## 2 Morphology

### 2.1 Nominals

2.1.1 Nouns

A noun functions as the head of the NP. Nouns cannot take the causative marker a-and only nouns can be formed into adjectives by the derivational suffix -an.
2.1.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns cannot be marked at all with a possession marker, nor can they be counted. Names of pcople and places fall into this class.
3) *ka-g Kerek (Kerek is a woman's name)

Poss-1Sg Kerek
'my Kerek'
4) *Umbukul-imem (Umbukul is a village name)

Umbukul-1PlurExPoss
'our Umbukul'
2.1.1.2 Common Nouns

Common nouns can be alienably or inalienably possessed.

### 2.1.1.2.1 Alienably Possessed Nouns

There is a class of nouns that can be distinguished by the fact that, when possessed, they take a possessive pronoun preceding the noun. This type of possession is loosely bound (alienable) to the possessor.
5) $\mathrm{ks}_{\mathrm{s}-\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{ains}$

Poss-1Sg woman 'my wife'
6) Ka-mem keve vun

Poss-1PlurEx Plur betelnut
'our betelnuts'
7) ka-mem ngono posong

Poss-1PlurEx two call
'our two names (for it)'

### 2.1.1.2.2 Inalienably Possessed Nouns

There is a class of nouns that, when possessed, must have a possessive person mark as suffix.

This type of possession is more tightly bound (inalienable) to the possessor. These nouns consist of body parts, and most kinship terms.
8) pukun-ins body-3SgPoss 'its body'
9) ngur-uria mouth-3PlurPoss 'their mouths'

Many abstract nouns can be considered as being alienably or inalienably possessed depending on the person's view of the possession relationship. For example, the noun asan 'name', in the usual sense of an appellation, is not part of the person like the same noun when it is referring to the person's reputation.

Lesley Fast
10) $k A-n A \quad$ asan

Poss-3Sg name
'his name'
11) assn-ins
name-3SgPoss
'his reputation'

### 2.1.1.3 Mass Nouns

There is a distinction of nouns based on the numerical system they use. Mass nouns cannot be counted, nor can they take a pluralizing marker. Some nouns included in this group are:

| laman | 'water' |
| :--- | :--- |
| roe | 'ground' |
| kone <br> inatus | 'sand' |
| 'children' |  |

12) $\mathrm{kA}-\mathrm{g}$ ( ${ }^{*} k e v e$ ) inatus ki-po kkovek Poss-1Sg children 3PlurSAgr-Cont not.here
'My children are not here.'
13) ri aina ki-po kap (*ri) laman

Plur woman 3PlurSAgr-Cont fecch water
'The women are fetching water.'

### 2.1.1.4 Numeral

### 2.1.1.4.1 Cardinal Numerals

The numerical system described in this section is still used widely in the speech community.

The system is based on groups of five and ten. The numerals $1-4$ are mono-morphemic words.

| sikci | 'one' |
| :--- | :--- |
| pongus | 'two' |
| potol | 'three' |
| puat | 'four' |

The numeral 5 is made up of two morphemes.
14) pal-pal lima

Redup-area five
Numerals from 6-9 are based on 5 plus 1,2,3, and 4. The structure is:

$$
\operatorname{lima}(5)+l c(\text { from })+\text { Numcral }
$$

> 15) lima-Ie-sikei
> five-from-one
> 'six'

The morphemes for 2-4 in this construction are shortencd. The first syllable is omitted and in the case of 3 there is a vowel change for $o$ to $u$.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { puat } & -> & - \text { at } \\
\text { pongus } & -> & -n g u s \\
\text { potol } & -> & -t u l
\end{array}
$$

16) lima-le-at
five-from-four
'nine'

Numerals upwards from ten are conjoined numerals.
17) sangauli na potol
ten and three
'thirteen'
18) sangauli na lima-le-at
ten and five-from-four
'nincteen'

To group tens and hundreds the cardinal numerals are used.
19) potol a sangauli
three Def ten
'thirty'
'Hundred' consists of two morphemes, the second meaning 'ten'.
20) lelen-sangauli
?-ten
'hundred'
An example of a complex numeral:
21) puat a lelen-sangauli na
four Def ?-ten
lima-le-sikei a sangauli na sikei
five-from-one Def ten and one
'four hundred and sixty one'

### 2.1.1.4.2 Ordinal Numerals

The morpheme a~va~la is prefixed to the counting numeral to form the ordinal number. Structure of the ordinal noun phrase:

Ordinal NP $=+$ Ord + Nmr $+i+N P /$ Person Marker
22) la-pongun $i \quad n a$

Ord-two Gen 3Sg
'the second thing'
23) a-potol i ka-g keve nat

Ord-three Gen Poss-1Sg Plur boy
'the third of my sons'
24) va pongua i ppan-buk ke

Ord two Gen leaf-book Dem
'this second letter'
'First' and 'last' are adverbial forms.
25) ai-no-ai i rin

Loc-front-? Gen 3Plur
'The first of them'
26) a-kamus-ai i taun

Cs-finish-? Gen time/day
'the last time/day'

### 2.1.1.4.3 Distributive

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication of the first CVC of the counting numeral.
27) e vinga-ra sik-sikei
at stomache-1PlurIncPoss Dist-one
'in each of our stomachs' (Long bel bilong yumi wanwan)
28) ri aina ki ta pasal

Plur woman 3PlurSAgr Past go
pong-pongus
Dist-two
'The women went two by two.'
2.1.1.5 Part-Whole Words

There is a small set of words that modify nouns marking them as being part of a whole. Depending on what noun is being modified, one of these words will be used. There is
some overlap, that is, some nouns can be modified with more than one of these part-whole words. A more in depth semantic study would need to be done to determine the exact relationship. Since it is possible for these part-whole words to take possessive morphology they are analysed as nominal premodifiers of nouns.
29) volo nat ke ki ngaut

Spec boy Dem 3PlurSAgr cut.grass
'This group of boys will cut grass.'
30) rukun nat ke ki ngaut

Spec boy Dem 3PlurSAgr cut.grass
'This group of boys will cut grass.'
31) ka-m rukun kau

Poss-2Sg Spec sweet.potato
'Your small pile of swect potato' (said when giving a gift)
Free translation: 'Here are some sweet potatoes for you.'
These words may occur without the noun they modify but it is always implicit from the context.
32) rukun lik palau
Spec small just
'just a few (crabs, in this instance)'

### 2.1.1.6 Specifier

The specifier, mang, can mean 'a certain' or simply ' $a$ '. It also can have the meaning of 'other' or 'another'.
33) ka-g mang keve bil

Poss- 1 Sg Spec Plur thing
'my other things'
34) mang kavulik si Rovi

Spec girl Gen Rovi 'a daughter of Rovi's'
35) ka-g mang sikei a taun ro-ro-nro-ro-n

Poss-1Sg Spec one Def time Redup-good-?
'My one good day' ('a good time I had once' title of story)

### 2.1.1.7 Derived Nouns

### 2.1.1.7.1 Movement Into Noun Slot

Nouns are most commonly derived by moving words of other classes into the place that the noun normally takes in the noun phrase.

## Lesley Fast

36) predicate complement:
ri kavulik ki po uruk a-lava
Plur girl 3PlurSAgr, Cont happy Cs-big
'The girls are very happy.'
37) noun:
ka-ri uruk ka po lava
Poss-3Plur happy 3 SgSAgr Cont big
'Their happiness is great.'
38) verb:

Nuvat ka ta ttangam anongo
Nuvat 3 SgSAgr Past sing yesterday
'Nuvat sang yesterday.'
39) noun:
mi ta longong a ttangam
2PlurSAgr Past hear Def sing
ro ang si Nuvat?
good Dem Gen Nuvat
'Did you hear that good singing of Nuvat's?'
The above noun derivation should not be confused with the clause that is prefixed by a possessive pronoun and therefore makes it look like a NP, particularly when the clause is reduced to the verb only. This kind of clause is used for expressing purpose. Sce section 5.2.2 on the purpose sentence.
2.1.1.7.2 Derivation by Reduplication

A few cases haie been found where reduplication seems to form nouns from verbs. The first CVC oí the verb is reduplicated.
togen 'have' -> tog-togon 'possessions'
40) verb:
ki po togon bil miang
3PlurSAgr Cont have thing many
'They have many things.'
41) noun:
$k_{a}-r i \quad$ tog-togon $k_{1} \quad$ po miang
Poss-3Plur Redup-have 3 SgSAgr Cont many
'Their possession is plentiful.'

### 2.1.1.8 Possession

This is a discussion of the possessive construction at the word level. For a description of the possessive construction at phrase level see section 3.1.3 in which the possessive phrase is discussed.

### 2.1.1.8.1 Possessive Pronoun Preceding the Noun

This construction marks alienable possession on nouns.
Possessive Pronōun $=$ Possessive $\left(k_{\wedge}\right)+$ Person Marker
42) Ka-ra keve lu

Poss-1PlurInc Plur house 'our (inclusive) houses'

### 2.1.1.8.2 Possession Marked by Affixation

This construction marks inalienable possession on nouns.
Possession Construction $=+$ Noun + Person Marker
Morphophonemic rule: When the person marker follows a noun ending in a consonant, $i$ must be inserted between the noun and the person marker. For nouns ending in $r$ the phoneme $u$ is inserted between the two. Nouns ending in a vowel have no insertion.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \quad \mathrm{C}+i+\text { Person } \\
& -r+u+\text { Person } \\
& -\mathrm{V}+\text { Person }
\end{aligned}
$$

43) tas-irung
sibling.same.sex-1DIIncPoss
'our (two) brother'
44) tivu-mem
grand.relation-1PlurExPoss
'our grandparent/ancestor'
45) ngur-ug
mouth-1SgPoss
'my mouth'

### 2.1.1.8.3 Construction Using si

Alienably possessed nouns have another type of possession construction, alternative to the possessive pronoun preceding the noun as in 5-7 above. It is constructed as follows:
a) $\mathrm{NP}+s i+\mathrm{NP}$

## Lesley Fast

46) nat si Vulau
boy Gen Vulau 'Vulau's son'

The second NP can be replaced by a person marker, in which case the particle ngi must occur between si and the person marker as follows:
b) $+\mathrm{NP}+s i+n g i+$ Person Marker
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { 47) } & \text { nat } & \text { si } & n g i \\ \text { boy } & \text { Gen }\end{array}$
'his son'
48) keve lu lava si ngi mem

Plur house big Gen ? 1PlurEx
'our (exclusive) big houses'
It should be noted that the particle ngi seems to be dependent on the presence of $s i$ and also occurs where si is not functioning in a possessive construction but is required because of the person marking.

### 2.1.1.8.4 Summary of Person Possession Affixes

All of the above possessive constructions use the same set of person markers. These are outlined in figure 1.

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sg | $-g$ | $-m$ | $-n a$ |
| Dl |  | - milong | - rilong |
| DIEx | - memlong |  |  |
| DIInc | - rung |  | - rittol |
| Trl |  | - mittol |  |
| TrIEx | - memttol |  | - ri/ria |
| TrlInc | - rattol |  |  |
| Plur |  | $-m i$ |  |

Fig. 1 Person Possessive Affixes
Third person plural -ris is obligatory after ngi.
49) vul si ngi-ria canoe Gen ?-3Plur 'their canoe'

### 2.1.1.9 Pluralization

There are two morphemes that mark plural. Singular is unmarked. Of these two plural markers, one is used to mark indefinite nouns, ri, and the other to mark definite nouns, keve.
50) ka-na keve kauvek

Poss-3Sg Plur dog
'his dogs'
51) ri kauvek

Plur dog
'the dogs'
The Plural marker $r i$ is used as an honorific form of address to women with children. Note the difference in the following two examples.
52) $\boldsymbol{r i} t t_{\text {t }}$-im

Plur(Hon) sibling.of.same.sex-2SgPoss
'your sister (Hon)'
53) Keve tas-im

Plur sibling.of.same.sex-2SgPoss
'your sisters'
This marker is also used when one name stands for a group.
54)
tama-ria $\quad i \quad$ ri Makago
father-3PlurPoss Gen Plur Makago
'the father of Makago (with his siblings)'
55) ir Metemaung ki la screi vang

Plur Metemaung 3PlurSAgr Perf arrive Emph
'The people of Metemaung village have arrived.'

### 2.1.1.10 Deictics

There are two sets of deictics that contrast near and far. One pair modifies a NP. The other pair is used only in the stative clause and has the meaning of 'to be'. Related to these deiclics are the locative morphemes, kke 'here' and suke 'there'. There is another set of deictics that does not contrast near and far. These refer to known information. The demonstrative ang refers to a previously mentioned or understood noun, whereas the demonstrative iang refers to a previously mentioned or understood location. I would consider these latter two deictics as having chiefly a discourse function.

These deictics are charted in figures 2 and 3 bclow:

|  | NEAR | FAR |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Locative in NP | $k k e$ | suke |
| Dem. in NP | ke | suke |
| Dem. in NP | kans | sukans |

Fig. 2 Deictics at Phrase and Clause Level

| Refers to Noun | Refcrs to Location |
| :---: | :---: |
| ang | iang |

Fig. 3 Deictics at Discourse Level
Some examples to illustrate the use of these deictics:

1) Locative Morphemes at Phrase Level
2) ks-po kkovek e kke

3SgSAgr-Cont absent at here
'He is not here.'
57) pasal ane suke
go to there
'Go over there.'
2) Demonstrative in NP
58) keve nat suke $k i \quad$ po sog na keve

Plur boy Dem.(far) 3PlurSAgr Cont net.fish and Plur
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { nat } & k e & k i \\ \text { boy } & \text { Dem.(near) } & \text { 3PlurSAgr } \\ \text { Cont } & \text { ttere } \\ \text { watch } & \text { palau } \\ \text { just }\end{array}$
'Those boys are net fishing and these boys are just watching.'
 'This man knows my father.'
60) aina suke ka po galui vakup woman Dem.(far) 3 SgSAgr Cont wash clothes 'That woman is washing clothes.'
3) Demonstrative as Complement in Equative Clause

When the demonstrative functions as the predicate complement in the equative clause it is marked with -ne.
61) full clause:

Kunak kana
Kunak Dem.(near)
'This is Kunak.'
62) full clause:
ka-g lu sukana Poss-1Sg house Dem.(far) 'That is my house.'
4) Deictics at Discourse Level
a) Referring to Noun:
63) $n_{n}$ la sabon-ai ani selen lik ang

1 SgSAgr Perf find-? Obj path small Dem
'I found the small path.' (referred to previously)
64) igenen ang $k$ a la muip nei laman
man Dem 3 SgSAgr Perf submerge in water 'The man (referred to previously) submerged in the water.'
b) Referring to Place:
65) ka po ago e iang

3 SgSAgr Cont be at Dem
'He is there (at the place alrcady referred to).'
2.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are a closed set of items used to substitute for a noun or noun phrase. There are three basic types.
2.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns
2.1.2.1.1 Subject Pronoun

Subject pronouns are free pronouns as seen in the following example.
66) nau
ma an luk kkut
1 SgSPrn 1 SgSAgr Mot.away get firewood 'I will get firewood.'

The subject pronouns have the following forms:

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sg | nau | numai | ninia |
| Dl  <br> DIEx  <br> DlInc namemlong <br> tarung  | namilong | rilong |  |
| Trl |  |  |  |
| TrIEx | namemttol | namittol | rittol |
| TrlInc | tarattol |  |  |
| Plur  <br> PlurEx namem <br> PlurInc tars |  | nami |  |

Fig. 4 Subject Pronouns
The following contractions occur interchangeably with the full forms:

| namem | -> | nem | '1PlurEx' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ninis | $->$ | nia | '3Sg' |
| riris | $->$ | ria | '3Plur' |

The full form of IDlinc, if it were regular, would be taralong but only the contracted form thrung is used.

### 2.1.2.1.2 Object Pronouns

Object pronouns are formed in the following way:
Object Pronoun $=+$ Object Marker + Person Marker
There are two forms of this object marker. One marks an object of higher definiteness $i$ and the other marks an object of lower definiteness ani-. It should be noted here that if the object is a full NP, the definite NPO will not be prefixed by $i$ - as in the pronoun, but rather with $a \sim$ na. But the indefinite object marker, ani, remains the same whether the object is a full NP or simply a pronoun.
67) object pronoun:
$n \mathrm{n}$ ta a-bis a-rikek i-A
1 SgSAgr Past Cs-build Cs-bad Obj-3Sg
'I built it badly (I made a mess of it).'
68) full NPO:
na ta $\quad \stackrel{\text { a-bis }}{\text { a }}$ a-rikek a lu ke
1SgSAgr Past
'I built this house badly.'
69) object pronoun:
ka la a-r-ai ani-A
3SgSAgr Perf Cs-see-? Obj-3Sg
'She saw her.'
70) full NPO:
ka la a-r-ai ani kavulik ang
3SgSAgr Perf Cs-see-? Obj girl
'She saw the girl.'

All the plural person markers are the same following both $i$ and ani. The singular person markers differ. Hence figure 3 below shows the two morphemes together for the singular pronouns but for the plural pronouns, only the person endings need be given.

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sg | i-Au <br> ani-g | $\begin{aligned} & \text { un } \\ & \text { ani-m } \end{aligned}$ | i-A ani-A |
| $\begin{array}{r} \mathrm{Dl} \\ \text { DIEx } \\ \text { DIInc } \end{array}$ | -memlong <br> -rung | -milong | -rilong |
|  | -memttol -rattol | -mittol | -rittol |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & -m_{e m} \\ & -r a \end{aligned}$ | -mi | -riA |

Fig. 5 Object Pronouns
Notice that the singular person markers following $i$ are somewhat irregular, in particular $2 \mathrm{Sg}, \mathrm{u}$, which is a reduced form. It is worth noting that the Soi dialect of Tungak has the more regular form $i$-am, whereas Tigak has the form $u$-am.

### 2.1.2.1.3 Subject Agreement in the Verb Phrase

Subject agreement (SAgr) is obligatory in the Verb Phrase as seen in the following examples.
71) Sition $\mathrm{k}_{\mathrm{A}}$ ta tanga i-a ta nganig

Sition 3 SgSAgr Past chop $\mathrm{Obj}-3 \mathrm{Sg}$ Instr axe
'Sition chopped it with an axe.'
72) ri ains ki la th-taun ani keve pok

Plur woman 3PlurSAgr Perf Redup-cook Obj Plur food
'The women cooked the food.'

Lesley Fast
73) man ku serei ma ka a-llis un ta ka-g sula if 2 SgSAgr come 1 SgSAgr Int Cs-give Obj 2 Sg Instr Poss-1Sg spear 'If you come, I will give you my spear.'
74) tura a-ongos tara sinong

1PlurIncSPrn Cs-all 1PlurIncSAgr sit
'All of us, let us sit.'
Subject agreement is marked with the following set of morphemes:

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sg | na | ku | ka |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Di } \\ & \text { DIEx } \\ & \text { Dlinc } \end{aligned}$ | namemlong <br> tarung | milong | kilong |
| $\begin{array}{r} \text { Trl } \\ \text { TriEx } \\ \text { TrlInc } \end{array}$ | namemttol tarattol | mittol | kittol |
| Plur <br> PlurEx <br> PlurInc | namem tara | mi | ki |

Fig. 6 Subject Agreement Morphemes
In the above subject agreement morphemes, the same contraction rules apply as in the free subject pronouns. (See Fig. 2)

75) | nem |
| :--- |
| 1PlurExSPm |
| 'We all, we sat.' | angos nem $\quad$ sinong

1PlurExSAgr
sit

### 2.1.2.2 Posscssive Pronouns

The possessive pronoun comprises ke-followed by person possessive agreement markers as detailed in fig.1.

### 2.1.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns substitute for the questioned item. They are:

| sa | 'what' |
| :--- | :--- |
| si | 'who' |
| angisan | 'when' |
| voi | 'where' |
| saka...an | 'how/which' |
| poissn | 'how many' |

### 2.2 Verbals

It is not possible to formally distinguish adjectives from verbs. Both can function as the predicate of the clause and both can take the causative marker a. A distinction is maintained only on a functional basis.
2.2.1 Verbs

### 2.2.1.1 Verb classes

2.2.1.1.1 Verbs Occurring With the -ai Suffix

There is a group of verbs which I have not found occurring without the -ai suffix.
Generally speaking, verbs can occur with or without this marker. It seems that this group of verbs, perhaps because of the inherent meaning they have, must always have this suffix. In any event the meaning of this morpheme is not clear at this point and neither is the following list of examples complete.

There also seems to be a relationship between the marker -ai and the object marker ani-. Unless the object is incorporated into the verb, as in this next example, the object will be prefixed by ani-
76) parik ka pa sabon-ai vongo
not 3 SgSAgr Neg find-? pig
'He did not find pigs.'
77) parik $k a$ pa sabon-ai ani selen ang
not 3 SgSAgr Neg find-? Obj path Dem
'He did not find the path.'
78) ki-la a-r-ai ani vul ang

3PlurSAgr-Perf Cs-see-? Obj canoe Dem
'They saw the canoe.'
79) na-po buk ua ta $k u$ me pakang-ai ani-g 1 SgSAgr-Cont want Obj2Sg that 2 SgSAgr Mot.toward help-? Bnf-1Sg 'I want you to come help me.'

### 2.2.1.1.2 Verbs That Change Length of Initial Consonant

There is a class of verbs that have either a short or long initial consonant depending on whether they are higher or lower on the transitivity scale (Hoppcr/Thompson, 1980). High

## Lesley Fast

transitivity is marked by a short form of the consonant and an obligatory object. Low transitivity is marked by a long form of the consonant and no object. The following pairs of examples illustrate this difference.
kkinle vs. kinle
80) lower transitivity:
na-an

## kkinle

1SgSAgr-Mot.away recognize
'I'll go (and see if I) recognize (those people).'
81) higher transitivity:
parik na-ta-pa
kinle un
not 1 SgSAgr-Past-Neg recognize Obj2Sg
'I did not recognize you.'
dag vs. rag 'scrape/shred'
82) lower transitivity:
ri aina ki-po dag
Plur woman 3PlurSAgr-Cont scrape/shred
'The women are scrape/shredding (tapiok).'
83) higher transitivity:
$\mathrm{ku} \quad \mathrm{r} g \mathrm{~g}$ na vuk tapiok ke
2 SgSAgr scrape/shred Def piece tapiok Dem
'You scrape/shred this piece of tapiok!'

### 2.2.1.1.3 Speech Verbs

There is a class of verbs that obligatorily take direct or indirect speech after them. For the construction of the speech clause see Section 4.2.1.
84) ka-la antok ta parik

3SgSAgr-Perf say Sintr no
'He said, "No."'
85) ka-la sui i-Au ta au numai ve si $3 S g S A g r-P e r f$ ask $O b j-1 S g$ Sintr Excl 2 SgSPrn with who 'She asked me, "Well, who is with you?"'
86) namemlong-la sokottuk i-h ta $\mathrm{kA}_{\mathrm{A}} \quad$ ago pok 1DIExSAgr-Perf beg Obj-3Sg Sintr 3SgSAgr remain back 'We two begged him to remain.'

There are two speech verbs which can occur with or without speech following them. I vicw this as syntactic optionality. When they do not have reported speech following them, these verb are focussing on the action of talk. These two verbs are mengen 'talk' and a-kus 'tell'.
87) ks-po mengen a-lava 3SgSAgr-Cont talk Cs-big 'He is talking loudly.'
88) na-ka a-kus un ta asan ke Umbukul 1SgSAgr-Int Cs-tell Obj2Sg ? name Dem Umbukul 'I want to tell you about this name, Umbukul.'

### 2.2.1.1.4 Intransitive Verbs

### 2.2.1.1.4,1 Non-derived Intransitive Verbs

The different semantic shades of non-derived intransitive verbs all function structurally the same way. Verbs in this class may not take an NPO after them but may take other postnuclear phrases after them.
89) na-po buk para ve numai 1 SgSAgr-Cont want be.awake with 2 SgSPrn 'I want to be awake (visit) with you.'
90) ri vap ki-la rot a-ongos

Plur people 3PlurSAgr-Perf sleep Cs-all
'The people were fast asleep.'
91) igenen ang $k_{n}-l a \quad$ muip nei laman man Dem 3SgSAgr-Perf submerge in water 'The man submerged in the water.'

### 2.2.1.1.4.2 Derived Intransitive Verbs

There is a class of intransitive verbs that can be formed into spontaneous action intransitive verbs by the prefix $t$.
92) ka-na vul ka la ta-vungum

Poss-3sg canoe 3 SgSAgr Perf Spon-tip
'His canoe tipped.'
93) $k a \quad$ la ta-putuk a $k a k$-ina i ri nna 3SgSAgr Perf Spon-break Def leg-3SgPoss Gen Plur(Hon) mother. 1 SgPoss 'My mother's leg broke.'
94) ka la tu-dek na vul ang

3SgSAgr Perf Spon-split Def cance Dem
'The canoe split.'

### 2.2.1.1.5 Transitive Verbs

This class of verbs must have an object after them. They are intrinsically transitive and cannot take the causative marker a.

## Lesley Fast

95
Siavor ka-ta lamut a ien ta naip
Siavor 3SgSAgr-past cut
'Siavor cut the fish with a knife.'
'Siavor cut the fish with a knife.'
96) ggot i-s ta angus
tie Obj-3Sg Instr vine
'Tie it with a vine.'
These verbs may also incorporate their objects and in such case there will be no object marking. Object incorporation occurs when the speaker views the object as part of the activity of the VP. This can be seen in the position of the adverb within the VP. The following two examples illustrate the difference between a regular definite object and an incorporated object. In the first example notice the usual pre-object position of the adverb $t u l$ 'en-route'. In the second example the speaker views the action to be 'pig-tying' and notice that now the adverb comes after the incorporated object.
97) na-ta
got tul
ka-g
vongo
1 SgSAgr -Past tie en.route Poss-1Sg pig
'I tied-up my pig en-route.'
98) na-ta got vongo tul

1SgSAgr-Past tie pig en.route
'I pig-tied en-route'

### 2.2.1.2 Verb Compounds

There are many cases of double actions that are expressed by compounding two verbs into the usual verb slot in the VP. In most cases these verbs are not changed in any way and can also stand on their own. The exceptions that should be noted are where the first verb is a reduced form.
99) tang-leng (the full form of 'cry' is tangis)
cry-fear
'cry in fear'
Several more common verbs that compound with a variety of verbs are here noted.

| tanga-tok | 'chop-cut' |
| :--- | :--- |
| tanga-dek | 'chop-split' |
| tanga-suai | 'chop-remove' |
| luk-suai | 'get-remove' |
| pasal-suai | 'go-remove'(goaway) |
| lomon-suai | 'think-remove'(forgive) |

More in depth study will need to be done on this phenomenon of verb compounds.

### 2.2.1.3 Derivation of Verbs Using Causative Prefix

Certain intransitive verbs and adjectives are readily changed into transitive verbs by prefixing the causative marker a to them.

Derived Transitive Verb $=\boldsymbol{+ a}+$ Intransitive Verb/Adjective
100)
tama-ria ka-la a-mara-marak i-ria father-3PlurPoss 3SgSAgr-Perf Cs-Redup-happy Obj-3Plur 'Their father encouraged them.'
101) nau na-ta a-tung a lu ke 1SgSPrn 1SgSAgr-Past Cs-stand Obj house this 'I erected this house.'
2.2.1.4 Reflexive Verbs

Verbs, which can have a reflexive meaning are marked as such by the use of the adverb pok 'back' in the VP.
102) Ngen ka-ta Lamut pok i-A

Ngen 3SgSAgr-Past cut Rflx Obj-3Sg
'Ngen cut himsclf.'
103) ri-nna-ria ki-ta raung pok i-ria

Plur(Hon)-mother-3PlurPoss 3Plur(Hon)SAgr-Past kill Rflx Obj-3Plur(Hon) 'Their mother killed herself.'
2.2.1.5 Reciprocal Verbs

Many verbs can have a reciprocal form. The prefix ang-marks the verb as reciprocal. There are two types of reciprocal action:

Type A: participants do something among themselves - no NPO
Type B: participants do something to each other - has NPO
104) Type A:
au, milong-po ang-tung sa?
well 2DIExSAgr-Cont Recip-stand what
'Wcll, what are you two standing around for?'
105) Type A:
ingun ka-la llu i-s na kilong-la ang-lu-llun devil 3 SgSAgr -Perf chase Obj-3Sg and 3DISAgr-Perf Recip-Redup-chase
e selen
on road
'The devil chased him(man) and they (two) chased each other on the road.'

The reciprocal marker may also attach to the reflexive adverb.
106) Type B:
ki-ta-po angan ang-pok-pok-ai ani-ris
3PlurSAgr-Past-Cont eat Recip-Redup-Rflx-? Mlf-3Plur
'They were eating each other.'
2.2.2 Adjectives

### 2.2.2.1 Classes and Co-occurence

Adjectives function in the NP to post-modify the noun. There is very rarely more than one adjective modifying a noun. When there are two classes together colour and size can cooccur and size and quality can co-occur. Their order can be seen in the following examples:
107) kauvek miting lava dog black big
'a big black dog'
108) Iu lik ro
house small good
'a good small house'
The adjective lik 'small', when occurring after another adjective, has the function of modifying that adjective rather than the Noun.
109) Ju ro lik
house good small
'a slightly good house (mediocre house)'
2.2.2.2 Derivation
2.2.2.2.1 Movement to Adjective Slot

Words of other classes occasionally function as adjectives by means of filling the adjective slot.
110) igenen ttangam man sing 'a singer'
111) pura aina
chicken woman
'hen'

### 2.2.2.2.2 The Suffix -an

Another way of deriving an adjective is by means of adding the suffix -an onto nouns.
Dcrived Adjective $=+$ Noun + an

The reciprocal marker may also attach to the reflexive adverb.
106) Type B:
ki-ta-po angan ang-pok-pok-ai ani-ria
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107) kauvek miting lava dog black big 'a big black dog'
108) lu lik ro
house small good
'a good small house'
The adjective lik 'small', when occurring after another adjective, has the function of modifying that adjective rather than the Noun.
109) lu ro lik
house good small
'a slightly good house (mediocre house)'
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Derived Adjective $=+$ Noun + an

The following examples are all the data of this type of derivation that have been found so far. A more precise description of this class will have to wait until more data are gathered.
112) ring ke ka-po lang-an place this 3 SgSAgr-Cont fly (insect)-Adjz
'This place is full of flies.'
113) ring iat-anplace stone-Adjz'rocky place'
114) nei laman ka-po ..... to-anin water 3 SgSAgr-Cont wave-Adjz'The sea is wavy (rough)'
115) taun langit-antime rain-Adjz'rainy time'
2.2.2.3 Adjectives in Descriptive Clause
Adjectives occur as predicative complement in descriptive clauses. (See also section4.1.2.2 on descriptive clause.)
116) ri kavulik ki-po urukPlur girl 3PlurSAgr-Cont happy'The girls are happy.'

All adjectives except one can occur in this position in the same form as when they modify nouns in the NP. The exception is lik 'small'. This adjective must be in a reduplicated form if it occurs in the descriptive clause.
117) modifier in NP:
$r i$ nat lik ki-po a-si-sing
Plur boy small 3PlurSAgr-Cont Cs-Redup-bathe
'The small boys are bathing.'
118) complement in descriptive clause:

$$
k_{A-n A} \text { nat } k_{A}-p o \quad \text { lik-lik }
$$

Poss-3Sg boy 3 SgSAgr -Cont Redup-small
'His boy is small.'

### 2.2.2.4 Quantifiers duk, miang

These two words can function both as adjectives modifying the noun as well as adjectives in a descriptive clause.
119) adjective in NP:
ains miang $\mathrm{ki} \quad$ la pasal
woman many 3 PlurSAgr Perf go
'Many women went.'
120) adjective in descriptive clause:
$r i$ ains $k i$ po miang
Plur woman 3PlurSAgr Cont many
'The women are many.'
The word miang seems to have the meaning of many individuals whereas the word duk refers to a mass situation. So in the example below the speaker is focussing on the fact that the water is full of fish.
121) ri ien ki po duk nei laman

Plur fish 3PlurSAgr Cont full in water
'The fish are plentiful in the water.' (the water is full of fish)
Both of these quantifiers have their corresponding opposites.
duk 'full' vs vauvau 'empty' miang 'many' vs menlik 'few'
2.2.3 Adverbs

Adverbs function in the verb phrase as modifiers of Verbs.

### 2.2.3.1 Derived Adverbs

Adjectives and verbs with a causative prefix a-become adverbs.

### 2.2.3.1.1 Adverbs Derived from Adjectives

Derived Adverb $=+a+$ Adjective
122) ki-po
pasal a-ngau
3PlurSAgr-Cont walk Cs -weak
'They arc walking slowly.'
123) kup a-lava
shout Cs-big,
'shout loudly'
parik na-pa to a-ro
not $1 \mathrm{SgSAgr}-\mathrm{Neg}$ live Cs-good
'I am not fecling well.'

### 2.2.3.1.2 Adverbs Derived from Verbs

Derived Adverb $=+a+$ Verb
125) ka-la tak a-tung a nat ang

3SgSAgr-Perf pull Cs-stand Def boy Dem
'She pulled the boy to standing.' (pulled him to a standing position)
The reason I am calling this an adverb rather than a scrial verb construction is that the adverb can be distinguished from the verb by a stress difference.
126) adverb: stress on causal morpheme:
thak 'a-tung i-s
pull Cs-stand Obj-3Sg
'Pull him up to a standing position.'
127) transitive verb: stress on verb root:
a-tung i-s
Cs-stand Obj-3Sg
'Stand it up.'
Another example of an adverb derived from a verb:
128) Sang a-putuk ane Rabaul
run Cs-brcak to Rabaul
'Fly across to Rabaul.'

### 2.2.3.2 Non-derived Adverbs

There is a small class of adverbs that is not derived. These items can occur following a verb but not as verbs in their own right. They are therefore distinguished from verbs in verb compound constructions (see 2.2.1.2.) as well as distinguished from derived adverbs.

| pok | 'back' |
| :--- | :--- |
| lak | 'still, yct' |
| pulakai | 'about, from place to place' |
| lenginang |  |
| pıppA |  |
| Kıpı | 'already' |
| 'alone' |  |
| 'also' |  |

129) ka po pasal pok

3SgSAgr Cont go back
'He is going back.'

131) ku an antok i-a vej ka marala kapa

2 SgSAgr Mot.away tell Obj-3Sg lest 3 SgSAgr angry also
'You go tell him lest he be angry also.'
132) namem-po pasal pappa

1PlurSAgr-Cont walk alone
'We are walking alone'
In the following example, lak may occur either preceding the verb or following the verb or in both positions in the clause.
133) parik lak ki-pa samui lak i-au
not yet 3PlurSAgr-Neg buy Obj 1 Sg
'They haven't paid me yet.'
134) ka-po a-bis lak i-a

3SgSAgr-Cont Cs-work yct Obj-3Sg
'He is still building it.'
135) ka-la sang pulakai

3 SgSAgr -Perf run from.place.to.place
'He ran aboul from place to place.'
136) ninis lenginang e rins
$3 \mathrm{Sg} S$ Prn already at village
'He is already at the village.'
137) nau pıppı

1 SgSPrn alone
'only me'
138) ka-la ko-kos kapa

3SgSAgr-Perf Redup-board also
'She also boarded (the canoe).'

### 2.2.4 Intensifier

Intensifiers mark an intensification of an action or state. This may include the meaning of intense quantification as 'all'.
2.2.4.1 Non-derived intensifier, luai
139) $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{A}}$ po kkovck Iuai

3SgSAgr Cont absent Ints
'There's nothing at all.'
140) icn lik luai
fish small very 'very small fish'
141) ka-la
pasal luai
3SgSAgr-Perf go Ints
'He has gone all the way.'
142) ka po bil luai val tamin-na

3SgSAgr Cont thing Ints as father-3SgPoss
'He is exactly like his father.'

### 2.2.4.2 Derived Intensifiers

Derived Intensifier $=+\boldsymbol{a}+$ Adjective/Verb
I have seen only three words that are derived in this way. These are rikek 'bad', ssip 'flee' and ongos which I have not seen in isolation and am simply glossing as 'all'.
143) ki-la buk angan a-rikek

3SgSAgr-Perf want eat Cs-bad
'They wanted to eat badly.' (They were very hungry)
144) na-po buk a-rikek i-A

1SgSAgr-Cont want Cs-bad Obj-3Sg
'I want him badly.' (I like him very much)
145) ri vap a-ongos

Plur people Cs-all
'all the people'
146) nem la angan a-ssip a pok ang

IPlurSAgr Perf eat Cs-flee Def food Dem
'We ate all the food.' (or We finished eating the food)

### 2.3 Prepositions

Prepositions are a closed set of items which precede a noun, pronoun or NP to form a prepositional phrase. Their functions are described in section 3.3.

| le | 'from' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ane | 'to' |
| $e$ | 'at' |
| ai | 'at' |
| $t a$ | 'instrument' |
| $v e$ | 'accompaniment' |
| $s i$ | 'genitive' |
| tenej | 'temporal genitive' |

### 2.4 Conjunctions

### 2.4.1 Phrase Level Conjunctions

The conjunctions na 'and', ve 'with' and vo 'or' join phrases at the phrase level and they join words to form compound NPs. (See section 3.1.5)

### 2.4.2 Sentence Level Conjunctions

There are a variety of conjunctions that connect clauses within the sentence. These are discussed and illustrated in section $F$.

### 2.4.3 Discourse Level Conjunctions

At the discourse level one conjunction has been identified. This is the conjunction au which signals a movement to another main section within the discourse. It is found in all genre of text and is used by all spcakers. For examples of its use in narrative text see Appendix B.

## 3 Phrase

### 3.1 Noun Phrase

The noun phrase functions as an element in the clause. Its head is the only obligatory element. This is normally the noun.

### 3.1.1 Phrase with Noun as Head

(It should first be noted that the possessive pronoun phrase will be discussed in 3.1.3 below. Although it also has the noun as head and is much like the NP discussed in this section, I discuss it in the section on possessive phrases.)

If we define the head as being the nucleus of the NP we can view the structure of the NP as having three parts; pre-nucleus, nucleus, and post-nucleus.

## DIAGRAM OF THE NP

Pre-Nucleus
\(\left\{$$
\begin{array}{l}\text { Def } \\
\text { Spec }\end{array}
$$\right\}\left\{\begin{array}{l}Num <br>

(Nmr+Det)\end{array}\right\}\) Part-whole | Head |
| :--- |
| NOUN | | Post-Nucleus |
| :--- |
| Adj1 Adj2 Ins Quant Dem |

In the diagram above, curly braces () enclose elements which are in an either-or relationship. The maximum number of elements found in one phrase in text material is five elements.

Pre-nucleus Head Post-Nucleus
147) vuk taun kudik lik piece lime short small just 'just a very short time'

The morpheme a ~ na 'Def' marks the NP as being definite. At this point there is further study needed to determine the exact function of this particle as well as the occurence possibilities. It is obligatory in some instances:
a) in a phrase with numeral

Spec Nmr Def Head Adj1
148) mang sikei a vakil lik

Spec one Def cave small 'a certain small cave'
b) with direct object when the NPO is definite and is not marked for definiteness in some other way, for example with a possessive pronoun.
149) luk le na vua
get first Def betclnut
'First, get the betelnut!'
150) luk le ka-g vus
get first Poss-1Sg betelnut
'First, get my betelnut!'
Following are varied examples of noun phrases:
Spec Nmr Def Head Adj1
151) mang pongux na igenen posok

Spec two Def man white
'two white men'
Head Dem
152) asan ke
name Dem
'this name'
Spec Nmr Def Head Adj1 Adj2
153) mang sikei a kauvek miting lava Spec one Def dog black big 'a certain big black dog'

Spec Part-Whole Head Quant
154) mang matan bil duk

Spec Part-whole thing many
'a group of many things'

155) | Head Adjl Ints |
| :--- |
| icn lik luai |
| lish+ small lnts |
| 'very small fish' |

### 3.1.2 Phrase with Pronoun as Head

This phrase functions in the same way as the NP in 3.1.1 above. Its head is the pronoun, the only obligatory element.

Structure: $\quad \mathrm{PmP}=+\mathrm{Prn} \pm \operatorname{Ints}(1) \pm \operatorname{Ints}(2)$
156) nau pa-ppa lik

1SgSPrn Redup-alone small
'I alone'
157) riria a-ongos

3PlurSPrn Cs-all
'they all'
158) ninia a-kkorong palau

3SgSPrn Cs-straight just
'preciscly just she'

### 3.1.3 Possessive Phrase

### 3.1.3.1 Possessive Pronoun Phrase

The possessive pronoun phrase can function in all ways that the normal NP does (See 3.1.1 above). Its distinguishing feature is that it has a possessive pronoun as first element that marks who the possessor is. Its structure is as follow:

Possessive Pronoun Phrase $=+$ PossPrn +NP
159) Ka-mem keve vus

Poss-1PlurEx Plur betelnut
'our betclnuts'
160) ka-g lu lik tanginang ke

Poss- 1 Sg house small new Dem
'this new small house of mine'
161) Ka-na mang pongua na nat lik

Poss-3Sg Spec two Def boy small
'his other two small boys'
If a full NP is used to specify the possessor, the NP is attached to the end of the PossPrnP as follows:
162) ka-na nat a Vulau

Poss-3Sg boy Def Vulau
'Vulau's son'
3.1.3.2 Possessive Phrase Using Genitive Marker $i / s i$

Structure: Possessive Phrase $=+\mathrm{NP}+\mathrm{i} / \mathrm{si}+\mathrm{NP}$

### 3.1.3.2.1 Inalienably Possessed Nouns $i$

Inalienably possessed nouns are followed by the genitive marker $i$.
163) pukun-ins i ingua body-3SgPoss Gen ghost 'body of a ghost'
164) thma-ris in ri Makago
father-3PlurPoss Gen Plur Makago
'Makago's father (Makago with his siblings)'

### 3.1.3.2.2 Alienably Possessed Nouns (si)

Alienably possessed nouns are followed by the Genitive marker si.
165) nat si Siavor boy Gen Siavor 'Siavor's son'
166) Kauvek si ngi-g dog Gen ?-1Sg 'my dog'

### 3.1.3.2.3 Genitive of Source

The Genitive marker $i$ also marks a looser type of possession, that of source or belonging to.
167) ri nat ilaong

Plur boy Gen far
'The boys/young men of far away (specifically, Tigak islands).'
168) igenen $i$ ring ke
man Gen place this
'a man of this place (a local man)'
3.1.4 Noun Phrases in Apposition

Two NPs can occur together without any conjunction between them. I view these two NPs as appositional in the sense that one is not embedded in the other. This is borne out by the
fact that cach NP has its own intonation contour. This is in contrast to the possessive pronoun phrase in 3.1.3.1 above.

The purpose of the second NP is to further clarify the first NP. This construction can be used only with persons in the context of possession and so far only proper names have been found in the second NP.

Structure: Appositional Noun Phrase $=+\mathrm{NP}+\mathrm{NP}$ (name)
169) ka-g ains Kerck

Poss-1Sg woman Kcrek
'my wife, Kerek'

### 3.1.5 Noun Phrases Conjoined

This is a list construction and functions as one element in the Clause. Three types of Conjoined NPs are found:

1. Signifying a close relationship between the NPs. A maximum of two can be conjoined. The connector is ve.
170) | kau $\quad$ ve $\quad$panga <br> sweet.potato with greens <br> 'sweet potatocs with greens' |
| :--- |
171) namemlong ve ka-g aina 1PlurExDl with Poss- 1 Sg woman
'we two with my wife (my wife and I)'
2. A list with elements more loosely related. The connector is na and it often occurs between each element of the list but sometimes only between the last two.
172) ri vap lavari aina na ri nat lik Plur people big Plur woman and Plur boy small 'the big people, women and children'
3. An alternative NP using vo 'or'.
173) na ka sukal ur vo kirak? 1 SgSAgr Int plant banana or taro
'Should I plant banana or taro?'
3.1.6 Question Word as Head of Phrase

The two Question words, sa 'what' and si 'who', can function as head of the NP. These phrases are restricted as to the number of elements allowed. Only the plural marker ri may precede the head. An adverb that in some way restricts the identity of what or whom the question word is referring to is the only element allowed to follow the head.
174) ri si a-kkorong?

Plur who Cs-straight
'who precisely?'
175) sa a-liu
what Cs-pass
'what along (et cetera)'
In an echo question where the speaker is repeating someone's statement because he did not hear one word, the NP has as head the question word and can then also have the usual modifiers of the noun phrase.
176) First speaker: $k_{1}-m$ mang vuk ei Poss-2Sg Spec piece tree 'your piece of wood'
177) Second speaker: $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{g}$ mang vuk sa? Poss-1Sg Spec piece what 'my piece of what?'

### 3.1.7 Headless Noun Phrase

Numerals and some part-whole morphemes may stand on their own as head of the NP. They do however always imply a noun which is usually retricvable from the context.
178) mang sikei $\mathrm{ks}_{\mathrm{s}}$ ta tainau $\mathrm{kA}_{\mathrm{A}} \mathrm{ri}$ ur Spec one 3 SgSAgr Past stcal Poss-3Plur banana 'Some one stole their bananas.'
179) mang keve ains ki po luk a mang rukun palau Spec Plur woman 3PlurSAgr Cont get Def Spec Part-Whole just 'Some women get just a few (crabs).'

The question word, poisan 'how many' can also function in this way.
180) na ta luk a poisan palau 1 SgSAgr Past get Def how.many just 'I got a few only.'

### 3.2 Verb Phrase

In the section on the verb, it was noted that four morphemes together with the verb root are being analysed as making up the verb word. These are:

1) -ai, possibly a transitivity marker
2) ang-, denoting reciprocal action
3) a-, a causative morpheme
4) ta-, spontaneous intransitive marker

Verb compounding was also discussed in that section as being a phenomenon of the verb. In this section the rest of the elements that make up the verb phrase will be discussed. Although reduplication is strictly a morphological process of the verb word it is discussed in this section since it marks durative aspect.

The VP functions as the only obligatory element in the verbal clause.
The VP has as its head the verb. The verb and a subject agreement marker are the only obligatory elements in the phrase.

### 3.2.1 Structure of the Verb Phrase

The structure of the verb phrase can be viewed as having three parts; 1) the nucleus i.e. the verb root, 2) the pre-nucleus elements, those having to do generally with tense, aspect and mood, and 3) the post-nucleus elements, the adverbial modifiers and the NPO.

The structure of the VP can be diagrammed as follows:

## VERB PHRASE

| ucteus | Nucleus | Post-Nucleus |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | +Verb | Adv $\pm$ Itns $\pm$ NP |

### 3.2.2 Elements of the Verb Phrase

### 3.2.2.1 Subject Agreement

This morpheme is normally obligatory in the VP. In a command, it is omitted at the speaker's choice. (Sce also section 4.3 clause modifications. For a listing of all the subject agreement markings see section 2.1.2.1.3 figure 6.)

3PlurSAgr laugh
'they laugh'
182) tars me angan

1PlurlncSAgr Mot.toward eat
'Let's cat.'

### 3.2.2.2 Intention $\boldsymbol{k a}$

The intention marker ka marks the attitude of the speaker as being one of desire or intention to do the action. It can occur only with first person singular and never co-occurs with the possibility mood marker $b$.


### 3.2.2.3 Possibility Mood -b

The marker -b follows the subject agreement. It expresses the speaker's view that the action or state might be true. 1 have not been able to determine exactly what the degrec of probability is in the mind of the speakers. It appears that this marker may only occur with some of the subject Agreement person markers, namely first, second and third singular and second and third plural. If the same possibility mood is marked with the other persons it must be done with a free form adverb nganing 'perhaps'. It is possible for the marker -b and the free form to co-occur.

'You might have seen him.'
185) ki-b la sang e pal-pal suke nganing

3PlurSAgr-Pbl Perf run at Redup-area that perhaps
'They might have run (by boat) in the other area (the other route).'
3.2.2.4 Tense ta

Only past tense is marked. And this only if it is necessary to set the time of the action in the past. If from the context the past tense is implicit in the discourse, it is not marked. A story, for example, will begin with the first two to four clauses having this morpheme in the VP. Then all subsequent clauses on the event line of the story will not have this morpheme. Another example of the use of this morpheme is when a particular point in time in the past is in question. For example questions like, "On which day did he arrive?" or "Where were you?" must have the past tense marked.
186) ku ta ago e voi?

2 SgSAgr Past stay at where
'Where were you?'
187) angisan ku ta serei?
when 2 SgSAgr Past arrive
'When did you come?'
The first clause in a narrative account:
188) nem ta pasal ane Vaungung

1PlurEx Past go to, Vaungung
'We went to Vaungung.'

### 3.2.2.5 Motion Relative to Speaker an, me

Actions that are perceived as involving the movement of the actor from one place to another will have the relevant motion marking. Actions perceived as moving toward the deictic centre (the reference point of the speaker or the reference point of a character in a discourse) is marked with me and actions moving away from this dcictic centre will be marked with an.

| 189) | ka me la serci c rina |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | 3 SgSAgr Mot.toward Perf arrive at village |
|  | 'He (came and) arrived at the village.' |
| 190) | tara an serci si ngi-nn |
|  | 1 PlurlncSAgr Motaway arrive at ?-3Sg |
|  | 'Lets (go and) arrive at his place.' (Lets go see him) |
| 191) | ku me sinong e kke |
|  | 2 SgSAgr Mot.toward sit at here |
|  | 'You come sit here.' |
| 192) | John ka an tang-i kariu |
|  | John 3 SgSAgr Mot.away chop-? bamboo |
|  | 'John will go and cut bamboo.' |

The following two examples are both taken from the same story describing a day trip from Umbukul to another village, Vaungung. At both of these points in the story the speaker's point of reference is Uinbukul.
193) near beginning of story:
na namem an la serei e Vaungung
and IPlurExSAgr Mot.away Perf arrive at Vaungung
'And we arrived in Vaungung.'
194) end of story:
na namem me la serei e Umbukul
and 1PlurExSAgr Mot.toward Perf arrive at Umbukul 'And we arrived at Umbukul.'

### 3.2.2.6 Perfective Aspect la

This morpheme is very prolific in narrative material and in conversations. It marks the action or state as completed in the view of the speaker. If the free morpheme lenginang 'already' occurs, the perfective marker, la invariably occurs also.
195) in ta la angan lenginang

1 SgSAgr Past Perf eat already
'I have eaten alrcady.'
196) ku la rot?

2 SgSAgr Perf slecp
'Wereyouaslcep?'
197) na la masung

1 SgSAgr Perf satistied
'I am satisfied.' (polite way of declining more food)
ilcs vauk mi la sang later morning 2PlurSAgr Perf run
'Tomorrow you will be running by boat (you will have fefi).'

### 3.2.2.7 Continuative Aspect po

The continuative aspect marks the action or state as continuing over a period of time.

200) ka po rot

3 SgSAgr Cont sleep
'She is sleeping.'

### 3.2.2.8 Habitual Aspect uli

The habitual aspect marker uli signifies that the speaker views the action or state of the clause as constantly happening or being in effect.
201) $k_{a} \quad$ po uli serei a-duk

3 SgSAgr Cont Hab arrive Cs-many
'It happens all the time.'
202) ka ta po uli a-togon taun ro-ron ani-ria si ngoto 3 ggSAgr Past Cont Hab Cs-have time Redup-good Bnf-3Plur Pur fishing
'There was always a good time for them for fishing.'

### 3.2.2.9 Negation tav

The negation marker tav is different than the clausal negation marker parik ... pa. It has the meaning of 'fail to' and relates directly to the action of the verb. It occurs both in declarative and negated clauses. This negation is not as forceful as the fully negated clause.


### 3.2.2.10 Adverb

In the adverb slot various adverbs occur to modify the verb or state. These can be both derived and non-derived adverbs. There may be two adverbs in one VP, the first one being a derived one and the second one being non-derived.

## Lesley Fast

205) na ka pasal a-liu pok ane si ka-g lu 1 SgSAgr Int go Cs-pass back to Gen Poss-1Sg house 'I'm going along back to my house.'
206) tas-ig ka-po a-bis a-madot sibling.same.sex-1SgPoss 3SgSAgr-Cont Cs-work Cs-strong 'My brother is working hard.'

### 3.2.2.11 Intensification

The intensifiers discussed in section 2.2.3.1 also occur in the VP to intensify adverbs.
207) tas-ig ka po a-bis a-madot luai sibling.same.sex-1SgPoss 3SgSAgr Cont Cs-work Cs-strong Ints 'My brother is working very hard.'

### 3.2.2.12 Durative Aspect

Durative aspect is marked in the VP by reduplication. Most usually the reduplication is of the first consonant and vowel of the verb root. (Note that the consonant weakens to the short form)

'The small boys are singing.'
209) ri aina ki an la ta-taun ani keve pok Plur woman 3PlurSAgr Mot.away Perf Redup-bake Obj Plur food 'The women (went and) cooked the food.'

Some examples have also been found where the whole verb root reduplicates and the meaning scems to be the same as the first type of reduplication.
210) ki po tanga-tanga dck kariu 3PlurSAgr Cont Redup-chop split bamboo 'They are chop-spliting bamboo.'

Another type of reduplication is used to mark the stretching out of the action. This has been seen only with the verbs of motion like 'go', 'run', and 'chase', and the verb 'stay'. This last verb is used in that way to signify a passing of time before the next action.

| 211) | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{kA}_{3 \mathrm{SgSAgr}} \stackrel{\text { la }}{\text { Perf }} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pasal } \\ & \text { go } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pasal } \\ & \text { go } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pasal } \\ & \text { go } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pasal } \\ & \text { go } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pasal } \\ & \text { go } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { na } \\ \text { and } & \mathrm{KAgSAgr} \end{array}$ | an Mot.aw | $\begin{gathered} l a \\ \text { ay } \\ \text { Perf } \end{gathered}$ | serci arrive | e rina at vill |  |

212) ka la ago ago ago na makarap ka la siang 3 SgSAgr Perf stay stay stay and sun 3 SgSAgr Perf descend 'He waited and waited and waited and the sun set.'

### 3.2.2.13 Noun Phrase Object

It need only be mentioned here that the NPO is obligatory following transitive verbs and that its order of occurrence is last element in the VP.
213) parik ka la pa angan i-A
not 3 SgSAgr Perf Neg eat $\mathrm{Obj}-3 \mathrm{Sg}$
'He did not eat him.'
214) namem la angan a-ssip a pok ang

1 PlurExSAgr Perf eat Cs-all Def food Dem
'We ate all the food.' (We finished eating)
215) ku me longong a ri-nna-m

2 SgSAgr Mot.toward hear Def Hon-mother-2SgPoss
'Come and listen to your mother.'
3.2.3 Some Examples of Longer VP's
216) ki ta me la angan

3PlurSAgr Past Mot Perf eat
'they came and ate'
217) ka po uli angan a-lava 3SgSAgr Cont Hab eat Cs-big 'he always eats much'
218) ki ta po tangam a-lava luai

3PlurSAgr Past Cont sing, Cs-big Itns 'they were singing very loudly'
219) Ka po saup a-rikek i-au 3SgSAgr Cont hit Cs-bad Obj-1Sg
'It (sickness) is hitting me very hard.'
3.3 Prepositional Phrases
3.3.1 Location

### 3.3.1.1 Directional Adverbs

Verbs of motion are often modified with directional adverbs. These adverbs are formed by a causal morpheme prefixed to a small class of verbs. (See also section 2.2.2 on derivation.)

This section is covered here rather than in the section on the verb phrase simply to keep the topic of location in one place even though they are not prepositional phrases.

It could also be argued that these phrases are compound verbs rather than verbs plus adverbs. However, since there are other compound verb constructions that do not have any affixation in them (see section 2.3.2). I am treating these directional phrases as verb plus adverb because they are the same in structure as the VPs that have adverbs which are derived from adjectives. Note the following pair of examples:
pasal a-ngau
go Cs-wcak
'walk slowly'
221) pasal a-siang go Cs-descend 'go down'

These directional adverbs are constructed in the same way as the earlier mentioned derived adverbs.

$$
\text { Directional Adverb }=+ \text { Causative }+ \text { Verb }
$$

222) $\mathrm{ki} \quad$ la sang a-lak ane Kavieng 3PlurSAgr Perf run Cs-climb to Kavieng
'They ran (by boat) up to Kavieng.'
223) ncm la dal a-siang i-a

1 PlurSAgr Perf drag Cs-descend Obj-3Sg
'We dragged it (canoc) down (to the water).'
Verbs that form into directional adverbs:

| a-lak | 'climb' | -> 'up' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a-siang | 'descend' | -> | 'down' |
| a-kasang | 'come' | -> | 'on level toward speaker' |
| a-liu | 'pass by' | - | 'on level away from speaker' |
| a-ulit | 'goaround' | -> 'around' |  |

224) nemlong la kalip a-na-nnap a-siang IDIEx Perf paddle Cs-Redup-careful Cs-descend 'We (two) paddled carefully down (west).'

Note: When the verb pasal 'go' is modified by these adverbs, it may shorten to only the first phoneme $p$.

225) | $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{a}}$ p-a-kasang nganlak |  |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | 3SgSAgr go-Cs-come later |
|  | 'He will come here later on.' |

Note the full form which occurs frequently in careful specch:
226) ka pasal a-kasang nganlak 3 SgSAgr go Cs-come later
'He will come here later on.'

### 3.3.1.2 Prepositional Phrases of Location

There is a set of prepositions that can occur as the head of the locative prepositional phrase.

| le | 'from' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ane |  |
| $e$ | 'to' ${ }^{2}$ ' |

227) e Metemaung
at Metemaung
'at Metemaung (village)'
228) mi ta pasal le voi?

2 PlurSAgr Past go from where
'Where did you come from?'
There is a set of location morphemes that precede the NP but follow LocPrep when they co-occur. A few of these are listed below. Unlike LocPrep these items can occur without a following nominal and can also be suffixed by person marking to refer to a full NP, as in (232). They are therefore analysed as locative nominals.

| ngere | 'side' |
| :--- | :--- |
| no | 'front' |
| mung | 'back' |
| nci | 'inside' |

229) to $k_{\mathrm{a}}$ po tavap le ngere bang wave 3 SgSAgr Cont bounce from side rock 'The wave bounces back from the rock.'
230) $\quad$ ki la p-a-lak ane nei lu 3PlurSAgr Perf go-Cs-climb to in house 'They went up into the house.'
231) $k_{a}$ po matung e mung-i-m

3SgSAgr Cont lie at back-Gen-2Sg
'It is lying at back of you (bchind you).'
3.3.2 Instrument

To express instrument the preposition $t a$ is used.
232) Sition ka-ta tanga i-a ta nganig

Sition 3SgSAgr-Past chop Obj-3Sg Instr axe
'Sition chopped it with an axe.'

### 3.3.3 Benefaction, Malefaction and Recipient

Benefaction, malefaction and recipient are expressed using the particle ani.
233) benefaction:
na-ka tanga ani-m
$1 \mathrm{SgSAgr}-\mathrm{Int}$ chop Bnf-2Sg
'I'll chop (wood) for you.'
234) malefaction:
ka-la tangat ani-A
$3 \mathrm{SgSAgr}-\mathrm{Perf}$ dawn Mlf-3Sg
'Dawn broke on him.' (culting short his night's work)
235) recipient:
ki-a a-llis ien ani-ri vap
3PlurSAgr-Past Cs-give fish Bnf-Plur people
'They gave fish to the people.'

### 3.3.4 Accompaniment

Accompaniment is expressed with the use of a prepositional phrase. The preposition that signals accompaniment is ve.
236) numai ve si e iang? 2 SgSAgr with who at there 'Who is there with you?'
237) na-ka a-u-ai ve namilong 1SgSAgr-Int Cs-be.with-? with 2DISPrn
'I want to go with you (two).'
The adverb kuvul 'together' is used in an accompaniment construction when the action is done together by both the participants of the clause.
238) nemlong la pasal kuvul ve mang igenen 1DIExSAgr Perf go together with another man
'We (two) went logether with another man.'
The Accompaniment construction does not necesarily imply addition. That is to say, the participants of two NPs that are conjoined do not necesarily total the sum of the individuals in both NPs. Whereas in the last three examples addition of the two phrases was the case, there are also cases like the following example which refer to two, not three, people. In the mind of the speaker this form perhaps signifies a greater intimacy between the participants.
239) namemlong ve papa 1DIExSPrn with dad 'Dad and I'

When the suffix $-a i$ is attached to the preposition, ve, the resultant meaning seems to be that of an inner emotion or quality that is with a person. ani obligatorily follows this suffix.
240) ka la ta-pasuk ve-ai ani marala 3 SgSAgr Perf Proc-arise with-? Obj anger 'He got up with anger.'

### 3.3.5 Time

### 3.3.5.1 Days

Days of the week are borrowed terms. They function in the time word position of a time phrase. The genitive particle si, marks the time phrase as definite. Since days of the week are definite, the particle is obligatory in this context.
Lara-po uli lotu si Sande
1PlurIncSAgr-Cont Hab worship Gen Sunday
'We always worship on Sundays.
242) ki-ta-po ago e Kavieng tung si Pode

3PlurSAgr-Past-Cont be at Kavieng until Gen Thurday
'They stayed in Kavieng until Thursday.'
Days of the week also function as nouns; in the following example as subject of the clause.
243) Mande suke $k$ a taun rikek ani-ra

Monday that 3 SgSAgr day bad Mlf-1PlurInc
'Next Monday will be a bad day for us.'
'Yesterday', 'today' and 'tomorrow' are lexical items with some of them constructed by some compounding.
244) $k i \quad t a \quad$ screi anongo

3PlurSAgr Pas arrive yesterday
'They arrived yesterday.'
245) anongo-i-na (person suffix)
yesterday-Gen-3Sg
'the day before yesterday'
246) $\begin{aligned} & \text { ka-ta } \\ & \text { 3SgSAgr-Past arrive today }\end{aligned} \underset{\text { mong }}{\text { serning }}$

3 SgSAgr -Past arrive today morning
'He arrived this morning.'

## Lesley Fast

247) iles-vauk ka screi
later-morning 3 SgSAgr arrive
'He will arrive tomorrow.'
The two time words anongo 'yesterday' and iles-vauk 'tomorrow' are both used in the strict sense and also in the general sense to mean the past and the future.
248) iles-vauk $k_{1}-\mathrm{ra}$ inatus ki saka to an?
latcr-morning Poss-1PlurInc children 3PlurSAgr how live ?
'How will our children live in the future?'

### 3.3.5.2 Referential

These morphemes are of two types:

1) Those referring to absolute time.

| anangan | 'in time past' |
| :--- | :--- |
| $k_{\text {ana }}$ | 'at present time' |
| nganlak | 'in future time of same day' |
| iles | 'in future time after today' |

249) kana palau ki la po scrci now just 3PlurSAgr Perf Cont arrive 'Just now they have arrived.'
250) ka a-logon a kivung nganlat

3 SgSAgr Cs-have Def mecting later.today
'There will be a meeting later today.'
2) Relative to a specific point in time. These are constructions using a locative phrase. The locative time preposition ai is used interchangeably with the spatial preposition $e$. It is possible that the original meaning distinction was clear but that this distinction is not preserved in speech anymore.

| 251) | e mung i $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{A}-\mathrm{ri}}$ at back Gen Poss-3Plur 'after their feast' | matan angan part/whole eat |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 252) | ai no $i$ tangat at front Gen dawn 'before dawn' |  |
|  | 3.3.5.3 Time of Day |  |

The morpheme tenei 'time of day' prefixes the various times that the day is divided into to specify time of day. It functions as a definite preposition, fixing the time. This is the same function as the genitive si in the time phrases discussed in 3.3.4.1 above.
253) ki ta mikn mikn tung tenci tangat 3PlurSAgr Past Redup dance until Prep dawn 'They danced until dawn.'
254) ki ta serei tenei sa

3PlurSAgr Past arrive Prep what
'What time of day did they arrive?'
The times of day may be joined to be more specific:
255) ma ta p-a-lak tenci ngelik vong

1SgSAgr Past go-Cs-climb Prep afternoon dark 'I went up at dusk.'

The morphemes for times of day are used prolifically as Adverbs of time.
256) ka ta usen vauk

3SgSAgr Past rain morning
'It rained in the morning.'
257) na ta maiak vong

1SgSAgr Past fish dark
'I fished at night.'
258) ki a-bis ngelik i-s

3PlurSAgr Cs-build afternoon Obj-3Sg
'They will build it in the afternoon.'

## 4 Clause

The clause functions as an element in the sentence. It is the only obligatory element in the sentence.

There are verbal and non-verbal clauses. Verbal clauses have a VP as head of the clause. Non-verbal clauses do not have a verb.

### 4.1 Non-verbal Clause

4.1.1 Equative Clause

The equative clause has as a free pronoun as subject. The NP comment must have the definite noun marker a. Its basic structure is:

Clause $=+$ Subject Pronoun +NP
259) nau a Kambi

1 SgSPrn Def Kambi
'I am Kambi.'

26()) numai a igenen
2 SgSPrn Def man
'You are a man.'
261) ninia na si?

3 SgSPrn Def who
'Who is he?'
262) numai a tukul-ai i keve bil a-ongos
$2 S g S P r n$ Def base-? Gen Plur thing Cs-all
'You (God) are the reason of all things.
When the equative clause is negated it has the following structure:

$$
\text { Clause }= \pm \text { Subject Pronoun }+ \text { parik }+t a+\mathrm{NP}
$$

The function of the particle ta is not clear at this point. It may be functioning like the definite noun marker a since it secms to be replacing it in this construction. It also seems to be taking the place of the negating particle pa in the negated verbal clause. (see 4.3.1 below) It will here be glossed with '?'.

In this first example the identity of the man is retrievable from the discourse and hence in this utterance the first NP is omitted.
263) parik ta igenen le kke
not ? man from here
'(He) is not a man from here.'
In the next example the first NP is filled by a demonstrative.
264) kana parik ta mani

Dem not ? bird
'This is not a bird.'
265) Nuvat parik ta nat si ngi-g

Nuvat not ? boy Gen ?-1Sg
'Nuvat is not my son.'
4.1.2 Possessive Clause

The possessive clause is characterized by the particle ta coming between the two phrases.
The basic structure of the clause is:

$$
\text { Clause }=+ \text { Possesive NP }+t a+N P
$$

266) Ka-g Kavulik ta Ngurle

Poss- 1 Sg girl ? Ngurle
'Ngurle is my daughter.'
267) tipas-ig ta Togan
sister's.child-1SgPoss ? Togan
'Togan is my nephew (sister's child).'
268) ke Anasi ta naip

Poss Anasi ? knife
'It is Anasi's knife.'
269) ke si ta vul tanginang ke

Poss who ? canoe new Dem
'Whose new canoe is this?'

### 4.1.3 Stative Clause

### 4.1.3.1 Existential Clause

The existential clause is characterized by the obligatory marking of subject agreement and optionally also tense and aspect. Its structure is diagrammed below:

$$
\text { Clause }= \pm N P+\text { SAgr } \pm \text { Tense/Aspect }+N P
$$

270) nau nu po tama-ria

1 SgSPr 1SgSAgr Cont father-3PlurPoss
'I am their father.'
271) tainau ka po lau rikek
steal 3SgSAgr Cont custom bad
'Stealing is a bad custom.'

### 4.1.3.2 Descriptive Clause

The function of this clause is to describe a thing or a state.The description is expressed in the form of a complement predicate. The subject may be a full NP or it may be marked only by subject agreement person marking depending on whether the context requires it. This clause may also be an impersonal type of clause where the predicate complement makes an impersonal comment on the general situation as in the English sentence 'It is cold.'

The structure of this clause:

$$
\text { Clause }= \pm N P(\text { Topic })+\text { SAgr } \pm \text { Tense/Asp }+ \text { Predicate Complement }
$$

272) ri kıvulik ki po mara-marak

Plur girl 3PlurSAgr Cont Redup-happy
'The girls are happy.'
273) NP topic implicit:
na po ma-mmal a-rikek
1 SgSAgr Cont Redup-tired Cs-bad
'I am very tired.'
274) impersonal descriptive clause:

> ka la ngelik

3 SgSAgr Perf afternoon
'It is aftemoon.'

### 4.1.4 Comparison Clause

In a comparison clause the comparison is expressed by a descriplive clause and a comparison NP prefixed by ani.

Suructure: Comparison Clause $=+$ Descriptive Clause $\operatorname{tani}+\mathrm{NP}$
275) Kavieng ka po vunga-vunga ani Tingwon Kavieng 3SgSAgr Cont Redup-far Comp Tingwon 'Kavieng is farther away than Tingwon.'
 'Wild pig is better (to eat) than domestic pig.'

In a superlative comparison the comparison NP specifies every possiblility of comparison by the use of an intensifier.
277) $k_{A} n_{A}$ lu $k_{A}$ po taviri ani ri lu a-ongos Poss 3 Sg house 3 SgSAgr Cont large Comp Plur house Cs -all 'His house is big compared to all the houses.' (biggest of all the houses)
In order to cover comparison in one place I will here also describe comparison where the degree of the quality is the same. The above type of structure using ani expresses a difference between the two things compared. When something is like something else two other connectives may be used, asukang 'like' and val 'the same as'. The word asukang takes a complement after it and this can be a phrase, clause or sentence, whereas val is like a preposition taking after it a NP. Some examples:
 3 SgSAgr Cont Redup-Cs-see-? like, ? not 3PlurSAgr Neg know 'It looks (seems) like they don't know.'
279) ka po bil val tama-na

3 SgSAgr Cont thing the.same as father-3SgPoss
'He is a thing the same as his father.' (He resembles his father.)

### 4.1.5 Relative Clause

The relative clause functions as a modifier of a noun. There are two types of relative clause. One is a full clause and the other has a reduced VP as well as some other features which will be discussed below.

### 4.1.5.1 Full Form Relative Clause

In this type of relative clause the intonation contour covers the NP together with the relative clause thus joining them into one unit which functions as a NP. (Note that this intonation contour is the contrastive feature between this type of relative clause and the left dislocated NPO discussed in 4.3.6.1 below.)

From preliminary investigation it seems that subject, direct and indirect object, instrument and location at least can be relativised.
280) ring ang vap suke $k i \quad$ po ang-tung si ngi-na place Dem people Dem 3PlurSAgr Cont Recip-stand Gen ?-3Sg 'the place those people are standing at it'
frec: 'the place where those people are standing'

ta tta-na ka ta po vok
Instr ?-3Sg 3SgSAgr Past Cont rotten
'The fish that they gave us was rotten.'

### 4.1.5.2 Reduced Form Relativ: Clause

A relative clause of this type does not have subject agreement marking. If there is an overt subject NP it is clause final and it is expressed in an oblique phrase following the particle ta. If the noun has the demonstrative ang this will occur after the VP of the relative clause and before the oblique subject. The genitive particle si/i sometimes links the noun to the modifying relative clause. It is not clear yet what the real function of this particle is.
282) Kauvek i la saup ang ta Nuvat ka la ssip dog Gen Perf hit Dem Instr Nuvat 3 SgSAgr Perf flee 'The dog that Nuvat hit has fled.'

Some more examples:

283) | vap la angan a-lava |
| :--- |
| people Perf eat |
| 'pcople who eat a lot' |
284) vap po tauk i mat-mat ang people Cont owner Gen Redup-die Dem 'people who own the corpse'
285) $\mathrm{na}_{\mathrm{na}}$ ta a-r-ai ani-m si po pasal a-lak 1 SgSAgr Past Cs -sec-? Obj-2Sg Gen Cont go Cs-climb 'I saw you going up.'

### 4.2 Verbal Clause

The verbal clause is made up of a nucleus (the VP) and peripheral elements (other phrases). As was discussed in section 3.2 the VP includes the NPO in transitive clauses. The VP is the only obligatory element in the verbal clause.

In general all the peripheral elements occur after the nucleus. When they are fronted, and this includes the NPO, it is for reasons of focus (see 4.3). The time phrase is viewed as a peripheral element in the sentence rather than in the clause.

The structure of the Verbal Clause:

$$
\text { Clause }= \pm N P S+V P \pm \text { Post-nuclear phrases }
$$

The following phrase types can fill the post-nuclear phrase slot: location, instrument, accompaniment, bencfactive, malefactive and recipient.

The number of post-nuclear phrases in a single clause very rarely excedes one phrase. The only multiple occuence found so far is where two locative phrases occur where both are referring to the sane location and the second one is an claboration of the first one.
286) namem la mikn-mika i-a e kke e Umbukul 1 PlurExSAgr Perf Redup-dance Obj-3Sg at here at Umbukul 'We danced it (a dance) here at Umbukul.'

Although it is tempting to force a greater number of phrases into the post-nuclear slot, I will for now assume that it is unnatural since I do not find it supported with data. With more text material l suspect it will be possible to make a more satisfactory analysis.

For examples of these phrases in the clause see the examples in section 3.3 above.
The verbal clauses can be classified into several types on the basis of their structure; clauses taking a complement, transitive clauses, intransitive clauses, and di-transitive clauses. These will be described below.

### 4.2.1 Clauses Taking a Complement

These clauses are characterized by the class of verbs that occur in them and by the speech introducer ta which introduces the complement. Transitive and intransitive clauses can take complements after them.

Basic structure:

$$
\text { Clause }=+ \text { Clause }+ \text { ta }+ \text { Complement }
$$

Indirect and direct speech is not distinguished by a difference in marking. The actual content of the speech will make it clear which one it is.

### 4.2.1.1 Direct Speech

287) Mar kn la antok ta nau na an luk kkut Mar 3SgSAgr Perf say Sintr 1 SgSPrn 1 SgSAgr Mot.away get firewood
le na mi ko-kko-ai e kke
first and 2PlurSAgr Redup-wait-? at here
'Mar said, "I will get firewood first, and you wait here."'
Direct speech, although it will most often have the particle ta, sometimes does not have it.
This is in cases where the action of speech is within a very fast sequence of actions.
288) th-pasuk ka la antok (...) vong vong vong

Proc-get.up 3 SgSAgr Perf say dark dark dark
'(He) got up and said, "Dark, dark, dark."'

### 4.2.1.2 Indirect Speech

289) ma la sokottuk i-a ta kn me serei si ngi-rn 1 SgSAgr Perf plead Obj-3Sg Sintr 3SgSAgr come arrive at ?-1PlurInc 'I begged him to come to us.'

### 4.2.1.3 Other Verbs taking a Complement

Although in this type of clause the complement is not actual specch, it is related in that it is thought or sensory perception. The term 'speech introducer' will therefore still be used to gloss ta.
290) ka po a-ra-r-ai asukıng ta parik ka pa

3SgSAgr Cont Cs-Redup-sce-? like Sintr not 3SgSAgr Neg
longong i-au
hear $\mathrm{Obj}-1 \mathrm{Sg}$
'It looks as if he doesn't hear me.'
 'I know that his mother is sick.'
292) ku po malangas ta ku ta bil a-rikck 2 SgSAgr Cont clear Sintr 2 SgSAgr Past do Cs-bad 'Do you realize (are you clear) that you did wrong?'

### 4.2.2 Transitive Clause

The characteristic of this clause is that it has an obligatory object in the VP. The verb of this clause may be either a non-derived transitive verb or a transitive verb derived by a causative prefix.
293) ka la raung a vongo

3 SgSAgr Perf kill Def pig
'He killed the pig.'
294) ki la tanga suai ani ei

3PlurSAgr Perf chop remove Obj tree
'They chopped away the tree.'
295) $\mathrm{ma}_{\mathrm{a}}$ ta a-tung a lu ke

1 SgSAgr Past Cs-stand Def house Dem
'I erected this house.'
4.2.3 Intransitive Clause

The verb in the intransitive clause cannot take an object. There is no difference in the structure of clauses with derived or non-derived verbs.
296) namem la serei e Vaungung

1PlurExSAgr Perf arrive at Vaungung
'We arrived at Vaungung.'
297) ka-na lu ka po tung ngere to Poss-3Sg house 3 SgSAgr Cont stand beside shore 'His house stands beside the shere.'
298) angus ang ka la ta-ttok e pangkul vine Dem 3 SgSAgr Perf Proc-tear at top
'The vine tore al the top.'

### 4.2.4 Di-transitive Clause

The di-transitive clause has an obligatory direct object and an indirect object which could be called a benefactive plirase (BniP). There are two types of structure that occur.

### 4.2.4.1 Direct Object Precedes the Indirect Object

Di-transitive Clause $=+\mathrm{VP}+\mathrm{Bn} \mathrm{P}$
299) a-llis a ien ke ani ri nns-m Cs-give Def fish Dem Bnf 3Plur(Hon) mother-2SgPoss 'Give this fish to your mother.'
4.2.4.2 Indirect Object Precedes the Direct Object

Di-transitive Clause $=+\mathrm{VP}($ includes beneficiary $)+\boldsymbol{t a}+\mathbf{l O}$
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { 300) } & \begin{array}{l}\text { a-llis } \\ \text { Cs-give Def }\end{array} \text { ri non mother-2SgPoss } & \text { ta instr fish } & \text { Dem } \\ \text { 'Give your mother this fish.' }\end{array}$

Structurally this clause is identical to the transitive clause expressing instrument. Therefore it seems to me that the distinguishing feature is the semantic class of the verb. So the following example is not di-transitive but nongrammatical.
301) *Sition ks ta tang-ai a ri mna-ns ta kkut Sition 3SgSAgr Past chop-? Def Hon, mother-1SgPoss Instr firewood 'Sition chopped his mother with firewood.'

### 4.3 Clause Modifications

In this section I am not describing other types of clauses. These modifications apply to clauses in general.

> 4.3.1 Negation
> Structure of Negation $=+$ parik + Pers/Tense/Asp + pa + Verb/Adj
302) parik ka-pa ro
not 3 SgSAgr-Neg good
'It is not good.
303) parik ki-pa samui lak i-au
not 3PlurSAgr-Neg pay yet Obj-1Sg
'They have not paid me yet.'
4.3.2 Imperative

The imperative clause has a simplified VP. Very commonly the imperative will consist only of the verb.
304) tung!
stand
'Get up!'
Person, the perfective aspect and motion may optionally be in the imperative clause. Other than those restrictions the clause is just like a regular clause
305) mi an ngaut nei kakao

2PlurSAgr Mot.away cut.grass in cocoa
'You (plural) go cut grass in the cocoa (plantation).'
306) la a-si-sing!

Perf Cs-Rcdup-wash
'Wash yourself!'
307) ku me angan

2 SgSAgr Mot.toward eat
'You come cat.'

### 4.3.3 Prohibition (Negative Imperative)

Prohibition Clause Structure $=+a g o+t a+V e r b+a n$
The particle ta is signalling that a complement is following the verb ago 'stay'. The verb is stripped of affixes as in the positive imperative clause. Person only may be marked. The particle an which seems to be obligatory in this structure is a problem in that I have not been able to define its function. It may be functioning like the suffix an of the derived adjective discussed in 2.2.1.2.2 above, but this is still unclear at present.

308) | ku ago ta mengen an |  |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | 2SgSAgr stay ? |
|  | '(You) don't talk!' |

This construction may be abbreviated to only ago when the rest of the context is obvious.

309) | agol |
| :--- |
| stay |
| 'Don't!' |

This construction is used not only for prohibitive commands. Another use it has is the expression of purpose: '...so that it may not...'


As an imperative, this construction may be shortened to angunn an when the rest of the clause meaning is implicit.

```
313) anguan an!
    again ?
    '(Do it) again!'
```

Other examples:
314) parik ka la pa anguan mani an not 3 SgSAgr Perf Neg again bird ?
'It was not a bird anymore.' (it had changed to a devil)
315) parik ka pa anguan ro an
not 3SgSAgr Neg again good ?
'It is not good anymore.'

### 4.3.5 Questions

There are two types of questions; polar and content.

### 4.3.5.1 Polar Questions

Polar questions expect a yes or no answer. These are not syntactically different from the normal declarative clause but the rising intonation clause finally marks the clause as a polar question.
316) kj ta ago e Metetui? 3 SgSAgr Past stay at Metetui
'They were at Metetui?'
Contrast the above example with a simple stative clause below:
317) ki ta ago e Metetui

3PlurSAgr Past stay at Mctetui
'They were at Metctui.'
When the speaker is not really looking for the yes-no information but rather wants an affirmation of his opinion, the tag, ingko is used clause finally.
318) ki ta ago e Metctui ingko

3PlurSAgr Past stay at Metetui Tag
'They were at Metetui, (isn't that right)?

### 4.3.5.2 Content Qucstions

Content questions ask for content information and are characterized by the use of a question word and a clause final intonation drop.

### 4.3.5.2.1 'Who', 'What', 'When' and 'Where' Questions

These four types of questions are similar in that they make use of a question word in the slot of the element that is being questioned. The genitive marker si, functioning as the question word 'who' and sa 'what' may fill the subject and object slots and the head of the instrument, benefactive and accompaniment phrases. The question word voi 'where' may only fill the head of the locative phrase and angisan 'when' replaces the time word in the time phrase.

Filling the object slot:
319) mi po angan sa?

2PlurSAgr Cont cat what 'You are cating what?'

Filling the subject slot:
320) si $\quad \mathrm{ka}_{3} \quad \stackrel{t a}{a}$ a-llis un ta nem ke?
who 3 SgSAgr Past Cs-give Obj2Sg Instr nem ke? 'Who gave you this thing?'
Filling the accompaniment stot:
321)
numai ve si $\quad$ ku $\quad$ ta serci?
2 Sg SPr with who $2 \mathrm{SgSAgr}^{2}$
'With whom did you come?

Filling the benefactive slot:
322) $\pi \wedge$ ka a-llis i-Aani si?
$1 \mathrm{SgSAgr} \operatorname{Int} \mathrm{Cs}-\mathrm{give} \mathrm{Obj}-3 \mathrm{Sg}$-Bnf who 'To whom should I give it?'
Filling the time slot:
323) angisan $\mathrm{ki} \quad$ serei?
when 3PlurSAgr arrive
'When will they arrive?'

Filling the locative slot:
324) nganlak nganing ku pasal e voi? later maybe 2 SgSAgr go at where 'Later perhaps you will be walking where?'
The question 'when' can also be expressed with the genitive particle si and the question word sa 'what' in a time phrase construction. (See 3.3.4.1)
325) si sa taun ki $\quad$ ta pasal ane Kavieng?
Gien what day 3PlurSAgr Past go to Kavieng
'On what day did they go to Kavieng?'
4.3.5.2.2 'How' and 'Which' Question

These two questions are expressed in a similar form. If a verb is in question it means 'how' and if a noun is in question it means 'which'.
'Which' = +saka +Noun +an

```
326) ki ko-kos kuli saka vul an
    3PlurSAgr Redup-board on which canoe ?
    'Which canoe will they board?'
        'How' \(=+\) saka + Verb +an
327) ka ta saks ito-iton an ani-A
    3 SgSAgr Past how Redup-prepare? Obj-3Sg
    'How did he prepare it?
```


### 4.3.5.2.3 'Why' Question

There is no single morpheme meaning 'why'. This question must be expressed in a phrase using one of several logical connectives and sa 'what'. Each of these connectives describe a different type of 'why'.

1) A relatively strong form of the question asks for the reason of an action and connotes an accusation. This question uses the connective using 'because'.
2) using a sa ku ta angan $i-\mathrm{s}$ ? because Def what 2 SgSAgr Past eat Obj-3Sg 'Why did you eat it?'

The preposition marai 'why' is the same type of question as above but it seems to question source rather than reason and as such is usually milder in its tone. The following two examples illustrate this.
329) $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{a}}$ po tangis marai sa?

3 SgSAgr Cont cry because.of what
'What is he crying about?'
330) ka po tangis marai ka-na sula

3 SgSAgr Cont cry becausc.of Poss- 3 Sg spear
'He is crying because of his spear.' (it broke)
2) The question 'for what purpose?' is formed using a purpose marker and sa.
331) $k i \quad$ ta a-bis a lu ang ani sa 3PlurSAgr Past Cs-work Def house Dem Pur what 'For what purpose did they build the house?'

### 4.3.5.2.4 'How many' Questions

The 'how many' question is expressed by paisan.
332) poisın a taun kul-ta-ago e kke how.many ? day 2 SgSAgr -Past-be at here 'How many days were you here?'
4.3.6 Noun Phrase Dislocation

### 4.3.6.1 Fronting of NPO

The NPO can occur clause initially to mark it as the topic of the clause. When this happens a trace of it is left in its ustual slot. It has the same word order as a relative clause but can be distinguished by the intonation break after the NPO, whereas if it is a relative clause there will be no break at that point. It appears at this point that NPO is the only NP that can be topicalised but further data may prove this wrong.
333) igenen ang, tha ta a-r-ai ani-a
man Dem ISgSAgr Past Cs-sce-? Obj-3Sg
'The man, I saw him.

### 4.3.6.2 Right Dislocated Subject

This movement is only allowed in lower transitive clauses. The pragmatic reason for this movement is not clear at this point. It may signal an afterthought.

When the subject is right dislocated it is marked by the definite marker a.
334) ka la ta-puluk a sula ang 3 SgSAgr Perf Proc-break Def spear Dem 'The spear broke.'
335) ka la pakang-ai ani-a na vuk laman ang 3SgSAgr Perf help-? Obj-3Sg Def piece water Dem 'The pond saved him.' or 'It saved him, the pond.'

## 5 Sentence

The sentence is defined as that stretch of speech within a discourse that is bounded by sentence intonation. Sentence intonation consists basically of falling intonation and a breath pause.

The clause is the only obligatory clement in the sentence. It is the nucleus of the sentence. Peripheral elements occur sentence initially and finally. See section 5.4 below.

There are two broad types of sentences; coordinate and subordinate.

### 5.1 Coordinate Sentence

### 5.1.1 Temporal Sequence

The first clause of the sentence has fuller affixation than the following ones. This seems to apply only to the tense affix ta. If it occurs in the first clause it is obligatorily omitted in the succecding ones. (Note that clause breaks will be marked with the symbol '/f)
 'He ate and then he washed his hands.'

It seems that this reducing of the clause marks the two clauses as having the same subject. Generally, if the second clause is a full clause parallel in form to the first one, the subject agreement marking will refer to the last mentioned participant. As such it appears to be syntactic ergativity.
337) ka ta so na ien // na // ka la pputuk ka-na suls 3SgSAgr Past spear Def fish and 3 SgSAgr Perf break Poss-3Sg spear 'He speared the fish and it (the fish) broke his spear.'

It is possible to overtly specify that the second clause is later in time than the first. This is done with the time locatives ai-no 'before' and ai-mung 'after'. These locatives do not obligatorily cooccur.
338)


As seen in the above examples, temporal succession may be marked with the coordinating conjunction na. This conjunction is omitted when the clauses are seen as making up a unit of events that are closely tied. This occurs, for example at the conclusion of a story.
339) nem la dal a-siang j-a // nem ko-kos // 1 PlurExSAgr Perf drag Cs-descend Obj-3Sg 1PlurExSAgr Redup-board nem sang
1PlurExSAgr run
'We dragged it (the canoe) down, we boarded, we ran.

### 5.1.2 Temporal Simultancity

When different activities are going on over a period of time this can be expressed in a list of clauses the last two being connected with na.
340) ki po ngal // ki po unga mis //

3PlurSAgr Cont dig 3PlurSAgr Cont chop root
na // ki po lovon
and 3PlurSAgr Cont gather.debris
'They are digging, they are chopping roots, and they are gathering dcbris.'
Another way of expressing simultaneity is with the use of a scrial verb construction. A serial verb construction is one where there are more than one verb in the VP and each one denotes a single different action. (These differ from the verb compounds discussed in 2.3.2 which are viewed as single actions.)
341) ki po sinong angan

3PlurSAgr Cont sit eat
'They are situing ealing.'

### 5.1.3 Contrastive Sentence

The coordinating conjunction sikei 'but' obligatorily connects the two clauses of this sentence. The clause expressing the event contrary to expectation must occur second in order.
342) ${ }^{k i}{ }^{t a}$ a-ssok tap-ai ani-1 /I sikei parik kA pa serei 3PlurSAgr Past Cs-send.for now-? Obj-3Sg but not 3SgSAgr Neg arrive
'They sent for him but he is not coming.'
5.1.4 Adversative Sentence

The conjunction kanunem 'even though' is attached to the beginning of the clause that is stating the hindrance to the other clause.
343) namem-ta a-bis // kantanem ka ta po langit

1 PlurExSAgr-Past Cs-work even.though 3SgSAgr Past Cont rain
'We worked even diough it was raining.'
This clause may be first or second in the sentence. If it is first, the second clause optionally has the conjunction sikei 'but'.
344) kantanem ka ta po malepen // sikei ka ta po even.though 3SgSAgr Past Cont sick but 3 SgSAgr Past Cont
ggulang a-ro
play Cs-good
'Even though he was sick, he still played well.'
5.2 Subordinate Sentence

### 5.2.1 Reason-Resull Sentence

### 5.2.1.1 Alternative Sentence

A special conjunction vci 'or else' marks the second clause as the alternative event to that of the first clause.
345) na po a-ules i-A // vei ka dokot

1 SgSAgr Cont Cs-turn Obj-3Sg or.else 3 SgSAgr stick 'I am stirring it (coconut oil) or else it will stick (to the pot.)'
346) ku an antok i-A // vei ka marals palau 2 SgSAgr Mot.away tell Obj-3Sg or.clse 3 SgSAgr angry for.no.reason 'You go tell him lest he be angry for no reason.'

### 5.2.1.2 Certain Result

This sentence type is characterized by the conjunction using 'because'. Either reason or result may occur first in the clause order.

```
Sentence \(=+\) Result Clause + using + Reason Clause
    or
Sentence \(=+\) using + Reason Clause + Result Clause
```

This is illustrated in the next two examples.

| 347) | Result: | Vonau <br> Vonau | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{SgSAgr}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { po } \\ & \text { Cont } \end{aligned}$ | marala angry | // |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Reason: <br> 'Vonau | using because <br> is angry | Elemen Elemen because | 3 SgSAgr lemen los |  | a-mmun Cs-hide xc.' | $\begin{aligned} & k_{A}-n_{A} \\ & \text { Poss- } 3 \mathrm{Sg} \end{aligned}$ | nganig axe |

348) Reason: using $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{a}}$ ta angan a ien matak // because 3 SgSAgr Past eat Def fish raw

Result: ka po malepen
3SgSAgr Cont sick
'Because he ate the raw fish, he is sick.'
5.2.2 Purpose Sentence

There are four subordinating conjunctions. Three of them, si, asi, and ta, function in a similar way (I see the phonological similarity of the first two) but I have not yet pinpointed the difference in function, if there is one. Another one, ani has slightly different features. On the basis of that difference I have set up two types of purpose sentence.
5.2.2.1 Reduced Subordinate Clause si, asi, ta

In this type of purpose sentence the main clause must occur first. The subordinate clause does not have the usual main clause person marking in the VP.
349) ka la pasal ane nei uten // asi an sili 3 SgSAgr Perf go to in forest Pur Mot.away hunt 'He went into the forest in order to hunt.'
350) ki ta serci a-kuvul // si me ttangam 3PlurSAgr Past arrive Cs-together Pur Mot.toward sing 'They came together to sing.'

In order to make person explicit a possessive pronoun modifies the whole clause.
 'I am tying it so that it stand firmly.'

If the subordinate clause has an object it must be prefixed by the indefinite object marker ani. This difierence can be seen in the following two examples; the first is a simple sentence with only a main clause and the second is a purpose sentence with an indefinite object marking in the subordinate clause.
352) Nuvat ka ta songo a tama-na

Nuvat 3 SgSAgr Past call Def father-3SgPoss
'Nuvat called his father.'
353) na ta a-ssok a Nuvat // si an songo ani tuma-na 1 SgSAgr Past Cs-send Def Nuvat Pur Mot.away call Obj father-3SgPoss 'I sent Nuvat to call his father.'

### 5.2.2.2 Full Subordinate Clause ani

In this type of purpose sentence the subordinate clause must also occur second. The structure of the subordinate clause is like the main clause with a full VP.
354) ka la a-ssok i-memlong // ani namemlong an 3SgSAgr Perf Cs-send Obj-1DIEx Pur 1DIExSAgr Mot.away songo na igenen ang
call Def man Dem
'He sent us (two) in order that we (two) go call the man.'

### 5.2.3 Conditional Sentence

The structure of this sentence can be seen in the formula below:
Sentence $=+$ man-Clause + Main Clause
or
Sentence $=+$ Main Clause + man-Clause
355) man ku ta serei // na la a-llis ua
if $\quad 2 \mathrm{SgSAgr}$ Past arrive 1 SgSAgr Perf Cs -give Obj 2 Sg
ta ka-g sula
Instr Poss-1Sg spear
'If you had come I would have given you my spear.'
356) na ka a-llis un ta ka-g sula // man ku serei 1 SgSAgr Int Cs -give Obj 2 Sg Instr Poss-1Sg if 2 SgSAgr arrive 'I will give you my spear if you come.'

The conjunction man may also indicate a temporal condition as well as a real condition.
The particle le 'first' re-inforces the temporal rather than conditional sense of this sentence.
357) man ka angan ssip le // ka pasal when 3 SgSAgr eat completely first 3 SgSAgr go 'When he is finished eating he will go.'

### 5.3 Complex Scntence

A complex sentence is here defined as one in which two or more sentence types join together and form one sentence. An example of this type of sentence is the following:

Sentence $=($ man-Clause + Main Clause $)+$ sikei-Clause
358) man ku ta ago e kke // kauvck parik ka la pa if 2 SgSAgr Past be at here dog not 3 SgSAgr Perf Neg angan a pura ke // sikei ku ta kkovek eat Def chicken this but 2 SgSAgr Past absent
'If you would have been here the dog would not have eaten this chicken but you were not here.'

Another example:
359) $\mathrm{ka}_{\mathrm{A}}$ la po suma-suma // asi ka-na ssip // sikei using a 3SgSAgr Perf Cont Redup-hurry Pur Poss-3Sg flee but because Def kene ang ka po masalai // lenginang snake Dem 3SgSAgr Cont masalai already

'She hurried in order to escape but because the snake was a masalai it had already encircledher.'

### 5.4 Sentence Periphery

The time phrase is viewed as a peripheral element of the sentence. It can occur sentence initially and finally.

360) | anongo |
| :--- |
| yesterday 3PlurSAgr |
| 'Yestcrday they went.' |
361) $\begin{aligned} & \text { ki ta pasal anongo } \\ & \text { 3PlurSAgr Past go } \\ & \\ & \\ & \text { 'They went yesterday.' yestcrday }\end{aligned}$

Exclamations are also peripheral elements at the sentence level. These occur sentence initially and include exclamations of affirmation, negation, surprise and sympathy. Following are a few common examples:
362) io, ka la kamus e kke yes 3 SgSAgr Perf finish at here 'Yes, it is finished here.'
363) pua, ka po vongo lava Excl 3SgSAgr Cont pig big 'Wow! it is a big pig!'
364) parik, ku ago pok no 2 SgSAgr stay back 'No, you stay back.'

6 Figures of Speech
Figures of speech are used to express a number of things. In the relatively short period of my study of the language 1 have not observed very many uses of figurative language.
Probably the most common type I have observed is the use of body parts.

### 6.1 Body Part Figures of Speech

Since the occurrence in my observation is limited I will simply give a few representative examples.

Reference to the eye can mean opinion or witness.

$$
\text { ta bil a-rikek e mata-ria } i \text { ri vap }
$$

1 SgSAgr Past do Cs-bad in eye-3PlurPoss Gen Plur people
'I did wrong in the opinion of the people.'
The idea of structure can be expressed by the word tuan 'bone'.
366) tunn palau $i$ lu ka po tung bone just Gen house 3SgSAgr Cont stand 'Just the frame of the house is standing.'

Pregnancy is commonly expressed with the word vinga 'stomach'.
367) $k i$ a-togon vinga 3PlurSAgr(Hon) Cont Cs-have stomach 'She is pregnant.'

The word for reason comes from the word tukul 'root or base'
368) tutul-ai i ma ta ki po longong bot
root-? Gen 3Sg ? 3PlurSAgr Cont hear deaf
'The reason of it is that they disobey.'

### 6.2 Other Figures of Speech

### 6.2.1 Metaphor

I have heard things being referred to by use of metaphor. In referring to an important taboo relationship, the coastal term kunnur 'point' was used to express the relationship. The relationship is said to be a point that one cannot go around.
369) ang-magau-nan ka po kunaur i tav vulis Recip-taboo.relationship-? 3SgSAgr Cont point Gen Neg go.around.point
'The relationship of "magau" is a point that cannot be gone around.'
6.2.2 Simile

Simile is used to describe something by relating it to something similar. The comparative connective val 'like' is used in this type of expression.
370) ka po bil luai val misus 3 SgSAgr Cont thing Ints like white.woman 'She is just like a white woman.'
371) ka po bil val vua 3SgSAgr Cont thing like betelnut 'It is like betelnut.'

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# Two Grammatical Studies 

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