q ^h o'εq ^h ɑ]	/k ^h oεk ^h ɑ/	<koeka>	'bird sp'
[^h q ^h ɑt ^h o]	/k ^h ɑt ^h o/	<kato>	'scrape off'

[k ^h εβa]	/k ^h εβa/	<keva>	‘liver’
[a ^h k ⁱ rεi]	/ak ⁱ rεi/	<aki rei>	‘bite’

2.2.2 Mid front vowel raising

The vowel /ε/ is raised to [e] word finally.

[rε'gode]	/rεgodε/	<regode>	‘three’
['fεre]	/fεrε/	<fere>	‘do not touch’
['bare]	/barε/	<bare>	‘louse’
[t ^h abε't ^h abe]	/tabεtabε/	<tabεtabε>	‘walk unsteadily’

2.2.3 Vowel nasalisation

A vowel becomes nasalised when it follows a nasal consonant.

['βεnẽ]	/βεnε/	<vene>	‘people’
['binã]	/bina/	<bina>	‘clear garden’
['mẽq ^h o]	/mεk ^h o/	<meko>	‘fruit’
[a'mĩẽ]	/amiε/	<amiye>	‘person’
[u'mũẽĩ]	/umuεi/	<umuyei>	‘kill’
['nõnõ]	/nono/	<nono>	‘mother’

2.3 Distribution

All consonant phonemes occur in initial and medial position, as indicated in the examples below (written in the orthography). Most of the borrowed sounds discussed above are limited to initial position. These include /p/, /z/, /tʃ/, /ʒ/, and /w/. The other borrowed sounds (/h/ and /l/) can occur in medial position as well. No consonants occur in final position because of the syllable structure (see §2.4), except in borrowed words, which sometimes insert a final vowel, but not in the case of names, which maintain the source language spelling, and can include consonant clusters (e.g., *Justin*).

TABLE 2.4 CONSONANT PHONEME DISTRIBUTION

<t>	<i>toto</i>	‘forget’
<k>	<i>kaka</i>	‘red, ripe’
	<i>baba</i>	‘father’
<d>	<i>dada</i>	‘so’
<g>	<i>gagani</i>	‘place’
<f>	<i>fafau</i>	‘on top of’
<s>	<i>sisika</i>	‘smell’
<v>	<i>vava</i>	‘hot’
<m>	<i>Mimani</i>	‘Kemp Welsh River’
<n>	<i>nono</i>	‘mother’
<r>	<i>ruru</i>	‘witch doctor, climb over’
<y>	<i>yoyava</i>	‘seedling’
<h>	<i>hurehure</i>	‘wave’ (Hiri Motu)
<l>	<i>lalonari</i>	‘during’ (Hiri Motu)
<p>	<i>petoro</i>	‘petrol’ (English)
<z>	<i>zipa</i>	‘zipper’ (English)
<ch>	<i>Charles</i>	‘Charles’ (English)
<j>	<i>Justin</i>	‘Justin’ (English)
<w>	<i>Warika</i>	‘person’s name (chief)’

The vowel phonemes all occur in initial, medial and final positions, as written in the orthography below.

TABLE 2.5 VOWEL PHONEME DISTRIBUTION

<i>	<i>iniki</i>	‘long tail parrot’
<u>	<i>unugu</i>	‘banana sp’
<e>	<i>egeregere</i>	‘okay’ (Hiri Motu)
<o>	<i>odoro</i>	‘above’
<a>	<i>abata</i>	‘flood’

Phoneme contrasts

Following are contrast sets for suspect pairs. These include [b] [f], [b] [β], [f] [β]; [t^h] [d], [t^h] [r], [d] [r]; [k^h] [g]; [i] [ε], [u] [o]; and [o] [ɑ]. Examples include initial, medial and final (vowels only) position whenever possible or applicable.

[b] [f]:	[‘bare]	/bare/	<bare>	‘medium sized louse’
	[‘fare]	/fare/	<fare>	‘too much to carry’
	[bo‘bora]	/bobora/	<bobora>	‘top point of tree’
	[fo‘fora]	/fofora/	<fofora>	‘blossom; didn’t bear fruit’
[b] [β]:	[‘bare]	/bare/	<bare>	‘medium sized louse’
	[‘βareɪ]	/βareɪ/	<vareɪ>	‘sleep’
	[‘baba]	/baba/	<baba>	‘father’
	[‘βaβa]	/βaβa/	<vava>	‘hot’
[f] [β]:	[‘fereɪ]	/fereɪ/	<fereɪ>	‘leave’
	[‘βeɪnɛ]	/βeɪnɛ/	<vene>	‘people’
	[‘qhafeɪ]	/kafeɪ/	<kafeɪ>	‘extinguish’
	[‘thaβeɪ]	/taβeɪ/	<taveɪ>	‘cheer’

[t ^h] [d]:	[t ^h umã]	/tuma/	<tuma>	‘wild’
	[dumã]	/duma/	<duma>	‘steal’
	[βat ^h a]	/βata/	<vata>	‘birth’
	[βada]	/βada/	<vada>	‘uncle’
[t ^h] [r]:	[t ^h aq ^h u]	/taku/	<taku>	‘eat hungrily’
	[raq ^h u]	/raku/	<raku>	‘scabies’
	[βat ^h a]	/βata/	<vata>	‘birth’
	[βara]	/βara/	<vara>	‘handle’
[d] [r]:	[dagu]	/dagu/	<dagu>	‘push down’
	[raq ^h u]	/raku/	<raku>	‘scabies’
	[βada]	/βada/	<vada>	‘uncle’
	[βara]	/βara/	<vara>	‘handle’
[k ^h] [g]:	[q ^h at ^h o]	/kato/	<kato>	‘scrape off’
	[gado]	/gado/	<gado>	‘house post’
	[uq ^h a]	/uka/	<uka>	‘stomach, cuscus’
	[uga]	/uga/	<uga>	‘break, wipe off’

[i] [ɛ]:	[i'sira]	/isira/	<isira>	'play'
	['ɛso]	/ɛso/	<eso>	'torso'
	['mīda]	/mida/	<mida>	'child'
	['mēda]	/mɛda/	<meda>	'sun, day'
	['fifi]	/fifi/	<fifi>	'insect fragment'
	['fɛrɛ]	/fɛrɛ/	<fere>	'leave'
[u] [o]:	[u'rusa]	/urusa/	<urusa>	'night'
	['ofa]	/ofa/	<ofa>	'lie'
	['mut ^h u]	/mutu/	<mutu>	'rub clothes'
	['moda]	/moda/	<moda>	'bandicoot'
	['rut ^h u]	/rutu/	<rutu>	'pull'
	['rot ^h o]	/roto/	<roto>	'sleep with legs extended'
[o] [a]:	['ofa]	/ofa/	<ofa>	'lie'
	['asa]	/asa/	<asa>	'breathe'
	['rot ^h o]	/roto/	<roto>	'sleep with legs extended'
	['raro]	/raro/	<raro>	'line'
	['raro]	/raro/	<raro>	'line'
	['sara]	/sara/	<sara>	'naked'

2.4 Syllable structure

Regarding the Trans New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages, Dutton (1975:624) states: ‘Nor are there the complex syllable patterns or wide ranges of allophonic variation in phonemes that are found elsewhere.’ Accordingly, in Doromu-Koki there are only four syllable types, two vowel initial (v and vv), and two consonant initial syllables (cv and cvv).

Consonant clusters and closed syllables are not permissible in Doromu-Koki, so that borrowed words insert a vowel between consonants and add a final vowel when they end in a consonant in the original language (e.g., English ‘spoon’ becomes *sifuni*), except in the case of names, as discussed above. Examples of each syllable type follow, with syllable breaks indicated by a full stop.

V	<i>u</i>	‘hit’
	<i>a.ka</i>	‘prawn’
	<i>u.e.ta</i>	‘feather’
	<i>o.a</i>	‘swim’
VV	<i>au</i>	‘lime’
	<i>ai.ta</i>	‘lightweight’
CV	<i>na</i>	‘I/me’
	<i>bu.ni</i>	‘good’
	<i>fu.ro.fu.ro</i>	‘bubble up’
	<i>a.da</i>	‘head’
CVV	<i>gou</i>	‘make a noise’
	<i>nei.dei</i>	‘hear, listen’
	<i>du.bui.ni</i>	‘brother’
	<i>so.kau</i>	‘jump’

The Doromu-Koki language has words with between one and six syllable. Each word type is described and illustrated below.

2.4.1 One syllable

One-syllable words have four forms; those being the same forms as seen above for basic syllable types.

v	<i>i</i>	‘his/hers/its’ ²
vv	<i>au</i>	‘lime’
cv	<i>ba</i>	‘or’
cvv	<i>nai</i>	‘my’

2.4.2 Two syllables

Eight possible forms for two-syllable words have been attested; three with an initial v syllable (v.v, v.cv, and v.cvv), one with an initial vv syllable (vv.cv), three with initial cv syllables (cv.v, cv.cv, and cv.cvv) and one with initial cvv syllables (cvv.cv). The cvv syllable structure is not as productive as the others, especially in initial position.

v.v	<i>e.o</i>	‘moon’
v.cv	<i>i.fi</i>	‘rub’
v.cvv	<i>a.kau</i>	‘carry on shoulders’
vv.cv	<i>ai.ta</i>	‘light (of weight)’
cv.v	<i>di.u</i>	‘mist’
cv.cv	<i>bu.ni</i>	‘good’
cv.cvv	<i>so.kau</i>	‘jump’
cvv.cv	<i>mai.ke</i>	‘far away’

² This is normally rendered [‘inĩ], /ini/, <ini>. The form *i* is most likely a shortening.

2.4.3 Three syllables

Three-syllable words have eight possible forms in Doromu-Koki; four with initial v syllable (v.v.cv, v.cv.v, v.cv.cv, and v.cvv.cv), and four with initial cv syllable (cv.v.cv, cv.cv.v, cv.cv.cv, and cv.cvv.cv). Note that VV sequences such as /ia/, /ie/ and /eo/ are orthographically represented as <iya>, <iye> and <eyo>. See also §2.5.

v.v.cv	<i>i.ya.na</i>	‘crawl’
v.cv.v	<i>a.fi.ye</i>	‘tongue’
v.cv.cv	<i>i.ri.da</i>	‘I eat’
v.cvv.cv	<i>O.dui.ka</i>	place name
cv.v.cv	<i>ba.e.ko</i>	‘maybe’
cv.cv.v	<i>me.ge.a</i>	‘shoulder’
cv.cv.cv	<i>mo.sa.ra</i>	‘sweet potato’
cv.cvv.cv	<i>du.bui.ni</i>	‘brother’

2.4.4 Four syllables

There are seven types of four-syllable words in Doromu-Koki; two with initial v syllable (v.cv.cv.v, and v.cv.cvv.cv); four with initial cv syllable (cv.v.cv.v, cv.cv.cv.v, cv.cv.cv.cv and cv.cvv.cv.cv) and one with initial cvv syllable (cvv.cv.cv.cv).

v.cv.cv.v	<i>i.sa.go.e</i>	‘scratch’
v.cv.cvv.cv	<i>A.mu.rai.ka</i>	place name
cv.v.cv.v	<i>ta.o.ta.o</i>	‘ignore’
cv.cv.cv.v	<i>ke.to.re.yo</i>	‘he/she fell’
cv.cv.cv.cv	<i>fu.ro.fu.ro</i>	‘bubble up’
cv.cvv.cv.cv	<i>yo.koi.ma.ka</i>	‘only one’
cvv.cv.cv.cv	<i>Kai.ka.no.mu</i>	place name

2.4.5 Five syllables

Only one five-syllable word has been attested:

v.cv.cv.cv.v *e.do.ko.ki.yo* ‘millipede’

2.4.6 Six syllables

Only one six-syllable word has been attested:

cv.cv.cv.cv.v.cv *Ma.ma.nu.ge.a.gi* place name

There are many forms with duplication of syllables, which are in fact not ‘reduplication’, because there is no attested unreduplicated form. Often, but not always, these are frozen forms that have been borrowed. Examples include words such as *fuofuori* ‘while’, *gorogoro* ‘early’, *guriguri* ‘prayer’ (from Hiri Motu), *neinei* ‘each’, *toutou* ‘like this’, *vayavaya* ‘very’, *vorovoro* ‘noisy talking’, and *yafuyafu* ‘breeze’.

2.5 Vowel sequences

Every combination of vowel sequence is possible, except for sequences of identical vowels. Those marked with ‘X’ in Table 2.6 indicate sequences within a syllable, meaning that the second vowel is analysed as a glide. They are all composed of a combination of a non-high vowel with a high vowel *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *eu*, *oi*, and *ou*. The high vowel combinations *iu* and *ui* are not single syllable glides, but rather two-syllable sequences, as are all the other combinations.

In the orthography the sequences (i.e., those which are two syllables, rather than one) are written as two vowels together, except for those with the high front vowel *i*, which are written with the semi-vowel *y* between them, thus *iya* ‘star’, *iye* ‘leaf’, *iyu* ‘disturb’, and *ariyu* ‘daytime’. However, those with the high back vowel *u* are not written with the semi-vowel *w*. Examples include *tua* ‘tree sp’, *ueta* ‘wing’, *mumui* ‘giggle’, and *fuofuori* ‘while’. This has been the people’s desire at this point, but in the future it may be decided to use one or the other strategy consistently for both vowel sequences.

TABLE 2.6 ATTESTED VOWEL SEQUENCES

		second vowel				
		<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	ε	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>
first vowel	<i>i</i>					
	<i>u</i>					
	ε	X	X			
	<i>o</i>	X	X			
	<i>a</i>	X	X			

Below are examples of the vowel sequences found in the language:

/iu/ *ri.yu.na* 'tree possum sp'

ki.yu.ki.yu 'very'

/i ε / *i.ye.ta* 'poke'

i.ri.ye.du.ka 'sorrow'

a.mi.ye 'man'

/io/ *i.yo* 'disturb'

ki.yo.ma 'red hot'

ni.yo 'he/she said'

/ia/ *i.ya* 'star'

ki.ya 'slowly'

mi.ya 'rain'

/ei/ *ei.na* 'tree sp'

bei.ka 'what'

Sei 'God'

/ɛu/	<i>neu.ka</i>	‘orphan’
	<i>keu</i>	‘step, go up’
/ɛo/	<i>e.o</i>	‘moon’
	<i>ne.ota</i>	‘feeling sleepy’
	<i>fe.o</i>	‘white’
/ɛa/	<i>e.a</i>	‘twist rope’
	<i>me.ge.a</i>	‘shoulder’
/ui/	<i>bu.i.ka</i>	‘sway’
	<i>fu.i</i>	‘mash food’
/uɛ/	<i>su.e.ka</i>	‘Dwarf Koel’
	<i>gu.e</i>	‘louse’
/uo/	<i>ku.o</i>	‘cheer’
/ua/	<i>u.a.kai</i>	‘carry it’
	<i>ru.a.ka</i>	‘new’
	<i>tu.a</i>	‘nut species’
/oi/	<i>koi.ma</i>	‘leech’
	<i>yo.koi</i>	‘one’

/ou/	<i>ou.re.na</i>	‘elder’
	<i>kou.re</i>	‘yam sp’
	<i>dou</i>	‘wet’
/oε/	<i>ko.e.re</i>	‘peel it’
	<i>to.e</i>	‘heavy’
/oa/	<i>o.a.ma</i>	‘tell people to work’
	<i>ro.a.fa</i>	‘wild fowl sp’
	<i>ko.a</i>	‘adultery/prostitution’
/ai/	<i>ai.ba.nu</i>	‘whole’
	<i>gai.ba.na</i>	‘eel’
	<i>ka.rai</i>	‘cockatoo’
/au/	<i>au.fa</i>	‘grandparent’
	<i>rau.tu</i>	‘village’
	<i>fa.fau</i>	‘on top of’
/aε/	<i>a.e.na</i>	‘putting it down’
	<i>ka.e.re</i>	‘who’
	<i>ba.e</i>	‘come’
/ao/	<i>a.o</i>	‘oh!’
	<i>ka.o.ro</i>	‘bee sp’
	<i>ga.o</i>	‘tree sp’

2.6 Stress

Stress in Doromu-Koki always occurs on the penultimate syllable (or ultimate syllable in one syllable words).

['u]	/u/	<u>	'hit'
['nã]	/na /	<na>	'I'
[k ^h ɛ ⁱ .q ^h ɑ]	/k ^h ɛik ^h ɑ /	<keika>	'small'
['bu.nĩ]	/buni/	<buni>	'good'
[du.'bu ⁱ .nĩ]	/dubuini/	<dubuini>	'brother'
[fu.ro'.fu.ro]	/furofuro/	<furofuro>	'bubble up'

2.7 Orthography

The present orthography was developed during the Doromu Alphabet Design Workshop, held 18-25 March 2002 in Kasonomu village. All the materials produced to date use this orthography.

There were no disagreements over the proposed orthography at the time of the workshop; the participants took the printed *Trial Spelling Guides* to various areas in the language group to discuss the proposed orthography and decide what changes, if any, would need to be made. No further changes were ever considered. Doromu-Koki does not have any digraphs or consonant clusters, or other complex linguistic factors that would complicate the orthography.

The biggest area of concern with the orthography was with how words with semivowels and/or vowel sequences should be written, which has already been discussed above.

Another area of concern was in the spelling of borrowed words which have letters not found in the Doromu-Koki inventory. The question is whether to add new letters, or to change these words and use letters already found in the alphabet. The people have shown a preference to spell these loan words (especially names) in vernacular materials as they are spelled in the source language, particularly when they are coming from English. This is because they feel it will aid bridging between the languages and finding

information in English reference materials. When words are borrowed from other languages, spelling usually is not an issue, but if it is, the preference is to spell it as a vernacular word. The orthography is listed below.

/t ^h /	<t>	/n/	<n>	/w/	<u>
/k ^h /	<k>	/r/	<r>	/z/	<z>
/b/		/j/	<y>	/ʔ/	<'>
/d/	<d>	/h/	<h>	/i/	<i>
/g/	<g>	/tʃ/	<ch>	/ɛ/	<e>
/f/	<f>	/tʃ/	<j>	/u/	<u>
/s/	<s>	/l/	<l>	/o/	<o>
/β/	<v>	/p ^h /	<p>	/a/	<a>
/m/	<m>	/k ^w /	<ku>		

2.8 Intonation

Prosodic features of a language are very important. Intonation patterns (for statements, incomplete sentences, interrogation, emotions, listing and calling) in the language are discussed below.

2.8.1 Statement

A normal declarative, or simple **statement**, has a rising intonation pattern, with a falling pitch at the end. This the most common intonation pattern found in Doromu-Koki.

- (1) *Nai roka bi Raphael.*
 1S.POSS name TOP Raphael
 'My name is Raphael.'
-

- (2) ...*koru gena uakai-si sufa di-yaka.*
 water bamboo carry-SQSS bush go-1S.PST
 ‘...I carried a gun (lit. ‘water bamboo’) and went to the bush.’

2.8.2 Incomplete sentence

An **incomplete sentence** (or sequence) has a rising intonation, levelling off at the climax of the statement.

- (3) *To ina yaku ni-yo,...*
 but 3 DM say-2/3S.PST
 ‘But he said,...’

- (4) *Moimai koina ni-yo-ri...*
 work finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
 ‘When he finished the work...’

2.8.3 Question


A content **question**, interrogation, expectation of an impending reply, or rhetorical question has rising pitch through to the end.

- (5) *Ya goidu di-sa?*
 2 where go-2S.PRES
 ‘Where are you going?’

This is also exhibited in yes-no questions with a tag.


- (6) *Aruma yaku aki re-yo ba ide?*
 snake DM bite do-2/3S.PST or NEG
 ‘Did the snake bite (you) or not?’


Intonation is primarily on the sentential level, but also occurs on the word *yo* ‘yes’. In isolation the word *yo* ‘yes’ can have a rising contour with a glottal stop at the end. As an immediate answer it is level. This is the only word in the language to exhibit such a feature.

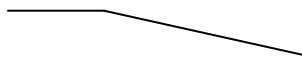
- 
- (7) *Ya bi buni ba? Yo.*
 2 TOP good Q yes
 ‘Are you well? Yes.’

2.8.4 Emotion

Anger, disgust, scolding, and excitement are signaled by raising the pitch higher than normal, but still maintaining the rising pitch, with final falling intonation, as in the statement pattern.

- 
- (8) ...*mida remanu bi foroka=ri bi aka yokoi kava de!*
 child two TOP basket=at TOP prawn one not.all NEG
 ‘...the two boys did not have even one prawn in the basket!’

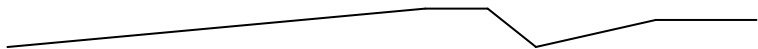
- 
- (9) *Rei mona maka de re-yo ma yaku bura*
 do properly only NEG do-2/3S.PST and DM expose

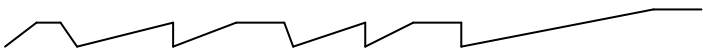



ri-yo urusa rofu.
 make-2/3S.PST night BEN
 ‘He did not do it properly and so he was exposed at night.’

2.8.5 Listing

Listing has a fairly regular rising contour. Compare (10), a statement, with (11), a list.

- 
- (10) *Ini rema bi mosara goe-ga fuse ri-gasa,...*
 3.POSS woman TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS bag make-SIMSS
 ‘Their wives were digging the sweet potatoes and putting them in bags...’


- 
- (11) ...*furisi bona kanisoro bona ramena gagani moi amuta*
 police and councillors and salt place get smooth




ri-si...
 make-SQSS
 ‘...police and councillors and salt and making the place peaceful...’

2.8.6 Calling

An intense or distant call has sharp raising high pitch, ending in a steep falling to low pitch.

- 
- (12) *Evade!*
 quickly
 ‘Quickly!’

- 
- (13) *Raphael-o!*
 Raphael-VOC
 ‘Oh, Raphael!’

2.9 Morphophonemics

There are four morphophonemic alternations in Doromu-Koki: vowel epenthesis, vowel raising, consonant epenthesis and tap consonant deletion.

2.9.1 Vowel epenthesis

The primary morphophonemic alternation in Doromu-Koki occurs with verbs ending in *Ce*. These verbs add *i* finally when they occur otherwise uninflected, or before the morphemes *-bo* ‘POT’, or *-nu* ‘TRANS’ (see §4.1.3 and 4.5). Note that *-nu* ‘TRANS’ only occurs with *ame* ‘stay’, so there are no examples of a verb ending with *o*.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| (14) | <i>moke+na</i> | → | <i>mokena</i> | ‘thinking’ |
| (15) | <i>re+si</i> | → | <i>resi</i> | ‘do and then’ |
| (16) | <i>ferē#</i> | → | <i>ferēi</i> | ‘leave’ |
| (17) | <i>re+bo+afa+ri</i> | → | <i>reiboyafari</i> | ‘when we entered’ |
| (18) | <i>ame+nu</i> | → | <i>ameinu</i> | ‘he made him sit’ |

2.9.2 Vowel raising

Another change involves verbs ending in *ae*, which are changed to *ai* when inflected, such as *bae* ‘come’. Note the application of approximant consonant epenthesis in (22).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
| (19) | <i>ae#</i> | → | <i>ae</i> | ‘put’ |
| (20) | <i>bae#</i> | → | <i>bae</i> | ‘come’ |
| (21) | <i>bae+si</i> | → | <i>baisi</i> | ‘come and then’ |
| (22) | <i>ae+afa</i> | → | <i>aiyafa</i> | ‘I put’ |

Vowel raising, however, does not occur with verbs ending in *oe*, such as *goe* ‘dig’.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---|------------------|--------------------|
| (23) | <i>goe+gifa+ri</i> | → | <i>goegifari</i> | ‘when we will dig’ |
|------|--------------------|---|------------------|--------------------|

2.9.3 Approximant epenthesis

All Doromu-Koki verb stems (except those noted in §2.9.4 below), as well as affixes, end in a vowel or vowel sequence. When the following affix begins with a vowel, then a transitional consonant *y* comes between the two

morphemes to separate them from a non-low vowel. Approximant epenthesis is especially common with the past tense suffixes (see §4.1.1). (The first two examples illustrate the situation where a consonant-initial suffix is simply added to the verb stem.)

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|---|------------------|------------------------|
| (24) | <i>re+na</i> | → | <i>rena</i> | ‘doing’ |
| (25) | <i>ni+go</i> | → | <i>nigo</i> | ‘she will say’ |
| (26) | <i>ni+o</i> | → | <i>niyo</i> | ‘he said’ |
| (27) | <i>oku+aka+ri</i> | → | <i>okuyakari</i> | ‘when I broke it open’ |
| (28) | <i>neide+adi</i> | → | <i>neideyadi</i> | ‘they heard’ |

No examples with the back vowel /o/ have been attested.

2.9.4 Tap deletion

There is a small set of verbs in Doromu-Koki that shows an alternation between /r/ and zero in their paradigm. The tap consonant is present before a suffix beginning with a vowel, but absent before a suffix beginning with a consonant and also in absolute position – that is, word-finally. Compare the following examples of the verb ‘to give’:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------|
| (29) | <i>mar-aka</i> | <i>mar-o</i> | <i>mar-afa</i> | <i>mar-adi</i> |
| | give-1S.PST | give-2/3S.PST | give-1P.PST | give-2/3P.PST |
| | ‘I gave’ | ‘You gave’ | ‘We gave’ | ‘You (PL) / they gave’ |
| (30) | <i>ma-da</i> | <i>ma-sa</i> | <i>ma-sifa</i> | <i>ma-dedi</i> |
| | give-1S.PRS | give-2S.PRS | give-1P.PRS | give-2/3P.PRS |
| | ‘I give’ | ‘You give’ | ‘We give’ | ‘You (PL) / they give’ |
| | <i>ma!</i> | | | |
| | give | | | |
| | ‘Give him!’ | | | |

The most plausible analysis of this alternation is to posit an underlying final /r/ for ‘to give’ (*mar*), which is deleted before an suffix beginning with a consonant, or word-finally. This happens to maintain a strict CV syllable structure. The few verbs showing this alternation include *emar* ‘scold’, *famar* ‘splash’, *mar* ‘give’, *nugar* ‘cut’, *odifar* ‘possess’, *omar* ‘invite’, *oteimar* ‘show, teach’, and *ugar* ‘cross over’. (Notice that positing a final consonant for these verbs is a rather abstract analysis, as there is a constraint against final consonants in the language.)

Examples illustrating this process:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| (31) | a. | <i>mar+aka</i> | → | <i>maraka</i> | ‘I gave’ |
| | b. | <i>mar+da</i> | → | <i>mada</i> | ‘I give’ |
| (32) | a. | <i>nugar+o</i> | → | <i>nugaro</i> | ‘you cut (past)’ |
| | b. | <i>nugar+sa</i> | → | <i>nugasa</i> | ‘you cut (present)’ |
| (33) | a. | <i>omar+afa</i> | → | <i>omarafa</i> | ‘we invited’ |
| | b. | <i>omar+gifa</i> | → | <i>omagifa</i> | ‘we will invite’ |
| (34) | a. | <i>oteimar+adi</i> | → | <i>oteimaradi</i> | ‘they showed’ |
| | b. | <i>oteimar</i> | → | <i>oteima</i> | ‘show him’ |

These verb stems may have been adjunct forms preceding the generic verb *re* ‘do’, of which the final vowel was lost. Evidence of this can be seen in the related Maria language in examples such as *na mare* ‘give me’ and *nukare* ‘break wood’ (Dutton 1970:965, 968). (In Doromu-Koki these would be *na ma* ‘give me’ and *nuga* ‘cut it’, respectively.)

3. *Pronouns, nouns and noun phrases*

3.1 Pronouns

There are four sets of pronouns in Doromu-Koki: personal, possessive, reflexive and demonstrative.

3.1.1 Personal

The personal pronouns distinguish between singular and plural only in the first person. The following table shows all of the personal pronouns in their basic form. There are no inclusive/exclusive, dual, or gender distinctions (Dutton 1970: 922-3). The personal pronouns function as both subject and object but are not always stated in the subject position, since the verbal morphology encodes subject.

TABLE 3.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	singular	plural
first	<i>na</i>	<i>una</i>
second	<i>ya</i>	
third	<i>ina</i>	

- (1) *Na ago ni-da.*
1S word say-1S.PRES
'I talk.'
- (2) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri rauna na moi-yo.*
afternoon one=at hunger 1S get-2/3S.PST
'One afternoon I felt hungry.' (Lit. '...hunger got me'.)

- (3) a. *Ya ago ni-sa.*
 2 word say-2S.PRES
 ‘You talk.’
- b. *Ya ago ni-dedi.*
 2 word say-2/3P.PRES
 ‘You (PL) talk.’
- (4) *Tufa re-gida=ri ya moke-gida.*
 dark do-1S.FUT=at 2 think-1S.FUT
 ‘When I’ll be in the dark I will think of you.’

Often *vene* ‘people’ is added to clarify the plural in the third person, as shown in (5) b. below.

- (5) a. *Ina ago ni-do.*
 3 word say-3S.PRES
 ‘He talks.’
- b. *Ina (vene) ago ni-dedi.*
 3 people word say-2/3P.PRES
 ‘They talk.’

Dual forms can be generated by adding *remanu* ‘two’ (Dutton 1970:923).

- (6) *Ina remanu rafe-gi koru=ri ne-yadi.*
 3 two wash-PURP water=at go.down-2/3P.PST
 ‘They two went down to the river to wash.’

Often *ina* ‘3’ does not occur in the object slot, as it is understood.

- (7) *Maina Ø re-yaka.*
 look.for do-1S.PST
 ‘I looked for her.’
- (8) *Una ago ni-sifa.*
 1P word say-1P.PRES
 ‘We talk.’
- (9) *Ina yaku una ourefeide-yo.*
 3S DM 1P lead-2/3S.PST
 ‘He led us.’

3.1.2 Possessive

The possessive pronouns distinguish between singular and plural in first person, but not in second and third person. Concerning Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages, Dutton (1975:623) states: ‘...in most languages special forms of the pronoun (or pronoun + suffix) are used to indicate possession.’ It looks like *-i* might have been that suffix, with all the forms dropping the stem final *a* except for the first person singular. (Note, however, Origo dialect *nei* for the first person singular.)

TABLE 3.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

	singular	plural
first	<i>nai</i>	<i>uni</i>
second	<i>yi/i</i>	
third	<i>ini</i>	

- (10) *Nai rovaita no ni-do.*
 1S.POSS body bad say-3S.PRES
 ‘My body becomes bad (or spoiled).’
- (11) *Mina giro bi nai.*
 this axe TOP 1S.POSS
 ‘This axe is mine.’
- (12) *Yi uka mida ya maina re-da.*
 2.POSS stomach child 2 look.for do-1S.PRES
 ‘Your beloved child is looking for you.’
- (13) *Rauna itu yaku yi yava dui re-do.*
 hunger cold DM 2.POSS house enter do-3S.PRES
 ‘Hunger and cold enter your house.’
- (14) *Ini yava bi nai yava atafu.*
 3.POSS house TOP 1S.POSS house close
 ‘His house is close to my house.’

- (15) *Mosara fuse bona ini korikari=sa tufe*
 sweet.potato bag and 3.POSS clothing=ACCM raft
fafau migigi risi.
 on.top tie tight
 ‘They securely tied the sweet potato bags with their clothing on top of the raft.’
- (16) *uni vegu no ni-yo dada*
 1P.POSS life bad say-2/3S.PST because
 ‘because our life became bad’
- (17) *Uni nono moke-sa ba de?*
 1P.POSS mother think-2S.PRES or NEG
 ‘Do you think about our mother or not?’

The possessive pronouns can also be used in other slots, as below *yi* ‘2.POSS’ is used in a temporal/locative sense:

- (18) *Yi buni=ri bi una ve feide-na de.*
 2.POSS good=at TOP 1P family leave-NOM not
 ‘In your good times you are not leaving your family.’

The genitive *di* marker can be used in place of the possessive pronouns for the second and third persons for emphasis:

- (19) *ya vene di mosara*
 2 people GEN sweet.potato
 ‘your (PL) sweet potato’
- (20) *ina vene di kono*
 3 people GEN ground
 ‘their ground’

3.1.3 Reflexive

The reflexive pronouns in Doromu-Koki also convey emphasis and action done by oneself (solitary) as well as a general reflexive meaning. They follow the same pattern as the personal and possessive pronouns, except that there is one variant in the third person. The reflexive pronouns are listed in the table below:

TABLE 3.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

	singular	plural
first	<i>naike</i>	<i>uniye</i>
second	<i>yaike</i>	
third	<i>inike/iniye</i>	

- (21) *Naike de-yaka.*
1S.REFL come.down-1S.PST
'I came down by myself.'
- (22) *Yaike ne-si moi.*
2.REFL go.down-SQSS get
'Go down by yourself and get it.'
- (23) *Inike vata ni-yo.*
3.REFL born say-2/3S.PST
'He's by himself.'
- (24) *Uni bobada manone yaku iya re-gasa iniye iniye*
1P.POSS ancestors DM war do-SIMSS REFL REFL
umuye-gam-adi.
kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
'Our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.'
- (25) *...o ide bi rumana bona rema di vene, iniye*
or NEG TOP man and woman GEN people REFL
ni rorotari re-si rema rumana rau
say reprove do-SQSS woman man share
re-gam-adi.
do-HAB-2/3P.PST
'...or are not men and women's people, reproving themselves and sharing with people.'
- (26) *Uniye ni kaite-yafa gokai re-si makai ni-do.*
1P.REFL say ask-1P.PST how do-SQSS like.this say-3S.PRES
'We asked ourselves how it is happening like this.'

Another reflexive construction employs *kaya* 'REFL'. It has only been observed with the singular forms. It is not clear what the distinction is

between using *kaya* ‘REFL’ or a reflexive pronoun, or between *inike* and *iniye*. It appears that the above forms are in subject position, while *kaya* is in object; however, (27) below does not follow that premise.

- (27) *Garasi dudu na kaya ve-da.*
 glass INST 1S REFL see-1S.PRES
 ‘I see myself with a mirror.’
- (28) *Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu*
 so 2 REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT BEN
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
 Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
 ‘So you yourself will take the child down and they will get him at Siau’s house.’

3.1.4 Demonstrative

There are four demonstratives. They occur both pronominally (functioning as a noun phrase) and adnominally (functioning as a modifier to a head noun). The demonstratives form a four-way deictic system, distinguishing between close and distant, generic and specific, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 3.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

	generic	specific
proximal	<i>mina</i> ‘this’	<i>yomina</i> ‘this (one) here’
distal	<i>mirona</i> ‘that’	<i>yomirona</i> ‘that (one) there’

Following are some examples of the demonstratives:

- (29) *Mina bi nai giro.*
 this TOP 1P.POSS axe
 ‘This (one) is my axe.’
- (30) *Beika re-yaka mina ni oteimar-aka.*
 what do-1S.PST this say show-1S.PST
 ‘What I did, this is what I showed you.’

- (31) *Mina dona moi oki-si ini rema*
 this pig get arrive-SQSS 3.POSS woman
mar-o-ma ini rautu vene ada
 give-2/3S.PST-SQDS 3.POSS village people happiness
re-yadi.
 do-2/3P.PST
 ‘He brought this pig and gave it to his wife and her village people
 were happy.’
- (32) *Mirona bi nai giro.*
 that TOP 1P.POSS axe
 ‘That (one) is my axe.’
- (33) *Nai moke-na yaku ni-do bi*
 1S.POSS think-NOM DM say-3S.PRES TOP
ya bi mirona gagani=ri.
 2 TOP that place=at
 ‘My thinking tells me that you are at that place.’
- (34) *Yomina bi i vada ma.*
 this.here TOP 3.POSS uncle give
 ‘Give this one here to your uncle.’
- (35) *Yomirona bani bi ga moi.*
 that.there yam TOP PRHB get
 ‘Don’t touch that yam there.’

When the postposition =*ri* ‘at’ is bound to one of these demonstrative pronouns, it produces a location:

- (36) *Nai sisina bai-yo mina=ri koina*
 1S.POSS story come-2/3S.PST this=at finish
ni-yo mini.
 say-2/3S.PST here
 ‘My story came this far and now it finished.’

A shortened form of *mina* ‘this’, in combination with the topic marker *bi*, is *mibi* ‘this (one) is’:

- (37) *Mibi* yi vene bona dubu di ourefeide-na
 this.is 2.POSS people and church GEN lead-NOM
 vene yaku, ya na rofu afei bai-yadi.
 people DM 2 1S BEN take come-2/3P.PST
 ‘That is, you people and the church leaders, you came back for me.’

Pronouns are only occasionally used as a cohesive device in Doromu-Koki text, with subsequent clauses and sentences using the pronouns to make reference to the nominals of the previous clauses or sentences (anaphoric reference). The function of a pronoun is to establish or reestablish a referent as topical, and to maintain continuity of participants when there is more than one.

When there is only one participant, then ellipsis is used, and in recapitulation forms (in which case the participant is the same for the two clauses in order to topicalise). Once this is done, continued reference is maintained through verb morphology and ellipsis. It is rare to find a clause or sentence with a pronoun, because participant tracking is primarily indicated in the verb morphology, or through switch reference, so that if one is found, it may be used to slow down the narrative, indicating an aside in the progression, as seen below. (*Ina* ‘they’ is indicated in the following example because the author wishes to make a point of the boy’s negligence – the topic of the story.)

- (38) *Anema* garasi bo-yadi, *ina* diba de
 head.water glass go.up-2/3P.PST 3 knowledge NEG
 garasi foroka=sā di-yadi.
 glass basket=ACCM go-2/3P.PST
 ‘They went up to the headwaters with their diving glasses, **they** didn’t know they left their diving glasses behind in the basket.’

The following text illustrates the anaphoric reference of pronouns. In the object position they are used with animate objects, while ellipsis is most prevalent with inanimate objects.

- (39) ...*nai mida bi koro=ri ame-si na ve-gasa*
 1S.POSS child TOP border=at stay-SQSS 1S see-SIMSS
ame-gam-o. Re-si Ø koro=ri vare-yo-ri
 stay-HAB-2/3S.PST do-SQSS water=at sleep-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
aruma yaku ina fafau de-yo.
 snake DM 3 above come.down-2/3S.PST
 ‘...my son was staying at the border where he could see me.
 Then when he was sleeping at the river a snake came down on
 him from above.’

Notice that the subject ‘my son’ is first indicated by a nominal form (*nai mida*), then the switch reference suffix *-si* maintains that reference, and then the verbal suffix *-(y)o*. In the final clause this participant has now become the object, and in order to differentiate between the new subject (*aruma* ‘snake’) the third person pronoun *ina* is used, anticipated by the different subject marker *-ri*. The story continues below:

- (40) *Dada Ø moimai fere-si raga bai-yaka nai*
 so work leave-SQSS run come-1S.PST 1S.POSS
mida ro, to aruma bi ori di-yo-ma Ø
 child ABL but snake TOP fear go-2/3S.PST-SQDS
bai-si Jacobo ni kaite-yaka aruma yaku aki
 come-SQSS Jacob say ask-1S.PST snake DM bite
re-yo ba ide.
 do-2/3S.PST or NEG
 ‘So I left my work and ran to my son, but the snake was
 frightened and went away and then I came and asked Jacob
 whether or not the snake bit him.’

In the following example the boy is talking about the snake, and the reader/listener is referred to the previous context (anaphoric reference) in the example above.

- (41) *To ina yaku ni-yo Ø bi Ø de aki*
 but 3 DM say-2/3S.PST TOP NEG bite
re-yo vo ni-yo.
 do-2/3S.PST happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘But what he (Jacob) happened to say was that (the snake) did not bite him.’

Often a pronoun functions as a recapitulation or copy of a topicalised noun (phrase). This is often used when first introducing a major participant bearing the subject or object roles. The following exemplifies its use in the object slot:

- (42) *Gabi ro mo Ø una remanu di uni iruku*
 later ABL at.once 1P two GEN 1P.POSS food
una mar-o-ma Ø iri-yafa ada dudu.
 1P give-2/3S.PST-SQDS eat-1P.PST happiness INST
 ‘Then later she gave the two of us our food, and we ate it happily.’

Repetition of the subject pronoun is realised, mainly with the nominal *diba* ‘knowledge’ in a possessive clause, to emphasise it.

- (43) *Na na diba de kosini bi nui ide=ri*
 1S 1S knowledge NEG mother TOP sty inside=at
vare-gam-o.
 sleep-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘I myself didn’t know the mother was sleeping inside the sty.’

3.2 Nouns

In general, nouns function as subjects, objects, oblique arguments (e.g. temporal, locative, accompaniment, benefactive, possessive, genitive, and instrument), as well as with nominal predicates after the topic marker *bi*, as seen below. Sometimes adjectives behave as nouns. Grammatical roles such as subject or object are determined by position. Number is not indicated on nouns, except through repetition (see §3.2.2), numbers, verb morphology, and specific plural nouns. Nominalisation of verbs also occurs as a strategy of forming nouns (see §4.7).

The following examples show nouns or noun phrases occurring in the various indicated positions listed above:

Subject:

- (44) *Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga...*
 3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS
 ‘While their wives dug sweet potatoes...’

Object:

- (45) *uba dubuisa bi tufe ri-gedi*
 both brothers TOP raft make-2/3P.FUT
 ‘both brothers will be making a raft’

Temporal:

- (46) *Na mirona fura=ri bo-gida.*
 1S that week=at go.up-1S.FUT
 ‘I will go up next week.’

Locative (in a postpositional phrase):

- (47) *Mida bi yava ide=ri ame-do.*
 child TOP house inside=at stay-3S.PRES
 ‘The child is inside the house.’

Accompaniment:

- (48) ...*dada nai rumana=sa kefo bo-yafa...*
 so 1S.POSS man=ACCM river.bank go.up-1P.PST
 ‘...so with my husband we went up the river bank...’

Benefactive:

- (49) ...*aira iruku ota ori-si nai baba*
 offering food cook.in.stones burn-SBSS 1S.POSS father
rofu moi boi ne-yafa...
 BEN get go.up go.down-1P.PST
 ‘...we were cooking the food offering in stones and took and brought it for my father...’

Possessive:

- (50) *Ya moni nufa?*
 2 money POSS
 ‘Do you have any money?’ (Lit. ‘Are you with money?’)

Genitive:

- (51) *Kini di vefa ofi bi yava=ri maka*
 king GEN daughter young.girl TOP house=at only
ame-gam-o.
 stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘The king’s young daughter was staying alone in the house.’

Instrument:

- (52) *Ye, auna yaku dona moi are ne-yo-ma*
 so dog DM pig get stand go.down-2/3S.PST-SQDS
ora dudu getona=ri imi-yo.
 spear INST back=at shoot-2/3S.PST
 ‘So, the dog went down standing next to the pig, and he (the hunter) shot it in the back with a spear.’

Nouns refer to persons, places, and things. The only distinction between proper and common nouns is that proper nouns cannot be modified by other elements within an NP. There is no noun classification in Doromu-Koki, which agrees with Dutton’s remarks concerning Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages: ‘Noun classes are rare...,’ and also ‘...noun class systems based on classificatory or existential verbs are only very weakly in evidence’ (Dutton 1975:623-624). There is no evidence of classificatory verbs (see §4).

3.2.1 Plural nouns

There are a few nouns in Doromu-Koki which are inherently plural, all of which are kin terms (see §9.1). This follows what Dutton (1975:623) says regarding Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages.

Otherwise plural is indicated through repetition as indicated below (see §3.2.2.) or in the verb affixation, or through other means, such as numbers, repeated adjectives, etc. The following table shows the plural nouns, along

with their singular counterparts. The changes are from *-ini* to *-yaka*, or *-a/-o* to *-kai* (*baba* ‘father’, *nono* ‘mother’, and *vada* ‘uncle’ only).

TABLE 3.5 PLURAL NOUNS

singular form		plural form	
<i>baba</i>	‘father’	<i>bakai</i>	‘fathers’
<i>dubu/dubuini</i>	‘brother’	<i>dubuiyaka</i>	‘brothers’
<i>madini</i>	‘ancestor, cousin’	<i>madiyaka</i>	‘ancestors, cousins’
<i>meraini</i>	‘uncle’s child’	<i>merayaka</i>	‘uncle’s children, cousins’
<i>nono</i>	‘mother’	<i>nokai</i>	‘mothers’
<i>rasini</i>	‘sister’ ¹	<i>rasiyaka</i>	‘sisters’
<i>tobaini</i>	‘sister’ ²	<i>tobaiyaka</i>	‘sisters’
<i>vada/vadaini</i>	‘uncle, nephew’	<i>vadakai</i>	‘uncles, nephews’

Following are a few examples of the plural nouns:

- (53) *Rapheal bona Solo bi Robin di dubuiyaka.*
 Rapheal and Solo TOP Robin GEN brothers
 ‘Rapheal and Solo are Robin’s brothers.’
- (54) *Nai mida bi ini madiyaka=sa di-yadi.*
 1S.POSS child TOP 3.POSS cousins=ACCM go-2/3P.PST
 ‘My children went with their cousins.’
- (55) *Frank bona Max bi nai merayaka.*
 Frank and Max TOP 1S.POSS cousins
 ‘Frank and Max are my cousins.’
- (56) *Ronna bona Bravo bi nai rema di rasiyaka.*
 Ronna and Bravo TOP 1S.POSS woman GEN sisters
 ‘Ronna and Bravo are my wife’s sisters.’

¹ Woman’s parent’s same sex sibling’s daughter, female three generations removed from ego (see Bradshaw 2006:10).

² Parent’s same-sex sibling’s same-sex child, female three generations removed from a male, male three generations removed from a female (Bradshaw 2006:10).

- (57) *Rachel bona Christina bi nai tobaiyaka.*
 Rachel and Christina TOP 1S.POSS sister
 ‘Rachel and Christina are my sisters.’
- (58) *Esika esika moi-ga vare-sa; sori nai vadakai.*
 pain pain get-SIMSS sleep-2S.PRES sorry 1S.POSS uncles
 ‘You sleep in a lot of pain; I’m sorry for you, my uncles.’

3.2.2 Repetition of nouns and pronouns

Repetition in Doromu-Koki occurs primarily with nouns, pronouns and adjectives, but also with verbs (see §4.1.2) and other parts of speech. Repetition of a noun is used to indicate plurality, although it is not obligatory in a string of nouns, except with the final one, as shown in (59). Note the difference between singular and plural in the repetition of nouns.

- (59) *Nono, baba ma mida mida amei-nu re-si*
 mother father and child child stay-TRANS do-SQSS
aka, buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau³=sa
 prawn fish.sp fish.sp food and stew=ACCM
iri-sifa ada dudu.
 eat-1P.PRES happiness INST
 ‘Make the mothers, fathers, and children sit, and then with happiness we are eating food and stew.’
- (60) *To ini mida yaku kero re-si...*
 but 3.POSS child DM turn do-SQSS
 ‘But her child turned around and...’
- (61) *bona sina sina Doromu ago dudu ri-yafa*
 and story story Doromu word INST do-1P.PST
 ‘and we wrote stories in the Doromu language’
- (62) *uni sina neide-giya-ri*
 1P.POSS story hear-2S.FUT-SIMDS
 ‘while you will listen to our story’

³ *Vaisiyau* ‘stew’ is borrowed from Hiri Motu *vasiahu* ‘soup’.

In the following example, the repeated noun *sufa sufa* ‘bush bush’ can best be translated as ‘big bush’, meaning that they went well into the bush, not just into the outskirts.

(63) *Yokoi aru na bona Mathaias sufa sufa di-yafa.*
 one day 1S and Mathaias bush bush go-1P.PST
 ‘One day Mathaias and I went deep into the bush (lit. bushes).’

(64) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa*
 afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
di-yaka.
 go-1S.PST
 ‘One afternoon I took a gun (lit. bamboo water) and went to the bush.’

Pronouns behave differently in regards to repetition. Some indicate plurality, while others indicate intensity.

With an interrogative pronoun, here used as a relative pronoun (most likely due to influence from English), repetition indicates plurality. See §7.4 for discussion on Doromu-Koki’s relative clause strategies.

(65) *badina Chris bi kaere kaere taoni=ri moimai*
 because Chris TOP who who town=at work
re-dedi vene di iruku
 do-2/3P.PRES people GEN food
 ‘because the food belongs to Chris, one of those people who work in town’

A repeated reflexive pronoun (see §3.1.3), on the other hand, indicates intensity. In the second example, the intensity is conveyed by the use of *no* ‘bad’.

(66) *Ini fu mina bi no iniye iniye.*
 3 blow this TOP bad very very
 ‘His blowing this was very, very bad.’

- (67) *Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma itu yaku no*
 water always wash-POT-HAB-1P.PST-SQDS cold DM bad
iniye ni-yo.
 very say-2/3S.PST
 ‘We might have kept washing in the river, if it had not been so
 very cold.’

Repetition of the subject pronoun indicates emphasis. This is very common when a pronoun precedes the noun *diba* ‘knowledge’ used as a verb.

- (68) *Na na diba de kosini bi nui ide=ri*
 1S 1S knowledge NEG mother TOP sty inside=at
vare-gam-o.
 sleep-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘I myself didn’t know the mother was sleeping inside the sty.’

3.2.3 Compound nouns

A very common strategy is for nouns to be juxtaposed to form compound nouns. Compounding occurs when two separate nouns function as a new unit, without an intervening genitive marker. When *di* ‘GEN’ is used between the two nouns, such as *Sei di ago* ‘God’s word’, it indicates that the nouns are distinct units in a grammatical relationship (see §3.1.2). A number of compounds are illustrated in Table 3.6.

TABLE 3.6 COMPOUND NOUNS

	literal gloss	meaning
<i>adu nena</i>	jaw-bone	‘jaw’
<i>dibura yava</i>	jail-house	‘jail’
<i>dona nui</i>	pig-nest	‘pig sty’
<i>dona sisika</i>	pig-smell	‘pig odour’
<i>doro maena</i>	bush.vine.sp-vine	‘doro bush vine’
<i>Doromu ago</i>	Doromu-word	‘Doromu language’
<i>furisi vene</i>	police-people	‘police’

TABLE 3.6 CONT'D: COMPOUND NOUNS

	literal gloss	meaning
<i>ina vene</i>	3P-people	'they/them'
<i>ita ruvena</i>	firewood- small.firewood	'small bundle of firewood'
<i>Iuda vene</i>	Judah-people	'Jews'
<i>kadiri yabo rata</i>	tree.nut-tree-trunk	' <i>kadiri</i> nut tree trunk'
<i>Kaikanomu rautu</i>	Kaikanomu-village	'Kaikanomu village'
<i>kani konagi</i>	mustard-stem	'mustard stem'
<i>Koki gagani</i>	Koki-place	'Koki land'
<i>koru gena</i>	water-bamboo	'gun'
<i>koru gena fou</i>	water-bamboo-shot	'gun shot'
<i>koru seri</i>	water-edge	'riverbank'
<i>koyomu bani daru daru</i>	rat-yam-root-PL	'stringy rat yams'
<i>mosara fuse</i>	sweet.potato-bag	'bag of sweet potatoes'
<i>mosara muro</i>	sweet.potato-garden	'sweet potato garden'
<i>nono baba</i>	mother-father	'parents'
<i>omuna ika</i>	mountain-summit	'mountain top'
<i>rautu vene</i>	village-people	'village people'
<i>rema ofi</i>	woman-young.woman	'young woman'
<i>rema rumana</i>	woman-man	'people'
<i>rema vene</i>	woman-people	'women'
<i>robo rava vene</i>	grassland-people	'grassland people'
<i>rumana mida</i>	man-child	'boy'

TABLE 3.6 CONT'D: COMPOUND NOUNS

	literal gloss	meaning
<i>rumana vene</i>	man-people	'men'
<i>sikuri mida mida</i>	school-child-PL	'school children'
<i>sioni iruku</i>	white.man-food	'store-bought/processed food'
<i>tutubena vene</i>	ancestor-people	'ancestors'
<i>warika amiye</i>	chief-person	'lord'
<i>uka esika mokena</i>	stomach-pain-thinking	'heartache'
<i>uka mida</i>	stomach-child	'beloved child'
<i>vitu vene</i>	alone-people	'only children'

- (69) *Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi*
 garden top go.up-SQSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST
iruku iri-gi, ini make-na bi sioni
 food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man
iruku iri-gedi.
 food eat-2/3P.FUT

'They went up to the top of the garden and all sat to eat food, thinking they would eat store-bought food.'

- (70) *Mo kani bi nuga nuga re-yaka sana*
 at.once mustard TOP cut cut do-1S.PST place
mina=ri ve-giya mini, kadiri yabo rata=ri.
 this=at see-2S.FUT here tree.nut tree trunk=at
 'And then at the place that I kept cutting mustard, you will see it there, at the *kadiri* nut tree trunk.'

Compounds can also be idioms:

- (71) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa*
 afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
di-yaka.
 go-1S.PST
 ‘One afternoon I took a gun and went to the bush.’

Often the first noun in a noun compound acts as a modifier to the second, which is often *vene* ‘people’. Note that normally, adjectives (modifiers) follow the nouns they modify, unlike these modifying nouns.

3.3 Noun phrase

Dutton (1970:920) describes the structure of the NP as follows:

± Dem ± Adjective (of ‘nationality’) ± Noun ± Adjective (of quality, size)
 ± Numeral

This would produce a noun phrase such as the following:

- | DEM | ADJ | N | ADJ | NUM |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (72) <i>mina</i> | <i>Koki</i> | <i>amiye</i> | <i>tora</i> | <i>yokoi</i> |
| this | Koki | person | big | one |
| ‘this one Koki elder’ | | | | |

It is preferable to interpret the adjective of ‘nationality’ as a noun, as that is how they function elsewhere. The noun phrase structure is therefore as shown below. Note also the inclusion of the possessive pronoun.

NP → (DEM) (N) N (ADJP) (NUM)
 (PRO_{POSS})

- | DEM/PRO _{POSS} | N | N | ADJP | NUM |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (73) <i>mina/nai</i> | <i>rema</i> | <i>dona</i> | <i>gabu</i> | <i>remanu</i> |
| this/1S.POSS | woman | pig | black | two |
| ‘these/my two black sows’ | | | | |

A noun phrase most often functions as subject or object, and is unmarked. Note that the enclitics *=ri* ‘at’, and *=u* ‘by’, are postpositions bound to the final element in a noun phrase (see §3.3).

- (74) *Mina sana=ri bi mo kiya kiya ne-yo.*
 this place=at TOP at.once slowly slowly go.down-2/3S.PST
 ‘At this place he went down very slowly.’

Aside from the sentential coordinator *ma*, the coordinating conjunction *bona* ‘and’ is used to link noun phrases. This is the most common coordinating conjunction in the language.

- (75) *Mina rema bona ini vefa mosara*
 this woman and 3S.POSS daughter sweet.potato
iri-gedi.
 eat-2/3P.FUT
 ‘This woman and her daughter will eat sweet potato.’
- (76) *Yokoi aru Saturday na Raphael bona Mathias sufa*
 one day Saturday 1S Raphael and Mathias bush
sufa di-yafa...
 bush go-1P.PST
 ‘One Saturday, Raphael and Mathias and I went to the big bush...’

3.3.1 Adjectives and adjective phrases

Adjectives (or noun adjuncts) normally follow the noun or pronoun they modify, and can themselves be modified by repetition or an adverb. There are currently over 200 adjectives in the Doromu-Koki dictionary, including ones such as *aita* ‘light weight’, *toe* ‘heavy’, *buni* ‘good’, *no* ‘bad’, *doba* ‘long’, *tumu* ‘short’, *feo* ‘white’, *gabu* ‘black’, *gira* ‘hard’, *yau* ‘soft’, *itu* ‘cold’, *vava* ‘hot’, *keika* ‘small’, *tora* ‘big’, *kevo* ‘crooked’, *rorobo* ‘straight’, *kori* ‘old (things)’, *rua(ka)* ‘new, young’, and *ugava* ‘old (people)’. For colour terms, see §3.3.2; for degrees of comparison, see §3.3.3.

In the following examples, adjectives are illustrated both with an attributive function (within a noun phrase) and also with a predicative function.

- (77) *iruku yau*
 food soft
 ‘soft food’

- (78) *auna keika*
 dog little
 ‘little dog’
- (79) *...iroka ma koru no mina irakuna=ri ga iri-yagane.*
 smoke and water bad this feast=at PRHB eat-3P.JUS
 ‘...they must not smoke or drink alcohol (lit. bad water) at this feast.’
- (80) *Amiye bi doba.*
 person TOP long
 ‘The man is tall.’
- (81) *Mida bi tumu.*
 child TOP short
 ‘The boy is short.’
- (82) *Mina amiye feo soka re-yo-ri...*
 this person white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
 ‘When this white man arrived...’
- (83) *Mirona bi erena gabu.*
 that TOP bird black
 ‘That is a black bird.’
- (84) *Koru itu moi bae na ma.*
 water cold get come 1S give
 ‘Bring me some cold water.’
- (85) *ini rovaita moi vava ri-gi*
 3.POSS body get hot make-PURP
 ‘in order to warm his body’
- (86) *Giro keika bi nai.*
 axe small TOP 1S.POSS
 ‘The small axe is mine.’
- (87) *...ini ada kamini kevo ni-yo.*
 3.POSS head enough crooked say-2/3S.PST
 ‘...so he turned his head.’
- (88) *yabo rorobo regode*
 tree straight three
 ‘three straight logs’

- (89) *Na bi dura kori yokoi kirokai-yaka.*
 1S TOP net.bag old one carry-1S.PST
 ‘I was carrying one old net bag.’
- (90) *Ini mida di rovaita ruaka ni-yo.*
 3.POSS child GEN skin new say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Her son’s skin became like new.’
- (91) *...una ka bi mida rua vene.*
 1P also TOP child young people
 ‘...also we are young kids.’
- (92) *Ina ka bi rema ugava.*
 3 also TOP woman old
 ‘She is also an old woman.’

There are cases in which the ‘adjective’ does not follow the head noun, but precedes it. These most likely are actually nouns, as in the following example.

- (93) *Ina bi nai oure di viaigana mida.*
 3 TOP 1S.POSS elder GEN last.born.one child
 ‘He is my older brother’s last-born child.’

There are other cases in which a putative adjective precedes the noun, such as *tuma vene* ‘wild people’. Such cases are best interpreted as compound nouns, in which *tuma* ‘wild’ can be glossed as ‘wild one’. In agreement with this, other combinations such as *vana goiso* ‘fingernail’ (hand+nail), *koru moka* ‘pond’ (water+deep/pool), *yabo rata* ‘tree trunk’ (tree+trunk) are also treated as compound nouns (see §3.2.3), as the first element functions as a noun in other situations.

The repeated adjective is used to indicate plurality or intensity.

- (94) *amiye tora tora*
 man big big
 ‘the crowd’ (or ‘the very big men’)
- (95) *Erena ueta buni buni bi na=sa.*
 bird wing good good TOP 1S=ACCM
 ‘I have some beautiful bird feathers.’

- (96) *bina koina ni-yo-ri yabo keika keika*
 clear.garden finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS tree small small
nuga-si
 cut-SQSS
 ‘while the garden was finished being cleared, I cut very small trees’
- (97) *kamini afara boi ne-yafa bona bora bora*
 enough ridge go.up go.down-1P.PST and yellow yellow
eina oki-si...
 tree.sp arrive-SQSS
 ‘then we went up and down the ridge, and we arrived at the very yellow *eina* plants and...’

An unrepeated adjective can also have plural reference with plurality being indicated elsewhere in the utterance, as in the example below.

- (98) *mosara bora tora gade regode*
 sweet.potato yellow big very three
 ‘three very big yellow sweet potatoes’

A repeated adjective may also not necessarily indicate plurality, but only intensity, if the plurality is indicated elsewhere, as shown in the following two examples.

- (99) *Uni Koki rautu tora tora vene tau ka*
 1P.POSS Koki village big big people all also
muye-yadi.
 die-2/3P.PST
 ‘Our Koki village ancestors (lit. very big people) also all died together.’
- (100) *Senagi tora vene yaku rema rumana me-si*
 long.ago big people DM woman man marry-SQSS
ini gokai dudu rema voi re-gam-adi.
 3.POSS how INST woman buy do-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘Long ago, the elders married people, and this is how they were paying bride price.’

In order to indicate intensity on the adjective (thereby creating an adjective phrase), the degree adverb *gade* ‘very’ can be used, which itself can also be repeated for intensity, and incidentally, plurality. Note that *gade* is only found with *tora* ‘big’ (and the quantifier *tau* ‘all’).

- (101) *amiye tora gade*
 man big very
 ‘the very big man’
- (102) *fore toe tora gade*
 stone heavy big very
 ‘the very, very heavy stone’
- (103) *mosara bora tora gade regode*
 sweet.potato yellow big very three
 ‘three very big yellow sweet potatoes’
- (104) *Yomirona yabo bi gira tora gade.*
 that.there tree TOP hard big very
 ‘That wood over there is very, very hard.’
- (105) *amiye tora gade gade*
 man big very very
 ‘the very, very many men (a large crowd)’

Other intensifiers (degree adverbs) are *tora* ‘big, very’, *vayavaya* ‘very’ (which seems to co-occur especially with *buni* ‘good’) and the third person singular reflexive pronoun *iniye* ‘self; very’, which is often found in responses to questions.

- (106) *Muro bi maike tora.*
 garden TOP far big
 ‘The garden is very far away.’
- (107) *Muro re-si ve-da bi buni vayavaya.*
 garden do-SQSS see-1S.PRES TOP good very
 ‘I work the garden and then I see that it is very good.’
- (108) *amiye tora iniye*
 man big very
 ‘very many people’

- (109) *yabo aita iniye*
 tree light very
 ‘very light wood’
- (110) *Ago rama iniye moi gira ri-yadi di vene*
 word true very get hard make-2/3P.PST GEN people
bi nai ago neide-yadi.
 TOP 1S.POSS word hear-2/3P.PST
 ‘The very true word strengthened the people who listened to my word.’

3.3.2 Colours

Colours are a semantic subclass of adjectives. The colours in Doromu-Koki are *blu* ‘blue’ (borrowed), *bora* ‘yellow, orange’, *braun* ‘brown’ (borrowed), *feo* ‘white’, *gabu* ‘black, blue, brown’, *kaka* ‘red, purple, ripe’, and *vegu* ‘green’ (also a noun meaning ‘life’). The word *kamaidaforo* means ‘colourful, attractive, glittery, sparkling’. Following are example sentences showing use of the colour words.

- (111) *Mirona erena bora ve-yo ba?*
 that bird yellow see-2/3S.PST Q
 ‘Did you see that yellow bird?’
- (112) *Mina amiye feo soka re-yo-ri...*
 this man white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
 ‘When this white man arrived...’
- (113) *Yomirona erena bi gabu.*
 that.there bird TOP black
 ‘That bird over there is black.’
- (114) *Dabua kaka ri-yo.*
 clothes red wear-2/3S.PST
 ‘He was wearing red clothes.’
- (115) *Miya de-yo dada gagani vegu ni-yo.*
 rain come.down-2/3S.PST so place green say-2/3S.PST
 ‘The rain came down, so the place became green.’

- (116) *Odoro Amiye di rautu bi kamaidaforo gagani.*
 above person GEN village TOP colourful place
 ‘The Lord’s place (heaven) is a colourful (attractive, sparkling) place.’

3.3.3 Comparison

In order to compare items in Doromu-Koki, one states the positive characteristic for one, and the negative characteristic for the other.

- (117) *Mina bani bi tora mo mirona bani bi keika.*
 this yam TOP big at.once that yam TOP little
 ‘This yam is big, and that yam is little.’ (i.e., ‘This yam is bigger than that yam.’)
- (118) *Ini meraini bi tora mo ina bi ina keika.*
 3.POSS cousin TOP big at.once 3 TOP 3 little
 ‘His cousin is big, and he is little.’ (i.e., ‘He is smaller than his cousin.’)

Another method of indicating comparison is through the use of *ebu re* ‘beat, win over, surpass’.

- (119) *Nai doba bi yi doba ebu re-yo.*
 1S.POSS long TOP 2.POSS long beat do-2/3S.PST
 ‘My height surpasses your height.’ (i.e., ‘I’m taller than you.’)

Superlative is indicated by using *maka* ‘only’.

- (120) *Sikuri sana=ri bi ina maka bi ni-do doba.*
 school place=at TOP 3 only TOP say-3S.PRES long
 ‘At school he alone is tall.’ (i.e., ‘He is the tallest in the school.’)

3.3.4 Quantifiers

The quantifiers express a degree of quantity, and are shown below.

TABLE 3.7: QUANTIFIERS

<i>aida</i>	‘some’ (Hiri Motu <i>haida</i> ‘some’)
<i>be</i>	‘some’
<i>buafu</i>	‘entire, full, whole’
<i>ibonai</i>	‘many, much, all’ (Hiri Motu <i>ibounai</i> ‘all, every, whole’)
<i>neinei</i>	‘each (one)’
<i>noibanu</i>	‘whole’
<i>tau</i>	‘many, much, all’
<i>tora oibanu</i>	‘very many (big+whole)’
<i>uba</i>	‘both’
<i>uda</i>	‘all, together’
<i>vanu</i>	‘every’

Examples of each of the quantifiers follow:

- (121) *Giro aida bi nai.*
axe some TOP 1S.POSS
‘Some axes are mine.’
- (122) *Moni be baku re-gedi.*
money some find do-2/3P.FUT
‘They will find some money.’
- (123) *Ima buafu na ma.*
betel.nut whole 1S give
‘Give me the whole betel nut.’
- (124) *Una ibonai bo-nadi ini mirona rautu=ri!*
1P all go.up-1P.HORT 3.POSS that village=at
‘Let’s all go up in that village!’

(125) *Iya re-gam-adi fogori meino moi-si, rautu*
 war do-HAB-2/3P.PST whilst peace get-SQSS village
neinei furisi bona kanisoro ae di-yo.
 each police and council put go-2/3S.PST
 ‘When they were fighting, he gave them peace and placed police
 and councillors in each village.’

(126) *amiye noibanu*
 man whole
 ‘many people (a crowd)’

(127) *amiye tau*
 man all
 ‘all the people’

Tau ‘all’ can be modified with the addition of *tora* ‘big’ or *gade* ‘very’.

(128) *amiye tau tora*
 man all big
 ‘all the many people’

(129) *amiye tau gade*
 man all very
 ‘all the very many people’

(130) *amiye tau gade gade*
 man all very very
 ‘all the very, very many people’

Tora ‘big’ differs from the other adjectives in that it is often used as an adverb to modify adjectives:

(131) *amiye tora noibanu*
 man big whole
 ‘very many people (a large crowd/mob)’

(132) *Yokoi aru uruyaku, uba dubuisa bi tufe ri-gedi*
 one day morning both brothers TOP raft make-2/3P.FUT
vo ni-yadi.
 happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘One day in the morning, both brothers said they would make a
 raft.’

- (133) *Ina uda moke-fo, ga toto ni-fa.*
 3 all think-2P.HORT PRHB forget say-2P.IMP
 ‘You should remember all of them; don’t forget them.’
- (134) *Mina sina ga ni-yainedi vo ni-yaka idu*
 this word PRHB say-3S.JUS happen say-1S.PST but
ne-si amiye tau vanu ni-yo.
 go.down-SQSS person all every say-2/3S.PST
 ‘I happened to tell him he must not say this news, but he went
 down telling it to each and every person.’

3.3.5 Numbers

Doromu-Koki has both cardinal and ordinal numbers. In the typical Papuan manner, there is only a small set of numbers. Numbers modify qualifying adjectives, as do the general quantifiers.

Cardinal numbers

Dutton 1975:623 regarding Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages says: ‘Counting systems are based on two or three (e.g. 1, 2, 2+1, 2+2, 1 hand, or 1, 2, 3, 2+2, 1 hand).’

Doromu-Koki appears more like the latter, having a basic three set of numbers, *yokoi* ‘one’, *remanu* ‘two’, and *regode* ‘three’, although four is not 2+2, but rather a variation on five (= hand). Dutton (1970:924) proposed for Doromu-Koki: 1, 2, 2+1, 5-1, 5 (= hand). In this analysis however, Doromu-Koki follows what Dutton proposed for the Trans-New Guinea phylum languages. The numbers ‘four’ and ‘five’ are unique in that they are built from the word *vana* ‘hand’. Below are examples of the numbers from ‘one’ to ‘ten’. The numbers ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘three’ are used quite regularly. Four and five are sometimes used, while beyond that the English equivalents are normally used, except when someone is speaking in front of a non-Doromu-Koki speaker and does not want them to be able to understand.

TABLE 3.8 NUMBERS

<i>yokoi</i>	‘one’	
<i>remanu</i>	‘two’	
<i>regode</i>	‘three’	
<i>vana raro</i>	‘four’	lit. ‘hand line’
<i>vana berou autu</i>	‘five’	lit. ‘hand side empty’
<i>vana berou autu yokoi maka</i>	‘six’	lit. ‘hand side empty one only’
<i>vana berou autu remanu</i>	‘seven’	lit. ‘hand side empty two’
<i>vana berou autu regode</i>	‘eight’	lit. ‘hand side empty three’
<i>vana berou autu vana raro</i>	‘nine’	lit. ‘hand side empty hand line’
<i>vana ufo</i>	‘ten’	lit. ‘hand clap (two hands together)’

Below are some examples of the numbers.

- (135) *Rema remanu di roka bi Inu Mamaru bona*
 woman two GEN name TOP Inu Mamaru and
Dau Mamaru.
 Dau Mamaru
 ‘The two women’s names are Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’
- (136) *Doromu=ri bi ago regode ame-dedi.*
 Doromu=at TOP language three stay-2/3P.PRES
 ‘There are three dialects in Doromu.’
- (137) *mina amiye regode*
 this man three
 ‘these three men’
- (138) *Rautu=ri meda vana raro ame-yafa.*
 village=at day hand line stay-1P.PST
 ‘We stayed four days in the village.’

- (139) *Kokila ago ni-dedi bi rautu vana berou*
 Kokila word say-2/3P.PRES TOP village hand side
autu=ri ame-dedi.
 empty=at stay-2/3P.PRES
 ‘Those who speak the Kokila dialect live in five villages.’
- (140) *Nai mida bi vana berou autu yokoi maka.*
 1S.POSS child TOP hand side empty one only
 ‘I have six children.’
- (141) *Mina rema ini mida bi vana berou autu*
 this woman 3.POSS child TOP hand side empty
remanu.
 two
 ‘This woman has seven children.’
- (142) *Agiya meda bi September eti (vana berou*
 tomorrow day TOP September eight hand side
autu regode).
 empty three
 ‘Tomorrow’s date is September 8th.’
- (143) *Amiye naini (vana berou autu vana raro)*
 person nine hand side empty hand line
bo-yadi Kaikanomu rautu=ri.
 go.up-2/3P.PST Kaikanomu village=at
 ‘Nine people went up to Kaikanomu village.’
- (144) *Ina bi lagani vana ufo dibura yava=ri ame-yo.*
 3 TOP year hand clap jail house=at stay-2/3S.PST
 ‘He spent ten years in jail.’

The number *yokoi* ‘one’ may also function as an indefinite article.

- (145) *Amiye yokoi roka Tau Yagabo yaku ini rautu*
 man one name Tau Yagabo DM 3.POSS village
vene omar-o ini muro vari-yaganedi.
 people invite-2/3S.PST 3.POSS garden plant-3P.JUS
 ‘A man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.’

Yokoi ‘one’ is also used in some interesting constructions; here as the head of a postpositional phrase, with an adverbial function.

- (146) *Yokoi=ri ri-yadi.*
 one=at make-2/3P.PST
 ‘They allied themselves.’

Yokoi ‘one’ can also be repeated in the form *yokoi yokoi* meaning ‘each (one)’, or ‘one-by-one’.

- (147) *Kamini yokoi yokoi dadi-ga rautu urana di-yadi.*
 enough one one get.up-SIMSS village toward go-2/3P.PST
 ‘So one-by-one they got up and went back toward the village.’

When *yokoi* ‘one’ is used with *maka* ‘only’ it means ‘only one, alone’.

- (148) *To ini no yokoi maka bi oruma bo-yo*
 but 3S.POSS bad one only TOP grass go.up-2/3S.PST
vo ni-do.
 happen say-2/3S.PRES
 ‘But the only (one) bad thing is that weeds come up.’

Sometimes the number precedes the noun, as in the following example.

- (149) *Yokoi aru na bona Mathias sufa sufa di-yafa.*
 one day 1S and Mathias bush bush go.up-1S.PST
 ‘One day Mathias and I went up to the big bush (i.e., hunting).’

When both an adjective and a number occur in a noun phrase, both orders are found, but the second modifier (either adjective or numeral) is the one less in focus.

- (150) *yabo rorobo regode*
 tree straight three
 ‘three **straight** trees’
- (151) *yabo regode rorobo*
 tree three straight
 ‘**three** straight trees’

Ordinal numbers

There are only three ordinals: *oure(na)* ‘first’, *usika* ‘last’, and *viagana* ‘last-born’. They function in a broader sense as kin terms, *ourena* meaning

‘first-born, older, oldest, elder, eldest’, *usika* being ‘second-born, last-born, younger’, and *viaigana* strictly as ‘last-born’ (Hiri Motu *vanegai* ‘last, most recent’).

- (152) *Vadaini rasini ourena maina re-yo.*
 enough sister first look.for do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Finally, the first sister found her.’
- (153) ...*usika,* *ourena uni vegu bi no*
 younger.one older.one 1P.POSS life TOP bad
ni-yo dada!
 say-2/3S.PST because
 ‘...because, younger ones, older ones, our life has been
 corrupted!’
- (154) *Ina bi nai oure di viaigana mida.*
 3 TOP 1S.POSS elder GEN last.born child
 ‘He is my older brother’s last-born child.’

4. Verbs and verb phrases

Verbs in Doromu-Koki are inflected with suffixes, which include tense, aspect, mood and switch reference. The mood suffixes are generally limited to one form, or at most two or three to indicate number or person. Tense suffixes incorporate number and person in various combinations, exhibited in four or five forms per tense, with the greatest underdifferentiation occurring between second and third person. The verb morphology distinguishes verbs occurring in sentence medial clauses from those occurring in sentence final clauses. Doromu-Koki verb morphology is limited to having at most four suffixes after the verb stem.

On the lexical level, verbs may be divided into intransitive, transitive (and ditransitive) verbs, although it is not a particularly productive grammatical distinction. (Approximately 74% of Doromu-Koki verbs are transitive, while about 26% are intransitive. Only the intransitive verb *ame* ‘stay’ can be made transitive by use of the transitiviser *-nu*.) As well, there is no class of stative verbs. (Verbs could also conceivably be classified according to their stem final vowel: *ar*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*; again, though, this does not seem to be productive. The second vowel *e* is the most prolific whilst *o* is the least, with only one verb.)

While in an utterance such as *Na diba* ‘I know’, *diba* could be considered a stative verb, it is being interpreted as the noun ‘knowledge’, thus the utterance could also be translated as ‘I have knowledge.’ (The word *diba* is borrowed from Hiri Motu, and is glossed as ‘know, understand, able to, acquainted with, knowledge, understanding, ability, skill’ [*The dictionary and grammar of Hiri Motu* 1976:29].) This is particularly noted in light of the negative construction *Na diba de* ‘I don’t know’, where the negative particle follows the noun, but precedes a verb. No pro-verbs are exhibited in the language.

This chapter includes discussion of verbal affixation, as well as verbs of movement, and other verbal constructions, such as nominalisations, and causative constructions. From there, discussion moves on to the Doromu-Koki verb phrase formation, including purpose, serial verb constructions, adjunct verb phrases, and impersonal verb constructions.

Doromu-Koki verbs function primarily as predicates. In the following two examples, a dependent nominalised clause functions as the subject. (Since *=ri* ‘in, at’ and *-ri* ‘SIMDS’ are homophonous, it can be difficult to see the dependent nominalised clause as a subject, except to note the fact that it would not be in agreement to have a change of subject, and the first word in the sentence is the possessive pronoun, not the subject/object pronoun.)

- (1) *Yi amei-bo-bi-giya=ri moke na bi yi*
 2.POSS stay-POT-DUR-2S.FUT=at think 1S TOP 2.POSS
baba.
 father
 ‘As you continue your living your life, remember that I am your father.’

- (2) *Ini firu-bo-bi-go=ri ve-giya ina bi*
 3.POSS climb-POT-DUR-3S.FUT=at see-2S.FUT 3 TOP
variva kana.
 lizard.sp like
 ‘When he is climbing, you will see that he is like a lizard.’

While Doromu-Koki has a nominalisation strategy, it cannot be used in conjunction with a postposition, as shown in the ungrammatical example below (see §4.6).

- (3) **Yi amei-na=ri moke na bi yi baba.*
 2.POSS stay-NOM=at think 1S TOP 2.POSS father
 ‘During your life (lit. in your staying/living) remember that I am your father.’

The only time a verb is uninflected (except in the case of the unmarked second person singular imperative) is when it is modified by an adverb or other adjunct, and then the verb *re* ‘do’ or *ni* ‘say’ are added to take the affixation (see §4.6.2).

- (4) *Mokei kava re-da.*
 think not.all do-1S.PRES
 ‘I can’t think.’
- (5) *meda nei bora ni-yo-ri*
 sun go.down yellow say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
 ‘when the sun became yellow and was going down’

On the syntactic level, verbs may be divided into final and non-final verbs, taking different affixation.

4.1 Tense-aspect-mood

Doromu-Koki has agglutinative inflectional morphology, with fused tense-aspect-mood marking (including person and number for the subject), as noted for Papuan languages (Foley 1998). The Doromu-Koki final verb is inflected for tense, aspect, mood and switch reference. The language has some 39 various affixes, which in their combinations account for approximately 130 verbal output forms. All inflections are optional, as a verb stem can also stand alone as seen above, especially when used in a serial verb construction or an adjunct verb phrase. Final verbs are marked for TAM, while medial verbs are not.

Tenses include past, present and future. Subject and number are encoded within the tense morphology. Dutton (1975:629) claims that Manubaran languages have: ‘...individual forms of OR’s (Object Referents in the verb) corresponding to differences in person and number of the object.’ However, none have been observed in the Doromu-Koki verb.

The aspects indicated include perfective, habitual, durative, and iterative.

Moods include the indicative and the following deontic moods: intentive, hortative, imperative, jussive, and prohibitive, as well as the epistemic moods of potential, hypothetical, and possible.

Switch reference in Doromu-Koki exhibits four medial forms: simultaneous different subject, subsequent different subject, simultaneous same subject, and subsequent same subject.

The chart below delineates the formation of the Doromu-Koki verb:

TABLE 4.1 VERB FORMATION

mood	aspect	tense	switch reference
<i>-bo</i> POT	ITERATIVE	PST	<i>-ri</i> SIMDS
	<i>-gam</i> HAB		<i>-ma</i> SQDS
		PRES	
	<i>-bi</i> DUR	FUT	
			<i>-ga</i> SIMSS
			<i>-si</i> SQSS
<i>-agadu</i> HYP			
<i>-adu</i> POSB			
<i>-vo/-fo/-nadi</i> HORT			
<i>-fa</i> IMP			
<i>-aine(di)/-agane(di)</i> JUS			
<i>-gika</i> INTV			
<i>-gi</i> PURP			

4.1.1 Tense

Chung and Timberlake (1985:256) state: ‘Tense characterizes the location of an event with respect to a point in time (called the tense locus here).’

Doromu-Koki has three tenses: past, present and future, indicating time before the utterance, during the utterance, and after the utterance. The tense affixes also encode subject person and number. The tense affixes are indicated in the following chart:

TABLE 4.2 TENSE AFFIXES

	past		present		future	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	-(y)aka	-(y)afa	-da	-sifa	-gida	-gifa
2	-(y)o	-(y)adi	-sa	-dedi	-giya	-gedi
3			-do		-go	

The **past** tense indicates that an action occurred at a prior time, and that it is completed or perfected, when co-occurring with the unmarked perfective aspect. When it occurs after the habitual aspect, the action is seen as ongoing. (Note that the approximant epenthesis rule, which inserts *y* after a vowel, applies to all four past tense suffixes; see §2.9.3.)

First person singular past is indicated by the morpheme *-(y)aka*.

- (6) *Na ya iruku iri-yaka.*

1S DM food eat-1S.PST

‘I ate the food.’

- (7) *Koima, ame-yaka kana ame-giya bi buni de*
leech stay-1S.PST like stay-2S.FUT TOP good NEG

bi keto re-giya baebu.

TOP fall do-2S.FUT lest

‘Boy,¹ it is not good that you will sit like I sat; otherwise you will fall.’

Second and third person singular past are indicated by the morpheme *-(y)o*. The subject pronoun or context determines which person is referred to.

- (8) *Ya yaku iruku iri-yo.*

2 DM food eat-2/3S.PST

‘You ate the food.’

- (9) *Ya yaku tauga na mar-o.*

2 DM banana 1S give-2/3S.PST

‘You gave me the banana.’

¹ For the connection between the two meanings of *koima*, ‘leech’ and ‘boy’, see §9.4.

- (10) *Ina yaku ya u-yo.*
 3 DM 2 hit-2/3S.PST
 ‘He hit you.’
- (11) *Priscilla vare-yo dada ina ka bo-si*
 Priscilla sleep-2/3S.PST so 3 also go.up-SQSS
vare-yo.
 sleep-2/3S.PST
 ‘Priscilla slept, so she also went up and slept.’

First person plural past is indicated by the morpheme *-(y)afa*.

- (12) *Una yaku tauga ina mar-afa.*
 1P DM banana 3 give-1P.PST
 ‘We gave him the banana.’
- (13) *Ita ru-yafa rofu tau=ri ai-yafa mironi.*²
 firewood collect-1P.PST BEN all=at put-1P.PST there
 ‘We collected firewood and we heaped it all there.’

Second and **third person plural** past are indicated by the morpheme *-(y)adi*. Note that the same free pronoun is used for both singular and plural (*ya* ‘second person’, *ina* ‘third person’), so that it is the verb morphology which indicates plurality, although *-(y)adi* itself is ambiguous also in that it can indicate second or third person plural reference. Alternatively, plurality can also be indicated through the use of *vene* ‘people’.

- (14) *Ya vene yaku tauga ina mar-adi.*
 2 people DM banana 3 give-2/3P.PST
 ‘You (PL) gave him the banana.’
- (15) *Ya ago ni-yadi.*
 2 word say-2/3P.PST
 ‘You (PL) talked.’
- (16) *Ina vene bi Barai bo-yadi.*
 3 people TOP Barai go.up-2/3P.PST
 ‘They went up to Barai.’

² The structure of this example sentence is not well understood, especially the meaning and distribution of *rofu* (which normally follows a NP) and the use of *=ri*.

- (17) *Ina yaku iruku iri-yadi.*
 3 DM food eat-2/3P.PST
 ‘They ate the food.’

The **present** tense indicates an action occurring at the time of the utterance. When preceded by the iterative aspect, the action has a repetitive nature. Unlike the past, the present differentiates for second and third person in the singular, but like the past, it does not differentiate second and third person in the plural.

Below is an example showing the repetitive nature of an action when the present is in combination with the iterative:

- (18) *Nai mokei mokei re-da bi agiya taoni=ri*
 1S.POSS think think do-1S.PRES TOP tomorrow town=at
ne-gida.
 go.down-1S.FUT
 ‘I keep thinking that tomorrow I’ll go down to town.’

First person singular present is indicated by the morpheme *-da*.

- (19) *Na vare-da.*
 1S sleep-1S.PRES
 ‘I sleep.’
- (20) *Na yaku ni-da sina bi yi vana=ri*
 1S DM say-1S.PRES story TOP 2.POSS hand=at
fere-da mini.
 leave-1S.PRES here
 ‘The words that I’m telling I leave here in your hands.’

Second person singular present is indicated by the morpheme *-sa*.

- (21) *Ya yaku erena maina re-sa.*
 2 DM bird look.for do-2S.PRES
 ‘You hunt for birds.’
- (22) *Maruo ve-sa dada ya ferei bai-yaka.*
 movie see-2S.PRES so 2 leave come-1S.PST
 ‘You are watching a movie, so I left you and came.’

Third person singular present is indicated by the morpheme *-do*.

- (23) *Ina yaku koru iri-do ba?*
 3 DM water eat-3S.PRES Q
 ‘Does he drink water?’
- (24) *Ina bi makai re-do dada ini nono baba*
 3 TOP like.this do-3S.PRES so 3.POSS mother father
yaku gubuyo re-dedi.
 DM anger do-2/3P.PRES
 ‘He is doing this, so his parents are angry.’

First person plural present is indicated by the morpheme *-sifa*.

- (25) *Una ina vene u-sifa.*
 1P 3 people hit-1P.PRES
 ‘We hit them.’
- (26) *Una bi kamini ne-sifa idu ya bi gabi*
 1P TOP enough go.down-1P.PRES but 2 TOP later
bai-giya ba?
 come-2S.FUT or
 ‘We are going down now, but will you come later or not?’

Second and **third person plural** present are indicated by the morpheme *-dedi*.

- (27) *Ya yaku iruku iri-dedi.*
 2 DM food eat-2/3P.PRES
 ‘You (PL) eat the food.’
- (28) *Mina kana vegu ve-dedi bi gokai moke-dedi?*
 this like life see-2/3P.PRES TOP how think-2/3P.PRES
 ‘Like this life that you see, what do they think about it?’
- (29) *Ina arefa vari-dedi ba?*
 3 sugarcane plant-2/3P.PRES Q
 ‘Do they plant sugarcane?’
- (30) *Ina yaku ina u-dedi.*
 3 DM 3 hit-2/3P.PRES
 ‘They hit him.’

The **future** tense indicates an action occurring after the time of the utterance. When the durative aspect proceeds it, the action will be on-going or durative. When the iterative aspect proceeds it, the action will be repetitive. Note that, like the present tense, there is no distinction for second and third person plural.

Following are examples of the future used in conjunction with the durative aspect and the iterative aspect (repetitive nature):

- (31) *Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai-si na eru re-na*
 wash-DUR-1S.FUT-SIMDS come-SQSS 1S trick do-NOM
ga re-fa.
 PRHB do-2P.IMP
 ‘While I will be washing, don’t come and trick me.’

- (32) *Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo=ri bi*
 plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST=at TOP
uruyaku gorogoro.
 morning early
 ‘They will keep planting when the sun comes up early in the morning.’

First person singular future is indicated by the morpheme *-gida*.

- (33) *Na uruyaku=ri di-gida.*
 1S morning=at go-1S.FUT
 ‘I will go in the morning.’
- (34) *Na bi yomina oyena bona tauga iri-gida.*
 1S TOP this.here fish and banana eat-1S.FUT
 ‘I will eat this fish and banana here.’

Second person singular future is indicated by the morpheme *-giya*.

- (35) *Nai mida ari neinei makai rei-bo-bi-giya=ri*
 1S.POSS child day each like.this do-POT-DUR-2S.FUT=at
bi yi vegu buni ni-go.
 TOP 2 life good say-3S.FUT
 ‘My son, when you do this every day, then your life will be good.’

- (36) *Ya yaku tauga na ma-giya.*
 2 DM banana 1S give-2S.FUT
 ‘You will give me the banana.’

Third person singular future is indicated by the morpheme *-go*.

- (37) *Ina yaku iruku iri-go gabi bo-go.*
 3 DM food eat-3S.FUT later go.up-3S.FUT
 ‘He will eat food and later he will go up.’
- (38) *Yi baba yaku ve-go vo ni-yo.*
 2.POSS father DM see-3S.FUT happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Your father will see it.’

First person plural future is indicated by the morpheme *-gifa*.

- (39) *Yi baba bi agiya baku re-gifa ba?*
 2.POSS father TOP tomorrow find do-1P.FUT Q
 ‘Will we be searching for your father tomorrow?’
- (40) *Una tau vakoi makai re-gifa bi buni.*
 1P all together like.this do-1P.FUT TOP good
 ‘It is good that we will all do this together.’

Second and **third person plural** future are indicated by the morpheme *-gedi*.

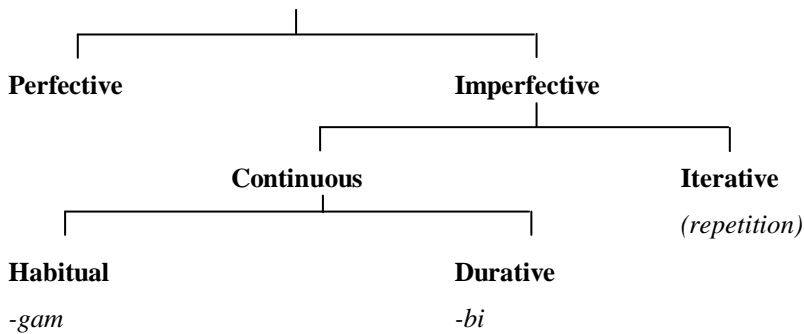
- (41) *Ya yaku ina u-gedi.*
 2 DM 3 hit-2/3P.FUT
 ‘You will hit him.’
- (42) *Ya yaku tauga ina vene ma-gedi.*
 2 DM banana 3 people give-2/3P.FUT
 ‘You will give them the banana.’
- (43) *Ina bi ago ni-gedi.*
 3 TOP word say-2/3P.FUT
 ‘They will talk.’
- (44) *Tora ni-si me-gedi ma-mo ima*
 big say-SQSS marry-2/3P.FUT and-at.once betel.nut
iri-fa.
 eat-2P.IMP
 ‘The elders say they will marry, and then you eat betel nut.’

4.1.2 Aspect

There are four aspects indicated in Doromu-Koki: perfective, habitual, durative and iterative; these occur in the slot after mood and before tense. Aspect is ‘...crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation (Comrie 1976:4).’ And:

...although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in very different ways. ...tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense) (Comrie 1976:5).

Following is a chart relating the Doromu-Koki aspects, based on Comrie (1976):



The **perfective** is the unmarked aspect, indicating no internal duration or repetition. It occurs with all of the tenses.

- (45) *Na ya iruku iri-yaka.*
 1S DM food eat-1S.PST
 ‘I ate the food.’

- (46) *Ina yaku koru iri-do ba?*
 3 DM water eat-3S.PRES Q
 ‘Does he drink water?’

The **habitual** is indicated by *-gam*, and only occurs in conjunction with the past tense. It denotes an on-going, continuous event.

- (47) *Uka esika moke-na tora ni-gam-o ya*
 stomach pain think-NOM big say-HAB-2/3S.PST 2
totona.
 for

‘He was having a big heartache for you.’

- (48) *Gauka vare-bo-bi-giya-ma ni-gam-aka idu*
 sick sleep-POT-DUR-2S.FUT-SQSS say-HAB-1S.PST but
ya kaya yi rei tavoï tavoï re-gam-o
 2 REFL 2.POSS do in.vain in.vain do-HAB-2/3S.PST
ye beika sina ya ni-gida.
 so what word 2 say-1S.FUT

‘I was telling you that you might continue to be sick, but you kept on doing it, so what can I tell you?’

The **durative** is indicated by *-bi* and indicates an on-going, continuous event in the future, as opposed to the habitual’s use in the past tense only. (Note, however, that it cannot co-occur with *-bo* ‘POT’ and the present, since the potential indicates an action that has yet to occur, if at all.) It can also be seen as a progressive aspect.

- (49) *Nai tora yaku vegu re-yadi dada*
 1S.POSS big DM life do-2/3P.PST so
rei-bo-bi-gida.
 do-POT-DUR-1S.FUT

‘My elders did this practice, so I might keep on doing it.’

Note that here the adjective *tora* ‘big’ is functioning as a noun ‘elders’.

- (50) *Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai-si na eru re-na*
 wash-DUR-1S.FUT-SIMDS come-SQSS 1S trick do-NOM
ga re-fa.
 PRHB do-2P.IMP
 ‘While I will be washing, don’t come and trick me.’

The **iterative** aspect is marked through repetition of the verb, and indicates a repetitive action, occurring again and again.³ It requires the use of the verb *re* ‘do’, which takes the final verb affixation, and is used in conjunction with the present or future tense.

- (51) *Ma mina itua=ri ka moimai ma feidei feidei de*
 and this moment=at also work and cook cook NEG
re-bi-go.
 do-DUR-3S.FUT
 ‘And at that moment he will not work and keep cooking.’
- (52) *Nai mokei mokei re-da bi agiya taoni=ri*
 1S.POSS think think do-1S.PRES TOP tomorrow town=at
ne-gida.
 go.down-1S.FUT
 ‘I keep thinking that tomorrow I’ll go down to town.’

Serial constructions can also make use of the iterative.

- (53) *Vima Kikifa uni usa usa neide una iriyeduka re.*
 spirit special 1P.POSS ask ask hear 1P sorrow do
 ‘Holy Spirit, hear our praying and have mercy on us.’

4.1.3 Mood

Doromu-Koki exhibits the indicative, intentive, hortative, imperative, jussive, prohibitive, potential, hypothetical, and possible moods, very much giving the flavour of alternative worlds. The table below shows the relative strengths of the moods (Givón 1980:338).

³ At this point it is not clear whether the iterative aspect should be analysed as reduplication (a morphological process), or simply repetition of full words or even phrases. The glossing reflects the latter analysis, which is tentative.

TABLE 4.3 COMPARISON OF MOODS

		strength
imperative	“ <i>Bo!</i> ” <i>ni-yaka.</i> go.up say-1S.PST “Go up!” I told him.’	order/command
prohibitive	“ <i>Ga bo!</i> ” <i>ni-yaka.</i> PRHB go.up say-1S.PST “Don’t go up!” I told him.’	order/command
jussive	<i>Bo-yaine</i> <i>vo</i> <i>ni-yaka.</i> go.up-3S.JUS happen say-1S.PST ‘I told him he is allowed to go up.’	strong suggestion
hortative	“ <i>Bo-vo,</i> ” <i>ni-yaka.</i> go.up-2S.HORT say-1S.PST “You should go up,” I told him.’	weaker suggestion
hypothetical	<i>Bo-yagadu</i> <i>vo</i> <i>ni-yaka.</i> go.up-HYP happen say-1S.PST ‘I told him he ought to go up.’	suggestion (might)
possible	<i>Bo-yadu</i> <i>vo</i> <i>ni-yaka.</i> go.up-POSB happen say-1S.PST ‘I told him he could go up.’	weaker suggestion
indicative	<i>Bo-yaka.</i> go.up-1S.PST ‘I went up.’	full control
potential	<i>Bo-bo-bi-gida.</i> go.up-POT-DUR-1S.FUT ‘I might go up.’	partial control
intentive	<i>Bo-gika</i> <i>re-yo.</i> go.up-INTV do-2/3S.PST ‘He was trying to go up.’	no control

Each of these moods will be discussed below.

The **indicative** mode subsumes the use of the various aspects and tenses. The indicative is the unmarked mood.

- (54) *Tufe remanu ri-yadi.*
raft two make-2/3P.PST
'They made two rafts.'
- (55) *Kaikanomu rautu rofu bo-dedi-ri gauka*
Kaikanomu village BEN go.up-2/3P.PRES-SIMDS sickness
re-yo.
do-2/3S.PST
'While they went up to Kaikanomu village, he got sick.'

There are five **deontic moods** in Doromu-Koki: intentive, hortative, imperative, jussive, and prohibitive. Deontic modality indicates:

...an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation. Given the actual world at any point in time, there are a number of worlds that could conceivably develop out of that world. The deontic mode restricts these subsequent worlds with respect to an event, such that the event has to belong to some or all of the subsequent worlds (Chung and Timberlake 1985:246).

The prohibitive is used in conjunction with the hortative, imperative, or jussive.

Intentive is used to express the desire to try to accomplish something yet to be realised, but unlike the other deontic moods, it does not impose on the other person:

- (56) *Amiye tora regode yaku sioni ini voru=sa*
person big three DM white.man 3.POSS spear=ACCM
u-gika ora mari rei meki re-yadi.
hit-INTV spear shield do chase do-2/3P.PST
'Three elders were trying to kill the white man with their spears and took their spears and shields and chased him away.'

They were not able to kill him, even though that was their intent.

- (57) *Ofa ofa dudu fore moi-gika.*
 lie lie INST stone get-INTV
 ‘With lies they try to get money.’

The **hortative** is used to indicate an expression of desire on the part of the speaker, as an admonition or request, but on a more polite level of entreating someone to do something, rather than in using the imperative or the jussive. It is often realised in English as ‘should’ and has three forms in the first and second persons, seen in the table below (Dutton 1970:921 has analysed this as ‘imperative’).

TABLE 4.4 HORTATIVE AFFIXES

	singular	plural
1		-nadi
2	-vo	-fo

- (58) *Ga ne-vo, koru yaku ya moi di-go*
 PRHB go.down-2S.HORT water DM 2 get go.up.3S.FUT
baebu.
 lest
 ‘You shouldn’t go down there, lest the water sweeps you away.’
- (59) *Pilisi Tomi-e nono moke-vo.*
 please Tomi-VOC mother think-2S.HORT
 ‘Oh please, Tomi, you should think about mother.’
- (60) *Dadi kumo pati re-nadi.*
 get.up in.order.to party do-1P.HORT
 ‘Let’s get up and have a party.’
- (61) *Baba yaku ni-yo bi, “Vada ga ve-nadi*
 father DM say-2/3S.PST TOP uncle PRHB see-1P.HORT
vo ni-yo.”
 happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Father said, “Let’s not go see uncle.”’
- (62) *Ga bo-fo auna yaku ya aki re-go baebu.*
 PRHB go.up-2P.HORT dog DM 2 bite do-3S.FUT lest
 ‘You shouldn’t go up there, or the dog will bite you.’

- (63) *Mosara vari-fo ni-yaka idu vauya*
 sweet.potato plant-2P.HORT say-1S.PST but refuse
re-yadi ye gokai re-gedi maka.
 do-2/3P.PST so how do-2/3P.FUT only
 ‘I told you that you should plant the sweet potato, but you
 refused, so what will you do now?’

The **imperative** is used to indicate commands or orders and is between the hortative and jussive in strength. It only occurs in the second person singular (unmarked) and plural.

TABLE 4.5 IMPERATIVE AFFIXES

	singular	plural
2	∅	-fa

Second person singular imperative is unmarked.

- (64) *Ya rabiya iri!*
 2 sago eat
 ‘Eat the sago!’
- (65) *Vare!*
 sleep
 ‘Sleep!’

While this is a possible form, it would normally not be uttered, as it is considered impolite. It is rather said in the hortative: *Vare-vo* ‘sleep’, commonly meaning ‘Good-bye’.

Second person plural imperative is indicated by the morpheme *-fa*.

- (66) *Mirona amiye ve-na ga re-fa!*
 that person see-NOM PRHB do-2P.IMP
 ‘Don’t look at that person!’
- (67) *Ya kono goe-fa!*
 2 ground dig-2P.IMP
 ‘You (PL) dig the ground!’

The **jussive** is a third person imperative, or permissive, meaning ‘let’, ‘permit’, or ‘allow’. The jussive is expressed through the morphemes *-ainedi*

‘3S.JUS’ and *-aganedi* ‘3P.JUS’. Note that they can be realised as *-yaine*, *-yainedi*, *-yagane*, or *-yaganedi* because of approximant consonant epenthesis (see §2.9.3). The final *di* makes the jussive more definite and stronger, that is, less optional and with less room for delay.

TABLE 4.6 JUSSIVE AFFIXES

singular	plural
<i>-aine(di)</i>	<i>-agane(di)</i>

Examples of the **singular** follow:

- (68) *Di-nadi kumo ini ame-na buni ni-yaine.*
 go-1P.HORT in.order.to 3.POSS stay-NOM good say-3S.JUS
 ‘Let’s go so his living will be good.’
- (69) *Mina rema ga me-yainedi.*
 this woman PRHB marry-3S.JUS
 ‘He is not allowed to marry this woman.’
- (70) *Mina sina ga ni-yainedi vo ni-yaka idu*
 this word PRHB say-3S.JUS happen say-1S.PST but
ne-si amiye tau vanu ni-yo.
 go.down-SQSS person all every say-2/3S.PST
 ‘I told him he is not permitted to say this word now, but he went down telling it to all the people.’

Examples of the **plural** follow:

- (71) *Mida mida ni kumo mina vegu bi ga re-yagane.*
 child child say in.order.to this life TOP PRHB do-3P.JUS
 ‘Tell the children that they are not to do this practice.’
- (72) *Mina moimai ga re-yaganedi ni-yaka.*
 this work PRHB say-3P.JUS say-1S.PST
 ‘I told them they are not to do this work.’

The **prohibitive** negates the positive deontic moods of hortative, imperative and jussive. (These are all moods imposing on another person.) It is indicated by the morpheme *ga* ‘PRHB’ placed before the verb.

- (73) *Ga vare-vo.*
 PRHB sleep-2S.HORT
 ‘You should not sleep.’
- (74) *Mina=ri ga di.*
 this=at PRHB come
 ‘Don’t come here.’
- (75) *Mina ga moi-yainedi.*
 this PRHB get-3S.JUS
 ‘He is not allowed to take this.’

Epistemic (Irrealis) moods

The epistemic mode characterizes the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds. At any point in time, there is an actual world, and there are also a number of alternative worlds that could exist at that time. ...The epistemic mode characterizes the event with respect to the actual world and its possible alternatives. If the event belongs to the actual world, it is actual; if it belongs to some possible alternative world (although not necessarily to the actual world), it is possible; and so on (Chung and Timberlake 1985:242).

Thus is the case with the three Doromu-Koki epistemic moods; there is some ‘possibility’ of the event, as opposed to a reality (or actual event) in the indicative mood. (These three can be categorised under the umbrella of ‘irrealis’.)

The **potential** is used to indicate potential, uncertain, or non-actual events. It is indicated by the morpheme *-bo*, and occurs immediately following the verb stem, as do the deontic moods mentioned above. It is usually translated as ‘might.’ Note that the potential *-bo* is homophonous with *bo* ‘go up’, which could have the meaning of ‘keep on’, i.e., going on and on, or increasing. (*-bo* POT can also be followed by *-gam* HAB.)

- (76) *Mina vegu re-yo bi ni-bo-bi-gedi.*
 this life do-2/3S.PST TOP say-POT-DUR-2/3P.FUT
 ‘They might keep talking about this thing that you did.’

- (77) *Dui rei-bo-yafa-ri ma-mo moke-yaka ida*
 enter do-POT-1P.PST-SIMDS and-at.once think-1S.PST road
bi ferei bai-yafa mironi.
 TOP leave come-1P.PST there
 ‘When we might have arrived, then I thought we had left the road
 there and came.’

The **hypothetical** mood indicates an event that is a bit more certain than with potential. The speaker knows that it is possible it may not happen, but has a feeling that it will or should happen. It is indicated by the morpheme *-agadu*, and translated as ‘ought to’ or ‘should’, or ‘would’. (Note the application of the approximant consonant epenthesis rule.) It could also be interpreted as a conditional or counterfactual.

- (78) *Samuel de di-yagadu=ri bi aruma ve-yagadu.*
 Samuel NEG go-HYP=at TOP snake see-HYP
 ‘If Samuel had not gone, he would have seen the snake.’
- (79) *Na ni-yo kana re-yagadu bi buni idu na*
 1S say-2/3S.PST like.this do-HYP TOP good but 1S
kaya rei tavoi tavoi re-si no baku re-yaka
 REFL do in.vain in.vain do-SQSS bad find do-1S.PST
mini.
 here
 ‘It would have been good if he had told me about this, but I did it
 in vain, and only bad came out of it.’

Possibility is indicated by *-adu* ‘POSB,’ and is translated as ‘could’, being contingent on something else. Note the use of the hypothetical in the first clause in both examples below – if the first thing takes place, the second has the possibility of taking place.

- (80) *Kita re-yagadu bi muro mo nufa ni-yadu.*
 movement do-HYP TOP garden at.once POSS say-POSB
 ‘We ought to move, and at once we could have a garden.’

- (81) *Algebra moi-yagadu bi mo mina gokai re-na*
 algebra get-HYP TOP at.once this how do-NOM
vei mama re-yadu.
 see fully do-POSB
 ‘If you had taken algebra, at once you could understand this formula.’

4.2 Switch reference

Switch reference is indicated in Doromu-Koki through the use of the simultaneous different subject, simultaneous same subject, subsequent different subject, and subsequent same subject markers, which are shown in the table below. Non-final verbs make use of the switch reference affixes, while final verbs do not.

TABLE 4.7 SWITCH REFERENCE AFFIXES

	different subject	same subject
simultaneous	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-ga(sa)</i>
subsequent	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-si</i>

The **simultaneous different subject** morpheme is *-ri*; this is used to indicate that two clauses with different subjects are taking place at the same time and is translated as ‘while’ or ‘when’. The overlap is primarily coterminous or continuous-punctiliar (Longacre 1985:243).

- (82) *Uni tutubena vene yaku yava*
 1P.POSS ancestor people DM house
ri-bo-gam-adi-ri ina vo
 make-POT-HAB-2/3P.PST-SIMDS 3 happen
ni-gam-adi mo ferei dairi-yadi-ri
 say-HAB-2/3P.PST at.once leave return-2/3P.PST-SIMDS
bi rautu keika ni-yo.
 TOP village little say-2/3S.PST
 ‘While our ancestors were building houses, it came about that when they left and returned, the village got smaller.’

- (83) *Re-si koru=ri vare-yo-ri aruma yaku ina*
do-SQSS water=at sleep-2/3S.PST-SIMDS snake DM 3
fafau de-yo.
on.top.of come.down-2/3S.PST
‘Then at the river while he was sleeping, a snake came down on top of him.’

Simultaneous same subject is indicated by *-ga(sa)*.

- (84) *...yabo uakai-ga, koru seri=ri moi-ga oki-yadi.*
tree carry-SIMSS water bank=at get-SIMSS arrive-2/3P.PST
‘...while they carried the wood, they took it in at the river bank.’
- (85) *...aura yafuyafu buni moi-gasa ame-da dada,*
wind breeze good get-SIMSS stay-1S.PRES so
nai rautu bi ura re-da.
1S.POSS village TOP want do-1S.PRES
‘...when I sit and feel the good breeze, then I love my village.’
- (86) *Na dadi-si viro bona baiya moi-si rarama*
1S get.up.SQSS axe and bush.knife get-SQSS clearing
ne-yaka-ma nai mida bi koro=ri
go.down-1S-PST-SQDS 1S.POSS child TOP border=at
ame-si na ve-gasa ame-gam-o.
stay-SQSS 1S see-SIMSS stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
‘I got up and took my axe and bush knife and went down to the garden clearing, and my son sat at the border and saw me from where he was sitting.’
- (87) *Dona tururu re-si beuka ni-gasa ori dei*
pig shake do-SQSS oink say-SIMSS fear come.down
di-yo.
go-2/3S.PST
‘The pig trembled and oinked as it came down and ran away.’

Subsequent different subject is indicated by the morpheme *-ma*, which is homophonous to the conjunction ‘and’ (see §7.1.2), and indicates that a different actor performed the successive action in the second clause. (Note that *ma* ‘and’ is borrowed from Hiri Motu.)

- (88) *Ina yaku dona u-yo-ma na di-yaka.*
 3 DM pig hit-2/3S.PST-SQDS 1S go-1S.PST
 ‘He killed the pig, and then I went.’
- (89) *Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma itu yaku no*
 water always wash-POT-HAB-1P.PST-SQDS cold DM bad
iniye ni-yo.
 very say-2/3S.PST
 ‘We might have kept washing in the river, but it was very cold.’

Subsequent same subject is indicated by the morpheme *-si*, for one subject performing one action in succession after another, primarily as event-event (Longacre, 1985:244).

- (90) *Medikoro bo-si ve-si ma-mo di-nadi.*
 medical.orderly go.up-SQSS see-SQSS and-at.once go-1P.HORT
 ‘Let’s go up and see the medical orderly, and then let’s go.’
- (91) *...sosogi uakai-si, baiya moi-yo-ma, na bi*
 spear carry-SQSS bush.knife get-2/3S.PST-SQDS 1S TOP
dura kori yokoi kirokai-yaka...
 net.bag old one carry-1S.PST
 ‘...he carried a spear and then took a bush knife, and then I carried an old net bag...’

4.3 Verbs of movement

Verbs of movement in Doromu-Koki have inherent deictic reference, so that they are oriented to the speaker or participant in focus, rather than the addressee. The table below lists the five Doromu-Koki verbs of movement.

TABLE 4.8 VERBS OF MOVEMENT

come	go	
	<i>bo</i>	up
<i>bae</i>	<i>di</i>	over
<i>de</i>	<i>ne</i>	down

Bae ‘come’ is used to indicate movement toward the speaker.

- (92) *Ina gua bai-do.*
 3 now come-3S.PRES
 ‘He is coming now.’
- (93) *Mironi aka u-dedi bae ni-yaka.*
 there prawn hit-2/3P.PRES come say-1S.PST
 ‘I said those ones are killing prawns and bringing them.’

De ‘come down’ also indicates movement toward the speaker/participant in focus, to a lower elevation (i.e., the participant is at a lower elevation than the one moving toward him/her).

- (94) *Aruma yaku ina fafau de-yo.*
 snake DM 3 above come.down-2/3S.PST
 ‘The snake came down on him from above.’
- (95) *Dada ya siko de-si na duaiya re-vo.*
 so 2 first come.down-SQSS 1S count do-2S.HORT
 ‘So you come down first and count me.’

Bo ‘go up’ indicates movement away from the speaker to a higher elevation.

- (96) *Oro imi-si bo-yadi.*
 flying.fox dip-SQSS go.up-2/3P.PST
 ‘The flying foxes dipped down and went up.’
- (97) *Ya agiya uruyaku bo-giya Nunufa omuna=ri*
 2 tomorrow morning go.up-2S.FUT Nunufa mountain=at
ima moi-si de-giya.
 betel.nut get-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT
 ‘Tomorrow morning you will go up to Nunufa mountain and bring down some betel nut.’

Di ‘go’ indicates movement away from the speaker/participant in focus along the same elevation.

- (98) *Uruyaku yokoi na bona nai mida Jacob=sa*
 morning one 1S and 1S.POSS child Jacob=ACCM
muro=ri di-yafa.
 garden=at go-1P.PST
 ‘One morning, my son Jacob and I went to the garden.’

- (99) *Rema ofi remanu muro=ri oruma*
 woman young.woman two garden=at grass
ri-gi di-yadi.
 make-PURP go-2/3P.PST
 ‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’

Ne ‘go down’ indicates movement away from the speaker to a lower elevation.

- (100) *Moimai koina ni-yo-ri dairi-si rautu*
 work finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS return-SQSS village
ne-yaka.
 go.down-1S.PST
 ‘When the work was finished, I returned and went down to the village.’
- (101) *Na bi Saturday ne-gida Mosbi.*
 1S TOP Saturday go.down-1S.FUT Port.Moresby
 ‘On Saturday I will go down to Port Moresby.’

4.4 Causative

Doromu-Koki has one clear derivational affix, the causative prefix *e-*. In more than half of the attested occurrences it is bound to a verbal base, but often it can be found on an adjective, adverb, locative, noun or postposition, in which case it forms an adjunct verb phrase. The following chart shows the attested forms with and without the causative prefix. Thus, in Doromu-Koki, the causative is a morphological causative, in which the predicate uses a derivational process and not a separate causation predication (Comrie 1985:331).

TABLE 4.9 CAUSATION

<i>beku re</i>	‘push’	<i>e-beku re</i>	‘cause to push’
<i>dadi</i>	‘get up’	<i>e-dadi</i>	‘wake up’
<i>diko re</i>	‘push away	<i>e-diko re</i>	‘cause to push away’
<i>famu</i>	‘walk through’	<i>e-famu</i>	‘clear’
<i>fono re</i>	‘cover’	<i>e-fono re</i>	‘cover up’
<i>gaima</i>	‘far away’	<i>e-gaima ri</i>	‘distance oneself’
<i>gira</i>	‘hard’	<i>e-gira re</i>	‘strengthen’
<i>gogo</i>	‘both/together’	<i>e-gogo re</i>	‘meet’
<i>kaira</i>	‘almost’	<i>e-kaira re</i>	‘approach’
<i>muye</i>	‘die’	<i>e-muye</i>	‘kill, spiritually cause to die’
<i>negau</i>	‘near, nearby’	<i>e-negau re</i>	‘point, approach’
<i>rafu</i>	‘fellowship’	<i>e-rafu re</i>	‘fellowship with’
<i>rau</i>	‘share’	<i>e-rau re</i>	‘pour out’
<i>tururu re</i>	‘tremble’	<i>e-tururu re</i>	‘take by surprise’
<i>va</i>	‘try’	<i>e-va ri</i>	‘confuse’
<i>vata</i>	‘birth’	<i>e-vata ri</i>	‘bear, produce’
<i>vava</i>	‘hot’	<i>e-vava re</i>	‘reheat, warm’
<i>ve</i>	‘see’	<i>e-ve</i>	‘cause to see’
<i>vegu</i>	‘life’	<i>e-vegu re</i>	‘enliven’
<i>yare</i>	‘fall’	<i>e-yare</i>	‘cause to drop’
<i>youne</i>	‘untie’	<i>e-youne</i>	‘open, hold loosely’

Below are two clausal examples, one with a locative, and the second with an adjective:

- (102) *Bi e-gaima ri-si usi kamini di-gam-o.*
 TOP CAUS-far make-SQSS follow enough go-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘He followed him at a distance.’

- (103) *Ye ina yaku mina ago rama dudu amiye e-gira*
 so 3S DM this word true INST person CAUS-hard
re-go.
 do-3S.FUT
 ‘So he will strengthen people with this true word.’

Other types of causation do not make use of this derivational construction (Comrie 1981:40), but rely on lexically incorporating constructions. For example, ‘kill’ is composed of the verbs *u* ‘hit’ and *muye* ‘die’, as opposed to *e-muye* ‘cause to die (in a spiritual sense)’.

- (104) *Iya re-gasa iniye iniye umuye-gam-adi.*
 war do-SIMSS REFL REFL kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘They were fighting and killing each other.’

4.5 Transitivity

There is one verb which appears to show a transitivity suffix *-nu*. This is the intransitive verb *ame* ‘stay, sit’, which is made transitive by *-nu* (resulting in *amei-nu*), in conjunction with the generic verb *re* ‘do’, which takes the appropriate TAM affixation. Compare the following examples:

- (105) *Ina ame-yo.*
 3 stay-2/3S.PST
 ‘He sat.’
- (106) *Moi amei-nu re-yo.*
 get stay-TRNS do-2/3S.PST
 ‘He made him sit down.’
- (107) *Kamini ina yaku kota re-na sana=ri amei-nu*
 enough 3 DM court do-NOM place=at stay-TRNS
re-yadi.
 do-2/3P.PST
 ‘So they made him stay at the court site.’

4.6 Verb phrase

The verb phrase has the following form. V_1 is the first verb in an SVC (serial verb construction; see §4.6.1) and V_2 and V_3 are the second and third verbs, respectively.

VP → (ADV) (NEG) V₁ (V₂) (V₃)
 (ADV) V₁ (ADJN) (NEG) (V₂)

ADV NEG V₁ V₂ V₃

(108) *Nai baba evade de baku nei re-yo-ri...*
 1S.POSS father quickly NEG find go.down do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
 ‘When my father did not go down quickly to investigate...’

ADV V₁ ADJN NEG V₂

(109) *Yi moimai kiya rei mona de re-yo.*
 2.POSS work slowly do well NEG do-2/3S.PST
 ‘You didn’t do your work slowly and properly.’

(110) *Ina bi gua mina=ri evade kaiya dudu dona*
 3S TOP now this=at quickly knife INST pig
 V₁
nugar-o.
 cut-2/3S.PST
 ‘Today he quickly cut the pig with a knife.’

4.6.1 Serial verb constructions

Aikhenvald (2005:1) states:

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt maker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verbs describe what is conceptualised as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value. Serial verbs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of a serial verb construction must be able to occur on its own. Within a serial verb, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.

While serial verb constructions do occur in Doromu-Koki, they are not nearly as productive as in other Papuan languages. In fact, they are very rare. They are limited to the verbs *afe* ‘return’, *baku* ‘find’, *bo* ‘go up’,

fere ‘leave’, *ne* ‘go down’, *ni* ‘say’, *moi* ‘get’, *re* ‘do’, and *usi* ‘follow’, which indicates that they are usually tied to motion, combining two separate actions together into one event. Following are some examples.

- (111) *Nai baba baku nei re-yo-ri...*
 1S.POSS father find go.down do-2/3S.PST
 ‘When my father went down to investigate...’
- (112) *kamini afara boi ne-yafa bona bora bora*
 enough ridge go.up go.down-1P.PST and yellow yellow
eina oki-si...
 tree.sp arrive-SQSS
 ‘then we went along the ridge and we came to the very yellow
eina trees and...’
- (113) *Maruo ve-sa dada ya ferei bai-yaka.*
 movie see-2S.PRES so 2 leave come-1S.PST
 ‘You are watching a movie, so I left you and came.’
- (114) *...koru yaku ya moi di-go baebu.*
 water DM 2 get go lest
 ‘...lest the water drown you.’
- (115) *Meki rei ne-yadi.*
 chase do go.down-2/3P.PST
 ‘They chased him down.’

As we can see, these follow Aikhenvald’s premise (2005:5) ‘Serial verb constructions must relate only events which are somehow conceived as notably more commonly associated together in experience or those events which form a culturally important concatenation of events.’

Following is a culturally ‘non-important’ event, which is not presented in an SVC. The verbs are highlighted. *Afe* ‘return’ and *de* ‘come down’ are considered separate events.

- (116) *Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu*
 so DM REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT BEN
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
 Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
 ‘So you yourself will return and bring the child down, and they
 will get him at Siau’s house.’

According to the core layer level of increasing openness to serialisation (Crowley 1987:69), the verbs that are used in serial constructions can be classified as follows:

TABLE 4.10 CORE LAYER LEVEL OF INCREASING OPENNESS TO SERIALISATION

most frequent	basic motion intransitive	<i>afei</i> ‘bring back’, <i>bo</i> ‘go up’, <i>ne</i> ‘go down’
	posture/active intransitive	<i>fere</i> ‘leave’
	stative/process intransitive	_____
	other intransitives	_____
least frequent	transitive	<i>baku</i> ‘find’, <i>moi</i> ‘get’, <i>ni</i> ‘say’, <i>re</i> ‘do’, <i>usi</i> ‘follow’

Note that they are mainly found at both extremes, with most at the area of ‘least frequent’.

Negative constructions have the negative morpheme before the SVC:

- (117) ...*mida yaku ya de usi rei bai-gedi*.
 child DM 2 NEG follow do come-2/3P.FUT
 ‘...the children will not come following you.’

4.6.2 Adjunct verb phrases

Wurm (1982:82) states:

The pro-verbs which play a role in the formation of predications constitute the second type of classificatory verbs...The predications consist of an adjunct, usually a noun, which has a specific meaning and a pro-verb whose meaning is more general, and the combination adjunct + pro-verb functions as a verb-phrase. These pro-verbs are in complementary distribution with the existential verbs as far as types of nouns with which they co-occur are concerned – the nouns which are accompanied by pro-verbs can be

described as generally indicating inner states, events, qualities and time.

Adjunct verb phrases are formed with the three generic verbs *ne* ‘say’, *re* ‘do’ and *ri* ‘make’. The adjunct can consist of a noun, an interrogative pronoun, another verb, or an adjective, remembering that ‘adjectives’ can sometimes function as, and may indeed be analysed as nouns.

<i>esiroka ni</i>	‘cough’	cough (N) say
<i>beika ni</i>	‘request’	what (INTR) say
<i>buni ni</i>	‘heal’	good (ADJ) say

The following table lists the adjunct verb phrases found in Doromu-Koki, followed by a few example sentences. Note that a few have the verb *ni* ‘say’ preceding the adjunct verb phrase (indicated in bold), forming a compound. As well, there are a few compound forms using *moi* ‘get’.

TABLE 4.11 ADJUNCT VERB PHRASES

			literal meaning
<i>ni</i> ‘say’	<i>ata ni</i>	‘waste time’	forever say
	<i>beika ni</i>	‘request’	what say
	<i>buni ni</i>	‘heal’	good say
	<i>esiroka ni</i>	‘cough’	cough say
	<i>isaka ni</i>	‘cry’	tear say
	<i>kitoro ni</i>	‘singsing’	dance say
	<i>koina ni</i>	‘finish’	finish say
	<i>nei ni</i>	‘set (sun)’	go down say
	<i>ninika ni</i>	‘joke’	joke say
	<i>no ni</i>	‘spoil’	bad say
	<i>nufa ni</i>	‘preserve’	with say
	<i>raka ni</i>	‘call’	call say

TABLE 4.11 CONT'D: ADJUNCT VERB PHRASES

		literal meaning
	<i>rivo ni</i>	'conceive' abdomen say
	<i>uriyenau ni</i>	'become afternoon' afternoon say
	<i>vata ni</i>	'bear child' give birth say
	<i>vo ni</i>	'become' happen say
	<i>yoga ni</i>	'laugh' laugh say
	<i>ni guba ni</i>	'insist' say force say
	<i>ni warika ni</i>	'swear' say chief say
	<i>ni vake ni</i>	'worship' say exalt say
<i>re</i> 'do'	<i>aki re</i>	'bite' bite do
	<i>anua re</i>	'unable' unable do
	<i>are re</i>	'stand' stand do
	<i>bura re</i>	'write' write do
	<i>dui re</i>	'enter' enter do
	<i>esika re</i>	'be in pain' pain do
	<i>fare re</i>	'be full' overload do
	<i>foiro re</i>	'become crowded' crowded do
	<i>fu re</i>	'blow' blow do
	<i>gauka re</i>	'be sick' sick do
	<i>iyana re</i>	'move' move do
	<i>kava re</i>	'without solution' without solution do
	<i>kego re</i>	'turn' turn do
	<i>maina re</i>	'hunt' look for do
	<i>moi gira re</i>	'hold in hand' get hard do
	<i>moi rutu re</i>	'pull' get pull do

TABLE 4.11 CONT'D: ADJUNCT VERB PHRASES

		literal meaning
	<i>ori re</i>	'be afraid' fear do
	<i>oto re</i>	'visit' visit do
	<i>oa re</i>	'swim' swim do
	<i>pati re</i>	'party' party do
	<i>raga re</i>	'run' run do
	<i>rau re</i>	'share' share do
	<i>rauna re</i>	'be hungry' hunger do
	<i>rei mona re</i>	'do properly' do well do
	<i>rei no re</i>	'curse' do bad do
	<i>ruda re</i>	'fight' fight do
	<i>toe re</i>	'become a burden' heavy do
	<i>tua re</i>	'wait for' wait for do
	<i>tufa re</i>	'struggle' struggle do
	<i>ukita re</i>	'tie' tie do
	<i>uvau re</i>	'defeat' defeat do
	<i>vau re</i>	'finish' complete do
	<i>vava re</i>	'sweat' heat do
	<i>ni kabai re</i>	'answer' say answer do
<i>ri</i> 'make'	<i>agu ri</i>	'bend down' down make
	<i>eta ri</i>	'knock down' wing make
	<i>etaga ri</i>	'move aside' move aside make
	<i>keu ri</i>	'creep up' go up make
	<i>moi sui ri</i>	'deny' get hide make

- (118) *Naivo di-si ata ni ame-do.*
 help go-SQSS forever say stay-3S.PRES
 ‘Help him as he goes and wastes time.’
- (119) *Rema remanu rivo ni-yadi.*
 woman two abdomen say-2/3P.PST
 ‘The two women were pregnant.’
- (120) *Ago rama ni, ga moi sui ri.*
 word true say PRHB get hide make
 ‘Tell the truth; don’t deny it.’
- (121) *Uni bani rama de ni-yo ye rei no re-yafa.*
 1P.POSS yam true NEG say-2/3S.PST so do bad do-1P.PST
 ‘Our yams did not produce, so we are cursed.’
- (122) *Yi moimai rei mona re.*
 2.POSS work do well do
 ‘Do your work properly.’
- (123) *Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi*
 garden top go.up-SBSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST
iruku iri-gi, ini moke-na bi sioni
 food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man
iruku iri-gedi.
 food eat-2/3P.FUT
 ‘They went up to the top of the garden and they all sat down to eat food, thinking that they would eat store-bought food.’
- (124) *Ni-yafa-ma etaga ri-yo.*
 say-1P.PST-SQDS move.aside make-2/3S.PST
 ‘We told him, and he moved over.’

The negative particle comes in the middle of the adjunct verb phrase, between the adjunct and the verb:

- (125) *Raga de re-yo.*
 run NEG do-2/3S.PST
 ‘He didn’t run.’

4.6.3 Impersonal verb constructions

Impersonal verb constructions are such that they are describing the event as uncontrolled. One such construction has been attested in Doromu-Koki, where the event is beyond the control of the speaker.

- (126) *Rauna na moi-yo.*
 hunger 1S get-2/3S.PST
 ‘I’m hungry.’ (Lit. ‘Hunger got me.’)

Other constructions which might be considered as such are actually controlled:

- (127) *Mofa re-yaka bona koru vai-yaka.*
 sweat do-1S.PST and water burn-1S.PST
 ‘I sweated and I was thirsty.’
- (128) *Fofure boi-da asa tumu ni-da.*
 steep.ascent go.up-1S.PRES breath short say-1S.PRES
 ‘When I go up a steep ascent, I’m short of breath.’
- (129) *Kaikanomu rautu rofu bo-dedi-ri gauka*
 Kaikanomu village BEN go.up-2/3P.PRES-SIMDS sick
re-yo.
 do-2/3S.PST
 ‘While they went up to Kaikanomu village, he got sick.’

4.6.4 Adverbs

Adverbs modify constituents other than nouns, primarily verbs or adjectives, in which case they are classified as manner (pre-verbal) and degree (post-adjectival).

Manner

The table below shows all of the attested ‘manner’ adverbs, which actually are a bit broader in scope, including aspectual and others.

TABLE 4.12 MANNER ADVERBS

<i>dubu(sa)</i>	‘more, again’
<i>toga</i>	‘always’
<i>evade</i>	‘quickly (action)’
<i>ororo</i>	‘hurriedly’
<i>kiya</i>	‘slowly (movement)’
<i>saka</i>	‘slowly (action)’
<i>kava</i>	‘not all, in vain’ (Hiri Motu <i>kava</i> ‘in vain’)
<i>itafu</i>	‘in vain, for nothing’
<i>kaini</i>	‘already’
<i>kamini</i>	‘enough; and then’
<i>vadaini</i>	‘enough, finally’ (Hiri Motu <i>vadaeni</i> ‘finished, completed action, enough’)
<i>egere</i>	‘enough, ready, about to’ (Hiri Motu <i>hegeregere</i> ‘enough’)
<i>makai</i>	‘like this’
<i>nigi</i>	‘almost’
<i>vakoi</i>	‘together’

Following are examples of these manner adverbs.

- (130) *Una mosara dubu iri-sifa.*
 1P sweet.potato again eat-1P.PRES
 ‘We are eating sweet potato again.’
- (131) *Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma itu yaku no*
 water always wash-POT-HAB-1.PST-SQDS cold DM bad
iniye ni-yo.
 very say-2/3S.PST
 ‘We always kept washing in the river, and it was very cold.’

- (132) *Na bi arefa evade vari-gida.*
 1S TOP sugarcane quickly plant-1S.FUT
 ‘I will quickly plant sugarcane.’
- (133) *Ororo re-yo dada de moi-yo.*
 hurriedly do-2/3S.PST so NEG get-2/3S.PST
 ‘He did it hurriedly, so he didn’t get it.’
- (134) *Rumana mida saka re-do.*
 man child slowly do-3S.PRES
 ‘The boy works slowly.’
- (135) *Mida remanu bi foroka=ri bi aka yokoi kava*
 child two TOP basket=at TOP prawn one not.all
de. Mina mida remanu bi iruku iri-na de
 NEG this child two TOP food eat-NOM NEG
rauna vare-yadi.
 hunger sleep-2/3P.PST
 ‘These two children did not have any prawns in the basket. These two children went to bed without any food.’
- (136) *Moimai bi itafu re-do, rema yaku fore*
 work TOP in.vain do-3S.PRES woman DM stone
iri-do.
 eat-3S.PRES
 ‘He works for nothing; his wife uses up the money.’
- (137) *Nai mida bani goe-gifa-ri uru ni-go*
 1S.POSS child yam dig-1P.FUT-SIMDS night say-3S.FUT
bi kaini fere-si rautu di-gifa.
 TOP already leave-SQSS village go-1P.FUT
 ‘While my son and I will dig yams, it will get dark, and then at that time we will leave and go to the village.’
- (138) *Una bi kamini ne-sifa idu ya bi gabi*
 1P TOP enough go.down-1P.PRES but 2 TOP later
bai-giya ba?
 come-2S.FUT Q
 ‘Then we go down, but will you come later?’

- (139) *Vadaini rasini ourena maina re-yo.*
 enough sister first look.for do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Finally the first sister found her.’
- (140) *Ago nigi re-yo, to egere eto re-yo.*
 word almost do-2/3S.PST but ready shy do-2/3S.PST
 ‘He almost told, but then he shied away from it.’
- (141) *Makai ni-si ina remanu bo-yadi.*
 like.this say-SQSS 3 two go.up-2/3P.PST
 ‘They said like this, and the two of them went up.’
- (142) *John bi David=sa vakoi gogo ne-yadi*
 John TOP David=ACCM together gather go.down-2/3P.PST
taoni.
 town
 ‘John and David both got together and went down to town.’

Adverbs can also be repeated to indicate intensity:

- (143) *Saku saku ni-si ne-yo.*
 quickly quickly say-SQSS go.down-2/3S.PST
 ‘He went down very quickly.’
- (144) *Mina sana=ri bi mo kiya kiya ne-yo.*
 this place=at TOP at.once slowly slowly go.down-2/3S.PST
 ‘At this place he went down very slowly.’

Degree

Below is a table of the degree adverbs.

TABLE 4.13 DEGREE ADVERBS

<i>gade</i>	‘very’
<i>iniye</i>	‘very’ (intensity)
<i>tora</i>	‘very’ (other uses)
<i>vayavaya</i>	‘very’ (with <i>buni</i> ‘good’)
<i>maka</i>	‘only’

Following are examples of degree adverbs.

(145) *Yomirona yabo bi gira tora gade.*

that.there tree TOP hard big very

‘That wood there is very hard.’

(146) *Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma itu yaku no*
water always wash-POT-HAB-1P.PST-SQDS cold DM bad

iniye ni-yo.

very say-2/3S.PST

‘We always kept washing in the river, and then it was very cold.’

Note that *tora* ‘big’ is primarily an adjective, but sometimes has adverbial uses.

(147) *Muro bi maike tora.*

garden TOP far.away very

‘The garden is very far away.’

(148) *Muro re-si ve-da bi buni vayavaya.*

garden do-SQSS see-1S.PRES TOP good very

‘I work the garden and I see that it is very good.’

(149) *Uka gira dudu moi gira maka re-fo.*

stomach hard INST get hard only do-2P.HORT

‘Simply encourage them with a good conscience.’ (Lit. ‘Only strengthen/harden them with a hard stomach.’)

4.7 Nominalisation

Comrie and Thompson (1985:350) state:

Most languages in the world make use of one or more devices for creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality, or occurrence of that verb or adjective.

In Doromu-Koki the nominaliser makes a verb into a noun, which can then be modified as any other noun. It is realised in the morpheme *-na*. It also functions as a gerund, indicating a nominalised clause. A nominalised verb can occur in the subject, object, predicate, instrument, or temporal NP slots. One of Dutton’s (1970:919) examples shows the use of the nominaliser:

- (150) *Mina amiye yaku auna u-na de re-go.*
 this person DM dog hit-NOM NEG do-3S.FUT
 ‘This man will not hit the dog.’ (Lit. ‘This man will not do any dog-hitting’; *auna una* ‘dog-hitting’ is a compound noun).

Following are some more examples, as subject (of main clause, and subordinate clause), object, predicate, instrument, and temporal respectively.

Subject of main clause:

- (151) *Uni moke-na boi tora ni-yo.*
 1.POSS think-NOM go.up big say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Our thinking increased.’

Subject of subordinate clause:

- (152) *Vakoi moi-bo-bi-gifa kumo ve-na buni ni-yaine.*
 together get-POT-DUR-1P.FUT in.order.to see-NOM good
 say-3S.JUS
 ‘We might be getting it together so that it will look good (lit. ‘its look will be good’).’

Object:

- (153) *Beika fafau yi moke-na ai-yo?*
 what on.top.of 2.POSS think-NOM put-2/3S.PST
 ‘On what do you base your thinking?’

Predicate:

- (154) *Yi buni=ri bi una ve fere-na de.*
 2.POSS good=at TOP 1P family leave-NOM NEG
 ‘During your good times you are not abandoning your family.’

Instrument:

- (155) *to eo tau neinei uni vegu re-na kana dudu,*
 but moon all each 1P.POSS life do-NOM like INST
irakuna rau re-na di meda=ri ...
 feast share do-NOM GEN day=at
 ‘but every month, according to our custom, on the feast-sharing day...’

Temporal:

- (156) *Vata ni-na vaitani aufa maka ni-da.*
 born say-NOM from grandmother only say-1S.PRES
 ‘From birth I only say grandmother.’

5. *Minor word classes*

Peripheral items among the word classes include various particles as well as conjunctions, all of which are discussed below. Other word classes such as postpositions, locatives and adverbs are discussed in §6.1.1.

5.1 Particles

Particles include the topic marker, affirmative, question words, exclamations, negative and vocative.

5.1.1 Topic marker

The topic marker is quite pervasive throughout Doromu-Koki texts, used more by some speakers than others. It regularly occurs in verbless clauses, to mark an argument as topic, to mark an antecedent as topic in switch-reference constructions, and as a relativiser. In most instances it is obligatory. One ‘optional’ instance would be as in (3) below, or when the development marker *yaku* is used instead, as in (1); *bi* in place of *yaku* would indicate the subject NP *Tau* as the topic, whereas *yaku* seeks to develop the story (see also §8.2.2). The topic marker’s head is an NP or VP.

- (1) *Tau yaku ini vene raka ni edadi-yo.*
Tau DM 3.POS people name say wake.up-2/3S.PST
‘Tau called out waking up his people.’

In a verbless clause, the topic marker is obligatory, except in (3) and (7) below:

- (2) *Ya bi buni ba?*
2 TOP good Q
‘Are you well?’

- (3) *Nai rautu bi Oduika omuna odoro=ri.*
 1S.POSS village TOP Oduika mountain above=at
 ‘My village is Oduika above the mountain.’
- (4) *Moimai rei-bo-bi-go-ma ni-bi-go bi buni.*
 work do-POT-DUR-3S.FUT-SQDS say-DUR-3S.FUT TOP good
 ‘He says that the work that he might do is good.’
- (5) *Mina dona bi ini.*
 this pig TOP 3S.POSS
 ‘This pig is his.’

Example (6), from Dutton, while permissible, is quite rare. The alternative with *bi* in (7) shows the more common utterance. The topic marker *bi* establishes something as relevant to the discussion at hand (see also §8.2.3).

- (6) *Mina amiye ide, mina fore.*
 this man NEG this stone
 ‘This is not a man, this is a stone.’ (Dutton 1970:920)
- (7) *Mina bi amiye de, mina bi fore.*
 this TOP man NEG this TOP stone
 ‘This is not a man, this is a stone.’

Even more common would be *Mibi amiye de, mibi fore*. ‘This one is not a man, it is a stone.’ Note the dual use of *bi* above, which does occur occasionally in separate clauses. Rarely does it occur twice in one clause:

- (8) *Na bi wiki nokoi-maka ame-si bi, rautu*
 1S TOP week one-only stay-SQSS TOP village
dairi-gida.
 return-1S.FUT
 ‘I will just stay one week, and I will return to the village.’

The speaker wants to focus on himself **and** ‘will just stay one week’, hence the second *bi* following a verbal clause.

Arguments in verbal clauses can also be marked as topic:

- (9) *Ini auna bi dona maina re-yo.*
 3.POSS dog TOP pig look.for do-2/3S.PST
 ‘His dog was hunting for pigs.’

Normally *bi* marks the subject, but in some instances objects can also be marked:

- (10) *Dui rei-bo-yafa-ri mamō make-yaka ida bi*
 enter do-POT-1S.PST-SIMDS then think-1S.PST road TOP
ferei bai-yafa mironi.
 leave come-1P.PST there
 ‘When we entered, I thought we had left the road and came over there.’

Marking topic in switch reference constructions:

- (11) *Nai tobaini ve-giya-ri bi mo diba*
 1S.POSS sister see-2S.FUT-SIMDS TOP at.once knowledge
ni-giya ina bi toe nufa.
 say-2S.FUT 3 TOP heavy POSS
 ‘When you will see my sister, straight away you will know that she is pregnant.’

Following a relative clause (see also §7.4):

- (12) *Mina vegu re-yo bi ni-bo-bi-gedi.*
 this practice do-2/3S.PST TOP say-POT-DUR-2/3P.FUT
 ‘This practice that he does they might be talking about it.’

5.1.2 Affirmative

The affirmative is indicated by the particle *yo* ‘yes’.

- (13) *Yo ni-yafa.*
 yes say-1P.PST
 ‘We said yes.’

Doromu-Koki has the West Pacific Rim (WPR) strategy for affirmation/negation rather than the Standard Average European (SAE) as proposed by Whorf (1956). That means that ‘yes’ and ‘no’ are used to confirm or deny the quality of the question, rather than the response, as in English.

- (14) *Ya bi di-giya ba? Yo, na bi di-gida.*
 2 TOP go-2S.FUT Q yes 1S TOP go-1S.FUT
 ‘Will you go? Yes, I will go.’

- (15) *Ya bi de di-giya ba? Yo, na de di-gida.*
 2 TOP NEG go-2S.FUT Q yes 1S NEG go-1S.FUT
 ‘Won’t you go? No, I won’t go.’

5.1.3 Question words

Dutton (1970:920) says: ‘Yes-no questions seem to be distinguished from statements of the same form by intonation only.’ This is in general the case, although the particle *ba* ‘eh’ is often used to indicate a question. A somewhat less frequently used question particle is *eni* ‘eh’, which only co-occurs with *ba*, as in (18).

Some examples:

- (16) *Ina arefa vari-dedi ba?*
 3 sugarcane plant-2/3P.PRES Q
 ‘Are they planting sugarcane?’
- (17) *Una bi kamini ne-sifa idu ya bi gabi*
 1P TOP enough go.down-1P.PRES but 2 top later
bai-giya ba?
 come-2S.FUT Q
 ‘Then we go down but will you come later?’
- (18) *Ya bi mirona amiye di ni diba maina*
 2 TOP that person GEN say knowledge look.for
re-sa amiye yokoi, eni ba?
 do-2S.PRES person one eh Q
 ‘Are you the one looking after that person?’

One example has been attested with the order of these two reversed:

- (19) *Bi dudu ka de re-gida ba, eni?*
 TOP INST also NEG do-1S.FUT Q eh
 ‘Will I not do it also with you?’

5.1.4 Exclamations

Doromu-Koki has the following exclamations (or interjections): *ao* ‘oh’ and *eoo* ‘oh’. Note that *ao* ‘oh’ is used as a response to a surprising comment. *Eoo* is not used in a sentence, but only as an exclamation during a celebration

when the dancers first arrive, especially for one involving bride price. Another common exclamation is *u* as a form of farewell.

- (20) *Rautu bo-gam-afa-ri idau дума дума*
 village go.up-HAB-2P.PRES-SIMDS on.way steal steal
vene yaku una eriki-yadi. ...Ao!
 people DM 1P block-2/3P.PST oh
 ‘When we were going up to the village, rascals blocked us.
 ...Oh!’

5.1.5 Negative

The negative is indicated by the particle *ide*, which is realised as *de* after a word ending in a vowel. *Ide* is also used in answer to a question.

- (21) *Nai oto de buni ni-do.*
 1S.POSS visit NEG good say-3S.PRES
 ‘My not visiting is good.’
- (22) *Ya buni ba? Ide, na buni de.*
 2 good Q NEG 1S good NEG
 ‘Are you well? No, I am not good.’

Another negative is *dia*:

- (23) *R.A. dia beika gauka ago siau dudu ate rei*
 R.A. NEG what sick word power INST receive do
vare-sa.
 sleep-2S.PRES
 ‘R.A., it is not with powerful word of some sickness that you are sleeping.’

Dutton (1970:918) suggests that the negative may occur inside the verb phrase in the Manubaran languages, citing examples (24) and (25), taken from Dutton (1970:919). However, as my glosses show, it is more likely that the verb in (25) has undergone nominalisation. (Dutton offers no explanation for the *-na* ‘nominaliser’ morpheme, see §4.7.)

- (24) *Mina amiye yaku auna u-yo.*
 this man DM dog hit-2/3S.PST
 ‘This man hit the dog.’

- (25) *Mina amiye yaku auna u-na de re-go.*
 this man DM dog hit-NOM NEG do-3S.FUT
 ‘This man will not be hitting dogs.’

Following are two examples of this use of *-na* ‘NOM’ in negative clauses. Notice that (26) is a negative imperative clause marked by the prohibitive *ga*.

- (26) *Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai-si na eru re-na*
 wash-DUR-1S.FUT-SIMDS come-SQSS 1S trick do-NOM
ga re-fa.
 PRHB do-2P.IMP
 ‘While I will be washing don’t come and trick me.’

- (27) *Mida remanu bi foroka=ri bi aka yokoi kava*
 child two TOP basket=at TOP prawn one not.all
de. Mina mida remanu bi iruku iri-na de
 NEG this child two TOP food eat-NOM NEG
rauna vare-yadi.
 hunger sleep-2/3P.PST
 ‘These two children did not have any prawns in the basket. These two children went to bed hungry without eating any food.’

5.1.6 Vocative

The vocative *o* is used primarily for calling out to someone.

- (28) *Baba o baba o baba, goivaka be ni-gida?*
 father VOC father VOC father when some say-1S.FUT
 ‘Oh Father, oh father, oh father, when will I get some?’ (From a song, hence the repetition.)

Sometimes the vocative is realised as *e*. The variation appears to be phonologically determined: *o* following a low vowel and *e* following a non-low vowel.

- (29) *Tomi e uni nono make-sa ba de?*
 Tomi VOC 1P.POSS mother think-2S.PRES or NEG
 ‘Oh Tomi, do you think about our mother or not?’

5.2 Conjunctions

Doromu-Koki has various additive, alternative and contrastive coordinating conjunctions, as well as cause-effect, result-reason, contingent and purpose subordinating conjunctions. They are further discussed in chapter 7 and listed here below.

<i>adina</i>	‘because, reason’
<i>ba</i>	‘or’ (also a question marker)
<i>badina</i>	‘because’
<i>baebu</i>	‘lest’
<i>bao</i>	‘but no’
<i>bema</i>	‘if’
<i>bona</i>	‘and’ (linking nouns)
<i>dada</i>	‘so that’ (clausal)
<i>idu</i>	‘but, so’
<i>kumo</i>	‘in order to’
<i>ma</i>	‘and’ (clausal)
<i>mina dada</i>	‘therefore, for this reason’
<i>mo</i>	‘(and) at once’
<i>o</i>	‘or’ (loan from English)
<i>to</i>	‘but, and’
<i>vonisi</i>	‘if, even though’
<i>ye</i>	‘so’ (anaphoric reference)

6. *Clause structure*

There are two types of clauses found in Doromu-Koki, verbal and non-verbal. They are each discussed in turn below.

6.1 Verbal clauses

The general formulae for Doromu-Koki verbal clauses are seen below, contrasting intransitive and transitive clauses respectively.

Intransitive: $S \rightarrow (NP_{SUBJ}) (NP_{OBL}) V$

- | | NP_{SUBJ} | NP_{OBL} | V |
|-----|---|--------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | <i>Mathais bi</i> | <i>agiya</i> | <i>sufa sufa di-yo.</i> |
| | Mathais TOP | yesterday | bush bush go-2/3S.PST |
| | ‘Yesterday Mathais went to the big bush (i.e. went hunting).’ | | |

- | | NP_{SUBJ} | NP_{OBL} | V |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (2) | <i>Na</i> | <i>Moresby</i> | <i>di-gida.</i> |
| | 1S | Port.Moresby | go-1S.FUT |
| | ‘I will go to Port Moresby.’ | | |

Transitive: $S \rightarrow (NP_{SUBJ}) (NP_{OBL}) NP_{DO} (NP_{IO}) V$

- | | NP_{SUBJ} | NP_{DO} | V |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (3) | <i>uba dubuisa bi</i> | <i>tufe</i> | <i>ri-gedi</i> |
| | both brothers TOP | raft | make-2/3P.FUT |
| | ‘both brothers will be making a raft’ | | |

- | | NP_{DO} | NP_{IO} | V |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (4) | <i>...bi tauga be</i> | <i>ini</i> | <i>mida mar-o.</i> |
| | TOP banana some | 3.POSS child | give-2/3S.PST |
| | ‘...he gave some banana to his son.’ | | |

Various features of verbal clauses are discussed below, including postpositional phrases, locatives, interrogatives and temporal periphery.

6.1.1 Postpositions and postpositional phrases

There are three classes of postpositions in Doromu-Koki, expressing location, direction and various non-local relationships.

Location

The locative postpositions are used to describe physical location relative to some stationary referent. The following table shows the Doromu-Koki locative postpositions. (Dutton (1970:922) categorises =*ri* ‘at’ as direction, but its use is broader.)

TABLE 6.1 LOCATIVE POSTPOSITIONS

<i>adina</i>	‘close, beside, in close proximity, near, next to’
<i>boge</i>	‘behind, outside’
<i>gabire</i>	‘under’
<i>ide</i>	‘inside’
<i>nefau</i>	‘in front of’
<i>negau</i>	‘near’
<i>odoro</i>	‘above, on’
<i>tebo</i>	‘on top of’
= <i>ri</i>	‘at, in’
= <i>u</i>	‘by, on, in, with’

Examples of each of these locative postpositions follow:

- (5) *Rumana mida bi yabo odoro ame-do.*
 man child TOP tree on sit-3S.PRES
 ‘The boy is sitting on the tree.’
- (6) *Nai rema di rautu bi rautu negau.*
 1s.poss woman GEN village TOP village near
 ‘My wife’s village is near the village.’

- (7) *Yava ida nefau ame-do boro mina kiki*
 house road in.front.of stay-3S.PRES ball this kick
re-yaka.
 do-1S.PST
 ‘The ball that is in front of the path to the house, this one I kicked.’
- (8) *Omuna tau tora gabire=ri ame-sa.*
 mountain all big under=at stay-2S.PRES
 ‘You live under all the big mountains.’
- (9) *Ina bi Port Moresby=ri ame-go.*
 3 TOP Port Moresby=at sit-3S.FUT
 ‘He will be living in Port Moresby.’

The postposition =*u* ‘by, on, in, with’ occurs on a few words: *ada* ‘head’, *adina* ‘beside’, *ari* ‘day’, *doba* ‘long’, *fafa* ‘cover’, *ida* ‘road’, *meda* ‘sun, day’, *sana* ‘place’, *sena* ‘already’, *soka* ‘arrive’, *tobo* ‘centre’, *vana* ‘hand’ and *vena* ‘mouth’), as seen in the examples below:

- (10) *Doba=u oureifeide-na amiye ni-giya.*
 long=in lead-NOM person say-2S.FUT
 ‘Ahead of time you will tell the leaders.’
- (11) *Yi ekama vana=u moi-si rautu di.*
 2.POSS mat hand=by get-SQSS village go
 ‘Take your mat by hand and go home.’

Directional

The directional postpositions are used to relate direction relative to some referent. Below is a table of the directional postpositions:

TABLE 6.2 DIRECTIONAL POSTPOSITIONS

<i>atafu</i>	‘close, near, next to’
<i>buda</i>	‘in front of, before’
<i>fafau</i>	‘on top of, above’
<i>gutu(na)</i>	‘from’
<i>urana</i>	‘toward’

Examples of the directional postpositions follow:

- (12) *Tau bi koyomu bani daru daru yu fafau*
 Tau TOP rat yam root root gourd.paste on.top.of
fama-yo.
 slap-2/3S.PST
 ‘Tau slapped gourd paste on top of stringy rat yams.’
- (13) *Kamini ina vene yaku nana rei ne-yadi ina*
 enough 3 people DM walk do go.down-2/3P.PST 3
atafu, re-si ni-yadi...
 close do-SQSS say-2/3P.PST
 ‘Then the people walked on down close to him, and then they
 said...’

Here the postpositional phrase *ina atafu* ‘close to him’ has been moved for focus.

- (14) *Karen Prisila buda ai-do.*
 Karen Priscilla in.front.of put-3S.PRES
 ‘Karen places it in front of Priscilla.’
- (15) *Uni koru iri-sifa bi guri koru gutu moi-sifa.*
 1.POSS water eat-1P.PRES TOP deep water from get-1S.PRES
 ‘The water that we drink we get from a deep well.’
- (16) *Kamini yokoi yokoi dadi-ga rautu urana*
 enough one one get.up-SIMSS village toward
di-yadi.
 go-2/3P.PST
 ‘So one-by-one they got up and went back toward the village.’

Non-local relationships

Non-local postpositions typically specify the semantic relationship between the predicate and non-local oblique arguments. Those relationships include semantic roles such as instrument, possessive, benefactive, recipient, ablative, and purpose. The genitive *di* is included in this class. Those found in Doromu-Koki are seen in the table below.

TABLE 6.3 NON-LOCAL POSTPOSITIONS

<i>di</i>	‘genitive’
<i>dudu</i>	‘instrument’
<i>nufa</i>	‘possessive’ (be with)
<i>ro(fu)</i>	‘benefactive, recipient, ablative, purpose’
<i>totona</i>	‘purpose’ (Hiri Motu borrowing)

Below are examples of the non-local postpositions.

- (17) *John bi kodu **dudu** auna u-yo.*
 John TOP stick INST dog hit-2/3S.PST
 ‘John hit the dog with a stick.’
- (18) *Ya moni **nufa**?*
 2 money POSS
 ‘Do you have any money?’

Rofu ‘for, in order that, to, from’ is often shortened to *ro* and has varied uses, as seen below. (It is glossed in accordance with its meaning as BEN, REC, PURP or ABL. Not everything is understood about this postposition.)

- (19) *Mibi yi vene yaku bona dubu di*
 this.one.is 2.POSS people DM and church GEN
*ourefeide-na vene yaku, ya na **rofu** afei*
 lead-NOM people TOP 2 1S BEN take
bai-yadi.
 come-2/3P.PST
 ‘That is, you people and the church leaders, you came back for me.’
- (20) *Mina muramura bi malaria **rofu** bi buni.*
 this medicine TOP malaria BEN TOP good
 ‘This medicine is good for treating malaria.’
- (21) *Vele kero re-si Toina **rofu** ni-yo,...*
 Vele turn do-SQSS Toina REC say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Vele turned and said to Toina, ...’

- (22) *Kaikanomu rautu rofu bo-dedi-ri gauka*
 Kaikanomu village ABL go.up-2/3P.PRES-SIMDS sickness
re-yo.
 do-2/3S.PST
 ‘While they went up from Kaikanomu village he got sick.’
- (23) *Nai nono yava ro bo-yo iruku*
 1S.POSS mother house PURP go.up-2/3S.PST food
feide-gi.
 cook-PURP
 ‘My mother went up to the house to cook food.’

In the following example, *rofu* functions as a subordinating conjunction indicating purpose.

- (24) *Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu*
 so 2 REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT PURP
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
 Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
 ‘So you yourself will take the child down in order that they will get him at Siau’s house.’

Benefactive *rofu* can be separated from the pronoun it modifies, as in the following example where it follows the verb phrase:

- (25) *Doketa ya iriyeduka re-go rofu ya imi-go.*
 doctor 2 sorrow do-3S.FUT BEN 2 pierce-3S.FUT
 ‘The doctor will feel sorry for you and give you a shot.’

The non-local postposition *totona* ‘in order to, so, as if, for’ has been borrowed from Hiri Motu.

- (26) *Uni isira uni gaukara mina totona are*
 1P.POSS play 1P.POSS work this PURP stand
re-yafa.
 do-1P.PST
 ‘Our play and our work, these are what we stand for.’

The genitive postposition *di* differs from the other non-local postpositions in that it does not indicate a relationship between a predicate and its arguments, but rather between nouns within a noun phrase. As a

result, *di* occurs in subject, object, location, temporal, and predicate position (i.e., all positions), as indicated in the following examples, where the phrase in which *di* occurs is underlined.

Subject:

- (27) Rema remanu *di* roka *bi Inu Mamaru bona Dau*
 woman two GEN name TOP Inu Mamaru and Dau
Mamaru.
 Mamaru
 ‘The two women’s names are Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’

Object:

- (28) Mr John *di* sina *neide-yadi, de bi ada gira*
 Mr John GEN story hear-2/3P.PST NEG TOP head hard
re-si ame-bi-yagadu.
 do-SQSS stay-DUR-HYP
 ‘They understood Mr John’s story, and they shouldn’t have
 remained stubborn.’

Location:

- (29) *Kamini moi-si ina* *vene di vana=ri ai-yo.*
 enough get-SQSS 3 people GEN hand=at put-2/3S.PST
 ‘So he took him and placed him in the people’s hands.’

Temporal:

- (30) *...to eo tau neinei uni vegu re-na kana*
 but moon all each 1P.POSS life do-NOM like
dudu, irakuna rau re-na di meda=ri...
 INST feast share do-NOM GEN day=at
 ‘...but every month, according to our custom, on the sharing
 feast’s day...’

Predicate:

- (31) *Rapheal bona Solo bi* *Robin di dubuiyaka.*
 Rapheal and Solo TOP Robin GEN brothers
 ‘Rapheal and Solo are Robin’s brothers.’

Di can also be used in combination with a possessive pronoun (mainly third person; see also §3.1):

- (32) *badina gua mida gua bi agiya di ini vegu*
 because now child now TOP tomorrow GEN 3.POSS life
 ‘because today’s youth are tomorrow’s life’

Postpositional clitics

The postpositions *=ri* ‘at’, *=u* ‘by’ and *=sa* ‘accompaniment’ are enclitics, as they are attached to the final word of the phrase, regardless of what class of word that is. This final word can even be another postposition, which is actually quite common. The enclitic *=ri* ‘at’ especially has been attested as bound to nearly all the other postpositions (e.g. *boge=ri* ‘behind’), and it can also be bound to the demonstrative pronouns to form locatives, such that *mina=ri* (‘this=at’) means ‘here’ and *mirona=ri* (‘that=at’) means ‘there’. (Note that *=ri* ‘at’ and *=sa* are phonologically bound, but in the practical orthography they are written separately. This is particularly relevant in distinguishing *=ri* ‘at’ from *-ri* ‘SIMDS’ and *=sa* ‘ACCM’ from *-sa* 2S.PRES.)

- (33) *Ina bi gua mina=ri evade kaiya dudu dona*
 3 TOP now this=at quickly knife INST pig
nugar-o.
 cut-2/3S.PST
 ‘And then at this time he quickly cut the pig with a knife.’
- (34) *Ina bi yava tebo=ri sui ni-do.*
 3 TOP house on.top.of=at hide say-3S.PRES
 ‘He is hiding in the top of the house.’
- (35) *Dura bi yabo adina=ri.*
 string.bag TOP tree next.to=at
 ‘The string bag is next to the tree.’
- (36) *Yava boge=ri guri ai-yadi.*
 house behind=at bury put-2/3P.PST
 ‘They buried him behind the house.’
- (37) *Ita bi yava gabire=ri.*
 firewood TOP house under=at
 ‘The firewood is under the house.’

- (38) *Mida bi yava ide=ri ame-do.*
 child TOP house inside=at stay-3S.PRES
 ‘The child is inside the house.’

The accompaniment clitic =*sa* ‘with’ is bound to the final element of a noun phrase, which can be a quantifier, a noun, or a pronoun, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (39) *Amiye tau=sa gubuyo re-yo-ma...*
 person all=ACCM anger do-2/3S.PST-SQDS
 ‘He got angry along with all the people and...’
- (40) *Na nai rema mida=sa bi buni ame-sifa.*
 1S 1S.POSS woman child=ACCM TOP good stay-1P.PRES
 ‘I am living well with my wife and children.’
- (41) *Na bi ina=sa ago ni-da.*
 1S TOP 3=ACCM word say-1S.PRES
 ‘I am talking with him.’

6.1.2 Locatives

Doromu-Koki has two types of locatives: adverbial demonstratives and locative adverbs. The adverbial demonstratives correspond to demonstratives. They typically precede the direct object, and can combine with the demonstratives. They also take clitics.

Adverbial demonstratives

Doromu-Koki has the following adverbial demonstratives shown in Table 6.4, which, like the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, are distinguished for general and specific. They also have the added distance distinction, so that there is close, mid, distant, further (relative to some other object) and higher. At this point it is not clear what the distinction is between the two forms for ‘over there’, *soroni* and *mirodu*. It could be that *soroni* is a borrowed term as it does not have a specific counterpart.

TABLE 6.4 ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	<i>general</i>		<i>specific</i>	
close	<i>mini</i>	‘here’	<i>yomini</i>	‘right here’
mid	<i>mironi</i>	‘there’	<i>yomironi</i>	‘right there’
distant	<i>soroni</i>	‘over there’	<i>yomirodu</i>	‘right over there’
	<i>mirodu</i>			
further	<i>isefu</i>	‘there further away’	<i>yoisefu</i>	‘right there further away’
higher	<i>iseni</i>	‘up over there’ (Hiri Motu <i>iniseni/iniseniai</i> ‘here’)	<i>yoiseni</i>	‘right up over there’

Examples of these adverbial demonstratives follow:

(42) *Ina gua bi mini.*

3 now TOP here
‘He is here now.’

(43) *Yomini moi bo!*

right.here get go.up
‘Take it right here and go!’

(44) *Na yaku moke-yaka bi, mironi aka u-dedi*
1S DM think-1S.PST TOP there prawn hit-2/3P.PRES

bae ni-yaka.

come say-1S.PST

‘I thought to myself, “They are there killing prawns and bringing them.”’

(45) *Ini rautu bi yomironi.*

3.POSS village TOP right.there
‘His village is that one right there.’

(46) *Soroni yabo adina=ri.*

over.there tree next.to=at

‘It is over there next to the tree.’

- (47) *Ini rautu bi mirodu.*
3.POSS village TOP over.there
'Their village is over there.'
- (48) *Yomirodu ai-yafa to kaere ya moi-yo?*
right.over.there put-1P.PST but who DM get-2/3S.PST
'We put it right over there but who took it?'
- (49) *Mirona isefu ro moi-vo.*
that there.further.away ABL get-2S.HORT
'You should get that one there from further away.'
- (50) *Yoisefu moi.*
right.further.away get
'Get it right there further away.'
- (51) *Iseni moi.*
up.over.there get
'Get it up over there.'
- (52) *Yoiseni moi bo.*
right.up.over.there get go.up
'Get it right up over there.'

Locative adverbs

Following is a table of the Doromu-Koki locative adverbs:

TABLE 6.5 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

<i>vaifuro</i>	'above'	<i>maike</i>	'far away'
<i>egona</i>	'lower place'	<i>gutuna</i>	'distant place'
<i>etofaro</i>	'outside'	<i>ema ro</i>	'downstream'
<i>gaima</i>	'far away'	<i>anema ro</i>	'upstream'

Some examples follow:

- (53) *Uni muro bi vaifuro.*
1P.POSS garden TOP above
'Our garden is above.'

- (54) *Egona ro ne-yo.*
lower.place PURP go.down-2/3S.PST
'He went down to a lower place.'
- (55) *To ina bi etofaro=ri are re-yo.*
but 3S TOP outside=at stand do-2/3S.PST
'But he stood outside.'
- (56) *Meda regode ni-yo-ri, gaima gutuna*
day three say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS far.away distant.place
nei re-yo-ri...
go.down do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
'When three days had passed, from far away when he went down...'
- (57) *Muro bi maike tora.*
garden TOP far.away very
'The garden is very far away.'
- (58) *Ya bi goina gutuna=ri bai-yo?*
2 TOP which.one distant.place=at come-2/3S.PST
'From which place did you come?'

The locative phrases *ema ro* 'downstream' and *anema ro* 'upstream' are composed of *ema+ro* 'river mouth+ABL' and *anema+ro* 'head water+ABL', which do not have the component of directional movement. It is possible that the same holds for *vai-furo* 'above' and *etofaro* 'outside,' thus these two are included here with the locative adverbs.

- (59) *Ina bi koru ema ro ame-do.*
3 TOP water river.mouth ABL stay-3S.PRES
'He is living downstream.'
- (60) *Ini usika bi koru anema ro ame-do.*
3.POSS younger TOP water head.waters ABL stay-3S.PRES
'His younger brother lives upstream.'

Postpositions added to nouns can form temporal elements. For example, when *fufuta* 'back' is combined with *=ri* 'at', the result *fufuta=ri* means 'behind, after'.

- (61) *Meda be koina ni-yo fufuta=ri, Mary*
 day some finish say-2/3S.PST back=at Mary
dadi-si evade boi ne-yo.
 get.up-SQSS quickly go.up go.down-3S.PST
 ‘After some days passed, Mary got up and quickly went there.’

6.1.3 Interrogatives

Doromu-Koki has ten interrogatives as seen in the table below.

TABLE 6.6 INTERROGATIVES

<i>kaere</i>	‘who’
<i>beika</i>	‘what’
<i>goivaka</i>	‘when (location)’
<i>beikadinare</i>	‘when (direction)’
<i>goini</i>	‘where (location)’
<i>goidu</i>	‘where (direction)’
<i>beika resi</i>	‘why’ (<i>beika</i> + <i>re-si</i> ‘what + do-SQSS’ – a frozen form)
<i>gokai</i>	‘how’
<i>goina</i>	‘which one’
<i>gokaisa</i>	‘how many, how much’

Below are examples of each of the interrogatives:

- (62) *Ya kaere ro ago ni-sa?*
 2 who BEN word say-2S.PRES
 ‘To whom are you speaking?’

Note that *kaere* is also used as a relative pronoun, although it is not the usual strategy for relative clause formation (see §7.4).

- (63) *Mina bi beika?*
 this TOP what
 ‘What is this?’

Beika ‘what’ can also be used as a relativiser:

- (64) *Beika bura ri-yaka bi kamini bura ri-yaka.*
 what write make-1S.PST TOP enough write make-1S.PST
 ‘What I have written I have written.’
- (65) *Goivaka mina yava ri-yo?*
 when this house make-2/3S.PST
 ‘When did you build this house?’
- (66) *Beikadinare di-gedi?*
 when go-2/3P.FUT
 ‘When are they going?’

Dutton (1970:980) has proposed that *dinare* is possibly derived from Motu *dina* ‘day’ + *re* ‘at, on’, so that *beikadinare* would be ‘what+day+at/on’. However, *re* means ‘do’, while =*ri* ‘at’ is probably what was meant.

- (67) ... *mamoe di mida bi goini?*
 sheep GEN child TOP where
 ‘...where is the lamb?’
- (68) *Ya goidu di-sa?*
 2 where go-2S.PRES
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (69) *Beika.resi yoga ni-dedi?*
 why laugh say-2/3P.PRES
 ‘Why are they laughing?’
- (70) *Dura gokai vadi-yo?*
 net.bag how make-2/3S.PST
 ‘How did she make the net bag?’

Also we see *gokai* ‘how’ used with *re-si* ‘and then’:

- (71) *Uniye ni kaite-yafa gokai re-si makai ni-do.*
 1P.REFL say ask-1P.PST how do-SBSS like.this say-3S.PRES
 ‘We asked ourselves how it is happening like this.’
- (72) *Ya bi goina gutuna=ri bai-yo?*
 2 TOP which.one distant.place=at come-2/3S.PST
 ‘From which place did you come?’

- (73) *Yi rema gokaisa?*
 2.POSS woman how.many
 ‘How many wives do you have?’

6.1.4 Temporal periphery

Semantically, Doromu-Koki has four kinds of temporal periphery: calendrical, cyclical, days, and relative temporal elements. They are each described below. Typically, the temporal periphery occurs either at the beginning or at end of a clause; its position is normally a matter of prominence (see §8.2.2).

Calendrical

The calendrical temporal periphery relates to the calendar. The nouns functioning as the core elements of this type are listed below.

TABLE 6.7 CALENDRICAL TEMPORAL PERIPHERY

<i>meda</i>	‘day; sun’
<i>fura</i>	‘week’ (from Hiri Motu <i>pura</i> ‘week’)
<i>eo</i>	‘month; moon’
<i>lagani</i>	‘year’ (from Hiri Motu <i>lagani</i> ‘year’)

Following are examples of the calendrical temporal periphery (with the head nouns bolded):

- (74) ***Meda*** *yokoi=ri nai mida remanu garasi di-yadi.*
 day one=at 1S.POSS child two glass go-2/3S.PST
 ‘One day my two boys went out with their diving glasses.’
- (75) *Na mirona fura=ri bo-gida.*
 1S that week=at go.up-1P.FUT
 ‘I will go up next week.’
- (76) *Mirona ferei bai-yafa eo=ri.*
 that leave come-1P.PST moon=at
 ‘We left and came that month.’

- (77) *Nai rema voi re-gida di meda bi gua*
 1S.POSS woman sell do-1S.FUT GEN day TOP now
mina eo mirona lagani di meda vana ufo
 this moon that year GEN day hand clap
remanu ma vana raro.
 two and hand line
 ‘My wife’s bride price day is the 24th day of this month next year.’

Cyclical

The cyclical periphery refers to those time notions which occur over and over again on a regular daily cycle. They are shown in the table below:

TABLE 6.8 CYCLICAL TEMPORAL PERIPHERY

<i>uruyaku</i>	‘morning’
<i>uriyenau</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>urusa</i>	‘night’

Following are examples of each:

- (78) *Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo-ri bi,*
 plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST-SIMDS TOP
uruyaku gorogoro Tau yaku ini vene raka ni
 morning early Tau DM 3.POSS people name say
e-dadi-yo...
 CAUS-get.up-2/3S.PST
 ‘They will keep planting whilst the sun comes up; then early in the morning Tau called out to wake up his people...’
- (79) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa*
 afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
di-yaka.
 go-1S.PST
 ‘One afternoon I took a gun and went to the bush.’

- (80) *Rei mona maka de re-yo ba yaku bura*
 do properly only NEG do-2/3S.PST and DM expose
ri-yo urusa rofu.
 make-2/3S.PST night BEN
 ‘He did not do it properly and so he was exposed at night.’

Days

This category describes days in relationship to one another. This is a separate category as it is so productive in Doromu-Koki, especially in the past, which is quite striking considering that there is only one past tense exhibited in the language. (Perhaps in past history there were more tenses exhibited.) Note that ‘yesterday’ and tomorrow’ are the same word (concurring with Dutton 1970:924), and so can also be glossed as ‘one day removed from today’. They can be disambiguated by the verb morphology. The words referring to days in the past are mostly used in counting off days, rather than in sentences.

TABLE 6.9 DAYS

<i>didoka</i>	‘five days before today’
<i>maitoka</i>	‘four days before today’
<i>neureka</i>	‘three days before today’
<i>aineka</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>agiya</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>gua</i>	‘today/ now’
<i>agiya</i>	‘tomorrow’

Following are example sentences using some of these Doromu-Koki day terms, keeping in mind what was mentioned above.

- (81) *Aineka de-yafa.*
 day.before.yesterday come.down-1P.PST
 ‘We came down the day before yesterday.’

- (82) *Agiya voi re-yaka buka mina mar-aka.*
 yesterday buy do-1S.PST book this give-1S.PST
 ‘Yesterday I bought the book that I gave him.’
- (83) *Mina dona gabu tora gade remanu gua rautu=ri*
 this pig black big very two now village=at
ame-dedi.
 stay-2/3P.PRES
 ‘These two big black pigs are now in the village.’
- (84) *Nai mokei mokei re-da bi agiya taoni=ri*
 1S.POSS think think do-1S.PRES TOP tomorrow town=at
ne-gida.
 go.down-1S.FUT
 ‘I keep thinking that tomorrow I’ll go down into town.’

General time words

General time words cover all the remaining temporal periphery, and are used to encode relative time. They are shown below:

TABLE 6.10 GENERAL TIME WORDS

<i>biyetete</i>	‘long time ago’	<i>lalonari</i>	‘while/during’ (Hiri Motu <i>lalonai</i> ‘during’)
<i>duakau</i>	‘while/during’	<i>mamu</i>	‘later’
<i>fogori</i>	‘while/during’	<i>mibiko</i>	‘right away’
<i>fuofuori</i>	‘while/during’	<i>ruika</i>	‘right/just now’
<i>gabi</i>	‘after’ (Hiri Motu <i>gabeai</i> ‘later, after’)	<i>sena(gi)</i>	‘long ago’ (Hiri Motu <i>idau negai</i> ‘ago’)
<i>gorogoro</i>	‘early’		
<i>kode</i>	‘later, and then’		

- (85) *Kokora bi tora yaku moka roka ai-yadi ina*
 Kokora TOP big DM deep name put-2/3P.PST 3
biyetete ni-yo.
 long.time.ago say-2/3S.PST
 ‘The name “deep” was given to the Kokora River by the elders a long time ago.’

Here the river’s name is made prominent by moving it to the beginning of the sentence; the normal construction would be:

- (86) *Biyetete tora yaku moka roka Kokora ai-yadi*
 long.time.ago big DM deep name Kokora put-2/3P.PST
vo ni-yo.
 happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘A long time ago the elders named the Kokora River “deep.”’

- (87) *Ina gabi de-go.*
 3 after come.down-3S.FUT
 ‘She will come down afterward.’

- (88) *Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo-ri bi,*
 plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST-SIMDS TOP
uruyaku gorogoro.
 morning early
 ‘While the sun comes up they will keep planting, early in the morning.’

- (89) *...kode=ri bi uni bobada.manone yaku iya*
 later=at TOP 1P.POSS ancestors DM war
re-gasa iniye iniye umuye-gam-adi.
 do-SIMSS REFL REFL kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘...later our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.’

- (90) *Rautu vene de-gedi mamu dairi-gida.*
 villager people come.down-2/3P.FUT later return-1S.FUT
 ‘The villagers will come down and later I will come back.’

- (91) *Iruku ve-yafa=ri amiye tua re-na de mibiko*
 food see-1P.PST=at person wait do-NOM NEG right.away
evade maka iri-na de roro re-yafa.
 quickly only eat-NOM NEG finish.off do-1P.PST
 ‘When we saw the food we did not wait for the people but right
 away we didn’t finish off eating it (either).’
- (92) *John bi ini nono=sa etofaro ruika*
 John TOP 3.POSS mother=ACCM outside right.now
yaku-yadi.
 go.outside-2/3P.PST
 ‘John went outside with his mother (just) right now.’
- (93) *Senagi tora vene yaku rema rumana me-si*
 long.ago big people DM woman man marry-SQSS
ini gokai dudu rema voi re-gam-adi.
 3.POSS how INST woman buy do-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘Long ago elders married men and women and this is how they
 were paying bride price.’

Some appear to be conjunctions (*duakau*, *fogori*, *fuofuori* and *lalonari* all glossed as ‘while/during’), and in addition three of those appear to be frozen forms incorporating the clitic =*ri* ‘at’:

- (94) *Sena duakau vabara moi-na kode=ri bona*
 long.ago during light get-NOM later=at and
sioni ka oki-na...
 white.man also arrive-NOM
 ‘Long ago while becoming civilized, at the white men’s arrival...’
- (95) *Iya fogori sioni amiye roka Mister English,*
 war during white.man person name Mister English
Rigo=ri soka re-yo.
 Rigo=at arrive do-2/3S.PST
 ‘During the fighting a white man named Mister English arrived
 in Rigo.’
- (96) *Adena u-gam-adi fuofuori ruda re-yadi.*
 dance hit-HAB-2/3P.PST while fight do-2/3P.PST
 ‘While dancing they were fighting.’

- (97) *Yaga lalonari nai nono muye-yo.*
 dry.season during 1S.POSS mother die-2/3S.PST
 ‘During the dry season my mother died.’

Temporal periphery can be placed before or after the subject along with the topic marker, primarily to change focus. (See also §8.2.2 for further discussion on variant word order, prominence and focus.)

- (98) *Agiya ina bi rautu=ri tauga mida mar-o.*
 yesterday 3 TOP village=at banana child give-2/3S.PST
 ‘Yesterday he was giving the children bananas in the village.’
- (99) *Ina bi agiya rautu=ri tauga mida mar-o.*
 3 TOP yesterday village=at banana child give-2/3S.PST
 ‘He was giving the children bananas in the village yesterday.’

6.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses subsume equative and descriptive predications. Doromu-Koki juxtaposes the topic with the comment through a predicate which is filled by a noun or adjective phrase. They take the following form:

S → NP_{SUBJ} NP_{PRED}

S → NP_{SUBJ} ADJP

6.2.1 Equative

Following is an example of an equative clause:

- NP_{SUBJ} NP_{PRED}
- (100) *Peter bi mida keika.*
 Peter TOP child little
 ‘Peter is a little child.’

6.2.2 Descriptive

Descriptive clauses are shown below:

- NP_{SUBJ} ADJP
- (101) *Na bi doba.*
 1S TOP long
 ‘I am tall.’

7. *Complex sentence structure*

This chapter deals with complex clause and sentences structures, including coordination and subordination, direct versus indirect speech and relative clauses.

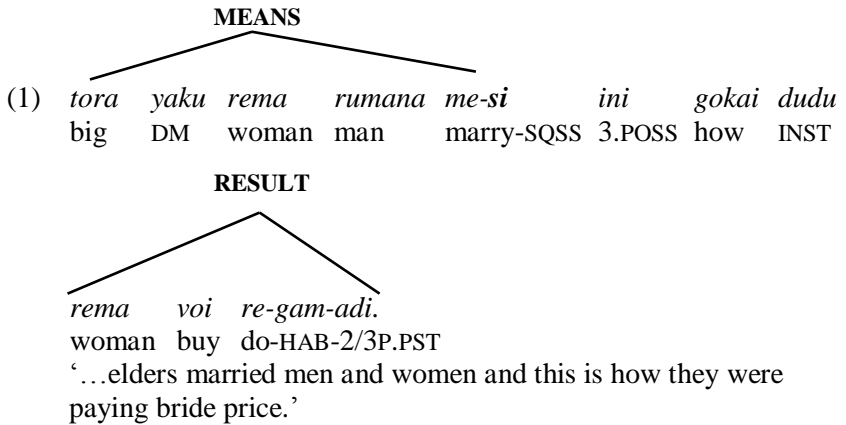
7.1 **Coordination**

Crystal (1985:76) defines **coordination** as: ‘A term in *grammatical analysis* to refer to the process or result of linking *linguistic units* of equivalent *syntactic* status, e.g. a series of *clauses*, or *phrases*, or *words*.’

7.1.1 **Temporal/switch reference**

Temporal coordination is most commonly indicated by clauses containing medial verb forms (switch reference). These are expressed as *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’, *-ma* ‘subsequent different subject’, *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’, or *-si* ‘subsequent same subject’. This is perhaps the most pervasive type of coordination found in the language. Semantically, sequences of medial clauses are mainly restricted to temporal interpretations, of either overlap or succession. They are discussed further in §4.2 above.

Another possible interpretation for some coordinate medial clause sequences is cause-effect. Because of the use of *gokai* ‘how’, they are context dependent. A state of affairs functions as the means to a result, as in the following example:



7.1.2 Coordinating conjunctions

There are three types of coordinating conjunctions found in Doromu-Koki: additive, alternative, and contrastive. They are shown in the table below. Coordination links syntactically equivalent units having equivalent semantic function. Note that four of the eight conjunctions are borrowings.

TABLE 7.1 COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

additive	<i>ma</i>	‘and’ (clausal; Hiri Motu)
	<i>bona</i>	‘and’ (linking nouns; Hiri Motu)
	<i>mo</i>	‘(and) at once’
alternative	<i>ba</i>	‘or’
	<i>o</i>	‘or’ (English)
contrastive	<i>idu</i>	‘but, so’
	<i>to</i>	‘but, and’ (Hiri Motu)
	<i>bao</i>	‘but no, but not’

Additive

Additive relationships in Doromu-Koki are expressed by coordinating conjunctions. The additive conjunction *ma* ‘and’ is occasionally used to

coordinate clauses, though it is much more common to use the switch reference marking, which is discussed in §4.2.

- (2) *Ma mina itua=ri ka moimai ma feidei feidei de*
 and this moment=at also work and cook cook NEG
re-bi-go.
 do-DUR-3S.FUT
 ‘And at that moment he will not keep working and cooking.’

The same conjunction may be used to coordinate elements within a noun phrase.

- (3) *Nono, baba ma mida mida amei-nu re-si aka,*
 mother father and child child stay-TRNS do-SQSS prawn
buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau=sa iri-sifa
 fish.sp fish.sp food and stew=ACCM eat-1P.PRES
ada dudu.
 happiness INST
 ‘Make the mothers, fathers, and children sit and then we are eating prawns, fish, food and stew with happiness.’

The word *mo* ‘at once’ can also be considered a coordinating conjunction. It signals an unexpected turn of events.

- (4) *Nai tobaini ve-giya-ri bi mo diba*
 1S.POSS sister see-2S.FUT-SIMDS TOP at.once knowledge
ni-giya ina bi toe nufa.
 say-2S.FUT 3 TOP heavy POSS
 ‘You will see my sister, and at once you will know that she is pregnant.’
- (5) *Kita re-yagadu bi muro mo nufa ni-yadu.*
 movement do-HYP TOP garden at.once POSS say-POSB
 ‘We ought to move, and at once we could have a garden.’

Alternative

Alternative coordination is signaled through the use of the conjunction *ba* ‘or’. It occurs between the elements in question, and in fact is often used in questioning two alternative verbal propositions.

- (6) *Jacobo ni kaite-yaka aruma yaku aki re-yo*
 Jacob say ask-1S.PST snake DM bite do-2/3S.PST
ba ide.
 or NEG
 ‘I asked Jacob if the snake bit him or not.’

The disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’ is a synonym of *ba* ‘or’ and is borrowed from English. (English is the more likely source language, since Tok Pisin is not used as extensively in the area as English and Hiri Motu are.) This form is much less common than *ba* ‘or’.

- (7) *Isira re-giya o kaini?*
 play do-2S.FUT or enough
 ‘Will you play or have you had enough?’

Contrastive

The conjunctions *idu* ‘but’, and *to* ‘but, and’ are used to express a contrastive relationship between two clauses.

- (8) *Mosara vari-fo ni-yaka idu vauya*
 sweet.potato plant-2P.HORT say-1S.PST but refuse
re-yadi ye gokai re-gedi maka.
 do-2/3P.PST so how do-2/3P.FUT only
 ‘I told you that you should plant the sweet potato but you refused, so what will you do now?’
- (9) *Ida keika keika tau ve-giya idu mina keu ga*
 road small small all see-2S.FUT but this go.up PRHB
re, ne-na maka re.
 do go.down-NOM only do
 ‘You will see all the very many small trails but don’t go up these, only go down.’
- (10) *Iya ya ina vasa duaiya re-yo, to duaiya re*
 star DM 3 sand count do-2/3S.PST but count do
vau de re-yo.
 complete NEG do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Star counted sand, but he could not count all of him.’

- (11) *Ina bo-go to na bi ame-gida.*
 3 go.up-3S.FUT but 1S TOP sit-1S.FUT
 ‘He will go up but I will stay (here).’

Doromu-Koki describes a negative or unexpected contrast through the use of *bao* ‘but no, but not’:

- (12) *Muro=ri ne-si evade bai-gifa bao*
 garden=at go.down-SQSS quickly come-1P.FUT but.not
ni-ga diba oruma ri-na vo
 say-SIMSS knowledge grass make-NOM happen
ni-yo-ma oruma ri-yafa.
 say-2/3S.PST-SQDS grass make-1S.PST
 ‘We were supposed to go to the garden and come back quickly,
 but no, she told us to weed the garden.’

7.2 Subordination

Townsend and Bever (1977) state:

The main clause of a sentence generally contains the assertions which the speaker wishes to convey, while the subordinate clause often conveys information which the speaker places less importance on ... information that is presupposed to be true and that the listener presumably already knows.

Thus is the case with Doromu-Koki. The logical subordination conjunctions are listed in the table below.

TABLE 7.2 SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

cause-effect	<i>ye</i>	‘so’ (anaphoric reference)
	<i>dada</i>	‘so that’ (clausal)
	<i>mina dada</i>	‘therefore, for this reason’
result-reason	<i>adina</i>	‘because, reason’
	<i>badina</i>	‘because’ (Hiri Motu)
contingent	<i>vonisi</i>	‘if, even though’
	<i>bema</i>	‘if’ (Hiri Motu)
	<i>baebu</i>	‘lest’
purpose	<i>kumo</i>	‘in order to’

Logical subordination in Doromu-Koki is of the cause-effect, result-reason, contingent, and purpose types.

7.2.1 Cause-effect

According to Davies (1969:116) cause is: ‘Thing responsible for an action or result.’ Effect is: ‘Something brought about by a cause or agent (1969:227).’ In Doromu-Koki cause-effect is realised in reason-result causal constructions.

The cause-effect construction has the clauses ordered as follows:

Cause *ye/dada/mina dada* ‘so/so that/therefore’ Effect

This relationship is expressed in the forms of *ye* ‘so’ and *dada* ‘so that’.

- (13) *Mosara vari-fo ni-yaka idu vauya*
 sweet.potato plant-2P.HORT say-1S.PST but refuse
re-yadi ye gokai re-gedi maka.
 do-2/3P.PST so how do-2/3P.FUT only
 ‘I told you that you should plant the sweet potato but you
 refused, so what will you do now?’

- (14) *Nai sina keika mini ye vei oki-gida-ri*
 1S.POSS story little here so see arrive-1S.FUT-SIMDS
baku re-gifa.
 find do-1P.FUT
 ‘Here is my little story, so when I will see it arrive we will find it.’

Below are examples of *dada* ‘so that, that is why, as, since’. It indicates a purpose or intended result relationship.

- (15) *Dubuini tora eredi mosara muro bi rama*
 brother big belong.to sweet.potato garden TOP true
ni tau tau re-yo dada, moi di-gedi moni
 say all all do-2/3S.PST so.that get go-2/3P.FUT money
be baku re-gedi vonisi.
 some find do-3P.FUT if
 ‘As/since the elder brother’s garden was bearing a lot of sweet potatoes, they would bring them to see if they would find some money (from selling the sweet potatoes).’
- (16) *Nai tora yaku vegu re-yadi dada*
 1S.POSS big DM life do-2/3P.PST so.that
rei-bo-bi-gida.
 do-POT-DUR-1S.FUT
 ‘My elders did this practice, so that I will keep on doing it.’

The form *mina dada* ‘therefore’ is seen in the next example, and is composed of *mina+dada* ‘this+so’. It indicates sufficient, efficient, or strong cause.

- (17) *Ina bi dairi-na de re-go mina.dada ya bi*
 3 TOP return-NOM NEG do-3S.FUT therefore 2 TOP
besa ame-bi-giya.
 more stay-DUR-2S.FUT
 ‘He will not come back, therefore you will stay for some time.’

7.2.2 Result-reason

According to Davies (1969:588) reason is: ‘The basis or motive for an action, decision or conviction.’ Result is: ‘To occur or exist as a consequence of a particular cause’ (1969:602). According to Beekman, Callow and Kopesec (1981:102) this is answering the question why? In Doromu-Koki there are two constructions expressing reason-result, in that the result can precede or follow the reason, resulting in either of the forms below:

Result *adina* ‘because’ Reason

Reason *badina* ‘because’ Result

They are used when neither the result nor the reason are presupposed. ‘Because’ takes the forms *adina* or *badina*. In the first set of examples we find the first type, and in the second set the second type.

- (18) *Nai uka esika re-yo adina fidi re-na*
 1S.POSS stomach pain do-2/3S.PST because gun do-NOM
dona moi vegu ri-yaka dada.
 pig get life make-1S.PST so
 ‘My heart was in pain because of taking the pig’s life by shooting it.’

- (19) *Amiye beredi duma re-yo adina rauna*
 person bread steal do-2/3S.PST because hunger
re-yo.
 do-2/3S.PST
 ‘The man stole the bread because he was hungry.’

The form *badina* ‘because’ (and conceivably *adina* ‘because’ as well) is borrowed from Hiri Motu. According to *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* (1976:27) *badina* means: ‘base of something; source; cause; reason’.

- (20) *Evade maina rei yeiva yeiva rei baku re-fa*
 quickly look.for do strong strong do find do-2P.IMP
badina na ka bai-si mina mida guriguri ni
 because 1S also come-SQSS this child prayer say
ma-gida.
 give-1S.FUT
 ‘Hurry and search hard to find him, because I will come to pray
 for this child.’
- (21) ... *badina Chris bi kaere kaere taoni=ri moimai*
 because Chris TOP who who town=at work
re-dedi vene di iruku
 do-2/3P.PRES people GEN food
 ‘... because the food belongs to Chris, one of those people who
 work in town’

7.2.3 Condition-consequence

In Doromu-Koki condition-consequence (which includes concession-consequence) takes the following form:

Condition *vonisi* ‘if, even though’ Consequence

It is signalled through the form *vonisi* ‘if, even though’ (possibly composed of *vo ni-si* ‘happen/call say-SQSS’). This subordinating conjunction occurs after the final verb of the main clause.

- (22) *Re-gida vonisi re-yaka.*
 do-1S.FUT if do-1S.PST
 ‘I will do it, even though I already did it.’

Bema ‘if’, borrowed from Hiri Motu, indicates hypotheticality, and comes at the beginning of the clause (i.e., *bema* Condition-Consequence). It is much less frequently used.

- (23) *Bema oki-go-ri bi ni oteima-gida.*
 if arrive-3S.FUT-SIMDS TOP say show-1S.FUT
 ‘If he will come, then I will tell him.’

7.2.4 Apprehensive

In Doromu-Koki Apprehensive takes the following form:

Imperative/Prohibitive Feared result *baebu* ‘lest’

- (24) *Ga bo-fo auna yaku ya aki re-go baebu.*
 PRHB go.up-2P.HORT dog DM 2 bite do-3S.FUT lest
 ‘You shouldn’t go up there, otherwise the dog will bite you.’
- (25) *Gaibana moi gigitani rei ori di-go baebu.*
 eel get tightly do fear go-3S.FUT lest
 ‘Hold on tightly to the eel lest it slip away.’

7.2.5 Purpose

Purpose clauses are often introduced by the conjunction *kumo* ‘so that’:

- (26) *Mida mida ni kumo mina vegu bi ga re-yagane.*
 child child say so.that this life TOP PRHB do-3P.JUS
 ‘Tell the children that they must not do this practice.’
- (27) *Di-nadi kumo ini ame-na buni ni-yaine.*
 go-1P.HORT so.that 3.POSS stay-NOM good say-3S.JUS
 ‘Let’s go so that his living will be good.’

Alternatively, a purpose clause can be signalled by the suffix *-gi* on the verb in the purpose clause.

- (28) *ini rovaita moi vava ri-gi*
 3.POSS body get hot make-PURP
 ‘in order to warm his body’
- (29) *Rema ofi remanu muro=ri oruma*
 woman young.woman two garden=at grass
ri-gi di-yadi.
 make-PURP go-2/3P.PST
 ‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’

- (30) *Re-si ita adina=ri are re-yadi, ini rovaita*
do-SQSS fire near=at stand do-2/3P.PST 3.POSS body
moi vava ri-gi.
get hot make-PURP
‘And then they stood near the fire, (in order) to warm their
bodies.’
- (31) *Makai re-gi moke-yaka idu ya yaku re-yo*
like.this do-PURP think-1S.PST but 2 DM do-2/3S.PST
mini.
here
‘I thought about doing it like this, but you already did it here.’

The postposition *rofu* (used to mark benefactive, recipient and ablative) can also indicate purpose, as in §6.1.1 example (24). Further research is needed to accurately describe any possible semantic contrasts between purpose clauses marked by *kumo*, *-gi* and *rofu*.

7.3 Direct and indirect speech

Doromu-Koki has predominantly direct speech, with the reporting clause preceding the quote. Subject and object cannot be reordered in the reporting clause. The most common verb in the reporting clause is *ni* ‘say’; other verbs are *ni kaite* ‘ask’, *ni oteima* ‘show, tell’, and *raka ni* ‘call’. Note that these all make use of *ni* ‘say’, which is also regularly used in adjunct verb constructions (see §4.6.2).

- (32) *Yomakai ni-yo, ‘Ya no Keni, Keni raku raku*
like.this say-2/3S.PST 2 bad Keni Keni scabies scabies
yaku ame-ga ni-sa.’
DM stay-SIMSS say-2S.PRES
‘She said, “You are bad Keni; Keni, you are becoming full of
scabies.”’

- (33) *Tau yaku ini vene raka ni e-dadi-yo,*
 Tau DM 3.POSS people call say CAUS-get.up-2/3S.PST
 ‘*Nai rautu vene gua bi nai meda dada*
 1S.POSS village people now TOP 1S.POSS day so
ya usa ni-da dadi vau re-fo.’
 2 ask say-1S.PRES get.up complete do-2P.HORT
 ‘Tau urged (lit. called) his people to wake up, “My village
 people, today is my day, so I ask you to get up and do it all.”’

In the following, the reporting clause breaks up the quote. This is not common.

- (34) ‘*Bao,*’ *ni-yadi,* ‘*Tau no kana bi koyomu bani*
 but.no say-2/3P.PST Tau bad like TOP rat yam
daru daru yu fafau fama-si gobe=ri
 root root gourd.paste on.top.of slap-SQSS dish=at
dabara ri-yo ini vene di.’
 spread.on.table make-2/3S.PST 3.POSS people GEN
 “‘But no,” they said, “Tau was bad in slapping gourd paste on
 top of stringy rat yams and putting them in a dish at the table for
 his people.”’

On occasion the speaker is left implicit. This is more common in oral narrative than in written texts. In these cases the direct speech follows the verb *re* ‘do’ in constructions such as *ada tora gade re* ‘become very very happy’, and *gubuyo tora gade re* ‘become very very angry’. Like *ni* ‘say,’ *re* ‘do’ is also commonly used in adjunct verb constructions (see §4.6.2).

- (35) *Tau di rema ka mina ve-yo=ri bi gubuyo*
 Tau GEN woman also this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP anger
tora gade re-yo, ‘*Na bi ya ni-yaka raisi*
 big very do-2/3S.PST 1S TOP 2 say-1S.PST rice

bona farava bi beika re-si be fere-na
 and flour TOP what do-SQSS some leave-NOM
de re-yo?’
 NEG do-2/3S.PST

‘When Tau’s wife also saw this she was very angry (and said), “I told you to get some rice and flour and why didn’t you get some?”’

7.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) is a clause which modifies a nominal in another clause. A relative clause:

...consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the over-all construction (Comrie 1981:136).

Doromu-Koki primarily exhibits external postnominal relative clauses, that is, relative clauses which follow the head nominal and are external to it. This is the most common type of relative clause; often common to SVO languages, but less common for an SOV language such as Doromu-Koki (Downing 1978:383). For reasons of focus a relative clause can be placed in prenominal position. Doromu-Koki does not normally indicate a relative clause with a relative pronoun. The question word *kaere* ‘who’ is used primarily in translated texts, and when it occurs it requires the use of the topic marker *bi*.

In the following example the relative clause construction is indicated in brackets. (Note that *bi* ‘TOP’ is not part of the relative clause.)

- (36) *Kani* [*ya ni-da*] *bi toto ga ni-fo.*
 mustard 2 say-1S.PRES TOP forget PRHB say-2P.HORT
 ‘You should not forget the mustard [that I am telling you about].’

7.4.1 Restrictive RCs

Most Doromu-Koki relative clauses are restrictive. A restrictive relative clause uses presupposed information to identify the referent of a noun phrase;

it specifies or narrows down the number of entities referred to by the head noun, and as such occurs off the event line, or modifies a peripheral constituent in narrative text.

In Doromu-Koki restrictive relative clause structure the topic marker *bi* follows the relative clause, serving to restrict the relative clause ‘topic’ to the head. The comment is what follows the topic marker.

- (37) *Mina kana vegu [ve-dedi] bi gokai moke-dedi?*
 this like life see-2/3P.PRES TOP how think-2/3P.PRES
 ‘Like this practice [that you see], what do you think about it?’

In the example below, the head follows the relative clause, as the relative clause is placed in focus by the marker *ya*:

- (38) *Mina=ri ma-mo [Urava Raku ya sisina re-yo]*
 this=at and-at.once Urava Raku DM legend do-2/3S.PST
sana bi tabu vo ni-dedi.
 place TOP taboo happen say-2/3P.PRES
 ‘And then there at the place [where Urava Raku’s legend took place], they have called it taboo.’

Often, the topic marker occurs inside a relative clause, because the primary function of the topic marker is to separate topic and comment, both of which can be inside a relative clause. In the following example, *uba meraini ini roka roka* ‘two cousins named’ is the topic and *vasa bona iya* ‘sand and star’ is the comment within the relative clause.

- (39) *Yokoi aru uba meraini [ini roka roka bi vasa*
 one day both cousins 3.POSS name name TOP sand
bona iya] ame-gam-adi.
 and star stay-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘One day there were two cousins [whose names were sand and star].’

The topic marker can be absent in the main clause, particularly when the development marker *yaku* is used. (See §8.2.2 for further discussion on *yaku*.)

- (40) *Yokoi aru vo ni-bo amiye yokoi [roka Tau*
 one day happen say-POT person one name Tau

Yagabo] *yaku ini rautu vene omar-o*
 Yagabo DM 3.POSS village people invite-2/3S.PST
ini muro vari-yaganedi.
 3.POSS garden plant-3P.JUS
 ‘One day a man [whose name was Tau Yagabo] invited his
 village people to plant his garden.’

There is more than one way to encode an event (or series of events), and so often switch reference is preferred to a relative clause, as seen below:

- (41) *Gabi ro mo una remanu di iruku una*
 later ABL at.once 1P two GEN food 1P
mar-o-ma iri-yafa ada dudu.
 give-2/3S.PST-SQDS eat-1P.PST happiness INST
 ‘Later when she gave us two our food we ate it with happiness.’

As a relative clause, the above would produce the following construction:

- (42) *Gabi ro una remanu di iruku [una mar-o]*
 later ABL 1P two GEN food 1P give-2/3S.PST
bi ada dudu iri-yafa.
 TOP happiness INST eat-1P.PST
 ‘Later we ate with happiness our food [that she gave us].’

The following example illustrates a complex headless relative clause, which itself contains an appositive clause juxtaposed to the noun phrase *ini moke-na* ‘their thinking’:

- (43) [*ini moke-na bi sioni iruku iri-gedi*]
 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man food eat-2/3P.FUT
ni-yadi...
 say-2/3P.PST
 ‘they/those [whose thinking was that they will eat store-bought
 food] said...’

7.4.2 Non-restrictive RCs

Non-restrictive relative clauses generally add extra, essentially extraneous information about the head noun (or noun phrase). In Doromu-Koki non-restrictive relative clause structure, the topic marker *bi* comes

between the head and the relative clause, so that the head is the topic, and the relative clause is the (parenthetical) comment, or afterthought to present new information.

- (44) *Ini ne koru bi [ari uve-do ve-giya]*
 3.POSS eye water TOP day rise-3S.PRES see-2S.FUT
oruma yuveita dou ni-dedi.
 grass vegetation wet say-2/3P.PRES
 ‘His tears, [that you will see when the sun comes up], get the
 grass and vegetation wet.’

In the following example, the verb is reiterated for object complementation, because of the distance to connect *-si* ‘SQSS’ with the verb.

- (45) *Ne-si dona ve-yaka, bi [tafa maka*
 go.down-SQSS pig see-1S.PST TOP hardly only
kita re-yo] ve-yaka.
 movement do-2/3S.PST see-1S.PST
 ‘I went down and saw the pig, I saw [that it was hardly moving].’

7.4.3 Relativiser

The following example shows the use of *kaere* ‘who’ as a relativiser (which requires the use of *bi* ‘TOP’ or *yaku* ‘DM’ in the relative clause). Note as mentioned above, that it is used primarily in translated texts.

- (46) *Koki vene bi rema, rumana, mida [kaere bi*
 Koki people TOP woman man child who TOP
gua ‘Doromu’ vene vo ni-dedi.
 now Doromu people happen say-2/3P.PRES
 ‘The Koki people are women, men and children [who now
 happen to be ‘Doromu’ people].’
- (47) *Joseph bi Raphael ve-yo, [kaere yaku*
 Joseph TOP Raphael see-2/3s.PST who DM
mosara be mar-ainedi.]
 sweet.potato some give-3S.JUS
 ‘Joseph saw Raphael, [who could give him some sweet potato].’

As a coordinate structure, the sentence would be as follows:

- (48) *Joseph bi Raphael ve-yo-ma mosara*
 Joseph TOP Raphael see-2/3S.PST-SQDS sweet.potato
be mar-o.
 some give-2/3S.PST
 ‘Joseph saw Raphael and then he (Raphael) gave him some sweet potato.’

7.4.4 Accessibility hierarchy

The relativisability of certain grammatical functions is dependent on that of others. The Accessibility Hierarchy shows the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions. Keenan and Comrie (1977) propose an accessibility hierarchy of grammatical relations to relativisation (SU ‘subject’; > means ‘is more accessible than’):

Accessibility Hierarchy
 SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

The Accessibility Hierarchy has the following constraints:

- A language must be able to relativise subjects.
- Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the hierarchy.
- Strategies that apply at one point of the hierarchy may in principle cease to apply at any lower point.

The subject is most accessible to relativisation and every language can relativise on it, whereas the object of comparison is the least accessible, and not found in many languages. If a language can relativise the object of comparison than it can also relativise all items above it in the hierarchy; so it is claimed that if a language can relativise on a given position on the accessibility hierarchy, then it can relativise on any position higher on the hierarchy. If a language can relativise the subject, it does not necessarily mean that it can relativise on other positions in the hierarchy. It is not necessary that a language distinguishes all these categories. Furthermore it might be necessary for a language to promote something to a higher position before it can be relativised.

Below are examples for Doromu-Koki in the different positions in the hierarchy.

Subject position is the most common, as can be seen in most of the examples above, and in the following as well. Notice that these are prenominal relative clauses (for focus purposes), in which the RC precedes the head.

- (49) [*Yava ida nefau ame-do*] *boro mina kiki*
 house road in.front.of stay-3S.PRES ball this kick
re-yaka.
 do-1S.PST
 ‘I kicked the ball [that is in front of the path to the house].’
- (50) [*Teiboro odoro ame-do*] *sofeka mina iri-yo.*
 table above stay-3S.PRES mango this eat-2/3S.PST
 ‘He ate the mango [that was on the table].’

Relativised **direct objects** are seen below, with the first example again a prenominal RC.

- (51) [*Na yaku ni-da*] *sina bi yi vana=ri*
 1S DM say-1S.PRES story TOP 2.POSS hand=at
fere-da mini.
 leave-1S.PRES here
 ‘I leave here in your hands the words [that I’m telling].’
- (52) *Mina kana vegu [ve-dedi] bi gokai moke-dedi?*
 this like life see-2/3P.PRES TOP how think-2/3P.PRES
 ‘Like this practice [that you see] what do you think about it?’

In place of the topic marker *bi*, an alternative strategy is the use of the demonstrative *mina* ‘this’, as illustrated below in (53) and (54). In the first example below, the order is again reversed for focus (with the RC preceding the head), and conceivably *mina* acts to heighten that.

- (53) [*Agiya voi re-yaka*] *buka mina mar-aka.*
 yesterday buy do-1S.PST book this give-1S.PST
 ‘I gave him the book [that I bought yesterday].’
- (54) *Baiya [moi-gam-o] mina ina rofu moi-yaka.*
 bush.knife get-HAB-2/3S.PST this 3 ABL get-1S.PST
 ‘I took the bush knife [that she was holding] from her.’

A relativised **oblique** function is illustrated in the example below, where further information on the postpositional phrase *koru seri=ri* ‘to the river bank’ is provided in a prenominal RC modifying the locative noun *sana* ‘place’:

- (55) *Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga, fuse*
 3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS bag
ri-gasa moi oki-yadi koru seri=ri,
 make-SIMSS get arrive-2/3P.PST water river.bank=at
[rumana vene tufe ri-gam-adi] sana.
 man people raft make-HAB-2/3P.PST place
 ‘Their wives were digging sweet potato, and putting them into
 bags and took them to the river bank, to the place [where the men
 were making rafts].’

The following two examples of a relativised **possessive** (genitive) function have been found:

- (56) *Iya fogo=ri sivoni amiye [roka Mister English],*
 war during=at white.man person name Mister English
Rigo=ri soka re-yo.
 Rigo=at arrive do-2/3S.PST
 ‘During the war a white man [whose name was Mister English]
 arrived in Rigo.’
- (57) *Amiye tora regode [roka Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka,*
 person big three name Varabu Foina Itu Saraka
bona Gomuna Kokoba] yaku sivoni u-gika
 and Gomuna Kokoba DM white.man hit-INTV
re-si meki re-yadi.
 do-SBSS chase do-2/3P.PST
 ‘Three elders [whose names were Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka, and
 Gomuna Kokoba] tried to kill the white man and chase him
 away.’

The object of comparison in Doromu-Koki does not constitute a separate grammatical function, and hence does not participate in the Accessibility Hierarchy. See §3.3.3 for some examples of how degrees of comparison are expressed in Doromu-Koki.

8. *Discourse considerations*

Having previously discussed the morphosyntactic devices of the language, this chapter will now deal with issues such as discourse genres exhibited in Doromu-Koki, and various discourse devices used.

8.1 Discourse genres

Larson (1984:366) has identified several discourse genres, which will be discussed in Doromu-Koki. See the Appendix for example texts showing the genres mentioned here.

A **narrative** discourse tells a story or delineates some actions: ‘Narrative discourse recounts a series of events (Larson 1975:198).’ Narrative discourses start with a time setting such as *uruyaku yokoi* ‘one morning’, or *meda yokoiri* ‘on one day’, and then recount the incidents involving the participants, primarily using the past tense. Oral legends in particular, after the time setting, have *vo nibo*... ‘it might happen that...’. There may be some tail-head linkage, particularly in oral discourse, as a follow-through to begin a new episode. The narrative genre is the main type of discourse found in Doromu-Koki. The medial verb and switch-reference system is the backbone of this type of discourse. Narratives follow a chronological order as described in Beekman, Callow and Kopesec (1981:37).

Behavioural discourse is also referred to as ‘hortatory’, in that it urges or commands, calling for a change of behaviour, through exhortation or rebuke. It seeks to tell what ought to be done and why. It has a conceptual or logical framework, and so does not have to follow a chronological order.

Often a behavioural text is one of correspondence or a letter. It begins with the addressee’s name, and makes particular use of the deontic moods (hortative, imperative, jussive, and prohibitive) and the future tense.

A **procedural** discourse relates a particular course of actions. This type of text is characterised by the use of the future tense, and often opens with an addressee. It follows a strict chronological ordering and describes the procedures involved in doing some action or giving instructions (Larson 1975:198).

An **expository** discourse tries to give more details about a subject in order to clarify it, or to help the reader or hearer understand by giving reasons behind something. This type of genre uses cause-effect and reason-result subordinating conjunctions.

8.2 Discourse devices

Switch reference and prominence are employed in Doromu-Koki discourse. They are discussed below.

8.2.1 Switch reference

Every language has some way of abbreviating reference to NPs rather than marking them all explicitly. To refer to participants, Doromu-Koki uses portmanteau suffixes on verbs, which mark both person and number as well as tense. Participant tracking is important because: ‘Once a participant has been suitably introduced, it still remains to refer to him correctly thereafter, and to make sure that it is always clear who performed each event’ (Callow 1974:33).

This is performed in Doromu-Koki through the switch reference use of *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’, *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’, *-si* ‘subsequent same subject’, and *-ma* ‘subsequent different subject’ to signal the same or a different participant (see §4.2) verbal affixation. Switch reference occurs on medial verbs, indicating same or different subject.

Doromu-Koki exhibits **isomorphic Same Subject (SS)** and **Different Subject (DS)** morphology, with separate morphemes for SS and DS (see §4.2). Note, however, that in a few places, DS rather than the expected SS is observed. This is for adding prominence (see §8.2.2).

Doromu-Koki allows for **coreference**, **disjoint**, inclusive, or overlap/intersection of reference of SS/DS and also complete identity of entities of simultaneous SS and DS.

While the examples below indicate a type of subordination use of SS/DS, it is preferable to interpret Doromu-Koki switch reference as coordination (Roberts 1988:47-48, 58, 62). In Doromu-Koki the switch reference markings indicate sequentiality (SQ) or simultaneity (SIM).

- (1) *Rautu oki-ga(sa) ini nono sina ni oteimar-afa.*
 village arrive-SIMSS 3.POSS mother story say show-1P.PST
 ‘When we arrived in the village, we told his mother the story.’
- (2) *Rautu oki-yafa-ri ini nono sina ni*
 village arrive-1P.PST-SIMDS 3.POSS mother story say
oteimar-o.
 show-2/3S.PST
 ‘When we arrived in the village, he told his mother the story.’
- (3) *Rautu oki-si ini nono sina ni oteimar-afa.*
 village arrive-SQSS 3.POSS mother story say show-1P.PST
 ‘We arrived in the village and then we told his mother the story.’
- (4) *Rautu oki-yafa-ma(-mo) ini nono sina*
 village arrive-1P.PST-SQDS-at.once 3.POSS mother story
ni oteimar-o.
 say show-2/3S.PST
 ‘We arrived in the village and then he told his mother the story.’

Doromu-Koki is mostly consistent in switch referencing, except in the case of *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’. The different subject marker *-ri* is also found in instances when the subjects of the two consecutive clauses are actually identical, as in the following two examples. In such cases it seems to indicate that the object in the second clause is in focus, though more research is needed to verify this. This ‘exception’ does not occur with any of the other switch reference markers.

- (5) *Sioni mina ve-yo-ri furisi vene*
 white.man this see-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police people
ni-yo-ma koru gena fou re-yadi
 say-2/3S.PST-SQDS water bamboo shoot do-2/3P.PST
fere-yagane vonisi.
 leave-3P.JUS if
 ‘When the white man saw this, he told the police and then they made them leave with their guns.’
- (6) *Mina amiye feo soka re-yo-ri, rabo.rava*
 this man white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS grassland
vene siko meino mar-o iya ri-gam-adi.
 people first peace give-2/3S.PST war do-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘When this white man arrived, he first gave peace to the grasslands people who were fighting.’

Note that in the following two examples the switch reference morphemes are not used due to object complementation. The first example is an indirect quote.

- (7) *Jacobo ni kaite-yaka aruma yaku aki re-yo*
 Jacob say ask-1S.PST snake DM bite do-2/3S.PST
ba ide.
 or NEG
 ‘I asked Jacob if the snake bit him or not.’

In the following example, verb serialisation is used, so that switch reference cannot be employed. Also, because of the use of the mode suffix *-gika* ‘intensive’ there can be no other marking on the medial verb.

- (8) *Amiye tora regode ...yaku sioni ini voru=sa*
 person big three DM white.man 3.POSS spear=ACCM
u-gika re meki re-yadi.
 hit-INTV do chase do-2/3P.PST
 ‘Three big men...tried to kill the white man with their spears and chased him away.’

Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is rarely used in Doromu-Koki, compared with other Papuan languages. It can be referred to as repetition or clause chaining, linking clause chains together by repetition from one clause to another. It is used as a recapitulation device in oral discourse to keep the hearer's attention, and is much less common in written discourse. It is used to chain the previous clause or sentence to the next one, thus emphasising the action or event of the previous sentence, and as such, using perfective aspect. Note that completive constructions are permissible as well:

- (9) ...*rautu neinei furisi bona kanisoro ai-yo.*
 village each police and councillors put-2/3S.PST
Koina ni-yo-ri furisi kanisoro afe-si
 finish say-2/3S.PST=SIMDS police councillors return-SQSS
 ...*sufa rofu rautu vene maina bai-yo.*
 bush DIR village people look.for come-2/3S.PST
 '...he placed police and councillors in each village. Once he finished bringing police and councillors... he came to the bush to look for village people.'

Tail-head linkage serves to slow down the story as it gives known background information in subsequent clauses. There are two possible tail-head linkage strategies: 1) Chained tail-head linkage, which is the default, and 2) Thematised tail-head linkage, which is manifested in nominalised clauses. The data would suggest that Doromu-Koki favours the first strategy. However, when tail-head linkage is used across sentences, recapitulation is used instead, as seen in example (10). Tail-head linkage attempts to slow down the story or argument prior to an important event or assertion.

- (10) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa*
 afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
di-yaka. Sufa di-yaka to uru ni-gi
 go-1S.PST bush go-1S.PST but night say-PURP
re-gam-o dairi-yaka.
 do-HAB-2/3S.PST return-1S.PST
 'One afternoon I took a gun and went to the bush. I went to the bush but it was getting dark and I returned.'

In the following example there is a bit of difference between the head (*duaiya reyo*) and the tail (*reyo duaiya re...reyo*):

- (11) *Vasa ya kaito iya duaiya re-yo. Re-yo*
 sand DM start.to star count do-2/3S.PST do-2/3S.PST
duaiya re vau re-yo.
 count do complete do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Sand started to count star. He counted all of him.’

A tail-head linkage can act to resume the theme line or introduce the next step in a progression or procedure.

- (12) *Vi Koru ma kamini bo-yafa. Bo-yafa-si John*
 Vi water and enough go.up-1P.PST go-1P.PST-SQSS John
di muro odema adina kamini oki-yafa.
 GEN garden old.garden near enough arrive-1P.PST
 ‘We went up to Vi River. We went up and then we arrived near John’s old garden.’

Mostly variations are due to verb morphology, or verb chaining as seen below:

- (13) *Koina ni-yo-ri furisi kanisoro afe-si*
 finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police council return-SQSS
sufa rofu rautu vene maina bai-yo.
 bush DIR village people look.for come-2/3S.PST
Bai-gika bi ini furisi vene koru gena
 come-INTV TOP 3.POSS police people water bamboo
asini mar-o.
 partner give-2/3S.PST
 ‘Once he finished this, he took police and councillors to the bush and came looking for the village people. They were trying to come and he gave his policemen guns.’
- (14) *Nai nono make-yaka. Make ne-yaka.*
 1S.POSS mother think-1S.PST think go.down-1S.PST
 ‘I thought about my mother. I felt sorry.’

- (15) *Ya bi mina ida ma ne-giya. Ne-giya=ri*
 2 TOP this road and go.down-2S.FUT go.down-2S.FUT=at
bi Yo Koru soka re-giya.
 TOP Yo water arrive do-2S.FUT
 ‘You will go down this road. When you go down you will arrive
 at Yo River.’

Doromu-Koki often uses *re-si* ‘do-SQSS’ (de Vries 2005:376). It has been translated as ‘and then’, but more literally could be rendered ‘did and then’, showing how it is linking the current event to the previous.

- (16) *Nono, baba ma mida mida amei-nu re-si aka,*
 mother father and child child stay-CAUS do-SQSS prawn
buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau=sa iri-sifa
 fish.sp fish.sp food and stew=ACCM eat-1P.PRES
ada dudu.
 happiness INST
 ‘Make the mothers, fathers, and children sit and then we are
 eating prawns and fish, food and stew with happiness.’
- (17) *Kamini ina vene yaku nana rei ne-yadi ina*
 enough 3 people DM walk do go.down-2/3P.PST 3
atafu, re-si ni-yadi...
 close do-SQSS say-2/3P.PST
 ‘Then the people walked on down close to him, and then they
 said...’

8.2.2 Prominence

Since word order is not free in Doromu-Koki, it is through word order changes that prominence is indicated.

Thematic prominence is indicated by a nominal + pronoun copy, as seen in the example below. Here it is used to indicate that Star, rather than Sand, is the centre of attention. Note also, the use of *yaku ~ ya* ‘development marker,’ which will be discussed further below.

- (18) *Iya ya ina vasa duaiya re-yo.*
 star DM 3 sand count do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Star, he counted Sand.’

Story development

Story development is exhibited in Doromu-Koki through the development marker *yaku*. Like *bi* ‘topic marker’, it is pervasive throughout all discourse types, and yet there are also texts in which it is not used at all. When it does occur, it is found immediately after the subject, mostly in sentence-initial clauses or first clauses of embedded complement clauses after the subject. It overtly marks the most salient participant of a sentence and is used primarily to set the story or to slow down the narrative, particularly before a climax or significant development. Dutton (1975:629), identifies *yaku* as a subject marker, accounting for its presence, but not its absence. It is often used to emphasise the subject, particularly in answer to a question, as in (20), in which case the question asked would most likely be (19):

(19) *Kaere bi iruku mar-o?*
 who TOP food give-2/3S.PST
 ‘Who gave him the food?’

(20) *Na yaku iruku mar-aka.*
 1S DM food give-1S.PST
 ‘I gave him the food.’/ ‘It is I who gave him the food.’

The development marker normally occurs immediately after the noun phrase or pronoun it modifies.

(21) *ourena rema ofi yaku na ni no*
 older.sibling woman young.girl DM 1S say bad
re-yo...
 do-2/3S.PST
 ‘the older sister cursed me...’

Particularly in speech, *yaku* can be shortened to *ya*:

(22) *Yi uka mida ya maina re-da.*
 2.POSS stomach child DM look.for do-1S.PRES
 ‘It is your beloved child that I am looking for.’

In text 7, *Gokai ida dudu meino moyafa* ‘How we got peace’ (see Appendix), the use of *yaku* makes it clear that the village people are in control throughout, and not the white man and his people. They are only minor participants, whereas *yaku* marks the major participants.

Setting

In the following examples *yaku* ‘development marker’ is indicated before the next sequence in the sentence:

- (23) ...*ini* *bibo* *u-ga* *ame-gam-o-ri* *bi*
 3.POSS flute hit-SIMSS stay-HAB-2/3S.PST-SIMDS TOP
ini *oure-na* *rema* *yaku* *ne-yo* *rofu*
 3.POSS lead-NOM woman DM go.down-2/3S.PST PURP
ve-yo...
 see-2/3S.PST
 ‘...while he was sitting playing his flute, the older girl went
 down to him and saw him...’

- (24) *Rautu* *oki-yafa-si* *na ya* *ini* *nono* *sina*
 village arrive-1P.PST-SQSS 1S DM 3.POSS mother story
ni *oteimar-aka*...
 say show-1S.PST
 ‘We arrived in the village and then I told his mother the story...’

The development marker *yaku* as used after a **relative clause** is seen below:

- (25) *Amiye* *kaere* *dona* *u-yo* *ya* *na* *ve-yo*.
 person who pig hit-2/3S.PST DM 1S see-2/3S.PST
 ‘The man who killed the pig saw me.’

The development marker *yaku* is further used to separate out subject and object NPs within a sentence.

- (26) *Uka* *yaku* *na* *ve-si* *yabo* *odoro* *di-yo*.
 cuscus DM 1S see-SQSS tree above go-2/3S.PST
 ‘The cuscus saw me and then went into the tree.’

Focal prominence

Normally, clauses are verb-final. However, elements such as locatives and postpositional phrases can be given prominence or focus by postposing them after the verb phrase. Examples (27) to (30) illustrate clause-final locatives, while examples (31) to (33) illustrate clause-final postpositional phrases. Note in example (27), that although action is drawn to the subject by

the use of the topic marker *bi*, the location *Mosbi* is in focus. Its unusual position in the clause indicates it is a focal element, that is, informationally this element of the predicate is more important than the others. In this case, the speaker wants to focus on the location above the other non-established information, such as the temporal adjunct *Saturday*.

- (27) *Raphael, na bi Saturday ne-gida Mosbi.*
 Raphael 1S TOP Saturday go.down-1S.FUT Port.Moresby
 ‘Raphael, I myself will go on Saturday to Port Moresby.’
- (28) *Gua Kwikila vo ni-sifa mini.*
 now Kwikila happen say-1P.PRES here
 ‘Today we call it Kwikila here.’
- (29) *Meki re-yo rofu sosogi yaku imi-yo*
 chase do-2/3S.PST BEN spear DM spear-2/3S.PST
ini getona=ri.
 3.POSS back=at
 ‘He chased him and shot the spear in his back.’
- (30) *Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga, fuse*
 3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS bag
ri-gasa, moi oki-yadi koru seri=ri.
 make-SIMSS get arrive-2/3P.PST water riverbank=at
 ‘Their wives were digging sweet potatoes, and putting them in bags and brought them to the riverbank.’

Focal prominence through postposing may act to give further clarification, or anticipation of a change of topic.

- (31) *Auna yaku dona meki re-yo-ma Waxy ka*
 dog DM pig chase do-2/3S.PST-SQDS Waxy also
ina=sa raga re-yo dona=sa.
 3=ACCM run do-2/3S.PST pig=ACCM
 ‘The dog chased the pig and then Waxy ran together with him, the pig.’

- (32) *Gabi ro mo una remanu di uni iruku una*
 later ABL at.once 1P two GEN 1P.POSS food 1P
mar-o-ma iri-yafa ada dudu.
 give-2/3S.PST-SQSS eat-1P.PST happiness INST
 ‘Later she gave us two our food and we happily ate it.’

Example (33) shows a postpositional recipient phrase in clause-final position; the phrase is in focus in anticipation of a change of topic:

- (33) *Re-si na raka ni ne-yo na rofu.*
 do-SQSS 1S call say go.down-2/3S.PST 1S BEN
 ‘And then he called down to me.’

To end this section we mention another very common focus strategy, unrelated to the previous discussion, namely **repetition**:

- (34) *Buni tora gade gade ni-yo.*
 good big very very say-2/3S.PST
 ‘He blessed him very much.’

8.2.3 Topic

Topic in Doromu-Koki is indicated by *bi*. In this way, Doromu-Koki, being a subject-initial language, indicates a subject as a point of departure, as the predicate is normally in focus in a topic-comment sentence (Levinsohn 2004:4.1). Thus the topic maker is needed to draw the ‘topic’ element out (see §5.1.1 for further details).

- (35) *Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi*
 garden top go.up-SQSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST
iruku iri-gi ini moke-na bi sioni
 food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man
iruku iri-gedi.
 food eat-2/3P.FUT
 ‘They went up to the top of the garden and all sat down to eat food, thinking they would eat store-bought food.’

- (36) *Anema garasi bo-yadi, ina diba de*
 head.water glass go.up-2/3P.PST 3 knowledge NEG
garasi foroka=sa di-yadi. Mina remanu
 glass basket=ACCM go.up-2/3P.PST this two
bi *garasi re-na de.*
 TOP glass do-NOM NEG

‘They went up to the head waters with their diving glasses, and they didn’t know they went up with their glasses left behind in the basket. These two were going without their diving glasses.’

9. *Lexical issues*

This chapter discusses various issues in the Doromu-Koki lexicon: kinship terms, homonyms, figures of speech, idioms, names and nicknames, onomatopoeia and rhymes, borrowed words and Biblical key terms.

9.1 Kinship terms

Doromu-Koki kinship terms are listed in Table 9.1. For further discussion see Bradshaw (2006).

TABLE 9.1 KINSHIP TERMS

<i>abuata</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’
<i>aufa</i>	‘grandparent/grandchild, great-uncle/aunt, great-nephew/niece’
<i>aufa keika</i>	‘younger great-uncle/aunt’
<i>aufa tora</i>	‘older great-uncle/aunt’
<i>baba</i>	‘father, uncle’
<i>baba keika</i>	‘younger uncle’
<i>baba tora</i>	‘older uncle’
<i>bobada</i>	‘great-great-grandparent/child, great-great-great-uncle/aunt, great-great-great-nephew/niece’
<i>dubuyaka</i>	‘brothers, first cousins’
<i>dubuini/dubu</i>	‘brother, first cousin’
<i>edini</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law’

TABLE 9.1 CONT'D: KINSHIP TERMS

<i>imokai</i>	‘father/mother-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’
<i>maruka</i>	‘husband’
<i>meraini</i>	‘cousin’
<i>merayaka</i>	‘cousins’
<i>nabore</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law’
<i>nono</i>	‘mother, aunt’
<i>nono keika</i>	‘younger aunt’

9.2 Homonyms

Doromu-Koki has many homonyms, though it is possible that some are actually related senses of the same word (polysemy), rather than homonyms. Further research will hopefully bear this out. Following is a listing under the letter **a**, taken from Bradshaw (2007).

<i>ada</i> ₁	‘happiness’	<i>aka</i> ₁	‘prawn’
<i>ada</i> ₂	‘head’	<i>aka</i> ₂	‘open mouth’
<i>ada</i> ₃	‘shadow’	<i>aku</i> ₁	‘build’
<i>adafa</i> ₁	‘mushroom sp’	<i>aku</i> ₂	‘wear’
<i>adafa</i> ₂	‘tree sp’	<i>anema</i> ₁	‘ear’
<i>adina</i> ₁	‘because’	<i>anema</i> ₂	‘headwaters’
<i>adina</i> ₂	‘trunk base’	<i>ava</i> ₁	‘bee sp’
<i>adina</i> ₃	‘close beside’	<i>ava</i> ₂	‘grass sp’
<i>afe</i> ₁	‘banana sp’	<i>avaka</i> ₁	‘season’
<i>afe</i> ₂	‘bring back, return’	<i>avaka</i> ₂	‘touch’
<i>aira</i> ₁	‘offering’	<i>ayena</i> ₁	‘male cassowary’
<i>aira</i> ₂	‘Josephine’s Lorikeet’	<i>ayena</i> ₂	‘lightning’

9.3 Figures of speech

A figure of speech is an expression in the language, using the devices of metaphor, simile or antithesis.

9.3.1 Metaphor

A **metaphor** occurs when a word or phrase is used to suggest comparison with another object. An example in English would be ‘He is a pig’. Two examples follow:

- (1) *Amiye di uka ide=ri dona auna di mokei*
 person GEN stomach inside=at pig dog GEN think
mokei.
 think

‘Foolishness is in people’s hearts.’ (Lit. ‘Inside a person’s stomach is pigs’ and dogs’ thinking.’)

- (2) *Gadeva auna yaku yi fogo=ri oki-gedi.*
 wild dog DM 2.POSS amongst=at arrive-2/3P.FUT
 ‘Ruthless people will come amongst you.’ (Lit. ‘Wild dogs will arrive among you.’)

9.3.2 Simile

A **simile**, like a metaphor, also involves comparison, saying that two unrelated things are ‘like’ one another, because they have some common characteristic that the speaker desires to highlight. An example in English is ‘He eats like a pig’. The following occur in Doromu-Koki:

TABLE 9.2 SIMILES

		literal meaning
<i>auna kana</i>	‘greedily, lustfully’	‘like a dog’
<i>gaibana kana</i>	‘hard to catch, hold on to, slippery’	‘like an eel’
<i>uka kana</i>	‘whiteskin’	‘like a cuscus’

- (3) *Rauna re-yo dada, bi auna kana ini*
 hunger do-2/3S.PST because TOP dog like 3.POSS
iruku iri-yo.
 food eat-2/3S.PST
 ‘Because he was hungry, he ate his food greedily.’
- (4) *Gaibana kana mida moi gira re-gi anua*
 eel like child get hard do-PURP unable
re-yaka.
 do-1S.PST
 ‘I wasn’t able to hold onto the slippery child.’

9.4 Idioms

An **idiom** is an expression in which the meaning does not add up to the literal parts. Doromu-Koki has many idioms. Below are the ones that have been observed so far. Note that some are used as euphemisms.

TABLE 9.3 IDIOMS

		literal meaning
<i>abatasa</i>	‘milk in tea/coffee’ (looks like a river after heavy rain)	‘with flood’
<i>ada fairo re</i>	‘angry’	‘flaming head’
<i>ari agubo ni</i>	‘crying’	‘day becomes dark’
<i>auna yuka</i>	‘flower petals/five clubs (playing card)’	‘dog paws, dog paw prints’
<i>ava mida</i>	‘stunted, slow to grow up’	‘grass child’
<i>aveta bura</i>	‘skinny’	‘exposed ribs’
<i>dadi</i>	‘ready to go’	‘get up’
<i>dei ne</i>	‘death, die’ (euphemism)	‘go down’
<i>egira re</i>	‘take heart’	‘strengthen’
<i>eina kiri</i>	‘rain shower’	‘dry tree sp’

TABLE 9.3 CONT'D: IDIOMS

		literal meaning
<i>eruka ro</i>	'pain relieving rub'	'tree sp bark'
<i>fai kutu</i>	'broke, penniless, empty handed'	'strip, take off trousers'
<i>fore</i>	'money, needs'	'stone'
<i>koima</i>	'little boy' (descriptive of how a small penis resembles a leech)	'leech'
<i>koru dadiyo</i>	'river dried up'	'water got up (and left)'
<i>koru gena</i>	'gun'	'water bamboo'
<i>moi rivo</i>	'conceive'	'get stomach'
<i>moi vena</i>	'commit adultery, fondle'	'get mouth'
<i>mosara buni</i>	'nice girl'	'good sweet potato'
<i>ni vava</i>	'speak well of, honour'	'say heat'
<i>raravari keto re</i>	'get married'	'fall off a cliff'
<i>reiro</i>	'rice' (looks like ant eggs)	'red ant'
<i>reiro feide</i>	'show respect to spirits at end of planting'	'cook red ants (rice)'
<i>rema di gauka</i>	'menstrual period' (euphemism)	'woman's sickness'
<i>rivo beko</i>	'potbelly'	'rough stomach'
<i>rivo kefuka</i>	'potbelly'	'hump stomach'
<i>rivo ni</i>	'pregnant'	'become stomach'
<i>rovaita nuga</i>	'circumcision' (euphemism)	'cut skin/body'
<i>rovaita toe re</i>	'shame/ashamed'	'body becomes heavy'
<i>sau</i>	'highlander'	'smell'

TABLE 9.3 CONT'D: IDIOMS

		literal meaning
<i>suma suma</i>	‘go hunting’	‘bush bush’
<i>teki</i>	‘very hot’	‘snap twig’
<i>teteka</i>	‘pretty young girl’	‘branch’
<i>toe ni</i>	‘pregnant’	‘become heavy’
<i>udo</i>	‘flour’	‘dust, ashes’
<i>uka kabudo re</i>	‘hungry’	‘stomach grumble’
<i>uka koru rama rausi re</i>	‘diarrhoea’	‘stomach poured out a lot of water’
<i>uka moi</i>	‘troubled, distressed’	‘get stomach’
<i>uka unema re</i>	‘diarrhoea’	‘stomach do landslide’
<i>vabara koru</i>	‘kerosene’	‘light water’
<i>vai ode</i>	‘swim’	‘burn breaking’
<i>vana moi kita kita re</i>	‘work hard’	‘make hands move’
<i>vana raro</i>	‘four’	‘hand line’
<i>vare</i>	‘have sexual intercourse’ (euphemism)	‘sleep’
<i>vari afiye</i>	‘double tongue, wishy-washy’	‘lizard tongue’
<i>yabo feya</i>	‘biscuit’	‘flat wood’
<i>yuka rafo</i>	‘respect for spirits’	‘broken leg’
<i>yuka ode</i>	‘finish’	‘break leg’
<i>yuka vana nari re</i>	‘self-control’	‘look after legs and arms’
<i>yuka yokoi maka</i>	‘rain shower’	‘only one leg’

9.5 Names and nicknames

Typically **first names** are modern (borrowed Western or Biblical) names, while many second/last names are often traditional names. Previously these were the father's name, but now they have become a family name. For example, *Luke Bomena*'s father's name was *Bomena*, but now his children's names are *Karen Bomena*, *Shelly Bomena*, *Adam Bomena* and *Priscilla Bomena*.

Children do not call their parents by their names, and it is considered disrespectful to call an in-law by their name. Generally deceased person's names are avoided as well.

Nicknames are common, and are used to exaggerate some specific characteristic of the individual. Names are also shortened, or in some way played upon. Following are some examples in Doromu-Koki:

TABLE 9.4: NICKNAMES

<i>Ada tora</i>	'Big head'
<i>Amiye doba</i>	'Tall man'
<i>Aroro</i>	'Announcer' (From Hiri Motu <i>haroro</i> 'preach')
<i>Bouti</i>	'Boat' (occupation)
<i>CB tora</i>	'Council boss' (former counsellor)
<i>Gensi</i>	'Gena'
<i>Kebere</i>	'Bald'
<i>Lobo</i>	'Luke Bomena' (play on name)
<i>Madan amiye</i>	'Madang man' (town of origin)
<i>Ne basu</i>	'Bug-eyed'
<i>Ne iyo</i>	'Disturbed eye'
<i>Nobi</i>	'Norbert'
<i>Sioni</i>	'John' (referring to all white men)

TABLE 9.4 CONT'D: NICKNAMES

<i>Stoa amiye</i>	‘Store man’ (occupation)
<i>Tootsie</i>	‘Raphael Totome’ (play on family name)
<i>Uboma foki</i>	‘Bent back’
<i>Vana tu</i>	‘Short arm’
<i>Vekeke</i>	‘Cleaner’
<i>Vena ueta bora</i>	‘Yellow beard’
<i>Warder Koki</i>	‘Koki Warder’ (former occupation)
<i>Yaku kou amiye</i>	‘Go out and stop’

9.6 Onomatopoeia and rhymes

Onomatopoeia, or the use of words to imitate the sound they denote is a common feature of languages, and Doromu-Koki is no exception; it is rich in onomatopoeic forms, as well as rhyming jingles. Below is a table showing the various onomatopoeic forms found in the language; nearly all of them deal with animal noises.

TABLE 9.5 ONOMATOPOEIA

<i>buau buau...</i>	‘argh’	(low hoarse voice)
<i>hãĩ hãĩ</i>	‘here dog’	(call dog)
<i>ka-a ka-a ka-a</i>		(song of sulphur-crested cuckoo)
<i>keao...</i>	‘grrr’	(stomach rumble)
<i>kerarai kerarai kerarai</i>		(song of female eclectus parrot)
<i>ki...</i>		(ringing ears)
<i>kiroi kiroi kiroi</i>		(song of male eclectus parrot)

TABLE 9.5 CONT'D: ONOMATOPOEIA

<i>koe koe koe</i>	‘oink oink oink’	(pig grunting)
<i>kokoro koo...</i>	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’	(rooster call)
<i>kua kua kua</i>	‘quack quack quack’	(duck sound)
<i>kuiyori kuiyori kuiyori</i>		(Papuan lorikeet song)
<i>mã...</i>		(call pig)
<i>mẽ...</i>	‘shoo’	(chase dog/pig)
<i>ɲae...</i>	‘buzz’	(mosquito buzz)
<i>ɲai...</i>		(cricket chirp)
<i>niau niau niau</i>	‘meow meow meow’	(cat sound)
<i>sss...</i>	‘sss...’	(snake sound)
<i>teki taki</i>		(rustling of trees)
<i>toketake</i>		(crashing of tree)
<i>tsi tsi tsi</i>	‘chirp chirp chirp’	(gecko chirp)
<i>ua ua ua</i>		(bird of paradise song for dance/celebration)
<i>uo uo uo</i>	‘bow wow wow’	(dog sound)

(The tilde (~) over vowels indicates nasalisation, and the *ɲ* indicates a palatal nasal.)

According to Pawley (2006), a rhyming jingle is a lexical unit of at least two phonological words, identical in form except for one or more elements in the first syllable or initial part of the two words. Such forms found in Doromu-Koki are seen below.

TABLE 9.6 RHYMING JINGLES

<i>bu ba</i>	‘shattering glass’
<i>dogo dago</i>	‘preparing’
<i>duma dama re</i>	‘stealing’
<i>iri ari</i>	‘eating hurriedly’
<i>koite kaite re</i>	‘washing hands’
<i>koke kake</i>	‘cut and bring’
<i>misiri masiri</i>	‘itty-bitty fish’
<i>sisifura sasifura</i>	‘itsy bitsy trees’

- (5) ***Koite.kaite re-yaka.***
 wash.hands do-1S.PST
 ‘I washed my hands.’
- (6) ***Koru=ri misiri.masiri.***
 water=at itty.bitty.fish
 ‘There are itty-bitty fish in the water/river.’
- (7) ***Sisifura.sasifura mironi ve.***
 itsy.bitsy.trees there see
 ‘Look at the itsy bitsy trees over there.’

9.7 Borrowed words

To date 268 words in the dictionary (Bradshaw 2007) have been classified as borrowed. The majority are from Hiri Motu or English (or originally from another language coming via Hiri Motu or English), while a few are from Tok Pisin. Most are nouns, but also found are adjectives, conjunctions, and temporal elements. They are used in the same manner as other words in the language. For the most part, they are made to conform to the Doromu-Koki syllable structure (see §2.3 and §2.4). They are listed below, followed by a few example sentences, with the borrowed words highlighted. Notice that a number of recent English borrowings retain their original spelling (e.g. *disco*, *donkey*).

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>abata</i>	‘flood’	Hiri Motu	<i>abata</i>	‘flood, current’
<i>abitore re</i>	‘borrow, lend’	Hiri Motu	<i>abitorehai</i>	‘credit, borrow’
<i>ahuna</i>	‘reward, share’	Hiri Motu	<i>ahuna</i>	‘share, reward’
<i>aisi</i>	‘ice, snow’	English	<i>ice</i>	
<i>algebra</i>	‘algebra’	English	<i>algebra</i>	
<i>ane</i>	‘song, hymn’	Hiri Motu	<i>ane</i>	‘song, hymn’
<i>aneru</i>	‘angel’	Hiri Motu (English)	<i>aneru</i>	‘angel’
<i>anika</i>	‘anchor’	English	<i>anchor</i>	
<i>ariya re</i>	‘divide’	Hiri Motu	<i>haria</i>	‘divide, share, portion out’
<i>aroro</i>	‘announcer, preacher’	Hiri Motu	<i>haroro</i>	‘preach’
<i>auri</i>	‘spear, iron, steel, metal’	Hiri Motu	<i>auri</i>	‘iron, steel, metal’
<i>babatiso</i>	‘baptism, baptise’	English	<i>baptism/ baptise</i>	
<i>badina</i>	‘because, cause, reason’	Hiri Motu	<i>badina</i>	‘base of something’
<i>badu</i>	‘anger’	Hiri Motu	<i>badu</i>	‘anger, angry, cross, irate’
<i>baiburu</i>	‘bible’	English	<i>bible</i>	
<i>baige</i>	‘bag’	English	<i>bag</i>	
<i>baketi</i>	‘bucket’	English	<i>bucket</i>	
<i>banika</i>	‘bank’	English	<i>bank</i>	
<i>baptist</i>	‘baptist’	English	<i>baptist</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>baruni</i>	‘balloon’	English	<i>balloon</i>	
<i>basileia</i>	‘kingdom’	Hiri Motu (Greek)	<i>basileia</i>	‘kingdom’
<i>bedi</i>	‘bed’	English	<i>bed</i>	
<i>bema</i>	‘if’	Hiri Motu	<i>bema</i>	‘if’
<i>beniga</i>	‘benzene’	English	<i>benzene</i>	
<i>beredi</i>	‘bread’	English	<i>bread</i>	
<i>bero</i>	‘bell, ring bell’	English	<i>bell</i>	
<i>bero</i>	‘harm, wound, hurt’	Hiri Motu	<i>bero</i>	‘wound, hurt’
<i>berota</i>	‘belt’	English	<i>belt</i>	
<i>bibo</i>	‘flute, Jew’s harp’	Hiri Motu	<i>bibo</i>	‘Jew’s harp’
<i>blu</i>	‘blue’	English	<i>blue</i>	
<i>bodaka</i>	‘evil spirit, demon’	Hiri Motu	<i>bodaga</i>	‘rotten, decayed’
<i>bona</i>	‘and’	Hiri Motu	<i>bona</i>	‘and’
<i>boro</i>	‘ball’	English	<i>ball</i>	
<i>boromakau</i>	‘cattle, livestock, cow, bull, beef’	Tok Pisin	<i>bulmakau</i>	‘cattle’
<i>borukoko</i>	‘weak, become weak’	Hiri Motu	<i>buruka</i>	‘old’
<i>bosu</i>	‘boss, manager, supervisor’	English	<i>boss</i>	
<i>botolo</i>	‘bottle’	English	<i>bottle</i>	
<i>botoro</i>	‘bottle, jar’	English	<i>bottle</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>bouti</i>	‘boat’	English	<i>boat</i>	
<i>braun</i>	‘brown’	English	<i>brown</i>	
<i>buka</i>	‘book’	English	<i>book</i>	
<i>busi</i>	‘bush man, human-like spirit, dwarf bush man’	English	<i>bushy</i>	
<i>dabu ni</i>	‘lacking, having nothing, in need of’	Hiri Motu	<i>dabu</i>	‘lacking, in need of, having nothing’
<i>dabua</i>	‘clothing, clothes, cloth’	Hiri Motu	<i>dabua</i>	‘clothing, cloth, clothes’
<i>daramu</i>	‘drum’	English	<i>drum</i>	
<i>davana</i>	‘price, pay, cost, wages’	Hiri Motu	<i>davana</i>	‘price, wages, pay, money, cost’
<i>davara</i>	‘sea, ocean, sea breeze’	Hiri Motu	<i>davara</i>	‘ocean, sea’
<i>dereini</i>	‘drain’	English	<i>drain</i>	
<i>diba</i>	‘know (how to), understand’	Hiri Motu	<i>diba</i>	‘knowledge, understanding, ability, skill, know, understand, able to, acquainted with’
<i>diba</i>	‘spear, arrow’	Hiri Motu	<i>diba</i>	‘arrow’
<i>dikadika</i>	‘very good’	Hiri Motu	<i>dikadika</i>	‘very bad, badly, extremely, very much’
<i>disco</i>	‘disco, dance’	English	<i>disco</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>doketa</i>	‘doctor, physician’	English	<i>doctor</i>	
<i>donkey</i>	‘donkey’	English	<i>donkey</i>	
<i>drouin</i>	‘drawing’	English	<i>drawing</i>	
<i>dubu</i>	‘church’	Hiri Motu	<i>dubu</i>	‘sacred platform, church, sacred building’
<i>duruu re</i>	‘help, aid, assist, support’	Hiri Motu	<i>duruu</i>	‘help, aid, assist, support’
<i>e</i>	‘oh, ah, o’	Hiri Motu	<i>e</i>	‘oh, ah’
<i>egeregere</i>	‘okay, well, enough’	Hiri Motu	<i>hegerege</i>	‘enough, same, equal, suited for, able, sufficient, alike’
<i>ekalesia</i>	‘church’	Hiri Motu (Greek)	<i>ekalesia</i>	‘church’
<i>eti</i>	‘eight’	English	<i>eight</i>	
<i>fainaforo</i> ~ <i>fainafu</i> ~ <i>fainap</i> <i>faini</i>	‘pineapple’	English	<i>pineapple</i>	
<i>fani</i>	‘fine’	English	<i>fine</i>	
<i>fani</i>	‘pot, pan’	English	<i>pan</i>	
<i>farauasi</i> ~ <i>farofaro</i> ~ <i>farovasi</i> <i>farava</i>	‘flowers’	English	<i>flowers</i>	
<i>farava</i>	‘flour’	English	<i>flour</i>	
<i>farisi</i>	‘police’	English	<i>police</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>fava</i>	‘power’	English	<i>power</i>	
<i>fefa</i>	‘paper, manuscript’	English	<i>paper</i>	
<i>fereini</i>	‘aeroplane’	English	<i>(aero)plane</i>	
<i>fetoro</i>	‘petrol’	English	<i>petrol</i>	
<i>fisitoro</i>	‘pistol, gun’	English	<i>pistol</i>	
<i>foketa</i>	‘pocket’	English	<i>pocket</i>	
<i>foki</i>	‘bend, crook, fork’	English	<i>fork</i>	
<i>furisi</i>	‘police’	English	<i>police</i>	
<i>fuse</i>	‘bag (rice), sack’	Hiri Motu (English)	<i>puse</i>	‘purse, sack, bag’
<i>gabu</i>	‘place’	Hiri Motu	<i>gabuna</i>	‘place, area, region, site’
<i>gai</i>	‘club, shield’	Hiri Motu	<i>gahi</i>	‘stone club’
<i>garasi</i>	‘glass(es), mirror, goggles’	English	<i>glass</i>	
<i>gaudia</i>	‘thing, something’	Hiri Motu	<i>gaudia</i>	‘thing, baggage, belongings, luggage, possessions’
<i>gaukara</i>	‘work, job’	Hiri Motu	<i>gaukara</i>	‘work, duty, business, job’
<i>gavana</i>	‘governor’	English	<i>governor</i>	
<i>gavmani</i>	‘government’	English	<i>government</i>	
<i>geda</i>	‘bed, mat’	Hiri Motu	<i>geda</i>	‘mat, carpet’

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>gesi</i>	‘gas’	English	<i>gas</i>	
<i>gigini</i>	‘pain, sharp’	Hiri Motu	<i>ginigini</i>	‘thorn’
<i>girisi</i>	‘grease, oil’	English	<i>grease</i>	
<i>gita</i>	‘guitar’	English	<i>guitar</i>	
<i>gohu</i>	‘lake’	Hiri Motu	<i>gohu</i>	‘lake, lagoon, swamp, bay, cove’
<i>goro</i>	‘gold’	English	<i>gold</i>	
<i>gouti</i>	‘goat’	English	<i>goat</i>	
<i>guava</i>	‘guava’	English	<i>guava</i>	
<i>gunika</i>	‘interior, inland’	Hiri Motu	<i>gunika</i>	‘inland’
<i>guri</i>	‘grave, pit, bury, well’	Hiri Motu	<i>guri</i>	‘pit, grave’
<i>guriguri</i>	‘prayer, worship, pray’	Hiri Motu	<i>guriguri</i>	‘pray, prayer’
<i>haiue</i>	‘highway’	English	<i>highway</i>	
<i>hosi</i>	‘horse’	English	<i>horse</i>	
<i>hosifere</i>	‘hospital, clinic’	English	<i>hospital</i>	
<i>ikoko</i>	‘nail’	Hiri Motu	<i>ikoko</i>	‘nail’
<i>indafeni</i>	‘independence’	English	<i>independence</i>	
<i>iron</i>	‘iron (roof)’	English	<i>iron</i>	
<i>jeimisi</i>	‘germ, virus’	English	<i>germs</i>	
<i>kaeyomo</i>	‘sweet potato’	Hiri Motu	<i>kaema</i>	‘sweet potato’

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>kaiya</i>	‘knife, fighting knife’	Hiri Motu	<i>kaia</i>	‘knife’
<i>kaka</i>	‘red, ripe’	Hiri Motu	<i>kakakaka</i>	‘red’
<i>kamaidaforo</i>	‘colourful, attractive, sparkling’	English	<i>colourful</i>	
<i>kamelo</i>	‘camel’	English	<i>camel</i>	
<i>kamfani</i>	‘company’	English	<i>company</i>	
<i>kanisoro</i>	‘council’	English	<i>council</i>	
<i>kapenta</i>	‘carpenter’	English	<i>carpenter</i>	
<i>kaposi</i>	‘cup’	English	<i>cup</i>	
<i>karamu</i>	‘crab’	English	<i>crab</i>	
<i>karasi</i>	‘classroom’	English	<i>classroom</i>	
<i>karaudi</i>	‘harpoon, spear gun’	Hiri Motu	<i>karaudi</i>	‘multi-pronged spear’
<i>kare amiye ~ kare vene</i>	‘carrier(s)’	English	<i>carrier</i>	
<i>karu</i>	‘young, immature, unripe’	Hiri Motu	<i>karu</i>	‘green coconut’
<i>kau</i>	‘cattle, cow’	English	<i>cow</i>	
<i>kava</i>	‘not all, not one, in vain’	Hiri Motu	<i>kava</i>	‘in vain, aimlessly, gratis, carelessly, mad, insane’
<i>kebere</i>	‘bald’	Hiri Motu	<i>kebere</i>	‘coconut shell cup, bald’

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>kerere</i>	‘trouble, mistake, accident’	Hiri Motu	<i>kerere</i>	‘trouble, mistake, blunder, accident, crime, incorrect, wrong’
<i>keresin</i>	‘kerosene’	English	<i>kerosene</i>	
<i>keten</i>	‘curtain’	English	<i>curtain</i>	
<i>ketoro</i>	‘kettle’	English	<i>kettle</i>	
<i>ki</i>	‘key’	English	<i>key</i>	
<i>kiki</i>	‘secret, mystery’	Hiri Motu	<i>kiki</i>	‘story, tale, gossip’
<i>kiki re</i>	‘kick’	English	<i>kick</i>	
<i>kini</i>	‘king’	English	<i>king</i>	
<i>kiriniki</i>	‘clinic’	English	<i>clinic</i>	
<i>kisini</i>	‘kitchen, cooking house’	English	<i>kitchen</i>	
<i>kofa</i>	‘copper’	English	<i>copper</i>	
<i>kofi</i>	‘coffee’	English	<i>coffee</i>	
<i>kohu</i>	‘property, cargo’	Hiri Motu	<i>kohu</i>	‘property, wealth, supplies, stores, cargo, baggage’
<i>kokoroku</i>	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’	Hiri Motu (English)	<i>kokoroku</i>	‘chicken, fowl, hen, rooster’
<i>koma</i>	‘comma’	English	<i>comma</i>	
<i>komposer</i>	‘composer’	English	<i>composer</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>komunio</i>	‘communion’	English	<i>communion</i>	
<i>kone</i>	‘coast’	Hiri Motu	<i>kone</i>	‘beach, seaside, coast’
<i>koni</i>	‘corn’	English	<i>corn</i>	
<i>koroko</i>	‘o’clock’	English	<i>o’clock</i>	
<i>kota re</i>	‘court’	English	<i>court</i>	
<i>kuava</i>	‘guava’	English	<i>guava</i>	
<i>kuini</i>	‘queen’	English	<i>queen</i>	
<i>kuku</i>	‘tobacco, cigarette’	Hiri Motu	<i>kuku</i>	‘tobacco’
<i>kutusi</i>	‘cartridge’	English	<i>cartridge</i>	
<i>lagani</i>	‘year, age’	Hiri Motu	<i>lagani</i>	‘year’
<i>lalona</i>	‘during, while’	Hiri Motu	<i>lalonai</i>	‘inside, within, into, amid, among, during’
<i>Lohiabada</i>	‘Lord’	Hiri Motu	<i>Lohiabada</i>	‘Lord’
<i>loli</i>	‘lolly, candy, sweets’	English	<i>lolly</i>	
<i>maketi</i>	‘market’	English	<i>market</i>	
<i>malaria</i>	‘malaria’	English	<i>malaria</i>	
<i>mamoe</i>	‘sheep’	Hiri Motu	<i>mamoe</i>	‘sheep’
<i>maruvo</i>	‘movement (far away), movie, video’	English	<i>movie</i>	
<i>masisi</i>	‘match, lighter’	English	<i>match</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>mastadi</i>	‘mustard’	English	<i>mustard</i>	
<i>matabudi</i>	‘turtle, tortoise’	Hiri Motu	<i>matabudi</i>	‘turtle’
<i>maua</i>	‘box, suitcase, coffin’	Hiri Motu	<i>maua</i>	‘box, case, cabinet’
<i>medikoro</i>	‘medical orderly’	English	<i>medical</i>	
<i>meino</i>	‘peace, pacify’	Hiri Motu	<i>maino</i>	‘peace’
<i>mereki</i>	‘dish, plate’	Hiri Motu	<i>mereki</i>	‘plate, dish’
<i>mereni</i>	‘watermelon’	English	<i>melon</i>	
<i>metolo</i>	‘metal’	English	<i>metal</i>	
<i>miruka</i>	‘milk’	English	<i>milk</i>	
<i>misinari</i>	‘missionary’	English	<i>missionary</i>	
<i>mista</i>	‘mister’	English	<i>mister</i>	
<i>mitini</i>	‘meeting’	English	<i>meeting</i>	
<i>mo</i>	‘but, at once’	Hiri Motu	<i>mo</i>	‘only’
<i>moni</i>	‘money’	English	<i>money</i>	
<i>motumotu</i>	‘island’	Hiri Motu	<i>motumotu</i>	‘island, broken’
<i>muramura</i>	‘medicine’	Hiri Motu (English)	<i>muramura</i>	‘medicine, ointment, antiseptic, drug, drink’
<i>naba</i>	‘number’	English	<i>number</i>	
<i>naini</i>	‘nine’	English	<i>nine</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>nakimi</i>	‘in-law’	Hiri Motu	<i>nakimi</i>	‘in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, relative’
<i>nanigose</i>	‘nanny goat’	English	<i>nanny goat</i>	
<i>rema</i>				
<i>nanigouti</i>	‘goat’	English	<i>nanny goat</i>	
<i>negana</i>	‘time, season, period’	Hiri Motu	<i>negana</i>	‘time, season, period’
<i>niduru</i>	‘needle’	English	<i>needle</i>	
<i>nuri pisina</i>	‘bird sp’	Tok Pisin	<i>pisin</i>	‘bird’
<i>ofesi</i>	‘office, booth’	English	<i>office</i>	
<i>oira</i>	‘oil’	English	<i>oil</i>	
<i>pati</i>	‘party’	English	<i>party</i>	
<i>pausi</i>	‘purse, bag’	English	<i>purse</i>	
<i>peroveta</i>	‘prophet’	Hiri Motu (English)	<i>peroveta</i>	‘prophet’
<i>petoro</i>	‘petrol’	English	<i>tauna petrol</i>	
<i>pilisi</i>	‘please’	English	<i>please</i>	
<i>popo</i>	‘grass sp’	Hiri Motu	<i>popo</i>	‘root, creeper (chewed with betel nut)’
<i>pou</i>	‘explode, burst’	English	<i>puff</i>	
<i>pune</i>	‘dove’	Hiri Motu	<i>pune</i>	‘dove, pigeon’
<i>purisi</i>	‘police, guard’	English	<i>police</i>	
<i>raba</i>	‘rubber’	English	<i>rubber</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>rabiya</i>	‘sago tree sp’	Hiri Motu	<i>rabia</i>	‘sago’
<i>raeni</i>	‘line’	English	<i>line</i>	
<i>raisi</i>	‘rice’	English	<i>rice</i>	
<i>raketi</i>	‘rocket’	English	<i>rocket</i>	
<i>ramefa</i>	‘lamp, light’	English	<i>lamp</i>	
<i>ramena</i>	‘salt’	Hiri Motu	<i>damena</i>	‘salt’
<i>rasta</i>	‘rusted’	English	<i>rusted</i>	
<i>reke</i>	‘fishing net’	Hiri Motu	<i>reke</i>	‘fishing net’
<i>rini</i>	‘ring’	English	<i>ring</i>	
<i>roho re</i>	‘fly, jump, leap’	Hiri Motu	<i>roho</i>	‘jump, leap, fly’
<i>roku</i>	‘papaya, pawpaw’	Hiri Motu	<i>loku</i>	‘pawpaw, papaya’
<i>sasa</i>	‘saucer’	English	<i>saucer</i>	
<i>seini</i>	‘chain’	English	<i>chain</i>	
<i>seke re</i>	‘check’	English	<i>check</i>	
<i>senesi</i>	‘change’	English	<i>change</i>	
<i>serti</i>	‘shirt’	English	<i>shirt</i>	
<i>seven</i>	‘seven’	English	<i>seven</i>	
<i>siau</i>	‘power’	Hiri Motu	<i>siahu</i>	‘heat, hot, perspiration, power, authority, ability’
<i>sifuni</i>	‘spoon’	English	<i>spoon</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>sikisi</i>	‘six’	English	<i>six</i>	
<i>sikoma</i>	‘comb’	English	<i>comb</i>	
<i>sikuru</i>	‘school’	English	<i>school</i>	
<i>siment</i>	‘cement’	English	<i>cement</i>	
<i>sinou</i>	‘snow’	English	<i>snow</i>	
<i>sioni</i>	‘white man, Caucasian’	English	<i>John</i>	
<i>sipanisi</i>	‘sponge’	English	<i>sponge</i>	
<i>siriva</i>	‘silver’	English	<i>silver</i>	
<i>sisasi</i>	‘scissors’	English	<i>scissors</i>	
<i>sisiba</i>	‘advice, knowledge’	Hiri Motu	<i>sisiba</i>	‘advice’
<i>sitori</i>	‘story’	English	<i>story</i>	
<i>sivarai</i>	‘story, news, message’	Hiri Motu	<i>sivarai</i>	‘story, tale, news, message’
<i>sori</i>	‘sorry’	English	<i>sorry</i>	
<i>stoa</i>	‘store, shop’	English	<i>store</i>	
<i>suga</i>	‘sugar’	English	<i>sugar</i>	
<i>susu</i>	‘breast, milk, nipple, nurse’	Tok Pisin	<i>susu</i>	‘milk, breast’
<i>takesi</i>	‘tax(es)’	English	<i>taxes</i>	
<i>tamaka</i>	‘shoe, sandal’	Hiri Motu	<i>tamaka</i>	‘shoe, boot, footwear’
<i>tanikiu</i>	‘thankful, thank you’	English	<i>thank you</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>tanoba(da)</i>	‘world’	Hiri Motu	<i>tanobada</i>	‘country, mainland, continent, world’
<i>taoni</i>	‘town’	English	<i>town</i>	
<i>taravatu</i>	‘law, commandment, prohibition’	Hiri Motu	<i>taravatu</i>	‘law, commandment, agreement, prohibition’
<i>tausini</i>	‘thousand’	English	<i>thousand</i>	
<i>tauwera</i>	‘towel’	English	<i>towel</i>	
<i>teiboro</i>	‘table’	English	<i>table</i>	
<i>ten</i>	‘ten’	English	<i>ten</i>	
<i>ti</i>	‘tea’	English	<i>tea</i>	
<i>titiya</i>	‘teacher’	English	<i>teacher</i>	
<i>to</i>	‘but’	Hiri Motu	<i>to</i>	‘but, although, still, yet’
<i>tomata</i>	‘tomato sp’	English	<i>tomato</i>	
<i>tosi</i>	‘torch’	English	<i>torch</i>	
<i>totona</i>	‘for, in order to’	Hiri Motu	<i>totona</i>	‘in order to’
<i>trakita</i>	‘tractor’	English	<i>tractor</i>	
<i>tuero</i>	‘twelve’	English	<i>twelve</i>	
<i>tufe</i>	‘raft’	Hiri Motu	<i>tupe</i>	‘raft’
<i>turiya re</i>	‘sew’	Hiri Motu	<i>turia</i>	‘sew, weave, string beads’
<i>uafu</i>	‘bridge, wharf’	English	<i>wharf</i>	

		Source language(s)	Source word	Source meaning
<i>ura</i>	‘want, desire, like’	Hiri Motu	<i>ura</i>	‘want, wish, desire, like, ambition’
<i>urena</i>	‘pot, pan’	Hiri Motu	<i>uro</i>	‘earthenware pot’
<i>ureure</i>	‘wave’	Hiri Motu	<i>hurehure</i>	‘waves, seafoam’
<i>uru</i>	‘multiple, time, generation’	Hiri Motu	<i>uru</i>	‘generation, multiply’
<i>vaini</i>	‘vine’	English	<i>vine</i>	
<i>vairana</i>	‘front’	Hiri Motu	<i>vairana</i>	‘face, countenance, front, appearance, façade’
<i>vaisiyau</i>	‘stew, soup’	Hiri Motu	<i>vasiahu</i>	‘soup’
<i>vanagi</i>	‘boat, canoe’	Hiri Motu	<i>vanagi</i>	‘outrigger canoe, boat’
<i>viaigana</i>	‘last born’	Hiri Motu	<i>vanegai</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>viniga</i>	‘vinegar’	English	<i>vinegar</i>	
<i>voi re</i>	‘buy’	Hiri Motu	<i>hoia</i>	‘buy, sell, barter’
<i>vorovoro</i>	‘noisy’	Hiri Motu	<i>vorovoro</i>	‘revolver, pistol’
<i>waini</i>	‘wine’	English	<i>wine</i>	
<i>wiki</i>	‘week’	English	<i>week</i>	
<i>winido</i>	‘window’	English	<i>window</i>	
<i>witi</i>	‘wheat’	English	<i>wheat</i>	
<i>yisiti</i>	‘yeast’	English	<i>yeast</i>	
<i>zipa</i>	‘zipper’	English	<i>zipper</i>	

Examples of borrowings in clauses:

- (8) *Evade maina re-fa badina na*
 quickly look.for do-2P.IMP because 1S
ka bai nei guriguri ni ma-gida.
 also come go.down prayer say give-1S.FUT
 ‘Quickly search because I am also coming down to say a prayer.’
- (9) *Raphael yaku boromakau voi re-yo.*
 Raphael DM cattle buy do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Raphael bought cattle.’
- (10) *Davara fafau erena oa re-dedi-ma ve-yaka.*
 sea above bird fly do-2/3P.PRES-SQDS see-1S.PST
 ‘I saw the birds flying above the sea.’
- (11) *Rautu neinei furisi bona kanisoro ai-yo.*
 village each police and council put-2/3S.PST
 ‘In each village he placed police and councillors.’
- (12) *To moke-yaka bi dona bi nui ide=ri*
 but think-1S.PST TOP pig TOP sty inside=at
dui kode vonisi...
 enter not.yet if
 ‘But I thought the pig might not yet have entered inside its sty.’

9.8 Biblical key terms

Biblical key terms are essential for Scripture translation, but since the biblical cultures are very different from Doromu-Koki culture, many concepts are foreign and difficult to translate. This is especially true for **abstractions** such as ‘peace’, ‘faith’ and ‘grace’. These concepts do not refer to any concrete reality or specific object, but they are primarily used to express a quality or a characteristic. In English and Koiné Greek abstractions are common, but in Doromu-Koki they must almost always be formed into a phrase. Table 9.7 shows a number of terms which have been gleaned so far. Some are newly coined, but most have been in use for some time. Note that the word *uka* ‘stomach’ is commonly used, as it refers to the centre of emotion in the Doromu-Koki culture.

Sei is the term commonly used for the supreme being. It is the spirit which has provided everything, such as food, land, animals and water. *Sei* does not cause illness as the *bodaka* ‘evil spirits’ do. When there is hunger, certain rules have been broken; for instance the customs of the *aira* ‘first harvest’ were not properly followed. People are very careful to avoid saying, “There is no food,” as *Sei* will hear you and there will not be any food. Really when there is no food it is your fault, because you have not worked properly. *Sei* has already given everything you need; so you need to trust him to provide. *Sei* is considered a *vima kikifa* ‘showing-honour spirit’ (see below). *Sei* is the term currently being used for God in translated Scriptures, but is under review because of some of the extra connotations it carries.

Vima Kikifa is a term that has been adopted by the church to refer to the Holy Spirit. *Vima Kikifa* ‘showing-honour spirit’ is a good spirit, and classified differently from other spirits. A good person is considered to have *vima kikifa* living in him/her, enabling him/her to do the goods things he/she does (Bradshaw 2007:13).

TABLE 9.7 BIBLICAL KEY TERMS

		literal meaning
<i>ago buni</i>	‘gospel’	‘good word’
<i>ago gira</i>	‘commandment’	‘hard word’
<i>akeke fata</i>	‘throne’	‘pleasing platform’
<i>buni tora gade</i>	‘grace’	‘very big good’
<i>moi vegu re</i>	‘save’	‘get life’
<i>moimai re tavoi tavoi redo amiye</i>	‘slave’	‘working for nothing person’
<i>mokena rorobo</i>	‘righteousness, integrity’	‘straight thinking’
<i>mokena vari gira</i>	‘believe, faith’	‘plant hard thinking’
<i>muyena sana</i>	‘hell’	‘dying/death place’

TABLE 9.7 CONT'D: BIBLICAL KEY TERMS

		literal meaning
<i>ni vauna vauna re</i>	‘worship’	‘say sorrowful words’
<i>ori sisika re</i>	‘sacrifice’	‘burn good smell’
<i>roka moi odoro re</i>	‘glorify’	‘do get name above’
<i>rorobo ni</i>	‘justify’	‘say straight’
<i>Sei</i>	‘God’	‘God’
<i>Sei di mokena kana</i>	‘godliness’	‘like God’s thinking’
<i>sui ago</i>	‘parable’	‘hidden word’
<i>uka ago</i>	‘covenant’	‘stomach word’
<i>uka ago mana</i>	‘promise’	‘giving stomach word’
<i>uka amuta</i>	‘peace’	‘soft stomach’
<i>uka amuta ni</i>	‘forgive, make peace with’	‘say soft stomach’
<i>uka buni dudu ni kabaikabai</i>	‘reconcile’	‘answer with good stomach’
<i>uka maina re</i>	‘tempt’	‘look for stomach’
<i>uka vari gira</i>	‘faith’	‘plant hard stomach’
<i>uka yokoimaka nina</i>	‘treaty, agreement’	‘saying only one stomach’
<i>usi dina amiye</i>	‘disciple’	‘following person’
<i>vegu no</i>	‘sin, wickedness, iniquity’	‘bad practice/life’
<i>Vima Kikifa</i>	‘Holy Spirit’	‘showing-honour spirit’

Below are a few examples of translated sentences using these key terms:

- (13) *Ma Sei Warika Amiye yaku ini ago gira*
 and God chief person DM 3.POSS word hard
mar-o...
 give-2/3S.PST
 ‘And the Lord God gave his commandment...’ (Lit. ‘And God the Chief gave his hard word...’) (Genesis 2:16)
- (14) *Ma iniye ini niyo meda=ri ini ago moi*
 and REFL 3.POSS say-3S.PST day=at 3.POSS word get
ogau riyo, Sei, una moi vegu ri-na
 appear make-3S.PST God 1P get life make-NOM
amiye di ago gira fafau mina moimai na
 person GEN word hard on.top.of this work 1S
mar-o.
 give-2/3S.PST
 ‘And at the right time he revealed his message, according to God our Saviour’s command, in which he entrusted this work to me.’ (Titus 1:3)
- (15) *Abram Warika Amiye rofu ini moke-na vari*
 Abram chief person BEN 3.POSS think-NOM plant
gira ai-yo bona Sei ka Abram=ro ni-yo
 hard put-2/3S.PST and God also Abram=to say-2/3S.PST
ina bi vegu no yokoi ina rofu de.
 3 TOP life bad one 3 BEN NEG
 ‘Abram believed the Lord and God said to Abram that he was righteous.’ (Genesis 15:6)
- (16) *Idu na na diba ya gokai kana vene bi, ma*
 but 1s 1s knowledge 2 how like people TOP and
na na diba ya bi Sei rofu yi
 1s 1s knowledge 2 TOP God BEN 2.POSS
uka ma-na yi uka=ri de.
 stomach give-NOM 2.POSS stomach=at NEG
 ‘But I myself know what kind of people you are, and I myself know you are not loving God in your heart.’ (John 5:42).

10. Appendix

Below are eight interlinearised texts. All have been edited to varying degrees.

Text 1. *Tau Yagabo*

This legend was written by Joe Warika in Kasonomu village in September 2001.

- (1) *Yokoi aru vo ni-bo amiye yokoi roka Tau*
one day happen say-POT person one name Tau
Yagabo yaku ini rautu vene omar-o
Yagabo DM 3.POSS village people invite-2/3S.PST
ini muro vari-yaganedi.
3.POSS garden plant-3P.JUS

‘Once upon a time a man named TauYagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.’

- (2) *Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo=ri bi,*
plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST=at TOP
uruyaku gorogoro Tau yaku ini vene raka ni
morning early Tau DM 3.POSS people name say
e-dadi-yo, Nai rautu vene, gua bi
CAUS-get.up-2/3S.PST 1S.POSS village people now TOP
nai meda dada ya usa ni-da dadi vau
1S.POSS sun so 2 ask say-1S.PRES get.up complete
re-fo.’
do-2P.HORT

‘The day when they would do the planting came, early in the morning Tau called his people to wake up, “My village people! Today is the day, so I ask you to all get up.”’

- (3) *Amiye tau vakoi dadi vau re-yadi, tora*
 person all together get.up complete do-2/3P.PST big
vene, rema, rumana, ofi, godua tau
 people woman man young.girl young.boy all
vakoi dadi vau re-yadi.
 together get.up complete do-2/3P.PST
 ‘Everyone got up at once, elders, women, men, young women,
 young men, all together they got up.’
- (4) *Kasi ravau bo-si oki-yadi=ri bi*
 old.garden clearing go.up-SQSS arrive-2/3P.PST=at TOP
tua de re-yadi moi de-gi re-si evade
 wait NEG do-2/3P.PST get come-PURP do-SQSS quickly
evade yoyava bi vari vau re-yadi.
 quickly seedling TOP plant complete do-2/3P.PST
 ‘When they went up and arrived in the old garden clearing, they
 did not wait but got right to work and very quickly planted all the
 seedlings.’
- (5) *Tau yaku mina ve-yo=ri bi ini uka*
 Tau DM this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS stomach
ada tora gade iniye re-yo, ‘Nai vene
 happiness big very very do-2/3S.PST 1S.POSS people
kaini ferei bai-fa meda tobo ni-yo
 enough leave come-2P.IMP sun centre say-2/3S.PST
dada bai-si iruku iri-fa bona ada=ri ame
 so come-SQSS food eat-2P.IMP and shade=at stay
ame re-fa.’
 stay do-2P.IMP
 ‘When Tau saw this, he (lit. his stomach) became very very
 happy (and said), “My people, it’s good that you take a break and
 come as the sun is high; so come and eat some food and rest in
 the shade.”’

- (6) *Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi iruku*
 garden top go.up-SQSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST food
iri-gi, ini moke-na bi sioni iruku
 eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man food
iri-gedi.
 eat-2/3P.FUT
 ‘They went up to the top of the garden and they all sat down to eat food, thinking that they would eat whiteman’s food.’
- (7) *‘Bao,’ ni-yadi, ‘Tau no kana bi koyomu bani*
 but.no say-2/3P.PST Tau bad like TOP rat yam
daru daru yu fafau fama-si gobe=ri
 root root gourd.paste on.top.of splash-SQSS dish=at
dabara re-yo ini vene di.’
 spread.on.table do-2/3S.PST 3.POSS people GEN
 ‘‘‘But no, they said, ‘Tau is bad having slapped gourd paste on top of stringy yams and put them in a dish at the table for his people.’’’
- (8) *Amiye mina ve-yadi=ri bi ini uka*
 person this see-2/3P.PST=at TOP 3.POSS stomach
gubuyo tora gade re-yadi, kamini yokoi yokoi
 anger big very do-2/3P.PST enough one one
dadi-si rautu rofu di-yadi.
 get.up-SIMSS village PURP go-2/3P.PST
 ‘When the people saw this they were very very angry, and so one-by-one they got up and went to the village.’
- (9) *Tau di rema ka mina ve-yo=ri bi gubuyo*
 Tau GEN woman also this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP anger
tora gade re-yo, ‘Na bi ya ni-yaka raisi
 big very do-2/3S.PST 1S TOP 2 say-1S.PST rice
bona farava bi beika re-si moina de
 and flour TOP what do-SQSS look.for NEG
re-yo? Mo moi!’ vo ni-si ini
 do-2/3S.PST at.once get happen say-SQSS 3.POSS

vene usi gote-yo.
 people follow go.down-2/3S.PST
 ‘When Tau’s wife also saw this she was very very angry (and said), “I told you to get some rice and flour, but why didn’t you look for some? Get lost!” and she went off with her people.’

Text 2. *Meda yokoiri nai mida remanu garasi diyadi* ‘One day my two sons went with their diving glasses’

This narrative was written by Sam and Barbara Kapana in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

- (10) *Meda yokoi=ri nai mida remanu garasi*
 sun/day one=at 1S.POSS child two glass
di-yadi.
 go-2/3P.PST
 ‘One day my two sons went with their diving glasses.’
- (11) *Anema garasi bo-yadi, ini diba garasi*
 head.water glass go.up-2/3P.PST 3.POSS knowledge glass
bona foroka=sa di-yadi.
 and basket=ACCM go-2/3P.PST
 ‘They went up to the headwaters with their diving glasses; they went up thinking the diving glasses were in the basket.’
- (12) *Ina remanu bi garasi re-na de.*
 3 two TOP glass do-NOM NEG
 ‘But the two of them did not have their diving glasses.’
- (13) *Rafe-gasa meda imi-ga, fore odoro ame-gam-adi.*
 wash-SIMSS sun dip-SIMSS stone above stay-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘They washed and dipped in the water in the sun, and they were sitting on a stone.’
- (14) *Na yaku moke-yaka bi, mironi aka u-dedi*
 1S DM think-1S.PST TOP there prawn hit-2/3P.PRES
bao ni-yaka.
 but.no say-1S.PST
 ‘I thought those ones are catching prawns, but now I say no.’

- (15) *Uriyenau ni-yo-ma oki-yadi.*
 afternoon say-2/3S.PST-SQSS arrive-2/3P.PST
 ‘In the afternoon they returned.’
- (16) *Na bi baguru, tauga, mava moi-si oki-yaka,*
 1S TOP greens banana coconut get-SQSS arrive-1S.PST
mo mida remanu di foroka=ri bi aka yokoi
 at.once child two GEN basket=at TOP prawn one
kava de.
 not.one NEG
 ‘I brought greens, banana, and coconut, but there was not one prawn in the two boys’ basket.’
- (17) *Mina mida remanu bi iruku iri-na de.*
 this child two TOP food eat-NOM NEG
 ‘These two boys were not going to get any food to eat.’
- (18) *Na yaku ni-yaka dada iruku iri-na de*
 1S DM say-1S.PST so food eat-NOM NEG
re-yadi re-si rauna vare-yadi.
 do-2/3P.PST do-SQSS hunger sleep-2/3P.PST
 ‘I said that they were not going to eat any food and so they went to bed hungry.’
- (19) *Nai sina keika mini.*
 1S.POSS story little here
 ‘Here is my little story.’

Text 3. Letter 1

This letter was written by Seba in Kasonomu village in April 2006.

- (20) *Tom beika de to rautu=ri ya yaku beika beika*
 Tom what NEG but village=at 2 DM what what
re-yanedi ya ni oteima-gi re-da.
 do-3S.JUS 2 say show-PURP do-1S.PRES
 ‘Tom, I’m going to tell you what hasn’t happened yet in the village that must be done.’

- (21) *Na nai rema mida=sa bi buni ame-sifa.*
 1S 1S.POSS woman child=ACCM TOP good stay-1P.PRES
 ‘I and my wife and children are well.’
- (22) *Rautu vene ni diba re-giya nai rema*
 village people say knowledge do-2S.FUT 1S.POSS woman
voi re-gida di meda bi gua mina eo mirona
 buy do-1S.FUT GEN sun TOP now this moon that
lagani di meda vana ufo remanu ma vana raro.
 year GEN sun hand clap two SQDS hand line
 ‘You will advise the village people that my bride price’s feast
 day will be this month next year on the 24th.’
- (23) *Mina re-si irakuna meda bai tumu*
 this do-SQSS feast sun come short
ni-go-ri, rautu di oureifeide-na amiye
 say-3S.FUT-SIMDS village GEN lead-NOM person
ni-giya ma tauga, bani, arefa yato yato
 say-2S.FUT and banana yam sugarcane gather gather
di ma dudubu ri-nadi, ma ita koru naivo
 GEN and tent make-1P.HORT and fire water help
naivo di ni odoro re-yainedi.
 help GEN say above do-3S.JUS
 ‘So when this feast’s day is approaching, you will tell the village
 leaders to keep gathering bananas, yams, and sugarcane and we’ll
 erect a shelter, and you can also keep helping with firewood and
 water.’
- (24) *Sioni iruku bi irakuna meda tumu=sa moi*
 white.man food TOP feast sun short=ACCM get
feide-gida nai rema mida bai
 leave-1S.FUT 1S.POSS woman child come
ne-bi-gedi-ri.
 go.down-DUR-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS
 ‘I will send store bought food shortly before the feast begins,
 which my wife and children will be bringing down.’

- (25) *Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu*
 so 2 REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT PURP
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
 Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
 ‘So you come down yourself to bring the children back at Siau’s house.’
- (26) *De-si moi-gedi-ri mida ni-giya*
 come.down-SQSS get-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS child say-2S.FUT
iruku moi bo-gedi-ri ga moi forovai
 food get go.up-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS PRHB get clear
re-yagane.
 do-3P.JUS
 ‘When they will take them down you will tell the children not to clear it all out when they will take the food up.’
- (27) *Dobau oureifeide-na amiye ni-giya-ma amiye*
 in.advance lead-NOM person say-2S.FUT-SQDS person
ni diba re-yaine irakuna meda oki-go-ri,
 say knowledge do-3S.JUS feast sun arrive-3S.FUT-SIMDS
mida rua vene mina, iroka ma koru no mina
 child young people this smoke and water bad this
irakuna=ri ga iri-yagane.
 feast=at PRHB eat-3P.JUS
 ‘Ahead of time you will tell the leaders that they must advise the people when the feast’s day will arrive, that those young boys are not to smoke or drink alcohol at this feast.’
- (28) *Nai rema voi irakuna moi no re-gedi baebu.*
 1S.POSS woman buy feast get bad do-2/3P.FUT lest
 ‘Otherwise they will spoil my bride price’s feast.’
- (29) *Nai sina keika mini ye ve oki-gida-ri*
 1S.POSS story little here so see arrive-1S.FUT-SIMDS
baku re-gifa. Yi dubuini Seba.
 find do-1P.FUT 2.POSS brother Seba
 ‘Here are my few words so when I will arrive we will look into this. Your brother Seba.’

Text 4. *Meda yokoi dadiyaka rofu di nai mida Adam* ‘One day I got up and told my son Adam’

This narrative was written by Luke Bomena in Amuraika village in April 2006.

- (30) *Meda yokoi dadi-yaka rofu di nai mida Adam*
 day one get.up-1S.PST ABL GEN 1S.POSS child Adam
ni-yaka, ‘Ima ne-si Ave ema=ri
 say-1S.PST betel.nut go.down-SBSS Ave river.mouth=at
moi-yanedi.’
 get-3S.JUS
 ‘One day I got up and told my son Adam, “You must go down to
 the mouth of Ave River and get some betel nut.”’
- (31) *Vo ni-si ida forovai re-si fere-si*
 happen say-SQSS road crazy do-SQSS leave-SQSS
bai-yo rautu=ri sina bi yomakai ni-yaka,
 come-2/3S.PST village=at story TOP like.this say-1S.PST
‘Adam ima Ave ema=ri bi yomakai
 Adam betel.nut Ave river.mouth=at TOP like.this
ne-si moi-giya ini ida bi fore ifona
 go.down-SQSS get-2S.FUT 3.POSS road TOP stone flooring
rautu fere-si ne-giya omuna afara=ri.’
 village leave-SQSS go.down-2S.FUT mountain ridge=at
 ‘It so happened that the road coming and going into the village
 was hard to follow and so I told him these words, “Adam, when
 you get betel nut at the mouth of Ave River you will take it down
 to the road at the stone for village flooring and you will leave it
 down there on the mountain ridge.”’
- (32) *Mina=ri bi ida yokoi vana enana rofu di*
 this=at TOP road one hand left PURP GEN
ne-yo mini.
 go.down-2/3S.PST here
 ‘From there one road goes down on the left hand side.’

- (33) *Mina ida bi Boku rofu di ne-na ida.*
 this road TOP Boku PURP GEN go.down-NOM road
 ‘This road is the road going down to Boku.’
- (34) *Ya bi mina ida ma ne-giya.*
 2 TOP this road and go.down-2S.FUT
 ‘You will go down that road.’
- (35) *Ne-giya=ri bi Yo Koru soka re-giya.*
 go.down-2S.FUT=at TOP Yo water arrive do-2S.FUT
 ‘When you go down you will arrive at Yo River.’
- (36) *Ida yokoi moi-na ga re.*
 road one get-NOM PRHB do
 ‘Don’t take any other road.’
- (37) *Ya bi koru maka ne.*
 2 TOP water only go.down
 ‘Just go down to the river.’
- (38) *Ida keika keika tau ve-giya idu mina ma keu*
 road little little all see-2S.FUT but this and get.up
ga re, ne-na maka re.
 PRHB do go.down-NOM only do
 ‘You will see all the very small paths but don’t go up these, just
 continue going down.’
- (39) *De-giya de-giya rofu di raba*
 come.down-2S.FUT come.down-2S.FUT ABL GEN rubber
yabo vari-yadi sana ve-giya.
 tree plant-2/3P.PST place see-2S.FUT
 ‘You will come down and coming down there you will see the
 place where the rubber trees were planted.’
- (40) *Mina sana=ri bi mo kiya kiya ne.*
 this place=at TOP at.once slowly slowly go.down
 ‘At this place go down very slowly.’
- (41) *Vana enana rofu di maka ne ne re-bi.*
 hand left ABL GEN only go.down go.down do-DUR
 ‘Just keep going down toward the left side.’

- (42) *Ikefate ai-yaka mina ve-giya=ri bi mina dakai*
 road.sign put-1S.PST this see-2S.FUT=at TOP this place
keu ri-bo.
 get.up make-POT
 ‘When you see the road sign I put, go up there.’
- (43) *Doba de ina bi ne tumu maka mini.*
 long NEG 3 TOP go.down short only here
 ‘From there it is not long, but just a short way down.’
- (44) *Ve-giya bi masibo iye yaku bou ri-yaka mini.*
 see-2S.FUT TOP grass leaf DM cover make-1S.PST here
 ‘You will see the grass leaves there that I covered.’
- (45) *Faka ri-giya=ri bi ima baku re-giya.*
 fence make-2S.FUT=at TOP betel.nut find do-2S.FUT
 ‘When you make a fence you will find the betel nut.’
- (46) *Mo kani bi nuga nuga re-yaka sana mina=ri*
 at.once mustard TOP cut cut do-1S.PST place this=at
ve-giya mini, kadiri yabo rata=ri.
 see-2S.FUT here tree.nut tree trunk=at
 ‘And then at the place that I kept cutting mustard you will see it there, at the *kadiri* nut tree truck.’
- (47) *Adina remanu dada aki to re-si fere-yaka*
 because two so bite but do-SQSS leave-1S.PST
ere mina moi.
 belong this get
 ‘Because there are two, just get those I bit into but then left.’
- (48) *Na kaya bi Odufa ika=ri ya tua re-ga*
 1S REFL TOP Odufa summit=at 2 wait do-SIMSS
ame-bi-gida.
 stay-DUR-2S.FUT
 ‘I myself will be waiting for you at Odufa summit.’

- (49) *Sina bi mina kana ni-yaka idu iriyeduka ina mida*
 story TOP this like say-1S.PST but sorrow 3 child
ina dada ida forovai re-si fere-si bai-yo.
 3 so road crazy do-SQSS leave-SQSS come-2/3S.PST
 ‘My words that I said were like this, but I felt sorry for the boy as
 the road’s coming and going was so hard to follow.’
- (50) *Mina.dada ima gua bi rautu otuka=ri*
 therefore betel.nut now TOP village backyard=at
vari-da.
 plant-1S.PRES
 ‘So now I’m planting betel nut in the village in the backyard.’
- (51) *Negau mina=ri mida yaku evade gote-si*
 near this=at child DM quickly go.down-SQSS
moi-yaganedi.
 get-3P.JUS
 ‘The children nearby can quickly go down and get them.’

Text 5. Letter 2

This letter was written by Michael Tuga in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

- (52) *Raphael, na bi mina Saturday ne-gida*
 Raphael 1S TOP this Saturday go.down-1S.FUT
Port.Moresby dada, ya agiya uruyaku bo-giya
 Port.Moresby so 2 tomorrow morning go.up-2S.FUT
Nunufa omuna=ri ima moi-si de-giya.
 Nunufa mountain=at betel.nut get-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT
 ‘Raphael, this Saturday I will be going down to Port Moresby, so
 you will go up on Nunufa hill tomorrow morning and get betel
 nuts and bring them down.’
- (53) *Ima bi tau gade dada mida yokoi ni-giya-ma*
 betel.nut TOP all very so child one say-2S.FUT-SQSS
ya ota ri-yainedi.
 2 escort make-3S.JUS
 ‘There are plenty of betel nuts, so tell one boy to come with you.’

- (54) *Nunufa omuna=ri ima ruku vau re-giya-ri,*
 Nunufa mountain=at betel.nut pick all do-2S.FUT-SIMDS
boi ne-si Ko Koru=ri ima vaga
 go.up go.down-SQSS Ko water=at betel.nut bunch
remanu ka ruku-si moi de-gedi.
 two also pick-SQSS get come.down-2/3P.FUT
 ‘When you pick up all the betel nuts at Nunufa hill, go across to
 Ko River and also get two bunches there and bring them down.’
- (55) *Dairi de-gedi-ri Gura Koru=ri oketa*
 return come.down-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS Gura water=at okari
rata=ri kani konagi mina ka nuga-si moi
 trunk=at mustard stem this also cut-SQSS get
de-gedi.
 come.down-2P.FUT
 ‘When you return, at Gura River, cut the mustard stem on the
 okari tree trunk and also bring it down.’
- (56) *Kani ya ni-da bi toto ga ni-fo;*
 mustard 2 say-1S.PRES TOP forget PRHB say-2P.HORT
Kwikila=ri ima=sa ae-gida baba nari nari
 Kwikila=at betel.nut=ACCM put-1S.FUT father wait wait
kana fore be baku re-gida.
 like stone some find do-1S.FUT
 ‘Don’t forget the mustard I am telling you about; I will put it
 with the betel nuts at Kwikila to make some money while waiting
 for father.’
- (57) *Agiya di-giya di sina bi ya ni-da mini.*
 tomorrow go-2S.FUT GEN story TOP 2 say-1S.PRES here
 ‘These are the words I’m telling you about where you will go
 tomorrow.’

Text 6. *Vasa bona iya* ‘Sand and star’

This legend was written by Patrick Wasina in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

- (58) *Yokoi aru uba meraini, ini roka roka bi vasa*
 one day both cousin 3.POSS name name TOP sand
bona iya ame-gam-adi.
 and star stay-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘One day there were two cousins, their names were Sand and Star.’
- (59) *Iya bi oma odoro ma vasa bi kono*
 star TOP sky above and sand TOP ground
ame-gam-o.
 stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘Star was up in the sky and Sand was living on the ground.’
- (60) *Ari yokoi iya ya vasa ni-yo, ‘Na bi na*
 day one star DM sand say-2/3S.PST 1S TOP 1S
tau gade.’
 all very
 ‘One day Star told Sand, “I am very many.”’
- (61) *‘Na duaiya re vau de re-giya.’*
 1S count do complete NEG do-2S.FUT
 ‘‘You will not be able to count all of me.’’
- (62) *Mina.dada vasa ya ni-yo, ‘Uniye uniye*
 therefore sand DM say-2/3S.PST 1P.REFL 1P.REFL
duaiya re ve-nadi,’ vo ni-yo.
 count do see-1P.HORT happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Therefore Sand said to him, “Let’s try to count ourselves.”’
- (63) *Iya yaku vasa ni-yo, ‘Ya siko na duaiya re,’*
 star DM sand say-2/3S.PST 2 first 1S count do
vo ni-yo.
 happen say-2/3S.PST
 ‘Star said to Sand, “You count me first.”’

- (64) *To vasa ya ni-yo, 'Ya bi odoro ame-sa*
 but sand DM say-2/3S.PST 2 TOP above stay-2S.PRES
dada ya siko de-si, na duaiya re,' vo
 so 2 first come.down-SQSS 1S count do happen
ni-yo.'
 say-2/3S.PST
 'But Sand said, "You are living up there so you come down first,
 and count me."'
- (65) *Iya yaku ni-yo, 'Na siko na duaiya re,' vo*
 star DM say-2/3S.PST 1S first 1S count do happen
ni-yo.
 say-2/3S.PST
 'Star said to him, "You count me first."'
- (66) *Vasa ya kaito iya duaiya re-yo.*
 sand DM start star count do-2/3S.PST
 'Sand started to count Star.'
- (67) *Re-yo duaiya re vau re-yo.*
 do-2/3S.PST count do complete do-2/3S.PST
 'And he went on counting all of him.'
- (68) *Iya ya ina vasa duaiya re-yo, to duaiya re*
 star DM 3 sand count do-2/3S.PST but count do
vau de re-yo.
 complete NEG do-2/3S.PST
 'Star counted Sand, but he could not count all of him.'
- (69) *Mina.dada iya isaka ni-yo.*
 therefore star cry say-2/3S.PST
 'Therefore Star cried.'
- (70) *Mina.dada aru ve-do uruyaku=ri ve-giya-ri,*
 therefore day see-3S.PRES morning=at see-2S.FUT-SIMDS
oruma yuveita bi dou ni-dedi.
 grass vegetation TOP wet say-2/3P.PRES
 'Therefore you will see during the day in the morning, grass
 leaves are wet.'

- (71) *Iya ya vasa duaiya re kava re-yo-ma*
 star DM sand count do not.all do-2/3S.PST-SQDS
ni-yadi, 'Ve mona maka de re-yo ba
 say-2/3P.PST see properly only no do-2/3S.PST or
yaku bura ri-yo urusa rofu.'
 DM expose make-2/3S.PST night BEN
 'Star was not able to count all of Sand and so they said, "He did not do it right and so he is exposed at night."'

Text 7. *Gokai ida dudu meino moiya* 'How we got peace'

This historical account was written by Raphael Tuga and Samuel Ero in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

- (72) *Gokai ida dudu meino moi-yafa.*
 how road with peace get-1P.PST
 'How we got peace.'
- (73) *Sena duakau, vabara moi-na kode=ri bona*
 long.ago during light get-NOM later=at and
sioni ka oki-na kode=ri bi, uni
 white.man also arrive-NOM later=at TOP 1P.POSS
bobada.manone yaku iya re-gasa iniye iniye
 ancestors DM war do-SIMSS REFL REFL
umuye-gam-adi.
 kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
 'Long ago while becoming civilised, at the white men's arrival, our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.'
- (74) *Mina fogori sioni amiye roka Mista English,*
 this whilst white.man person name mister English
Rigo=ri soka re-yo.
 Rigo=at arrive do-2/3S.PST
 'At this time a white man named Mr English arrived in Rigo.'
- (75) *Gua Kwikila vo ni-sifa mini.*
 now Kwikila happen say-1P.PRES here
 'Today we call it Kwikila.'

- (76) *Mina amiye feyo soka re-yo-ri, rabo.rava*
 this person white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS grasslands
vene siko meino mar-o.
 people first peace give-2/3S.PST
 ‘When this white man arrived, he first gave peace to the
 grassland peoples.’
- (77) *Iya re-gam-adi fogori meino moi-si, rautu*
 war do-HAB-2/3P.PST whilst peace get-SQSS village
neinei furisi bona kanisoro ae di-yo.
 each police and council put go-2/3S.PST
 ‘When they were fighting he gave them peace and placed police
 and councillors in each village.’
- (78) *Koina ni-yo-ri furisi kanisoro afe-si*
 finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police council return-SQSS
sufa rofu rautu vene maina bai-yo.
 bush PURP village people look.for come-2/3S.PST
 ‘Once he finished this, he took police and councillors to the bush
 and came looking for village people.’
- (79) *Bai-gika bi ini furisi vene koru gena*
 come-INTV TOP 3.POSS police people water bamboo
asini mar-o.
 partner give-2/3S.PST
 ‘They were trying to come and he gave his policemen guns.’
- (80) *Kuku, ramena, bona loli ka moi-yadi.*
 tobacco salt and lolly also get-2/3P.PST
 ‘They also got tobacco, salt and lollies.’
- (81) *Sioni ini vene=sa rautu*
 white.man 3.POSS people=ACCM village
oki-gam-adi-ri rautu vene yaku ruda
 arrive-HAB-2/3P.PST-SIMDS village people DM fight
re-gi re-gam-adi.
 do-PURP do-HAB-2/3P.PST
 ‘When the white man and his people were arriving in the villages
 the village people were trying to fight.’

- (82) *Idu furisi bona kanisoro yaku ramena ida moi-si*
 but police and council DM salt road get-SQSS
vau re-gam-adi meino moi-gika.
 complete do-HAB-2/3P.PST peace get-INTV
 ‘But the police and councillors brought salt on the way and tried to pacify them all.’
- (83) *Re bai-si uni gagani=ri oki-yadi*
 do come-SQSS 1P.POSS place=at arrive-2/3P.PST
Dueika rama=ri.
 Dueika right=at
 ‘They came and arrived at our place right at Dueika.’
- (84) *Amiye tora regode roka Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka,*
 person big three name Varabu Foina Itu Saraka
bona Gomuna Kokoba yaku sioni ini
 and Gomuna Kokoba DM white.man 3.POSS
voru=sa u-gika ora, mari re meki re-yadi.
 spear=ACCM hit-INTV shield shield do chase do-2/3P.PST
 ‘Three elders named Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka, and Gomuna Kokoba tried to kill the white man with their spears and chase him with shields.’
- (85) *Meki re ne-yadi Memera Agafa=ri.*
 chase do go.down-2/3P.PST Memera Agafa=at
 ‘They chased him and went down to Memera Agafa.’
- (86) *Sioni mina ve-yo-ri furisi vene*
 white.man this see-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police people
ni-yo-ma koru gena fou re-yadi
 say-2/3S.PST-SQSS water bamboo shoot do-2/3P.PST
fere-yagane vo ni-si.
 leave-3P.JUS happensay-SQSS
 ‘When the white man saw this, he told his police to use their guns to make them leave.’

- (87) *Varabu Foina yaku ini dubuiyaka ni-yo,* ‘Ya
 Varabu Foina DM 3.POSS brothers say-2/3S.PST 2
raga re-bo, de-fo ne-si u-na
 run do-POT come.down-2P.HORT go.down-SQSS hit-NOM
di mibi na ka u-na gena ori fou
 GEN this.one 1S also hit-NOM bamboo burn shoot
re-bi-bo.
 do-DUR-POT
 ‘Varabu Foina told his brothers, “You come and run down and
 kill this one that is trying to shoot me with a gun.”’
- (88) *Toga bai-gam-adi vo ni-si sioni*
 always come-HAB-2/3P.PST happen say-SQSS white.man
ini auna ni fere-ma, Varabu yaku sosogi dudu
 3.POSS dog say leave-SQDS Varabu DM spear with
imi muye-yo.
 shoot die-2/3S.PST
 ‘They kept coming so the white man let his dog loose, and
 then Varabu shot and killed it with a spear.’
- (89) *Sioni ini auna muye-yo ve-yo=ri bi,*
 white.man 3.POSS dog die-2/3S.PST see-2/3S.PST=at TOP
furisi ni-yo-ma Varabu fidi re-yadi idu
 police say-2.3S.PST-SQSS Varabu shot do-2/3P.PST but
are-na de are ame-gam-o.
 stand-NOM NEG stand stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘When the white man saw that his dog died, he told the police
 they were to shoot Varabu but not those standing there.’
- (90) *Furisi kero re-si Itu Saraka bona Gomuna Kokoba*
 police turn do-SBSS Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba
fidi re-yadi.
 shot do-2/3P.PST
 ‘The police turned and shot Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba.’

- (91) *Bogara Vare ini tobaiyaka muye-yadi*
 Bogara Vare 3.POSS brothers die-2/3P.PST
ve-yo=ri, bi ini kefare kutu-si moi
 see-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS grass.skirt strip-SBSS get
odoro ri-yo makai, 'Ga re,' ni-gasa
 above make-2/3S.PST like.this PRHB do say-SIMSS
kefare dudu biri ri-yo.
 grass.skirt INST close make-2/3S.PST
 'When Bogara Vare saw that her brothers were dead, she lifted
 up her grass skirt like this (saying,) "Don't do this," with her
 grass skirt open (causing embarrassment).'
- (92) *Sioni, furisi bona kanisoro Bogara Vare ini*
 white.man police and council Bogara Vare 3.POSS
kefare moi odoro ri-yo ve-si ma-mo
 grass.skirt get above make-2/3S.PST see-SQSS and-at.once
kamini fere-yadi.
 enough leave-2/3P.PST
 'When the white man, police and councillors saw Bogara Vare
 lift up her grass skirt at once they left.'
- (93) *Bogara Vare yaku makai re-yo dada gua iya*
 Bogara Vare DM like.this do-2/3S.PST so now war
ferei, meino moi ame-sifa mini.
 leave peace get stay-1P.PST here
 'Bogara Vare did this so now we stopped fighting and are living
 at peace here.'

Text 8. Keni Raku

This legend was written by Raphael Totome at Ukarumpa, EHP in September 2001.

- (94) *Yok-aru vo ni-bo, mida yokoi roka Urava Raku*
 one-day happen say-POT child one name Urava Raku
ame-gam-o.
 stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
 'Once upon a time, there was one boy named Urava Raku.'

- (95) *Rema ofi remanu, muro=ri oruma*
 woman young.woman two garden=at grass
ri-gi di-yadi.
 make-PURP go-2/3P.PST
 ‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’
- (96) *Mina rema remanu di roka bi, Inu Mamaru*
 this woman two GEN name TOP Inu Mamaru
bona Dau Mamaru.
 and Dau Mamaru
 ‘These two women’s names were Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’
- (97) *Urava Raku bi raku bona boreva moi-si*
 Urava Raku TOP scabies and ringworm get-SQSS
ame-gam-o.
 stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
 ‘Urava Raku suffered from (lit. was staying/living with) scabies and ringworm.’
- (98) *Yok-arū ne-yo rarava gade=ri ame-yo*
 one-day go.down-2/3S.PST cliff edge=at stay-2/3S.PST
rofu ini bibo u-ga ame-gam-o=ri bi
 PURP 3.POSS flute hit-SIMSS stay-HAB-2/3S.PST=at TOP
ini oure-na rema yaku ne-yo rofu
 3.POSS lead-NOM woman DM go.down-2/3S.PST PURP
ve-yo=ri bi, yomakai ni-yo, ‘Ya no Keni,
 see-2/3S.PST=at TOP like.this say-2/3S.PST 2 bad Keni
Keni raku raku yaku ame-ga ni-sa.’
 Keni scabies scabies DM stay-SIMSS say-2S.PRES
 ‘One day he went down to the edge of a cliff and stayed there playing his flute, while the older girl went down to see and said this, “You are bad Keni, Keni sitting there with scabies.”’

- (99) *Keni Raku yaku mina neide-yo=ri bi maena*
 Keni Raku DM this ear-2/3S.PST=at TOP shame
re-yo.
 do-2/3S.PST
 ‘When Keni Raku heard this he was ashamed.’
- (100) *Dairi-si bo-yo ini nono ni*
 return-SQSS go.up-2/3S.PST 3.POSS mother say
oteimar-o, Nono beika ni-sa rema
 show-2/3S.PST mother what say-2S.PRES woman
ofi remanu, oure-na rema ofi
 young.woman two lead-NOM woman young.woman
yaku na ni no re-yo, ye dairi bai-yaka
 DM 1S say bad do-2/3S.PST so return come-1S.PST
re-si ya rofu ni-da.’
 do-SQSS 2 BEN say-1S.PRES
 ‘He came back and told his mother, “Mother, the older of two young women cursed me, so I came back to tell you; what do you think/have to say about it?”’
- (101) *Ini kosini mina sina neide-yo=ri bi ini*
 3.POSS mother this story hear-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS
mida rofu iriyeduka re-yo.
 child BEN sorrow do-2/3S.PST
 ‘When his mother heard this story she was sorry for her son.’
- (102) *Kora, kukuru, tabo moi-yo, fore ori-yo,*
 wild.taro plant.sp yam get-2/3S.PST stone cook-2/3S.PST
re-si imi siu re-yo.
 do-SQSS dip steam do-2/3S.PST
 ‘She got some wild taro, *kukuru* plants, and yam, and cooked them in stones and dipped him in the steam.’

- (103) *Ini mida rafe mar-o, re-si mina*
 3.POSS child wash give-2/3S.PST do-SQSS this
re-yo=ri bi ini mida di rovaita
 do-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS child GEN body
ruaka ni-yo.
 new say-2/3S.PST
 ‘She washed her son, and when she did this her son’s body was like new.’
- (104) *Ini kosini mina ve-yo=ri bi ini mida*
 3.POSS mother this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS child
ni-yo, ‘Koima ya me-giya.’
 say-2/3S.PST leech 2 marry-2S.FUT
 ‘When his mother saw this she said to her son, “Boy, you will get married.”’
- (105) *To ini mida yaku kero re-si ni oteimar-o,*
 but 3.POSS child DM turn do-SQSS say show-2/3S.PST
‘Ide-o, de na me-gida.’
 NEG-VOC NEG 1S marry-1S.FUT
 ‘But her son turned and told her, “No way, I will not get married.”’
- (106) *Ye mina mida ne-si ame-yo sana=ri*
 so this child go.down-SQSS stay-2/3S.PST place=at
dudu ne-si ame=ri bi ini bibo dudu
 with go.down-SQSS stay=at TOP 3.POSS flute with
sa u-yo.
 ACCM hit-2/3S.PST
 ‘So this boy went down and sat at that place and went down a little further and played his flute where he sat.’
- (107) *Mina fu-yo fu-yo-ri rasini keika*
 this blow-2/3S.PST blow-2/3S.PST-SIMDS sister little
ere de-si ve tau re-yo.
 belong come.down-SQSS see all do-2/3S.PST
 ‘He blew it and blew it and the younger girl came down to see what he was doing.’

- (108) *Ye ina remanu kimo ame-dedi=ri bi ini*
 so 3 two slowly stay-2/3P.PRES=at TOP 3.POSS
oure-na yaku de-si ve tau re-yo.
 lead-NOM DM come.down-SQSS see all do-2/3S.PST
 ‘So the two of them were sitting there when the older one came
 down to see what he was doing.’
- (109) *Rasini keika ni oteimar-o, ‘Nai rasini ya yaku*
 sister little say show-2/3S.PST 1S.POSS sister 2 DM
baku re-yo ye na na ma?’
 find do-2/3S.PST so 1S 1S give
 ‘She told the younger sister, “My sister, what did you find for
 me?”’
- (110) *Idu rasini keika yaku ni-yo, ‘Mina bi nai*
 but sister little DM say-2/3S.PST this TOP 1S.POSS
yeiva dudu baku re-yaka.
 strength INST find do-1S.PST
 ‘But the younger sister said, “I found it on my own.’
- (111) *Moi ya ya ma-gida bi gira tora.’*
 get 2 DM give-1S.FUT TOP hard big
 ‘To give it to you would be very difficult.’”
- (112) *Keni Raku dadi-si ni-yo, ‘Keni, Keni*
 Keni Raku get.up-SQSS say-2/3S.PST Keni Keni
Raku Raku momotariya vo ni-yo=ri bi
 Raku Raku disappear happen say-2/3S.PST=at TOP
ini oure-na maena re-yo.
 3.POSS lead-NOM shame do-2/3S.PST
 ‘Keni Raku got up and said, “Keni, Keni Raku Raku disappeared
 when the older one shamed him.’
- (113) *Ye rasini keika bona mina mida, Keni Raku,*
 so sister little and this child Keni Raku
ina remanu me-yadi.
 3 two marry-2/3P.PST
 ‘So the younger sister and this boy, Keni Raku, the two of them
 married.’

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