

GIRAWA GRAMMAR

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Table of Contents

	Abbreviations	iv
	Introduction	1
1.	Morphophonemics	1
2.	Stems	3
	Simple Verb Stems	3
	Compound Verb Stems	4
3.	Words	5
	Clitics	6
	Particles	11
	Temporals	11
	Manner Adverbs	12
	Responses	13
	Relators	13
	Quantifiers	14
	Negatives	14
	Demonstratives	15
	With Clitics	15
	Nouns	15
	Pronouns	21
	Interrogatives	22
	Other Suffixes	24
	Locatives	24
	Adjectives	26
	Adverbs	27
	Verbs	28

4.	Phrases	45
	Modified Noun Phrase	46
	Possessive Phrase	48
	Co-ordinate Phrase	50
	Interrogative Phrase	52
	Apposition Phrase	52
	Resemblance Phrase	54
	Specifier Phrase	55
	Negative Phrase	56
	Direction Phrase	57
	Locative Phrase	58
	Temporal Phrase	60
	Distributive Phrase	61
	Reduplication Phrase	62
	Intensifying Phrase	63
	Verb Phrases	63
	Double-Headed Verb Phrase	64
	Definitive Verb Phrase	66
	Be Verb Phrase	68
	Do-Put Verb Phrase	69
	Anticipatory Action Verb Phrase	70
	Repetitive Verb Phrase	72
	Negative Verb Phrase	72
5.	Clauses	75
	Transitive Clause	75
	Intransitive Clause	78
	Medial Clause	80
	Equative Clause	82
	Quotation Clause	83
	Interrogative Clause	85
	Grammar Essential Questions	86
	Bibliography	102
	Texts	Appendix i

Abbreviations

A	Axis
Anti	Antithetical
Ap	Apposition
B	Benefactive
C	consonant
cf	contrary-to-fact
Cl	Clause
Co	Comment
con	continuing
Cn	conjunction
d	dual
dc	desiderative clitic
dem	demonstrative
dep	dependent suffix
dir	direct
dist	distributive
dm	diminutive marker
DT	different topic
f	future
fc	focus clitic
G	General Time
gen	genitive
H	Head
hab	habitual aspect marker
I	Instrument
ic	instrument clitic
im	imperative
inf	infinite
int	intention
intens	intensifier
It	Item
L	Locative
M	Manner
mat	maternal
nf	non final
ng	negative marker
nuc	nucleus
O	Object
obm	object marker
opp	opposite sex

P	Predicate
p	past
pc	possessive clitic
Ph	Phrase
pl	plural
Pos	Possessor
pr	present
Q	Question
qm	question marker
R	Relator
S	Subject
s	singular
sib	sibling
Sp	Specific Time
ST	same topic
T	Time
To	Topic
Trans	Transitive
V	vowel
1s	first person singular
1d	first person dual
1pl	first person plural
2s	second person singular
2/3d	second/third person dual
3s	third person singular
2/3pl	second/third person plural
/	single oblique: a choice in English between two vernacular meanings.
.	in the interlinear translation, joins two English words to show that they translate one vernacular word or morpheme.
+	obligatory tagmeme
ω	alternates morphophonemically
{ }	one allomorph as basic
∅	zero morpheme

INTRODUCTION TO ORIGINAL PAPER

This is a description of the Girawa grammar from stem to clause level. Girawa, a non-austronesian language of the Kokon Family, Mabusu Stock, is spoken by over 3,000 people living about 30 miles south west of Madang in the Ramu Sub-province of the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea.

The data for this tentative analysis was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during twelve months of residence in the village of Sai between June 1976 and November 1977.

Various people, mainly from Sai village, have served as language helpers and have been either illiterate or semi-literate.

We are grateful for the help given by Velma Foreman in the analysis and preparation of this paper.

INTRODUCTION TO REVISION

The revision of the original paper is based on the original data plus additional data collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics whilst residing in the Girawa area from mid-1980 till the present (Feb. 1992).

Various people from throughout the area have served as language helpers. Most have been literate.

The original paper has only been corrected for obvious errors, new analysis has not been offered at this time. Therefore the original questions posed at the end of the paper, have not here been fully answered. Some will have been answered in other papers already written and others may be answered later in subsequent papers.

1 MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.1 Morphophonemic Rules

(1) When a word ends in the vowel /u/ and a suffix is added that starts with /w/, the /u/ is dropped.

1. peu + won = pe-won
 come.up 3s.p come.up-3s.

'(he) came up'

2. kou + wom = ko-wom
 come.down 1s.cf come.down-1s.cf

'(I) would not have come down'

Note: The above rule applies if the suffixes are analysed as "-won" and "-wom", but if they are alternatively analysed as "-on" and "-om" the following rule would apply.

(2) When a word ends with the vowel /u/ and a suffix is added that starts with another vowel, the /u/ changes to /w/.

$$1. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{i}u \\ 1d \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{e}s \\ fc \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{i}w-\underline{e}s \\ 1d-fc \end{array}$$

'we, two'

$$2. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{k}ou \\ come \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{a}i \\ 3s.f \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{k}ow-\underline{a}i \\ come.down-3s.f \end{array}$$

'(he) will come down'

$$3. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{n}äu \\ big \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{ä}u \\ intens \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{n}äw-\underline{ä}u \\ big-very \end{array}$$

'very big'

$$4. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{o}u \\ house \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{a} \\ locative \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{ow}-\underline{a} \\ house-locative \end{array}$$

'inside the house'

(3) When a word ends in a vowel, and a suffix is added which starts with the same vowel, the vowels elide together.

$$1. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{n}a \\ 2s \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{a}n \\ pc \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{n}a-n \\ 2s-pc \end{array}$$

'yours'

$$2. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{k}o \\ 3s \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{o}s \\ fc \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{k}o-s \\ 3s-fc \end{array}$$

'he'

Note: Although generally stress and length are non-phonemic in Girawa, if the suffix "-a" ('locative') is added to a word ending with the same vowel, the last syllable becomes stressed and longer.

$$3. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{m}ena \\ village \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} -\underline{a} \\ locative \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{m}ena \\ village-locative \end{array}$$

'into/from the village'

2 STEMS

2.0 Introduction

Verb stems in Girawa consist of simple stems and a few compound stems. These stems take on the suffixes of the verb.

Most other words in Girawa are roots, that is single morphemes, which carry the basic meaning of the word.

2.1 Simple Verb Stems

The simple verb stems in Girawa may be divided into those that have allomorphs and those that do not, namely Class I₂ verbs that end in /r/.

Examples of the verb stem allomorphs are given below.

<u>Section 1</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>je</u>	'eat'
	<u>p</u>	<u>pe</u>	'come up'
	<u>tuk</u>	<u>tuke</u>	'cut'
	<u>kai</u>	<u>kaie</u>	'make/build'
	<u>nin</u>	<u>nine</u>	'sleep'
 <u>Section 2</u>	 <u>m</u>	 <u>me</u>	 <u>mo</u> 'put/do'
	<u>tor</u>	<u>tore</u>	<u>toro</u> 'cut/chop'
	<u>pot</u>	<u>pote</u>	<u>poto</u> 'go'
 <u>Section 3</u>	 <u>ko</u>	 <u>koi</u>	 <u>kou</u> 'come down'
	<u>ra</u>	<u>rai</u>	<u>rau</u> 'stay/be'

The shorter form listed first takes the final verb suffixes in the phrase or clause. The forms listed second which end with /e/ or /i/ occur as the non-final verb in the Verb Phrase. Those in Section 2 are all Class 0 verbs that have a further allomorph using /o/. The verbs of Section 3 are Class I verbs that show the fluctuation of /i/ and /u/ that occurs between the dialects of the language.

When habitual aspect occurs with the verb stems, Sections 1 and 2 may have fluctuation with all the forms.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 1. | <u>m-ia-im</u>
do-hab-1s.pr | 3. | <u>mo-ia-im</u>
do-hab-1s.pr |
| 2. | <u>m-ea-im</u>
do-hab-1s.pr | | 'I always do (it)' |

With dependent suffixes, all the allomorphs may also occur, of all the Sections.

1. pot-eanik
 go-ST

 'having gone'
2. poto-nuk
 go-3s.DT

 'when you went'
3. pot-ia
 go-ST

 'having gone'

2.2 Compound Verb Stems

There are very few compound verb stems in Girawa. These are usually made with a noun stem plus verb stem to form the compound meaning.

Other close knit combinations of words also involving nouns and verbs will be dealt with on Phrase level.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|--------------------|---|--|
| 1. | <u>amuk</u>
eye | + | <u>w</u>
hit | = | amukw-
exchange |
| 2. | <u>nepi</u>
nose | + | <u>pir</u>
turn | = | nepipir-
be.happy |
| 3. | <u>ur</u>
wind | + | <u>w</u>
hit | = | urw-
call.out |
| 4. | <u>jer</u>
burn/mark | + | <u>w</u>
hit | = | yerw-
write |
| 5. | <u>jo</u>
net.bag | + | suffixes | = | <u>jo-</u>
make.a.net.bag
put.in.a.net.bag |
| 6. | <u>ur</u>
wind | + | suffixes | = | <u>ur-</u>
blow (on a fire) |

The last two examples have only the suffixes to show that they are verbs.

There are no derived stems in Girawa.

3 WORDS

3.0 Introduction

Words are inflectable units which are isolatable and which cannot be further divided into free forms. Words occur in the hierarchical order above stems and below phrases.

Word classes are distinguished from each other by the different tagmemes in which they occur on the phrase and clause levels, by the number of suffixal orders and the particular set of suffixes occurring with them, and by the occurrence of clitics. Some words fit into more than one class. The subclasses that occur will be noted with the discussion of the particular class.

Word classes are listed below:

Clitics

Closed classes which generally occur without suffixes:

Temporals

Manner Adverbs

Responses

Relators

Quantifiers

Negatives

Demonstratives

Open classes which optionally occur with clitics:

Nouns

Pronouns

Interrogatives

Classes that occur with other suffixes:

Locatives

Adjectives

Adverbs

Verbs

3.1 Clitics

There are three clitics in Girawa; the Focus Clitic, Possessive Clitic and Desiderative Clitic. In each case the clitic has a set of allomorphs that are morphophonemically defined. These rules will be presented later.

3.1.1 Morphophonemic Rules

Morphophonemic rules for choosing allomorphs of the clitics:

(1) When a noun or pronoun ends with a vowel, it takes the allomorph of the like vowel and that initial vowel is reduced.

$$1. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ko}} \\ \text{3s} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{-os}} \\ \text{fc} \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ko-s}} \\ \text{3s-fc} \end{array}$$

'he'

$$2. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ip-ou}} \\ \text{hand-his} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{-us}} \\ \text{ic} \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ip-ou-s}} \\ \text{hand-his-fc} \end{array}$$

'with his hand'

$$3. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{mena}} \\ \text{place} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{-an}} \\ \text{pc} \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{mena-n}} \\ \text{place-pc} \end{array}$$

'of the place/village'

$$4. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{mokoi}} \\ \text{boy} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{-is}} \\ \text{fc} \end{array} = \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{mokoi-s}} \\ \text{(the) boy} \end{array}$$

'(The) boy'

(2) Words that end with /uk/, /ok/, /ap/ and /am/ the allomorph is /-uC/.

$$1. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{wermok-us}} \\ \text{Wermok-fc} \end{array}$$

'Wermok'

$$2. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{tamiok-us}} \\ \text{axe-ic} \end{array}$$

'with the axe'

$$3. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{map-un}} \\ \text{Map-pc} \end{array}$$

'Map's'

$$4. \quad \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{koiam-un}} \\ \text{old.man-pc} \end{array}$$

'the old man's'

(3) Words that end with /ik/, /iw/, /ir/, /in/, or /aip/ take the allomorph /-eC/.

1. ik-es
1pl-fc
"we"
2. iw-esar
1d-dc
"we two, ourselves"
3. usir-es
food.spear-ic
"with the food spear"
4. panin-es
knife-ic
"with the knife"

(4) Words that end with /ep/, /es/, /er/, /un/, /ur/, /ät/, /äp/, /as/ take the allomorph /-iC/.

1. ep-is
fire-ic
"with fire"
2. mur-is
rope-ic
"with rope"
3. araines-in
Araimes-pc
"Araimes"
4. siräp-is
small.knife-ic
"with a small knife"

(5) Words that end with /ar/, /is/, /ak/, /ip/, /en/, /Ci/, and /on/ take the allomorph /-aC/.

1. is-as
1s-fc
"I"

2. memenip-an
Memenip-pc

'Memenip's'

3. osmar-an
Osmar-pc

'Osmar's'

4. ip-i-as
hand-my-ic

'with my hand'

(6) Words that end with /au/ or /ou/ take the /-aC/ allomorph.

1. au-as = awas
2/3d-fc

'you two'

2. au-an = awan
2/3d-pc

'your two'

3. ou-an = owan
house-pc

'belonging to (the) house'

3.1.2 Focus Clitic and the Instrument Clitic

The Focus Clitic and the Instrument Clitic are identical forms. The Focus Clitic is used to show the focus of the clause. In cases it occurs on the fillers of the Subject and as well as a rare occurrence on the Object. The Instrument Clitic occurs on the filler of the Instrument. Both the Focus Clitic and the Instrument Clitic may appear in a clause on both the Subject and Instrument. It can occur on both nouns and pronouns. Both Clitics may occur on Interrogatives when the focus is on either the Subject or the Instrument.

The Focus Clitic allomorphs are as follows:

-as ∞ -es ∞ -us ∞ -is ∞ -os

1. S:is-as O:kinin P:m-om
 1s-fc story put-1s.pr

'I tell (the) story'

2. S:jeremes komuk kometi ko-os O:po kar P:tuk-ewon
 Jeremes her.husband committee 3s-fc pig one cut-3s.p
 'Jeremes' husband, the Committee (member), cut (up) one pig'
3. S:epau-k-un wau-us P:sakat-owon
 mat.cousin-his-pc wife-his-fc hold-3s.p
 'his maternal cousin's wife held (it)'
4. S:ino-os P:p-eu
 who-fc come.up-3s.pr
 'Who is coming?'
5. S:emasip-as I:mur-is O:sirap P:parar-owon
 Emasip-fc rope-ic knife tie-3s.p
 'Emasip tied the knife on with a rope'
6. S:putut wau-us I:masin-es P:samapim m-ai
 Putut wife-his-fc machine-ic sew.up do-3s.f
 'Putut's wife will sew (it) on the (sewing) machine'

3.1.3 Possessive Clitic

The Possessive Clitic indicates the possessor in a Possessive Phrase. In embedded phrases it occurs on the last word in the Possessor tagmeme. Often a Possessive Phrase embeds into the Possessor tagmeme of the Possessive Phrase so that the Possessive Clitic will occur twice. The Possessive Clitic occurs on both nouns and pronouns, on Interrogatives, and with Temporals.

The Possessive Clitic allomorphs are as follows:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|------------|---|------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| <u>-an</u> | ∞ | <u>-en</u> | ∞ | <u>-in</u> | ∞ | <u>-un</u> | ∞ | <u>-on</u> |
|------------|---|------------|---|------------|---|------------|---|------------|
1. raimar-an
 Raimar-pc
 'Raimar's'
 2. asik-en
 woman-pc
 'the woman's'
 3. ietas-in
 Ietas-pc
 'Ietas'

4. map-un
Map-pc
'Map's'
5. mon-i-an sitori
father-my-pc story
'my father's story'
6. is-an an-i warakas-in mena
is-pc mother-my Warakas-pc place
'my mother, Warakas' place'
7. in-on po
who-pc pig
'Whose pig?'
8. Kiro meter-an kinin
That before-pc story
'That (is) a story from before'

3.1.4 Desiderative Clitic

The Desiderative Clitic is used to indicate reflexivity, emphasis and expressing one's desire or will. The Desiderative Clitic can occur on nouns and pronouns. It usually appears in conversations as a response to a question.

The allomorphs are as: -asar " -esar " -osar

1. is-asar
1s-dc
'I, myself'
2. na-asar
2s-dc
'you, yourself'
3. ro-osar
man-dc
'(the) man's desire'
4. ik-esar
1pl-dc
'our will'

3.2 Particles

These classes of words are characterized by the absence of clitics or suffixes of any sort. They tend to be a closed class.

3.2.1 Temporals

Temporals manifest the Temporal tagmeme in a Temporal Phrase. There are three groups: General time words, Specific₁, made up of days of the week, and Specific₂ which are times of the day. Temporals may also manifest the Time tagmeme in clauses.

General

<u>rusa</u>	'now'
<u>ariwa</u>	'tomorrow'
<u>orio</u>	'day after tomorrow'
<u>kukam</u>	'yesterday'
<u>kumamar</u>	'day before yesterday'
<u>kukamar</u>	'before'
<u>tawa</u>	'later' (near future)
<u>imkanik</u>	'later on' (distant future)

Specific₁

<u>monre</u>	'Monday'
<u>tunre</u>	'Tuesday'
<u>trinre</u>	'Wednesday'
<u>ponre</u>	'Thursday'
<u>praire</u>	'Friday'
<u>tup eteinak</u>	'Saturday'
<u>sarare</u>	'Saturday'
<u>tup nāwāu</u>	'Sunday'
<u>sanre</u>	'Sunday'
<u>tup</u>	'week' (counted by Sundays present)

Specific₂

<u>tapera</u>	'morning'
<u>pero</u>	'midday'
<u>iukärir</u>	'afternoon'
<u>pututu</u>	'night'

3.2.2 Manner Adverbs

These manifest the Manner tagmeme in Transitive, Intransitive and Medial clauses.

<u>ätäi</u>	'again'
<u>kurte</u>	'quickly'
<u>aiaur</u>	'slowly'
<u>erar</u>	'nothing'
<u>itok</u>	'enough'
<u>äiäk</u>	'enough'
<u>aru</u>	'badly'
<u>sei</u>	'wild'

- S:manran M:ätäi P:nopt-ai
 Madang again go.down-3s.f
 'he will go to Madang again'
- M:ätäi P:kow-on
 again come-3s.p
 'he came back (again)'
- S:is M:kurte kurte P:an jow-am
 I quickly quickly water wash-1s.f
 'I will wash very quickly'

3.2.3 Responses

Responses may occur in isolation or adjacent to a longer utterance. They are never inflected.

<u>io</u>	'yes'
<u>wa/wäpik</u>	'no'
<u>epar</u>	'true'
<u>ie</u>	'exclamation of wonder'
<u>weino</u>	'hesitation'

3.2.4 Relators

Relators function to mark Location, Time and Co-ordinate tagmemes at Phrase level.

(1) Location and Time relator opok manifests the Relator tagmeme in the Relator-Axis phrases of Location and Time.

1. ruris pero opok
now midday at
'now at midday'
2. tup opok
Sunday on
'on Sunday'
3. paiak opok
thigh.theirs on
'on their thighs'

(other relators are uru, and the clitics -a, -pai, and -ar are discussed in section 4.10)

(2) Co-ordinate relators ori and pak manifest the Conjunction tagmemes in the Co-ordinate Phrase.

1. asik pak ro pak
woman and man and
'men and women'
2. epa-u ori
cousin-his both
'(with) his cousin, the two of them'

3. airin kietas ori pak
Eileen Kietas both and
'Both Eileen and Kietas'

3.2.5 Quantifiers

These fill the Quantifier tagmeme which modifies the Head slot of a Modified Noun Phrase.

<u>karar</u>	'one'
<u>oiroror</u>	'two'
<u>sosop</u>	'many'
<u>karauk</u>	'some'

1. ro sosop
man many
'many men'
2. ro karar
man one
'one man'

3.2.6 Negatives

There are two negative particles wa and wäpik. They appear to be used interchangeably but wa is used more often than wäpik, which may have a more limited meaning 'not at all' or 'none'.

The two negative forms manifest the Negative tagmeme of the Negative Verb Phrase and the Negative Phrase.

1. ämän sosop wa
talk much not
'I don't have much to say'
2. iu äpu wa
we.d know not
'we (two) don't know'
3. rosa rusa sarau wa m-ai
bulldozer now work not put-3s.f
'The bulldozer will not working today'

3.2.7 Demonstratives

These are a small closed class of words that fill the Demonstrative slots in a Modified Noun Phrase, the Item or Apposition slots in an Apposition Phrase, and the Topic and Comment slots of the Equative Clause.

<u>kar</u>	'another
<u>kiro</u>	'that'
<u>kis</u>	'this way'
<u>kos/okos</u>	'that way'
<u>okoro</u>	'this'
<u>enro</u>	'that over there'

1. kiro sarau
this work

'this work'
2. ik-en ämän okoro
1pl-pc talk this

'this is what we say'

3.3 With Clitics

There are open classes of words which generally occur with clitics.

3.3.1 Nouns

Nouns occur on the Phrase level in the Head slots of the Modified Noun Phrase, Specifier Phrase, Resemblance Phrase, Co-ordinate Phrase, Locative Phrase, Negative Phrase and Distributive Phrase, and the Possessor slot of the Possessive Phrase and Item and Apposition slots of the Apposition Phrase.

Nouns are divided into three main classes, kinship nouns, body part nouns, and general nouns, depending on whether they take genitive suffixes or not.

Noun: Chart 1

+ Noun Nucleus	+ Gen. Suffix	± X	± Clitics
Kinship nouns	+		+
Body part nouns	+	- <u>a</u> uk	+
General nouns		- <u>a</u> uk - <u>a</u> t	+

Special Features

(1) Nouns can be divided into three major subclasses, largely on whether they take a genitive suffix or not. Kinship nouns and body part nouns do take a genitive suffix which indicates ownership. The genitive suffixes for both these sets of terms are similar but not exactly the same.

(2) The noun marker suffix -auk occurs on a limited number of body part nouns and some general nouns, generally insects. It is an optional suffix; it indicates that the object is small. When the suffix is on a plant, it means the seed of the plant.

Body Parts

ip-i-auk 'my fingers'
hand-my-small

is-i-auk 'my toes'
foot-my-small

am-i-auk 'my eye'
eye-my-small

wo-i-auk 'my liver'
liver-my-small

Other

sari-auk 'ant'

oporom-auk 'spider'

kopen-auk 'millipede'

seuri-auk 'mosquito'

(3) The plural suffix { -at } is suffixed to a limited number of animate nouns (all are people terms, except pigs and dogs which are very important in the culture). There is some change in the suffix according to the preceding letters. They do not follow the same morphophonemic rules cited in 3.1.1, but are noun specific.

-at

ro-at 'men'
man-pl

po-at 'pigs'
pig-pl

en-at 'dogs'
dog-pl

-ut

asinak-ut 'girls'
girl-pl

aw-ak-ut 'older siblings'
older.sib-his-pl

am-ak-ut 'younger siblings'
younger.sib-his-pl

Other

asir-et 'women'
woman-pl

asik-ot 'women'
woman-pl

mokoi-t 'boys'
boy-pl

(4) The kinship nouns do not take -auk suffixes.

(5) The kinship nouns can take the possessive, focus and desiderative clitics.

(6) Body part nouns can take the possessive, focus, instrument and desiderative clitics.

(7) The general nouns can take all the clitics. Only some animate nouns take the plural suffix.

(8) The -auk suffix can take the focus clitic after it.

(9) The nucleus of the noun is obligatory and usually only one suffix/clitic occurs but two may occur.

Body Parts and Kinship Nouns

These nouns are separate from general nouns because they take the obligatory genitive suffix indicating ownership. Though the form of the suffix is similar in both sets of nouns they are not exactly the same, and therefore can be further subdivided by the allomorphs that occur.

Body Parts and Kinship Nouns: Chart 2

+ Noun Nucleus	+ Genitive Marker
Body part stem	{ <u>-un</u> }
Kinship stem	

Special Features

(1) With both sets of terms, for the most part, the plurals follow a fairly regular pattern. Usually the first or second person singular can be used to predict the plural.

(2) A Summary of Body Parts Genitive Suffixes: Chart 3

Persons:	1s	2s	3s	1d/pl	2/3d/pl
		<u>-un</u>	<u>-u</u>		
			<u>-uk</u>		
<u>-i</u>		<u>-an</u>	<u>-u</u>	<u>-iek</u>	<u>-iak</u>
		<u>-on</u>	<u>-ou</u>	<u>/iok</u>	
		<u>-t</u>	<u>-u</u>		
		<u>-at</u>	<u>-au</u>		
<u>-m</u>		<u>-mat</u>	<u>-u</u>	<u>-mek</u>	<u>-mak</u>
<u>-im</u>		<u>-mat</u>	<u>-ip</u>	<u>/-maka</u>	

Note: There are dual suffixes which are sometimes used by older folk. They could possibly have occurred with most body part noun and kinship nouns, but are not used at the present time with all of them.

They are:-

1d - iowa

2d - iawa

(3) Kinship nouns have a wider variety of allomorphs than body part nouns. In the following summary of allomorphs for kinship nouns the first one listed is the most frequent.

1s:	<u>-i</u>	∞	<u>-ai</u>	∞	<u>-r</u>	∞	<u>-ur</u>	∞	<u>-re</u>	∞	<u>-e</u>	∞	<u>-∅</u>
2s:	<u>-t</u>	∞	<u>-ut</u>	∞	<u>-ot</u>	∞	<u>-n</u>	∞	<u>-un</u>				
3s:	<u>-uk</u>	∞	<u>-k</u>	∞	<u>-u</u>	∞	<u>-ak</u>						
2d/pl:	<u>-nek</u>	∞	<u>-unek</u>	∞	<u>-iek/-iok</u>	∞	<u>-inek</u>						
3d/pl:	<u>-nak</u>	∞	<u>-unak</u>	∞	<u>-iak</u>	∞	<u>-inak</u>	∞	<u>-renak</u>				

(4) There does appear to be some correlation between grammatical meaning and suffixes, in that similar terms have similar suffixes, e.g. arm and leg, daughter-in-law and son-in-law.

Body Parts Genitive Suffixes: Chart 4

English	Stem	1s	2s	3s	1d/pl	2/3d/pl	
nose	<u>nep-</u>						
teeth	<u>a-</u>	<u>-i</u>	<u>-un</u>	<u>-u</u>	<u>-iek</u> <u>/-iok</u>	<u>-iak</u>	+ <u>panak</u>
liver	<u>wo-</u>						
neck	<u>po-</u>		<u>-n</u>				
mouth	<u>o-</u>						+ <u>sau</u>
eye	<u>am-</u>	<u>-i</u>			<u>-iek</u> <u>/-iok</u>	<u>-iak</u>	
ear	<u>ta-</u>		<u>-un</u>	<u>-uk</u>			
thigh	<u>pa-</u>						
arm	<u>ip-</u>	<u>-i</u>	<u>-on</u>	<u>-ou</u>			
leg	<u>is-</u>						
head	<u>tap-</u>		<u>-an</u>	<u>-au</u>	<u>-iek</u> <u>/-iok</u>	<u>-iak</u>	
upper arm	<u>sa-</u>	<u>-i</u>	<u>-t</u>	<u>-u</u>			
shoulder	<u>jak-</u>		<u>-at</u>	<u>-au</u>			
stomach	<u>noko-</u>	<u>-m</u>	<u>-mat</u>	<u>-u</u>			
skin/name	<u>en-</u>	<u>-im</u>	<u>-mat</u>	<u>-ip</u>	<u>-mek</u> <u>/-maka</u>	<u>-mak</u>	

Note: The dual suffixes (page 25) are sometimes used with these body part nouns.

Kinship Suffixes: Chart 5
Classified according to 2s

English	Stems	1s	2s	3s	1d/pl	2/3d/pl
Older sibling	<u>au-</u>	- <u>ai</u>	- <u>un</u>	- <u>ak</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Younger sibling	<u>am-</u>	- <u>ai</u>	- <u>un</u>	- <u>ak</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Opp. sibling	<u>äpi</u>	-∅	- <u>n</u>	(- <u>auk</u>)	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Mother's brother	<u>kai-</u>	-∅	- <u>n</u>	- <u>u</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Grandparent	<u>asa-</u>	-∅	- <u>n</u>	- <u>k</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Friend	<u>ja-</u>	- <u>i</u>	- <u>un</u>	- <u>uk</u>	- <u>unek</u>	- <u>unak</u>
Cousin	<u>epau-</u>	-∅	- <u>t</u>	- <u>k</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Parent's older sister	<u>änäi-</u>	-∅	- <u>t</u>	- <u>uk</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Father's older brother	<u>äsäi-</u>	-∅	- <u>t</u>	- <u>k</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Husband's younger brother	<u>peka-</u>	- <u>i</u>	- <u>ut</u>	- <u>uk</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Sibling's wife	<u>er-</u>	- <u>i</u>	- <u>ut</u>	- <u>uk</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Older sibling's husband	<u>jep-</u>	- <u>i</u>	- <u>ut</u>	- <u>uk</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Daughter-in-law	<u>pusi-</u>	- <u>r</u>	- <u>t</u>	- <u>u</u>	- <u>nek</u>	- <u>nak</u>
Son-in-law	<u>tan-</u>	- <u>ar</u>	- <u>at</u>	- <u>au</u>	<u>tarnek</u>	<u>tarnaka</u>
Mother	<u>an-</u>	- <u>i</u>	- <u>in</u>	- <u>ak</u>	- <u>iek</u>	- <u>iak</u>
Father	<u>mon-</u>	- <u>i</u>	<u>mom-on</u>	<u>mom-ok</u>	- <u>iek</u> / <u>momonek</u>	- <u>iak</u> / <u>momonak</u>
Husband	<u>kom-</u>	{- <u>ri</u> {- <u>ur</u>	- <u>ut</u>	- <u>uk</u>	<u>komurnek</u>	<u>komurnak</u>
Older sibling's daughter	<u>ar-</u>	- <u>e</u>	- <u>ot</u>	- <u>u</u>	- <u>inek</u>	- <u>inak</u>
Older sibling's son	<u>na-</u>	- <u>i</u>	- <u>t</u>	- <u>k</u>	- <u>inek</u>	- <u>inak</u>
Wife	<u>wa-</u>	- <u>re</u>	- <u>t</u>	- <u>u</u>	- <u>renek</u>	- <u>renak</u>

3.3.2 Pronouns

Pronouns fill the Head slots of a Modified Noun Phrase, Resemblance Phrase, Co-ordinate Phrase, Distributive Phrase and Negative Phrase. They also fill the Possessor slot of a Possessive Phrase, and Item and Apposition slots of an Apposition Phrase. Pronouns also fill the Topic slots of Equative Clauses, and Subject slots of Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. It is unusual to find a pronoun in the Object tagmeme of a clause. When the direct Transitive verb class occurs, the verbal suffixes replace the free pronouns, but pronoun can occur perhaps as a way of highlighting the Object.

Pronouns may take all three clitics: focus, possessive and desiderative.

There are three persons: first, second and third, and three numbers: singular, dual and plural. There is no difference in form between second and third dual, and also second and third plural. There are eight pronouns in Girawa.

Pronouns are never possessed.

Pronouns: Chart 6

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<u>is</u>	<u>iu</u>	<u>ik</u>
2	<u>na</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>ak/oraut</u>
3	<u>ko</u>		

Special Feature

An alternative plural to ak is oraut, which is sometimes abbreviated to raut.

3.3.3 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are a small closed class which occur in the clause and phrase tagmemes appropriate to the question. Interrogatives may be subdivided into three classes: (1) those that take clitics, (2) those that do not take clitics, (3) those that are more than one word.

(1) Those that take clitics:

owo 'what' fills the Subject, Object and Comment slots.

owo-s 'how' fills the Subject or Instrument slot.
what-fc

owo-n 'why' fills the Manner slot.
what-pc

inok 'who' fills the Subject, Object and Comment slots.

ino-s 'who' fills the Subject slot.
who-fc

ino-n 'whose' fills the Possessor tagmeme.
who-pc

era 'where' fills the Locative slot.

era-s 'where from'
where-fc

epa-pok 'on where'
where-on

1. S:owo rau
what is.3.pr

'what is (there)?'

2. I:owo-s P:patir-mon
what-fc cut-2s.p

'how did you cut (it)?'

3. O:o naw-äu M:owo-n P:je-ram
food big-very what-pc eat-2s.pr.con

'why are you eating a lot (of) food?'

(2) Those that do not take clitics:

<u>era</u>	'where'	fills the Locative slot.
<u>esen</u>	'where'	fills the Locative slot and the Comment slot of Equative Clauses.
<u>esapa</u>	'when'	fills the Time slot.
<u>erasek/ese</u> <u>/esap esap</u>	'how many'	fills the Time and Modifying slots.

1. To:ro-at Co:esen
man-pl where

'where (are) the men?'
2. S:au T:tup esek P:ut-aieir
you.two week how.many leave-2/3d.f

'how many weeks will you two be away?'
3. S:na T:esapa P:man-am
you when go-2s.f

'when are you going?'

(3) There is also a particle { ra } (question marker) which occurs in the final position of the clause. This, coupled with a rising intonation, asks a 'yes/no' question. It also occurs with interrogatives and intensifies the question that is asked. The allomorphs of { ra } are: ra " rä

1. S:na P:ki p-em ra
you here come.up-1s.pr qm

'are you coming up?'
2. P:nin-aur-i ra
sleep-int-3s.pr qm

'does he want to sleep?'
3. To:n-an mena Co:roros rä
2s-pc place cold qm

'(is) your place cold?'

3.4 Other Suffixes

Word classes that occur with other suffixes.

3.4.1 Locatives

Locatives are a closed class of words that manifest the Location tagmeme in clauses as well as tagmemes in the Direction and Locative Phrases and Distributive Phrase. Some locatives may also manifest the Demonstrative₂ slot in the Modified Noun Phrase. The locatives are sub-divided according to the suffixes that may occur.

Locative₁ manifests the Head slot of the Direction Phrase.

<u>ais</u>	'there'
<u>oik</u>	'up'
<u>up-in</u>	'toward/at the hole/river'

Each of these take a set of suffixes that show degree of distance from the speaker.

- <u>sa</u>	'far-200 metres'
- <u>sen</u>	'close-by'
- <u>in</u>	'to/at/on/for'

The word up ('hole') has different forms with the different suffixes. (In the Girawa area, these expressions often refer to distances along the river.)

1. upi-sa
down-far

'far down there' (about 200 metres away)
2. up-sen
hole-close.to

'down there' (at bottom of cliff/just below)
3. up-in
hole-at

'at the river'
4. ep-in
fire-for

'(going) for fire-wood'

Locative₂ includes a set of body-part words that show position and take a different set of suffixes. These words manifest the Axis slot of Locative Phrases.

<u>m/nekes</u>	'back'
<u>wauk</u>	'his front'
<u>kasak</u>	'his side'

These words take two suffixes, possibly again showing a degree of distance from the speaker.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | <u>-tap/ap/rap/up</u> | 'close' |
| 1. | L: <u>nekesi-rap</u>
behind-close | P: <u>ra-u</u>
be-3s.pr |
| | | 'it's right behind (me)' |
| 2. | L: <u>kasak-up</u>
side-not.close | P: <u>m-o</u>
put-2s.im |
| | | 'put (it) on the side' |
| 3. | <u>waun-ap</u>
front-close | |
| | | 'right in front of you' |

Locative₃ includes all other locatives that do not take suffixes. These fill the Locative tagmeme slot.

<u>okoro</u>	'here'
<u>kis</u>	'this way'
<u>kos</u>	'that way'
<u>inkäruru</u>	'under'
<u>kamioik</u>	'over'
<u>ek/ki</u>	'here'
<u>enro</u>	'over there'
<u>kasik</u>	'outside'

3.4.2 Adjectives

All adjectives occur in the Modifier tagmemes in the Modified Noun Phrase, the Head slot of the Distributive Phrase and Comment slot of the Equative Clause. Some (listed as adjective 4) optionally fill the Manner tagmeme in clauses, that is they act as adverbs.

Adjective 1 includes all adjectives that can be made smaller by the addition of the diminutive suffix -nak.

1. etei-nak
small-dm

'very small'
2. rumak-nak
long-dm

'not long'
3. sopou-nak
hot-dm

'a little hot'
4. mitu-nak
sweet-dm

'a little sweet'

Others in this class include:

<u>katu</u>	'short'
<u>näu</u>	'big'
<u>eposek</u>	'good'
<u>äiäk</u>	'enough'
<u>sakau</u>	'strong'

Adjective 2 consists of those adjectives that are intensified by the addition of the suffixes -äu.

1. rumuk-äu
long-very

'very long'
2. aru-äu
bad-very

'very bad'

Others in this class include:

<u>näunak</u>	'big'
<u>näu</u>	'big'
<u>usu</u>	'heavy'

Adjective 3 includes all those that are not modified by the suffixes -nak or -äu

<u>oporeu</u>	'cold (water)'
<u>oren</u>	'ripe'
<u>atap</u>	'another'
<u>kar</u>	'another'
<u>kirikos</u>	'slippery'
<u>sei</u>	'wild'
<u>osou</u>	'red/ripe'
<u>mokup</u>	'black'
<u>ärineu</u>	'white'

Adjective 4 consists of those adjectives that can fill the Manner tagmeme of the clause, that is they act as **adverbs**.

Examples:

<u>aru</u>	'bad'
<u>näu</u>	'good'
<u>eposek</u>	'good'

3.4.3 Adverbs

There is a small group of adverbs which fill the manner tagmeme slot of the clause.

<u>jekur</u>	'well'
<u>rapor</u>	'carefully'

3.4.4 Verbs

Verbs manifest tagmemes in Verb Phrases. Uninflected stems occur in non-final slots in the Verb Phrase and may be marked with a non-final verb marker. The final verb must be inflected with either subject-person-tense, dependent, imperative or infinitive suffix. There are a total of three orders of verbal suffixes.

3.4.4.1 Verb Classes

[See also Lillie, P.: 1988 "*Girawa Verbs*" Manuscript and Lillie, P.: 1990 "*Cohesive Functions of the Verb in Girawa Discourse*" Manuscript.]

There are four classes of verb stems: E, O, I and Direct Transitive. The first three are defined by the subject-person-tense suffixes that occur in the present tense. Class E stems take /e/ initial suffixes, Class O take /o/ initial suffixes and Class I has either /i/ or /u/ initial suffixes. Class I can be further divided into sub-classes of those that end with a consonant which drops the initial vowel in the past tense (Class I₂) and those that end with a vowel and retain the vowel initial (Class I₁). Each class makes a different change in the future. The Direct Transitive is a class of verbs that includes an obligatory personal object marker and the stem has allomorphs according to the person of the object.

As far as can be determined the classes are arbitrary except that 'go' verbs are Class O and 'come' verbs except for ko ('come down') are Class E.

Representative lists of the classes are given below. Verbs will be given in first person present tense. In all verbs below, the formula is verb stem + -Vm, the vowel changing with each class.

Class E

<u>pen</u>	'I come up'
<u>nem</u>	'I come down'
<u>urem</u>	'I cut/clear'
<u>wem</u>	'I plant/shoot/hit'
<u>kaiem</u>	'I make/build'
<u>tanem</u>	'I sit'
<u>tukem</u>	'I cut in horizontal position'
<u>känkurem</u>	'I throw away'
<u>jem</u>	'I eat'
<u>torem</u>	'I cut in vertical position'
<u>meiem</u>	'I die'

Class 0

<u>manom</u>	'I go'
<u>potom</u>	'I go'
<u>noptom</u>	'I go down'
<u>tonom</u>	'I go up'
<u>utom</u>	'I leave'
<u>mom</u>	'I put/do'
<u>atom</u>	'I call a name'
<u>ninom</u>	'I sleep'
<u>sakatom</u>	'I hold'

Class I₁ (a vowel precedes the -im suffix)

<u>oim</u>	'I get'
<u>koim</u>	'I come down'
<u>roim</u>	'I hear'
<u>rain</u>	'I stay/am'
<u>uraraim</u>	'I open (a parcel)'
<u>kuriam</u>	'I cut/clear'

Class I₂ (/r/ precedes the -im suffix)

<u>keserim</u>	'I do like this'
<u>patarim</u>	'I finish'
<u>kasarim</u>	'I sweep (ground)'
<u>äsiorim</u>	'I sneeze'
<u>pätirim</u>	'I cut (grass)'
<u>nepipirim</u>	'I am happy'

The Direct Transitive is an interesting class of verbs in that there is an obligatory marker which shows the person of the object, and the stem has allomorphs which also show the person of the object, but to a lesser degree. The Direct Transitive verbs only occur in the Transitive Clause. Chart 7 is a chart of the verb stem allomorphs discovered so far.

Direct Transitive Verb Allomorphs: Chart 7

English	Person of Object		
	1s/d/pl; 2s	2/3/d/pl	3s
see	<u>apa</u>	<u>ap</u>	<u>apar</u>
care/wait	<u>kame</u>	<u>kam</u>	<u>kame</u>
follow	<u>taine</u>	<u>tain</u>	<u>tainor</u>
talk	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>aur</u>
hit	<u>iw/ik</u>	<u>ak</u>	<u>we</u>
give	∅	∅	<u>nu</u>
call out	<u>urwo</u>	<u>ur</u>	<u>urw</u>
see	<u>ana</u>	<u>an</u>	<u>anar</u>

Special Features

(1) The verb kame 'wait/care for' can occur in a verb phrase with ra 'be' taking the final suffixes that indicate the person and number of the subject.

(2) The verb nu 'give' is unusual in that it has a zero allomorph for two of the persons.

Below is a representative list of the Direct Transitive verbs showing the object marker. In this list 'I' will be the subject and 'you singular' will be the object throughout.

1. a-is-om
talk-2s0-1s.pr
'I talk to you'
2. ∅-is-om
give-2s0-1s.pr
'I give (it) to you'
- 3a. iw-os-om
hit-2s0-1s.pr
'I hit you'
- 3b. ik-is-om
hit-2s0-1s.pr
'I hit you'

4. apa-is-om
see-2s0-1s.pr
'I see you'
- 5a. kame-is-i ra-im
wait.for-2s0-nf be-1s.pr
'I am waiting for you'
- 5b. kame-is-om
care.for-2s0-1s.pr
I look after you
6. urwo-is-om
call.out-2s0-1s.pr
'I call to you'

There is one verb, iere ('burn'), which takes only the third person subject suffix, with ep ('fire') as the usual subject. It may also take an object marker if there is a personal object.

1. ep ier-eis-u
fire burn-2s0-3s.pr
'The fire burns you'

Verb Formula: Chart 8

+ Verb Nucleus	± Object Marker	± Aspect	+ Subject Person/Number
Class E	Class Z	Habitual <u>-ia-/ea-</u>	Past
Class O		Intention <u>-aur-</u>	Present
Class I		Inceptive	Future
Direct Transitive			Imperative
			Dependent
			Infinitive <u>-aun</u> / <u>-au</u>
			Non-final <u>-au</u>
			Negative <u>-au</u>

Special Features

(1) The object marker tagmeme occurs only with Direct Transitive stems and the verb m- 'do/put'.

(2) Habitual aspect occurs only with past and present tense markers.

(3) Any class can occur with Imperative, Dependent, Infinitive and Non-final endings.

(4) Imperative, Dependent, Infinitive and Non-final suffixes do not occur with aspect.

3.4.4.2 Object Marker

The first order of suffixes is the object marker. This set occurs immediately following the verb stem. It always occurs with the Direct Transitive verb class and the m- 'do/put' verb.

Object Marker Affixes: Chart 9

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<u>-ir/or/ur-</u>	<u>-it/ut-</u>	<u>-ik/ok-</u>
2	<u>-is/os/us-</u>		
3	∅	<u>-wat-</u>	<u>-war-</u>

Special Features

(1) The third person singular object is marked by a change in the verb stem.

(2) In choosing the allomorphs, the choices follow the rule /i/ becomes /o/ following /w/. However, in the data there were two exceptions to this:

1. iw-is-omun
hit-2s0-1pl.p

'we hit you'

2. iw-is-oirin
hit-2s0-2/3d.p

'the two of them hit you'

(3) The allomorphs -ur-, -us- and -ut- occur only with m- 'do/put'

(4) There is also a fluctuation in the initial vowel of the subject-person-tense suffixes.

1. /e/ occurs with w- 'hit(3s)'
2. /i/ occurs following /r/.
Exception: a-war-om
talk-2/3pl0-1s.pr
'I talk to you'
3. /o/ occurs elsewhere.
 1. a-is-om
talk-2s0-1s.pr
'I talk to you'
 2. a-ir-om
talk-1s0-2s.pr
'you talk to me'
 3. aur-um
talk.3s0-2s.pr
'you talk to him'
 4. a-ik-om
talk-1pl0-2s.pr
'you talk to us'
 5. a-it-om
talk-1d0-2s.pr
'you talk to us two'
 6. a-war-om
talk-2/3pl0-2s.pr
'you talk to them/you'
 7. a-wat-om
talk-2/3d-2s.pr
'you talk to them (two)/I talk to you two'

When object markers are present with the verb m- 'do/put', it indicates benefaction.

1. ik na-n ou m-us-om
we 2s-pc house put-1sB-1pl.pr
'we build your house for you'

3.4.4.3 Second Order Suffixes

This order marks the aspect on the verb. Punctilliar action is not marked (i.e. it is a zero morpheme). There are two different suffixes that occur in the Aspect tagmeme: -ia- (habitual action) and -aur- (intention). These are the only forms that the Aspect takes. The person-number-tense is marked by /i/ initial vowel suffixes, no matter what class the original verb was. The verb stem used with Aspect may also have a different form from the regular verbs. Verb stem allomorphs will be discussed later. When Aspect is not marked, the action is punctilliar. The habitual marker only occurs with past and present tenses, not with future.

1. m-ea-im
do-hab-1s.pr

'I always do (it)'
2. m-ea-um
do-hab-2s.pr

'you always do (it)'
3. w-ia-um
plant-hab-1pl.pr

'we always plant (it)'
4. apar-ia-u
see-hab-3s.pr

'she always sees (him)'
5. mere ra-ia-uwon
make be-hab-3s.p

'he always stayed making (it)/he always made it'

The Intention marker -aur- indicates intention to do something. It can occur with all three tenses with /i/ initial suffixes in the present, but the initial vowel is dropped in future and past, and also first dual in present. There is also a different set of person-number-tense markers for future when used with the Intention marker.

1. man-aur-im
go-int-1s.pr

'I want to go/I am about to go'
2. j-aur-i
eat-int-2/3pl.pr

'you (pl)/they want to eat'

3. m-aur-u
do-int-3s.pr
'he wants to do (it)'
4. kou-aur-mur
come.down-int-1d.pr
'we two want to come down'

3.4.4.4 Third Order Suffixes

These include the subject-number-tense suffixes for present, past, future, future intention, imperative and dependent endings as well as the infinitive endings, all of which are clause final verb suffixes. The non-final suffix indicates that the verb will have something following. The one exception is the Negative Imperative in which the verb has non-final suffixes and is in the final position.

Present Tense

There are three sets of present tense markers depending on the initial vowel of the suffix. The present tense indicates action that is taking place now or in the very near future, that is, today.

Present Tense : Chart 10

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	-em~ -om~ -im	-emur~ -omur~ -umur	-em~ -om~ -um
2	-em~ -om~ -im	-eir~ -oir~ -ir	-ei~ -oi~ -i
3	-eu~ -ou~ -u		

CLASS E

1. j-em
eat-1s.pr
'I eat'
2. j-em
eat-2s.pr
'you eat'
3. j-eu
eat-3s.pr
'he eats'

4. i-emur
eat-1d.pr
"we two eat"
5. i-eir
eat-2/3d.pr
"you/they two eat"
6. i-em
eat-1pl.pr
"we eat"
7. i-ei
eat-2/3pl.pr
"you (pl)/they eat"

CLASS 0

1. nin-om
sleep-1s.pr
"I sleep"
2. nin-om
sleep-2s.pr
"you sleep"
3. nin-ou
sleep-3s.pr
"he sleeps"
4. nin-omur
sleep-1d.pr
"we two sleep"
5. nin-oir
sleep-2/3d.pr
"you/they two sleep"
6. nin-om
sleep-2pl.pr
"we sleep"
7. nin-oi
sleep-2/3pl.pr
"you (pl)/they sleep"

CLASS I

1. o-im
get-1s.pr

'I get (it)'
2. o-um
get-2s.pr

'you get (it)'
3. o-u
get-3s.pr

'he gets (it)'
4. o-umur
get-1d.pr

'we two get (it)'
5. o-ir
get-2/3d.pr

'you/they two get (it)'
6. o-um
get-1pl.pr

'we get (it)'
7. o-i
get-2/3pl.pr

'you (pl)/they get (it)'

Past Tense

The past tense suffixes denote any action that has been completed. This includes habitual, intentional and punctilliar action.

The past tense suffixes make the most distinction between persons and number, with a different suffix for each person.

The past tense suffixes have three allomorphs which occur with the three different classes of verbs: /e/ initial with Class E verbs, /o/ initial with Class O verbs and /i/ or /u/ initial with Class I₁ verbs, and with the initial vowel dropped with Class I₂ verbs and following the intention marker.

Past Tense: Chart 11

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<u>-Vmin</u>	<u>-Vmurin</u>	<u>-Vmun</u>
2	<u>-Vmon</u>	<u>-Virin</u>	<u>-Vin</u>
3	<u>-Vwon/</u> <u>-Vn</u>		

Note: the {-Vn} suffix for the third singular is a version used in quick speech.

CLASS E

1. w-emin
hit-1s.p
'I hit (it)'
2. w-emon
hit-2s.p
'you hit (it)'
3. w-ewon
hit-3s.p
'he hit (it)'
4. w-emurin
hit-1d.p
'we two hit (it)'
5. w-eirin
hit-2/3d.p
'you/they two hit (it)'
6. w-emun
hit-1pl.p
'we hit (it)'
7. w-ein
hit-2/3pl.p
'you (pl)/they hit (it)'

CLASS I₂

1. keser-min
do.like.this-1s.p

'I did (it) like this'
2. keser-mon
do.like.this-2s.p

'you did (it) like this'
3. keser-won
do.like.this-3s.p

'he did (it) like this'
4. keser-murin
do like.this-1d.p

'we two did (it) like this'
5. keser-irin
do.like.this-2/3d.p

'you/they two did (it) like this'
6. keser-mun
do.like.this-1pl.p

'we did (it) like this'
7. keser-in
do.like.this-2/3pl.p

'you (pl)/they did (it) like this'
8. man-aur-min
go-int-1s.p

'I wanted to go'
9. j-aur-mon
eat-int-2s.p

'you wanted to eat'

Future

The future tense suffixes indicate any action that will occur at any time in the future.

The future tense suffixes have three allomorphs which occur with the three different classes of verbs: /ä/ initial with Class E verbs, /o/ initial with Class O verbs and /a/ initial with other Classes.

Future Tense: Chart 12

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	- <u>Vm</u>	- <u>Vmur</u>	- <u>Vm</u>
2	- <u>Vm</u>	- <u>Vieir</u>	- <u>Viei</u>
3	- <u>Vi</u>		

Class E

1. w-äm
hit-1s.f
'I will hit (it)'
2. w-äm
hit-2s.f
'you will hit (it)'
3. w-äi
hit-3s.f
'he will hit (it)'
4. w-ämur
hit-1d.f
'we two will hit (it)'
5. w-äieir
hit-2/3d.f
'you/they two will hit (it)'
6. w-äm
hit-1pl.f
'we will hit (it)'

7. w-äiei
hit-2/3pl.f

'you (pl)/they will hit (it)'

One verb of Class E (i- 'eat') takes the endings of the Class 0 and Class I₂ for the future.

1. i-am
eat-1s.f

'I will eat'

2. i-äiei
eat-2/3pl.f

'you(pl)/they will eat'

Imperative

The Imperative covers the area of command, emphasis and also the hortatory 'Let's . . .' when used with first person plural. This set of endings is used in the hortatory sense when leave-taking, when the conversation may include most of the following:

1. First Speaker (1st) man-om
go-1s.pr

'I am going'
2. Second speaker (2nd) io man-o
yes go-2s.im

'yes, you go'
3. (1st) ak ra-we
you(pl) stay-2pl.im

'you(pl) stay'
4. (2nd) io ik ra-umwe
yes we stay-1pl.im

'yes, we are staying'

Imperative Suffixes: Chart 13

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<u>-Vmie</u>	<u>-Vmure</u>	<u>-Vmwe</u>
2	<u>-e/o/∅</u>		
3	<u>-∅</u>	<u>-er</u>	<u>-e</u>

Special Features

(1) In first person, V is replaced by whatever vowel fits the verb class.

(2) In second person singular, Class E takes allomorph /e/, Class O takes allomorph /o/ or ∅, Class I takes allomorph ∅.

1. man-omie
go-1s.im

'I go!'

2. man-o
go-2s.im
'you go!'
3. man-omure
go-1d.im
'we two go!'
4. man-er
go-2d.im
'you two go!'
5. man-omwe
go-1pl.im
'let's go!'
6. man-e
go-2pl.im
'you (pl) go!'
7. i-e
eat-2s.im
'(you) eat (it)!
8. tan
sit
'(you) sit down!'

Dependent

The Dependent suffixes occur on verbs in a non-final position in the sentence, showing some kind of relationship with the following clause. They may indicate subject, person and number to some extent. There are no other person-number-tense markers, and aspect does not occur.

Often the verb of the first clause of a sentence is the recapitulation of the main verb of the previous sentence.

- ianik/-ia Same topic,
- nuk The topic of the first action must be third singular, and the second action has a different topic.
- ta The topic of the first action is 1st sing/pl or 2nd sing. and the second action has a different topic.
-

- na The topic of the first clause must be 3rd pl. and be different in the second clause.
- moi The topic of the first clause is 3rd sing. and same for both clauses.
- sa The topic of first clause is dual, and the second topic different.

There are two allomorphs of the verb stem that may occur with the dependent suffixes; either the bare stem or the stem plus the class marking initial vowel.

1. O:mukuru P:m-eanik M:ir P:anar-awon
 arrows do-ST again see-3s.p
 'Having made the arrows, she comes to see (him) again'
2. O:o-wa P:mo-nuk P:ra-won
 house-in put-3sDT stay-3s.p
 'He having put (it) in the house, it stayed'
3. O:nas P:maka-ta P:jere-nuk O:porim P:wät-ia-um
 trash cook-1plDT burn-3sDT fence make-hab-1pl.pr
 'We usually make the fence after the trash is burned.'
4. S:asir L:up-in O:o P:maka-na S:ik O:amauk P:tuk-äm
 woman river-on food cook-3plDT we timber cut-1pl.f
 'While the women cook the food at the river, we will cut the timber'
5. M:erek P:mo-moi S:ik P:ute ko-wam
 together put-ST we leave come.down-1pl.f
 'When we have put (them) together, we will leave and come down'

Infinitive

The Infinitive manifests the Predicate of the Medial Clauses. The aspect or person-number-tense suffixes do not occur with the infinitive. The infinitive for all persons and classes is -aun.

1. T:rusaka S:is O:ponak-un ämän P:m-aun kame raim
 today I Ponak-pc talk put-inf wait stay-1s.pr
 'Today I am waiting to talk about Ponak'

2. M:ätäi O:woi P:m-aun O:ämän P:mo-ia-um
 again garden put-inf talk put-hab-1pl.pr

'We always talk about making a new garden.'

3. T:Is O:ma uku wäun manam
 I taro seed hit-inf go-1s.f

Non-final negative

The non-final negative suffix occurs on verbs that manifest the Head slot of the Negative Verb Phrase, when the meaning is a negative command.

The non-final negative suffix is -au for all persons and verb classes.

1. apa-is-au wa
 see-you-ng not

'I did not see you'

2. wa wai-au
 not cry-ng

'Don't cry'

Summary of verbs:

There is a basic dicotomy of Final independent versus medial dependent verbs. The final independent verbs can show aspect and also tense. The medial dependent verbs show either the relationship of the following clause to the preceding clause, or manifests the infinitive, or negation.

4 PHRASES

4.0 Introduction

Phrases are units of modification, co-ordination and apposition. Potentially, they consist of two or more words with nuclear and peripheral items. In the grammatical hierarchy of Girawa, phrases occur above the word level and below the clause level and fill slots on the phrase and clause levels.

Long phrases are not common. Usually a minimal expression of a phrase is used, ie Modified Noun Phrase is Head plus one Modifier. The nuclear items are preferred when that phrase expounds another phrase level tagmeme. Nuclear phrases do occur in which the Head is not present and a lateral slot is the only manifestation of the phrase.

Phrase types are separated because of different nuclear and peripheral tagmemes, different fillers of similar slots, and different slots which they fill on the clause level.

Phrase types are listed below:

Modified Noun Phrase

Possessive Phrase

Co-ordinate Phrase

Interrogative Phrase

Apposition Phrase

Resemblance Phrase

Specifier Phrase

Negative Phrase

Direction Phrase

Locative Phrase

Temporal Phrase

Distributive Phrase

Reduplication Phrase

Intensifying Phrase

Verb Phrases

Double Headed Verb Phrase

Definitive Verb Phrase

Do-Be Verb Phrase

Do-Put Verb Phrase

Anticipatory Action Verb Phrase

Repetitive Verb Phrase

Negative Verb Phrase

4.1 Modified Noun Phrase

The Modified Noun Phrase fills the clause level slots of Subject, Object, Topic, Comment and Time. It also fills/embeds in other phrases, ie Possessive, Co-ordinate, etc.

All the tagmemes of the phrase are optional but one must occur. The Head is optionally modified by a Demonstrative, which may occur either before or after the Head, and sometimes in both positions, or by a Quantifier and Modifier tagmeme which optionally is repeated once.

Modified Noun Phrase: Chart 14

+ { ± Dem	± Head	± Quant	± Modifier ₂
<u>kar</u>	Noun	Quant	Adjective
<u>kiron</u>	Pronoun		Negative Phrase
<u>kin</u>	Phrases: Possessive Specifier Co-ordinate Apposition Negative Locative Temporal Distributive		

Special Features

(1) As far as the order of tagmemes is concerned, the Quantifier usually comes directly after the Head, and Modifiers after that. The Modifier may occur before the Head, maybe for emphasis.

(2) If a pronoun occurs in the Head slot it can only be followed by the Quantifier.

(3) When the Negative Phrase occurs in the Modifier slot, the Head of the Negative Phrase is filled by an adjective. In the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Negative Phrase is filled by a noun.

(4) Long phrases are rare and usually the Head is modified by the Quantifier and one other Modifier.

(5) If two Modifier slots occur, it is more usual to have two adjectives than two Negative Phrases.

(6) A noun phrase can fill the Time slot of a clause.

1. kar mokoi eteinak
one boy little
'one/a little boy'
2. kiro-n an-i-an kinin
this-pc mother-my-pc story
'this, my mother's story'
3. T:iukärir S:om näw-äu P:n-ewon
afternoon rain big-very come.down-3s.p
'(In the) afternoon a heavy rain came'
4. S:nir eteinak O:morota P:mo-moi w-äm
nail little sago.thatch put-ST hit-3s.f
'Small nails will be put on the sago thatch'
5. O:kiro onok O:na P:tam-us-om
this something you teach-2s0-1s.pr
'I teach you this'
7. O:era airin ori ut-ianik S:näu parus nuka-s
Heather Eileen both leave-ST big plane it-fc
P:im-wat-on
take-2d0-3s.p
'The big plane took both Heather and Eileen'
8. T:tup oirori L:mena P:ra-imin
week two village stay-1s.p
'I stayed two weeks (in the) village'
9. S:na-n en oirori mokup P:ra-u
2s-pc dog two black be-3s.pr
'Your two black dogs are (there)'
10. S:ko-n po aup näw-au P:ra-u
3s-pc pig white big-very be-3s.pr
'His big white pig is (there)'

4.2 Possessive Phrase

The Possessive Phrase manifests the Subject, Object, Topic and Comment tagmemes on the clause level. It is also embedded in other phrases, in the Head slots of the Locative, Resemblance, Negative, Temporal and Co-ordinate Phrases, and the Item and Apposition slots

of the Apposition Phrase.

The Possessive Phrase consists of an obligatory Possessor filled by a noun, pronoun, Apposition or Possessive Phrase, which always has a possessive clitic. The Item is optional, if it is understood, and can be filled by a Modified Noun Phrase, Specifier Phrase, and Apposition Phrase.

Possessive Phrase: Chart 15

+ Possessor		± Item	
Noun	} + Clitic	Modified Noun Phrase	
Pronoun		Specifier Phrase	
Apposition Phrase		Apposition Phrase	
Possessive Phrase			

1. Pos:äpi-an It:ou
 opp.sib.my-pc house
 'my brother's house'
2. Pos:ko-n It:kinin
 3s-pc story
 'his story'
3. S:is-an o-wa P:nin-am
 1s-pc house-in sleep-1s.f
 'I will sleep in my house'
4. To:iw-en L:manran Co:kesenek wäpik
 2d-pc Madang like.this not
 'Our (stores) in Madang are not like this (store)'
5. Pos:is-an an-i wakaras-in It:mena apantou-ar
 1s-pc mother-my Wakaras-pc place Apantou-to
 'My mother Wakaras' village, Apantou'
6. Pos:an-i-an kinin apantou ak-an It:po
 mother-my-pc story Apantou 2/3pl-pc pig
 'My mother's story, Apantou (people's) pig'

7. is-an ma woi
 1s-pc taro garden
 'my taro garden'
8. Pos:is-an an-i-an It:mena
 1s-pc mother-my-pc place
 'my mother's village'
9. Pos:kareip nukan It:anak
 Kareip his mother
 'Kareip's mother'

4.3 Co-ordinate Phrase

The Co-ordinate Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot filled by a Modified Noun Phrase or a Possessive, Specifier or Apposition Phrase, the Head slots of which are often filled by the name of a person or a kinship term. The Head is followed by an optional Conjunction, another Head and Conjunction. The second Head is filled by a Modified Noun Phrase, Apposition, Specifier or Possessive Phrase with sometimes the same construction as the first Head.

The Co-ordinate Phrase occurs in Transitive, Intransitive and Medial Clauses in either the Subject or Object slot, and also in the Apposition slot of an Apposition Phrase. It occurs in the Comment slot of Equation Clauses.

Co-ordinate Phrase: Chart 16

+ Head	+ { ± Conjunction ₁	± Head (n = 1 - 10)	± Conjunction ₂ }
Noun	pak 'and'	Noun	pak 'and'
Pronoun	ori 'both'	Pronoun	ori 'both'
Kinship Noun		Kinship Noun	
Modified Noun Phrase		Modified Noun Phrase	
Possessive Phrase		Possessive Phrase	
Specifier Phrase		Specifier Phrase	
Apposition Phrase		Apposition Phrase	

Special Features

(1) The second Head can be repeated up to ten times (maybe indefinitely) but the usual is one or two. When there are more than two repetitions, the conjunctions do not occur.

(2) Of the last three tagmemes, one must occur and all three may occur.

(3) When two Heads occur, and only one conjunction, it must fill the Conjunction[2] slot.

(4) ori does not occur between two heads.

1. H:asik Cn:pak H:ro Cn:pak
 woman and man and

'men and women'

2. H:iu H:kurkaip Cn:ori
 we.two Kurkaip both

'both Kurkaip and I'

3. H:epau-k Cn:ori
 cousin-his both

'his cousin and his wife'

4. H:mom-onok-et H:an-inak-at
 father-our-pl mother-our-pl

'our fathers and mothers'

5. H:atum uku H:saki uku H:ma uku H:win uku
 cucumber seed corn seed taro seed bean seed

'cucumber, corn, taro and bean seeds'

4.4 Interrogative Phrase

The interrogative Phrase consists of an Axis tagmeme which is an interrogative word and either a reduplicate of that word or a relator word.

esap esap 'how many' fills the Quantifier slot.
? ?

era opok 'where' fills the Locative slot.
where on

owo-n ori 'why' fills the Manner slot.
what-pc with

owo s-eu 'what is going on' fills the Subject slot.
what make-3s.p

1. S:na-n ou L:era opok
you-pc house where on

'where (is) your house?'

2. T:na-n aiauk esap esap?
you-pc money how many

'how much money have you got?'

4.5 Apposition Phrase

The Apposition Phrase consists of an obligatory Item followed by an obligatory Apposition.

The Item slot is filled with a Modified Noun Phrase, Possessive Phrase, Pronoun or Apposition Phrase. The Head of the Modified Noun Phrase is often filled with the name of a person. The Apposition slot is filled by a demonstrative, pronoun, Co-ordinate Phrase, Modified Noun Phrase or Locative Phrase.

The Apposition Phrase occurs in Transitive, Intransitive and Medial Clauses in the Subject and Object slots when the Apposition is filled by a demonstrative or a pronoun, Co-ordinate Phrase, Modified Noun Phrase or Apposition Phrase. When the Locative Phrase fills the Apposition slot, it occurs in the Locative tagmeme.

Apposition Phrase: Chart 17

+ Item	+ Apposition
Pronoun	Demonstrative
Modified Noun Phrase	Pronoun
Possessive Phrase	Co-ordinate Phrase
Apposition Phrase	Modified Noun Phrase
	Locative Phrase

Special Features

(1) Pronouns may not fill the two slots at the same time.

(2) When the Head of the Modified Noun Phrase is filled by the name of a person or place, the Apposition is often a pronoun.

(3) When the Item is an Apposition Phrase the following apposition is a pronoun.

1. It:äpi-auk Ap:ko
 opp.sib-his she
 'his sister, she'
2. H:na-n kinin Ap:sep
 2s-pc story Sep
 'your story, Sep'
3. It:ja-i Ap:japoi
 friend-my Japoi
 'my friend, Japoi'
4. It:ensaru Ap:ak-as
 Ensaru 2/3pl-pc
 'they, the ones from Ensaru'
5. It:(It:jeremes komu-k Ap:kometi) Ap:ko-s
 Jeremes husband-her committee 3s-fc
 'Jeremes' husband, the Committee (member), he'

6. It:ik-en äpi-nok-ot Ap:era airin ori
 1pl-pc opp.sib-our-pl Heather Eileen both

'Our sisters, Heather and Eileen'

4.6 Resemblance Phrase

The Resemblance Phrase has an Axis tagmeme which is filled by a noun, pronoun or Modified Noun Phrase, plus a Relator which is filled by variations of the word senek, which means 'like/as/same as'. This phrase often occurs with a Negative Phrase in the Predicate slot of the clause. Both tagmemes are obligatory.

A Resemblance Phrase occurs in Subject and Object slots of Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, and the Topic and Comment slot of Equative Clauses.

Resemblance Phrase: Chart 18

+ Axis	+ Relator
Noun	{ <u>senek</u> }
Pronoun	
Modified Noun Phrase	
Possessive Phrase	

1. A:ou R:kesek
 house same
 'house (the) like this'
2. A:aiauk R:senek
 stone like
 'like stone/s'
3. S:mokoi pato sek
 boy duck like
 'The boy like a duck'

7. H:tap-i H:urik
 head-my hair

'my hair'

8. H:saki H:uku
 corn seed

'corn seeds'

4.8 Negative Phrase

The Negative Phrase is made up of an obligatory Head, Negative and an optional Antithetical Head. The Negative Phrase occurs in the Head and Modifier slots of the Modified Noun Phrase, and the Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause.

Negative Phrase: Chart 20

+ Head	+ Negative	± Anti-Head
Adjective	<u>wa</u> 'no/not'	Adjective
Noun	<u>wäpik</u> 'no/not'	Noun
Resemblance Phrase		

Special Features

(1) When the Head slot is filled by an adjective, the Antithetical Head must also be filled by an adjective, usually an antonym. A noun in the first Head must also be matched by a noun in the Antithetical Head.

(2) The only example of a Resemblance Phrase so far encountered is aiauk senek ('like stones'), which seems to have the semantic meaning of being countable, as the Antithetical Head used is usually sosop ('many').

1. H:näw-äu Neg:wa Anti-H:eteinak
 big-very not small

'not very big, little'

2. H:näw-äu Neg:wa
 big-very not
 'small'

3. H:aiak senek Neg:wäpik Anti-H:sosop
 stone like not many

'a lot; it is not possible to count (like stones)'

4. H:ro-at Neg:wa Anti-H:asiket
 man-pl not woman-pl

'Not men (but) women'

4.9 Direction Phrase

The Direction Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot and optional Locative. This phrase occurs when asking or telling where something is. It is also used with a motion verb to explain the direction in which one is moving. The Direction Phrase occurs in the Locative tagmemes of clauses.

Direction Phrase: Chart 21

+ Head	± Locative
Locative ₁	
<u>ais</u> 'far'	<u>enro</u> 'there'
<u>oik</u> 'up'	
<u>upin</u> 'river'	

Special Features

(1) The Locative and Head can be reversed in a transformation without any loss of meaning. However, Head followed by Locative is the usual order.

(2) Locative₁ have a series of suffixes which show degree of distance. When the suffix -en occurs, the Locative does not occur.

1. anminik H:oik-en
 Anminik up-there

'Anminik (is) up there'

2. woi-a H:umarik
 garden-to down-close

'The garden (is) close down-river'

4.10 Locative Phrase

An optional Axis plus an optional Relator, one of which is obligatory, makes up the Locative Phrase

This Phrase occurs in the Locative tagmeme of clauses.

Locative Phrase: Chart 22

+ { ± Axis	± Relator }
<u>ou</u> 'house'	
<u>jo</u> 'net bag'	- <u>a</u> 'inside'
<u>woi</u> 'garden'	
Most nouns	<u>inkäruru</u> 'under'
Demonstratives	<u>opok/ipok</u> 'on'
Modified Noun Phrases	
Locative ₂	
<u>onok</u> 'ground'	- <u>pai</u> 'on'
<u>kam(uk)</u> 'middle'	
some nouns	<u>uru</u> 'inside'
Place names	- <u>ar</u> 'at/to'

Special Features

(1) Three of the Relators, -a, -pai and -ar, are bound forms, but as they are mutually exclusive with the free forms, they manifest Phrase level tagmemes.

(2) Each Relator has its own class of words that it may occur with.

(3) The two forms opok/ipok alternate depending on the location of the place: opok ('here on'), ipok ('there on').

Below are listed the different sets of words that occur with each Relator.

-a 'inside'

jo 'net bag'

ou 'house'

woi 'garden'

<u>-ar</u>	'at/to'	Most village names
	<u>pai</u>	'thigh'
<u>uru</u>	'inside'	
	<u>mis</u>	'earthen pot'
	<u>wou</u>	'liver/insides'
<u>-pai</u>	'on'	
	<u>kasak</u>	'side'
	<u>kam(uk)</u>	'middle'
	<u>onok</u>	'ground'
	<u>nekes</u>	'behind'
<u>opok</u>	'on'	Other nouns not used with other Relators

Demonstratives

<u>kis</u>	'that (way)'
<u>okoro</u>	'here'
<u>enro</u>	'there'
<u>kiro</u>	'that'

Modified Noun Phrases

1. jo-(w)a
net.bag-inside

'in the net bag'
2. mis uru
pot inside

'inside the pot'
3. ou inkäruru
house under

'under the house'
4. sai-ar
Sai-to

'(I'm going) to Sai'

5. kasa-ku(p)-pai
side-not.close-on
'on the other side'
6. A:pasar eposek R:opok
bed good on
'on a good bed'
7. A:pei R:opok
tree.name on
'around the pei tree.'
8. A:kiro R:opok
this on
'on that (one)/there'

4.11 Temporal Phrase

The Temporal Phrase consists of an optional General Time slot followed by an optional Specific Time₁, and Specific Time₂, all followed by an optional Relator. While all the tagmemes are optional, one of the nuclear tagmemes must occur.

Temporal Phrase: Chart 23

+ { ± General Time }	± Specific ₁ Time	± Specific ₂ Time }	± Relator
examples:- <u>ruris</u> 'today'	Specific Time ₁ words	Specific Time ₂ words	<u>opok</u> 'on'
<u>meter</u> 'before'	Days of the week	Times of the day	
<u>tawa</u> 'after'		examples:- <u>tapera</u> 'morning'	
Modified Noun Phrase	Times of the year	<u>pero</u> 'noon'	
Possessive Phrase			

Special Features

(1) The first three tagmemes are nuclear to the phrase. The Relator may occur with any of the slots if it is the last occurring in the phrase.

(2) The General Time slot may also be filled by a Modified Noun Phrase and an embedded Possessive Phrase, where the Item is manifested by a Demonstrative.

(3) Each tagmeme can stand by itself to manifest the Time slot in the clause.

(4) The Temporal Phrase occurs in the Time slot in the Transitive, Intransitive and Medial Clauses.

1. G:ruris Sp₂:pero R:opok
today noon on
'today, at noon'
2. G:ariwa Sp₁:manre
tomorrow Monday
'tomorrow, Monday'
3. G:rusaka Sp₁:manre Sp₂:ap pas tu
today Monday half past two
'today, Monday, at half past two'
4. G:ruris Sp₁:krismas R:opok
today Christmas on
'this Christmas'

4.12 Distributive Phrase

The Distributive Phrase consists of two obligatory Heads which are repeated completely or partially. Each slot can be filled by a noun, adjective, or locative.

The Distributive Phrase, when it is filled by a place noun, occurs in the Locative slot of Transitive, Intransitive and Medial Clauses. When it is filled by the adjective atap, it fills the Modifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase. It has a meaning of 'each to its own thing'.

Distributive Phrase: Chart 24

+ Head	+ Head
Noun	Noun
Adjective	Adjective
Locative	Locative

Special Feature

The Heads must have the same word reduplicated completely or partially.

- ma H:atap H:atap
taro type type

'each kind of taro / different types of taro'
- (karauk asiret) H:woi-a H:woi-a (man-oin)
some women garden-in garden-in go-2/3pl.p

'Some women each went to their own garden'
- (ak) H:mena H:mena man-oit-oin
they place place go-dist-2/3pl.p

'(They) scattered to different villages'
- omsau sau
country country

'everywhere'

4.13 Reduplication Phrase

Reduplication is used in Girawa in different ways. Reduplication of verbs shows prolongation of the action. Nouns repeated show pluralization or distribution of each to its own. Adjectives and adverbs are reduplicated to show intensification.

<u>Nouns</u>			
<u>mena</u>	'place'	<u>mena mena</u>	'villages'
<u>woia</u>	'garden'	<u>woia woia</u>	'each to his own garden'
<u>otip</u>	'point'	<u>otip otip</u>	'rash'
<u>omsau</u>	'country'	<u>omsau sau</u>	'everywhere'

Adjectives

<u>eteinak</u>	'small'	<u>eteinak eteinak</u>	'very small'
<u>äiäk</u>	'enough'	<u>äiäk äiäk</u>	'small amount'
<u>atap</u>	'kind'	<u>atap atap</u>	'each of its own kind'

Adverbs

<u>kurte</u>	'quickly'	<u>kurte kurte</u>	'very quickly'
<u>aiaur</u>	'slowly'	<u>aiaur aiaur</u>	'very slowly'

4.14 Intensifying Phrase

The Intensifying Phrase consists of two obligatory Heads which are repeated exactly. Each slot can be filled by an adjective or an adverb. It fills either the modifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase or the Manner slot of a clause.

H:kurte H:kurte
quickly quickly

'very quickly'

H:eposek H:eposek
good good

'very good'

Special Features

There are a few adjectives which have plural forms. One of these appears in the same form as the Intensifying phrase.

Ro-at näu-näu
man-pl big big

'big men / elders'

4.15 Verb Phrases

(See also Lillie, P., 1988, Girawa Verbs Manuscript and Lillie, P., 1990 Cohesive Functions of the Verb in Girawa Discourse manuscript.)

Verb Phrases fill the Predicate tagmeme of clauses, which is situated at the end of clauses. Verb Phrase types are Double-Headed Verb Phrase, Definitive Verb Phrase, Do-Be Verb Phrase, Do-Put Verb Phrase, Anticipatory Action Verb Phrase, Repetitive Verb Phrase and Negative Verb Phrase.

Verb Phrases are separated by their different nuclear slots and different fillers of the Head slot.

Because the Manner tagmeme is mobile in the clause, there is no Manner slot in the verb phrase, even though the preferred location of the Manner slot is preceding the verb.

4.15.1 Double-Headed Verb Phrase

The Double-Headed Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory Heads. It occurs in the Predicate tagmeme of Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, depending on the type of verb used in both the Heads. If the verbs are transitive, the Phrase will occur in the Transitive Clause; if both are intransitive, then in an Intransitive Clause. It can show processes of action. The action is usually sequential in time. It also occurs in Medial Clauses. The fillers of the two Heads are often semantically close-knit combinations that show a combined meaning.

Double-Headed Verb Phrase: Chart 25

+ Head (n = 1 - 3)	+ Head
Any Verb Stem	Any Verb
Definitive Verb Phrase	Negative Verb Phrase
Repetitive Verb Phrase	

Special Features

- (1) The verb in the second Head may take any inflection.
- (2) When verb phrases are embedded in the first Head, the final verb of the embedded phrase will be uninflected.
- (3) There may be up to three repetitions of the first Head, all as verb stems.
- (4) The Negative Verb Phrase can occur, the tense chosen for the verb indicating the order of the events.
- (5) The verb stem in the first Head ends in /e/, /i/ or \emptyset ; Class E and O verbs /e/, Class I verbs /i/ or \emptyset .

1. H:ute H:ko-wam
leave come.down-1s.f

"I will leave and come down"

2. nis me je-ia-um
 cook eat-hab-1pl.pr
 'We always cook and eat'
3. H:ute H:mane H:potar-aiei
 leave go go-2/3pl.pr
 'They leave and go'
4. oi n-ianik
 get come.down-ST
 'having brought (it) down'
5. imine man-au wa
 afraid go-ng not
 'She did not go away afraid'
6. ämäi ko-imin
 carry come.down-1s.p
 'I carried (it) down'
7. ari ari man-owon
 walk walk go-3s.p
 'he went walking / on foot'

The Double-Headed Verb Phrase is used to form one of the Negative Imperative constructions.

1. wai ut-o
 cry leave-2s.im
 'Don't cry!'

4.15.2 Definitive Verb Phrase

The Definitive Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Lexical Head followed by an obligatory Grammatical Head. The Grammatical Head defines the meaning of the Phrase. The Grammatical Head carries the inflection for the phrase. This verb phrase expounds the Predicate of Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. The phrase is used to incorporate Melanesian Pidgin borrowings into the language.

Definitive Verb Phrase: Chart 26

+ Lexical Head	+ Grammatical Head
Modified Noun Phrase	Definitive Verb
Melanesian Pidgin words	
Definitive Verb Phrase	

Special Features

- (1) The verb filling the Grammatical Head can take any inflection.
- (2) Fillers of Lexical Heads occur with specific verbs.
- (3) The Definitive Verb Phrase can embed itself only once.
- (4) The Manner slot of the clause can occur before or after the Lexical Head.
- (5) The Modified Noun Phrase in the Lexical Head may be restricted as far as the number of modifying slots that occur.

Definitive verbs are a closed class of verb stems as listed below:

<u>m-</u>	'do/put'
<u>jo-</u>	'wash (oneself)'
<u>kosor-</u>	'wash (something)'
<u>putar-</u>	'comb'
{ <u>w-</u> }	'hit'

Nouns that occur with these stems occur in other tagmemes in which nouns normally occur. They are optionally possessed. They may take certain of the clitics, such as focus.

Nouns found so far occurring with the definitive stems are listed below:

<u>m-</u>	'do/put'	
<u>mis</u>	(pot)	'cook'
<u>apu</u>	(knowledge)	'gain knowledge'
<u>sarau</u>	(work)	'work'
<u>su</u>	(rest*)	'rest'
<u>apait</u>	(learning*)	'show/teach'

(the nouns * do not occur independently)

Some Melanesian Pidgin verbs

Examples:	<u>pinis</u>	'finish'
	<u>samapim</u>	'sew'

{w-} 'hit

<u>sip</u>	(sick)	'be sick'
<u>sir</u>	(song)	'sing'
<u>pät</u>	(throat)	'thirsty'
<u>sou</u>	(smell)	'hungry'
<u>amus</u>	(eyes)	'sleepy'
<u>kosor/jo-</u>		'wash'
<u>an</u>	(water)	'wash'
<u>putar-</u>		'comb'
<u>sarat</u>	(comb)	'comb'

The latter two verbs may occur without the nouns without disturbing the sense of the phrase, but in most cases the Heads are obligatory.

1. mis m-om
pot do-1s.pr
'I cook'
2. pinis m-om
finish do-1s.pr
'I finish'

3. sir w-eu
song hit-3s.pr
'he sings'
4. sou ø-ir-ou
smell hit-me-3s.pr
'I'm hungry'
5. an jo-(w)am
water wash-1s.f
'I will wash (myself)'
6. omjo an kosor-im
clothes water wash-1s.pr
'I wash the clothes'
7. na-n urik sarat putar-um
2s-pc hair comb comb-2s.pr
'you comb your hair'

4.15.3 Be Verb Phrase

The Be Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by any verb or other verb phrase, followed by another Head filled by the verb ra 'be'. The combination of verbs has a quality of durative action. The Be Verb Phrase may occur in Transitive, Intransitive and Medial Clauses.

Be Verb Phrase: Chart 27

+ Head	+ Head
Verb Stem	<u>ra</u> 'be'
Definitive Verb Phrase	
Double-Headed Verb Phrase	
Do-Put Verb Phrase	

Special Features

- (1) The negative does not occur in this verb phrase.

(2) The verb ra- 'be' carries all the inflection for person-number-tense.

(3) In the embedded phrases in the first Head, all verbs are stems.

1. nin ra-imin
sleep be-1s.p

'I was sleeping'
2. ame ra-won
hide be-3s.p

'he was hiding'
3. oi pe ra-ia-won
get come be-hab-3s.p

'he was always bringing (it)'
4. ute ra-won
leave be-3s.p

'he was leaving'
5. ure moi ra-ia-um
cut do be-hab-1pl.pr

'we are always cutting (the grass)'
6. je ra-ia-in
eat be-hab-2/3pl.p

'they were always eating (it)'

4.15.4 Do/Put Verb Phrase

The Do/Put Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory Heads. The first can be filled by a verb stem or Double-Headed Verb Phrase. The second Head is filled only by the verb mo-/m- ('do/put'). The meaning is carried by the verb stem in the first Head slot. The Do/Put Verb Phrase occurs in Transitive and Medial Clauses.

Do-Put Verb Phrase: Chart 28

+ Head	+ Head
Verb Stem	<u>mo-/m-</u> 'do/put'
Double-Headed Verb Phrase	

Special Features

(1) The inflection on mo-/m- ('do/put') carries the person-number-tense of the phrase.

(2) The verbs in the embedded phrases are all in stem form.

1. keser m-ianik
like.this do-ST

'having done (it) like this'
2. itane mo-i
find do-2/3pl.pr

'you are finding'
3. amukwe mo-moi
exchange do-ST

'having exchanged (pigs)'
4. oi pe mo-nuk
get come do-3sDT

'when he brings (it)'
5. ep karar mo-moi
fire start do-ST

'having started the fire'

4.15.5 Anticipatory Verb Phrase

This verb phrase consists of an obligatory Action followed by an obligatory Head. The phrase is used to show what action will begin when the subject goes or comes to some place. It is used quite frequently in conversation; not quite as much in text materials. This phrase differs from the Double-Headed Verb Phrase in that the verb in the Action tagmeme takes the non-final suffix and the only filler of the Head slot is a motion verb. The chronology of the events is reversed.

This phrase occurs in Transitive Clauses when the verb in the Action tagmeme is transitive, and it occurs in the Intransitive clause when it is intransitive.

Anticipatory Verb Phrase: Chart 29

+ Action	+ Head
Any verb with non-final suffix	Any Motion Verb
Definitive Verb Phrase	Negative Verb Phrase
Melanesian Pidgin words	

Special Features

- (1) The motion verb may take any inflection.
- (2) The Definitive Verb Phrase verb must take the infinitive suffix.
- (3) Melanesian Pidgin borrowings can be used in the Action tagmeme and must take the non-final suffix.

1. ime-au p-äi
carry-inf come.up-3s.f
'he will come to carry (it)'
2. an jo-(w)au nopt-om
water wash-inf go.down-1s.pr
'I am going down to wash'
3. is nin-au man-om
I sleep-inf go-1s.pr
'I'm going to sleep'
4. pung m-au man-oi
meeting do-inf go-3pl.pr
'they are going to meet'
5. sarau m-au man-om
work do-inf go-1pl.pr
'we are going to work'

4.15.6 Repetitive Verb Phrase

The Repetitive Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory Heads that repeat the verb. It has a limited verb inflection, sometimes just the stem. The verb phrase occurs on its own within clauses. It does not occur in sentence final position. It could be similar in its distribution to Medial Clauses. It signifies the passing of time.

Repetitive Verb Phrase: Chart 30

+ Head	+ Head
Verb	Same Verb
Clause	Clause

1. rai rai ätäi woi m-aun
be be again garden do-inf
'we stayed until the time to do the garden again'
2. pot pot pote ...
go go go
'(time) goes'
3. kir anar-uwon, kir anar-uwon.
again see-3s.p again see-3s.p
'she saw him again and again'
4. p-emin p-emin
come.up-1s.p come.up-1s.p
'I came and came.'

4.15.7 Negative Verb Phrase

The Negative Verb Phrase is made up of an obligatory Head followed by an optional Ability tagmeme and an obligatory Negative. When this phrase is used for present and past tense, the negative term occurs at the end of the phrase. When used in the future tense, or habitual aspect or negative imperative the negative occurs first in the phrase and the verb takes person-tense suffixes.

Negative Verb Phrase: Chart 31

+ Head	± Ability	+ Negative
Any verb with negative suffix	<u>sek/senek</u> 'able to'	<u>wa</u> <u>wäpik</u>
Double-Headed Verb Phrase		
Definitive Verb Phrase		

Special Features

- (1) The Head slot filler must occur with the negative suffix -au.
- (2) The Negative can occur first or last in the verb phrase.
- (3) When the Double-Headed or Definitive Verb Phrase occurs, the final verb of the embedded phrase must have the negative suffix, otherwise the final verb can take its normal person-tense suffixes.
- (4) Both the Negatives may occur, but wa is more common.
- (5) The Negative can occur before the Head slot under the following conditions: Future Tense, Habitual Aspect or Negative Imperative.
- (6) The Ability slot does not occur when the Negative permutes to first position.

1. is man-au wa
I go-ng not
'I didn't go'
2. apa-is-au wa
see-you-ng not
'I didn't see you'
3. m-au sek wa
do-ng able not
'I'm not able to do it'
4. is ute kow-au wa
I leave come.down-ng not
'I'm not leaving to come down'

5. is wa ute ko-wam
I no leave come.down-1s.f
'I will not leave and come down'
6. itut wa j-ia-mun
tobacco no eat-hab-1pl.p
'we did not always smoke'
7. wa wai-au
no cry-ng
'don't cry!'
8. tapera wa su m-ia-um
morning no rest do-hab-1pl.pr
'we do not always rest in the morning'

Negating the Intentional aspect takes an entirely different form.

1. ämän m-aur-im
talk do-int-1s.pr
'I want to talk'

becomes:

2. ämän m-au ut-om
talk do-ng leave-1s.pr
'I don't want to talk'

5. CLAUSES

5.0 Introduction

A Girawa clause has been defined as a construction which occurs in the hierarchy between phrase level and sentence level. The construction consists of, or includes, one and only one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme, and various peripheral tagmemes. Words and phrase-level construction typically manifest clause level tagmemes.

The predicate tagmeme may be manifested by a phrase level construction which is composed of two or more verbs, but these do not indicate two predicate tagmemes in the clause construction.

The Equative Clause has an obligatory Comment tagmeme which is functionally equivalent to Predicate tagmeme, although it is not manifested by verbs or verb phrases. It is instead manifested by noun, adjective etc.

The transitive and intransitive division is basic in Girawa because of the different lists of fillers of the Predicate, and different nuclear tagmemes which occur with each clause.

All clauses occur in final form. All but the Equative and Interrogative Clause occur in medial form. Determination of a clause as medial or final is based solely on the verb suffixes, and, of course, position in the sentence. Intonation is the only other differences between medial and final clauses.

5.1 Transitive Clause

Predicate, Object and Instrument are nuclear tagmemes to the Transitive Clause. The peripheral tagmemes will be presented in Chart 38. These peripheral tagmemes occur also in Intransitive and Medial Clauses. The Subject tagmeme is cross referenced in the Predicate of Transitive and Intransitive and could be considered nuclear to the clause. The Subject which is marked in the verb affixation is the nuclear subject for the clause, but does not so appear due to the limitations in the formula.

Transitive clause: chart 32

\pm S	\pm T	\pm I	\pm L	\pm O	\pm M	\pm P
proper noun	temporal	<u>phrases:</u>	locative	proper noun	adverb	verb phrase
pronoun	temporal	possessive	<u>phrases:</u>	<u>phrases:</u>		trans.& dir.tran
<u>phrases:</u> possessive		co-ordinate	locative	possessive		
modified noun		resemblance	distributive	modified noun		
co-ordinate		specifier	directional	co-ordinate		
apposition				apposition		
resemblance				resemblance		
specifier				specifier		
distributive						

Special features

- (1) proper nouns and pronouns occur only in subject and object, never in instrument.
- (2) apposition phrase does not occur in instrument.

(3) Any verb phrase with a transitive or direct transitive verb in the Head occurs in the Predicate.

(4) The usual order of the tagmemes is the one displayed, but the order is flexible. Generally, Subject, Indirect Object, Instrument, Object, Predicate order is followed, and the lateral tagmemes occur in almost any order. Paragraph structure may determine the place where Time occurs.

(5) The maximum number of tagmemes observed with the Predicate is five. The preferred limit is two or three. Short clauses are common.

(6) Locative and Time don't often appear in the same clause.

(7) There are examples where the order of Subject and Object are reversed to focus on the Object.

(8) Subject must agree with its verbal suffixes.

(9) Optional focus clitics mark Subject and Instrument on the clause, and rarely the Object.

(10) Time, Locative and Manner also occur in the other clause formulae Intransitive and Medial.

1. T:memer O:mon-ia-an sitori P:m-omin
before father-my-pc story put-1s.p

'before I told my father's story'

2. L:o-wa O:maro P:m-omin
house-in wooden.bowl put-1s.p

'I put the wooden bowl in the house'

3. S:is T:kukam O:ou P:urika-imin
I yesterday house pull.down-1s.p

'yesterday I pulled down (the) house'

4. S:ik karar O:prain P:w-äm
we alone bamboo.blind hit-1pl.f

'we alone will make the blinds'

5. T:rusaka S:is O:ponak-un ämän P:m-aun
today I Ponak-pc talk put-inf

'today I (wait) to talk about Ponak'

6. L:patan opok P:m-oin
bed on put-2/3pl.p

'they put (it) on the bed'

7. O:kinin P:m-aur-im
 story put-int-1s.pr
 'I want to tell the story'
8. O:nir I:ama-s L:ou opok P:tortor
 nail hammer-IN on.the house nail.it
 'to nail it on the house we used a hammer..'

5.2 Intransitive Clause

The Intransitive Clause has the same optional peripheral tagmemes as the Transitive Clause; Time, Subject, Location and Manner occur before the Predicate, which is nuclear.

Intransitive Clause: Chart 33

\pm S	\pm T	\pm L	\pm M	+ P
Proper Noun	Temporal	Locative	Adverb	Verb - intrans
Pronoun	Temporal Phrase	<u>Phrases:</u>		Verb Phrase
<u>Phrases:</u>		Locative		
Possessive		Possessive		
Modified Noun		Modified Noun		
Co-ordinate				
Apposition		Direction		
Resemblance		Distributive		
Specifier				

Special Features

- (1) The Predicate is filled by any Verb Phrase in which an intransitive verb manifests the Head.
- (2) Time and Location occur together more frequently than in Transitive Clauses.
- (3) The maximum number of tagmemes that appear before the Predicate in texts is three, and the usual number is one or two.

1. S:is-an ka-i raut P:mei-ein
 1s-pc mat.uncle-my they die-2/3pl.p
 'my uncles died'
2. T:ruris S:era P:ko-won
 today Heather come.up-3s.p
 'today Heather came'
3. T:satara L:mena P:ra-wam
 Saturday village be-1s.f
 'On Saturday I will be in the village'
4. L:is-an o-wa P:nin-am
 1s-pc house-in sleep-1s.f
 'I will sleep in my house'
5. M:ätäi P:ko-umun
 again come.down-1pl.p
 'we came back down'
6. S:nuka L:keirasu P:p-ewon
 he Keirasu come.up-3s.p
 'he came up to Keirasu'
7. S:ik-en äpi-nok-ot era airin ori T:ruris
 1pl-pc opp.sib-our-pl Heather Eileen two now
 krismas opok P:man-aur-sa
 Christmas on go-int-1d.OT
 'our sisters Heather and Eileen wanting to go this coming
 Christmas.'

5.2.1 Intransitive Time Clause

There is a minor sub-type of Intransitive, a Time Clause which may appear in the Time slot. It also embeds in the Specific Time1 slot in the Temporal Phrase.

Intransitive Time Clause: Chart 34

+ S	+ P
<u>om</u> 'ground'	<u>iru</u> <u>teneu</u>
<u>san</u> 'sun'	<u>keu</u> <u>pe-</u> 'comes'

Special Features

(1) The filler of the Subject slot on 'ground' may only occur with the Predicates iru 'it hits' and teneu 'it breaks?', while san 'sun' occurs with keu 'come.down' and peu 'come.up'. Each combination yields a specific time of day.

1. S:en T:kukam san keu O:nak P:mo-won
dog yesterday sun come.down3s.pr little.one put-3s.p
'yesterday (at) noon (the) dog gave birth to (her) pups'
2. om ir-u
ground hit-3s.pr
'(it is) twilight/dusk'
3. T:san pe-nuk P:man-om
sun come.up-DT go-1s.pr
'when the sun comes (out), I am going'
4. om ten-eu
ground break?-3s.pr
'(at) dawn'

5.3 Medial Clauses

Medial Clauses have the same structure as final clauses (see 5.0). Those with transitive verbs in the Predicate have Indirect Object, Object, Instrument and Predicate as nuclear tagmemes, but where intransitive verbs occur, just the Predicate is nuclear. The peripheral tagmemes are Subject, Location, Time and Manner. Medial Clauses are also marked by non-final sentence intonation and never occur in sentence final position.

Medial Clause: Chart 35

\pm S	\pm T	\pm L	\pm O	\pm M	+ P
Proper Noun	Temporal	Locative	<u>Phrases:-</u>	Adverb	Any verb with a dependent suffix
Pronoun	Temporal Phrase	Locative Phrase	Possessive		
<u>Phrases:-</u>			Modified Noun		
Possessive			Specifier		
Modified Noun					
Co-ordinate					
Apposition					

Special Features

(1) Medial Clauses generally have fewer peripheral tagmemes than the full Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. There is a maximum of three to four tagmemes with the Predicate, but most of the examples have one or two.

(2) There is a merged kind of sentence in which the final verb of the previous clause is deleted and the recapitulation is given instead.

(3) The Medial Clause ut-ianik ('having left')
leave-ST
is often used to start a paragraph or discourse. This particular clause may embed into the main clause in the second position with Subject or Time (Texts 6 & 8). It is also used, to mean 'but/however'.

1. O:po P:amukwe-ianik
pig exchange-ST
'having exchanged the pigs'
2. L:o-wa P:mo-nuk
house-in put-3s.DT
'when (she) put (it) in the house'
3. T:rusa-pai S:misin P:pe-nuk
today-on mission come.down-3s.DT
'today, when the mission came down'

4. L:paniau P:mo-moi
Paniau put-ST
'having put (it) at Paniau'
5. O:ma P:mis me je-moi
taro cook eat-ST
'having cooked and eaten the taro'
6. O:woi P:ure-na
garden.bush cut-3pl.DT
'while the garden bush is cut'
7. O:puri P:oi-ta
bow get-1pl.DT
'having got (the) bow'

5.4 Equative Clause

No verb occurs in the Equative Clause. Topic and Comment tagmemes are obligatory. One peripheral tagmeme, Time, is permitted. Time is filled by the same fillers of Time tagmeme in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. There is an optional Repeat Topic, which repeats the Topic either by a Modified Noun Phrase or a demonstrative.

Equative Clause: Chart 36

\pm Time	+ Topic	+ Comment	\pm Repeat Topic
Fillers of Time	Pronoun	Adjective	Modified Noun Phrase
	<u>Phrases:</u>	Demonstrative	
	Possessive	Quantifier	Demonstrative
	Modified Noun	<u>wa</u> (negative)	
	Specifier	Proper Noun	
	Co-ordinate	<u>Phrases:</u>	
	Apposition	Negative	
	Temporal	Modified Noun	
	Demonstrative	Apposition	
		Temporal	
		<u>kesek</u> 'like'	

Special Features

(1) The only fillers found so far for the Repeat Topic are the Modified Noun Phrase and demonstrative.

(2) Wa (negative) includes both wa and wäpik ('no, not none').

1. To:ämän Co:sosop wa
talk many not

'I won't talk a long time'

2. T:meter To:ak-an sarau Co:kiron
before 2/3pl-pc work this

'before this (was) their work'

3. To:kiron rain Co:saipik si-komuk
this line Saipik Sikimes.her-husband

un-komuk RepTo:kiron rain
Unias.her-husband this line

'this line (is) Saipik, Sikames' husband and Unias' husband'

4. To:ik Co:sai
we Sai

'we (are) Sai (people)'

5. To:iw-en ou Co:atapur
1d-pc house another

'our house (is) another (one)'

6. To:okoro om Co:eposenek
this ground good

'this (is) a good place'

7. To:ik-en sitori Co:kesek
1pl-pc story like

'our story (is) like (this)'

5.5 Quotation Clause

The Quotation Clause has only one nuclear tagmeme (Predicate), which is filled by the verb 'to say'. The verb 'to say' is a Direct Transitive Class verb, so the Object is apparent in the verb morphology. Peripheral tagmemes are Time and Subject.

Quotation Clause: Chart 37

\pm T	\pm S	\pm O	+ p
Fillers of Time	Fillers of Subject	Fillers of Object	Any speech verb Double-Headed Verb Phrase

Special Features

- (1) The only fillers of the Double-Headed Verb Phrase are
+ H: kesor ('like this') + H: speech verb.
- (2) The Quotation Clause occurs following the quotation of what is said.

- P:a-ir-owon
talk-1s0-3s.p

'she said to me'
- P:aur-nuk
talk.3s0-3s.DT

'when (she) had talked to him'
- P:a-ir-orin
talk-1s0-2/3d.p

'the two of them said to me'
- P:kesor a-is-om
like.this talk-2s0-1s.pr

'I said it this way to you'
- O:na-n sitori sep kiron P:äie-m
2s-pc story Sep this say-1s.pr

'I tell your Sep story'
- o ut-om P:äie-u nin-aur-im
food leave-1s.pr talk-3s.pr sleep-int-1s.pr

' "I don't want food", he says, "I want to sleep" '

5.6 Interrogative Clause

This clause consists of an optional Interrogative, Head and Question Marker. Either Interrogative or Head must occur, or both. The Head slot is filled by a clause about which the question is asked. The Interrogative Clause would evoke either an information answer or a yes-no answer.

Interrogative Clause: Chart 38

+ [± Interrogative	± Head]	± Question Marker
Interrogatives	Transitive Clause	{ <u>ra</u> }
	Intransitive Clause	
	Equative Clause	

Special Features

- (1) When the context is understood, the Interrogative may stand alone as an elliptical clause.
- (2) When the Question Marker occurs with the Interrogative alone, it seems to intensify the question.
- (3) The Interrogative may replace any of the pre-Predicate slots in the clause to ask the question.
- (4) If the Interrogative does not occur, the Question Marker must occur, but both may occur in the same clause.
- (5) The allomorphs of the Question Marker are:

ra " rä " ro

1. S:na L:ki P:p-em Q:ra
 you here come.up-2s.pr qm

'have you come here?'

2. L:is-an mena S:inok P:ra-u
 is-pc place who stay-3s.pr

'who is at my house?'

3. To:karauk ro Co:ese
 some men where

'where are the other men?'

4. P:apa-r -um Q:ra
 see-3s0-2s.pr qm
 'do you see (it)?'
5. O:owo P:sarau m -ar -um
 what work do-3plB-2s.pr
 'what are you doing for them?'
6. P:nin-aur-i Q:ra
 sleep-int-3s.pr qm
 'Is he sleepy?' 'Is he wanting to sleep?'
7. To:na-n ou Co:erapok
 2s-pc house where
 'where is your house?'
8. S:na O:o P:i-aum Q:rá
 you food eat-2s.f qm
 'would you like to eat?'

GRAMMAR ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS (first posed in 1977)

These questions have not been answered in the preceding paper. Also the area of sentence level and above has not been analysed at this stage.

9. Possession

Possession may be shown in three ways. First of all by the bound possessive clitic { -an }, which occurs in the Possessor slot of the Possessive Phrase (see Section 4.2). Another way is by the bound genitive suffix found on kinship nouns and body parts (see Section 3.3.1). A third way (for the 3rd person) is to use the free possessive pronoun nukan 'his'

1. is-an mena
 1s-pc place
 'my village'
2. usiaum an-ak
 Usiaum mother-his
 'Usiaum's mother'
3. Jems nukan ämän
 Jems his talk
 'Jems' speech/the talk about Jems'

10. Noun Phrases may occur without the Head, and in context, adjectives, demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers may be the only manifestation of the noun phrase.

1. eteinak mo-ia-in
small do-hab-2/3pl.p
'they always make small (gardens)'
2. ik ori-en amauk-un man-am
we two-pc timber-pc go-1pl.f
'we will go to (get) timber for the two of them'
3. ak-an ätäi ar-moi
2/3pl-pc again give.2/3pl0-ST
'having given them their (pig)'
4. kis mis me j-ia-am
this cook eat-hab-1pl.pr
'we cook and eat this pig'

15. Very few clauses filling slots in phrases have been found, but this could be due to limitations of the data. To express the idea there are two possible ways: using a dependent ending on the first verb, or else making it a part of the verb phrase.

Is o ko ir -owon je -min
I food she give.1s0-3s.p eat-1s.p "I ate the food she gave me."

16. Phonologically, a sentence in Girawa is marked by final falling intonation with varying degrees of pause, except for the yes/no interrogative, which has a rising intonation finally. Sentences always end with a final verb (except for on consisting of an equative clause).

17. From the data so far collected and analysed, clauses are joined together into sentences first by simple juxtaposition and second with medial verb construction.

Note: / means end of clause; // means end of sentence.

1. eteinak eteinak mo-moi / j-ia-in / ma woi
small small make-ST/ eat-hab-2/3pl.p/ taro garden

näwäu wa mo-moi / j-ia-in / eteinak mo-moi
big not make-ST eat-hab-2/3pl.pr / small make

j-ia-in //
eat-hab-2/3pl.p //

'in order to eat, they always made a very small, not a big taro garden, (but) a small one.'

2. ika ro am tor-ia-um // am toro-moi /
 we man tree cut-hab-1pl.pr // tree cut-ST /
- ma w-ia-um // ma we-moi / nas
 taro plant-hab-1pl.pr // taro plant-ST / trash
- mak-ia-um //
 burn-hab-1pl.pr //

'We men always cut the trees. When the trees are cut, we always plant the taro. When the taro is planted, we burn the trash.'

The pattern of using the medial verb construction occurs much more frequently than even simple juxtaposition.

No free conjunctions have been found occurring between clauses except possibly maro 'if same' in contrary-to-fact conditional sentences, and ara 'or' in expressing alternatives. As the meanings of the medial endings have not been fully explored, there may be conjunctions bound up in other endings.

18. When the actor of one clause is included in the actors in an adjacent clause, the two topics are considered grammatically different.

1. kukam ik man-omun // is karar sarau m-omin //
 yesterday we go-1pl.p // I alone work do-1s.p //
- ro wápi //
 man no //

'Yesterday we went (to the garden). I worked alone. (There were) no (other) men.'

2. erek man-omun / tane ra-umun // iaun nukarar
 together go-1pl.p / sit be-1pl.p // friend alone
- sarau m-owon //
 work do-3s.p //

'We went (to the garden) together and sat down. Our friend worked by himself.'

19. Conditional sentences are expressed by using the ending {rai} 'if'. Contrary-to-fact conditional sentences have a further particle maro 'if same', which may act as a kind of conjunction between the clauses. The usual order is for the condition to precede the result. This has never been observed in reverse.

Future Conditionals

1. is man-am // om kou-nuk rai / ut-om //
 I go-1s.f // rain come-3s.DT if / leave-1s.pr //

'I will go. If it rains, I don't want to.'

2. om kou-nuk rai / parus wa ko-wai //
 rain come-3sDT if / plane not come-3s.f //

'If it rains and continues, the plane won't come.'

Contrary to Fact

3. om ko-won / sek maro wa man-owo //
 rain come-3s.p / same CF no go-3s.CF //

'If it had rained (like that) she would not have gone.'

4. parus pe-n sek maro / man-owo //
 plane come-3s.p same CF / go-3s.CF //

'If the plane had come like that, she would have gone.'

5. na okoro opok ra-umun maro / isan xpi wa mei-ewo //
 you here on be-1pl.p CF / my brother not die-3s.CF//

Conditional-Result

6. om wa no -nuk / ko-wam //
 rain not come.down-3sDT / come-1s.f //

'If it doesn't rain, I will come.'

20. In single sentences in text, up to seven clauses have been observed, with each clause before the final one usually occurring with a non-final same or different topic ending. The number found most frequently is two clauses, the first being a medial and the second a final verb. Few connectives are found between clauses, whether a large number or not. In normal narrative discourse, including mythology, the sentences tend to be longer with up to four clauses. But in descriptive discourse of new material, the tendency is toward more simple sentences, and not many medial clauses. In this type of discourse, too, there may be a greater number of Equative Clauses. Conversation usually has shorter sentences as well. Longer sentences may be broken up in two ways; by recapitulating the final verb of the clause when starting a new sentence, or by having identical final verbs and adding new bits of information in the Object slot.

21. Because of the frequency of Medial Clauses in a single sentence, strings of clauses seem to be in more of a subordinate relationship.

1. ko pe-nuk / are-mun // memenip pe-nuk
 he come.up-dep / talk-1pl.p // Memenip come.up
ut-omin //
 leave-1s.p //

'When he came we talked. When Memenip came, I stopped.'

2. im-xit-ianik / ko-ianik / pramin kipo kur-eit-awon //
 carry-1pl0-ST / come.down-ST / Bramin there throw-1pl0-3s.p//

'Having brought us, (it) took us there to Bramin.'

22. In the texts, there are no interrogatives that expect only a 'yes' or 'no' answer, but they do occur. A statement or question with a negative does expect a negative answer.

- A. na man-au wa ra?
 you go-ng no qm

'You didn't go, eh?'

- B. wa is man-au wa
 no I go-ng no

'No, I didn't go.'

23. Most quotations are direct. In conversations, a bit more exaggerated intonation indicates quoted material. The Quotation Clause is used at the end of the quote to show that it was a quote and possibly who said it if it is not clear already.

One conversation in text went this way:

A: ja-ia is ow-au wa
friend-my I get-ng not

'My friend, I didn't take (it).'

B: wa na-sar o-umon is-an o-umon amxi-mon
no you-dc get-2s.p 1s-pc get-2s.p hide-2s.p

"No, you took (it). My (belongings) you took and hid."

A: wa is ow-au wa aur-owon
no I get-ng not talk.3s0-3s.p

"No, I didn't take (it)." He said to him.'

Indirect quotation may occur (less frequently):

1. era-s a-ir-ia man-ai
Heather-fc talk-1s0-dep go-3s.f

'Heather told me she would go.'

2. ko kiro asi-nak o nuro-na j-aun a-war-owon
he that woman-small food give-3pDT eat-INF talk-2/3pl0-3s.p

'He told them to give the girl something to eat.'

24. Clauses are usually in chronological order of the events narrated. Sequences of sentences are usually in chronological order too. In one text collected there is a comparison between the activities of the ancestors and of people now. Each paragraph starts with a time word that applies throughout the paragraph.

25. Medial suffixes can indicate same or different topic/subject of the following clause. Pronouns can be used if the subject is clear, but often the subject or object is repeated to show just who is doing the action. In unfamiliar narrative, the subject tends to be repeated quite a few times before a pronoun is used. Verb suffixes mark person-number, so can be used to indicate changes of subject. One class of verbs also marks the object and can indicate that change.

26. Logical connections are indicated by simple sentences placed in sequence, but more often by the use of the Medial Clause to show the connection. There is one connective found, ara 'or', that occurs between the two interrogative clauses to show alternative.

1. na kopi i-am ra ara mairo i-am ra
 you coffee eat-2s.f qm or milo eat-2s.f qm

'Will you have coffee or milo?'

Another connective observed between clauses is okon ('with the result')

2. aw -an jo kirai-ewon okon nxk-e ra-irin
 they.2-PC bag tear -3s.p so sew-nf be-3d.p

'Their bag was torn, with the result they were sitting sewing it.'

We have not observed any other connectives between clauses.

27. One possible feature that would mark paragraph introduction is the Time slot in the clause. When Time marks the beginning of the paragraph it is usually in the initial position; if marking time on the clause level, it usually occurs in second position after the subject.

28. There is an optional narrative closure that is some variation of 'This is what I have to say', or 'I don't have much to say'.

1. ämän sosop wa karar kiro
 talk much not one this

'I don't have much to say.'

2. is-an ämän kiron
 is-pc talk this

'This (is) my story.'

3. ki-n okonu na a-is-om
 this-pc something you talk-2s0-1s.pr

'I have told you this'

29. Information concerning the difference between oral and written forms, is being observed as a written form develops, in the language. So far it has been observed that there are less repetitions in written texts.

30. Some semantic categories with their surface structures:

1) Some locatives and most temporals are used with the same relator opok 'on' so that location in time and space are marked the same on the surface structure.

2) Benefaction is shown by the use of the object markers in the same surface structure as direct personal object.

1. m-us-om
 do-2sB-1s.pr

'I worked for you'

2. iw-os-om
hit-2s0-1s.pr

'I hit you'

3) Agent and Instrument are usually marked with clitic which takes the same form as the focus clitic { -as }. In very rare cases this clitic may also occur on the Patient.

1. is-as koi äie-m
1s-fc come.down tell-1s.pr

'I come to speak'

2. panin-es
knife-ic

'with the knife'

31. Unresolved Issues

Medial suffix meanings

Stem allomorphs

Noun sub-classes

Sentence structure

Tense restrictions on certain verb phrases

Locatives

Conditionals

32. Construction Types

(a) Cause: Cause may be expressed by juxtaposition of two clauses or sentences with the medial suffix.

1. jo amoror / ure -mara / ma ne-u
net.bag broken / fill-3sST / taro come-3s.pr

'The net bag is broken, so when it is filled, the taro falls out.'

Recently, cause has started to be expressed by the use of the word owon 'why'.

2. ko o mis mo-won owon ko sou we-won
 he food pot put-3s.p why he hunger hit.3s.p

'He cooked food because he was hungry.'

(b) **Result:** Result may be expressed the same way as Cause.

1. juki nāwāu n-au wa eteinak / no-ra /
 flood big go-nf not small / go-3s.pr.con /
is man-am
 I go-1s.f

'The river flood isn't big, it is going down. I will go.'

2. juki n-owon / urek urek p-emun
 flood go.down-3s.p / break break come.up-1pl.p

'The flood went down. So we came up.'

3. juki eteinak no-nuk / p-emun
 flood small go.down-3sDT / come.up-1pl.p

'The flood went down, so we came up.'

(c) **Cause and Effect:** These sentences occur in the order of cause first, then effect; the reverse order is not permitted.

1. komu-k meie-nuk / wa-u-s wa -ia-u
 husband-her die -3sDT / wife-his-fc cry-hab.-3s.

'When her husband dies, his wife cries.'

2. mokoinak sou we-u / o nāwāu je-ra
 child hungry hit-3s.pr / food big eat-3s.pr.con

'The child is hungry and so he is eating a lot of food.'

(d) **Contrary Result** is expressed by the future tense.

1. na ori n-ai // apar-i / jekur m-o
 you with come.down-3s.f // see-2s.im / good put-2s.im

'(It) will fall down. Look, and place it well.'

(e) **Imperative:** The imperative suffixes are discussed in Section 3.4.3.4, but to summarise: Imperative may be expressed by intonation alone with the bare verb stem, or it may be coupled with the imperative suffixes.

1. nin napot
sleep go

'go and sleep!'
2. na man-o
you go-2s.im

'you go!'

(f) **Yes-No Interrogative** is expressed with the question marker { ra } following the verb or other word class. (See Section 3.3.3, Interrogatives, and Section 5.6, Interrogative Clause.)

1. na man-am rä
you go-2s.f qm

'Are you going?'

It may also be expressed by rising interrogative intonation.

(g) **Eliciting Interrogative:** (See Section 3.3.3 and 5.6 for discussion of eliciting interrogatives.)

1. esepa man-omon
when go-2s.p

'When did you go?'

(h) **Didactic Interrogative:** The rhetorical question is similar in construction to any other interrogative. The context makes the construction obvious.

(i) **Negation:** The most common form of negation is the word wa/wäpik ('no'), which occurs with verbs as well as nouns and adjectives to form the negative. (See also paper on Negation.)

1. näwäu wa
big no

'not big'
2. wa ko-wai
no come.down-3s.f

'He will not come'

The negative imperative is formed by the negative plus a non-final verb or by a verb phrase with ut ('leave').

1. wa wai-au
no cry-nf

'Don't cry!'

2. wai ut-o
cry leave-2s.im

'Don't cry!' (literally, 'Leave crying!')

(j) **Resemblance:** Resemblance is shown by means of the word { sek } ('like'). (See Section 4.6, Resemblance Phrase.)

1. ko-n tap-au ukumai senek
3s.pc head-his coconut like

'His head is like a coconut'

(k) **Verbal Simile:** This is expressed in much the same way as nominal resemblances.

1. mokoinak pato sek man-ou
boy duck like go-3s.pr

'The boy goes like a duck'

(l) **Comparative Degree:** Comparison is expressed usually by juxtaposition of two clauses.

1. is rumuk-äu / na katu-nak
I long-very / you short-dm

'I am tall; you are short'

2. ai auk näwäu / amauk eteinak
stone big / wood small

'The stone is big; the wood is small'

There is a rare exception for being bigger than another person.

1. is-asar itim -ois-om
1s.dc surpass-2s0-1s.f

'I myself am bigger than you'

(m) **Benefaction:** The verbal suffixes-object marker with the verb m- ('do/put') is used to show benefaction.

1. ik ori-en ou m-at-am
we two-PC house do-2/3d0-1pl.f

'We will build the house for the two of them'

(n) **Causative:** This is expressed by someone telling another to do the action.

1. ko-n mo-mok om kosor-aun a-ur-uwon
he-PC father-his ground wash -inf talk-3s0-3sp
'His father made him sweep the floor.'

(o) **Verbal Comparison**

(1) **Easier of difficult options:** This construction uses the Ability slot of the Negative Verb Phrase.

1. am näwäu // panin-es tor-au sek wa / tamiok-us
tree big // knife-ic cut-ng able no / axe-ic
tor-au itok
cut-inf able

'The tree (is) big. A knife will not be able to cut it, but an axe will.'

(p) **Alternative**

- 1) He is sitting either on the stone or on the ground.

ai tap-au opok tane ra-u ra / om
stone head-its on sit be-3s.pr or / ground

noko-u tane ra-u ra
stomach-its sit be-3s.pr or

'(Is) he sitting on (the) stone or is he sitting on the ground?'

- 2) He is sitting on the stone but not on the ground.

ai tap-au opok tane ra-u / om
stone head-its on sit be-3s.pr / ground

noko-u opok tane ra-wau wa
stomach-its on sit be-ng no

'He is sitting on the stone, not on the ground'

- 3) ai tap-au opok tane ra-u ra / ara om
 stone head-its on sit be-3s.pr qm / or ground
- noko-u tane ra-u ra
 stomach-its sit be-3s.pr qm

'Is he sitting on the stone or on the ground?'

- 4) He will eat or he will sleep.
 5) Will he eat or will he sleep?

There seems to be only one form for both 4) and 5):

i-ai ra / nin-ai ra // is äpu wa
 eat-3s.f qm / sleep-3s.f qm // I know no

'Will he eat (or) will he sleep? I don't know.'

(q) **Passive:** No passive construction occurs in Girawa.

(r) **Abstractions:** These abstractions need to be expressed as verbal forms. These are mostly found in conversations.

faith: Ko-n wou anut mesin epar mo-u
 His inside God about true put-3s.pr

'He believes in God'

love: Ko ko-n mokoi mesin wou-s mei-eu
 He he-pc boy about inside-ic die-3s.pr

'He loves his son.'

joy: isan woi erer ra-im
 my inside joyful stay-1s.pr

'I'm happy'

fear: imin-em
 fear-1s.pr

'I'm afraid'

anger: kas-i pe-won
 ribs-my come.up.3s.p

'My ribs came up/I was angry.'

nep m-ou
 nose do-3s.pr

'He is cross.'

(s) **Implied Speech:** This is more commonly expressed by direct quotation.

1. wa atau a-is-ou
no hold say-2s0-3s.pr
‘He said, “Don’t hold it!”’

(t) **Figures of Speech**

- (1) **Simile:** not common, but can occur.

ko-n ip-ou sakau upin-en ai senek
3s-pc hand-his strong river-pc stone like

‘His hand is strong. His hand is like a river stone’

- (2) **Metaphor:** not common.

aiauk ‘stone’ (for ‘money’)

an ‘water’ (for ‘strong drink’ and ‘kerosene’)

- (3) **Euphemism:** not common.

1. an jo-(w)on
water wash-3s.p

‘She washed’ - meaning ‘She had a baby’

2. ko-n eni -p kerau patir-ia -in
he-PC body-3s skin cut -hab-3pl.p
‘They cut his skin.’ meaning ‘circumcision’

- (4) **Hyperbole:** not too common.

erekapu man-om
all.together go-1pl.pr

‘We are all going (but some are not)’ / ‘we are going completely (not to return).’

- (5) **Metonymy:**

1. mino-mau nepipir-u
tongue-my happy-3s.pr

‘My tongue is happy’ - meaning ‘I feel good’

2. is mis mo-min
I pot put-1s.p

‘I put the pot (on)’ - meaning ‘I cooked’

(6) Apostrophe

Jerusarem ro -asir -et Jerusarem ro -asir -et ak -as....
 Jerusalem man-woman-pl Jerusalem man-woman-pl 2\3pl-fc....

'Jerusalem people, Jerusalem people, you (Luke 13:34)

(7) Personification

Anut nuk-an ämän-is äie-u, "...
 God he -PC talk-fc say-3s.pr
 'God's talk says, "...

(8) Irony

To a child who is showing off,
ko ro nāwāu ei
 he man big eh
 'He's a big man, eh?'

(9) Synecdoche

ensaru ak-as mar-in
 Ensaru 2/3pl-fc cut-2/3.p

'They, the ones from Ensaru, cut (theirs)'

(u) Foreign Articles and Concepts: Non-cultural items are transliterated from Melanesian Pidgin and adjusted to the grammatical structure of Girawa. Verbs are included in the Definitive Verb Phrase with m- ('do/put') to show what is being done. The nouns take the clitics and fit into their word classes.

sier 'chair'

parus 'plane'

pret 'bread'

kaptan 'pilot'

kar 'car'

takis ai auk kur-aun 'to pay taxes'
 tax stone throw-inf

samapim m-omin 'I sewed'
 sew do-1s.p

(v) **Ellipsis:** Ellipsis occurs in conversation as well as in text.

mokoi jar i-ewon / is-akar j-emin
 child banana eat-3s.p / 1s-dc eat-1s.p

'(The) child ate the banana and I myself ate (one too)'

(w) **Numbers:** The numbers 'one' and 'two' and sometimes 'three' are used in the vernacular. All the rest are Pidgin expressions.

karar 'one'
oiroror 'two'
oiroror karar 'three'

33. Idioms

<u>Idiom</u>	<u>Literal Meaning</u>	<u>Idiomatic Meaning</u>
<u>an jo(w)on</u>	'she washed'	'she had a baby'
<u>sou iro</u>	'the smell hits me'	'I'm hungry'
<u>sir weu</u>	'the song hit'	'I sing'
<u>woi ereiwo</u>	'my liver is aroused'	'I like'
<u>rotu aparam</u>	'we look at church'	'we worship'

34. Psychological Functions of Body Parts

<u>Body Part</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Function</u>
<u>wou</u>	'insides'	Seems to be the seat of one's emotions, possibly those concerning other people.
<u>wouti mou</u>	'be sorry'	
<u>woi ereiwo</u>	'to like'	
<u>woi aru mo</u>	'to be upset'	
<u>woiauk karar</u>	'one inside' - 'united in close contact'	
<u>woiauk piriru</u>	'turn insides' - 'repent'	

There are numerous such examples, of which these are a few.

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Text1 The Story of the Dance

clause 1

Is kinin maurim.
is kinin m -aur-1m
1s story do-INT-1s.pr

I want to tell a story.

clause 2

Rusaka Ponre opok mokoit owa tanoin,
rusaka Ponre opok mokoit-t ou -a tan-oin
today Thursday on boy -PL house-LOC sit-2/3pl.p

Today, Thursday the boys sat in the house.

clause 3

owa tanoin.
ou -a tan-oin
house-LOC sit-2/3pl.p

They sat in the house.

clause 4

Ur rai ur rai pot pot pote tup kar
ur ra-1 ur ra-1 pot pot pot-e tup kar
inside be-2/3pl.pr inside be-2/3pl.pr go go go -NF week one

utomoi karaiei.
ut -omoi kar -aiei
leave-ST dance-2/3pl.f

They stay fasting for a week, then will leave to dance.

clause 5

Raimaras weiwon.
Raimar-as wei -ewon
Raimar-FC make.party-3s.p

Raimar made a party.

clause 6

Opok tone karaiemoi ki pakan po omoi
opok ton -e karai-emoi ki pakan po o -umoi
on go.in-NF dance-ST here from pig get-ST

koi ur turemoi,
koi ur tur -emoi
come soup make-ST

We having gone in to dance, we brought a pig, finished making the soup

clause 7

po wemoi ur turemoi,
po w -emoi ur tur -emoi
pig hit-ST soup make-ST

killed the pig, made the soup,

clause 8

mokoit taun ute manaiel.
mokoit-t taun ut -e man-aiel
boy -PL town leave-NF go -2/3pl.f

the boys left to go to town.

clause 9

Wejep Raimaras weiewon.
wej -ep Raimar-as weil -ewon
party-about Raimar-FC make.party-3s.p

About the party, Raimar made the party.

clause 10

Kon mena momokon airuk ute rawon.
ko-n mena mo -mok-on airuk ut -e ra-won
3s-PC place father-his-PC head.dress leave-NF be-3s.p

He left his father's head.dress in the village(grave).

clause 11

Airuk rusa makai.
airuk rusa mak -ai
head.dress now burn-3s.f

Today he will burn it.

clause 12

Airuk makemoi,
airuk mak -emoi
head.dress burn-ST

Having burned the head.dress,

clause 13

kipok nekei tuauri.
ki -opok Nekei tu -aur-i
here-on Nekei dance-INT-2/3p1.pr

they intended to dance Nekei there.

clause 14

Kaima tuauri.
Kaima tu -aur-i
Kaima dance-INT-2/3p1.pr

They intend to dance Kaima.

clause 15

Eraka eraka menan erekapu tane potoi.
eraka eraka mena -n erekapu tan-e pot-oi
where where place-PC all sit-NF go -2/3/p1.pr

From everywhere, they have come and sit.

clause 16

Ponre karar tanein.
Ponre karar tan-ein
Thursday one sit-2/3p1.p

On Thursday only they sat.

clause 17

Tanemoi,
tan-emoi
sit-ST

having sat,

clause 18

owa rawaiei.
ou -a ra-aiei
house-LOC be-2/3p1.f

they stayed in the house.

clause 19

Pot pote tue kuremoi,
pot pot-e tu -e kur -emoi
go go -NF dance-NF throw-ST

After a while, they finished dancing,

clause 20

kin po ma kakarau osakir sokorot ureker
ki -n po ma kakarau osakir sokorot ureker
here-PC pig taro chicken dried tied.up bring

nemol,
n -emoi
go.down-ST

having brought down the pig, the taro, and the chicken to tie up and
dry(on the structure),

clause 21

sir nine rain.
sir nin -e ra-in
sing sleep-NF be-2/3pl.p

they sang and slept.

clause 22

Owa ur jemol,
ou -a ur j -emoi
house-LOC soup eat-ST

Having fasted,

clause 23

mokoit mis maurna,
mokoit-t mis m -aur-na
boy -PL pot do-INT-DT.3p

the boys wanting to cook,

clause 24

jemol ute mane pataraiei.
j -emoi ut -e man-e patar -aiei
eat-ST leave-NF go -NF finish-2/3pl.f

having eaten, they left to go and finish (the dance).

clause 25

Kesermoi utalei.
keser-moi ut -aiei
thus -ST leave-2/3pl.f

having done that, they will leave.

clause 26

Okoro opok po newon.
okoro opok po n -ewon
this on pig go.down-3s.p

the pig came down here.

clause 27

Pomoupa po kar tukewon.
Pomoupa po kar tuk-ewon
Pomoupa pig one cut-3s.p

Pomoupa cut up one pig.

clause 28

Wermokus po kar mamak tukewon.
Wermok-us po kar mamak tuk-ewon
Wermok-FC pig one complete cut-3s.p

Wermok cut up a whole pig.

clause 29

Jeremes komuk kometi kos po kar mamak
Jeremes komu -k kometi ko-s po kar mamak
Jeremes husband-3s committee 3s-FC pig one complete

tukewon.
tuk-ewon
cut-3s.p

Jeremes's husband the committee member, cut up another whole pig.

clause 30

Iken o okurum.
ik -en o okur -um
1p1-PC food break-1p1.pr

We break (betelnut) for our food.

clause 31

Keserum keser jemun,
keser-um keser j -emun
thus -1p1.pr thus eat-1p1.p

We do it like that, thus we ate.

clause 32

jemun.
j -emun
eat-1pl.p

we ate it.

clause 33

Ponre owa tonoin.
Ponre ou -a ton -oin
Thursday house-LOC go.in-2/3pl.p

On Thursday, we went into the house.

clause 34

Owa tonomoi,
ou -a ton -omoi
house-LOC go.in-ST

Having gone into the house,

clause 35

Saia keserin.
Sai-a keser-in
Sai-LOC thus -2/3pl.p

they from Sai did it like that.

Text 1. The Story of the Dance

(1) Is kinin maurim. (2) Rusaka Ponre opok mokoit owa tanoin, (3) owa tanoin. (4) Ur rai ur rai pot pot pote tup kar utomoi karaiei. (5) Raimaras weiewon. (6) Opok tone karaiemoi ki pakan po oumoi koi ur turemoi, (7) po wemoi ur turemoi, (8) mokoit taun ute manaiei. (9) Wejep Raimaras weiewon. (10) Kon mena momokon airuk ute rawon. (11) Airuk rusa makai. (12) Airuk makemoi, (13) kipok nekei tuauri. (14) Kaima tuauri. (15) Eraka eraka menan erekapu tane potoi. (16) Ponre karar tanein. (17) Tanemoi, (18) owa rawaiei. (19) Pot pote tue kuremoi, (20) kin po ma kakarau osakir sokorot ureker nemoi, (21) sir nine rain. (22) Owa ur jemoi, (23) mokoit mis maurna, (24) jemoi ute mane pataraiei. (25) Kesermoi, utaiei. (26) Okoro opok po newon. (27) Pomoupa po kar tukewon. (28) Wermokus po kar mamak tukewon. (29) Jeremes komuk kometi kos po kar mamak tukewon. (30) Iken o okurum. (31) Keserum keser jemun, (32) jemun. (33) Ponre owa tonoin. (34) Owa tonomoi, (35) Saia keserin.

English Translation

(1) I want to tell a story. (2) Today, Thursday the boys sat in the house (for initiation). (3) They sat in the house. (4) They stay fasting for a week, then will leave to dance. (5) Raimar made a party. (6) We having gone in to dance, we brought a pig, making the soup, (7) killed the pig, made the soup, (8) the boys left to go to town. (9) About the party, Raimar made the party. (10) He left his father's head-dress in the village (on the grave). (11) Today he will burn it. (12) Havign burned the head-dress, (13) they intend to dance Nekei there. (14) The intend to dance Kaima. (15) From everywhere, they have come and sit. (16) On Thursday only they sat. (17) Having sat, (18) they stayed in the house. (19) After a while, they finished dancing, (20) having brought the pig, the taro and the chicken to tie up and dry (on the structure), (21) they sang and slept. (22) Having fasted, (23) the boys wanting to cook, (24) having eaten, they left to go and finish (the dance). (25) Having done that, they will leave. (26) The pig came down here. (27) Pomoupa cut up one pig. (28) Wermok cut up a whole pig. (29) Jeremes's husband, the committee member, cut up another whole pig. (30) We break (betelnut) for our food. (31) We do it like that, thus we ate. (32) We ate it. (33) On Thursday, we went into the house. (34) Having gone into the house, (35) they from Sai did it like that.

Text2 Building a House

Clause 1

Am toromin.
am tor -omin
tree cut.down-1s.p

I cut down trees.

Clause 2

āmāi koimin.
āmāi ko -imin
carry come.down-1s.p

I carried it down.

Clause 3

Mena oi koia ou tutu toromin.
mena o -i ko -ia ou tutu tor -omin
place get-2/3pl.pr come.down-ST house post cut.down-1s.p

I having brought it down to the village, cut the house posts.

Clause 4

āmāi koi mena koia,
āmāi koi mena ko -ia
carry come place come.down-ST

I having brought it down to the village,

Clause 5

ou momin.
ou m -omin
house do-1s.p

I built the house.

Clause 6

Ou moianik,
ou mo -ianik
house do -ST

Having built the house,

Clause 7

morota wemin.
morota w -emin
sago thatch hit-1s.p

I tied on the sago thatch.

Clause 8

Morota äsäimin.
morota äsä-imin
sago.thatch tie-1s.p

I tied on the sago thatch.

Clause 9

Äsäi mia om wia,
äsä-i m -ia om w -ia
tie-NF do-ST ground hit-ST

Having tied it, digging the ground

Clause 10

ep kararmin.
ep karar-min
fire start-1s.p

I started a fire.

Clause 11

Owa patan kaiemoi,
ou -a patan kai -emoi
house-LOC bed make-ST

Having made a bed,

Clause 12

ninomín.
nin -omin
sleep-1s.p

I slept

Clause 13

Owa kesermoi,
ou -a keser-moi
house-LOC thus -ST

Having made the house thus,

Clause 14

raimin.
ra-imin
be-1s.p

I stayed (in it).

Clause 15

Ātāi ou aru monuk,
ātāi ou aru m -onuk
again house bad do-DT.3s

Then destroying the old house,

Clause 16

ariwa awau kar momin.
ariwa awau kar m -omin
tomorrow new one do-1s.p

then I built a new one.

Clause 17

Moia,
mo-ia
do-ST

having done that,

Clause 18

ātāi awau owa nine raimin.
ātāi awau ou -a nin -e ra-imin
again new house-LOC sleep-NF be-1s.p

then I slept in the new house.

Clause 19

Mis tot kaiemin.
mis tot kai -emin
pot shelf make-1s.p

I built a shelf for the pots.

Clause 20

Owa maro momoi,
ou -a maro m-omoi
house-LOC plate do-ST

Having put the plates on it,

Clause 21

mis momin.
mis m -omin
pot do-1s.p

I put the pots on it.

Clause 22

Ep karar momoi patan kaiemin.
ep karar m-omoi patan kai -emin
fire start do-ST bed make-1s.p

Having started the fire, I made the bed.

Clause 23

Ep kararia,
ep karar-ia
fire start-ST

Having started the fire,

Clause 24

owa nine raimin.
ou -a nin -e ra-imin
house-LOC sleep-NF be-1s.p

I slept in the house.

Text 2 Building a House

(1) Am toromin. (2) Āmäi koimin. (3) Mena oi koia ou tutu toromin. (4) Āmäi koi mena koia, (5) ou momin. (6) Ou moianik, (7) morota wemin. (8) Morota äsaimin. (9) Āsaimia om wia, (10) ep kararmin. (11) Owa patan kaiemoi, (12) ninomin. (13) Owa kesermoi, (14) raimin. (15) Ātäi ou aru monuk, (16) ariwa awau kar momin. (17) Moia, (18) ätäi awau owa nine raimin. (19) Mis tot kaiemin. (20) Owa maro momoi, (21) mis momin. (22) Ep karar momoi patan kaiemin. (23) Ep kararia, (24) owa nine raimin.

English Translation

(1) I cut down the trees, (2) and carried them back. (3) Having brought them down to the village, I cut the house posts. (4) When I had brought them to the village, (5) I built my house. (6) Having built the house, (7) I made on the thatch. (8) I tied on the thatch. (9) Having done that, I dug out the ground (10) and started a fire. (11) Having made a bed, (12) I slept. (13) Having made the house like that, (14) I stayed (in it). (15) Destroying the old house, (16) then I built a new one. (17) Having done that, (18) I then slept in the new house. (19) I built a shelf for the pots. (20) Having put the plates on it, (21) I put the pots on it. (22) Having started the fire, I made the bed. (23) After starting the fire, (24) I slept in the house.

Text 3 Coming to Ukarumpa

Clause 1

Isan amān okoro kounun kinin maurim.
is-an amān okoro ko -umun kinin m -aur-im
1s-PC talk here come.down-1p.p story do-INT-1s.pr

I want to tell the story about coming here.

Clause 2

kounun kinin maurim.
ko -umun kinin m -aur-im
come.down-1p.p story do-INT-1s.pr

I want to tell how we came.

Clause 3

Satare is asir atomin.
Satare is asir at -omin
Saturday 1s woman hold-1s.p

On Saturday, I held a woman.

Clause 4

Atianik tup eteinak asir imāi potianik,
at -ianik tup etei -nak asir imāi -0 pot-ianik
hold-ST week small-DM woman bring-3s.0 go -ST

Having held her, on Saturday bringing her,

Clause 5

isan owa kuremin
is-an ou -a kur -0 -emin
1s-PC house-LOC throw-3s.0-1s.p

I put her in my house.

Clause 6

Monre noptianik,
Monre nopt -ianik
Monday go-down-ST

On Monday having gone down,

Clause 7

Kaunsir ämän momin.
Kaunsir ämän m -omin
The councillor talk do-1s.p

I told the councillor.

Clause 8

Koianik,
ko -ianik
come.down-ST

Having come,

Clause 9

tup karar raimin.
tup karar ra-imin
week one be-1s.p

I stayed on week.

Clause 10

Praire erikopta potowon.
Praire erikopta pot-owon
Friday helicopter go -3s.p

On Friday the helicopter came.

Clause 11

Iu Era ori amke imeitowon.
iu Era ori amke im -eit-owon
we.two Heather two first 1s.pr-1d0-3s.p

First it carried us two, Heather and me.

Clause 12

Imeitianik koianik,
im -eit-ianik ko -ianik
1s.pr-1d0-ST come.down-ST

Having taken us.two coming,

Clause 13

Paramin kureitowon.
Paramin kur -eit-owon
Brahmin throw-1d0-3s.p

it dropped us at Brahmin.

Clause 14

Kureitianik ätäi potowon.
kur -eit-ianik ätäi pot-owon
throw-1d0-ST again go -3s.p

Having dropped us it went again.

Clause 15

Potianik,
pot-ianik
go -ST

Having gone,

Clause 16

Airin Kurkaip ori imwatowon.
Airin Kurkaip ori im -wat -owon
Eileen Kurkaip two 1s.pr-2/3d0-3s.p

it brought Eileen and Kurkaip.

Clause 17

Imwatianik ätäi koi kurwatowon.
im -wat -ianik ätäi koi kur -wat -owon
1s.pr-2/3d0-ST again come throw-2/3d0-3s.p

Having brought them.twocoming again it dropped them.

Clause 18

Kurwatianik Era Airin ori utianik,
kur -wat -ianik Era Airin ori ut -ianik
throw-2/3d0-ST Heather Eileen two leave-ST

Having dropped them, Heather and Eileen leaving,

Clause 19

nāu parus nukas imwatowon.
nāu parus nuk-as im -wat -owon
big airplane 3sS-FC 1s.pr-2/3d0-3s.p

a big airplane took them two.

Clause 20

Iu Kurkaip ori erikopta nukas
iu Kurkaip ori erikopta nuk-as
we.two Kurkaip two helicopter 3sS-FC

imeitianik,
im -eit-ianik
1s.pr-1d0-ST

The helicopter taking Kurkaip and me,

Clause 21

Ukarumpa ui tet koururin.
Ukarumpa ui tet ko -umurin
Ukarumpa 1d first come.down-1d.p

we came to Ukarumpa first.

Clause 22

Koianik Ukarumpa DCA opis owa kiro opok
ko -ianik Ukarumpa DCA opis ou -a kiro opok
come.down-ST Ukarumpa DCA office house-LOC that on

raumurin.
ra-umurin
be-1d.p

Having come, we stayed in the DCA office.

Clause 23

Rausa Airin Era ori Koroka ki
ra-usa Airin Era ori Koroka ki
be-1d.DT Eileen Heather two Goroka here

toptianik,
topt -ianik
going-up-ST

While we were there, Eileen and Heather going up to Goroka,

Clause 24

kis imwatianik Ukarumpa iu raumurin opok
kis im -wat -ianik Ukarumpa iu ra-umurin opok
from there 1s.pr-2/3d0-ST Ukarumpa we.two be-1d.p on

koirin.
ko -irin
come.down-2/3d.p

Bringing them, they came to Ukarumpa where we were.

Clause 25

Kouna karas imeikianik,
ko -una kar-as im -eik-ianik
come.down-3p.DT one-FC 1s.pr-3p0-ST

They having come, a car taking us,

Clause 26

DCA-kin pas nukas imeikianik,
DCA-kin pas nuk-as im -eik-ianik
DCA-PC bus 3sS-FC 1s.pr-3p0-ST

the DCA bus taking us,

Clause 27

topte kompaun owa kureikowon.
topt -e kompaun ou -a kur -eik-owon
going-up-NF compound house-LOC throw-3p0-3s.p

going up to the compound, it dropped us at a house.

Clause 28

Aus pasena mukonuk,
aus pasena m -uk -onuk
house guest do-1p.0-3s.DT

having put us in the Guest House,

Clause 29

kiro opok ninomun.
kiro opok nin -omun
that on sleep-1p.p

we slept there.

Clause 30

Tapera kir raumun.
tapera kir ra-umun
morning same be-1p.p

In the morning we stayed there too.

Clause 31

Iukārīr kin imaikianik,
iukārīr ki -n im -eik-ianik
afternoon here-PC 1s.pr-3p0-ST

in the afternoon bringing us from there,

Clause 32

ātāi nopte upsa kar owa mukoin.
ātāi nopt -e upsa kar ou -a m -uk -oin
again go-down-NF down one house-LOC do-1p.0-2/3p1.p

they again going down took us to another house.

Clause 33

Iwen ou atapur.
iu -en ou atapur
we.two-PC house in.one.place

Our house was in one place,

Clause 34

Orien ou atapur.
ori-en ou atapur
two-PC house in.one.place

Their house was in another place.

Clause 35

Kiro opok pote mukoin.
kiro opok pot-e m -uk -oin
that on go -NF do-1p.0-2/3p1.p

They put us there.

Clause 36

Rusa kiro opok raum.
rusa kiro opok ra-um
now that on be-1p1.pr

Now we stay there.

Clause 37

Rusaka Monre ap pas tu amān okoro momur.
rusaka Monre ap pas tu amān okoro m -omur
today Monday half past two talk this do-1d.pr

Today Monday at half past two, we are telling this story.

Clause 38

Isan ämān kiron.
is-an ämān kiro-n
is-PC talk that-PC

That is my talk.

Text 3 Coming to Ukarumpa

(1) Isan ämän okoro kounun kinin maurim. (2) Okoro kounun kinin maurim. (3) Satare is asir atomin. (4) Atianik tup eteinak asir imäi potianik, (5) isan owa kurein. (6) Monre noptianik, (7) Kaunsir ämän momin. (8) Koianik, (9) tup karar raimin. (10) Praire erikopta potowon. (11) Iu Era ori amke imeitowon. (12) Imeitianik koianik, (13) Paramin kureitowon. (14) Kuteitianik ätäi potowon. (15) Potianik, (16) Airin Kurkaip ori imwatowon. (17) Imwatianik ätäi koi kurwatowon. (18) Kurwatianik, Era Airin ori utianik, (19) näu parua nukas imwatowon. (20) Iu Kurkaip ori erikopta nukas imeitianik, (21) Ukarumpa ui tet kounurin. (22) Koianik, Ukarumpa DCA opis owa kiro opok raumurin. (23) Rausa, Airin Era ori Koroka ki toptianik, (24) kis imwatianik, Ukarumpa iu raumurin opok koirin. (25) Kouna, karas imeikianik, (26) DCA-kin pas nukas imeikianik, (27) topte kompaun owa kureikowon. (28) Aus pasena mukonuk, (29) kiro opok ninomun. (30) Tapera kir raumun. (31) Iukärir kin imeikianik, (34) ätäi nopte upsa kar owa mukoin. (33) Iwen ou atapur. (34) Orien ou atapur. (35) Kiro opok pote mukoin. (36) Rusa kiro opok raum. (37) Rusaka Monre ap pas tu ämän okoro momur. (38) Isan ämän kiron.

English Translation

(1) I want to tell the story about coming here. (2) I want to tell how we came. (3) On Saturday, I held a woman. (4) Having held her, on Saturday bringing her to my house, (5) I took her inside. (6) On Monday, going down, (7) I told the councillor. (8) Coming back, (9) I stayed one week. (10) On Friday the helicopter came. (11) First it took Heather and me. (12) It taking us, (13) put us down in Brahmin. (14) Having dropped us, it went again. (15) having gone, (16) it brought Eileen and Kurkaip. (17) It bringing the two of them, coming again, put them down. (18) Having dropped them, Heather and Eileen leaving, (19) went in a big plane. (20) The helicopter taking Kurkaip and me, (21) we came to Ukarumpa first. (22) Having arrived we stayed in the DCA office. (23) While we were waiting, Eileen and Heather having gone to Goroka, (24) from there they were brought to where we were. (25) When they came, a car taking us, (26) the aviation bus bringing us, (27) taking to the compound, it dropped us at the house. (28) Having put us in the Guest House, (29) we slept there. (30) In the morning, we remained there too. (31) In the afternoon, bringing us from there, (32) they took us down to another house. (33) Our house was in one place, (34) their house was in another place. (35) They put us there. (36) Now we stay there. (37) Today Monday at half past two, we two are talking. (38) That is my story.

Text4 Making a Garden

Clause 1

Ik ma awaukan jemoi,
ik ma awau-kan j -emoi
1p1 taro new -PC eat-ST

When we eat our new taro,

Clause 2

woi taiaum.
woi ta -ia -um
garden mark-HAB-1p1.pr

we always mark ground for a new garden.

Clause 3

Amān moiaum.
amān mo-ia -um
talk do-HAB-1p1.pr

We talk together.

Clause 4

Sikis keir woi taiaum
sikis keir woi ta -ia -um
six month garden mark-HAB-1p1.pr

We mark the garden in the sixth month.

Clause 5

Woi taumoi,
woi ta -umoi
garden mark-ST

having marked the garden,

Clause 6

asiket woi uriai.
asik -et woi ur -ia -i
woman-PL garden clear-HAB-2/3p1.pr

the women clear the garden.

Clause 7

Woi urena,
woi ur -e -na
garden clear-NF-DT.3p

They having cleared the garden,

Clause 8

ika ro am toriaum.
ika ro am tor -ia -um
1pl man tree cut.down-HAB-1pl.pr

we men cut down the trees.

Clause 9

Am toromoi,
am tor -omoi
tree cut.down-ST

Having cut down the trees,

Clause 10

ma weaum.
ma we -ia -um
taro hit-HAB-1pl.pr

we plant the taro.

Clause 11

Ma wemoi nas makeaum.
ma w -emoi nas make-ia -um
taro hit-ST trash burn-HAB-1pl.pr

Having planted the taro,we burn the trash.

Clause 12

Makata jerenuk,
mak -ata jer -enuk
burn-1p1DS burn-3s.DS

Having burned it when it is all burned,

Clause 13

porim wätiaum.
porim wät -ia -um
fence make.fence-HAB-1pl.pr

we make the fences.

Clause 14

Porim wäte momoi,
porim wät -e mo-moi
fence make.fence-NF do-ST

Having made the fences,

Clause 15

atum uku saki uku papai uku win uku
atum uku saki uku papai uku win uku
cucumber seed corn seed paupau seed bean seed

uros uku puker uku ma uku weaum.
uros uku puker uku ma uku we -ia -um
pumpkin seed chinese.taro seed taro seed hit-HAB-1pl.pr

we plant seeds of cucumber, corn, paupau, beans, pumpkin, chinese taro and taro.

Clause 16

Wemoi ik amurik ure raiaum.
w -emoi ik am -urik ur -e ra-ia -um
hit-ST 1pl tree-hair clear-NF be-HAB-1pl.pr

having planted the seeds, we stay clearing the grass.

Clause 17

Woi amurik ure raiaum.
woi -a am -urik ur -e ra-ia -um
garden-LOC tree-hair clear-NF be-HAB-1pl.pr

we stay clearing the grass.

Clause 18

Uremoi raiaum.
ur -e -moi ra-ia -um
clear-NF-ST be-HAB-1pl.pr

having cleared the grass we rest.

Clause 19

Ma nonuk apare apare po amuk weaum.
ma no -nuk ap -ar -e ap -ar -e po amuk we -ia -um
taro go.down-3sS see -3sO-NF see-3sO-NF pig eye hit-HAB-1pl.pr

When the taro goes down, while (the spirits stay) watching it, we exchange a pig.

Clause 20

Po amuk weanik,
po amuk we -ianik
pig eye hit-ST

when we exchange a pig,

Clause 21

po amuk we momoi,
po amuk we mo-moi
pig eye hit do-ST

having exchanged pigs,

Clause 22

jaunokot akan menan pote akan ätäi
ja -unok-ot ak -an mena -n pot-e ak -an ätäi
friend-our -PL 2/3p1-PC place-to go -NF 2/3p1-PC again

aromoi,
ar -omoi
give.3p10-ST

we going to our relative's village give them our pig,

Clause 23

iken pote aromoi,
ik -en pot-e ar -omoi
1p1-PC go -NF give.3p10-ST

and they give us theirs.

Clause 24

akan oi koiaum.
ak -an o -i ko -ia -um
2/3p1-PC get-NF come.down-HAB-1p1.pr

we bring back their pig.

Clause 25

Ik ma pak kis pak mis me jeiaum.
ik ma pak kis pak mis m -e je -ia -um
1p1 taro and from there and pot do-NF eat-HAB-1p1.pr

We cook it with taro and eat it.

Clause 26

Ma mis me jemoi rai rai ätäi woi maun
ma mis m -e j -emoi ra-i ra-i ätäi woi m -aun
taro pot do-NF eat-ST be-NF be-NF again garden do-INF

ämän moiaum.
ämän mo-ia -um
talk do-HAB-1pl.pr

We having cooked and eaten, stay until we talk again about making a garden.

Text 4 Making a Garden

(1) Ik ma awaukan jemoi, (2) woi taiaum. (3) Āmān moiaum. (4) Sikis keir woi taiaum. (5) Woi taumoi, (6) asiket woi uriai. (7) Woi urena, (8) ika ro am toriaum. (9) Am toromoi, (10) ma weaum. (11) Ma wemoi, nas makeaum. (12) Makata jerenuk, (13) porim wätiaum. (14) Porim wäte momoi, (15) atum uku saki uku papai uku win uku uros uku puker uku ma uku weaum. (16) Wemoi, ik amurik ure raiaum. (17) Woia amurik ure raiaum. (18) Uremoi raiaum. (19) Ma nonuk apare apare po amuk weaum. (20) Po amuk weanik, (21) po amuk we momoi, (22) jaunokot akan menan pote akan ätäi aromoi, (23) iken pote aromoi, (24) akan oi koiaum. (25) Ik ma pak kis pak mis me jeiaum. (26) Ma mis me jemoi, rai rai, ätäi woi maun āmān moiaum.

English Translation

(1) When we eat our new taro, (2) we always mark ground for a new garden. (3) We talk together. (4) We choose the ground in the sixth month, (5) When we have marked out the gardens, (6) the women clear the garden. (7) When they have cleared the bush, (8) we men cut down the trees. (9) Having cut down the trees, (10) we plant the taro. (11) When the taro is planted, we burn the trash. (12) When it is all burned, (13) we make the fence. (14) After the fence is built, (15) we plant cucumbers, corn, paupau, beans, pumpkin, chinese taro and (real) taro. (16) When that is done, we clear the grass/weeds. (17) We stay clearing the grass. (18) Then we rest. (19) When the taro goes down, while the spirits watch over it, we exchange pigs. (20) When we exchange a pig, (21) having exchanged pigs, (22) we go to our friend's village to give them our pig, (23) and they give us theirs, (24) then we bring it back. (25) We cook it and eat it. (26) We having cooked and eaten, stay until we talk about making a garden again.

Text5 Building the Two Girls' House

Clause 1

Ik kukam ro pak asik pak potianik,
ik kukam ro pak asik pak pot-ianik
1pl yesterday man and woman and go -ST

Yesterday we the men and women going,

Clause 2

Era Airin ou amauk māremun.
Era Airin ou amauk māremun
Heather Eileen house timber cut-1pl.p

we cut timber for Heather and Eileen's house.

Clause 3

Māria ros kurukan ureker koi upin
mār-ia ro -os kuruk -an ureker koi upin
cut-ST man-FC forest-L bring come river.bed

kureta,
kur -e -ta
throw-NF-1pl.DT

Having cut it, the men brought it from the forest to the river bed,
throwing it there,

Clause 4

Era Airin asir pak ureker pote patan opok
Era Airin asir pak ureker pot-e patan opok
Heather Eileen woman and bring go -NF bed on

moin.
m -oin
do-2/3pl.p

Heather Eileen and the women going, bringing it put it on a bed.

Clause 5

Keserianik,
keser-ianik
thus -ST

Having done that,

Clause 6

po tukemun.
po tuk-emun
pig cut-1pl.p

we cut up a pig.

Clause 7

Sarim mota Ousopar tonowon.
sarim mo-ta Ousop-ar ton -owon
selling do-1pl.DT Ousop-L go.in-3s.p

We having sent it to Ousop, it went.

Clause 8

Ousopar asir koianik,
Ousop-ar asir ko -ianik
Ousop-L woman come.down-ST

The women from Ousop coming,

Clause 9

po oi manoin.
po o -i man-oin
pig get-NF go -2/3pl.p

got the pig and went.

Clause 10

Keserianik,
keser-ianik
thus -ST

Having done that,

Clause 11

karauk asir woia woia manoin.
karauk asir woi -a woi -a man-oin
some woman garden-LOC garden-LOC go -2/3pl.p

some women went to their gardens.

Clause 12

Isan asir Tirinepan wau Mapkain wau woia
is-an asir Tirinep-an wau Mapkai-n wau woi -a
1s-PC woman Tirinep-PC wife Mapkai-PC wife garden-LOC

woia manomun.
woi -a man-omun
garden-LOC go -1p.p

My wife, Tirinep's wife and Mapkai's wife and I went to our gardens.

Clause 13

Pairaum Osmar Osmar wau woia woia
Pairaum Osmar Osmar wau woi -a woi -a
Pairaum Osmar Osmar wife garden-LOC garden-LOC

manomun.
man-omun
go -1p.p

Pairaum Osmar and his wife went to their gardens.

Clause 14

Era Airin ori mena koirin.
Era Airin ori mena ko -irin
Heather Eileen two place come.down-2/3d.p

Heather and Eileen came down to the village.

Clause 15

Ou amauk irik pinis mom.
ou amauk irik pinis m -om
house timber together finish do-1pl.p

We finish putting all the timber together.

Clause 16

Morota wāun karar morota wea,
morota w -āun karar morota we -ia
sago.thatch hit-INF one sago.thatch hit-ST

To cut the morota, we cutting only one morota,

Clause 17

koi samapim mam.
koi samapim m -am
come sew.up do-1pl.f

coming we will sew it up.

Clause 18

Samap mota Era Airin ori tup oiroror
samap mo-ta Era Airin ori tup oiroror
sew.up do-1p1.DT Heather Eileen two week two

Ukarumpa potaieir.
Ukarumpa pot-aieir
Ukarumpa go -2p1.f

When we have sewn it up, Heather and Eileen will go to Ukarumpa for two weeks.

Clause 19

Potaieiris kousa,
pot-aieir-is ko -usa
go -2p1.f-FA come.down-2d.DT

When they have been, they coming,

Clause 20

kapenta oraut kowaiei.
kapenta oraut ko -aiei
carpenters some come.down-2/3p1.f

some carpenters will come.

Clause 21

Kouna ou tutu kuraiei.
ko -una ou tutu kur -aiei
come.down-3p.DT house post throw-2/3p1.f

Having come, they will put in the house posts.

Clause 22

Tutu kuria kirarnaiei.
tutu kur -ia kirarn -aiei
post throw-ST put.up.frame-2/3p1.f

Having put in the posts, they will put up the frame.

Clause 23

Kirarnia morota äsai wäm.
kirarn -ia morota äsai w -äm
put.up.frame-ST sago.thatch tie.on hit-1p1.f

Having put up the frame, we will tie on the sago-thatch.

Clause 24

Pekenaís wa äsai wäm.
pekenai-s wa äsai w -äm
cane -FC not tie.on hit-1pl.f

We will not tie it on with cane.

Clause 25

Nir eteinak morota momoi wäm.
nir etei -nak morota mo-moi w -äm
nail small-DM sago.thatch do-ST hit-1pl.f

WE will put it on with small nails.

Clause 26

Nir amas ou opok tortor toptam.
nir ama -s ou opok tortor topt -am
nail hammer-FC house on nail.it going-up-1pl.f

We will go up and nail it on the house with hammer and nails

Clause 27

Keseria pinis mia kapenta manaiei.
keser-ia pinis m -ia kapenta man-ai ei
thus -ST finish do-ST carpenters go -2/3pl.f

And so, having finished, the carpenters will go.

Clause 28

Ik karar prain wäm.
ik karar prain w -äm
1pl one blinds hit-1pl.f

We alone will put on the blinds.

Clause 29

Ik karar isap käiäm.
ik karar isap käi -äm
1pl one black.palm.flooring put.down-1pl.f

We ourselves will put down the flooring.

Clause 30

Ik karar roa wäm.
ik karar roa w -äm
1pl one door hit-1pl.f

We ourselves will put up the door.

Clause 31

Keserta Era Airin ori awan owa
keser-ta Era Airin ori au -an ou -a
thus -1p1.DT Heather Eileen two 2/3p1S-PC house-LOC

potaleir.
pot-aleir
go -2p1.f

When we have done that, Heather and Eileen will go into their house.

Text 5 Building the Two Girls' House

(1) Ik kukam ro pak asik pak potianik, (2) Era Airin ou amauk märemun. (3) Märia ros kurukan ureker koi upin kureta, (4) Era Airin asir pak ureker pote patan opok moin. (5) Keserianik, (6) po tukemun. (7) Sarim mota, Ousopar tonowon. (8) Ousopar asir koianik, (9) po oi manoin. (10) Keserianik, (11) karauk asir woia woia manoin. (12) Isan asir Tirinepan wau Mapkai wau woia woia manomun. (13) Pairaum Osmar Osmar wau woia woia manomun. (14) Era Airin ori mena Koirin. (15) Ou amauk irik pinis mom. (16) Morota wäun karar morota wea, (17) koi samapim mam. (18) Samap mota, Era Airin ori tup oiroror Ukarumpa potaieir. (19) Potaieiris kousa, (20) kapenta oraut kowaiei. (21) Kouna, ou tutu kuraiei. (22) Tutu kuria kirarnaiei. (23) Kirarnia, morota äsai wäm. (24) Pekenais wa äsai wäm. (25) Nir eteinak morota momoi, wäm. (26) Nir amai ou opok tortor toptam. (27) Keseria, pinis mia, kapenta manaiei. (28) Ik karar prain wäm. (29) Ik karar isap käiäm. (30) Ik karar roa wäm. (31) Keserta, Era Airin ori awan owa potaieir.

English Translation

(1) Yesterday all of us, men and women, going, (2) we cut timber for Heather and Eileen's house. (3) Having cut it, the men brought it from the forest to the river bed, and throeing it down there, (4) Heather, Eileen and the women going brought it and put it on the platform. (5) Having done that, (6) we cut up a pig. (7) We sent it to Ousop. (9) The women from Ousop came amd got the pig. (10) Having done that, (11) some women went to their gardens. (12) My wife, Tirinep's wife and Map's wife and I went to our garden. (13) Pairam, Osmar and his wife went to their garden. (14) Heather and Eileen came back to the village. (15) We finished putting all the timber there. (16) We need only to cut the thatch, (17) then coming we will sew it up. (18) When we have sewn it up, Heather and Eileen will go to Ukarumpa for two weeks. (19) When they return, (20) the carpenters will come. (21) When they come they will put in the house posts. (22) When the house posts are in they will put up the frame. (23) Having put up the frame, we will tie on the thatch. (24) We will not tie it on with cane. (25) We will put the thatch on with little nails. (26) We will go up and nail it onto the house with hammer and nails. (27) And so, having finished, the carpenters will go. (28) We alone will put on the blinds. (29) We ourselves will put down the flooring. (30) We alone will put up the door. (31) When we have done that, Heather and Eileen will go into their house.

Text6 The Lives of Our Ancestors and Ourselves

Clause 1

Utianik momonokot aninokot ak meter
ut -ianik mo -monok-ot ani -nok-ot ak meter
leave-ST father-our -PL mother-our-PL 2/3pl before

akan o ma karar je raiain.
ak -an o ma karar je ra-ia -in
2/3pl-PC food taro one eat be-HAB-2/3pl.p

Leaving this, our fathers and mothers in the old days had only taro to eat.

Clause 2

Ma wāpik erar sou wāun ses erar raiain.
ma wāpik erar sou w -āun ses erar ra-ia -in
taro not nothing hunger hit-INF time nothing be-HAB-2/3pl.p

They having taro only, nothing else, they were hungry.

Clause 3

Kurukan anouriauk urapauk win aru
kuruk -an anouri -auk urap -auk win aru
forest-PC fruit.type-DM fruit.type-DM bean bad

kurukan sei ak kiron je raiain.
kuruk -an sei ak kiro-n je ra-ia -in
forest-PC wild 2/3pl that-PC eat be-HAB-2/3pl.p

They found and ate wild fruits and beans from the forest.

Clause 4

Rusapai misin penuk,
rusa-pai misin pe -nuk
now -L mission come.up-3sS

Now that the mission has come,

Clause 5

uros kowon,
uros ko -won
pumpkin come.down-3s.p

pumpkin has come,

Clause 6

saki kowon ik jeiaum.
saki ko -won ik je -ia -um
corn come.down-3s.p 1pl eat-HAB-1pl.pr

corn has come and we eat it.

Clause 7

Meter momonokot aninokot ak kiron wāpik
meter mo -monok-ot ani -nok-ot ak kiro-n wāpik
before father-our -PL mother-our-PL 2/3pl that-PC not

akan uros urokum.
ak -an uros urokum
2/3pl-PC pumpkin wild.pumpkin

Before our fathers and mothers did not have these, their pumpkin was a wild type.

Clause 8

Kiro mamau pitpotormoi jlain.
kiro mamau pitpotor -moi je -ia -in
that young break.in.chunks-ST eat-HAB-2/3pl.p

They broke that into chunks when it was young and ate it.

Clause 9

Sou wāun ses ma woi nāwāu wa momoi
sou w -āun ses ma woi nāwāu wa mo-moi
hunger hit-INF time taro garden big not do-ST
jlain.
je -ia -in
eat-HAB-2/3pl.p

They were hungry as they didn't make a big garden.

Clause 10

Eteinak momoi jlain.
etei -nak mo-moi je -ia -in
small-DM do-ST eat-HAB-2/3pl.p

They made a small garden and ate from it.

Clause 11

Ma woi nāwāu wa eteinak momoi jlain.
ma woi nāwāu wa etei -nak mo-moi je -ia -in
taro garden big not small-DM do-ST eat-HAB-2/3pl.p

They didn't make a big taro garden only a small one.

Clause 12

Akan keser moianik,
ak -an keser mo-ianik
2/3p1-PC thus do-ST

They making one like that,

Clause 13

wariakat akas woi manian.
wari-ak -at ak -as woi -a man-ia -in
wife-2/3p1-PL 2/3p1-FC garden-LDC go -HAB-2/3p1.p

the wives went to the gardens.

Clause 14

Aka utianik,
aka ut -ianik
2/3p1S leave-ST

They having left,

Clause 15

puri purien manian.
puri puri-en man-ia -in
bow bow -PC go -HAB-2/3p1.p

(the men) went and did sorcery.

Clause 16

Meter utianik,
meter ut -ianik
before leave-ST

Before leaving,

Clause 17

akan sarau kiron akan sarau kiron momoi
ak -an sarau kiro-n ak -an sarau kiro-n mo-moi
2/3p1-PC work that-PC 2/3p1-PC work that-PC do-ST

arian.
ari -ia -in
walk-HAB-2/3p1.p

So this was their work, they did that.

Clause 18

Rusapai ik onok ik atap ik meten kiro
rusa-pai ik onok ik atap ik mete -n kiro
now -L 1p1 custom 1p1 a.kind 1p1 before-PC that

sarau ik āpu wa.
sarau ik āpu wa
work 1p1 know not

Today we have different customs, the work they did before we don't know.

Clause 19

Ik rusapai ma woi nāunākāu momoi,
ik rusa-pai ma woi nāu-nāk-āu mo-moi
1p1 now -L taro garden big-DM -very do-ST

We now making very big taro gardens,

Clause 20

ik o jeaum.
ik o je -1a -um
1p1 food eat-HAB-1p1.pr

we eat (lots of) food.

Clause 21

Ik ro nāu mokoī meter aru senes raīain.
ik ro nāu mokoī meter aru senes ra-1a -in
1p1 man big boy before bad very be-HAB-2/3p1.p

We are strong/good men, before they were very bad/weak.

Clause 22

Keser moīanik,
keser mo-ianik
thus do-ST

Having done like that,

Clause 23

ak ro wasare rawon.
ak ro wasar -e ra-won
2/3p1 man perish-NF be-3s.p

They perished.

Text 6 The Lives of Our Ancestors and Ourselves

(1) Utianik, momonokot aninokot ak meter akan o ma karar je raiaian. (2) Ma wäpik, erar sou wäun ses erar raiaian. (3) Kurukan anouriauk urapauk win aru kurukan sei ak kiron je raiaian. (4) Rusapai misin penuk, (5) uros kowon, (6) saki kowon ik jeiaum. (7) Meter momonokot aninokot ak kiron wäpik akan uros urokum. (8) Kiro mamau pitpotormoi jiaian. (9) Sou wäun ses ma woi näwäu wa momoi, jiaian. (10) Eteinak moi jiaian. (11) Ma woi näwäu wa eteinak momoi, jiaian. (12) Akan keser moianik, (13) wariakat akas woia maniaian. (14) Aka utianik, (15) puri purien maniaian. (16) Meter utianik, (17) akan sarau kiron akan sarau kiron momoi, ariaian. (18) Rusapai ik onok ik atap ik meten kiro sarau ik äpu wa. (19) IK rusapai ma woi näunäkäu momoi, (20) ik o jeaum. (21) IK ro näu mokoï meter aru senes raiaian. (22) Keser moianik, (23) ak ro wa sare rawon.

English Translation

(1) Leaving this, our fathers and mothers in the old days had only taro to eat. (2) If they had no taro, they stayed hungry. (3) They found and ate wild fruits and beans from the forest. (4) Now the emission has come, (5-6) pumpkin and corn have come and we eat them. (7) Before our fathers and mothers did not have these. Their pumpkin was the wild type. (8) They broke that into chunks when it was young and ate it. (9) It was a hungry time, they did not make big gardens. (10) they made a small garden for food. (11) For food they did not make a big garden, only a small garden. (12) They making one like that, (13) the wives went to the garden. (14) When they had left, (15) (the men) went and did magic. (16) Before however, (17) their work was like that. (18) Now we have different customs, the work they did before we do not know. (19) We now making big taro gardens. (20) we eat (lots of) food. (21) We are strong men, before they were weak. (22) They having done like that, (23) they perished.