

OROKAIVA GRAMMAR

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Introduction

The Orokaiva language is spoken by about twenty-five thousand people living around Popondetta in the Northern Province, of Papua New Guinea. The numerous closely related dialects that make up the Orokaiva language are in an area bordered roughly by the Hydrographer Mountains on the South, the Kumusi River on the North, the Ewage-Notu language on the East along the coast and Kokoda on the West. Orokaiva is the largest and most central language of the Binandere family of about fifteen languages stretching from the Suena language at Morobe in the North to Korafe around Tufi in the South. Data for this paper was collected over a five year period between 1971 and 1976, while the author was living intermittently in Sui village which is located in the Waseta dialect of the Orokaiva language. Lenard Murray of Sui village supplied the bulk of the information accumulated for this paper. All descriptions and examples in this paper are in the Waseta dialect, also known as the 'sose' or 'sohe' dialect by the people.

The papers mainly referred to while writing this paper were "Suena Grammar" by Darryl Wilson, published in Volume 8 of Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, SIL; "Some Features of Korafe Morphology", by James and Cynthia Farr in Studies in Languages of Central and South-East Papua edited by T.E. Dutton in Pacific Linguistics C. 29; and "Preliminary Notes on Orokaiva Grammar" by Alan Healy, Ambrose Isoroembo, and Martin Chittleborough, in Pacific Linguistics, Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 9.

This last paper is an initial description of the Eastern dialect of Orokaiva which is very closely related to the dialect presented in this paper. Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

Acc.	Accompaniment	neg. imp.	Negative imperative
Ad.	Adverb	O	Object
Ben.	Benefactive	P or p r e s	Present Tense
caus.	causative	p.p.	postposition
c.f.	contrary to fact	past hab.	past habitual
dep.	dependant	poss.	possessive
des.	desiderative	Pred.	Predicate
dur.	duration	pres. Hab.	present habitual
emph.	emphatic	rec.	reciprocal
fut.	future	res.	resultive
F.P.	Far Past	seq.	sequential
imp.	imperative	sim.	simultaneous
indic.	indicative	Sub.	Subject
I.O.	Indirect Object	T.P.	Today's past tense
inf.	infinitive	T.	Time
Inst.	Instrument	v.p.	verb phrase
int.	interrogative	1s	first person singular
Loc.	Locative	2s	second person singular
Man.	Manner	3s	third person singular
M.P.	Mid Past Tense	1&3p.	first and third person plural
N.P.	Noun Phrase		
neg.	negative	2p	second person plural

3 Word Boundaries

The criteria that help us to determine word boundaries are the consonant-vowel distribution, the distribution of various allophones, the grammatical word class, and words having previously been spoken in isolation.

3.1 Consonant-vowel distribution as a criteria for determining word breaks.

The CV patterns in Orokaiva are CV, V, CV̄, and V̄. The nasalization is written as a nasal consonant, n, following the nasalized vowel. Where two vowels are nasalized in a row the nasal is written after the second vowel.

Example:

CV	<u>ta</u>	'at'
V	<u>o</u>	'meat'
CV̄	<u>tan</u>	'spatula'
V̄	<u>on</u>	'lime'
CV̄V̄	<u>koan</u>	'brain'

When a nasalized vowel is followed by a syllable beginning with a bilabial consonant nasalization is realized as an 'm' as in ambe 'sago' and ahumpa 'close to'.

Where a nasalized vowel is followed by a syllable beginning with 'd' the nasal becomes an 'n' as in (ado) becomes /ando/ 'skin'.

Where the nasalized vowel is followed by a velar stop 'k' or 'g', the nasalization is realized as 'n' after the nasalized

vowel as in (həŋke) becomes /haunke/ 'split' or as in (əhŋge) becomes /əhunge/ 'bamboo'.

Conclusions:

These observations show that a word boundary is indicated after a nasal 'n' if not followed by a 'd' but a word can't be broken between an 'm' and a bilabial stop or between an 'n' and a velar stop.

A word break could never come after a consonant other than 'n' except as described above.

Restrictions as to which vowel or consonant are discussed below.

3.2 The distribution of various allophones as criteria for determining word boundaries.

All vowels can occur initially, medially or finally in a word so word breaks could be made before or after any vowel. The only two consonants that have allophones with a limited distribution are 'd' and 'b'. The allophones of /b/ are (b) and (ɓ), The allophone (b) occurs word initially and medially after a nasal. (ɓ) occurs in fluctuation initially with (b), and medially when not contiguous to a nasal.

Examples:

(əbe) /ambe/ 'sago'

(ɓevede/ ~ /vevede/ 'hot'

Therefore a /b/ not contiguous to a nasal would indicate a word initial boundary.

The allophones of /d/ are (d) and (ř). (d) occurs in word initial position and medially after a nasal. (ř) occurs word medially not contiguous to a nasal.

Examples:

(enda)	/enda/	'earth'
(dabaři)	/dabadé/	'swim'
(kuřo)	/kudo/	'star'

Conclusions: Where the (d) allophone of /d/ occurs not contiguous to a nasal, it indicates the initial boundary of a word.

Only one exception to this is the word rate 'but' which is an utterance medial word, which seems to follow the word medial rule of ř because it is an utterance medial word.

3.3 Stress as a criteria for determining word boundaries.

Stress is always on the first syllable of Orokaiva words of more than one syllable with secondary stress on the third syllable of words longer than three syllables. Therefore since stress is so predictable it is a good indicator of word boundaries. Consider the stress as marked in the following examples.

<u>na</u>	<u>em</u> .bo	ta	<u>in</u> .da.ri	<u>um</u> .bu-to	<u>pa</u> m.ba.só-n-a
I	man	poss.	food	take-p.s.	go-fut-ls-indic.
'I will take the man's food and go.'					

The primary stress on em-of em.bo shows a word break between na and em; also between ta and in-, between -to and pam- and secondary stress on -so-of pam.ba.só.na ties it together as one words.

3.4 Grammatical functions of words that determine word boundaries.

Various classes of uninflected words having been elicited in isolation are easy to recognize in context by their grammatical functions, and knowing the phonetic structure of those words, makes it easy to pick them out in text. These words, such as pronouns, various nouns and the functors are non-inflected and will be discussed later in the various word classes.

4. Stems

In Orokaiva there are very few derived stems. The only common type of derived stem observed is some noun pluralizing, some village names, and some people's names. It's amusing here that when questioned about some derived stems such as woman's name agena-pa 'white woman' and the village name Agenehambo 'the shade of the Agene tree', the informant didn't associate the original meanings of the component parts, but just said that it was a woman's name or a village name. Some place names such as Obeari 'place where the pigs went down', have stories associated with them that tell the derivation of the names. Verb stems will be discussed in the section on verbs.

Some pluralization is in the form of derived stems.

Examples:

<u>pamonemane</u>	is	<u>pamone</u> woman	+	<u>mane</u> not	'woman'
<u>embomeni</u>	is	<u>embo</u> man	+	<u>meni</u> boy	'men'

New derived stems are not common and not coined easily. Below are some words that are derived and shortened when compounded.

inodiriko comes from

ino + indiri + itoko 'like a dog's stair' or
dog stairs like mountain ridge'

erembo comes from

embo + pamone + meni 'men; woman, child'
man woman child

degiko comes from

degi + itoko 'like a road'
road like

Some people's names that are compounded are:

Tikambari comes from

ti + kambari 'tooth biting'

Hevariahije comes from

hevari + ta ahije 'butcher's grandson'

Huejoahije comes from

huejo + ta ahije 'Huego's grandchild'

Agenapa comes from

agena + pamone 'white woman'

5, Verbs

Verbs are the most difficult part of Orokaiva grammar. Each verb is the most important part of its own clause and the only obligatory part of each clause. There is only one verb for a clause and each verb indicated a separate clause. Verbs are so important in Orokaiva because each verb not only tells about the action, but gives information about the subject, plurality of the subject, plurality of the object, tense and manner of the action. There are no passive verbs - all verbs are in the active voice.

The Orokaiva language focuses on the action. Meaningful discourse can take place with a minimal number of non-verb words such as in the following.

<u>na</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>inde-si/</u>	<u>uje</u>	<u>e-to/</u>	<u>ki-to/</u>	<u>pamba-si/</u>
I	meat	eat-des.	want	do-p.s.	see-p.s.	go-des.
<u>nununga</u>	<u>e-to/</u>	<u>evu-to/</u>	<u>pambu-to/</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ki-to/</u>	<u>te-to/</u>
ready	do-p.s.	sleep-p.s.	go-p.s.	meant	see-p.s.	hit-p.s.
<u>umbu-to/</u>	<u>puvu-to/</u>	<u>ike-te-n-e</u>	<u>umbu-to/</u>	<u>bora-si</u>		
take-p.s.	come-p.s.	give-T.P.-ls-dep.	take-p.s.	roast-des.		
<u>jiv-te-i/</u>	<u>ir-ae</u>	<u>e-te-i/</u>	<u>umbu-to</u>	<u>ike-te-i/</u>		
wrap-T.P.-3s-dep.	be-neg.	do-T.P.-3s.-dep.	take-p.s.	give-T.P.-as-dep.		
<u>ind-e-n-a/</u>						
eat.-TP.-ls.-indic.						

'I wanted to eat meat so I got ready and slept then went and saw an animal which I speared and took and came and gave, then it was taken and wrapped to roast and given to me and I ate it.'

In this sentence there are two nouns, one pronoun, and 19 verbs in a common type of discourse, which shows how verb oriented the language is.

5.1 Verb Stems

5.1.1 Classes of verbs

There are two classes of verbs based on the changes of spelling of verb stems. The great majority of verbs are strong verbs and maintain their stem spellings from tense to tense, but a few verbs are weak which means they change stem spellings with change in suffixation. Some of these weak verbs are included in the following chart to show the various forms of the stems. Although there are not many verbs that are weak, most of them are common and therefore have a high functional load. There are from two to four variants for each irregular stem. Because it isn't predictable how the stems change, they have to be included in a dictionary and memorized.

Weak Verbs

English Gloss	Stem Variants
1. 'see'	ki-,ke-,kogu-,kog-
2. 'say'	e-,a-,iji-,øe
3. 'do'	e-,a-,u-,ø-
4. 'hit'	te-,ta-,tor-
5. 'take'	umb-,uh-
6. 'go down'	be-,bov-
7. 'come' (short distance)	ha-,hu-
8. 'come' (long way)	puv-,putu-,puvure-
9. 'chop'	je-,ja-,jor-
10. 'stay' (be)	mite-,ir-
11. 'bite'	kamb-,kah-
12. 'tie'	tig-,tih-
13. 'weave'	kemb-,keh-
14. 'spear'	kaje-,kah-,kait-

5.1.2 Change of final vowel on verb stems.

The final vowel on verb stems changes or drops off when it is suffixed in different ways. We can arbitrarily take the singular polite imperative form and remove the suffix -jo and call it the basic stem ending. The most common stem ending is -e as in:

<u>bore</u>	'roast'	<u>kute</u>	'wash'
<u>toge</u>	'wrap'	<u>are</u>	'follow'
<u>age</u>	'cook'		

Perhaps the next most common basic stem ending is -u as in:

<u>umbu</u>	'take'	<u>pambu</u>	'go'
<u>kambu</u>	'bite'	<u>jimbu</u>	'marry'
<u>evu</u>	'sleep'	<u>timbu</u>	'dip'

Then some verb stems end in -i as in:

<u>indi</u>	'eat'	<u>imbi</u>	'pick'
<u>jigi</u>	'hoãd'	<u>ingi</u>	'hear'
		<u>iri</u>	'be'

The following chart shows how the stem final vowel changes for various combinations of suffixes. Most suffixes are for first person singular, except where semantically not possible as in imperatives.

	Cook (<u>e</u> verb)	Sleep (<u>u</u> verb)	Eat (<u>i</u> verb)	Stem Changes	
1. Abrupt Imperative	age	eve	inda	Abrupt imp. sometimes changes.	
2. Polite imperative	age-jo	evu-jo	indi-jo		
3. Far past	age-a	evu-a8	indi-a	Basic Stem Ending	
4. Present habitual	age-ona	evu-ona=	indi-ona		
5. Punctilious Sequence	age-to	evu-to	indi-to		
6. Simultaneous Action	agi-e	evi-e	indi-e	e & u → i	
7. Continuative Sequence	agi-ma	evi-ma	indi-ma		
8. Close past 1	agi-ena				
9. Past habitual	agi-aona	evi-aona	indi-aona		
10. Future dependant	agi-rono	evi-rono	indi-rono		
11. Far past habitual (duration)	agi-tia aetena	evi-ti- aetena	ind-atena		
12. Mid past	agi-tana	evi-tana	indi-tana		
13. Future	aga-sona	eve-sona	inde-sona		-e → -a
14. Potential	aga-sina	eve-si	inde-sina		-u → e
15. Desiderative	aga-si	eve-si	inde-si		-i → e
16. Purposive	ag-one	ev-one	ind-one	-i } -e } -u } (stem final vowel drops off)	
17. Contrary to fact	ag-aetena	ev-aetena	ind-aetena		
18. Permissive Indic. (Recipient)	ag-ana	ev-ana	ind-ana		
19. Permissive Dep. (Causative)	ag-ano	ev-ano	ind-ano		
20. Infinitive	ag-ari	ev-ari	ind-ari		
21. Reciprocal	ag-ara	ev-ara	ind-ara		
22. Neg. Imperative	ag-aojo	ev-ojo	ind-ojo		
23. Negative	ag-ae	ev-ae	ind-ae		
24. Near Past Indic.	ag-etena	ev-ena	ind-ena		
25. Near Past Depend.	ag-etene	ev-ene	ind-ene		
26. Past Hearsay	ag-eija	ev-eija	ind-eija		

2.1.3

Reduplication on verb stems.

A verb stem or part of a verb stem reduplicates on a verb when the object is plural. It isn't possible to tell by the spelling of the stem how it will reduplicate, although there are a few with similar spellings that reduplicate in similar ways. The reduplication for plural object rule isn't always adhered to by the younger Orokaiva speakers and they have forgotten how some of the words reduplicate. Here are some verb stems with their plural forms.

Plural by addition of -reke

<u>ege</u>	<u>ege-reke</u>	'wash'
<u>age</u>	<u>age-reke</u>	'cook'
<u>tige</u>	<u>tige-reke</u>	'tie'
<u>ike</u>	<u>ike-reke</u>	'give'

Plural by reduplication of first syllable, shortening of some stems and addition of -ke.

<u>kambu</u>	<u>ka-kambu-ke</u>	'bite'
<u>sarive</u>	<u>sa-sari-ke</u>	'split'
<u>pundure</u>	<u>pu-pundu-ke</u>	'wrap'
<u>konde</u>	<u>ko-konde-ke</u>	'become well'
<u>kaje</u>	<u>ka-kaju-ke</u>	'spear'

Plural by addition of -ke

<u>toge</u>	<u>toge-ke</u>	'wrap'
<u>tore</u>	<u>toru-ke</u>	'enter'
<u>ambure</u>	<u>ambure-ke</u>	'become sick'

On some verbs that are part of complex verb stems (next section) reduplication has been observed.

<u>si e</u>	<u>sisisasi e</u>	'cry'
<u>osa e</u>	<u>osaosa e</u>	'love'
<u>tu e</u>	<u>ambutu e</u>	'shake'

When there is no object, a reduplicated verb stem can also mean a repeated action by the actor.

5.1.4 Complex Verb Stems

A number of verb-like nouns are non-inflectable apart from the reduplication mentioned in the previous section. They require another inflectable helping word such as e 'do' or ijie 'say'.

<u>arepo</u> e	'cough'	<u>arepo</u> ai-so-n-a	'I will cough'
cough make		cough make-fut-ls-indic.	
<u>ke</u> <u>ijie</u>	'speak'	<u>ke</u> <u>iji-so-n-a</u>	'I will speak'
talk say		talk say-fut-ls-indic.	
<u>wasiri</u> <u>e</u>	'move'	<u>wasiri</u> ai-su-j-a	'It will move'
movement make		movement make-fut-3s-indic.	

These complex verbs will be discussed in section 14.2 as to how they function in the complex verb phrase.

5.2 Verb Suffixation

Verbs can be divided into three grammatical categories according to their suffixes.

The final independant verbs are found in the final clause of a sentence and can be suffixed for tense, manner person and number.

The final dependant verbs can also be suffixed for tense, manner, person, and number, but don't indicate the end of a sentence.

The non-final-dependant verbs are the same as medial verbs as described in verious other grammar papers. They are inflected for mood and either indicate same or different actor on the following verb but are dependant on a following clause for subject person and number and tense.

5.2.1 In the following pages, verb suffixation will be described with the strong or regular verb poeke 'break', although weak and strong verbs have identical suffixes. There are three orders of suffixes on most finite verbs so the verb poeke will be seen in the following grid with the stem first, followed by three columns for first, second and third order suffixes.

Stem	1st order	2nd order	3rd order
<u>poeka</u> break	<u>-so</u> fut.	<u>-n</u> ls	<u>-a</u> indic.

5.2.1.1 Tense is a first order suffix.

The various tenses recognized in the Orokaiva language are future, present (which ^{usually} takes the adverb ere before it), near past, mid past, and far past. These tenses indicate action that take place at a point in time. To indicate action that covers a longer duration, the durative adverb ere 'still' is put before the verb.

ere poeki-ta-n-a 'I was breaking'
still break-M.P.-ls.indic.

or a durative suffix is included in certain tenses:

poeke-ro-n-a 'am still breaking'
break-pres.dur.-ls.indic.

There are also two habitual tenses, present and past which infer action that is or was done habitually.

poeke-o-n-a 'I break'
break-pres.hab.-ls.indic.

poeke-ao-n-a 'I always broke'
break-past hab.-ls.-indic.

5.2.1.2 The person and number suffixes are in the 2nd order.

Their are five person and number distinctions which follow the following general rules.

Person:	Suffixed as:
first person singular -'I'	-n
first and third person plural 'we,they'	-r
second person singular 'you'	-nil -e -o
second person plural 'you,pl'	-v
third person singular 'he,she,it'	-j -u -i

In the pronoun system there is a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive and third person plural, but this distinction isn't reflected in the verb suffixation. All three pronoun distinctions are represented by the same suffix.

Second person singular is noted in most verbs that are inflected for other persons, by the absence of inflection, In verbs where the third person singular suffix is -i, the second person singular suffix is -e, and where third person singular is suffixed with -u, the second person singular is suffixed with -o as in:

<u>nainge</u> <u>pah-o-i</u> where go-P.dur.-es.int. 'Where is he going?'	<u>da</u> <u>ta</u> <u>pah-u-a</u> village to goP.-3s.-indic. 'He's going to the village'
<u>nainge</u> <u>pah-o-e</u> where go-p.dur.-2s-int. 'Where are you going?'	<u>da</u> <u>ta</u> <u>pah-o-a</u> village to goP.-2s-indic. 'You are going to the village.'

5.2.1.3 The mood is a third order suffix on most final verbs where as in most non-final verbs, mood is the only suffix, therefore in the first order.

5.2.2 In the following pages first the various moods and aspects of final independant verbs, then final dependant verbs, then non-final dependant verbs are shown.

Final Independant Verbs

Indicative mood

5.2.2.1 Punctiliar Aspect - verbs suffixed to declare a fact taking place at a point in time are suffixed according to the following formula:

	1st Order	2nd Order	3rd Order
Indic. Punctiliar Verb= Verb Stem	+ tense aspect	+ person number	+ mood
<u>poeka-</u>	future: - <u>so</u> for all persons except - <u>su</u> for 3s.	1s- → - <u>n</u> 1 & 3pl. → - <u>niil</u> 2s. → - <u>v</u> 2pl. → - <u>i</u> 3s. → - <u>i</u>	indic. - <u>a</u>
<u>poeki-</u>	pres. - <u>te</u> except - <u>t</u> for 3s and - <u>i</u> becomes - <u>i</u>		
(See chart of verb stem endings for stems ending in other vowels.)			
<u>poeke</u>	today past: - <u>te</u> except - <u>ti</u> for 3s with - <u>i</u> person suffix.		
<u>poeki</u>	mid past: - <u>ta</u>		indic. - <u>a</u> collapses with 2 p. s. - <u>a</u>
<u>poeke</u>	far past: far past is only inflected - <u>a</u> for plural and - <u>na</u> for s. with no person		

Example :

(Punctiliar Aspect)

Na bo poeka-sθ-n-a
 I clothes fold-fut.θls.indic.
 'I will fold clothes.'

5.2.2.2

Durative aspect - if the action takes place over a longer time, the verbs are suffixed as follows:

Indic. Dur. Verb=
 Verb Stem + dur. aspect + person & number +mood

STEMS

ASPECT TENSE

indic. -a

the phrase level word
ere 'still' precedes
 the verb stem

no. 1

poeki-

pres. dur. -to
 3p.s. -tu

same as future
 tense above

poek-

no. 2
 -ere suffixed in
 but drops final
 -e

3s -j becomes -u

poekiti-

far past dur. ;

same as indic.
 future

(may be preceded by
 phrase level -ere
 'still') aete

Example:

na bo poek-ere-n-a
 I clothes fold-dur.p.-ls.-indic.
 'I am folding clothes.'

na bo ere poekiti-aete-n-a
 I clothes still fold-dur.+P.-ls-indic.

5.2.2.3

Habitual aspect - Verbs can be suffixed to show habitual action in the present and mid-past tense. The formula is same as above with the habitual suffix in the first order or tense-aspect position.

Stem	Tense	Person	Mood
poeké-	pres. hab. -o 3s. is -u	person markers same as in indic. future.	indic. -a
	past hab. -ao 3s is -au		

Example:

na bo poeke-o-n-a
I clothes fold-pres.hab.-ls-indic.
'I always fold clothes.'

na bo ^{oe}peke-ao-n-a
I clothes fold-past.hab.-ls.-indic.
'I used to always fold clothes.'

5.2.2.4

Contrary to fact - an action that could have happened but didn't, is suffixed as a contrary to fact verb.

Stem	+C.F.(Contrary to fact)	+ Person	+ Mood
poek-	-aete <u>-aeti</u> for 3s	same as above	indic. -a

Example:

na bo poek-aete-n-a
I clothes fold-c.f.-ls-indic.
'I could have folded clothes.'

Contrary to fact verb has been observed in the future tense without person number suffixes and only in the dependant mood:

Stem	Fut. C.F. suffix:
<u>poekiti-</u>	<u>-roure</u>

Example:

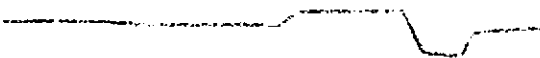
i avo peekiti-roure amo be-aeti-j-a
 tree that one break-fut.-c.f. it fall-c.f.-3s.-indic.
 'If that tree were to break, it would fall down.'

5.2.2.5

Dependant or Interrogative Mood

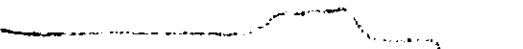
If the indicative -a is changed to -e, in the verb types above, the verbs become dependent and can either indicate cause of the action in the following clause or indicate an interrogative mood. Often the post position te follows as a fourth order suffix when a question is intended.

When the verb ending in -e is followed by another clause, it is understood as the cause or result of an action, but when it is not final, it has the following intonation pattern and it is understood as a question:



Bo ere poeki-to-n-e
 Cloth still fold-pres.dur.-ls.-int.
 'Am I folding cloth?'

This intonation pattern can be compared with the same clause with indicative verb ending:



Bo ere peeki-to-n-a
 Cloth still fold-pres.dur.-ls-indic.
 'I am folding cloth.'

5.2.2.6

Hearsay Aspect

When an action is being reported as having been said by another party, there is a suffix -eij that indicates hearsay which is included between the person suffix and the final mode suffix.

na pamb-e-n-a
I go-T.P.-ls-indic.
'I went'

na pamb-e-n-eij-a
I went-T.P.-ls-hearsay-indic.
'It is said that I went.'

On third person singular the -eij suffix doesn't duplicate, but partially replaces the person marker:

	hab	hab. hearsay	FP dur.	FP dur. Hearsay
(11 3s)	<u>poekueja</u>	<u>poekueija</u> ,	<u>poekitiaetija</u>	<u>poekitiaeteija</u>

5.2.2.7

Greeting Indicative

When an action is reported as a reply to a friend, loudly, at a distance, the greeting indicative -aro is used as in:

pamba-so-n-a
go-fut.-ls-indic.
'I will go.'

pamba-so-n-aro
go-fut.-ls-greeting indic.
'I will go!'

5.2.2.8

Imperative

Imperatives are suffixed for singular or plural, polite or abrupt mood, and negative or positive command. Note how the stem used for the negative command has a different final vowel.

	+ stem	+ number	± negative	± mood
Abrupt sing.	<u>poeke-</u>	-∅		
abrupt pl.	<u>poeke-</u>	-vu		
polite sing.	<u>poeke-</u>	-∅		-jo
polite pl.	<u>poeke-</u>	-vu		-jo
neg. abrupt sing.	<u>poeka-</u>	-∅	-o	
neg. abrupt pl.	<u>poeka-</u>	-v	-o	
neg. polite sing.	<u>poeka-</u>	-∅	-o	-jo
neg. polite pl.	<u>poeka-</u>	-v	-o	-jo

Ungo bo poeka-v-o-jo
 You pl. clothes fold-pl.-neg.-polite
 'Don't fold clothes.'

Bo poeke
 clothes fold.abrupt.sing.imp.
 'Fold the clothes.'

The negative action suffix -ae and the infinitive suffix -ari are not inflected for person, number, or tense, but they are included in this section since they can occur as final independant verbs.

5.2.2.9

Negative action

When the action is negated, the verb is not inflected with person or tense, but just the neg. suffix -ae is added to the stem. The resultant verb can be used for all final persons and tenses except future and habitual. For these tenses, the adverb mane 'neg.' is used before the verb.

na pamb-ae
 I go-neg.
 'I didn't go.'

na mane pamba-so-n-a
 I not go-fut.-ls.-indic.
 'I won't go'.

5.2.2.10

Infinitive:

The infinitive verb stem + -ari is a very useful construction in Orokaiva. Infinitive suffix can be used as a nominalizer.

ind-ari 'food'
eat-inf.

pamb-ari 'trip'
go-inf.

or as an adjectivizer:

eg-ari bande 'wash house'
wash-inf. house

bor-ari jo 'oven'
bake-inf. room

or as an alternate to far past tense:

embo matu pamb-ari 'The man went long ago'
man before go-inf.

5.2.3

Dependant final

The following verbs are dependant, but final in that they are inflected for tense, person and number.

5.2.3.1 Causative - If one action causes another to happen, then the following dependant finite forms are used. The causative verb endings are inflected for tense, person-number, and causative mood.

Stems	Tense	Person	Mood
<u>poek-</u>	future <u>-a</u>	1s <u>-n</u> 1&3p <u>-r</u> 2s <u>-ø</u> 2p <u>-v</u> 3s <u>-u</u>	- <u>o</u> except 3s → \emptyset
<u>poeke-</u>	today past <u>-te</u>	1s <u>-n</u> 1&3p <u>-r</u> 2s <u>-ø</u> 2p <u>-v</u> 3s <u>-i</u>	-e ^{but} 2s → \emptyset 3s → \emptyset
<u>poeki-</u>	mid past <u>-ta</u>	1s <u>-n</u> 1&3p <u>-r</u> 2s <u>-ø</u> 2p <u>-v</u> 3s <u>-i</u>	-e ^{but} 2s + 3s → \emptyset

<u>poeke-</u>	far past (this form only occurs in singular and plural forms and is not inflected for person)	2 \emptyset	sing. <u>-n</u> pl. <u>-ø</u>	<u>-u</u> <u>-o</u>
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* the absence of tense inflection specifies far past tense.

Examples:

na ino te-te-n-e pamb-i-j-a
I dog hit-T.P.-1s-caus. go-T.P.-3s-indic.
'When I hit the dog, he went.'

donda avo ik-a-0 be-a-ø
thing that give-fut.-caus. down-Res.-3s.
'Put that down'.

If this set of causative verb endings is compared to the causative endings formed by replacing indicative -a with -e (see 5.2.2.5), they are the same except in future tense and in 3rd person singular in the past tenses.

5.2-3.2

Resultive - When the dependant causative verbs are used, they are followed generally by a resultant action, For all tenses except the future, the resultant verb is the independant final indicative or causative form (see no.5.2.2.5)

Stem	Tense	Person-Number		Resultive Mood
<u>poek-</u>	<u>-a</u>	1s	<u>-n</u>	<u>-e</u>
		1&3p	<u>-r</u>	2s& 3s — 7 ϕ
		2s	<u>-o</u>	
		2p	<u>-v</u>	
		3s	<u>-i</u>	

Examples:

ik-e poek-a-n-e
 give-2simp. break-fut.-1s-result.
 'Give it so I can break it'

t-a-u- ϕ poek-a-i- ϕ
 hit-fut.-3p.-caus. break-fut-3s.-res.
 'He will hit it so it will break'

5.2.4

Non-final Verbs:

The non-final verbs are the same as the medial verbs as described in other grammars of New Guinea languages. Except for the reciprocal and permissive verb, suffixes which are inflected for person and number as well as mood, non-final verbs depend on a final verb for all but mood suffixes. There are six verbs types described; the last three have to do with the sequence in which actions take place.

5.2.4.1

Reciprocal action:

If the action is reciprocal, the suffix -ara is added to the verb stem. Because the semantic function of the verb is to show reciprocal

action, it may be taken as a plural suffix, but is not further inflected.

Example:

<u>hande</u>	<u>mine</u>	<u>ik-ara</u>	<u>ai-so-r-a</u>
gift	exchange	give-rec.	do-fut.-1&3p-indic.
'We will exchange gifts.'			

5.2.4.2

Permissive:

When one action is done to permit another action to happen, the permissive mood is used. The verb stem loses the final vowel and the suffixes are for permissive mood and person.

Stem + permissive mood & person

<u>poek-</u>	1s	<u>-ana</u>
	1&3p	<u>-ara</u>
	2s	<u>-a</u>
	2p	<u>-ava</u>
	3s	<u>-aja</u>

Example:

<u>na</u>	<u>poek-ana</u>	<u>ike-ti-j-a</u>
I	break-permis.1s	give-pres.-3s.-indic.
'He gave it so I could break it.'		

<u>ungo</u>	<u>pamb-ava</u>	<u>ete-n-a</u>
youpl.	go-permis2p.	do-1s-indic.
'I did it so you could go.'		

5.2.4.3

Desiderative

When the action is desired the desiderative suffix -si is joined to the verb stem. This suffix is used in all tenses and is observed to be non-finite, dependant in all but the future tense where it is inflected for person in 1s and 1&3p, but for the other three persons, it needs the helping verb ijari 'to say'.

Stem	Desire. Aspect	Person	Indic.
<u>poeka-</u>	<u>-si</u> all tenses (non-final)	no final person and mood in tenses except future;	
		1s	<u>-n</u> <u>-a</u>
		1&3p	<u>-r</u> <u>*a</u>
		2s	<u>-ijé</u> <u>-a</u>
		2p	<u>-ijev</u> <u>-a</u>
		3s	<u>-ijij</u> <u>-a</u>

Examples:

i tuha pééka-si pa-ho-n-a
stick break-des. go-pres.-1s-indic.
'I am going to break a stick'

poeka-si-n-a
break-desire-1s-indic.
'I want to break it'

poeka-si ijij-a
break-desire say-indic.
'He wants to break it.'

5.1.4.4

Continuative Sequence

When the action continues up to a point when another action begins the verb is suffixed to show a continuative sequence. The suffixes do not show person-number, but just long and short duration.

Stem	+ Contin. Sequence	+ long duration
<u>poekiti-</u>	<u>-ma</u>	<u>-kara</u>

Examples:

na i poekit-ma-kara to-to ind-e-n-a
I wood break-cont.sec.-long dur. leave-P.S. eat-near past-1s-indic
'K kept on breaking wood and then quit and ate.'

pure ere u-ma puv-i-j-a
work still do-past-cont.sed. come-near past-3s-indic.
'Worked for awhile then he came.'

5.2.4.5

Punctiliar Sequence

When actions are completed in a series, one after the other and there is no change of actor, the suffix -to is added to the verb stem.

Example

<u>donda</u>	<u>umbu-to</u>	<u>puvu-to</u>	<u>ike-te-n-a</u>
things	take-p.s.	come-p.s.	give-pres.-ls-indic.

'I took the things and came and gave them.'

5.2.4.6

Simultaneous Sequence

When one action takes place while another is going on the suffix -@ is added to the verb stem.

Example:

<u>na</u>	<u>indi-e</u>	<u>mi-te-n-a</u>
I	eat-sim.	be-pres.-ls-indic.

'I am here eating.'

4. Nouns

Nouns are the class of words which fill the head slot in a noun phrase. Words that function as nouns are the common or proper names of persons or places or the names of things. They can be described by adjectives and can be possessed. Verbal infinitives such as the following can function as nouns.

Example:

<u>inda-ari</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>ind-ara¹</u>	<u>ta</u>	<u>ove</u>	<u>javotoho-ra</u>
eat-inf.	your	eat-inf.	poss.	color	good-T.C. d'ek

'The color of your food is good.'

<u>pamb-ari</u>	<u>pamb-ari</u>	<u>ta</u>	<u>mine</u>	<u>erevi-ra</u>
go-inf.	go-inf.	poss.	exchange	here-T.C. d'ek

'Here is the price of your trip.'

Also the class of verbal nouns function as nouns. These words such as:

<u>uje</u>	'desire'	<u>beuje</u>	'hunger'	<u>pure</u>	'work'
<u>osaga</u>	'sadness'	<u>me</u>	'shame'		

6.1 Inflections of Nouns

Nouns in Orokaiva are virtually non-inflected, although some writers tend to join certain phrase level post positionals on to the nouns; especially the post positions for possession ta, appearance ko, and definiteness ra, which occurs finally in equative clauses.

Since other words such as adjectives and additional nouns can come between the noun and the post position, they will not be described as word-level suffixes but as part of noun phrases.

Examples:

embo peni ko
man big app.
'like a big man'

embo ko
man app.
'like a man'

ino ra
dog def.
'dog'

ino javotoho ra
dog good def.
'good dog'

6.2 Pluralization

Many nouns have plural forms of different types which aren't predictable by the spellings of the nouns. Each noun that can be pluralized will need to be listed with its plural form in a dictionary. Younger speakers of Orokaiva don't always use the plural forms of nouns as do the older speakers. The language seems to be becoming less complex in this area.

The most common nouns with plural forms are kinship terms. Below are various types of pluralization observed:

adding a rhyming word:

<u>ituha</u> 'stick'	<u>ituha-jatuha</u> 'sticks'
<u>namei</u> 'brother'	<u>namei-kamei</u> 'brothers'

plural unrelated:

<u>nambori</u> 'brother-in-law'	<u>dadapone</u> 'brothers-in-law'
------------------------------------	--------------------------------------

addition of a word:

<u>du</u> 'sister'	<u>du-emone</u> 'sisters'
<u>jape</u> 'aunt'	<u>jape-mane</u> 'aunts'
<u>meni</u> 'child'	<u>meni-undi</u> 'children'
<u>aja</u> 'mother'	<u>aja-mane</u> 'mothers'
<u>mama</u> 'father'	<u>mama-mane</u> 'fathers'

partial reduplication

<u>hovatu</u> 'siter-in-law'	<u>hohovatu</u> 'sisters-in-law'
<u>embo</u> 'man'	<u>embopo</u> 'men'

6.3 Compound Nouns

Nouns are compounded by adding the word te 'and' after the nouns.

Example.

<u>haijo</u>	<u>te</u>	<u>amita</u>	<u>meni</u>	<u>te</u>	<u>pamb-e-r-a</u>
Haijo	and	his	son	and	go-T.P.-1&3p.-indic.

7, Adverbs

The words that describe the action of the verb are adverbs. Some adverbs act as modifiers of a verb in a verb phrase and some fill the manner slot on the clause level.

The word ere always indicates duration on a verb phrase to be described later, and always immediately precedes the verb.

Examples:

ere pah-o-n-a
still(dur) go-pres.-ls-indic.
'I am going'

ere agi-ti-a
still cook-3s-indic.
'he (it) is cooking'

The word be is an intensifier that immediately precedes the verb in a verb phrase:

Examples:

be pambau
really go-imp.
'really go!'

be te-te-n-a-
really hit-pres-1s-indic.
'I really hit it'

The word mane before the verb shows negation:

Example:

mane pamba-so-n-a
neg. go-fut.-ls-indic.
'I won't go'

Other adverbs of manner aren't so restricted to the position just before the verbs.

sausau da ta pamb-u
quickly place to go-imp.
'go quickly to your place'

seima seima namei ga inda
slowly brother with eat.imp.
'eat slowly with your brother'

8, Adverbial Phrase

An adverbial phrase fills the manner slot in a clause and consists of an adverb, an optional intensifier be, an optional negative mane and eto, which is the punctiliar sequential form of the verb e 'to do'.

Adverb Phrase=	head	+ intensifier	+ neb.	+ postposition
	adverb	<u>be</u>	<u>mane</u>	<u>eto</u> <u>te</u>

Examples:

<u>i</u>	<u>painki painki</u>	<u>eto</u>	<u>puv-i-j-a</u>
wood	bounce up and down	movement (manner)	come-today past-3s.-indic.

'the wood came bouncing up and down'

<u>haperi haperi</u>	<u>eto</u>	<u>ike</u>
turning	man.	give.imp.

'Give it while turning it over'

<u>sausau</u>	<u>be</u>	<u>mane</u>	<u>eto</u>	<u>puv-i-j-a</u>
fast	very	not	motion	come-tod.past.-3s.- indic.

'moving not very fast, it came'

9. Time words

Time words fill the time slot in a clause or are the head of a time phrase. There are two classes of time words, those that require the suffixes -te or -ta 'at' and those that don't.

Some words that require -te are:

<u>iho-te</u>	'in the morning'	<u>ture-te</u>	'in the afternoon'
<u>mume-te</u>	'at night'	<u>iji-te</u>	'in the day'

Some words that require -ta are:

<u>ambo-ta</u>	'later'	<u>mume jo-ta</u>	'in the night'
<u>datoho-ta</u>	'eternally'		

Some non-suffixed time words:

<u>evuto</u>	'tomorrow'	<u>matu</u>	'before'
<u>matuainge</u>	'always'	<u>eha</u>	'now'
<u>oro</u>	'now'		

10. Time Phrases

A number of time words can work with intensifiers and a post-position to form a phrase that fills the time slot of a clause and is constructed according to the following formula:

Time Phrase=	+ Head	+ Modifier	† postposition of time
	time words verbal infinitive	more time words	<u>te</u> or <u>ta</u> (sometimes suffixed to the time word; sometimes not.)

Examples:

evuto iho be te pamba-so-n-a
tomorrow morning really at go-fut. 1s-indic.
'I will go early tomorrow morning'

mume nei amita jo ta puv-e-n-a
night another it's inside at come-T?P.-1s-indic.
'in the middle of night before last, I came'

11. Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns in noun phrases and they generally follow the noun they modify. When the modifier becomes part of an accepted name, it sometimes precedes the noun.

Examples:

ino mume mit-i-a
dog black is-pres.-3s-indic.
'There is a black dog.'

mume embo mit-i-a
black man is.pres.-3s-indic.
'The black man is there.'

agena embo
white man

11.1 The infinitive of a verb can be used as an adjective preceding the noun or following the noun.

Example:

o borari
'meat roasted'

evari bande
sleeping house

siro ^pindari
head bald

indari o
'eating meat'

tini kambari
stomach to bite
'anger'

o kambari ino
meat bite dog
'an animal biting dog'

11.2 Adjectives are not inflected but when adjectives describe plural nouns, they often have a plural form.

Examples:

o peni
animal large (singular)

o pepeni papeni
animals large (plural)

Some other adjectives with plural forms:

Singular	Plural	
<u>isapa</u>	<u>isasaraho</u>	'small'
<u>koso</u>	<u>kokoso</u>	'long'
<u>tuhaupa</u>	<u>tutuho</u>	'short'
<u>beuka</u>	<u>bobouka</u>	'heavy'
<u>ejapa</u>	<u>ejaja</u>	'light'
<u>gasa</u>	<u>gagasa</u>	'dry'

When the adjective is a verbal infinitive, it also uses its plural form (if it has one) to describe a plural noun.

bo poek-ari
cloth fold-inf.
'folded cloth'

bo popojek-ari
cloth fold.pl.-inf.
'folded clothes'

di tig-ari
bird tie-inf.
'tied bird'

di tigerek-ari
bird tie.pl.-inf.
'many tied birds'

12. Postpositions

The words that follow nouns or noun phrases or adjectives and sometimes adverbs to tell their grammatical function, are called postpositions. Here is a list of postpositions and their various meanings.

	Meaning	FUNCTION
embo	for	benefactor
avo embo	because of	
te	and at with	coordination time
ga	with	accompaniment
na	with by	instrument actor
ta	of to at, on to, from	possessive destination location indirect object
eto	movement	manner
ta degi degi ta	to	indirect object
degi ta eto	from	source

On certain pronouns and demonstratives, the postposition is suffixed. This precludes adding a postposition to a N.P. when it is used.

Example:

pos.	coord.	acc
amita	amite	amiga

13. General Noun Phrase (postpositional Phrase)

A general noun phrase which could fill the subject, object, locative, or indirect object slots in a clause, could be described as follows:

G.N.P.=	<u>+Mod.</u>	+ Head	+ <u>Mod.</u> <u>+ Mod.</u>	+Postposition of Function
G.N.P.	adjectives	noun	adjectives	see post position chart, or use demonstrative pr pronoun, con- taining the appropriate suffix acc. to function in clause.
	verb infin.	compound noun	embedded	
		coordinate n.	clauses	
		appositional n.	verbal	
		possessed n.	infinitives	
		verbal infin.	embedded N.P.	
		verbal noun	*a noun with	
		pronoun	more than two	
		demonstrative	of the above	
			modifiers, has not been observed.	

Examples of Noun Phrases.

13.1 When a noun phrase fills the subject slot, it consists of a noun, modifiers and if the subject is acting on an object, then the postposition -na is used and in this case carries the same meaning as when used in the instrument noun phrase.

Examples.

embo peni na ino te-ti-j-a
man big sub. dog hit-T.P.-3s-indic.
'The big man hit the dog.'

When the action is not carried to an object the -na is optional as in:

embo pamb-i-j-a
man go-T.P.-3s-indic.
'The man went'

or

embo na pamb-i-j-a
man (sub)go-T.P.-3s.-indic.
'The man went'

13.2 The accompaniment noun phrase is a general noun phrase with the postposition ga 'with'

acc. N.P.
na neu namei ga pamb-e-n-a
I my friend with go-T.P.-1s-indic.
'I went with my friend.'

13.3 The noun phrase used as object has no postposition.

~~na~~ obj. N.P.
ino mume te-te-n-a
 dog black hit-T.P.-1s-indic.
 'I hit the black dog.'

13.4 When the noun phrase is used to show benefactor the postposition is avo embo 'because of' or shortened to embo.

~~na~~ ben. N.P.
na umo avoembo e-te-n-a
 I you because do-T.P.-1s-indic.
 'I did it for you'

13.5 The noun phrase as instrument is the same as the subject noun phrase except that the postposition na is obligatory in all cases.

inst. N.P.
ituha na te-te-n-a
 stick by(inst) hit-T.P.-1s-indic.
 'I hit it with a stick'

13.6 The locative noun phrase has a noun, modifiers and either the postposition ta 'at' or the locative pronoun ai 'here' ai 'there' or oi 'over there'. Sometimes a combination of ai and ta are used.

loc. N.P.
embo bande ae ta mi-ti-a
 man house there at be-pres.-3s-indic.
 'The man is in that house.'

13.7 When source is indicated, the noun phrase has the postposition eto or ta eto 'from'.

~~na~~ Source N.P.
embo Moresby ta eto puvi-j-a
 man " from come.T.P.-3s-indic.
 'The man came from Moresby.'

13.8 When the noun phrase shows indirect object, the postposition used is ta or ta degi or degi ta meaning 'to'.

I.O. N.P.
na embo okose ta degi ke e-te-n-a
 I man big to talk say-T.P.-1s-indic.
 'I talked to the big man.'

As a matter of style in Orokaiva, long noun phrases are not used. Although it is possible to form long descriptive phrases using various constructions within the general noun phrase described above, Orokaiva speakers don't generally use more than two modifiers in a noun phrase.

14. Verb Phrases

14.1 A simple verb phrase is formed when the adverbial ere 'still' or mane 'neg.' precede the verb.

Examples:

na ere pah-o-n-a
I still go-pres.-1s-indic.
'I am going.'

ainge mane a-so-a
like that neg. do-fut.2s-indic.
'You won't do like that.'

14.2 A complex verb phrase is formed by a complex verb stem followed by modifying adjectives or adverbs and the verb. Various clause level tagmemes such as manner, benefactive, direct object, accompaniment, can also come between the verbal word and its inflected helper in the verb phrase.

Examples:

na arepo peni vahai mane ai-so-nea
I cough big one neg. do-fut.-1s-indic.
'I won't cough loudly.'

i vasiri ere u-a
tree movement still do-3s-pres.-indic.
'the tree is moving.'

amina ke no degi ta mane ije-su-j-a
he talk you road at neg. say-fut.-3s-indic.
'He won't talk to you.'

15.

Pronouns

	Subject Object	Emphatic Subject	Possessive	Accompaniment	Coordination (and)	Benefactive
1s	<u>na</u>	<u>nanena</u>	<u>nau</u>	<u>namoga</u>	<u>namote</u>	<u>namo embo</u>
1p exd	<u>dago</u> <u>nango</u>	<u>dagona</u> <u>nangona</u>	<u>dagota</u> <u>nangota</u>	<u>dagoga</u> <u>nangoga</u>	<u>dagote</u> <u>nangote</u>	<u>dago embo</u> <u>nango embo</u>
1p ind	<u>ungote</u>	<u>ungotena</u>	<u>ungotenau</u>	<u>ungotenamoga</u>	<u>ungotenamote</u>	<u>ungotena embo</u>
2s	<u>umo</u>	<u>inena</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>umoga</u>	<u>umoto</u>	<u>umo embo</u>
2pl	<u>ungo</u>	<u>ungona</u>	<u>ungota</u>	<u>ungoga</u>	<u>ungote</u>	<u>ungo embo</u>
3s	close- <u>emo</u> mid- <u>amo</u> far- <u>omo</u>	<u>emina</u> <u>amina</u> <u>omina</u>	<u>emita</u> <u>amita</u> <u>omita</u>	<u>emiga</u> <u>amiga</u> <u>omiga</u>	<u>emite</u> <u>amite</u> <u>omite</u>	<u>emo embo</u> <u>amo embo</u> <u>omo embo</u>
3p	<u>enana</u>	<u>enanana</u>	<u>enanata</u>	<u>enanaga</u>	<u>enanate</u>	<u>enana embo</u>
who?	<u>amuna</u>	<u>amuna</u>	<u>amuta</u>	<u>amuqa</u>	<u>amute</u>	<u>amuna embo</u>

16.

Demonstratives

The third person singular emo, amo, omo forms the basis for the demonstratives. When the demonstrative, with initial e- is used, it refers to something near the speaker. The a- initially refers to something near the hearer or not far away. When o- is used, it refers to something fairly distant from both speaker and hearer.

Demonstratives

	sub. inst.		Accompaniment	Coordination	Doubt or Question	'like this'	'like this' (app.)
	'this'	'by this'	'with this'	'and this'	'this(doubt)	'like this'	'like this' (app.)
this	<u>emo</u>	<u>emina</u>	<u>emiga=</u>	<u>emite</u>	<u>emomo</u>	<u>einge</u>	<u>eingeko</u>
that	<u>amo</u>	<u>amina</u>	<u>amiga</u>	<u>amite</u>	<u>amomo</u>	<u>ainge</u>	<u>aingeke</u>
that (dis- tant)	<u>omo</u>	<u>omina</u>	<u>omiga</u>	<u>omite</u>	<u>omomo</u>		
emphatic							
this	<u>eremo</u>	<u>eremina</u>	<u>eremiga</u>	<u>eremite</u>	<u>eremomo</u>	<u>ereinge</u>	<u>ereingeko</u>
that	<u>aramo</u>	<u>aramina</u>	<u>aramiga</u>	<u>aramite</u>	<u>aramomo</u>	<u>arainge</u>	<u>araingeko</u>
that (dist.)	<u>oromo</u>	<u>oromina</u>	<u>oromiga</u>	<u>oromite</u>	<u>oromomo</u>		

Location (emphatic)

	non-final		final position		emphatic	simple positions
	indefinite	definite	def. interr.	interr.		
this here	<u>erevi</u>	<u>erevira</u>	<u>erevire</u>	<u>emore</u>	<u>erei</u> 'this one here'	<u>ei</u> 'here'
that there	<u>aravo</u>	<u>aravira</u>	<u>aravore</u>	<u>amore</u>	<u>arai</u> 'that one there'	<u>ai</u> 'there'
that over there	<u>orovi</u>	<u>orovira</u>	<u>orovire</u>		<u>oroi</u> 'that over there'	<u>oi</u> 'over there'

Location (non-emphatic)

this here	<u>evi</u>	<u>evira</u>	<u>evire</u>
that there	* <u>avo</u>	<u>avira</u>	<u>avore</u>
*that over there	<u>ovi</u>	<u>ovira</u>	<u>ovira</u>

*avo also refers emphatically to the preceding subject, where amo refers non-emphatically to the preceding subject.

17. The words that ask question such as what? where? why? are included in the lists below with their English glosses. They are divided into four sets by stem spellings, with much overlap in meaning as in 'where' naingere, deitare, or davore.

<u>do</u> words	<u>nainge-</u> words	<u>dei-</u> words	<u>da-</u> words
<u>do</u> 'what'	<u>nainge</u> 'where'	<u>deire</u> 'what'	<u>davo</u> 'from where' (village)
<u>do do</u> 'what' (emph)	<u>naingere</u> 'where' (equative final)	<u>deite</u> 'with what' (coordination) or 'when'	<u>davore</u> 'where' (equative final)
<u>do eto</u> 'why'	<u>naingeto</u> 'how'	<u>iji deite</u> 'what time'	<u>dava dava</u> 'where' (emph.)
<u>do do eto</u> 'why' (emph)	<u>nainge eto</u> 'from where'	<u>deiga</u> 'with what' (acc.)	<u>damiga</u> 'with what' (acc.)
<u>doinge</u> 'how many'	<u>nainge ta</u> 'where at'	<u>deina</u> 'by what' (sub.-inst.)	<u>damiko</u> 'what like'
<u>doitoko</u> 'how many' (equative final)	<u>naingetare</u> 'where at' (equative final)	<u>deita</u> 'where at'	<u>damikore</u> 'what like' (equative final)
<u>doitoko</u> 'how many'	<u>naingeko</u> 'like how' (equative final)	<u>deitare</u> 'where at' (equative final)	
<u>doitokore</u> 'how many' (equative final)		<u>deita eto</u> 'where from'	<u>damina</u> 'by what' (sub.-inst.)

18. Clauses

There are just two basic clauses in Orokaiva. One which doesn't take a predicate called the equative clause, and one with a predicate which is its only obligatory tagmeme, called the general clause.

The Equative clause has two obligatory parts which are understood as equated to each other followed by the optional postpositional definite mood marker ra or its interrogative counterpart re or rete. Equative clauses are always independent and finite.

There is a General clause for each verb and each verb together with its optional tagmemes makes a general clause. The general clause can be dependent ~ independent or finite ~ non-finite depending on the verb endings in its predicate.

There are a total of 10 tagmemes that can occur in a general clause although seldom more than 4 ever do and between 2 and 3 would be the average number. They are the predicate which is obligatory and the optional tagmemes of Subject, Instrument, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Benefactor, Manner, Location, Time, and Accompaniment. Aside from the predicate being in final position, there is no necessary order of tagmemes. Perhaps the strength of emphasis would determine how the speaker chooses to order tagmemes.

Since it's unnatural for many tagmemes to occur in a single clause, it's difficult to study ordering of clause tagmemes.

18.1 Equative Clause

The formula for the equative clause is:

Equative Cl =	+ Topic	+ Comment	+ Mood
	N.P. + App. Pronoun or see 13. Demonstrative see 15+16.	Noun Phrase see 13.	definite <u>ra</u> interr. <u>re</u> or <u>rete</u>

Examples:

amo nau ra
that mine def.
'that's mine'

ino eha pamb-i-j-a avo no mama ta rete?
dog now go-T.P.-3s.-indic.dem you father poss. interr.def.
'Is the dog that just went, you father's?'

bande peni vahai ra
house big one def.
'It is a big house'

13.2 The general clause is constructed according to this formula:

Gen.Cl. = +Sub. +Inst. +D.Obj. I.O. Acc. +Ben. +Loc. +Time +Manner Pred.

N.P. with <u>+ na</u>	N.P. with <u>na</u>	N.P.	N.P. with <u>ta</u> <u>ta degi</u>	N.P. with <u>ga</u>	N.P. with <u>embo</u> or <u>avoembo</u>	N.P. with <u>+ ta</u>	Time phrase with <u>te</u> or <u>ta</u>	Adv. P. with <u>eto</u>	Any ver b or verb phrase
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Examples: (the clause level slots are marked to show the loose ordering of tagmemes except for predicate which is final.)

embb ituha na ino te te-ti-j-a
 man(sub) stick by(inst)dog(DO) hit-pres.-3s-indic.(pred)
 'The man hit the dog with the stick.'

na ihote donda umo avoembo age-to
 I(sub) morning(time) food(DO) you because of(Ben) cook-P.S. (pred)
 'I cooked food because of you this morning.' non-final dep.

nau bande ta evuto umo ga umoro a-so-n-a
 my house at(loc)tomorrow(time)you with(acc)visit make-fut.-1s-indic.
 (compæex verb Pred.)
 'I will visit with you tomorrow at my house.'

sau eto ãkãnamei ga pamb-u
 quickly(manner) brotherwith(acc) go-imper.sing. (pred)
 'Go quickly with your brother.'

19. Clause group

As in Suena (see Wilson grammar) the clause group seems an important level between clause and sentence since clauses with certain predicated tend to group together, or enjoy the help of each other. For example the general clause ending in the non-finite desiderative verb endings -si usually will have a clause following with the same subject and whose verb is finite and has the subject marked as in:

na inde-si pah-o-n-a
I eat-des. go-pres.-ls-indic.
'I am going to eat(desire).'

19.1 These clauses that tend to cluster in predictable groups according to their predication, don't do so obligatorily, but are also observed in other constructions.

Allan Healy "Preliminary Notes on Orokaiva Grammar", Pacific Linguistics No. 18, 1969, has chosen to describe this type of clause grouping as verb phrases, but since the various parts of these constructions can occur with other tagmemes between them, I have chosen to describe them as clause groups.

1. Desire + to do. When desire is the mood that is meant to be conveyed as an independent clause, it needs to be followed by the verb 'to do'.

na pamba-si ere o-n-a
I go-desire still do-ls.-indic.
'I want to go.'

inde-si u-e- puv-e-n-a
eat-desire do-Sim.Sec. come@pres.-ls-indic.
'When he was hungry, I came.'

2. Cause and Effect group is when the object of the verb in the first clause becomes the subject of the verb in the following clause, so that there is a cause and effect relationship.

boro avo te-jo pamb-ai
ball that hit-pol.imp. go-3s.
'Hit the ball so it goes.'

ke ike-te-n-e pamb-i-j-a
talk give-pres.-1s-nonfinal go-F.P.-3s.-indic.
(I gave talk, it went)
'I sent word.'

3. Negative verb + 'do' or 'be!'. When the verb has the negative suffix -ae, it doesn't take any other suffixes to indicate person and number and tense, so in the following clause, the verb 'to do' shows this information.

na ing-ae e-te-n-a
I hear-neg. do-pres.-1s-indic.
'I didn't understand'

amina ind-ae mi-ti-a
he eat-neg. is-pres.-3s.-indic.
'He didn't eat'

19.2 Grouping by subject.

Another seemingly meaningful way of grouping clauses would be by breaking them into groups that have predicates with the same subjects. In the following example, note how the clauses group according to their subject.

	Sub. 1			clause 1
<u>embo</u>	<u>javo</u>	<u>Kevin na</u>	<u>amita ehe</u>	<u>avo unduka-si/</u>
man	name	Kevin by	his	koonai that burn-desid.

clause 2		Sub. 2
<u>e-te-i</u>	end of clause group 1	<u>da Sui embo</u>
do-T,P,-3s.non-final		viillage " man

		clause 3		clause 4
<u>te pamone</u>	<u>te aingeto</u>	<u>pambu-to/</u>	<u>ehe itike-to</u>	
and women	and together	go-P.S.	grass begin-P.S.	

clause 5		Sub. 3
<u>unduki-te-r-e/</u>	end of clause group 2.	<u>Ga peni vahai</u>
burn-T.P.-3p.-non-final		rain big one

clause 6	embedded clause	clause 7
<u>be-to</u>	<u>ehe unduke-ta-r-a</u>	<u>amo seike-te-i</u>
fall-P.S.	grass burn-midpast-3p-indic.	that (rain) put.our-pres.-3s-nonfinal

(sub. 4 same as sub. 5)	clause 8	embedded cl. of manner
	<u>to-to</u>	<u>da ta ga kuti-te</u>
	leave-P.S.	vilage to rain wash-sim.sec.

puvuri-ta-r-a. end of clause group 4
 come-midpast- end of sentence.
 1&3pl-indic.

' A man named Kevin said he wanted to burn his koonai grass so all the Sui men and women went, but when they had started to light the grass a big rain fell and put out the grass that was burning so they left it and came back to the village while being washed by the rain.'

Longacre (See "Paragraph and Sentence Structure in New Guinea Highlands Languages", KIVUNG, Vol.3, No.3, Dec. 1970) has called this level the sentence level rather than clause grouping.

20. Sentence level comes between clause group and paragraph level.

A sentence can be defined as an utterance that can stand complete by itself. It can make a command, state a fact, or ask a question.

The words e 'yes' and an an or mane 'no' can be considered as sentences since they are complete in themselves.

20.1 Commands are given as short sentences since they don't require a wealth of information and usually consists of one clause group.

Examples:

- 1 ihe pamb-a-i
give.imp. go-fut-3s-permissive
'Give it so it will go.' (send it away)
- 2 pambu-to umbu-to ha
go-P.S. get-P.S. come-imp.
'Go, bring it here.'

20.2 When people converse, the sentences they use are average medium length, varying from very short to longer than commands, but shorter than story telling sentences.

The longest sentences occur in written stories. In writing, people often don't use the finite independent verb until the end of the story. The clause groups are either dependent non-finite or , if they are finite, they are joined with one of the following linking words.

<u>rate</u>	'but'
<u>eto</u>	'and, then, when'
<u>kito</u>	'then, therefore'
<u>avo eto</u>	'that then, so therefore'

<u>avoembo</u>	'therefore, because'
<u>amo</u>	'it is that'
<u>amo</u>	'it is that' (stronger focus)
<u>ainge eto</u>	'like that then'
<u>einge eto</u>	'like this then'
<u>o</u>	'or' (English borrowing)

20.3 Intonation

Sentences are also marked by falling intonation and a pause after the indicative endings and a dip and slight rising intonation at the end of an interrogative sentence.

<u>embo</u>	<u>donda</u>	<u>umbu-to</u>	<u>pamb-i-j-a</u>
man	things	take-P.S.	go-T.P.-3s-indic.
'The man took the things and went.'			

<u>embo</u>	<u>donda</u>	<u>bmbu-to</u>	<u>pamb-e-i-te</u>
man	things	take-P.S.	go-T.P.-3s-interr.
'Did the man take the things and go?'			

20.4 Clause group joining

Clause groups can be joined into sentences by using the above linking words to join them coordinately or by using various dependant verb endings.

In the example (groupings by subject ¹⁹²) the clause group final verbs which are final independant, could be changed to independant final verbs and the clause groups could be joined coordinately with the above linking words as follows:

Examples: question

amo no rete?
that your equative interr.
'Is that yours?'

answer:

amo nau ra
that my equative marker
'That's mine'

When the question is a content question and requires more than a yes or no answer, the final word will be one of the question words from the chart in sec. 17 with the equative final ending re.

Example:

question

embo nainge-re?
man where-equative marker
'Where is the man?'

answer:

embo ai ta ra
man thereat equative marker
'The man is there.'

Equative question sentences don't have to be answered with an equative sentence as above, but they commonly are. Equatives are a very common sentence type in Orokaiva and make up a good part of all types of discourse.

2.4 Active Sentences

Sentences in Orokaiva are either equative or they are active, ending in a final independent verb. There is no difference in the construction or word order between interrogative sentences and declarative ones except for the interrogative verb endings

as described in sec. 5.2.25. Where the question is a content question and requires more than a yes, no answer, the sentence will contain one of the question words in section 17.

Examples:

umo naingeto puv-e-te
you how come-T.P.-2p-interr.
'How did you come?'

ungo amuga inde-v-e-te
you.pl. who.with eat-2p-dep.-interr.
'Who did you eat with?'

20.7 Conditional Sentences.

Very little work has been done on types of complex sentences, but conditional complex sentences are fairly common so they are being introduced here. A conditional sentence consists of two active simple clause groups or sentences equated to each other and joined optionally by the word amo. One or both sentences end with a verb with the potential fact suffix combination. The following examples show how the conditional sentences can be varied in their construction.

1. Two clauses in subordinate equation

ga be-a-u da ta ire-sθ-n-a
rain fall-fut-3s- village at stay-fut.-1s-indic.
dep.
'If it rains I will stay in the village.'

2. Two simple sentences both with finite verbs.

ga be-su-j-a da ta ire-so-n-a
rain fall-fut-3p-indic. village to stay-fut-1s-indic.
'It will rain so I will stay in the village'

3. Two simple sentences equated with amo

ga	be-ae	amo	pure	ta	pamba-so-n-a
rain	fall-neg.	(equative)	garden	to	go-fut.-ls-indic.
		pronoun)			

'If it doesn't rain I will go to the garden.'

4. Same as above with potential fact final verb.

ihote	ga	be-ae	amo	pure	ta	pamb-aete-n-a
morning	rain	fall-neg.	equative	garden	at	go-pot.fact-ls-
			pronoun)			indic.

'If it hadn't rained this morning, I would have gone to the garden.'

21 Above sentence level.

21.1 A few observations have been made about how sentences join together to make paragraphs and about the distinguishing features in various types of discourse. The connecting words for making sentences into paragraphs are the same as in section 20.2. After the end of a sentence, the next sentence often begins by repeating the final verb of the preceding sentence.

Example:

...	da	ta	pamb-u-n-a.	Eto	pambu-n-g
	village	to	go-farpast-3s-indic	Then	go-farpast-sing-dep.

'...went to his village. When he had gone...'

This is a matter of style and doesn't seem to be as prevalent a device for chaining sentences as in other Binandere languages (Suena, Wilson; Korafe, Farr).

21.2 Sequence of sentences.

Sentences as well as clauses come in chronological order and flashbacks as a literary device have not been observed.

21.3 Quotations

21.3.1) The full form of a quote consists of an introducing statement, the quoted material, and a summarizing statement. This basic form can be progressively simplified by starting with the left most part and working towards the final part (excluding the quoted material which is actually the most important part of the quote) and still be acceptable.

The following example shows how the full form of the quote can be progressively shortened.

<u>embo na</u>	<u>ke</u>	<u>einge</u>	<u>e-n-a</u> (quoted mat'l)	<u>ke</u>	<u>ainge</u>
man	by	talk	like.this	to say	talk like.that
'a man said like this				'that's what	
<u>embo</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>e-n-a</u>			
man	by	say			
he said'					

<u>embo na</u>	<u>einge ena</u>	"....."	<u>ke ainge ena</u>
<u>embo na</u>	<u>ena</u>	"....."	<u>ke ainge ena</u>
<u>embo na</u>		"....."	<u>ke ainge ena</u>
<u>embo na</u>		"....."	<u>ainge ena</u>
<u>embo na</u>		"....."	<u>ena</u>

Any of these forms is acceptable as a quote but the latter shortened forms are used generally after the person has already made some quotes and the longer forms seem redundant, stylistically.

21.3.2 There are a couple of different ways to make an indirect quotation. One way is by using the desiderative ending on the end of the indirectly quoted information and following with a form of

CLOSING GREETING

drae aravora orere na no namei be)

SIGNATURE

Ambrose Arehe village Sui Eto ainge nau ahari mine ikejo Council

This style of letter writing perhaps started by observing letters written in English, but it had become more rigid in that Orokaiva letter writers seldom depart from the formalities shown in the example.

11. Unresolved Issues

More work needs to be done in a higher level workshop on paragraphs and discourse. At this point a paragraph level doesn't seem to be a meaningful level between sentences and discourse but perhaps studies of intonation will reveal clues to paragraph structure or sentence grouping.

Some of the verb suffixes such as the 'hearsay' suffix needs to be checked with an informant, especially since it doesn't work the same way in other Binandere languages that have been studied.

23. Question 32 Translating concepts

The following section contains answers to items a to w of question 32 of the grammar essentials section of the T.S. Handbook. Some of these concepts were described elsewhere in the text of this paper and so will be referred to.

a. Cause can be translated using the connecting words avo ète 'therefore' or avoembo 'because'.

avoembo

amo isapa avo eto mane umba-so-h-a
that small therefore neg. take-fut.-1s-indic.
'I won't take it because it is small.'

b. Result is expressed by first stating the cause of an action by a predicate with causative mood described in sec. 5.2-3. then an optional linking word meaning 'therefore' as in a., then the resultant action.

duru e-te-r-e ingi-to puv-e-n-a
news say-T.P.-1&3p-cause. hear-P.S. come-T.P.-1s-indic.
'They told me the news so I came.'

ambure e-te-i avoembo puve-n-a
sick do-T.P.-3s-caus. therefore come-T.P.-1s-indic.
'He was sick, therefore I came.'

A cause-result relationship can also be expressed coordinately joining two predicates with final verbs with avo eto 'therefore'.

embo ambi-j-a avo eto si si ere-r-a
man died-T.P.-3s-indic. therefore cry say-pres.-1&3p-indic.

c. The above relationships are not as acceptable if the cause and result parts are switched around, without adding an explanation such as 'the truth is that', therefore the examples above represent the most natural position.

d. A contrary result is expressed by stating it with either the desiderative plus final verb and then stating the corrective action or by simply stating the contrary result in future tense, followed by the corrective action.

Bea-si	ere	u-a.	Umbu-to	javotoho	eto	embe
fall-des.	still	do.pres-3s-	take-P.S.	good(man)	man.	place.
		indic.				imp.

'It is going to fall down. Take and place it well.'

Or:

<u>bea-su-j-a</u>	<u>Javotoho</u>	<u>eto</u>	<u>ike.</u>
fall-fut-3s-indic.	good	man.	give-imp.

'It will fall down. Give it well.'

e. Imperatives are explained fully in section 5.2.2-8.

f. g. For types of interrogatives see sections 5.2.2-6.

h. Rhetorical questions can be asked as other questions or by using the 'will it or won't it' device, that is stating both as a positive and negative question.

<u>ungo</u>	<u>hondate</u>	<u>a-veo-te</u>	<u>mo</u>	<u>mane</u>	<u>a-vo?</u>
you.pf.	help	do.fut-2p.interr.	doubt	neg.	do.fut-2p-interr.

'Will you help or won't you?'

i. Negation is made by using the negative adverb mane, the neg. suffix -ae, or by using the neg imp. See sections 5.2.2.9, 8, 5.2.2.8 for explanation and examples.

j. When one object is said to look like another, the suffix -arako 'to appear' is added to the work ki 'to see' as in:

<u>umo</u>	<u>kerembo</u>	<u>ka-arako</u>	<u>ere-n-a</u>
you	old.man	see-appear	say.T.P-1s-indic.

'I think you look like an old man.'

k. Verbal similies are formed with the same suffix -arako 'appear' at the end of the verb.

meni ta tutuv-ari emo ino na tutuv-arako ere
child poss. run-inf. it dog by run-appear still
'The child is running, doesn't it look like a dog running?'

o-i?
to.be.pres.-interr.

l. Verbal comparisons are not stated with 'a is easier than b' but with 'a is easy but b is hard' or 'a is easy but b is very easy.' There is no way to say long, longer, longest, but rather 'a is short and b is long'.

i erevi bouka rate orovi bouka be ra.
log this heavy but that heavy very def.
'This log is heavy, but that is very heavy.'

m. Benefaction is stated with the general noun phrase and the postposition avo embo or embo 'because' For examples see section 13.4.

n. For Causative verbs see section 5.2.3.1.

o. Verbal comparisons are discussed under letter l. in this section.

p. Alternatives are traditionally made by using the suffix -mo for 'doubt' after the interrogative form of the verb, then the other alternative is stated, as in:

umo ind-otte-mo teho ev-o?
you eat-fut.2s-interr-doubt only sleep-fut.2s
'Are you going to eat or jst sleep?'

The modern way of stating alternatives is by using o 'or' as in English.

erevi umb-a-o-te o aravo
this take-fut-2s-interf or that
'Will you take this one or that?'

q. When focus is on the object as in a passive, it is put first followed by avo or amo 'that'.

focus on subject:

Lot na Michael te-ti-j-a
" by " hit-T.P.-3s-indic.
'Lot hit Michael.'

focus on object:

Michael avo Lot na te-ti-j-a
" that " by hit-T.P.-3s-indic.
'Michael was hit by Lot.'

r. Abstractions are fairly common in Orokaiva such as in the words:

osaga jakeka 'worship' uje 'desire' beuje 'hunger'

Many other ideas can be abstracted by adding the infinitive suffix are.

os-arê 'love' hande-ari 'generosity'
isemb-ari 'scolding'

s. There are a fair number of concepts that can be stated as implied speech with the terms above, but where there is no term available, the concept can be said with either direct or indirect quotation.

amina meni taêke-ti-j-a
he child stopped-T.P.-3s-indic.
'He stopped (forbid) the child.'

amina meni to-aja e-ti-j-a
he child stop-3s.abil. say-T.P.-3s-indic.
'He told the child to stop.'

amina meni ta to, ainge e-ti-j-a
he child to stop like.that say-T.P.-3s-indic.
'He said stop to the child.'

t. Figures of speech do occur and have been observed regularly in conversational speech and especially in oratory.

1. Simile as in 'a head like a stone' indicating inability to understand.

embo amita uta amo koro ainge
man his head it rock like
'The man's head is like rock.'

2. Direct metaphor has not been observed, but attributing actions to people that are generally reserved for animals is used: (Note the following onomatopaeic expression.)

pamone na ke sokova goro goro iji-e
woman by talk lie bird.talk say-sim.
(onomatopaea)

ere u-a
still do.3s.pres.-indic.
'The woman making bird talk is telling lies.'

The following expression refers to a tall boy as a kongohu tree which is tall and straight.

tuho-ko taho-ko mane kongohu emi ere o-a
short-app. short-app. neg. kongohu.tree this still do.2s-
indic.
'Not short at all, you, are a kongohu tree doing it.'

3. A euphamism used for a person dying may not be a euphamism at all, but a direct reference to where the spirit goes after death.

death -

embo patina ta pamb-ari
man north to go-inf.
'A man goes north' (He died)

pregant

a pregnant woman is pamone ure-te
woman plant-with
'a woman who is planted' but the

euphamism is pamone bouka te ra
woman heavy with def.
'a woman with heavy'

4. Hyperbole is a very common figure of speech since exaggeration is used to make a more convincing speech.

embo tapa ere o-r-a
man all still do.pres.-1&3p.-indic.
'all the people are doing it.'

Metonymy is used when referring to a village name as doing something meaning the people of the village are doing it.

vaseta puvi-j-a
Vaseta come.T.P.-3s-indic.
'Vaseta has come.'

6. Apostrophe, or addressing speech to an inanimate object may be done in jest but hasn't been observed as a figure of speech.

7. Personification is also used in jest as in:

nga ta ambure oti jo ta ra
car its sick stomachh inside at def.
'The car is sick in the stomach'.

but is not accepted as good speech in a serious situation.

8. Ironical speech is generally formed as a question.

umo embo peni re-te?
you man big def-interr.
'Are you a big man?'

9. Synecdoche is the basis of many Orokaiva idioms. For examples of body parts used in idiomatic expression see question no. 32 in this section.

u. Some foreign concepts are transliterated when accepted into the culture, but this seems to be dying out. Now days as new items are introduced, the people use the English names.

These are some items that were introduced with transliterated names:

batana 'pumpkin' tangiki 'watermelon' keroja 'sweet potato'

Many younger people don't even know the meaning of these words, but use the English names. Some names are translated by their use are:

pamb-ari mga 'car'
go-inf. nest

pohuke-to ev-ari 'bed sheet'
cover-P.S. sleep-inf.

v. Ellipses are commonly observed in conversation speech such as:

pamba-si? meaning 'do you want to go' without a final verb
go-des. showing subject and tense.

eto Tony ta amo?
then " poss. that
'and what about Tony's?'

Ellipses have not been observed in writing.

w. The subject of number concepts would make a good topic for a paper. Not because there are so many, there are only vahai 'one' and heriso 'two', but because of how quantities are determined or measured in terms of visual size, how large numbers such as hundred, thousand, million are non-translatable, and how traditional quantities are alterable by magical means.

24

Q. 33 The following is a list of idioms that are used with various body parts. Psychological functions attributed to various body parts are as follows:

head	
forehead	center of thought
stomach	center of anger
general insides	feeling of deep love, peace, well being
skin	center of pain and strength and sickness, laziness
throat	surface level of love, fear, peace, happiness

siro ngahia - 'hard to think'
head hard

uta ngahia - 'hard to think'
head hard

siro sapura - 'bad thoughts (person with bad deeds)'
head bad

uta ta umbari - 'thoughts have come'
head take

uta haperiketija - 'thoughts have come clear'
head turn over

uta jitukari - 'thoughts have come clear'
head turn over

uta okokombari - 'a person with no (good) thoughts'
head crooked

uta sirikari - 'straighten out thoughts'
head straighten

uta jigari - 'use your brain - good thoughts'
head hold

uta handeari - 'free with thoughts'
head give

titi umbari - 'to take in at a glance'
eye take

titi poekari - 'to look away (tear away from desk work)'
eye fold

titi jigari - 'to be in charge - look after'
eye hold

titi ngahia - 'to not grasp a new idea'
eye hard

titi na hande eto - 'look in all directions'
eye by gift manner

beo haperikari - 'enable to get knowledge'
forehead turn over

beo sirikari - 'get clear - straightened out thoughts'
forehead straighten

beo ngahia - 'hard to thing'
forehead hard

beo hande ari - 'give out thoughts'
forehead gift giving

pe jamoari - 'cool mouth - won't do work'
mouth cool

pe te - 'do it all the way - all out effort'
mouth with

pe jituketo ke asuja - 'make only straight (true) talk'
mouth make straight & make talk

oti ta hoasuja - 'feeling disgust in the pit of your stomach'
stomach in come

oti memenga * " " " " " " " "
stomach pain

oti kambari - ' " " " " " " " "
stomach bite

jenge hoae - 'not really with it - doesn't inspire me'
liver not come

oti jamoasuja - 'feelings of disgust quieted'
stomach become cool

jenge memenga - 'same as oti memenga'
liver pain

jenge haperikari - 'sudden fright'
liver turn over

jenge jamo - 'same as jo jamoari'
liver cool inside cool

jo jamoari - 'peace'
inside cool

jo memenga - 'bad feeling anger'
inside pain

jo tapa na - 'with all my (insides) heart'
inside all by

jo na sirikari - 'search your hearts (insides)'
inside by gather

jo ngahia - 'gac person, bad talk'
inside hard

jo tuhari - 'clean your hearts (wipe your insides)'
inside wipe

jo na hande asuja - 'give from the insides'
inside by gift make

jo sapura - 'bad person (dirty insides)'
inside bad

ingeni toari - 'break off friendly relations'
hand to leave

hoga mine umbae - 'didn't get his second wing'
skin exchange not take

hamo ari - 'to be used to something (acculturated)'
skin to make

hamo hoari - 'when a person starts to get sick'
skin to come

hoga memenga - 'getting tired'
skin pain

pe jigari - 'to refrain from speaking'
mouth hold

hoga ngahia - 'take courage'
skin hard

pe ngahia - 'a hard time to speak'
mouth hard

pe hande - 'to give out talk'
mouth gift

hande pe - 'a talker'
gift mouth

pe tongopa te - 'always saying bad things'
mouth dirt with

onde katari - 'admonition'
ear divide

onde haperikari - 'if a person doesn't turn his ears over, he
ear turn over won't hear the talk'

onde vshaikari - 'closed ears- won't hear the talk and won't
ear close do the work'

onde sundarari - " " " " " " " "
ear clogged

ivivi jitukari - 'talk with straight tongue'
tongue straight

ivivi jigari - 'hold one's tongue (don't talk)
tongue hold

ivivi tongopa ari - 'a dirty mouth person'
tongue dirty

tunga haperikari - 'turn over a new leaf'
throat turn over

tunga jamo ari - 'peace making gift'
throat cool

tunga umbari - 'lover'
throat take

tunga ikari - 'to make a choice (give your throat) a decision'
throat give

tunga overikari - 'change your mind - same as haperikari
throat tip over turn

tunga tambuari - 'straight your feelings'
throat make straight

tunga sirikari - 'straighten out your feelings'
throat gather

tunga ngahia - 'a hard person - unchanging'
throat hard

tunga sapura - 'a hard person'
throat bad

hande tunga - 'feel like sharing'
gift throat

tunga egari - 'clean feelings'
throat clean

Orokaiva Text

25. The following text was recorded on June 3, 1973 in Sui village. The speaker is Ambrose, the local government council man who is admonishing his people to support the school and pay taxes.

oro ho emo embo pa mone hur-ae ere kog-o-n-a
now this.is man woman come-neg. still see-t.p.-ls-indic.

dava dava eto mit-e-r-a eto wasiri ir-ae
where at be-T.P.-l&3p-indic. it.is movement be-neg.

ere-u-a eto ke mane jig-o-n-o koso
still-3s-indic. then talk neg. hold-fut-ls-caus. long

ai-su-j-a eto na araha ta puvu-to amo enana
be-fut-3s-indic. then I outside at come-P.S. that they

committee ta badge ika-so-n-a badge umbu-to
" pas. " give-fut.-ls-indic. " take-P.S.

puv-e-n-a erevi ik-a-n-o umbu-to ungotena
come-T.P.-ls-indic. this give-fut-ls-caus. take-P.S. we(incl)

simba ai-su@j-a eto Steven te Andrew ainge ika-so-n-a
wait do-fut-3s-indic. then " and " together give-
fut-ls-indic.

eto na deqi ungota ta ke ai-so-n-a eto onde
then I W.D. you.pl.poss.I.O. talk make-fut-ls-indic then ear

kata-so-n-a eto oro ho emo be Steven ki-ae
split-fut.-ls-indic it.is now this boy " see-neg.

ere o-n-a avoeto ture-te ainge
cont. make-ls-indic. therefore afternoon-at like.that

ika-so-n-a eto no DC na ke ~~WAK~~ e-te-i
give-fut.-ls-indic. then your " sub. talk what make-t.p.-3s.dep.

ing-e-n-a aravo ungo committee ta degi ke a-n-o
hear-p.p.-ls-indic. that you pl. " I.O. talk make-ls-caus.

inge-so-v-a eto iho oroho Sunday oroho emo
hear-fut.-2p-indic. then morning now " now this

St. Albain Day eto Saturday June 2 amo St. John amita iji
" " " and " " " that " " it's time

bishop iho-te puvu-to pah-u-a ungotenau amo
" morning-at come-p.s. go.pres.-3s-indic. our(ind) that

hariga heriso mit-i-a eto ungotena sija u-e
moon two are-3s.-indic then our(incl) ready make-sim

ire-so-r-a eha emo ungotena Sui Tunana ta iji
stay-fut.-1&3p.-indic. nowthis we(incl) " " pos. time

avoeto St. Albain eto St. John amita iji puv-i-j-a
taht.then " " and " " it's time come-t.p.-3s-indic.

avo e-n-e inqi-ho-v-a. Amo deita ke mane
that say-ls-caus. hear-cont.-2p-indic. that what's talk neg.

ate ungotenau tax program amita avo umbu-to puv-e-n-a
but our(incl) " " it's that take-p.s. come-t.p.-ls-indic

avo tambuta a-n-o inge-so-v-a. Iji
that straight make.fut.-1s- hear-fut.-indic. Time
caus.

ike-te-r-a July date deina \$3 tax umba-so-r-a
give-t.p.-1&3p-indic. " " when " " take-fut.-1&3p-indic.

avo ke avo inge-so-v-a ainge oroho emo
that talk that hear-fut.-2p-indic. like.that now this

dago meeting ta ke e-te-r-a amo deqi einge
we " at talk say-t.p.-1&3s-indic. that road like.this

pambu-to Urari Susu Hungiri Bumbu-to Javara ta be-ti-j-a
go-p.s. " " " go-p.s. " at down-p.p.-3s-indic.

amo ai ta tax umba-si pambu-o-r-a amo
that there at " take-dep. go-hab.-1&3s-indic. that

money umb-ae be umb-ae councils nango oenga 'box'
" take-neg. very take-neg. " we(ex) alone "

pundu-to umbu-to ere pahu-o-r-e koho
tie-p.s. take-p.s. still go-pres.-3&lp.-dep. shoulder

memenga e-u-j-a avoembo eonga eonga hete-to
pain make-hab.-3s-indic. therefore alone alone stand-p.s.

councils einge emo eonga umba-so-r-a dago
" like this this alone take-fut-1&3s-indic. we(ex.)

einge emo nango eonga umba-so-r-a avo teka
like this we(ex) along take-fut.-1&3s-indic. that measure

e-te-r-a. Damina omina ungotena jegi pe
 do^{at}.p.-1&3p.-indic. with.what with.what we(incl.) road mouth

avo oroho Sunday ke avo ere iki-te-r-a ungotē
 that now " talk that still give-t.p.-1&3p.-indic. we

Sunday iho eha emo Andrew ta ke ika-so-r-a Andrew
 " morning no^{at} this " at talk give-fut.-1&3p-indic. "

ta Badge ika-so-n-a . tax ika-so-v-a amita
 poss. " give-fut.-1s-indic. " give-fut-2p.-indic. it's

be amo tax ere iki-to-v-a amita be amo
 truth that " still give-pres.-2p-indic. it's truth that

self government ari fa ke ere ingi-ho-v-a avo
 " " ing. it's talk still hear-pres.-2p.-indic. that

pambu-to ir-ae-ti-j-a self independ amita ke amo
 go-p.s.- is-neg.-t.p.-3s.-indic. " " its talk that

embo amuna ere o-i? Self depend amomo council na
 man who still do-3s-int. " " that.one " sub.

umba-si ere o-i-te-mo o embo amuna umba-si
 take-des. still do pres.-3s-inter.-^{2r} man who take-des.

ere o-i? Avo na-ne umba-si ae-ra mission
 still do pres.-3s inter. that I-emph. take-des. neg.-def. "

amo mission na umba-si ere u-a ungotē bishop
 that " by take-des. still dopres.-3s. indic. our "

heriso einge uvu-to pahu-e ungotenau Papua New Guinea ta
 two together come-p.s. go-sim. our " " " poss.

money uh-e pambu-to Port Moresby jo-ta tore-to ere
 " take-sim. go-p.s. " " inside-at enter-p.s. still

uh-o-r-a avo eto unqote council tax avo aemana
 take-pres.-l&3p.-indic. therefore our " " that completely

ika-so-r-a umo embo amuna mane hondate ai-su-j-a
 give-fut.-l&3p.-indic. you man who neg. help make-fut.-ls-indi

te council na hondate ai-su-j-a council tax avo
 and " sub. help make-fut.-3s.-indic. " " that

be aemane ika-so-v-a jua ~~matu~~ ik-ae
 really completely give-fut.-2p.-indic. year before give-neg.

ue-v-a amite eha amite tapa
 make.mid past-2p.-indic. in addition now in addition altogether

avo jigi-to hete-to avo self depend umbasⁱ ere
 that hold-p.s. stand-p.s. that " " take-des. still

o-r-a avo ke-sa-r-a ungo singa
 pres.-l&3p.-indic. that see-des.-l&3p.-indic. you(pl) single.boys

na taxi mane ika-so-n-a ainge eo-v-a
 sub. " neg. give-fut.-ls.-indic. like.that say-pres.hab-2p-indic.

iji ambota matu eo-n-e ingi-o-v-a
 time later before say-pres.hab.-ls-~~XXXX~~ hear-pres.hab.-2p.-indic.
 -dep.

ainge javotoho o sapura tamba-so-v-a eha
 like.that good or bad meet-fut.-2p.-indic. now

emo problem peni amo tax avo ere hu-a jua matu
 this " big that " that still come-pres.-indic year before

'70, '71, '72 amita ik-ae avo ika-so-v-a avoembo
 " " " it's give-neg. that give-fut.-2p.-indic. therefore

mane ke koso a-so-n-a amo araha-ta pamone
 neg. talk long say-fut.-1&3p.-indic. that outside-at woman

embo nei nei puvur-ae mi-te-r-a avo
 men another another come-neg. is-t.p.-1&3p.-indic. that

puvur-o-r-o avo inge-so-r-a da-ta
 come-fut.-3p-pot.fact that hear-fut.-indic. village-at
 1&3p.-

project naingeto hetau kbro hure-su-j-a sausau
 " how stand money come-fut.-3s.-indic. quickly

hure-su-j-a o naingeto ai-so-r-a amita ke
 come-fut.-3s.-indic. or how make-fut.-3s.-indic. it's talk

avo araha ta sirike-to avo inge-so-v-a ungota
 that outside at decide-p.s. that hear-fut.-2p.-indic. your

hotemb-ari damikore amo mine avo inge-so-n-a
 thought-inf. what.like it exchange that hear-fut.-1s.pindic.

oro ho church jo ta mane ai-so-ne^{and}a te ungo singapura
 now " inside at neg. make-fut.-1s-indic you(pl) single.boys

pamone uj-ae e-o-v-a avoeto nane ke
 women like-neg. make-hab.-2p.-indic. therefore 1emph. talk

eha mane ai-so-n-a avo er-e-n-a
 now neg. make-fut.-1s.-indic. that say-pres.-1s.-indic.

ingi-ho-v-a embo nei kae tura-si horoma
hear-pres.-2p.-indic. man another yam dig-des. garden.house

ta pambu-to ev-i-j-a embo tapa horoma ta
at go-p.s. sleep-t.p.-3s.-indic. man all garden.house at

pahekari ungo iji matu kiti ta ainge ara-ko
only you(pl) time before first at like.that make-appearance

a-v-o-jo e-n-e ere ingi-ho-v-a
do-2p.-neg.-polite say-ls.-dep. still hear-pres.-2p.-indic.

aravora Evangelist na e-i ere ingi-ho-v-a aravora.
that's it " sub. sa y-3s still hear-pres.-2p.indic. that's it

Church councils na e-r-e ingi-ho-v-a aravora
" " sub. say-3pl.-caus. hear-pres.-2s-indic. that's it

committee na council na e-i ingi-ho-v-a aravora
" sub. " sub. say-3s hear-pres.-2s.-indic. that's it

Ke tapa ere ingi-ho-v-a aravora Umgp
talk all still hear-pres.-2s.-indic. that's it you(pl)

ing-ae u-e horoma ta ev-ara-ko
hear-neg. make-sim. garden.house at sleep-resultive-appearance

a-vo-jo da evi ki-v-u embo ta
MAKE-2p.-polite command village this see-2p.-imp. man it's

vasiri ir-ae pamone naingere Nei a-n-e
movement is-neg. woman where another say.fut.-ls.-caus.

Unqotenau namei puv-i-j-a e-nee ere
OUR friend come-t.p.-3s.-indic. say.pres.-ls.-caus. still

inqi-h-i-a ungotenau namei puv-i-j-a. avoembo
 hear-pres.-3s.-indic. our friend come-tp.-3s.-indic. therefore

eonga mane ire-su-j-a umoro u-ro-r-o
 alone neg. be-fut.-3s.-indic. visit make-fut.-3s.-indic.

ire-su-j-a ungo da-ta eve pahu-e pure
 be-fut.-ls.-indic. you village-at sleep-imp. go.pres.-sim. work

ai-so-v-a oroho emi-ko ke koso mane ai-so-n-a
 make-fut.-2p.-indic. now this-app. talk long not say-fut.-ls-indic

na ki-ae-ra Sunday iho eha eremo Awala school
 sub. see-neg.-stat. " morning now this " "

meeting ta tora-so-n-a amita be amo Awala
 " to enter-fut.-ls.-indic. it's truth that "

education avo bea-si ere vov-u-a school ahureka-so-r-a
 " that down-des. still fall-t.p.-indic. # close-fut.-1&3p-indic

avoembo ungotena meni ta mamo meni ta e mamo
 therefore we.incl. child It's father child it's mother father

avoembo ungotena pnre ae avoeto ungotena school fees
 however we work neg. therefore we " "

mine ik-ae P and C fees ik-ae avo embo school
 exchange give-neg. " " " " give-neg. therefore "

amo ahureka-so-r-a aingera. Awala school ahureka-su-j-a
 that close-fut.-1&3-indic. like.that " " close-fut.-1s-
 indic.

avoeto oroho iji vahai embo okoKose toruke-to ke
 therefore now time one man important enter-p.s. talk

ai-si ere o-r-a oroho emo ungotena meni
 make-des. still make.pres.-1&3p-indic. now th~~is~~ we child

ta mamu ungotena meni ta e tapa education jo ta
 it's father we child it's mother all " inside to

tore-so-r-a meeting a-so-r-a ungotenane
 enter-fut.-1&3p.-indic. " make-fut.-1&3p.-indic. @e.emph.

ahurek-ara ai-so-r-a amo ahureka-so-r-a
 close-1&3p. ^{res.} make-fut.-1&3p.-indic. that close-fut.¹3p.-indic.

do ara ai-so-r-a amo
 what 3ol&3p.cause make-fut.1&3p.-indic. it.is

ai-so-r-a problem peni amo meni avo peni-ra
 make-fut.-1&3p.-indic. " big that child that big-stat.

school ahureka-su-j-a amo meni ungotenau Waseta
 " close-fut.-3s.-indic. that child our.incl. "

be-su-j-a amo matu ke ika-su-j-a
 down-fut.-3s.-indic. that before talk give-fut.-3s.-indic.

degi naingere degi naingere amo matu ahari hande
 road where road where that before letter gift

a-su-j-a ika-su-j-a. Awala school avo nei
 MAKE-fut.-3s.-indic. give-fut.-3s.-indic. " " that another

avo eto school nei ta tor-ari haite-ko mane
therefore " another to enter-ing. able-app. neg.

ir-ae do avoembe ungotena uj-ae school avo
is-neg. what therefore we.incl. desire-neg. " that

ungotena uj-ae ungotenau...meni...ki-ari umb-aia ungotena
we want-neg. we child see-ing. take-res. we

uj-ae ungotenamo ungotenau uje-ta pah-o-r-a
want-neg. we,emph. our desire-to go-pres.-1&3p.- indic.

ungotenau meni ~~XX~~ amo toto-r-e eonga ere pah-o-r-a
our child that leave-1&3p.-dep. alone still go-pres.-1&3p-indic.

meni ta school fee amo ik-ae avoembo school erevi
child it's " " that give-neg. therefore " this

ahureka-si ere o-r-a emore Ijeveni ahureka-te-r-a
close-des. still make.pres-1&3p-indic. like.this " close-t.p.-1&3p^a
indic.

ainge nombo ahureka-si ere o-r-a avoembo
like that close-des. still make.pres.-1&3p.-indic. therefore

ungo meni ta e mamu education school meeting ta bite-si
you.ex. child it's parents " " " to up-des.

are o-n-a ungotena eonga bit-o-r-e
still do.pres.-1s.-indic. we alone up-fut.-1&3p.-dep.

ke do-miko headmaster na umbu-to hure-su-j-a
talk what.like " sub. take-p.s. come-fut.-3s.-indic.

o teachers na umbu-to hure-so-r-a avo ing-o-r-e
or " sub. take-p.s. come-fut.-1&3p.-indic. that hear-fut.-1&3p.-
res.

ke nombo-ko avoembo avo ingi-to meni ta e mamō
talk important-app. therefore that hear-p.s. child it's parents

pure ta pamba-v-o-jo ungotena uje ae a-so-r-a
work to go-2p.-neg.-pol.imp.- we want neg. make-fut.-1&3p.-
(garden) indic.

ki-te education evi ahurek-a-r-o ungotenau meni
see-p.s. " here close-fut.-1&3p.-caus. our child

teho da-ta ir-er-e avo e-n-e ingi-ho-v-a
nothing village-at that say.pres.-ls.-dep. hear-pres.-2p.-indic.
stay-fut.-res.

avoembo ungotē tapa oroho ir-ae a-u tambuta
therefore we all now be-neg. make-3s.-dep. outside

puvu-to Andrew ta medal ika-so-n-a Andrew ta
come-p.s. " poss. " give-fut.-ls.-indic. " poss.

ika-so-n-a Steven avo ki-ae ere o-n-a
give-fut.-ls.-indic. " that see-neg. still do.pres.-ls.-indic.

avo eto ture-te hu-ma ika-so-n-a
therefore afternoon-at come-completed action give-fut.,ls.-indic.

ture-te singe umba-su-j-a avora Andrew
afternoon-at like.that get-fut.-3s.-indic. O.K. "

ta ik-a-n-o ir-ae ai-su-j-a ambota
poss. give-fut.-ls.-caus. be-neg. make.-fut.-ls.-indic. later

na education school meeting ta tore-so-n-a avo
I " " " to enter-fut.-ls.-indic. that

ungotena jua oroho emita school P and C pay ae mit-i-a
we year now it's " " " " " neg. be.pres.-3s.-indic

tapa \$4 amo pay ae mit-i-a jua matu amita ik-ae
all " that " neg. is.pres.-3s.- year before It's give-neg.
indic.

avo eto school erevi ahureka-si ere u-a avo eto
therefore " this close-des. still make.3s-indic. therefore

a-n-o ing-o-v-a ere-n-a.
say-ls.-caus. hear-fut.-2p.-abil. say.pres.-ls.-indic.

English Free Translation

Now I see that the men and women haven't come. We don't know where they are, there is no life (in the village). I won't make a long speech, then I'll go outside to give the committee (member) a badge, the badge which I have brought I will give to Steven and Andrew and it will watch over us. And I will make a speech to you and admonish you. Right now I don't see Steven so I will give him (his badge) this afternoon. Then I will tell the committee members what the D.C. told me. This morning, Sunday, it is Saint Alban's Day, and Saturday, June 2 it is Saint John's Day. The bishop this morning came and went. Our (day) is in two months, then we will become ready. Now is Sui, Tunana's day therefore Saint Alban and St. John's Day has come. I am telling you. What I am saying is nothing much, but I would like to bring before you the Tax program, that I would like to present directly to you. I am going to tell you when in July they will collect the 3 dollar tax, just like was said in the meeting, we went to

Urari, Susu, Hungiri and down to Javara, that's where we usually go, but we didn't get any tax money at all, we councils alone tied up the box and carried it while our shoulders pained, therefore we decided that each council should collect by himself. With that we are telling about this new road (way) this Sunday. This Sunday morning we are going to talk about Andrew, about giving him the badge, the reason you are giving tax is the same as the self government talk that you are hearing and is now finished. Who's talking about Independence? Who is going to get independence, is it the councils? I'm not going to get it, it's the mission that will get it. The two bishops have now come and gone and are taking our money and going to Port Moresby and getting it, therefore we should give our tax money without reservation. You who don't want to help will be helped by the council. Give your tax money without reservation. Give the tax that you didn't give last year together with this year's tax. We will hold both together and stand and will see the independence that we are getting. You single boys say that you don't want to give tax, so as I always say to you in the future you will get something good or bad. Right now the big problem is the tax is coming. You should give the tax for '70, '71, and '72 along with the present tax if you haven't given it. I won't make a long speech, it's straight forward, so tell the men and women that haven't come today, The village project, how we are to make it so the money comes, comes quickly, I will talk about outside, and I would like feedback from you, what your ideas are. I don't want to talk about

it inside the church because you single boys and women won't like that, therefore, I won't talk about it now. Another man has gone to pull up yams and sleep in his garden house. All the people have gone to sleep in their garden houses, What you did before, don't do like that any more, listen to what I am saying. That is (also) what the evangelists are telling you. That's what the church councils are saying to you, and that's what the committee and council are saying to you. Every thing you hear is that. Don't pretend that you don't hear and go sleep in your garden houses. Look, there's no movement from the men and where are the women?

And now the next thing I want to say. Our friend has come and is listening to what I say. Our friend has come, therefore he mustn't stay alone, but we must go visit with him. Sleep in the village and then go do your work. Now at this time I won't make a long speech, I don't know. This Sunday morning I am going to an Awala school meeting. Awala education is going down so they are going to close the school. We are the parents of our children and we haven't been working and haven't paid the school fees so they are going to close the school. We haven't paid the P and C fees so they are going to close the school. The Awala school is closing therefore now at one o'clock all the important men are meeting to talk. Now all the fathers and mothers of the children are going to meet together in the education (building) to have a meeting. It is we who will close it. If we want we can close it or they will do what we say. Now the big problem is the children. When the school closes our children will go to Waseta (school). So we should

send a letter to find out how it is to be done. Awala is a different school so it is just now possible to enter another school. Therefore we don't like school, we don't like our children to gain knowledge, we are just going the path of our own desire. We have left our children to go their own way. We haven't paid the school fees therefore, they want to close the school. They closed Ijeveni (school) like this and just like that they are closing this one. Therefore, I am telling you parents to go to the meeting. We will go to the meeting to hear what the teachers or headmaster has to say. This is important so you parents don't go to your gardens. I'm saying that if we don't want to, they will close the school and our children will just stay in the village. Therefore, now when we're finished we will go outside and I will give Andrew the medal. I don't see Steven so when he comes this afternoon I will give it to him. He will get it this afternoon. I will give Andrew's to him finish. Then I am going to the education school meeting. We haven't paid our \$4 school P and C fees, along with last year's fees, therefore the school is closing, that is what I am saying to you.