

Materials on Golin:

Grammar, texts and dictionary.

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Note: The texts marked * may be found on the companion Audio CD.

Cover Photo: Kia in traditional dress.

This volume results from a Linguistic Field Methods course taught in the Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics at the University of Melbourne in the first semester of 2003, which focused on the Golin language, and was made possible by the helpful and insightful participation of Chris Kia Aina, a speaker of Golin residing in Melbourne while studying at Victoria University of Technology. Participants in the course were third and fourth year undergraduate students in linguistics. The enthusiasm of the participants was such that we decided to put together a collective volume, even though it goes without saying that after a mere semester's work on any language the findings must be regarded as provisional only. Nonetheless, there is so little available on Golin – basically just Gordon Bunn's (1974) grammar, written in a tagmemic framework, plus a short article by Gordon and Ruth Bunn on Golin phonology – that we thought it would be useful to make these materials more widely available. Two students in the course – Robyn Loughnane and Hywel Stoakes – were able to take their investigations further by making aspects of Golin the focus of their fourth-year minor honours theses. In addition, it was possible for a number of the authors here to do some further checking of selected details with Kia in the eighteen months between the end of the Field Methods course and the publication of this collection.¹

Golin belongs to the Chimbu (Simbu) family (Foley 1986) of the Trans-Papua-New-Guinea phylum, along with such languages as Wahgi (Philips 1976), Melpa/Medlpa (including Ku Waru – Merlan & Rumsey 1990), Nii (Stucky & Stucky 1973), Kuman (Bergmann 1953, Piau 1985), Dom (Tida 2000), Chuave (Swick 1966), Salt-Yui (Irwin 1974) and Sinasina (McVineey & Luzbetak 1954).

Typologically, it is a typical highlands Papuan language, with basic SOV word order (see Brown chapter), simple nominal morphology but rather complex patterns of verb suffixing (see Lee chapter), including a rich modal system (see Loughnane chapter on mood and modality), verb chaining with a range of subordination and clause-combining strategies (see Besold and Loughnane chapter), and a limited stock of verb roots augmented by lexicalized coverb plus verb combinations (Piau 1985, Pawley 1993; see Ross chapter). The exact semantic status of many of the verbal inflectional morphemes – particularly the contrast between 'proximal' and 'distal' suffixes which, according to context, appear to encode subjective relevance in addition to their more obvious uses for 'close' vs 'distant' relations in time – remains an interesting topic for further research, being particularly hard to resolve outside more natural settings inside an actual speech community where real conversations and contexts can be recorded.

The segmental phonology of Golin is relatively simple (and it lacks the velarized laterals found in some other members of the Chimbu family, such as Kuman), but it has tone. This was originally described by the Bunns as a two-way syllable tone contrast but is reanalysed here as a three-way contrast in word-tone (see Evans & Stoakes chapter). The tone system took a long time to work out, and

¹ Funding for some of this work, as well as for the production of this volume, came from the Australian Research Council (ARC Discovery Grant: Reciprocals Across Languages) and the School of Languages at the University of Melbourne (Research Task Force Grant-in-aid: 'Working Papers in Golin'); it is a pleasure to acknowledge their financial assistance.

transcriptions during the class did not normally represent tone; as a result tonal transcriptions in the present volume are found only in the relevant chapter, and in (most) headwords of the dictionary.

A special system of ‘semi-indirect speech’ – again rather typical of highlands languages (see Reesink 1993) – is widely used to represent thoughts and intentions as well as speech, and results in an unusual system whereby the person of the subordinate subject is calculated with respect to the secondary deictic centre (i.e. the act of speaking or thinking) while that of other subordinate arguments is calculated with respect to the primary deictic centre. This can result in such seemingly strange structures as ‘[I will hit me] saying he-does’ for ‘he says he will hit me’ – see Loughnane’s Chapter 7 for a thorough discussion.

Since there is renewed interest in the teaching of field methods within the broader ambit of linguistic education, it may be helpful to explain a little here about how the Field Methods class was run. The class met for three hours a week as a group – two hours with Kia, plus a one-hour analysis and planning session. In addition, pairs of students worked for an extra hour per week with Kia. During the class, a number of regular roles were rostered: one person would lead the session, formulating the main questions and transcribing the answers on a whiteboard, two would write the proceedings in hard-bound ‘scribe books’, and two would record the session, one on a DAT recorder and the other on a Sony Walkman cassette recorder. During these class sessions anyone was free to ask questions, suggest analyses etc. In the pair sessions the same procedure was repeated on a scaled-down basis; these sessions were also recorded and entered in the scribe books.

I should also note that, in a meeting before the course began, we gathered to discuss a key problem confronting any field methods course: whether to adopt the classic ‘naive’ approach, tackling the language totally from scratch without consulting any available sources, or whether to make the (rather limited) materials available beforehand. The class’s decision was firmly in favour of the latter. I should add that this is also my favoured solution, at least when there are not huge amounts of material available on the language: for a start it is more realistic, since I cannot imagine not wanting to read up everything on a language before setting off for the field (cf Hale 2001 for an expression of similar views), and additionally it allows the class to move more rapidly into more detailed and interesting questions. Getting a head start like this certainly did not leave us without challenging problems to solve right from the start.

In addition to several texts recorded and transcribed in class, each participating student recorded and transcribed at least one text individually, and working on such naturally-occurring material was an important source of data.

Students had collective responsibility for maintaining and extending a joint lexical data-base, entered in Shoebox and used to process the recorded texts; this data-base was augmented by subsequent work by Loughnane and Stoakes for their Honours theses. Dictionary entries were later checked with Kia by Besold, Loughnane and/or Stoakes. In this way we were able to accumulate the text and lexical material presented here. A selection of texts, as well as recordings of words relevant to the phonological analyses, are included as a CD in the sleeve of this book.

Assessment for the course comprised three pieces of work (a and b could be undertaken individually or in pairs):

(a) a transcribed, glossed and translated text, with notes on problems or interesting grammatical issues

(b) an analytic essay on a selected grammatical, lexical or phonological issue; many of the chapters in this volume originated as one of these essays

(c) half a dozen sample lexical entries, selected to represent a range of lexicographic problems. Although some material for these entries had already been accumulated collectively, the purpose was to give a set of more highly curated entries than would result from the normal Shoebox entries maintained by the class as a whole.

In concluding, I would like to thank Chris Kia once again for his dedication and interest in the project, and his willingness to share his language and culture with us. I would also like to thank all involved in the course for their keen participation, which made far more extensive demands on their time and energy than a normal semester course, and in particular those whose commitment over the last eighteen months has made it possible to produce the present volume.

Nicholas Evans
February 2005

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List of Abbreviations

1 - first person	OBL -oblique
2 - second person	PFV -perfective
3 - third person	PL - plural
A – subject of a transitive verb	POSS - possessive
ADJ - adjective	PRED - predicative
ADV -adverb(ial)	PRES -present
AGR – agreement	PROX - proximal/proximate
AS - assertion	PAST - past
AUX - auxiliary	PQ - polar question particle/marker
BEN - benefactive	RECP - reciprocal
CAUS - causative	REFL –reflexive
COMP – complementizer	REP – reported speech
CONT - continuative	SUB - subject
COP - copula	SUBJ - subjunctive
DECL - declarative	SG – singular
DEF - definite	S – subject of an intransitive verb
DEM - demonstrative	SS – same subject
DET -determiner	TOP – topic
DIST - distal	VIII – Yimas verb class 8
DU/DL - dual	
DUR – durative	
EMPH - emphatic	
FUT - future	
IMP - imperative	
IND - indicative	
INST - instrumental	
IRR - irrealis	
LOC - locative	
NEG -negation, negative	
NOMZ -nominalizer/nominalization	
O – object of a transitive verb	
OBJ - object	

Papua New Guinea



Map of Papua New Guinea (Perry Casteneda Map Collection, The University of Texas, Austin)
Map of Chimbu Province (Wurm, S.A. and Hatori Shiro (1981)
Language Atlas of the Pacific Area, Canberra, Australian Academy of the Humanities).

The final lecture of the Fieldmethods subject in May 2003



Top row: Nick Evans, Hywel Stoakes, Anthony (Bryan) Fricker, Jutta Besold, Robyn Loughnane, Michelle Head and Sebastian Fedden.
Bottom row: Tida Syuntarô, Kia Aina, Alan Lee, Kate Brown and Grace Chan
Absent: Nathan Despott, and Yukie Saito

Section One

Grammar

Section 1:

1. Golin tonology: a preliminary account

Nicholas Evans and Hywel Stoakes

1. Introduction¹

This paper presents a preliminary account of Golin phonology, with a particular emphasis on its tone system. It is based on work with Chris Kia Aina during the course ‘Linguistic Field Methods’ taught at the University of Melbourne in the first semester of 2003, supplemented by additional sessions on 22/7/03, 21/4/04 and 8/10/04.

Golin has a rather simple segmental phonology, with an inventory of just 13 consonants and five vowels (plus a length distinction), as well as three diphthongs. Except for issues of consonant position and phonotactics, where we are limited by the number of lexemes recorded at this stage, we are confident that our analysis of the segmental phonology is reasonably definitive. At the level of overall system, the analysis we postulate here coincides closely with that given in Bunn & Bunn (1970) and Bunn (1974), except that they treat *bw* and *gw* as unit phonemes while we treat them as sequences of /b/ or /g/ plus /w/. Looking further afield within the Simbu (Chimbu) family, the main phonological difference between the Golin inventory and that of other members of the family is its lack of the distinctive velarized lateral phoneme found in e.g. Kuman and Ku Waru.

In its tonal phonology, however, Golin is more difficult, and our analysis is correspondingly more provisional, as well as diverging significantly from that published by the Bunnings, which treats Golin as a syllable-tone language with a 2-way tonal contrast on each syllable.

On the analysis we present here, Golin is a word-tone language with three contrasting tones – high, mid and low – associated at the level of the word (or perhaps the foot). Tones are attached to the rightmost mora of their domain, with a relatively constant pitch realization at that point, but more freedom in the rest of the domain, giving rise to considerable variation at the etic level of pitch contours over the word.

In contrast to a syllable-tone language, where each syllable is a distinct tone-bearing unit and the number of tonal contrasts therefore increases with the length of the word – essentially as the product of the number of syllables times the number of contrasts per syllable – in a word-tone language the number of pitch contrasts is constant as the word length increases, with the pitch melody simply being stretched out over a longer domain. (We locate Golin within the emerging typology of tonal systems in §3.4.) An additional difficulty in the analysis of Golin tone is that the phonetic spacing of the three-way contrast is signalled by rather slight differences in pitch, of the order of only 10-15 Hz frequency difference between adjacent tones. Combined with the variability of realization, this heightens the difficulty of hearing the emic differences in tone.

¹ We would like to thank Chris Kia Aina for his patient and insightful assistance in data collection, as well as Janet Fletcher, Larry Hyman and Syuntarô Tida for their valued discussion of points discussed in this paper. Funding for some of this work came from the Australian Research Council (ARC Discovery Grant: Reciprocals Across Languages) and the School of Languages at the University of Melbourne (Research Task Force Grant-in-aid: ‘Working Papers in Golin’); we gratefully acknowledge their financial assistance.

One further limitation should be mentioned here: we restrict our study of tonal phonology to nominal words and to short verbal words. Inflected verbs are the area of Golin grammar with the most complex words, both morphologically and phonologically, and their complexity is continually being augmented by grammaticalizing formerly independent words at the right edge of the clause into the verb. These may be other verbs – for example the apparent grammaticalization of the word *te* ‘give’ as a benefactive marker – or they may be demonstratives, which appear to be the source for the ‘distal’ vs ‘proximal’ tense distinction. Our informal observations, supplemented by comments in the Bunns’ work, suggest that within complex verbal words there are several distinct domains for tone, possibly reflecting the retention of the original tonal patterning of what were once independent words, that have become integrated as suffixes but without yet giving up their distinctive tonal melodies. However, we do not investigate this complex matter in the present article, leaving it as a challenging and interesting issue for further research.

2. Segmental phonology

2.1 Segments

2.1.1 Consonants

Golin has the following consonant inventory. Symbols have their regular phonetic values, except that /y/ is used for IPA j.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops	Voiceless	p	t		k
	Voiced	b	d		g
Fricative			s		
Nasal		m	n		
Lateral			l		
Rhotic			r		
Semivowel		w		y	

Table 1. *Golin consonant phonemes*

Most consonantal realizations are straightforward, corresponding to the phonetic value represented by the symbol in Table 1. Those that are non-obvious or variable are:

(a) the voiced bilabial stop /b/ allows a voiceless lenis realization in non-initial root-internal position, and its contrast with /p/ is almost or completely neutralized. /kebinan/ ‘my younger same-sex sibling’ can thus be pronounced [kɛbɪnan] or [kɛb̥ɪnan], and Kia was unsure whether *kebinan* or *kepinan* was the better representation in practical orthography.

(b) /s/ varies between apical and alveopalatal pronunciations: thus [sunɟwe] or [ʃunɟwe] for /sungwe/ ‘(s)he hits’.

(c) /n/ has a velar nasal allophone before the velar stops /k/ and /g/, as again illustrated by [sungwe] for /sungwe/ ‘(s)he hits’. We recorded one root, apparently a loan, with a velar nasal outside this environment: *kongkong* /koŋkoŋ/ ‘Asian’.

(d) some words permit two realizations of /l/, as a clear apical lateral [l] and as a voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ], e.g. [bol] ~ [boɬ], [sul] ~ [suɬ]. Because we found no minimal pairs, and because the fricative form appears to be in free variation with the clear form, we have not posited a phonemic contrast, though it remains possible that further investigation may show this to be the last gasp of a disappearing contrast.

2.1.2 Vowels and diphthongs

Golin has five pure vowels (i, e, a, o, u), each with a length contrast, and the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *oi* and *ui* (i.e. those comprising a low plus a high vowel, or a back vowel plus /i/). Phonetically, the mid vowels are close to cardinal vowels 3 and 7.

short vowels

/i/	⇒	[ɪ]	<i>bíl</i>	[bɪɬ] ~ [bɪl]	'big'
/e/	⇒	[ɛ]	<i>nén</i>	[nɛn]	'father'
/a/	⇒	[ɑ]	<i>kán</i>	[kan]	'rope'
/o/	⇒	[ɔ]	<i>kol</i>	[kɔl]	'path'
/u/	⇒	[ʊ]	<i>bún</i>	[bʊn]	'tip of the white pandanus'

long vowels

/i:/	⇒	[i:]	<i>biín</i>	[bi:r:n]	'wild'
/e:/	⇒	[ɛ:]	<i>teén</i>	[tɛ:r:n]	'far-away'
/a:/	⇒	[ɑ:]	<i>kaán</i>	[ka:r:n]	'name'
/o:/	⇒	[ɔ:]	<i>koól</i>	[kɔ:l]	'umbrella/plastic sheet'
/u:/	⇒	[ʊ:]	<i>buún</i>	[bʊ:r:n]	'armlets' (arm covering)'

Three analytic issues require discussion.

Firstly, it took us some time to establish that length varies independently of tone. This is because many putative minimal pairs for length, otherwise identical from a segmental point of view, also have distinct pitch melodies, phonetically. In other words, we could not find pairs which differed only in length, without a concomitant difference in tonal contour.

For example, in the minimal pairs *kán* ˩ ‘rope’ vs *kaán* ˩ ‘child’, or *bún* ˩ ‘tip of the white pandanus’ vs *buún* ˩ ‘armlets’, the tonal contour is high-level in the short-vowel words (55), but mid level rising to high (335) in the long-vowel words. This regular correlation of a length with a tonal difference left us unclear whether we were dealing with phonemic differences in length only (with allotonic differences in tone), pitch only (with allophonic differences in length), or both. However, now that we have established that there

is a three-way word-tone contrast, regardless of word- or syllable-length, we treat the distinct pitch melodies as allotones conditioned by length (see discussion in §3.2.1 and §3.2.2).

Secondly, our analysis differs from that of the Bunns, who do not posit a vowel length distinction, treating words like *kaán* as a two-syllable sequence containing identical vowels: *ka\$an*, and positing a difference between diphthongs (*aw*) and vowel+vowel sequences (*au*). Partly this is to motivate their analysis of tone (see §3 below), which requires them to have two independent tone-bearing units in such words; our own tonal analysis, outlined in §3, does away with this motivation. But our other reason for treating these as long vowels is to account for phonotactic patterning: if it were possible to have words with sequences of the form V+V, then a constraint needs to be introduced to account for the many missing sequences (namely ae, ao, ei, ea, eo, eu, ae, ao, ie, io, iu, oe, oa, ou, ue, ua, uo), some of which we would expect to arise from processes of morpheme concatenation.² On the other hand, it is quite normal for systems of diphthongs to use only a subset of the possible combinations of beginning and endpoints, e.g. the restriction to certain types of rising diphthongs that we posit for Golin.

Thirdly, there is a further vowel phone – a very short high central vowel – found in words like [nǎl] ‘water’ and [šǎn] ‘pot used for cooking’, though these also allow pronunciations with a direct transition into the sonant: [nl] and [sn]. A possible analysis would be to posit a sixth vowel phoneme. However, one would then have to account for the restriction of this vowel phoneme to these environments, namely syllables closing with a sonorant. Instead, we prefer to analyse it as an epenthetic vowel that is one realizational option for words containing syllabic sonorants (see below); Tida (2000:3) proposes a similar analysis for Dom.

2.2 Phonotactics

Golin syllables obey the following structural requirements.

(a) Onsets

With regard to their onsets, they may be vowel-initial only if they are the first syllable of the word, otherwise they must be consonant initial.

Any consonant may be in onset position, except that *r* and *l* in this position are either rare or restricted to loanwords. The only word with initial /r/ is *rawà* ‘good’, and even this occurs in the collocation *wai rawà*. Words with initial *l*, such as *lain* ‘lineage’, are loans from Tok Pisin or English.

A limited number of initial clusters are possible. These all consist of a non-coronal stop (*b*, *p*, *g* or *k*) followed by a liquid (*l*, *r*) or by *w* or *n*. Examples are *grán* ‘mouth’, *giblin* ‘head’, *koble* ‘money’, *prige* ‘I hear/heard’, *kwi* ‘new’, *sungwe* ‘(s)he hits’, *bnangle* ‘plenty’, *bekle* ‘together’, *kru* ‘lighter skin’, *kne* ‘back (movement)’.

(b) Nucleus

² The only cluster of vowels across syllable boundaries that has been attested so far is /ia/, which may be phonemicizable as /iya/.

Nuclei can be any vowel (short or long) or diphthong, or one of the sonorants *n* or *l* (*s'n*³ ‘pot used for cooking’; *g'l* ‘sexual intercourse’). We do not have examples of *m* or *r* used as a syllable nucleus.

(c) *Coda*

Codas may be left unfilled, or may comprise one of the following sonorant consonants: *l*, *m*, *n*. Consonant-filled codas may follow long nuclei, i.e. those with a long vowel (*kaán* ‘name’) or diphthong (*maul* ‘hole’), but not consonantal nuclei.

A single word recorded so far, *geresma* ‘year’, does not fit these constraints: either *s* is an exceptional coda, or *sm* is an exceptional onset. Its exceptional phonotactics is explained by its loan status, from English ‘Christmas’.

For the purposes of melodic realization of tones (see §3), syllables may be light (monomoraic) or heavy (dimoraic); this depends only on the length of the nucleus, not on the presence of a filled coda. So far, this is the only aspect of Golin phonology that is sensitive to syllable weight. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate some

The overwhelming majority of words, other than inflected verbs, are mono- or disyllabic, though possessive suffixation may derive trisyllabic words from disyllabic stems, e.g. *kebinan* ‘my younger same-sex sibling’. Words that are trisyllabic in the variety described by Bunn are usually reduced to disyllables in Kia’s variety: *edinin* [ɛdɪnɪn] ‘fire’ becomes *edin* [ɛdɪn], and *onimbá* [ɔnɪmbá] ‘snake’ sometimes becomes *onbá* [ɔnbá]. Disyllabic words have at most one heavy syllable.

3. Tonal phonology

As indicated above, we analyse Golin as a word-tone language with three contrasting tonemes: high, medium and low. This analysis differs doubly from those published by the Bunn: we recognize an additional tone (medium), where they just recognize high and low ((Bunn & Bunn 1970:4, Bunn 1974:9), and on their analysis ‘each syllable has one toneme, high or low’ (Bunn & Bunn 1970:4), whereas for us the toneme is associated with a higher-level, the word. We should note from the outset that differences in analysis may or may not be based on differences in actual data, since the variety of Golin they describe is not identical to that spoken by Kia, and he emphasised several times that the two varieties have a different ‘tune’.

We will use the term ‘word’ to denote the unit to which tonemes are associated, though it is possible that ‘foot’⁴ would be a more accurate characterisation: to distinguish the two, we would need to investigate words of more than one foot, which, given the limited non-verbal morphology of Golin, would mean looking at (a) nominal compounds, and (b) verbal words carrying significant numbers of suffixes (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5 for many examples). Nominal compounds are rare and we did not have enough in our corpus to investigate them systematically; long verbs are common but, for the reasons outlined in §1, we do not include them in our investigation here.

³ Our practical font only allows us to place accents over vowels, so in the case of syllabic consonants we write the accent representing tone between the onset and the nuclear consonant.

⁴ See Ross (1993) for an analysis of Yabem and Bukawa in which foot is the tonal domain.

3.1 Introduction to the problem

Our analyses make different predictions about how the number of contrasts correlates with the number of syllables.

On the Bunn analysis, since each syllable is capable of displaying its own binary contrasts, the number of (potentially) contrasting tonal configurations in a word should be 2^S where S is the number of syllables. On their analysis (p. 4), there can be sequences of vowels in successive syllables, so that words that they write as *kaún* ‘time’⁵ (p. 4) or *gaín* ‘his skin’ are counted as disyllabic (we would treat these as monosyllables with diphthong nuclei) and words like *biriín* ‘ridge pole’ as trisyllabic, with each vowel capable of independently bearing tone. (We treat monosyllables like *kaún* ‘time’ as having a diphthong nucleus, and *biriín* ‘ridge pole’ as a disyllable with a long second vowel, but for the moment we follow their analysis for expository purposes).

On our analysis, each word is capable of just the same three-way contrast whatever its length. Since, in effect, virtually all relevant data cited have at most three syllables, we can draw up the following table comparing the number of relevant contrasts on the two analyses:

Number of morae	1	2	3
Number of contrasts (Bunn & Bunn)	2	4	6
Number of contrasts(our analysis)	3	3	3

Table 2. *Comparison of tonal contrasts*

The Bunn do not give many minimal pairs: none are cited in the grammar, but their article on phonology gives two pairs (they write high tone syllables with an acute and leave low tone syllables unmarked): *kúbá* ‘stick’ vs *kuba* ‘vegetable type’, and *golín* ‘old’ (repeated with the spelling *gólín* further down the page) vs *gólín* ‘finished off edge of bag’. On the next two pages Bunn also gives (4 times) *gólín* for ‘axe’. Integrating these examples, we then have the three words (in their transcription) *golín* ~ *gólín* ‘old’, *gólín* ‘axe’ and *gólín* ‘finished off edge of bag’, giving two words (homophones?) with a sequence HH, and one which alternates between HH and LH. Although this data is compatible with their analysis, it certainly doesn’t necessitate it: it could be accommodated in ours as well (or even within an analysis with just two contrasts, played out at the level of the foot). Bunn does state, on p. 5, that ‘In one, two and three syllable words there is full distribution in that each possible tone pattern occurs and the contiguous occurrence of any of these patterns with each other does not cause sandhi’. The various words he gives do include a range of patterns, e.g. LHL (*gomágu* ‘type of sweet potato’, HLH *mángará* ‘type of plant’, HHL *tárámbi*), but without matching at the segmental level in a way that makes it clear that these are true

⁵ In fact they use tonal differences to argue for a distinction between vowel plus vowel sequences and diphthongs: ‘there is contrast between short [ai] and [au] glides carrying one emic tone, therefore constituting one syllable, and a sequence of two vowels /ai/ and /au/ carrying two tones, which constitute two syllables: *káwn* ‘his foot’, *kaún* ‘time’, *gaynán* ‘my skin’ ... *gaín* ‘his skin’. Without hearing their examples – and in the absence of any more detailed phonetic data than that cited – it is hard to know how they should best be analysed in our terms, but one possibility is that the first pair reflects a difference between mid (or low) and high word-tone, while the second example represents the pairing of a high word tone to both *gainan* and *gain*, with realization on the final syllable in each case (though we transcribe this word with a mid rather than a high tone).

minimal pairs. (It is also possible that some of these are compounds). The Bunn data is thus compatible with both analyses, so we do not pursue it further here.

At this point it is worth mentioning what other descriptions of Chimbu languages have to say about their tonal phonology. The analysis closest in spirit to our own is that for Dom by Tida (2000, 2003); Dom is sufficiently close to Golin for the two varieties to be mutually comprehensible though it is unclear whether they should be considered closely-related languages or highly divergent dialects. Tida treats the tonal domain in Dom as the word, although within the verbal word, as defined by rigid morphological sequencing and the potential for pause, there are several distinct tonal domains, with several of the suffixes (such as the future suffix *-na*) bearing their own tones. ‘Word’ as a tonal domain, in other words, may be smaller than the morphologically-defined word, in the case of complex inflected verbs. As far as the inventory of tonemes goes, Tida’s analysis of Dom posits a three-way contrast, like ours for Golin, but differs in its characterisation of the contrast: the three tonal melodies are H, HL and LH, i.e. two of the tonemes are contour tones. We return to this difference in §3.3.2.

For Wahgi, Philips (1976) likewise concludes that ‘phonemic tone is related to the phonological word’, since ‘tones on individual syllables in words cannot be contrasted with tone on individual syllables in other words while the other tones in those words remain constant, but rather *entire tonal patterns uttered over the length of the words must be contrasted*’ [italics ours]. He posits three tonemes for Wahgi: high, low and rising.

Little was known about the tonology of Kuman until recently, but Hardie (2003) has recently shown that it has a tone system distinguishing falling from non-falling tone (which he represents as HL and LH respectively), and that the domain of tones is the morpheme of one or two syllables; two-syllable compounds have more complex melodies derivable from two independent tones (one per morpheme), whereas monomorphemic disyllables take a single tonal melody.

For Ku Waru, Merlan & Rumsey (1990:324) make the following characterisation: (a) pitch contrasts have a very low functional load, (b) there are minimal pairs differing only in pitch, with no difference between the syllables in energy level, e.g. *lâpa* ‘father’ vs (*kerâ*) *lapâ* ‘headdress’, (c) pitch patterns are contrastive not ‘at the level of the syllable or the mora, but at the level of the word’. They conclude that Ku Waru is therefore best described as a ‘pitch accent system, like Japanese’.

Other published analyses of Chimbu languages posit syllable tones. For the Tabare dialect of Sinasina, McVinney & Luzbetak (1954) distinguish a rising tone and a falling tone, but give only three contrastive minimal pairs.

For Salt-Yui, Irwin (1974) posits a binary contrast between high and low tone, supported by just two minimal pairs (and with little explanation); he then omits tonal marking from the words cited throughout his grammar. The most detailed description of a syllable-tone system is Swick’s (1966) description of Chuave, where each syllable can independently bear high or low tone, the only restriction being that each word must contain at least one high tone; this means that the number of contrasting patterns for a given word-length will be $(2S - 1)$, the product of 2 times the number of syllables, minus the barred L-only sequence (cf Donohue 1997:354-5).

For the rest of this paper we will focus exclusively on the data obtained from Kia’s dialect of Golin, building up from shorter to longer word domains, and using exact minimal pairs or minimal triplets wherever possible. In our practical orthography we use an acute for high tone (*mú*), a grave for low tone (*mù*) and no marking (*mu*) for mid tone. We write the accent mark

over the last vowel or other tone bearing unit in the tonal domain, or immediately before it in the case of syllabic nasals or laterals (e.g. s`n).

3.2 Minimal sets

3.2.1 Monomoraic syllables: C(C)V, CS, C(C)VC

Though contrasts are not particularly common, we have found the following three minimal triplets, plus a couple of further minimal pairs:

Syllable structure	Golin	English Translation	Segmental Transcription	Tonal Contour	Toneme
CV	mú	‘type of snake’	[mɔ̃]	↑	H
	mu	‘type of bamboo’	[mɔ̃]	↓	M
	mù	‘sound of river’ (<i>nl mù</i>)	[mɔ̃]	↓	L
	wí	‘scream (man)’	[wɪ]	↑	H
	wi	‘coming from same ethnic group’	[wɪ]	↓	M
	wì	‘cut’ (verb)	[wɪ]	↓	L
	kó	‘bean’	[kɔ̃]	↑	H
	ko	‘ginger’	[kɔ̃]	↓	M
CCV	sna	‘centre’	[sna]	↓	M
CS	s`n	‘pot used for cooking’	[sɪn]	↘	H
	s`n	‘a killed bird or animal’	[sɪn]	↓	L
	n`l	‘water’	[nɪl]	↓	M
CVC	bán	‘stick’ (<i>eri bán</i>)	[ban]	↑	H
	ban	‘middle’	[ban]	↓	M
	bàn	‘way’ (<i>kol bàn</i>)	[ban]	↓	L
	dan	‘cliff’	[dan]	↓	M
CCVC	grán	‘mouth’	[gran]	↑	H

Table 2. Sample tones with monomoraic roots, including minimal pairs and triplets

Such minimal triplets firmly establish the existence of a three-way tonal contrast. As our perceptually-based transcriptions in Table 2 illustrate, these always involve falling (from low-mid to low, i.e. 2 to 1) for the L category, while for the categories we have some examples of level transcriptions (5 for H, 3 for M) and others where there is a short rise to the target (4 to 5 for H, 2 to 2 for M).

However, if we compare pitch traces⁶ of one token of each of the tones on the syllable *mu* (Figure 1) we see that none of the tones are actually level. Our labellings of the tone as H (high), M (mid) and L (low) are based on the final pitch in each case, but the H actually begins high, drops quickly, then rises more gradually up to its final high pitch; M starts

⁶ The pitch traces were prepared as an output from PRAAT (Boersma and Weenink 2004) using a script based on one written by Bert Remijsen (2004).

lowest of all and gradually rises to a mid pitch, while L starts relatively low (though not as low as M), and drops, gradually, to an even lower pitch.

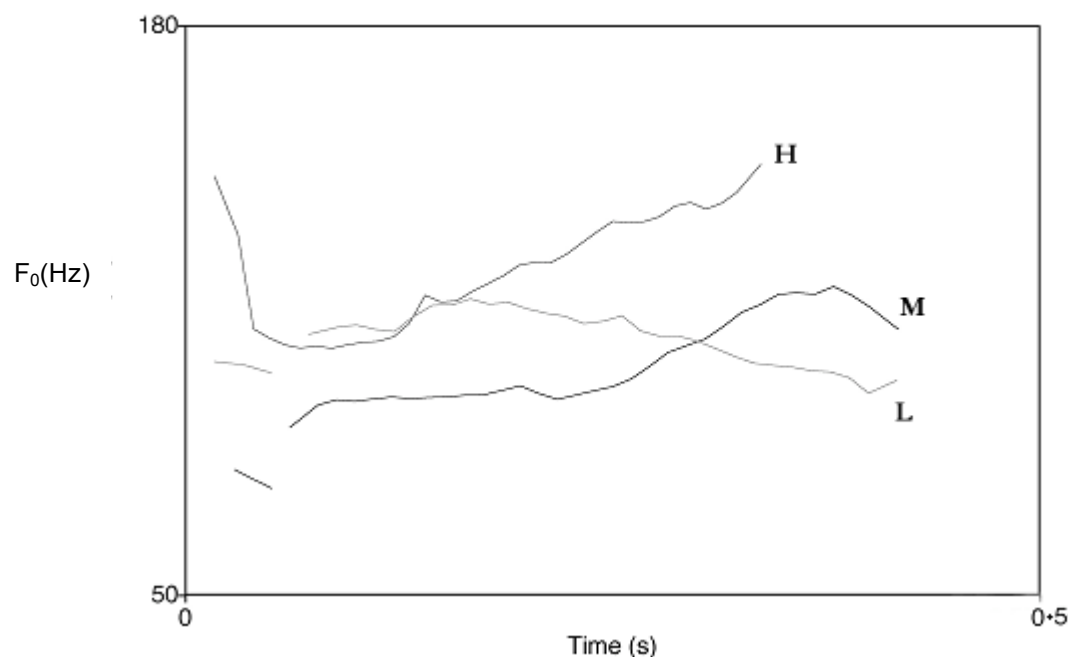


Fig. 1: *Superimposed F0 contours for one token each of mí, mu and mù*

On the basis of these contours, one might question the accuracy of giving the contours names that gloss over the pitch movements. For example, why not call the first tone ‘falling-rising’ (HMH), the second tone ‘low-rising’ (LM) and the third tone ‘mid-falling’ (ML)?

In part the answer to this objection depends on economy of representation at the emic level – should tonemes be minimally specified, with phonetic spell-out rules giving the precise melodic realization, or should they stay closer to the phonetic level? But it is also shaped by the need to account for all realizations of the emic contrast – both in terms of token variation, and in terms of different realizations in different segmental environments. We will return to this question when we have looked at a greater range of examples, but for the moment will continue with our more minimalist representation.

Looking at a broader range of tokens over these strings of segments, we find that there is in fact some variation in realization – see the pitch traces of various tokens of these words in Figures 2-6 – and the L, in particular, can also be realized by starting high (higher than some tokens of the H), dropping quickly to a low pitch, then rising again to a pitch a bit lower than that for the H tone. The alternate realizations differ most at the beginning of the contour, and least in the middle and the ends.

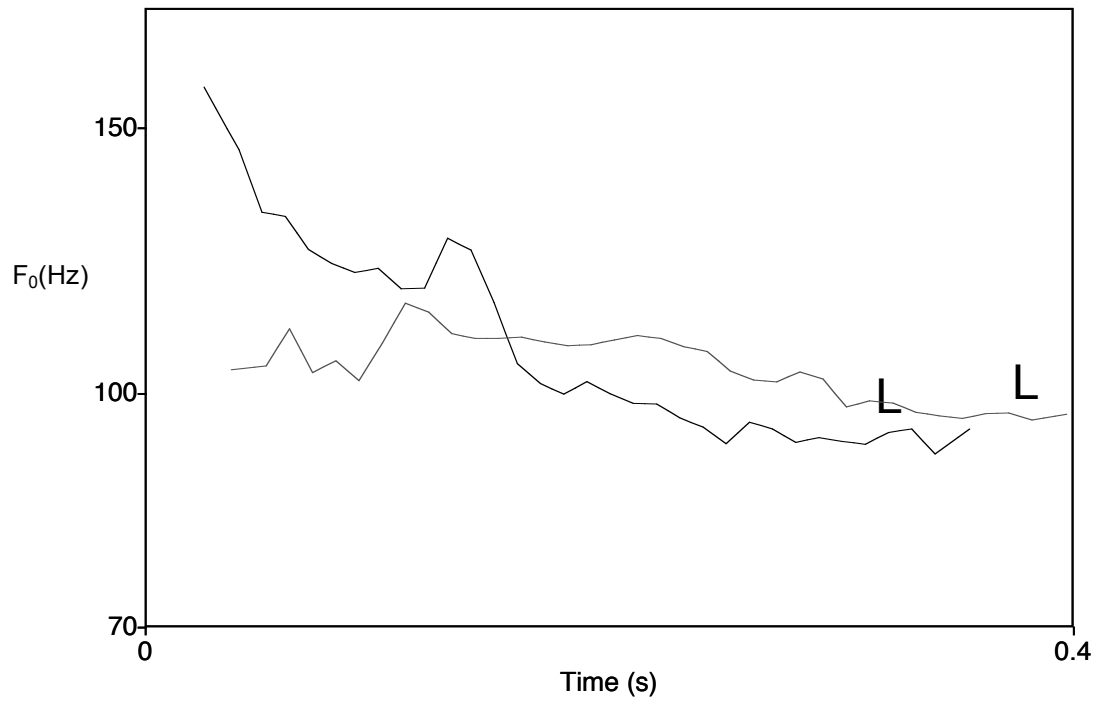


Fig 2. *Superimposed F₀ trace for two tokens of bòl 'table'.*

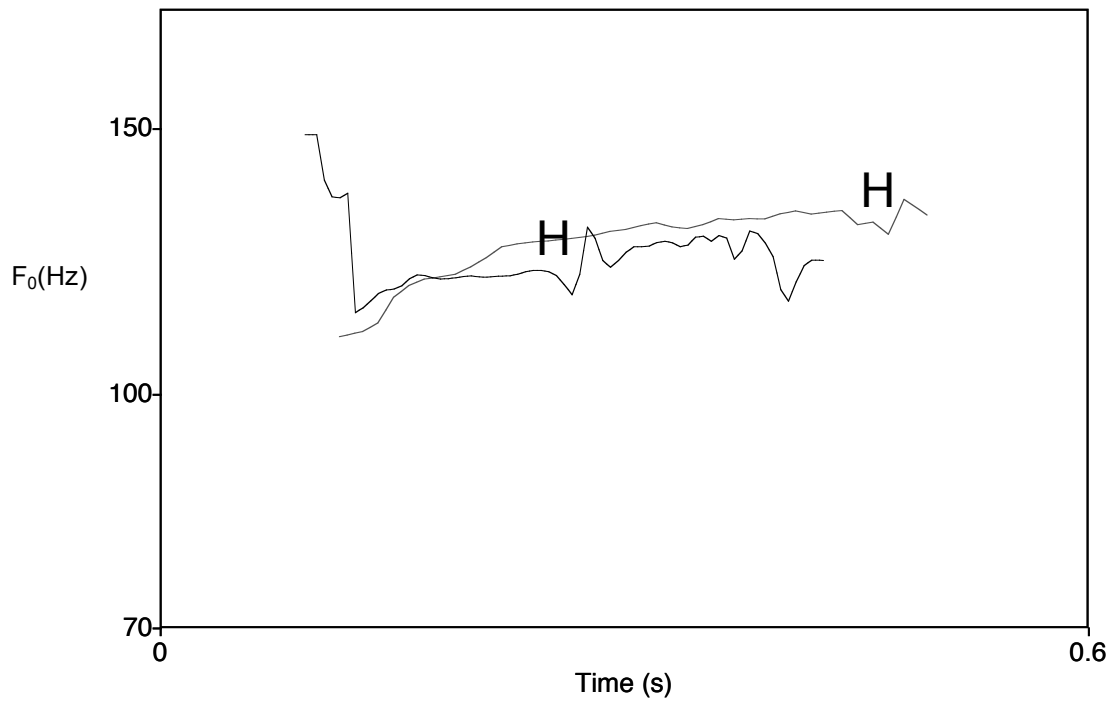


Fig 3. *Superimposed F₀ trace for two tokens of bán H 'stick'.*

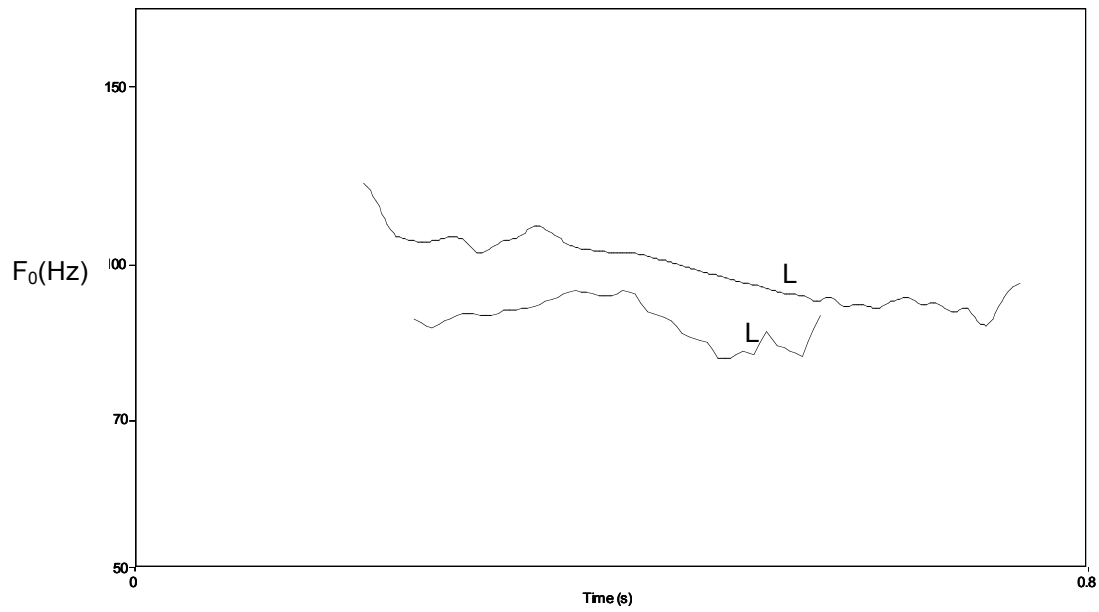


Fig 4. Superimposed F_0 trace for two tokens of *bàn L* 'way'

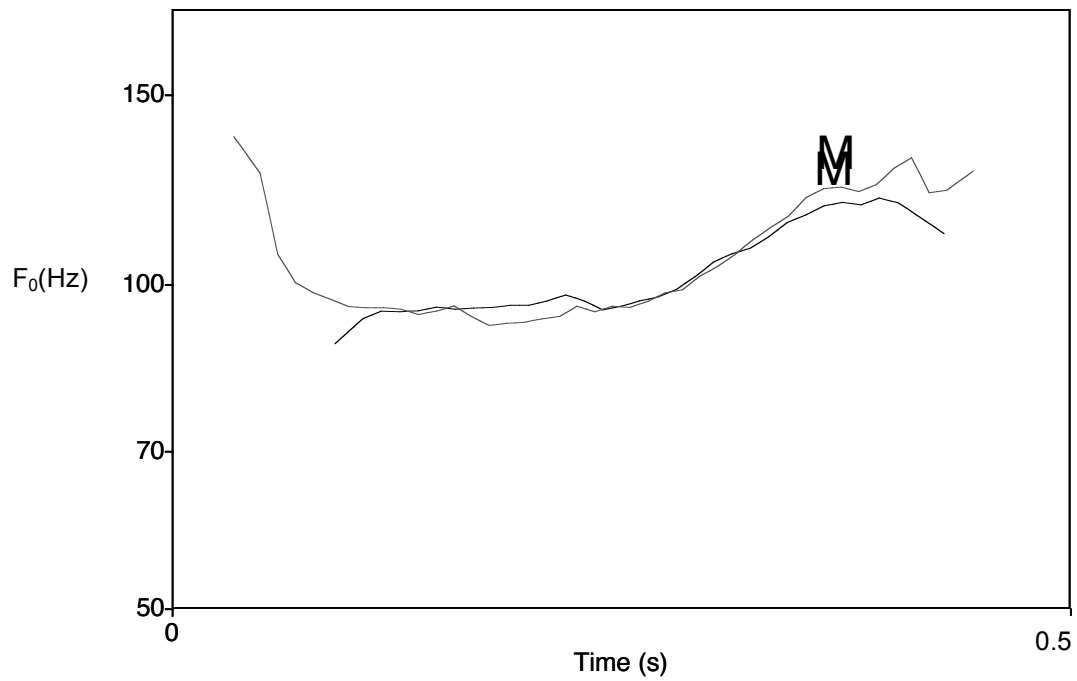


Fig 5. Superimposed F_0 trace for two tokens of *mu M* – 'bamboo'

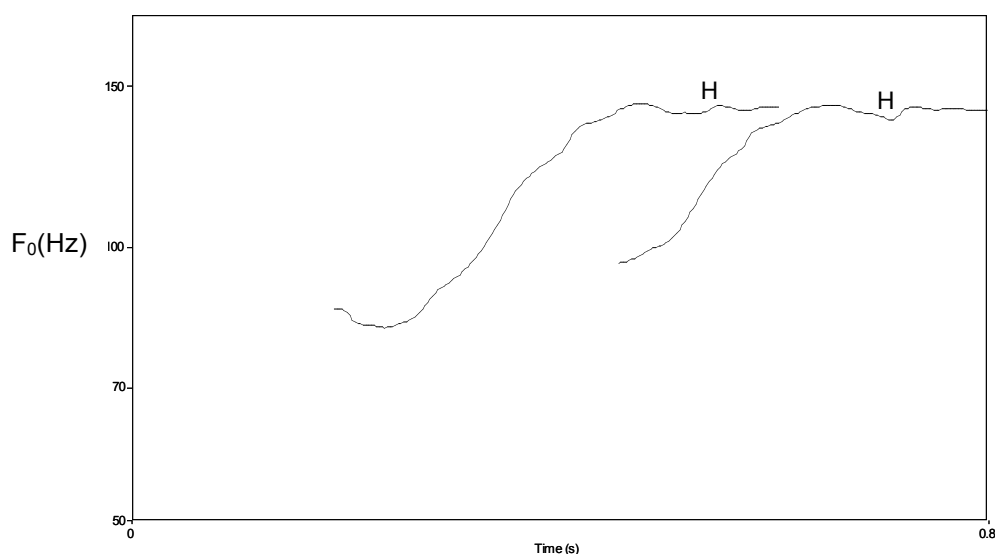


Fig 6. *Superimposed F₀ trace for two tokens of 'wi' 'scream'*

Further data confirming the key role of pitch at the right edge comes from the following measurements, for a number of words taken from Table 2, some with more than one token. The initial sorting into tone types was done auditorily by us listening to the sound files and sorting them into perceptual categories. Stoakes then carried out three frequency measurements: one at the right edge of the word (as assessed by eye), plus one for the maximum and one for the minimum F₀ within the word. The combined figures are given in Table 3.

Word token #	+	Tone	Gloss	Right edge F ₀	Max F ₀ (Hz)	Min F ₀ (Hz)
bàn 1		l	way	93.01	121.66	85.67
bàn 2		l	way	89.36	94.12	80.42
ban 1		m	stick	120.16	125.85	110.74
ban 2		m	stick	129.56	132.90	107.20
bòl 1		l	table	96.34	115.18	92.42
bòl 2		l	table	94.76	156.67	88.65
mú		h	snake	139.69	146.39	77.17
mu 3		m	bamboo type	124.63	133.93	107.68
mu 4		m	bamboo type	118.98	121.70	83.06
mù		l	sound of river	100.88	138.03	96.10
wí 1		h	scream	143.64	144.04	78.17
wí 2		h	scream	143.10	143.36	75.52
wi 1		m	them	124.55	131.94	82.44
wi 2		m	them	127.79	128.26	95.01
wì		l	cut	87.15	102.86	82.78

Table 3. *F₀ measurements for various monomoraic lexemes contrasting in tone, at three loci*

Orderings based on each of these frequency measurements, in ascending order of F_0 , are given in Tables 4-6. As can be seen, the ordering based on right edge measurements correlates perfectly with the perceptual characterization (table 4): all the low tones are lower than all of the mid-tones, which in turn are lower than all of the high tones.

Word token #	+	Tone	Gloss	F_0 at Right edge
wì		L	cut	87.15
bàn 2		L	way	89.36
bàn 1		L	way	93.01
bòl 2		L	table	94.76
bòl 1		L	table	96.34
mù		L	sound of river	100.88
mu 4		M	bamboo type	118.98
ban 1		M	stick	120.16
wi 1		M	same ethnic group	124.55
mu 3		M	bamboo type	124.63
wi 2		M	same ethnic group	127.79
ban 2		M	stick	129.56
mú		H	snake	139.69
wí 2		H	scream	143.10
wí 1		H	scream	143.64

Table 4. Tokens from Table 3, sorted by F_0 at right edge

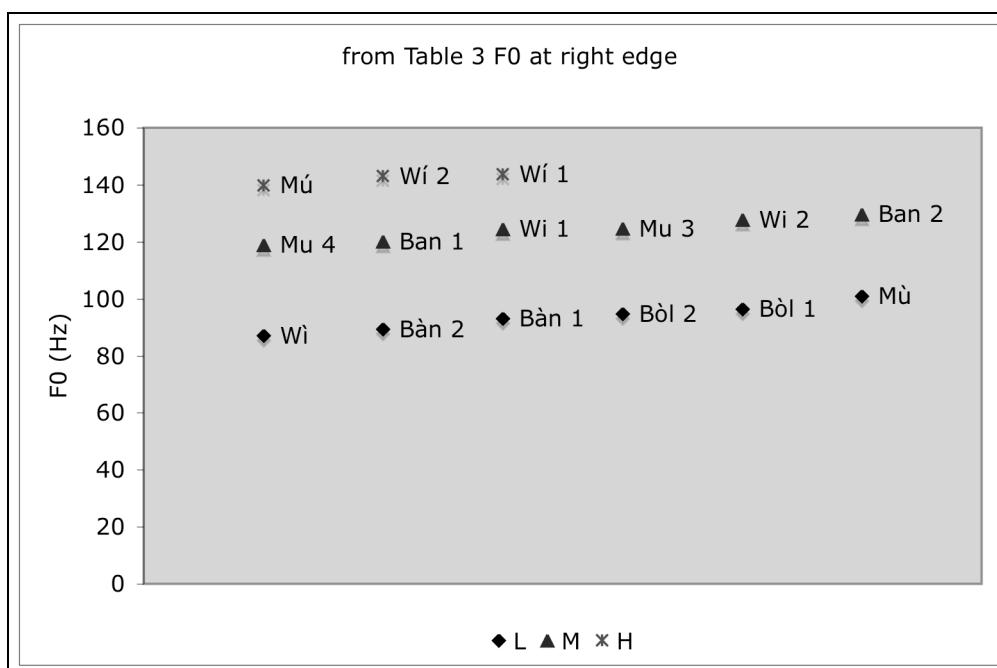


Fig. 7. Scattergram showing various tokens of words illustrating H, M and L tones, with F_0 measured at the right edge

Section 1: Evans and Stoakes

Sorting by maximum F_0 gives a somewhat more confused picture – see Table 5. The Ms are below all the Hs, but two of the Ls group with the Hs – indeed the highest value at all is for one of the Ls. This reflects the possibility, that we already saw in Fig. 1, of starting the L tone very high before dropping down.

Word + token #	Tone	Gloss	Max F_0 (Hz)
bàn 2	L	way	94.12
wì	L	cut	102.86
bòl 1	L	table	115.18
bàn 1	L	way	121.66
mu 4	M	bamboo type	121.70
ban 1	M	stick	125.85
wì 2	M	same ethnic group	128.26
wì 1	M	same ethnic group	131.94
ban 2	M	stick	132.90
mu 3	M	bamboo type	133.93
mù	L	sound of river	138.03
wí 2	H	scream	143.36
wí 1	H	scream	144.04
mú	H	snake	146.39
bòl 2	L	table	156.67

Table 5. Tokens from Table 3, sorted by maximum F_0

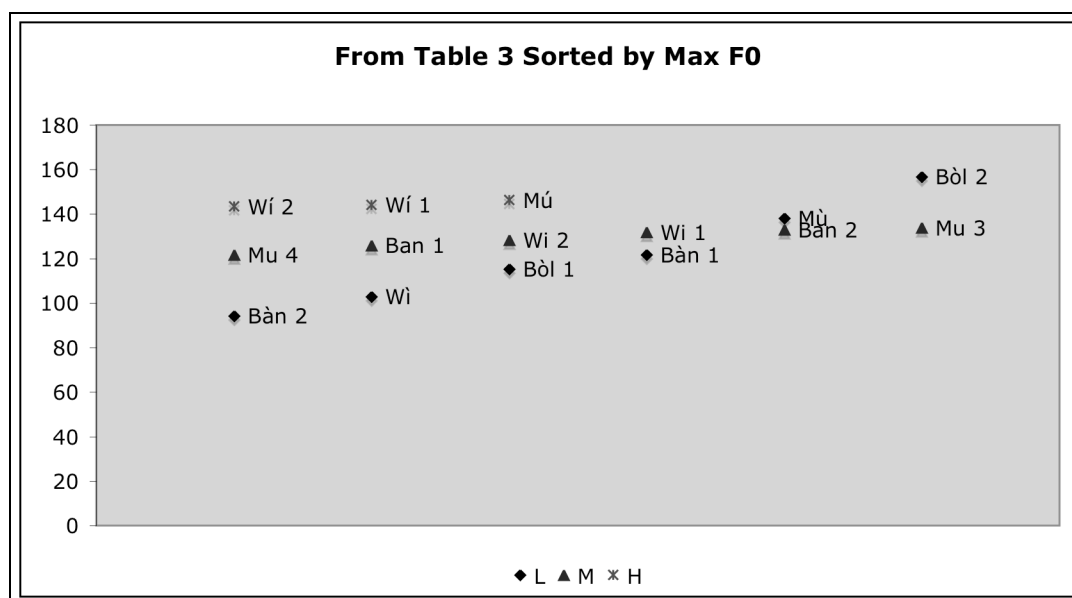


Fig. 8. Scattergram showing various tokens of words illustrating H, M and L tones, with F_0 measured at the contour maximum

Sorting by minimum F_0 gives the least coherent picture – see Table 6. The Hs all cluster together – paradoxically, as having the lowest Min F_0 s, though as we saw earlier this tends to

fall in the middle rather than the beginning of the H melody – but there is no consistency in the behaviour of the Ls and Ms.

Word + token#	Tone	Gloss	Min F ₀ (Hz)
wí 2	H	scream	75.52
mú	H	snake	77.17
wí 1	H	scream	78.17
bàn 2	L	way	80.42
wi 1	M	same ethnic group	82.44
wì	L	cut	82.78
mu 4	M	bamboo type	83.06
bàn 1	L	way	85.67
bòl 2	L	table	88.65
bòl 1	L	table	92.42
wi 2	M	same ethnic group	95.01
mù	L	sound of river	96.10
ban 2	M	stick	107.20
mu 3	M	bamboo type	107.68
ban 1	M	stick	110.74

Table 6. Tokens from Table 3, sorted by minimum F₀

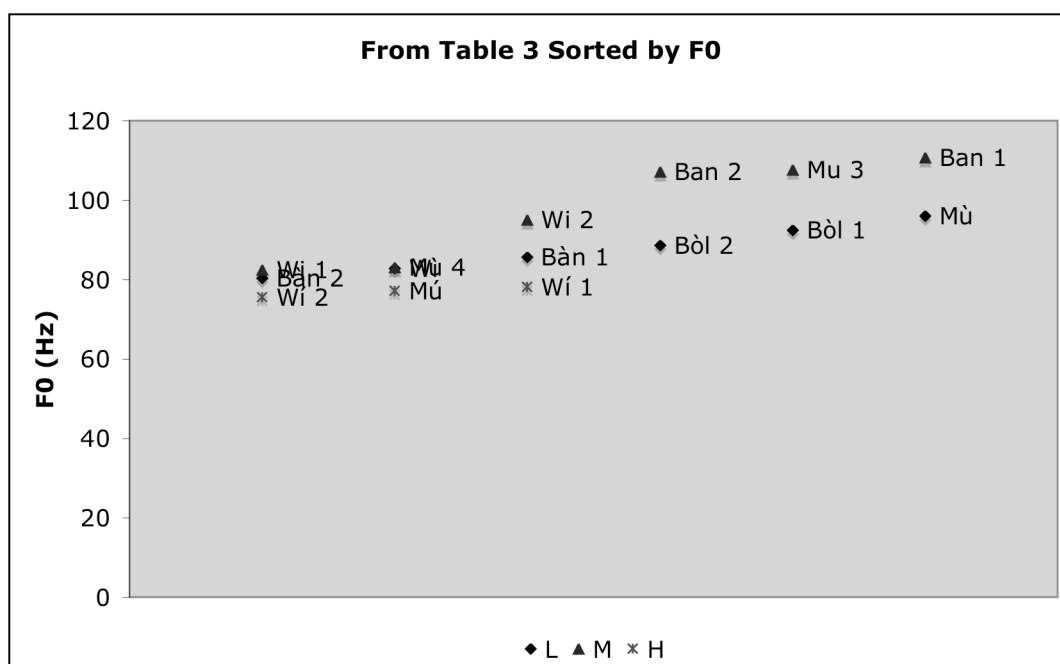


Fig. 9. Scattergram showing various tokens of words illustrating H, M and L tones, with F₀ measured at the contour minimum

These measurements give further evidence that the most reliable phonetic fact associated with the tonemic contrast is final pitch.

3.2.2 *Dimoraic monosyllables: C(C)VV, C(C)VVC*

For dimoraic syllables, just like for monomoraic syllables, there appears to be the same three-way tonal contrast. As mentioned above, the Bunns suggested that successive vowels can independently take tone (and took this as evidence that each vowel belonged to a separate syllable); one could also have rephrased their claims in terms of each vowel being a separate mora capable of bearing tone. However, we have found no evidence for a greater number of contrasts with words of the form C(C)VV(C) (whatever their analysis, as dimoraic or disyllabic). In fact, we do not as yet have any minimal triplet for such words. We do, though, have near-minimal pairs establishing the M vs H contrast (H *glaá* ‘night’ vs M *baa* ‘red’, and H *kaán* ‘name’ vs M *kaun* ‘leg’) and another minimal pair establishing the M vs L contrast (M *oo* ‘personal name’ vs L *oò* ‘house’), so the existence of a three-way contrast looks secure. Table 7 gives a set of examples for each category.

Syllable structure	Golin Word	English Translation	Segmental Transcription	Tonal Contour	Toneme
CVV	noí	‘possum’	[nɔi]	↑	H
	baa	‘red’	[ba:]	↑	M
	guù	‘pig’s snorts (many)’	[gʊ:]	↓	L
VV	aa	‘personal name’	[a:]	↑	M
	oo	‘personal name’	[ɔ:]	↑	M
	oò	‘house’	[ɔ:]	↓	L
	uù	‘screaming’	[ʊ:]	↓	L
CCVV	glaá	‘night’	[gla:]	↑	H
CVVC	biín	‘wild’	[bi:n]	↑	H
	kaán	‘name’	[ka:n]	↑	H
	gain	‘skin’	[gain]	↑	M
	kaun	‘leg’	[kaʊn]	↑	M
VVC	oòn	‘hand’	[ɔ:n]	↓	L
CCVVC	No examples				

Table 7. *Sample tones with dimoraic, monosyllabic roots, including minimal pairs*

Comparing our perceptual transcriptions for the bimoraic syllables in Table 7 with those for monomoraic syllables in Table 2, it is striking that bimoraic syllables never sound simply level: H is either rising (4 to 5, or 3 to 5) or mid-level then rising (see transcriptions of *biín* and *kaán*), and M is always rising from 2 to 3. Nonetheless, the final targets for each tone category remain the same as those with the monomoraic syllables.

3.2.3 Disyllables

Passing to disyllables, we again find a three way tonal contrast. A minimal triplet is H *galá* ‘rub a leaf on someone’, M *gala* ‘burned’ and L *galà* ‘calling someone’.

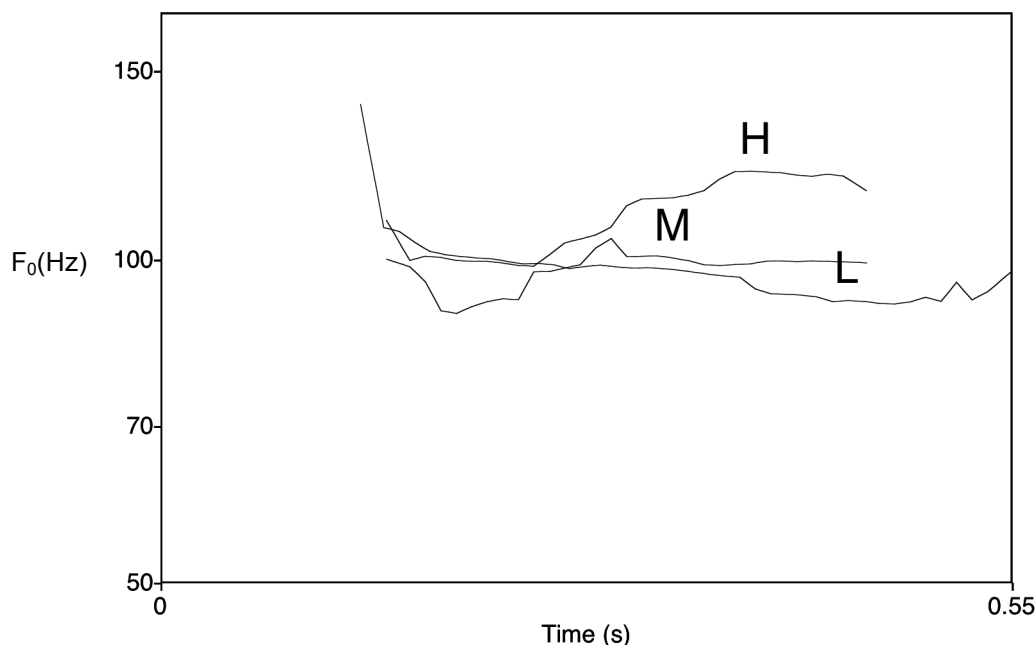


Fig. 10. F₀ traces for three disyllabic words contrasting in tone: *galá*, *gala* and *galà*

In general, the final target does not differ from that found with monosyllables, with the endpoint F₀ for the H averaging 150 Hz, that for the M averaging 125 Hz, and that for the L averaging 95 Hz. However, the contour leading up to it may be stretched even more than it is with dimoraic monosyllables. Table 8 compares our tone letter transcriptions for monosyllables with those for disyllables.

	H	M	L
monosyllables	↑ ↓	↑ ↓	↓ ↓
disyllables	↑	↓	↓

Table 8. Transcriptions showing effect of syllabicity on tonal realization

Occasionally the M ends up somewhat higher (at mid-high) than it would in monosyllables, though still lower than the final point of the H; an example is the language name Golin, which we analyse as a tonemic M, but whose second syllable ends mid-high after a mid-low starting point (in contrast with *golín* ‘old’, whose final syllable ends high).

Consider the following three examples with a high tone: *abál* [↑] ‘woman’, *ebál* [↑] ‘people’ and *ebíl* [↑] ‘laugh’: in each case our perceptual transcriptions represent these as a mid-level on the first syllable, followed by a rise to high during the second syllable. The stretching is even more evident when the first syllable is long, as with *kaanán* [↑] ‘joint’, which ends on the normal high level but which starts mid-low.

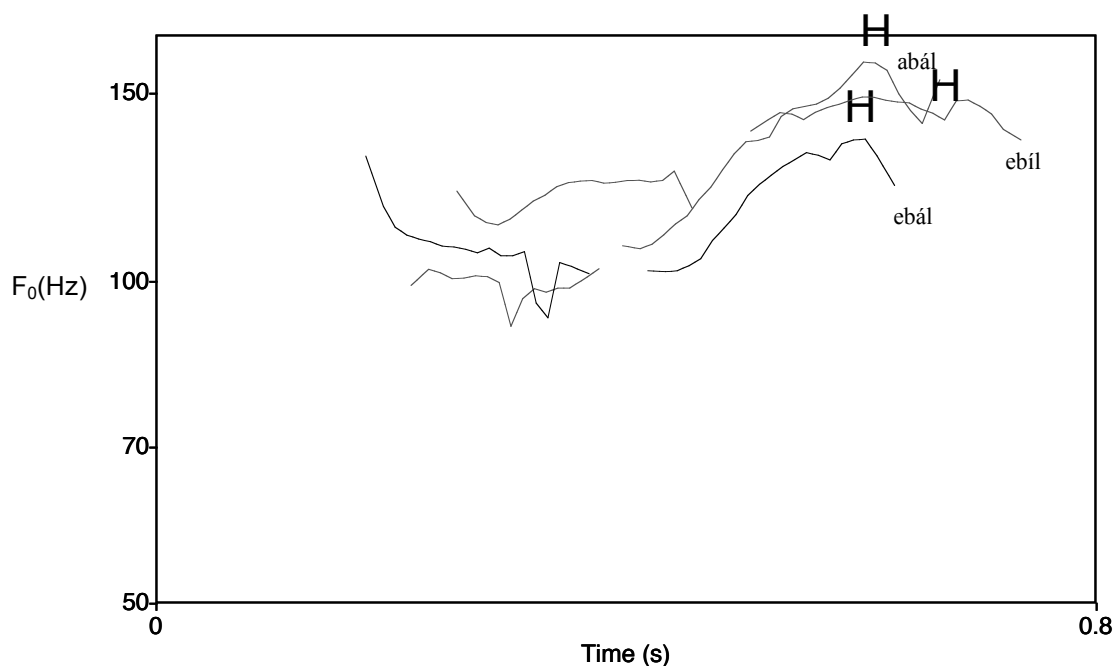


Fig. 11. F₀ traces for three disyllabic words with high tone: *abál*, *ebál* and *ebíl*

3.3 The domain of tonal melodies.

As we have now established, the number of tonal contrasts does not increase with the number of syllables or morae, as one would expect if the tone bearing unit were the syllable or mora. Rather, it remains constant at 3, at least up until disyllabic units, which have effectively been the upper bound of our investigation. This is what we would expect if the domain of the tonal melody were the word or the foot: as discussed above, only data from complex verbal words, which we have been unable to investigate yet, would permit us to distinguish these two possibilities.

3.3.1 Tone in suffixed nominal words

There is a further piece of evidence for the domain of tone being the foot or word, coming from the behaviour of tone in suffixed nominal words. Although Golin has only limited nominal morphology, there is suffixation on some body part and kinship nouns for possessor: *-an* for first person possessors, and *-in* for second person possessors (third person possessors

take zero). When nouns are suffixed in this way, the tonal melody spreads over the whole suffixed word.⁷

First consider Table 9, which shows tonal transcriptions for three suffixed long monosyllables: H *kaán* ‘name’, M *gain* ‘skin’ (in the collocation *gain igin* ‘body hair, lit. skin hair’), and L *oòn* ‘hand’. In each case the melody is ‘stretched’ over the entire suffixed word, only reaching the appropriate tone-criterial pitch at the right edge of the word, i.e. during the suffixal syllable.

<i>kaán</i> name ‘(his/her) name’ ↑	<i>na kaan-án</i> 1sg name-1sg ‘my name’ ↓ ↘	<i>í kaan-ín</i> 2sg name-2sg ‘your name’ ↑ ↘
<i>gain igin</i> skin hair ‘(his/her) body hair’ ↘ ↘	<i>na gain-an igin</i> 1sg skin-1sg hair ‘my body hair’ ↓ ↘ ↘	<i>í gain-in igin</i> 2sg skin-2sg hair ‘your body hair’ ↑ ↘ ↘
<i>oòn</i> hand ‘hand’ ↓	<i>na oon-àn</i> 1sg hand-1sg ‘my hand’ ↓ ↘	<i>í oon-ìn</i> 2sg hand-2sg ‘your hand’ ↓ ↘

Table 9. *Transcriptions of three suffixed roots, illustrating the effect of suffixation on each tonal realization*

This is confirmed by pitch tracings. Figures 13-15 illustrate pitch traces for the *gain igin* series. For each of the three words, the melody on the relevant word starts at around 100 Hz, only reaching the frequency characteristic of M tones (i.e. around 130 Hz) on the last syllable. Compare these to *kaán* and *oòn*.

⁷ This was already recognized by Bunn (1974:52): ‘the basic tone patterns spreads across the word to the possessive suffix’. He gives the following examples (recall that he posits a two-tone system, marking high with an acute and leaving low unmarked): ‘ stems -> ‘ e.g. an ‘his hand’, anan ‘my hand’; ‘ stems -> ‘ e.g. dén ‘his stomach’, dénán ‘my stomach’, ‘ -> ‘ e.g. kébin ‘his young sibling’, kébinán ‘my young sibling’, and ‘ -> ‘ e.g. girán ‘his mouth’, giránán ‘my mouth’. Given our different tonal analyses (with two tones in his analysis but three in ours) there are many ways of relating his data to ours (e.g. by suggesting that his ‘ really represents a M tone, which is then stretched), but we do not go into these here.

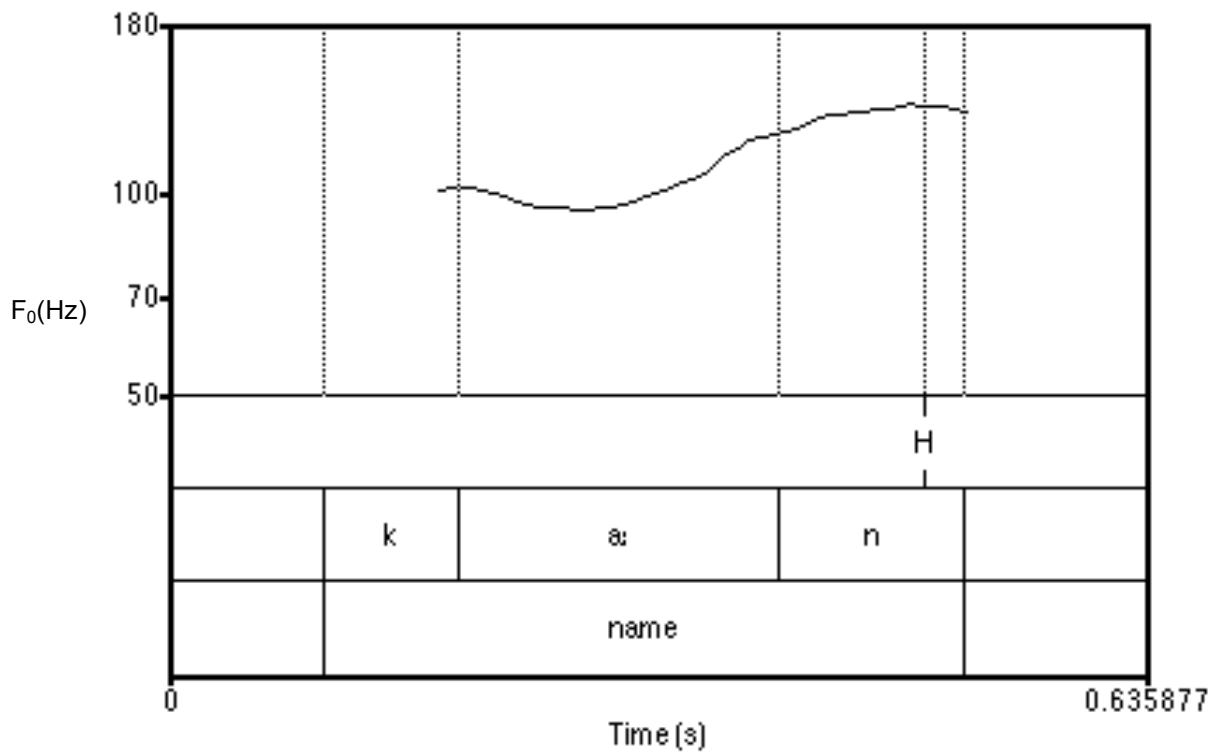


Fig. 13. F₀ trace for *kaán*

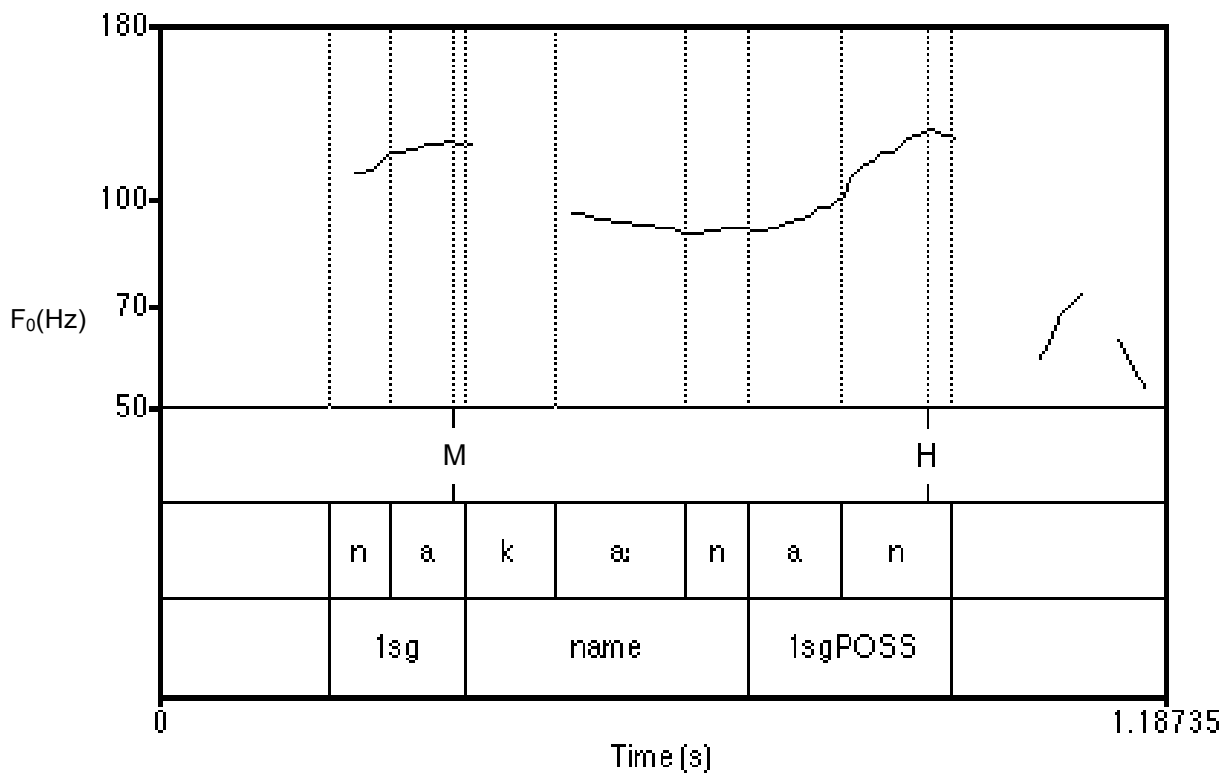


Fig. 14. F₀ trace for *na kaanán*

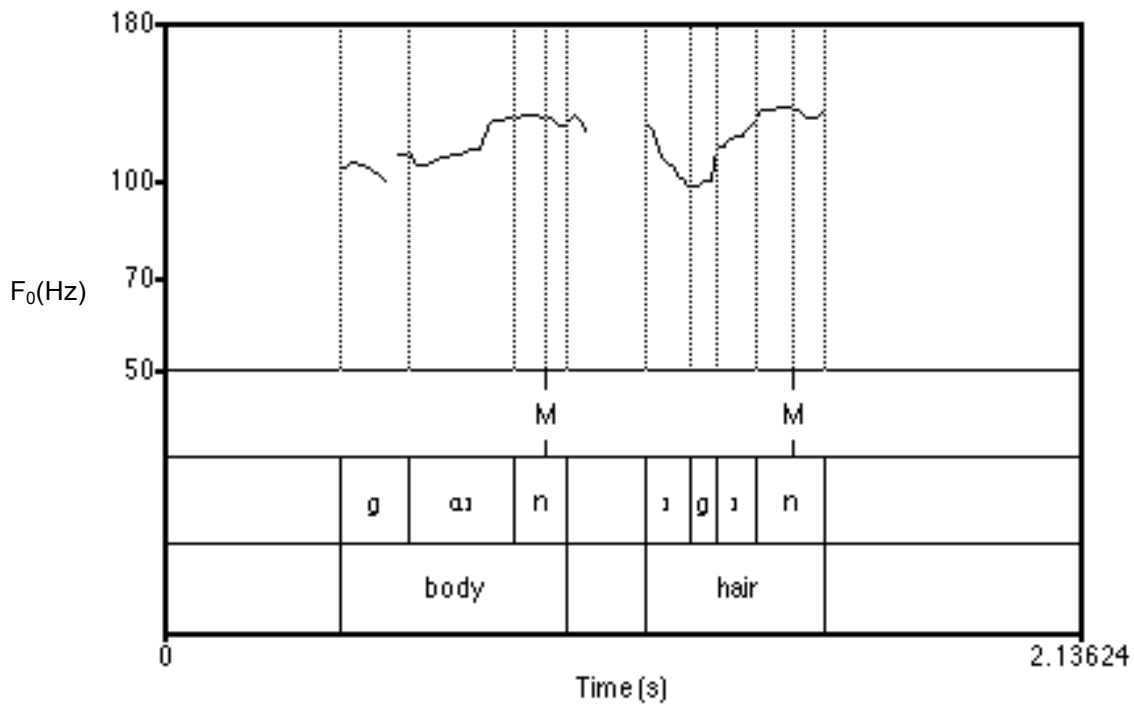


Fig. 15. F₀ trace for *gain igin*

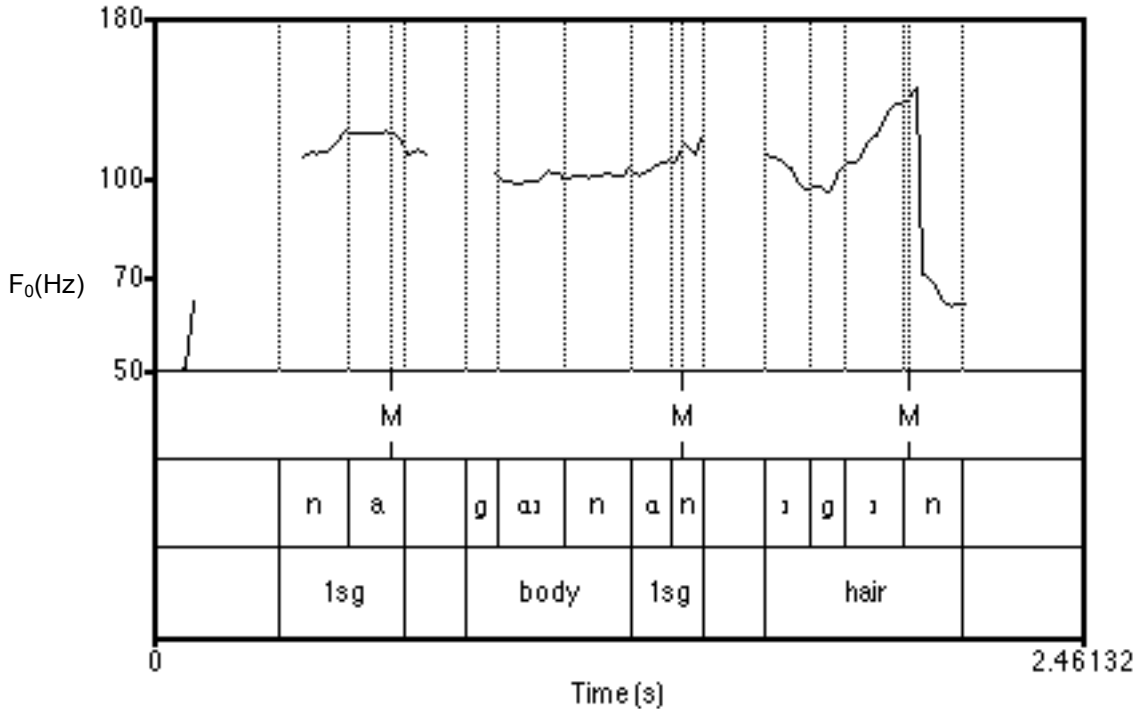


Fig. 16. F₀ trace for *gainan igin*⁸

⁸ The drop in the F₀ trace on *igin* is an artifact of the recording rather than reflecting a drop in pitch of the word.

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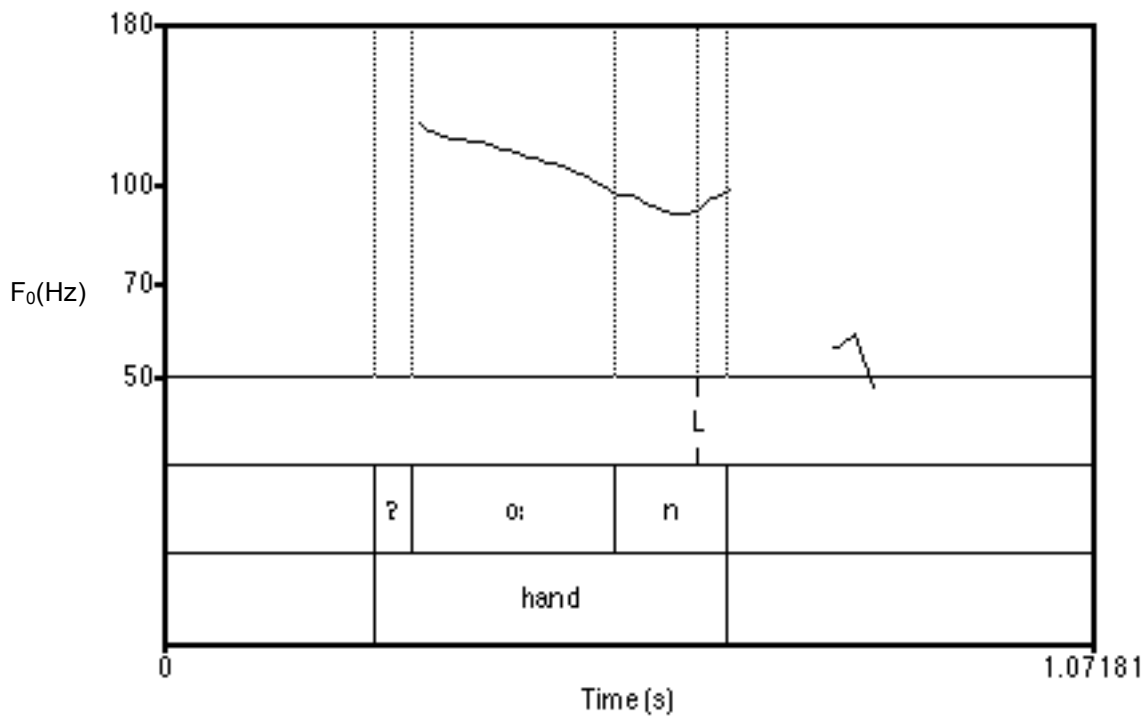


Fig. 17. F₀ trace for oðn

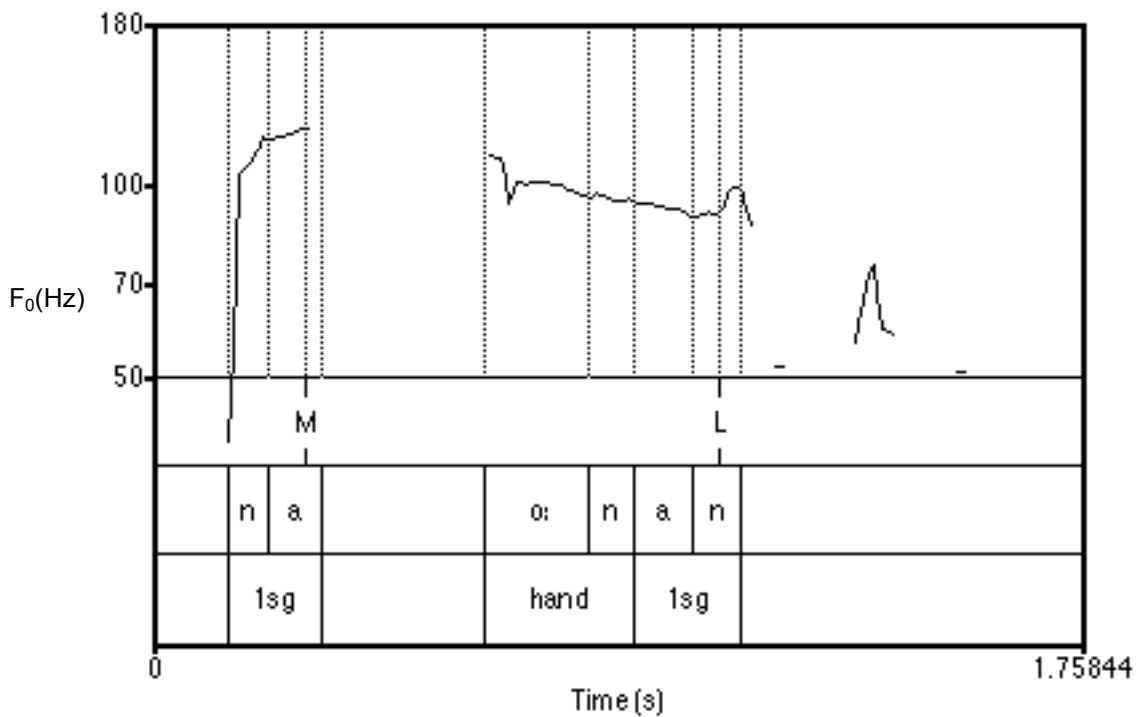


Fig. 18. F₀ trace for oonàn

3.3.2 *Point of attachment; nature of melody*

We can now summarize the nature of the tonal melody and its domain.

First, it is clear that the domain of attachment is the word / foot. The evidence for this is:

(a) the fact that the number of tonal contrasts stays constant, at three, regardless of whether the lexical item (and including its suffix, if nominal) is monosyllabic or disyllabic and, if monosyllabic, regardless of whether it is monomoraic or dimoraic.

(b) that fact that the basic repertoire of three tonal melodies is ‘stretched’ over longer tonal domains, with the tone-defining final pitch being reached in the last mora of the tonal domain

Second, in terms of the nature of the melody, we return to our claim that the most elegant tonemic categorization is in terms of the final pitch target, i.e. H, M vs L, rather than in terms of more specified melodic contours, despite the fact that many pronunciations – particularly those in longer words – involve contours rather than just level terms. Our reasons for this can be summarized as follows:

(a) economy of specification: to the extent that phonetic detail is predictable, it should not clutter the phonemic representation.

Further, once one embarks on the path of phonetic specification, where does one stop. Suppose we were to represent ‘H’ by a more phonetically specific melody, e.g. MH, ‘M’ by LH, and ‘L’ by ML. We would still be leaving part of the melody unspecified, e.g. the possibility that our ‘H’ can actually be realized as HLH. And we would still need phonetic spell-out rules to tell us that ‘L’ means something different in the contour LH (our ‘M’) to what it means in ML (our ‘L’), since it is lower in the latter case. It is simpler to keep all such questions out of the tonemic representation.

(b) constancy under variability: as we have seen, there is a lot of variability in the exact realization of these melodies, both in the same environment (e.g. holding the number of morae constant) and as one lengthens the tonal domain. Since the final pitch is the most constant element, while the lead-up varies significantly with the size of the tonal domain, it makes sense to define the tonemes in terms of their least variable elements.

Of course, one needs ideally to give fully explicit spell-out rules, or smoothing algorithms, to turn the tonemic specification into a precise melody for a tonal domain of given length and segmental make-up. We have merely given a few remarks about this, and a worked-out version of this task has yet to be undertaken.

3.4 Golin tonal phonology and the typology of tone systems.

Where does Golin fit within the typology of tone systems? An important paper by Donohue (1997), driven by the need to develop a typology capable of accommodating the many and varied tonal phenomena found in New Guinea, expands the traditional opposition between ‘tone languages’ like Chinese and ‘pitch-accent’ languages like Japanese by adding an additional category of word-tone languages, and relabelling canonical tone languages like Chinese as ‘syllable tone’ languages. In syllable tone languages, the tone bearing unit is the syllable, with each syllable capable of independently bearing tone (barring some toneless syllables, and the effects of tone sandhi). In pitch-accent languages there is one marked syllable per phonological word, but no tonal contrast (i.e. a single tone or tonal melody, that can be associated to a single marked syllable in any word). (There are also various interesting borderline cases which need not detain us here, as well as complex rules for how to anchor specified tones in a melody to specific syllables within word-tone languages; see Donohue’s article for discussion⁹.)

Another typology is that given by Hayata (1997), whose model is reproduced in Tida (2003); this typology, which aims to include stress languages as well, and to distinguish the possibility of foot-tone from word-tone languages, is given in slightly modified form in Table 10.

Domain	Phonological contrast	Phonetic correlates	Examples
word	location	stress	Russian, English
	Patterns	pitch	Tokyo Japanese
Dom			
Yabem? Bukawa?			
Chuave ?			
Mandarin			
foot			
syllable			
Word=syllable			

Table 10. *Hayata’s prosodic typology* (adapted from Tida 2003).

In either typology, Golin clearly belongs to the category of word- or foot-tone languages – with the decision as to which is appropriate pending a proper analysis of the verb, as we have mentioned. The phonological contrast involves several tonal patterns (namely three), rather than just location as in a pitch-accent language. And by possessing several distinct tonal patterns, associated to a domain larger than the syllable, it is clearly a word- or foot-tone rather than a syllable-tone language.¹⁰ In fact Donohue (1997) mentions Golin as an example of a syllable-tone language, relying on the Bunns’ material; our analysis shows this clearly not to be the case for Kia’s variety, though we cannot be certain whether the variety described by the Bunns would yield to reanalysis.

⁹ These include variation in how straightforwardly the elements in the tonal melody are matched to syllables in the word, the existence in addition to a tonal contour of a fixed (non-contrastive) tonal ‘inflection point’ or of contrastive specification in where this point is located, and constraints on the types of tones that can appear underlyingly assigned to adjacent syllables – cf Donohue (1997:366).

¹⁰ Interestingly, all of the examples of word-tone discussed by Donohue include at least some contour tones (e.g. LH) in the contrast set, though nothing in Donohue’s definition of word-tone languages requires this. Golin, on our analysis, is an example of a word-tone language with just (tonemically) level tones, and thus helps fill out the cells in his typology.

Given the closeness of Golin to Dom it should not be surprising that both belong to the same category. However, the Chimbu family appears to contain languages of each of Donohue's three types: pitch-accent (Ku Waru), syllable tone (Chuave), and word tone (Golin, Dom, Kuman) as well as others whose phonology is less well-understood. This makes it a particularly interesting family, from the point of view of future research, for the study of typological shifts between tone systems. Before this can be done, however, we need careful analyses or reanalyses of individual systems. For Golin, our understanding of its tonal system is still rudimentary; we hope this paper has made a first step.

Appendix: a note on methods.

Our initial attempts to discover the tonal system were frustrating and fruitless owing to our very varied tonal transcriptions, and our lack of a convenient way of rehearsing category comparisons. Perhaps the biggest obstacle was variation under relistening: if we were unsure of a transcription, and asked Kia to repeat a word, the varied realizational possibilities of Golin tone meant that we were not transcribing the same phonetic signal. It was therefore important to develop an easy method enabling multiple listenings and transcriptions of an identical phonetic event, as well as sorting on various phonological and perceptual parameters. It may be helpful to others wrestling with tonal analysis if we mention the more useful methods we developed later in our investigation.¹¹

For selected lexical items, recordings were made on a Sony DAT tape using a Sony Stereo directional microphone, and onto an Apple iBook using the internal microphone in subsequent sessions. All utterances were digitised at a sampling frequency of 44,100 Hz, and segmented into tokens.

As a convenient way of sorting and replaying tokens for auditory comparison, we took advantage of the sorting and labelling capabilities of iTunes, Apple Software's free music database (Apple Inc. 2004). This is designed to organize large libraries of music files, but can handle audio recorded in a variety of formats: Microsoft Wave (WAV), Apple Interchange Format (AIFF), and MP3. Its power comes from being able to carry out Boolean sorts on a variety of criteria; an additional advantage over many other database programs is the advanced search algorithms employed and the fact that it is cross-platform, and that all data is exportable into a more powerful database for statistical purposes in XML. It was possible to redeploy existing database categories by using the 'song name' column for the Golin word, the 'album name' category for the gloss, the 'composer' category for the proposed phonemicization of tone, the 'grouping' category for syllable structure, and the 'comment' category for our detailed, etic tonal transcriptions (initially using a 1-5 number system, later replaced with tone letters) (see Screen Shot).

¹¹ Evans wishes to acknowledge the importance of advice given to him by Larry Hyman, who listened through some initial recordings of Golin with him in September 2003 in Cagliari, Sardinia. The adaptation of iTunes to the subsequent sorting and retranscription sessions was made by Stoakes.

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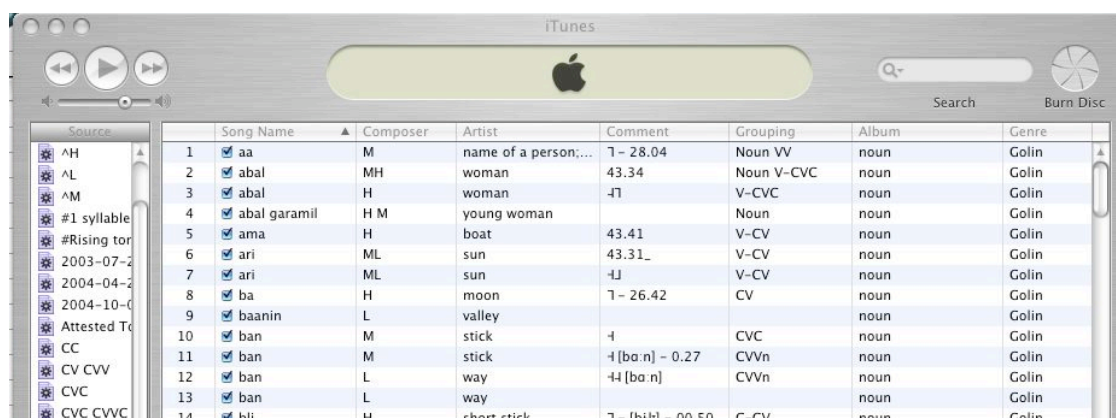


Fig. 19. Screen Shot of *iTunes*

Words could then be sorted into phonological categories for auditory comparison. We began by sorting on rhyme types, for a given number of morae (e.g. all monomoraic words ending in Vn, or in V; all bimoraic words ending in VVn or in VV). Overall we proceeded from smaller (monomoraic) through to larger words.

We could further sort down to the level of segmentally identical words, though usually this delivered too few tokens to be helpful. Having carried out this initial phonological-structure sort, we could then re-listen to all tokens in a given category, and group them according to perceived tonal similarity. Once we had prima facie emic groupings for any segmental category, we could then listen back and forth between compared categories with different phonological structures, e.g. between CV and CVV structures. These were the crucial steps in developing our hypotheses about the number of tonemic categories and their varying realizations.

Where it was helpful, individual tokens were then loaded into PRAAT, a computer-aided phonetic analysis program (Boersma and Weenink, 2004). This enabled a visual representation of the acoustic correlate of pitch, F_0 . Once in Praat, some simple statistics about the language could be gathered and graphical representations of the pitch trace of F_0 could be output.

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2. Golin verb morphology

Alan Lee¹

1. Overview

Verbs in Golin have complex morphology in a way typical of Papuan languages, in that they basically consist of a stem followed by a long, variable string of suffixes. At least 21 different morpheme attachments are identified here as occurring in Golin's verbal words. This article focusses on describing them, their allomorphs, and the morphotactic patterns to be found in their distribution.

Table 1 presents the array of morphs observed in Golin verbs, grouped into morphemes, along with their proposed glosses.

Table 1: *Morphemes, allomorphs and glosses*

SLOT	TYPE of INFLECTION	MORPHEME	GLOSS	ABBREVIATION
I	Polarity	∅	Positive	(unglossed)
		<i>-k(i)</i> ²	Negative	NEG
II	Medial Verb	<i>-(r)e</i>	Medial Verb	SEQ
	Imperative Modality	<i>-a</i>	Imperative _A	IMP _A
		<i>-o</i>	Imperative _O	IMP _O
	Irrealis Modality	∅	Realis	(unglossed)
<i>-(r)a</i>		Irrealis	IRR	
III	Subject	<i>-∅, -l, -i</i>	1st person singular	1SG
		<i>-bil</i> ³	1st person dual	1DU
		<i>-bin</i>	1st person plural	1PL
		<i>-n</i>	2nd person	2
		<i>-m, -n...w</i>	3rd person	3
IV	Assertive Modality	∅	Non-assertion	(unglossed)
		<i>-g</i>	Direct Assertion	AS
		<i>-w</i>	Reported Speech	REP
		<i>-i</i> [*]	Categorical Assertion	CAS
V	Temporal / Clausal Relation	<i>-a</i>	Distal	DIST
		<i>-e</i>	Proximal	PROX
VI	Clause Relators	<i>-(m)o</i>	Polar Question	PQ
		<i>-ba</i>	Concessive	CONC
		<i>-l</i> [*]	Nominalizer	NOMZ
		<i>-ra</i>	Distal Topic	TOP.DIST
		<i>-i</i>	Topic	TOP

¹ I am indebted to everyone in the project, especially Prof. Nick Evans, Jutta Besold, and Hywel Stoakes, and above all, Kia Aina: thank-you/*wai prige*.

² Parenthesized phonemes are potentially absent in allomorphs.

³ An asterisk indicates a morpheme that occurs sporadically in our data.

In terms of overall inflection, four basic forms of verb are differentiated: (i) **bare** (stems without suffixes); (ii) **medial** (with one or two suffixes); (iii) **imperative** (one or two suffixes); and (iv) **finite** forms (with from one up to six suffixes). Verbal prefixes are not apparent in Golin.⁴

The identification of six abstract suffix ‘slots’ (I to VI) is based on the distribution pattern and function of the individual suffixes. While these slots are useful for a superficial classification, the allocation of certain morphemes to Slots IV, V and VI is open to further argument, and Slot VI morphemes may even be better described as clitics. These issues are discussed later under the individual morpheme entries.

Within individual morphemes of both stems and suffixes of Golin verbs, variation is governed by two discernible principles: (i) **phonological allomorphy**, conditioned by adjacent phonemes (independent of their morphology); and (ii) **morphologically conditioned allomorphy**, where the choice between phonologically dissimilar allomorphs is conditioned by the presence or absence of adjacent morphemes. Duplication may be listed as a third principle of morphemic variation, though this is less remarkable, and does not result in allomorphs as such.

Phonological allomorphy accounts for a significant amount of variation in both stems and suffixes, and can be further divided into three different types: (i) **regressive vowel assimilation**; (ii) **elision**; and (iii) **epenthesis**. Each are discussed later alongside the individual morphemes they concern.

Significantly, not all combinations of the available morphs in each slot have been observed. Figure 1 summarizes visually most (but not all) of the co-occurrence patterns that have been observed, including morphologically conditioned allomorphy. Arrow lines, followed always left to right, indicate theoretically ‘available’ paths from one morph to the next from slot to slot. The absence of a line connecting any two morphs indicates that they do not occur together in a single given verb. In order to capture the co-occurrence patterns, allomorphs of a single morpheme appear independently of each other. The morphs *-a* and \emptyset also appear twice to allow for the two sets of patterns they involve. Examples of the basic verb forms, in terms of the slots, are illustrated in Table 2.

The morphotactic patterns themselves can largely be accounted for in terms of the semantics of the component morphemes, though the emphasis here is on description rather than explanation.

Each morpheme shall now be individually described with respect to its semantics, allomorphy (phonological and morphological), and morphotactics, including further co-occurrence patterns that could not be incorporated into Figure 1.⁵

⁴ The morpheme *aa* (‘by hand’) provides a unique case of what is potentially analyzable as a verbal prefix. It is observed as the first element in compounded verb stems (e.g. *aa-te-* ‘touch/hold’). Our informant prefers it written as part of such verbs. However, with respect to the verb *aa-keli-si-* ‘cut with hands’, *aa* may be substituted by what is an ordinary noun (e.g. *ble(TP) keli-si-* ‘cut with blade’). This is not discussed further here. Refer to dictionary entries for examples.

⁵ Note that in covering the data of even the one informant, there unfortunately remain exceptions to the generalizations which have not been accounted for. Many inferences remain open to questions, and ideas are put forward in the hope that further research may assess them.

Figure 1: Proposed morphotactics of Golin verbs

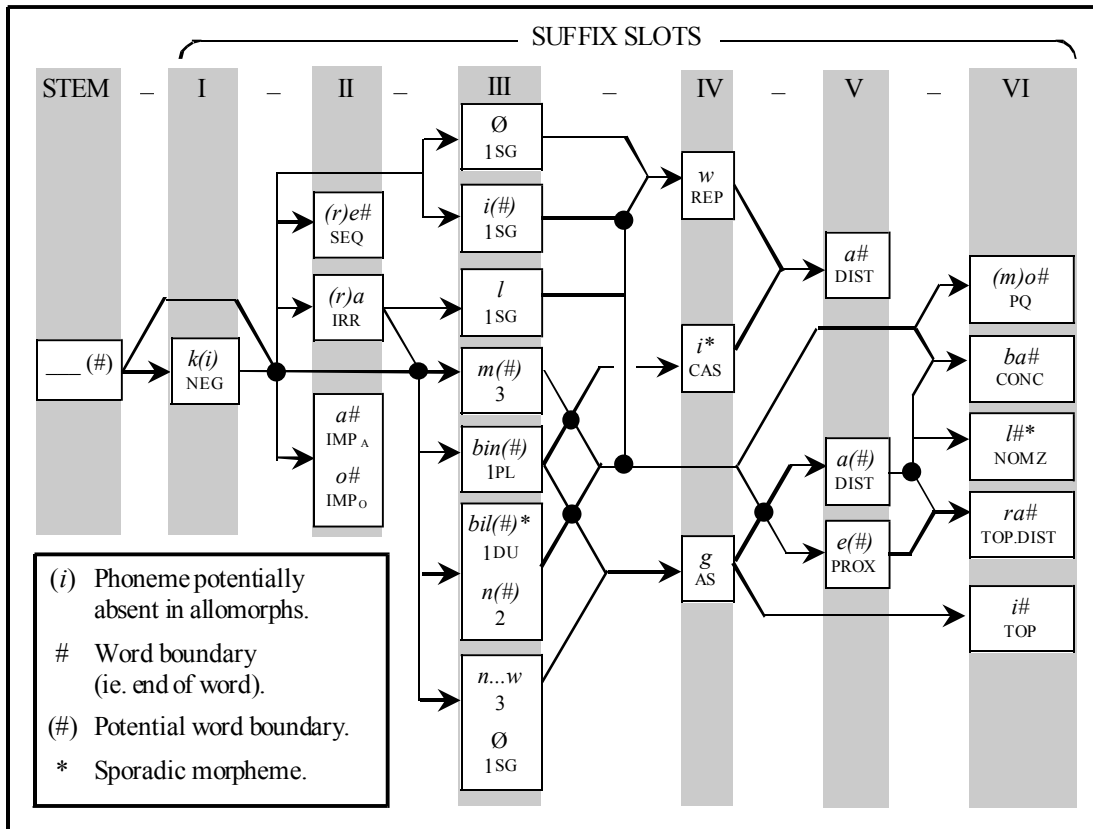


Table 2: Examples of basic verb forms in Golin

	STEM	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
BARE FORM <i>Na gla omale koon ne ne erege.</i> “I’m always eating yam.”	<i>ne</i> eat						
IMPERATIVE FORM <i>Na!</i> “Eat!”	<i>n-</i> eat-	(\emptyset)	<i>-a\#</i> IMP _A				
MEDIAL FORM <i>...nere...</i> “...eat and...”	<i>ne-</i> eat-	(\emptyset)	<i>-re\#</i> SEQ				
FINITE FORMS <i>Na nege.</i> “I eat”	<i>ne-</i> eat -	(\emptyset)	(\emptyset)	<i>-\emptyset</i> -1SG	<i>-g</i> -AS	<i>-e\#</i> -PROX	
<i>Yal i i karinwa dingwe.</i> “He said you saw him.”	<i>kari-</i> see-	(\emptyset)	(\emptyset)	<i>-n</i> -2	<i>-w</i> -REP	<i>-a\#</i> -DIST	
<i>I bolma simia.</i> “They will kill your pig”	<i>si-</i> hit-	(\emptyset)	(\emptyset)	<i>-m</i> -3	<i>-i</i> CAS	<i>-a\#</i> -DIST	
<i>Nekrabingaba...</i> “We won’t eat, but...”	<i>ne-</i> eat-	<i>-k</i> -NEG	<i>-ra</i> -IRR	<i>-bin</i> -1PL	<i>-g</i> -AS	<i>-a</i> -DIST	<i>=ba\#</i> -CONC

2. Stems

Verb stems occur ‘bare’ with no suffixes of their own. Such a stem is in all cases eventually followed by an inflected verb, and the stem is inferred to take the same arguments as it.

- (1) *na bolma si guli-Ø-g-e*
 1SG pig hit die-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I kill a pig.’ (1a.addition)

In some contexts, words such as nouns or adverbs fall between the bare verb form and the finite verb, as in (2) with the verb stem *di*.

- (2) *yal ta kan abu di eri mo-n-g-w-e*
 man one rope pull.rope **be** tree climb-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He climbs up the tree using the rope.’ (1a.157)

In other contexts, multiple bare stems can directly precede a finite verb, appearing as a compound structure with a bleached meaning. The verb *di* occurs in this way (3).

- (3) *na i ka di-te-g-e*
 1SG 2SG word **say-give-1SG-AS-PROX**
 ‘I’m talking to you.’ (1b.107)

In addition, stems may be duplicated. In the below examples, a duplicated stem is compounded with the verb *ere-* ‘do’, to signify a habitual action.

- (4) *inin onin-man koon maul wo wo*
 1PL five-day every hole **digging.motion** **digging.motion**

ere-bin-g-e
 do-1PL-AS-PROX
 ‘Every Friday we dig a hole.’ (1a.63)

- (5) *na gla omale koon ne ne ere-Ø-g-e*
 1SG night midday yam **eat eat** do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m always (day and night) eating yam.’ (1a.63)

Allomorphically, stems undergo all manner of variation, but usually it is the final vowel that varies.

The first process can be described as regressive vowel assimilation, whereby a stem vowel qualitatively changes to match the consonant that follows. For example, what is a front vowel in other contexts (e.g. *e*), becomes a back vowel (*o*) when preceding a labialized consonant such as *-b*, *-m*, or *-ngw* (labeled B). The pattern may be expressed generally as follows.⁶

⁶ The asterisk in these expressions represents the inferred base-form which undergoes transformation.

$$*V_{\alpha \text{ height front}}+B \Rightarrow V_{\alpha \text{ height back}}B$$

Examples (6) and (7) illustrate this with the stem *e-* ($*e+m \Rightarrow o-m$).

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| (6) | <i>i takal ne-n?</i> | (7) | <i>abal i takal no-m?</i> |
| | 2SG what ⁷ eat-2 | | woman TOP what eat-3 |
| | ‘What did you eat?’ (1b.50) | | ‘What did she eat?’ (1b.50) |

Such assimilation occurs with other stems like *si-* in the inflected form *sungwe* ($*i+ngw \Rightarrow u-ngw$).⁸

The second allomorphic process is elision, which affects some stems’ final vowel. For example, a vowel cluster of a stem may be simplified as follows: $*pai+ra \Rightarrow pa-ra$.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| (8) | <i>na kume pai-Ø-g-e</i> | (9) | <i>na ul pa-ra-Ø-g-e</i> |
| | 1SG witch be-1SG-AS-PROX | | 1SG asleep be-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX |
| | ‘I am a witch.’ (1b.28) | | ‘I will sleep.’ (1a.44) |

In other contexts, elision can result in stems being represented by simply a consonant. Compare (10) and (11), $*ne+a \Rightarrow n-a$.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|------|----------------------|
| (10) | <i>ne-ki-a</i> | (11) | <i>n-a</i> |
| | eat-NEG-IMP _A | | eat-IMP _A |
| | ‘Don’t eat!’ (1a.52) | | ‘Eat!’ (1a.52) |

A stem also appears reduce to a single consonant in (13), where what would otherwise be the base-form *si*, like in (12), is demonstrably an elision with 1st person singular suffix *-i*.⁹

- | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| (12) | <i>i bolma si-n</i> |
| | 2SG pig hit-2SG |
| | ‘You killed your pig.’ (1a.addition) |
| (13) | <i>na bolma s-i</i> |
| | 1SG pig hit-1SG |
| | ‘I killed my pig.’ (1a.addition) |

This last example is an instance of a general elision pattern which may be labeled degemination (the avoidance of a doubled vowel or consonant), expressed simply as $*X+X \Rightarrow X$ (where X is any phoneme).

⁷ An alternative analysis of *takal* is *ta-kal* ‘one-which’.

⁸ The phonology is probably more complex than this, and whether any given vowel undergoes a back-shift or not might depend, for instance, on prominence (e.g. stress, even tone?). The situation is also difficult to assess because vowels, as with other phonemes in Golin, are subject to a high degree of allophony anyway, which results in inconsistent orthographic representations.

⁹ This analysis assumes that: (i) the verbs in these examples are finite and thus always marked for subject; and (ii) the 1st person singular takes the allomorph *-i* (rather than *-Ø*) word-finally. See (24) and (98) for parallel elisions of this kind, with the suffix *-ki*. See (43) for an example of the allomorph *-i* word-finally without elision (*e-i* ‘go-1SG’).

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Another type of elision applies to morphemes that end in the vowel *i*, when preceding either of the two *-rV* suffixes (*-re* or *-ra*). This may be summarized by the following expression.

$$*Ci+r_{suff} \Rightarrow C-r_{suff}$$

Verbs such as *di* ($*di+ra \Rightarrow d-ra$) demonstrate this pattern, as in (14) compared with (15).¹⁰

- (14) *prin nil kamin teen di-m-o?*
 salt water sky far **be-3-PQ**
 =far.away=
 ‘Is the sea very far away?’ (1a.addition)

- (15) *i mogu d-ra-n-o?*
 2SG run **be-IRR-2-PQ**
 ‘Will you run?’ (1a.71)

Yet another type of elision occurs when stems that end with a LV (liquid, vowel) combination are followed directly by one of the two *rV* suffixes (*-ra* or *-re*). Both the stem’s final vowel, and the initial *r* of the suffix are dropped, expressed as follows.

$$*LV_{stem}+rV_{suff} \Rightarrow L_{stem}-V_{suff}$$

On the one hand, the verb *ne-* remains the same, either with (16) or without (17) the full form of the irrealis suffix *-ra*.

- (16) *na kon ne-Ø-g-e* (17) *na kon ne-ra-Ø-g-e*
 1SG yam **eat-1SG-AS-PROX** 1SG yam **eat-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX**
 ‘I’m eating yam.’ (1b.46) ‘I will eat yam.’ (1b.53)

Compare this with *kari-* (18) which, with the addition of suffix *-ra*, becomes *kar-a* (19). This pattern is found across other verbs ending in LV, such as *pri-* ($*pri+ra \Rightarrow pra$, $*pri+re \Rightarrow pre$) and *mili-* ($*mili+re \Rightarrow mile$).

- (18) *na bolma kari-Ø-g-e* (19) *na bolma kar-a-Ø-g-e*
 1SG pig **see-1SG-AS-PROX** 1SG pig **see-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX**
 ‘I see the pig.’ (1a.25) ‘I want to see the pig.’ (1a.26)

The third process is suppletion of the entire stem, as happens with the irregular verb *e-*, whose base-form (20) is replaced with *n-* ($*e+ra \Rightarrow na$), (21).

- (20) *i na e-Ø-g-a binan e-n-g-a*
 2SG 1SG **go-1SG-AS-DIST** beside **go-2-AS-DIST**
 ‘You were walking beside me.’ (1b.92)

¹⁰ The suffix *-ki* also undergoes elision of this pattern, see (25).

- (21) *gi na n-a-Ø-g-a binan n-a-n-g-w-e*
 she 1SG **go**-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST beside go-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘She will be walking beside me.’ (1b.92)

3. Slot I: Polarity *-k(i)*

The negative marker is able to occur with all verb forms except a bare-stem, including imperatives (10), and medial verbs (22).

- (22) *na dimingul ta pi-ki-re bolma si-Ø-g-e*
 1SG bush NEG¹¹ go-NEG-SEQ pig hit-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I didn’t go to the bush but I did kill a pig.’ (1b.152).

It is always followed by further suffixation. The *-i* may be phonologically elided under two contexts, both introduced above in relation to stems. The first context, $*ki+i \Rightarrow ki$, is clear upon comparing the full form (23) against the elided form (24).¹²

- (23) *i nibil ere-n-mo ere-ki-n?*
 2SG sickness do-2SG-PQ do-NEG-2SG
 ‘Are you sick or not?’ (1a.addition)

- (24) *na nibil er-i-mo ere-k-i?*
 1SG sickness do-1SG-PQ do-NEG-1SG
 ‘Am I sick or not?’ (1a.addition)

Elision of *-ki* may secondly be conditioned by one of the *-rV* suffixes ($*Ci+r_{suff} \Rightarrow C-r_{suff}$), illustrated in (25), $*ki+r \Rightarrow k-r$.¹³

- (25) *i erema maul ta wo-k-re bedere-n-g-a*
 2SG yesterday hole NEG dig-NEG-SEQ complete-2-AS-DIST
 ‘You never dug the hole yesterday.’ (1a.64)

4. Slot II: Imperative modality *-a, -o*

Imperative verbs may constitute an entire clause on their own, and are understood to have a second person subject, which is unmarked in the verb but may be made explicit through a pronoun as below.

- (26) *i ere nulin p-a*
 2SG do river go-IMP_A
 ‘You go to the river!’ (1b.41)

¹¹ The particle *ta* marks negation in combination with the suffix, accompanying all negative clauses other than imperatives.

¹² This corresponds to the stem vowel elision observed in (13). See (98) for another example.

¹³ This corresponds to the stem vowel elision observed in (15).

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There are two forms of imperative, and neither take further suffixes. The *-a* morph is the standard form when eliciting simple imperative utterances such as (27). The /y/ can be understood as an epenthetic glide breaking up what would otherwise be an unusual diphthong in Golin (**wo+a* ⇒ *wo-ya*).

- (27) *maul wo-ya*
hole dig-IMP_A
'Dig a hole!' (1b.57)

In imperative statements like (28), (29), both forms of imperative occur. In distinguishing the two forms, our informant explained that *-a* is specific and present (tense), while *-o* is general and may be in either the present or future. This semantic or pragmatic distinction is not captured in the English translation.

- (28) *oon kora p-a*
hand left go-IMP_A
'Go to the left' (1b.50)

- (29) *oon kora p-o*
hand left go-IMP_O
'Go to the left' (1b.50, 1a. addition)

On the other hand, a contrast with the *-o* form can occur when an imperative verb is embedded in reported speech, as between (31) and (32).

- (31) *w-a*¹⁴
come-IMP_A
'Come.' (1a.80)

- (32) *w-o di-n-g-w-a*
come-IMP_O be-3-AS-3-DIST
'They signaled "come".' (1a.153)

The *-a* form does also occur in reported speech (33), but could mark a direct rather than indirect quote.

- (33) *na mome maul wo-ya di-n-g-w-a*
1SG uncle.1SG.POSS hole digging.motion-IMP_A be-3-AS-3-DIST
'My uncle told me "Dig a hole!".' (1a.61)

Incidentally, the standard way to elicit names of people and things in Golin is via imperatives, though English uses content questions for the same purpose, as in (34).

¹⁴ The /w/ here is clearly a glide allophone of the verb stem *u-*.

- (34) *i kan-in d-a*
 2SG name-2SG.POSS say-IMP_A
 (*lit.* ‘Say your name.’)
 ‘What is your name?’ (1a.2)

5. Slot II: Medial Verb *-(r)e*

Medial verbs do not occur by themselves in sentences, but are always followed eventually by a finite verb. They are used to chain verb phrases together in a larger clause. Medial verbs are unmarked for anything except polarity, and carry the same subject as the following finite verb, as in (35).

- (35) *erema i maul wo mil-e bedere-n-g-a*
 yesterday 2SG hole digging.motion be-SEQ complete-2-AS-DIST
 ‘Yesterday **you** dug a hole once and stopped.’ (1a.64)

A medial verb may, however, differ from a finite verb in polarity, as in (35) above, or object, (36) below.

- (36) *abal yal i si-re na si-re ere-n-g-w-a*
 woman **man** TOP hit-SEQ 1SG hit-SEQ do-3-AS-3-DIST
 She hit **him** and (then) hit **me**. (1a.114)

Comparing (36) with (35) also illustrates how the morpheme is subject to elision with liquids in stems, as described earlier (i.e. *LV_{stem}+re ⇒ L_{stem}-e).

Finally, just as bare stems can be duplicated to mark continued action, the same is true for medial verbs.

- (37) *na Jutta si-re si-re ere-Ø-g-e*
 1SG J. **hit-SEQ hit-SEQ** do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m **always** hitting Jutta.’ (1a.63)
- (38) *ka di-re di-re maul wo-n-g-w-e*
 word **say-SEQ say-SEQ** hole digging.motion-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘They **keep** talking while digging.’ (1a.138)

6. Slot II: Irrealis Modality *-ra*

This suffix occurs only in finite verb forms, and is always followed by further suffixes. Its wide range of uses are described in detail elsewhere,¹⁵ but a common function is to distinguish present (39) from future tense (40).

- (39) *na maul wo-Ø-g-e*
 1SG hole digging.motion-1SG-AS-PROX
 I’m digging a hole (**now**). (1a.56)

¹⁵ See: Loughnane, *A discussion of mood, modality and related categories in Golin* (this volume).

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- (40) *na maul wo-ra-Ø-g-e*
1SG hole digging.motion-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX
I **will** dig a hole. (1a.57)

Like *-re*, this morpheme elides with liquid stems (i.e. *LV_{stem}+*ra* ⇒ L_{stem}-*a*), and the stem *n-* (21). The presence or absence of the suffix *-ra* is one of the conditioning factors on the allomorphs of first person singular subject (*-i*, *-l*, \emptyset) in Slot III.

7. Slot III: Subject

The Slot III suffixes indicate the subject of a finite verb, in terms of person and number. First, second and third person subjects are distinguished in Golin verbs, but only the first person is further inflected for number. There is no grammatical gender in Golin. Since subject is marked in the verb, subject pronouns are not always present.

Slot III morphemes are the only suffixes to occur in all examples of finite verbs, and as such, they are their distinguishing feature. A finite verb may thus occur with no other suffixes than Slot III, as in (41).

- (41) *i alde e-n*
2SG where go-2
'Where are you going?' (1a.66)

Slot III morphemes occur as the last element in a word and sentence, in three specific contexts: (i) in content questions (41); (ii) in opposing tag clauses of polar questions (42); and (iii) certain declarative statements such as (43) or (44). Significantly, all these occurrences have realis mood (i.e. Slot II irrealis *-ra* is absent).

- (42) *na nihil er-i-mo ere-k-i*
1SG sickness do-1SG-PQ do-NEG-1SG
'Am I sick or not?' (1a.addition)

- (43) *ebal yol u-n-g-w-a, na e-i*
people different.group come-3-AS-3-DIST 1SG go-1SG
'The visitors came, and I left.' (1a.addition)

- (44) *dua bol bolain wo-m*
mouse table on.top go-3
'A mouse is crawling on the table.' (1a.69)

3rd person has two allomorphs, conditioned by the presence or absence of Slot IV direct assertion marker *-g*. Where absent, the 3rd person is simply *-m*, as in (44) and (45).

- (45) *o alde di-m*
house where be-3
'Where is the house?' (1a.65)

In the presence of *-g*, it is rendered as a split morpheme *-n...w*, the two phonemes falling on either side (**m+g* ⇒ *-n-g-w*).

- (46) *balusu u-n-g-w-e*
 plane come-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘The plane arrives.’ (1a.55)

The 2nd person morpheme *-n* has no allomorphs (47); plural is marked by pronouns.

- (47) *i yal-su bolma kari-n-g-e*
 2SG person-two pig see-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You two see the pig.’ (Dictionary, s.v. ‘i yal su’)

Unlike 2nd and 3rd person, 1st person verbal suffixes mark number. 1st person plural has only one form, illustrated here.

- (48) *inin ere n-a-bin*
 1PL do go-IRR-1PL
 ‘Let’s go!’ (1a.addition)

The morpheme *-bil* is translated as 1st person dual, but only occurs in the following sporadic examples. These may be remnants of a form no longer active.¹⁶

- (49) *ere n-a-bil*
 do go-IRR-1DU
 (*lit.* ‘We two will go.’)
 ‘Let’s go!’ (1a.112)

- (50) *er o-bil-o*
 do go-1DU-PQ
 (*lit.* ‘Shall we two go?’)
 ‘Let’s go!’ (1a.112)

- (51) *yal-su kaul si-bil-w-a di-n-g-w-e*
 man-two grass.skirt hit-1DU-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 =====dance=====
 (*lit.* ‘They two said “we two dance”.’)
 ‘They said they danced before.’ (1b.148)

Elsewhere, 1st person dual subjects have plural inflection in the verb, though it is interesting to note the discrepancy between corresponding pronouns which are sometimes plural (52), sometimes singular (53).¹⁷

¹⁶ This may be found in other languages, such as standard (Highland) Lithuanian in which isolated instances of dual form only remain in idiomatic expressions.

¹⁷ There are several instances of the ordinarily 1st person singular pronoun (*na*) occurring with plural verb inflection (especially in narrative texts).

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(52) *inin yal-su main.pa-bin-g-e*
 1PL man-two lie.down-1PL-AS-PROX
 ‘You and I (we two) lie down.’ (1a.46)

(53) *na yal-su kaul si-ra-bin-g-e.*
 1SG man-two grass.skirt hit-IRR-1PL-AS-PROX
 =====dance=====
 ‘We two will dance.’ (1b.148)

The 1st person singular is the most complex morpheme, with three allomorphs conditioned by the suffixes of adjacent Slot II and/or IV. Wherever Slot II irrealis *-ra* is absent, and Slot IV *-g* or *-w* is present, 1st person singular is realised as an inferred zero morph \emptyset , illustrated by (54) and (55).

(54) *wai pri- \emptyset -g-e*
 good perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m happy.’ (1a.addition)

(55) *gi i na kon ne- \emptyset -w-a du-n-g-w-e*
 woman TOP 1SG yam eat-1SG-REP-DIST be-3-AS-3-PROX
 (lit. ‘She told me: “I ate yams”.’)
 ‘She told me that she ate yams.’ (1b.145)

Wherever Slot II irrealis *-ra* is present, and Slot IV *-g* is absent, the allomorph *-l* occurs (56), (57). It does not occur word finally.

(56) *gi i na kon ne-ra-l-w-a du-n-g-w-e*
 woman TOP 1SG yam eat-IRR-1SG-REP-DIST be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘She told me: “I’m going to eat the yams”.’ (1b.145)

(57) *na maul ta wo-k-ra-l-o*
 1SG hole NEG dig-NEG-IRR-1SG-PQ
 ‘Aren’t I going to dig a hole?’ (1a.67)

In the specific context of an embedded clause with the proximal marker *-a* (58), (59), *-l* is construed as representing a ‘quoted’ or reported 1st person singular.¹⁸

(58) *na ul pa-ra-l-a di pri- \emptyset -g-e*
 1SG sleep be-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I want to sleep.’ (1b.130)

(59) *i yal-su kom’na eme ne-ra-l-a di ki-n-g-e*
 2SG man-two food after eat-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP prepare-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You two cook the food so you two can eat it.’ (1b.156)

¹⁸ Embedded clause constructions with *-l* are discussed in detail in (especially section 2.2.3.2 of) Loughnane, *Reported speech constructions in Golin* (this volume). An analysis as ‘reported’ 1st-person singular, however, does not account for equivalent sentences with non-human subjects, (e.g. *Nimin sirala de eremia ere ala pa*. ‘It’s going to rain so go to the house.’). Alternatively, it could be that a distinct *-l* ‘same-subject’ morpheme marks the subject of an embedded clause as being the same as the final verb. It is also feasible (like ‘categorical assertion’ *-i-a* and ‘reported speech’ *-w-a*) to analyze *-l-a* as a single morpheme *-la*.

The allomorph *-i* occurs in all other contexts, that is, when Slot II (*-ra*) and Slot IV markers (*-g* or *-w*) are not present. This includes: word-finally, as previously outlined (13), (24), (43); in embedded clauses (98); and in some content questions (60).

- (60) *na takal ne-y-e?*¹⁹
 1SG what eat-1SG-PROX
 ‘What am I eating?’ (1a.50)

8. Slot IV: Direct Assertion *-g*

The allomorphs of 1st and 3rd person in Slot III have already demonstrated the status of Slot IV morphemes as a conditioning environment. In Slot IV, a minimal contrast occurs between what is termed ‘direct assertion’ (*-g*), and an unmarked non-assertion. Most declarative statements have direct assertion (61), though some (62) do not.

- (61) *ba mine ten pa-n-g-w-e*
 moon up far be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘The moon is far away.’ (1b.94)

- (62) *prinnil kamin ten di-m-a*
 sea sky far be-3-DIST
 ‘The sea is far away.’ (1b.93)

Non-assertion occurs in most content questions (63), but direction assertion is also found in some, either with Slot V proximal marker *-e* (64), or Slot VI topic marker *-i* (65). Direct assertion is the only suffix which the topic marker *-i* follows.

- (63) *i alde e-n?*
 2SG where go-2
 ‘Where are you going?’ (1a.66)

- (64) *na takal ne-Ø-g-e*
 1SG what eat-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘What was I eating?’ (1b.50)

- (65) *na takal ne-Ø-g-i*
 1SG what eat-1SG-AS-TOP
 ‘What did I eat?’ (1a.50)

The majority of polar questions also have non-assertion (66), discussed further under Slot VI *-(m)o*. Yet a direct-assertive exception may again be found, see (87).

¹⁹ The *-y* is clearly an intervocalic glide allophone of *-i*.

- (66) *i koble wadu-n-o?*
 2SG money search-2-PQ
 ‘Are you looking for money?’ (1b.52)

9. Slot IV: Reported Speech marker *-w*

This morpheme marks embedded clauses as reported speech.²⁰ Its default form is given in (67).

- (67) *na m'na kwimol i maul*
 1SG mother.1SG.POSS tomorrow 2SG hole

wo-ra-n-w-a di-n-g-w-e
 digging.motion-IRR-2-REP-DIST be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘My mum says you'll dig a hole tomorrow.’ (1a.62)

In addition, it is inferred to have two other allomorphs conditioned phonologically by 3rd person *-m*. The epenthetic /i/ in the first allomorph, *-iw* (**m+w* ⇒ *m-iw*), may be for purposes of phonological contrast. Compare (68) with (67).

- (68) *na m'na kwimol yal-kane maul*
 1SG mother.1SG.POSS tomorrow 3-many hole

wo-ra-m-iw-a di-n-g-w-e
 digging.motion-IRR-3-REP-DIST be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘My mum says they'll dig a hole tomorrow.’ (1a.62)

The second allomorph, *-u* (69), is probably a simple coalescence of /iw/.

- (69) *na m'na Morris maul wo-m-u-a*
 1SG mother.1SG.POSS M. hole digging.motion-3-REP-DIST

di-n-g-w-e
 be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘My mum says Morris is digging a hole.’ (1a.61)

The above examples illustrate the single context in which this morpheme occurs, within an embedded clause, attached directly to the Slot III suffix, and followed always and only by *-a*. This *-a* appears to be the Slot V distal marker, and it is on the basis of this that *-w* is classed as a Slot IV morpheme.²¹

²⁰ For detailed discussion of the function of *-w*, refer to: Loughnane, *Reported speech constructions in Golin* (this volume).

²¹ Alternatively, the morpheme might be better analyzed as *-wa*. Indeed, there is evidence that it is actually a clitic along the same lines as *ba* or *mo*. After a noun or pronoun, *wa* acts as a postposition indicating something that is spoken about. Refer to (84), (85), and the dictionary entry.

10. Slot IV: Categorical assertion marker *-i*

This sporadic morpheme occurs with 3rd person, (70) and (71), and 1st person plural (72). Hypothetical utterances with equivalent 2nd person were considered ungrammatical (**i bolma sirania?*).

- (70) *di-di bedera-n-g-w-a di-Ø-g-a*
 be-be stop-3-AS-3-DIST be-1SG-AS-DIST

wai-si-m-i-a u amin di-n-g-w-e
 good-hit-3-CAS-DIST come sit be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ==end==

‘When he is finished he says “I am now concluding” and comes and sits down.’

(Chief goes to speak text)

- (71) *i mil-a-n-g-a wai ta pi-k-ra-m-i-a*
 2SG be-IRR-2-AS-DIST good NEG go-NEG-IRR-3-CAS-DIST
 ‘...your life in the future will not be good!’ (Fire taboo text)

- (72) *i bolma si-bin-i-a*
 2SG pig hit-1PL-CAS-DIST
 ‘We will kill your pig.’ (1b.152)

Like reported speech *-w*, it is followed always, and only, by *-a*, and so might alternatively be analyzed as *-ia*. Further data is necessary to establish its exact function.

11. Slot V: Proximal and distal relation *-e, -a*

At times our informant was happy for certain utterances to be transcribed with their final vowel as either *-e* or *-a*, with no particular difference in translation warranted. However, more often than not, these morphemes exist as a minimal contrastive pair, representing what may be given the very general labels of marking ‘proximal’ (*-e*) and ‘distal’ (*-a*) relation. The ‘relation’ here is two-fold: (i) **temporal**, marking the relation between speech time and event time within a finite verb (correlating to tense); and (ii) **clausal**, relating two verb clauses within a sentence.

The following examples demonstrate the temporal difference in single finite verbs with realis (73) and (74), and irrealis contexts (75), (76) and (77). The ‘proximal’ inflection appears to apply to an event occurring between today and the near future, whereas an event earlier or later than this takes ‘distal’ inflection.²²

²² Incidentally, it is even feasible that the very word for yesterday *erema* might be a fossilized distal 3rd person form of the verb ‘do’ (i.e. *ere-m-a*; do-3-DIST; ‘it was done’).

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- (73) *na ere-Ø-g-e* (74) *na ere-Ø-g-a*
 1SG go-1SG-AS-PROX 1SG go-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I’m going (now).’ (1a.124) ‘I went.’ (1a.30)
- (75) *na ul ta pa-k-ra-Ø-g-e*
 1SG sleep NEG be-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I will not sleep (now).’ (1a.44)
- (76) *na ul ta pa-k-ra-Ø-g-a*
 1SG sleep NEG be-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I will not sleep (in the future).’ (1a.44)
- (77) *na nil kwi ta ne-k-ra-Ø-g-a*
 1SG drink again NEG drink-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I’ll never drink again.’ (Malaria Medicine text supplement)

In sentences with multiple finite verbs, the Slot V inflection of the final verb appears to function the same as in single-clause sentences, marking temporal relevance. At the same time, however, the inflection of the first clause appears to express the relation of that clause to the final one. The sentence in example (78) has *-a* attached to the first verb, marking its ‘distal’ relation in the context of the sentence, and *-e* attached to the final verb, marking ‘proximal’ temporal relation.

- (78) *na yal kane para amin di-bin-g-a i amin ta*
 1SG man PL all sit be-1PL-AS-DIST 2SG sit NEG
di-ki-n-g-e
 be-NEG-2-AS-PROX
 (*lit.* ‘We’re all sitting, you’re not sitting.’)
 ‘Everyone is sitting except you.’ (1b.17)

All embedded (subordinated) clauses (79), and most sentence-medial clauses (80), likewise take the distal marker.

- (79) *na i gul-a-n-a di pri-Ø-g-e*
 1SG 2SG die-IRR-2-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 (*lit.* ‘I presently feel you will (at some stage) die.’)
 ‘I’m afraid that you will die.’ (1a.112)
- (80) *na pri-Ø-g-a i gula-n-g-e*
 1SG perceive-1SG-AS-DIST 2SG die-2-AS-PROX
 (*lit.* ‘I think, you will presently die.’)
 ‘I’m afraid that you will die.’ (1a.112)

Where two clauses are both marked with the proximal marker *-e*, the simultaneity of the respective states described is emphasized (81), (82). Although the free English translations of these contain the relative clause marker ‘that’, there is no

morphological marking of clause subordination in Golin here, other than as indicated by the Slot V morphemes.²³

- (81) *i ka di-n-g-e na ta pri-ki-Ø-g-e*
 2SG word say-2-AS-PROX 1SG NEG perceive-NEG-1SG-AS-PROX
 (lit. ‘You are talking, I am unsure.’)
 ‘I don’t understand what you are talking about.’ (1b.109)

- (82) *na kaul si-Ø-g-e wai pri-Ø-g-e*
 1SG grass.skirt hit-1SG-AS-PROX happy perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 =====dance=====
 (lit. ‘I’m dancing, I’m happy.’)
 ‘I’m happy that I’m dancing.’ (1a.90)

General content questions, which minimally have just the Slot III subject marker morpheme (as discussed earlier), may also occur with the proximal marker *-e* (83) (but not *-a*).

- (83) *na takal ne-y-e?*
 1SG what eat-1SG-PROX
 ‘What am I eating?’ (1a.50)

Proximal marking (*-e*) in content questions has been described by our informant as indicating past tense, and its absence (empty Slot V) as indicating present tense. This distinction, however, does not always carry straightforwardly over to English. Example (84) is cast as present tense, for example, while in (85) versus (86), *-e* is translated as indicating the absence of the speaker from a present tense event. Perhaps the distinction is something more abstract.

- (84) *ebal i takal wa di-m-e?*
 people TOP what about say-3-PROX
 ‘What are they talking about? (Speaker absent during discussion)’ (1b.108)

- (85) *ebal i takal wa di-m?*
 people TOP what about say-3
 ‘What are they saying? (Speaker present during discussion)’ (1b.108)

- (86) *nil-wa u-n-g-w-a-ra “u alde o-m-e?”*
 water-fresh come-3-AS-3-DIST-TOP.DIST come where go-3-PROX

di pri-Ø-g-a
 COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘“Where has the water gone?” I thought.’ (Saltwater text)

The following example is an isolated instance of a polar question with Slot V *-e*.

²³ Incidentally, the contrast between the *-e* and *-a* vowels can be arguably further seen in the demonstratives *ire* (‘this’) being similarly ‘proximal’ to the discourse context, and *ira* (‘that’) being ‘distal’.

- (87) *i mogu di-n-g-e?*
 2SG run be-2-AS-PROX
 ‘Are you running (now)?’ (1a.71)

12. Slot VI: Polar question marker *-(m)o*

Away from verbs, the form *mo* occurs as an independent coordinator linking constituents such as nouns (88), and translated as ‘or’, meaning that each constituent is a possibility.

- (88) *bolma mo korale mo t-a*
 pig or chicken or take-IMP_A
 ‘Take a chicken or a pig.’ (Fire text).

Ostensibly the same morpheme occurs attached to finite verbs (with empty Slot IV and V), still marking ‘possibility’ but with an entire clause as the constituent, which thus takes on the semantics of a polar question.²⁴ Two-clause polar questions in Golin are uniformly characterized by the attachment of this *-mo* morpheme. They have a duplicate finite verb, the second with opposing polarity, which makes a binary opposition completely explicit, as below.

- (89) *na nibil er-i-mo ere-k-i?*
 1SG sickness do-1SG-PQ do-NEG-1SG
 (*lit.* ‘I’m sick (or) I’m not sick?’)
 ‘Am I sick or not?’ (1a.addition)
- (90) *u-ra-n-mo u-k-ra-n?*
 come-IRR-2-PQ come-NEG-IRR-2
 ‘Are you going to come or not?’ (1a.addition)
- (91) *ebal na kar(e)-m-o kare-ki-m-o?*
 people 1SG look-3-PQ look-NEG-3-PQ
 ‘Are people looking at me or not?’ (Chief goes to speak text)

In single-clause polar questions such as (120), a second clause is absent, though probably implied.²⁵

- (92) *i nibil pa-n-mo?*
 2SG sickness be-2-PQ
 ‘Do you have a disease?’ (1a.addition)

²⁴ The dual function of one particle as both a polar-question marker and a possibility coordinator occurs cross-linguistically. For example: in Lithuanian, the same particle (*ar*) attaches to clauses (*Ar tavo?* ‘Is it yours?’), as well as nominal constituents (*Mano ar tavo.* ‘Mine or yours’).

²⁵ The implication of a second, contrasting clause, is comparable with sentence-final occurrences of the other Slot VI suffix *-ba*; see (101), (102).

The form *-o*, which is found in otherwise similar utterances (91), (93), (94), is assumed to be an allomorph of *-mo*; however, our free translations do not capture any semantic distinction between *-mo* and *-o*.²⁶

(93) *na nibil pa-i-o?*
1SG sickness be-1SG-PQ
'Do I have a disease?' (1a.146)

(94) *i mogu d-ra-n-o?*
2SG run be-IRR-2-PQ
'Will you run?' (1a.71)

Finally, *-mo* occurs attached to a clause embedded within the matrix verb *pri* 'perceive', the latter inflected for negative polarity and direct assertion mood (95), (96). The embedded clause may still be translated literally as a polar question, but the final verb asserts that the answer is unknown, and so the overall sentence is translated as a statement of uncertainty.

(95) *na gi kuria di-ra-l-mo ta pri-ki-Ø-g-e*
1SG woman song give-IRR-1SG-PQ NEG perceive-NEG-1SG-AS-
PROX
(lit. 'Will I sing to her? I'm not sure').
'I may sing to her.' (1a.146, 1a.addition)

(96) *yal i gi kuria di-ra-m-o ta pri-ku-n-g-w-e*
man TOP woman song give-IRR-3-PQ NEG perceive-NEG-3-AS-3-
DIST
(lit. 'Will he sing to her? He's not sure.').
'He might sing for her.' (1a.134)

13. Slot VI: Concessive marker *-ba*

The morpheme *-ba* indicates concession, emphasizing the contrast or difference between one proposition and another. It also occurs as an apparently independent particle following a non-verb, as in (97), and is therefore analyzable as a clitic.

(97) *i di-te-ra-n-g-a-ra kawa ba na*
2SG be-give-IRR-2-AS-DIST-TOP.DIST true CONC 1SG

²⁶ The existence of this *-o* morph can only be proven where the subject is not 3rd person, because next to 3rd person marker *-m*, the form *-mo* would be rendered as *-o* anyway, via degeminative elision (**m+mo* ® *m-o*), as in (91). It would thus be theoretically impossible to differentiate *-mo* and *-o* in the 3rd person, and to analyze them so would seem deficient. Perhaps *-m* is an optional '3rd person' marker for non 3rd-person subjects (impersonalizing the verb). This would explain why the form *-mo* is redundant after a 3rd person marker, and account for the subtle semantic difference between occurrences with *-o* versus *-mo*. On the other hand, there is a possibility that gemination may have an alternate phonological realization (such as through stress or even tone). This needs further assessment.

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pri-Ø-g-a *i* *kakibi* *di-n-a* *di* *pri-Ø-g-e*
 perceive-1SG-AS-DIST 2SG lie say-2-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘What you told me was true, but I thought you were lying.’

Following a verb, it occurs in sentences containing one or two clauses. In two-clause sentences, it attaches to the finite verb of the first clause. The first finite verb in these cases may follow Slot III directly (with empty Slot IV and Slot V) as in (98) and (99), or have Slot IV and Slot V morphemes as in (100).

(98) *na* *yal* *i* *ta* *kare-k-i-ba* *ka* *du-n-g-w-a*
 1SG man TOP NEG see-NEG-1SG-CONC word say-3-AS-3-DIST

pri-Ø-g-e
 perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I can’t see a man but I can hear him.’ (1a.addition)

(99) *yal* *i* *yal* *bil* *mili-Ø-w-a* *di-m-ba* *na* *ta*
 man TOP man big be-1SG-REP-DIST say-3-CONC 1SG NEG

kare-ki-Ø-g-a
 see-NEG-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘He says he is a big man but I doubt it.’ (1a.77)

(100) *Alan* *erema* *maul* *wo-n-g-w-a-ba* *ta*
 A. yesterday hole digging.motion-3-AS-3-DIST-CONC NEG

wo *bedere-ki-n-g-w-a*
 digging.motion complete-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Yesterday Alan started to dig a hole but he hasn't completed it.’ (1a.76)

In single-clause sentences, it attaches directly to Slot III morphemes, as below. A second concessive clause is implied.

(101) *na* *bolma tau* *kulene-ra-l-ba*
 1SG pig some own-IRR-1SG-CONC
 (*lit.* I would own some pigs, but...)
 I wish I had some pigs (but I haven’t). (1a.136)

(102) *I* *erema* *u-ra-n-g-a* *na* *wai*
 2SG yesterday come-IRR-2-AS-DIST 1SG good

pr-a-Ø-g-a *di-m-ba*
 perceive-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST be-3-CONC
 (*lit.* ‘You came yesterday, I was happy, but...’)
 ‘If you had come yesterday I would have been happy.’ (1a.78)

14. Slot VI: Nominalizer *-l*

Most occurrences of this sporadic morpheme are in narrative texts, and it is found alongside one of the verbs meaning ‘be’. It appears to nominalize a clause.

- (103) *pu sule yal mili-n-g-w-a-l o-bin-g-e*
 go school man be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ be-1PL-AS-PROX
 (lit. ‘We went to where the teacher was.’)
 ‘We went to the teacher’. (1a.123)

- (104) *komenin Kobla mili-n-g-w-e Kobla mili-n-g-w-a-l ali*
 first-born K. be-3-AS-3-PROX K. be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ inside

Owe mili-n-g-w-a Bomai mili-n-g-w-e Bomai mili-n-g-w-a-l
 O. be-3-AS-3-DIST B. be-3-AS-3-PROX B. be-3-AS-3-DIST-
 NOMZ

Nilki mili-n-g-w-a Nilki mili-n-g-w-a-l Kiba mili-n-g-w-e
 N. be-3-AS-3-DIST N. be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ K. be-3-AS-3-PROX

Kiba mili-n-g-w-a-l
 K. be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ

‘The first born was called Kobla, and then (in order) Ole, Bomai, Nilki, and Kiba.’ (Ancestor text)

- (105) *yal i nen man pa-n-g-w-a-l*
 man TOP father mother be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ
 =====spirit.place=====

bolma si-ki-ne-ra-l-a eru-n-g-w-e
 pig hit-prepare-eat-IRR-1SG-DIST do-3-AS-3-PROX
 ===sacrifice==

(lit. He, where father-mother are, did that “I will sacrifice a pig”.)
 He went to sacrifice a pig at the spirit place. (1b.139)

15. Slot VI: Topic *-i* and Distal Topic *-ra*

The Slot VI suffixes *-i* and *-ra* invariably co-occur with Slot IV direct assertion *g*. However, while Slot V *-a/-e* is always filled before *-ra*, it is always unfilled in the presence of *-i*. Based on this, it could be argued that the *-i* effectively ‘replaces’ a Slot V value, and so should actually be classed under Slot V itself. Yet, it is classed together with *-ra* because of the more significant features they both share. They both predominantly occur as the last attachment of an embedded finite verb, marking this verb phrase as the topic.

The distinction seems to be that *-i* more greatly emphasizes the specific relevance of the clause, than *-ra*. The morphemes are therefore glossed as ‘topic’ and ‘distal topic’ respectively (reflecting the semantic dichotomy used between the *-e* and *-a* of Slot V). The following two examples illustrate their similarities and differences through a minimal contrast.

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(106) *i* *nibil* *ere-n-g-i* *gul-a-n-g-e*
 2SG sick do-2-AS-TOP die-IRR-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You are sick (now) and you are going to die.’ (1a.78)

(107) *i* *nibil* *ere-n-g-a-ra* *gul-a-n-g-e*
 2SG sick do-2-AS-DIST-TOP.DIST die-IRR-2-AS-PROX
 (*lit.* ‘That you were sick, you’ll die.’)
 ‘If you get sick, you will also die.’ (1a.78)

The former is emphatic, while the latter is essentially hypothetical²⁷. In further examples, the distinction between *-i* in the first person (108) and *-ra* in the third (109), might be translated as illustrated.

(108) *na* *di-Ø-g-i* *kawa*
 1SG say-1SG-AS-TOP true
 ‘What I tell you (this) is true.’ (1a.44)

(109) *eru* *di-n-g-w-a-ra* *kawa*
 ? be-3-AS-3-DIST-TOP.DIST true
 ‘What they say (that) is true.’ (1b.132)

This demonstrative connotation of the *-i* as a suffix mirrors the independent demonstrative particle ‘*i*’ which can occur after a noun as in (110) and (111); this is evidence again of a clitic morpheme. On the other hand, *-ra* does not occur independently.

(110) *na* *bol* *i* *bolain amin* *di-Ø-g-e*
 1SG table TOP on sit do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I am sitting on this table.’ (1b.24)

(111) *na* *ka* *i* *ta* *di-ki-Ø-g-a*
 1SG word TOP NEG say-NEG-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I did not talk about that.’ (1a.73)

The *-i* suffix is very frequent in narrative discourse, where it allows a proposition to remain as the topic, so extra information can be freely added before a phrase is finished, as below.

(112) *igin* *gal-e* *u* *i-re* *ere* *u-n-g-w-i*
 hair burn-SEQ come take-SEQ do come-3-AS-3-TOP

yal *gau* *ere* *u-n-g-w-e*
 man many do come-3-AS-3-TOP
 ‘Burning the hair off the pigs, the men do it.’ (Festive cooking text)

²⁷ Perhaps this is an echo of Slot II irrealis *-ra*.

Both morphemes further occur sentence-finally. Example (113) is such an occurrence of *-ra*, peculiar also because of the Slot V *-e* which contrasts with all other instances (as above) where Slot V is *-a*.

- (113) *na ka di-Ø-g-e-ra*
 1SG words say-1SG-AS-PROX-TOP.DIST
 (*lit.* ‘That (which) I said’)
 ‘I talked (about something).’ (1a.72)

Sentence-final *-i* occurs in these last three examples, all content questions.

- (114) *na takal di-Ø-g-i?* (115) *na takal ne-Ø-g-i?*
 1SG what say-1SG-AS-TOP 1SG what eat-1SG-AS-TOP
 ‘What did I say?’ (1b.163) ‘What did I eat?’ (1a.50)
- (113) *i takal ne-ra-n-g-i?*
 2SG what eat-IRR-2-AS-TOP
 (*lit.* ‘What is it that you’ll eat?’)
 ‘What will you eat?’ (1a.50).

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3. A discussion of mood, modality and related categories in Golin

Robyn M. Loughnane

Golin has complex verbal morphology for final verbs including a number of possible modal categories. In this article, I will attempt to come to some understanding of how two of these suffix categories function.

1. The morpheme *-ra*

1.1 Outline of uses of *-ra*

The marker *-ra* (IRR), and its allomorph *-a*, after the liquid phonemes /l/ and /r/, is used in several contexts which I will outline below.

1.1.1 Likely future

The most common use of *-ra* is in marking the likely future. This generally occurs with person/number marking, truth assertion marking, and the temporal proximity marker (*-e*).

- (1) *inin ebil er-a-bin-g-e*
1PL laugh do-IRR-1PL-AS-PROX
'We will laugh.'¹ (sb 1a.124)

- (2) *ebal kwimol ale mil-a-n-g-w-e*
people tomorrow stand be-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
'They will be standing tomorrow.'¹ (sb 1a.145)

1.1.2 Remote/hypothetical future and conditionals

Remote future, or that which is unlikely to occur is expressed with the irrealis marker, person/number marking, assertive marking, and the distal marker. Pragmatically this can also function as a negative imperative or apprehensive as in the second example below.

¹ Although this translation indicates present tense, present tense negation does not usually require irrealis marking, eg *na mogudi-ki-g-e*
1SG run-NEG-1SG-PROX
'I am not running.'¹ (sb 1a.71)

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- (3) *i nibil er-a-n-g-a-ra gul-a-n-g-e*
2 sick go-2-AS-DIST-TOP.DIST die-IRR-2-AS-PROX
'If you were to get sick, you would die.' (sb 1a.78)

- (4) *dimun wi-ra-n-g-a i gula-n-g-a*
forest cut-IRR-2-AS-DIST 2 die-IRR-2-AS-DIST
'If you were to go into the forest you would die.' (sb 1a.91)

Pragmatically, such irrealis marked remote future constructions can also take on various modal interpretations. In the examples below, the wishes of the speaker are implied in regards to the event in question being realized.

- (5) *i ba kar-a-n-g-a bil ta gale-k-ra-n-g-e*
2 moon see-IRR-2-AS-DIST big NEG grow-NEG-IRR-2-AS-PROX
'You must not look at the moon or you will not grow big.'
(*lit.* 'Were you to look at the moon, you would not grow big.') (sb 1b.94)

1.1.3 Apprehensive

Situations which are undesirable to occur in the future take the irrealis marker, person/number marking, no assertive marker and the temporal distance marker. These are usually accompanied by negative imperatives.

- (6) *edenin de-ra-n-a a-te-ki-a*
fire be-IRR-2-DIST with.hand-give-NEG-IMP
'Don't touch the fire or it will burn you.' (sb 1a.91)
- (7) *bolma ne-re same n-a-n-g-a gul-a-n-a*
pig eat-SEQ cold.bush go-IRR-2-AS-DIST die-IRR-2-DIST

ne-ki-a
eat-NEG-IMP
'Don't eat the pig and go to the cold place or you'll die!' (sb 1a.91)

1.1.4 Negative future

The negative future takes the irrealis marker along with person/number, truth assertion marking and the temporal distance marker.

- (8) *inin ebil ta ere-k-ra-bin-g-a*
1PL laugh NEG do-NEG-IRR-1PL-AS-DIST
'We are not laughing.' (sb 1a.124)
- (9) *na yal i ta kare-k-ra-ø-g-a*
1SG man TOP NEG see-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST
'I will not see the man.' (sb 1a.27)

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Pragmatically this can also take a dynamic modal meaning. In the following example, there is no morpheme corresponding to ability, but because the action is assumed desirable by all speech act participants, and the speaker is not going to perform it, the pragmatic interpretation is that s/he is unable to.

- (10) *i mala ka di te-k-ra-ø-g-a na kona*
 2 now word say-give-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST 1SG task

binamble pa-n-g-w-e
 many be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I can’t talk to you now, I am busy.’

1.1.5 Counterfact

Counterfactuality is another common situation where the marker *-ra* occurs along with truth assertion, person/number and distance marking. Out of context, this is indistinguishable from the future tense in the negative. This can pragmatically also have deontic implications, where the desires of the speaker are implied, as in the first example below.

- (11) *Alan bolma si-ra-n-g-w-a=ba ere o-n-g-w-e*
 Alan pig hit-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST=CONC do go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Alan should have killed the pig as it ran away.’ (sb 1a.105)

- (12) *Alan bolma ta si-k-ra-n-g-w-a inin komina ta*
 Alan pig NEG hit-NEG-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST we food NEG

ne-k-ra-bin-g-a
 eat-NEG-IRR-1PL-AS-DIST
 ‘If Alan hadn’t killed the pig we would have had no food.’ (sb 1b.116)

1.1.6 Object complements and Purpose constructions

The following is a special construction used for object complements and purpose constructions which will be discussed further in section 3. This construction has irrealis marking, person/number or same subject marking, no assertion marking and distance marking.

- (13) *i n-a-n-a de pri-ø-a*
 2 go-IRR-2-DIST COMP hear-1SG-DIST
 ‘I want you to go.’ (sb 1a.137)

- (14) *na alan koble te-ra-l-a de*
 1SG opp.sex.sib rock give-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP

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wadu-ø-g-e
look.for-1SG-AS-PROX
'I'm looking for money to give to my sister.' (sb 1b.52)

1.1.7 Habitual

The irrealis marker may also indicate the habitual². The habitual also takes person/number, truth assertion and distance marking, and further is serialized with *mili* 'be' to indicate habitual aspect.

(15) *na biya ne mil-a-ø-g-a*
1SG beer(TP) eat be-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST
'I'm always drinking beer.' (sb 1a.120)

(16) *i abal bol pai mil-a-n-g-a*
2 womanwith stay be-IRR-2-AS-DIST
'You're always in bed with your wife.' (sb 1a.120)

1.1.8 Possibility

Situations of epistemic possibility are generally indicated with irrealis marking, person/number marking, no truth assertion marking and the suffix used for polar questions *-o*.

(17) *yal i ebil er-a-m-o ere-k-ra-m-o ta*
man TOP laugh do-IRR-3-PQ do-NEG-IRR-3-PQ NEG

pre-ki-n-g-w-e
perceive-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX
'The man might laugh.' (*lit.* 'Does the man want or not want to laugh?')

(18) *yal i gi kuria di-ra-m-o ta pro-ku-n-g-w-e*
man TOP girl song say-IRR-3-PQ NEG perceive-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX
'He might sing to her.' (*lit.* 'Will he sing to her? He is not thinking.')

1.1.9 Wishes

The irrealis is also commonly used for wishes. The first example below is literally 'I would have some money but (I don't)', and is unmarked for assertion and tense, but has the irrealis marker and person/number marking. As these examples illustrate such class, though free-standing, take the concessive clitic =*ba*.

² There is also a habitual construction involving verb reduplication as below, which does not show the irrealis marker.

na gla omale koon ne-ne-ere-ø-g-e
1SG night day yam eat-REDUP-do-1SG-AS-PROX
'I'm always (day and night) eating yam.' (sb 1a.63)

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- (19) *na koble milin ta kare ne-ra-l=ba*
 1SG rock egg one see eat-IRR-1SG=CONC
 ‘I wish I had some money.’ (sb 1a.136)
- (20) *yal i bolma tau kule ne-ra-m=ba*
 man TOP pig some join eat-IRR-3=CONC
 ‘He wants some pigs.’ (sb 1a.136)

1.1.10 First person plural imperative

First person plural imperative may also take irrealis marking, person marking and no illocutionary force marking.

- (21) *inin ka d-ra-bin*
 we word say-IRR-1PL
 ‘Let's speak.’ (sb 1b.62)
- (22) *inin al-a-bin*
 1PL stand-IRR-1PL
 ‘Let's stand up.’ (sb 1b.62)

1.1.11 Summary of Uses

The above information is summarized in the following table.

Table 1

Construction	Markers			
	Irrealis	Person/number	Assertion	PROX/DIST/PQ
Future	•	•	•	PROX
Remote future	•	•	•	DIST
Apprehensive	•	•		DIST
Negative Future	•	•	•	DIST
Counterfact	•	•	•	DIST
Purpose	•	•		DIST
Habitual	•	•	•	DIST
Possibility	•	•		PQ
Wish	•	•		DIST
1PL Imperative	•	•		∅

1.2 Discussion of Reality Status as a valid category

There are some differences in opinion on the use of Reality Status as a category, and exactly what this might refer to. As Bybee and Fleischman (1995:1) discuss, modality is a complex domain, and the disparity of modal systems in languages makes common metalinguistic terms to discuss these phenomena important but also hard to establish.

One view of Reality Status is of a basic distinction between non-actualisation and actualisation. Elliott (2000) argues for a grammatical category along these lines,

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called Reality Status with the binary distinction of Realis and Irrealis. Elliott divides the category as follows:

- a. A REALIS proposition prototypically asserts that an event or state is an actualized or certain fact of reality;
- b. an IRREALIS proposition prototypically implies an event belongs to the realm of the imagined or hypothetical, and as such it constitutes a potential or possible event but it is not an observable fact of reality. (Elliott 2000:66-67)

In Golin, this distinction normally seems to accurately describe the difference between irrealis marked and non-irrealis marked clauses. The situations where the irrealis is found in Golin can generally be characterized as non-actualized State of Affairs (SoA). There is however one borderline situation, that of habituality, which will be discussed shortly.

Elliott's definition is a binary one, which may apply or not apply in various situations because of competing motivations. However, Chafe (1995:364) gives a definition, but which is a continuum rather than a binary distinction. For him, the irrealis-realis distinction "has a functional basis in people's judgments concerning the degree to which their ideas accord with what they believe to be objective reality."

In having realis marked as zero and irrealis marked by a verbal suffix, Golin is also typical. "[I]n many languages one or the other [realis or irrealis] category may have zero marking. In such cases realis tends to be unmarked, and irrealis is the marked form (although this is not always so)" (Elliott 2000:57). "Reality status is not marked by the same kind of morphosyntactic device in all languages, although by far the most common device used is verbal affixation of some kind." (Elliott 2000:64)

Palmer (2001) distinguishes between systems of notional categories of indicative/subjunctive versus realis/irrealis. Could the system found in Golin be better categorized as subjunctive/indicative? Palmer gives the following guidelines for what distinguishes the two categories:

- (i) The subjunctive is found mainly in subordinate clauses ...
- (ii) Irrealis and realis often co-occur with other grammatical markers...
- (iii) Both are often notionally redundant, but in different ways - irrealis because of its co-occurrence with other markers, subjunctive because, in subordinate clauses, its occurrence is determined by the type of complementizer...
- (iv) Unlike the indicative/subjunctive system, realis/irrealis systems do not usually occur together with tense systems. In general past and present are marked as realis, future as irrealis. (Palmer 2001:5)

In Golin, the irrealis is found in main, and subordinate clauses. It commonly co-occurs with other grammatical markers, and the distinction between future and non-future is marked in Golin with the irrealis marker. The irrealis marker is not notionally redundant in Golin. This evidence thus points towards the marker *-ra* as irrealis and not subjunctive as defined by Palmer above.

The marking of future by irrealis seems to be very common in Papuan languages. This is the case for the cognate morpheme of the Golin marker in another Chimbu language, the closely related Salt-Yui (Irwin, 1974:12).

- (23) *diiga*
'I have said.' (Irwin, 1974:12)
- (24) *diralga*
'I shall have said.' (Irwin, 1974:12)

Elliott (2000:59) also refers to such a system in Manam:

Lichtenberk (1983) notes that two characteristics of the verbal morphology of Manam are the lack of formally marked tense and the obligatory marking of a realis/irrealis distinction. [...] Since tense is not formally marked in Manam, one of the primary functions of the realis/irrealis distinction is to provide the means of distinguishing non-future or realised events (realis) from future and as yet unrealised events (irrealis).

All the above evidence would indicate that the morpheme *-ra* in Golin is an irrealis marker. However several issues have been raised in the literature, as to whether the category Reality Status is even a valid category cross-linguistically. Bybee and Fleischman (1995:9-10) raise several points about the validity of such a distinction:

Irrealis refers to a very broad conceptual category that covers a wide range of non-assertive modal meanings and receives formal expression in certain languages. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine in many instances whether the modal meaning of an utterance is contributed specifically by the so-called Irrealis marker or by some other element (lexical or morphosyntactic) of the discourse context, in which case the Irrealis marker is functionally redundant. This ambiguity calls into question the labelling of certain language-specific forms as Irrealis markers. A similar problem arises in the description of Subjunctives in European languages; like Irrealis markers, Subjunctives occur in a wide range of non-assertive contexts, and the status of their semantic content is very much in question.

A second and not insignificant problem with irrealis as a cross-language gram-type is the degree to which languages vary in their assignment of notional categories to the grammatical category Irrealis. Each language that operates with this category seems to make its own determination as to which notional categories will be considered irrealis. Thus, for both irrealis and subjunctive, it is difficult to circumscribe a focal meaning for the gram-type.

It seems that Bybee and Fleischman have two core problems with irrealis which are the following. The first main problem is the redundant use of irrealis and subjunctive markers because in some languages they are regularly selected for by their environment.

There are also many languages where the irrealis marker is not predictable from the morphosyntactic environment at all. This is the situation in many Australian languages for example in Maung, Emmi, Wardaman, and the Nyulnyulan languages (Elliott 2000:68) where future can be marked realis or irrealis depending on the likelihood of realisation. While this is not the case in Golin, the irrealis marker can occur with all types of truth assertion, person/number and illocutionary force suffixes. This is what Palmer (2001) distinguishes as a Non-Joint as opposed to Joint system of Reality Status, a Joint system is one where the selection of irrealis marking is dependant on other markers, as described by Bybee and Fleischman above. The

second type of system Palmer describes is ‘Non-Joint’. This system is found in Golin, where the irrealis is not dependant on any other markers, and adds specific semantic content to the utterance.

The second problem Bybee and Fleishman have with irrealis is its variation between languages, and lack of a precise semantic base. While it is true that the use of Reality Status is far from consistent cross linguistically, this is also the case with, for example, tense and many other categories which are recognized cross-linguistically. The basic notion of non-actualisation, however, does seem to remain consistent with this category. Elliott (2000) does provide some delineation of the basic common uses of irrealis, namely potentiality, unreal conditional constructions (including counterfactuals), modality, commands, negation, habitual constructions and interrogatives. If a language does have a reality distinction it will not necessarily have all of these categories marked as irrealis, Golin, for example, does not automatically mark negatives, interrogatives or commands as irrealis.

The fact that negatives in Golin are realis may be explained because there are two competing factors for negativity as irrealis. The first is that negativity is the realis assertion of the truth of the statement, i.e. the actualisation of the non-event wins over the competing motivation which is the actual non-instantiation or non-actualisation of the event.

There are two major factors for the use of the irrealis with the first person plural imperative, or exhortative according to Givón (1994:273), which are their future projection and the deontic value associated with them. That is, the speaker is communicating his/her attitude towards the potential actualisation of the event, namely that they want it to happen.

Golin does use irrealis in habitual constructions as shown in section 1.1.7 above. However, habituality can seem counter-intuitive as a potential domain for irrealis it is “a swing modal category par excellence” (Givón 1994:270). “One explanation for [the marking of habituality as irrealis] is the non-specific nature of the events being discussed [...] since no particular realized occasion is being discussed” (Elliott 2000:79). It seems to be very much the case, in Golin, that the event must have no particular or precise instantiation which can be referred to. If the event is regularly witnessed and verifiable the alternative construction involving verb reduplication seems to be preferred.

(25) *i abal bol pai mil-a-n-g-a*
 2 womanwith be be-IRR-2-AS-DIST
 ‘You’re always in bed with your wife.’ (sb 1a.120)

(26) *onin-man-kon³ willes(TP) kot(TP) kakol p-re*
 Friday village court case go-SEQ

p-re ere-n-g-w-e
 go-SEQ do-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Every Friday village court hears cases.’ (sb 1a.63)

³ Lit. *on-in man kon*
 hand-POSS thumb yam
 ‘Friday’

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Two possible combinations with the irrealis and interrogative mode in different languages are shown below by the following pair of examples. In the first example, from Pomo, the interrogative is applied to a realis event, whereas the irrealis automatically applies in the second example, from Caddo, because the construction is an interrogative.

- (27) *t^haná da'sé·č·bawa ma ʔé· ç^hʔólciw*
t^haná da'sé·č·ba=wa ma ʔé· ç^hʔólciw
 hand wash-SAME.SEQ.REALIS=Q you hair comb.PFV⁴
 'Did you wash your hands and comb your hair?' (CENTRAL POMO; Mithun 1995:383)
 QUESTION (+ REALIS (you washed your hands and combed your hair))

- (28) *süyybáwnah sahʔyibahwnah*
süyybáwnah sahʔ-yibahw-nah
 2.AGENT.IRREALIS-see-PERFECT
 'Have you seen him?' (CADDO; Mithun 1995:383)
 - REALIS (QUESTION (you saw him))

Reality Status is applied to interrogatives in Golin in the same way as the central Pomo example. That is, interrogatives can be either realis or irrealis depending on whether the State of Affairs being enquired about is thought to be actualized or not, as shown by the examples below.

- (29) *i kwimol takal ne-ra-n-g-i*
 2 tomorrow what eat-IRR-2-AS-TOP
 'What will you eat tomorrow?' (sb 1a.50)

- (30) *inin takal no-bin-g-i*
 1PL what eat-1PL-AS-TOP
 'What did we eat?' (sb 1a.51)

In terms of a subjective-objective distinction, which is defined in terms of the distinction between speaker-related and content-related functions (Verstraete 2001:1506), the realis-irrealis distinction is objective. That is a reflection of the actualisation or non-actualisation of the events, there is no participation of the speaker in the speech act via this marker. Therefore it is content-based and not speaker-related. Note, though that pragmatically, irrealis statements, in being unrealized, can take on subjective implications. That is, because the State of Affairs (SoA) is mentioned by the speaker as being unrealized, there may be some pragmatic implicature as to the desirability of the SoA. This is, for example the case with apprehensives, example (31), and counterfactuals, example (32) which have both taken on deontic, speaker related implications.

- (31) *edenin de-ra-n-a a-te-ki-a*
 fire burn-IRR-2-DIST with.hand-give-NEG-IMP
 'Don't touch the fire or it will burn you.' (sb 1a.91)

⁴ Perfective (PFV).

- (32) *Alan bolma si-ra-n-g-w-a=ba ere o-n-g-w-e*
 Alan pig hit-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST=CONC do go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Alan should have killed the pig as it ran away.’ (sb 1a.105)

2. Truth assertion in Golin

As noted in the introduction there are four possibilities for this category assertion *-g* (AS), non-assertion due to reported evidence *-u* (allomorph *-iw*) (REP), categorical assertion *-i* (CAS), non-assertion *-ø* (NAS). All of these markers are mutually exclusive, i.e. they can not co-occur.

2.1 Examples of uses of these markers

2.1.1 Assertion *-g*

The assertion marker *-g* is the most commonly occurring member of this category. It appears to be used in situations where the speaker is assured as to the general truth of the statement, and it is used in most final finite declarative clauses. It is not dependent on the actualisation of the State of Affairs, rather on the truth and validity of the statement AS a whole, and can regularly be used with the irrealis marker.

- (33) *gaan nil inin pa-n-g-w-a*
 child water REFL be-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘The child washed himself.’ (sb 1a.67)
- (34) *na Jutta si-re si-re ere-ø-g-e*
 1SG Jutta hit-SEQ hit-SEQ do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m always hitting Jutta.’ (sb 1a.63)
- (35) *i yal kane yal i ta kare-k-ra-n-g-a*
 2 man many man TOP NEG see-NEG-IRR-2-AS-DIST
 ‘You all will not see the man.’ (sb 1a.27)
- (36) *i erema uranga na wai praga dimba*
 i erema u-ra-n-g-a na wai pri-ø-g-a
 2 yesterday come-IRR-2-AS-DIST 1SG good perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
- di-m=ba*
 be-3=CONC
 ‘If you had come yesterday I would have been happy.’ (sb 1a.78)

The assertion marker may also be used in interrogatives when the truth of the SoA is not in question, that is, when it is a *wh-*, or content question that is being asked about that SoA.

(37) *abal i takal ne-ra-n-g-w-i*
 womanTOP what eat-IRR-3-AS-3-TOP
 ‘What will she eat?’ (sb 1a.51)

(38) *na takal gali-ø-g-i*
 1SG what burn-1SG-AS-TOP
 ‘What did I cook on the fire?’ (sb 1b.69)

2.1.2 Reported speech -u

The reported speech marker in Golin *-u/-iw/-w* (REP) is used in indirect speech quotation constructions⁵. Here the truth of the utterance is not asserted because the SoA was not witnessed directly and cannot be vouched for by the speaker. This marker can also appear with the irrealis marker.

(39) *yal i yalbil mili-w-a di-m=ba na ta*
 man TOP big.man be-REP-DIST say-3=CONC 1SG NEG
kare-ki-ø-g-a
 see-NEG-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘He says he is a big man but I doubt it.’ (sb 1a.77)

(40) *Jutta ebal para u-ra-m-u-a di-n-g-w-e*
 Jutta people all come-IRR-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Jutta says they (all) are coming.’ (sb 1a.114)

(41) *mala na mena i maul wo-n-w-a di-n-g-w-e*
 now 1SG mother 2 hole digging.motion-2-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘My mother says you are digging a hole now.’ (sb 1a.61)

(42) *yal ire gi i kau dimua dingwe*
 **yal ire gi i kau dingwe dingwe*
 yal ire gi i kau di-m-u-a di-n-g-w-e
 man TOP.PROX girl TOP song say-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Someone said he sang to her.’ (sb 1b.92)

2.1.3 Categorical assertion -i

The marker of categorical assertion *-i* (CAS) is typically used for SoAs which are not yet realized, and not provable, but which are declared to be the truth by the speaker. Co-occurrence with warnings or imperatives is common⁶.

⁵ Golin also allows direct quotation construction which does not take this marker.

⁶ This was the least common marker of this series in our data, and more examples need to be gathered in context to fully detail the semantics of this marker.

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- (43) *maul wo-ki-a mun ble gaud-ra-m-i-a*
 hole digging.motion-NEG-IMP back hurt break-IRR-3-CAS-DIST
 ‘Don’t dig a hole or you will hurt your back.’ (sb 1a.76)
- (44) *edenin teran ne-ra-n-g-a=ra i mil-a-n-g-a*
 fire one eat-IRR-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST 2 be-IRR-2-AS-DIST
- wai ta pi-k-ra-m-i-a*
 good NEG go-NEG-IRR-3-CAS-DIST
 ‘If you associate with enemies your life in the future will not be good!’ (sb
 Fire taboo text)
- (45) *i si-ra-l-a de ere-m-i-a ere p-a*
 2 hit-IRR-SS-DIST say do-3-CAS-DIST do go-IMP
 ‘Someone is trying to kill you, you must go!’ (sb 1a.136)
- (46) *na si-ø-g-a pa-m-i-a i si-ø-g-e*
 1SG hit-1SG-AS-DIST stay-3-CAS-DIST 2 play-1SG-AS-PROX
- pr-a-n-g-a*
 hear-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘I am talented so I will play for you.’ (sb 1a.93)

2.1.4 Non-assertion -ø

Where the truth of the utterance is not asserted and not reported speech, none of the above markers are used. This is common in questions, object complement/purpose constructions, for future occurrences which are unwanted (i.e. apprehensives), or wanted but only in the mind and desires of the speaker or agent (e.g. purpose) and in other non-truth assertive (NAS) situations.

- (47) *bolma ne-re same n-a-n-g-a gul-a-n-ø-a*
 pig eat-SEQ cold.bush go-IRR-2-AS-DIST die-IRR-2-NAS-DIST
- ne-ki-ø-a*
 eat-NEG-NAS-IMP
 ‘Don’t eat the pig and go to the cold place or you’ll die.’ (sb 1a.91)
- (48) *i kai tameran mi-n-ø*
 2 cry why cry-2-NAS
 ‘Why are you crying?’ (sb 1a.93)
- (49) *na maul ta wo-k-ra-l-ø-o*
 1SG hole NEG digging.motion-NEG-IRR-1SG-NAS-PQ
 ‘Am I not going to dig a hole?’ (sb 1a.67)

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(50) *na yal i kuria gi ta di te-ki-m-ø-a*
 1SG man TOP song girl NEG say give-NEG-3-NAS-DIST

di pri-ø-g-a
 COMP perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I doubt he sang a song for her.’ (sb 1b.92)

(51) *Alan pru-n-g-w-a Yukie bolma ta si*
 Alan perceive-3-AS-3-DIST Yukie pig NEG hit

gule-k-ra-m-ø-a di pri-n-g-w-a tameran Yukie gi
 die-NEG-IRR-3-NAS-DIST say perceive-3-AS-3-DIST why Yukie girl

meke mili-n-g-e
 DEM be-3-AS-PROX
 ‘Alan doubts that Yukie could ever kill a pig, because she is too small.’ (sb 1a.120)

2.2 Discussion of the Truth assertion Category as a valid category for Golin

Chafe discusses evidentiality in “its broadest sense, not restricting it to the expression of ‘evidence’ per se [...] discussing a range of epistemological considerations” (Chafe 1986:262). Palmer, however, disagrees with the use of epistemological or epistemology as valid terms as he finds them “too similar to ‘epistemic’ to be a useful term” (2001:8). Nonetheless he similarly groups epistemic and evidential modals under the one label ‘propositional modality’ (as distinct from event modality (deontic and dynamic)). Palmer further defines propositional modality AS “concerned with the speaker’s attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition.” (2001:24). The truth assertion series in Golin (-g (AS), -w (REP), -i (CAS) and -ø (NAS)) undoubtedly fall under this type of broad attitude-to-truth category.

Willett (1988:85) focuses on evidentiality in the ‘narrow’ sense, that is marking only and specifically sources of knowledge. However, he does refer to the above evidentiality plus epistemic as comprising evidentiality in the ‘broad sense’. He proposes a model similar to that of Chafe’s of the relation between Evidentiality and Epistemic judgements. Chafe’s (1986:263) model is given below:

<u>source of knowledge</u>		<u>mode of knowing</u>		<u>knowledge matched against</u>
				reliable
				k
				n
???	--->	belief	--->	o
evidence	--->	induction	--->	w ---> verbal resources
language	--->	hearsay	--->	l ---> expectations
hypothesis	--->	deduction	--->	e
				d
				g
				e
				unreliable

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Willet has qualms with this model because “there apparently is free variation between the degree of assertion and the source and reliability of the evidence for the assertion. This seems to me both counterintuitive and contrary to the data studied here.” (1988:86) While Willett does have a valid point that certain types of evidence generally do link to certain degrees of reliability to certain sources of knowledge, I don’t think this is Chafe’s main point. In fact Chafe explicitly says that “[t]he placement of these four modes of knowing in [the figure above] does not imply that belief is more reliable, or deduction less reliable than the others. Each mode of knowing can move up and down the scale of reliability.” This allows for movement according to different views in different cultural settings as to what is more reliable. The main point to be gleaned is, rather, the direction from the source and mode of knowledge to its reliability:

[E]xpressions that have to do with modes of knowing [...] carry implications as to degree of reliability as well. In other words, mode of knowing implies something about reliability, but not vice versa. (Chafe, 1986:266)

This model is particularly relevant to the status of the evidential markers in Golin, because initially the markers seem to be of two different kinds, one evidential (-*u*) and the others epistemic (-*g*, -*i*, -*ø*). However if we view them in the context of Chafe’s model we find a mixture of modes of knowing (-*g*, -*i*, -*ø*) and sources of knowledge (-*u*). Using Chafe’s model, we can subsume all of these markers under modes of knowing, because the reported speech marker could indeed be a hearsay marker from which the mode of knowing is simply implied. This relation between source of knowledge and mode of knowing (i.e. truth-belief value) is a good bridge to connect the apparently distinct domains of epistemic modality and evidentiality.

One possible perceived inconsistency with the markers in Golin and the above theories is the use of the assertive marker -*g* in counterfactuals. How can the truth of a SoA be asserted when that SoA is contrary to fact? It is, however, the irrealis which marks the event as having not occurred in the real world, as being contrary to fact. The assertive marker asserts the truth of the proposition as a whole. The speaker commits to the truth that the event has not occurred. So, truth assertion in Golin can be thought of as applying to the proposition as a whole.

(52) *Alan bolma si-ra-n-g-w-a=ba* *ere o-n-g-w-e*
Alan pig hit-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST=CONC do go-3-AS-3-PROX
‘Alan should have killed the pig as it ran away.’ (sb 1a.105)

(53) *Alan bolma ta si-k-ra-n-g-w-a* *inin komina ta*
Alan pig NEG hit-NEG-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST we food NEG

ne-k-ra-bin-g-a

eat-NEG-IRR-1PL-AS-DIST

‘If Alan hadn’t killed the pig we would have had no food.’ (sb 1b.116)

The scale of commitment to the truth of a statement, such as is found in Golin and other languages, and as suggested by Willet (1988) and Chafe (1985), is a common view of propositional modality. Givón concurs saying that “at the bottom of propositional/sentential modalities lies the implicit contract between speaker and

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hearer, a contract specifying three types of propositions ... taken for granted ... asserted with relative confidence ... asserted with doubt.” (1982:24). These propositions are points on an “evidentiary gradation, a non-discrete continuum” (1982:26).

The order of assertion of truth markers in Golin is, beginning with the greatest commitment to truth: categorical assertion, assertion, non-assertion due to reported speech, and finally general non-assertion. I have chosen the term categorical assertion following from Donaldson (1980) in her description of the Pama-Nyungan language Ngiyambaa (as detailed in Palmer 2001). In Ngiyambaa there is a series of modal clitics which relate to ‘Belief’, ‘Knowledge’ and ‘Evidence’. These include assertion, Categorical assertion, Counter-assertion, Hypothesis, Exclamative, Ignorative, Sensory Evidence and Linguistic Evidence. The difference between assertion and Categorical assertion is demonstrated in Ngiyambaa below. Example (54) is assertion and (55) is Categorical assertion.

- (54) *waŋa:yba:na yananhi*
 waŋa:y-ba:-na yana-nhi
 NEG-ASS-3ABS walk-PAST
 ‘He didn’t walk’ (again) (NGIYAMBAA; Palmer 2001:17)

- (55) *guni:mbaranu: baluyaga*
 guni:m-bara-nu: balu-y-aga
 mother+ABS-CNTR.ASS-2OBL die-CM-IRR
 ‘Your mother is bound to die’ (NGIYAMBAA; Palmer 2001:17)

This difference is also demonstrated in Golin, below, example (56) illustrates assertion and (57) Categorical assertion.

- (56) *Alan erema maul wo-re mun ble*
 Alan yesterday hole diggin.motion-SEQ back hurt
- gadu-n-g-w-a*
 break-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘Yesterday Alan dug a hole and hurt his back.’ (sb 1a.76)

- (57) *maul wo-ki-a mun ble gaud-ra-m-i-a*
 hole digging.motion-NEG-IMP back hurt break-IRR-3-CAS-DIST
 ‘Don't dig a hole or you will hurt your back!’ (sb 1a.76)

Such truth assertion markers, or markers of evidentiality in the broad sense are also found in other languages. Hidatsa (Siouan, USA), has the following series of markers: Emphatic, Period (normal assertion), Quotative, Report, and Indefinite/Question (Palmer, 2001:37). These are almost identical to those found in Golin, except that Golin does not have a category for Quotative which “indicates that the speaker regards what he has said to be something that everyone knows” (Palmer 2001:37). The distinction between Emphatic and Period is quite similar to that between Categorical assertion and assertion in Golin. The following are examples of Emphatic (58) and Period (59) in Hidatsa.

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(58) *wacéo iikipi kurè héo ski*
wacéo iikipi kurè héo ski
man pipe carried EMPH
'The man (sure) did carry the pipe' (HIDATSA; Palmer 2001:37)

(59) *wacéo iikipi kurè héo c*
wacéo iikipi kurè héo c
man pipe carried PER⁷
'I suppose the man carried the pipe.' (HIDATSA; Palmer 2001:37)

Hixkaryana⁸, spoken in northern Brazil, also has a series of propositional modal (broad epistemic) markers. These are 'verification particles' which mark the "degree of certainty and authority for assertion" (Derbyshire 1979:143). The main markers in this series are *ti* 'hearsay', *mi* 'deduction', *na* 'uncertainty', *mpini* 'certainty, prediction, warning', *we* 'opinion, recollection, counter affirmation', and *mpe* 'positive doubt, scepticism' (Derbyshire 1979). *Ti* is demonstrated in example (60) below.

(60) *yawaka yariy hati, Waraka*
yawaka yariy hati, Waraka
axe he-took-it hearsay Waraka
'(They say) Waraka took the axe.' (HIXKARYANA; Derbyshire 1979:144)

While the particles from Hixkaryana are tied to different points on the scale of commitment to truth, there are some similarities. Just as in Golin, there is a particle which is associated with a higher level of truth assertion, *mpini*, there is also a hearsay particle *ti*, and a non-assertion, uncertainty particle *na*.

In Golin, Ngiyambaa, Hidatsa and Hixkaryana, each language has at least one marker of a higher level of truth assertion, and one particle indicating indirect evidence of an event. On the continuum of 'broad' evidentiality, there seems to be some common points which are frequently marked.

In table 1, I summarized the various uses of the irrealis marker, showing which of these were able to take non-zero truth assertion marking. In addition to non-content interrogatives, imperatives, and serial and medial verb forms, these form a complete set of the forms which cannot take truth assertion marking. Revising, these were: Apprehensive, Purpose, Possibility (with polar question suffix), Wishes and Hortative (1 person plural imperative).

The common thread binding the above forms, if we discount those with the polar question suffix, is that they all have a deontic element. Apprehensive statements are negative and deontic; the speaker's attitude is that they do not want the SoA in question to occur. Purpose, wishes and hortative statements are all deontic in that they are desirable events, which the speaker (or the agent in the case of purpose) has a positive attitude towards. Here it seems that the speaker is making no claims AS to the actual truth of the assertion, or any claims to likelihood of truth or actualisation of the SoA, they are simply stating their attitude towards the SoA if it were to occur.

⁷ Period (PER).

⁸ Thanks to Jenny Scapetis for bringing these examples to my attention.

Therefore these SoAS are very low on the truth assertion continuum. With interrogatives and possibilities, the ability of the speaker to assert the truth is also so low as to not be asserted. The fact that Golin does not assert truth in these particular situations is not all together surprising, as languages are most likely to specify evidence in the middle of the assertion of truth continuum where “truth is neither presupposed and thus beyond doubt, nor too hazy and dubitable to bother with” (Givón 1982:26).

In terms of subjectivity and objectivity, the truth-assertion markers in Golin, like all evidentials, are usually speaker-related, that is subjective. The speaker is making a qualificational judgement as to the truth-assertion worthiness of the utterance based on the evidence available, i.e. this slot is subjective modality while slot 2⁹ expresses objective modality.

3. Mood in Object Complement/Purpose constructions

A special construction in Golin, which highlights the use of the two main mood categories already discussed, is the object complement/purpose construction. The general template for this construction is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} S_{\text{purpose/objectcomplement}} \\ V \end{array} \Rightarrow V+\text{IRR}+\text{Person/Number/SS}+\text{DIST } di^{10} \quad (\text{N})$$

Where V may be of type medial, serial or final.

The two following examples are purpose uses of this construction.

- (61) *na alan nimin si-ra-m-a di kominasi-n-g-w-e*
 1SG opp.sex.sib rain hit-IRR-3-DIST COMP food hit-3-AS-3-PROX
 My sister harvested the garden for fear of rain. (sb 1a.75)

- (62) *yal i maul wo-r-a-l-a de dimingul*
 man TOP hole digging.motion-IRR-SS-DIST COMP bush

o-n-g-w-e
 go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He is going to the bush to dig a hole.’ (sb 1a.137)

The following are object complement uses with the verb *pri* ‘perceive/think/feel’:

- (63) *na i gul-a-n-a di pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG 2 die-IRR-2-DIST say perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m afraid that you will die.’ (sb 1a.112)

⁹ Slot 2 covers irrealis modality.

¹⁰ Kia also gave sentences with the same construction but without the complementizer *di*. However, when specifically asked which was preferred during elicitation he chose the construction with ‘say’.

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- (64) *i n-a-l-a di pri-n-g-e*
 2 go-IRR-SS-DIST say perceive-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You want to go.’ (sb 1a.138)

This construction also commonly occurs with the dummy verb *ere* ‘do’, to mean ‘want’, or ‘try’.

- (65) *Bryan kabe gi-re kul-a-l-a de eru-n-g-w-a*
 Bryan banana cut-SEQ join-IRR-SS-DIST say do-3-AS-3-DIST

Alan maul wo-n-g-w-a
 Alan hole digging.motion-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘Yesterday Alan dug a hole because Bryan wanted to bury the bananas.’ (sb 1a.75)

- (66) *na tabale si-ra-l-a di eri-ø-g-a abal*
 1SG jew’s.harp hit-IRR-SS-DIST say do-1SG-AS-DIST woman

i mana du-n-g-w-e
 TOP no say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I want to play the tabale but she says no.’ (sb 1a.92)

It is no surprise that these verbal complements have irrealis marking as “[m]any complement-taking verbs induce an irrealis mode over their complement clauses, even when the main verb itself is marked by a realis tense-aspect” (Givón 1994:272). Givón specifies this type of complement taking verb as typically being valuative (i.e. deontic), which includes verbs such as ‘want’, ‘intend’ and ‘forbid’ and perception/cognition/utterance verbs such as ‘think’, ‘say’ and ‘believe’.

This use of ‘say’ in such subordinate clauses is also found in other Papuan languages. In Usan ‘say’ is used in purpose clauses because, Reesink says, “the concept of intention refers to deliberate thought accompanying certain actions. Deliberate thought may be seen as silent speech that the agent directs to himself” (Reesink 1987:255).

- (67) *munon mâni gunoub qâmb man isumirei.*
 munon mâni gun-oub qâmb man is-umirei
 man yam dig-PL.FUT.SS say.SS garden descend-3PL.FP¹¹
 ‘The men went down to the garden in order to dig up the yam.’ (USAN;
 Reesink 1987:257)

Further, this is also found in other Papuan languages with desiderative, that is, valuative verbs, as described by Givón. “This use of ‘say’ in desiderative constructions is pervasive in Papuan languages” (Foley 1986:157). The first example demonstrating this is from Enga, the second from Hua:

¹¹ Far past (FP).

- (68) *nambá Wápaka púpú láká láo másilyo*
 nambá Wápaka pú-p-ú láká lá-o mási-ly-o
 I Wabag go-PAST-1SG that say-SIM¹² feel-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want to go to Wabag verb badly.’ (ENGA; Foley 1986:157)
- (69) *dogue hie*
 do-gu-e hi-e
 eat-FUT-OTHER.DECL say.3SG-OTHER.DECL¹³
 ‘He wants to eat.’ (HUA; Foley 1986:158)

5. Conclusion

The main mood categories I have attempted to delineate in Golin in this article are the Truth assertion category and the Reality Status category. Truth assertion in Golin is a typical ‘broad’ evidential or propositional modality category as described in the literature, which indicates how committed to the validity of the statement the speaker is. Reality Status on the other hand communicates something about the actualisation or non-actualisation of the SoA. The irrealis marker in Golin is used in typical environments as predicted by the literature. Golin also has a purpose/object complement construction which uses modal markers and the verb ‘say’. This is also found in several other Papuan languages and has interesting modal implications which would be good to investigate further. There are also two markers *-a* (DIST) and *-e* (PROX), broadly (subjectively) distal vs proximal tense but with further connotations of relevance, which may then contribute modally, especially in complex sentence environments. These need to be investigated further. In conclusion, the mood system in Golin is complex, and pervasive, and is yet to be fully understood, but hopefully I have shed some light on the use of two of its categories here.

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¹² Simultaneous (SIM).

¹³ Other declination (OTHER.DECL)

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4. The verb lexicon of Golin

Bella Ross

This article will examine the verb lexicon of Golin. Like many other highland languages, Golin displays a relatively small verb class. In order to express a wide range of meanings, Golin, in addition to using independent generic verbs, makes use of three main types of phrasal verb constructions. These include phrasal verb constructions consisting of a coverb and an inflecting verb (hereafter, Co-V constructions), compound and sequential verb chains.

The following discussion is based largely on the Golin dictionary, scribe books and texts to date, compiled by the Linguistic Field Methods Class at the University of Melbourne, 2003. The dictionary has a small, closed class of 39 inflecting verb roots. See Appendix 1 for a full list of all the verbs which may occur independently, Appendix 2 for a list of the coverbs encountered, and Appendix 3 for a list of co-V constructions, which have been the foundations on which this article has been based.

Similar to the Kalam language in Madang Province, as described by Pawley (1993), Golin has few verb roots that can occur both as a verb and in another part of speech. Independent verbs carry suffixes marking person number of subject, tense, aspect or mood.

1. Generic Verbs

Of the 39 inflecting verb roots collected, ten are high frequency verb roots, most of which take coverbs. These have a broader semantic range than the less frequent verb roots. Table 1 shows the most frequent ten verb roots (with simplified, generalized glosses given in capital letters), listed in approximate order of frequency.

Table 1 The most frequently occurring inflecting verb roots in Golin

1. <i>si</i>	HIT	6. <i>u</i>	COME
2. <i>di</i>	BE/DESCRIBES A STATE	7. <i>mili</i>	BE/ASSIGNS A QUALITY
3. <i>pai</i>	BE/HAVE	8. <i>yu</i>	BRING
4. <i>e</i>	GO/WALK/MOVE	9. <i>guli</i>	DIE
5. <i>pri</i>	PERCEIVE	10. <i>yo</i>	BE

The following section will describe the semantic and grammatical properties of each of the verbs listed in Table 1 as they occur as an independent verb. However, the semantic sense of these verb roots is often bleached when occurring with co-verbs (see Appendix 2 and 3).

1.1 *si* ‘HIT’

This transitive inflecting verb root occurs in all three phrasal verb categories to be discussed in later sections. When occurring as an independent verb, it has a general sense denoting any type of contact and/or impact, which extends to mean ‘strike’, ‘hit’, ‘kill’, ‘catch’ and ‘play an instrument’, as shown in the following examples.

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- (1) *ebal na su-n-g-w-e*
3PL 1SG strike-3-AS-3-PROX
'They hit me.'
- (2) *na pis si-g-a*
1SG fish strike-AS-DIST
'I caught a fish.'
- (3) *na bolma si-g-a*
1SG pig strike-AS-DIST
'I killed the pig.'
- (4) *na tabale si-g-e*
1SG tabale strike-AS-PROX
'I play the tabale (a mouth instrument).'

1.2 di 'BE'

di is largely found in Co-V, serial and sequential verb constructions. The following examples are the only occurrences we have encountered in which *di* is an independent verb with a general meaning of 'BE'.

- (5) *endenin nika di-n-g-w-e*
fire hot be-3-AS-3-PROX
'The fire is hot.'
- (6) *pensil di-m-o*
pencil be-3-PQ
'Where is the pencil?'
- (7) *pensil di-n-g-w-e*
pencil be-3-AS-3-PROX
'The pencil is here.'

The following expression shows a highly conventionalized use of *di*. Depending on the context, it can mean either 'I have a boyfriend' or 'I am making friends with someone'.

- (8) *na di-g-a*
1SG be-AS-DIST
'I have a boyfriend.'
'I am making friends with someone.'

1.3 pai 'BE/HAVE'

When *pai* occurs independently, it functions as a transitive verb pertaining to human states, extending to mean 'be' and 'have'. Two examples of use are given below.

(9) *na niman pai-g-e*
 1SG lice have-AS-PROX
 ‘I have lice.’

(10) *na main paige*
 1SG down be-AS-PROX
 ‘I am lying down.’

Perhaps due to the semantic properties encoded in *pai*, which exclude any notion of action, *pai* has not been encountered in compound or sequential verb constructions. The only phrasal verb construction that it participates in is the Co-V construction.

1.4 e ‘GO/WALK/MOVE’

e describes a deictic movement away from the speaker, see example (11). It is commonly used in compound and sequential verb constructions.

(11) *gaan ere pa*
 kids go IMP
 ‘Go away, kids!’

e, when inflected, may incorporate adverbs between the verb root and its inflections to describe specific directions of movement, as illustrated in the following example.

(12) *ere main pa*
 go down IMP
 ‘Go down!’

1.5 pri ‘PERCEIVE/THINK’

pri describes human perceptions, thoughts, beliefs and opinions. It occurs in both Co-V and compound verb constructions. Thus far, we have not encountered the use of *pri* in sequential verb constructions.

(13) *na i pri-Ø-g-e*
 1SG 2SG PERCEIVE-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I hear you.’

(14) *na pri-Ø-g-i kakibi di-m-a di-pri-g-a*
 1SG PERCEIVE-AS-SPEC false BE-3-DIST BE-PERCEIVE-AS-DIST
 ‘I thought that they were lying.’

(15) *na pri-Ø-g-e abal i u-ra-n-g-w-e*
 1SG PERCEIVE-1SG-AS-PROX woman TOP COME-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I think she will come tomorrow.’

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1.6 u ‘COME’

u describes a deictic movement toward the speaker, see example (16) or some other reference part (17). It is commonly used in Co-V, compound verb and sequential verb constructions.

- (16) *yal-i erema u-n-g-w-a*
3SG yesterday come-3-AS-3-DIST
‘He came yesterday.’

- (17) *na ta u-kr-a-g-a*
1SG NEG come-NEG-IRR-AS-DIST
‘I did not come.’

1.7 mili ‘BE’

mili denotes a permanent state or assigns a quality to a human without involving an action. As such its meanings may extend to take in ‘be’ and ‘standing’.

- (18) *yal nimirin mulu-n-g-w-e*
3SG strong be-3-AS-3-PROX
‘He is a strong man.’

- (19) *kebin toon mili-bin-g-e*
brother small be-PL-AS-PROX
‘We are younger brothers.’

It should also be noted that *mili* does not occur in Co-V constructions.

1.8 yu ‘BRING’

This word has the meaning ‘bring’ and is therefore inherently transitive as illustrated in the following examples.

- (20) *na minesin kebil yu-Ø-g-e*
1SG pot small bring-1SG-AS-PROX
‘I am bringing the small pot.’

- (21) *na minesin kebil yu-ra-Ø-g-a*
1SG pot small bring-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST
‘I will bring the small pot.’

yu has been encountered both in sequential verb constructions (22) and in Co-V constructions (23).

- (22) *yal i eri kau yu-ra-n-g-w-e*
man TOP tree carry bring-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
‘He will carry a log (on his shoulder)’. (1a.54)

- (23) *obegal tau a te yu-a*
 sand some with.hand COV bring-IMP
 ‘Pick up some sand!’ (1a.12)

1.9 *guli* ‘DIE’

This generic verb root has a basic meaning of ‘die’ when it occurs as an independent verb, see (24) and (25).

- (24) *kul gulu-n-g-w-a*
 grass die-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘The grass died.’
- (25) *na yal-i gula-m-a di-pri-g-e*
 1SG 3SG die-3-DIST be-perceive-AS-PROX
 ‘I am afraid that he will die.’

However, when it takes coverbs, the sense is modified to include ‘a physical feeling of need’ as in (26).

- (26) *na kinan gulu-Ø-g-e*
 1SG ? die-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I am hungry.’

1.10 *yo* ‘BE’

The meaning of *yo*, when it occurs as an independent verb, is to ‘be’ or ‘stay’. It describes the physical location of an inanimate object when in a permanent state.

- (27) *pen main kombil yo-n-g-w-e*
 pen on road be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘The pen is on the road.’
- (28) *kombil tabin yo-n-g-w-e*
 road short be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘The road is short.’

By investigating the semantic and structural properties of the most common generic verbs it becomes apparent that although the meanings of these words can be very broad, conventions regarding their usage exist. This becomes evident in the many words which may be translated as meaning BE; both *mili* and *pai* are used when referring to human states, where *pai* specifies a permanent state. *yo* is used when referring to the permanent state of an inanimate entity. *di* is also used, though to a more limited degree, to express a permanent state of an inanimate object.

When choosing the appropriate inflecting verb root, therefore, it must be considered whether the event being encoded refers to human or inanimate objects,

whether the expression denotes a permanent or transitory state or whether the expression denotes a motion.

2. Coverb – Verb Constructions (Co-V)

Co-V constructions consist of a coverb followed by an inflected verb root, which together form a semantic unit, so that the original meaning encoded in the inflected verb root is semantically bleached. For this reason, it should be noted that the glossing of the inflected verbs may not necessarily bear any direct relationship with the overall meaning of the Co-V construction and are therefore better understood as a whole.

Coverbs can be recruited from various grammatical classes, such as nouns and adjectives. As will be discussed later, coverbs, when combined with generic verbs, often have the ability to change the transitivity of the verbal construction.

2.1 Denominalized Coverbs

It is likely that a large number of Golin nouns may occur as denominalized coverbs in Co-V constructions. With few exceptions, denominalized coverbs are semantically transparent as the following examples illustrate.

- (29) *ari si*
sun STRIKE
'shining of sun'

It is worth noting that *si*, as an independent verb, is transitive, but when combined with the denominalized coverb, *ari*, it becomes intransitive.

- (30) *kamin ta*
time GIVE
'breaking of day'

- (31) *kau yu*
shoulder BRING
'carry (over shoulder)' see (22)

- (32) *ul pai*
sleep BE
'sleep'

- (33) *kaul si*
women's skirt STRIKE
'dance'

Alternatively, *kaul* in (33) can be analyzed as a coverb with the encoded meaning of 'dance'.

The expression ‘*kaupa si*’ has two meanings; the literal meaning, ‘to kill a bird’, and the metaphoric meaning, ‘to have a fit’ as in (34). In the latter, the noun *kaupa* ‘bird’ may be classed as a denominal coverb.

- (34) *kaupa si*
bird HIT
‘have a fit’

(35) is an example of a Co-V construction that displays no apparent relation to the individual coverb component. It is a conventionalized use where the meaning cannot be analysed by decomposing it into parts.

- (35) *kinan guli*
ear DIE
‘be hungry’

In (36), the denominalized coverb, *nil*, and the verb root, *si*, together form a semantically transparent construction, where the meanings of the individual components are retained. However, on the analysis suggested by normal word order, the addition of the coverb *nil* changes *si* from being transitive to intransitive in this verbal construction.

- (36) *gaan nil su-n-g-w-e*
child water strike-3-AS-3-PROX
‘The child is drowning.’

Alternatively, *nil* in the following example can be analysed not as a denominalized coverb but imply an agent acting on a patient, as shown in (37).

- (37) *gaan nil su-n-g-w-e*
child water strike-3-AS-3-PROX
‘Water killed the child.’

Here, *nil* may be the agent acting upon the patient *gaan*, denoting that the child is killed by the water, which encodes the event, ‘the child is drowning’. Using this analysis, the verb *si* remains transitive.

The noun *ka* when occurring as an independent word means ‘word’, ‘talk’ and ‘language’. When it occurs with the inflecting verb *di*, the meaning of the phrasal verb refers to the act of talking.

- (38) *na ka di-Ø-g-e*
1SG talk be-1SG-AS-PROX
‘I talk.’

The denominalized coverb *ka* also occurs with the generic verb *pri* to mean ‘understanding a language’, as in the following example:

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- (39) *na kru-ka ka pri-Ø-g-e*
1SG fair.skin-language word perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
'I understand English.' (*lit.* 'I understand the fair-skinned language.')

2.2 Deadjectival Coverbs

Thus far, the only deadjectival coverbs encountered are derived from the adjectives, *wai* 'good' and *ki* 'bad'.

- (40) *na abal wai kari-Ø-g-e*
1SG woman good see-1SG-AS-PROX
'I love the woman.'
- (41) *na nil wai pri-Ø-g-e*
1SG water good perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
'I want water.'
- (42) *yal abal ki kari-n-g-w-e*
man woman bad see-3-AS-3-PROX
'The man hates the woman.'
- (43) *abal i yal i bol ki pri-n-g-w-e*
woman TOP man TOP with bad perceive-3-AS-3-PROX
'The woman and man hate each other.'

2.3 Base Coverbs

This is by far the largest set of coverbs found in Co-V constructions. There is a diverse range of meanings denoted by these base coverbs. Syntactically, they cannot occur as independent units. Instead, they usually collocate with a generic verb root that may bear a semantic relationship with the specific event type expressed by the entire Co-V construction.

Because we have not encountered base coverbs occurring as independent words, it is difficult to ascertain whether they have always been true base coverbs. Many base coverbs may have originated as nominals or adjectives.

In the following examples, base coverbs are glossed as COV. We have chosen not to gloss and ascribe specific senses to each of the coverbs, as the entire Co-V construction encodes one single semantic meaning.

- (44) *bli agau di-Ø-g-e*
stick COV be-1SG-AS-PROX
=====break=====
'I break a stick.'
- (45) *na nil nedugu di-Ø-g-e*
1SG water COV be-1SG-AS-PROX
=====swallow=====
'I swallow water.'

- (46) *na gala di-Ø-g-e*
 1SG COV be-1SG-AS-PROX
 =====shout=====
 ‘I shout.’
- (47) *amin di*
 COV be
 ‘Sit’
- (48) *anu si*
 COV strike
 ‘Push’
- (49) *dulai si*
 COV strike
 ‘to belt’; ‘to hit with a stick or wire’
- (50) *na kuru pri-Ø-g-e*
 1SG COV perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 =====be scared=====
 ‘I am scared.’
- (51) *gaul wo*
 COV DIGGING MOTION
 ‘scratch’
- (52) *bera di*
 COV be
 ‘fall’

More meanings can be generated by chaining coverbs, which need not be from the same coverb class. The following is an example.

- (53) *gaan nil kupa su-n-g-w-e*
 child water/COV COV strike-3-AS-3-PROX
 =====swim=====
 ‘The child is swimming.’

In this construction, there are two coverbs; one denominalized, one base.

3. Serial Verb Constructions

Golin makes significant use of serial verb constructions, consisting minimally of what Pawley calls a ‘verb series’, i.e. ‘one or more bare verb roots preceding an inflected verb root’ (Pawley, forthcoming, p.11). Each verb root in a serial verb

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construction expresses one of the meanings that it can have when used as an independent verb.

In the case of two or more verb roots following each other in a serial verb construction, only the final verb root takes inflection. This is indicated by a hyphen after the verb root that takes inflection in our examples.

In Golin, most serial verb constructions are sequential in nature, to be examined later. However, there are also a few serial verb constructions that can be analysed as non-canonical because the sub-events encoded by each constituent take place more or less simultaneously. We will label this latter as compound verb constructions, and those which are canonical as sequential verb constructions.

3.1 Compound Verb Constructions

An example of a compound verb construction is *ka di te*, made up of the Co-V construction *ka* ‘word’ and *di* ‘say’, meaning ‘talk’, and the independent verb *te*, meaning ‘give’. Together, the phrase means ‘to talk to someone’. In addition, this changes the transitivity of the entire verb phrase from intransitive to transitive (see § 4).

- (54) *i na ka di te-n-g-e*
2SG 1SG word/COV say give-2-AS-PROX
‘You are talking to me.’ (Transitive)

- (55) *abal ta buke a te yu-n-g-w-a*
womanone book(TP) with.hand give bring-3-AS-3-DIST see-
kara-Ø-g-a
1SG-AS-DIST
‘I saw someone holding a book’. (1a.54)

3.2 Sequential Verb Constructions

Sequential verb constructions, as mentioned earlier, can be subsumed under the category of serial verb constructions. These, however, reflect the order of events as they take place in the real world.

Some languages have conventions regarding the appropriate amount of information that is to be given when describing events, and Golin frequently elaborates this beyond the English norm. Thus an action, which in English may be described using a single verb, in Golin requires a series of verbs.

The sequential verb in (56) consists of the Co-V construction *abu di* and the inflecting verb *e-*.

- (56) *na kan abu di e-Ø-g-e*
1SG rope pull be go-1SG-AS-PROX
‘I climb up the rope.’ (*lit.* ‘I pull the rope and walk.’)

- (57) *yal ta kan abu di eri mo-n-g-w-e*

3SG DET rope pull be tree climb-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He climbs the tree.’ (*lit.* ‘He pulls a rope and climbs the tree.’)

(58) presents a clear example of a sequential verb, where the speaker initially specifies climbing the tree before falling from it.

(58) *na eri mo-re gaul si-Ø-g-e*
 1SG tree climb-SS.SEQ COV strike-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I fall out of the tree.’ (*lit.* ‘I climb the tree and fall.’)

It is interesting to note that a sequential verb construction can be interrupted by a noun, as in the following example, where the verb construction *abu di mo* ‘climb’ is interrupted by the noun *eri* ‘tree’:

(59) *yal ta kan abu eri mo-n-g-w-e*
 3SG DET rope pull tree climb-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He climbs up the tree using the rope.’

Here, the sequential verb construction, *abu di mo* comprizes the Co-V construction *abu di*, and the inflecting verb *mo-*.

The following example describes the act of preparing livestock for food, which involves first killing the animal and then cooking it.

(60) *na bolma ta si ki-ki-Ø-g-e*
 1SG pig NEG strike prepare-NEG-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I did not cook the pork.’

This sequential verb is further expanded to *si ki ne* in (61), where an extra component of *ne* ‘eat’ is introduced to modify the meaning of the construction to mean ‘feast’.

(61) *si ki ne*
 strike prepare eat
 ‘feast’

In more complex compound and sequential verb constructions, it is possible to insert lexical items of other grammatical classes between verb roots.

4. Valency, Agency and Transitivity

Valency and transitivity are not always inherently encoded in the generic verb roots, but can alter when they occur in phrasal verb constructions, depending on the constituents that they combine with.

The following examples illustrate how the addition of a verbal constituent may increase the valency of the phrasal construction. For example, the intransitive verb *ka di* ‘talk’ (62) can be converted into the transitive verb *ka di te* ‘talk to’ by adding the verb *te* ‘give’ as in (63).

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(62) *na mala ka di-Ø-g-e*
1SG now word/COV be-1SG-AS-PROX
'I am talking now.'

(63) *i na ka di te-n-g-e*
2SG 1SG word be give-2-AS-PROX
'You are talking to me.'

It is apparent that transitivity of a generic verb root may change when combined with coverbs and/or base verb roots as found in serial and sequential verb constructions. As illustrated in the following examples, the inflecting verb root *guli* is inherently intransitive.

(64) *i gula-n-g-a*
2SG die-2-AS-DIST
'You are going to die.' (Intransitive)

(65) *na nil guli-Ø-g-e*
1SG water die-1SG-AS-PROX
'I am thirsty.' (Intransitive, if *nil* is analysed as a denominal coverb.¹)

However, the addition of the bare verb root *si* in the serial verb construction *si guli* changes the transitivity from intransitive to transitive, as in the following example.

(66) *na ebal si gulu-Ø-g-e*
1SG person strike die-1SG-AS-PROX
'I killed someone.' (Transitive)

The intransitive generic verb *di* 'BE', when occurring in coverb constructions may be both transitive, as in (67), or remain intransitive, as in (68).

(67) *abu di*
pull/COV be
'pull' (transitive)

(68) *mogu di*
run/COV be
'run' (intransitive)

The following examples illustrate another change in valency concerning the generic verb *si* 'STRIKE', which on its own is a transitive verb. When combined with the coverb *nimin*, as in (69), or the coverb *ole*, as in (70) the verb construction becomes intransitive.

(69) *nimin si*
rain/COV strike
'rain' (intransitive)

¹ An alternative analysis of this construction is to treat *guli* as encoding the meaning of 'crave' or 'need', in which case, *nil* acts as an object in a basic SOV construction, suggesting that *guli* is transitive.

- (70) *ole* *si*
 jump/COV strike
 ‘jump’ (intransitive)

The above examples illustrate that the valency of a generic verb may change depending on which verb construction they participate in. It is possible for a transitive generic verb to yield a intransitive combination, just as it is possible for an intransitive generic verb to yield a transitive combination.

5. Conclusion

The verb lexicon of Golin has a relatively small class of inflecting verbs. In order to communicate a wider range of verbal expressions, Golin makes extensive use of phrasal verb constructions. These include coverbs, compound and sequential verb constructions.

In coverb constructions, the semantic meanings of the individual components are often bleached. Thus the entire verb construction should be considered as a unit for its meaning. Apart from a set of bare coverbs which are non-inflecting elements that only occur with generic verbs to form Co-V constructions, Golin coverbs are also recruited from other word classes as nouns and adjectives.

In compound and sequential verb constructions, in contrast, the individual root meanings remain largely intact as the nature of these constructions imply either simultaneous events or a sequence of events.

References:

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5. Clause types in Golin

Kate Brown

1. Introduction

For this paper, the assumption will be that the clause in Golin corresponds to a simple sentence where there is a subject and something predicated of the subject.

Like many Papuan languages, the canonical word order in Golin is SOV. There is some flexibility in the position of S and O depending on the clause type (eg. (23)), as the verb usually inflects to agree with the subject. However, with the possible exception of some verbless clauses (see examples (2) and (6)), the predicate always occurs in clause final position.

Where person agreement on the verb (or lack thereof) cannot distinguish the role of participants, word order becomes necessary to determine this. There is no case marking for core arguments in Golin, although there may be some evidence for case marking for instrumentals.

2. Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses can have an attributive function, or can indicate possession. The verbless clause consists of a subject (S), adjectival or possessive predicate, and often a demonstrative. While the demonstrative gives deictic emphasis, it can also function as a dummy subject.

The demonstrative can occur as a subject where there is a possessive predicate. In (1), *i* ‘this’ is subject while *na bol* ‘my table’ constitutes the predicate:

- (1) $[[i]_S \quad [na \quad bol]_{pred}]$
this 1SG table
'This is my table.' (1b.24)

(1) parallels the canonical SOV word order found in clauses with a verbal predicate, as the predicate is in clause final position. However, in (2), it appears that the demonstrative subject occurs clause finally:

- (2) $[[Na \quad awi \quad kama]_{pred} \quad [i]_S]$
1SG dog black this
'This is my black dog.' (1b 24)

Where a verbless clause has an attributive function, this occurs with a subject NP and adjectival predicate:

- (3) $[[na \quad om-an]_S \quad [nimbona]_{pred}]$
1SG hand-1.POSS sore
'My hand is sore' (1b.8)

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- (4) $[[awi]_S [baa]_{pred}]$
dog red
'The dog is red.' (11/06/03)

A demonstrative can also occur in attributive verbless clauses. In (5), *ire* 'that' appears as part of the subject constituent:

- (5) $[[awi\ ire]_S [baa]_{pred}]$
dog that red
'That dog is red.' (11/06/03)

But similarly to (2), the demonstrative can also occur in clause final position, as shown in (6):

- (6) $awi\ baa\ ire$
dog red that
'That dog is red.' (11/06/03)

Comparing the translations given for (5) and (6), this does not seem to result in a significant difference in meaning, but the structure of (7) is unclear. It may be that the demonstrative is in apposition to the clause:

- (7) $[[awi]_S [baa]_{pred}] [ire]$
dog red that
Lit. 'The dog is red – that one.' (11/06/03)

Or, the demonstrative *ire* constitutes the predicate:

- (8) $[[awi\ baa]_S [ire]_{pred}]$
dog red that
Lit. 'The red dog is that one.' (11/06/03)

Either (7) or (8), where the predicate is clause final, would conform more closely to the canonical Golin clause structure. Similar structures could be postulated for (2). More work on this type of clause is required.

3. Intransitive clauses

3.1 Basic intransitive clause

This clause consists of a verbal predicate with a single core argument. The subject of the clause is represented morphologically on the verb, and may also occur as a nominal preceding the verb, provided it agrees in person with the pronominal verb suffix, but its presence is optional depending on the event described. This clause usually describes actions or motion of some type.

- (9) $[[ari]_S [u-n-g-w-e]_{PRED}]$
sun come-3-AS-3-PROX
'The sun is rising.' (1b.9)

(10) [(*na*) [*ki-Ø-ge*]]
 (1SG) prepare-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I cook' (in a pot or in the ground) (1b.36)

(11) [(*i*) [*u-n-g-e*]]
 you come-2-AS-PROX
 'You are coming.' (1b.40)

(12) [(*na*) [*e-Ø-g-e*]]
 1SG go-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I am going.' (1b.143)

3.2 Adjunct plus verb clauses

The adjunct plus verb construction is a common feature of highland Papuan languages, where an adjunct is combined with a generic verb in the clause to specify or restrict the meaning of the predicate (Foley 1986: 117-119). This is also known as a coverb-verb construction.

Like the basic intransitive clause, the adjunct plus verb clause has a verbal predicate inflected to indicate person of the subject. A nominal agreeing in person with the pronominal verb suffix is optionally present and occurs in clause initial position.

Distinct from the basic intransitive, an adjunct nominal also occurs between the verb and subject nominal, as shown in (13):

(13) (*na*)_S *kurul*_{ADJUNCT} *pri-Ø-g-e_V*
 (1SG) fear perceive-1SG-AS-PR
 'I am afraid.' (1b 36)

From the data collected so far, it does not appear that the position of the adjunct and S can be reversed. This distinguishes this clause type from some types of transitive clause (section 4), where OSV order can occur (see example (23)). It is then likely that the adjunct forms part of the verb phrase:

[(S)_{NP} [[ADJUNCT] VERB]_{VP}]

Given that Golin has only a limited number of generic, final verbs, this clause type expresses more kinds of events and states, including attributives in (14), than the basic intransitive clause:

(14) *na* *nibil* *si-Ø-g-e*
 1SG sick hit-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I am sick.' (1a.94)

(15) *i* *amin* *di-n-g-e*
 you sit be-2-AS-PROX
 'You sit.' (13/03/03)

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- (16) *na ka di-Ø-g-a*
1SG word say-1SG-AS-DIST
'I talked.' (1b 72)
- (17) *na ul pa-ra-Ø-g-e*
1SG sleep be-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX
'I will sleep'.
- (18) *na tabin mile-Ø-g-e, i arawai mile-n-g-e*
1SG short be-1SG-AS-PROX you tall be-2-AS-PROX
'I am short and you are tall.' (26/03/03)

Also, I have chosen to represent the adjunct and verb as separate, rather than as a bound complex, as other elements can occur between the verb and the adjunct. In some cases this is just a negative particle, as in (19) and (22), but in (20) *para* 'both' occurs, and in (21) negative *ta* and the demonstrative *i* also intervene.

- (19) *[[i]_S [[amin][ta] di-ki-n-g-e]_{PRED}]*
you sit NEG be-NEG-2-AS-PROX
'You are not sitting.' Cf. (15)
- (20) *[[i yal su]_S [[ka] [para] di-n-g-e]_{PRED}]*
you man two word both say-2-AS-PROX
'You two are both talking.' Cf. (16) (1b. 107)
- (21) *[[na]_S [[ka i] [ta] di-ki-Ø-g-a]_{PRED}]*
1SG word TOP NEG say-NEG-1SG-AS-DIST
'I did not talk about that.' Cf. (16) (1a. 73)
- (22) *[[na]_S [[ul] [ta] pa-k-ra-Ø-g-e]_{PRED}]*
1SG sleep NEG be-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX
'I will not sleep.' Cf. (17) (1a. 44)

It is also possible that both the adjunct and the negative particle are bound to the verb, but this seems less likely in (21) where the demonstrative is also present. Whether the negative particle alone is bound the verb or modifies the adjunct is also unclear. At this stage, it is not known exactly which adjuncts can combine with which verbs and how many combinations are possible.

4. Transitive clauses

The transitive clause consists of a nominal agent and a nominal patient, with a verbal predicate. The verb is always marked for the person of the agent, and the unmarked order is SOV:

- (23) $[[dekabe]_S \quad [na]_O \quad [su-n-g-w-a]_V]$
 mosquito 1SG hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 'The mosquito bit me.' (1b 28)

- (24) $[[na]_S \quad [dekabe]_O \quad [si-\emptyset-ga]_V]$
 1SG mosquito hit-1SG-AS-DIST
 'I killed the mosquito.' (1b 28)

The structure of the transitive clause is, in some circumstances, relatively free. In (25), the patient is topicalized by being placed in clause-initial position. The agent of the clause (1SG) is still marked on the verb, so the OSV word order is possible without ambiguity:

- (25) $[yal\ i]_O \quad [na]_S \quad [si-\emptyset-g-a]_V]$
 3SG.M 1SG hit-1SG-AS-DIST
 'He was hit by me.' (1a.95)

Additionally, the agent and patient nominals can be omitted from the clause altogether. In (26), the agent is indicated by the pronominal verb suffix, and a patient is understood from the semantics of the verb *sige*:

- (26) $[si-\emptyset-g-e]_{pred}$
 hit-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I hit (someone).' (1b 71)

It appears then that transitive clauses like (25) and (26) are arranged on a topic first principle, with S and O nominals in apposition to the verb – a property found in some other Papuan languages (Foley 1986).

At this stage, the distinction between a transitive clause and an adjunct plus verb clause is based on the inability to reverse the positions of the adjunct nominal with the S nominal, but this is also true of transitive clauses where both agent and patient are third person. In (27) and (28), the clause initial nominal must be the subject (i.e. marked on the verb), so (28) is ungrammatical:

- (27) $[[dekabe]_S \quad [yal\ i]_O \quad [su-n-g-w-a]_V]$
 mosquito 3SG.M hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 'The mosquito bit him.'

- (28) $*[[dekabe]_O \quad [yal\ i]_S \quad [su-n-g-w-a]_V]$
 mosquito 3SG.M hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 'He killed the mosquito.'

The remaining difference between the two clause types is that in the transitive clause the non-actor nominal undergoes some change or is affected in some way as a result of the action of an agent, while in the adjunct plus verb clause the non-actor nominal is more likely to be an abstract entity that does not undergo any change.

5. Ditransitive clauses

The ditransitive clause has three core arguments, and a verbal predicate marked to indicate the subject (again, the S nominal is optional). The order of the nominal arguments is usually:

[[source]_S [theme]_O [recipient/goal]_{IO} [V]]

- (29) *[[na]_S [bolmakama]_O [i]_{IO} [te-Ø-g-a]]*
 1SG pig black you give-1SG-AS-Prox
 'I give you a black pig.' (1a.42)

- (30) *[[Bryan]_S [koble]_O [na]_{IO} [to d-ra-n-g-w-e]]*
 Bryan money 1SG give say-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
 'Bryan will ask me for money.' (1b.120)

- (31) *[[na]_S [buke]_O [gal]_{IO} [gili-Ø-g-e]]*
 1SG book bag put-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I put the books in my bag.' (1a.157)

It is uncertain if this order is strict, as an interrogative intransitive can exhibit the following order, as in (32):

[[source]_{subject} [recipient]_{indirect object} [theme]_{object} [V]_{predicate}]:

- (32) *[[i]_S [Jutta]_{IO} [koble]_O [te-ra-n-o?]]*
 you Jutta money give-IRR-2-PQ
 'Will you give Jutta money?' (1b.120)

This may indicate that interrogative ditransitives constitute a separate clause type.

6. Locational clauses

This clause is characterised by the presence of a nominal with a locative/directional postposition indicating the location of an event. The locative constituent usually immediately precedes the predicate. Variations in order are not attested at this stage.

- (33) *[[na]_S [bol bolain]_{LOC} [[amin] di-Ø-g-e]_{PRED}*
 1SG table on sit be-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I am sitting on the table.' (1b 24)

- (34) *[[na] [kamin-monga ipe] [kipai-Ø-g-e]]*
 1SG mountain up stay-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I live up the mountain.' (1a 20)
- (35) *[[kare i] [nil benan] [pa-n-g-w-e]]*
 car TOP water beside go-3-AS-3-PROX
 'The car is beside the river.' (09/04/03)

Example (36) includes both a directional (*main* 'down') and a locative (*alakol* 'under'):

- (36) *[[dua] [bol main alakol][wo-m]]*
 mouse table down under digging.motion-3
 'The mouse is crawling under the table.' (1a 71)

7. Instrumental clauses

This clause is characterised by the presence of a nominal that is identified as an instrument either by a marker such as *-pal* 'with' (37), and/or by immediately preceding the predicate (38). At this stage, the marker appears to be a bound suffix, but further investigation may reveal it to be a separate postposition. If the former, it is the only example of a case marker in Golin.

- (37) *[[yal i]s [na onan-ban]O [on-pal]INST [si-n-g-w-e]V]*
 3SG.M 1SG arm-1.POSS hand-with hit-3-AS-3-PROX
 'He hits my arm with his fist'. (1a 19)
- (38) *[[yal i]s [na]O [kola]INST [su-n-g-w-a]V]*
 3SG.M 1SG spear hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 'He hit me with the spear.' (1a 68)

8. Causatives and valency increasing

As is generally understood, causation semantically represents the bringing into being of a particular situation. Also associated with causation is the presence of an agentive causer and a patientive causee (Comrie 1985). Hence, causative constructions are usually at least transitive, i.e. have more than one argument.

While not a great deal of data has been collected on causatives in Golin, what has been gathered shows that a causative can be derived by the addition of a verb root to another verb, forming a serial verb construction, as can be seen in examples (39) and (40):

- (39) *gul-a-n-g-a*
 die-IRR-2-AS-DIST
 'You are going to die.'

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- (40) *na ebal si-gulu-Ø-g-e*
 1SG person hit-die-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I killed a person.'

In (40), the verb root *si-* 'hit' is prefixed to the verb root *gul-* 'die', and a core argument, the agent *na* '1SG', is added to the clause. Similarly, in (41) *na kaunan* 'my feet' is shown to be the subject of the clause by the third person marking on the verb. Whereas in (42), *na kaunan* is the object, as a first singular agent has been added. Even though the addition of a core argument to the clause is not represented by nominal, this is signalled by the first singular suffix *-Ø* on the verb, and by the prefixing of *si-* to the verb complex.

- (41) *[[Na kaun-an]_S [kul-to-n-g-w-a]_{PRED}]¹*
 1SG leg-1.POSS join-give-3-AS-3-DIST
 'My feet got wet.' (unintentional) (1b 90)
- (42) *[[Na kaun-an]_O [si-kul-te-Ø-g-e]_{PRED}]*
 1SG leg-1.POSS hit-join-give-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I got my feet wet (intentionally).' (1b 90)

Whether *si-* 'hit' is always used to derive causatives is not known at this point, but it is certainly associated with greater agency or greater effect on the patient.

Another method of increasing the valency of the verb complex is to add the verb root *te-* 'give'. This is an applicative rather than a causative: the process has been referred to as adding a 'beneficiary' to the clause (Bunn 1974: 113-4), or an object as patient or goal, as can be seen in the addition of *i* 'you' as a core argument in (44):

- (43) *[[na]_S [[ka] di-Ø-g-a]_{PRED}]*
 1SG word say-1SG-AS-DIST
 'I spoke.' (1b.72)
- (44) *[[na]_S [i]_O [[ka] di-te-Ø-g-e]_{PRED}]*
 1SG you word say-give-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I am talking to you.' (1b.107)

The same process can be seen in (45) and (46) where *awi* 'dog' is added as a core argument:

- (45) *na nil pai-Ø-g-e*
 1SG water be-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I wash.' (1b.52)

¹ *kul-* appears to be used only for animates and liquids: *kan kula* - tie up a pig, tie a rope around a person's waist; *nil kula* - draw water. (1b.98)

- (46) *na awi nil pai-te-Ø-g-e*
 1SG dog water be-give-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I wash the dog.' (1b.52)

Although both *si-* and *te-* can add a core argument to the clause, the main difference, as already indicated, is that *si-* can add an agent, while *te-* adds a patient or beneficiary. Another difference is that *si-* is prefixed to the verb construction, while *te-* occurs between the other verb root and the person or TAM suffixes.

One exception appears to be the following, where *to-* 'give' (a variant of *te-*) is prefixed to the verb construction:

- (47) *Bryan koble na to-d-ra-n-g-w-e*
 Bryan money 1SG give-say-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
 'Bryan will ask me for money.' (1b.120)

This may be due to the fact that the beneficiary is the subject, and that this is a ditransitive construction, but more data will be required to ascertain this.

9. Valency decreasing: Reflexives and Reciprocals

A reflexive clause is typically composed of a verb and a reflexive pronoun. Example (48) shows a reflexive clause, while (49) shows the corresponding transitive clause:

- (48) *nanan kola sige*
 1SG.REFL spear hit-1SG-PROX
 'I spear myself.' (1a 67)

- (49) *i na kola si-n-g-a*
 you 1SG spear hit-2-AS-DIST
 'You speared me.' (1a 68)

There is no morphological change in the verb to signal a decrease in valency. The position of the reflexive pronoun can vary in some instances, as shown in (50) and (51):

- (50) *nanan nil pai-Ø-g-e*
 1SG.REFL water be-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I wash myself.'

- (51) *nil nanan pai-Ø-g-e*
 water 1SG.REFL be-1SG-AS-PROX
 'I wash myself.' (1b.85)

The occurrence of the reflexive pronoun between an adjunct nominal and verb in (51) seems to indicate that it is part of the verb phrase:

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[[adjunct] [reflexive] verb]_{VP}

This tends to indicate that the reflexive pronoun is an object rather than a subject in the clause.

Where reciprocal clauses are concerned, these constructions can sometimes be ambiguous, as shown in the alternative translations of (52) a and b:

- (52) *Yal abal wai kari-n-g-w-e*
 man woman good see-3-AS-3-PROX
 a. 'The man and woman like someone.'
 b. 'The man and woman like each other.' (1a.130)

Alternatively, the use of a different verb root may signal a decrease in valency. In (51) the verb *kare-* 'SEE' is used, while in (52) *pri-* 'PERCEIVE' is used for a reciprocal construction:

- (53) *yal abal ama wai kari-n-g-w-e*
 man womanboth good SEE-3-AS-3-PROX
 'The man and woman like someone.' (1a.130)
- (54) *yal abal ama wai pri-n-g-w-e*
 man womanboth good perceive-3-AS-3-PROX
 'The man and woman love each other.' (1a130)

A similar change in verb occurs with the reciprocal construction for 'hate'. The transitive construction is as follows:

- (55) *yal abal ki kari-n-g-w-e*
 man womanbad see-3-AS-3-PROX
 'The man hates the woman.' (1a 130)

While the reciprocal construction is:

- (56) *abal yal (ama) ki pri-n-g-w-e.*
 womanman (both) bad perceive-3-AS-3-PROX
 'The woman and man hate each other.' (1a 130)

As can be seen in (56), the use of *ama* is optional, and so is not a necessary part of reciprocal clauses. Rather, (52) and (54) seem to be using a verb of lower transitivity. If this is the case, there must also be a difference in structure:

[[N] _s [N] _o [V _{high trans}]] _{TRANSITIVE}	[[[N N] _s [V _{low tran}]] _{RECIPROCAL}
agreement	agreement

This does not necessarily imply that the verb *pri-* is always intransitive. As with generic verbs in other languages, there are circumstances when the same verb can be used in both transitive and intransitive constructions, although many verbs are usually found in one or the other.

(57) and (58) show how the applicative *te-* must be removed to render a reciprocal construction of 'talk to' and reduce the valency:

(57) *i na ka di-te-n-g-e*
 you 1SG word say-give-2-AS-PROX
 'You are talking to me.' (1b.107)

(58) *inin para ka di-bin-g-e*
 1PL all words say-1PL-AS-PROX
 'We are talking to each other.' (1b.107)

10. Possessives, *have* constructions and uncontrolled events

In clauses that express the notion of possession, the verb shows third person agreement:

(59) *na omil-an more yo-n-g-w-e*
 1SG eye-1.POSS blue bring-3-AS-3-PROX
 'My eye is blue.' (1b 47)

This indicates that the possessor and the possessed nominals may form part of the same NP, with the verb agreeing with the possessed nominal as the head of the noun phrase:

[[*na*] *omilan*]_S [[*more*] *yongwe*]_{PRED}
 agreement

A similar structure could be postulated for (60), which would then be reinterpreted as 'my stick is crooked':

(60) [[*na*] *ble*]_S [[*yawa*] *yu-n-g-w-a*]_{PRED}
 1SG stick crooked bring-3-AS-3-PROX
 'I have a crooked stick'. (1b 76)

(60) could also be literally interpreted as 'I bring a crooked stick', except that with this translation, we would expect to find the verb marked for first person agreement. The third person inflection also reflects the low transitivity of the clause, given that there is no agent, and no effect on a patient. This would explain the third person marking on the verb in (61):

(61) *na koble di-n-g-w-e*
 1SG money say-3-AS-3-PROX
 'I have the money.' (1a 118)

Constructions like (61) are sometimes referred to as 'uncontrolled event' clauses, and are common in Papuan languages of the highlands. These clauses are explained in terms of the adjunct to the verb being an 'inanimate cause' or actor in the clause (Foley 1986: 122).

While (61) does not exactly fit this description semantically, (62) and (63) are good examples of this type of clause in Golin. One way of describing these clauses is

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that the verbs in (62) and (63) agree with the nominals *nibil* and *nika* respectively, with the pronoun being topicalised as a matter of convention, (perhaps rendering OSV word order similar to (25) in the transitive clauses):

- (62) $\begin{array}{c} \text{agreement} \\ \text{---} \\ [[na] \ [nibil] \ [su-n-g-w-e]] \\ \text{1SG} \ \text{sick} \ \text{hit-3-AS-3-PROX} \\ \text{'I am sick.' (1b 39)} \end{array}$

- (63) $\begin{array}{c} \text{agreement} \\ \text{---} \\ [[na] \ [nika] \ [di-n-g-w-e]] \\ \text{1SG} \ \text{hot} \ \text{say-3-AS-3-PROX} \\ \text{'I am feeling hot'}. \end{array}$

However, Golin does not follow strict distinctions in the way that controlled and uncontrolled events are expressed. For instance, in Enga 'I am afraid' is an uncontrolled event clause:

- (64) $\begin{array}{c} nambá \ piá \ \ pi-ly-a-mó \\ \text{1SG} \ \text{fear} \ \text{do-PRES-3SG-DECL} \\ \text{'I am afraid.' (ENGA, Foley 1986: 122)} \end{array}$

But in Golin, there is first person agreement on the verb, and the event is expressed as an adjunct plus verb clause:

- (65) $\begin{array}{c} na \ \ \ kurul \ \ pri-\emptyset-g-e \\ \text{1SG} \ \ \text{fear} \ \ \text{perceive-1SG-AS-PROX} \\ \text{'I am afraid.' (1b.36)} \end{array}$

Similarly, 'I am sick' can also occur as an adjunct plus verb clause:

- (66) $\begin{array}{c} na \ \ \ nibil \ \ si-\emptyset-g-e. \\ \text{1SG} \ \ \text{sick} \ \ \text{hit-1SG-AS-PROX} \\ \text{'I am sick.' (1a 94)} \end{array}$

There is a difference in meaning here, as (62) is used to express a slight illness, while (66) indicates something more serious.

So, the switch to third person inflection on the verb may be a pragmatic device, as well as signalling syntactic change.

11. Mood clauses: Imperatives and Interrogatives

11.1 Imperatives

Imperatives minimally consist of a verb with an imperative inflection, with optional nominals that follow the canonical word order of Golin clauses:

- (67) *w-a!*
 come-IMP
 'Come!' (1b 80)
- (68) *yal i s-a!*
 man TOP hit-IMP
 'Hit that man!' (1a 24)
- (69) *i ari kare-ki-a!*
 you sun see-NEG-IMP
 'Don't look at the sun!' (1b 94)

11.2 Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives, as shown in example (70), usually follow the canonical word order of clauses in Golin, and have person agreement with the subject on the verb.

The polar interrogative status is marked by the suffix *-o*.

- (70) *i na ka di-te-ra-n-o?*
 you 1SG word say-give-IRR-2-PQ
 'Will you talk to me?' (1b 108)

One exception was found where the interrogative was ditransitive, as mentioned in section 5. Here, the theme occupied the position immediately preceding the verb, where as in declarative interrogatives, the recipient usually occupies this position. The example is repeated in (71).

- (71) *i Jutta koble te-ra-n-o?*
 you Jutta money give-IRR-2-PQ
 'Will you give Jutta money?' (1b 120)

Interrogatives that are a request for further information include an interrogative pronoun occupying the slot immediately before the verb, as is typical of SOV languages. The verbs in these interrogatives also show agreement with the subject:

- (72) *ana o-m?*
 who go-3
 'Who's going?' (1b 99)
- (73) *inin erema alde o-bin-g-i?*
 we yesterday where go-1PL-AS-TOP
 'Where did we go yesterday?' (1a 46)
- (74) *ebal i takal wa di-m?*
 people TOP what about say-3
 'What are they saying?' (1b.108)
- (75) *i kai tameran mii-n?*
 you cry why be-2
 'Why are you crying?' (1a.93)

12. Conclusion

As established in the introduction and illustrated throughout this paper, Golin mostly conforms to the SOV clause structure found in many Papuan languages, but also may vary the order of S and O to some degree; much more data is required to ascertain with greater certainty how much variation is allowed. Golin also exhibits some other clause types typical of the highland languages, such as adjunct plus verb clauses and adjunct plus verb clauses. These clauses require considerably more testing and analysis of their structural properties.

Other areas for further analysis are reflexives and reciprocals, particularly with regard to the status of the reflexive pronoun, and the function of the demonstrative in the verbless clause.

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6. Clause combining in Golin

Jutta Besold & Robyn Loughnane

Golin has various ways to combine clauses including serial verbs, medial verbs, coordinate and subordinate constructions, and parataxis. In this article, we will examine each construction as it is found in Golin. Serial and medial verbs will be labelled dependent (following Bunn 1974: 36) because they rely on the final verb for information regarding person, tense and assertativity. In Golin, topic-marked verbs can be semantically dependent upon, or embedded within, a main clause in a subordinate relationship, or, they can stand alone as independent clauses.

In Yimas, Foley differentiates between the use of medial and serial verbs, where medial verbs are used where the events are not overlapping as in the first Yimas example below, whereas in the second example, the events are occurring simultaneously and are construed as a single event, and as such, a serialized construction can be used. Foley (1991:326) says that the first construction is two clauses whereas the serial verb construction forms a single clause.

- (1) *kay* *ak-mpi* *i-ka-wul* *arm-n*
canoe VIII SG push-SEQ VIII SG O-1SG A-put down water-OBL I
'I pushed the canoe and put it into the water.' (YIMAS; Foley 1991:326)
- (2) *arm-n* *kay* *i-ka-ak-mpi-wul*
water-OBL canoe VIII SG VIII SG O-1SG A-push-SEQ-put down
'I pushed the canoe down into the water.' (YIMAS; Foley 1991:326)

This also appears to be the case in Golin and will be discussed in sections 1 and 3.

1. Serial verbs

Serial verbs share all arguments and morphologically-encoded information with a final verb, and in no way function as independent clauses. However, if we define a clause as consisting of a single predicative unit, i.e. a verb stem, then this can be considered a form of clause combining.

Serial verb constructions are common in many Papuan languages. In Yimas, serial verb constructions "are an absolutely pervasive feature of Yimas, as of Papuan language generally; perhaps the majority of Yimas verbs in spontaneous, ongoing discourse are composed of serial verb constructions" (Foley 1991:321).

- (3) *impa-n-yakal-kulanay-kanta-k*
3DL.O-3SG.A-CONT-walk-follow-IRR
'He was walking following those two. (YIMAS; Foley 1991:322)

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For the purpose of this analysis, we will define serial verbs in Golin as those which chain together with no suffixing to form a single verb complex¹. The final verb in a serial verb construction can take the full range of verbal inflections and can function as any of the possible verb types in Golin.

SVC -> (NEG) V₁V₂...V_n-(NEG)-(IRR)-(P/N)-(ASSERT)-(ILL.F)²
 SVC -> (NEG) V₁V₂...V_n-(NEG)-(SEQ)

In the example below the verb stems *si* ‘hit’ and *gule* ‘die’ form a single verb complex communicating the event of shooting and resulting in death. This describes a single, unified action, not a series or sequence of events.

- (4) *na-nan si guli-ø-g-e*
 1SG-REFL hit die-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I shot myself.’ (sb 1b.85)

This is a common phenomenon in Papuan languages. One closely related Papuan language, Kuman (Lynch 1998:176), has similar serial verb constructions to those found in Golin.

<i>si gogl</i>	<i>di te</i>	<i>si bogl</i>	<i>ere kan</i>	<i>di pre</i>
hit die	say give	hit cut	do see	say perceive
‘kill’	‘tell’	‘sew’	‘try’	‘ask’

Below, in example (5), *si gule kare* conveys a single event ‘knowing how to kill’, and in example (6) *pu si ki* means ‘sacrifice’. Only the final verb in the serial verb construction is inflected for person, assertativity and tense, and the arguments are shared by the whole construction.

- (5) *Alan Nathan bolma ta si gule-k-ra-m-a di*
 Alan Nathan pig NEG hit die-NEG-IRR-3-DIST COMP
- pri-n-g-w-a tameran Nathan bolma ta*
 perceive-3-AS-3-DIST because Nathan pig NEG
- si gule kara-ki-n-g-w-e*
 hit die see-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Alan doubts that Nathan could ever kill a pig because he doesn’t know how to do it.’ (sb 1b.121)

¹ These contrast with medial verbs which can take their own arguments and some morphology different to the final verbs on which they depend. See section 3 for further discussion on medial verbs.

² Some of these verbal suffix slots are still to be adequately defined and these terms have been used provisionally. This suffix includes DISTal, PROXimate, Polar Question (PQ) and IMPerative.

- (6) *bolma mo korale mo ta i pu si ki-re*
 pig CONJ chicken CONJ one take go kill prepare-SEQ
mile kwi
 be new
 ‘Take a pig or a chicken and sacrifice it and seek forgiveness.’ (Fire Taboo text)

1.1 Grammaticalized constructions

Serial verbs in Golin are also grammaticalized in a number of constructions. For this purpose, grammaticalization is defined as a process where an original verb performs a grammatical function and its original semantics have been lost.

This grammatical use of serial verbs is distinguished from lexical serial verbs by Aikhenvald (2003:81): “[b]y their composition, serial verbs fall into two broad groups: asymmetrical and symmetrical. Asymmetrical SVs tend to get grammaticalized while symmetrical verbs may give rise to lexical idioms. Productively serializing languages have serial verbs of both kinds, while languages with limited serialization have just asymmetrical serial verbs.” By this definition, examples (7) and (8) are asymmetrical, as the serialized verb *te* has lost its meaning of ‘give’ and is functioning as an applicative (APPL) to increase the transitivity of the verb *nil pai* ‘wash’ and *a-te* ‘touch’. In (9), *mili* is being used to indicate the duration of the action, i.e. add aspectual meaning, and is here glossed DUR for the purpose of demonstrating its function.

- (7) *na gan nil pai³-te-ø-g-a*
 1SG child water stay-APPL-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I washed my baby.’ (sb 1a.67)
- (8) *edenin de-ra-n-a a-te-ki-ø-a*
 fire burn-IRR-2-DIST with.hand-APPL-NEG-CAS-DIST
 ‘Don’t touch the fire or it will burn you.’ (sb 1a.91)
- (9) *pensil gaan a-te-mili na su-n-g-w-a na*
 pencil(TP) child with.hand-APPL-DUR 1SG hit-3-AS-3-DIST 1SG
tawa-nan ble
 shoulder-my hurt
 ‘The child hit me with a pencil (which he was holding) on my shoulder...’ (sb 1a.123)

1.2 Locative constructions

Uninflected serial verbs are also used in locative constructions in what would be considered prepositional type usage in a language like English. This is not unexpected as “verbs of motion and location are among the most likely to occur in

³ The verb *pai* which we have glossed here as ‘stay’ may have various meanings such as ‘be’, ‘be inside’, and ‘have’, according to our data, e.g. (sb 1b.68) *Kare i nil binan pangwe*. ‘The car is near the river.’

serial constructions, and most likely to undergo ‘semantic devaluation’ ” (Lord 1993:9). This appears to be exactly what is occurring in Golin, where the motion verb *u* ‘come’ and the verb *ere* ‘do’ are used in series to indicate motion away from and towards a point of reference respectively, as shown in the examples below. In this construction the location is interposed between the serial verb and the matrix verb, whereas usually serial verbs are contiguous. Unusually, these create locative prepositions where one would expect postpositions in an SOV language such as Golin.

- (10) *nil u kimbol alakol u-re u maikol binan*
 water come bridge under come-SEQ come road near

wi-m-a o-n-g-w-e
 cut-3-DIST go-3-AS-3-PROX

‘The river goes under the bridge and near the road, flowing down.’ (sb 1a.66)

- (11) *i kwimol ere nulin n-a-n-g-e*
 2 tomorrow do river go-IRR-2-AS-PROX

‘You are going to the river tomorrow.’ (sb 1b.30)

The above examples contrast with the non-grammaticalized use of *u* and *ere* in the examples shown below. In example (12) below, *u* is used in its typical meaning of ‘come’, and in example (13) *e* is used to mean ‘go’, and is inflected as a final verb.

- (12) *na ta u-k-ra-g-a*
 1SG NEG come-NEG-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST

‘I do not come.’ (sb 1a.38)

- (13) *na kamin kipi e-ø-g-e*
 1SG mountain bush go-1SG-AS-PROX

‘I go up the mountain.’ (sb 1a.19)

1.3 Reduplication

Serial verbs can also be reduplicated to indicate duration, iteration or continuity of the action/event/state. We have included these as serialized verbs for two reasons, firstly because our definition of serialization is of contiguous unmarked verb stems (whether these are identical or not) and secondly because reduplicated verbs stems typically form a series V + V + *ere*, where *ere* ‘do’ is the general dummy⁴ verb in Golin⁵.

⁴ We use ‘dummy’ here in the sense suggested by Huddleston (1988:45) “dummy operator in the sense that it is semantically empty, satisfying a purely syntactic requirement.” In Golin the syntactic function is to carry inflection in situations like reduplication where the verb carrying the main semantic load cannot.

⁵ We also find reduplication of the negator, which also implies emphatic or prolonged negation, as in the example below. That the grammatical particle *-ki-* is positioned between the serialized verb (*wo* and *si* below) and *ere* ‘do’. This is suggestive of a verbal origin of the negator *ki* due to its ability to reduplicate.

na maul ta wo-ki-ki-ere-ø-g-e
 1SG hole NEG hole-NEG-NEG-do-1SG-AS-PROX

I never dig holes. (sb 1a.64)

(14) *na gla omale koon ne-ne-ere-ø-g-e*
 1SG night day yam eat-eat-do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m always (day and night) eating yam.’ (sb 1a.63)

(15) *na on-in man kon maul*
 1SG hand-1SG.POSS thumb yam hole

wo-wo-ere-ø-g-e
 digging.motion-digging.motion-do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘Every Friday⁶ I dig a hole.’ (sb 1a.63)

1.4 Adjunct constructions

Lynch (1998:175) differentiates between “adjunct constructions” and serial constructions where in adjunct constructions the verb of the sentence is preceded by a word of another class, which is usually a noun or an adjective (the adjunct). Below are some adjunct examples from Kuman (Lynch 1998:175), a language closely related to Golin.

<i>ka di</i>	<i>nigl pai</i>	<i>kai ere</i>	<i>gaugl ere</i>
word say	water lie	tears do	laughter do
‘say’	‘wash (self)’	‘cry’	‘laugh’

Golin also has such adjunct constructions which are distinct from serial constructions. In the first example (16) below, the noun *nil* ‘water’ combines with *pai* ‘be’ to form the lexicalized phrasal verb ‘wash’. Similarly, in example (17) *maul* ‘hole’ is acting as the nominal adjunct to *wo* ‘digging.motion’.

(16) *na nil pai-ø-g-e*
 1SG water be-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I wash myself.’ (sb 1a.52)

(17) *yal i maul wo-ra-l-a di dimengul*
 man TOP hole digging.motion-IRR-SS-DIST say bush

o-n-g-w-e
 go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He went to the bush to dig a hole.’ (sb 1b.58)

2. Medial verbs

In addition, its use of verb serialization, Golin is typical of Papuan languages in using verb chaining structures employing medial verbs (Roberts, 1997:104). The main characteristic of these clause constructions is that they are a chain of independent clauses, where the semantic content of one clause does not rely on the content of the

⁶ The days of the week are referred to using the fingers starting on the little finger of the left hand.

other. In English, the conjunctions *and* and *but* may be used for this purpose as in examples like *Nathan drove the car and/but Michelle took the bus*. The two sentences are linked by a conjunction, and omitting *and/or* would deliver two syntactically complete clauses. However, in many Papuan languages, coordinate clauses are conjoined via medial verbs.

These chaining structures do not allow equal marking in all verbs of complex sentences: the sentence final verb generally carries information for person, number, tense, aspect and mood, but the verbs preceding the final verb do not. Medial verbs, however, may indicate whether the subject in the following clause is different to the one in the preceding and can show temporal relationships between the events of the coordinate clauses.

Hua, another Papuan clause chaining language, “uses the medial clause construction for ‘and’, ‘and then’, and ‘and so’; but it needs some other construction to handle the relationship typically expressed by English ‘but’” (Haiman, 1988:51). Golin has several tools to construct coordinate clauses, including the concessive marker =*ba*. Sentences can be conjoined by the use of medial verbs, the use of free standing conjunctions, and by simply chaining two clauses together without any overt linking device.

2.1 The use of *-re* in SEQ constructions

Bunn (1974:36) calls this the ‘event-relator’ and noted that both the ‘dependent non-reliant’ and the ‘dependent reliant’ verb may be inflected with it. Bunn also recorded other allomorphs of this morpheme, *-de*, *-ride*, and *-gure/-gure*, which supposedly occur in different environments.

We failed to elicit any sentences with the *-de* and *-gure/-gure* allomorphs, nor did our texts offer any answers to the question whether these allomorphs exist in the dialect of Golin that Kia speaks; note that Kia assured us repeatedly that Bunn recorded a dialect spoken at the bottom of the mountains, whereas his dialect is spoken higher up in the highlands.

The use of *-re* is determined by temporal and logical relationships between the medial and final clauses. The subject in the preceding clauses must be the same and the actions/events must be in close sequence. The only other suffix that may occur on the medial verb with the SS (same subject)/ SEQ (sequential action/event) is the negation morpheme *-k(i)*. Hence, we propose a rule for this medial verb structure:

Verb – (NEG) – SEQ

The following examples demonstrate the use of *-re* in Golin.

- (18) *yal main amin di-re mile ali-n-g-w-e*
 man old sit be-SEQ be stand.up-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘The old man sat down and (then) stood up.’ (1a.108)

- (19) *i erema maul ta wo-k-re bedere-n-g-a*
 2 yesterday hole NEG digging.motion-NEG-SEQ.SS stop-2-AS-DIST
 ‘Yesterday you didn’t dig a hole and (then) stop.’ (1a.64)

While medial verbs must share the same subject with the final verb, it is possible for them to select separate objects.

- (20) *abal yal i si-re na si-re ere-n-g-w-a*
 womanman TOP hit-SEQ 1SG hit-SEQ do-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘She hit him and me.’ (sb 1b.114)

The same construction may occur with a temporal adverb *eme* ‘after’, which does not change the form of the medial verb.

- (21) *na ole si-re eme amin di-ø-g-e*
 1SG jump hit-SEQ after sit be-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I jump and (then) sit down.’

Examples (21) and (22) are elicited sentences which must be treated with caution due to the fact that they were extracted in an isolated context in an unnatural setting. Nevertheless, we do find the same constructions in texts that generally provide more natural speech.

- (22) *kaminkau yal ka di-ra-l-a di ere-n-g-w=i*
 spokesperson man word say-IRR-SS-DIST be go-3-AS-3=TOP

kola kau-re di a-te-yu-re ana pu s(i)na
 spear carry-SEQ be with.hand-give-bring-SEQ who go centre
 ===pick up===

mile kare kolekole ere
 be see around(side to side) go
 ‘When the chief speaks, (he) picks up and carries a spear and (he) goes to the centre and (he) looks around...’ (Chief text)

2.2 The use of -re in iterative action

The suffix *-re* also occurs in other instances where the same verb is used multiple times to express an iterative meaning of an action.⁷

- (23) *na Jutta si-re si-re ere-ø-g-e*
 1SG Jutta hit-SEQ hit-SEQ do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I am always hitting Jutta.’ (1a.63)

3. Unmarked conjoined clauses

There are many constructions that are conjoined without conjunctions or other overt marking, like example (24) below.

⁷ As we saw in section (1.3), for habitual marking, the verb stem may be reduplicated and followed by *ere* (+suffixes) ‘do’.

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- (24) *na ebal-yol yene-ø-g-a u-n-g-w-a*
 1SG visitors have.friends-1SG-AS-DIST come-3-AS-3-DIST

guni e-ø-g-e
 happy do-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m happy because my friends have come’. or
 ‘My friends come and I am happy.’ (sb 1a.90)

In many such paratactic clause combining constructions in Golin, one sentence can show ambiguity in meaning⁸. The following example sentences demonstrate the variety of types of unmarked coordination.

- (25) *na tabale si-ra-l-a di ere-ø-g-a*
 1SG mouth.harp hit-IRR-1SG-DIST be do-1SG-AS-DIST

abal i mana du-n-g-w-e
 woman TOP no say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I want to play the tabale but she says no.’ (sb 1a.92)

- (26) *Bryan kabe gi-re gula-l-a di ere-n-g-w-a*
 Bryan banana cut-SEQ put.in.ground-SS-DIST say do-3-AS-3-DIST

Alan maul wo-n-g-w-a
 Alan hole digging.motion-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘Yesterday Alan dug a hole because Bryan wanted to bury the bananas.’ (sb 1a.75)

- (27) *erema Alan maul wo mili-n-g-w-e*
 yesterday Alan hole digging.motion be-3-AS-3-PROX

Bryan ki pru-n-g-w-a
 Bryan NEG perceive-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘Yesterday Alan continued digging even though Bryan didn’t want him to.’ (sb 1a.75)

Example (28) is constructed of two syntactically complete clauses; both the medial verb and final verb have equal marking (other than the verb final *-a/e* distinction). Similarly, the following example shows a coordination construction, in which the two clauses have different subjects. In example (29), the temporal adverb

⁸ In Hua, a related Papuan language, one sentence can express several meanings. This is demonstrated by Haiman (1979):

minaroga rmu-gana baie
 down.there go.down-medial ending he stayed
 I went down there **and** stayed.

After I went down there, he stayed.

Because I went down there, he stayed. (HUA; Haiman 1979:68)⁸

eme is used to show a sequence of events, but this does not seem to alter the structure of the sentence (see also example (21)).

- (28) *na kaul si-ra-ø-g-a yal. i ebil*
 1SG trad.dress hit-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST man TOP laugh
 =====dance=====

er-a-n-g-w-e

do-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX

‘I will dance⁹ and (then) he will laugh.’ (1a.90)

- (29) *erema Alan maul wo-n-g-w-a Bryan eme kabe*
 yesterday Alan hole digging.motion-3-AS-3-DIST Bryan after banana
 =====

gi-re

cut-SEQ

gulu-n-g-w-e

dig.under-3-AS-3-PROX

====bury bananas=====

‘Yesterday Alan dug a hole after Bryan had buried the bananas.’ (1a.74)¹⁰

Kia additionally offered a second possible construction for the same English sentence.

- (30) *Bryan kabe gi-re gulu-n-g-w-e Alan maul*
 Bryan banana cut-SEQ dig.under-3-AS-3-PROX Alan hole
 =====bury bananas=====

wo-n-g-w-e

digging.motion-3-AS-3-PROX

ere-n-g-w-a

go-3-AS-3-DIST

‘Yesterday Alan dug a hole after Bryan had buried the bananas.’ (sb 1a.74)

This coordination construction in (30) fits better into the pattern where a sequence of events/actions is uttered in order of occurrence. Haiman (1979:68) writes about the frequent occurrence of relative ordering of clauses cross-linguistically:

...the relative order of two sentences will tend to imply a) that even as the first sentence precedes the second in the time of speaking, so too will the action that it describes precede that of the second sentence; and b) that the event described in the second sentence will be interpreted as a consequence of the event described in the first. Given the validity of these correlations it is not surprising that in Hua the same constructions should translate “and”, “because” and “after”. These are the meanings implied simply by the fact that the two sentences occur in order.

When the actions of the two clauses occur simultaneously, the clauses are joined together as two distinctively independent utterances, and the medial verb does not show different marking to that of the final verb. This construction is identical to the one with different subjects and sequential action.

⁹ Dance is literally “grass skirt hit” in Golin.

¹⁰ *Kabe gire gulungwe* seems to be a frozen expression for ‘burying bananas’, which means ‘banana cut-and put.under.ground’

4. Subordination

On subordinate clauses in Papuan languages Foley says they “always function to background given information, and correspond to two different constructions in more familiar languages, adverbial clauses and relative clauses” (1986:201). Reesink agrees, and further notes the similarity of this type of construction to that of topics, saying that subordination

seems to be a natural domain for the expression of a state of affairs that the speaker wants to take for granted. It is the ‘background’ for the ‘picture’ of the main clause (Talmy 1978). Such a metaphorical characterization of a subordinate clause is similar to Chafe’s definition of a Topic: “A spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (1976:50). (1987:206)

By being able to take topic marking, the verb phrases are acting as noun phrases. Foley (1986:201) says that a “formal feature of subordinate clauses in a great many Papuan languages is their morphological behaviour as nominal phrases: i.e. they take some of the same inflections as nouns.” We will show that this is the case in Golin; that the primary means of subordination is characterized by topic marking, which serves to indicate background information, or specify what is being talked about. A secondary means of subordination is used for purpose and object complement constructions which we will discuss in section 6. There are also a few problem examples which we have not been able to account for, these are included in Appendix 2.

The two main topic markers in Golin are the demonstratives *i*, and *ira*, whose cliticized forms are *=i* and *=ra*, respectively¹¹. Both these markers are used in relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, cleft clauses and *wh*-questions and special discourse functions, *=i* in cause clauses, and *=ra* in protasis clauses. However, there is a distinction between the two. The topic marker *=i* is used for a state of affairs (event, state, etc.) which is relatively proximate in time, that is recent past, present and certain/probable future in relation to the matrix or main predicate. In contrast, *=ra* is used for a state of affairs which occurred some time ago, or may occur sometime in the distant future. There is also a less common marker *ire* which has no cliticized form and which is used for actions/events which are currently occurring or very temporally proximate. This temporal proximity is possibly a metaphorical extension of their use as demonstratives *i* ‘this’, *ire* ‘this (here)’, and *ira* ‘that’. As for the glosses used for these markers, we suggest glossing *i/=i* as TOP, *ira/=ra*, TOP.DIST and *ire* TOP.PROX¹². We will first present the different functions of the marker *=i* and *=ra* before presenting more evidence for them being prototypically topic markers in 5.6. *ire* is also used, however the frequency of this as a verbal clitic is much lower than that of *=ra* and *=i*.

4.1 Verb phrase acting as or modifying a noun

¹¹ See discussion in section 5.6.

¹² The forms *ire* and *ira* are likely to be diachronically related to the verbal suffixes *-e* PROX and *-a* DIST which are similar in form and meaning, they are glossed accordingly to reflect this similarity in meaning.

The first function of subordinate clauses with the topic marker is in prototypical relative clauses where the clause is modifying a nominal head, or specifying a referent. In the following clauses the relative clause is modifying an overt nominal head.

- (31) *[na pu prin-nil p-re kare-ø-g=i] [solwara i*
 1SG go salt-water go-SEQ see-1SG-AS=TOP saltwater TOP
kari-ø-g=i] kaminkawa di-ø-m-a di pri-ø-g-a
 see-1SG-A=TOP sky be-NAS-3-DIST say perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I thought the saltwater, which I went and saw, that saltwater that I saw, was the sky.’ (saltwater text)
- (32) “*[u prin-nil i kule te-ra-n-g-w-a=ra] eme*
 come salt-water TOP join give-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST after
gariba mina nil para mi-o?” di pri-ø-g-a
 land up water all fill-PQ say perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 “‘Will the freshwater which has come to join with the sea proceed to rise up and cover all the land?’ I thought.’ (Saltwater text)

Golin also has headless relative clauses where there is no nominal head present, simply the relative clause acting as noun phrase.

- (33) *[na di-ø-g=i] kawa*
 1SG say-1SG-AS=TOP true
 ‘What I tell you now is true.’ (sb 1a.41)
- (34) *[na di-ø-g-e=ra] kawa*
 1SG say-1SG-AS-PROX=TOP.DIST true
 ‘What I told you is true.’ (sb 1a.41)

Golin also allows more than one relative clause, i.e. a relative clause can modify another relative clause.

- (35) *[[e bal prin-nil wa du-n-g-w=i] na pri-ø-g=i]*
 people salt-water about say-3-AS-3=TOP 1SG perceive-1SG-AS=TOP
kakiibi di-ø-m-a di pri-ø-g-a
 lie say-NAS-3-DIST say perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I thought the people who I had heard who had spoken of salt water were lying.’ (Saltwater text)

Relative clauses can perform a variety of thematic roles and functions. Below the (headless) relative clause is functioning as the transitive subject of *si* ‘hit’.

- (36) *[o-n-g-w-a=ra] p-re bolma su-n-g-w-e*
 go-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST go-SEQ pig hit-3-AS-3-PROX

‘He who went to the bush, goes and kills a pig.’ (sb 1a.160)

In the following example the noun which the relative clause is modifying is acting as the intransitive subject of *mili* ‘be’. In this example, the relative clause is headed by the noun phrase *yal* ‘man’.

- (37) *[yal giblin gal kau-n-g-w=i] alde mili-m?*
 man head bag carry-3-AS-3-TOP where be-3
 ‘Where is the man with the hat?’ (sb 1a.59)

In (38) *prinnil solwara* is being modified by the relative clause *wadu* and is then functioning as the object of *kare* ‘see’. Note that the relative clause is not in typical object position in this phrase.

- (38) *[prin-nil solwara wa du-n-g-w=i] na ta kare-ki-ø-g-a*
 salt-water saltwater about say-3-AS-3=TOP 1SG NEG see-NEG-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I had not seen the saltwater which they had spoken of.’ (Saltwater text)

Relative clauses can also act as the subject of non-verbal predication in ascriptive clauses, as below.

- (39) *[yal i na di-te-ra-n-g-w-a=ra] kawa*
 man TOP 1SG say-give-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST-TOP.DIST true
 ‘What he will tell me is true.’ (sb 1a.41)

4.2 Cleft constructions and *wh*-questions

A further use of such structurally relative clauses is in clefted simple sentences. This referent highlighting technique is the equivalent to cleft clause constructions in English¹³.

- (40) *na bolma kama i te-ra-ø-g=i*
 1SG pig black 2 give-IRR-1SG-AS=TOP
 ‘That black pig I am giving you.’ (sb 1a.42)
- (41) *na minisin kebil yu-ø-g-a=ra*
 1SG pot small bring-1SG-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST
 ‘That small pot I brought.’ (sb 1b.39)
- (42) *koble milin ta yo-n-g-w-e ire*
 rock egg one be-3-AS-3-PROX TOP.PROX
 ‘There is the money.’ (sb 1a.110)

¹³ For example “[t]he relative clauses in both Yimas and English clefts present information which is already known or presumed from the context of the speech act. The function of a cleft construction is to use this information to identify the proper referent of the noun of the cleft or at least to predicate something important and relevant about it” (Foley 1991:430)

Such cleft constructions are also used in *wh*-, or content questions, where information is being elicited about a specific entity, which is specified by the use of the topic marker¹⁴.

- (43) *na takal ne-ø-g=i*
 1SG what eat-1SG-AS-TOP
 ‘What was it that I ate?’ (sb 1a.50)
- (44) *abal i takal ne-ra-n-g-w=i*
 woman TOP what eat-IRR-3-AS-3=TOP
 ‘What will she eat?’ (sb 1a.51)

This situation is also found in Yimas. Foley describes the process of using clefts in *wh*- questions.

Clefts are important in Yimas because they play a central role in content questions, otherwise known as *wh* questions. Note that in questions like Who sheared the sheep? or What did he shear the sheep with?, the action of shearing the sheep is presupposed and established and what is at issue is who did the action or what was used to perform it. Thus, the pragmatic force of the non-*wh* component of these questions is identical to that of a relative clause in a cleft, and so it is really no surprise that some *wh* questions in Yimas take the forms of clefts. If the *wh* word is functioning as S, then a cleft construction is obligatory; to use an ordinary clause structure is ungrammatical. (Foley 1991:430).

The following are examples demonstrating the compulsory use of cleft sentences in *wh*- questions in Yimas.

- (45) *nawn m-na-ya-n?*
 who.SG NR.DIST-DEF-come-PRES¹⁵
- * *nawn na-na-ya-n?*
 who.SG 3SG.SUBJ-DEF-come-PRES
 ‘Who is coming?’ (YIMAS; Foley 1991:430)

4.3 Adverbial use

The topic marker also serves what would in English be constructed as an adverbial type construction. This provides a setting in space and time for the main clause. This is again prototypical topic use: it is providing background information for the whole predication to follow.

- (46) [*kaminkau yal ka di-ra-l-a di ere-n-g-w=i*]
 spokesperson man word say-IRR-SS-DIST be go-3-R-3=TOP
- kola kau-re di a-te-re*
 spear carry-SEQ axe with.hand-give-SEQ

¹⁴ Compare the use of cleft constructions for interrogatives in French, e.g. “Qu’est-ce que j’ai mangé?”.

¹⁵ For clarification, the glossing abbreviations are as follows: near distal (NR.DIST), definite (DEF), single argument (S).

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‘When the spokesperson is ready to speak (he) carries a spear on his shoulder, and holds an axe in his hand and ...’ (Big man speech text)

- (47) *[na erema e-ø-g-a=ra] kalta*
 1SG yesterday do-1SG-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST something

yo-n-g-w-a kare-ø-g-e
 be-3-AS-3-DIST see-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘(When) I went for a walk yesterday, I found something.’ (sb 1b.11)

- (48) *[i gi u-m-u-a di-n-g-a=ra] kakibi*
 2 girl come-3-REP-DIST say-2-DIST-DIST=TOP.DIST lie

di-n-g-e
 say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘When you said she came, you were lying.’ (sb 1a.133)

4.4 Cause and Protasis clauses

The topic marker also appears in cause and result relations between sentences, where in English we would typically use the conjunction *because*. This could also be analysed as adverbial usage, as in the previous section 5.3. Intuitively, this is another typical use of the topic marker: the topic-marked clause provides background information as to why the result clause occurred. There seems to be a preference for =*i* in cause clauses.

- (49) *gumnin di-n-g=i ta pre-ki-pin-a*
 nose say-2-AS=TOP NEG perceive-NEG-1PL-DIST
 =====mumble=====

‘We do not understand your mumbling.’ (sb 1a.81)

- (50) *i nibil ere-n-g=i gul-a-n-g-e*
 2 sick go-2-AS=TOP die-IRR-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You are sick and you will die (as a result).’ (sb 1a.78)

In a related use, in protases, =*ra* seems to be typically used. We propose that cause and protasis clauses in Golin are essentially the same construction: the conditional is different from a cause and result sentence only because it contains the irrealis marker. If one analyses the semantics of conditional clauses, then this similarity makes sense. In a conditional statement the action/event in the apodosis will only be realized if the protasis is realized. So in effect, it is an unrealized cause and result construction. This distance from reality is reflected by the use of the distal topic marker.

- (51) *i nibil er-a-n-g-a=ra gul-a-n-g-e*
 2 sick do-IRR-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST die-IRR-2-AS-PROX
 ‘If you were to get sick, you would die.’ (sb 1a.78)

- (52) *edenin teran ne-ra-n-g-a=ra mo yal gaan*
 fire one eat-IRR-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST CONJ man child
- si-mili-si-re*
 hit-be-hit-SEQ
 ‘Eating at the one fire will make your children unhealthy and...’ (Fire taboo text)

4.5 Discourse functions using the topic marker

Topic marking is also used in Golin to summarize information, or to highlight a topic. This allows the speaker to elaborate on this topic.

- (53) [*na pri-ø-g=i kakibi di-m-ø-a di*
 1SG perceive-1SG-AS=TOP lie say-3-NAS-DIST say
- pri-ø-g-a*
 perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘What I thought, I thought they were lying.’ (1a.56)

- (54) [*Kaupa si-ø-g-a=ra kama si-ø-g-e*
 bird hit-1SG-DIST=TOP.DIST black hit-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘That bird I killed, I killed a black one.’ (sb 1a.135)

This function seems to be fairly common. First the topic is given using the topic marker, then a comment is made, repeating the verb, but without the topic marker. The following examples demonstrate this further.

- (55) [*mine sin gali-n-g-w=i para abal gali-n-g-w-a*
 drum pot burn-3-AS-3=TOP all woman burn-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘Women normally do the cooking in the pots.’ (*lit.* ‘Cooking in the pots, all the women cook.’) (Festive cooking text)
- (56) [*igin gale u ire eru-n-g-w=i yal gau*
 hair burn come TOP.PROX do-3-AS-3=TOP man human
- eru-n-g-w-e*
 do-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘Burning the hair off the pigs, the men do it.’ (Festive cooking text)

Haiman (1980:301) calls this left-dislocation “the clearest indication of the topic function of such clauses”. This is demonstrated in Hua in example (57).

- (57) *Fu-mo ebgima-mo, bade-‘a-hi’ ebgi-e*
 pig-p.t. kill-p.t. son-3SG.POSS-BEN kill.3-fin.A

‘Killing the pig, he did it for his son.’ (HUA; Haiman 1980:302)¹⁶

4.6 Further related occurrences of =*i* and =*ra* (and *ire*)

The topic markers *ire* ‘near’, *ira* ‘far’ and *i* ‘near’ can act as deictic markers like *this* and *that* do in English. *ime* ‘that down there’, and *ipe* ‘that up there’, two other topic/deictic markers, apparently have related diachronic origins to *ira* and *ire*. We speculate that the origin of these markers is the topic marker *i* plus another morpheme indicating location. However, these morphemes no longer appear to exist in isolated form and as such we have treated all of these markers as portmanteau morphemes. We show the demonstrative-like use of these markers in the following examples. In the first example below, the demonstrative *ipe* is indicating an object in space *mine* ‘house’ which is important information in the sentence.

(58) *na o mine ipe kipai-ø-k-e*
 1SG house up TOP.UP live-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I live in a house up there.’ (1a.20)

(59) *kaupa ire mine mili-n-g-w-a ipe*
 bird TOP.PROX up be-3-AS-3-DIST TOP.UP
 ‘That bird up there.’ (sb 1b.30)

(60) *yal ime kare bedere-n-g-w-e tabale na teran*
 man TOP.DOWN see stop-3-AS-3-PROX jew’s.harp 1SG one

na-nan si-ra-ø-g-a
 1SG-REFL hit-IRR-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘Let him (down there) give it to me and let me play it.’ (sb 1a.93)

(61) *na yal ira sul pai-ø-k-e*
 1SG man TOP.DIST watch be-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I watch the man.’ (sb 1a.26)

(62) *na ka i ta di-ki-ø-g-a*
 1SG word TOP NEG say-NEG-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I did not talk about that.’ (sb 1a.72)

Fleischman (1989:1) describes a similar metaphorical extension where “the concept of temporal distance turns out to be a prominent metaphorical template cross-linguistically for the expression of distance along other axes, both grammatical and pragmatic”. In Golin, the use of topic/deixis markers are similarly extended to topic/subordination uses.

Kia gave the following examples during elicitation, where variations of topic deixis give different interpretations; they explicitly show this metaphorical extension. In the example below the distal topic marker shows the distance in time of the death of the bird.

¹⁶ Where finite agent-like argument (fin.A), and potential topic (p.t.)

- (63) *gaan ta ki man gulu-n-g-w-a=ra milin gwi*
 child one wild.fowl mother die-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST egg take

u-n-g-w-e

come-3-AS-3-PROX

‘The kid is taking the egg of the wild fowl (which died some time ago).’ (sb 1a.152)

In this example the topic marker =*i* shows that the act of dying was taking place at a proximal time to when the kid took the egg.

- (64) *gaan ta ki man gulu-n-g-w=i milin gwi*
 child one wild.fowl mother die-3-AS-3=TOP egg take

u-n-g-w-e

come-3-AS-3-PROX

‘The kid is taking the egg of the wild fowl (as it dies).’ (sb 1a.152)

In the example below, *ire* indicates that the action is completed but only recently before the second action.

- (65) *gaan ta ki man gulu-n-g-w-a ire milin*
 child one wild.fowl mother die-3-AS-3-DIST TOP.PROX egg

gwi u-n-g-w-e

take come-3-AS-3-PROX

‘The kid is taking the egg of the wild fowl (which just died right there and then).’ (sb 1a.152)

In this example, the action of the bird being “about to die” is taking place at the same time as the action of taking the egg.

- (66) *gaan ta ki man gul-a-l-a eru-n-g-w=i*
 child one wild.fowl mother die-IRR-1SG-DIST do-3-AS-3=TOP

milin gwi u-n-g-w-e

egg take come-3-AS-3-PROX

‘The kid is taking the egg of the wild fowl (which is about to die).’ (sb 1a.152)

Kia mentioned that, for example, *gulungwa ira*, and *gulungwara*, are identical. Notwithstanding this, there are contrasting examples in which a noun phrase takes *ira* and a verb phrase takes =*ra*, as below in examples (67) and (68).

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- (67) *gaan ta [ki man gulu-n-g-w-a=ra] milin gwi*
 child one wild.fowl mother kill-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST egg take

u-n-g-w-e

come-3-AS-3-PROX

‘The kid is taking the egg of the wild fowl (which died some time ago).’ (sb 1a.152)

- (68) *gaan ta [ki ira] milin gwi u-n-g-w-e*
 child one wild.fowl TOP.DIST egg take come-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘The child took the wild fowl’s egg.’ (sb 1a.152)

The best account at present thus sees reduction of *ira* to =*ra* as possible only after verbs.

Further evidence of the function of these markers as topic markers is their appearance with noun phrases, especially proper noun phrases. It is also used to mark arguments of note as in the verb phrases below. This is typical topic marking behaviour. In the following sentences the topic markers *i*, *ire* and *ira* are illustrated in this function. For example, in example (69) below, *i* marks *Grace* as a topic in the sentence which is to be predicated upon.

- (69) *Grace i dimingul o-n-g-w-e*
 Grace TOP bush go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘(That) Grace, she is going to the bush.’ (sb 1a.20)

- (70) *kaupa i er-o-m-a*
 bird TOP do-go-3-DIST
 ‘That bird flew away.’ (sb 1a.134)

- (71) *na bol i bolain amindi-ø-g-e*
 1SG table TOP on sit-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I am sitting on this table.’ (sb 1b.24)

- (72) *na buka=ra yal i te-ø-k-a*
 1SG book (TP)=TOP.DIST man TOP give-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I gave him that book.’ (sb 1b.89)

- (73) *abal i kola=ra yal ire inin su-n-g-w-a*
 womanTOP spear=TOP.DIST man TOP.PROX REFL hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘He speared himself with that spear of hers.’ (sb 1b.87)¹⁷

- (74) *na awi peke bil eri milin ira no-n-g-w-e*
 1SG dog white big tree fruit TOP.DIST eat-3-AS-3-PROX

¹⁷ This example also appears to show some kind of topic fronting.

‘My big white dog ate that fruit.’ (sb 1b.24)

- (75) *Grace aruwai ira dimingul o-n-g-w-e*
 Grace tall TOP.DIST bush go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘That tall Grace, she goes to the bush.’ (sb 1a.160)

- (76) *awi bil peke ire eri milin ira*
 dog big white TOP.PROX tree egg TOP.DIST

no-n-g-w-e

eat-3-AS-3-PROX

‘This big white dog is eating the fruit.’ (sb 1b.24)

This marker can also have what might be considered a demonstrative use in English. This function does not preclude the marker being a topic marker, in fact this strengthens the argument as a topic marker is primarily a marker of deixis.

- (77) *awi kama i*
 dog black TOP
 ‘This black dog.’ (1b.23)

5. Object complement and purpose clauses

Like some other Papuan languages (e.g. Usan) the structure of purpose clauses is marked by the use of the verb corresponding with ‘say’ in English. As Reesink (1987:255) says “the concept of intention refers to deliberate thought accompanying certain actions. Deliberate thought may be seen as silent speech that the agent directs to himself.” Examples of such purpose clauses from Usan are the following sentences (78) and (79):

- (78) *wuri ai sigeni-om qâmb mi eng bo mor big*
 they ground dry-SG.IMP say.SS thing the again home put.SS

ig-urei

be-3PL.FP¹⁸

‘They used to put this thing in their homes again in order that the ground would dry up.’ (USAN; Reesink 1987:258)

- (79) *munon mâni gun-oub qâmb man is-umirei*
 man yam dig-PL.FUT.SS say.SS garden descend-3PL.FP
 ‘The men went down to the garden in order to dig up the yam.’ (USAN; Reesink 1987:257)

Golin has a very similar construction which is as follows:

¹⁸ Far past (FP).

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$S_{\text{purpose/object complement}} \Rightarrow V + \text{IRR} + (\text{Person/Number}) + a \quad di/de^{19}$

We believe the variation between *di* and *de* to be non-contrastive, and the result of many different transcriptions, not all definitive. It may also be in free variation. However it would be worth investigating to confirm this. The following elicited sentences (80) and (81) demonstrate this construction. The purpose/object complement clause is subordinate to a verb which can perform the full range of possible syntactic functions in Golin, e.g. medial or final.

- (80) *na alan koble te-ra-l-a di wa*
 1SG opp.sex.sib money give-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP about

du-ø-g-e

say-1SG-AS-PROX

‘I’m looking for money to give to my sister.’ (sb 1a.75)

- (81) *erema Alan maul wo-ra-l-a di ere-m-ba*
 yesterday Alan hole digging.motion-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP do-2-CONC

Bryan kape gi-re kule bederu-n-g-w-e

Bryan banana cut-SEQ join finish-3-AS-3-PROX

‘Alan wanted to dig a hole but Bryan already had buried the bananas.’ (sb 1a.75)

Proof that *di* is part of the subordinate clause and not the final clause is that noun phrases can occur between *di* and the final clause; if these verbs were in series then they would need to be contiguous.

- (82) *na alan nimin si-ra-m-a di komina*
 1SG opp.sex.sib rain hit-IRR-3-DIST COMP food

si-n-g-w-e

hit-3-AS-3-PROX

‘My sister harvested the garden for fear of rain.’ (sb 1a.75)

This construction also codes object complements of *prige* ‘perceive’.

- (83) *na i gul-a-n-a di pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG 2 die-IRR-2-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX

‘I am afraid that you will die.’ (sb 1a.112)

¹⁹ The speaker also gave sentences with the same construction but without *di* (say). However when specifically asked which was preferred during elicitation he chose the construction with ‘say’.

- (84) *na pu prin-nil p-re kare-ø-g=i solwara (TP)*
 1SG go salt-water go-SEQ see-1SG-AS=TOP satwater
- i kari-ø-g=i kaminkawa di-m-a di*
 TOP see-1SG-AS=TOP sky say-3-NAS-DIST COMP
- pri-g-a*
 perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I thought the saltwater [which I went and saw], the saltwater [which I saw],
 was the sky.’ (Saltwater text)

It also occurs with *ere* ‘do’ to mean ‘try’, ‘want’ or ‘be ready to’.

- (85) *kaminkau yal ka d-ra-l-a di er-u-n-g-w=i...*
 chief man word say-IRR-SS-DIST COMP do-come-3-AS-3-TOP
 ‘When the chief is ready to speak...’ (Golin chief text)

6. Other forms of subordination via embedding

Golin can also subordinate without the use of an overt subordination marker. In both sentences below, full finite clauses are acting as the object complement of the main verb. In each of the cases below, a verb of perception is the matrix verb; the first verb plus the distal tense inflection and the second verb with proximal tense.

- (86) *[ebal tau buke a-te-u-n-g-w-a] kare-ø-g-e*
 people some book (TP) with.hand-give-come-3-AS-3-DIST see-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I see them holding their books.’ (sb 1a.54)
- (87) *na [kuria du-n-g-w-a] pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG song say-3-AS-3-DIST perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I hear the singing.’ (sb 1a.49)

In the following example the verb phrase is functioning paratactically as the intransitive subject of *mili*.

- (88) *[abal i bolma kulu-n-g-w-a] ki milu-n-g-w-e*
 womanTOP pig own-3-AS-3-DIST bad be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘She has a bad pig.’ (sb 1a.30)

7. The concessive marker =*ba*

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The conjunction =*ba* most closely translates into English as ‘but’. Bunn (1974:39) calls it the “adversative” and slots it in with other verbal suffixing. He also offers the alternative form *bo* ‘for’, which apparently may occur sentence-finally when “something is implied” (Bunn 1974:39), but we have not found this allomorph in our data. Irwin (1974:74) calls the Salt-Yui equivalent the “concessive aspect”. Longacre (1985:242) categorizes *but* sentences as ‘contrast’ constructions.

Contrast may be expressed by means of positive and negative values of the same predicate accompanied by differing participants: *I went downtown and she didn't*. It is obvious, of course, that in such an example as the one above, one or the other predicate in positive or negative value can be substituted for by a synonym. Contrast may also proceed by means of antonyms: *I went downtown, but she stayed home*.

Contrast may also be expressed by constituents other than verbs²⁰, thereby constructing ‘antithetical sentences’ (Longacre, 1985:242). The second contrast, according to Longacre, is Exception, as in the English sentence *Grandfather didn't go to sleep, but everybody else did*, where “the universal set minus *grandfather* is contrasted with *grandfather*, and *didn't go to sleep* is contrasted with ‘going to sleep’”. Most data from Golin =*ba* constructions fit nicely into this format, though we shall see below that it is also used in some independent clauses that cannot be characterized as concessive.

The first environment where =*ba* occurs is with a fully inflected main verb as in examples (89), (90) and (91).

- (89) *na maul ta wo-ki-g-a=ba ebal ta*
 1SG hole NEG digging.motion-NEG-AS-DIST=CONC people one

wo-n-g-w-e
 digging.motion-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I did not dig the hole but someone else did.’ (sb 1b.60)

- (90) *na Alan bolma si-ra-m-a di pri-ø-g-a=ba*
 1SG Alan pig hit-IRR-3-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-DIST=CONC

bolma ere o-n-g-w-e
 pig do go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I would have liked Alan to kill the pig but it ran away.’ (1b.117)

- (91) *na PNG na-l-a di ere-ø-g-a=ba tiket*
 1SG PNG go-SS-DIST COMP go-1SG-AS-DIST=CONC tiket(TP)

ta di-ki-n-g-w-a
 NEG say-NEG-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘I want to go to PNG but (I have) no ticket.’ (1a.159)

ba also occurs with verbs with only optional negative marking and person/number marking as in example (92) and (93).

²⁰ Longacre gives the example *Bill works outside during the day and inside at night*, where outside/inside and day/night provide the antithesis.

- (92) *na ka ta pai-ki-m=ba ka ta di-ra-g=i*
 1SG say NEG be-NEG-3=CONC word one be-IRR-AS=TOP
ebal eme mile pai-re ere-ra-bin-g-a u
 people after be be-SEQ do-IRR-1PL-AS-DIST come
u wai e-n-g-w-e
 come good go-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘But what I am about to say now is about how we will live a good life (after) in the future (what we have to do to become good).’ (Golin speech imitation text)
- (93) *ebal bananble solwara kara-ra-l-a pri-m=ba*
 person many saltwater see-IRR-1SG-DIST perceive-3=CONC
teen di-n-g-w-a ebal ta kara-ki-n-g-w-a
 far be-3-AS-3-DIST person NEG see-NEG-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘Many people want to see the sea but it is too far away, (that’s why) people have not seen it.’ (salt-water text)

In example (94) *ba* occurs with the bare verb stem *kare* with the negative marker *ki*.

- (94) *na yal i ta kare-ki=ba ka du-n-g-w-a*
 1SG man some NEG see-NEG=CONC word say-3-AS-3-DIST
pri-g-e
 perceive-AS-PROX
 ‘I don’t see the man but I hear him.’

In the following examples, *=ba* appears sentence finally with verbs marked for irrealis and person/number marking only. Presumably this arose from ‘insubordination’ (Evans, forthcoming) through the ellipsis of an original negative clause, e.g. ‘(but) I haven’t’ for (95) and (96).

- (95) *na bolma tau kule-ne-ra-l=ba*
 1SG pig some own-eat-IRR-1SG=CONC
 ‘I wish I had some pigs.’ (sb 1a.136)
- (96) *na koble milin ta kare-ne-ra-l=ba*
 1SG rock egg one see-eat-IRR-1SG=CONC
 ‘I wish I had some money.’ (sb 1a.136)

Concessive constructions may also be expressed using *dimba*, which is derived from the concessive marker and the verb *di* ‘say’. *dimba* can be used sentence medially and is also quite common clause finally.

- (97) *na kona er-a-l-a de ere-ø-g-a di-m-ba yal*
 1SG task do-IRR-SS-DIST say do-1SG-AS-DIST say-3-CONC man

ta ere bedere-n-g-w-e
 one do finish-3-R-3-PROX

‘I was trying to clear the bush but someone already has.’ (sb 1a.136)

- (98) *i erema u-ra-n-g-a na wai*
 2 yesterday come-IRR-3-AS-DIST 1SG good

pri-ra-g-a di-m-ba
 perceive-IRR-AS-DIST say-3-CONC

‘If you had come yesterday, I would have been happy.’ (sb 1a.78)²¹

8. The use of *tameran* as a causative conjunction

Golin has sentence constructions with the causative conjunction *tameran* ‘because’. Longacre (1985:245) defines such a construction by saying that the causation in the clause is given, “which is the antecedent event. Coupled with the given is its consequent: something else is implied by the antecedent and that something else took place“. We will look first at the constructions in which *tameran* acts as the conjunction, demonstrated in examples (99) and (100).

- (99) *Alan pri-n-g-w-a Yukie bolma ta si-gule-k-ra-m-a*
 Alan perceive-3-AS-3-DIST Yukie pig NEG hit-die-NEG-IRR-3-DIST

di pri-n-g-w-a tameran Yukie gi meke mili-n-g-e
 COMP perceive-3-AS-3-DIST because Yukie girl small be-3-AS-PROX

‘Alan doubts that Yukie could ever kill a pig, because she is too small.’ (sb1a.120)

- (100) *Alan Nathan bolma ta si gule-k-ra-m-a di*
 Alan Nathan pig NEG kill die-NEG-IRR-3-DIST COMP

pri-n-g-w-a tameran Nathan bolma ta
 perceive-3-AS-3-DIST because Nathan pig NEG

si-gule-kare-ki-n-g-w-e

²¹ Again, the use of *ba* clause-finally could be explained that it implies an unspoken continuation of the sentence, ie ‘If you had come yesterday, I would have been happy *but you didn’t come, so I wasn’t happy.*’ This agrees with Bunn’s explanation of the allomorph *bo* which we have not found in our data at all. This analysis is merely a speculation at this stage and will need further work to establish a more formal hypothesis of the function and occurrence of *ba*.

hit-die-see-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX

‘Alan doubts that Nathan could ever kill a pig because he doesn't know how.’
(1b.121)

In the next two examples, (101) and (102), the use of *tameran* does not seem to fit into the pattern of the preceding sentences. However, it is not coincidence that both questions are *why* questions which are generally (in English anyway) answered with *because*. If we restructure the English translation, we could perhaps construct translations like *(And) you are crying, because...? – Kia wanting to go to PNG, you are staying here because...?* With a rising intonation these could also act as questions in (spoken) English.

(101) *Kia PNG na-l-a di ere-n-g-a=ra*
Kia PNG go-1SG-DIST COMP go-3-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST

tameran mili-n
because stay-2.INTER
‘Kia wants to go to PNG, so why are you staying (here)?’ (1a.159)

(102) *i kai tameran mii-n*
2 cry because cry-2
‘Why are you crying?’ (1a.93)

The use of the same word for these two concepts is also found in other languages, for example in Auslan the same sign is used for both ‘why’ and ‘because’. (Johnston 1998:436) Similarly, in Italian ‘why’ and ‘because’ are both translated by *perché*. Cross-linguistically these two concepts seem to have a very close semantic relationship.

9. *mo*, the ‘or’ conjunction

mo is a coordination marker which can conjoin noun phrases within a clause or conjoin clauses. It occurs as a free standing morpheme, as in the following example sentences. In example (103) two clauses are being conjoined, whereas in example (104) it is two noun phrases.

(103) *dibe kare-ne-ra-bin mo bisnis ere*
boat see-eat-IRR-IPL CONJ business (TP) do

ne-ra-bin mo gaan sule di-ra-n-g-w-a
eat-IRR-1PL CONJ child school (TP) be-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST
‘(We) are wasting our time buying cars or making business or (sending) or kids to school...’ (Chief imitation text)

(104) *bolma mo korale mo ta i pu si*
pig CONJ chicken CONJ one TOP go hit

ki-re mile kwi

prepare-SEQ be new

‘Take a pig or a chicken and sacrifice it and seek forgiveness.’ (Fire text)

10. Conclusion

In this article, we have outlined the various major means of clause combining in Golin. We have established that clauses can be conjoined via medial verbs, conjunctions or paratactic means. Clauses can be subordinated using topic marking or a special purpose/object complement construction. Serial verbs also form a marginal type of clause combination and as such have been discussed above. The verb morphology and syntax of Golin is very complex and our analysis is based on proven concepts only. We suspect that the morphemes *-a* and *-e* also play a role in clause combining, however, we are yet to identify these functions.

Appendix 1

We failed to come up with an analysis for these examples. More data, research and time is needed before a full analysis can be given. We have glossed these morphemes as topic markers but can not account for why both markers would occur simultaneously.

(105) *koble yon ime yo-n-g-w-a=ra=i*
stone ? TOP.DOWN be-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST=TOP
‘The stone is there.’ (in response to question "Where is the stone?") (sb 1a.124)

(106) *i e-n-g-a=ra=i gnauna u-n*
2 go-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST=TOP when come-2
‘When did you (go and) come back?’ (sb 1a.114)

(107) *i na kawa di-te-ra-n-g-e=ra=i*
2 1SG true say-give-IRR-2-AS-PROX=TOP.DIST=TOP
‘What you will tell me is true.’ (sb 1b.41)

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Section 1: Besold & Loughnane

7. Reported speech constructions in Golin¹

Robyn M. Loughnane

A number of Papuan languages, such as Golin, Hua and Usan, express the thoughts, feelings and intentions of others through the use of a construction similar or identical to that used for reported speech in that language. The situations which may be encoded with a reported speech-like clause include intention, want, purpose, trying, attempting, going to do, desire and thought. This will be shown for Hua and Usan below. In Hua, a Papuan language spoken in the Eastern Highlands, PNG, a reported speech construction is one of the major ways to express wants and desires. This is shown in example (1) below (quotation marks from original).

- (1) “*ugue*” *hue*
 I.will.go I.said
 ‘I wanted to go.’ (*Lit.* “I will go”, I said.) (HUA Haiman 1980: 442)

A similar situation exists in Usan, a Papuan language spoken in Madang Province, PNG, where clauses of intention “may be seen as silent speech that the agent directs to himself.” (Reesink 1987: 255) The following example demonstrates an ‘intention’/‘want’ clause in Usan.

- (2) *ari-ne* *sa-m* *o-a-i*
 go-must.we say-ing do-Im.Pa-you/they
 ‘You/they want to go.’ (*Lit.* You/they do saying “We must go”.)

1. Introduction to Reported Speech

We speak to perform a variety of tasks (e.g. see Austin 1975). We speak, for example, to communicate our thoughts and feelings, to convey information, to entertain and to make requests (Searle 1969). Often we speak about our own thoughts and feelings but we also frequently refer to what others have said, thought and felt. Languages often mark the speech and thought of others contained within one’s own speech in a special way. It is this ‘speech within speech’, or *reported speech*, which is of interest here and in particular the question of how this is represented in Golin. This phenomenon has been much discussed by various different authors since Plato; by philosophers, writers and linguists, and as a result has been referred to by many different terms², not all of which can be discussed here. I will be using the term reported speech as per Coulmas (1986) and others³ because for me this is the most transparent and unambiguous term. I will use it here as a general term to include all types of reported speech and thought.

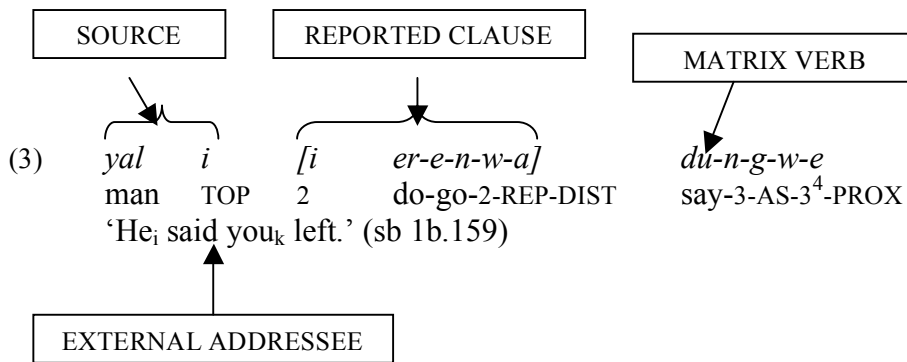
¹ This is a reduced version of my unpublished honours thesis: Loughnane, Robyn. 2003. *Reported Speech in Golin*. Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. University of Melbourne.

² e.g. Constructed dialogue (Yule and Mathis 1992; Tannen 1986), Reported dialogue (Longacre 1994), Reported discourse (Güldemann and von Roncador 2002)

³ e.g. Hill (1995), Klamer (2000), McGregor (1994), Merlan and Rumsey (2001)

1.1 Terminology

Before beginning to discuss reported speech it is necessary to introduce some important terminology. The terminology introduced in this section will become very important for understanding person deixis in section (2.3.3). The following terms will be used to refer to the different possible referents in a reported speech situation, and the different parts of the utterance. I am using terms based on those developed by Sells (1987). I will use the term *external speaker* to refer to the person who uttered the entire sentence, i.e. the primal speech act (e.g. in the example below it is me - RL) and the term *external addressee* to refer to the addressee of the entire utterance (e.g. here it is you, the reader). I will use the term *source* to refer to the subject of the speech verb (i.e. the original speaker/thinker of the reported utterance). The clause which represents the speech or thought of the source and which is embedded within the larger sentence will be referred to as the *reported clause*. Arguments within the reported clause will be referred to using their grammatical role in the sentence, e.g. the object of the reported clause. The verb which introduces the reported clause will be referred to as the *matrix verb*. Square brackets will be used to indicate clause boundaries. These terms are demonstrated in example below. In this example there is a third person source and a reported clause with the external addressee represented by a second person pronoun and verbal suffixation.



Subscript letters, as in the above example, indicate reference of participants represented by in the English translation. In this article, two pronouns are considered coindexed if they refer to identical entities or sets of entities in the real world, or are grammatically treated as such. Coindexed pronouns will be given identical subscript letters in the English translation.

A further terminological concept which is important in discussing person deixis in reported speech is the distinction between relative and absolute deixis. That is, a given marker of deixis in a reported clause may be interpreted in one of two ways: a) absolute deixis: from the point of view of the external speaker (e.g. in indirect reported speech in English: *You_i said you_i hate him.*) b) relative deixis: where deictic markers are interpreted from the point of view of the original speech act, that is, from the point of view of the source (e.g. in direct reported speech in English: *You_i said "I_i hate him".*).

⁴ In Golin only one argument, the subject, is encoded in the verbal suffixation. -n- -w- is a special split allomorph which encodes a third person subject.

1.2 Speech styles

In referring to the speech of other humans, different languages may have different styles of speech reporting. The major distinction has traditionally been between direct, indirect and free indirect reported speech⁵. Examples of these styles in English are given below.

Direct reported speech: And I said “Do you mean for lunch or dinner?”

(4) *Indirect reported speech: And I asked her whether she meant for lunch or dinner.*

(5) *Free indirect reported speech: And I said #Did she mean for lunch or dinner?# (taken from Clark and Gerrig 1990: 786) (# indicates beginning and end of free indirect reported speech clause.)*

Direct reported speech is generally viewed as the act of producing speech as if it were from the source's point of view. That is, reproducing to a certain degree of faithfulness, a speech act which the source has uttered, or is imagined to have uttered. Direct reported speech is not an exact reproduction of the original speech act.

The second traditional category of reported speech is indirect reported speech. In this style of speech, adaptations from the original utterance have been made. The essence of this speech style is a change to the external speaker's point of view in all the main markers of speech style.

The third style of reported speech shown above, frequently identified in the literature is free indirect reported speech (originally *style indirect libre* as introduced by Bally (1912)), which has been identified in a number of Indo-European languages. It incorporates pronominal reference from the point of view of the external speaker but illocutionary style as found in the original quoted utterance (if there was one).

There are several other speech styles which fall on the continuum between direct and indirect reported speech. The speech styles given above should not be taken as a complete set of categories into which reported speech in all languages must fall. A number of authors have demonstrated styles lying outside the traditional distinctions given above in a range of different languages, or traditional distinctions, but with differing manifestations of these distinctions. For some interesting examples of differing speech styles see, for example, Gooniyandi (McGregor 1994), Ku Waru (Merlan and Rumsey 2001), Slave (Rice 1986), Alambak (Bruce 1984), Amele (Roberts 1987), Adiokrou (Hill 1995), and Dani (Bromley 1981). Here I will present a further variation of speech style for Golin, which I will term *semi-indirect speech*.

Speech styles are generally distinguished in a number of ways. One distinguishing feature is deictic markers, some of which shift from simple sentences and some of which do not. A deictic marker is one “whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur” (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 259). The main categories of deixis are person, temporal and spatial deixis. These also constitute the main “shifters” in reported speech, as discussed by Jakobson (1957). Further features which

⁵ There have been many other similar distinctions with varying terms which have been used, which cannot be discussed at length here. For example, *oratio recta* ‘direct reported speech’ and *oratio obliqua* ‘indirect reported speech’ or *mimesis* ‘direct representation’ and *diegesis* (the latter terms date back to Book III of Plato's Republic (Yule 1993: 236)).

distinguish between speech styles are word order, presence or absence of complementizers, intonation, and markers of illocutionary style e.g. interrogative markers. The main focus of this paper however will be the relevant shifters in Golin which are spatial deixis, mood marking and person deixis.

The interpretation of person deixis depends on speech style, but it is also an important indicator of speech style. The prominence of person deixis as a test for direct versus indirect reported speech appears to be widely accepted in the literature. See, for example, Munro (1982), where reported clauses with relative reference are deemed to be direct, and reported clauses with absolute reference, i.e. from the point of view of the external speaker are indirect. While this may be an appropriate test for some languages (such as English) it does not appear to hold up for a number of Papuan languages, such as Tauya (MacDonald 1990a), Usan (Reesink 1987), Dani (Bromley 1981) and Golin which will be discussed further later in this article. In these languages absolute deixis (which would traditionally indicate indirect reported speech) is used only in very restricted circumstances in non-direct reported speech styles and is not contrasted with a relative pattern of deixis in any other speech style.

2. Reported speech in Golin

2.1 *di* and its uses

Golin has several reported speech constructions, as well as similar constructions for reported thought. All of these constructions have a connection with the main verb of speech in Golin, *di* 'say'. In this section I will present the major uses of *di* 'say' as a matrix verb of speech and as a complementizer⁶.

2.1.1 *di* as a matrix verb

In its matrix form *di* 'say' generally takes some kind of object. This object is usually a reported speech or thought clause or a noun. Due to its preference for a direct object, and the fact that complements of speech consistently appear in object position, *di* 'say' appears to be a clearly transitive verb⁷.

2.1.1.1 *di* with prototypical nominal objects

The first object that *di* 'say' can take which I will discuss is a noun indicating the manner of speech (e.g. 'shouting', 'speaking', 'singing'). This is demonstrated in example (4) below where *ka* 'words' is the object of *di* and this indicates that speech occurred in the form of words, i.e. normal speech.

⁶ *di* also has several other uses; most notably as an inflecting serialized verb with various meanings, and also as an existential verb. These uses are not discussed in the current article.

⁷ Munro (1982), and other authors since, suggest that it is cross-linguistically common for 'say' verbs to be less than prototypically transitive, e.g. in Supyire (Carlson 1994) and Gooniyandi (McGregor 1994). However, this does not appear to be the case in Golin. See both Munro (1982) and Longacre (1985) for evidence of the less-than-prototypically-transitive nature of 'say' in English.

- (6) *ana kwi ta mili-n-g-w-a kwi pu ka*
 someone new one be-3-AS-3-DIST new go **word**

di-n-g-w-a

say-3-AS-3-DIST

‘(Then) another takes his place and talks.’ (‘How a big man goes to speak’ text)

These nouns are acting as prototypical nouns and can be modified by adjectives and quantifiers/demonstratives as shown below where both *kebil* ‘small’ and *ta* ‘one’ are modifying *ka* ‘word’.

- (7) *ka kebil ta d-ra-ø-g=i*
 word small one say-IRR-1SG-AS=TOP
 ‘... what little I will say ...’ (Big man speech imitation text)

di ‘say’ can also occur with a second type of (usually nominal) object accompanied by the postposition *wa*⁸ ‘about’/‘of’. These objects are now describing the *content* of the speech act, not the manner in which the speech was delivered. This is shown in example (6) below. N.B. *wa* cannot occur with the manner of speech nouns described above.

- (8) *ebal [prin-nil wa] du-n-g-w=i*
 person **salt-water about** say-3-AS-3=TOP
 ‘The people who had spoken of salt water...’ (Saltwater text)

2.1.1.2 *di* with reported speech clauses

The second type of object which *di* may take is a reported speech clause. This may take one of two forms: direct or semi-indirect reported speech. Both of these clause types are in complementary distribution with the other nominal object types described above. In Golin direct reported speech, all deictic markers and all verbal inflection of the original utterance are preserved, i.e. these utterances can stand alone as simple sentences. In Golin, this direct reported speech construction appears to be the only way to report an order or a question. The reported clauses in examples (7) and (8) below are imperative marked.

- (9) *[p-re endenin i teran ne-ki-ø] du-n-g-w-a*
 perceive-SEQ fire TOP one eat-NEG-IMP₂ say-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘“Understand this and don’t associate (with enemies)!” they say.’ (Lit. “Understand and don’t eat (at) the one fire (with enemies)” they say.)’ (Fire text)
- (10) *na mome erema [maul wo-ya] di-n-g-w-a*
 1SG uncle yesterday hole dig-IMP₁ say-3-AS-3-DIST
 ‘My uncle told me yesterday “dig a hole!”/’My uncle told me to dig a hole yesterday.’ (sb 1a.61)

⁸ It appears possible that the reported marker (to be discussed in sections (2.2.1.4) and (2.2.1.5)) and the distal tense marker may have been reanalyzed here and are now able to accompany nouns and adjectives, although this needs to be confirmed with further research and comparative evidence.

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Verbs with truth assertion and proximal marking (i.e. final declarative verbs) can also occur as direct reported speech utterances, though these are rare and appear to be fairly idiomatic. An example is shown below in example (9) of a direct report of a declarative sentence.

- (11) *yal i [na e-ø-g-e] di-n-g-w-e*
man TOP 1SG go-1SG-AS-PROX say-3-AS-3-PROX
'He was/is willing to go.' (lit. He says/said "I go") (sb 1b.143)

The alternative reported clause type with the reported speech marker (semi-indirect reported speech - to be described below) seems to be greatly preferred for declarative sentences over examples like (9).

The second reported clause type with *di* 'say' as a matrix verb can take is a reported clause with the reported speech marker⁹ *-w* (~ *-u*). Verbs in this reported clause type take restricted verbal morphology: (optional) irrealis marking, compulsory person/number marking, the reported marker, and temporal distal tense marking. The reported marker *-w* has the form *-w* after first and second person marking (*-n*, *-bin*, *-ø*), but *-u* (or *-iw*) after third person marking (*-m*). In example (10) below, an example with first person marking and *-w* is shown, and, in example (11), third person marking with the allomorph *-u* is shown. In example (11) the reported clause also contains the verb *di* which has a direct object *kau* 'song' indicating manner of speech and an indirect object *gi* 'girl'.

- (12) *yal i [u-ra-l-w-a] du-n-g-w-e*
man TOP come-IRR-1SG-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
'He_i said "I_i will come"/He_i said he_i would come.' (sb 1b.139)

- (13) *[yal ire gi i kau di-m-u-a] di-n-g-w-e*
man TOP.PROX girl TOP song say-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
Someone_i said he_j sang to her_k. (sb 1b.92)

This construction is generally only used to report what would be declarative statements in the original utterance. I have analysed the reported clause in this construction as semi-indirect reported speech (to be discussed further in section 2.3). The reported marker cannot occur with imperative or interrogative utterances.

2.1.2 *di* in series with other verbs - reported thought

di also (optionally) occurs to introduce reported clauses which indicate the internal speech of individuals in the form of thoughts, intentions, feelings, wants,

⁹ The analysis of *-w* as a marker of reported speech is contrary to the analysis presented by Bunn (1974) where he analyses the reported marker as "unrestricted" aspect. Bunn does, however, note the high frequency of *-w* in reported speech contexts: "when someone is telling a story he will use only one aspect marker and not avail himself of the others. This seems especially true as between *-u* and *-g*, 'Unrestricted' and 'Restricted' aspects respectively" (Bunn 1974: 30,31). In our data, this morpheme occurred only with reported speech, which occurred the majority of the time with *di*- 'say'. *-w* occurs only with complements of speech and not complements of thought. For more information about such evidential markers see Palmer (2001) and Willett (1988)

desires, attempts, and purpose. In this construction I will be analyzing *di* as a complementizer¹⁰. This construction can take both direct reported thought clauses and semi-indirect reported thought clauses. Semi-indirect reported thought clauses differ from semi-indirect reported speech clauses essentially only in the absence of the reported marker *-w*. (Note, that this provides additional evidence for the analysis of *-w* as an evidential marker as thought is not, by nature, marked hearsay.)

Reported thought most commonly occurs with the verbs *pri* ‘perceive/think/feel’ and *ere* ‘do’, but can occur with any verb. The meaning differs slightly in each of these constructions. With *pri* the meaning of the complement is a thought or desire, with *ere* it is an intention, attempt or desire, and with other verbs a purpose. This is shown in the examples below, the first with *pri*, the second *ere* and the third example showing a complement of thought with the verb *wadu* ‘look for’, showing purpose. *di* acts as a complementizer in these constructions, although *di* is fully optional as shown by its absence in example (14) below.

- (14) *ebal benamble [solwara kar-a-l-a] pri-m=ba*
 people many saltwater(TP) see-IRR-1SG-DIST perceive-3=CONC
 ‘Although many people want to see the sea...’ (Saltwater text)

- (15) *i yal-su [yal i si-ra-bin-a di] ere-n-g-e*
 2 men-2 man TOP strike-IRR-1PL-DIST COMP do-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You two are trying to hit him.’ (sb 1b.155)

- (16) *na [alan koble te-ra-l-a di] wadu-ø-g-e*
 1SG opp.sex.sib rock give-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP look.for-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I’m looking for money in order to give it to my sister.’ (sb 1b.52)

Examples (17) and (18) below demonstrate the contrast between a semi-indirect thought clause and a direct thought clause. Just as with reported speech, interrogative sentences are reported unchanged, and declarative sentences undergo mood changes. In the semi-indirect thought clause in example (17) the verb *erama* does not have mood marking present in normal final declarative verbs. Example (18) shows the complement of thought in the form of a question.

- (17) *na [yal i bia i er-a-m-a di]*
 1SG man TOP old TOP do-IRR-3-DIST COMP

pri-ø-g-e
 perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I think he might be old.’ (sb 1b.146)

¹⁰ In the semi-indirect thought construction described above it is clear that the complementizer *di* has some relation to the verb *di* ‘say’ given the formal equivalence and semantic relation. However, there are several pieces of evidence for complementizer use: the optionality of *di* in the reported speech construction; its semantic bleaching (especially apparent when used with inanimate subjects); the widely attested grammaticalization of ‘say’ to complementizer cross-linguistically; and its limited distribution to certain kinds of complements. See Klamer (2000) for more detailed information on such verbal complementizers.

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- (18) *[u peeka si-ra-m-i-o di] pri-ø-g-a ...*
 come fill strike-IRR-3-CAS-PQ COMP perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘“Would (the water) fill up (and cover all) the land?” I thought...’ (Saltwater text)

It appears that imperative marking is not used with thought clauses, which makes sense as the basic speech act function of an imperative can never be realized outside the domain of actual speech. Clauses in which an addressee is wished to act are formed with semi-indirect reported speech which is irrealis marked as below.

- (19) *na [i n-a-n-a di] pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG 2 go-IRR-2-DIST COMP percieve-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I want you to go.’ (sb 1a.138)

Reported thoughts can be left with final declarative marking, but only where they are not complements of *pri* as shown below. Rather, this construction is approaching a parataxis construction: only the non-final distal tense marking *-a* marks *pri* as being a non-final verb which therefore requires at least one more clause for the completion of the sentence. This construction can never take the complementizer *di*.

- (20) *na pri-ø-g-a yal i bia yo-n-g-w-e*
 1SG perceive-1SG-AS-DIST man TOP old be-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘I thought he was old.’ (sb 1b.146)

Other types of complements, for example verbs of sight or hearing, take complements in final declarative form. For example, *pri* also has a second meaning ‘hear’¹¹, which requires a complement with assertive mood marking. In this situation, *pri* generally occurs sentence finally and never occurs with *di*.

- (21) *na [yal i er-o-n-g-w-a] pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG man TOP do-go-3-AS-3-DIST perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I heard him leaving.’ (sb 1b.140)

- (22) *yal i [abal kol su-gulu-du-n-g-w-a] pru-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP womandoor strike-die-say-3-AS-3-DIST hear-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He heard her knocking at the door.’ (sb 1b.139)

Verbs in the reported clause can take a full range of arguments including object, instrument, and location. In the first example the complement clause verb has its own object and instrument, in the second example, a location and object.

- (23) *yal i [abal el si-ra-l-a] eru-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP womanarrow strike-IRR-1SG-DIST do-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He tried to kill her with an arrow.’ (sb 1b.140)

¹¹ This is not uncommon as many languages have verbs of perception additionally acting as verbs of cognition, e.g. in Tauya *ese* can mean ‘hear’ or ‘want’ (MacDonald 1990b: 39)

- (24) *yal i [nen-man pa-n-g-w-a-l bolma*
 man TOP father-mother stay-3-AS-3-DIST-LOC pig
 ===== spirit place =====

si-ki-ne-ra-l-a] eru-n-g-w-e
 strike-cook-eat-IRR-1SG-DIST do-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He went to sacrifice a pig at the spirit place.’ (sb 1b.139)

Golin, like English, can loop complements of speech, thought, etc. recursively, as in examples (25) below. The source of each of the speech and thought verbs need not necessarily be coindexed with each other. In the example below, *ebal*, the subject of the first complement clause of speech *nala*, is also the subject of *prumua*, but not of *dingwe*, whose subject is *yal*.

- (25) *yal i [[ebal ere n-a-l-a di] pru-m-u-a]*
 man TOP people do go-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP perceive-3-REP-DIST

di-n-g-w-e
 say-3-AS-3-PROX
 He_i said they_j wanted to go. (sb 1b.141)

2.2 Analysis of semi-indirect reported speech and thought in Golin

In this section I will describe in detail the characteristics of semi-indirect reported speech and thought in Golin. The main features of semi-indirect reported speech and thought are the distal marker *-a*, the reported marker *-w* (for semi-indirect reported speech only), absolute spatial deixis, and mixed relative-absolute person marking via pronouns and pronominal suffixation.

2.2.1 TAM categories in semi-indirect reported speech in Golin

As noted in section (2.1), declarative statements which are reported can usually no longer take the mood marking from the original utterance. In the example below the exact words, which the source would have said are given below the example. These are not repeated verbatim in the embedded reported clause, and can only take the forms given in this construction. That is, the truth assertion (*-g*) and proximity marking (*-e*) are dropped and the distal tense marker (*-a*) and the reported speech marker (for speech only) (*-w ~ u*) are added. This is shown below in example (26). Being forced to make mood alterations to an utterance when reporting is usually a sign of indirect reported speech as described in section (1).

- (26) *yal i ere e-ø-w-a di-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP do go-1SG-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He said he’s going.’ (sb 1b.148)

actual utterance => “Na er-e-ø-g-e”
 1SG do-go-1SG-AS-PROX
 “I am going” (sb 1b.145)

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According to Noonan (1985:133), “[a]ll languages have an s-like [(simple sentence like)] indicative complement type, and all languages have some sort of reduced complement type in opposition to the indicative”, and certain predicate types are predisposed to taking a more sentential-like, or a reduced complement according to such factors as time, truth-value (epistemic value) and discourse dependency. That is, ‘say’ verbs are more likely to take a reduced complement type due to their inherently lower evidentiary value, due to the nature of hearsay. In Golin, this s-like/reduced complement distinction lies with assertion marking and reported speech marking. For example witness the distinction between the following two sentences;

(27) *[abal tau buke a-te-u-n-g-w-a]* *kar-a-ø-g-e*
 woman some book with.hand-give-come-3-AS-3-DIST see-IRR-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I see them holding their books.’ (sb 1a.54)

(28) *[i [gi u-m-u-a]* *di-n-g-a=ra]*¹² *kakibi*
 2 girl come-3-REP-DIST say-2-AS-DIST=SUB.DIST lie

di-n-g-e

say-2-AS-PROX

‘When you said she came, you lied.’ (sb 1a.133)

In example (27) the event which was witnessed has regular finite verbal marking, it has assertion marking, person marking, and distal tense marking (although this means it cannot be the final clause in the sentence). In example (28), by contrast, the event *gi umua* is related through hearsay (which in this event proves to be false) and has only person/number marking, *-w*, the reported speech marker and distal-tense marking (*-a*).

Various other authors have commented on the lower truth value associated with reported speech in a range of languages. For example, see MacDonald (1990b) for Tauya, Derbyshire for Hixkaryana (1979) and Boeder (2002) for Svan.

2.2.2 Spatial deixis

Spatial deixis in Golin appears to follow an absolute pattern, although I only have a few examples of this, and further checking would be beneficial. In both of these sentences spatial deixis is given relative to the external speaker (i.e. absolute).

(29) *i [teen abla mili-ø-w-a]* *di-n-g-e*
 2 far on.ground be-1SG-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i said you_i are staying there.’ (sb 1b.167)

(30) *i [mala abla mil-a-l-w-a]* *di-n-g-e*
 2 close on.ground be-IRR-1SG-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i said you_i will stay here.’ (sb 1b.167)

¹² This larger subordinate clause is adverbial and not to be confused with a subordinate speech clause.

2.2.3 Person deixis in semi-indirect reported speech and thought in Golin

In this section I will demonstrate the pattern of pronominal verbal suffixation and pronoun selection for referents in semi-indirect reported speech and thought clauses. Deixis in semi-indirect reported speech and thought generally follows a mixed absolute/relative pattern, with the external speaker¹³ and external addressee which referred to absolutely: the external addressee with both absolute verbal suffixing and pronouns, and the external speaker with an absolute pronoun. However, at the same time, the referent that is third person, relative to 'if' subject, the primal speech act undergoes person shift to first person in the reported speech clause. This cross-linguistically unusual pattern of deixis is evidence that these are neither a form of direct reported speech, nor a prototypical form of indirect reported speech. However, this pattern of deixis turns out to be very efficient and despite its seeming oddity this system (unlike reported speech in English) has only one situation where ambiguity occurs.

2.2.3.1 Reference to a singular source in the reported clause

When the source refers to themselves in the reported clause then first person pronominal verbal suffixation and pronouns are used. This is shown in the following example for third person where the source *gi i* 'she' is also the subject of the reported clause, therefore a first person singular pronoun and first person singular verbal suffixation are used to refer relatively back to the source. The pronominal reference of this sentence closely resembles its direct speech translation in English.

- (31) *gi i [na kon ne-ra-l-w-a] du-n-g-w-e*
 girl TOP 1SG yam eat-IRR-1SG-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 'She_i said "I_i will eat yams."/She_i said she_i would eat yams.' (1b.145)

Pronouns follow the same pattern of deixis whether they are in subject or object position of the reported clause. This will produce some interesting patterns of deixis as we will soon see. In example (31) above we see that the pronoun *na* '1SG' is calculated relatively as subject of the reported clause. In example (32) below, *na* '1SG'¹⁴ is acting as the object of the reported clause. Again, this is referring relatively back to the source, and as in example (32), is coindexed with a third person singular source.

- (32) *yal i [i na si-n-w-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP 2 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 'He_i said "You_j hit me_i,"'¹⁵/ 'He_i said you_j hit him_i.' (sb 1b.165)

First person pronouns and verbal suffixation may also refer to first and second person sources in the reported clause. Below, a first person singular source is referring to themselves as subject of the reported clause with first person singular verbal

¹³ Refer back to section (1) for a review of the terminology which will be very frequently used in this section.

¹⁴ Note that pronouns in Golin are uninflected for case, their grammatical function being signalled by position alone.

¹⁵ A direct speech translation is not entirely appropriate here, but is given for ease of comprehension. Reference to an external addressee which is not the source will be discussed shortly.

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suffixation¹⁶ (33), and a first person singular source is referring to itself as object in the reported clause with a first person singular pronoun (34). First person marking is shown referring to a second person source in subject position in example (35) and object position in example (36) below.

(33) *na* [[*solwara mili-n-g-w-a*] *kari-ø-w-a*] *di-ø-g-a*
 1SG saltwater be-3-AS-3-DIST see-1SG-REP-DIST say-1SG-AS-DIST
 ‘I_i said I_i saw that the sea exists.’ (lit. ‘The sea exists, I saw and said.’)
 (Saltwater text.)

(34) *na* [*yal i na si-m-u-a*] *di-ø-g-e*
 1SG man TOP 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I_i said he_j hit me_i.’ (lit. ‘I said: ‘he hit me’’)(sb 1b.166)

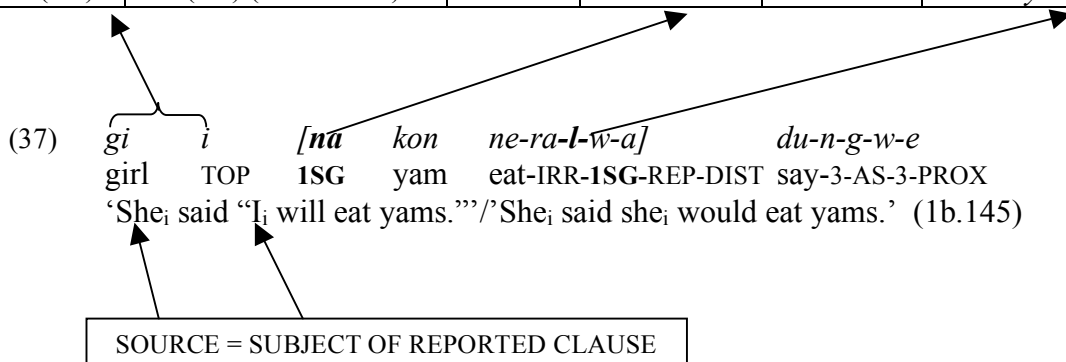
(35) *i* [*maul wo-y-a di*] *pri-n-g-e*
 2 hole motion-1SG-DIST COMP perceive-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You think you dug the hole.’ (lit. You think: ‘I dug a hole’.) (sb 1b.150)

(36) *i* [*yal ire na si-m-u-a*] *di-n-g-e*
 2 man TOP.PROX 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i say someone_j hit you_i.’/‘You_i say “he_j hit me_i”.’ (sb 1b.159)

We have now seen first, second and third person singular sources each being represented in the reported clause by first person singular pronouns and pronominal verbal suffixation. This is shown in the following table. I have mapped example (37) onto the table for clarity.

Table 1

Source	Reported clause referent (in absolute terms)	Pronoun in the Reported clause		Verbal Suffixation in the Reported clause	
		Form	Realisation	Form	Realisation
1SG	1SG	1SG	<i>Na</i>	1SG	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
2(SG) ¹⁷	2(SG)	1SG	<i>Na</i>	1SG	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
3(SG)	3(SG) (=SOURCE)	1SG	<i>na</i>	1SG	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>



¹⁶ In example (31) the subject pronoun in the reported clause is absent. Subject pronouns in the reported clause are regularly omitted where the subject of the reported clause is coreferential with the source.

¹⁷ I have put *SG* in brackets here because it is not coded in the verbal suffixation, but recoverable from noun phrases and pronouns (and context).

2.2.3.2 Reference to a plural source in the reported clause

Plural sources are also referred to by first person marking in the reported clause¹⁸. In the examples below first person singular and first, second and third person plural sources respectively are shown represented by first person plural verbal suffixation in the reported clause. All the sources below are acting as subject in the reported clause.

- (38) *[inin no-bin-a di] pri-ø-g-e*
 1PL eat-1PL-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I thought we ate it.’/‘I thought “We ate it”.’ (sb 1b.151)
- (39) *[su-gul-a-bin-a de] ere-bin-a*
 strike-die-IRR-1PL-DIST COMP do-1PL-DIST
 ‘We are trying to sort out (this problem).’ (lit. ‘We will try to kill (it).’) (Speech imitation text)
- (40) *i yal kane [er-o-bin-w-a] di-n-g-e*
 2 man many do-go-1PL-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i (PL) said “we_i went/are going”.’/‘You_i (PL) said you_i were going.’ (sb 1b.154)
- (41) *yal kane [er-o-bin-w-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man many do-go-1PL-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘They said they’re going.’/‘They said “We’re going”.’ (sb 1b.154)

Plural sources may also take first person singular verbal suffixation. Examples are shown below for first, second and third person plural sources. It is as though the reported clause represents the speech/thought of each individual of the group.

- (42) *inin [ere ala n-a-l-a] pri-bin-g-e*
 we do house go-IRR-1SG-DIST perceive-1PL-AS-PROX
 ‘We want to go to the house.’/‘We (all) thought “I will go to the house”.’ (sb 1a.146)
- (43) *i yal-su [komina ki-ra-l-a] (di) ere-n-g-e*
 2 man-two food prepare-IRR-1SG-DIST COMP do-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You two try to cook the food.’ (sb 1b.156)
- (44) *ebal benamble [solwara kar-a-l-a] pri-m=ba*
 person many saltwater(TP) see-IRR-1SG-DIST perceive-3=CONC
 ‘Although many people want to see the sea...’/‘Many people think “I will see the sea”, but...’ (Saltwater text)

¹⁸ For the purposes of this article first person plural is considered coreferential with first person singular in this construction.

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Plural sources can also be referred to with a first person pronoun in the reported clause. These can be plural or singular. A first person plural source coreferenced with a first person singular pronoun in the reported clause is shown below¹⁹.

- (45) *inin [yal i na si-m-u-a] di-bin-g-e*
 we man TOP 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-1PL-AS-PROX
 ‘We_i said he_j hit us_i.’ (sb 1b.166)²⁰

This section on representation of plural sources in the reported clause is summarized in the table below.

Table 2

Source	Speech clause referent (in absolute terms)	Pronoun in the Reported clause		Verbal Suffixation in the Reported clause	
		Form	Realization	Form	Realization
SG	1PL	1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
1PL	1PL	1SG*	<i>na</i>	1SG*	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
		1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
2(PL)	2(PL)	1SG*	<i>na</i>	1SG*	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
		1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
3(PL)	3(PL)(=SOURCE)	1SG*	<i>na</i>	1SG*	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
		1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>

*Restricted distribution

2.2.3.3 Reference to the external addressee in the reported clause

When the external addressee is not the source, reference to the external addressee is always done with second person verbal inflection and pronouns. The external addressee is referred to in this situation with absolute deixis. In example (46) the external addressee is the object in the reported clause, and in example (47) it is the subject of the reported clause.

- (46) *yal i [i si-ø-w-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP 2 strike-1SG-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He_i said he_i hit you_j.’ / ‘He_i said “I_i hit you_j.”’ (sb 1b.165)

¹⁹ However there does seem to be some restriction on using first person singular marking in the reported clause for plural sources, because not all sentences which I attempted to put into the singular were acceptable without irrealis marking.

*Yal kane [komina si-ø-w-a] di-bin-g-e
 man many food strike-1SG-REP-DIST say-1PL-AS-PROX
 (attempt to say “They_i said they_i dug the garden” with first person singular suffixation) (sb 1b.150)

²⁰ Recall that pronouns coreferential to the source in the reported clause are often dropped. This is why I have very few examples here with pronouns coreferential with the source in the reported clause.

- (47) *na [i mil-a-n-a di] pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG 2 be-IRR-2-DIST say perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I think you can stay.’ (sb 1b.148)

Absolute deixis is used for the external addressee regardless of how they were referred to in the original speech utterance. For example in (48) a possible original utterance is given where the external addressee of (49) is referred to in the third person. Notice that person deixis has changed to second person instead of third person.

- (48) *yal i [i ere n-a-n-w-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP 2 do go-IRR-2-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He_i said you_j are going.’ (sb 1b.143)

actual utterance => “*abal i ere n-a-n-g-w-e*”
 woman_{TOP} do go-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX
 “She_j will go.” (sb 1b.143)

Information on reference to the external addressee when they are not the source is summarized in the following table.

Table 3

Source	Reported clause referent (in absolute terms)	Pronoun in the Reported clause		Verbal Suffixation in the Reported clause	
		Form	Realisation	Form	Realisation
1SG	2	2	<i>I</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
1PL	2	2	<i>I</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
3	2	2	<i>I</i>	2	<i>-n</i>

2.2.3.4 Reference to non-speech act participants

Reference to non-speech act participants is done with third person pronouns and pronominal verbal marking. That is, this is used for referents who are neither source, external addressee, or external speaker. In examples (49) and (50) below we see reference to a non-speech act participant subject of the reported clause done with third person pronominal verbal suffixation. In both of these examples a third singular NP is also in subject position.

- (49) *yal i [wan wai n-a-m-a de] pru-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP son good go-IRR-3-DIST say perceive-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He_i wants his son_j to go well.’ (sb 1b.140)

- (50) *na [yal i bia yo-m-a di] pri-ø-g-e*
 1SG man TOP old be-3-DIST COMP perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I assume he is old.’ (sb 1b.146)

In example (51) below, a non-speech act participant acting as object in the reported clause is represented by a third person plural NP *yal-su i* ‘them (2)’.

- (51) *na [yal-su i si-ø-w-a] di-ø-g-e*

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1SG **man-two** TOP strike-1SG-REP-DIST say-1SG-AS-PROX
 ‘I_i said I_i hit them_j.’ (sb 1b.164)

Reference to non-speech act participants in the reported clause is summarized in the following table.

Table 4

Source	Speech clause referent (in absolute terms)	Pronoun in the Reported clause		Verbal Suffixation in the Reported clause	
		Form	Realisation	Form	Realisation
1SG	3	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
1PL	3	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
2	3	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
3	3 (≠ SOURCE)	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>

2.2.3.5 Reference to the external speaker in the reported clause

Reference to the external speaker in the reported clause by a third person source is done with first person free pronouns and third person verbal suffixation. In the two examples below the external speaker is acting as subject of the reported clause which has a third person source. In example (52) the external speaker is singular and in (53) is plural. Note that this causes apparent disagreement between the pronoun and verbal suffixation in the reported clause.

(52) *yal i [na ere n-a-m-u-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP 1SG do go-IRR-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He_i says that I_j will go.’ / ‘He says about me “s/he will go”.’ (sb 1b.142)

(53) *yal kane [inin er-o-m-u-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man many 1PL do-go-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘They said we are going.’ (sb 1b.154)

In the following examples the external speaker is object of the reported clause. In example (54) the source is second person (the external addressee), and in example (55) it is third person. N.B. The first person pronouns and verbal marking in the reported clauses below are not coindexed. The verbal suffixes refer to the sources, and the pronouns to the external speaker.

(54) *i [na si-ø-w-a] di-n-g-e*
 2 1SG strike-1SG-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i said you_i hit me_j.’ / ‘You_i said “I_i hit” me_j.’ (sb 1b.164)

(55) *yal kane [inin na si-ra-bin-w-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man many **we** 1SG strike-IRR-1PL-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 === us ===
 ‘They_i say they_i will hit us_j.’ / ‘They_i say “We_i will hit” us_j.’ (sb 1b.154)

This can even occur with an object which is coreferential with the source and also represented by a first person pronoun. This produces the unusual situation of having two first person pronouns in the one clause, and apparent disagreement between

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the subject pronoun and verbal marking in the reported clause. However, this is not ambiguous or confusing at all for Golin speakers, and can only have the meaning given in the translation below.

- (56) *yal i [na na si-m-u-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 man TOP 1SG 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He_i said I_j hit him_i.’ (sb 1b.165)

When the source is second rather than first person, a pronoun referring to the external addressee is used in the reported clause with second person marking for the external speaker in the reported clause. This is shown in the two examples (57) and (58) below. The presence of a first person pronoun referring to the external addressee results in the external speaker (i.e. speaker in the primal speech act) receiving second person coding in the reported clause, as in example (56) above.

- (57) *[i yal-su na si-n-w-a] di-n-g-e*
 2 man-two 1SG strike-2-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i said we_j (2) hit you_i.’/’You_i said “You_j (2) hit me_i”.’ (sb 1b.166)

- (58) *[na i yal-su si-ø-w-a] di-n-g-e*
 1SG 2 man-two strike-1SG-REP-DIST say-2-AS-PROX
 ‘You_i said you_i hit us_j (2).’/’You_i said “I_i hit you_j (2)”.’ (sb 1b.166)

In summary of this section, reference to an external speaker is done with first person pronouns and third person verbal pronominal marking in the reported clause when the source is a third person. With a second person (external addressee) source, the external speaker is represented by second person pronominal marking and a second person pronoun in the reported clause. If there is no pronoun representing the external speaker in the reported clause and the external speaker is acting as object of the reported clause, then it takes a first person pronoun. This is summarized in the table below.

Table 5

Source	Speech clause referent (in absolute terms)	Pronoun in the Reported clause		Verbal Suffixation in the Reported clause	
		Form	Realisation	Form	Realisation
2	1SG	1	<i>na</i> *	2	<i>-n</i>
		2	<i>i</i>		
2	1PL	1	e.g. <i>inin</i> *	2	<i>-n</i>
		2	e.g. <i>i</i>		
3	1SG	1	<i>na</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
3	1PL	1	e.g. <i>inin</i>	3	<i>-m</i>

*Only possible in object position in the reported clause where there is no pronoun representing the external speaker in the reported clause.

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2.2.3.6 A summary of pronominal reference in reported clauses

Pronominal reference in reported clauses in Golin can be summarized by the following table. Note the large number of combinations which require either a first person pronoun or first person pronominal marking. Combinations of referents which require a first person pronoun in the reported clause are highlighted below.

Table 6

Source	Speech clause referent (in absolute terms)	Pronoun in the Reported clause		Verbal Suffixation in the Reported clause	
		Form	Realisation	Form	Realisation
1SG	1SG	1SG	<i>na</i>	1SG	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
1SG	1PL	1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
1SG	2	2	e.g. <i>i</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
1SG	3	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
1PL	1SG	***	***	***	***
1PL	1PL	1SG*	<i>na</i>	1SG*	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
		1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
1PL	2	2	e.g. <i>i</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
1PL	3	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
2	1SG	1**	<i>na</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
		2	<i>i</i>		
2	1PL	1**	e.g. <i>inin</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
		2	e.g. <i>i</i>		
2(SG) ²¹	2(SG)	1SG	<i>na</i>	1SG	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
2(PL)	2(PL)	1SG*	<i>na</i>	1SG*	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
		1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
2	3	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
3	1SG	1	<i>na</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
3	1PL	1	e.g. <i>inin</i>	3	<i>-m</i>
3	2	2	e.g. <i>i</i>	2	<i>-n</i>
3(SG)	3(SG) (=SOURCE)	1SG	<i>na</i>	1SG	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
3(PL)	3(PL) (=SOURCE)	1SG*	<i>na</i>	1SG*	<i>-l ~ -y ~ -ø</i>
		1PL	e.g. <i>inin</i>	1PL	<i>-bin</i>
3	3 (≠SOURCE)	3	e.g. <i>yal i</i>	3	<i>-m</i>

*Restricted distribution.

** Only possible in object position in the reported clause where there is no pronoun representing the external speaker in the reported clause.

***No examples in corpus.

This system of pronominal reference in Golin reported speech and thought clauses is very efficient. There is only one possible situation where ambiguity may occur - where there is a third person marked subject of the speech clause and a first person marked object. This is ambiguous because the first person pronoun can refer to either to the source or the external speaker, as shown in the above table. This is shown in the example below where the first person singular pronoun has ambiguous reference between the source and the external speaker.

²¹ I have put *SG* in brackets here because it is not coded in the verbal suffixation, but recoverable from noun phrases and pronouns (and context).

- (59) *abal i [awi na si-m-u-a] di-n-g-w-e*
 womanTOP dog 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘She_i said that the dog bit me_j.’
 or
 ‘She_i said that the dog bit her_i.’ / ‘She_i said “the dog bit me_i.”’ (sb 1b.153)

A situation with a third person subject of the reported clause which is not the source acting upon either the source or external speaker is not a situation which occurs very frequently in Golin. I had only a couple of examples such as the above in my data which could have an ambiguous interpretation, and I imagine that this would be readily solved by context in a natural speech situation.

3. Conclusions and points for further discussion

Traditionally reported speech has been divided into a small number of speech styles. However, the distinctions between these styles and the number and type of styles are not consistent cross-linguistically. There are, however, a set of basic features cross-linguistically which may shift from simple sentences to indicate non-direct speech. These commonly include person, temporal and spatial deixis, mood and modality, illocutionary force, presence or absence of complementizers, and intonation.

In Golin, the speech construction described has mood and deixis shifts take place from a declarative utterance - that is, it is not direct reported speech. Nor, however, does it conform to typical definitions of indirect reported speech because of its mixed relative-absolute person deixis pattern. I have analyzed this type of Golin reported speech as semi-indirect speech. The main features of Golin semi-indirect reported speech are mixed relative/absolute person deixis, absolute spatial deixis and shifts in mood from declarative utterances. Golin appears to use prototypical direct reported speech only for use in imperative and interrogative reported clauses, with semi-indirect reported speech used for most declarative utterances.

Person deixis in Golin semi-indirect reported speech as described in this article does not follow a simple absolute or relative pattern of deixis. Pronoun and pronominal verbal marking selection follows a regular, predictable mixed relative-absolute pattern of deixis and proves to be an efficient system for avoiding ambiguity. However, this pattern of deixis does not fit into formal syntactic theories of pronominal interpretation and agreement. This needs to be researched further to find out how widespread this phenomenon is in other languages and what implications this would have for theories of agreement.

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Section Two

Texts

Section 2:

Section Two: Golin texts

The texts in this section were recorded during Class sessions of the Fieldmethods subject or in the sessions between Kia Aina and individual students. The texts range in context from descriptions of Kia's village to personal narratives and experiences.

Texts were recorded on a SONY tape recorder and/or on a SONY DAT recorder. All texts are given with the corresponding reference details where possible, and the person who is responsible for the transcription. Texts were initially recorded and a rough transcription was constructed and presented to Kia in subsequent meetings. The tapes were then replayed and the rough transcriptions corrected and refined with Kia's help. On several occasions the final transcription showed minimal discrepancies with the text spoken on tape. Some transcribers chose to address this, others accepted Kia's corrections. We found that when Kia changed the transcription, it was because he felt he did not say it correctly. We acknowledge and respect his wish, and merely point this out to explain possible differences between some of the audio and the transcribed data.

The final transcriptions were then entered into *The Linguist's Shoebox* software package to help with morphological and lexical glossing and edited later as a word document.

All audio material has been deposited with PARADISEC. Several of the recorded texts are included in the accompanying CD.

1. Clan grouping text*¹

Recorded 26 March 2003.

Transcribed by Fieldmethods Class.

This was the first text collected from Kia. It describes which tribal group he belongs to and the groups that exist close to his tribe.

1. *tenkyu (Engl)* *wai rawa* *aa na* *ebal* *lain* *i*
 thank.you good good [hes] 1SG person lineage TOP

kaan *Nebi-ku*
 name Nebi-clan

Well, thank you, I belong to the tribal group called Nebiku.

2. *kaan bil* *Nebi-ku* *aa* *kipa-bin-g=i* *Dege* *Paume*
 name big Nebi-clan [hes] stay-1PL-AS=TOP Dege Paume

aa *kipa-bin-g-e*
 [hes] stay-1PL-AS-PROX

The big Nebiku clan, which we are in, lives in Dege and Paume.

3. *Nebi-ku* *i* *Aina-ku* *ali*
 Nebi-clan this Aina-clan in

The Aina clan is within the Nebi clan.

¹ Texts marked * can be found on the accompanying compact disc.

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4. *kebin toon mili-n-g-w-e*
y.ss.sib together be-3-AS-3-PROX
The (Nebi clan) are like brothers.
5. *yal kane aa Nebi-ku Aina-ku kaan bil toon*
man many [hes] Nebi-clan Aina-clan name big together
- di-n-g-w-e*
be-3-AS-3-PROX
Together, Nebiku and Ainaku, they form a larger group.
6. *Nebi-ku ali aa Kumai Bomai Nil-ku Koban*
Nebi-clan in [hes] Kumai Bomai Nil-clan Koban
Within the Nebi clan are Kumai, Bomai, Nilku and Koban...
7. *ebal aa yal-su-ta-kupe mili-bin-g-e wai aa*
person (hes) four be-1PL-AS-PROX good [hes]
We are four.

2. Fire taboo text*

Recorded 30th April 2003.

Transcribed by Fieldmethods Class.

This text looks at who one should associate with and who should be avoided. ‘Eating from/at the same fire’ is a metaphor for associating with people.

1. *golin pasin kastom*
old have(TP) custom(TP)
The Golin have a custom...
2. *memnin ere u pai-n-g-w-a i enderin*
reason do come be-3-AS-3-DIST you fire
- teran abal kume pai-ra-n-g-w-a bole de*
one womanwitchcraft be-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST with COMP
the reason is if you share fire with women who do witchcraft,

3. *teran ne-ra-n mo te abal gi ala pai-ra-n-g-w-a*
 one eat-IRR-2 or [hes] womangirl home stay-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST
 or if you eat together at the same fire with girls who have their period,
4. *enderin teran ne-ra-n-g-a mo ebal gule-a-n-g-a*
 fire one eat-IRR-2-AS-DIST or person die-IRR-2-AS-DIST
 when you eat at the same fire people will die.
5. *enderin teran ne-ra-n-g-a=ra mo yal gaan si*
 fire one eat-IRR-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST or man child hit
 =
mili si-re
 be hit-SEQ
 be weak/unhealthy ==
 If you eat at the one fire, your children will not be healthy and
6. *nomanin wai para sabe ta i-ki-re*
 idea good all knowledge(TP) NEG take-NEG-SEQ
 you will not become wise and
7. *mili pai-re ere-a-n-g-a eme u wai*
 be be-SEQ do-IRR-3-AS-DIST after come good

ta pi-k-ra-n-g-w-a
 NEG go-NEG-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST
 your life in the future will not be successful.
8. *p-re enderin i teran ne-ki-o di-n-g-w-a*
 go-SEQ fire TOP one eat-NEG-IMP be-3-AS-3-DIST
 "Undertand this and don't associate with enemies!" they say.

enderin teran ne-ra-n-g-a=ra
 fire one eat-IRR-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST
 If you eat together,
9. *i mili-a-n-g-a wai ta pi-ki-ra-m-i-a*
 you be-IRR-2-AS-DIST good NEG go-NEG-IRR-3-CAS-DIST
 your life in the future will not be good.
10. *pr-re eme ipe kwi*
 perceive-SEQ after up new
 So, you must understand and in the future (you must do something)...
11. *bolma mo korale mo ta i pi u si*
 pig or chicken or one take go come kill

ki-re mili kwi
 prepare-SEQ be new
 take a chicken or a pig and sacrifice it and

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12. *ta talame ere-g-a=ra gulero di-re mili*
 one sin do-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST forgiveness say-SEQ be
 =====confess=====

emera kwi pai-re ere-a-n-g-a u wai
 after new be-SEQ do-IRR-2-AS-DIST come good
 confess that now your sins may be forgiven.

13. *n-a-m-u-a di ebal kwi ere di- ra-n-g-w-a*
 go-IRR-3-REP-DIST say person new do say-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST

pri-re eme
 perceive-SEQ after
 If you do this, people say your life in the future will be successful.

14. *mili-a-n-g-a kwi wai n-a-n-g-w-a*
 be-IRR-2-AS-DIST new good go-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST
 If you follow the advice of the people then your life in the future will be good.

3. Saltwater*

Recorded 3rd April 2003,
 Transcribed by Fieldmethods Class.

In this text Kia shares his first encounter with the coast, and tasting saltwater. Having grown up in the highlands he had heard people talk about the sea, but did not comprehend until he finally saw it himself.

1. *ebal prinnil wa du-n-g-w=i na pri-g=i kakiibi*
 people saltwater about say-3-AS-3=TOP 1SG perceive-AS=TOP lie
 =====imagine=====

di-m-a di pri-g-a
 say-3-DIST say perceive-AS-DIST
 =====

When people talked about saltwater, I thought they were lying.

prinnil prinnil prinnil solwara wa du-n-g-w=i
 saltwater saltwater saltwater saltwater(TP) about say-3-AS-
 3=TOP

Talking about saltwater,

2. *na ta kare-ki-g-a*
 1SG NEG see-NEG-AS-3-DIST
 I hadn't seen it.

3. *taananta na pu prinnil p-re kare-g=i solwara*
 once.upon.a.time 1SG go saltwater go-SEQ see-AS=TOP saltwater
 (TP)

i kare-g=i kaminkawa di-m-a di pri-g-a
 TOP see-AS=TOP sky say-3-DIST COMP perceive-AS-DIST

=====*imagine*=====

Once upon a time, I went to the sea and I thought that the saltwater was the sky.

4. *di-m-a di pri-g-a oonan taaleta i pu prinnil*
 be-3-DIST COMP perceive-AS-DIST finger touch TOP go sea

ale e-re siban pri-g=i
 inside go-SEQ lick perceive-AS=TOP

I stuck a finger into the water and licked it.

5. *prinnil penin di pri-g=i giyergwa*
 sea lick be perceive-AS=TOP hot/sour/salty
 When I licked the sea it was salty.

6. *na prinnil wa di-n-g-w-a=ra di-n-g-w-a di-n-g-w-a*
 1SG sea about say-3-AS-3-IRR=TOP.DIST be-3-AS-3-DIST be-3-AS-3-DIST

pa-m-i-o² di pri-g-a
 believe-3-CAS-? COMP perceive-AS-DIST

I believed that what people had said about the sea was true.

7. *nilwa u-n-g-w-a=ra u alde o-m-e di*
 freshwater come-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST come where say-3-PROX
 COMP

pri-g-a
 perceive-AS-DIST

I thought 'where has the water gone?'

8. *aa u prinnil i kule te-ra-n-g-w-a eme*
 [hes] come saltwater TOP birth give-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST after
 The freshwater will join with the sea

9. *gariba mina nil para mi-y-o di pri-g-a*
 ground all water all be-CAS-? COMP perceive-AS-DIST
 (and) all the land will be covered with water.

² The function of the verbal ending *-io/-yo* is unclear. This could possibly be a combination of two suffixes *-y/I* and *-o*.

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10. *u peekase-ra-m-i-o di pri-Ø-g-a*
 come rising.up-IRR-3-? COMP perceive-1SG-AS-DIST
 I thought the water would fill up the land...
11. *na e-re kole pu ebal lain di te-g=i*
 1SG go-SEQ side come people belong COMP give-AS=TOP
 I went back to my people and said,
12. *na solwara mili-n-g-w-a kari wa di-g-a di-g-a*
 1SG saltwater (TP) be-3-AS-3-DIST see about say-AS-DIST say-AS-DIST
 'I saw the sea (I saw that the sea exists)' I said.
13. *yal-kane pri-n-g-w=i nomanin ta p-re kunin*
 person-PL perceive-3-AS-3=TOP idea NEG go-SEQ ?
 ===try to understand===
ere-ki-n-g-w-a
 do-NEG-3-AS-3-DIS
 I told them but they didn't understand what I was saying.
14. *eru eru-n-g-w-a p-re tau pru-n-g-w-a tau ta*
 go go-3-AS-3-DIST go-SEQ some perceive-3-AS-3-DIST some NEG
 Some understood because they had seen the sea, some not
15. *kare-ki-n-g-w=i ta p-re kunin ere-ki-n-g-w-a*
 see-NEG-3-AS-3=TOP NEG go-SEQ ? do-NEG-3-AS-3-DIST
 ===try to understand====
 not having seen the sea, didn't understand.
16. *ebal benamble solwara kare-l-a pri-m=ba*
 people many saltwater (TP) see-SS-DIST know-3=CONC
 Although many people want to see the sea...
17. *teen di-n-g-w-a ebal ta kare-ki-n-g-w-a*
 far be-3-AS-3-DIST people NEG see-NEG-3-AS-3-DIST

solwara(TP) i tametoon di-m-a di pri-n-g-w-a
 saltwater TOP how be-3-DIST be perceive-3-AS-3-DIST
 DIST
 =====imagine=====
 it is so far away, so people haven't seen what the sea looks like.

4. Tawanuku

Recorded 21st May 2003.
Transcribed by Michelle Head.

This text is a description of the Kia's village of Tawanuku, located in the Chimbu region of Papua New Guinea.

1. *na kipa-bin-g-e³ di mine main mekepe bolain i*
1 stay-1PL-AS-PROX be up hill on.top belong.to TOP

kipa-bin-g-e

stay-1PL-AS-PROX

We live in Tawanuku on top of a hill.

2. *ebal tau kipa teen kole ere kole ere-n-g-w-a*
person some stay far side do side do-3-AS-3 -DIST
Some people live far away, on either side.

nil Kulupe-nil wa du-n-g-w-a ta kole yo-n-g-w-e
water Kulupe-water about say-3-AS-3-DIST one side be-3-AS-3 DIST
A river called Kulupenil is on one side.

3. *Nilma-nil kole yo-n-g-w-e ere-n-g-w-a*
Nilma-water side be-3-AS-3-PROX do-3-AS-3-DIST
Nilmanil is on the other side.

4. *na sna kipa-bin-g-e*
1SG centre stay-1PL-AS-PROX
We live in the middle.

5. *ebal kipai banin ere-n-g-w-a ya teen kole kipa-bin-g-e*
person stay valley do-3-AS-3-DIST and far side stay-1PL-AS-PROX
tone kare kare yebe ere-n-g-w=i na kipa-bin-g-e
look see see up do-3-AS-3=TOP 1SG stay-1PL-AS-PROX

³ The 1PL verb *kipapinge* occurs with the 1SG pronoun *na*. This is something that has not been encountered during standard elicitation sessions with the speaker. In the text I have glossed *na* as 1PL so it agrees with

the verb. Presumably there are several reasons why *na* may be used here – the meaning of *na* (1SG) may be

broadened to cover the second (1PL) meaning in certain circumstances; it may be ‘short for’ the (1PL) pronoun *na yal kane para*, with the tonal contrast with *na* (1SG) not discernible on the tape. The speaker may have made a mistake in either the pronoun or the verb forms. Given that this construction occurs several times in the text, and that the speaker has checked it, the latter hypothesis seems unlikely.

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*mine ipe di-n-g-w-a kare-n-g-w-e*⁴
up up be-3-AS-3-DIST see-3-AS-3-PROX
People living in the valleys, and far away on each side, look up and see us
living up there.

6. *komena gul i teen di-n-g-w-a abal gaan komena*
food fence TOP far be-3-AS-3-DIST woman child food
- sina-ra-l-a di-n-g-w-i pu p-re komena*
harvest-IRR-SS-DIST be-3-AS-3-SUB.PROX go go-SEQ food
- si-re u u ala u u ne-n-g-w-e*
hit-SEQ come come home come come eat-3-AS-3-PROX
The food gardens are far away, the women and children go far away to harvest
the food and bring it all the way home.

7. *komena gul mala ta di-ki-n-g-w-e para*
food fence close NEG be-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX all
The food gardens are not close. That's all.

5. A chief goes to speak*

Recorded 17th May 2003, tape 25:691.
Transcribed by Robyn Loughnane.

This text describes how a chief, or big man, traditionally, and formally,
addresses the communities in Kia's village.

1. *kaminkau yal ka di-ra-l-a di ere-n-g-w=i*
spokesperson man word be-IRR-1SG-DIST say do-3-AS-3=TOP
When the chief is ready to speak...
2. *kola kau-re di a te yu-re*
spear carry.on.shoulder-SEQ be with.hand give pick.up-SEQ
(he) carries a spear on his shoulder, and holds an axe in his hand...
3. *ana pu sna mili kare kole kole ere*
who go centre be see side side go
(he) goes to the centre and looks around...

⁴ This sentence represents two problems in that it utilizes first, a number of 'look, see' words, and secondly, the number of locatives in this sentence. *Tone* has the meaning 'to look (at) something directly' while *kare* has a more general meaning of 'to see'. This is why I have glossed part of the sentence as 'look up and see'. Regarding the use of multiple 'up' words. *Yebe* must be understood in terms of 'looking up', *mine* is a general directional word, while *ipe* means 'up in a specific direction'.

4. *ebal na kare-m-o kare-ki-m-o di ere ka di-n-g-w-e*
 person 1SG see-3-PSBL see-NEG-3-PSBL be do word say-3-AS-3-PROX
 "Are people looking at me or not?" he is saying.
5. *kare miine ere gala di kawa bilkau di-n-g-w-a*
 see up do shout say cloud huge be-3-AS-3-DIST
 He looks up and shouts loudly...
6. *ebal teen mili-n-g-w-a para pri-n-g-w-e*
 person far be-3-AS-3-DIST all perceive-3-AS-3-PROX
 so that people far away (can) all hear.
7. *di di bedera-n-g-w-a di-ø-g-a wai si-m-i-a*
 be be stop-3-AS-3-DIST be-1SG-AS-DIST good hit-3-CAS-DIST

u amin di-n-g-w-e
 come sit be-3-AS-3-PROX
 When he is finished he says "I am now concluding" (and) comes and sits down.
8. *ana kwi ta mili-n-g-w-a kwi pi ka di-n-g-w-a*
 who new one be-3-AS-3-DIST new go word say-3-AS-3-DIST
 (Then) another one takes his place and talks.

6. Malaria Medicine

Recorded 21st May 2003.
 Transcribed by Alan Lee.

Kia talks about the healing power of the Bune leaf, used to cure, or relieve, malaria symptoms. Bune is a bush with large leaves and red flowers.

1. *bune arin benamble wi i p-re nibil kure si-n-g-w=i*
 bune leaf many ? TOP go-SEQ sick malaria hit-3-AS-3=TOP
 = take something out === =====have.malaria=====
 (Many) Bune-leaves (together) can get rid of malaria,
2. *nil gale bune arin bol gale-bin-g-a*
 water burn Bune leaf with burn-1PL-AS-DIST
 =boiling water=

de nika di-n-g-w-i
 burn hot be-3-AS-3-SPEC
 ===== be very hot =====
 We boil water and, with Bune-leaves, boil it very hot...

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3. *i pu dul kaupale nil ira niki⁵ kupa alakol*
 TOP go blanket covered water TOP.DIST ? stick inside
 =take.that= ===== stir ==

eri-bin-g-a
 go-1PL-AS-DIST
 =====

...taking that, covering with blankets, we steam ourselves...

4. *min si u mina o-n-g-a=ra u u*
 steam hit come up come-2-AS-DIST=TOP.DIST come come
 ===== produce steam ===== =come close=

nibil kru⁶ era ere-n-g-w-a=ra
 sick death do do-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST
 It steams up, coming close; the death/sickness leaves...

5. *para wai su-n-g-w-a ere mina u-bin-g-a*
 all good hit-3-AS-3-DIST do up come-1PL-AS-DIST
 =====end ===== == come out ==

gipilin gil si-re
 head pain hit-SEQ
 == have head ache ==

it ends, we come out and have a head ache and...

6. *kain nika di-n-g-w-a para wai si-n-g-w-a eme*
 skin hot be-3-AS-3-DIST all good hit-3-AS-3-DIST after
 ===== body be hot ===== == end ==

nibil kuru si-n-g-w=i
 sick malaria hit-3-AS-3=TOP
 our bodies are hot; it ends; afterwards the malaria sickness

7. *para wai si bedere-n-g-w-a kwi ta si-ki-n-g-w-a*
 all good hit finish-3-AS-3-DIST new NEG hit-NEG-3-AS-3-DIST
 =====all finished=====
- ...is cured, it never strikes again.

⁵ *Niki* is perhaps related to *nika* 'hot'.

⁶ Although *kru* in other data has been glossed as *light skin*, perhaps here this lexeme is connected with *kuru* 'fear' or *kura* 'fight/war'.

Speaker's transcription

The following is the orthographic transcription of the text, written by the speaker himself, upon repeated listenings to the recording.

Bune arin banable wi i pre nibil kuresingwi, nil gale, bune arin bol galepinga de nikadingwi, ipu dul kaupale, nil, ira nikil kupa alakol eripinga minsi umina onga u-u nipil kru era erengara waisunga -ere muna upunga gipilin gil sire kain nekadingwa para waising eme nipikuru singwi para wai siberengwa ki ta singwa.

Speaker's free translation

The following is a paraphrase of what the speaker said when asked to repeat in English what he had said in Golin.

Bune is a plant used to heal malaria. We take its leaf and boil it. We cover (ourselves) up with blankets and thick clothes and then pour hot water into a bucket with the leaf, and steam ourselves inside it, and breathe the rising steam from the water. By the time you are steamed, it produces a lot of sweat from all over your body, and that kills the malaria symptoms in your body and blood system. And immediately after you come out, all parts of your body will be light, and you'll be healed instantly.

7. Work

Recorded 21st May 2003.

Transcribed by Kate Brown.

This text describes the daily work routine of men and women in the community. Daily activities such as food crop planting, feeding the pigs and cooking are allocated as either men's or women's work.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 1. | <i>yal</i> | <i>abal</i> | <i>kona</i> | <i>mili</i> | <i>pai-re</i> | <i>ere-n-g-w-a</i> | <i>kona</i> |
| | man | womantask | be | be-SEQ | do-3-AS-3-DIST | task | |

ere-n-g-w-e

do-3-AS-3-PROX

Men and women work together for their living.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 2. | <i>yal</i> | <i>kona</i> | <i>ere-n-g-w-a</i> | <i>gul</i> | <i>ere</i> | <i>eri</i> | <i>si-re</i> |
| | man | task | do-3-AS-3-PROX | fence | do | tree | hit-SEQ |

mole gale⁷ ere-n-g-w-a

heap burn do-3-AS-3-DIST

Men work, making fences, cutting trees and clearing the ground by burning the old vegetation.

⁷ *Molegale* is a specific term used for this process of burning the old, dried leaves and other vegetation to prepare a garden for planting.

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3. *abal komena yale-n-g-w-e bo kabe ya kopi*⁸
woman food plant-3-AS-3-PROX sugarcane banana and those
- yal yale-n-g-w-e*
man plant-3-AS-3-PROX
The women plant food crop, sugarcane and banana, those the men plant.
4. *abal komena tau keba yame kon*⁹
woman food some sweet.potato corn yam
- yale-n-g-w-a suul do-n-g-w-a*
plant-3-AS-3-DIST weed be-3-AS-3-DIST
The women plant and weed the sweet potato, corn and yam.
5. *abal suul do-n-g-w-e*
woman weed be-3-AS-3-PROX
Women weed.
6. *yal aa bo kabe yale-n-g-w=i suul de-re kule*
man [hes] sugarcane banana plant-3-AS-3=TOP weed be-SEQ care.for
- ere-n-g-w-e*¹⁰
do-3-AS-3-PROX
The men weed the sugarcane and banana gardens, and tie the sugarcane to a stick (to help it grow).
7. *komena su-n-g-w=i abal si-m=ba*
food hit-3-AS-3=TOP woman hit-3=CONC
Harvesting the crop, the women harvest but
8. *yu-n-g-w=i yal abal para i ala o-n-g-w-a*¹¹
bring-3-AS-3=TOP man woman all TOP home go-3-AS-3-DIST
the men and women carry this home together.
9. *koble gale ki-n-g-w=i*
stone burn prepare-3-AS-3=TOP
Cooking over hot stones,

⁸ While *kopi* is also a Tok Pisin word for ‘coffee’, in this instance it is a demonstrative, referring back to the sugarcane and banana crops, and enabling the object of the verb *yalengwe* ‘plant’ to be topicalized.

⁹ While *kon* and *yame* appear to be loans for ‘corn’ and ‘yam’ respectively, this is not the case. *Kon* especially is attested elsewhere as ‘yam’.

¹⁰ *Kule-erengwe* is, in this context, used describe the process of tying up the sugarcane to a stick to assist its growth.

¹¹ *Kia*’ translation was ‘the men help the women to carry the bilim home’. *Kia* particularly wanted to emphasize that although the women do the harvesting, the men assist in carrying it, hence the use of the concessive suffix *=ba* in the previous line.

10. *abal ki-n-g-w-a te¹² yal o ere-n-g-w-a*
 woman prepare-3-AS-3-DIST give man house do-3-AS-3-DIST

yal no-n-g-w-a
 man eat-3-AS-3-DIST
 the women cook for the men's house, for the men to eat.

11. *abal bolma kepa to-n-g-w-e¹³ tanantau i yal bolma*
 woman pig potato give-3-AS-3-PROX sometimes TOP man pig

kepa to-n-g-w-a
 potato give-3-AS-3-DIST
 The women feed the pigs, sometimes the men feed the pigs.

12. *para*
 end
 The end.

8. Festive Cooking*

Recorded on 26th May.
 Transcribed by Jutta Besold.

This text tells of the cooking routine that is reserved for special occasions, such as marriages. Traditionally, vegetable based food is prepared by women and meat is prepared, and cooked, by men.

1. *komena ki-bin-g=i wee¹⁴ ebal yol u-n-g-w-a mo*
 food prepare-1PL-AS=TOP [hes] person many/all come-3-AS-3-DIST or
 We cook food (when) visitors come or
2. *abal yal te-ra-l-a ere-bin-g-a mo komena pati*
 woman man give-IRR-SS-DIST do-1PL-AS-DIST or food party (TP)

¹² In this case *te* is establishing a benefactive relationship between the subjects of the previous clause (the women) and the subjects of one of the following clauses (the men).. Usually *te* takes person-tense marking suffixes like other verbs, or is incorporated into the verb stem, with the result that it increases the valency of the verb phrase (ref. *kadite-* ‘talk to’, derived from *kadi-* ‘talk’).

¹³ *Bolma-kepa* is ‘pig food’, the scraps and leftovers given to the pigs. This is another unusual use of the verb ‘give’, because it is a trivalent verb that here is being used in a transitive and not a ditransitive construction.

¹⁴ This something like ‘uhm’ in English and included in the text because so far the hesitation marker we have come across was ‘aah’. Taking into consideration that this was the third consecutive text Kia told us in Golin, this could possibly be a marker that is used in Golin, or generally in PNG languages, and ‘aah’ might be the form used by Kia that is a product of his years in an English speaking country. This is so far a speculation and has not been clarified or confirmed.

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ere-bin-g-a
do-1PL-AS-DIST
(when) we give a marriage or (we have) any party.

3. *komena bolma si ki-n-g-w=i*
food pig hit prepare-3-AS-3=TOP
(When they) prepare the pigs (for food),
4. *yal gau bolma guman kupa si main ere u-n-g-w=i*
man many pig nose stick hit down do go-3-AS-3=TOP
(when) the men hit the pigs on the nose with sticks,
5. *yal gau si-n-g-w-e*
man many hit-3-AS-3-PROX
the men kill them.
6. *igin gali u ire ere u-n-g-w=i yal gau ere*
hair burn come TOP.PROX do come-3-AS-3=TOP man many do

u-n-g-w-e
come-3-AS-3-PROX
Burning the hair off the pigs, the men do it.
7. *abal bolma denil si-n-g-w-e*
woman pig guts hit-3-AS-3-PROX
The women handle the intestines.
8. *keba komena tau i abal ki-n-g-w-e*
sweet.potato food some TOP woman prepare-3-AS-3-PROX
Women cook the sweet potatoes.
9. *miine¹⁵ ale ki-n-g-w-e*
traditional.drum in prepare-3-AS-3-PROX
They cook (them) in a (traditional) drum.
10. *dram ale ki-n-g-w-e*
metal.drum in prepare-3-AS-3-PROX
They cook (them) in a (metal) drum.
11. *main maul ale ki-n-g-w-e*
down hole in prepare-3-AS-3-PROX
They cook (them) in a hole in the ground.

¹⁵ The two different words for drum can be explained from Kia's rough translation of the text. He speaks of the traditional drum that "the people make" and the metal drum. I suggest that *dram* is a recently introduced word and refers to the metal drum (hence the similarity to the English word 'drum'). There was an alternative spelling found in the data, ie *miine*.

12. *miine sin gali-n-g-w=i para abal gali-n-g-w-a*
 traditional.drum pot burn-3-AS=TOP all woman burn-3-AS-3-DIST
 Cooking in the pots and drums, all the women cook like this.
13. *eme yal gau bolma ki bedera-n-g-w-a*
 after man many pig prepare stop-3-AS-3-DIST
- gwi-n-g-w-a=ra yal abal para u teran*
 take.out-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST man woman all come one
- teran ere obin si-n-g-w-e no-n-g-w-e*
 one do part hit-3-AS-3-PROX eat-3-AS-3-PROX
 =====share=====
- After the men finish cooking the pig(s), they take out the cooked food and all men and women come together to share out the food to eat.
14. *obin si-n-g-w=i yal gau bolma obin si-m=ba abal*
 part hit-3-AS-3=TOP man all pig part hit-3=CONC
 woman
 ==share===== ==share=====
- This sharing (is done by) the men sharing out the pork but the women
15. *keba komena wo¹⁶ ki-n-g-w=i obin si-n-g-w-a*
 sweet.potato food ordinary prepare-3-AS-3=TOP part hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 ==share=====
- share out the food, which was prepared (by them).
16. *gal¹⁷ gile te-n-g-w-a no-n-g-w-e*
 bag put give-3-AS-3-DIST eat-3-AS-3-PROX
 They divide it (the food) into the string bags to eat.
17. *pele ta si te-ki-n-g-w-e*
 plate(TP) NEG hit give-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX
 They don't share it out on plates.

Kia's rough translation of the whole text:

"In any special occasion or events in the community, men have certain responsibility as well as women...pig killing is men's job. Killing and burning the grass on the fire, slaughtering the pig...and the women have to prepare other food stuff like potato or greens or banana or taro yam, whatever..."

And they have to cook in various ways if they want to prepare something which is more cheaper and more [less time consuming]...Then they will have to cook in the

¹⁶ This is the only instance with *wo* in this context. The only translation we have so far is 'digging motion' verb, but Kia translated it here as 'ordinary'.

¹⁷ These bags referred to are the traditional string bags called *bilum*. The food is divided into individual bags for each couple/family/person. The exact details on how the division of the food is executed were not given.

Section 2: Golin Texts

pot. The other way to cook is in the drum, there are two types of drum. One is the udin drum, which is made by the people.

One is the metal drum, the forty-four gallon drum...we use this one for cooking...for yams and taro.

And then after all the food is prepared the men have to prepare the pig site and have to determine...how many visitors for the community...the number for [all participants]....

Nowadays, people use whoever knows how to read and write. They can exactly know the figure, but before they used the stick to represent one family or one visitor. So, you can have fifteen or twenty sticks and then they try to cut the pig according to the sticks.

But they have to determine the value of the parts of the pig to who they will give...So, they will need to know all these things...that's men's business.

And the women have to give the men the numbers of the visitors so they can distribute the food. But then in today's modern world, people use plate, but we use bilums [string bags] so we can fit the solid food...the women can put it because they can't mix all the food stuff together. So, they try to put the the banana or yam at the bottom, and then the other[food stuffs]...so, in the big village...and then they meet together so then they can't take their food.

So, then the men and women know that this bilum food go with a piece of meat...together they will call people by name and then people will come and take it.”

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ebal eme mili pai-re ere-a-bin-g-a eme u wai
 person after be be-SEQ do-IRR-1PL-AS-DIST after come good

n-a-n-g-w -e

go-IRR-3-AS-3-PROX

I won't say much, but what I will say is about how we can all live a good life in the future.

7. *ala ka kepil ka di-re kura ble ebal ble gule*
 stand word small word say-SEQ fight hurt person hurt die
 ==war=====

okamin si gale
 community hit burn

(If we do not) consider this small problem there will be tribal war and disruption.

8. *abal gaan ibanwai ere ere-bin-g=i wai ta pai-ki-n-g-w-a*
 woman child hang.around do do-1PL-AS=TOP good NEG be-NEG-3-AS-3DIST
 If women and children become refugees, it's not good.

9. *dibe kare ne-ra-bin mo bisnis ere ne-ra-bin mo*
 boat see eat-IRR-1PL or business (TP) do eat-IRR-1PL or

gaan sule di-ra-n-g-w-a kon
 child school be-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST yam

(Thereby, wasting our time if we) own boats or make business or send our kids to school.

10. *inin ebal i inin ipu si bagarabe ere-bin-a*
 1PL person TOP self up hit destroy(TP) do-1PL-DIST
 We (people), ourselves, would destroy the future.

11. *ere u pa-n-g-w-a ere mala na ebal lain u bume*
 do come be-3-AS-3-DIST do now 1 person belong come
 gathering

ere-bin-g=i ere bolma gaulin ya ta pali-bin-g-a
 do-1P-AS=TOP do pig baby.animal and one contribute-1PL-AS-DIST
 ==piglets=====

mo koble ya yu-bin-g=i
 or money and bring-1PL-AS=TOP

For this reason we are currently gathered together, contributing pigs or money that we have brought.

12. *obin si-re ebal Koban te-ra-bin-g-a*
 part hit-SEQ people Koban give-IRR-1PL-AS-DIST
 ==share=====
 Solve the problem by giving to the Koban clan's victims...
13. *demin-in i teran ere nomanin pu i teran*
 heart-1.POSS TOP one do idea go TOP one
 (and) become one in our hearts and minds...
14. *kwi wanbel i ere-ra-bin-g-a p-re mala u-bin-a*
 new oneness(TP) TOP do-IRR-1P-AS-DIST go-SEQ today come-1PL-DIST
 (and) make peace amongst ourselves.

10. Walking to School I*

Recorded 28th May 2003.

Transcribed by Belinda Ross.

Kia recalls how he and the children from his village travelled to and from school every day. He describes the long journey and rough terrain that he and his peers encountered.

1. *na mala ka di-ra-ki¹⁹-w-e sule bere ka de-ra-l-a*
 1SG now word say-IRR-NEG-3-PROX school about word say-IRR-1SG-DIST
 What I am going to talk about now is what used to happen on my way to school.
2. *nineteen eighty sule goma ki-n-g-w-a gaan benamble*
 nineteen eighty school before prepare-3-AS-3-DIST child many

u u sule di-bin-g-a teen pai-re
 come come school be-1PL-AS-DIST far.away be-SEQ
 Since the 1980's, many children have attended newly established schools and they lived far away.
3. *tanimakinin kaupa bedi-n-g-w-a*
 early.morning bird sing-3-AS-3-DIST
 The early morning bird sang,
4. *kewa gali-re u u baan u-bin-g-a*
 light burn-SEQ come come way come-1PL-AS-DIST
 we lit a light and went on our way.
5. *kamin ta-n-g-w=i baan ta-n-g-w-a*
 day give-3-AS-3=TOP way give-3-AS-3-DIST
 Day breaking (while we are on our way),

¹⁹ The function of the negation suffix here is not clear.

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6. *kepa yu kepa man i ke te-n-g-a yu baan*
 potato bring potato mother TOP ? give-3-AS-DIST bring way
 we brought potatoes given by our mothers,
7. *ne-re u milu-n-g-w-a milu-n-g-a sule o*
 eat-SEQ come be-3-AS-3-DIST be-3-AS-DIST school house
 ate them and (went) on our way to school.
8. *u-bin-g=i sule o bele si-n-g-w-a*
 come-1PL-AS=TOP school house bell (TP) hit-3-AS-3-DIST
 As we arrived at school, the bell rang.
9. *u-bin-g-a bre duru di lain²⁰ si-re for*
 come-1PL-AS-DIST about straight COMP line (TP) hit-SEQ four
 We went straight to assembly and were in school until 4 o'clock.
10. *ari ipanin yapi-n-g-a i para*
 sun shadow set-3-AS-DIST TOP all
 The sun set.
11. *iero-bin-g=i pi mili-n-g-a nil tameton si ki-re*
 pass-1PL-AS=TOP go be-3-AS-DIST water many hit prepare-SEQ

pi mili-n-g-a
 go be-3-AS-DIST
 We continued walking, crossing many rivers.
12. *i nimin si-n-g-w=i gaan bil u goma p-re*
 TOP rain hit-3-AS-3=TOP child big come before go-SEQ
 As it started to rain, the big kids went ahead and,
13. *gaan kelbil kopi oon a te i kole ere*
 child small these hand hand give TOP side do
 held the hands of the smaller kids as they crossed the river (and)
14. *gi abal gau oon a te i kole ere*
 girl woman many hand hand give TOP side do
 held the hands of the young girls when crossing the river (and)
15. *pu mili-pin-g=i mili-pin-g-a mili-pin-g-a gla kamin*
 go be-1PL-AS=TOP be-1PL-AS-DIST be-1PL-AS-DIST night sky

gri-n-g-w-a
 darken-3-AS-3-DIST
 we kept going until night came.

²⁰ Kia explained that 'lain' is from Tok Pisin and means 'line'. Note that this does not seem to correlate with the Golin word *lain* 'belong'.

16. *nen-in man-in kepa komina ki-n-g-w-a ne-re gwi*
 father-my mother-my potato food prepare-3-AS-3-DIST eat-SEQcold
- ki-n-g-w-a ulpa-n-g-w-a i na ere ala o-bin-g-a*
 prepare-3-AS-3-DIST sleep-3-AS-3-DIST TOP 1SG do home go-1PL-AS-DIST
 We ate the cold food prepared by our parents, who had gone to bed before we
 reached home.
17. *para*
 end
 The end.

11. Pencil story*

Recorded 15th May 2003.
 Transcribed by Robyn Loughnane.
 Scribebook 1a:123.

This text is a personal narrative of a fight Kia had, with another boy at school, which involved a pencil being stuck in his upper arm.

1. *goma na gaan mile sule di-ø-g-a koon gaan ta bole*
 before 1SG child be school be-1SG-AS-DIST yam child one with
- kura ble p-re*
 fight hurt go-SEQ
 Before (when) I was a small boy and I went to school, I fought with another
 child and...
2. *pensil ka di p-re kura ble-bin-g-a p-re*
 pencil(TP) word say go-SEQ fight hurt-1PL-AS-DIST go-SEQ
 we fought about a pencil and...
3. *pensil gaan a te mili na si-n-g-w-a na*
 pencil(TP) child hand give be 1SG hit-3-AS-3-DIST1SG
- tawan-an ble*
 shoulders-my hurt
 the child hit me with a pencil on my upperarm.
4. *kai mi-re²¹ pu u sule yal mili-n-g-w-a-l*
 cry cry-SEQ go come school(TP) man be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ
 ==cry===== ==teacher=====

²¹ Definition of *kai* and *mi* in different, or isolated, context has not been clarified.

4. *gla pu du-n-g-w-a i ala kole ere*
 night go be-3-AS-3-DIST TOP home side do
 at night, we were inside the (men's) house.
5. *nebare te-ra-l-a di ere-n-g-w-i yal garamil para*
 bamboo give-IRR-1SG-DIST be do-3-AS-3-TOP man young all

di ere-n-g-w-a u lain si mile
 be do-3-AS-3-DIST come line(TP) hit be
 Before going through initiation, all they young men formed a line (in front of the house).
6. *aa gaan teran teran kaan-in gala gala di-n-g-w-a*
 [hes] child one one name-1.POSS shout shout be-3-AS-3-DIST

ere ala kole-bin-g=i
 do home side-1PL-AS=TOP
 The young men shouted out our names one by one, telling us to go into the house.
7. *kupa a ta mili kupa dulai si-n-g-w-a ble*
 stick with.hand give be stick belt hit-3-AS-3-DIST hurt
 They were holding sticks and they belted us (hurting us).
8. *kare aa aa kara kole kole u na-bin-g-a ai*
 see [hes] [hes] see side side come go-1PL-AS-DIST place

di-ki-n-g-w-a
 be-NEG-3-AS-3-DIST
 We looked from side to side to escape but there was no place (to go).
9. *ble i alakol ere-n-g-w-a edenin gale-n-g-w-a nika*
 hurt TOP inside do-3-AS-3-DIST fire burn-3-AS-3-DIST hot

di-n-g-w-a
 be-3-AS-3-DIST
 We got belted and ran into the house, which had a hot fire burning.
10. *nil komna gwi ki-n-g-w-a ta teran ne-ki-re*
 water food new prepare-3-AS-3-DIST NEG one eat-NEG-SEQ
 =====

si-m-e pai-re mile
 hit-CAS-PROX be-SEQ be
 ==fasting=====
- We were not allowed to drink or eat any food (during the night).

13. Salt Exchange*

Recorded 14th May 2003.
 Transcribed by Jutta Besold.
 Scribebook 1b:124.

This text refers to the Yui Kere ('Salt Yui'); a tribe that produced much sought after salt and used it as a commodity in exchange for pigs and other valuables from neighbouring tribes.

1. *nen-in man-in goma Plime prin gula-l-a di p-re*
 father-my mother-my before Plime salt burn-1SG-DIST be go-SEQ

di p-re bolma mo oon ire pu prin Yui
 be go-SEQ pig or shell TOP.PROX go salt Yui

Kere ebal prin gala-n-g-w-a ana Yui komina
 Kere people salt burn-3-AS-3-DIST and Yui food

prin ere no-n-g-w-e
 salt do eat-3-AS-3-DIST

A long time ago our parents took pig and shell (money) to Plime in exchange for salt. They took the gift to the Yui Kere people and got the salt and flavoured the food with it.

14. Walking to School II*

Transcribed by Hywel Stoakes and Anthony Fricker.

In this text, Kia recalls the long journey from his village to his school that he and some of his schoolmates had to endure every day.

1. *na ka di-ra-g=i goma gaan mili sule di-g-a*
 1SG word say-IRR-2=TOP before child be school be-AS-DIST
 What I am going to say is - I am going to tell a story about (before) when I was a schoolboy

2. *i kapori²³ toon e-ra-l-a*
 TOP true.story together go-IRR-1SG-DIST
 I am going to tell you a story.

3. *goma nineteen eighty three gaan mili sule di-g-a*
 before nineteen eighty three child be school be-AS-DIST

²³ Looks like *kapori* contains the work *ka* 'word'. The meaning of *pori* in isolated context has not been clarified at present.

suleo mala gira ki-n-g-w-a community i
 school today ? prepare-3-AS-3-DIST community TOP

di tenuan di-n-g-w-a
 be far.away be-3-AS-3-DIST
 Before, in 1983, a (new) school was established in a community far away,

4. *gaan mala pa-n-g-w-e u sule di-m=ba*
 child now be-3-AS-3-PROX come school be-3=CONC
 Children (from nearby to the school (far from my home)) had to go to school now but...

5. *na teen pai-re u mili taanima kinin gla sna*
 1SG far be-SEQ come be morning early night centre

kaupa bedi-n-g-w-a ale
 bird sing-3-AS-3-DIST in
 I lived far away and had to get up in the middle of the night, when the birds began to sing.

6. *man-in keba bili-n-g-w-a u baan ne-re*
 mother-1.POSS sweet.potato cook-3-AS-3-DIST go way eat-SEQ

u-bin-g=i
 go-1PL-AS=TOP
 Our mothers cooked potatoes for us to eat on our way,

7. *u mili-bin-g-a sule o-bin-g-e*
 come be-1PL-AS-DIST school go-1PL-AS-PROX
 When we arrived at school,

8. *sule bele su-n-g-w-a u [lain sere] ala*
 school bell (TP) hit-3-AS-3-DIST come [hes] stand

p-re sule di-bin-g-a pu du-n-g-w-a
 go-SEQ school be-1PL-AS-DIST go be-3-AS-3-DIST
 the school bell rang and we ran into the classroom.

9. *ere o-bin-g=i [am] pu mili-bin-g-a baan*
 do go-1PL-AS=TOP [hes] go be-1PL-AS-DIST way

nimin su-n-g-w=i [ah] gwi eru-n-g=i
 rain hit-3-AS-3=TOP [hes] wind go-3-AS=TOP
 Still walking, on our way through the rain and cold wind...

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10. *pu mili-bin-g-a kamin garu-n-g-w-a*
go be-1PL-AS-DIST sky night.become-3-AS-3-DIST
the sky was getting dark...
11. *ebal para ulpa bederi-n-g-w-a*
person all sleep sleep-3-AS-3-DIST
everyone else was asleep.
12. *na pu ala ere keba ya komna yu-n-g-w-e*
1SG go home do sweet.potato and food bring-3-AS-3-PROX

sime ne-re pai mili tanima kwi kaupa bedu-n-g-w=i²⁴
dark eat- be be morning new bird sing-3-AS-3=TOP
We ate the food when we got home in the dark and had to get up (again) early
in the morning.
13. *kewa gali u-re u-re²⁵ ere-bin-g-e*
light burn come-SEQ come-SEQ do-1PL-AS-DIST
In the morning we got up early and lit a lamp.²⁶

15. Ancestor story*

Recorded 15th May 2003, tape 9:19.

Transcribed by Jutta Besold

This is the story of the origins of Kia's Aina tribe and its 'brother' tribes. Aina was one of five brothers and one adopted brother whose origins were unknown.

1. *goma na yaunin kowanin goma ya-n-g-w-a*
before 1 grandfather ancestor before lose-3-AS-3-DIST²⁷
=====ancestor===== previous generation=====
- u-n-g-w-a ipe kaan Nimile we Toma*
come-3-AS-3-DIST TOP.UP name Nimile and Toma
- we di-n-g-w-a*
and be-3-AS-3-DIST
My ancestors' names are Nimile and Toma.
2. *Nimile i yal mili-n-g-w-e Toma i abal mili-n-g-w-e*
Nimile PRO man be-3-AS-3-PROX Toma PRO woman be-3-AS-3-PROX
The old man (father) is Nimile and the old woman (mother) is Toma.

²⁴ 'kaupa bedi' refers to a certain time of the morning, approximately 4 o'clock, when the birds start singing.

²⁵ *Ure ure* was uttered as *urure*, which might also be transcribed as *u ure*.

²⁶ This the translation given by Kia, but it looks a bit like *We lit a light and went again (to school)*.

²⁷ *Ya-n-g-w-a* can also be used with *koble yangwa* 'he lost money', but in this case Kia insisted that I transcribe *goma yangwa* as 'past generation' without a specific translation for *ya-*.

3. *Nimile Toma gaan benamble kuli yo-n-g-w-a*
 Nimile Toma child many birth give-3-AS-3-DIST
 Nimile and Toma had (gave birth to) many children.
4. *komenin Kobla mili-n-g-w-e Kobla mili-n-g-w-a-l*
 first.born Kobla be-3-AS-3-PROX Kobla be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ
 The first born was Kobla,
5. *ali Ole mili-n-g-w-a Bomai mili-n-g-w-e Bomai*
 in Ole be-3-AS-3-PROX Bomai be-3-AS-3-PROX Bomai
- mili-n-g-w-a-l*
 be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ
 the second Ole, third Bomai
6. *Nikil mili-n-g-w-a Nikil mili-n-g-w-a-l Kiba*
 Nikil be-3-AS-3-DIST Nikil be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ Kiba
- mili-n-g-w-e Kiba mili-n-g-w-a-l*
 be-3-AS-3-PROX Kiba be-3-AS-3-DIST-NOMZ
 (the fourth) Nikil, (the fifth) Kiba...
7. *gaan paip kule ye bederia eme bia ye-g-e du-n-g-w-a*
 child five (TP) birth give stop after old give-AS-PROX say-3-AS-3-DIST
- bedere win pu abal demanin mili-n-g-w-a*
 stop husband come woman old be-3-AS-3-PROX
- daan ekehu-n-g-w-a gaan eme kule yo-n-g-w=i*
 ribs step.on-3-AS-3-DIST child after birth give-3-AS-3=TOP
 ===have sex=====
- They had five children and (after) the old woman said to her husband that she was too old to have sex (in order to produce more children),
8. *na bia ye-y-a bedero de-Ø-g-a ka daidi²⁸*
 1 old give-1SG-DIST stop be-1SG-AS-DIST word ignore
 ==disobeying=
- danan ekeli-n-g-a gaan kule ye-Ø-g-a kaan*
 ribs step.on-3-AS-3-DIST child birth give-1SG-AS-DIST name
 ==have sex=====
- Kawale du-n-g-w-a*
 Kawale say-3-AS-3-DIST
 But the old man ignored her, slept with her and she had another child called Kawale.

²⁸ *Ka daidi* was translated as ‘not obeying, not listening, ignoring someone’s wishes’. It is possibly constructed of *dai* ‘?’ and *di* ‘say’.

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9. *mala ebal Golin i lain siks mili-n-g-w-e*
 new people Golin TOP belong six (TP) be-3-AS-3-PROX
 There are six tribes within Golin.

10. *bedere kura wi ble²⁹ p-re Kobla na si mina ere-n-g-w-a*
 stop fight intra hurt go-SEQ Kobla 1 hit up do-3-AS-3-DIST
 ==intra-tribal war== =====cast out=====

pu yone pa-n-g-w-e Golin tau mine pai-bin-g-e
 come below be-3-AS-3-PROX Golin some up be-3-AS-3-PROX
 There was a fight between Kobla and the other brothers, and Kobla got kicked out.

11. *Del Aina gaan yayo-n-g-w-a i mua kulu-n-g-w-a*
 Del Aina child be.lost-3-AS-3-DIST PRO adopt take.care-3-AS-3-DIST
 ==orphaned=====adopt=====

kwi Kawale-ku kaun ale³⁰ u-n-g-w-a Del Aina
 now Kawale-tribe leg in come-3-AS-3-DIST Del Aina
 ==lower in status==

Kawale wadi-n-g-w-e
 Kawale look.for-3-AS-3-PROX
 Del Aina found and adopted an orphaned child, which is known as Kawale (and lower in status) and took care of it.

Kia's rough translation

Our ancestors are called Nimli and Toma. Nimli is the old man and Toma is his woman, They had five sons [in chronological order] Kobla. Ole, Bomai, Nikil and Kiba.

They all lived in the mountains. When the sons were old the woman said to her husband that she wanted another baby, which was called Kole. Kole are my uncles. Within these six tribes our tribe (Dela Aina Nebi) is the strongest (economically and politically).

A fight arose between the six brothers and Kobla; the first born was chased out of the tribe, so the Bomai, Nikil and Ole became the keeper and Kobla settled far away from them to another [mountain?]. We call them the 'old Kobla'. We are the original Golin.

My tribe is Del Aina Nebi. Nebi is my tribe, but Del Aina is the 'big man'. We support each other and we are the most powerful in the district. My tribe (Nebi) came from unknown parents. They made a garden and found a crying girl under the banana tree and raised her with their family. One of her sons was called Aina. Aina made a new garden and got killed by a tree that he climbed and the tree collapsed.

The girl gave one of the brothers away and he was called Nebi.

²⁹ *Kura wi ble* differs from *kura ble* in that the former refers to war within a tribe and the latter to war between tribes.

³⁰ *Kaun ale* was transcribed by Kia as something like 'being under the foot of /being of lower status'.

16. Bomai Poison*

Recorded 14 May 2003
Transcribed by Jutta Besold

This text was recorded during a class session and no rough translation was given. Kia talks about one of the many magic poisons that exist in his region. This particular poison is used by the (invisible) magic men of the Bomai tribe, and how they administer it.

1. *Bomai deko i ya maula³¹ gal ere ebal su*
Bomai magic.men TOP and poison bag do people hit

gulu-m-i-w-a
die-3-CAS-?-DIST

Bomai magic (carrying their bag with the poison) men (can) kill people.

2. *na ta pre kare ere-ki=ba ebal du-n-g-w-a*
1SG NEG go-SEQ see do-NEG=CONC people say-3-AS-3-DIST

pri-Ø-g=i
perceive-1SG-AS=TOP

I haven't seen it for myself but I heard it from other people.

3. *maula gal i kaambaan³² toon du-n-g-w-a ebal komina*
poison bag TOP powder together be-3-AS-3-DIST people food

ne-ra-n-g-w-a bolain ye te-ra-n-g-w-a gula-n ere te
eat-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST visible put give-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST die-2 do give

ebal-ya komina nere bedera-n-g-w-a prin ipu
people-this food eat-SEQ stop-3-AS-3-DIST salt top
=====left over food=====

maula gal gula-n-g-w-e
poison bag die-3-AS-3-PROX

(They) mix the magic powder with the person's food, the person eats this and dies...

4. *ere-m-u-a du-n-g-w-e pri-Ø-g-e*
do-3-REP-DIST be-3-AS-3-PROX perceive-1SG-AS-PROX
that's what I heard (from other people).

³¹ *Maula* was translated as the poison or dangerous substance that is used by magic men only.

³² The term *kambaan* originally referred to a white powder made of sea shells and beetlenuts, The generic term for white powder of any substance is *ulgi koona*.

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5. *deko si-m-u-a di-n-g-w=i, deko ebal*
 magic.man hit-3-REP-DIST be-3-AS-3=TOP magic.man people
bole benamble u-re
 with many come-SEQ
 the magic men (that kill people) join the other people and
6. *deko gal kini-n-g-w-a=ra yal eme u-n-g-w-e*
 magic.man bag carry-3-AS-3-DIST=TOP.DIST man after come-3-AS-3-PROX
ebal tau goma u-n-g-w-e deko gal kini-n-g-w-a³³
 people some before come-3-AS-3-PROX magic.man bag carry-3-AS-3-DIST
 (carrying the poison bag) walk behind the person (they are about to kill).
7. *eme ure mile ebal kol kaun dul storua sire*
 after come-SEQ be people path leg print cover hit-SEQ
 =foot print=
 They conceal (or erase) their own footprints (to destroy the evidence of them having been there) and
8. *u ebal mili-n-g-w-e bli blu-n-g-w-a*
 come people be-3-AS-3-PROX stick hurt-3-AS-3-DIST
 (they) go and tap the person (on the arm or body).
9. *gala ta di-ki-re ka bil ta di-ki-n-g-w-e*
 shout NEG say-NEG-SEQ word big NEG say-NEG-3-AS-3-PROX
 =====a scream=
si gule
 hit die
 (But the) person can't shout or scream, just dies.
10. *bedere nusere-n-g-w-a pu ala pre gulu-n-g-w-a*
 stop send.away-3-AS-3-DIST come home come-SEQ die-3-AS-3-DIST
 They (magic men) let the person go home and die there.
11. *i Chimbu ali deko maula ere su-n-g-w-a*
 TOP Chimbu inside magic.man poison do hit-3-AS-3-DIST
si gulu-n-g-w-a bere di=ba te PNG ali poisin
 hit die-3-AS-3-DIST about be=CONC and PNG inside poison (TP)
ere-n-g-w=i benamble ere ebal su gule te komina
 do-3-AS-3=TOP many do people hit die give food

³³ *Kini* was translated as carrying something, like a bag, by hanging it over the shoulder and wedging it between arm and ribs. That is how the magic men carry their poison bags.

to-n-g-w-a *ne-re* *gulu-n-g-w=i* *benanwen bere* *gulu-n-g-w-e*
 give-3-AS-3-DIST eat-SEQ die-3-AS-3=TOP too.many about die-3-AS-3-PROX
 This is how the magic men can kill people in the Chimbu region, but in PNG
 there are many different kinds of magic that kill a lot of people.

12. *na ta* *p-re* *kare ta* *ere* *kunin* *ere-ki-g-e*
 1SG NEG come-SEQ see NEG do ? do-NEG-3-PROX
 I haven't actually seen it myself and I really don't understand.

Section 2: Golin Texts

Section Three

Dictionary

Section 3:

Section Three: Golin Dictionary

The dictionary was compiled with the use of *The Linguist's Shoebox* by all students involved in the Golin project; lexemes were entered by individuals throughout the semester, and edited before publication.

Many of the entries have tone marked (in brackets after the headword). This transcription is based on one session with Kia, recorded and transcribed by Stoakes and is a very rough guide to tone. If there is no bracketing after the headword then the tone is unknown and unspecified.

At the time of writing, the dictionary has approximately 570 lexical entries. Some of the entries are serial verb, and phrasal verb, constructions that arguably should not be included in the dictionary due to their idiomatic nature (see Pawley, 1983). However, we decided to include constructions such as *maul wo* 'dig hole' and *kabe gire gule* 'bury bananas' (lit. 'cut and kill bananas') because Kia listed them as fixed expressions, as they are salient utterances in everyday speech. We have chosen to represent such phrasal and serial verb constructions as a string of separate lexemes, and not hyphenated or agglutinated.

There is a separate section with a more complete set of kinship terms and also a list of proper names.

The dictionary also includes a small number of lexemes where the translation has not been clarified at the time of writing, but translations of the appropriate examples sentences are offered.

At this stage the data for this dictionary is saved on the University of Melbourne server, with restricted access.

Pawley, A. 1993. "A language which defies description by ordinary means" in W. Foley (ed). *The Role of theory in language description*. Berlin ; New York : Mouton de Gruyter

A - a

- aa** *n.* By hand (instrumental). *See: aa te; aa keli si; aa nu si.* (Does not occur in isolation; possibly a verbal prefix.)
- aa bu di** *vt.phr.* Pull on rope (climb). **Erema na kan kule abu diga.** Yesterday I climbed the rope *Yesterday I tied and pulled the rope* **Yal ta kan abu di eri mongwe.** He climbs up the tree using the rope. (Meaning of **abu** unclear; does not occur in isolation.)
- aa keli si** *vt.phr.* Break with hands. **Bred (TP) onin pal a keli sikia, naibe pas ble keli sa.** Don't cut the bread with your hands, use a knife.
- aa nu si** *vt.phr.* Push. **I na a nu sa!** Push me! **Na bolma a nu sige.** I push the pig. **Na kare a nu sirage.** I will push the car. (Meaning of *nu* unclear; does not occur in isolation.)
- aa te** *vt.* Touch, hold. **Na bol a tege.** I touch the table. **Edenin derana a tekia.** Don't touch the fire or it will burn you. **Yal i buke a tongwe.** He is holding a book. **Kola kaure di a tere(...).** Carrying a spear on his shoulder and holding an axe in his hand(...). *See: a te mili; a te yu.*
- aa te mili** *Variant: a ta mile. vt.phr.* Be holding. **Kupa a ta mile kupa dulai sungwa ble.** They were holding sticks (and wire), and they belted us, it hurt.
- aa te yu** *vt.* Hold, pick up. **Abal ta buke (TP) a te yungwa karaga.** I saw someone holding a book. **Obegal tau a te yua.** Pick up some sand!
- aa i** (aai) *n.* Place. **Kare kole kole u nabinga ai dikingwa.** We looked around and there was no place (to go).
- abal** (abál) *n.* Woman. **Abal yal bol guman siningwe.** The woman rubs noses with the man. **Abal bolma denil sungwe.** The women handle the (pig) intestines.
- abla** (ablá) *dem.* This, here (within reach of speaker). **Sula yongwa abla.** There is a cucumber here.
- abn** (ab'n) *Variant: apin, apn. n.* Elder same-sex sibling or cousin within one's kinship group (child of **nen**). **Kris na ap'nan** Kris is my older brother (male speaker). *See: keb'n; alin.* (Possessive inflection: (na) *ab'nan* / (i) *ab'nin* / (yál i) *ab'nin*.)
- aglin ne** (aglin) *vphr.* Be very sharp. **Di milkin aglin nongwe.** The axe tip is very sharp. (Only occurs in 3rd person. Meaning of constituents unclear; they do not occur in isolation.)
- ai** (ai) *n.* Paternal grandmother.
- akola** (akolà) *n.* Fig tree. **Na akola main milige.** I am sitting under the fig tree.
- ala** (alá) *n.* Home. **Na ere ala ege.** I'm going home. **Nerin manim kepa komina kingwa nere gwi kingwa nere pu ulpangwa kon i na ere ala obinga.**
- ala** (alá) *prep.* Inside, within. **Ki paipingwe Nebiku i Ainaku ali.** The Nebiku tribes lives within the Aina tribe. **Pis (TP) komilki sutakope nil ale milingwe.** There are three yellow fish in the river. *See: ala kol.*
- ala kanin** (alá kanín) *n.* Our business (internal matters). **Na ala kanin pangwa ka kebil ta pangwa.** We have a problem (internal business, a small problem). *See: kanin di.*
- ala kol** (alá kòl) 1) *prep.* Under. **Nil u kimbol ala kol ure u maikol binan wima ongwe.** The river goes under the brige and near the road, flowing down.
— 2) *vphr.* Inside; internal matter; invisible, hidden. **Na koble grán aalá kòlege.** I went into the cave **Ala kol kapama** An internal matter. **Gla pudungwa i ala kol ere.** Early in the evening, you go inside the house. *See: kaun alako; kabil pama.*
- alabe** *n.* Cloth. **Alabe kan kulungwe.** Flag (archaic expression) *Rope tied to cloth*
- alde** (alde) *int.pro.* Where? **Nil i u alde om?** Where does the river go (to)?
- ali** *vi.* Stand up; get up. **I gnauna alen?** When did you get up? **Yal main amindingwe abal main alingwe.** The old man sat down and the old woman stood up. **Yal i alimo?** Is he standing up?
- alin** (alin) *n.* Opposite-sex sibling or cousin within one's kinship group (child of **nen**). **Eli David alin ekeme.** Eli is David's youngest sister. **Eli na alan ekeme.** Eli is my youngest sister (male speaker). *See: ab'n; keb'n.* (Possessive inflection: (na) *alan* / (i) *alin* / (yál i) *alin*.)
- ama** (amá) *prep.* Inclusive (together, with, too). **Gan ama para ubinge.** We took the child with us. **Inin ama nabinge.** Let us go together. **Na ama uge.** I'm coming too. *See: bekle.*
- amin** (amin) *n.* Breast. **Abal i amin.**
- amin di** (amín di) *vi.* Sit down. **Na amin dige.** I am sitting down. **Na karige yal i amindingwe** I saw the man and he was sitting down (in the action).
- amin di mili** (amín di milí) *vi.phr.* Be sitting.

Gaan su taan amin di mile omilin demin oon ate ingwe. Two boys are sitting and exchanging their glasses.

- ana** (aná) *int.pro.* Who. **Ana om?** Who is going?
ari (arí) *n.* Leaf. *See:* **eri arin.** (Possessive inflection: *arín*)
ari (arí) *n.* Sun. **Ari ere main onge.** The sun is going down. **Ari panin yapinga i para.** The sun set (shadow of the sun).

- ari si** (arí sí) *vi.phr.* Be sunny, shine (sun). **Ari siranga.** It's going to be sunny.
arwai *adj.* Long, tall. **Na tabin milige i arwai milinge.** I am short and you are tall. **Kombil arwai.** The long road.
awi (awí) *n.* Dog; or similar. **Awi puskat kranin bilunga.** The dog is chasing the cat. **Na awi kama i.** This is my black dog. **Awi puskat.** Cat.

B - b

- ba** (bá) *n.* Moon. **Kawa ba sturua sunga.** The cloud is covering the moon. **I ba karanga bil ta gale krange.** You must not look at the moon or you will not grow big.
baa (baa) *adj.* Red; brown. **mnín baa** The red liver. *See:* **mnín.**
baanin (baanín) *n.* Valley; flat land. **Ebal kipai banin erengwa ya teen kole kole kipapinge tone kare yebe erengwi na kipapinge mine ipe dungwa karangwe.** People in the valleys, and far away on each side, look up and see us living up there.
bale *vt.* 1) Harvest, collect, take, gather, carve, chop. **Na tabale balege.** I make a tabale. — *vt.* 2) Break. **Inin yalsu eri yon balebinge.** We are breaking the branch.
balusu *n.* Aeroplane. **Balusu ungwe.** The plane arrives.
bamin (bamin) *n.* Bird of paradise (following the generic term *kaupa* 'bird'). **Kaupa bamin.** Bird of paradise. *See:* **kaupa.**
ban (bàn) *n.* Way; path; direction. **Kamin tangwi baan tangwa.** Day breaks on our way. **Kewa galire u u baan upinga.** (We) lit a light and went on our way.
ban (bán) *n.* Middle (a place equally distant from two other points). **Na ebal ungwa ban ege.** I'm going to the middle of the road to help the people. *lit. go to the middle, people are coming* **I ban wa.** Come to the middle. **I ban sulmila.** Wait in the middle. *See:* **eri bán; oòn bán; sna.**
be di *vi.phr.* Sing; cry. **Tanimakinin kaupa bedingwa.** Early in the morning birds sing. **Tanimakinin kaupa bedingwa ale.** We woke up with the birds singing. *See:* **di.** (This phrasal verb consists of the base coverb 'be' and the inflecting verb 'di'.)
bedera *v.comp.* Stop; complete an action. **Erema Alan maul wongwaba Bryan kaya maul wo bederangwe.** Alan dug a hole but Bryan had already dug a hole. **Alan erema maul wongwaba ta wo bederekingwa.** Yesterday Alan started to dig a hole (but he hasn't completed it). **Yal ime kare bederangwe**

- tabale na teran nanan siraga.** Let him give it [tabale] to me and let me play it. (Seems to co-occur with other verbs to signify completion of that action.)
bekle (bekle) *adj.* One-for-one; both (together). **Bekle ta!** Give the same back! (Said upon giving something and wanting to swap) *give_one-for-one* **Na bolma bekle tege.** I exchange pigs (with you). *See:* **oonin bekle kaun bekle.** (Usage restricted to formation of numbers.)
benam ble (benám ble) *adj.* Many. **Dekabe benable wongwe mulungwe.** There is a swarm of mossies flying there. **Deko simuwa dingwi, deko ebal bole benamble ure ...** The magic men that kill people, many of them come together and...
bera di (berá dí) *vi.phr.* Fall. **Kobelai bera dingwe.** The stone falls.
bere *postp.* About. **Yal abal bleingwa bere kadrage.** I'm going to talk about traditional marriage. *Variant:* **bre.**
biin (bíin) *adj.* Wild. **Bolma biin.** Wild pig.
bil (bil) *adj.* Big. **I ba karanga bil ta gale krange.** You must not look at the moon or you will not grow big. *See:* **kombil; bilkau.**
bilkau *adj.* Huge; very big. *lit. Big as a cow.* **Abal bolma bilkau man.** She has a big pig *lit. She is the mother of pig as big as a cow. **Na maul bilkau woge.** I dug a big hole. (Considered one word in Golin, but derived from 'bil' (big) and English 'cow'.)
blebale *n.* Fish. **Na blebale ta sige.** I catch a fish.
bli (b'lí) 1) *n.* Stick (short). **Bli bol ala kol yongwe.** The stick is under the table. *See:* **kle bli.**
— 2) *vi.* Grow. **Palaua ros nil benan bilingwe.** The roses grow near the river.
— 3) *vi.* Stand up (something). **Na kle bli blage.** I will stand up the goal post. **Na eri blige.** I am standing up the post. *refers to preparations for Christmas.* **Eri bla!** Raise the post!
bli (b'li) 1) *v.* Wound. **Yal abal inin kura bilingwe.** The man and the woman fight (hurt*

each other). **Pencil gaan ate mile na sungwa na tawanan b'li.** The child hit me with a pencil on my upperarm (so it hurt).

— *v.* 2) Bring out; grow, emanate from. **Bolma kulin bilingwa.** A healthy pig, ready for killing *lit.* *The pig has grown fat.* **Na pripeen blige.** I am sweating. *lit.* *I bring out sweat*

— *v.* 3) Receive a wound. **El bilanga.** You got wounded by arrow. **Na nanan kaunan el bilige.** I shot myself in the leg with my own arrow.

bli gau di (b'li gau di) *vi.* Hurt (accidentally). **Alan erema maul wore mun ble gau dungwa.** Yesterday Alan dug a hole and hurt his back. **Maul wokia mun ble gau dramia.** Don't dig a hole or you will hurt your back. *lit.* *Don't dig a hole, you will wound and break your back.* *See:* **ble.** (Seems to signify pain or hurt accidentally derived from an action.)

bli ya *vi.phr.* Rotten. **Korale koin bli yangwe.** The chicken wings have turned rotten. **Pi pia bli yanga.** The garbage stinks. *See:* **ya.**

bnan (b'nan) *prep.* Beside; near. **Palua ros nil bnan bilingwe.** The roses are near the river. **I kan mainmekepe bolain o kipainga benan aperasino?** Did you swing the rope near the house on the mountain? *Variant:* **binan.**

bo (bó) *n.* Sugarcane. (Forms an opposite pair with **kabe**, (*bo kabe*, *sugercane and banana*.)

bol (bòl) *n.* Table. **I na bol.** This is my table. **Na bol i bolain amindige.** I am sitting on this table.

bol (ból) *adj.* Ripe; ready to eat. **Kabe bol.** Ripe

banana.

bolain (bolaín) *adj.* Visible; on top. **Na kipapinge Tawanuku di mine main mekepe bolain i kipapinge.** We live in Tawanuku on top of a hill. **Dua bol bolain wom.** The mouse is crawling on the table. *See:* **alakol.**

bole (bole) *conj.* With; alongside. **Gaan ta bole kurable pre...** [I] fought with another child and... **Na John bole enderin teran nobinge.** John and I ate together at the same fire. *See:* **ama.**

bolma (bolmá) *n.* Pig; or similar sized animal raised for eating. *sus scrofuscus.* **Bolma kenan gulungwe.** The pig is hungry. **Yal gau bolma obin simba abal keba komena wo kingwi obin singwe.** The men share out the pork, but the women share out the food (which they prepared).

bolma gaulan (bolmá gaulan) *n.* Piglets.

bolma kabe (bolmá kabé) *n.* Pork. **Gaan bolma kabe nongwa.** The child is eating pork. *See:* **kabe.**

bonin (bonìn) *n.* Lower leg from knee to ankle. (Possive inflection: (*na*) *bonàn* / (*i*) *bonìn* / (*yál i*) *bonìn*)

bonin goolin (bonìn goolín) *n.* Knee.

bonin miin (bonìn miin) *n.* Calf.

bonin yoblan (bonìn yoblan) *n.* Shin.

bu (bú) *n.* Idea, thought; sensation. **I bu wai pangwe.** You are having a good thoughts.

bu (bù) *adj.* Sound of mosquito. **Dekabe bu dungwa kiprage.** The mosquito sounds annoying.

bun (bun) *n.* Tip of white pandanus.

D - d

daan (daan) *n.* Ribs. (Possessive inflection: (*na*) *daanan* / (*i*) *daanin* / (*yál i*) *daan.*)

dan (dan) *n.* Cliff or mountain ridge. **Si dan era.** Kill and throw (it) off the cliff.

de (dé) *n.* Faeces, manure.

de s'n maul (dé s'n maúl) *n.* Toilet. **Jutta de sin maul ewa dungwe.** Jutta said she went to the toilet.

deboma (debomá) *n.* Bee. **Deboma mu** Bee sound.

dekabe (dekabé) *n.* Mosquito. **Dekabe na sunggwe.** The mosquito bites me. **Dekabe benable wongwe mulungwe.** There is a swarm of mosquitos flying there.

den (dén) *n.* End (last part); buttocks. **Den yuán abalgi.** Last girl of the family *lit.* *Tail end girl* *See:* **den minin.** (Possessive inflection: (*na*) *denán* / (*i*) *denin* / (*yál i*) *dén.*)

den onin (dén onín) *n.* The area between lower back and the knees, including the buttocks.

di (di) *vi.* Be (describing a state). **Na nika dingwe.** I am feeling hot. **Maul wokia mun ble gau dramia!** Don't dig a hole or you will hurt your back! **Yal i yalbil miliwa dimba na ta karekiga.** He says he is a big man but I doubt it. **I erema uranga na wai praga dimba.** If you had come yesterday I would have been happy. **Na kepnan kabe sirangwa bre di ta.** I explained to my brother how to hunt. **I kobile dimo?** **Na kobile dingwe.** Where is the money? I have the money. *See:* **amin di; ka di; be di; abu di; gala di; kanin di; mogu di; bera di; gau di; ge di; ka gumnin di; kau di; di pri.** (According to Bunn (1974: 51-53), inanimate nouns usually occur with 'di'.) (This generic verb rarely occurs independently without coverbs. It largely occurs in phrasal verb constructions where it may take a wide range of coverbs to produce different meanings. Where 'di' occurs

as an independent verb, it is intransitive. However, in phrasal verb constructions 'di' may also be transitive, ie abu di.)

- di** (dí) *n.* Axe. **Di nekingwe.** The axe is blunt.
- di** (da) *Variant: di; do. vi.* Say. **Kal i kan da ... ?** How do you say ... ? **I kanin da?** What is your name? **Di di bederangwa diga wai simiau amindingwe.** When he is finished (talking) he says 'I am now concluding' and comes and sits down.
- di pri** (di pri) *vi.phr.* Believe; think. **Na yal i duria gi ta ditekima di priga.** I doubt he sang a song for her. **Na prigi kakibi dima di priga.** I thought they were lying. I am afraid that he will die.
- dibe** *n.* Boat. **Dibe kare nerabin mo bisnis (TP) ere nerabin mo gan sule drangwa koon.** (Thereby wasting our time if we) own boats or make business or send our kids to school.
- digan** *adj.* Small. **Minesin digan yuwa!** Bring the small pot!
- dimanin** (dimanin) *adj.* Stump. *See: eri dimanin; yal dimanin.*
- dimin gul** (dimin gul) *n.* Bush. **Yal i dimingul onghi mau ta wokrangwe** He goes to the

bush but is not going to dig a hole. **yal i mau worala de diminengul ongwe.** He went to the bush to dig a hole.

- dinin** (dinin) *n.* Chest. **Na dinan igin sunga.** I have hair on my chest. (Possessive inflection: (na) *dinan* / (i) *dinin* / (yál i) *dinin.*)
- dodal** (dodál) *n.* Corn.
- donin** (donín) *n.* Itchy. **Niman donin erengwe.** Lice make (one) very itchy.
- dulai** *n.* Sticks; wires. **Kupa ata mile kupa dulai sungwa ble.** They were holding sticks (and wires) and they belted us (it hurt).
- dulin bli** *vi.phr.* To learn from someone, to follow someone's example. **Na nen dulin blige.** I learn from my father. *See: bli.* (Meaning of 'dulin' not clear.)
- duru** *adj.* Straight; direct. **Ubinga bre duru di lain sere.** We came straight to school and assembled.
- duwa** (duwa) *n.* Rat; mouse. **Duwa bol bolain wom.** The mouse is crawling on the table. (Forms an opposite with **kaupa**, (*duwa kaupa*, *rats and birds.*))
- duwin** (duwín) *n.* Blowfly. **Duwin sera!** Shoo fly!

E - e

- e** (e) *vi.* Go; walk; move in certain fashion. **Gwi nil pa ungwe.** A strong wind is coming. **Ere nabil!** Let's go(2)! **I pu paia!** Go to sleep! **I ere nulin pa!** Go to the river! **Na kamin (k)ipi ege.** I go up the mountain. **Na kwimol nulin nalge.** Tomorrow I will go to the river. **Inin inin miri obinge.** We go by ourselves. **Nil u kimbol alakol ure u maikol binan wima ongwe.** The river goes under the bridge and near the road, flowing down. **I alde en?** Where are you going? **Nil i u alde om?** Where does the river go (to)? **I engarai gnauna un?** When did you (go and) come back? **Na ditoma pria na ta pikraga.** If they told me and I heard I wouldn't go. *Variant: p; o; pi; pu; na.*
- ebal** (ebál) *n.* Person, people. **Ebal prinnil wadungwi na pri kakiibi dima di priga.** When people talked about saltwater, I thought they were lying. *See: ebal yol.*
- ebal yol** (ebál yol) *n.* Person who is from a different (ethnic or kinship) group. **Wai rawa kelan alan ebal yol...** 'Welcome, brothers and sisters in law and strangers [visitors from different tribes]...' *See: ebal yol yenega.*
- ebal yol yenega** (ebál yol yenegá) *n.* Friend visiting from a different, friendly group. **Na ebal yol yenega ungwa guni ege.** My friends come and I am happy. (*Yenega* does not occur
- in isolation.)
- ebi** (ebí) *n.* Cassowary. *Casuarus casuarus; Casuarus unappendiculatus.* **Ebi milin.** Cassowary's egg. *See: milin.*
- ebil** (ebíl) *vi.phr.* Laugh. **Na kaul siraga yal i ebil erangwe.** I will dance he will laugh. **Yal ire ebil erungwa na kai mige.** He laughed and I cried. (Definition of 'ebil' unknown.)
- ebin** (eb'n) *n.* Wife. **na eb'nan Kamaneku kule nongwe** My wife belongs to the Kamaneku tribe. (Possessive inflection: (na) *eb'nan* / (i) *eb'nin* / (yál i) *eb'n.*)
- edinin** (edinín) *n.* Fire. **Edenin nika dingwe.** The fire is hot. **Na enderin teran nobinge.** We ate at the one fire. (so now we are not enemies) **Edinin teran nerangara i milanga wai, ta pikramia pre eme ibe kwi.** If you eat together [with your enemy] your life in the future will not be good, you must understand and you must do something. **Edenin derana atekia.** Don't touch the fire or it will burn you.
- edinin eningi** (edenín eningí) *n.* Smoke from a fire or pipe. **Na karege eningi. Na eningi kama sunga karege.** I see black smoke. **Na edinin eningi karige.** I am watching the smoke.
- egila** (eg'là) *vt.* Step with foot. **Na eri yoon eklige.** I stepped on the branch **Bedere win pu abal demanin milingwa daan eklungwa gaan**

- eme kule yongwi...** The husband slept with the (no longer fertile) wife. *lit. the husband stepped on his old wife's ribs.* **Na bol bolain eg'lage.** May be I'm stepping on the table.
- eg'me** (eg 'me) *adj.* Last born. **Eli na alan ekeme.** Eli is my youngest sister (of man). *See: den.*
- el** (él) *n.* Arrow. **Na simil kule el sige.** I shoot the arrow with the bow. *See: bili* (3).
- elabe** (elabé) *n.* Father (biological). *See: nen.*
- eme** (eme) *temp.adv.* After. **Erema Alan maul wongwa Bryan eme kape gire gulungwe.** Yesterday Alan dug a hole after Bryan had buried the bananas. **Na mala kausige eme wai prage.** I dance now so after I will be happy.
- emera** *temp.adv.* After. **Bolma mo korale mo ta ipu sikire mile kwi ta talame eregara gulero dire mile emera kwi paire eranga u wai.** Take a chicken or a pig and sacrifice it and confess, so that after your sins may be forgiven. *See: eme.*
- enin** *n.* Friend. **Na enan ta bolne nebare subinge.** Me and my friend played 'nebare'. (Possessive inflection: |/(na) enan / (i) enin / (yál i) enin|)
- ere kole ongwa** (ere kolé òngwá) *vi.phr.* Disappear (back toward home). **Gan binamble sule ungwa gedungwi u baan ure ere kola ongwa.** Many kids on their way to school didn't want to go so disappeared

(toward home). *See: kole; e.*

- erema** (ere mà) *temp.* Yesterday. **Na erema ba karga.** I saw the moon yesterday.
- eri** (erì) *n.* Tree. **O eri main dingwe.** The house is close to the tree. **Yal i eri kau yurangwe.** He will carry a log (on his shoulder). *See: eri arin; eri ban; eri dulanin; eri kuun; eri dimanin.* (Forms an opposition with **koble**, |/(eri koble, tree and stone)|.) (Possessive inflection: *erin.*)
- eri arin** (erì arín) *n.* Leaves (of a tree). **Na eri arin karge.** I see (tree) leaves.
- eri arin gain kulungwa** (erì arín gain kulungwa) *adj.* Green. **Ari arin gain kulungwa.** The colour of a leaf (*lit. tree-leaf-skin colour.*)
- eri ban** (erì bán) *n.* Trunk, log (intact) *Lit. tree middle.* **I eri ban bula.** Cut the log (into half).
- eri dimanin** (erì dimanin) *n.* Stump (of tree). **Na eri dimanin karge** I see treestumps.
- eri dulanin** (erì dulanin) *n.* Tree roots (non edible roots). **Na eridulanin karge** I see roots *See: dulai.*
- eri kuun** (erì kuún) *n.* Flower.
- eri milin** (erì milín) *n.* Fruit tree; fruit. **Eri milin mongwe.** The fruit (tree) is growing. **Yal i eri milin binanble nongwe.** He eats much fruit.
- eri yoon** (erì yoón) *n.* Branch (of tree). (*Yon* does not occur in isolation.)

G - g

- gain** (gain) *n.* Body. **Yal i gain men sungwa.** He is bleeding. (*lit. his body is bleeding.*) **Yal gain kama.** He is black. (*lit. He has a black body.*)
- gal** (gál) *n.* Bag (including string bag, handbag). **Gal eriga.** I made a string bag. *See: giblin gal.*
- gala di** (galà di) *vi.phr.* Shout. **Gaan teran teran kaanin gale galà dingwa ere ala kol obingi.** The young men called our names one by one very loudly, telling us to go into the house. **Na gala dige.** I shout. *See: di.* (This phrasal verb consists of the base coverb 'gala' and the inflecting verb 'di'.)
- gale** (gale) *vi.* Grow. **Bil ta galekrange.** You will not grow (big). **Gaan i bil galangwe** The child will grow (big).
- gali** (gali) *vt.* Burn, cook (on fire); light. **Na bolma galige.** I cook the pig on the fire. **Yal kona erengwe gul ere eri sire mole gale erengwa.** Men work, making fences, cutting trees and clearing the ground by burning the old vegetation. **Tanimakinin kaupabedingwa ale kewa galire u-u baan-upinga.**
- We woke up with the early bird, lit a light and went on our way.
- gan** (gan) *n.* Child. **Gaan bolma kranin bilunga.** The child is chasing the pig. **Gaan benanble mulungwe.** There is a bunch of kids hanging around.
- gan kobe** (gan kobè) *n.* Person with lower status than speaker (eg. younger brother) *Lit. much child.* **Na mena gaan kobe maul womua dingwe.** My mother say my brother is digging a hole today.
- garamil** (garamil) *adj.* Young (person or animal). **Yal garamil.** Young man.
- gariba** (garibá) *n.* Land; ground. **Prinnil i kule terangwara eme gariba mina nil para miyo do priga.** The freshwater will join the sea (and) all the land will be covered with water.
- gau di** (gàu di) *vi.phr.* Blunt. **El milkin gau dungwe.** The arrow tip is blunt. **Kola milkin gau dungwe.** The axe tip is blunt. *See: di.*
- gaul** (gául) *n.* Very steep cliff. **Gual elin yongwe** Very steep cliff.
- gaul si** (gául si) *vi.phr.* Fall. **Na eri more gaul sige.** I fall out of the tree. *See: gaul wo; si.*

(Definition of 'gaul' is unknown.)

gaul wo (gaúl wo) *vt.phr.* Scratch (something).

Na awi muun gaul woge. I am scratching the dog's back. **Na onan gaul woge.** I scratch my hand.

gaulin *n.* Baby animal.

ge di (ge di) *vi.phr.* Not want to do something. **Na nil paraga gedungwe.** I don't want to wash.

Gaan binamble sule (TP) ungwa gedungwi u baan ure ere kola ongwa. Some of the kids disappear into the bush and did not want to go to school.

gi (gí) *n.* Female; girl; woman. **I gi abal gan.**

She is a young woman. **Gi i na ditere kon newa dungwe.** She told me that she ate yams.

See: gi wai.

gi wai (gí wái) *expr.* Hello *Lit. beautiful woman.*

(Greeting, or response to greeting, used for addressing a woman.)

giblin (giblin) *n.* Head. **Yal i giblin igin merenga**

He has curly hair. *See: giblin gal.* (Possessive inflection: (na) *giblan* / (i) *giblin* / (yál i) *giblin*.)

giblin gal (giblin gál) *n.* Hat. **Yal giblin gal**

kaungwi alde milim? Where is the man with the hat? **Yal giblin gal kaungwi osii ya eri bilungwa sna milungwa.** The man with the hat is standing between the horse and the growing tree.

gierugwa (gíerum) *adj.* A strong taste (hot, salty,

sour). **Prinnil penin di prigi giyergwa a na prinnil wadingwara dingwa dingwa pamio di priga.** When I licked the sea it was salty; I believed that what people has said about the sea was true. (Looks a lot like 'gi yengwa' see 'gire' cut and 'ye' bury.)

gil (gíl) *n.* Hurt; pain. **Na minan gil sungwe.** My

liver hurts. *See: gil si; gil kala.*

gil kala (gíl kala) *vt.phr.* Bite (with teeth). **Awi**

na gil kalala erungwe. The dog wants to bite me. (Refers also to a biting game played by women. Meaning of constituents unclear.)

gil si (gíl sí) *vt.phr.* Hurt. **Na minan gil sungwe.**

My liver hurts.

gire (g'rè) *vt.* Cut a branch/frond from a banana of

pandanus plant.

gire baure (giré baurè) *vi.phr.* Zigzag; weave;

bend. **Nil gire baure ongwe** The river bends.

Yal mugu gire baure pu eri main ongwe

The man weaves through the trees. **Onimba**

gire baure onge. The snake zigzags (to move

like a snake). *See: gire guli.* (Meaning of constituent parts unclear. esp. *giré*.)

gire kuli (g'rè kuli) *vt.phr.* Bury (non-human).

Na gonnaguul pre kabe gire kulala de maul woge. I went to the garden to dig a hole to bury the bananas.

gl (g'l) *n.* Sexual intercourse.

glaa (glaa) *n.* Night time. **Na gla omale koon nene erege.** I'm always (day and night) eating yam. **I nimin singwi gaan bil ugoma pre gaan kelbil kopi oon ate i kole ere hi abal gau oon ate i kole ere pu milipinga milipinga gla kamin gringwa.** As it started to rain, the big kids went ahead and held the hands of the smaller kids as they crossed the river and held the hands of the young girls when crossing the river and we kept going until night came.

glaa sna (glaa snà) *n.* Midnight, middle of the night.

glaa wai (glaa wai) *expr.* Good evening; good night.

gnauna (gnauna) *int.* When. **I engarai gnauna**

un? When did you (go and) come back? **Sale**

gnauna drabin? When does class start? **I**

gnauna alen? When did you wake up?

go (gó) *n.* Boy. **Na go meke.** I am a boy.

Golin (golin) *nprop.* (Tribe name).

golin (gólín) *adj.* 1) Old (inanimate objects). **Na o kipaiga golin yongwe.** I live in an old house.

Yal i gal golin erengwe. The man is wearing old clothes. (Goes with verb *yo* to form 'to grow old'.) 2) Rotten; decayed.

goma (gomá) *adv.* Before. **Goma na gan mile**

sule diga kon. Before when I was a small boy

I went to school. **Na mala kadirakiwe goma**

sule digabere kaderala. What I am going to

talk about now is what happened on my way

to school. **I nimin singwi gaan bil u goma**

pre. As it started to rain the big kids went

ahead and...

goma (gomá) *n.* Black ash or paint. **Na goma**

galige. I paint my face with black paint (ash).

(Paint used when fighting (during tribal wars).)

goma sikilin (gomá siklin) *n.* The black ash

that is produced from a fire (before the ash

turns white and flies away with the smoke).

goolin (goolín) *n.* Joint of the body.

gran (gran) 1) *n.* Mouth. **Na granan aa dige.** I

open my mouth. *See: koble gran.* (Possessive

inflection: (na) *granán* / (i) *granin* / (yál i)

gran.)

gri *vi.* To darken; become night. *See: ...pu*

milipingi milipinga gla kamin gringwa.

gul (gùl) *n.* Fence; pen. **Gul eriga.** I made pens.

Yal kona erengwe gul ere eri sire mole gale

erengwa. Men work, making fences, cutting

trees and clearing the ground by burning the

old vegetation.

gulero (gulera) *n.* Forgiveness. **Ta talame**

eregara gulero dire mile... Confess that so

your sins may be forgiven...

guli (guli) *vi.* 1) To die; to be dying of something.

Na yal i gulama di prige. I am afraid that he

- will die. **Kul gulungwa.** The grass died. **Kul gulungwe.** The grass is dead.
 — *vt.* 2) Feel something severely. *See:* **gwi guli**; **nil guli**; **kinan guli**.
- guman** (guman) *n.* Nose. **Yal abal bol guman siningwe.** The man rubs noses with the woman. **I guman sinira bina wa!** Let's rub noses!
- guman di** (guman di) *vt.phr.* Rubbing noses; polite, public description. **Inin guman dirabinwa!** Let's rub noses (polite)! *See:* **guman sini**; **di**.
- guman kwi** (guman kwi) *n.* Stranger; lit. new face. **Ebal guman kwi drangwa kaditekia.** Don't talk to strangers. *See:* **kwi**; **ebal yol.** (Combines with inflecting verb.)
- guman sini** (guman) *vt.phr.* Rub noses; traditional form of kissing. **Yal abal bol guman siningwe.** The man rubs noses with the woman. **Na abal i bol guman sinibige.** I rubbed noses with women. **Na abal guman sinige.** I rubbed noses with one woman. *See:* **gumna di**; **sini.** ('guman di' is given as polite, public description of rubbing noses.)
- gun** (gún) *n.* variety of tree. **I eri gun.** That is a type of tree called 'gun'.
- guni e** (gun) *vphr.* Happy. **Na mala kaul sige eme guni eraga.** I dance now so after I will be happy. **Na ebal yol yenega ungwa guni ege.** I'm happy because my friends have come. (Meaning of *guni* is unclear.)
- gura** (gura) *vt.* Pull. **Na onimba gurage.** I will catch (pull) a snake.
- guri** (guri) *n.* Lizard. (Forms an opposite pair with **on'ba** 'snake' (*guri on'ba* 'lizards and snakes').)
- gwi** (gwí) *adj.* 1) Cold. **Na kamin gwi gulige.** I am feeling cold. **Nil gwikingwe.** The water is cold. 2) Windy. **Kamingwi erengwe.** It is windy. **Gwi nil pa ungwe.** A strong wind is coming.
- gwi** *vt.* Take out something. **Eme yal gal bolma ki bederangwa gwingwara yal abal para u teran taran ere obin singwe nongwe.** After the men finished cooking the pig they take out the cooked food and men and women come together to share out the food to eat.
- gwi guli** (gwí guli) *vi.* Feel cold. **Na kamin gwi gulige.** I am feeling cold.

I - i

- i** (i) *postp.* Belonging to something or someone.
- i** (i) *pro.* You, 2nd singular pronoun. Also appears with 3rd singular pronoun 'yal i', 'abal i', 'i yal kane'. **Golin pasin kastom (TP) memnin eru paingwa i edenin teran abal kume parangwa...** The Golin have a custom, the reason is if you share a fire with women who do witchcraft... **I maul woya di prige.** You think you dug the hole. **Abal i enga binan ongwe.** She is walking beside me. **I yal kane pringa.** You heard each other. **Yal i i karinwa dingwe.** He said you saw him.
- i** (i) *dem.* This. **Na ebal lain i kaan Nebiku.** I belong to this tribal group called Nebiku.
- i** (i) *vt.* Take. **Inin eri milim ibinge.** We took the fruit. **enderin teran nerangara mo yal gan si miili sire numanin wai para sabe ta i ki re mili paire eranga eme u wai ta pikrangwa.** If you eat at the one fire your children will not be healthy and you will not become wise and your life in the future will not be successful.
- i nin** (í nin) *refl.pro.* Himself, herself, itself; themselves (3rd person). **Yal inin kola ire inin sungwa.** He speared himself with his own spear. *See:* **inin**.
- i pala** *vt.phr.* Put (everything) together. **Meme ya bolma kau i palebinge.** Goat and cow, everything together.
- i yal su** (í yál su) *pro.* You two male. **I yal su bolma karinge.** You two see the pig.
- igin** (igin) *n.* Hair; feathers. **Yal i giblin igin merenga.** He has curly hair. **Kaupa igin.** Bird's feathers (lit. Bird's hair). **Bolma igin gala.** The pig's hair is burning.
- ime** (ime) *dem.* Down; below. There. **Maul ali ime pa!** Go into the hole!
- inin** (inin) 1) *pro.* We. **Inin kon nerabinge.** We are eating yams. **Inin para kadibinge.** We are talking to each other.
 — 2) *refl.pro.* Ourselves, yourself, himself, herself. **Yal i inin kola sungwa.** He speared himself with his spear. **I inin kola singa.** You speared yourself with your spear. **Inin kola sibinga.** We speared ourselves. *See:* **ine**; **nanan.** (This can be used as a reflexive pronoun that can occur with any pronoun in a reflexive sense except the first person singular.)
- inin yalsu** (inin yalsu) *pro.* We two (inclusive). **Inin yalsu main papinge.** You and I lie down. *See:* **i yal su**.
- ipe** (ipé) *dem.* Up. **Kaupa eri mina milingwa ipe.** That bird (up) on the tree.
- ira** (irá) *dem.* That, topicalizer proximate. **Na yal ira sul paike.** I watch that man. *See:* **ire**; **i**.
- ire** (iré) *dem.* This, topicalizer. **Yal i sapol ire maul wongwe.** He digs a hole with this spade. **Yal kane kola(ra) ire inin sungwa.** They shot

themselves with their own spears. **O ire erimain dimo?** Is the house close to the tree?

See: ira.

K - k

ka (ká) *n.* Talk; language (goes with 'di' to mean say). *See: ka di; ka pre; kruka; kanaka.*

ka di te (ká di té) *vt.phr.* Say to; talk to. **Jutta Bryan ka di tongwe.** Jutta says something to Bryan. You were talking to me, but I don't understand. *See: I na ka di tengara na taprikige.; ka di.*

ka gumanin di (ká gumanin di) *vi.phr.* Mumble. **ka gumnin dingi ta prekipina.** We do not understand what you say because you mumble. *Lit. ...nose talk. See: di.*

ka pori (ka porí) *n.* A story that tells about events that are true. **I kapori toon erala.** I am going to tell you a story.

ka pri (ká pri) *vi.phr.* Understand. **Na Golin ka prege.** I understand golin. **Na kruka ka prege.** **Na kiapika ka prege.** I understand English.

kaan (kaán) *n.* Name. **Na kaanan Kia.** My name is Kia. **I kaanin da?** What is your name? **I mala kaanin kwe John.** I name you John. *Lit. Now your new name is John. Yal i kaan Kia.* His name is Kia. **Gaan teran teran kaanin gale galadingwa...** The young men called us by our names, one by one... (Possessive inflection: (na) kaanan / (i) kaanin / (yál i) kaan.)

kabe (kabé) *n.* Flesh that is edible (vegetable or meat), especially banana. **Erema Alan maul wongwa Bryan eme kape gire gulungwe.** Yester Alan dug a hole after Bryan had buried the bananas. **Yal bo kabe yalengwi suldere kule erengwe.** The men weed the sugar cane and banana gardens and tie the sugarcane to a stick (to help it grow). *See: kabe noi; nil kabe.*

kabe erin (kabé erin) *n.* Banana tree (without leaves so you cannot tell variety). **kabe yauri erin** A 'yauri' banana tree **kabe talba erin**

kabe gire gule (kabé g're gule) *vt.* Bury bananas. **Na komina guul pre kabe gire gulala de maul woge.** I went to the garden to dig the hole to bury bananas. **Erema Alan maul wongwa Bryan kabe gire gulungwe.** Yesterday Alan was digging a hole while Bryan was burying the bananas. *See: ye.*

kabe noi (kabé noi) *n.* Possum. **Kabe eri main ungwe.** The possum falls out of the tree. **Kabe noi gulungwe.** The possum dies. (Can be abbreviated to 'kabe'. Meaning of 'noi' unclear.)

kabe talba (kabé) A variety of strong banana.

Kabe talba erin. A strong banana tree.

kabe yauri (kabé) *n.* A variety of banana. **Kabe yauri erin.** A 'yauri' banana tree.

kai (kai) *n.* Cry. *See: kai mi.*

kai mii (kai mii) *vi.phr.* Cry. **I kai tameran miin?** Why are you crying? I am crying. **Na erema kai miga.** I cried yesterday. **Na ebil eregi ira yal i kai mingwe.** I laughed and he cried. **Yal ire ebil erungwa na kai mige.** He laughed and I cried.

kakibi (ka kibi) *adj.* 1) False. **Yal i kadingwara kakibi dungwa.** What he said is untrue (false). 2) Dishonest. **Yal ire kakibi yal.** That man is dishonest. *See: kakibi di.* ('Kakibi yal' means con-man.)

kakibi di (kakibí di) *vi.phr.* Lie. **Na prigi kakibi dima dipriga.** I thought they were lying. **Yal i kadingwara kakibi dungwa** What he said is untrue.

kakol (kakól) *n.* Dispute; case. **Onin man kon wiles kot (TP) kakol pre pre erengwe.** Every Friday the village court hears cases.

kal (kal) *int.pro.* Which, what. **Kal i kan da.** What is that (pointing at something). *See: ta kal.*

kalta (kaltá) *n.* Some thing. *Lit. which one.* **Na kalta eri mina yongwe karege.** I saw something in the tree.

kama (kamá) *adj.* Black; dark. **Na bolma kama i teragi.** **Na i teragi bolma i kama.** The pig which I am giving you is black. **Na awi kama te i awi peke.** My dog is black and your dog is white. **Kaupa sigara kama sige.** I killed a black bird.

kamin (kamín) *n.* 1) Sky; weather. *See: kamina kawa; kamin kipi.* 2) Time. *See: kamin kaya; kamin ta.*

kamin ege (kamín ege) *n.* A flash of lightning. **Na kamin-ege erangwa karege.** I see the lightning.

kamin kau (kamín kau) *n.* Spokesperson. **Kamin kau yal ka drala di erungwi...** When the chief is ready to speak... *See: kau.* ('Kamin kau' could possibly mean something like 'the time/environment/issue carrying person'.)

kamin kawa (kamín kawa) *n.* Cloud; cloudy weather. **Kamin kawa.** Cloudy weather, cloud. **Na kamin kawa karege.** I see the cloud. Fog, mist (lit. cloud is striking).

kamin kaya (kamín kaya) *adv.* A long time ago. *See: kaya.*

kamin kibi (kamín kipi) *n.* High mountain

- place, where no one but spirits live. **Na mogu di kaminkipe bolain ege.** I run to the top of the 'spirit mountain'. (Meaning of *kibi* unclear; does not occur in isolation.)
- kamin mongwa** (kamín mongwa) *n.* Mountain. **I kamin monga ipe kipaibe.** You are living on the mountain. *See:* main mekepe.
- kamin ta** (kamín ta) *vi.phr.* Daybreak. **Kamin tangwi baan tangwa.** Day breaks on our way.
- kamin tai** (kamín tai) *n.* The place of a lightning strike. **Kamintai sira madi.** For fear of lightening. **Eri kamin-tai sungwe.** Lightning is striking the tree. *See:* kamín ege. (*Tai* does not occur in isolation.)
- kan** (kán) *n.* Rope. **Bolma kan ta sungwa.** Someone tied up a pig. **Yal i kan ta atungwe.** A man is holding a rope.
- kanin** (kanín) *n.* Imprisoned. **Na ala kanin pangwa ka kebil ta pangwa.** We have a problem, a small problem. *See:* kanin di.
- kanin di** (kanín di) *vi.phr.* Whisper. **Na kanin dige.** I whisper. *See:* di.
- kare** (kara) *vt.* See; watch. **Na erema ba karga.** I saw the moon yesterday. **I ari kara kia i ari karanga i gulange.** Don't look at the sun or you might die. **Na yal ira sul paibe.** I watch the man. *See:* kare ne.
- kare ne** *vi.phr.* Have (own). **Jutta koble paun sutan karnongwe.** Jutta has forty dollars. *See:* ne. (Could be literally 'see and eat'.)
- karkun** *adj.* Careful. **Eri wiranga gaul du sirangwa bilana karkun eruwia.** If you cut the tree be careful because it will fall on you. **I karkun ere po.** Be careful where you go.
- kau di** (kaù di) *vi.phr.* 1) Sing. **Yal ire gi i kau dimua dingwe.** (Someone) said he sang to her. **Na ebal ta ditongwa priga yal i gi kau kimua dingwe.** I heard that he sang her a song. *See:* di.
- kau di** (kaù di) *vi.phr.* Friend. **Na gi kau dige.** This is my girlfriend.
- kau si** (kaù sí) *vt.phr.* Speech (by big man). **Kau sungwa.** Gave a speech. *See:* si.
- kau ya** (kaù ya) *vi.* Carry, especially on the shoulder. **Yal giblin gal kayungwi alde milim?** Where is the man with (carrying) the hat? **Yal giblin gal kaungwi osii ya eri bilungwa sna milungwa.** The man with the hat is standing between the horse and the growing tree. **Yal i eri kau yurangwe.** He will carry a log (on his shoulder). **Kola kaure di atere.** Carrying a spear on his shoulder and holding an axe in his hand.
- kaul** (kaul) *n.* Grass skirt (women's traditional). **Abal i kaul wai ta prungwe.** She has a good grass skirt.
- kaul si** (kaul sí) *vi.phr.* Dance. **Na mala jubkaul sig e me wai prage.** I am dancing because I want to be happy. **Na kaul sig e wai prige.** I am happy that I am dancing. *See:* kaul; si.
- kaun** (kaun) *n.* Leg (waist to foot). **I na kola ire na kaunan singa.** You speared my leg with my spear. **Nanan kola kaunan sig e.** I speared myself in my leg with my spear. *See:* kaun alakol; kaun ban; kaun goliin; kaun moriin. (Possessive inflection: (*na*) kaunan / (*i*) kaunin / (*yál i*) kaun)
- kaun ala kol** (kaun alá kol) *n.* Sole of the foot.
- kaun ban** (kaun bán) *n.* Thigh.
- kaun goolin** (kaun goolin) *n.* Ankle. *See:* kaun.
- kaun moriin** (kaun moriin) *n.* Foot.
- kaun toblin** (kaun toblín) *n.* Shoe (lit. foot glove). **Na kautoblin kwi.** My new shoe.
- kaunin kole** (kaunin kole) *n.* Fifteen (the numbers of both hands' fingers plus of either toes). or five.
- kaupa** (kaupa) *n.* Bird (general). **Kaupa mine milingwa ire kara.** Look at the bird up there! **Kaupa main milingwa apla.** The bird is on the ground. *See:* Kaupa bamin.; Kaupa igin. (Forms an opposite with **duwa duwa kaupa**, rats and birds.)
- kaupa bamin** (kaupa bamín) *n.* Bird of paradise.
- kaupa igin** (kaupa igin) *n.* Feather(s).
- kaupa milin** (kaupa milín) *n.* Bird egg.
- kaupa si** (kaupa sí) *vt.phr.* Have a fit (lit. killing the bird) *Lit. killing the bird.* *See:* si.
- kawa** (kawa) *n.* cloud. **Kawa ba sturua sunga.** The cloud is covering the moon. *See:* kamin kawa.
- kawa** (káwá) *adj.* True. **Na ka digara kawa dige.** What I said is true. **I na kawa diterangerai.** What you will tell me is true. **Na prinnil wadingwara kawa dingwa pamio dipriga.** I believed what the people had said about the sea, was true. *See:* kakibi. (Possibly consists of **ka** 'talk' and **wa** 'good'.)
- kaya** (kaya) *adv.* Before; already. **Erema Alan maul wongwaba Bryan kaya maul wo bederangwe.** Alan dug a hole but Bryan had already dug a hole. *See:* kamin kaya.
- keba** (kebà) *n.* Root vegetable (potato, sweet potato, yam). **Inin kepa bolain ipe yalebinge.** We grow good kepa on the mountain. **Kepa yu kepa manike tenga.** We brought potatoes given by our mothers. **Na mina keba sibagi yalungwe.** My mother is planting sweet potatoes. **Keba komena tau i abal kingwe.**
- kebil** (kebil) *adj.* Small. **Minesin kebil yuwa!** Bring the small pot! **Awí kebil.** Small dog.
- kebn** (keb'n) *Variant:* kebin, kepin. *n.* Younger same-sex sibling, or younger same-sex cousin within one's kinship group (child of **nen**). **Morris na kepnan.** Morris is my younger

brother (male speaker). **Nebiku i Ainaku ali kepin toon milingwe.** The Nebiku clan is younger brother to the Ainaku clan. *See: ab'n; alin.* (Possessive inflection: (na) *keb'nan / (i) keb'nin / (yál i) keb'nin.*)

keli sí (keli sí) *vt.phr.* Cut. **Naipe (TP) pal kimbol kan bli keli sikia di keli sa.** Don't cut the bridge with the knife, cut it with the axe! *See: a keli si.*

kelin (kelan) *n.* Brother-in-law. **Kela i udino wai wai.** Brother-in-law-is here (greeting). *See: alan.* (Possessive inflection: (na) *kelan / (i) kelin / (i yal) kelin.* (husband of same-generation, same ethnic group, girl))

kewa (kewá) *n.* Variety of plant used when dried for lighting fires. **Na kewa kolinyege** I dried the 'kewa'. (This plant is known as *pitpit* in Tok Pisin)

kewa gala (kewá gala) *n.* Light. **Tanimakinin kaupa bedingwa ale kewa galire u-u baan-upinga.** We woke up with the early bird, lit a light and went on our way.

ki (ki) *vt.* Prepare; construct, activities such as cook (not in the ground or on the fire) and build.; To build. **Nerin manim kepa komina kingwa nere gwi kingwa nere pu ulpangwa kon i na ere ala opinga.** We ate the cold food prepared by our parents who had gone to bed before we reached home. **1980 sule goma kingwa gaan benamble u u sule dipinga, teen paire.** Since the 1980s many children attended newly built schools and they lived far away. **Yal i o main mekepe bolain ta kikrangwe.** He will not build a house on the mountain.

ki (kí) *adj.* Bad. **Abal i kaul ki milungwa prungwe.** She has a bad grass skirt. *See: ki pai; ki kari.*

ki kari (kí kari) *vi.phr.* Hate. **Yal abal ki karingwe.** The man hates the woman.

ki pai (kí paí) *vi.* Stay; reside; live. **Pu ebal ki pangwa sna ire pre u on kora po.** To get to the village centre, go ahead and turn left. (lit. 'go to the middle where people are residing...'). **Yal i Melbourne ki paire wiwa digwe.** He lives in Melbourne. *See: ki; pai.*

ki pri (kí pri) *vi.phr.* Dislike; hate. **Ki pri erepo.** I'm sad that you're going. **Abal i yal i bol ki pringwe.** The woman and man hate each other.

kiape (kiépe) *adj.* Light skinned, in reference to strangers who are not dark skinned as local people. **Na kiapika ka prege.** I understand English. *See: kiapi ka; kru.* (The relationship between 'kru' and 'kiapi' is not clear.)

kiape ka (kiápá ká) *n.* The language of a (light skinned) foreigners. **Na kiapika ka prege.** I understand English.

kii (kii) *n.* Wild fowl. Large chicken-sized bird. **Kii sikia!** Don't kill the wild fowl.

kilin (kilin) *n.* Navel. (Possessive inflection: (na) *kilan / (i) kilin / (yál i) kilin.*)

kim bol (kim bòl) *n.* Bridge, made of wood. **Nil u kim bol ala kol ure u maikol binan wima ongwe.** The river goes under the bridge and near the road, flowing down. (See: **bòl** table.)

kin (kín) *n.* Belt. **Na bolma gain kin** I have a belt made of leather.

kinan gul (k'nán guli) *vi.phr.* Be hungry. **Na kinan guluge.** I am hungry. **Bolma kinan gulungwe.** The pig is hungry. (Meaning of 'kinan' unclear; does not occur in isolation.)

kinin *adj.* Early. **Tanima kinin kaupa bedingwa.** Early in the morning birds sing.

kipaii (kipaii) *vi.* Stay, reside. **Na kamin monga ipe kipaiké.** I am living on the mountain. **Yal i Melbourne kipaiké dingwe.** He is from Melbourne.

kipil *adj.* Uncontrollable. **Kipil konimba.** Bush fire.

kle (klè) *n.* Ball. *See: kle bli.*

kle bli (klè blí) *n.* Goal post *Lit. ball stick.* **Na kle bli blage.** I will raise the goal post.

kn (k'n) *n.* Bridge, made of vines. **Yal kan k'n egle kole ongwe** He crossed the rope bridge.

knan (k'nán) *n.* Ear. **Na kinanan nimbona erengwe.** My ear is sore. (Possessive inflection: (na) *k'nan / (i) k'nanin / (yál i) k'nan.*)

kne ya *vt.phr.* Carry on back. **Na gal kne yuge.** I am carrying on my back. *See: yu.* (Meaning of 'kne' unclear.)

ko (kó) *n.* Bean.

ko laa (ko láá) *n.* Spear. **Yal i ko laa na sungwa.** He speared himself with his spear **Inin kola ire inin sungwa.** He took his spear and killed himself.

kobe (kobè) *adj.* Many, much. **Yal i abal kobe sungwe.** He hits (many of) them (female). *See: gan kobe.*

Kobin (kóbín) *nprop.* (Female personal name).

kobin (kóbín) *n.* nephew...

koble (koble) *n.* 1) Stone; rock. **Jutta kobl sa.** You throw stones at Jutta. *See: koble gran.* 2) Money. **Na koble milin ta kare neralba.** I wish I had some money. (Forms an opposition with **eri**, {*eri* koble, tree and stone}.)

koble gran (koblé grán) *n.* Cave. *Lit. stone mouth.* **Na koble gran alakol ege.** I go into the cave.

koin (koín) *n.* Wing. **Na korale koin sutan na ta?** Can I have two chicken wings?

kol (kol) *n.* Path. **Bolma kol.** Pig path.

kol (kól) *n.* Door.

kole (kolé) *adj.* Side, half. **I pensil (TP) kole na ta.** Give me half of your pencil. **I kole upa.**

- Walk from your side. **Na kole kule balage.** I'm playing (eg. football) for this side. **Kape (TP) oon kole yongwa-ipe i na ta.** Give me that mug on the other side (eg. of the room). **Ebal tau kipai teen kole ere kole erengwa.** Some people lived far away, on either side (of the mountain). **Koble tausen (TP) onin bekle ire kaunin kole ire.** 10 or 15 thousand kina *Lit. Both hands, one of your feet, thousand kina.* See: **ere kole u; I nimin singwi gaan bil u goma pre gaan kelbil kopi oon ate i kole ere...**
- kole-kole** (kole-kolé) This side and that side; pair. **Ana pu sina mile kare kole-kole ere...** He goes to the centre and looks around... *Lit. he goes to the centre and looks this side and that side...* **Kare kole-kole u napinga ai dikingwa.** We looked from side to side for a way to escape but there was no way to go.
- kombil** (kombíl) *n.* Road or path used primarily by people. A big road. **Pen main kombil yongwe.** A pen is on the road. **Kombil tabin yongwe.** The road is short.
- kominan** *adj.* First born. **Chris na alan kominan.** Chris is my big brother (female speaker). (Possessive Inflection (*na*) *komnan / (i) komnin / (yál i) komnin.*)
- komlgi** (kom'lgi) *Variant: komilki. adj.* Yellow. **Pis komilki sutakope nil ale milingwe.** There are three yellow fish in the river.
- komna** (kom'ná) *n.* Food, also food plant. **Na kominan ne dugudige.** I swallowed food. **Nimin siran komna yalanga.** Let it rain first before you plant. *Variant: komina.*
- komna gul** (kom'ná gùl) *n.* Garden. **Na gomna guul pre kabe gire kulala de maul woge.** I went to the garden to dig a hole to bury the bananas.
- kon** (kon) *n.* Yam. **Abal i koon nerangwe.** She will eat yam. **Abal komena tau keba ya me koon yalengwa suldongwa.** The women plant and weed the sweet potato, corn and yam.
- kona** (kona) *n.* Dust, fine particles, powder.
- kona** (koná) *n.* The place in front of the door (in the house), next to the fireplace. **Na ala kona milige.** I am in front of the doorway (inside the house). **I kile paranmo kona paran.** Are you going to sleep in the bedroom or next to the fireplace.
- konaa** (konaa) *n.* Task. **Yal abal kona mile paire erungwa kona erengwe.** Man and woman work together for their living (share tasks). **Yal i kona ere wai sungwe.** He is accomplishing a task.
- kongkong** *adj.* Asian. See: **kongkong ka.**
- kongkong ka** *n.* An Asian language.
- konimba** *adj.* Spreading very fast. **Kipil konimba.** Bush fire.
- koo** (koó) *n.* Ginger.
- koo yalege** (koó yalege) *n.* Planting ginger. **Na koo yalege mongwe.** My ginger cuttings are sprouting.
- kool** (koól) *n.* Umbrella, sheet of plastic. **i kool ari wai kaunge** You carry a nice umbrella.
- korai** (korai) 1) *n.* Dress worn by males.
— 2) *n.* Term of address given to the only girl amongst siblings.
- korale** *n.* Chicken. **Na korale nega.** I was eating chicken. **Na korale koin sutan na ta?** Can I have two chicken wings?
- kranin bili** *vt.phr.* Chase. **Awi puskat kraninbilunga.** The dog is chasing the cat. **Na similnen kraninbilingwa na oonanpal mogu dige.** I crawl quickly when the policeman chases me. (This phrasal verb consists of the base coverb 'kranin' and the inflecting verb 'bili'.)
- kru** (kru) *adj.* Light skin; white skin. **Na kruka ka prege.** I understand English. See: **kru ka; kanaka; kiapi.**
- kru ka** (kru ká) *n.* The language of a caucasian person. **Na kruka ka prege.** I understand English.
- krul** (krul) *n.* Fear. **Na kurul prige.** I am afraid. *Lit. I feel fear*
- ku** *vt.* Have, own. **Yal bolma kungwa yal ungwe.** The man (who owns) pigs is coming. See: **kule ne.**
- kul** (kùl) *n.* Grass. **Yal i kul mina amindingwe.** He sits on the grass. **Kul gulungwe.** The grass is dying. See: **kul bala.**
- kul** (kúl) *n.* A town or place that has access to services or commercial activity (by road or transport). **Ere Boromil/kul obinge.** We're going to Boromil / a 'kul'. (Forms an opposite with **albe**, 'remote area')
- kula** *vt.* Rearing animals or children. **Abal i bolma wai ta kule nongwe.** She has a good pig. **Abal i bolma kulungwa ki milungwe.** She has a bad pig. *Lit. The pig she looks after is bad.* **Gan kula!** Have a child! *Lit. Have a baby! or Lit. Look after the child!* **Del Aina gaan yayongwa i mua kulungwa kwi Kawaleku kaun ale ungwa Del Aina Kawale wadingwe.** Del Aina is an orphaned child that Kawale is looking after. **Abal gan kule nongwe.** The woman is giving birth. **I yalgau gan kule nerana prige.** I hope you give birth to a boy.
- kule** *vt.* Transplant seedlings. **Yal bo kabe yalengwi suldere kule erengwe.** The men weed the sugarcane and banana crops plant, (and tie the sugarcane to a stick to help it grow).
- kulin** (kúlín) *n.* Fat. **Yal i kulin bling(w)a.** He has a lot of fat on his body.

kulumoma *n.* Star. **Na kulumoma karege.** I see the star. **Kulumomaman.** Big star (lit. the mother of all stars)

kume (kume) *n.* witchcraft, what one is or has when one is a witch. **Na kume paige.** I am a witch.

kume kori (kume kori) *vi.* Practise witchcraft. **Kume korungwe.** He/she is practising witchcraft. *See: kome.*

kumil (kumíl) *Variant: kumul. n.* Young man. **Kumil ebal lain.** Young man's tribal people (relatives). *See: gi.* (Forms an opposition with **gi**, (kumil go, 'boys and girls'))

kunin pre *vi.phr.* Understand. **Yal kane nomanin ta pre kunin erekingwa.** They did not understand what I was saying. **Eru erungwa pre tau prungwa tau ta karekingwi ta pre kunin erekingwa.** Some understood (because they had seen it (the sea)), some, not having seen the sea, didn't understand.

kupa *n.* Stick. **Sungwa gaan sule yal kupa singwa.** The teacher hit the other child with a stick.

kupa si (kupá sí) *vi.phr.* Swim. **Gan nil kupa sungwe.** The child is swimming. *See: si; kupin.* ('kupa' in this construction is likely to be 'belly'.)

kupin *n.* Belly. **Na kupinan.** My belly. **I kupin.** Your belly.

kura (kura) *n.* Fight, war. **Yal abal inin kura bilingwe.** The man and the woman fight. **Gaan ta bole kurable pre(...).** (i) fought with

another child and(...). **Bedere kura wi bli pre Kobla ma si miina erengwa pu yone pangwe Golin tau mine pabinge.** There was a tribal war between Kobla and the other brothers (within the Golin group) and the other kicked Kobla out. (Takes the verb **bili**.)

kuria di *vi.phr.* Sing. **Na kuria dige.** I sing. **Yal i gi kuria di gi tongwe.** He sings to the girl. **Na yal i kuria gi ta ditekima di priga.** I doubt he sang a song for her. *See: di.*

kwi (kwi) 1) *adj.* New. **Na kaun tomlin kwi.** My new shoes.
— 2) *adv.* Anew. **Ana kwi ta milingwa kwi pu ka dingwa.** (Then) another takes his place and talks anew.
— 3) *n.* A new one. **Pre eme ibe kwi bolma mo korale mo ta ipu sikire mile kwi ta talame eregara gule ero dire mile.** So, you must understand and in the future you must do something, take a chicken or a pig and sacrifice it and seek forgiveness, confess that now your sins may be forgiven. *See: kwimol.*

kwi mol (kwi mòl) *temp.adv.* Tomorrow. **Na buke kwi mol tan(in)ma terage.** I will give you the book tomorrow morning **Ebal kwimol ale milangwe.** They will be standing tomorrow.

kwi mol wai (kwi mòl wai) *int.* Greeting, or response to greeting when addressing a man (you are a handsome person). **Kwimol wai.** Hello.

L - l

lain si *vi.phr.* Assemble; line up. **Upinga bre duru di lain sire 4:00.** We went straight to school and assembled and were at school until 4 o'clock. *See: si.* (From *lain* (TP) 'line'. The nominal coverb 'lain' from Tok Pisin meaning 'line' goes with the inflecting verb 'si' to form

the phrasal verb 'lain si'.)

lain si mili *vi.phr.* To line up; to form a line. **Nebare terala de erongwi yal gara mil para di erengwa u lain si mile.** Before going through initiation, the young men line up in front of the house. *See: si; mili.*

M - m

mabil si *vi.phr.* Vomit. **Na mabil suge.** I am vomiting. **Na bolma nege denan kisungwa mabil suge.** I eat pork that makes me throw up. *See: si.*

mai kol (mai kòl) *n.* Road. **Nil u kimbol alakol ure u maikol binan wima ongwe.** The river goes under the brige and near the road, flowing down.

main (maín) *adj.* Down. **Kaupa main milingwa apla.** The bird is on the ground. **Inin yalsu main papinge.** You and I lie down.

main mekepe *n.* Hill or mountain. **O mine main mekepe bolain kipam.** The house is on the

hill.

main pai (maín pai) *vi.phr.* Lie down. **Na main paige** I am lying down **Main paia!** Lie down! **Inin yalsu main papinge.** You and I lie down. *See: pai.*

Mala (málá) *nprop.* (Female personal name).

mala (malá) *adv.* Now; today. **I mala mogu dinge.** You are running now. **Na mala kadirakiwe goma sule diga bere kaderala.** What I am going to talk about now is what used to happen on my way to school.

mala gira ki (malá girá ki) *vi.phr.* Newly establish. **Goma nineteen eighty three gaan**

- mile sule (TP) diga suleo (TP) mala gira kingwa auslain (TP) i di teen(u)wan dungwa.** Before, in 1983 a new school was established (for teh children) in a community far away (from home). *See: ki.* (Seems to be used here as a noun modifier for 'suleo'.)
- mame** (mamé) *n.* Auntie, (mother's brother's wife).
- man** (man) *n.* Mother. **Na mena gaan kobe maul womua dungwe.** My mother says that my younger brother is digging a hole today. **Kulmoma-man.** Big star *Lit. mother star* (Possessive inflection (irregular): (na) mina / (i) manin / (yál i) manin.)
- mana** (mana) *adv.* No. **Na tabale sirala di eriga abal i mana dungwe.** I want to play the tabale but she says no.
- maul** (maúl) *n.* Hole. **Maul ali ime pa.** Go into the hole! *See: Maul wo!; maul kobe; maul si; maul nil.*
- maul kobe** (maúl kóbé) *n.* Soil (dug out from a hole). **Abal keba maul kobe erungwe.** The women are digging (the soil out of the hole) for potatoes.
- maul nil** (maúl n'l) *n.* Pond water.
- maul si** (maúl sí) *vt.phr.* Bury, used for non-humans. **Na korale maul siga.** I bury the chicken.
- maul wo** (maúl wo) *vt.phr.* Dig a hole. **Inin onin man koon maul wo wo erebinge.** Every friday we dig a hole. **Na mena maul woyo dingwe.** My mother says I am digging a hole. **Na maul ta wokikaba ebal ta wongwe.** I didn't dig the hole but someone else did. *See: wo.*
- me** *pro.* There. **Yal i me engara takal yun?** You've been there and what did you take with you? **Yal i me nano?** Are you going there?
- mebil** (mebil) *n.* Vomit.
- meen** (meén) *n.* Blood. **Yal i gain men sunga.** He is bleeding (Blood is appearing on the man's skin).
- mege** (mege) *adj.* Small (particular object). **Gaan meke.** This small child. **Awi meke.** This small dog. **Minesin meke yuwa!** Bring this small pot! *See: kebil.*
- mere** *vi.* Be curly. **Yal i giblin igin merenga.** He has curly hair.
- mii** (mii) *v.* Cry. **Ble kaimingwa mingwa na yal su ama mibinge** So he cried and we both cry together. *See: kai mii.*
- miin** (miín) *n.* meat.
- miine** (miiné) *n.* Traditional drum used for cooking. **Miine ale kingwe.** They cook it in the (traditional) drum.
- miine s'n** (miiné s'n) *n.* Pot; saucepan. **Minesin kebil yuwa!** Bring the small pot! **Miine sin galingwi para abal galingwa.** Cooking in pots and drums, the women cook (like this).
- milgin** *n.* Tip. **Di milkin aglin nongwe.** The axe tip is very sharp.
- mili** (mili) *vi.* Be; also assigns a quality to a property. **Yal niminin mulungwe.** A strong man. **Na tabin milige i arewai milinge.** I am short and you are tall. **Yal giblingal kaungwi alde milim?** Where is the man with the hat? **Yal giblingal kaungwi osii ya eri bilungwa sna milungwa.** The man with the hat is standing between the horse and the growing tree.
- milin** (miliín) *n.* Small product or offshoot of a larger entity. 1) Egg. **Kaupa milin.** Bird's egg. **Ebi milin.** Cassowary's egg. 2) Fruit. **Yal i eri milin nongwe.** He eats fruit. 3) Finger. **On milin.** Finger. 4) Toe. **Kaun milin.**
- min** (mín) *n.* Steam. **Min si umina ongara u u nibil kru era erengwara.** It steams up; come in close and the sickness will go away.
- mina** (m'ná) *n.* Mother.
- minan** *n.* Good taste. **Minan sungwe.** (Something) smells nice and tastes good.
- mine** (m'né) *dem.* Up. **Kaupa mine milingwa ire kara.** Look at the bird up there!
- miri e** *vi.* Go by oneself. **Inin inin miri obinge.** We go by ourselves. **Inin miri pa.** Go by oneself.
- mnin** (m'nín) *n.* 1) Heart. **Na minan nipil pangwa.** I have a sickness in my heart. (m'nín) 2) Liver. **Na bolma minin ta ne kiga.** I've never eatan pig's liver. **Na minan gil sungwe.** My liver is sore. (Possessive inflection: (na) minan / (i) minin / (yál i) minin.)
- mo** *conj.* Or. **I edenin teran abal kume parangwa bole dee teran neran mo abal gi ala parangwa...** If you share a fire with women who practise witchcraft or if you eat together (from the same fire) with girls who have their periods... **Dibe kare nerabin mo bisnis (TP) ere nerabin mo gaan sule dirangwa koon.** We own boats or conduct business or send our children to school.
- mole** (molé) *n.* Pile; heap. **Yal kona erengwe gul ere eri sire mole gale erengwa.** Men work (by making) fences, cutting trees and clearing the ground by burning the old vegetation.
- mole yongwa** (molé yongwá) *n.* Smelly garbage. **Duin mole yongal milingwe.** Fly sits on smelly garbage. *See: mole.*
- mome** (mome) *n.* Uncle. **Na mome "maul woya!" dingwa.** My uncle told me yesterday "dig a hole!"
- moo ya** (moò yá) *vi.* Climb. **Eri moge.** I climb a tree. **Na eri more gaul-sige.** I fall out of the tree. **Eri mo main uge.** I climb down a tree. **Eri more ole si main uge.** I jump down from

the tree.

more yongwa (more yongwá) *adj.* Blue.

mu (mú) *n.* Type of snake. (Always occurs with 'onimba'.)

mu (mù) *n.* Continuous sound, susurrantion (specifically of a bee or river). **Deboma mu.** Bee noise (buzzing). **NI mu.** River sound (rushing).

mu (mu) *n.* Variety of bamboo.

mugu di (múgú dí) *vi.phr.* Run. **I mogu drano?** Will you run? **Na mogu di kaminkipe bolain**

ege. I ran to the top of the 'spirit mountain'. (Definition of *mugu* unclear.)

mun (mùn; mun) *n.* The back of a person or animal. **Alan erema maul wore mun blegadungwa.** Yesterday Alan dug a hole and hurt his back. **Na awi muun gaul woge.** I am scratching the dog's back. (Takes possessive suffixes with human referents. Possessive inflection (human): $\{(\text{na}) \text{munàn} / (\text{i}) \text{munin} / (\text{yál i}) \text{mun}\}$.)

mun goolin (mùn goolin) *n.* The hip joint.

N - n

na (na) *pro.* 1) I; me; my (1st person singular). **Na nius sire mabil suge.** I cough, then throw up. **I erenga na milige.** You made me stay here. **Na kola.** My arrow (made by somebody else) (See Nanan kola. 'My arrow (made by myself).')

— 2) *pro.* We, us (1st person plural). **Na kipapinge Tawanuku.** We live in Tawanuku. **Na ala kanin pangwa ka kebil ta pangwa...** We have a problem, a small problem... **Na yalsu i na sinua dibinge.** We said you hit us. (Denotes 1st person plural subject when in combination with a 1st person plural verb form.)

na nan (na nán) *refl pro.* (First person singular reflexive). **Nanan nil paige.** I wash myself. **Nanan kola kaunan siga.** I speared myself in my leg with my spear. **Nanan kola.** My own arrow [that I made myself]. (See Na kola. 'My arrow (made by someone else).')

ne (né) *vt.* (Rounding of vowel occurs in 3rd person forms.) 1) Eat. **Na gla omale kon nene erege.** I'm always eating yam. **Bolma nere same nanga gulana nekia.** Don't eat the pig and go to the cold place or you'll die, don't eat it! **Alan bolma ta sikrangwa inin komna ta nekrabinga.** If Alan hadn't killed the pig, we would have had no food. 2) Used metaphorically with enderin 'fire' to mean 'associate'. **Enderin nekia!** Don not eat (from a taboo) fire! **Na enderin teran nobinge.** We ate at the one fire.

ne dugu di (né dugú dí) *vt.phr.* Swallow. **Na nil nedugudige.** I swallowed water. **Na kominan nedugudige.** I swallowed food. *See: ne.*

nebare (nebaré) *n.* Bamboo; bamboo instrument. **Bolma sikinerapina di ere na nebare tongwa.** When they were about to kill the pig, I went through initiation (bamboo giving).

nen (nen) *n.* Father or father's brother (son of one's paternal grandfather). *See: elabe.*

nerabin *vt.* Taking something out.

nibil ere e *vi.phr.* To be visibly sick. **I nibil**

erengi gulange. You are sick and you will die. **I nibil erangara gulange.** If you were to get sick, you would die.

nibil kure *n.* Malaria. **Kain neka dingwa para wai singwa eme nibil kuru singwi para wai si bederengwa kwi ta sikingwe.** Our bodies are hot and the malaria sickness ends; after that it never strikes again. *See: nibil si.*

nibil oo (nibil oò) *n.* Hospital; sick house. **Nibilo teen dingwe.** The hospital is far away.

nibil pai (nibil paì) *vi.phr.* To have a sickness that cannot be seen externally; invisible sickness - not manifesting symptoms. **Na minan nipil pangwa.** I have a disease in my heart. **Na nipil paio?** Do I have a disease? **Yal i nipil pangwe** He is diseased *See: pai.*

nibil si (nibil sí) *vi.phr.* Sick. **Na nibil singwe.** I am sick.

niga (nigà) *Variant: nega, nika. adj.* Hot (temperature); spicy. **Enderin nika dingwe.** The fire is hot. **Na nika dingwe.** I am feeling hot. **Bolma kape nika dingwe.** The meat is too spicy. **Na kom'na nega dingwa nega wai prige.** I love eating spicy food.

nigil gala (nigîl gala) *vphr.* Rub a particular medicinal leaf on the body. (The leaf is known as *salat* in Tok Pisin)

nil (n'l) *n.* Liquid; water. **Na nil ne dugudige.** I swallowed water. **Nil taiyu wa.** Give me drink. *See: nil kabe; nil benke.* (Used to refer to natural bodies of water, and all drinks including alcohol, hot drinks and soup. Excludes urine.)

nil benke (n'l benke) *n.* Lake. *See: nil benke b'nan.* (Meaning of *benke* is unclear.)

nil benke binan (n'l benke b'nan) *n.* Lake shore.

nil guli (n'l guli) *vi.* Feel thirsty. **Na nil gulige.** (Na nil guluge) I'm thirsty. *See: guli.*

nil kabe (n'l kabè) *n.* Fish. **Na nil kabe sege.** I catch the fish.

nil kupa si (n'l kupa sí) *vi.phr.* Swim. **Na nil kupa sivepe ege.** I am swimming up the river.

Na **prinnil nilkupa sige**. I'm swimming in the sea. *See: si; kupa*. (relationship between 'kupa' stick and as it used in this verb phrase is not clear.)

nil pai (n'l pai) *vt.phr.* Wash. Na **sope ire nil paige**. I wash myself with soap. *Na **sope i nil paige**. I wash myself with soap. Na **sope wadui alan tege nil paramade waduge**. I'm looking for soap for my sister so she can wash herself. Na **alan sope i tege nil paramade waduge**. I'm looking for soap for my sister so she can wash herself. **Yalsu i nil pangwe**. They (2) wash each other. Na **awi nil paitege**. I wash the dog. (Can be used as a one, two or three place verb, using te and ire to introduce additional participants. Can also be used with reflexive pronouns.)

nilwa (n'lwá) *n.* Freshwater. **Nilwa ungwara u alde ome di priga**. I thought 'where has the freshwater gone?'. (The ending -wa is said by Chirs to be the same formative as in kawa 'true'.)

niman *n.* Louse. Na **niman paige**. I have lice. (CHECK whether this is actually something more like 'I am with lice'... (see pa))

nimbona *n.* Sore. Na **oonan nimbona**. I've got a sore on my hand.

nimin (nimin) *n.* rain. **Nimin eremil sunga**. There is a storm/big rain happening. **Nimin kupin chungu**. It is raining/drizzling **Nimin siran komna yalanga**. Let it rain first before you plant.

nimin si *vi.phr.* Rain. **I eropingi pimilinga nil i tameton sikire pimilinga i nimin singwi**. We continued walking, crossing many rivers, even in the rain. *See: si*.

nirus *n.* Cough. *See: nu kupe*.

nomanin *n.* Idea. Na **nomanin ta pangwe**. I have an idea. Na **nomanin se priga**. I think. **Nomanin ta pre kunin erekingwa**. They had no idea what I was saying.

non (non) *n.* Neck. **Yál i nonan (ale) singwe**. He hits my neck. *See: non goolin*. (Possessive inflection: (na) nonan / (i) nonin / (yál i) non)

non goolin (non goolin) *n.* Nape; neck joint. **Yal i non goolin**. His neck.

non koli (non koli) *Variant: noon koli. vt.phr.* hug. **Non kolibinge**. We hug each other.

nu kupe *n.* Whooping cough.

O - o

obegal (obégál) *n.* Sand. **Obegal tau aatejuwa**. Pick up a handful of sand.

obin (obín) *n.* Unit; origin. *See: obin si*.

obin si (obín sí) *vt.phr.* Divide; share. **Obin singwi... yal gau bolma obin simba abal keba komena wo kingwi obin singwa**. (The) dividing... men divide the pork but the women divide the food which was prepared by them. Na **obin singwa omin goon**. I am from the Omin Tribe. **Mala ubume erebingi obin su gulabina di erebina**. We are gathering here today to discuss (lit. share) (this problem) and try to sort out this problem (lit. kill the problem).

okamin *n.* Community. **Ala ka kebil ka dire kura bile ebal bile gule okamin si gale**. (If we do not) address this small problem (there will be) tribal war and disruption in the communities.

ole *vi.phr.* Jump. Na **ole sire eme amindige**. I jump and then sit down. **Olesa!** Jump! (Takes si.)

omale *n.* Midday.

omilin (om'lín) *n.* Eyes. **Abal kumoma omlin kulungwe**. Her eyes are like a star.

onba (on'bá) *Variant: onimba. n.* Snake. **Onimba gulangwa** The snake is dead **Onimba nega** I ate the snake. (Forms an opposite pair with **guri** 'lizard' (*guri on'ba* 'lizards and snakes'.))

oo (oò) *n.* House. **Abal o wai kipangwe na o**

kipaige. Her house is better than mine. Na **o mine ipe kipaige**. My house is up there on the hill.

oon (oòn) *n.* Arm, hand (of person). Na **yal i oon pal sige**. I hit him with (my) hand. **Kape (TP) oon**. Mug (handled-cup). (Possessive inflection: (na) oonàn / (i) oonin / (yál i) oonin)

oon (oón) *n.* Shell.

oon a te ingwe (oòn) *vt.phr.* Exchange. **Gaan su taan aminde mile omilin demin oon a te ingwe**. Two boys are sitting down and exchanging their glasses. (or picking up the glasses) *See: bekle*. (CHECK for final verb!)

oon ban (oòn bán) *n.* Upper arm, from elbow to shoulder. **Yal i na oonan ban (ale) singwe**. He hits my arm. *See: oon*.

oon goolin (oòn goolin) *n.* Wrist *Lit. hand joint*. *See: oon; goliin*.

oon kora (oòn kora) *n.* Left hand. **Oon kora po**. Go to the left!

oon milin (oòn milin) *n.* Finger.

oon moriin (oòn moriin) *n.* Palm of hand. Na **yal i oon moriin ale singwe**. He hits my palm.

oon nigil (oòn nigil) *n.* Finger nail. Na **oonan nigil**. My finger nail. Na **oonan nigil wongwe**. I broke my fingernail. (lit: my fingernail fell off)

oon pal e (oòn) *vi.phr.* Crawl (person) *Lit. walk*

with arms. **Na oonan pal ege.** I crawl **Gaan main oon pal ongwe.** The baby crawled across the floor. **Yal i alamile oon pal oribil di umina ongwe.** He quickly crawled out of the house. *See: wo.*

oon pal mogu di (oòn) *vi.phr.* Crawl quickly. *Lit. run with hands.* **Na simlilen kraninbilingwa na oonanpal mogu dige.** I crawl quickly when the policeman chases me.

oon te (oòn te) *vt.phr.* Shake hands.

oon wa (oòn wa) *n.* Right hand.

oonin bekle (oonin bekle) *det.* Ten *Lit. both hands.*

oonin bekle kaun bekle (oonin) *det.* Twenty *Lit. both your hands, both feet.*

oonin bekle kaun kole (oonin beklé kaùn

kole) *det.* Fifteen *Lit. both your hands, a foot.* **Kopele tausen (TP) oninbekele ire kaunin kole ire.** The total of 10-15,000 kina. (Alan's revised) **Koble tausen (TP) onin bekle ire kaunin kole ire.** (Alan's revised) 10 or 15 thousand kina. *Lit. Both hands, one of your feet, thousand stones*

oonin bekle kaun teran (oonin beklé kaùn teran) *det.* Eleven *Lit. both your hands, one toe.*

oonin man kon *n.* Friday; days counted on fingers. **Na onin man kon maul wowo erege.** Every Friday I dig a hole. **Inin onin man kon maul wowo erebinge.** Every Friday I dig a hole.

P - p

paali (paali) *vt.* Contribute. **Mala na ebal lain u bume erebingi ere bolma gaulanya ta palibinga mo koble ya yubingi.** we are currently gathered together, to contribute piglets or money that we have brought.

pai (pài) 1) *vi.* Be. **Ba mine teen pangwe.** The moon is far away. **Kare alde pam?** Where is the car? **Na kume paige.** I am a witch. **Na si ka pamia i sige prangwa.** I am talented so I will play for you. **Na niman paige.** I have lice (I 'be with' lice).

pal *postp.* With (instrumental marker). **Na kaunan-pal sige.** I hit with my leg. **Na oonan-pal sige.** I hit with my fist. (Occurs with 'kaun' leg and 'oon' hand.)

para (pára) 1) *adj.* All, everywhere. **Jutta ebal para uramiwa dingwe. Jutta ebal para uramua dingwe.** Jutta says they (all) are coming. 2) *end.* (Used as ending for narrative.)

paun sutan *n.* Fourty. **Jutta koble paun sutan karnongwe.** Jutta has forty dollars.

pe si *vt.phr.* Throw. **Pesi dan era!** Throw it away! **Pe sungwe.** (He) throws (something). *See: si.* (Definition of 'pe' not clear. Could be one word 'pesi'. CHECK EXAMPLES!! What is 'DAN'??)

pega (pegà) *n.* Object; capacity. *See: peka si.* (Definition is not clear.)

pega si (pegà sí) *vt.phr.* Fill something; full. **Sin nil peka sungwe.** The jar is full of water. **Ala ebal peka sungwe.** The house is full of people. **Inin bukit nil kule peka sibinge.** We fill the bucket with water. *See: si.*

pege (pégé) *adj.* White. **Awi bil peke ire eri milin ira nongwe.** This big white dog is eating the fruit. **Na awi kama te i awi peke.** My dog is black and your dog is white.

penin (penin) *n.* Lick. **Na 'icecream' penin dige.**

I lick the icecream.

pi (pi) *n.* Whistle.

pri (pri) *vi.* Perceive, hear, think, feel. **Na kuria dungwa prige.** I hear the singing. **I erema uranga na wai praga dimba.** If you had come yesterday I would have been happy. **Na ditoma pria na ta pikraga.** If they told me and I heard I wouldn't go. *See: di pri; wai pri; kuru.*

prin (prin) *n.* Salt. **Yal i kom(i)na prin erengwe.** He is putting salt on the food. **Bolma mo oon ire pa prin Yuwi Kere ebal prin galungwa ana Yui komina prin ere nongwe.** They took the pigs or (shell) money to teh Yui Kere people, got the salt and ate it (flavoured their food with it).

prin orin *n.* Creek with salty water; name of salty creek.

prinnil (prin'l) *n.* 1) The sea. **Na prinnil nilkupa sige.** I'm swimming in the sea. 2) Saltwater. **Ebal prinnil wadungwi na pri kakiibi dima di priga.** When people talked about saltwater, I thought they were lying.

pripeen *n.* Sweat. *See: pripeen bli; pripeen ere.*

pripeen bli *vi.* Sweat. **Na pripeen blige.** I am sweating.

pripeen ere *vi.* Sweat. **Na pripeen erungwe.** I'm sweating.

pu du (pu dùngwé) *vi.phr.* Early. **Gla pu dungwa i ala kolere** Early in the evening (sunset), you go inside the house. *See: puduga wai.*

pu mugu (pu mugù) *n.* Traditional flute. **Pumuku sa!** Play the flute!

puduga wai *expr.* Good afternoon.

puru di *vi.phr.* Fly, applies to birds only. **Puru dungwa.** It flew. *Variant: pru di.*

S - s

- same** (same) *n.* Hot place; a bad place. **Bolma nere same nanga gulana nekia.** Don't eat the pig and go to the hot place or you'll die. (Changed from "cold place" at Kia's request.)
- si** (sí) *vt.* Strike; hit; kill. **Yal i nil ale pu pis (TP) sungwe.** He goes to the river to catch a fish. **Inin kola sibinga.** We speared ourselves. **Na nil kabe sege.** I catch the fish. **Yal i na oonan ban oon pal singwe.** He hit my arm with his fist **Nimin siranga.** It will rain. **Na enanta bolne nebare subinge.** Me and my friend played the nebare. **I kaupa singa.** You have had a fit. (lit. Act like a bird.) **I dinin igin sunga.** He has hair on his chest. (lit. Hair strikes on his chest.) *See: si gule; si mili si; si na; si ka.*
- si bagarabe** (sí) *vt.* Destroy. (Construction of 'si' (strike) and 'bagarabe' (Tok Pisin, bugar up).)
- si guli** (sí guli) *vt.phr.* Kill. **Na ebal si guluge.** I killed someone. **Bolma si gulungwe.** The pig is killed.
- si ka** (sí ka) *vi.* Expert; be talented or good at something. **Na si ka pamia i sige prangwa.** I am talented so I will play for you. **Na si karega i ta si karekinge.** I know better than you. **Na si ka pangwa i ta si ka paikingwa.** I know how to play - you don't.
- si ki** *vt.* Cross. **Ierobingi pi milinga nil i tametoon si kire pi milinga i nimin singwi.** We continued walking, crossing many rivers even in the rain. **Nil tametoon si kire uge.** I pass through many waters. (Usage restricted to rivers.)
- si mili si** *vi.phr.* Unhealthy. **Edenin teran nerangara mo yal gaan si mil sire...** If you eat at the one fire, your children will not be healthy and...
- si na** *vt.* Harvest. **Komena gul i teen dungwa abal gaan komena si narala dingwi pu teen pre komena...** The food gardens are far away, teh women and children go far away to harvest the food...
- siban** *n.* Lick. **I pu prinnil ale ere siban pri gi...** I stuck the finger in the seawater and licked it... (Not sure at this stage whether 'siban' is noun or verb.)
- sime pai** *vi.phr.* Fast, go without food. *Lit.* 'To be in the dark (without a fire)'. **Na gla sime paige.** I am fasting tonight. **Na sime paige. Nil komina gwi kingwa ta teran nekire sime paige mile.** We were not allowed to drink or eat any food during the night.
- simil** (simíl) *n.* Bow. **Na simil kule el sige.** I shoot the arrow with the bow.
- sipuu** (sí puù) *expr.* Thank you. *See: wai rawa.*
- siturua si** *vt.phr.* cover. **Kawa ba sturua sungga.** The cloud is covering the moon. (Meaning of sturua unknown.)
- sn** (s' n) *n.* Pot used for cooking.
- sna** (s'na) *Variant: sina. n.* Centre (a place equally distant from many or all other points). **Kamin kau yal ka drala di kola kaure atere ana pu sina mile kare kole kole ere...** When the chief is ready to speak, he carries a spear on his shoulder and holds an axe in his hand, goes to the centre and looks around... **Wai rawa kela alan ebalyol Yui, Koban [etc] ebalyol ta u sna milanga...** Welcome brothers and sisters in law, strangers from the tribes Yui, Koban [etc], all strangers in our midst... *See: gla sna; bán.*
- su** (su) *adj.* Two. *See: yal su.*
- su ta kope** *adj.* Three. **Pis komilki su ta kope nil ale milingwe.** There are three yellow fish in the river. **Na yal i enge su ta kope karega.** I have met him three times. (Word for 'two' is 'su tan'. -kobe is most likely a pluraliser suffix. *See Bunn 1974.*)
- su tan** *adj.* Two. **Keba su tan.** Two sweet potatoes.
- sul pai** *vi.phr.* Watch out for; wait. **Na yal ira sul paige.** I'm waiting for the man. (I'm watching out for the man). (Only for humans.)
- sula** (sulá) *vt.* Destroy. **O sula!** Destroy the house! **Kwimol i gul sulange.** Tomorrow you will destroy the fence.
- sule** *n.* School (TP). **Goma na gaan mile sule diga kon...** Before, when I was a small boy and I went to school...
- sule di** *vt.* Learn.
- sule yal** *n.* Teacher. **Kai mire pu sule yal milingwal obinge sungwa gaan sule yal kupa singwa.** I cried and went to the teacher, the teacher hit the other child with a stick.
- suul di** (suúl di) *vt.phr.* Weed. **Yal bo kabe yalengwi sul dere kule erengwe.** The men weed the sugarcane and banana gardens and tie the sugarcane to a stick (to help it grow).
- suula** (suulá) *n.* Cucumber. **I pu sula yuwa!** Go and bring me the cucumber!

T - t

- ta** *adv.* (Negative marker). **Kris erema maul wongwa ba ta wo bederekingwa.** Yesterday Kris started to dig a hole but hasn't completed it. **Na ta pre kare ta ere kunin erekige.** I don't understand, but that's what I heard from other people. ...**Para wai si bederengwa kwi ta sikingwa.** ... (it) ends well, it never strikes again. *See:* **-ki.** (The use of this negator is complemented by the verbal suffix '-ki')
- ta** (ta) *adj.* One. **Na onemba ta karge.** I see a snake.
- taananta** *temp.* Once upon a time, a long time ago.
- taanima** (taanimá) *n.* Morning. **Na buke kwimol tanima terage.** I will give you the book tomorrow morning. **Na buke ta(ni)ma terege.** I will give you the book in the morning (of same day). *See:* **tanima kinin.**
- taanima wai** *expr.* Good morning.
- tabale** (tabalé) *n.* Jew's harp; a small musical instrument held in the mouth and played by hitting with the finger. **Na tabale ire sige.** I pick up and play the tabale. **Na tabale sirala di eriga abal i mana dungwe.** I want to play the tabale but she says no.
- tabin** (tabín) *adj.* Short. **Kombil tabin yongwe.** The road is short. **Na tabin milige i arewai milingwe.** I am short and you are tall.
- takal** (takál) *Variant: kal. int.pro.* What. **I takal wadin?** What are you saying? **I kwimol takal nerangi?** What will you eat tomorrow?
- talame** *n.* Sin. **Talame eranga gulana nenin yawe milangwalwa.** Don't commit sins or you will die, so come to God.
- tame toon** (tame toòn) *adj.* Many; much. **Ierobingi pi milinga nil i tame toon si kire pi milinga.** We continued walking, crossing many rivers. **Na koble tame toon teran?** How much are you going to pay me?
- tameran** 1) *int.pro.* Why; for what reason. **I na kaditekengi tamerim?** Why aren't you talking to me? **I uniwa tamerabin?** You come, so what can we do? 2) — *conj.* Because; for the reason that. **Kia Alan bolma ta si gulekrama di pringwa tameran Nathan bolma ta si gule karakingwe.** Kia doubts that Alan could ever kill a pig because he doesn't know how. **Kris PNG nala di erengara tameran milin?** Kris wants to go to PNG, so why are you staying here (so, you are staying here because..)?
- tanan tau** *temp.* Sometimes. **Abal bolma kepa tongwe, tanan tau i yal bolma tongwa.** The women give potato to the pigs, and sometimes the pigs are fed by the men.
- tau** (tau) *adj.* Some. **Obegal tau a te yuwa!** Pick up some sand! *See:* **tanan tau.**
- taule ta** (taulé ta) *vt.* Just a little bit. **Dima di priga oonan taaleta i pu prinnil ale ere siban prigi...** I stuck (touched) a finger into the saltwater and licked it...
- tauleta** *n.* Bite. **I tauleta na!** (You) just take a bite! **Na apple tauleta nege.** I take a bite of the apple. (Possibly consist of tau 'some' and leta (meaning unknown).)
- tawa** (tawà) *n.* Drum.
- tawan** (tawán) *n.* Shoulders.
- te** *Variant: ta; to. vt.* Give. **Nil taiyuwa!** Give me a drink. **Na alan koble terala de waduge.** I'm looking for money to give to my sister. *See:* **Abal bolma kepa tongwe tanantau i yal bolma kepa tongwa.**
- te** *conj.* And. **Na awi kama te i awi peke.** My dog is black and your dog is white.
- teen** (teén) *adj.* 1) Far away. **Ebal benamble solwara karala primba teen dingwa.** Although many people want to see the sea, it's too far away. **Ba mune teen pangwe.** The moon is far away. **Na bolma i tegara u teen ongwa.** The pig which I gave you is lost. (lit. The pig which I gave is far gone)
- teran** (terán) *det.* One. **Ederin teran nekia!** Don't eat at the one fire!
- toblin** (toblín) *n.* Glove, covering. **Na kaun toblin kwi.** My new shoes. (lit. my new shoe gloves)
- ton** (tón) *adj.* Ugly. **Yal i yal ton.** He is an ugly man.
- toon** (toón) *adv.* Together. **Kepin toon milingwe.** Together, they are younger brothers. **Maula gal kaambaan toon dungwa ebal komina nerangwa bolain ye terangwa...** (The magic men) mix the poison powder together with the person's food...
- toone** *n.* Sight. ...**ya teen kole kole kipapinge toome kare kare yebe erengwi na kipapinge mine ipe dungwa karangwe.** ...and (people) far away on each side, look up and see us living there. **Na eri milin toone karge.** I am looking at fruit.

U - u

ubume *n.* Gathering. **Mala ubume erebingi obin su gulabina di erebina.** We are gathering here today to discuss (lit. share) (this problem) and try to sort out this problem (lit. kill the problem).

ul (ùl) *n.* Sleep. *See:* **ul pai.**

ul pai (ùl pai) *vi.phr.* Sleep. **Ul paia!** Sleep! **Nenin manin kepa komina kingwa nere gwi kingwa ul pangwa kon ere ala obinga.** We ate the cold food prepared by our parents who had gone to sleep before we reached home.

ulgi kona (ulgi koná) *n.* The white ash produced

by a fire. The ash that is light enough to be carried away with the smoke.

ulkipi (ùl kipi) *n.* Dream. **Na ulkipi gla karega.** I had a good dream last night.

uu (uù) *vi.* Come. **I ere nil ale wa!** Come to the river! **Na ta ukraka.** I do not come. **1980 sule goma kingwa gaan benamble uu uu sule (TP) dipinga teen paire...** Since 1980 many children attended newly established schools and they lived far away... **Nilwa ungwa uu alde ome di priga.** I thought 'where has the (fresh) water gone'.

W - w

wa *Variant: -iwa; -ua. vsuff.* (Reported speech marker). **Yal i yalbil miliwa dimba na ta karekiga.** He says he is a big man but I doubt it. **Yal ire gi i kau dimua dingwe.** (Someone) said he sang to me. *See:* **Na yal i na simua dige.; Yal i i siwa dingwe.** (Appears as -u or -iw for 3rd person and as -w for other persons.)

wa di *vi.* Say. **Ebal i takal wa dim?** What are they saying? **....prinnil prinnil prinnil solwara wadungwi.**talking about saltwater.

wadu *vt.* Look for something. **I koble waduno?** Are you looking for money? **Na alan sope i tege nil paramade waduge.** I am looking for soap for my sister so she can wash herself.

wai (waí) *adj.* 1) Good, well, beautiful. **Para wai sungwa ere mina ubinga gipilin gil sire...** (The malaria ends and) we come out of the disease with a headache and... (lit. the [malaria] leaves well...) **Nomanin wai para sabe ta ikre...** You will not become wise and...(lit. 'you will not take all the good knowledge') 2) Beautiful. **Gi wai.** You are beautiful (to woman). *See:* **gi wai; wai pri; wai kare; gla wai; wai rawa.**

wai kari *vt.phr.* Love (someone). **Na abal wai karige.** I love the woman. **Yal abal ama wai karingwe.** The man and woman love each

other. *See:* **ki kari.** (*Kari* does not occur in isolation.)

wai pri *vt.phr.* Want; love (something). **Na nil wai prige.** I want water. **Na komna nega dingwa nega wai prige.** I love eating spicy food.

wai-rawa *expr.* Thank you; welcome. *See:* **sipu.** (Meaning of *rawa* is unclear.)

wan (wan) *n.* Son; son-in-law. (Possessive inflection: (na) wanan; (i) wanin.)

weriweri *n.* Bicycle; butterfly. **Weriweri ta wom.** The bicycle/butterfly is going.

wi (wí) *vt.* Fell. **Dimun wiranga i gulanga.** Don't fell bushes or you'll die. (understood to mean, 'Don't go into the forest') **Eri wiya!** Fell the tree!

wi (wí) *adj.* Same ethnic group. **Bedere kura wi bli pre Kobla ma si miina erengwa pu yone pangwe Golin tau mine pabinge.** There was a tribal war between Kobla and the other brothers (within the Golin group) and the other kicked Kobla out. (Forms an opposite pair with **yol** 'different group' (*yol wi 'them and us'*)).

wi (wí) *n.* A man's scream.

wo (wo) 1) *vi.* Crawl (animal). **Dua bol bolain wom.** The mouse is crawling on the table.

— 2) *vt.* Digging, scratching-like motion. *See:* **maul wo; gaul wo.**

Y - y

ya (ya) *conj.* And. **Meme ya bolmakau i pale.** Goat and cow all together. *See:* **ya kopi.**

ya kopi *dem.* These; those. **Bo kabe ya kopi yal yalengwe.** Sugarcane and banana, those the men plant. (The meaning of 'kopi' is unknown. Together, 'ya kopi' may be a means of

topicalising the theme (ie. what would otherwise be the object), so instead of 'The men plant sugarcane and banana', we have the construction given in the above example.)

yal (yál) *n.* Man. **Abal yal ki karingwe.** The woman and man hate each other. *See:* **yal su;**

- yal su ta kupe; yal kane; yal bil.**
- yal bil** (yál bíl) *n.* Chief, lit. big man. **Yal i yalbil miliwa dimba na ta karekiga.** He says he is a big man but I doubt it.
- yal dimanin** (yál dimanin) *n.* Old man; old people. *Lit. man stump.* (Also used with 'abal' for 'old woman'.)
- yal kane** (yál kanè) *pro.* We, you (two or more), they. **Na yal kane amin dibinge.** We (several) are sitting.
- yal su** *pro.* We two, you two, they two. **I yal su main painge.** We two (excl) lie down.
- yal su ta kupe** *det.* Four.
- yal sule** *n.* Teacher. **Gaan sule yal kupa singwa.** the teacher (school man) hit the child with a stick. (*Sule* is Tok Pisin for 'school'.)
- yale** *vt.* Plant. **Nimin siran komna yalanga.** Let it rain first before you plant. **Yal i nimin siran komina yalangwe.** He let it rain before he plants.
- yalkane** *adj.* People. **Na yal kane i siga.** I hit them. **Inin yal kane yal i ta karekranpinga.** We will not see the man. *See: yal kane.* (Has not yet been found in environment other than in plural pronouns.)
- yame** *n.* Corn. **Abal komena tau keba yame kon yalengwa suldongwa.** The women plant the sweet potato, corn and yam.
- yawa yu** *vi.* Be crooked. **Na ble yawa yungwa.** I have a crooked stick. **I kaun yawa yungwa.** You have a crooked leg. (Insult directed at a soccer player who misses a goal). **I oon yawa yungwa.** You have a crooked hand. (Insult to a hunter who has missed their target with a bow and arrow)
- yawe** (yawé) *n.* 1) God. **Talame eranga gulana nenin yawe milangwalwa.** Don't commit sin (or) you will die, (therefore) come to god. 2) Grandfather.
- ye** *vt.* Bury. **Na ebal yege.** I am burying the body.
- yebe** (yebé) *prep.* Up. **Toon kare kare yebe erengwi na kipapinge mine ipe dungwa karangwe.** (People) look up and see us living up there.
- yo** *vi.* *Variant: ya.* 1) Be. **Pen main kombil yongwe.** A pen is on the road. **Kombil tabin yongwe.** The road is short. *See: yo kare.*
- yo kare** *vt.* Find. **Na kalta eri mina yongwe karega.** I saw (found) something in a tree. **Na erema egara kalta yonga karage.** Yesterday I went for a walk and found something.
- yoblan** (yoblan) *n.* Bone. **Na bolma yoblan ta yonga karage.** I found (a) pig-bone(s) and tell friends. (Possessive inflection (irregular): (*na*) *yoblan* / (*i*) *yoblanin* / (*yál i*) *yoblan*.)
- yol** (yol) *adj.* Someone of different kinship or ethnic group, including cousins on one's mother's side, or children of one's father's sister. *See: ebal yol.* (Possessive inflection (irregular): |{(na) *yolan* / (*i*) *yolin* / (*yál i*) *yolin*, *yon*}. *Fi:Yon* appears to be an abbreviation of the possessed form *yolin*. Opposite pair with *wi* 'same group' (*yol wi* 'us and them'.))
- yol** *n.* Visitor. *See: ab'n; alin; keb'n.* (Possessive inflection: |{(na) *yolan* / (*i*) *yolin* / (*yál i*) *yolin/yon*}.)
- yon ime** *dem.* There. **Koble yon ime yongwarai.** The stone is there. (in response to question 'Where is the stone?') **Yon ime koble yongwara yuwa!** Bring me the stone! **Awí yon ime milingwe.** That dog there.
- yoon** (yoón) *n.* Branch (of tree). **Eri yon binanble sungwe.** There are many branches on the tree. (The tree grows many branches) **Inin (yalsu) eri yon balebinge.** You and I are breaking the branch.
- yu** (yu) *vt.* Bring. **Abal simba yungwi yal abal para i ala ongwa.** The women harvest but the men and women bring it all home together. **Sula yuwa.** Bring me a cucumber. *See: kau yu; kau yu; a te yu; yawa yu.*
- yuun** (yuún) *n.* Tail. **Awí yuun.** Dog's tail. *See: dén.*

Total number of entries: 547

Golin Kinship Terms

A - a

- ablin** *n.* Daughter (classificatory); any younger female of **wi** group. (Possessive inflection: *(na) ablan / (i) ablin / (yal i) ablan.*)
- ab'n** (ab'n) *n.* Sibling (classificatory); any older, same-sex, same-generation person of **wi** group. **Kris na ap'nan** Kris is my older brother (male speaker). *See: keb'n, alin.* (Possessive inflection (irregular): *(na) ab'nan / (i) ab'nin / (yal i) ab'nin* or *ab'n.*)
- ai** (aì) *n.* Grandmother. (*Abal ai* in full. Possessive inflection (irregular): *(na) ai / (i)*
- ain / (yal i) ain.*)
- alan** *See: alin.*
- alin** (alin) *n.* Sibling (classificatory); any different-sex, same-generation person of **wi** group. **Eli David alin ekeme.** Eli is David's youngest sister. **Eli na alan ekeme.** Eli is my youngest sister (male speaker). *See: ab'n, keb'n.* (Possessive inflection: *(na) alan / (i) alin / (yal i) alin.*)

E - e

- elabe** (elabé) *n.* Father (biological). *See: nen.* (Term of address; uninflected.)

I - i

- imaun** *n.* Father-in-law (classificatory); the father or grandfather of a man's wife. (Possessive inflection: *(na) imaunan / (i) imaunin / (yal i) imaun.*)
- iwaun** *n.* Mother-in-law (classificatory); the mother or grandmother of a man's wife. (Possessive inflection: *(na) iwaunan / (i) iwaunin / (yal i) iwaun.*)

K - k

- keb'n** (keb'n) *n.* Sibling (classificatory); any younger, same-sex, same-generation person of **wi** group. **Morris na kepnan.** Morris is my younger brother (male speaker). **Nebiku i Ainaku ali kepin toon milingwe.** The Nebiku clan is younger brother to the Ainaku clan. *See: ab'n, alin.* (Possessive inflection (irregular): *(na) keb'nan / (i) keb'nin / (yal i) keb'nin* or *keb'n.*)
- kelan** *See: kelin.*
- kelin** *n.* Brother-in-law (classificatory); the brother of a man's wife. **Kela i udino wai wai.** Brother-in-law is here (greeting). (Possessive inflection: *(na) kelan / (i) kelin / (yal i) kelin.*)
- kobin** (kobín) *n.* Niece or nephew (classificatory); the child of a man's sister. (Possessive inflection: *(na) kob'nan / (i) kob'nin / (yal i) kob'nin* or *kobin.*)

M - m

- mame** *See: mamin.*
- mamin** (mamé) *n.* Aunt (classificatory); the wife of a man's mother's brother or of a woman's mother-in-law's brother. (Possessive inflection (irregular): *(na) mame / (i) maminin / (yal i) mamin.*)
- man** (man) *n.* 1) Mother (classificatory); any older female of **wi** group. **Na mena gaan kobe maul womua dungwe.** My mother says that my younger brother is digging a hole today. (Possessive inflection (irregular): *(na) m'na / (i) manin / (yal i) man.*) 2) Mother (figurative). **Kulmoma-man.** Big star *Lit. mother star*
- m'na** *See: man.*
- mome** (mome) *See: mamin.*
- momin** *n.* Uncle (classificatory); the brother of a man's mother or of a woman's mother-in-law. (Possessive inflection (irregular): *(na) mome /*

(i) *mominin* / (yal i) *momin.*)

N - n

nen (**nen**) *n.* Father (classificatory); any older male of **wi** group. *See: elabe.* (Possessive inflection (irregular): (*na*) *nen* / (*i*) *nenin* / (*yal*

i) *nen.*)

W - w

wan (**wan**) *n.* Son (classificatory); any younger male of **wi** group. (Possessive inflection: (*na*) *wanan* / (*i*) *wanin* / (*yal i*) *wan.*)

wi (**wi**) *n.* Person of one's own kinship group, comprised of and blood-related females (unmarried), blood-related males, and their wives (necessarily from a different group).
Bedere kura wi bli pre Kobla ma si miina

erengwa pu yone pangwe Golin tau mine pabinge. There was a tribal war between Kobla and the other brothers (within the Golin group) and the other kicked Kobla out. (Forms an opposite pair with **yol** 'different group' (*yol wi* 'them and us').)

Y - y

yaun *See: yawe.*

yawe (**yawé**) *n.* 1) Grandfather. (Possessive inflection: (*na*) *yaunan* / (*i*) *yaunin* / (*yal i*) *yaun* or *yawe.*) 2) God. **Talame eranga gulana nenin yawe milangwalwa.** Don't commit sin (or) you will die, (therefore) come to god.

yol (**yol**) *n.* 1) Cousin (classificatory); any same-generation relative outside of one's **wi** group,

including children of one's father's sister, or one's mother's sibling. (Possessive inflection: (*na*) *yolan* / (*i*) *yolin* / (*yal i*) *yolin* or *yon.*) 2) Person of different kinship group to one's own. (Opposite pair with **wi** 'same group' (*yol wi* 'us and them'))

yol *See: yon; wi.*

Total number of entries: 25

Golin proper nouns**Aa** (Tribe name).**Aina** (Tribe name).**Beri** (Tribe name).**Bomai** (Tribe name).**Dege** (Tribe name).**Del** (Tribe name).**Eli** (Female personal name).**Era** (Tribe name).**Gabil** (Female personal name).**Golin** (Tribe name).**Kale** (Tribe, bird, and personal name).**Kawale** (Tribe name).**Kepa** (Tribe name).**Kere** (Tribe name).**Kobin** (Female personal name).**Kulupe** (Variety of tree).**Kulupe nil** (River name).**Mala** (Female personal name).**Mien** (Tribe name).**Nilku** (Tribe name).**Nilmanil** (River name).**Ole** (Tribe name).**Paume** (Tribe name).**Pire** (Tribe name).**Sasimalin** (Tribe name).**Tawanuku** (Village name).**Toma** (Tribe name).**Uri** (Male personal name).**Yui** (Tribe name).**Yuni** (Tribe name).**Bre** (Male personal name).**Dom** (Tribe name).**Kia** (Male personal name).**Kipa** (Tribe name).**Koban** (Tribe name).**Kumai** (Tribe name).**Kwi** (Tribe name).**Nombri** (Tribe name).**Plime** (Place name).

Total number of entries: 39