

## STEMS

1.1. Derived Stems

The Iduna language has a large number of derived stems which fall under 3 types.

A. Root / Stem + affix(es)

## 1. Class changing

## a) Verb to Noun

## (i) affix + root

aba- 'locative' + -vaga 'to step' abavaga 'steps'

aba- 'instrument' + -yava 'to protect' abayava 'shield'

aba- 'nominaliser' + -yabwanina 'to loot, plunder'

abayabwana 'loot, booty'

to- 'agent' + -faisewa 'to work' tofaisewa 'worker'

## (ii) 2 affixes + root

aba- 'instr.' + -ai- -a- 'plural/repeated action'

+verb root -tutu 'to hammer' aba'aitutu 'a hammer'

-tafi 'to sharpen' aba'aitafi 'sharpeners'

to- 'agent' + -ai- 'plural action' + verb root

-onana 'to spear' to'ai'onaga 'spearman'

## (iii) affix + stem

aba- 'nom., instr., loc.' + verb stem

-hegeve'abi 'to give a handful' abahegeve'abi

'gift which is a handful' (of food)

-sivekuku 'to hang up' abasivekuke 'hanger, hook'

to- 'agent' + verb stem

-hawavetavetala 'to guide' tohawavetavetala 'a guide'

-lugaviya 'to make war' tolugaviya 'soldier'

## b) Verb to Adjective

verb root + suffix inflecting for number and person

-buta 'become wet' + -na '3rd sg.' butana 'wet'

-koyo 'go/do bad' + -di '3rd pl.' koyodi 'bad'

## c) Noun to Adjective

noun root + suffix inflecting for number and person

tunuga 'length' + -na '3rd sg.' tunugina 'long'

boyala 'ripe fruit' + -na '3rd sg.' boyalina 'ripe'

## d) Noun to Verb

noun root/stem preceded by causative prefix

-lu- 'causative' + giligili 'broom' -lugiligili 'to sweep'

-ve- 'caus.' + natuna 'child' -venatuna 'to bear a child'

-ve- 'caus.' + awaboge 'mouth-night, i.e. breakfast'

-ve'awaboge 'to eat breakfast'

## a) Adjective to Verb

affix + root

-lu- 'caus.' + bwaitu'ana 'blunt' -lubwaitu'a 'become blunt'

-eto- 'pointed' + balebalena 'horizontal'

-etobalebalena 'to sew across'

2 affixes + root (causative prefixes)

-luve- + kukwauhina 'black' -luvekukwauhina 'be blackened'

-kive- + butana 'wet' -kivebutana 'baptise'

## 2. Bound root + affixes

## a) Pronouns

ba- '3rd sg.' + -di- 'their' + -iyao 'pl.' badi'iyao 'them'

## b) Verbs

affix + root

affix + root

-ve- 'caus' + -lifi 'cover' -velifi 'clothe'

-ki- 'caus with fingers' -dobona 'break'

-kidobona 'break with fingers'

2 affixes + root

-eno- 'lying down' + -ve- 'caus.' + -fota 'to stick'

-enovefota 'lean back against'

-lu- 'caus' + -ve- 'caus' + -ta'alina 'explode'

-luveta'alina 'strike a match'

## B. Reduplicated Stem

### 1. Partial

kaiwabu 'chief' kikaiwabu 'treasure, important things'

### 2. Complete

-ita 'to see' ita'ita 'appearance'

nuwa 'insides, mind' -nuwanuwa 'to think'

## C. Reduplicated Stem and Affix

### 1. Reduplicated root

#### a) Partial

-kimone 'to buy' abakimokimone 'market'

#### b) Complete

-kola 'to wash' aba'ikolakola 'basin, thing for washing in'

-hobu 'to go down' -kihobuhobu 'move hand down object held'

### 2. Reduplicated affix

-lautaina 'cause to be pulled' abalulautaina 'trailer, wagon'

### 3. Reduplicated root (partial) and affix

-vetagova 'to cook' abavetavetagova 'kitchen'

## 1.2. Compound Stems

Combinations of various classes of word roots occur frequently and are probably newly coined when the occasion arises.

### A. Compounds of complete roots

#### 1. Nouns

##### a) noun + noun

eda 'path' + natuna 'child'    edanatuna 'bastard'

tuga 'knee' + lulu 'bone'    tugalulu 'shin'

##### b) noun + verb

nuwa 'insides' + -koyo 'go bad'    nuwakoyo 'anger'

#### 2. Verbs

##### a) verb + verb

-bala 'cross over' + -ela 'come'    -bala'ela 'come across'

-madu 'run' + -gahe 'speak'    -madugahe 'speak fast'

##### b) verb + verb + verb

-ru 'move' + -tutu 'hammer' + -fosena 'fix'

-nututufosena 'nail'

##### c) noun + verb

bogi 'night' + -lolona 'to lie'    -bogilolona 'be eclipsed'

nuwa 'insides' + -yilana 'to turn'    -nuwavilana 'repent'

##### d) verb + adjective

-hiwa 'fill' + lakahina 'big'    -hiwalakahina 'fill to brim'

-madu 'run' + kowakowa 'weak'    -madukowakowa 'run slowly'

### B. Compounds of partial root + complete root

#### 1. Nouns

##### a) noun + noun

manuga 'bird' + bogi 'night'    manubogi 'flying fox'

ase'ase 'liver' + meya 'tongue'    asemeya 'pancreas'

## b) noun + verb

ase'ase 'liver' + -bou 'get dry' asebou 'courage'

nuwa 'insides' + -hobu 'go down' nuwahobu 'humility'

## c) verb + adjective

-nagi 'marry' + ivaguna 'new' nagivagu 'a newly wed'

-tubuga 'grow up' + lakahina 'big' tubulakahina 'young man'

C. Compounds of root + reduplicated root

## 1. noun + noun

mata 'eye' + olo 'beard' mata'olo'olo 'eyelashes'

## 2. noun + verb

ago 'voice' + -nogala 'hear' agonoganogaleta 'echo'

1.3. Combination of Compound and Derived Stems

These only occur in verbs where they are very common. The following combinations have been found.

## 1. causative prefix + verb + verb

-ve- + -tala 'cut' + -yakahi 'reveal' -vetalayakahina 'open'

## 2. causative prefix + verb + adjective

-ve- + -hawa 'speak' + tabutabuna 'forbidden'

-vehawatabutabuyena 'put a taboo on'

## 3. causative prefix + noun + verb

-lu- + bai 'cross-sticks' + -bodana 'close off'

-lubaibodana 'terrace'

## 4. causative prefix + noun + reduplicated verb

-ve- + gufa 'river' + -aluga 'carry away'

-vegufa'alu'aluga 'be carried away by current'

## 5. verb + causative prefix + verb

-miya 'stay' + -ve- + -haila 'take apart'

-miyavehaila 'live separately'

## 6. verb + 2 causative affixes + verb

-hawa 'speak' + -lu- + -ve- + tonova '

-hawaluvetonovena 'taunt'

## 7. verb + causative affix + noun

-hawa 'speak' + -ve- + kaliva 'man'

-hawavekalivayena 'admire'

## 8. verb + causative affix + noun + verb

-hawa 'speak' + -lu- + magigi 'face' + -bou 'get dry'

-hawalumagibou 'speak surlily'

## 9. noun + causative affix + verb

bawe 'pig' + -ve- + -a 'eat' -baweve'a 'rear pigs'

## 10. 2 causative prefixes + noun + verb

-atu- + -ve- + wowo 'skin' + -tuna 'stretch'

-atuvewowotuna 'massage'

## 11. verb + reduplicated verb

-gahe 'speak' + -laka -gahelakalaka 'be jealous of'

## 12. verb + verb + reduplicated verb

-gahe 'speak' + -tala 'cut' + -hobu

-gahetalahobuhobu 'speak hidden talk'

1.4. Derived and compound stems in the two major word classes, noun and verb, occur very commonly both in general conversation and text, and are coined freely as occasion arises, including for the purpose of describing actions and objects unfamiliar to them. The majority of adjectives are derived from verb or noun roots by the addition of a possessive suffix, and frequently by reduplication of the root. It is probable that many of those which have not yet been heard in a verbal or nominal form will later be proved to derive from these sources.

## WORDS

2.1. Problems of Class Separation

There is considerable flexibility in the exchange of words from one class to another so that it is often hard to determine to which class a given word should be assigned. This is particularly true of roots which are used as both nouns and verbs, their particular usage in a given instance being shown by the slots they fill and the affixes they take. The majority of adjectives are derived from either nominal or verbal forms. Nouns can be derived from verbs in the form of:

- a) derived nouns by the prefixation of aba- or to- [Seel.1.A.1.]
- b) verbal substantives

e.g. -yala 'dig' kuvi ana aiyala 'yams their digging'

Verbalising, however, is the most common method of class changing, and all words can be divided into two broad classes of those that can be verbalised and those that cannot. The former includes all the big relatively open classes of words, while the latter includes mainly only the small closed classes.

2.2 Word Classes that can be VerbalisedA. Nouns

Nouns occur as fillers of the head slot of the basic noun phrase and its subtypes and of the co-ordinate noun phrase. In so far as noun phrases fill slots in other phrases, nouns may also occur as fillers of the referent and item slots of possessive phrases, the axis slot of relator-axis phrases, and the item and apposition slots of appositional phrases. A few nouns also fill the modifier 2 slot of the basic noun phrase.

Nouns are divided into two major types by their possession.

### Possession Markers

	Inalienable	Semi-alienable	Fully alienable
1st sg	-ku	aku	yaku
2nd sg	Ø	a	ya
3rd sg	-na	ana	yana
1st pl excl	-ma	ama	yama
incl	-da	ada	yada
2nd pl	-mi	ami	yami
3rd pl	-di	adi	vadi

Type 1 Inalienable Possessions These take obligatory possessive suffixes. This type is subdivided into the following sub-types:

- (i) Those which take only the possession suffix.

This group includes body parts and a few special words like 'language' e.g. nima-ku 'hand-my' bona 'talk-(your)'

- (ii) Those which take a second order suffix indicating plural.

This group consists of kinship terms which are the only nouns (with a few exceptions dealt with under 4.) with a plural form. All persons take the suffix -yao except 2nd person singular which takes the suffix -momo.

e.g. natu-di 'child-their' natu-di-yao 'their children'  
natu 'your sg. child' natu-momo 'your children'

- (iii) Those which take only the 3rd person singular possessive suffix. This is a limited group of nouns expressing cultural relationships.

e.g. giyo kalivana 'spear man-its' i.e. man of spear moiety  
kwamayoku kevakeva-na 'bride meat-her'



Type 2 Alienable Possessions These are possessed by means of free possessive pronouns and fall into two subdivisions according to the form of the possessive pronoun with which they occur.

1. Semi-alienable This group includes all foods and certain persons and things closely related to the owner.

It takes the a- forms. e.g. aku ivi 'my mat'

This group can be further subdivided as follows:

- (i) always occur with the a- form of possessive pronoun
  - (ii) may occur with either the a- form or possessive suffixes
- e.g. ama unuma / unumima 'our (excl) family'
- ana lagana / laganina (tree) 'its branch'

2. Fully alienable This is a semantically diverse group which includes dwellings, implements, all inedible plants and animals and edible ones before used as food, physiological states. It takes the ya- forms.

e.g. yama manawa 'our (excl) house'

## B. Verbs

Verbs fill the predicate slot on the clause level and the head slot in the verbal phrase. Verbal prefixes differ from the affixes of all other classes and are dealt with under 3.5. Verbs are subdivided into transitive, intransitive, ditransitive and reflexive. Transitive verbs are discussed under 3.6. Intransitive verbs never occur with an object suffix or a free object. Ditransitive verbs obligatorily occur with an object suffix and fill the predicate slot in the ditransitive clause. Reflexive verbs always occur with a reflexive suffix which must agree with the person prefix.

### C. Adjectives

Most adjectives are derived from either nouns or verbs often by reduplication of the root and the addition of the possessive suffixes, most commonly -na '3rd pers sg'. They occur in the modifying slots of noun and verb phrases. Adjectives are divided into 3 subclasses according to the slots they fill on the phrase level.

Subclass 1 fills the modifier slot of noun phrases and is inflected for number and person in agreement with the noun it modifies.

Subclass 2 fills the modifier slot of verb phrases and always takes the suffix -na with one exception ma'inuwa- 'slowly' which is inflected for person and number in agreement with the verbal prefix.

Subclass 3 is the numbers which fill the quantifier slot of noun phrases. Only the numeral 'one' inflects for number. Adjectives are inflected for three degrees - ordinary, comparative and superlative. (This does not apply to Subclass 3)

e.g. lakahina 'big'    mata-lakahina 'less big'

lakahi-mo'ena 'very big'

The following formula represents the slots and their fillers of which an adjective is composed:

Adj = ± dim:mata- + nuc:adj.s ± int:-mo'e- + agr:per ± num:-yao

i.e. an adjective consists of an optional diminutive slot filled by mata- 'less', an obligatory nucleus filled by an adjective stem, an optional intensifier slot filled by -mo'e- 'very', an obligatory agreement slot filled by a person suffix

and an optional number slot filled by -yao 'plural'. Note that either the diminutive or intensifier slot occurs but not both at once.

#### D. Responses

This is a closed class of particles having only two members both of which can be verbalised.

ehe 'yes'      keke 'no'

### 2.3. Word Classes that cannot be Verbalised

#### A. Pronouns

Pronouns can occur in the same structural position as nouns, i.e. filling the head slot in noun phrases, the referent slot of possessive phrases or the axis slot in relator-axis phrases, but they are distinguished from nouns on the following bases:

- 1) They co-occur with nouns and fill the referent or emphatic slot of noun phrases.
- 2) They cannot be possessed.
- 3) Relator pronouns fill the relator slot of relator-axis phrases and nouns do not.

Attempts to break down the various types of pronouns to one basic root with affixes proved confusing so each paradigm is listed separately. There are 4 types:

#### 1. Basic (free) Type

	Sing		Plur	Mater
1	<u>iya</u> 'eku	excl.	<u>ime</u> 'eyao	<u>ima</u> 'e
		incl.	<u>ide</u> 'eyao	
2	<u>o</u> 'eni		<u>omi</u> 'iyao	<u>omi</u> 'e
3	<u>bana</u> 'e		<u>badi</u> 'iyao	<u>badi</u> 'e

N.B. (i) A shortened form indicated by underlining is often used.

(ii) In this language a woman who is a mother is addressed, responds and is referred to in the plural. The maternal forms are used for this purpose.

## 2. Emphatic or Volitional Type

	Sing	Plur		Mater
1	tauku	excl.	taumeyao	tauma
		incl.	taudeyao	
2	tauni	taumiyao		taumi
3	tauna	taudiyao		taudi

e.g. Kaliva tauna gi'ela 'The man himself came'

## 3. Enumerative Type

	Sing	Plur		Dual	Triple
1	akukaibe	excl.	amakaibe	ama'iselu	ama'itoto
		incl.	adakaibe	ada'iselu	ada'itoto
2	akaibe	amikaibe		ami'iselu	ami'itoto
3	anakaibe	adikaibe		adi'iaelu	adi'itoto

e.g. akukaibe gana 'I alone went'

ama'iselu ana 'We two went'

adi'itoto hina 'They three went'

## 4. Abilitative Type

akufaiweya e.g. akufaiweya ganatalana 'I can cut it'  
in my power I will cut it

This type is structured like the enumerative type, so the full paradigm is not given.

## 5. Relator Type - Pronominal Relators

ProR = + Rel: <agai> + Pers: possS + LocM: -ya

i.e. pronominal relators consist of an obligatory relational slot filled by agai- or other relator roots, an obligatory person slot filled by a possessive suffix and an obligatory locative marker slot filled by -ya.

-ya is termed a locative marker but is used in a wider sense than merely location. The 3rd person singular form (which is the one most frequently used) manifests reduction.

e.g. na + ya → ne again 'to him' [see under 34 for morphophonemic change]

Pronominal relators include:

fa'ine 'purpose / benefactive / cause / referential'

e.g. natu-na fa'i-ne gi-'ela 'He came on behalf of his child-his ben-ʒa/lm he-came child.'

amine 'manner / direction / resemblance'

e.g. Bwaidoga amine gi'ela 'He came from the direction of Bwaidoga.'

again 'location / temporal / agent / instrument / dative'

e.g. manuwa again gina 'He went to the house'

Other locational pronominal relators include positionals

e.g. liline 'near it' muline 'behind it' getane 'above it'

For full paradigms and description of pronominal relators see under 6.5.

N.B. When the 2nd person singular form of a pronoun is indicated by a suffix it is -ni. When it occurs with the a- possessive form it is expressed by Ø.

## B. Adverbs

Adverbs occur in the post-verbal slot of verb phrases and in the modifier slot of noun phrases. They are subdivided into:

1. Verbal adverbs These occur only in verb phrases.

e.g. hiyage havagi 'They embarked again'

2. Unlimited adverbs These occur in either verb or noun phrases.

e.g. gi'a kawowo 'He ate freely'

kaliva kawowo 'A man any one, i.e. some man or other'

## C. Descriptives

Descriptives occur in the descriptive slot of noun phrases.

e.g. tamo kuvi 'some yam'

## D. Particles

There are 8 subclasses of particles.

### Particle 1 - Conjunctions

These occur between nouns in co-ordinate noun phrases but not obligatorily, between adjectives in contrast in adjective phrases, and between clauses but again not obligatorily.

be phrase and clause level conjunction. On the clause level

it is used to signal an action immediately following or consequential to a preceding action. It also signals purpose.

au clause level conjunction used very freely with a variety of meanings including 'so', 'then', 'but'.

ada clause level conjunction - a weak connective of clauses

which are not closely linked in time or purpose/result etc.

tu clause level conjunction signalling later action or event, and also signalling contrast.

kadu phrase and clause level conjunction signalling more than one action or event in a series.

-na appears to be a conjunction equivalent to 'however' and is a clitic.

o and kai are phrase level conjunctions optionally occurring in co-ordinate noun phrases and signalling alternatives. They occur both separately and co-occurently.

### Particle 2 - Interrogatives

Interrogatives fill the appropriate slot in the clause - e.g. interrogative, subject, object, location, manner - and can also function as the head or fill the modifying slot in a noun phrase.

### Particle 3 - Temporals

Temporals fill the temporal slot in the clause. These include days of the week, words such as 'today' and three definitive temporals. The latter occur to the fore of the clause, frequently clause initial or immediately preceding the verb.

she 'near past' boi 'far past' aimo 'future' / 'still, yet'

### Particle 4 - Conditionals

Conditionals fill the condition slot in clauses. There are 2 members in this subclass, the particle ka'i which occurs clause initial, and the particle digo which occurs clause final. Both optionally co-occur within the same clause. When used with question intonation ka'i is a question marker.

### Particle 5 - Negative

Negative fills the negative slot in the clause. There is only one member to this subclass, the negative particle keke.

### Particle 6 - Accompaniment

There is only one member to this subclass, the particle buye which fills the accompaniment slot in clauses, usually but not always preceding the verb.

Particle 7 - Emphatic

There is only one member to this subclass, the particle makewa which fills the emphatic slot in clauses.

Particle 8 - Alternative

There is only one member to this subclass, the particle mali which always occurs before the noun in a noun phrase.

E. Directionals

Directionals are divided into locatives, demonstratives and directives.

1. Locatives fill the location slot in the clause and the axis slot of relator-axis phrases. There are 6 locatives each of which has short and long forms. The long forms can optionally take the locative marker -ya which has the effect of emphasis or superlative degree.

e.g. hide hidede 'here' hidede ya 'right here'

gava gavadede 'down there' gavadede ya 'right down there'  
'furthest down'

2. Demonstratives fill the deictic slot in the noun phrase and may also function as the head when the noun is absent. They can be subdivided into:

a. Those which distinguish single objects. There are short and long forms of each of the 4 demonstratives in this subclass. e.g. hida hidema hidedema 'this'

b. Those which distinguish groups of objects. There is only one form of each of the 4 demonstratives in this subclass.

e.g. hida'its'ama 'these / this group'



c. Directives fill the manner / direction slot in the clause.

There are 4 directives each having a single form.

e.g. hida'ita'ami 'this / this direction'

### 3. The Verb

3.1. Tenses There are basically 3 tenses in the language which indicate a state of action rather than time. The time dimension is expressed by the addition of temporals. The tenses are termed non-future which includes past and present; future; potential which includes such meanings as subjunctive, desiderative, questionable future. e.g. gi-'ela 'he comes' or 'he came'

he-come

gi-na-ela

he-f.-come

'he will come'

gi-da-ela

he-p.-come

'he would come' , 'he might come'

Immediate past action is expressed by the temporal ahe or more commonly by the shortened form a

e.g. a gi'ela 'He has just come' , 'He has already come'

Remote past action is expressed by the temporal boi

e.g. boi gi'ela 'he came some time ago' (from a day to a year or so)

Very remote past is expressed by the addition of or replacement by the adjective tuwaina 'old' (also sometimes by intonation)

e.g. boi tuwaina gi'ela / tuwaina gi'ela 'he came a long time ago'

3.2. Aspect There are two verb aspects, continuous and reciprocal/simultaneous.

Continuous, repeated or habitual aspect is expressed by reduplication which can occur with all three tenses. Both roots and affixes reduplicate, sometimes only parts of roots and certain affixes being involved. Some rules based on the number of syllables in

verb roots and the occurrence of vowel clusters, have been worked out and it is hoped that a full treatment of this feature will be submitted later.

Reciprocal simultaneous aspect is expressed by the first order verbal prefix -ve'a- followed by reduplication of the root.

**3.3 Imperative and Interrogative.** The imperative is expressed by the use of the 2nd person and 1st person plural inclusive forms of either non-future or future tenses with the appropriate intonation, i.e. level pitch. With transitive verbs the object suffix -na changes to -ni in the non-future tense. When immediately following another verb the suffix may be omitted.

e.g. <u>u-vai-na</u>	'you got it'	<u>uvaini</u>	'Get it!'	
you-get-it				
	<u>u-na</u> <u>u-vai</u>	'Go and get it!'	<u>ka-na</u>	'Let us go'
	you -go you-get		we-go	

Hortatory imperative is expressed in all persons by the use of the potential tense. e.g. gi-da-yemu 'let-it-come'

The interrogative is expressed by a question word and/or question intonation, i.e. high pitch utterance initial and falling sharply. In question utterances the object suffix on transitive verbs also changes from -na to -ni.

e.g. givaina 'he got it' hakwadi givaini? 'Who got it?'

### 3.4. Negative

Negative is expressed by the use of the free form keke which usually, but not always, occurs immediately preceding the verb, along with the use of the potential prefix -da- when non-future is involved. Also with transitive verbs the object suffix -na is changed to -ni.

e.g. givaina 'he got it' keke gidavaini 'he did not get it'

ginavaina 'he will get it' keke ginavaini 'he will not get it'

### 3.5. Person and Number

person and number of the subject are marked by a verbal prefix.

<u>ga</u> 'ela 'I came'	<u>a</u> 'ela 'We excl. came'
<u>u</u> 'ela 'You sg. came'	<u>ka</u> 'ela 'We incl. came'
<u>gi</u> 'ela 'He/she/it came'	<u>wa</u> 'ela 'You pl. came'
	<u>hi</u> 'ela 'They came'

The plural prefixes are used when a woman who is a mother is involved.

### 3.6. Objects

Transitive verbs occur both with and without objects. Objects are expressed by separate words and/or verbal suffixes. The object suffixes are the same as the bound possessive suffixes occurring with type 1 nouns. It is not yet clear whether the presence or absence of an object suffix on transitive verbs is arbitrary or determinable with the exceptions dealt with under 3.3. and 4.8.2.

## 4. Other Inflectional Affixes

### A. Nouns

1. The prefix wa- occurs with some nouns in a possessive construction, i.e. following a possessive pronoun. It has the meaning of 'collective' or 'numerous'.

e.g. ide kaliva yada wakoyona 'The many/collective sins of us  
we men our sins men'

yana wakwelikweli 'His many charms'

2. The suffixes -momo and -yao indicating plurality as well as being used with relationship terms (see under 2.2.A.) also occur on certain person and animal nouns in a possessive construction.

e.g. taubada yana kalivamomo 'the white man and his many men'  
white man his men (i.e. those with him on patrol)

kaliva yana galu'etamomo 'the man and his many dogs'

3. The suffix -ga following reduplication of one noun is used to indicate plurality.

e.g. walogi-na 'vein-his'      walowaloga 'veins'

The same suffix is used on nominalised verbs

e.g. gilufolefolena 'he drills a hole'

abalufolefolega 'drill' (i.e. thing for making holes)

4. The identifier suffix 'that in particular' 'the aforesaid' inflects for person and number as follows:

	Sing	Plur	
1	-kuna	excl.	-mana
		incl.	-dana
2	-nina		-mina
3	-nadi		-dina

Nouns ending in the vowel -a

frequently add the vowel -i

before the identifier suffix.

e.g. kaliva 'man'

kalivai-nadi 'the aforesaid man'

e.g. kalimuhu-nadi 'that particular betel nut'

## B. Verbs

1. The suffix -ga replaces the singular object suffix -na on transitive verbs to indicate plurality of object.

e.g. ai gividana 'he cut wood'      ai gi'ividaga 'he cut much wood'

With some verbs as in the example above the prefix -i- co-occurs with the suffix -ga probably indicating plurality of action.

e.g. kalimuhu gi'atuna 'he plucked a betel nut'

kalimuhu gi'i'atuga 'he plucked many sprigs of betel nut'

With other verbs the prefix -a- co-occurs with the suffix -ga.

e.g. hibuyona 'she cooked a small quantity with coconut'

hi'abuyoga 'she cooked large quantities with coconut'

2. The prefixes -ai- and -au- occur with transitive verbs to indicate plurality or repetition of action and the object suffix is dropped.

e.g. gihalina 'he dug a hole' gi'auhali 'he dug and dug holes  
gidakana 'he broke off one' gi'aidaka 'he broke off many'

3. The suffix -ta replaces the singular object suffix -na on certain transitive verbs and co-occurs with the prefix -i-.

e.g. galo giguwehina 'it uprooted the banana palm'  
galo gi'iguweta 'it uprooted many banana palms'

4. The 1st order suffix -ye- meaning 'with' or 'about' followed by an object suffix occurs on some intransitive verbs with the effect of making them grammatically transitive.

e.g. gihiyoto 'he sat down' gihiyotoyena 'he sat down with it'  
gigahe 'he spoke' gigaheyena 'he spoke about it'

## PHRASES

### 5. Verb Phrases

Verbs, adverbs, verbal pronouns and certain nouns combine with verbs to give a verb phrase. Two verbs may combine to form a derivative verb phrase in which both verbs are inflected but in which one or other of the slots is very restricted as to its fillers. Other sequences of verbs are dealt with under 11.

Negative, accompaniment and temporals, all of which modify the verb in some way are treated as clause level slots on the basis that:

- 1) Some of them - negative and most temporals - are frequently separated from the verb by other clause level slots.
- 2) All of them occur as a slot shared by two or more verbs which are regarded as merged clauses - see under 11.

There are 5 major categories of verb phrases: Descriptive, Derivative, Idiomatic, Order and Qualitative.

### 5.1. Descriptive Verb Phrase

There is only one type of descriptive verb phrase and it is defined in terms of:

- 1) being only one stress group with the stress occurring on the penultimate syllable
- 2) having a single closing suffix on transitive and ditransitive verbs which obligatorily occurs on the final word of the phrase.

It differs from the word in that its constituent elements are separable by expansion.

Formula DVX: + V:v + M:adv + Os: <-na>

i.e. the descriptive verb phrase consists of an obligatory verbal slot filled by any verb, an optional modifier slot filled by an adverb, and an obligatory object suffix slot filled by any object suffix.

e.g. yana lokoloko gihawahege-kawokawowo-na 'he gave away his  
his property he gave - for no purpose - it property for no  
purpose'

hilakayemu-havagi 'he appeared again'  
he appeared-again

### 5.2. Derivative Verb Phrase

In derivative verb phrases both verbs are inflected. They are divided into two types: sequential and process.

#### 5.2.1. Sequential Verb Phrases

The general formula for the sequential verb phrase is + V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>.

The preposition verb slot may be filled by any verb or a descriptive verb phrase, while the filler of the postposition verb slot is restricted to a single verb. The three types of sequential verb phrase are completive, quotative and repetitive.

(a) Completive Verb PhraseCVX: + V<sub>1</sub>: v/dvx + V<sub>2</sub>: 3sɪ

i.e., the completive verb phrase consists of an obligatory preposition verb slot filled by any verb or a descriptive verb phrase, and an obligatory postposition verb slot filled by the verb -havaina 'finish' which must have the 3rd singular pronoun prefix and be inflected for the same tense as the verb filling the preposition verb slot.

e.g. a-'a gi-havai-na 'we finished eating'  
we-ate it-finish-it

gi-na-'a gi-na-havai-na 'he will finish eating'  
he-will-eat it-will-finish-it

(b) Quotative Verb PhraseQVX: + V<sub>1</sub>: V<sub>s</sub>/dvx<sub>s</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>: V<sub>q</sub>

i.e., the quotative verb phrase consists of an obligatory preposition verb slot filled by a speaking verb or a descriptive verb phrase with a speaking verb as its head, and an obligatory postposition verb slot filled by the quote verb -gayo which must have the same pronoun and tense prefixes as the verb filling the preposition verb slot. The quotative verb phrase always signals direct speech. In fast spoken speech the V<sub>1</sub> slot is sometimes omitted.

e.g. Adiguma gi-da-gahe gi-da-gayo 'Adiguma would speak saying'  
Adiguma he-pot-speak he-pot-say

(c) Repetitive Verb PhraseRVX: +V<sub>1</sub>:v + (V)<sup>n</sup>:v<sub>r</sub>

i.e., the repetitive verb phrase consists of an obligatory preposition verb slot filled by any verb, and a postposition verb

e.g. hi-fwaiki hi-fwaiki hi-fwaiki 'they kept on hitting'  
they-hit i.e. fighting

gi-da-vebutu ana-ga gi-da-yaudi 'he would begin to  
he-pot-began his-food he-pot-gather gather his food'



(b) Motion Verb Phrase

MVX: + V<sub>1</sub>: v<sub>m</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>: v

i.e., the motion verb phrase consists of an obligatory preposition verb slot filled by a motion verb and an obligatory postposition verb slot filled by any verb which must have the same pronoun and tense prefixes as the motion verb, but has been found occasionally to have a different aspect. When a transitive verb fills the postposition verb slot and the object is only expressed by a verbal suffix, the two verbs are regarded as acting as a phrase. When the two verbs of the motion verb phrase are separated by one or more clause level slots (object, location), the two verbs are treated as merged clauses. (see under 11)

e.g. a-na a-towa 'we went and washed'  
we-went we-washed

gi-da-ela gi-da-tagitagi 'he would come and wail  
he-pot-come he-pot-wail(cont) continuously'

5.3. Idiomatic Verb Phrase

Idiomatic verb phrases are divided into 2 types: meteorological and metaphorical. The general formula for the idiomatic verb phrase is + Sub + V. Both slots are restricted as to their fillers and the co-occurrence potential of these fillers. The constituent elements of the phrase are inseparable and form a single stress group.

5.3.1. Meteorological Verb Phrase

MrVX: + Sub: mala + Tem: a + V: 3sm

i.e., the meteorological verb phrase consists of an obligatory substantive slot filled by mala, an optional temporal slot filled by a, and an obligatory verbal slot filled by a meteorological

verb which always occurs with the 3rd singular pronominal prefix.

e.g. mala gi-bogi 'it became dark'  
light it-night

### 5.3.2. Metaphorical Verb Phrase

MpVX: + Sub: mafu + V: gilau-/p

i.e., the metaphorical verb phrase consists of an obligatory substantive slot filled by mafu and an obligatory verbal slot filled by the verb gilau- inflected with the appropriate pronominal suffix. The literal meaning of the different elements of the phrase is difficult to distinguish.

e.g. mafu gi-lau-ku 'I am hungry'  
? it-hit-me

### 5.4. Order Verb Phrase

OVX: + Par: wai + V: v<sub>0</sub>

i.e., the order verb phrase consists of an obligatory particle slot filled by wai, and an obligatory verbal slot filled by an order verb of which there are three. The meanings of the verbs are determined by context.

e.g. wai hi-nagona 'they went ahead (on the trail)'  
? they-first

wai gi-mulina 'she came last (in order of birth)'  
she-behind

wai a-hinafane 'we went in the middle (on the trail)'  
we-middle

### 5.5. Qualitative Verb Phrase

QVX: ± M: adj + V: v ± M: adj

i.e., the qualitative verb phrase consists of an obligatory verbal slot filled by any verb which may be either preceded or followed

(but not both) by a modifying slot filled with a subclass 2 adjective. The modifying slot occurs most frequently in the post-verbal position. Occasionally the phrase has a discontinuous manifestation.

e.g. a-da-'a yamumuna 'we would eat well'  
we-pot-eat good

## 6. Non-verbal Phrases

### 6.1. The Basic Noun Phrase and its Subtypes

#### 6.1.1. The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase fills the subject, object, indirect object, topic and comment slots in the clause, and a variety of slots in other non-verbal phrases. The general formula is as follows:

$BNX: (+Ref:Bpr \ +De:dem \ +D:des \ +E:n/possx \ +D:des \ +M_1:adjx/adv/sub/inc \ + (M_2:adj/coadjx)^2 \ +Q:no/conox/adj_q/Empr \ +Lim:g/m \ +Em:Bpr \ +Ref:Bpr/dem)$

i.e. the basic noun phrase construction consists of an obligatory slot filled by an optional referent slot filled by a basic pronoun; an optional deictic slot filled by a demonstrative; an optional descriptive slot filled by a descriptive which may alternatively occur following the head slot; an optional head slot filled by a noun or possessive phrase; an optional modifier one slot filled by an adjective phrase, an adverb, a substantive modifier or an included clause; an optional modifier two slot which may be repeated filled by an adjective or a co-ordinate adjective phrase; an optional quantifier slot filled by a numeral, a co-ordinate numeral phrase, or a quantity adjective or an enumerative pronoun; an optional limiter slot filled by one of two particles -gagana or no'a 'only'; an optional emphatic slot filled by an emphatic pronoun; and an

optional referent slot filled by a basic pronoun or a demonstrative. The latter slot occurs alternatively with the phrase initial referent slot. The preferred order for all the slots is as given in the formula but different orderings do occur. The head slot is usually to the fore of the phrase. Normally the phrase is manifested by only two or three slots and long phrases are rare. Discontinuous manifestation has been noted with the quantifier slot filled by a numeral being separated from the head.

e.g. hida vevine adiselu 'these two women'  
these women they two

ime kaliva moya'aima 'all we men'  
we men all

feyawa kabi'ona 'a small basket'  
basket small

malamala hafuna o kai naluyabuna 'half a year or a  
year half or pot. will finish it complete one'

### 6.1.2. Place Phrase

There are two subtypes of place phrase: association and birth.

#### 1) Place phrase of association

$PlX_1: + Pl: PlN + H: n + M: inc$

i.e. the place phrase of association consists of an obligatory place slot filled by a place name, an obligatory head slot filled by a noun and an optional modifier slot filled by an included clause. Occasionally the place and head slots are reversed.

e.g. Kiliya kaliva ana egana Lobehina 'A Kiliya man named  
Kiliya man his name Lobehina Lobehina'

2) Place phrase of birth

$$PlX_2: + ( \pm H: n_p \pm Gen: mi ) + Pl: PlN$$

i.e. the place phrase of birth consists of an obligatory slot filled by an optional head slot filled by a person noun, and/or an optional genitive slot filled by mi; and an obligatory place slot filled by a place name.

e.g. kwana Afufuya 'an Afufuya man'

vine mi Wakonai 'a Wakonai woman'

6.1.3. Personal Phrase

$$PeX: \pm Ref: Bpr/n_k + H: PN \pm Ref: n_k \pm Acc: wa-n_k \pm M: Enpr$$

i.e. the personal phrase consists of an optional referent slot filled by a basic pronoun or a kinship noun; an obligatory head slot filled by a personal name; an optional referent slot filled by a kinship noun which is alternative to the referent slot occurring before the head; an optional accompanist slot filled by a kinship noun prefixed by wa-; and an optional modifier slot filled by an enumerative pronoun.

e.g. bana Fida anakaibe 'He Fida he alone'

Adilo'a wataina 'Adilo'a with her younger sister'

6.1.4. Pronominal Phrase

$$PrX: + H: Bpr \pm M: adj/inc \pm Q: Epr/Enpr$$

i.e. the pronominal phrase consists of an obligatory head slot filled by a basic pronoun; an optional modifier slot filled by an adjective or included clause; and an optional qualifier slot filled by an emphatic pronoun or an enumerative pronoun.

e.g. oni'iyao kwayakwayamiyao 'you white ones (people)'  
ima tauma 'I myself'

### 6.1.5. Alternative Phrase

AlX: + Alt: mali + H: n

i.e. the alternative phrase consists of an obligatory alternative slot filled by mali and an obligatory head slot filled by a noun.

e.g. mali melala 'another village'

### 6.2. The Possessive Phrase

The possessive phrase fills the subject, object, indirect object, topic and comment slot of clauses.

POSSX: +Ref: nx/possx/conx/tem/int/ +(+Poss:possP/possS+It:nx/possx)<sup>2</sup>

i.e. the possessive phrase construction consists of an optional referent slot filled by a noun phrase, a possessive phrase, a co-ordinate noun phrase a temporal or an interrogative; and an obligatory slot which may be repeated filled by an obligatory possessor slot filled by a possessive pronoun or a possessive suffix, and an obligatory item slot filled by a noun phrase or a possessive phrase. When the possessor slot is filled by a possessive pronoun the item slot occurs following possessor. When the possessor slot is filled by a possessive suffix the suffix is on the item.

The possessive phrase occurs more commonly with the referent than without it. The referent is sometimes separated from the item and possessor by other words or phrases in the clause. When it is thus separated it sometimes occurs phrase final, i.e. following the possessor and item slots. Embedding of one possessive phrase in another is a common feature, mostly of only two phrases.

e.g. Wa'ilaka yana bawe lakahina 'Wa'ilaka's big pig'  
" his pig big

e.g. ide'eyao bona-da 'us our talk'  
           us           talk-our

hina-na adi kavakeva adi-ga 'his mother's meat and food'  
           mother-his her   meat       her-food

### 6.3. Co-ordinate Phrases

COX: + HEAD + ( ± CONJ + HEAD ....)<sup>n</sup>

i.e. a co-ordinate phrase construction consists of two or more obligatory heads with a conjunction optionally occurring between those heads. The conjunction does not necessarily occur between each head. The heads of the co-ordinate phrase are more commonly filled with the nuclear items of the filler phrases than extremely expanded phrases. The construction also has discontinuous manifestations.

#### 6.3.1. The Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

CONX: + H: nx/possx/PN + ( ± Conj: <be> + H: nx/posax/PN)<sup>n</sup>

i.e. a co-ordinate noun phrase consists of two or more obligatory heads each of which may be filled by a noun phrase, a possessive phrase or a personal name; and an optional conjunction slot filled by any of the following conjunctions:

- |                |              |               |           |                                 |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| i. <u>o</u>    | 'or'         | iv. <u>be</u> | } 'and' } | rarely occur on<br>phrase level |
| ii. <u>kai</u> | 'perhaps/or' | v. <u>ada</u> |           |                                 |
| iii. <u>e</u>  | 'and/yes'    | vi. <u>tu</u> |           |                                 |

The first 4 conjunctions are the ones most frequently used in this construction. o and kai have been found to occur together within the same co-ordinate noun phrase, and may be repeated between more than one head. Occasionally they co-occur within the same conjunction slot. The others do not occur with another conjunction within

the same phrase, and they have only been found to occur once between two heads in text.

e.g. kalimuhu aku tuhi aku fose 'betel nut, my lime, my bag'  
kweyo kai galo o kuvi o gamiha 'taro or bananas or yam or  
 bananas'  
kaliva be vevine 'men and women'

### 6.3.2. Modified Co-ordinate Phrase

There are two types of modified co-ordinate phrase: enumerative and qualitative.

#### 1) Enumerative

Mconx<sub>E</sub>: + Ref: Bpr + H: conx + Ref: Bpr/Dem/Enpr

i.e. a modified co-ordinate phrase of the enumerative type consists of an obligatory head slot filled by a co-ordinate noun phrase, and an obligatory referent slot which occurs alternatively before or after the head slot. When the referent slot occurs before the head it is filled by a basic pronoun. When it occurs after the head it is filled by either a basic pronoun or a demonstrative or an enumerative pronoun.

e.g. Waliyake be Navivileya adiselu 'Waliyake and Navivileya  
 they two'

#### 2) Qualitative

Mconx<sub>Q</sub>: + H: conx + ( ± M: adj ± Q: conox)

i.e. a modified co-ordinate phrase of the qualitative type consists of an obligatory head slot filled by a co-ordinate noun phrase, and an obligatory slot filled by an optional modifier slot filled by an adjective, or a quantifier slot filled by a co-ordinate numeral phrase.

e.g. vagita walagiye kai luhei o tohiye 'two or three  
 wallaby possum or two or three wallabies and possums'



### 6.3.3. Co-ordinate Numeral Phrase

The co-ordinate numeral phrase fills the quantifier slot of the basic noun phrase or the modified co-ordinate phrase.

CONOX:  $\pm$  Pot<sub>c</sub>: kai + H: no  $\pm$  Conj: o/kai + H: no/inc

i.e. the co-ordinate numeral phrase consists of an optional potential conjunction slot filled by kai; an obligatory head slot filled by a number; an optional conjunction slot filled by o or kai; and an obligatory head slot filled by a number or an included clause.

e.g. luhei o sa'eyana 'two or one'

### 6.3.4. Co-ordinate Adjective Phrase

The co-ordinate adjective phrase fills the modifier slot of the basic noun phrase.

COADJX + H: adj + Conj: be/tu/o + H: adj/possx

i.e. the co-ordinate adjective phrase consists of an obligatory head slot filled by an adjective; an obligatory conjunction slot filled by be, tu or o; and an obligatory head slot filled by an adjective, or a possessive phrase.

e.g. (kuga) kwayakwayana be kukwauhina 'white and black(stones)'

### 6.3.5. Co-ordinate Temporal Phrase

The co-ordinate temporal phrase fills the temporal slot of clauses.

COTX: + H: tx + H: tx

i.e. the co-ordinate temporal phrase consists of two obligatory head slots filled by time phrases with no conjunction permitted.

e.g. Manide Tuside (afaisewa) '(we worked) Monday and Tuesday'

### 6.3.6. Co-ordinate Location Phrase

The co-ordinate location phrase fills the location slot of clauses.

COLX: + H: PlN/lrax + H: PlN/lrax

e.g. BoluBolu Nuatutu (trading mimiya) '(there are tradestores)  
at Bolubolu and Nuatutu'

#### 6.4. Appositional Phrases

An appositional phrase consists of an obligatory item slot followed by an obligatory appositional slot. The latter may have a discontinuous manifestation.

APX: + IT + AP

The composite formula for the appositional phrase is as follows:

APX: + It: nx/pr/possx	+ Ap: nx/PN/possx/conx
tx	tx
lrax/loc	lrax/loc/pos/PlN

i.e. an appositional phrase consists of an obligatory item slot filled by a noun phrase, a pronoun or a possessive phrase; a time phrase; a location relator-axis phrase or a locative; followed by an obligatory apposition slot filled by a noun phrase, a proper name, a possessive phrase or a co-ordinate noun phrase; a time phrase; a location relator-axis phrase, a locative, a positional or a place name. In the formula items horizontally parallel only occur in apposition.

As may be seen from the composite formula there are three subtypes of appositional phrases: noun, temporal and locational. Rather than repeating individual formulas two examples will be given of each.

##### 6.4.1. Appositional Noun Phrase

e.g. kwamayoku sa'eyana Vinetauna 'a certain woman, Vinetauna'  
woman one Vinetauna

a'a kubuku anaga 'the food, my grandfather's food'  
food my g.father his food

### 6.4.2. Temporal Appositional Phrase

e.g. bugiyadi Manide 'tomorrow Monday'

tuwaina tova uyuyuvana 'long ago in the dark times'  
old time dark

### 6.4.3. Locational Appositional Phrase

e.g. wese gufe-ya 'up at the river'  
up river-at

yuwawa'ama (gimimiyami) Afufuya '(he is living) over there  
over there (he is living) Afufuya at Afufuya'

## 6.5 Relator-Axis Phrases

Relator-Axis phrases are those phrases which have an axis related to the clause in which they occur by post-position relators, except in one type where the relator is pre-positional. There are four subtypes of relator-axis phrases: location-againe, purpose-fa'ine, manner-amine and resemblance.

### 6.5.1. Location-againe Phrases

These phrases fill the location, temporal, agent/instrument and indirect object slots of clauses. They may also fill the item and apposition slots of the locational Appositional Phrase.

LRAX: + (+ AXIS:nx/possx/loc/conx/apx/tx/inc/PlN ± REL: 1r)

i.e. the location-againe relator-axis phrase consists of an obligatory slot filled by an optional axis slot filled by a noun phrase, a possessive phrase, a locative, a co-ordinate noun phrase, an appositional noun phrase, a time phrase, an included clause or a place name; and an optional relator slot filled by a location relator. The location relator may be expressed by the pronominal relator agai- inflected for person and number and suffixed with

the locative marker -ya, or by the locative marker suffixed to a noun, or by a positional. Both the pronominal relator and the positionals occur most frequently in the third person singular. A locative may occur on its own but it also may occur with the locative marker or with the pronominal relator.

When the axis slot does not occur the relator slot is obligatory and vice versa. The relator slot is only omitted occasionally from a phrase in a non-ambiguous context, and is almost always omitted when the axis slot is filled by a place name.

The locative pronominal relator is inflected as follows:

	Sing	Plur	
1	agaikuya	excl	agaimeya
		incl	agaideya
2	againiya	agaimiya	
3	again	agaidiya	

e.g. Manuwa agai-ne / manuwe-ya 'at the house'  
house at -it house -at

Yaubada anakaibe yana nuwakabubu againe 'by God's goodness  
God he alone his goodness by it alone'

lubu geta-ne 'on top of the lid'  
lid on -it

#### 6.5.2. Purpose-fa'ine Phrases

These phrases fill the purpose, cause, benefactive and referential slots of clauses.

PRAX: + (AXIS: nx/possx/conx + REL: pr)

i.e. the purpose-fa'ine relator-axis phrase consists of an obligatory slot filled by an optional axis slot filled by a noun phrase,

a possessive phrase or a co-ordinate noun phrase; and an obligatory relator slot filled by a purpose relator. The purpose relator may be expressed by the pronominal relator fa'i- optionally suffixed with the locative marker -ya in 3rd person singular but obligatorily suffixed in other persons, or by the locative marker suffixed to a noun. The latter construction is more rarely used.

The purpose pronominal relator is inflected as follows:

	Sing	Plur	
1	fa'ikuya	excl	fa'imeya
		incl	fa'ideya
2	fa'iniya	fa'imiya	
3	fa'ine / -na	fa'idiya	

e.g. fa'ideya (hi'ela) '(they came) for us/ our benefit'

yama dewa fa'ina (ganaluhifufu) '(I will talk) about our  
our custom about it I will talk custom'

(hina) adi kevakeva bayaume-ya '(they went) to catch fish'  
their fish catching-at

### 6.5.3. Manner-amine Phrases

These phrases fill the manner and direction slots of clauses.

MRAX: + AXIS: nx/possx/dir/PlN + REL: mr

i.e. the manner-amine relator-axis phrase consists of an obligatory axis slot filled by a noun phrase, a possessive phrase, a directional or a place name; and an obligatory relator slot filled by the manner pronominal relator obligatorily suffixed with the locative marker -ya. Only the 3rd person singular form has been found in text but the other forms have been obtained by elicitation.

The manner pronominal relator is inflected as follows:

	Sing	Plur	
		excl	amimeya
1	amikuya		
		incl	amideya
2	aminiya	aminiya	
3	amine	amidiya	

e.g. hidede amine 'like this'

badi bonadi amine 'like/according to their talk'  
they talk their like it

Bwaidoga amine 'in the direction of Bwaidoga'

#### 6.5.4. Resemblance Relator-Axis Phrase

This phrase fills the resemblance slot of clauses.

RRAX: + RKL: anafaiweya + AXIS: nx

i.e. the resemblance relator-axis phrase consists of an obligatory pre-positional relator slot filled by anafaiweya; and an obligatory axis slot filled by a noun phrase. This is not a very common phrase.

e.g. anafaiweya kuga 'like a stone'

anafaiweya Yaubada 'like God'

#### 6.6. Adjective Phrases

Adjective phrases fill the modifier slot of noun and verb phrases.

ADJX: + Mod: int/neg/tem + H: adj

i.e. an adjective phrase consists of an optional modifier slot filled by an interrogative, a negative or a temporal, and an obligatory head slot filled by an adjective.

e.g. (wehi bolimana) keke kabi'ona 'not a small (rain and wind)'  
rain wind not small

7. Possession has been described under 2.2.A. and 6.2.
8. Adjectives, descriptives, numerals and demonstratives have been found functioning as head of noun phrases. Numerals may fill the item slot of apposition phrases.

- 1) adjective manifesting noun phrase

moya'aidi (hidafwaiki) 'many (would have fought)'

- 2) descriptive manifesting noun phrase

tamo (ananauwena) '(we will take away) some'

- 3) numeral manifesting noun phrase

(gisedi) luhei '(he placed) two'

- 4) numeral manifesting item of apposition phrase

(adamo'uya) sa'eyana Awadakedake '(now) one, Awadakedake'

- 5) demonstrative manifesting noun phrase

hidedema (hinafahana) 'these (they will plant)'

9. This question has largely been dealt with in preceding sections, or will be dealt with under 12.

Accompaniment is expressed in two ways:

- 1) by the accompaniment particle buye which links one subject to another and makes the pronominal prefix on the verb in the clause obligatorily plural. The subjects need not be explicit.

e.g. buye kanana 'let us go together' or 'you with me let us

kaliva kwamayoku buye hihobu 'the men with the women went  
men women acc they go down down'

- 2) by the accompaniment prefix wa- prefixed to a noun with a possessive suffix. This construction functions as an adjective filling the modifier slot of noun phrases and the accompaniment slot of the personal phrase.

- e.g. kwaialu wa-mogane-di giachobuyena 'he put down the  
mouse acc-husband-her he put down mouse with her mate'
- kaliva wa-wehi-na gi'ela 'the man came in the rain'  
man acc-rain-his he came
- kuvi wa-nau'a-na 'a dish of yams' i.e. the yams  
yam acc-dish -its accompanied with the dish

#### 10. Long Phrases

The preferred number of slots in noun phrases observed in text is either two or three, though longer phrases have been obtained by elicitation. Embedding of possessive phrases which is fairly common, can often produce up to five or six slots in the total phrase. Co-ordinate and appositional noun phrases by their very nature are capable of being and quite often are long phrases, though as stated above the heads are more commonly filled with the nuclear items of the filler phrases than expanded phrases. It is not uncommon to find these filling the axis slot of relator-axis phrases.

Phrases with included clauses occur quite frequently without shifting the position of the phrase in the clause, with the exception of merged clauses marked by the clitic -ma, (see under 11), where there is a tendency for the included merged clauses to be separated from the noun they modify and to shift to the fore of the clause.

#### CLAUSES

#### 11. Sequence of Verbs

Sequences of verbs are a common feature of the Iduna language. Sequences of up to seven in one string have been found in text. Sequences of two verbs in which one of the verb slots is restricted



as to its fillers are regarded as verb phrases and have been described under 5. Other sequences of verbs have been analysed either as merged clauses or as a sequence of independent clauses. Included clauses are dealt with under 12.

Merged Clauses There are two types of merged clauses.

A. Sequences of verbs which are distinguished as merged clauses by the following criteria:

- 1) They share one or more slots on the clause level. Up to three shared slots at a time have been found in text material. Shared slots include object, time, accompaniment, negative and location. All but the location slot govern the affixation of all verbs in the merged clause.
- 2) The shared slot must occur preceding the sequence of verbs. When a location slot applicable to both verbs separates a sequence of verbs they are considered to be two clauses. An ellipsis of the location slot occurs in one of the clauses.
- 3) They contain an optional conjunction slot filled only by the conjunction be which functions both as a phrase level and clause level conjunction. (Any other conjunction signals a sequence of clauses.)

	O		V		Conj		V	
e.g.	ai	u-na-dobo-na	be	u-na-aliye-na				'Break and bring
	stick	you-will-break	and	you-will-bring-it			a stick'	

	Tem	Neg	Acc		V		V	
	aimo	keke	buye	ka-na-'a	ka-na-miya			'Later we will
	later	not	tog.	we-will-eat	we-will-stay			not eat and live
								together'

B. Sequences of clauses which are linked together and marked by the relative clitic -ma occurring on the verb of the final clause in the series. This type has two subtypes:

- 1) Sequences of clauses merged on the basis of shared slots and being marked by the clitic -ma.

## Merged Clause

Ref				It	Posa
O	V	Conj	V		
e.g. <u>kevakeva</u>	<u>gi-bayama</u>	/ be	<u>ga-'a-na-ma</u>	/	<u>fata-na</u>
fish	he-caught	and	I-ate-it	rel.	payback-its

'It is the payback of the fish which he caught and I ate.'

## Merged Clause (O)

Tem	S	V	Conj	V	V
boi	Yamoliliwa	gi-'alika	/ be	wa-'ela	/ <u>ga-yogo-na-ma</u> /
previously	Yamoliliwa	he-died	and	you-came	I -kill-it-rel.

V	Tem	App	
<u>wa-na-fata-na</u>	<u>adamoya</u>	<u>aku bawe.</u>	'You pay back today (that) which (when) Yamoliliwa died and you came, I killed, my pig.'
you-f.-pay -it	today	my pig	

The slashes mark the end of clauses within the merged clause. In the first example the merged clause is the referent of a possessive phrase. In the second example the merged clause is the object of the verb wanafatana and aku bawe is in apposition to it. (The form of the possessive pronoun used indicates that the pig said to be in apposition is not the object, i.e. not the one previously killed.)

- 2) Sequences of clauses which are merged only by the occurrence of -ma on the final verb in the series.

## Merged Clause (?App)

S	V	Conj	S	V	O	S	Acc
e.g. <u>yaku faha</u>	<u>gi-ela'ela</u>	/ be	Yamoliliwa	<u>gi-'au'a-na</u>	/	meda omi	buye
my garden	it-coming	and	Yamoliliwa	he-eating-it	that	you	+him
M C	Tem		O (It)	V		App	
<u>wa-au'a-na-ma</u>	/	<u>adamo'uya</u>	<u>aku luwana</u>	<u>wa-na-yogo-na</u>	/	<u>bawe.</u>	
you-eating-it-rel		today	my	return	you-f-kill-it	nie	

'You kill today my death return, a pig, my garden produce which kept coming and Yamoliliwa kept eating, that you with him kept eating'

It is difficult to know to what slot to assign the merged clause which describes the items for which the death return has to be made. Both the merged clause and 'pig' would seem to be in apposition to 'death return'.

## 12. Dependent Clauses

Iduna clauses are frequently juxtaposed to each other without any apparent subordinating link, and it would seem that actions or events are conceived of in a consecutive dimension rather than subordinate. Where subordination is clearly present, there is no difference in internal structure including verb morphology between dependent and independent clauses, apart from certain subordinating particles, relators and suffixes. A dependent clause usually occurs preceding the clause on which it is dependent with the exception of causative and contrary result clauses, which more frequently but not always follow the independent clause.

Dependent clauses may be subdivided into three classes according to their distribution on different levels.

### 12.1. Phrase Level Dependent Clause

This class of clause fills the modifier slot of noun phrases and is marked by the relative clitic -ma.

O		Neg	V	
S	V			
e.g. kawa-ku	hi-'alika-ma	keke	gi-da-ve'o'owane-di	'he did not mourn for my sister who died'
sister-my	she-died- who	not	he-pot-mourn for-her	

12.2. Clause Level Dependent Clause

This class of clause fills the axis slot of relator-axis phrases filling the location and time slots in the clause.

	Axis		Rel	V	
	O	V			
e.g. <u>Location</u>	ai	hi-kuli-na	agai-ne	gi-hiyoto	'he sat where they had lit a fire'
	fire	they-lit-it	at -it	he-sat down	
	Axis		Rel	V	
	O	V			
<u>Time</u>	mafa	gi-lau-na	agai-ne	hi-yo'o	'they gathered when he rang the bell'
	bell	he-hit-it	at -it	they-gathered	

12.3. Sentence Level Dependent Clause

This class of clause fills the dependent clause slot of the sentence. It is divided into three types according to the occurrence of the subordinator.

1) Subordinator clause initiala. Conditional ka'i

e.g. ka'i Kinedi gi-da-'alika (ime a-da-lakayemu) 'If Kinedi died, (we would come)'  
if Kinedi he-pot-die (we we-pot-come)

b. Temporal tova

e.g. tova Ukalamfa ka-na-na (ka-na-lele-na) 'When we go to Ukarumpa, (we will look for it)'  
when Ukarumpa we-will-go (we-will-look for-it)

c. Purpose be

e.g. (u-kova) be gi-na-'ela '(Call)him to come'  
you-call and he-will-come

2) Subordinator clause finala. Cause and Purpose fa'ina

e.g. (ime a-'ela) kaliya gi-'alika fa'ina '(we came) because (we we-came) man he-died because the man died'

b. Conditional digo

- e.g. gi-na-aliye-na Tomogada digo (aimo mani hi-na-fata-na)  
 he-f.-bring-her " if (later money they-f.-pay-it  
 'If he brings Tomogada, (they will pay back the money later).

c. Manner and Time amine

- e.g. ana bawe boi gavayehi gi-vele-ma amine (kadu a-da-ve'a-di)  
 his pigs pst how many he-gave-us like it (also we-pot-rear)  
 'According to how many of his pigs he gave us previously,  
 (we would rear likewise)  
nuwa-na aimo gi-na-folena amine (au ga-na-gahe)  
 mind-his later it-f.-pierced when (then I-f.-tell you)  
 'When later his mind will be pierced [remember], (then I  
 will tell you.'

d. Time ana toveya

- e.g. gi-miyami ana tove-ya (misinale gi-lakayemu)  
 he-living its time-at (mission it-came)  
 '(The mission came) when he was living'

e. Sequence/Result -yo

- e.g. aimo ga-na-towa-yo (ga-na-'ela) '(I will come) after I  
 later I -f.-wash-after (I-f.-come) have washed'

3) No overt subordinator apart from intonation and distribution

## a. Conditional

- e.g. o u-na-dibutoyoga (aimo balauma hi-na-'a-ni)  
 you you-f.-refuse [if] (later spirits they-f.-eat-you)  
 'If you refuse, (later spirits will eat you)'

## b. Time

- e.g. waka agai-ne ka-na-nauna (waka hi-na-'utuvi-na)  
 boat on -it we-f.-going (boat they-f.-sink-it)  
 'When we are going on the boat, (they will sink the boat)'

N.B. The difference between a. and b. is often only known by context.

### 13. Independent Clauses

There are seven basic types of independent clause in Iduna: transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, stative, desiderative, idiomatic and quote.

The transitive clause contrasts with the intransitive in that an optional object slot may occur in the transitive clause, and only transitive verbs with object suffixes inflected for person and number occur in the predicate slot.

The ditransitive clause contrasts with the other clause types by the occurrence of an optional indirect object slot, and the ditransitive verbs with indirect object suffixes inflected for person and number fill the predicate slot.

The stative clause is separated from the predicate clauses by the absence of a predicate slot, the occurrence of an optional topic slot and obligatory comment slot, and the limitation of lateral slots to one.

The desiderative clause is separated from the other clauses by the occurrence of an obligatory desiderative slot filled by a single filler which is structured like a noun but acts as a predicate, and an optional requisite slot filled by clauses or noun phrases.

The idiomatic clause differs from other clauses by the occurrence of an obligatory subject slot and an obligatory predicate slot both of which are restricted as to their fillers, and the co-occurrence potential of these fillers. The verb filling the predicate slot of the idiomatic clause is only inflected in the third person singular.

The quote clause differs from other clauses in that only quotative verb phrases fill the predicate slot and the possible presence of an addressee slot in the form of an again relator-axis phrase by a transform of the 'saying' verb.

### 1) Transitive Clause Type

S O P  
e.g. tauna ana kevakeva gi-bayauma 'he himself caught his fish'  
himself his fish he-caught

S O P  
o'eni iya u-lele-ku 'you looked for me'  
you me you-look for-me

P  
gi-itave'avi-da 'he looks after us'

### 2) Intransitive Clause Type

S P  
e.g. kaliva sa'eyana gi-na-ela 'a certain man will come'  
man one he-will-come

P  
gi-hiyoto 'he sat down'  
he-sat down

### 3) Ditransitive Clause Type

S O P IO  
e.g. Sidowai a'a gi-vele-na Malawidiya 'Sidowai gave food to  
Sidowai food he-gave-him Malawidiya Malawidiya'

S O P  
bana Yaubada anakaibe a'a gi-velevele-da 'God alone keeps  
he God he alone food he-giving - us giving us food'

### 4) Stative Clause Type

T C  
e.g. bana kaliva yamumuna 'he is a good man'  
he man good

T C  
nima-ku dubadubana 'my hands are wet'  
hand-my wet

L	C	
<u>wade</u>	<u>kwamayoku</u>	<u>mo'ena</u>
there	woman	herself

'there is the woman herself'

5) Desiderative Clause Type

Neg	Des	Req(nx)	
e.g. <u>keke</u>	<u>nuwanuwa-ku</u>	<u>hifufu</u>	<u>moya'aina</u>
not	insides-my	words	many

'I do not want many words'

Des	Req(cl)	
<u>nuwanuwa-na</u>	<u>Wakaluma</u>	<u>gi-na-munu-na</u>
insides-his	Wakaluma	he-f.-hit-him

'he wanted to hit Wakaluma'

Des	
<u>au</u>	<u>nuwanuwa-ma</u>
yes	insides-our

'yes, we want it'

6) Idiomatic Clause Type

S	P	
e.g. <u>nuwa-di</u>	<u>gi-koyo</u>	
insides-their	it-bad	

'they are angry'

<u>meya-na</u>	<u>gi-bou</u>	
tongue-his	it-dry	

'he was speechless'

7) Quote Clause Type

O	P	
e.g. <u>Wahileta</u>	<u>ga-gahe-di</u>	<u>ga-gayo</u>
Wahileta	I -told-her	I -said

'I said to Wahileta,"...'

Add	P	
<u>Wahileta</u>	<u>agai-diya</u>	<u>ga-gahe</u>
Wahileta	to -her	I -told

'I said to Wahileta,"...'

14. Obligatory Components of Independent Clause Types

The obligatory component of the transitive clause is the predicate slot which must be filled by a transitive verb.

The obligatory component of the intransitive clause is the predicate slot which must be filled with an intransitive verb.

The obligatory component of the ditransitive clause is the



predicate slot which must be filled by a ditransitive verb.

The obligatory component of the stative clause is the comment slot which is filled by a comment filler.

The obligatory component of the desiderative clause is the desiderative predicate slot which is always filled by the reduplicated nominal form nuwanuwa- 'insides' suffixed for person and number.

The obligatory components of the idiomatic clause are the subject slot filled by an emotive focus (body part) and the predicate slot filled by a limited number of verbs inflected in the third person singular.

The obligatory component of the quote clause is the predicate slot which is always filled by a quotative verb phrase.

#### 15. Optional Slots in the Independent Clause

- 1) Subject and Object: filled by noun phrases and included clauses.
- 2) **Indirect Object**: filled by noun phrases and again relator-axis phrases.
- 3) Location: filled by locatives, location relator-axis phrases, co-ordinate location phrases, positionals and place names.
- 4) Time: filled by temporals, time phrases and location-time relator-axis phrases.
- 5) Manner: filled by manner relator-axis phrases.
- 6) Purpose: filled by purpose relator-axis phrases.
- 7) Cause/benefactive/referential: filled by fa'ina relator-axis phrases.
- 8) Agent/instrument: filled by again relator-axis phrases.
- 9) Negative: filled by negative.
- 10) Accompaniment: filled by buye.

## 16. Ordering and Co-occurrence of Tagmemes

The maximum number of additional slots found to occur with the predicate is 4, though conceivably 6 could occur simultaneously without overloading the clause. Fifteen different tagmemes may occur potentially in an independent clause. [see under 15. for list of slots] (Conjunction is treated as a sentence level slot)

The order of some of the slots is quite flexible apart from a difference in order which would seem to be attributable to focus. The preferred position for the predicate is clause final. Subject-object-predicate is the preferred order, but object-subject-predicate is found fairly often when the context would indicate which is subject and object. The focus position for subject and object is clause final.

Accompaniment usually occurs immediately preceding the predicate. The negative is frequently separated from the predicate by the object and often occurs clause initial. When subject slot is present it often precedes the negative.

The location slot occurs frequently both before and after the predicate, with the preference for the pre-predicate position. Time slot occurs preferably clause initial, but it may also occur immediately preceding or following the predicate. Instrument always occurs before the predicate. The slots filled by fa'ina phrases may occur before or after the predicate.

Short clauses occur more often than long ones in text.

## 17. Clauses within Phrases

A clause which fills a modifying slot in a phrase has the same internal structure as any other clause, but is marked by the relative clitic -ma. (see under 12)

## 18. Compound Subjects and Objects

Compound subjects or objects are expressed as a co-ordinate noun phrase with or without connectives. (See under 6.)

A series of objects is merely listed usually without connectives except in a hypothetical situation where the connectives kai or o

'perhaps/either', 'or' may occur, usually but not always towards the end of the list. Sometimes there is a slight pause between each item marked by a non-phonemic glottal stop and rising intonation on each item except the last. If the list is very long it may follow the verb of which it is the object, and the verb may be repeated after the final item in the list. No connectives are used in a very long list. Examples have also been found in text of the repetition of the verb between each item in the series, and the repetition of the same modifier of the nouns in the series.

## SENTENCES

### 19. Features Distinguishing the End of a Sentence

#### A. Intonational Features

Falling intonation clause final generally signals the end of a sentence followed by pause. Sometimes a speaker will appear to have finished a sentence with falling intonation, and then add another phrase to the clause also with falling intonation. In multi-clause sentences all but the final clause are marked by rising intonation. The 'yes-no' interrogative sentence has a rising intonation sentence initial followed by a rapid fall indicating the end of the sentence. In the imperative the intonation does not fall as sharply.

#### B. Grammatical Features

In narrative text the beginning of a new sentence is quite often marked by the repetition of the final verb of the previous sentence, or a completive verb phrase in which the preposition verb slot is filled by the final verb of the previous sentence. The connective e meaning 'yes' in conversation and narrative texts frequently signals a new sentence. Conditional and temporal

clause-initial subordinators of dependent clauses also signal the beginning of a new sentence.

The predicate is preferred clause and sentence final but location and purpose may occur sentence final. A non-phonemic glottal stop may occur clause final between clauses, but not sentence final. A sentence with a negative construction sometimes has a repetition of the negative word sentence final.

## 20. Clauses are joined to form sentences in the following ways:

- 1) by simple juxtaposition. This is the most common means, especially when the clause is only manifested by the predicate slot or by a minimal number of slots.
- 2) by free conjunctions. For a list of these see under 2. These are also fairly commonly used but not as often as juxtaposition.
- 3) by free subordinators. See under 12.
- 4) by the suffix -yo affixed to the verb of a dependent clause.

See under 12. This is the least frequent way of joining clauses. There is no medial verb construction in Iduna.

21. Conditional Sentences only occur in the future and potential tenses. The condition clause always precedes the result. The predicate in both clauses occurs with the same tense.

### A. Future Conditionals

e.g. ka'i wehi na-'alovenā, ka-na-na 'If the rain stops,  
if rain f.-stop we-f.-go we will go.'

lakahina gi-na-'ona-na digo, au gi-na-vele 'If he spears a big  
big one he-f.-spear-it if, then he-f.-give you one he will give  
you (some)'

### B. Contrary-to fact Conditionals

e.g. ka'i wehi gi-da-lugaga, keke ka-da-na 'If it had rained, we  
if rain it-pot-poured not we-pot-go would not have gone.'

22. Almost any number of clauses can occur together in a single sentence, especially if the clauses are short and describing a series of actions and events. Conjunctions occur more often in a sentence composed of many clauses, but they do also occur between two clauses especially the conjunction be. Strings of clauses are very common and the majority are joined by juxtaposition with one or two conjunctions only in the string.

Different speakers favour different conjunctions and some use them more freely than others. A more detailed study of the distribution of conjunctions within sentences will be done later.

There are fewer clauses per sentence in conversation than in narrative, though more frequent use of conjunctions in live conversation has been noticed. It is not always easy to determine if conjunctions signal the continuation of a sentence or the start of a new one. In text material new sentences can start with conjunctions.

23. When several clauses are joined into a single sentence the relationship is most often co-ordinate, but subordinate relationships are not uncommon.

e.g. Afufuya hi-tagi/ hi-tagi gi-havaina/ kaliva hi-tau-na  
 Afufuya they-cry they-cry it-finish man they-bury-him  
 'They cried at Afufuya, they finished crying, they buried the man.'

ga-miyami/ ada wiki gi-havaina/ tafalolo/ kamiya ka-miya/ kadu  
 I-staying and week it-finish Sunday we-stay **we-stay** and  
ka-luyabu-na wiki/ tafalolo ka-tafalolo/ a wa-'ela hidei.  
 we-end -it week Sunday we-go church just you-come here

'I was staying and the week finished, it was Sunday, we stayed for a while, we completed the week, on Sunday we went to church, you just came here.'

Ada badi yadi bawe hi-nuwalolone-na fa'ina / Gauliva yadi bawe  
 And she her pig she-witheld -it because Gauliva her pig  
gi-yogo-na / gi-na'a na-havaina / gi-na-yage.  
 he-kill-it he-f.-eat f.-finish he-f.-embark.(go away to work)  
 'And because she withheld her pig, he killed Gauliva's pig, (and)  
 when he will have finished eating it he will embark for work.'

#### 24. Interrogatives

There are no interrogative words which expect a certain answer.

'Yes-no' interrogatives are signalled by intonation (sharp rise clause initial and rapid fall clause final), and only one of these has been found to expect a 'no' answer. This is effected by the repetition of the negative clause final.

e.g. bana keke gi-da-gahe, keke? 'He hasn't told you has he?' 'No.  
 he not he-pot-tell, not

#### 25. Quotations

Quotations are more frequently direct than indirect. They are introduced by the quote verb -gayo following a 'saying' verb, though when reporting a long conversational exchange only the quote verb will be repeated appropriately inflected for person and number. There is no marker to denote change of speaker when third person is involved so that the speaker has to be discovered from context, or the name of the speaker has to be repeated.

The close of the quotation is frequently unmarked and only understood from context, but two constructions are occasionally used that denote the end of a quotation:

- 1) A short clause meaning '(I) spoke like this'.
- 2) Repetition of the 'saying' verb preceding the quote verb, followed by the conjunction tu and the next action or event.

26. The sequence of clauses is predominantly in the chronological order of the events narrated.

#### SEQUENCES OF SENTENCES

27. Actors are generally not identified as same or different from the actors of previous clauses or sentences, i.e. there is no marker which signals change of subject or object. This means that often the actor has to be identified by the context which is usually obvious to the speaker or people involved in the situation or customs being discussed or narrated.

For emphasis or clarification the identifier suffix on a noun giving the meaning of 'the aforesaid ...' is sometimes used. A pronoun is often used to refer back to a noun in a preceding sentence, or merely a pronominal subject or object prefix on a verb. In references to God, the full form of the third person singular basic pronoun Bana'e is used rather than the usual shortened form of bana.

One device for distinguishing between two separate single actors is to use an again relator-axis phrase to refer to one of them, especially when the free ordering of clause slots does not make it clear which is subject and object.

e.g. Nimakau gi-fwaiki-na Nimakau could be either the one hit or  
 Nimakau he-hit -him the one who did the hitting.

Nimakau agai-ne gi-fwaiki This distinguishes Nimakau as the  
 Nimakau at-him he-hit one who was hit.

28. Relations between Sentences

Logical connections such as result and cause are indicated by dependent clauses as illustrated under 12. Contrast is indicated by the conjunction tu which can be translated as 'but'.

e.g. gi-yemu vaita hama agai-ne da-lau-na tu hama hi-lema-na  
 he-came as if hammer with-it pot.-hit-him but hammer they-grab-it  
 'he came on as if to hit him with a hammer, but they grabbed it.'

The particle au may also be used to indicate contrast.

e.g. kaliva moya'ai-ma a-'a-na , bana Sidowai anakaibe au gi-miya.  
 men all -us we-ate-it he Sidowai he alone but he-stay  
 'All of us men ate it but Sidowai only stayed' (did not eat any)

One example has been noted of a 'not only ... but also' type of construction.

e.g. keke to'iwakana adi loi u-nuwakabubuye-di , tokoyona buye  
 not good ones their group you do good to-them bad ones with them  
u-nuwakabubuye-di. 'Not only do you do good to those who are  
 you-do good to-them good, but you do good to the bad ones also'

A possible 'although ...' type of construction has been found.

e.g. gaitoma kabiso-di tu u-nuwakabubuye-di  
 things small-they but you-do good to-them  
 'Although things/people are small (unimportant) you do good to them'

Relation to previous sentences is indicated in the following ways:

- 1) Use of the particle au in the sense of 'so' or 'then'. This is also used between clauses.

e.g. ... leta gi-sawa-'owo-na . Au Kwakwava a-gahe-di ....  
 letter he-read-all -it then Kwakwava I-said to-her  
 '... he read all of the letter. Then I said to Kwakwava ...'



ka'i keke nuwanuwa-na au na-yewana yana manuwe-ya  
 if not insides-his then f.-go back her house -to

'If he does not want her, then let her go back to her house.'

- 2) Use of a completive verb phrase with the final verb of the previous sentence filling the preposition verb slot.

e.g. ... kūvi a-na-faha-na. A-na-faha-na gi-na-havaina a-na-miyan  
 yam we-f.-plant-it We-f.-plant-it it-f.-finish we-f-stay

'... we will plant the yam. After planting the yam, we will stay..

- 3) Repetition of the final clause or just the verb with rising intonation followed by another clause which can be either juxtaposed or introduced by the conjunction tu.

e.g. ... gi-hiyoto ai hi-kuli-na agai-ne. Ai hi-kuli-na agai-ne  
 he-sat fire they-lit-it at -it Fire they-lit-it at -it  
gi-hiyoto gi-miya, gi-miya gi-miya ...  
 he-sat he-stay he-stay he-stay

'He sat down where they had lit a fire. Having sat down where ... fire, he continued to stay there for some time ....'

badi hi-yewadi hi-laka'ela. Hi-laka'ela tu a-gayo ...  
 they they-return they-came up They came up and I-said

'They returned and came up (here). {They came up , and I said ...'  
 {Having come up, I said ...'

## 29. Paragraph Markers

The following paragraph introduction markers have been noted:

- 1) The conjunction tu which signals a later action or event or series of the same.
- 2) The words ada auwe which follow the relation of a series of events and have the meaning 'and so' or 'and thus' or 'so much for that'.

The word auwe or the shortened form au is sometimes used to signal the end of a paragraph, particularly in conversation.

### 30. Narrative Closure

The end of a narrative is marked in one of the following ways or a variation of the same:

- 1) au hifede ani-ne 'so it was like this'  
so/that's all this like it
- 2) auwe hidemi yaku hifufu 'that's all I have to say'  
that's all like this my talk
- 3) auwe anafaiweya yaku kahihi ana tubuga 'that's all I have to say'  
all like this my talk its size  
'the development of my speech is complete'
- 4) ..... anafaiweya '(The topic under discussion is) like this'

### 31. Unresolved Issues

- 1) Reasons why transitive verbs sometimes occur without an object suffix when a free object is present in the clause.
- 2) There may be different classes of transitive verbs based on the form of reduplication used for repetitive action and plurality of object. I haven't had time to pursue this exhaustively.
- 3) Use of the clitic -yo is handled partly by 'feel'.
- 4) The suffix -na, possibly clitic, appears on some intransitive verbs and the descriptive ma'ita for no reason apparent to me yet.
- 5) 'Co-ordinate clauses' filling phrase level slots have been found which have not been incorporated into this analysis.
- 6) Free ordering of slots on the clause level is almost certainly due in part to focus which I haven't had time to handle yet.
- 7) More systematic study is needed of conjunctions and differences between different styles of discourse.

32. Various Concepts32.1. Cause      fa'ina clause final

- a. Kinedi hi-da-vele-na gi-'ela gi-tagi fa'ina  
Kinedi they-pot-give-him he-came he-cried because  
'They would give it to Kinedi because he came and cried'
- b. hi-kilowe-na kabio-na fa'ina 'they rejected it because it was  
they-reject-it small-it because small'
- c. yana velaiga fa'ina 'because of his laughter'  
his laughter because

32.2. Result      fa'ina and au usually clause initial

- a. trabul gi-fifaisewanauwe-na, fa'ina ime a-kilowe-na  
trouble she-makes everywhere-it, so we we-reject-her  
'she makes trouble everywhere, so/therefore we rejected her'
- b. ma'ita kamo-ma gi-'alovena, au a-na a-towa  
little stomach-my it-ceased, so I-go I-bathe  
'my stomach was a bit better, so I went and bathed'
- c. fa'ina kwamayoku au ka-na-kilowe-na 'So therefore let us  
therefore woman so we-f.-reject-her reject the woman'

32.3 Contrary Result

- a. au gi-na-miya keke aimo na-be'u fa'ina  
enough it-f.-stay not later f.-fall so that  
'Leave it alone so that it will not fall.'
- b. keke ubula ga-na-tu-ni keke deli-ya ga-na-luku fa'ina  
not grass I -f.-fire-it not jail-in I -f.-enter because  
'I will not set fire to the grass lest I will go to jail.'

32.4. Imperative      [see under 3.3.]

- a. Una! 'Go!'(ag)      b. Au gi-da! 'Stop it!'      c. Ka-na! 'Let's go!'  
you-go      enough it-stop      we-go
- d. wa-'ela be ka-na! 'Come, let's go!' [This is very common]  
you-come and we-go

a. wa-na-na? 'Will you go?'      b. a gi-'ela 'Has he come?'  
you-f.-go                                      has he-come

a. gava tova wa-na-na? 'When will you go?' b. hai u-se-ni?  
which time you-f.-go where you-put-it

c. kaliva hami gi-na? 'Where did the man go?'  
man whither he-go

a. ha'ai lehaga mo'ena? mema oya. gavaimi ka-na-holi-ni-yo  
 where sea actual that mount how we-f.-pull-it-so that  
ka-na-hobuye? 'Where is the sea itself? (i.e. there's no sea  
 we-f.-take down here) That there is a mountain. How are we  
 going to pull it so as to get it down?'

b. aimo ka-na-ive'ayoye-na. gava tova ka-na-'ive'ayoye-na?  
 later we-f.-give gift-her which time we-f.-give gifts-her  
auwe gi-nagi. 'Later we will give bridal gifts to her.  
 O.K. she-married When shall we give gifts? O.K. she's married.'

a. simple negative e.g. keke gi-da-ita-ni 'he did not see it'  
not he-pot-see-it

'It was not as if it appeared by means of magic' or 'Not indeed did it come up by means of magic'

a. vaita kaliva gi-vaigau 'she dressed like a man'  
like man she-dressed

b. keke tamo kaliva anafaiweya Yaubada 'no man is like God'  
not any man like God

32.10. Verbal Simile amine

- a. gi-madu galu'eta ami-ne 'he runs like a dog'  
 he-runs dog like-it
- b. Galabowa natu-na ana tubuga ami-ne gi-'enoyemu 'she grew like  
 Galabowa child-his its size like-it she-grew the size of  
 Galabowa's child'

32.11. Comparative Degree

- a. bana mata-tunugi-na kadu bana mata-kali'uho-na 'he is taller  
 he little-tall-him and he little-short -him than him.'
- b. kuga mata-vitavita-na ai mata-'ihaya-na 'stone is heavier  
 stone little-heavy -it wood little-light-it than wood'
- c. Sikabu lakahi-na Lave ma'ita 'Sikabu is bigger than Lave'  
 Sikabu big -he Lave little

32.12 Benefaction fa'i- inflected for person

- a. fa'i-deya hi-'ela 'they came for us/on our behalf'  
 for - us they-came
- b. Awadoudo gi-laufata Abatadi agai-ne nou-na fa'i-diya  
 Awadoudo he-pay back Abatadi to -him sister-his for-her  
 'Awadoudo made a payback to Abatadi for his sister'

32.13. Causative [see under 1.1. and 1.3. for more examples]

This concept is often expressed by the use of one or more causative prefixes on the verb stem or root, and is a prominent feature of the language. The resultant construction is not always causative in meaning. Some causative prefixes are very general in meaning while others are more specific. Among the latter could be included a number of derivative affixes listed by their specific meaning rather than as causatives under Section 1.

General Causatives -ve-, -lu-, -ki-, -kive-, -luve-

- a. gi-be'u 'it fell' gi-ve-be'u-na 'he caused it to fall'  
 i.e. he dropped it

- b. gi-'a-na 'he ate it' gi-ve-'a-na 'he caused him to eat'  
i.e. he fed him
- c. gi-fifi-na 'he curls it around' gi-lu-fifi-na 'he makes it round'  
(by cutting)
- d. gi-hege-na 'he threw it away' gi-lu-hege-na 'he made it to be  
thrown away'  
i.e. he sent it away
- e. nuwa-ku gi-yamumu 'my insides are good' i.e. I am happy  
insides-my it-good
- nuwa-ku gi-kive-yamumu-na 'he caused my insides to be good'  
insides-my he-caus-good -it i.e. he made me happy
- f. gi-'alika 'he died' hi-luve-'alika-na 'they caused him to  
~~they-caus-~~ die -him become dead'  
i.e. they killed him

### Specific Causatives [not an exhaustive list]

As well as having a general causative meaning, -ki- is also used with the specific meaning of 'cause with the hand'.

- a. gi-ve-be'u-na 'he dropped it' (cf. e.g. a. above)  
gi-ki-ve-be'u-na 'he dropped from his hand' / 'he caused it to  
drop by his hand e.g. by knocking it down'
- b. ai gi-dobo-na 'the stick broke'  
ai gi-ki-dobo-na 'he caused the stick to break (broke it)  
stick he-hand-break-it with his hands'
- c. gi-ladi-na 'he marked it' gi-'eto-ladi 'he marks with something  
pointed' i.e. he writes
- d. gi-fuwa-na 'he broke it' gi-bi-fuwa-na 'he caused it to break  
by dropping it'

### 32.14. Verbal Comparison

#### 1) Easier of the difficult

- a. tamuyoko agai-ne ai adi-faiweya hi-na-madu-tala-na tu  
steelaxe with-it tree their-ability they-f.-run-chop-it but  
kiliwauma agai-ne keke adi-faiweya hi-na-madu-tala-ni  
stone axe with it not their-ability they-f.-run-chop-it

'With steel axes they are able to chop the tree down quickly,  
but they are unable to chop it down quickly with stone axes.'

- b. ai ana aitalaga tamuyoko agai-ne ma'i ihaya-na tu  
 tree its chopping steelaxe with-it bit easy -it but  
kiliwauma agai-ne ma'i vita-na 'chopping trees is a bit easy  
 stone axe with-it bit hard-it with steel axes but a bit  
 hard with stone axes'

2) Lesser of two evils - I have not been able to find this out.

### 32.15. Alternatives

- a. kai kuge-ya o kai babi-ya gi-na-vetoga 'he will sit either  
 perhaps stone-on or p-s ground-on he-f.-sit on the stone or on  
 the ground'
- b. kuge-ya gi-na-vetoga, keke babi-ya 'he will sit on the stone,  
 stone-on he-f.-sit not ground-on not on the ground'
- c. kai kuge-ya gi-na-vetoga o kai babi-ya? 'will he sit on the  
 perhaps stone-on he-f.-sit or praps ground-on stone or on the  
 ground?'  
 (question intonation)
- d. gi-na-'a o kai gi-na-da 'he will either eat or sleep'  
 he-f.-eat or praps he-f.-sleep
- e. The same as d. with question intonation.

### 32.16. Passive

There is no passive as such in Iduna. The causative prefixes on verbs sometimes suggest a passive meaning, or at least put the focus on the receiver of the action. Some verbs can only be translated by an English passive but they are no different in form from the active type verbs.

- a. kwanana gi-ho'e 'the child was weaned'  
kwanana hi-ve-ho'e-na 'she weaned the child' (caused him to be  
 child she-caus-wean-him weaned)
- b. waka hi-dodo-na 'they put it on the boat'  
 boat they-put on-it  
waka hi-ve-dodo-na 'they caused it to be put on the boat'  
 boat they-caus-put-it or 'it was loaded on the boat'
- c. ga-lifi-na 'I covered it' ga-ve-lifi-na 'I caused it to be  
 I-cover-it I-caus-cover-it covered/it was  
 covered by me'

Occasionally the object occurs after the predicate instead of before it, thus putting focus on the receiver of the action.

d. mala na-launa hi-na-'abuyobuyo-ga kevakeva  
light will-hit they-f-cook coconut-much meat

'At dawn they will cook with coconut large quantities of meat'

Often the subject or actor is not explicitly stated but is represented by the person prefix on the verb. When this is not obvious from context, inquiry sometimes produces an indefinite response. e.g. 'Who hit him?' 'Some man'

### 32.17. Abstract Terms

Words for a large number of abstract terms have been found.

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| a. <u>alika</u> 'death'              | d. <u>faiwala</u> 'strength'           |
| b. <u>yawai-na</u> 'breath/life-his' | e. <u>abavehimeya</u> 'responsibility' |
| c. <u>matauta</u> 'fear'             | f. <u>hawalumagibou</u> 'surliness'    |

Where emotions are concerned the term used is usually a compound including the seat of the emotion.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| g. <u>nuwakoyo</u> 'insides bad, i.e. anger' |  |
| h. <u>nuwanuwa</u> 'thought'                 | i. <u>asebou</u> 'liver dry, i.e. courage' |

### 32.18. Implied Speech

This language seems to be fairly rich in abstract terms and practically all the examples in the questionnaire have terms in Iduna.

- |  |
|--|
| a. <u>gi-hawata-na</u> 'he forbade him'        |
| b. <u>gi-vehimeye-na</u> 'he commanded him'    |
| c. <u>gi-hawavekeme-na</u> 'he denied it'      |
| d. <u>gi-dakeye-na</u> 'he rebuked him'        |
| e. <u>gi-hawadavadava</u> 'he praised'         |
| f. <u>gi-kivemahalina</u> 'he enlightened him' |



When an abstract term does not exist or is hard to find, it would be easy to express it with direct quotation which is freely used in narrative text.

### 32.19. Figures of Speech

#### A. Simile [very common]

- a. nuwa-da keke ... anafaiweya kuga au ka-da-miya-kawokawowo  
 mind-our not like stones so we-pot-stay-to no purpose  
 'If we had no minds we would exist aimlessly like stones.'
- b. mogiye ami-ne 'like a possum' (said of a koala bear)  
 possum like-it

#### B. Metaphor [not common]

It is not possible to liken a man to an animal or say he is one, but one of his attributes can be likened to that of an animal.

- a. bana yana faiwala bawe aitoga ami-ne 'his strength is like  
 he his strength pig wild like-it a wild pig's'
- b. kaliva-nadi yana madu vagita ami-ne 'that man's running is  
 man -that one his run wallaby like-it like that of a wallaby'  
 OR 'he is like a wallaby for swiftness'

#### C. Euphemism

- a. buye hi-daуда 'they slept together, i.e. had sexual intercourse'
- b. kaliva gi-lusi 'The man loosed (?from English 'loose') i.e. died'
- c. kaliva gi-faisewa-na 'the man made/worked him; i.e. sorcery'

#### D. Hyperbole

This has not been discovered yet apart from what is more likely to be a difference in point of view. e.g. the Iduna concept of distance and quantity is often different from a European's.

#### E. Metonymy [common]

- a. yaku faha gi-'ela'ela be Yamoliliwa gi-'au'a-na  
 my garden it-coming and Yamoliliwa he-eating  
 'my garden, i.e. food from it, continually came and Y. ate it'

- b. Kalimutabutabu hi-yemu 'Kalimutabutabu, i.e. the people of K. came'

F. Apostrophe [very common]

- a. O / Ho .. Yaubada! 'O God!' when God has done something great  
e.g. restored the life of a child
- b. O .. Dimudimu! 'O Europeans!' - when shown some new gadget
- c. O.. manuwa! 'O house!' - of some outstanding building

Frequently when some absent person or important object is referred to or a picture of them seen, the exclamation will include the term used for 'goodbye'.

- d. O kafoi Devida 'O goodbye David'
- e. O kafoi Mosibi 'O goodbye Moresby'

G. Personification [common]

This is a feature of both legendary accounts and factual reports.

- a. Oya Tabu gi-lowoga 'Mt. Tabu set off'
- b. kuvi hi-muwakoyo 'the yams are angry'
- c. bolimana lakahina gi-madu 'a big wind ran'

H. Irony

This is quite often used when scolding someone for a misdeed or in anger, but only one example has been noted in recorded text.

- e.g. iya vaita tuli-ku tobohiya nonogana 'as if I was someone  
I as if different your brother own other than I am - your  
own brother!'

I. Synecdoche [common]

- a. ase'ase-ku gi-tagitagi 'my liver is crying' i.e. I am very  
unhappy inside'
- b. Wakonai meya-da 'Wakonai our tongue' i.e. the Wakonai language
- c. nuwa-ku gi-yamumu 'my insides are good' i.e. I am happy



32.22. Cause and Effect Clauses

These may occur in several orders. The presence of a cause and effect clause is indicated by the causative fa'ina, which may signal either a causative clause or an effect clause depending on its position in the clause.

When fa'ina occurs clause initial following a statement clause, it normally has the meaning of 'therefore' and signals the effect clause.

e.g. age-ku gi-da-tutuma / fa'ina ga-tune-na 'my leg would have gone  
leg-my it-pot-cold therefore I-stretch-it to sleep, therefore  
I stretched it'

luwana a-vai-na / fa'ina keke tamo kadu kevakeva hi-na-munu-ni  
payment we-got-it therefore not any more animals they-f.-kill-it  
'we got our death payment, therefore they will not kill another animal.'

In a few instances in texts given by two informants fa'ina occurring clause initial introduces a causative clause rather than an effect clause.

e.g. Yaubada kama-ku nnwanuwa-ma natu-ku u-na-leme-na / fa'ina  
God father-my insides -my child-my you-f.-help-him because  
bukitabu gi-gayo ... 'My father, God, I want you to help my  
Bible it-says child, because the Bible says ...'

gaitoma dawani-di gi-vehimeye-di / fa'ina bana gi-bubu-di  
things all of-them he-rules-them because he he-made-them  
'He rules over all things because He made them'

When fa'ina occurs clause final it has the meaning of 'because'. The most common order is for the causative clause to occur preceding the effect clause.

e.g. keke ga-da-da fa'ina / e gi-da-laufata iya agai-kuya  
not I-pot-sleep because yes he-pot-pay me to - me  
'Because I would not sleep, he would make a payback to me.'

badi yadi bawe hi-nuwalolone-na fa'ina / Gauliva yadi bawe  
 she her pig she-withheld -it because Gauliva her pig  
gi-yogo-na 'Because she withheld her pig, he killed Gauliva's pig'  
 he-kill-it

However, a fair number of instances of the causative clause following the effect clause have been found, including all causative clauses where fa'ina occurs clause initial.

e.g. ime a-'ela / kaliva gi-'alika fa'ina 'we came because the man died'  
 we we-came man he-died because

keke a-da-'ita-ni / ime a-na fa'ina 'we did not see him because we had gone'  
 not we-pot-see-him we we-go because

keke ga-na-'a / fa'ina kawa-ku gi-'alika 'I will not eat because my brother died'  
 not I-f.-eat because brother-my he-died

### 32.23. Numbers

Small numbers are usually referred to by the vernacular system, but not always. Numbers from five upwards can be expressed by descriptive phrases centering around the hands and feet, but I have never heard them used. Counting is done more easily in English in a transliterated form.

### 33. Idioms

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. <u>ago-ku gi-taina</u> 'I am thirsty'<br>throat-my it-pulls              | e. <u>mata-na adobona</u> 'feeble, lazy'<br>eye-his broken     |
| b. <u>nuwa-ku gi-'afolena</u> 'I remember'<br>mind-my it-pierced            | f. <u>gi-'ibawebawe</u> 'he crawls'<br>he-pig pig              |
| c. <u>eda natu-na</u> 'bastard'<br>path child-its                           | g. <u>mata-na mahamahalina</u> 'knowledgable'<br>eye-his light |
| d. <u>nima-'onana</u> 'gift brought in the hand-spearred hand by a visitor' |  |

34. Morphophonemics

- 1) When a suffix with initial consonant 'y' is suffixed to a noun ending in the vowel -a, the vowel changes to -e-.

e.g. gufa 'river'    gufeya 'at the river'

nouma 'our brother'    noumeyao 'our brothers'

- 2) When the pluraliser morpheme -yao is suffixed to kinship terms with first person singular possessive suffix, -ku becomes -kwe-
- e.g. kubu-ku 'my grandchild'    kubu-kwe-yao 'my grandchildren'

- 3) The vowel -a changes to -i- when the bound possession suffixes are suffixed to:

a. nouns of type 2.1.(ii) ending in the vowel -a.

e.g. guvega 'seedling'    kweyo guvegi-na 'taro its seedling'

b. a nominal root ending in -a to form an adjective.

e.g. tunuga 'length'    tunugi-na 'long'

c. a reduplicated 3 syllable verbal root ending in -a to form an adjective.

e.g. -yabela 'become red'    yabeyabeli-na 'red'

d. an obligatorily possessed noun which is reduplicated to form an adjective.

e.g. nigo-na 'its teeth'    nigonigoni-na 'sharp'

- 4) When intransitive verbs ending in -a are used transitively by the addition of object suffixes, some verb roots have the final -a changed to -e- while others change to -i-. No rules to determine the choice have so far been discovered.

e.g. givelaiga 'he laughed'    givelaige-na 'he laughed at him'

ginogala 'he heard'    ginogali-na 'he heard him'

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Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea

The workpapers in this volume express the authors' knowledge at the time of writing. They do not necessarily provide a complete treatment of their topic, nor have they been particularly edited for publication. However, it is felt that linguists interested in the island of New Guinea will appreciate having these data papers available in this form.

Alan Healey,  
editor

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