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Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

**THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY**

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#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Several of the papers in the volume were presented at the 15th Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, in February 1983. They are those by Don Laycock, Les Bruce, Michael Chlenov, Stephen Wurm, Graham Scott and Walter Seiler. They have been teamed with others offered recently for publication to form a broad general overview of linguistic work in progress in the New Guinea area. Contributions to this series are always welcome.

## PAPUAN LANGUAGES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION

D.C. Laycock

Languages may be compared, and hence classified, by any of the features that go to make up a language. Traditionally, genetic classification – or subgrouping – has in recent years been based solely on shared lexicon, with the additional refinement of shared innovative or retentive features in the phonology. Comparison of purely phonological features has been largely confined to discussion of diffusion in areal linguistics (the presence of palatals in Rumanian, for instance, or of tone in south-east Asia), or else has formed part of 'typological' comparison of languages, which aims at establishing linguistic universals and implicational hierarchies. Typological comparison is usually based on syntactic features. The one element of language that has been almost totally ignored for comparative purposes would therefore seem to be semantics.

Semantic 'features' of a language can be hard to define, for the purposes of comparison. There is a grey area where semantics overlaps into syntax, or even morphology. If a language has a noun-classification system, for instance, do we want to call this a syntactic feature, or a semantic feature? Existential verbs pose the same problem, and even a syntactic category like switch reference is concerned with meaning (or at least with pragmatics). I think a reasonable approach would be to regard the collective meanings of each of the noun-classes in a language as a semantic feature, but the existence of a class-system, and the entire morphosyntactic system of cross-reference, I would call syntactic. Similarly with existential verbs: the presence of existential verbs is a syntactic feature, but the specification of which verbs go with which nouns is a semantic feature.

Semantic features in the lexicon are however more easily recognised. This paper examines an area of the lexicon that I have called 'semantic confluations' – that is, the possibility of using the same 'word' (or lexical item) to refer to two quite distinct concepts.

The question of 'distinct concepts' is, I hope, not too ethnocentrically biased. We tend to recognise distinct concepts only when we have distinct words for them. To us, a 'fish' is a 'fish', but to a speaker of the Buin language of south Bougainville, the creature is either a 'freshwater fish' (topi) or a 'marine fish' (iiana). 'Finger' and 'toe' are not necessarily distinct concepts just because English happens to distinguish them; many languages in the world do not. English also conflates 'father's sister' and 'mother's sister' into 'aunt', a conflation unthinkable in most, if not all, Pacific languages. The position taken here is that concepts are different if *any* language distinguishes them.

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There is of course no argument about many of the conflations. There is surely a very real difference between 'head hair' and 'leaf', or between 'tree' and 'fire' — but these are common conflations in Papuan languages.

Conflation of two concepts into a single lexical item does not of course mean that speakers of the language are incapable of distinguishing the concepts. Sometimes a modifier may be added, in the way that we distinguish 'head hair' from 'body hair'. Or the conflation may exist alongside lexical items that distinguish the concepts. For instance, English may in many instances use the word 'hair' in speaking of animals ('the cat's hair is falling out', 'the possum does not have much hair on its tail') — but there also exists the separate lexical item 'fur', specifically for the 'body hair' of most mammals.

Initially, principal conflations in Papuan — and other Pacific languages — were identified from a number of sources. Many derive from the author's collecting of wordlists in over 200 languages over a period of more than 20 years. Some can be found in dictionaries and grammars, and some were suggested by colleagues. Clues to possible conflations are also provided by examination of semantic shifts between related languages; thus, in many languages of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum (SERP), the word for 'bird' in some languages is cognate with the word for 'cassowary' in others. I would argue that this points to the conflation of 'bird' and 'cassowary' at some stage in the history of the languages involved. Similar shifts have been observed between 'dog' and 'pig', and between 'sun' and 'moon', although the phenomenon of 'cognacy between opposites', as discussed by O'Grady (1979) for Australian Aboriginal languages, has not yet been observed to any large extent in the New Guinea area.

Previously published works dealing directly with the semantics of Papuan and other Pacific languages are few in number. The only general treatment is Holmer (1966) — but this is rather too general, in that it attempts to deal with semantic features of Australian Aboriginal languages, Austronesian languages, and Papuan languages, within the compass of a small volume. McElhanon (especially 1975) has written on idiomaticity in a Papuan language. Laycock (1970) has analysed standard lexicostatistical lists from the point of view of the semantics of Papuan languages, and has written on number systems and semantics (1975). Franklin (1981) has edited a volume on the overlap between syntax and semantics in languages of Papua New Guinea. Ethnotaxonomy has received some attention, particularly in papers by Bulmer (1967, 1968) and Franklin (1971), but the common semantic features of Papuan languages remain still to be identified.

Even if semantic features can be specified for various languages of the Pacific, however, the question of what kind of conclusions can be drawn from the data will remain. I suspect that semantic features will turn out to be something like phonological features — that is, reasonably stable in genetically-related groups of languages, but also subject to borrowing over geographical areas. Certainly there is no *a priori* reason why a group of languages should not retain a semantic 'habit' — such as the distinguishing between 'head hair' and 'body hair' over long periods, even when the lexical items themselves change and are no longer cognate. But the stability of semantic conflations can only be investigated when more data is available.

Certainly some semantic features are so stable — or so widespread — as to be almost linguistic universals. One such feature is the conflation of the terms expressing 'the pupil of the eye' and 'a favoured or student child'. 'Pupil' itself (*pupilla* in Latin) is one such example; so is 'apple of the eye' (German *Augapfel*), with parallels in many other European languages, and also in Buin,

where we have tuutuu 'pupil (of eye); suckling child'. (The semantic connection is by way of the small image, or homunculus, seen in the pupil of the eye of another.)

Appended to this paper is a wordlist for identifying confluations in Papuan languages, with instructions for completion. Any reader of this paper is invited to complete the list for any Pacific language (non-Papuan languages will be used for comparison) and send it to the author. The results will be published in a later paper.

The wordlist is preliminary only, and could certainly be refined. Suggestions for additional items are welcome — one such might be 'netbag'/'uterus' (Tok Pisin bilum). In the originally distributed copies of this paper, a few errors and omissions occurred, which slightly affect the data at present to hand. These are: Set XVIII — add 'shark'. Set XXI, group 5: add 'smell'. Set XXI, group 7: add 'distant'. Set XXI, last group: for 'arm' read 'elbow'. These corrections have been made on the list which accompanies this paper.

To date I have the list completed only for the following languages:

Mumeng (Austronesian (AN), Oceanic)  
 Tahitian (AN, Polynesian)  
 Selepet (Trans-New Guinea Phylum (TNGP), Finisterre-Huon Stock)  
 Yagaria (TNGP, East New Guinea Highlands Stock)  
 Foi (Foe) (TNGP, Kutubuan Stock)  
 Momoon (Somahai) (TNGP, Central and South New Guinea Stock)  
 Buin (East Papuan Phylum (EPAP), Bougainville Stock).

This is a somewhat random assortment: two AN languages (one from Papua New Guinea, one from Polynesia), four TNGP languages from quite different stocks, and one EPAP language. No conclusions can be drawn from such a small sample, but at least any characteristics shared by, say, all the Papuan languages, would be indicative of widespread Papuan semantic characteristics.

I shall now comment briefly on the sets in the wordlist, and explain the rationale for each, with some of the data from the completed wordlists.

#### SET I

In the completed lists, the conflation 'child/human being' (observed in a number of SERP languages) does not show up, and only Tahitian uses the word for 'man' to mean 'human being'. Both Selepet and Tahitian show the common confluations of 'man/husband' and 'woman/wife' — and Tahitian also conflates 'father/mother' into 'parent' (distinguished as 'male parent' and 'female parent').

#### SET II

The extension of the word for 'bird' to mean 'animal' seems confined to AN languages — and is reflected here in Tahitian. Yagaria uses its term for 'bird' to apply to bats — as does Warapu, a language of the Sko Phylum. Other expected confluations did not appear here: some SERP languages have no separate word for 'fish', only 'water-game'; and the 'cassowary/bird' and 'pig/dog' confluations have already been mentioned. The extension of the Tok Pisin term kapul 'possum' to mean 'animal' suggests that this is a conflation that might also occur in Papuan languages, but I have not yet encountered it.



## SET III

This is a particularly complex set, and languages divide up the 'hair/fur/feather' group in very different ways. The greatest number of conflations so far is made by Foe, which can use the same term for all the words from 'head hair' to 'leaves, foliage'; Momoona and Yagaria conflate all except 'leaf'. Mumeng differentiates 'head hair' from 'body hair/fur/feathers', but 'head hair' is the same as 'leaf', which seems a common AN feature. Buin has the least conflations in this group; a single word is normally used for 'head hair', 'body hair', 'fur', and 'down feathers', but there are many specific words meaning 'pubic and axillary hair', 'shaved hair', and 'facial hair'; 'feather' (meaning single feather) is not the same as any of these, but is the same as one of the words for 'flower'. The word for 'fibre' (on coconut husk, for example) is etymologically related to the word for 'hair'; the other words are unconnected.

## SET IV

The main conflation to look for here is that of 'tree' and 'fire' — via the intervening concept 'firewood'. It is found in Foe, and is reported to be common in TNGP languages. The next question is whether any specific tree is also the generic word for tree. In all Ndu Family languages (SERP) the word for 'tree' is also specific for 'garamut tree (*Vitex cofassus*)', as well as the slitgong (Tok Pisin garamut) made therefrom. In Torricelli Phylum (TP) languages, the word for 'tree' often appears related to the word for 'sago'.

## SET V

Probably the commonest conflation in Papuan languages is that of 'water' and 'river', which is found in all five Papuan languages currently tested. The distinction between 'sea' and 'fresh water' is usually made in AN languages (and also in Buin), but is often lacking in Papuan languages (where, of course, the word for 'sea' is also often lacking). 'Salt' more often than not uses the same root as 'sea', except in areas where salt is obtained from burning leaves soaked in salt wells.

## SET VI

The 'skin' set is almost as complicated as the 'hair' set. Conflations of 'skin', 'peel' and 'bark' can be regarded as normal, and occur to some extent in all the languages for which data is currently available. Only Foe can also use the word for 'skin' to mean 'body', but this conflation is also evidenced (through semantic shifts in related languages) in SERP languages.

## SETS VII and VIII

These two sets investigate the origins of the terms for 'black' and 'white', and the other connotations these words may have. The word for 'white' is very commonly related to the word for 'white cockatoo' (so Buin, Yagaria, Mumeng), but in the Sepik River language Iatmul (SERP) the word for 'white heron' is used instead. One dialect of Boiken (SERP) uses 'fog' for 'white', while the Foe word for 'white' means 'pale'. For 'black', Buin uses the same root as for

'night', while Selepet 'black' can also mean 'ground, dirty'. A derivation of 'black' from 'ash' or 'charcoal' has been encountered, but I cannot at the moment cite a specific example.

#### SET IX

Two separate semantic fields are covered here: 'round objects' and 'items connected with generation'. Foe conflates the full list except 'testicle', Yagaria conflates none; Buin conflates 'egg', 'fruit', and (occasionally) 'seed'. Selepet, Mumeng, Momoona and Tahitian also all conflate 'egg' and 'seed' — which makes this particular conflation especially widespread.

#### SET X

The conflation of 'hand' (of person) and 'foreleg' (of animal) was one I expected to be almost universal in the New Guinea area, but it does not occur in Mumeng (nor in Tahitian). A bird's 'wing' is also normally 'hand', in my experience — but in the present lists this conflation only occurs in Foe and Buin. 'Claw' and 'fingernail' are conflated in all the languages except Mumeng and Foe. Buin uses a reduplicated form of its word for 'hand' to mean 'handle', while one of the Foi terms for 'handle' also means 'branch'.

#### SET XI

This set was designed to get information not only on the near-universal conflation of words relating to space and time in languages from all over the world (and in the current set, the term for 'at' (space/time) is conflated in all the languages except the somewhat perverse Mumeng), but also to find out how widespread might be the practice, in Papuan languages (and Tok Pisin) of regarding the future as lying 'behind' one, and the past as lying 'before'. (English uses both sets of concepts: the future consists of those things which lie *before* us, or which come *after* us, while past events are those which have occurred *before* our time, and now lie *behind* us.) In the present data, all the languages but Yagaria have the 'after/behind' conflation, but only Buin and Yagaria clearly have the 'previous/in front of' conflation. This is probably a set which needs to be discussed with the completers of the lists; syntactic data may also be required.

#### SET XII

This set attempts to establish whether a language has any of the two commonest existential verbs ('stand' and 'sit'), and whether either of these, or some other word, is the verb of 'live/stay'. Interestingly enough, all the present languages except Buin base their principal existential verb on 'sit', which is also 'stay'; Buin however uses the verb for 'stand'. All the languages except Foe equate 'live' and 'dwell', and for Momoona, Buin and Tahitian this is the same as 'stay/be'.

#### SET XIII

The heart is the seat of the emotions in Momoona and Foe, while the lungs are in Buin; otherwise, this set did not yield any information. Tok Pisin uses

both lewa 'liver' and bel 'stomach' as the seat of the emotions, and this concept must also exist in Papuan languages.

## SET XIV

This set investigates the source of the word for 'red'; 'blood' is common (so Mumeng, Yagaria, and many SERP languages), while 'flame' is the source in Tahitian. Conflations involving other words on the list have been suggested to me, but remain to be documented.

## SET XV

The association of 'eye' with 'opening', 'nipple' and 'prominent part' is a common AN feature discussed by Holmer (1966); here it is found in Tahitian, and, surprisingly, in Momona ('eye' and 'nipple'). Buin can use 'eye' to mean 'opening' (of a cave, etc.); Mumeng, like English, uses 'mouth'.

## SET XVI

The association of 'garden' with 'work' is found in Selepet, Yagaria, Buin, and Mumeng; an additional word for 'garden' in Buin also mean 'enclosure', but I have not found this elsewhere.

## SET XVII

The association of 'right'(-handedness) with 'correct' and 'true' is not merely a feature of Indo-European languages, as Buin, Selepet and Foe demonstrate — the connection is that the 'right' hand is the 'true' or 'correct' hand. In eliciting wordlists, the other words in this set are also often given merely as 'good' — but that may reflect a survey situation, and not the full vocabulary of the language.

## SET XVIII

The only conflations known to me are those of Buin ('dog', 'mantis' and 'shark'), and Abelam (SERP) ('mantis' and 'cassowary'). These conflations have no significance unless they can be shown to occur somewhere else.

## SET XIX

The available lists show little of interest in this set. Tahitian, Mumeng and Yagaria conflate 'mist' and 'fog', and Mumeng adds the possibility of the same word being used for 'cloud'. Selepet conflates 'fog' and 'cloud'. Buin conflates 'smoke', 'mist', 'fog', and 'dust', distinguishing the rest.

## SET XX

Number-systems have been extensively dealt with in Laycock (1975), and nothing new can be added here. Number systems certainly do not correlate well with genetic groupings, but a greater amount of data may show some regional groupings.

## SET XXI

This is a miscellaneous list of some confluations that have been observed elsewhere. Brief comments only are necessary.

Of the languages in the present sample, only Selepet permits the equation of 'sun' and 'moon' (in certain contexts), but cognates in various TP languages suggest that the equation must have occurred in that group. (One TP language, Abu', uses a singular noun for 'sun', and the same noun pluralised for 'moon'.) The 'pupil/baby' equation has been mentioned above; in the present sample it is found only in Buin. Foe (and Momoona with a modifier) conflate 'die' and 'faint'; Yagaria conflates 'die' and 'want badly'; Buin conflates all three.

With regard to 'fall', I had once been of the impression that virtually all Papuan languages distinguished 'fall over' and 'fall from height' — but Foe and Momoona at least do not.

The experiential verbs in the next group are difficult to analyse, and I would prefer to wait for more data. However, both Selepet and Yagaria conflate the first five ('know', 'understand', 'hear', 'feel', and 'experience'). No languages of the present group appear to use the verb 'see' as the verb for 'try', but this is common in SERP languages.

'Salt' and 'poison' are the same lexical item in Abelam (SERP), but this may be purely local.

'Long', 'high' and 'tall' are conflated in Buin, Yagaria, Momoona and Selepet, and marginally so in Foi; the AN languages however show much less conflation (Mumeng 'long' and 'tall' only. Tahitian 'long' and 'high' only). In Buin, the same root is also used for 'distant'.

Confluations in the next two groups did not occur in the sample languages, except for Foe 'bad/rotten'. And in the final group, virtually all the languages appear to use the same word ('joint') for 'elbow' and 'knee'; the exceptions are Foe and Selepet, but in these cases the data is ambiguous owing to the original misprinting of 'elbow' as 'arm'.

## SET XXII

This set is included only to see if certain syntactic-semantic features may correlate with lexical features, or with geographical regions. However, analysis must wait till more data are available.

## CONCLUSION

This paper represents a preliminary attempt only to bring to light some of the semantic features that make up languages of the Pacific area — especially Papuan languages. Much more data are needed before any real generalisations can be made. If sufficient data can be obtained, the results will be analysed in a future paper.

## NOTE

An earlier version of this paper was given at the First International Conference on Papuan Linguistics in Goroka, September 1982.

## APPENDIX: SEMANTIC SETS

The semantic sets discussed in this paper are given below. Copies of the complete list, for eliciting purposes, can be obtained from the author (Dr D.C. Laycock, Department of Linguistics, R.S.Pac.S., The Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601, Australia).

## SET I:

human being  
child  
man (male)  
husband  
woman (female)  
wife  
father  
mother

## SET II:

animal  
bird  
insect  
fish  
possum  
pig  
dog  
cassowary  
water-game  
flying animal  
(bat, bird)

## SET III:

head hair  
(general)  
single hair  
body hair  
(general)  
chest hair  
leg and arm hair  
pubic hair  
beard  
moustache  
all shaved hair  
eyebrow  
eyelash  
fur (animal)  
bristles (pig)  
feathers (down)  
feather (pinion)  
leaf (single)  
leaves (foliage)  
grass  
forest  
fibre (husk)  
flower

## SET IV:

tree  
wood (timber)  
firewood  
sago (palm)  
ironwood (kwila)  
garamut tree  
slitgong

## SET V:

water (fresh)  
water (salt)  
river  
lake, pond  
rain  
sea  
salt

## SET VI:

skin (human)  
skin (animal)  
peel (taro)  
peel (banana)  
bark (tree)  
body  
self  
colour  
flesh

## SET VII:

black  
black ash  
charcoal  
grey ash  
dirty  
ground, earth  
bad

## SET VIII:

white  
white cockatoo  
white heron  
clean  
new  
good

## SET IX:

egg  
eye  
fruit  
testicle  
seed

## SET X:

hand  
branch  
wing  
foreleg  
claw, fingernail  
handle

## SET XI:

after(ward)  
behind  
previous  
in front of  
at (time)  
at (place)

## SET XII:

stay  
live  
dwell  
sit = be  
stand = be

## SET XIII:

heart (organ)  
seat of emotions  
liver  
lungs

## SET XIV:

fire  
flame  
red  
blood  
turmeric  
cooked

|                |                                |  |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--|
| SET XV:        | SET XIX:                       | hear                                     |
| eye            | steam                          | feel                                     |
| opening        | smoke                          | experience                               |
| nipple         | mist                           | see                                      |
| prominent part | fog                            | try                                      |
|                | dust                           | smell                                    |
|                | cloud                          | salt                                     |
| SET XVI:       | sky                            | poison                                   |
| garden         |                                | long                                     |
| work           | SET XX:                        | high                                     |
| enclosure      | (Numbers 3,4,5,6,<br>10,15,20) | tall                                     |
|                |                                | big                                      |
| SET XVII:      |                                | distant                                  |
| good           | SET XXI:                       | old                                      |
| straight       | sun                            | bad                                      |
| right (hand)   | moon                           | rotten                                   |
| correct        | child, baby                    | all                                      |
| true           | pupil (of eye)                 | many                                     |
| new            | die                            | elbow                                    |
|                | want badly                     | knee                                     |
| SET XVIII:     | faint                          | joint                                    |
| dog            | fall over                      |  |
| mantis         | fall from height               | SET XXII:                                |
| cassowary      | know                           | (Syntactic/<br>Semantic<br>correlations) |
| shark          | understand                     |  |

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## FROM VERB SERIALISATION TO NOUN CLASSIFICATION

Walter Seiler

### 0. INTRODUCTION

Two kinds of covert noun classificatory systems are widely found in Papuan languages: nouns categorised by existential verbs and nouns classified by means of pro-verbs. Some languages display both types, e.g. Kuman, a language of the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. I will briefly outline these two systems in Section 1. A new and possibly unique type of noun classification has recently come to light. In Imonda, a language of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum and member of the Waris Family, reanalysis of verb serialisation has given rise to a system of noun classification. This has also happened in other languages of the same family, such as Waris. Reanalysis of serial verbs is a common phenomenon but the languages of the Waris family may well be unique in reinterpreting such verbs as classificatory affixes. At the beginning of Section 2 I will briefly illustrate some other cases of reinterpretation of serial verbs and then proceed to discuss the particular case found in Imonda.

#### 1.1 Noun classifying existential verbs

Enga has seven existential verbs that depend on the habitual posture of the object as perceived by native speakers. For instance, *katenge* is used for NPs whose referent is tall, large, strong, such as 'men' or 'trees'; *petenge* occurs with NPs whose referent is small and weak such as 'women' or 'insects', etc. Kuman has three existential verbs, which are not shape classifiers and which seem to be conditioned by animacy (Piau 1981). Classificatory existential verbs occur in many Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages; another example is Imonda. There we have three such verbs which can be used as full intransitive verbs as well. When they are so used the meaning is *stand*, *sit* and *lie*. That they are used as existential verbs is clear from the following example:

- (1) ne-na motorbike kai li-f-me  
2p-poss motorbike q lie-prs-q  
Do you have a motorbike? [Does your motorbike exist?]

Given the full verb meaning of these existentials it is clear that they are conditioned by the characteristic posture of the objects.

Let us briefly look at the second widespread type of classification.



## 1.2 Noun classifying pro-verbs

In many Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages we find a predication type that consists of one of a small number of verbs plus an adjunct. The details vary from language to language and I will briefly illustrate this type of construction with an example from Enga. The meaning of the predication is carried by the adjunct, which, with the exception of a handful of nouns, cannot occur independently, i.e. outside the predication construction. The accompanying pro- or auxiliary verb functions mainly as a peg to show tense, aspect and so on:

- (2) yokó dúpa ápu le -ly -ámi-no  
*leaf they dry utter-pres-3pl-dec*  
*The leaves are drying.*
- (3) baa-nyá mókó dóko pakélyó si-ly -á -mo  
*he-poss leg the scar hear-pres-3sg-dec*  
*His leg is scarred.*
- (4) baa-mé yamé pi-ly -á -mo  
*he-Ag cover hit-pres-3sg-dec*  
*He is covering it.*

(Examples 2-4 from Lang 1975:86)

Most adjuncts are nouns and only occur with one pro-verb; so the noun classes in these languages are established on the basis of which pro-verb the nouns occur with (whether this type of construction is in fact an instance of noun classification is questionable but I will not discuss this here). These few remarks must suffice to show the nature of the adjunct plus pro-verb noun classificatory system. (For more discussion and references see Lang 1975 and Piau 1981.)

Having briefly outlined the two well-known classification systems we can now turn to the third type, where serial verbs were reinterpreted as noun classifiers. By way of comparison let us first look at a couple of other constructions involving reanalysed serial verbs.

## 2.1 From serialisation to prepositions or cross-reference marking

In African linguistics there has been a lengthy debate about how serial verb constructions are best interpreted synchronically (see Givón for a discussion of this case and for further references). Let us look at two Yoruba examples:

- (5) mo mu' i'we' wa' fu'n o,  
*I took book came gave you*  
*I brought the book for you.* (Givón 1975:83)
- (6) mo so, fu'n o,  
*I said gave you*  
*I said to you.* (Givón 1975:83)

In the first case (5) the element fu'n could still be interpreted literally as a full verb, whereas in the second example (6) this is impossible. After stating the case for a reanalysis of originally full verbs as prepositions in Niger-Congo languages, Givón takes up the question of how such a change may be expected to happen; this we can ignore here.

In South-East Asian languages the same phenomenon is found. Here are two examples from Vietnamese:

- (7) Lan chạy vào vườn  
       run (go) into garden  
       Lan ran into the garden. (Clark 1978:110)

- (8) Lan nhìn vào cửa-sổ  
       look window  
       Lan looked into the window. (Clark 1978:111)

The element *vào* in example (7) could be regarded as a verb yielding the translation *Lan ran, entering the garden*. This is however impossible in (8); here *vào* has to be interpreted as a preposition.

In Papuan languages too, we find reinterpreted serial verbs. In many languages the verb 'give' functions as a benefactive marker. In Abelam, a member of the Ndu language family, we find *kway*, which can occur as an independent verb 'give', in the following example:

- (9) *yatə -kway-kʌ -wtə -kwʌ*  
       carry Ben fut 1st non-past  
       I will carry (it) for you. (Laycock 1965:55)

There are two ways of viewing the Abelam case; either we state that there is a benefactive marker that is phonetically identical with the verb 'give' and occupies the same slot as the latter would in serial constructions, or we do not keep the two forms apart and regard examples such as (9) as extensions of the meaning of 'give'. The situation in Awtuw, a member of the Ram family, is analogous:

- (10) *wan-e yiye ka -lowpa-kow-nem!*  
       1st-O gate imp-open -ben-pl  
       Open the gate for me! (H. Feldman, personal communication)
- (11) *Awtiy-re tey aeye rokra-kow-ka*  
       Awtiy-O 3fs food cook -ben-pf  
       She's cooked food for Awtiy. (H. Feldman, personal communication)

The Ben marker *-kow-* occurs as an independent verb 'give', but the meaning of 'give' need not be present in (11) and is certainly absent in (10).

Whether we call cases such as Abelam or Awtuw instances of extension or reanalysis is a matter of terminology.

Having looked at a couple of cases of reanalysis of serial verbs as prepositions or benefactive markers, we will now turn to the case of Imonda.

## 2.2 Reanalysis of serial verbs as noun classifiers

### General characteristics of Imonda

Like most Papuan languages Imonda is verb final. It exhibits simple noun morphology and has complications in the verbal morphology. S/DO/IO are cross-referenced on the verb. It has a case system which is conditioned by the syntactic status and semantic content of the NPs as well as lexical properties of certain verbs. Verb stems can be strung together to form serialisations. Apart from number marking and some aspect markers that do not have a verbal

base, nothing can intervene between the different verb stems. In Imonda we only find 'nuclear' serialisation. By this term Foley and Olson refer to conjoined predicates that share all core arguments and aspect marking. This is in contrast to core serialisation where the individual verbs select the core arguments independently (see Foley and Olson (1985:28) for a discussion of these two types with examples from Barai, another Papuan language). Nuclear serialisation consists of at least two verbs, one of which belongs to an open class and the second to a restricted class of verbs. They establish a hierarchy of what sort of verbs are most likely to occur in the restricted slot. Active intransitive motion verbs are most eligible for the restricted slot; this type occurs in Imonda:

- (12) tobto wai-səh -wəl-wagɪ-f  
*fish acc-search-pl-go-pres*  
*She goes along looking for fish (with her child).*

I cannot go into any details of their hierarchy and the interested reader is referred to their article. The top position in the hierarchy is occupied by certain Papuan languages, which allow multiple open slots. Barai and Yimas display serialisation with two or more transitive verbs, as shown in the following Barai example:

- (13) a na ine tua kore-j-ie  
*you I stick break off throw-trans-2sg*  
*You broke off and threw a stick at me.*

Now, in Imonda we find examples that seem entirely parallel to this pattern, i.e. serialised transitive verbs (note the use of double quotes hereunder):

- (14) if ka-m fət -ai -h -u  
*breadfruit I-o remove from fire-give-rec-imp*  
*"Remove the breadfruit from the fire and give it to me."*

- (15) sa ka-m pət-ai -h -u  
*coconut I-o pick-give-rec-imp*  
*"Pick the coconut and give it to me."*

- (16) e-nei pwis-ai -h -u  
*prox-dem cut-give-rec-imp*  
*"Cut this and give it to me."*

- (17) e-nei pwis-ne-u  
*prox-dem cut-eat-imp*  
*"Cut this and eat it."*

At first glance we seem to have straightforward examples of serialisation. fət, pət and pwis all occur as independent verbs. The second verb in (17) also occurs independently:

- (18) e-nei ne-u  
*prox-dem eat-imp*  
*Eat this.*

The element ai however is not an independent verb; it shows up only in serial constructions. It is odd that a language should not have an independent verb 'give'; in fact, a bit of testing soon reveals that examples (14) through (16) do not mean anything else but 'give'. The meaning of the first verbs in

the constructions, i.e. *fət remove from fire*, *pət pick a hanging fruit* and *pwis cut* is not present. A breadfruit or a coconut may be lying on the ground or on a table and yet (14) and (15) have to be used if we want someone to give either of these objects to us. Likewise in (17) *pwis-ne-u* only means *eat*, no cutting is involved. The difference between (17) and (18) is that in the former we have some idea what sort of food is being talked about whereas this is not so in the latter case. This additional information is carried by *pwis*, the element which at first seemed to be a full verb taking part in a serial construction. Note that *pwis* (*fət* and *pət*) does occur as free verb *cut* but has lost its verbal status in constructions such as the ones above. In other words, *pwis* has been reanalysed as a noun classifier. The common factor of all objects referred to by the nouns that trigger *pwis* on the verb is that they are usually cut up before being eaten, such as meat. Likewise the common factor of objects that take *fət* is that people put them into the fire, such as breadfruit or firewood. This shows that the range of objects a given classifier takes is determined by the original meaning of the verb from which it derived.

A question that arises concerns the number of these classifiers. Given their verbal origin and assuming that *ai* was a full verb at an earlier stage of the language it is to be expected that there is a large number of classifiers as one can do many different things to objects and then pass them on. This is exactly what is found in Imonda. So far I have found about 60 classifiers. Not all of them are on the same footing however. Many are parallel to the ones given above, i.e. they have a related verb that is phonetically identical and native speakers can readily perceive the connection between the two. However, a number of the most frequently occurring classifiers do not have any related verb at all, or if they do, then the connection is opaque to the speaker because of phonological reduction. Here are some of the more important of these opaque classifiers.

- (19) *flau i ka-m f-ai -h-u*  
*axe I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me the axe.*
- (20) *jahaf ka-m l-ai -h -u*  
*gnetum I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me some gnetum leaves.*
- (21) *sa ka-m pwi-ai -h -u*  
*coconut I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me the coconut.*
- (22) *təbtə ka-m w-ai -h -u*  
*fish I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me the fish.*
- (23) *po ka-m i(j)-ai -h -u*  
*water I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me some water.*
- (24) *təh ka-m t-ai -h -u*  
*firewood I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me firewood.*

- (25) sue ka-m g-ai -h -u  
*fire* I-o class-give-rec-imp  
*Give me fire.*

- (26) poi ka-m s-ai -h -u  
*pitpit* I-o class-give-rec-imp  
*Give me pitpit (saccharum).*

Let us briefly look at these classifiers one by one:

- (20) l-

This classifier collocates with greens, i.e. leaves; it may be derived from the verb *lesf* *put on top of each other*, but native speakers do not see any link between the two. Interestingly, the loan word 'book' can also take this classifier.

- (21) pwi-

In this case the classifier seems to be related to the verb *pwiwalf* *break in two*. The range of objects is defined accordingly, i.e. whether they are normally broken or not. The introduced item 'biscuit' is subsumed under this category.

- (22) w-

For this classifier I was unable to find a related verb. The objects that go with it are small animals such as fish and frogs. So, presumably, this verb (dropped out of use?) must have meant something like *capture* or *kill*.

- (23) i(j)-

There is a related verb *lf* *scoop water out*. But this does not refer to the ordinary fetching of drinking water, but rather to the specific case of scooping water out of an area dammed up for the purpose of collecting fish. So the semantic link between the classifier and the verb is not transparent to the native speaker.

- (24) t-

There is the verb *tof* *break* and the range of objects accordingly consists of breakable objects. But again the verb has been reduced to a single consonant, thereby obscuring its origin.

- (26) s-

The related verb here is *sef* *remove from ground*. Again the verb is reduced to a single consonant.

- (19)+(25) f- + g-

These two classifiers are by far the most frequently occurring ones. There is absolutely no hope of finding verbs from which they might have been derived, given the disparate sort of objects they collocate with. Quite often, and especially so in the case of f-, these classifiers can replace others. It is therefore not surprising to learn that the vast majority of introduced items can co-occur with them.

The above classifiers give a clue as to why reinterpretation could take place. Phonological reduction seems to have played a major role. As pointed out, these classifiers occur very frequently and so it is not surprising that they should have undergone reduction, thereby obscuring their verbal status. Where no reduction took place, such as in the case of *pot pick fruit* or *pwis cut*, reinterpretation must have happened by analogy.

Given that Imonda does not possess an independent verb 'give', i.e. no verb 'give' without prefixed noun classifiers, it is interesting to see what the language does with loan items.

### 2.2.1 Integration of loan items into the classificatory system

Imonda has two options for the integration of borrowed nouns into the classificatory system. Either the co-occurring verb takes one of the two semantically least marked classifiers, i.e. *f-* or *g-*, or the new object triggers one of the more specific classifiers if native speakers can associate the introduced item with one of their traditional culture because of similarity in shape or use. Most of the introduced items can occur with one of these two classifiers, *f-* being more widely used. However there are some which do not:

- (27) *kopwi ka-m i(j)-ai -h -u*  
*coffee I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me coffee (liquid).*

The use of *faihu* or *gaihu* would render the above sentence ungrammatical. Although it has not been tested thoroughly it is my impression that most loan words can take one or the other of these semantically unmarked prefixes. Sometimes an informant would hesitate and would not be sure whether a given construction is acceptable or not:

- (28) ? *bia ka-m g-ai -h -u*  
*beer I-o class-give-rec-imp*  
*Give me some beer.*

It appears that in this example the classifier *logw-*, related to the verb 'fill in' is preferred.

The use of more transparent classifiers is more revealing as far as reinterpretation is concerned. Here we get additional support for the view that erstwhile full verbs were semantically depleted and reanalysed as classifiers.

One of our first examples involved the classifier *pot*, which has a related verb of identical phonemic shape *pick fruit*. Now, the introduced item 'ball' also takes this classifier. It is clear that the link between ball and coconut is shape. This, incidentally, was the main evidence for Brown to treat the classifiers as conditioned by shape (Brown 1981). Brown was the first to draw attention to the classifiers in the Waris languages. He noted a set of 15 verbal prefixes and analysed them as being conditioned by the shape of the object of the verb. He also mentioned that many of these prefixes seemed to have related verbs. However, he did not discuss the link between verb and classifier and instead dedicated his attention to establishing the semantic domains of the 'shape classifiers'. As we have seen the range of objects of a given classifier is determined by the meaning of the full verb from which it was derived, i.e. it is not shape that it is conditioned by. However, examples such

as pɔt show that some reinterpretation in direction of classification on the basis of shape may be going on. The next example presents another apparent shape-based choice:

- (29) we/ban ka-m kul-ai -h -u  
 rope/belt I-o class-give-rec-imp  
*Give me the rope/belt.*

The verb associated with the classifier kul- is kulɔf *coil up*. We have already seen another case of shape-based choice of classifier, namely that of 'book' which was classified together with 'greens', presumably due to its having many leaves, i.e. pages, put on top of one another. Often one cannot decide whether it is shape or use which was the basis of the choice; so for instance, introduced containers usually take the same classifiers as those of traditional origin. A typical example of use-based choice is the classification of shot-gun along with the traditional bow.

### 2.2.2 Some remarks on the verbs that take the classifiers

The classifiers generally appear with verbs for which it would make sense to enter into serial constructions with the source verbs of the classifiers. We therefore find fət < *remove from fire* prefixed to verbs such as 'give', 'go', 'come', 'throw', 'eat', but not to verbs such as 'see' or 'like'. As is to be expected, the classifiers do not appear with verbs from which they are derived. Nor are they used with verbs that denote activities that have to be performed before an item can be given/put/carried.

We have seen above that some of the verbs that take classifiers such as nef *eat* can occur independently. Other examples are 'come' and 'go':

- (30) e -nei pwis-wagl-u  
 prox-dem cut -go -imp  
*Carry this. [< cut this and go.]*

Given the loss of verbal status of pwis we now have to interpret wagl *go* as a different lexical item 'carry' when it is prefixed with the noun classifiers.

Other verbs that take the classifiers such as 'give' do not occur independently. Other examples are 'put', 'throw' and 'get'. There are various peculiarities and irregularities associated with these classifier + verb constructions, which however I cannot discuss here. I would like to mention just one point. Some of the verbs are phonologically very reduced in some forms. The most extreme case we find with -iaf *get*, which disappears altogether in the imperative:

- (31) sa pɔt-ia -u  
 coconut class-get-imp  
*Get a coconut!*
- (32) sa pɔt-abt -u  
 coconut class-dual-imp  
*Get two coconuts!*

Where the object is dual as in (31) the verb 'get' drops out completely. Phonological reduction of what used to be the second verb in serialisation and its dropping out of use as independent verb clearly helped to obscure the two-verb status of these constructions and thus furthered reanalysis.

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# SERIALISATION: THE INTERFACE OF SYNTAX AND LEXICON

Les Bruce

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Serial verb constructions in Alambak<sup>1</sup> form part of a structural continuum between syntactic units and lexical items. Semantically, these constructions are governed by the constraint that only roots expressing commonly associated ideas may be serialised.<sup>2</sup> This semantico-pragmatic constraint is considered to be only a special case of a general lexicalisation rule, which is at once both motivating and restraining, that only commonly associated ideas tend to be lexicalised.

Complex Alambak verbs are composed of serialised roots including verb, noun, adjective and time word roots.<sup>3</sup> These constructions range from highly productive (multiple) serial structures on the one hand, to syntactic and idiomatic compounds and derived causative and benefactive verb stems on the other. The least word-like of the serial constructions structurally are the highly productive, clearly analysable, and paraphrasable serials. Productivity, analysability and paraphrasability are reduced in varying degrees in other compound or derived verbs which developed from serial verbs historically.

Linguists have already debated how best to describe derived words and compounds, whether the lexicon or syntax with its generative rules or even a distinct morphological level is most appropriate.<sup>4</sup> This study expands the interface to even more syntactic-like structures. These 'serial' constructions earn a place in the continuum between syntax and lexicon by their semantico-syntactic features and by being the source of certain derived verbs and compounds whose historical development can be traced in several steps in the synchronic grammar. The paper avoids arguing for either the lexicon or syntax but tacitly implies that these forms are best understood as a bridge between the two.

## 2. SERIAL VERB ROOTS

The Alambak verb stem comprises a nucleus with optional derivational and aspectual affixes, the nucleus may be manifested by a single or a sequence of juxtaposed roots or root plus embedded stem. The stem may be bounded by numerous inflectional affixes.

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Examples of verbs with serial root nuclei are given in (1).<sup>5</sup>

- (1) a muh -hambrë -më -r -m  
*climb-search.for-R.PST-3SM-3PL*  
*He climbed (it) searching/and searched for them.*

- b wa -ha -muh -hita-tañ-n -m -ko  
*IMPER-DE.CAUS-climb-put -CPL-2S-3PL-ELEV*  
*Lift them up and leave them up there.*

The verb roots in example (1) are temporally related as either simultaneous or sequential events. Certain sequences of events are open to the interpretation of being in a cause-effect relationship. In the clearest cases of a cause-effect relationship the Undergoer of the first root is the Actor of the second root, such as in (2).

- (2) tat-noh-më -an-r  
*hit-die-R.PST-1S-3SM*  
*I killed him (by hitting him).*

Certain verb roots have apparently acquired derivational functions as causatives or benefactives. These cases will be discussed in Section 5.

Root sequences may optionally be interpreted to have a head-modifier relationship where a stative, action, or process verb root modifies the main verb root as in (3). A sequential, temporal relationship is always a possible

- (3) dbëhna-noh-më -r  
*sick -die-R.PST-3SM*  
*He was deathly sick/sick and died.*

Certain verb roots may function as aspectual markers as well as basic verb roots. Thus *timbë cut* in (4)a is glossed as *cessative* in (4)b where it functions as an aspect parallel with over 30 aspectual aspects which do not (any longer?) function as verb roots.

- (4) a tir piñaft timbhë-më -r -t  
*hand appendage cut -R.PST-3SM-3SF*  
*He cut his finger.*

- b tirt kipta-timbhë -më -r -t  
*hand wash -cessative-R.PST-3SM-3SF*  
*He stopped washing his hand.*

Reduplication may occur within the stem with roots of the nucleus which may be conjoined by a ligature as in (5)a and b. Reduplication has the effect of intensifying a quality or event or of combining a sequence of events as a single continuous or repetitive event.

- (5) a duka -mimo -ba -mimo -më -r  
*think-irrational-LIG-irrational-R.PST-3SM*  
*He was very confused.*

- b hita-ba -hita-ha -na -hatë  
*put -LIG-put -DE.CAUS-come-SA*  
*Having distributed (them) as he brought (them).*

- c hip -hip -w -a  
*perspire-perspire-IMPF-1S*  
*I am continuing to perspire.*

Having briefly described constructions with serial verb roots, we now proceed to compare these with juxtaposed predicates (syntactic constructions). We will see that while they share certain syntactic features, serial root constructions exhibit word-like features in contrast to conjoined clauses, placing them somewhere along a continuum between compound phrases and compound words.

### 3. SERIAL VERB ROOTS AND JUXTAPOSED PREDICATES

Juxtaposed predicates which most resemble serial root constructions are those manifested by repeated verb roots or stems as in (6).

- (6)a yi, yi, yi, yi  
*go go go go*  
*Going and going and going and going.*
- b yak-hay -ni, yak-hay -ni, yohr fur -kih -më -r  
*get-CAUS-go get-CAUS-go string.bag MOTION-full-R.PST-3SM*  
*Getting and taking, getting and taking, the string bag filled up.*

Although structurally similar to serial root constructions, the sequences of roots and stems in (6) are not phonological words. In contrast to serial root constructions they carry rising, i.e. non-final, intonation and may be separated by pause. They are intonationally marked as distinct events and are apparently conceptualised as such. We will, therefore, refer to these sequences as juxtaposed clauses.

Serial root constructions are similar to repeated clauses manifested by verb roots or stems in that the individual serialised roots generally must have the same Actor. Certainly with reduplicated roots they necessarily have the same Actor. This similarity does not distinguish serial constructions from lexical compounds, however. The feature that relates serial constructions more closely to juxtaposed clauses than to compound words is that serialised roots individually bear a role relationship with NP's in the clause which is often the same role that the complex as a whole bears with those NP's (cf. Section 4).

All other sequences of clauses separate verb roots to increasingly greater degrees than those in (6) which interpose merely an intonational juncture.

- (7)a Yakti-hambrë -hañ, rî -fakti-ni-më -r -r, nëthonr  
*touch-search.for-PROG ELEV -touch-go-R.PST-3SM-3SM forest.spirit*  
*Feeling around, he reached across and touched him, the forest spirit,*  
*and went on.*
- b Nëf -hañ, Nakor nîta -buga-ni, metm rhu-katëh-wë  
*strain-PROG sago.palm pulverise-all -PROG.EVENT women sit-stand-IMPF-*  
*-nëm-m*  
*-1PL-3PL*  
*(The women) straining (the sago pulp), (the men) pulverising all of the*  
*sago palm, we wait for the women.*

- c Tita - [kifët] nea -fek-r -t  
 carry.on.shoulder-INF come-get-3SM-3SF  
*He came and got her to carry her on his shoulders.*
- d Yent mi -yak- [hatë] tita -r -t  
 girl ELEV-get-SA carry.on.shoulder-3SM-3SF  
*Having gotten the girl down there, he carried her on his shoulders.*
- e a -i - [kah-t -n] tita -rah-r -t  
 HORT-go-IRR-3SF-G.DEP carry.on.shoulder-FUT-3SM-3SF  
*Let her go, and if/when she does, he will carry her.*
- f Fek- [r -t,] tita -r -t  
 get-3SM-3SF carry.on.shoulder-3SM-3SF  
*He got her, (and) carried her on his shoulders.*
- g Dbëhna-më -w -t. [Ndinatpnë] tita -r -t  
 sick -R.PST-IMP-3SF therefore carry.on.shoulder-3SM-3SF  
*She has been sick. Therefore he carried her on his shoulders.*

The sequences of clauses in (7) may be compared with the serial root (SR) construction in (8).

- (8) Yënt mi -ak -tita -r -t  
 girl ELEV-get-carry.on.shoulder-3SM-3SF  
*He got (a/the) girl down there, carried her on his shoulders.*

The serial root construction in (8) is similar to the juxtaposed clause in (7)d in that it expresses a transparent complex of sequential events. The same transparency is absent in compound and idiomatic compound verbs (cf. Section 4). Furthermore, each verb root in (8) bears a semantic role relationship with the actor and undergoer of the clause. These relationships are exactly the same as those in the sentential paraphrase (7)d. Again, the discussion in the next section will show to what degree pure compounds lack these relationships.

Differences between serial root constructions and sentential constructions include contrasts of scope for elevationals, negatives, illocutionary force and the agent role of the clause. In the first case, SR constructions are more compact than sentences but more analysable than compound words. The elevational prefix relates to all roots in the stem unless an elevational suffix occurs. In that case the prefix applies to the first root(s) and the suffix applies to the last root. In subordinate clauses, by contrast, an elevational prefix applies only to the verb of which it is a constituent part and does not extend to the next predicate as in (9)c.

- (9)a wa -rim -ak -hëta-n -m  
 IMPER-ELEV-get-put -2S-3PL  
*Get them (and) put them on a level plane away from me.*
- b wa -yarim-ak -hëta-n -m -ko  
 IMPER-ELEV -get-put -2S-3PL-ELEV  
*Get them on a level plane toward me (and) put them up (there).*

- c wa -rim -ak -kah-n -n, wa -rim -hëta-n -m  
 IMPER-ELEV-get-IRR-2S-G.DEP IMPER-ELEV-put -2S-3PL  
*Get (them) on a level plane away from me, and if/when you do, put them  
 on a level plane away from me.*

Secondly, only one negative word may occur with a SR construction (emphasising that the SR is a single word) but its scope may cover any one or any combination of verb roots (emphasising the analysable nature of the SR). This is illustrated in (10) where sentence a may be followed by any of the sentences b-g which clarify just which verb root(s) the negative in sentence a applies to.

- (10)a ritm fiñji tandhi-ak -ni-r -më -t -m  
*insects NEG roast -get-go-IRR-R.PST-3SF-3PL*  
*She did not roast (and) get the insects (and) go.*

(Negative on roast)

- b nifrim haynimëtm  
*new she.took.them*  
*(uncooked)*

(Negative on get)

- c tandhihëtatāñhatë yimët  
*having.roasted.(and).left.(them) she.went*

(Negative on go)

- d yohre tandhiyakitëhhasiwtm  
*still she.is.roasting.(and).holding.them*

(Negative on roast and get)

- e nifrim hëtatāñhatë yimët  
*new SA.having.left.(them) she.went*

(Negative on get and go)

- f tandhihatë rohhasëmët  
*SA.having.roasted.(them) she.was.remaining*

(Negative on all three roots)

- g yohre tandhitwëtm  
*still she.is.roasting.them*

At the sentence level, by contrast, the scope of the negative extends only to the clause boundary and must be repeated for each verb in successive clauses. Furthermore, it appears that verbs of subordinate clauses which do not take the irrealis suffix cannot host the negative word in the subordinate clause.

Thirdly, regarding illocutionary force, all roots in a serial construction must exhibit the same illocutionary force; thus the command in example (9)a applies to both 'getting' and 'putting'. While this is also a feature of most complex sentences, there is one subordinate clause form which may manifest a different illocutionary force than its associated independent clause. Number (7)e contains an example of such a clause, which manifests both a hortative marker indicating the category of obligation and a present tense irrealis marker indicating conditionality.

Fourthly, the roots in a serial construction are restricted to one case frame as a whole. An Actor of one of the roots must be a plausible actor for the whole construction and an Actor or Undergoer of the other root must be interpretable as an appropriate Undergoer for the whole. This means that serial roots must have the same Actor (marked by the Actor suffix) unless one of two different Actors may be considered to be the Undergoer, such as the causee in a cause-effect relationship. There are further restrictions mirrored in morphological causative constructions, which will be discussed in Section 5.

In general, interclausal relations do not specify that clauses of a complex sentence exhibit the same Actor. Even those subordinate clauses which are either marked with a so-called 'same Actor' sequence marker or those which tend to exhibit the same Actor as the independent clause (e.g. the Purpose clause) are not as strict in this requirement as are serial root constructions. A subordinate clause manifested by a verb stem (without tense or subject and object markers) tends to have the same subject as the matrix clause (e.g. (7)a). From a text describing the division of labour between men and women, example (7)b contravenes this tendency; the first two subordinate clauses have different Actors even though neither of them indicates what their Actor is, either by NP or by a subject marker on the verb.

The serial construction is most dramatically like lexical items in contrast to combinations of clauses in that collocational constraints restrict serial roots to those which express culturally determined commonly associated events. Thus, any sequence of events may be talked about in juxtaposed clauses (e.g. (11)a) but not every sequence of events may be described by a serial construction (e.g. (11)b, (12)b).

- (11)a *hodayrt yak-hatë, yoht fët -hatë yi-më -t*  
*axe get-SA string.bag string.from.head-SA go-R.PST-3SF*  
*Having gotten the axe, having strung the string bag from her head,*  
*she went.*

- b \**hodayrt yoht yak-fët -ni-më -t -t*  
*axe string.bag get-string.from.head-go-R.PST-3SF-3SF*

The ungrammaticality of (11)b and (12)b is apparently due to semantico-pragmatic reasons rather than a morpho-syntactic constraint such as the doubling of objects. Case frames of serial root constructions allow for double objects as illustrated in (12)a. Furthermore, when an ungrammatical construction is modified to satisfy the ethno-semantic condition, it becomes acceptable (cf. (12)b and (13)).

- (12)a *míyt ritm muh -hambray -an-m*  
*tree insects climb-search.for-1S-3PL*  
*The tree I climbed and looked for insects./The tree I climbed, looking*  
*for insects.*

- b \**míyt guñm muh -hiti-an-m*  
*tree stars climb-see -1S-3PL*

Jude Mengumari of Amongabi village provided a mother-tongue speaker reaction of (11)b and (12)b. Initially, both seemed unnatural to him, requiring a paraphrase like the construction in (7)d. Upon further reflection, he would allow (11)b with some reservation. (12)b seemed more clearly ungrammatical to him not only because it is unusual for the two events to occur together, but because there is no apparent reason for them to occur together since stars are

observable from the ground. Once (12)b was modified as in (13), Jude's reaction was immediately favourable since it indicated a rationale for putting these two events together in a close-knit sequence.

- (13) miyt guñm muh -hiti-marña-an-m  
*tree stars climb-see -well -1S-3PL*  
*I climbed the tree (and) saw the stars clearly.*

Based on Jude's comments, we can modify our semantico-pragmatic constraint to read:

Serialisation of roots in a verb stem is restricted to sequences of events which are commonly associated culturally or for which there is a culturally based or pragmatic reason for their close association.

This form of the constraint leads toward a characterisation of what are typical 'commonly associated' events. Events with pragmatic reasons for their association include at least event-purpose and event-result (including cause-effect) sequences. These are interpretations, of course, which can only be defined specifically according to the world view of a given culture. This explains the culturally based nature of the judgements of acceptability of examples (11)-(13).

With this type of constraint on serial constructions, we are clearly moving toward a semantic characterisation typical of lexical semantics in contrast to morpho-syntactic constraints. Note that the problem before us is not that a non-professional's reaction to grammaticality (i.e. acceptability) must always include a semantic component. We grant that point for all structural levels. In this case, however, the semantic content of an acceptable construction on the sentence level may not be acceptable on the word level in a serial construction. The question is not one of the logical content of something like 'colourless green ideas', but of the appropriateness of a tight-knit serial construction versus a more syntagmatic combination of clauses for certain semantic content. The judgements of appropriateness of form are rather like the processes involved in forming compound words from frequently occurring or specialised noun phrases (cf. Fries 1970:113) which are both syntactically grammatical and semantically meaningful.

As Fries points out, there is variation among native speakers of English as to whether certain phrases are treated as compound words or as phrases. Similar dynamics appear to be operating with serial constructions in the Alamlak case. Serial constructions are related to more cohesive, i.e., unitary compounds and idiomatic compounds in the next section.

#### 4. SERIAL VERB ROOTS, SYNTACTIC COMPOUNDS AND IDIOMATIC COMPOUNDS

In the previous section, serial root constructions were compared with sequences of clauses in complex sentences where their word-like features were highlighted. In this section and the next, serial constructions show a gradation from syntactic-like morphologically productive words to non-productive complex lexical items all of which appear to have derived historically from serial root constructions.



Syntactic compounds and idiomatic compounds exhibit essentially the same formal structure as serial constructions with differences of paraphrasability and semantic analysability. An example of a syntactic and an idiomatic compound are given below in (14) and (15) respectively.

- (14) *këfra-e fëh-r tu -fīnah -an-r*  
*spear-INS pig-3SM throw-arrive-1S-3SM*  
*I speared a pig with a spear.*

- (15) *fak-yirona -më -t*  
*get-feel.pain-R.PST-3SF*  
*She had birth pangs.*

Precise definitions of the notion 'compound word' are difficult to find. As Matthews (1974:Chapter IX) indicates, criteria have been used from phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics often with contradictory conclusions. In Fries' (1970:113) discussion of compound nouns in English, he speaks of a compound as the end result of a compounding process, in other words, a lexicalisation process. 'Varying degrees of cohesion' characterise constructions along a continuum from phrase to compound word.

The Alamblak data supports Fries' claim, indicating a progression from a marginal lexical status for serial constructions to an unequivocal lexical status for idiomatic compounds. We will examine the analysability and productivity of each type of construction, illustrated by (16)-(18).

This will be done in three ways. We will first attempt to paraphrase each verb with a two-clause expression using the same forms, in an effort to demonstrate the analysability of the complex verb conceptually. Then we will consider whether or not the NPs of the clause bear internal case relationships with each root of the stem. Finally we will decide to what degree the semantic relationship between the serial roots is either transparent, vague or has disappeared entirely. That is, to what degree does each verb root contribute to the meaning of the compound? In the latter case, the case frame of the compound cannot be derived from the combined case frames of each predicate in the paraphrased expression.

- (16) *met -t hohora-m fak-yirona -më -t -m*  
*woman-3SF thorn -3PL get-feel.pain-R.PST-3SF-3PL*  
*The woman got/held the thorns (and) felt pain.*

- (17) *këfra-e fëh-r tu -fīnah -an-r*  
*spear-INS pig-3SM throw-arrive-1S-3SM*  
*I speared a pig.*

- (18) *met -t fak-yirona -më -t*  
*woman-3SF get-feel.pain-R.PST-3SF*  
*A woman had birth pangs.*

#### 4.1 Analysability

The differing degrees of analysability of the serial roots in (16) and (17) can be illustrated by their paraphrases in (19) and (20). The lack of a potential paraphrase for (18) indicates the synthesised nature of its serial root construction.

- (19) met -t hohora-m fak-më -t -m. Yirona -më -t.  
*woman-3SF thorn -3PL get-R.PST-3SF-3PL feel.pain-R.PST-3SF*  
*A woman got/held the thorns. She felt pains.*

- (20) këfra-t tu -an-t. Fëh-r rim -f+nah -t -r.  
*spear-3SF throw-1S-3SF pig-3SM ELEV-arrive-3SF-3SM*  
*I threw a spear. It arrived over at the pig.*

These paraphrases employ the same elements that are present in the related clauses (16) and (17). The possibility of such paraphrases indicates that the concepts conveyed by these serial roots are transparently complex.

This transparency exists in part because each verb root in (16) and (17) bears a case relationship with a noun in the clause. The serial construction in (16) is the more semantically transparent, however, because the (semantic) case relationships are the same as those for the two-clause paraphrase in (19). The 'woman' is the Actor of 'get' and Experiencer of 'feel pain', and 'thorns' is the Patient of 'get' in both (16) and (19).

The case relationships in (17), however, are not entirely the same as those for its paraphrase in (20). The Actor of 'throw' (I) is the same for both. The 'spear' changes from an Instrument of the whole serial construction in (17) to the Patient of 'throw' and the Actor of 'arrive' in (20). The 'pig' is the Patient of the whole in (17) and is the Goal of 'arrive' in (20).

It is possible to recognise with minimal adjustment the close association between the events described in (17) and (20). The 'spear' is plainly the Patient of 'throw' in (17) and in (20). However, with the superimposition of its Instrument role in the complex event of (17), its relationship to 'arrive' is not so clearly Actor as it is in (20). The compound form in (17) is not a clear case of the two related events in (20). The relationship, if it is there at all, is only vaguely reminiscent of that of a simple temporal sequence, and thus is only weakly analysable by this criterion.

The impossibility of finding an exact paraphrase here is not due to the complexity of case frame relationships. It is possible, as in (21)a and b, to express with a serial root construction a two-clause expression which exhibits the same case relationships as those in (20).

- (21)a na m+iy -t foh -an-t. M+iy -t team -f f -tat-t -f<sup>6</sup>  
*1S tree-3SF fell-1S-3SF tree-3SF coconut-3D I.PST-hit-3SF-3D*  
*I felled a tree. The tree hit two coconut palms.*

- b na m+iy -t team -f foh -tat-an-f  
*1S tree-3SF coconut-3D fell-hit-1S-3D*  
*I felled a tree and it hit two coconut palms.*

The case frame of the serial construction in (21)b may be derived directly from a combination of the case frames of the two clauses in (21)a. In both cases 'tree' is the Patient of 'fell' and the Actor of 'hit'; likewise 'coconut palm' is the Patient of 'hit' and the speaker is the Actor of 'fell'.

## 4.2 Productivity

The syntactic nature of the serial form in (16) has been alluded to by its analysability. It is also highly productive compared to those in (17) and (18).

The roots 'get' and 'feel pain' in (16) equally contribute to the meaning of the whole, manifesting the semantic relationship of temporal succession as expressed in its paraphrase in (19). Either root may be substituted for by numerous verb roots, such as 'step on', 'sit on', 'touch', and 'take', 'show', 'burn', etc., restricted only by the general lexical constraint of common association. The serial root construction in (16) is clearly the most syntactic of the three.

The syntactic compound in (17) is not as productive as the serial construction in (16) but is more so than the idiom in (18). The roots 'throw' and 'arrive' suggest a sequence, but both verb roots do not equally contribute to the meaning of the whole. The first root is clearly basic and may be substituted for by verbs such as *tasu cut through*. The second root may be replaced by such verbs as *tasë cut*, *lance* but others such as *tass move* (transitive) and *tirna miss* function adverbially (e.g. *tass*, indicating a fatal blow, or *fīnah arrive*, indicating here a solid or direct hit).

By contrast, the serial construction in (18) is clearly an idiomatic compound. In addition to lacking paraphrasability, there is no (retrievable) semantic relationship between the verb roots. It is not expressing a transparently complex concept; they together express a specialised meaning which cannot be derived from the meanings of the two roots.

The second root 'feel pain' cannot be substituted for without adding another participant in the clause to function as the Patient of 'get'. In a sense the first root 'get' can be substituted for but only at the expense of creating a completely different meaning from the idiom.

Compounds and idioms appear to have derived from serial constructions in *Alamblak*. The lexicalisation process at this stage could be described as follows: those serial constructions which occur frequently enough may undergo streamlining changes or changes of focus of interest, which alter the semantic roles of NP participants. The result is a more purely lexical compound.

## 5. SERIAL AND DERIVED CAUSATIVES AND BENEFACTIVES

In Sections 2-4, serial constructions were introduced as complex verbs with roots semantically related temporally, causatively or by a head-modifier function. The temporal relationship was traced through the various surface forms from complex sentences, to idiomatic compounds. In this section, the causative and benefactive relationships are traced through surface forms from serial or compound constructions to derived verbs. In the previous discussion with temporally related roots, the essential semantic motivation for the development of lexical items was the common association of events. The common association of cause-effect has been mentioned. This and the close relationship of reason-benefit events gives rise to serial and derived constructions. Some of the derived forms manifest transparent verb roots functioning as derivational formatives. Others are purely formatives bearing no synchronic relation to verb roots.

### 5.1 Causatives

Serial causatives comprise certain combinations of two verb roots, the first of which is either *hay give* or one of five classes of non-transitive verb roots, and the second of which is one of the same five classes of verb roots.

Hay in this position may at times (with uncontrolled experiencer verbs) be interpreted abstractly as a causative formative as in (22)c.

- (22)a wifërt fir -gënnig-më -t -a  
 wind MOTION-cold -R.PST-3SF-1S  
 The wind blew me cold.

- b yimar fërpam hay -noh -më -r -a  
 man potion give-unconscious-R.PST-3SM-1S  
 The man gave me a potion (causing) me (to become) unconscious.

- c nandëmr -hay -fëhtas -më -r -a  
 snake give-startle-R.PST-3SM-1S  
 The snake startled me./He gave me a snake startling me.

Two of the four types of derivational causative verbs comprise certain combinations of verb roots, the first of which is either *kak get* or *hay give* and the second is one of five classes of non-transitive verbs.

- (23)a yarmuthat fak-kkah-më -t -a  
 blanket get-hot -R.PST-3SF-1S  
 The blanket got me warm.

- b hinut doht hay -ni-më -t -t  
 flood canoe give-go-R.PST-3SF-3SF  
 The flood took (literally: cause to go) the canoe.

These derivational causatives differ from the serial causatives in two ways. Semantically the first verb roots in (23)a and b are referentially empty and function purely as causative formatives. Secondly, there are only two verb roots that manifest that position with that function.

The other two derived causative verbs manifest one of two causative prefixes plus one of three non-transitive verb class roots.

- (24)a ha -fkne -më -r -m  
 DE.CAUS-enter-R.PST-3SM-3PL  
 He caused them to enter (by entering with them).

- b ka -fkne -më -r -m  
 DP.CAUS-enter-R.PST-3SM-3PL  
 He caused them to enter (by physically taking them).

The first two derivational prefixes (in (23)) are transparently verb roots. The second two prefixes (in (24)) are not relatable to verb roots synchronically, although their similarity in form to the two verb roots *hay give* and *kak get* as well as their function in the system may make it possible to derive them from the same source historically.

Serial causatives express an indirect causation where the effect need not immediately follow the cause, and the participants need not be at the same place when the effect occurs. Derived causatives express more direct causation with *ha* 'Direct Event Causative' requiring the causer and causee to participate in the same event and *ka* 'Direct Physical Causative' requiring physical contact between the causer and causee.

## 5.2 Benefactives

Some benefactives (as well as some Causatives) are used in a serial as well as a derivational function. There appear to be none that are purely serial benefactives. This complex benefactive comprises two verb roots the first of which may be any verb which does not host a benefactive role in its basic case frame, and the second of which is *hay give*.

- (25) na yawyt yimam wikna-hay -më -an-m  
 I dog people buy -give-R.PST-1S-3PL  
 I bought a dog and gave it to the people./I bought a dog for the people.

Note that example (25) may be interpreted as a serial root construction or as a derived benefactive. In the first case, the actor had given the dog to the people at the time of the utterance; in the second case, he had not yet given the dog to them.

When co-occurring with certain verb roots, the root *hay* cannot be interpreted in the serial sense with the referential meaning of 'give'. In these collocations *hay* has the sense of *give benefit* and is thus abstracted as a benefactive formative.

- (26) na yawyt yimam tat-hay-më -an-m  
 I dog people hit-BEN-R.PST-1S-3PL  
 I hit the dog, affecting the people.

The purely derivational benefactive suffix *nho* cannot be identified with a verb root, but it occurs in the same slot as the benefactive verb root *hay* with a slight shift in meaning.

- (27) suh -nho -an-r  
 fall-D.BEN-1S-3SM  
 I fell purposely with him for his benefit.

The direct benefactive formative indicates that the actor voluntarily participates in the same event or imitates him in the same type of event that the benefactee participates in either voluntarily or involuntarily.

## 5.3 Analysability and productivity of derived verbs

In Section 4 we described in some detail the progression from marginal to unequivocal lexical status for serial, compound, and idiomatic compound verbs. A similar progression is evident for serial and derived causative and benefactive verbs in Alamblak.

Serial causatives illustrated by examples (22)a and b are fully analysable and productive. These constructions are paraphrasable by two-clause expressions using the same elements in the same case relationships they have in the serial expressions. Example (28) is a paraphrase of (22)b.

- (28) yimar fërpam hay -më -r -a. Ndinatpne noh -më -a  
 person potion give-R.PST-3SM-1S therefore unconscious-R-PST-1S  
 The man gave me a potion. Therefore I became unconscious.

Each verb root of the serial construction equally contributes to the meaning of the whole in a transparent way.

Serial causatives which manifest an uncontrolled experiencer verb root<sup>7</sup> (example (22)c) may be interpreted in two ways. If interpreted as fully analysable the two verb roots maintain their full lexical meaning and bear a semantic case relation with a noun in the clause. The construction expresses a transparently complex event paraphrasable as in (29).

- (29) nandëmr hay -më -t -r -a fëhtas -më -a  
 snake give-R.PST-DA-3SM-1S startle-R.PST-1S  
*He gave me a snake (different actor following) I was startled.*

The same serial construction may also be interpreted as a derived verb. In that case, like the derived verbs in example (23), the construction is not analysable as a compound verb. The derivational roots hay *give* and kak ~ fak *get* in examples in (23) do not retain any sense of their lexical meaning which occurs in other contexts. As such they do not bear any semantic case relation with any noun in the clause.

These roots clearly derive from verb roots, however, inasmuch as they have the same form and follow the same morphological and phonological rules that these roots do when functioning as verbs. Furthermore, hay *give* when serialised with uncontrolled experiencer verbs (e.g. (22)c) may be interpreted either as a lexical or as a derivational formative. They are fossilised evidence of the lexicalisation process from serial compound to derived verb.

Since these causative formatives in (22)c and (23) clearly derive from verb roots, the causative prefixes in (24) may be related to serial construction by extrapolation. Even if those derived verbs do in fact derive from serial constructions, there is no longer any basis synchronically to analyse them as lexical compounds. They are fully lexicalised derived verbs.

In terms of productivity the same progression from serial compound to lexical derivative is evident. The combinations of roots in the serial causatives in (22)a and b are highly productive. Either root may be substituted for freely by verbs of one of the five non-transitive classes such as, 'sleep', 'laugh', 'enter', 'be angry', etc.

The derived causative verbs illustrated by examples in (23) are restricted in productivity in the first verb root to the two derivational roots hay *give* and kak ~ fak *get*. The second root, which provides the lexical content, may be substituted for by many non-transitive verb roots of five classes of verbs. The derived causative verbs illustrated by the examples in (24) are slightly less productive, allowing for a smaller selection of verb roots in the second position from verbs of only three classes.

Serial benefactive verbs are considerably less productive than serial causatives and fewer of them are fully analysable as compound verbs. Those cases of a verb root plus hay *give* which may be interpreted as a serial construction are fully analysable with both verbs contributing their full lexical meaning to the meaning of the whole construction with the roots bearing a case relationship with nouns in the clause.

Every benefactive verb interpretable as a serial compound may also be interpreted as a derived benefactive verb. In these cases the benefactive formative hay *give* is obviously the verb root 'give'. With these, and other cases which allow only a derived benefactive interpretation (example (26)), their analysability stops with identifying the benefactive formative as the

verb root hay *give*. The meaning of the root is completely abstracted as a derivational suffix and neither contributes any of its original lexical meaning to the meaning of the whole nor bears any case relationship with any noun in the clause.

Those verbs formed with the purely derivational suffix *nho* are not analysable as a compound in any sense (example (27)). They are fully lexical verbs. The 'direct' benefactive suffix is not identifiable with any verb root. The suffix does occur in the same position and follows the same constraints as the other formative hay *give* which are the constraints of all serial root constructions. This suggests that even these verbs are the final stage of a lexicalisation process operating on serial constructions.

The few serial benefactive verbs that there are are only partially productive. The second root hay *give* may not be substituted for by any other verb root if the constructive is to remain a benefactive. The first verb root may be freely substituted for with any root which does not require a benefactive role in its basic case frame. The other derived benefactives are productive in an ad hoc way as derived words typically are.

#### 5.4 Constraints on causative and benefactive constructions

Certain semantico-syntactic constraints on causative and benefactive verbs derive directly from constraints on serial constructions. The most startling thing about morphological causatives in Alamlak is that only characteristically intransitive verbs may be causativised and the characteristically transitive verbs cannot be. The constraints are semantic rather than syntactic, viz, the doubling of agent or benefactive roles in the same clause is not allowed. As was mentioned, two-roots in a serial construction may have different Actors as long as both are not agents. Similarly, since a causative formative adds an agent (causer) to the construction (with one exception)<sup>7</sup> it cannot co-occur with a verb root which already hosts an agent role in its case frame.

With causatives or other serial constructions, two different actors cannot co-exist as a double subject in the clause; one must be marked as the Undergoer (i.e. direct object). One might suspect that the constraint is against the syntactic doubling of grammatical relations so that (30) is ungrammatical due to the doubling of the object relation in the clause.

- |      |            |    |            |    |             |      |                        |
|------|------------|----|------------|----|-------------|------|------------------------|
|      | Subj.      |    | Obj.       |    | Obj.        |      |                        |
| (30) | *yima      | -r | yimat      | -r | kriy        | -t   | hay/ha/ka-tat-më -r -r |
|      | person-3SM |    | friend-3SM |    | chicken-3SF | CAUS | -hit-R.PST-3SM-3SM     |

The constraint is more clearly seen with benefactives, however, because the doubling of objects is possible as long as there is no doubling of agents or benefactees in the clause.

- |      |       |  |         |           |            |                           |          |       |  |  |
|------|-------|--|---------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|----------|-------|--|--|
|      | Subj. |  | In.Obj. |           | Out.Obj.   |                           | Out.Obj. |       |  |  |
| (31) | na    | yima                                       | -r      | yemrë-m   | nëngay-t   | këmbri                    | -hay-më  | -an-r |  |  |
|      | 1S    | person-3SM                                 |         | meat -3PL | plate -3SF | put.into-BEN.R.PST-1S-3SM |          |       |  |  |
|      |       | I put meat into the/a plate for the/a man. |         |           |            |                           |          |       |  |  |

The crucial factor in the unacceptability of (30) is that both the man and the friend are in competition for the role of agent in the clause and neither can be relegated to the object position which encodes other roles. There are three objects in (31), but the crucial factor there is that there is only one

Agent ('I') and only one Benefactive ('person'). The other objects bear 'Patient' and 'Locative' relations with the verb according to the potential of its basic case frame. Verbs which already host a Benefactive role in their case frames cannot accept another introduced by the Benefactive formative, (32)a, even though double objects present no problem grammatically, b.

- Subj. In.Obj. Out.Obj. Out.Obj.
- (32)a \*na yifem -r yën -t gëbrërna-hay-më -an-r hëhrampa-m  
 1S father-3SM child-3SF rub -BEN-R.PST-1S-3SM medicine-3PL  
*\*I rubbed medicine (on) a girl for (her) father.*
- Subj. In.Obj. Out.Obj. Out.Obj. INS
- b na yën -r wura-t hëhrampa-m rmënthä-e gëbrërna-më -an-r  
 1S child-3SM leg -3SF medicine-3PL cloth -INS rub -R.PST-1S-3SM  
*I rubbed medicine (on) the leg (of) the child with a cloth.*

In (32)a 'father' and 'child' are competing Benefactive roles. In (32)b the 'child' is the only Benefactive; other objects are a Locative (or Patient) 'leg' and a Patient 'medicine'.

The constraints here are precisely those which operate for serial root constructions. They apparently derive from the constraints on serial constructions from which they developed. Derived causatives and benefactives in Alambak represent the final stage in a lexicalisation drift of commonly associated events through gradations of gradually more cohesive serial and compound structures.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Serial root constructions in Alambak appear to represent the first stage in a lexicalisation process which is controlled or motivated by the semantico-pragmatic principle of the common association of events. That is, commonly associated events tend to be expressed by lexical items. They form part of a structural continuum between phrase and word from which (pure) compounds and idiomatic compounds, derived causatives and benefactives develop.

## NOTES

1. Alambak, a so-called Papuan or non-Austronesian language, is spoken by 1,200 people in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea.
2. Sapir (1911) originally discussed noun incorporation with North American languages in terms of commonly associated objects and events. Lord (1973: 269) and Longacre (1976:150ff) make reference to this and a similar notion with respect to serial verbs and interclausal relations.
3. See Bruce (1984:206:277) for a detailed description of Alambak verbs. Incorporation of noun, adjective and time word roots into the verb stem is described there as a part of the general serialisation process but only serialised verb roots are discussed in this paper.
4. cf. Chomsky (1965:184-192), Fries (1970:113) and Matthews (1974:Chapter IX).



## 5. Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

|        |                    |       |                      |
|--------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|
| BEN    | benefactive        | INF   | infinitive           |
| CAUS   | causative          | INS   | instrument           |
| COND   | conditional        | I.PST | immediate past tense |
| CPL    | completive         | IRR   | irrealis             |
| D      | dual               | LIG   | ligature             |
| D.CAUS | direct causative   | M     | masculine            |
| DA     | different actor    | NEG   | negative             |
| DE     | direct event       | PL    | plural               |
| DEP    | dependent          | PROG  | progressive          |
| DP     | direct physical    | PUR   | purpose              |
| ELEV   | elevational        | R.PST | remote past tense    |
| E/R    | emphatic reflexive | SA    | same actor           |
| F      | feminine           | S     | singular             |
| G      | general            | SIM   | simultaneous         |
| GEN    | genitive           | Subj. | subject              |
| HORT   | hortative          | 1     | first person         |
| IMPER  | imperative         | 2     | second person        |
| IMPF   | imperfective       | 3     | third person         |

6. The Immediate Past tense prefix appears here before the stem but is not manifested preceding the f-initial stem in (21)b.

7. When *hay give* is serialised with a controlled experiencer verb, its abstract interpretation is as a transitiviser rather than a causative formant (example (33)). The added participant is interpreted as a Patient or Referent rather than a Causer (Actor) because controlled experiencer verbs already have a highly agentive Actor in their basic case frame. Since, as explained in 5.4, serial constructions allow only one Actor *hay give* plus controlled experiencer verb-roots cannot be interpreted as causatives as it would add a second Actor, the causer to the case frame.

- (33) *nandëmr hay -ninge-më -an-r*  
*snake give-laugh-R.PST-1S-3SM*  
*I laughed at the snake.*

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NORTH HALMAHERA LANGUAGES:  
A PROBLEM OF INTERNAL CLASSIFICATION

M.A. Chlenov

1. North Halmahera languages\* (NHL) represent a distinct family of the West Papuan Phylum, and are spoken in the northern part of the Molucca islands (Capell 1975:668-715). They consist of the following idioms: Loda (LD), Galela (GL), Tobelo (TBL), Madole, or Modole (MD), Pagu, or Isam (PG), Tololiku (TLK), Tabaru, or Tobaru (TBR), Sahu (SH), Waioli (WI), Ternate (TRN), Tidore (TDR), Makian Luar, or West Makian (ML). The idiom of Ibu (IBU), known only from a very short wordlist collected in the late 19th century, is now extinct (Fortgens 1904).

NHL are surrounded by Austronesian languages, their nearest neighbour being the so-called South Halmahera-West New Guinea language group (SHWNG): the idioms of Buli, Maba, Weda, Petani, Sawai, Gane, Makian Dalam. In course of the last several centuries the area of NHL expanded due to the ousting of the SHWNG group from the central and northern parts of Halmahera island, the spread of NHL to some depopulated parts of other Northern Molucca islands (Obi, Bacan, etc.), and the use of Tidore and especially Ternate as *lingue franche* of Eastern Indonesia and the coastal part of Western New Guinea. Now most of the speakers are NHL-Malay bilingual.

2. The comparative study of NHL practically has not yet begun, although their non-Austronesian character was first hypothesised in the end of the 19th century (Robidé van der Aa 1872), and clearly proved in the early 20th century (Veen 1915). A preliminary study anticipating the reconstruction of Proto-NHL was recently published by Y. Wada (1980), who put forward a concept of the preservation of archaic sounds in Galela. The internal classification of the NHL has not yet been worked out, although it was repeatedly suggested in studies made during the end 19th - beginning 20th centuries period, that they should be divided into two parts: TRN and TDR versus all other NHL (ML was still unknown at that time).

3. The following Table 1 shows the lexicostatistical evaluation of NHL based on the analysis of a modified 100-items Swadesh list. In the lower left part of the table are presented the percentages of shared radical cognates; in the upper right part - the K-factor of language proximity, introduced by the author elsewhere (Chlenov 1976:198-202).

Table 1: Cognate percentages in the NHL

|     | LD | GL  | TBL | TBR | PG  | MD  | SH  | TRN | TDR |
|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| LD  | -  | 122 | 129 | 124 | 116 | 122 | 089 | 084 | 069 |
| GL  | 86 | -   | 112 | 106 | 111 | 105 | 082 | 095 | 075 |
| TBL | 88 | 79  | -   | 120 | 121 | 123 | 088 | 084 | 069 |
| TBR | 82 | 74  | 81  | -   | 121 | 129 | 097 | 085 | 072 |
| PG  | 82 | 78  | 84  | 83  | -   | 134 | 100 | 083 | 068 |
| MD  | 86 | 75  | 88  | 89  | 92  | -   | 097 | 087 | 074 |
| SH  | 63 | 59  | 63  | 69  | 72  | 69  | -   | 094 | 082 |
| TRN | 60 | 65  | 61  | 62  | 59  | 63  | 67  | -   | 122 |
| TDR | 49 | 51  | 50  | 51  | 50  | 53  | 58  | 78  | -   |

3.1 This lexicostatistical presentation proves the view that NHL represent a closely related compact group of languages. According to the data it seems plausible to distinguish three subgroups:

- (a) Halmahera subgroup (HS), which include LD, GL, TBL, TBR, MD, PG, TLK (the latter differ only slightly from PG).
- (b) Jailolo subgroup (JS) includes SH and almost identical WI. The scanty data about IBU suggest that this idiom was most probably also part of this group.
- (c) Island subgroup (IS) which consists of TRN and TDR.

Using the K-factor (Chlenov 1976:207-209) we may define the NHL as a *stock* (critical K-factor 050). If we take K = 080 as the 'language limit', there will be only one language in HS (so all the idioms will constitute dialects of this language); two languages in JS - SH and IBU (the latter known too inadequately); one language in IS with TRN and TDR as its dialects. It should be noted, however, that the speakers themselves consider all the mentioned idioms as separate languages.

3.2 The recently discovered ML demonstrates more distant relations to all other NHL than they have inside the North Halmahera stock (NHS). Still the data on ML published until now are not sufficient enough for definite conclusions about the nature of its external relations.

Table 2: Lexicostatistical characteristics of ML

|   | TDR | TRN | SH  | TBL |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| % | 35  | 33  | 29  | 26  |
| K | 049 | 041 | 036 | 033 |

The percentages are much lower than those between the members of the NHS. The highest cognate rates with members of the IS may be partly accounted for borrowings from the neighbouring idiom of TDR and the lingua franca TRN, and so do not necessarily point to a closer genetical relationship. Still the relationship itself between ML and NHS is quite evident. When compared with the Austronesian idiom Makian Dalam, or East Makian, spoken on the eastern part of the same tiny islet of Makian, ML has only 5% of shared cognates ( $K = 006$ ). Clearly there is no trace of genetic relationship between ML and its closest neighbour language of Makian Dalam. The given value of 5% is due to language interference and common borrowings in both Makian idioms from TRN. If we take  $K = 020$  as the 'family limit', we may consider both NHS and ML as two members of the North Halmahera family (NHF), where ML represents a stock-level language. It should be noted that the concept of NHL as 'stock-level family' was elaborated before the discovery of ML (Capell 1975), so now this concept might be abandoned and the NHL be considered simply as a family.

4. The internal classification based on comparative methods is until now of a very preliminary character. Y. Wada has offered 27 phonological correspondences of consonants, not less than five of them occurring only in Austronesian borrowings. So we can use the following 18 correspondences: \*p-1, \*p-2, \*b, \*m, \*w, \*t, \*d, \*ð, \*n, \*l-1, \*l-2, \*r-1, \*r-2, \*s-1, \*h, \*k-1, \*g-1, \*ng (Wada 1980:503), and to add four more consonant and six vocal correspondences.

Table 3: Additional correspondences of NL

|     | GL | LD   | TBL | TBR | PG | MD | TLK | SH   | IBU | TRN | TDR | ML  |
|-----|----|------|-----|-----|----|----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| *mp | p  | w,h  | b   | b   | b  | b  | b   | b    | ?   | b   | b   | p   |
| *g- | g  | g    | g   | g   | g  | g  | g   | k    | ?   | k   | k   | ?   |
| *c  | t  | t    | t   | t   | t  | t  | t   | c    | ?   | c   | c   | ?   |
| *ny | n  | n,n' | n   | n   | n  | n  | n   | n,n' | ?   | n'  | n'  | n,y |
| *a  | a  | a    | a   | a   | a  | a  | a   | a    | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| *o  | o  | o    | o   | o   | o  | o  | o   | o    | o   | o   | o   | o   |
| *u  | u  | u    | u   | u   | u  | u  | u   | u    | u   | u,i | u   | u,i |
| *i  | i  | i    | i   | i   | i  | i  | i   | i,e  | i   | i   | i   | i,e |
| *e  | e  | e    | e   | e   | e  | e  | e   | e    | e   | e   | e   | e   |
| *ê  | e  | e    | e   | e   | e  | e  | e   | o    | ?   | o   | ?   | ?   |

The Proto-NHL shows traces of adstratic and possibly even substratic influence of Austronesian languages, and phonologically it resembles very much the Proto-Austronesian. The notion of HS might be conformed by a number of specific lexical items and common phonological innovations. Particularly all HS-idioms have merged \*c with \*t, \*g-1 with \*g-2, and \*ny with \*n.

\*(g-21) cipir *finger nail*

|     |          |     |          |     |                |
|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------------|
| GL  | gitipi   | PG  | gitiwil  | TLK | gitiwi         |
| LD  | gitiwiri | MD  | gitiwili | SH  | kiciwidi       |
| TBL | gitihiri | TBR | gitiwiri | TRN | kicifi/kulcifi |

\*ngutuk *root*

|     |         |     |         |     |         |
|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|
| GL  | ngutu   | PG  | ngutuk  | TLK | ngutuku |
| LD  | ngutuku | MD  | ngutu'u | TRN | utu     |
| TBL | ngutuku | TBR | ngutuku | TDR | utu     |
|     |         |     |         | ML  | utu     |

\*(g-1) umin *rope*

|     |        |     |        |     |       |
|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----|-------|
| GL  | gumi   | PG  | gumin  | TLK | gumin |
| LD  | gumini | TBR | gumini | TRN | gumi  |
| TBL | gumini | SH  | gumi   | TDR | gumi  |

\*nyawok *fish*

|     |        |     |        |     |      |
|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| GL  | nawo   | PG  | naok   | IBU | nauo |
| LD  | naoko  | TBR | naoko  | TRN | n'au |
| TBL | nauoko | TLK | nauk   | TDR | n'au |
| MD  | nao'o  | SH  | n'ao'o | ML  | yao  |

Common innovations for other subgroups, namely JS and IS are not so obvious. One characteristic feature is their common reflex of ê.

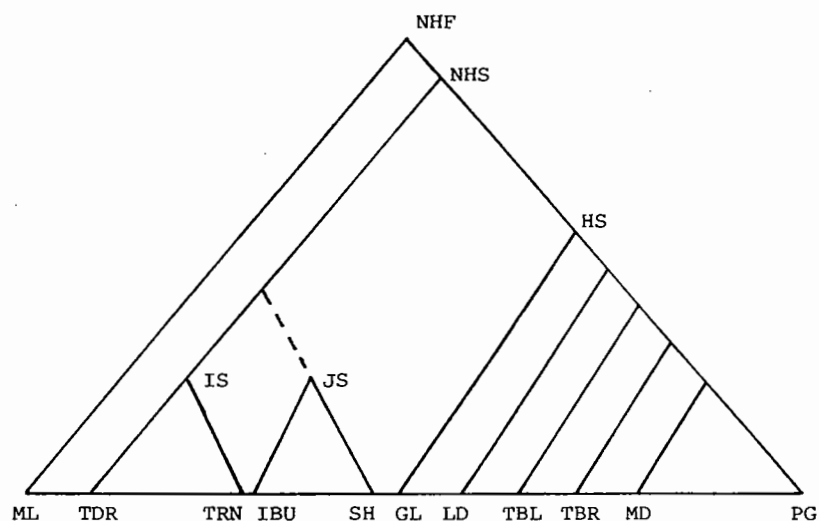
\*ngêkom *way*

|     |         |     |         |     |         |
|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|
| GL  | ngeko   | PG  | ngekom  | TLK | ngekom  |
| LD  | ngekomo | MD  | nge'omo | SH  | ngo'omo |
| TBL | ngekomo | TBR | ngekomo | TRN | ngoko   |

Another feature is the layer of specific lexical items. But still it cannot be stated yet that comparative linguistic analysis does confirm the distinguishing of JS and IS as separate subgroups.

5. Combining the results of both lexicostatistical and comparativistic evaluations the internal classification of NHL may be represented in the following way (see Table 4).

Table 4: The internal classification of NHL



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\*EDITORIAL NOTE

Dr Chlenov submitted this paper for presentation at the 15th Pacific Science Congress in Dunedin, in mid 1982; thus he had no opportunity to consult beforehand C.L. Voorhoeve's *The Makian languages and their neighbours* (PL, D-46), which was not published until late that year. It has been decided to publish Dr Chlenov's paper in its original form, as a record of its presentation at the 15th Pacific Science Congress.

A slightly different version of this paper has been published (as S'everoxal'max'erskiye yazyki, probl'emy vnutrenn'ey klassifikatsii) in the proceedings of the conference 'Linguistic reconstruction and the ancient history of the East', Moscow, October 1-5, 1984.

## THE BOSAVI LANGUAGE FAMILY

R. Daniel Shaw

### 1. INTRODUCTION

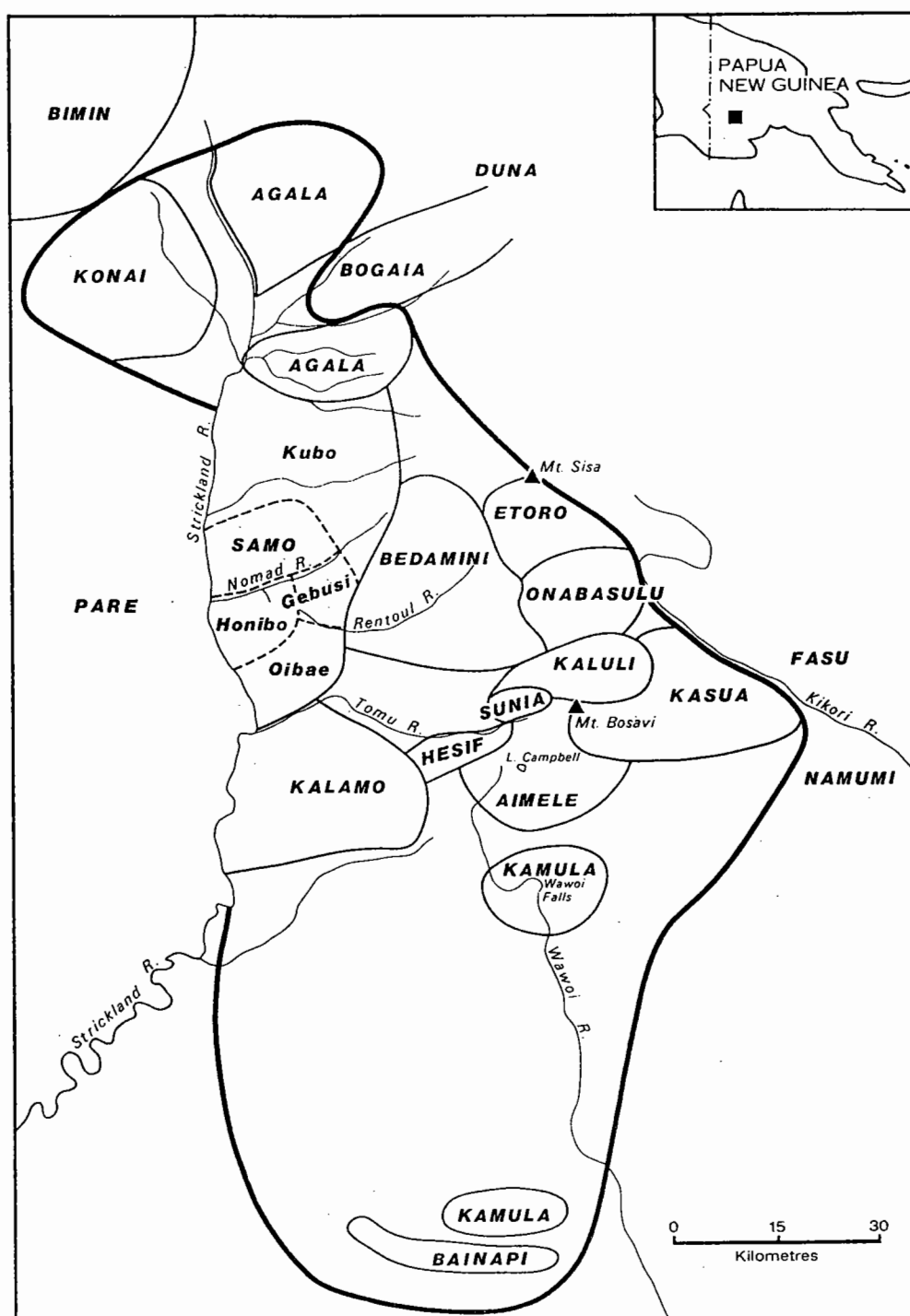
'Discovered' in 1935 by Jack Hides, who described it as the 'Papuan Wonderland', the vast region surrounding Mt Bosavi has changed little in the intervening years. Characterised by swamps and marshy plains rising to undulating ridges, plateaus and foothill ranges, the region is covered with heavy rain forest watered by over 500 cm of rainfall per year. The leached out soil supports a meagre population averaging less than one person per square kilometre.<sup>1</sup> The region was the last portion of Papua New Guinea (PNG) to be de-restricted due to the prevalence of cannibalism. Raiding and counterraiding continue in remote parts of the area to the present day. The Government post and airstrip at Nomad River has, since 1963, been the last outpost of civilisation, introducing the peoples of the region to the wonders of the 20th century: health care, education, and of course, governmental control, epitomised by the patrol officer and his entourage of policemen with ever-present guns. Made famous by the notorious Bedamini, well known for their resistance to control, the region today is, nevertheless, an important part of the Western Province and a general awareness of the linguistic situation is of interest to government, missions, and researchers alike.

This paper seeks to make linguistic data from throughout the region available for the first time, and place those data into the context of surrounding languages.<sup>2</sup> The data were made available through surveys conducted by the author in December 1979, and June 1981.<sup>3</sup> The material should be viewed as an attempt to present data, not to provide a detailed or definitive analysis; it is preliminary at best. It is also crucial that it be made available to the linguistic and anthropological community in order to encourage further research and bring the world to a greater understanding of this fascinating area.

The paper discusses these non-Austronesian languages with respect to the phonological data, lexical data, statistical data (which are compared to an earlier, more restricted survey, Shaw 1973) and cultural data which support the linguistic findings and suggest some reasons for them.

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MAP: BOSAVI LANGUAGE FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

A word about methodology is necessary at the outset. For the most part, and often of necessity, the lists (see Appendix) were collected monolingually. Lists from the various locations were compared to determine language/dialect relationships and these discrete groupings were then compared with all other similar lists in order to determine cognate relationships. Cognates were determined by simple inspection discussed by Gudschinsky (1956), elaborated on by McElhanon (1967) and refined for Papua New Guinea by Sanders (1977). An adapted form of the Swadesh 100-word list was used, thereby conforming to the environmental and cultural factors relevant to the region.

Owing to the nature of collecting such material from isolated house sites the idea of boundary comes into question. Geographical boundaries such as rivers, ridges, or mountains are often obvious, and, as in many parts of PNG, act as barriers to linguistic usage. However, in comparing lists, one quickly notices gradations such that each linguistic group (however defined) is closely related to those it borders and is related to each successive group to a lesser degree. Such 'chaining' has been the subject of a considerable literature (e.g. McElhanon 1970, Tryon 1977) and affects the analysis of this paper as will be discussed shortly.

### 1.1 Phonological data

Recognising the tentative stage of analysis, Table 1 displays a partially phonemicised inventory for the 14 languages of the Bosavi region. The basic phone inventory appears quite consistent throughout the data. This uniformity may, in part, reflect the fact that the data was collected by the same person. It may also be conditioned by personal familiarity with languages spoken on the Strickland Plain and extrapolated to the surrounding areas. The data appear to distribute into three general regions within the larger context: the languages of the Strickland Plain, those of the Papuan Plateau, and those on the watershed of Mt Bosavi (see map for geographical relationships between these groups). The analytical concerns for such a distribution will be discussed, but for ease of presentation the abbreviations Plain, Plateau, and Watershed will be used.

A cursory phonological examination appears to indicate the following. /p/ and /f/ have an interesting distribution, shifting for the various regions. Most of the languages on the Plain lack a /p/ but have an /f/. Languages in the southern portion of the Watershed area (Bainapi and Kamula) have no /f/ but do have /p/, while those in the north of the Watershed have both /p/ and /f/, as do the Plateau languages. Thus we note a progression from the presence of only /p/ in languages to the south, to both /p/ and /f/ in the middle, and only /f/ in the north.

With respect to other consonants, Sunia and Kasua of the Watershed are the only languages to manifest /g/. Similarly, only the Watershed languages use /r/ while on the Plateau this phoneme is manifest as /l/ and it does not exist on the Plain. Kasua is the only language in the region to have a /z/ and then only in the word medial, syllable initial position. The data are too limited to state precise phonological rules and it is strongly suspected that such analysis will prove this cursory description quite inadequate.

The vowels are also evenly distributed with three back vowels /u/, /o/, and /ɔ/ present in all regions except the Plateau where /o/ is conspicuously absent. However, /a/ and /ʌ/ act as full phonemes only on the Plateau.

Table 1: Phonemic inventories for Bosavi Family languages

|           | p | t | k | b | d | g   | f | s | h | m | n | l | ɾ | y | w | i | e | a  | u | o | ɔ | supra-segmental |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|-----------------|
| Konai     | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ∅ | x | x | x | x^ | x | x | x | N, LB, OS**     |
| Agala     | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ∅ | x | x | x | x^ | x | x | x | N, LB, OS       |
| Samo      | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ∅ | x | x | x | x  | x | x | x | N, LB, OS       |
| Kalamo    | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ∅ | x | x | x | x  | x | x | x | N, OS           |
| Hesif     | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ∅ | x | x | x | x  | x | x | x | N, OS           |
| Bedamini  | x | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | xæ | x | ∅ | x | N, LN, CS       |
| Etoro     | x | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x^ | x | ∅ | x | N, LN, CS       |
| Onabasulu | x | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ^  | x | ∅ | x | N, LN, CS       |
| Kaluli    | x | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | x | x | x | N, OS           |
| Sunia     | x | x | x | x | x | xg* | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ɾ | x | x | x | ^  | x | x | x | N, LN, CS       |
| Kasua     | x | x | x | x | x | xg  | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x | x | ɾ | ∅ | x | x | ε  | ^ | x | x | N, LN, OS       |
| Aimele    | ∅ | x | x | x | x | x   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | x | x | x | N, LN, CS       |
| Kamula    | x | x | x | x | x | ∅   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | ɾ | x | x | x | ^  | x | ∅ | x | N, OS           |
| Bainapi   | x | x | x | x | x | ∅   | x | x | ∅ | x | x | x | x | ɾ | x | x | x | x  | x | ∅ | x | N, OS           |

\*Where an x and another symbol co-occur, the second is a phonetic manifestation which is included for comparison.

\*\* N = nasalisation  
 LB = labialisation  
 OS = open syllable  
 LN = length  
 CS = closed syllable

The supra-segmental phonemes of vowel nasalisation and length, and open versus closed syllables, all play a role in the phonemic inventory of the region. Nasalisation of vowels is a prominent feature throughout the data. All the Plateau languages exhibit vowel length and have closed syllables, while none of the Plain languages have either and the Watershed languages are evenly split. Interestingly, length and a closed syllable pattern appear to coincide in this data. The Plain languages are the only ones to manifest labialisation as a feature of their phonologies. In fact, what appears to be labialisation may, however, be a complex sequence of vowels which elide in rapid speech to resemble labialisation as is the case in Samo (Shaw and Shaw 1977). Whether this is true of all the languages on the East Strickland Plain requires further investigation. The Watershed languages exhibit greater diversity among themselves than do the languages of the other two areas. This may be affected by more recent migrations, various types of contact, etc.

The basic sound shifts and phonological features can be applied to determining cognates throughout the region. An example is the word for 'man' which on a north-south axis progresses as follows:

| Konai | Agala | Samo | Bainapi |
|-------|-------|------|---------|
| ɔ     | o     | oso  | sau     |

Cognates are also affected by outside borrowing, or long past relationships with neighbouring languages. For example, languages at the far western and eastern borders of the region (Pare and Namumi, respectively) affect the languages between them. In Pare the lexeme for *name* is *hi* whereas in Namumi it is *iyanu*. These apparent non-cognates can be spotted by noting the manifestations of intervening forms: *hu* or *hūti*, among the Plain languages while the Plateau and Watershed languages manifest this lexeme as *hi* or *wi*. Words within the region contribute to forms in other languages of the area as well. For example the concept of 'tree bark' combines the Plateau word for *tree*, *i*, and the Plain word for *skin*, *kolo*, yielding *ikolof*, *idokof*, *biakolo*, etc. These are more than phonological shifts, however. They relate directly to the lexical data upon which this analysis is based.

## 1.2 Lexical data

Words take their meaning from the context in which they are used, leaving isolated words taken monolingually and scratched on a note pad somewhat suspect. Thus, it falls to the analyst of such data to demonstrate their validity by noting consistencies such as the above example for 'bark'. Table 2 demonstrates semantic and phonological relationships that follow throughout the region, while Table 3 supports the phonological data demonstrating the diversity between the cluster of subgroups. As with the phonological data, the Watershed tends to be more diverse lexically, and overlap between the subgroups is readily evident. This, however, represents a realistic picture of the data and of the region itself, as real situations are seldom clear-cut and neat. This is not a laboratory experiment in a test tube, but rather an attempt to come to some understanding of the linguistic situation in this complex and heretofore nearly unreported portion of Western Province.

Table 2: Family wide comparison

|           | Objects   |                   |       |      |            | Abstracts |                         | Events            |                         |                  |
|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------|------|------------|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
|           | nose      | sun               | water | root | string bag | long      | green                   | eat               | give                    |                  |
| PLAIN     | Konai     | mɔk <sup>wa</sup> | ʌsɔ   | hwēi | tɔfɔla     | yě        | sɔgɔ                    | g <sup>h</sup> hē | nɔɽu neli               |                  |
|           | Agala     | migi              | ʌsɔ   | hwɔē | tefe       | eso       | sɔgɔ                    | may               | nɔɽu nei                |                  |
|           | Samo      | mĩnɿ              | ɔsɔ   | hō   | tofe       | eso       | sagɔ                    | mɔlowɔ            | nāla nēla               |                  |
|           | Kalamo    | mudu              | osigɔ | hōwɔ | tu         | ɔ         | sage                    | mɔluwɔ            | nāye neye               |                  |
|           | Hesif     | mɔdu              | csugɔ | hōwɔ | kulo       | ɔ         | sage                    | wenadɛi           | nɛlaabug nei            |                  |
| PLATEAU   | Bedamini  | mi                | eso   | halɔ | tiifi      | esa       | sada                    | gamurubu          | naha ima                |                  |
|           | Etoro     | mig <sup>ʌ</sup>  | eso   | ɔtā  | tifi       | esa       | sedade                  | mēlabai           | nahā imɔ                |                  |
|           | Onabasulu | mɿ                | holɔ  | hano | efoto      | alu       | sedale                  | imɔɔlu            | namana mema             |                  |
|           | Kaluli    | migi              | ɔf    | hōn  | tif        | as        | sāb                     | imɔɔ              | may                     | dimina           |
| WATERSHED | Sunia     | miki              | of    | mɔ   | tef        | is        | saba                    | imuɽ              | mena diman <sup>ʌ</sup> |                  |
|           | Kasua     | mɿ                | ɔbo   | hano | waɽɔfo     | —         | senɔɔɔɔ                 | imun <sup>ʌ</sup> | mɛnē                    | nem <sup>ʌ</sup> |
|           | Aimele    | migi              | ofɔ   | hāni | tefe       | esi       | sada                    | imɔla             | mayā                    | diminā           |
|           | Kamula    | mũ                | sɽi   | yu   | ɔɔsɽɽɔ     | —         | seɽem <sup>ʌ</sup> leni | ɔɔlipusukɔlu      | ɔɔɔɔma                  | hamima           |
|           | Bainapi   | deimu             | male  | data | baba       | bitia     | memeli                  | katotopa          | na-                     | mina-            |

Table 3: Subgroup comparisons

|           | Objects   |         |       |       |        | Abstracts |        | Events    |        |         |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|-------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|---------|
|           | woman     | louse   | stone | arm   | fire   | yellow    | hot    | good      | come   |         |
| PLAIN     | Konai     | sasai   | ʃu    | yo    | debuŋɔ | dou       | diye   | dafi      | bonɔfi | hugwa   |
|           | Agala     | sabɔsai | ʃu    | yo    | debuŋɔ | dɔu       | biyē   | defi      | dɛ     | huguɔ   |
|           | Samo      | sobo    | oũ    | yo    | debe   | dɔɔ       | biye   | dɔfi      | dɛ     | hugala  |
|           | Kalamo    | sobo    | oũ    | yo    | di     | dɔu       | mesiɣā | deduɔ     | sɔwado | sibaye  |
|           | Hesif     | subo    | ɔu    | yo    | de     | dɔu       | wādei  | debɔ      | tigɛfɔ | sibeye  |
| PLATEAU   | Bedamini  | uda     | imu   | igi*  | nabu   | nalu      | puae   | haʊ       | tefeya | misa    |
|           | Etoro     | udia    | imũ   | igi   | nabɔ   | nulu      | wɔnɔi  | hēigi     | hedebi | maasipe |
|           | Onabasulu | ido     | fē    | iki   | sone   | ti        | wɔnɔlu | halɔfe    | nafulu | mila    |
| WATERSHED | Kaluli    | kesali  | fē    | u     | tagi   | de        | wanalo | ɔfo       | nafa   | mina    |
|           | Sunia     | naiso   | fī    | ka    | dab    | de        | wan    | uful      | nɔfedi | mena    |
|           | Kasua     | kesale  | pfei  | etewa | tiɛle  | tei       | ɛiɔ    | kuli      | nɔpɔɔ  | mine    |
|           | Aimele    | kaisale | tede  | dɔa   | debe   | di        | wenala | ɔfɔla     | kēlēga | yabe    |
|           | Kamula    | ɛā      | iya   | ewɔɔ  | toi    | delɔpɔ    | wɔleni | ɔlɔmɔleni | tegedɛ | puma    |
|           | Bainapi   | tawoi   | pe    | ko    | tapi   | daɣu      | metəpa | sitau     | tikiɔi | mini-   |

\*(Plain) stone club = gigi



### 1.3 Statistical data

Statistical analysis provides another means for understanding the data presented here. Table 4 presents the percentages of shared basic vocabulary for languages throughout the region. Considerable overlap between the three major groupings of languages is quickly obvious, suggesting that border languages could be placed equally into either region. Following Wurm and Laycock (1961), more than raw cognates must be considered. Several factors have been utilised in order to place a language into one group or the other: mutual intelligibility, multilingual use of languages between speakers at the borders, and cultural interaction such as trading, raiding, and marriage exchanges. What is clear is that there are no sharp cut-off percentages which define dialects, languages, or language groupings in these data. This problem of chaining has been dealt with at some length and recognised as widely affecting languages throughout Melanesia, and Australia (Tryon 1976). What is important for this body of data is the application of the chaining principle to the grouping of languages within the broader region.

In positing figures for the inclusion of language groupings in Vanuatu, Tryon follows Wurm and Laycock in suggesting lower figures than Swadesh (1955). The following percentages seem to more realistically support the data.

- Approximately 81% - 100% = dialects of same language.
- Approximately 50% - 80% = different language, same subgroup.
- Approximately 30% - 49% = different subgroup, same group.
- Approximately 20% - 29% = different group, same family.

The key word here is 'approximately', but such a breakdown appears to fit the data for the Bosavi region.

Elsewhere the author has demonstrated the arbitrary nature of determining dialect or language breaks for the groups on the Strickland Plain (Shaw 1973). There, mutual intelligibility combined with an application of Grimes' (1974) optimisation model, resulted in positing a language break between the dialects surrounding the Nomad Patrol Post and Konai and Agala to the north of the Carrington River. Each of the latter were also considered to be separate languages. The present data support those findings and clearly indicate the nature of a dialect/communalect chain, each group along the Strickland River showing a high percentage relationship to the next. Applying mutual intelligibility to all of the groups on the Plain results in the following distributions:

|                    |  |                         |
|--------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Hesif 47% Konai    | Oibae 68% Agala                                  | Oibae 81% Kubo          |
| (no communication) | (little communication;<br>use Samo if necessary) | (mutually intelligible) |

In comparing the data collected in 1971 with the present data, a significant lexical shift demonstrates the merging of these dialects (see Table 5). Such rapid change suggests a considerable amount of social interaction enhanced by relative peace established throughout the region by the administration. This stability and the resultant interaction is manifested by increased inter-marriage, patrols, contact in school, trading, etc. These will be considered at greater length when discussing the cultural factors affecting linguistic distributions.

Table 4: Percentages of shared basic vocabulary of languages in the Mt Bosavi area

[illegible]

population figures in parentheses

Table 5: Comparison of shared cognates on the Strickland Plain

| The lexical shift evident in a ten year period |      |        |        |       |      |      |        |        |       |
|--|------|--------|--------|-------|------|------|--------|--------|-------|
| 1971   |      |        |        |       | 1981 |      |        |        |       |
| Kubo   |      |        |        |       | Kubo |      |        |        |       |
| 83   | Samo |        |        |       | 90   | Samo |        |        |       |
| 69   | 79   | Gebusi |        |       | 83   | 90   | Gebusi |        |       |
| 71   | 87   | 80     | Honibo |       | 86   | 91   | 92     | Honibo |       |
| 66   | 79   | 80     | 85     | Oibae | 81   | 87   | 89     | 94     | Oibae |

On the Papuan Plateau and across the Bosavi Watershed, mutual intelligibility appears to be less than on the Plain, suggesting that interaction between languages is based not on mutually intelligible communication, but on multi-lingual communication. People at the boundaries between languages do not understand each other because their languages are similar, but because they speak each other's languages. Such bilingualism is a valuable asset when interacting with trading parties, and the occasional establishment of various types of partnerships, including alliance through marriage.

An application of Tryon's percentages to these data seems to result in three groupings defined by both the phonological and lexical materials already presented. Statistically, there is overlap between the groups, but percentages of shared cognates help make decisions when the data is by no means clear cut. Thus Hesif is classed with the Plain languages because the shared cognates appear significantly higher in that direction (at the subgroup level) than with the Plateau languages (where it compares in the group range) as indicated in the following percentage averages:

Hesif - Watershed = 40.2%  
 Plateau = 38.3%  
 Plain = 61.6%

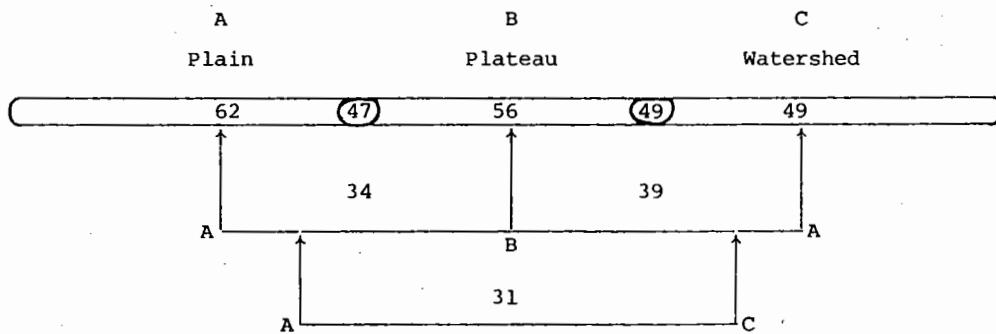
Grouping Kaluli with the Watershed languages rather than with the Plateau is more tentative as the following percentages show:

Kaluli - Watershed = 56.4%  
 Plateau = 51.8%  
 Plain = 35.4%

Kaluli seems to group culturally more closely with those they regularly fought against (the Onabasulu and Etoro) to the north rather than with the Watershed languages to which they show greater linguistic affinity to the south. Clearly more than linguistic data needs to be considered. Despite the linguistic data gathered here, the conclusions are problematic and open to interpretation.

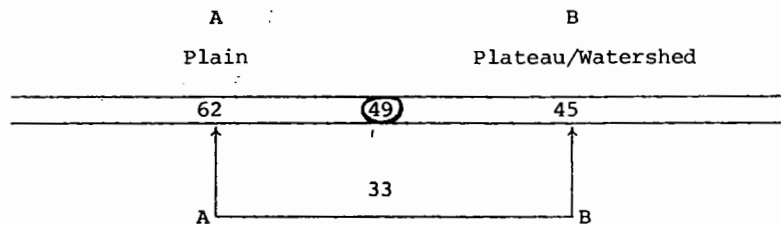
If only shared cognate percentages are considered, the distinction between the Plateau and Watershed languages is quite weak. If three language groupings are posited, the results appear as in Table 6. Classed among themselves and compared with each other there is greatest internal consistency among the Plain languages, less among the Plateau languages and least among the languages of the Watershed. The internal consistency for the Plain and Plateau is much higher than the highest percentage of overlap between these groups. This, however, is not the case between the Plateau and the Watershed.

Table 6: Comparison of average cognate percentages between three subgroups



Non-overlapping numbers indicate averages within the subgroup. Overlapping numbers indicate highest percentages between the respective groups. Boxed-in numbers indicate averages between the subgroups.

Table 7: Comparison of average cognate percentages between two groups



If, however, only two groupings are posited for the Bosavi Region the results would appear as in Table 7. Here there is a lower internal consistency factor, but the averages between the groups are not significantly different than those between the three groupings. It is interesting, however, that the averages between the languages are lower than the highest percentage between the major groupings. Thus Bainapi barely makes it into the grouping, but Kaluli would be the pivotal language that tied the Watershed and the Plateau together. Returning to Tryon's percentages we note that when positing two groupings, the percentages suggest a division at group level. If these data are separated into three groupings, then the percentages pattern out at the subgroup level, suggesting a better distribution with respect to cultural and geographical boundaries. The phonological data seem to support this conclusion while the semantic data are weaker and the statistical percentages are mixed.

Given the complexities of these data as well as their limited nature, it appears reasonable to posit that the languages of this region be considered a language family which divides into three subfamilies:

- (1) The Strickland Plain Subfamily composed of five languages, one of which has five dialects which appear to be rapidly merging (though having no common name). Voorhoeve called this language 'Nomad' in 1975, but it is called 'Samo' here, after the central dialect which all dialects are able to use when speaking with each other.
- (2) The Papuan Plateau Subfamily composed of three or four languages (depending on whether lexical or cultural data are considered more crucial). These are collectively labelled 'BED' (for Bedamini) in McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970).
- (3) The Bosavi Watershed Subfamily composed of five or six languages.

Following Voorhoeve (1968) the author called this the 'Bosavian region' in 1973 and here suggests that the entire group be called the 'Bosavi Language Family'.

Based solely on lexical data it would be very reasonable to include Pare and Namumi in the Bosavi Family as well. Pare compares with the Plains languages at an average of 23.7%, the Plateau languages at 21.3% and the Watershed at 20.8%. This is remarkably consistent and well within the range for family level genetic relationships. Namumi compares with the Watershed at 25.7%, the Plateau at 32.5% and the Plain at 22.9%. Again, this is well within the family cognate range. Pare and Namumi compare with each other at 16% which, though marginal, is well within reason considering the tentative nature of the data (based on only 100 words) and their mutual relationship to languages between them at much higher percentages. However, geographical boundaries as well as cultural affinities to the west and east respectively, lead me to agree with others in placing them in the Awin-Pare Family and the Kutubuan Family respectively (Voorhoeve 1970, Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973). This then establishes the boundaries of the Bosavi Family and its validity though, in fact, the relationships within the family are tentative and raise a myriad of questions.

#### 1.4 Cultural factors

This region has been studied anthropologically far more than linguistically. The Kaluli (Schieffelin 1976, Feld 1981, 1982 and Feld and B. Schieffelin 1982), Etoro (Kelly 1978), Bedamini (Sorum 1980) and Samo (Shaw 1974, 1976, 1983) are the most widely known, but significant work has also been done for the Onabasulu (Ernst 1973), Kasua (Freund 1977) and most recently the Bibo/Gebusi (Knauff 1985). This allows for some excellent comparative work that could be of real benefit as the region develops.

Throughout the region people live in scattered longhouses which act as self-contained communities. House membership varies from 25 to 50 persons who form an extended family with siblings (usually brothers) acting as the core, recruiting members through marriage and birth. They make decisions about household movement throughout a designated land area where hunting and gathering, processing the sago palm, and basic horticulture provide the bulk of food. Households are related to similar units through marriage alliances established by sister exchange. Such alliances historically provided a ring of protection from encroaching enemies and a military force for launching raiding parties against enemies. Alliance also provides the network for amassing power against spiritual forces in a ceremonial context. Spirit mediums are important people who assist their fellows by using their spiritual power through seances. Seances

are a common cultural feature throughout the region, though the physical manifestations of them vary from group to group.

Raiding and cannibalism were central features throughout the region prior to government contact in the early 1960s. The lack of protein in the diet, combined with an ideology of compensation and reprisal, led to a consistent pattern of cannibal raiding. Isolation appears to have been the best protection against these enemy raids, forcing interaction between communities to be deliberate. Trading was one such activity, and trading routes on both south-north and east-west axes were well established. Coastal materials such as the valued cowrie and melol shell necklaces moved from south to north, while stone axes and possum fur pelts from the northern ridges and forests were exchanged to the south. Earth dyes of white, yellow, and red proliferate under the thin topsoil of the Strickland Plain and these were widely traded throughout the region for tobacco, string bags, and other commodities of value.<sup>5</sup> Trading parties, however, also acted as scouting parties giving the participants excellent opportunity to decipher the best means of gaining access to a house and subduing its members. Thus peaceful exchanges occasionally erupted into violent reprisal. A raid, when properly executed, could be devastating to a community and stories of raids (their preparation, execution, and aftermath, including the cannibalistic feast) abound to the present day. Raiding and its effects, then, appear to have drastically affected the linguistic distribution throughout the Bosavi region.

The diversity of languages especially on the Plateau and Watershed could in part be explained by excessive raiding, especially by the Bedamini who made frequent raids on the less healthy 'lowlanders'. As people sought protection through isolation and alliance with close neighbours, contact was gradually decreased, which in turn increased linguistic diversity. Since administrative contact, raiding has been reduced to an occasional attack on a remote sago camp or garden house, and the diverging languages are now experiencing more peaceful contact with each other. As already indicated, a reversal of linguistic separation is the result.

Another administrative practice affecting the linguistic distribution has been the enforced aggregation of isolated longhouses into more easily administered village sites. Aggregation has taken place, particularly in those areas most accessible from Nomad, e.g. the Plains area south of the Carrington River and the western portions of the Plateau. Thus 24 Samo longhouses aggregated into seven villages between 1964 and 1970. This has had social repercussions on marriage patterns. Prior to contact, marriage alliances were established with individuals from any longhouse other than one's own. Since administration encouraged aggregation alliances are now restricted to members of villages other than one's own. This has had the effect of forcing marriages far beyond traditional lines. Interlanguage marriage has now become a necessity where once it was almost impossible due to the fears and animosities generated by the juxtaposition of enemies.

Administrative patrolling with large carrier lines further effected increased interaction and linguistic convergence. Such patrols brought traditional enemies face to face as they passed through each language group. Patrols now also assist in the trading of goods, people from the more advantaged areas close to contact points with government or mission exchanging trade store goods for increasingly less accessible traditional goods in the more remote areas.

The administration has not been the only agent of change in the area. Increasing contact with missionaries, teachers and traders has also had an effect. Community schools, churches and trade stores as well as the building of airstrips in support of these activities has served to bring people together, making them increasingly aware of their linguistic and cultural dissimilarity as well as areas of commonality.

A key example of this is the migration of most Kalamo, and a high percentage of Aimele and Doso to the airstrip at Kisigi near Wawoi Falls. Attracted by aid post, trade store, church and school, these groups have descended upon the already present Kamula to form a multilingual and culturally complex situation that will have dramatic effects upon the area: deserted homelands, excess pressure upon the land and people at Kisigi, as well as linguistic shifts as people intermarry and relate within the context of the new community (see the Doso wordlist in Appendix A).

The migration of an entire language group prior to contact is not unknown, however. The Bainapi migrated from an area west of the Wawoi River to their present location far to the south on the Aramia River in approximately 1941 (Reesink 1976). This extended the boundaries of the language family, and at the same time affected the diversity between the languages due to the influence of Aramia River peoples on the Bainapi. This may explain the low cognate percentages of Bainapi to the rest of the language family, especially with the languages on the Strickland Plain. The significantly higher cognate relationship with Bamu is a good indication of this language change process. Such rapid documented change limits the use of glottochronology to such a body of data, making any determination of time span since linguistic divergence highly speculative. Of course the nature of the contact situation has affected more rapid change than was extant aboriginally.

In the north of the region, migration of the Bogaia out of the Southern Highlands down the Burnett River Valley is affecting the Agala. Slight divergence between word lists taken from peoples to the north and south of the Burnett River were noted. The little known Konai have also been affected by migration. Feeling pressure from the south, they must have crossed the Strickland River moving into the rugged region of the 'Murray Wedge' not too long ago. Now they are being coaxed down onto the plain north of the Pare speaking people, drawn by mission contact and the promise of a 'better life'.

These change situations have had a broad effect upon the total pattern of language and culture throughout the region. For the most part the fear of an enemy raid is gone. Increased contact between groups, broader alliance structures and, therefore, more broadly dispersed ceremonial, social and economic obligations all affect communication. The documented linguistic shift on the Plain from 1971 to 1981 is a possible pattern that will become increasingly evident throughout the region.

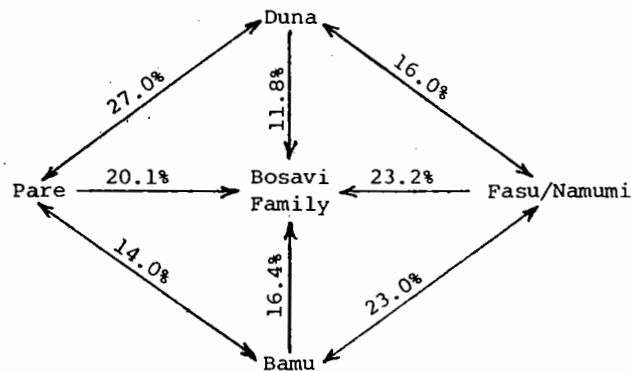
### 1.5 Broader contributions of the survey

This paper broadens the understanding of the Bosavi region, bringing together previously unavailable or unknown material and categorising it for easy comparison and analysis.

Interestingly, these data may also assist in analysing material for surrounding languages previously considered 'isolates'. Because of relationships evident here for the first time, it can be shown that Duna (McElhanon and

Voorhoeve 1970) should be placed in the Central and South New Guinea Stock of languages. Fasu, also viewed as an isolate, has been shown by Franklin and Voorhoeve (1973) to be related at the stock level to Biami (Bedamini in this data). If this is the case, then a suggestion by the present author (Shaw 1973) that Duna also be included in the Central and South New Guinea Stock is supported by the present data as shown by relationships in Table 8. Though the languages on an east-west axis are of a greater relationship than those on the north-south axis, the comparable relationships of all to the Bosavi Family suggests that they should all be similarly classed at the Stock level. Varied relationships of Duna to the three subfamilies and the higher percentages of the Plateau to both Duna and Fasu suggests possible links to the east in the vicinity of Lake Kutubu as indicated by Franklin and Voorhoeve. The high percentage between Pare and Duna is somewhat questionable, but suggests possible migration routes, and the arrival of the Pare on the western banks of the Strickland River well before the Bedamini began raiding the peoples of the East Strickland Plain. This supports an earlier hypothesis (Shaw 1973), strengthened by the comparable percentages for both Duna and Pare to the Plateau languages. This also strengthens the contention that Pare is not part of the Bosavi Family.

Table 8: Relationship of the Bosavi Family to surrounding languages



### 1.6 Conclusion

The data broadly sketched here give evidence for the existence of a family of languages which we have chosen to call the Bosavi Family. There appears to be much greater homogeneity among these groups than earlier thought (Voorhoeve 1968, Shaw 1973). Thus the languages within each geographical area are related to each other at the subfamily level and the languages of the entire region combine to form a language family. Many of the languages of what has here been called the Bosavi Watershed were known to exist, but data were insufficient to adequately demonstrate relationships. Reesink's work (1976) supplied sufficient data for him to suggest a possible link of Bainapi and Kamula with languages in the Bosavi region. Following these leads greatly assisted in the survey reported here.

The Bosavi Family is composed of 14 languages which are here divided into three linguistic subfamilies bounded by natural geographical features. Within each subfamily there is a higher genetic relationship with each other language



than to languages outside the grouping. Correspondingly the entire family exhibits greater consistency internally than externally to other groups beyond its borders. Relationships of the family to surrounding languages average 17.8%, putting it well within stock-level relationship to its neighbours. Therefore, previous hypotheses about the placement of languages in this region within the Central and South New Guinea Stock (Voorhoeve 1968, 1970) and the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970) are confirmed and strengthened.

Implicit in all these data are the countless experiences that go along with collecting the lists: the two men at the headwaters of the Nomad River who stood in the cold stream and gave us a wordlist; jumping into undergrowth when the helicopter could not land; the frustration of seeing people run away and not return (thereby reducing the possible number of lists and affecting the accuracy of the data base); and the acrobatics of collecting wordlists monolingually. All this, and more, is the human interest of such work; it is the people who speak these languages that are important, not the lists they produce for analysis. Without them the data could not exist and our understanding of these linguistic factors would be meaningless.

The Bosavi region, then, is not a hodgepodge of isolated languages spread throughout an environmentally hostile and demanding land. Nor is it a 'Papuan Wonderland' teaming with unlimited game and exotic peoples. Rather, the material presented here indicates an orderly grouping of languages exemplifying the chaining principle which helps determine broad relationships, if not specific boundaries. These languages seem to indicate 'end of the line' migrations as the people have, over a considerable length of time, filtered into the region, probably coming from the east in the vicinity of Lake Kutubu. As they responded to pressures from groups in the Southern Highlands, they were gradually 'pushed' into this backwater in the centre of the Island of New Guinea. The present condition of Agala, Konai and Bainapi all reflect this varied past and they, together with all the other languages of the region, will again be affected by yet another migration of Government officers, missionaries and traders as they enter the region in increasing numbers. Where they go, how they get there, and what they do, will continue to affect the languages and their relationships to each other, demanding ongoing research and a desire to assist the peoples of the region by making information regarding their languages and cultures available. Foreigners sensitised to the implications of their presence and effect on the continued development of the region could make a big difference for the future of the peoples who live there. Out of such concerns this material is presented.

These data warrant far more than the cursory treatment presented here. It is hoped that by making them available to the discipline at large, others can take up the challenge to refine the analysis and collect further data that will assist in understanding the particulars of the language situation in the Bosavi family: its origins, proto-language, reasons for divergence, current convergence patterns, etc. This material is here presented merely to establish the fact of the family's presence, indicate its apparent extent, and note some of the current pressures upon it. Further research can rest upon this foundation.

#### NOTES

1. An aboriginal pattern of endemic disease and the adjustment of lifestyle to accommodate for it, has given way to a post contact pattern of epidemic disease which has considerably reduced the population. Several communities

have recently been abandoned, and the survivors have either joined allies (an aboriginal pattern following a raid) or consolidated and built on a new site. Thus, in spite of increased health care (Nomad has recently been upgraded to health centre status and mission trained Aid Post orderlies are ever more prevalent), the population is not at this time increasing.

2. Two little known languages are reported here: the Konai in the north-west portion of the region and the Sunia on the north-west slopes of Mt Bosavi (this may be the same as a group reported by Butler on a patrol in the Mt Bosavi area in late 1958 and early 1959 which he called Sonia). Another language, Hesif, was discovered on this survey. Located south of the Tomu River in the foothills of Mt Bosavi at the edge of the Strickland Plain, Hesif is strategic to deciphering the linguistic relationship of this region.
3. The assistance of the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service helicopter and the Papua New Guinea Survey Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics is gratefully acknowledged. My appreciation goes also to John Lynch of the University of Papua New Guinea, and Dick Lloyd of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for their helpful comments on a previous draft of this report.
4. Since this survey was taken, the author has become aware of the Dosu, another group inhabiting the western portion of the Watershed area, and gradually migrating southward (Wood 1982). However, no complete wordlists are available to include in this body of data. A partial list is included for comparison in Appendix A.
5. An increasing pattern today is the trading of bird of paradise plumes for kina shell and other commodities with the more distant Southern and Western Highlanders.

#### APPENDIX A: WORDLISTS

The languages which have been discussed in this paper are displayed in the form of the Swadesh 100-wordlist. The wordlist is given in English and each vernacular list which follows will conform to the order of the English list.

##### A.1 English master list

1. man 2. woman 3. I 4. you 5. we 6. all 7. head 8. hair 9. eye 10. nose
11. ear 12. tooth 13. tongue 14. neck 15. mouth 16. arm 17. breast
18. belly 19. leg 20. knee 21. skin 22. blood 23. fat 24. bone 25. back
26. shoulder 27. sun 28. moon 29. star 30. cloud 31. rain 32. night
33. water 34. ground 35. stone 36. pig 37. mountain 38. fire 39. smoke
40. ashes 41. path 42. tree 43. root 44. bark 45. dog 46. tail 47. bird
48. feather 49. egg 50. fish 51. big 52. small 53. good 54. long 55. red
56. white 57. black 58. yellow 59. green 60. hot 61. cold 62. full
63. new 64. eat 65. cassowary 66. stand 67. sit 68. speak 69. walk
70. give 71. sleep 72. lie down 73. see 74. hear 75. swim 76. come
77. flies 78. bite 79. name 80. wing 81. who 82. what 83. burn 84. louse
85. many 86. this 87. that 88. one 89. two 90. knows 91. kills 92. not
93. leaf 94. meat 95. banana 96. claw 97. father 98. seed 99. mother
100. string bag

## A.2 The Strickland Plain Subfamily

## Konai

- |               |                 |                 |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. ɔ          | 26. biyago      | 51. heye        | 76. hugwa       |
| 2. sAsai      | 27. Asɔ         | 52. fafwi       | 77. siɔ fuliɔli |
| 3. ǎ          | 28. Agwɔ        | 53. bɔnɔfɪ      | 78. wɔlu        |
| 4. nǎ         | 29. kwidiho     | 54. sɔɔɔ        | 79. hũ          |
| 5. ẽgogõ      | 30. mabi        | 55. Asɪ dɔgi    | 80. tɔfigai     |
| 6. ɔɔfe       | 31. hwẽɪ tɔlu   | 56. fɔ dɔgi     | 81. kɔyɔbẽ      |
| 7. wudio      | 32. sa nɔgulu   | 57. dɔsigɔ dɔgi | 82. kɛɪ         |
| 8. wudio towe | 33. hwẽɪ        | 58. biye dɔgi   | 83. wɔbɔlu      |
| 9. diho       | 34. mɔhɪ        | 59. gɔhẽ dɔgi   | 84. ɔũ          |
| 10. mɔkwǎ     | 35. yɔ          | 60. dɔfi        | 85. su          |
| 11. kɔhẽ      | 36. wai         | 61. kulɔ        | 86. kwɔhẽ       |
| 12. mẽ        | 37. bɪton       | 62. Amɔ         | 87. bukwẽhẽ     |
| 13. i         | 38. dou         | 63. gehẽ        | 88. tano        |
| 14. gɔbagi    | 39. dahai       | 64. nɔlu        | 89. bɔnɔu       |
| 15. mɔgau     | 40. dɔsigɔ      | 65. kwea        | 90. tɔwẽ        |
| 16. debunõ    | 41. a           | 66. tɔfɔla      | 91. wɔɔyɔ       |
| 17. bu        | 42. hɔbe        | 67. duɔ         | 92. miɔ         |
| 18. gwɔkɔ     | 43. hɔbe tɔfɔla | 68. tɔbulɔ      | 93. hɔbe gwɔ    |
| 19. ɔbɔgɔ     | 44. hɔbe kɔɔ    | 69. ili         | 94. hwɪ         |
| 20. hɔgwɔtɔu  | 45. sɔ          | 70. nẽɪi        | 95. yɔ          |
| 21. kɔɔ       | 46. hɔbia       | 71. tɔlu        | 96. siɔ kati    |
| 22. kafi      | 47. siɔ         | 72. tɔlu        | 97. aye         |
| 23. gwɔsige   | 48. siɔ towe    | 73. dugulu      | 98. kɔɔ         |
| 24. diɔ       | 49. siɔ hɔ      | 74. dɔlu        | 99. duɔ         |
| 25. tabe      | 50. mɪye        | 75. hwẽɪ suadi  | 100. yẽ         |

## Agala

- |               |               |                  |                |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1. o          | 26. biyago    | 51. kaudakũ      | 76. hugulu     |
| 2. sɔbo sɔɪ   | 27. Asɔ       | 52. fɔfekũ       | 77. fuluma ali |
| 3. ame        | 28. Agwa      | 53. de           | 78. geyau      |
| 4. name       | 29. kwidiahɔ  | 54. sɔɔɔ         | 79. hũ         |
| 5. eli        | 30. mǎbi      | 55. esɪ          | 80. siyɔ fuɔi  |
| 6. gɔgɔdɔ     | 31. hwɔɛ tɔlu | 56. ɔɔwɔ         | 81. kɔ         |
| 7. wɔdiɔ      | 32. gɔsiɔgɔ   | 57. gɔsigɔ       | 82. keiba      |
| 8. wɔdiɔ tɔwɔ | 33. hwɔɛ      | 58. biyẽ         | 83. tiyae      |
| 9. gihǎ       | 34. Asɔ       | 59. mayɔ         | 84. ɔũ         |
| 10. migiyao   | 35. yɔu       | 60. defɪ         | 85. gɔgɔ       |
| 11. du        | 36. wai       | 61. deyɔ         | 86. kame       |
| 12. meyɔ      | 37. gɔwule    | 62. Amɔnu        | 87. kumɔhẽ     |
| 13. i         | 38. dɔu       | 63. dɔwɔdɔ       | 88. sisǎfe     |
| 14. gɔbaidiɔ  | 39. dɔu dahai | 64. nɔlu         | 89. sisāma     |
| 15. mɔga      | 40. gesɔgɔ    | 65. diɔwa        | 90. tɔwe       |
| 16. debɔgɔ    | 41. aili      | 66. tɔfɔlu       | 91. wiyɔtɔke   |
| 17. bu        | 42. hebẽ      | 67. biyɔu        | 92. mɔi        |
| 18. sasime    | 43. hebẽ tefẽ | 68. tɔ           | 93. hebẽ dibi  |
| 19. ɔbɔgɔ     | 44. biya kɔɔ  | 69. hũgwamɔi     | 94. hwɪ        |
| 20. hɔgɔwa    | 45. sɔ        | 70. neida        | 95. ɛ          |
| 21. kɔfɔya    | 46. biyɔlu    | 71. tɔlu         | 96. siyɔ kati  |
| 22. ɔyɔ       | 47. siyɔ      | 72. tɔlu         | 97. ai         |
| 23. sefu      | 48. siyɔ dowe | 73. diguya       | 98. kɔɔ        |
| 24. diɔ       | 49. siyɔ hɔ   | 74. dɔya         | 99. Amaya      |
| 25. tɔdiɔ     | 50. mayẽ      | 75. hwɔɛ tɔɔ ili | 100. esɔ       |

## Samo

- |                 |               |                   |                |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. oso          | 26. ɔdɔ       | 51. kau           | 76. hugala     |
| 2. sobo         | 27. ʔsɔ       | 52. feəfo         | 77. fulumä ila |
| 3. ä            | 28. ogwa      | 53. de            | 78. gada       |
| 4. nɔ           | 29. ɡɔsɔmɔnɪ  | 54. sago          | 79. hūti       |
| 5. ɔye          | 30. ɔgabi     | 55. ɔbusɪte       | 80. alafagibi  |
| 6. ɡɔɡɔ         | 31. hɔ mūnū   | 56. ɔlɔwɔte       | 81. kūba       |
| 7. ulagibi      | 32. ɡɔsɪ      | 57. busɪte        | 82. kɔbɔba     |
| 8. ulagibi tɔwɔ | 33. hɔ        | 58. biyete        | 83. heyasɔɡɔla |
| 9. hɪwɔ         | 34. mɪhɔɪ     | 59. mɔɪlɔwɔte     | 84. ōu         |
| 10. mɪnɪ        | 35. ɔ         | 60. dɔfi          | 85. ɡɔɡɔ       |
| 11. duli        | 36. bɔɔ       | 61. tɪ            | 86. ke         |
| 12. mɔɔ         | 37. ɡoufɔda   | 62. mɔɔtɔnɔmɔdɔ   | 87. ka         |
| 13. mənəmənɪ    | 38. dɔlɔ      | 63. dwafi         | 88. helenū     |
| 14. ɡɔbɔgibi    | 39. dɪhɔɪ     | 64. nɔla          | 89. bənāu      |
| 15. mɔɡalu      | 40. dɔsɔbu    | 65. kɔyabi        | 90. tɔwadela   |
| 16. debe        | 41. ali       | 66. tɔfolɔ        | 91. ola        |
| 17. bu          | 42. hɔmənē    | 67. buɔla         | 92. mɔi        |
| 18. sasi        | 43. tofe      | 68. tɔ hwāla      | 93. dibi       |
| 19. hɔmɔ        | 44. bisigɔbu  | 69. suda          | 94. hwɔɪ       |
| 20. ibulu       | 45. sɔfo      | 70. nēla          | 95. ebe        |
| 21. kɔlɔfu      | 46. sɔfo hobe | 71. kiala         | 96. sigɔ kali  |
| 22. ayo         | 47. sigɔ      | 72. kela          | 97. ade        |
| 23. bɔnɔ        | 48. sigɔ tɔwɔ | 73. ɔɡɔla         | 98. kɔlɔ       |
| 24. kibi        | 49. sigɔ hɔlɔ | 74. dula          | 99. uyo        |
| 25. wagibi      | 50. dɔ        | 75. hɔ tɔlɔfiyala | 100. ɔsɔ       |

## Kalamo

- |             |                 |              |               |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. ɔlɔga    | 26. ei          | 51. towago   | 76. sibaye    |
| 2. sobo     | 27. ɔsigɔ       | 52. fəbugɔ   | 77. fɔfulɔɡɔ  |
| 3. ä        | 28. nɔlɔɡɔ      | 53. sɔwado   | 78. bəwiyagɔ  |
| 4. nɔ       | 29. ɡiwɔ        | 54. sage     | 79. hū        |
| 5. daye     | 30. kaigɔ       | 55. emēɪ     | 80. fudugɔ    |
| 6. susugawa | 31. hɔwɔ sibɔɡu | 56. hēniye   | 81. uɡumɔ     |
| 7. wiligi   | 32. gaisi       | 57. da:sigē  | 82. ɔɡobɔ     |
| 8. wudu     | 33. hɔwɔ        | 58. emesiyā  | 83. dɔu si    |
| 9. hɔwɔ     | 34. mɪ          | 59. mɔluwɔ   | 84. ōu        |
| 10. mudu    | 35. ɔ           | 60. deduɔ    | 85. susugwā   |
| 11. dulu    | 36. be          | 61. dasigē   | 86. hagsɔɔ    |
| 12. mē      | 37. isiyā       | 62. --       | 87. kugɔsɔ    |
| 13. i       | 38. dɔu         | 63. dia      | 88. dihɔ      |
| 14. ɡɔbɔdā  | 39. dei         | 64. nāye     | 89. hɔma kɔna |
| 15. mɔɡɔlɔ  | 40. dɔu sɔlu    | 65. kɔu      | 90. duɪisɔ    |
| 16. di      | 41. eli         | 66. tubiye   | 91. inēye     |
| 17. to      | 42. hɔmɔ        | 67. buwa     | 92. mēɪ       |
| 18. ɔbenie  | 43. hɔmɔtu      | 68. kɔɪai    | 93. du        |
| 19. hɔmɔ    | 44. hɔmɔ kɔlɔ   | 69. diago    | 94. hwɔɪ      |
| 20. ebi     | 45. sɔ          | 70. nēye     | 95. i         |
| 21. kɔlɔ    | 46. ɔbeyɔ       | 71. tiæye    | 96. sɔ? hɔmɔ  |
| 22. kegāye  | 47. sɔ?         | 72. tiæye    | 97. ma        |
| 23. bɔ      | 48. sɔ? wudu    | 73. ɔɡaye    | 98. ɡokɔ      |
| 24. ki      | 49. sɔ? hɔ      | 74. dulɔye   | 99. wɪ        |
| 25. waki    | 50. di          | 75. tabiyaye | 100. ɔ        |

## Hesif

|             |                 |                  |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. ɔŋu      | 26. ei          | 51. daiya        | 76. sibeye      |
| 2. subɔ     | 27. ɔsugɔ       | 52. febugɔ       | 77. sɔʔ fuɔdugɔ |
| 3. na       | 28. a           | 53. tigɛfɔ       | 78. sɔʔ anenā   |
| 4. nɔ       | 29. gĩwɔ        | 54. sage         | 79. hũ          |
| 5. iyɔ      | 30. kilibɔ      | 55. bigē         | 80. sɔʔ adɔ     |
| 6. hiħāgisɔ | 31. hɔwɔ sibɔgɔ | 56. hɔdɛi        | 81. --          |
| 7. ulugi    | 32. nɔluga      | 57. dɔsigɔ       | 82. ogoba       |
| 8. ulu tu   | 33. hɔwɔ        | 58. wādɛi        | 83. dɔu si      |
| 9. hɔwɔ     | 34. mi          | 59. wenadɛi      | 84. ɔu          |
| 10. mɔdu    | 35. yɔ          | 60. dɛbiɔ        | 85. gogolu      |
| 11. dulu    | 36. bɛ          | 61. kisaisɔgɔ    | 86. hĩ          |
| 12. mei     | 37. mubi        | 62. --           | 87. --          |
| 13. i       | 38. dɔu         | 63. --           | 88. hɔmakɔna    |
| 14. gududā  | 39. kumē        | 64. nela:bugɔ    | 89. wɔlugu      |
| 15. mɔgɔɔ   | 40. mu          | 65. kɔu          | 90. gulida      |
| 16. de      | 41. eli         | 66. tɔbi         | 91. wi          |
| 17. tɔ      | 42. hɔmɔ        | 67. biē          | 92. --          |
| 18. ɔbēnie  | 43. hɔmɔ tu     | 68. --           | 93. hɔsugudu    |
| 19. hɔmɔ    | 44. hɔmɔ kulo   | 69. dui          | 94. hɔu         |
| 20. ibi     | 45. sɔ          | 70. tɔnei        | 95. i           |
| 21. kulo    | 46. sɔtɔ        | 71. tie          | 96. sɔʔ kai     |
| 22. sāwɔ    | 47. ɔsigɔ       | 72. tie          | 97. mai         |
| 23. bɔ      | 48. sɔʔ tɔ      | 73. egɛ          | 98. hɔmɔu       |
| 24. ki      | 49. sɔʔ hɔ      | 74. dualɔ        | 99. unɔki       |
| 25. miligi  | 50. inɔlubi     | 75. hɔwɔ tuabeye | 100. ɔ          |

## A.3 The Papuan Plateau Subfamily

## Bedamini

|             |              |                |             |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. tunu     | 26. kidagi   | 51. bɔgade     | 76. mɪsa    |
| 2. uda      | 27. eʃɔ      | 52. fɔrɔbɔnadi | 77. awabe   |
| 3. na       | 28. aubi     | 53. tefeya     | 78. kasuma  |
| 4. ti       | 29. kasumuni | 54. sada       | 79. dɪɔ     |
| 5. nĩnĩ     | 30. mu:      | 55. ɔbusi      | 80. hafugai |
| 6. huruane  | 31. kibu     | 56. suæ        | 81. nāwā    |
| 7. tialuna  | 32. kaʃi     | 57. nasɔbe     | 82. adi     |
| 8. hinabu   | 33. hāɪɔ     | 58. puæ        | 83. nelo:be |
| 9. si       | 34. ɔsɔbɔ    | 59. gamurubu   | 84. imu     |
| 10. mi      | 35. igi      | 60. hau        | 85. ɔsei    |
| 11. kē      | 36. geɔ      | 61. anego:gi   | 86. gowe    |
| 12. pese    | 37. kaumi    | 62. naba       | 87. kwe     |
| 13. kɔnɛsu  | 38. nalu     | 63. gahebe     | 88. afai    |
| 14. kaɪugwa | 39. giha     | 64. naha       | 89. adunā   |
| 15. læ:fi   | 40. dasubu   | 65. wida       | 90. tawa    |
| 16. nabu    | 41. loɔɔ     | 66. wama       | 91. bɔgɔ    |
| 17. tɔtɔ    | 42. ifa      | 67. fima       | 92. hame    |
| 18. hagɔmɔ  | 43. tĩ:fi    | 68. saima      | 93. ɪubi    |
| 19. emo     | 44. kadɔfɔ   | 69. mɔsɔ       | 94. hũ      |
| 20. muguni  | 45. wæ:me    | 70. ima        | 95. kai     |
| 21. kadɔfɔ  | 46. nago     | 71. kɔrama     | 96. ifi     |
| 22. hæ:ɪe   | 47. mæni     | 72. mita       | 97. ada     |
| 23. sēfē    | 48. abɔ      | 73. pɔbama     | 98. tuɪu    |
| 24. kasa    | 49. ɔsɔ      | 74. nabama     | 99. ame     |
| 25. baligi  | 50. ai       | 75. tasedabe   | 100. esa    |

## Etoro

|                |            |               |              |
|----------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. tɔnɔ        | 26. kitā   | 51. edefade   | 76. ma:sipe  |
| 2. udia        | 27. esɔ    | 52. nəfani    | 77. hakila   |
| 3. ne          | 28. aube   | 53. hedebe    | 78. mih̥sipē |
| 4. ti:         | 29. sikabi | 54. sedade    | 79. ēi       |
| 5. nini        | 30. kene   | 55. bɔpɛi     | 80. augia    |
| 6. susubato    | 31. sege   | 56. fɛlei     | 81. etɔ      |
| 7. bɔpusa      | 32. kasigi | 57. ɣabui     | 82. etɔ suhā |
| 8. bɔpusa heni | 33. ʒtā    | 58. wɛnɔi     | 83. nɛlukua  |
| 9. si          | 34. naka   | 59. mēlabui   | 84. imū      |
| 10. migani     | 35. igi    | 60. hēigī     | 85. ɣafie    |
| 11. kɛhe       | 36. sugua  | 61. kɔgī      | 86. kowe     |
| 12. pɔbese     | 37. segebi | 62. wālāsube  | 87. i kowe   |
| 13. eli        | 38. nuʔu   | 63. kahē      | 88. age      |
| 14. kalabago   | 39. hōbā   | 64. nahā:     | 89. agedu    |
| 15. nafi       | 40. nisipu | 65. wida      | 90. tawa     |
| 16. nabo       | 41. idi    | 66. nɔwemo    | 91. pakowi   |
| 17. tɔtɔ       | 42. i      | 67. miyē      | 92. haboi    |
| 18. pɔle       | 43. tifi   | 68. sāsiɛ     | 93. ipau     |
| 19. emɔ        | 44. kɔfɔtɔ | 69. mɔsɔ      | 94. hu       |
| 20. emɔgumu    | 45. ɔɔnɔ   | 70. imɔ       | 95. kai      |
| 21. kɔdɔfɔ     | 46. houpe  | 71. tiʔhā     | 96. ifi      |
| 22. hiʔle      | 47. hayɔ   | 72. mitiē     | 97. nɔtɔ     |
| 23. sāfē       | 48. heʔi   | 73. peyaha    | 98. iʔkɔɣa   |
| 24. kiwi:      | 49. iso    | 74. nababa    | 99. neme     |
| 25. pagi       | 50. seme   | 75. tadisigai | 100. esa     |

## Onabasulu

|                 |            |              |                 |
|-----------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. iɔnɔ         | 26. kilele | 51. bule     | 76. mila        |
| 2. idɔ          | 27. hɔɔ    | 52. wedino   | 77. hauba afe   |
| 3. na           | 28. aube   | 53. nafulu   | 78. mulu        |
| 4. ka           | 29. sigabi | 54. sedale   | 79. wi          |
| 5. nini         | 30. kene   | 55. kenelu   | 80. awi         |
| 6. sunia        | 31. sugafe | 56. hɔlu     | 81. nɔe         |
| 7. kuni         | 32. nigili | 57. yabulu   | 82. ene         |
| 8. kuni alu     | 33. hanɔ   | 58. wanɔlu   | 83. denā basami |
| 9. si           | 34. hele   | 59. imɔɔlu   | 84. fē          |
| 10. mī          | 35. abane  | 60. harɔfe   | 85. bule        |
| 11. kɔheni      | 36. tɔfene | 61. poti     | 86. ewe         |
| 12. pese        | 37. gali   | 62. wasigānu | 87. amɔ         |
| 13. ɛane        | 38. ti     | 63. hili     | 88. agale       |
| 14. gifɔkɔɔ     | 39. tikawa | 64. namana   | 89. aida        |
| 15. mɔfeyɔ      | 40. tefene | 65. faiulu   | 90. asigibu     |
| 16. sɔne        | 41. enɔ    | 66. degemela | 91. dawalife    |
| 17. bu          | 42. i      | 67. mesa     | 92. tuma        |
| 18. kubɔ        | 43. efɔtɔ  | 68. sāma     | 93. iwalu       |
| 19. emɔ         | 44. i patɔ | 69. afē      | 94. hū          |
| 20. emɔ hɔɔnɔmɔ | 45. kesɔ   | 70. mēma     | 95. mabu        |
| 21. tɔmɔla      | 46. tɔfano | 71. hanema   | 96. ifini       |
| 22. ibi         | 47. haka   | 72. hanema   | 97. naɔ         |
| 23. sāfē        | 48. alu    | 73. bama     | 98. etɔ         |
| 24. kiwi        | 49. sɔ     | 74. tɔma     | 99. nae         |
| 25. faiso       | 50. hani   | 75. tasafe   | 100. alu        |

## A.4 The Bosavi Watershed Subfamily

## Kaluli

|            |                |                 |                     |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. kalu    | 26. kenĩ       | 51. ălä         | 76. mina            |
| 2. kesali  | 27. ɔf         | 52. helu        | 77. ʒbē talogisilap |
| 3. ni      | 28. ili        | 53. nafa        | 78. mɔbulugap       |
| 4. ki      | 29. tami       | 54. sābo        | 79. wi              |
| 5. niyɔ    | 30. kɔlək      | 55. kinilo      | 80. fulu            |
| 6. tabo    | 31. hɔn sindap | 56. holo        | 81. kiɔba           |
| 7. misē    | 32. nutap      | 57. hiyo        | 82. ɔba             |
| 8. misē fɔ | 33. hɔn        | 58. wanalo      | 83. tiwaisolap      |
| 9. si      | 34. hin        | 59. imɔlo       | 84. fē              |
| 10. migi   | 35. u          | 60. ɔfo         | 85. mɔto            |
| 11. kenē   | 36. kabo       | 61. hito        | 86. we              |
| 12. bis    | 37. misio      | 62. waido       | 87. ei              |
| 13. ean    | 38. di         | 63. hogi        | 88. āgel            |
| 14. dagas  | 39. di hɔmɔ    | 64. maya        | 89. ādip            |
| 15. mikɔf  | 40. tufun      | 65. kusua       | 90. ʌsulap          |
| 16. tagi   | 41. tɔk        | 66. tʌsilap     | 91. ɔlo             |
| 17. bu     | 42. i          | 67. misiya      | 92. --              |
| 18. kuf    | 43. i tif      | 68. selap       | 93. i fɔs           |
| 19. gip    | 44. i dɔkɔf    | 69. hamana      | 94. ho              |
| 20. kulau  | 45. kasa       | 70. dimina      | 95. magu            |
| 21. dɔgɔf  | 46. tufon      | 71. alima       | 96. kisin           |
| 22. hɔbo   | 47. ʒbē        | 72. alima       | 97. to              |
| 23. saf    | 48. ʒbē fɔn    | 73. boba        | 98. i helu          |
| 24. ki     | 49. ʒbē uʒ     | 74. dɔdɔp       | 99. no              |
| 25. feis   | 50. ke         | 75. hɔn mululap | 100. as             |

## Sunia

|               |              |               |              |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. ʌsenʌ      | 26. kutin    | 51. kekʌda    | 76. menʌ     |
| 2. nʌisɔʌ     | 27. of       | 52. idʌsu     | 77. hɔʔimʌp  |
| 3. ne         | 28. weʔe     | 53. nɔfedi    | 78. demedʌp  |
| 4. ge         | 29. themi    | 54. sʌdʌ      | 79. imi      |
| 5. niʔi       | 30. kelʌn    | 55. giʌ       | 80. ɔno      |
| 6. tɔgamu     | 31. mɔ       | 56. hɔ:ʌ      | 81. inʌ      |
| 7. eneipi     | 32. unudu    | 57. sɔʌ       | 82. --       |
| 8. eneipi fɔn | 33. mɔ       | 58. wʌn       | 83. die menʌ |
| 9. si         | 34. heni     | 59. imuʔʌ     | 84. fi       |
| 10. miki      | 35. ka       | 60. ufulʌ     | 85. keʔika   |
| 11. ekadem    | 36. ke       | 61. hiʌ       | 86. kʌʔi     |
| 12. ʌnenʌ     | 37. muʒiʌ    | 62. ugʌdʌ     | 87. --       |
| 13. tʌbise    | 38. de       | 63. hi        | 88. itidi    |
| 14. odogu     | 39. dɔfo     | 64. menʌ      | 89. ani      |
| 15. mekaʔf    | 40. dufun    | 65. monʌ      | 90. ɔsugʌ    |
| 16. dʌb       | 41. tokɔr    | 66. tʌsiduʌ   | 91. senima   |
| 17. bo        | 42. yep      | 67. misʌ      | 92. --       |
| 18. kuf       | 43. yeʔef    | 68. heinʌsedʌ | 93. yʌʔʌʒ    |
| 19. eisep     | 44. yeʔekʌʔf | 69. me        | 94. ughu     |
| 20. gut       | 45. weʔi     | 70. dimʌnʌ    | 95. wʌdei    |
| 21. ʌkʌʔf     | 46. ciɔom    | 71. midʌ      | 96. hɔsin    |
| 22. hʌbʌ      | 47. ʌbo      | 72. midʌ      | 97. dɔ       |
| 23. ʌsʌʔf     | 48. ʌbo fɔn  | 73. bɔpʌ      | 98. dɔʔfo    |
| 24. uku       | 49. ʌtʌm     | 74. dɔbudʌdʌ  | 99. nʌ       |
| 25. ɔfɔs      | 50. dɔuba    | 75. mutinʌp   | 100. is      |

## Kasua

- |               |                |              |               |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. sene       | 26. kenen      | 51. sosoŋo   | 76. mine      |
| 2. kesAŋe     | 27. ɔbo        | 52. kɔɔɔtea  | 77. hutiahaɾa |
| 3. ne         | 28. kunɛi      | 53. naɾɔŋo   | 78. meni      |
| 4. ke         | 29. yɛpisini   | 54. senaɔŋo  | 79. unū       |
| 5. niuwa      | 30. ekope      | 55. kenɛ     | 80. phɔu      |
| 6. sɔɔŋo      | 31. hanaɔ mɔni | 56. kuɣa     | 81. eba ibe   |
| 7. bizei      | 32. nukruano   | 57. yaruɣa   | 82. enana     |
| 8. bizei fanu | 33. hanaɔ      | 58. eŋia     | 83. hinakiye  |
| 9. si         | 34. pɛlia      | 59. muna     | 84. pfei      |
| 10. mī        | 35. etewa      | 60. kulia    | 85. hitela    |
| 11. kineli    | 36. kɔɔŋo      | 61. bɔtia    | 86. wei       |
| 12. apa       | 37. tɔkɔmɔ     | 62. waruɣa   | 87. eba       |
| 13. tɛpɛ      | 38. tei        | 63. hiŋi     | 88. semeti    |
| 14. timɔko    | 39. hɔma toa   | 64. mɛnɛ     | 89. eŋipi     |
| 15. menbo     | 40. tɛɔ        | 65. kazua    | 90. enemataha |
| 16. tiele     | 41. isu        | 66. erape    | 91. kuŋu      |
| 17. bo        | 42. i          | 67. heŋeme   | 92. ede       |
| 18. kubu      | 43. warɔfo     | 68. seŋakeye | 93. i falo    |
| 19. unetu     | 44. i kapa     | 69. hɔmona   | 94. supu      |
| 20. kuniyūn   | 45. kasoɾo     | 70. nema     | 95. tɔŋo      |
| 21. ka:po     | 46. itiaɛ      | 71. enima    | 96. sinipi    |
| 22. bebeta    | 47. enim       | 72. enima    | 97. --        |
| 23. sape      | 48. anɛm fanu  | 73. boba     | 98. itho      |
| 24. ki:       | 49. ufu        | 74. taɬaŋeye | 99. --        |
| 25. fes       | 50. tuŋu       | 75. huŋuhaɾa | 100. --       |

## Aimele

- |              |                |                   |                 |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. kolu      | 26. kede       | 51. hɔgala        | 76. yabe        |
| 2. kaisale   | 27. ofo        | 52. hɔɔɔsu        | 77. abo tɔɔɔdia |
| 3. ne        | 28. ole        | 53. kɛlɛga        | aneke           |
| 4. ge        | 29. bilimu     | 54. sada          | 78. agi kalia   |
| 5. ni        | 30. kilini     | 55. gia           | 79. wi          |
| 6. tobo      | 31. hāni tine  | 56. hola          | 80. ine         |
| 7. mufa      | 32. sɔɔɔdiyabe | 57. damɛla        | 81. aiba        |
| 8. mufa fɔno | 33. hāni       | 58. wenala        | 82. aiba ?      |
| 9. si        | 34. isa        | 59. imɔla         | 83. seba        |
| 10. migi     | 35. dɔa        | 60. ɔfola         | 84. tede        |
| 11. keleni   | 36. kɛ         | 61. kɔmɔlu        | 85. momeya      |
| 12. bisi     | 37. dɔma       | 62. --            | 86. wekae       |
| 13. dabisɛ   | 38. di         | 63. hi            | 87. wɛ          |
| 14. dɔɔɔle   | 39. dɔfu       | 64. mayā          | 88. ageli       |
| 15. mɔgafɔ   | 40. dɔɔo       | 65. kɔsuwa        | 89. ageleweli   |
| 16. debe     | 41. tɔɔɔlo     | 66. dasidɔmā      | 90. hɔɔoke      |
| 17. bu:      | 42. yebe       | 67. meseyā        | 91. sanemā      |
| 18. kufu     | 43. yebe tefe  | 68. tɔyā          | 92. igale nake  |
| 19. inebi    | 44. ye kafe    | 69. malā          | 93. yefo        |
| 20. gulu     | 45. āgi        | 70. diminā        | 94. ho          |
| 21. kāfu     | 46. tufɔno     | 71. alimā         | 95. wade        |
| 22. omani    | 47. abo        | 72. alimā         | 96. abo ɔsene   |
| 23. sabe     | 48. abo fɔno   | 73. bɔbɔmā        | 97. na          |
| 24. ki       | 49. abo uŋu    | 74. debamā        | 98. kolu        |
| 25. fɔsu     | 50. kɔmɔlu     | 75. hane hemefiyā | 99. nɔluwelebe  |
|              |                |                   | 100. esi        |



## Kamula

|             |               |                   |               |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1. ɔpɔlɔimi | 26. mɔke      | 51. pɔtɔ          | 76. puma      |
| 2. ẽyǎ      | 27. sɔʎi      | 52. yimikɔmɔlɔ    | 77. hɔʎɔmtuma |
| 3. nẽ       | 28. mɔmɔ      | 53. tegedʒẽ       | 78. yeʒema    |
| 4. wẽ       | 29. tɔmeʎi    | 54. seʒemɔʎeni    | 79. hi        |
| 5. diẽ      | 30. uɔʎɔ      | 55. omtɔkɔipele   | 80. suku      |
| 6. hɔpɔlɔmɔ | 31. tiɔ       | 56. kɔmɔle        | 81. ɔnɔye     |
| 7. tɔkɔbɔlɔ | 32. utɔʎɛlɔ   | 57. dikɔli        | 82. ɔpɔtɛ     |
| 8. kɔkɔsɔse | 33. yu        | 58. wɔleni        | 83. uʎuʎuma   |
| 9. inɔmɔ    | 34. tɛʎɔ      | 59. tɔlipusukɔlu  | 84. iʎɔ       |
| 10. mũ      | 35. ewɔʎɔ     | 60. ɔlɔmɔleni     | 85. hɔpɔlɔmɔ  |
| 11. mɔlɔ    | 36. ɔʎiɔ      | 61. thɔmɔli       | 86. ʒi        |
| 12. epe     | 37. tɔmɔʎi    | 62. pɔsɔtɔni      | 87. ɛye       |
| 13. tɛ      | 38. deʎɔpɔ    | 63. ɔmɔkɔ         | 88. hɔtɔlɔp   |
| 14. tumuku  | 39. nɔmɔʎe    | 64. tɔɛdɔmɔ       | 89. depɔɔmɛtɛ |
| 15. mɔ:tɔ   | 40. tine      | 65. wɔtɔlɔ        | 90. mɔlɔmɔlɔ  |
| 16. tɔ:     | 41. ɔpi       | 66. seɔihotine    | 91. yumama    |
| 17. mɛmɛ    | 42. tɔli      | 67. yeɔroma       | 92. hɔwɔ      |
| 18. kuko    | 43. tɔʎɔsɔ:ʎɔ | 68. yugama        | 93. upɔ       |
| 19. hetei   | 44. kɔbɔlɔ    | 69. tɔmɔ          | 94. mɔ        |
| 20. ɔʎuma   | 45. eɛemɔlɔ   | 70. hɔmɔmɔ        | 95. tumɔ      |
| 21. kɔpɔlɔ  | 46. tile      | 71. elema         | 96. tukasi    |
| 22. umɔ:li  | 47. tea       | 72. elema         | 97. ʒɔ        |
| 23. ɔpi     | 48. teakɔ     | 73. nɔtima        | 98. mɔkɔ      |
| 24. ɛʎu     | 49. temɔkɔ    | 74. tɔlɔmɔ        | 99. wɔli      |
| 25. kɔ      | 50. ɔmɔlɔ     | 75. yudeɔlɔsɔlɛmɔ | 100. --       |

DOSO This list was taken from a Kamula man who was married to a Doso woman. It was collected at Kisigi where the man was living at the time (not included in comparative data).

|              |                |              |               |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. haimo     | 26. makə       | 51. --       | 76. andɛ      |
| 2. dobo      | 27. khikha     | 52. --       | 77. patude    |
| 3. anei      | 28. ɔʎi        | 53. --       | 78. bakɔle    |
| 4. na        | 29. wɔtɔbɔ     | 54. --       | 79. samu      |
| 5. ɔʎi       | 30. wɔʎɔ       | 55. --       | 80. pɛpɛ      |
| 6. --        | 31. oʎo        | 56. --       | 81. --        |
| 7. abaki     | 32. --         | 57. --       | 82. --        |
| 8. abuluso   | 33. umu        | 58. --       | 83. diki hede |
| 9. usa       | 34. bili       | 59. --       | 84. amu       |
| 10. bulu     | 35. kɔ         | 60. --       | 85. --        |
| 11. apu      | 36. nɛna       | 61. --       | 86. --        |
| 12. da       | 37. pi         | 62. --       | 87. --        |
| 13. ithi     | 38. diki       | 63. --       | 88. --        |
| 14. wagubati | 39. dɔʎimi     | 64. nane     | 89. --        |
| 15. dimike   | 40. dɔmɔlɔkɔpɔ | 65. wathwɔʎɔ | 90. omtwa     |
| 16. pɛnei    | 41. uzuga      | 66. diɛ      | 91. okamane   |
| 17. toka     | 42. gu         | 67. ipwe     | 92. --        |
| 18. gomga    | 43. haha       | 68. ɔ wɔʎɛi  | 93. gusu      |
| 19. sɔʎɛi    | 44. gubɔʎi     | 69. uʎɛ      | 94. uʎu       |
| 20. swɔ      | 45. khasa      | 70. mɔnɔne   | 95. bɔsei     |
| 21. bɔli     | 46. --         | 71. kɔʎiɛ    | 96. sɔʎɛdmiki |
| 22. omani    | 47. siki       | 72. kuʎiɛi   | 97. --        |
| 23. tsə      | 48. ih         | 73. yɔnɛ     | 98. alei      |
| 24. khi      | 49. wɔnɔ       | 74. duʎɛi    | 99. --        |
| 25. bɔkhi    | 50. yah        | 75. --       | 100. ɛzɛbe    |

## Bainapi

|              |                |                |             |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. sau       | 26. bɪnapki    | 51. gutute     | 76. mini-   |
| 2. tawɔi     | 27. male       | 52. sia        | 77. pio     |
| 3. nanɛ      | 28. iliepe     | 53. waleta     | 78. makali  |
| 4. gage      | 29. bepeai:    | 54. memeli     | 79. yo      |
| 5. nini      | 30. paupai     | 55. balipatapa | 80. auakiki |
| 6. ɔtɔmate   | 31. daiagisaro | 56. okatapa    | 81. dabʃa   |
| 7. bisikɔki  | 32. dapo       | 57. daputapa   | 82. yaloa   |
| 8. bisi kaka | 33. daia       | 58. metapa     | 83. aro-    |
| 9. usa       | 34. ʔe         | 59. katatapa   | 84. pe      |
| 10. deimu    | 35. kɔ         | 60. sitau      | 85. gutute  |
| 11. kɔsɔɔpa  | 36. apo        | 61. babit      | 86. aye     |
| 12. beserepa | 37. bati       | 62. tapau      | 87. amo     |
| 13. meteta   | 38. daʃau      | 63. kokalia    | 88. makate  |
| 14. timɔku   | 39. do         | 64. na-        | 89. aʃapa   |
| 15. kalu     | 40. dupu       | 65. kauli      | 90. nauma-  |
| 16. tapi     | 41. iti        | 66. dasi-      | 91. toa     |
| 17. bu       | 42. bosa       | 67. eso-       | 92. namo    |
| 18. kupɔ     | 43. bosa baba  | 68. mado-      | 93. isipa   |
| 19. tupa     | 44. bosa baua  | 69. an-        | 94. moko    |
| 20. gutu     | 45. sapo       | 70. mina-      | 95. mase    |
| 21. baua     | 46. koʃokawa   | 71. usiati-    | 96. kapa    |
| 22. balipa   | 47. meta       | 72. usiati-    | 97. enate   |
| 23. sai      | 48. kwasapa    | 73. boso-      | 98. ukuma   |
| 24. ki       | 49. kwapa      | 74. apki-      | 99. enauwe  |
| 25. butaku   | 50. kaipi      | 75. --         | 100. bitia  |

## APPENDIX B: LANGUAGES SURROUNDING THE BOSAVI FAMILY

## Bogaya

|                 |                  |                   |                    |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. ʌmĩ          | 26. peni         | 51. gɔsin         | 76. fai            |
| 2. imia         | 27. ɔwa          | 52. hitipa        | 77. pitaka mɔɔɔsi  |
| 3. nɔ           | 28. klɪu         | 53. hɔmɔɔanumun   | 78. hiliuɔ         |
| 4. kɔ           | 29. ɔlɔlɔlɔlɔ    | 54. ulua          | 79. ʌmĩn           |
| 5. enu          | 30. niguwi       | 55. ɔlɔlɔn        | 80. pitaka fɔlɔlɔn |
| 6. kɔnufɔnma    | 31. pɔliukufɔsi  | 56. hɔwɔlɔn       | 81. kɔɔɔ           |
| 7. yeɔlɔ        | 32. ɔmɔtɔkɔn     | 57. ɔmusin        | 82. kemenɔ         |
| 8. yeɔlɔ eɔlika | 33. pɔliuku      | 58. fɔwun         | 83. tɔulɔ tɔ       |
| 9. ki:nɔn       | 34. yɔmɔɔlɔn     | 59. ɔalɔlɔn       | 84. fiɔlɔ          |
| 10. pɔfɔuɔlɔ    | 35. hɔlɔlɔ       | 60. tɔɔɔ          | 85. ka:sinumɔn     |
| 11. hɔnɔlɔn     | 36. ɔɔlɔn        | 61. ʌsɔɔɔ         | 86. duhu           |
| 12. ɔlɔklɔi     | 37. klɔɔlɔ       | 62. pekenɔlɔ      | 87. duhu           |
| 13. ɔkin        | 38. tɔun         | 63. sɔlɔlɔn       | 88. mɔsɔl kɔmɔ     |
| 14. tɔlɔfɔn     | 39. sukupɔ       | 64. nɔ            | 89. eɔlɔn          |
| 15. minɔɔ       | 40. mĩmu         | 65. uɔɔɔlɔ        | 90. houn           |
| 16. eɔlɔlɔ      | 41. hɔɔna        | 66. seɔlɔlɔ       | 91. hɔlɔkɔnɔ       |
| 17. ʌlɔ         | 42. tɔulɔ        | 67. sɔɔɔɔlɔ       | 92. mɛ             |
| 18. sɔlɔlɔn     | 43. tɔulɔ tɔlɔɔ  | 68. nɔlɔɔsi       | 93. tɔulɔ iɔlika   |
| 19. yehɔi       | 44. tɔua fulu    | 69. mɔlɔlɔ        | 94. pĩni           |
| 20. ɔmɔmukun    | 45. ɔɔɔɔpi       | 70. siɔlɔ         | 95. mɔlɔlɔn        |
| 21. hukulɔn     | 46. houe         | 71. hɔulɔlɔlɔ     | 96. pitaka kipa    |
| 22. yesɔ        | 47. pitaka       | 72. hɔulɔlɔlɔ     | 97. ʌlɔ            |
| 23. mungulɔn    | 48. pitaka elika | 73. hɔlɔlɔlɔ      | 98. tɔulɔ ɔndi     |
| 24. hɔlɔlɔe     | 49. pitaka ɔudi  | 74. wɔkeisi       | 99. emɔ            |
| 25. fɔlɔn       | 50. hei          | 75. enou wɔnɔmɔlɔ | 100. --            |

## Duna

|            |                  |                  |             |
|------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. anoa    | 26. paia         | 51. puka         | 76. heana   |
| 2. ima     | 27. hewa         | 52. kete         | 77. pakana  |
| 3. no      | 28. eke          | 53. peli         | 78. neyana  |
| 4. ko      | 29. yalekayi     | 54. ugwa         | 79. yaka    |
| 5. inu     | 30. popo         | 55. yetao        | 80. iki     |
| 6. pilili  | 31. yu           | 56. peo          | 81. ai      |
| 7. kuni    | 32. akurua       | 57. midu         | 82. aki     |
| 8. hini    | 33. yu           | 58. abwao        | 83. kiliana |
| 9. le      | 34. lidi         | 59. toninipurubo | 84. tete    |
| 10. kuma   | 35. kuna         | 60. lololo       | 85. rokwa   |
| 11. kohane | 36. isa          | 61. lakale       | 86. huna    |
| 12. ne     | 37. kali         | 62. din          | 87. hana    |
| 13. ogone  | 38. lowa kiliana | 63. koni         | 88. du      |
| 14. ma     | 39. hawe         | 64. neyana       | 89. yapa    |
| 15. habu   | 40. emo          | 65. ukura        | 90. konei   |
| 16. ki     | 41. hata         | 66. kei          | 91. teikina |
| 17. abu    | 42. lowa         | 67. leina        | 92. neya    |
| 18. takane | 43. lako         | 68. luwana       | 93. hini    |
| 19. tia    | 44. lowa puru    | 69. gana         | 94. pini    |
| 20. mokone | 45. yawi         | 70. ugwana       | 95. makapo  |
| 21. pulu   | 46. lana         | 71. wana         | 96. hodene  |
| 22. kuyila | 47. heka         | 72. wana         | 97. ana     |
| 23. hai    | 48. hini         | 73. kena         | 98. eke     |
| 24. kuni   | 49. hapa         | 74. wakina       | 99. agia    |
| 25. kana   | 50. wena         | 75. lana         | 100. nu     |

## Pare

|              |               |              |                 |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. kobo      | 26. isene     | 51. hiti     | 76. hadano      |
| 2. wigi      | 27. gine      | 52. kobokiti | 77. kada        |
| 3. no        | 28. abi       | 53. ediage   | 78. tena        |
| 4. go        | 29. peteme    | 54. sige     | 79. hi          |
| 5. nigi      | 30. uwe       | 55. tauge    | 80. ako         |
| 6. hanomu    | 31. ume       | 56. gogene   | 81. koboko kobu |
| 7. kiba      | 32. hwiga     | 57. dige     | 82. naganewo    |
| 8. ouse      | 33. ume       | 58. kosagane | 83. ne dimenu   |
| 9. kinemo    | 34. to        | 59. momagane | 84. kiba ?o     |
| 10. kine     | 35. iebo      | 60. te:ga    | 85. hitiyum     |
| 11. moggo    | 36. mele      | 61. suwiga   | 86. e           |
| 12. male     | 37. giso      | 62. towate   | 87. o           |
| 13. te       | 38. ne        | 63. kwane    | 88. oteso       |
| 14. tulu     | 39. ne ogwe   | 64. denu     | 89. diyabo      |
| 15. padame   | 40. owekomo   | 65. obo      | 90. nodaloyo    |
| 16. atowe    | 41. otigi     | 66. heno     | 91. male yenu   |
| 17. bu       | 42. i         | 67. eneno    | 92. amale       |
| 18. napo     | 43. i debere  | 68. sa ade   | 93. i use       |
| 19. tamakali | 44. i sia     | 69. kodu     | 94. seyi        |
| 20. oumu     | 45. ti        | 70. denu     | 95. owe         |
| 21. sia      | 46. hweto     | 71. kiyceno  | 96. dage        |
| 22. sowo     | 47. tie       | 72. eno      | 97. de          |
| 23. sa:      | 48. tige ouse | 73. dedo     | 98. i mu        |
| 24. ko       | 49. mo'o      | 74. wodalao  | 99. ama         |
| 25. malako   | 50. mune      | 75. ume ?ida | 100. dige       |

## Namumi

|               |                 |                 |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. abano      | 26. kinu        | 51. kaia        | 76. piæ         |
| 2. hinamu     | 27. maya        | 52. pabu        | 77. minaipū     |
| 3. anuni      | 28. hiki        | 53. bisai       | 78. nisie       |
| 4. ni         | 29. iya putini  | 54. hōropo      | 79. iyanu       |
| 5. su         | 30. aku         | 55. piti        | 80. nōriapo     |
| 6. abonakaiya | 31. iya         | 56. saufia      | 81. epare       |
| 7. unahaie    | 32. iya idi     | 57. kimusa      | 82. yakabare    |
| 8. unahai iti | 33. hī          | 58. saririsa    | 83. --          |
| 9. hī         | 34. hāuaka      | 59. saisaia     | 84. --          |
| 10. sapasuma  | 35. ūki         | 60. sisibu      | 85. kaiya       |
| 11. sinæki    | 36. giro        | 61. inu         | 86. nani        |
| 12. akai      | 37. uri         | 62. komurusai   | 87. wari nani   |
| 13. airu      | 38. irakupi     | 63. kawi        | 88. nakasa      |
| 14. kōropiri  | 39. ira musu    | 64. nesi        | 89. tita        |
| 15. akai kiri | 40. kanaku      | 65. sikina      | 90. --          |
| 16. nōkanu    | 41. iyakarapabu | 66. tahihi      | 91. --          |
| 17. hōtu      | 42. ira         | 67. asikayæ     | 92. fa          |
| 18. haripa    | 43. irabikinu   | 68. sumisie     | 93. ira gu      |
| 19. kōfai     | 44. ira kau     | 69. pusie       | 94. maia        |
| 20. kukunai   | 45. kasa        | 70. makasie     | 95. kaputa      |
| 21. kau       | 46. kasa kinu   | 71. wara kabu   | 96. kipi sikini |
| 22. kakusa    | 47. minai       | 72. wari kinabu | 97. ata         |
| 23. sawi      | 48. iti         | 73. asiabu      | 98. sū yahai    |
| 24. kiki      | 49. hai         | 74. kai abu     | 99. ama         |
| 25. mati      | 50. poka        | 75. tabusie     | 100. ira        |

## Bamu

|                |                 |                |                   |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. dubu        | 26. bena        | 51. auwona     | 76. ōdie          |
| 2. ōrobo       | 27. saikio      | 52. kainaʔi    | 77. ōdau          |
| 3. mo          | 28. sogomi      | 53. meana      | 78. agigisi       |
| 4. ōro         | 29. sari        | 54. tutulu     | 79. masiro        |
| 5. neio        | 30. tōbōro bubu | 55. karima     | 80. tamu          |
| 6. imese       | 31. wisare      | 56. kea sao    | 81. etura         |
| 7. eputa       | 32. duwo        | 57. gare:      | 82. tōura         |
| 8. epusume     | 33. ōbo         | 58. aguwago    | 83. mahiro ōuho   |
| 9. damari      | 34. sōpu        | 59. gitigiti   | 84. nimo          |
| 10. wōdi       | 35. depani      | 60. kōro       | 85. sirio         |
| 11. gare       | 36. giro        | 61. kukamo     | 86. nōuʔu         |
| 12. ibōmōro    | 37. pōdo        | 62. kirotoṃuwa | 87. ioʔi          |
| 13. ōtōtōbe    | 38. mahi        | 63. ōrio       | 88. kaidi         |
| 14. dōpa       | 39. gahuwa      | 64. ōuho       | 89. netewa taibo  |
| 15. matagōro   | 40. tuwo        | 65. diware     | 90. umōroie       |
| 16. tuʔu       | 41. gabo        | 66. ōtoi       | 91. ō ōpia        |
| 17. amo        | 42. ōta         | 67. ōmidiro    | 92. puaie         |
| 18. niro       | 43. sipi        | 68. ibo aro    | 93. puara         |
| 19. sairo pato | 44. tama        | 69. ōuʔu       | 94. tumuna ōuhōma |
| 20. kauhwiō    | 45. sōka        | 70. abioṃo     | 95. kōbira        |
| 21. tama       | 46. kukau       | 71. uwo ōrobu  | 96. tukupi        |
| 22. sawi       | 47. siwi        | 72. ōrobu      | 97. abera         |
| 23. kasawo     | 48. musuwa      | 73. iauri      | 98. iōpu          |
| 24. sōro       | 49. iōpu        | 74. irowidiro  | 99. mamu          |
| 25. gimini     | 50. nakere      | 75. ōbo iōuwa  | 100. --           |

## APPENDIX C: DIALECTS OF SAMO

Samo Included here for comparison

|              |               |                   |                |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. oso       | 26. ɔdiɔ      | 51. kau           | 76. hugala     |
| 2. sɔbɔ      | 27. ʒsɔ       | 52. feəfɔ         | 77. fulumā ila |
| 3. ā         | 28. ogwɔ      | 53. de            | 78. gada       |
| 4. nɔ        | 29. gɔsɔmɔnɪ  | 54. sago          | 79. hūti       |
| 5. ɔye       | 30. ɔgabi     | 55. ɔbusɪte       | 80. alafagibi  |
| 6. gɔgɔ      | 31. hɔ mūnū   | 56. ɔlɔwɔte       | 81. kūba       |
| 7. ulɔgibi   | 32. gɔsɪ      | 57. busɪte        | 82. kɔbɔba     |
| 8. ulɔgibi   | 33. hɔ        | 58. biyete        | 83. heyasɔgɔla |
| 9. hɪɔwɔ     | 34. mɔhɔɪ     | 59. mɔɪlɔwɔte     | 84. ōu         |
| 10. mɪnɪ     | 35. yo        | 60. dɔfi          | 85. gɔgɔ       |
| 11. duli     | 36. bɔyɔ      | 61. tɪ            | 86. ke         |
| 12. mɔyɔ     | 37. gɔwɔfɔda  | 62. mɔɪɔtɔnɔmɔdɔ  | 87. ka         |
| 13. mɛnɛmɔnɪ | 38. dɔlɔ      | 63. dwafi         | 88. helenū     |
| 14. gɔbɔgibi | 39. dɔhɔɪ     | 64. nāla          | 89. bɛnɔu      |
| 15. mɔgalu   | 40. dɔsɔbu    | 65. kɔyabi        | 90. tɔwadela   |
| 16. dɛbɛ     | 41. ali       | 66. tɔfɔla        | 91. ola        |
| 17. bu       | 42. hɔmɔnɛ    | 67. buɔla         | 92. mɔi        |
| 18. sasi     | 43. tɔfɛ      | 68. tɔ hwɔla      | 93. dibi       |
| 19. hɔmɔ     | 44. bisigɔbu  | 69. suda          | 94. hwɔɪ       |
| 20. ibulu    | 45. sɔfo      | 70. nēla          | 95. ebe        |
| 21. kɔlɔfu   | 46. sɔfo hobe | 71. kiala         | 96. sigɔ kali  |
| 22. ayo      | 47. sigɔ      | 72. kela          | 97. ade        |
| 23. bɔnɔ     | 48. sigɔ tɔwɔ | 73. ɔgɔla         | 98. kɔlɔ       |
| 24. kibi     | 49. sigɔ hɔlɔ | 74. dula          | 99. uyo        |
| 25. wagibi   | 50. dɔ        | 75. hɔ tɔlɔfiyala | 100. ɛsɔ       |

## Kubo

|              |                |              |               |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. o         | 26. ɔdɔme      | 51. kau      | 76. hɔgwaiɔ   |
| 2. sɔbɔ      | 27. ɔsɔ        | 52. fɔfi     | 77. fuɔyɔɪɔ   |
| 3. ā         | 28. ogwɔ       | 53. de       | 78. ga:ɪɔ     |
| 4. nā        | 29. gɔsɔmɔi    | 54. sago     | 79. hūti      |
| 5. ɔye       | 30. ɔgabi      | 55. osiko    | 80. ɔdɔfɔdɪɔ  |
| 6. gɔgɔ      | 31. hwi tɔlɔdɔ | 56. kɔwɔkɔ   | 81. kɔmaba    |
| 7. wɔdɪɔ     | 32. gɔsɪ       | 57. buwɔkɔ   | 82. bɔɔɔba    |
| 8. wɔdɪɔ tɔi | 33. hwi        | 58. biekɔ    | 83. hɔbɛɔtɔɪɔ |
| 9. dɪhɔ      | 34. ɔsɔ        | 59. mɔekɔ    | 84. ōu        |
| 10. mi       | 35. yo         | 60. dɔfi     | 85. gɔgɔ      |
| 11. du       | 36. ʔo         | 61. tɪ       | 86. ke        |
| 12. mɔyɔ     | 37. gɔwɔfɔda   | 62. ʒme:dɛ   | 87. ka        |
| 13. i:       | 38. dɔu        | 63. dwau     | 88. tano      |
| 14. gɔbaidɪu | 39. dɔhɔɪ      | 64. naiɔ     | 89. beɔu      |
| 15. mɔgaʔu   | 40. dɔsɔgɔ     | 65. diuɔ     | 90. tɔwɔɪɔ    |
| 16. dɔbɔgɔ   | 41. ai         | 66. tɔfɔdɪɔ  | 91. tɔiɔ      |
| 17. bu       | 42. hɔme       | 67. diɔbɔdɪɔ | 92. mɔi       |
| 18. gɔsɪɔ    | 43. tɔfɛ       | 68. tɔbɔɪɔ   | 93. dubi      |
| 19. ɔbɔgɔ    | 44. biɔ        | 69. sudɪɔ    | 94. huwɪ      |
| 20. yubu     | 45. sɔ         | 70. neiɔ     | 95. e:        |
| 21. kɔlɔ     | 46. sɔ hɔbɛ    | 71. tiaɪɔ    | 96. siu kai   |
| 22. ayo      | 47. siu        | 72. tiadɪɔ   | 97. ade       |
| 23. sofe     | 48. siu tɔi    | 73. duguɪɔ   | 98. ko        |
| 24. dɪɔ      | 49. siu hɔ     | 74. duɪɔ     | 99. dua       |
| 25. sɔgi     | 50. dɪɔ        | 75. hwi tɔiɔ | 100. ɛsɔ      |

## Honibo

|             |                 |                  |                |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1. os       | 26. ɔli         | 51. gau          | 76. ɔmaye      |
| 2. ulia     | 27. ɔ:s         | 52. fɛf          | 77. fudiye     |
| 3. ǎ        | 28. ɔgwa        | 53. de           | 78. ɔuaye      |
| 4. nɔ       | 29. ɔɔsɔmɔi     | 54. sagati       | 79. hūti       |
| 5. ɔye      | 30. ɔgaib       | 55. ɔbuste       | 80. alof       |
| 6. susugab  | 31. hǎū muwadau | 56. ɔlɔte        | 81. kūba       |
| 7. uligib   | 32. ɔɔis        | 57. busite       | 82. kaba       |
| 8. utoa     | 33. hǎū         | 58. buɔte        | 83. hɔitugweye |
| 9. hio      | 34. mɔhɔɪ       | 59. mɔlɔte       | 84. om         |
| 10. mɪni    | 35. yo          | 60. dɔif         | 85. susugab    |
| 11. dulu    | 36. bɔi         | 61. tiɔɔɔ        | 86. ke         |
| 12. mɔi     | 37. gok         | 62. mɔɔɔɔɔɔmɔimɔ | 87. ka         |
| 13. ili     | 38. dɔlu        | 63. dwaif        | 88. helehai    |
| 14. ɔɔfʌgib | 39. dem         | 64. nɔwal        | 89. bɛnabugu   |
| 15. mɔɔɔf   | 40. dɔsɔf       | 65. kɔyib        | 90. tɔwe       |
| 16. dub     | 41. ɔli         | 66. tɔɔye        | 91. ɔye        |
| 17. bu      | 42. hɔmɔl       | 67. buɔye        | 92. mɔi        |
| 18. sasi    | 43. mɔtɔf       | 68. tɔhwǎye      | 93. dib        |
| 19. hɔm     | 44. kɔlɔf       | 69. suɪye        | 94. hwɪ        |
| 20. ibili   | 45. sɔf         | 70. neye         | 95. eb         |
| 21. kɔlɔf   | 46. sɔf milu    | 71. kiaye        | 96. si kai     |
| 22. sahau   | 47. si          | 72. keaye        | 97. mam        |
| 23. bɔn     | 48. si tɔwɔ     | 73. ɔɔye         | 98. kɔl        |
| 24. kib     | 49. si hɔl      | 74. duye         | 99. we         |
| 25. wakib   | 50. dɔ          | 75. tɔfuaye      | 100. es        |

## Oibae

|            |               |                 |                 |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. ɔs      | 26. ɔidɪ      | 51. gauhi       | 76. sɔm dɔbuga  |
| 2. ulio    | 27. ɔs        | 52. fɔihi       | 77. fudugewɛi   |
| 3. ʔɔi     | 28. ɔɔ        | 53. due         | 78. sɔf ɔɔlɔwɛi |
| 4. kea     | 29. ɔɔsɔmɔi   | 54. sɔgati      | 79. hū          |
| 5. ɔʔi     | 30. aip       | 55. ɔbistɛ      | 80. alaf        |
| 6. susugap | 31. hɔu mual  | 56. ɔlɔtɛ       | 81. kum         |
| 7. ulugib  | 32. ɔɔi       | 57. dǎsɔtɛ      | 82. kabɔis      |
| 8. ɔtɔwɔ   | 33. hɔu       | 58. buɔtɛ       | 83. dɔtɔlgwia   |
| 9. hio     | 34. mɔhɔɪ     | 59. mɔlɔtɛ      | 84. ɔm          |
| 10. mi     | 35. ɔɔ        | 60. dɔfida      | 85. ɔsusugai    |
| 11. dulu   | 36. bɔɛ       | 61. kɔɔsida     | 86. ɔya         |
| 12. mɔɛ    | 37. miko      | 62. mɔ:tɔmedia  | 87. ɔuti        |
| 13. ili    | 38. dɔlu      | 63. duaif       | 88. hele        |
| 14. ɔɔbɔɔɔ | 39. dem       | 64. nɔwal       | 89. bena        |
| 15. mɔɔɔf  | 40. dɔsup     | 65. kɔyɛb       | 90. tɔwɛi       |
| 16. dɔp    | 41. ɔlɔ       | 66. tɔfɔwɛi     | 91. ɔwɛi        |
| 17. tɔ:    | 42. hɔmɔlɔ    | 67. buwɛi       | 92. mɔi         |
| 18. sais   | 43. hɔmɔl tɔp | 68. tɔhwǎɛi     | 93. dip         |
| 19. hɔm    | 44. kolap     | 69. suluwɛi     | 94. hwɔɪ        |
| 20. ibili  | 45. sɔf       | 70. nei         | 95. ebɪ         |
| 21. kɔrɔp  | 46. tuf       | 71. kialawɛi    | 96. si kaili    |
| 22. sɔh    | 47. sikɪ      | 72. kiama       | 97. mamgu       |
| 23. bɔnɔ   | 48. si tɔup   | 73. ɔɔwɛi       | 98. hɔmɔ kɔl    |
| 24. ki:p   | 49. si kɔlɔ   | 74. duwɛi       | 99. wɛ          |
| 25. wagib  | 50. dɔ        | 75. hɔu tɔfɔwɛi | 100. es         |

## Gebusi

|             |               |                |                |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. os       | 26. ɔli       | 51. gau        | 76. ɔmɔiya     |
| 2. uliʌ     | 27. ɔs        | 52. fəp        | 77. fuduʌ      |
| 3. ʌwɔ      | 28. ogo       | 53. de         | 78. sɔf gaʌ    |
| 4. nɔ       | 29. ɡɔsɔmɔli  | 54. sag        | 79. hūni       |
| 5. ɔyo      | 30. ɔgaib     | 55. ɔbiʃ       | 80. alafagib   |
| 6. ɡɔɡɔ     | 31. hɔ molu   | 56. seguwab    | 81. kumiba     |
| 7. ulʌkib   | 32. ɡɔsigai   | 57. bʊʃ        | 82. kaba       |
| 8. o dɔsɔ   | 33. hɔ        | 58. bebelɔgum  | 83. haisɔɡwiya |
| 9. hiʃ      | 34. ɔsɔb      | 59. mɔʌɔ       | 84. om         |
| 10. mina    | 35. yo        | 60. dof        | 85. ɡɔɡɔ       |
| 11. dulo    | 36. bɔi       | 61. tiyo       | 86. ke         |
| 12. mɔi     | 37. gogo      | 62. mɔidedʌga  | 87. ka         |
| 13. ili     | 38. dɔbu      | 63. duaif      | 88. hele       |
| 14. ɡɔfʌgib | 39. deim      | 64. nɔwalaga   | 89. bihinɔn    |
| 15. mʌgalu  | 40. sasog     | 65. kɔyaib     | 90. duwiya     |
| 16. dɔb     | 41. ɔli       | 66. tɔfɔʌ      | 91. ɡɔlumdaga  |
| 17. tɔnu    | 42. hɔmɔn     | 67. dɔbuʌ      | 92. mɔi        |
| 18. səs     | 43. tof       | 68. tɔhwaiya   | 93. dib        |
| 19. hɔma    | 44. bisʌɡɔf   | 69. suʌ        | 94. fɔʌ        |
| 20. mʊɡʊ    | 45. sɔf       | 70. newaʌ      | 95. ebo        |
| 21. kɔlɔf   | 46. sɔf tulu  | 71. kiawalaga  | 96. sigɔ kalio |
| 22. sɔho    | 47. sigɔ      | 72. kɛʌ        | 97. mama       |
| 23. bɔnɔ    | 48. sigɔ tɔwʌ | 73. ɔɡɔʌ       | 98. kɔlɔf      |
| 24. kib     | 49. sigɔ hɔlɔ | 74. duʌ        | 99. wiya       |
| 25. wakib   | 50. diɔ       | 75. hɔ tɔlɔfuʌ | 100. esɔ       |

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A MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF ADZERA (AMARI DIALECT),  
MOROBE PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Susanne Holzknecht

1. HISTORICAL SUMMARY

1.1 Introduction

This outline of the morphology and grammar of the Amari-Adzera language was undertaken as a result of a long-term relationship between the people of the area and myself, and because of the close ties between the Adzera-speaking people and my husband's family, who have lived and worked with them since 1946. A previous grammar of Adzera had been written, but not published, by Otto Dempwolff in 1928. Since then my father-in-law, Rev. K.G. Holzknecht, has produced a dictionary, translated the New Testament into Adzera, and published articles on Adzera phonology, morphophonemics, and aspects of grammar. I hope to be able to add in a small way to the data on this language.

1.2 The Amari-Adzera speech community

1.2.1 Geography of the area

The people who speak the Adzera language, numbering about 20,000, live in the valley of the Markham River, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Some of the Adzera people also live in the valleys which are tributaries of the Markham River. Their land is mainly flat and fertile, and extends up into the hills on either side of the broad valley. Their language is Austronesian, but unlike speakers of most Austronesian languages, they are completely land-locked. They are the furthest inland of any Austronesian-speaking people (except for the Mari<sup>2</sup>, who live in the Upper Ramu Valley of the Madang Province). Consequently, one does not find the usual Austronesian words for sea and sea-life, canoes and so on in the Adzera language. All Adzera speakers live below 1,000 feet above sea level.

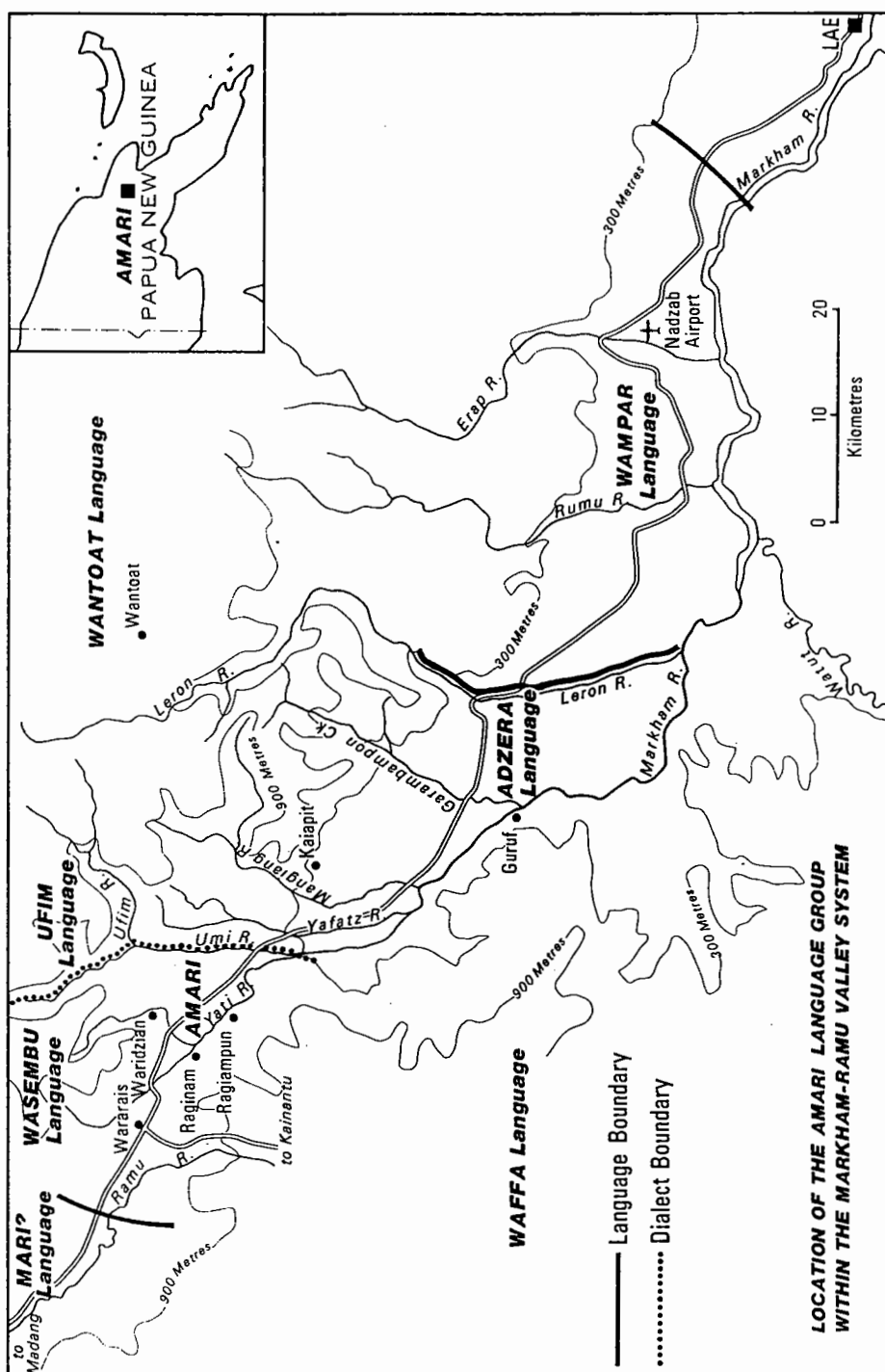
The Adzera people live in large, well-defined villages under coconut palms on the plain, near the creeks or rivers. They cultivate extensive banana gardens on the flat land, and yam gardens on the slopes. Their staple food is bananas, always cooked with coconut milk. The men of certain villages make clay pots, which are still used nowadays for cooking in, in preference to metal pots. The Adzera have great pride in their land, their culture and their language.

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### 1.2.2 Adzera, Amari and neighbouring languages

The 20,000 people who make up the speech community called, nowadays, 'Adzera', are divided politically into 10 'district groups' (as defined by Read 1946-47:98-99). These district groups are Amari, Narowapum, Tsumim, Mamarijan, Saqan, Mutsin, Oqa, Guruf, Yarus, Leron. There has not been any linguistic survey done to determine whether these district groups are also dialect groups or not. However the language spoken by each of these groups is mutually intelligible with all the others. This study is based on the community which calls itself Amari, and consists of approximately 4,000 people, living in 14 villages which are scattered between the Umi River and the Markham-Ramu divide (see Map). Most of my work was done among the *garam waran?* or *the people from below*, the people of three villages, Waridzian, Narutumua, and Atsunas, who live on the upper or northern side of the Amari area. Throughout this account, 'Amari' is taken to mean the language of the Amari district group, and 'Adzera' to refer to the whole language group.

According to informants, there are several features which distinguish Amari speech from the speech of other Adzera groups. Firstly, they say *namu* for *no*, instead of *ima?* which is heard among all other Adzera-speaking groups. There are also many vocabulary differences. There are minor pronunciation differences between Amari and other groups, for example Amari say *impi?* for *coconut-shell spoon* and Kaiapit people say *umpi?*, although this is not a regular sound shift between the two speech communities. The Amari themselves say that their intonation pattern is different, but I am not sufficiently familiar with other groups' speech to be able to analyse this difference.

The Adzera as a whole never had a name for their widest speech community. 'Adzera' or *adzra* is a word from the neighbouring language further down the valley, Wampar, meaning *upstream*, and was taken by the earliest explorers and missionaries who heard it as designating the people who lived upstream, and the name has been used to identify the whole language group up until present times. Each Adzera district group called itself *garam gar true men*, as opposed to *garam buman wild men*, who inhabited all areas around their own political community, and may or may not speak the same language. *Garam buman* were not considered to be true men, but more animals, to be hunted, killed and eaten just as pigs were. The political units are all named, for example, Amari, Narowapum, Guruf, Onga, but it is not certain how and when these names arose. None of the groups has or had a name for their own speech variety as distinct from the others. *Speech* or *talk* is *nan*, and that applies to all speech. Nowadays, if pressed, an Amari person might call the speech of the Amari district group *nan Amari* but it is not a well-used or general term.

The nearest neighbours of the Adzera are the Wampar, who inhabit the lower Markham Valley, to the south-east. They speak a related Austronesian language which is not intelligible to the Adzera, except for a few obviously related words. Fischer (1963:283) estimates the percentage of cognates between Wampar and Adzera (presumably the nearest Adzera-speaking group, Guruf or Sanqan) as 58%.

The nearest language group to the north-west is the Mari?, who speak a related Austronesian language. Their language is not intelligible to the Adzera. To the north of the Adzera-speaking people, in the mountains, are several communities who speak non-Austronesian languages. These are Wantoat, Awara, Ufim, and the Maraboi-Yankawan group of villages whose language has been called Wasembu (McElhanon 1975:897-902). Far to the south are the very isolated Waffa? villages, whose language is part of the Eastern family, and the Gadsup and Binumarien language groups. The Adzera had little to do with these latter groups to the south,

except in occasional warfare or raids. The Adzera villages to the north of the valley and in the northern tributary valleys traded with the non-Austronesian speaking communities in the mountains closest to them. Informants nowadays claim that they always spoke Adzera with these people, and that they, in turn, learned some Adzera with which to communicate, for trading purposes. However, in spite of having trade ties with these people, the Adzera still fought with them and ate them.

### 1.2.3 Contact with other non-neighbouring languages

Since first outside contact was made in 1907, the Adzera have had extensive contact with Europeans, both English and German speaking. However, one of the most significant influences on the Adzera from outside was exerted by the Yabim-speaking evangelists and teachers of the Lutheran Church, who began coming into the Adzera area with the first German missionaries in 1916-1917. These people were from the original Yabim communities at Finschhafen, and from the related language groups of Bukaua?, Taemi, and other groups from villages as far east as Morobe. All of these evangelists and teachers had been taught Yabim, and evangelised the Adzera area using the Yabim language. Schools were set up for the children and instruction was given in Yabim. These people brought Christianity, and evidence of a different way of life to the Adzera. They, rather than the officials of the colonial administrations, pacified the Adzeras, and were responsible for their stopping warfare, cannibalism, and many other cultural practices.

The Yabim-speakers affected the Adzera language as well as the culture. When they learned Adzera, and found that it did not have some constructions which were in Yabim, they invented new ones, using Adzera words, but with Yabim constructions: for example, *if* clauses and question tags. They introduced many different foods and cultural items, along with the words for them, which were often changed to fit the Adzera phonology, for example, Yabim *mo galam Chinese taro*, became *umant garam* in Adzera, *kasang peanut*, became *gantsaq*. Most Adzera people take a new, Yabim name at baptism.

Tok Pisin, brought into the Adzera area by returning indentured labourers after their recruitment periods ended, has had little influence on the language. One occasionally comes across an obvious Tok Pisin borrowing, such as *baŋi kapa* for *finger nail*, and *sawi*, used with Adzera verb affixes, to mean *to know*. But the influence of Tok Pisin has not been great, and the influence of English has been even less, although English has been the medium of instruction in Primary (now Community) schools since the 1960s.

Most Adzera people are trilingual, in Adzera, Yabim and Tok Pisin. The younger people these days use less Yabim and more Tok Pisin than their elders. Many people, especially older people who went through Yabim schools, are literate in Yabim and in Tok Pisin, but very few people will, or can, write in their own language, Adzera. Many read what Adzera material is available in printed form, for example, *Sisiŋ? bini* (Adzera New Testament), and Sunday texts for church, and some hymns. But almost nobody ever writes anything in Adzera. Between 1967 and 1971 the Summer Institute of Linguistics had a team in the area, whose aim was to conduct an adult literacy campaign. The project failed, to a large extent, and was abandoned for various reasons.

### 1.3 History of contact with outsiders, and review of literature on Adzera

This section outlines, in chronological order, the history of contact between the Adzera-speaking people and the outside world, and reviews publications about the Adzera area, people and language. These two subjects, history of contact and literature, are not easily separable because the earliest explorers, travellers and missionaries wrote about the people and the area as they discovered and studied them. Therefore they are to be considered together.

The Adzera were first contacted by outsiders in 1907, when two German explorers, gold-prospectors, and surveyors, Wilhelm Dammköhler and Otto Fröhlich, made an overland trip from where Lae is not situated, through the Markham and Ramu Valleys to Madang. They had extensive contact with the people along the way, and were received, in general, peacefully (Holzknecht 1973d). Dammköhler made two subsequent trips through the Markham Valley, with other companions (Dammköhler and Oldörp 1909). Fröhlich's report of the first journey is the most detailed (Fröhlich 1908). They learned a little of the language, in order to help their relations with the people, but did not write any of it down. Dammköhler was killed before he could publish any detailed accounts of his journeys and experiences.

Following hard on the heels of the first white explorers came labour recruiters, whose atrocities are well documented (e.g. Flierl 1920; Rowley 1958; Holzknecht 1974a). Then followed the Lutheran Missionaries, who had already established a Station at Gabmatsung, in the lower Markham Valley, by 1911 (Holzknecht 1973d). The first permanent European settlement among the Adzera was made by the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Missionaries in 1918, at Kaiapit. The first missionary was Fritz Örtel, and he was accompanied by evangelists and helpers from the Bukaua? area of the Huon Gulf. These people unofficially introduced the Yabim language to the Adzeras as a lingua franca, but Yabim was not used as the official mission language until 1930, after Örtel had left.

The earliest language material in the Adzera language was produced by Örtel. He compiled a dictionary, texts, church booklets and teaching materials. Unfortunately this was all lost during the Second World War when Kaiapit was the scene of fierce battles between Australian and Japanese troops. Only one piece of Örtel's works survived the war. This was called *Anoto nang gan* (God's Word), and was republished in 1946 (Örtel 1946).

During Örtel's time at Kaiapit, the German linguist, Otto Dempwolff, wrote a brief phonological and grammatical study of Adzera (Dempwolff 1928). This was done partly with the intention of supporting Örtel's conviction that Adzera rather than Yabim should be used as the church language, and as a medium for education, in the Adzera area. (This study was not published, and exists today in typescript form only.) However Yabim did become the official church language in the Adzera area and has remained so until the present time.

After World War II ended, the missionaries returned to Kaiapit. Reverend Karl Holzknecht was posted to Kaiapit, and by 1947 was in residence there. He began a long-term study of Adzera, starting from scratch because all of Örtel's material except for the one small booklet had been lost. Holzknecht's dictionary, begun when he arrived at Kaiapit, is still being revised, and he hopes to have it published in the near future. Three volumes of the dictionary, Adzera-German-English, English-Adzera, and German-Adzera, are in typescript form. Holzknecht has produced Sunday texts, church booklets for congregations, songs, and texts of myths and stories in Adzera. He had also had published linguistic papers on the Adzera language (Holzknecht 1973a; 1973b; 1973c). Accounts of the history of European exploration and contact in the Markham area have also been published

(Holzknecht 1973d; 1974a; 1975). A translation of the four Gospels, *Sisiq' Bini*, was published in 1968 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a full translation of the New Testament in Adzera was completed and published in 1977.

In the 1950s, a German culture-historian, linguist and ethnologist, Dr Carl Schmitz, made a study of the Markham-Huon Peninsula area and published *Historische Probleme in Nordost Neuguinea* (Schmitz 1960). In this work Schmitz put forward his theories of prehistoric population migrations in the area, using evidence from social, linguistic, and material-cultural sources. Of the Adzera language and people he says:

The dialects of the Markham Valley, although possessing a prefix conjugation, show such marked differences in vocabulary from the other Austronesian dialects that they have always been suspected as belonging to an older stratum of the Austronesian family.

(Schmitz 1960:413)

But Schmitz decided that this relegation of Adzera to an older substratum is not possible, and allocated it to his 'Culture B', which also includes some non-Melanesian-speaking peoples, different to those non-Melanesian peoples in 'Culture A'. 'Accordingly, Culture B must be termed a pre-Austronesian culture, but younger than Culture A.' (Schmitz 1960:413). And: 'The prefix conjugation in the Markham Valley must be due to later Austronesian influences coming from the East (Jabim, Tami).' (Schmitz 1960:413).

Another German anthropologist, Hans Fischer, began working in the Markham Valley-Watut Valley area in 1958-59. His publication, *Watut*, which appeared in 1963, includes a brief comparison of the Watut, Wampar, and Adzera languages. His lexicostatistical analysis, based on his own word lists, shows a cognate relationship of 58% between Wampar and Adzera, and 60% between Watut and Adzera (Fischer 1963:283).

Dyen's lexicostatistical comparison of 1965 includes Adzera ('Acira') as one of the three languages of the Morobe District used in his survey (Dyen 1965). He puts 'Acira' in the 'Austronesian Linkage', and shows that Adzera has a very low percentage of cognates with the other languages he has chosen. Grace, in his review of Dyen's article, uses non-lexicostatistical data, as well as Dyen's data, and he puts Adzera into a subgroup of its own, as one of the earliest Austronesian branches (Grace 1966:22).

In 1967, an SIL team of two women, Ann Roke and Dorothy Price, began work on the Adzera language, with the aim of eventually implementing a literacy program in Adzera. However the program has been discontinued, and there are no more SIL personnel working in the Adzera area. The teams produced many texts in Adzera (see Healey 1973:37-38). However they have not published any scientific papers on aspects of the Adzera language.

Bruce Hooley, and later Hooley and McElhanon, of the SIL, presented an overview of the languages of the Morobe District (Hooley 1964; 1971; Hooley and McElhanon 1970). In these studies, the Adzera family of languages was discussed, and its members, population figures, and geographical situation were considered. The comparative word lists were also published, and lexicostatistical percentages were given.

Much has been published about general aspects of Adzera, and about its position in the present taxonomies of Papua New Guinea's languages, but little has been done on the linguistic aspects of the Adzera language itself, except for

Holzknicht's three papers. So it is hoped that this work will, partially at least, fill that gap.

#### 1.4 Aims

In this present work, it is hoped to provide a readable, easily understood phonology, morphology and grammar of the Amari language, that can be understood by specialist linguists and non-specialists, and especially by interested members of the speech community itself. It is hoped that these people may be able to find something useful in it, whether for purposes of linguistic comparison, historical-linguistic research, or to provide information for standardisation of material in the language itself.

The work does not follow any particular, rigid theoretical approach. It is argued that a clear, simply set out description of a language will be of more use to more people than a rigidly adhered-to theoretical exposition. Lincoln (1976: 5) quotes, in the introduction to his description of Banoni, Lakoff's plea for a return to informal, clear descriptions of exotic languages, and this present grammar, it is hoped, extends this move towards simplicity and clarity.

## 2. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

### 2.1 Introduction

This description of Amari sounds is based on the speech of the Waridzian, Atsunas and Narutumua villages of the Amari District Group. Holzknicht (1973a) has written an account of the phonology of the Adzera language, and my account agrees in many aspects with his. However, there are certain sounds which Holzknicht has described (for the central Adzera group) which do not occur as separate phonemes in Amari. Also, my account differs from Holzknicht in the way in which certain sounds, particularly vowels, are interpreted and consequently in how they are represented phonemically.

The vowels will be described first, followed by the consonants. The sequences and restrictions on sounds will be described next, and the syllable structure follows this as a summary.

#### 2.2.1 Vowels

Amari has three single vowels. These are:

i      u  
a

/i/: high front unrounded voiced vowel. It may occur word initially, medially or finally.

e.g. i-saŋ? [isaŋ?]    *it is enough*  
sibibi [sibibi:]    *a small bird*

/a/: low central unrounded voiced vowel. It may occur word initially, medially or finally.

e.g. Amari [amaʔi]    *name of district group*  
i-fa [i fa]    *he goes/went*



/u/: high back rounded voiced vowel. It may occur word initially, medially or finally.

- e.g. uri? [uʔiʔ] *type of frog*  
 tut [tʰutʰ] *flower of a vine/to suck*  
 Asu [asu:] *man's name*

### 2.2.2 Allophonic variants of vowels

/i/: At the end of a word, [i] becomes lengthened to [i:]. However, these two sounds do not contrast in minimal or subminimal pairs, and the lengthened sound occurs only at the end of a word. Consequently it is to be considered an allophonic variant of /i/.

/a/: The vowel [a] may sometimes be shortened to an [ʌ] sound. This occurs in rapid speech, and also when [a] is followed by a glottal stop [ʔ], as in mamaʔ [mamʌʔ] *child*. However the longer and shorter forms of /a/ do not contrast in minimal or subminimal pairs, and are to be considered allophonic variants of /a/.

/u/: In the central Adzera speech, in the Kaiapit area, a contrast is made between /o/ and /u/, and Holzknacht (1973a:5-6) shows that these are two different phonemes. Although these two sounds are present in Amari speech, the Amari do not distinguish between the two sounds, and I could not obtain any minimal or subminimal pairs in which these two sounds contrasted. They appear to vary freely. Several Amari informants who are literate maintain that they would write u for both the /o/ and /u/ distinguished by the Kaiapit people.

When [u] occurs at the end of a word, it can be lengthened, e.g. as in Asu [asu:] *man's name*. This variation only occurs word finally, and is taken to be an allophone of the phoneme /u/.

### 2.2.3 Diphthongs

Two diphthongs may occur as syllable nuclei. They are /ai/ and /au/.

- /ai/: mais [mais] *bad*  
 sai [sai] *'kunai' grass, Imperata sp.*  
 ais [ais] *central rib of coconut frond*  
 /au/: daum [daum] *good*  
 pauʔ [pʰau] *tobacco*

When a high vowel, /i/ or /u/, is followed by any other vowel, the corresponding glide for the first vowel is phonetically inserted between the two vowels:

- /i + V/ → [i + y + V]  
 /u + V/ → [u + w + V]

Thus, /i + V/ results in a palatalised glide before the following vowel, and /u + V/ results in a labialised glide before the following vowel.

- e.g. /i/ + /a/: tsakia [tsakʰiya] *to pain*  
 maiaam [maiyam] *tree, Erythrina sp.*  
 /i/ + /u/: miu [miyu] *snake*  
 tsiuʔ [tsiyuʔ] *thicket*  
 /u/ + /i/: mpiu [mpuwi] *water*  
 Guin [guwin] *name for Ramu River*

/u/ + /a/: suat [suwat<sup>h</sup>] *a type of frog*  
 puam [puwam] *green leaf, vegetable Gnetum gnemon*  
 nuai [nuwai] *mango*

(See 2.3.5 for discussion of the semivowels /y/ and /w/.)

#### 2.2.4 Vowel morphophonemics

There is very little to discuss in Amari morphophonemics. However, there are several rules which are observed.

After dzi I the i- Realis prefix is assimilated, when the sound following it is a consonant.

e.g. dzi i - fan [dzifan] *I go*  
 dzi i - bugin [dzibugin] *I do not like/want to*

After u, the second person singular pronoun subject, the Realis prefix i- is lost.

e.g. u i - fan [ufan] *you go/are you going?*  
 u i - ba i wai [ubaiwai] *why did you come?*

Sequences of like vowels result in assimilation of the sounds to one vowel sound. This occurs across morpheme and word boundaries.

e.g. u fa anuŋ? [ufanuŋ?] *where are you going?*  
 wa - akar [wak<sup>h</sup>aʃ] *imperative of to write*  
 aragan i - su umpur [aʃaganisumpuʃ] *he is lying*  
 rib igi i -yu ufum i - mpru? [ʃibigiyufumimpruʃ] *they gathered them together*

### 2.3 Consonants

See Table 1 below.

Table 1: Table of consonants

|                    |                  |  | BILABIAL | LABIO-DENTAL | ALVEOLAR | ALVEO-PALATAL | VELAR | GLOTTAL |
|--------------------|------------------|--|----------|--------------|----------|---------------|-------|---------|
| STOPS              | Aspirated V1     |  | p        |              | t        |               | k     | ʔ       |
|                    | Non-aspirated Vd |  | b        |              | d        |               | g     |         |
|                    | Affricated V1    |  |          |              | ts       |               |       |         |
|                    | Vd               |  |          |              | dz       |               |       |         |
| PRENASALISED STOPS | Aspirated V1     |  | mp       |              | nt       |               | ŋk    | ŋʔ      |
|                    | Affricated V1    |  |          |              | nts      |               |       |         |
|                    | Vd               |  |          |              | ndz      |               |       |         |
| FRICATIVES         | Flat V1          |  |          | f            |          |               |       |         |
|                    | Grooved V1       |  |          |              | s        |               |       |         |
| NASALS             | Vd               |  | m        |              | n        |               | ŋ     |         |
| VIBRANTS           | Vd               |  |          |              | r        |               |       |         |
| SEMIVOWELS         | Vd               |  | w        |              |          | y             |       |         |

## 2.3.1 Stops

Amari has a range of stops, both voiceless and voiced.

## 2.3.1.1 Voiceless stops

The simple voiceless stops, /p/, /t/ and /k/, can all be aspirated or non-aspirated. Aspirated stops appear to occur in free variation with non-aspirated stops, but aspiration is heard more frequently than not.

/p/: voiceless aspirated bilabial stop.

/p/ can occur word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. Papan [p<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>aŋ] *place name*  
paip [p<sup>h</sup>aip<sup>h</sup>] *play*

/t/: voiceless aspirated alveolar stop.

/t/ can occur in word initial, medial and final positions.

e.g. tamut [t<sup>h</sup>amut<sup>h</sup>] *mud*  
itat [it<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>] *Setaria plant*  
tut [t<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>] *suck*

/k/: voiceless aspirated velar stop.

/k/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. kup-an [k<sup>h</sup>up<sup>h</sup>aŋ] *participle of hide*  
ukam [uk<sup>h</sup>aŋ] *moon*  
akak [ak<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>] *negative exclamation*

/ʔ/: voiceless glottal stop.

/ʔ/ occurs word medially and finally. It probably occurs at the onset of a word when the initial phoneme is a vowel, but it is not considered phonemic in this context.

e.g. ikiʔ-an [ik<sup>h</sup>iʔaŋ] *to carry (by the rim)*  
saʔ [saʔ] *men's house*

## 2.3.1.2 Voiced stops

There is in Amari a set of voiced stops, /b/, /d/ and /g/, which correspond to the voiceless stops.

/b/: voiced bilabial stop.

/b/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. batsab [batsab] *death; to do with death*  
ibiŋimp [ibiŋimp] *brown kite*  
buaruf [buwaʔuf] *eel*

/d/: voiced alveolar stop.

/d/ occurs initially and medially, but not finally.

e.g. daum [daum] *good*  
gadugadu [gadugadu] *type of banana*

/g/: voiced velar stop.

/g/ occurs word initially and medially but not finally.

e.g. gai [gai] tree  
bigub [bigub] sweat-bee

### 2.3.1.3 Affricated stops

There are two simple affricated stops in Amari. They are both alveolar, /ts/ and /dz/. They are considered as single stops rather than clusters of two consonants because if they were treated as consonant clusters the syllable structure as established would be invalidated, and there would be clusters of up to four consonants, for example in the word *untsraf missed; crooked*. In order to be consistent with the syllable structure, as analysed in 2.4, /ts/ and /dz/, as well as the prenasalised affricated stops /nts/ and /ndz/ will be considered as single phonemes.

/ts/: voiceless affricated alveolar stop.

/ts/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. tsitsin [tsitsin] little finger  
bits [bits] one

/dz/: voiced alveolar affricated stop.

/dz/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. dzaf [dzaf] fire  
Waridzian [waridziyan] place name  
fagamudz [fagamudz] old fight leader

### 2.3.1.4 Prenasalised stops

In Amari, all voiceless stops and /dz/ may be prenasalised, forming another set of stops, as discussed in 2.3.1.3 above. The nasalisation + consonant is considered as a single phoneme. Holzknicht (1973a) has discussed a parallel set of prenasalised voiced stops for central Adzera, but the Amari do not appear to have these two sets of prenasalised voiceless stops and prenasalised voiced stops.

/mp/: prenasalised voiceless bilabial stop.

/mp/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. mpui [mpui] water  
ampan [ampan] leaf  
waiamp [waiyamp] type of lizard

/nt/: prenasalised voiceless alveolar stop.

/nt/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ntin? [ntin?] fence  
antim [antim] banana ladder  
dugunt [dugunt] smoke

/ŋk/: prenasalised voiceless velar stop.

/ŋk/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ŋkian-an [ŋkiyanan] *to be bitter*  
 dzaŋkum [dzaŋkum] *corn*  
 minuŋk [minuŋk] *a tree*

/ŋʔ/: prenasalised glottal stop.

/ŋʔ/ occurs word medially and finally, but not initially.

e.g. miŋʔ-an [miŋʔan] *to be*  
 ntiŋʔ [ntiŋʔ] *fence*

### 2.3.1.5 Prenasalised affricated stops

There are two prenasalised affricated stops in Amari, voiceless /nts/ and voiced /ndz/.

/nts/: prenasalised voiceless affricated stop.

/nts/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ntsup-an [ntsup<sup>h</sup>an] *be finished*  
 Wantsan [wantsan] *man's name*  
 ŋants [ŋants] *shield*

/ndz/: prenasalised voiced affricated stop.

/ndz/ occurs word initially and medially, but not finally.

e.g. ndza-dan [ndzadan] *to cover up a hole*  
 i-ndzam [indzam] *is charmed, blessed*

### 2.3.2 Fricatives

There are two fricatives in Amari speech, /f/ and /s/. Another fricative, [h], occurs only once, in the word haiʔ *yes*. As it only occurs in this single example it will not be considered as a phoneme of the language in this phonemic statement.

/f/: voiceless flat labiodental fricative.

/f/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. fump [fump] *coconut husk*  
 afaʔ [afaʔ] *sister-in-law*  
 gaif [gaif] *centipede*

/s/: voiceless grooved alveolar fricative.

/s/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. santan [santan] *all*  
 isiʔ [isiʔ] *small*  
 was [was] *lime powder*

### 2.3.3 Nasals

There are three voiced nasals in Amari speech, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/.

/m/: voiced bilabial nasal.

/m/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. masas [masas] *cane*  
 Umi [umi] *name for Markham River*  
 ntsim [tsim] *betel nut*

/n/: voiced alveolar nasal.

/n/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. nifu-n [nifun] *his/her mouth*  
 unab [unub] *head-rest*  
 gin [gin] *Oblique Object*

/ŋ/: voiced velar nasal.

/ŋ/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ŋants [ŋants] *shield*  
 baŋi-n [baŋin] *his/her hand*  
 ganaŋ [ganaŋ] *yam; banana*

#### 2.3.4 Vibrant

Amari has one vibrant, a voiced alveolar flap, /r/.

/r/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. rim-an [ʔiman] *to give*  
 waraŋʔ [waʔaŋʔ] *below*  
 gir [giʔ] *stone axe*

#### 2.3.5 Semivowels

There are two Amari semivowels, /w/ and /y/. These have proven difficult to identify and to distinguish from the epenthetic [w] and [y] occurring after high vowels, before another vowel (see 2.2.3). However, there seems to be a case for the existence of /w/ and /y/ as separate phonemes, occurring word initially only.

There is a problem here of description and orthography. The orthography for Adzera established and used by Holzknecht, especially for the translation of the New Testament, *Sisiŋʔ bini* (British and Foreign Bible Society 1968), uses /j/ for the phoneme for which I have used /y/. Holzknecht also identifies this phoneme and /w/ word medially, as well as initially. It is perhaps equally valid to describe the sounds occurring between high vowels and a following vowel as semivowels or glides. However, in the interests of simplicity and consistency, I describe the semivowels as being word initial only, and the sounds which occur after /i/ or /u/, before another vowel, as epenthetic glides.

My evidence for the existence of /w/ and /y/ as separate phonemes is as follows. If we consider the verb *wam* *to look for*, it is conjugated as follows:

dzi i - wam [dziwam] *I look for*  
 u wam [uwam] *you(S.) look for*  
 araŋan i - wam [aʔaŋaniwam] *he looks for*

If the initial /w/ were really /u/, then these conjugations would sound different:

- \* dzi i - uam [dziyuwam]
- \* u uam [uwam]
- \* arāṇan i - uam [aṛāṇaniyuwam]

As discussed in 2.2.3, /i/ + /u/ results in [iyu]. This does not occur in dzi i-wam or in arāṇan i-wam. Consequently, /w/ is to be considered a separate phoneme.

Similarly, if we consider the verb yai? *to cry out*, it can be seen that /y/ is a separate phoneme and not an allophone of /i/ or the epenthetic [y] which is phonetically inserted between /i/ and another vowel. If we take conjugations of yai? we hear:

- dzi i - yai? [dziyai?] *I cry out*
- u yai? [uyai?] *you(S.) cry out*
- arāṇan i - yai? [arāṇaniyai?] *he cries out*

If the /y/ were really /i/ one would hear:

- \* dzi i - iai? [dziyai?]
- \* u iai? [uiyai?]
- \* arāṇan i - iai? [arāṇaniyai?]

In 2.2.3 we saw that /u/ + /i/ becomes [wi] or [ui]. However, when we hear the second person singular conjugation for the verb yai? we hear [uyai?] and not [uiyai?] as we would if the initial sound of the verb root were [i] rather than [y]. Thus /y/ is to be considered a separate phoneme.

Some examples of /w/ and /y/, in initial positions are:

- /w/: wai [wai] *question word*
- was [was] *lime powder*
- waian [waiyan] *root*

- /y/: yab [yab] *go up*
- yafas [yafas] *fish*
- yu [yu] *take, get*

### 2.3.6 Consonants contrasted in minimal and subminimal pairs

[p<sup>h</sup>] and [b] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. i-pa [ip<sup>h</sup>a] *lights*
- i-ba [iba] *comes*

[p<sup>h</sup>] and [mp] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. upa [up<sup>h</sup>a] *sorcery*
- umpa [umpa] *mountain garden*

[p<sup>h</sup>] and [f] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. i-pa [ip<sup>h</sup>a] *lights*
- i-fa [ifa] *goes*

[t<sup>h</sup>] and [d] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. fat-an [fat<sup>h</sup>an] *her sister-in-law*
- fa-dan [fadan] *participle of to go*

[t<sup>h</sup>] and [ts] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. taf-an [t<sup>h</sup>afan] *his/her/their great-grandfather*  
 tsaf-an [tsafan] *to boast about someone*

[t<sup>h</sup>] and [nt] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. atim [at<sup>h</sup>im] *cucumber*  
 antim [antim] *banana ladder*

[k<sup>h</sup>] and [g] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. ukam [uk<sup>h</sup>am] *moon*  
 u-gam [ugam] *yours*

[k<sup>h</sup>] and [ʔ] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. wa-ka [wak<sup>h</sup>a] *Imperative of breathe through mouth*  
 waʔ-an [waʔan] *participle of go outside*

[k<sup>h</sup>] and [ŋk] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. kian-kian [k<sup>h</sup>iyən<sup>h</sup>iyən] *lorikeet*  
 ŋkian-an [ŋkiyanan] *participle of be bitter*

[ʔ] and [ŋʔ] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. dzraʔ [dzraʔ] *upstream*  
 dzaŋʔ [dzaŋʔ] *wild pig; meat*

[b] and [m] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. bampan [bampan] *tail*  
 mamp-an [mampan] *to die*

However, in one example in Amari [b] and [m] alternate freely. This is in the future prefix buŋʔa- which is also heard as muŋʔa-. There is no apparent reason for this unusual variation.

[b] and [mp] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. rabu-rabun [ʔabuʔabun] *old people*  
 rampu [ʔampu] *pit-pit*

However, [b] and [mp] alternate in one example only, in the word sanab *road* which is often heard as sanampun. Amari people say that sanampun is the older form, and that sanab is a new and lazy form.

[d] and [dz] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. daŋur [daŋuʃ] *hornbill*  
 dzaŋʔ [dzaŋʔ] *meat; wild pig*

[ts] and [dz] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. tsup [tsup] *banana-leaf spoon*  
 dzub [dzub] *ripe*

[ts] and [nts] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. tsaf-an [tsafan] *to boast about someone*  
 ntsaf-an [ntsafan] *to recede (flood)*



[ts] and [s] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. tsaf-an [tsafan] *to boast about someone*  
 saf-an [safan] *to cut*

[dz] and [ndz] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. dza-dan [dzadan] *to open up the hand*  
 ndza-dan [ndzadan] *to cover up a hole*

[mp] and [m] contrast in subminimal pair:

e.g. fump [fump] *coconut husk*  
 ufum [ufum] *gather together*

[nt] and [n] contrast in subminimal pair:

e.g. intap [intap] *ground*  
 i-nab [inab] *cuts*

[nt] and [nts] contrast in subminimal pair:

e.g. intiq? [intiq?] *green banana leaf*  
 Intsi? [intsi?] *place name*

[ŋk] and [ŋʔ] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. waŋkan [waŋkan] *a tree*  
 waŋʔ-an [waŋʔan] *be crooked*

[ŋk] and [ŋ] contrast in subminimal pair:

e.g. Waŋkuŋ [waŋkuŋ] *place name*  
 waŋu-ŋʔ [waŋuŋʔ] *my stomach*

[ŋʔ] and [ŋ] contrast in subminimal pair:

e.g. waŋu-ŋʔ [waŋuŋʔ] *my stomach*  
 Waŋkuŋ [waŋkuŋ] *place name*

[nts] and [ndz] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. ntsam-an [ntsaman] *to look after someone*  
 ndzam-an [ndzaman] *to charm; bless*

[n] and [ŋ] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. rina-n [ʔinan] *his/her mother*  
 riŋa-n [ʔiŋan] *his/her ear*

[ʔ] and [d] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. gur-an [guʔan] *his/her clay pot*  
 gu-dan [gudan] *to see (close to)*

[ʔ] and [n] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. gir [giʔ] *stone axe*  
 gin [gin] *Oblique Object*

### 2.3.7 Consonant morphophonemics

2.3.7.1 Before a /g/ all nasals become [ŋ]. This is heard especially in the use of the Possessive morphemes -gam and -gan, before which the first position Possessive morphemes -m and -n become [ŋ].

e.g. u naru-m-gam  
becomes [unaʔungam] *your(S.)<sup>1</sup> child*  
agam rama-m-gam  
becomes [agam ʔamangam] *your(Pl.) father*  
araŋan rina-n-gan  
becomes [aʔaŋan ʔinanggan] *his/her mother*

2.3.7.2 At the beginning of an utterance, the nasal of a prenasalised consonant is not pronounced. When the prenasalised consonant, as the first consonant of a word, is within an utterance and follows a vowel, then the nasalisation is heard.

e.g. mpui i-sasus [puwisasus] *the water is hot*  
ntiŋʔ igi anuŋʔ-i-daum u  
[tiŋʔigiyanuŋʔidaumu] *this fence is not good*  
cf. wa-fa mpui [wafampwi] *go to the river*  
sagat igi ntiŋʔ-a mpui  
[sagat igintiŋʔampwi:] *these women damming up the water*

## 2.4 Syllable structure

As established for Adzera by Holzknecht (1973a) syllables in Amari consist of an optional onset of one or two consonants, an obligatory nucleus of a vowel or diphthong, and either one or two optional final consonants. The structure may be represented by the following formula (C = consonant, V = vowel):

$$(C_1) + (C_2) + V + (C_3)$$

The following restrictions apply to this formula:

- 1) If  $C_1$  occurs without  $C_2$ ,  $C_1$  can be any one of the voiced or voiceless stops, any nasal, fricative, vibrant or semivowel except /ʔ/ or /ŋʔ/.
- 2)  $C_2$  can only be /r/. When  $C_2$  is /r/, then  $C_1$  can be any consonant except /ʔ/, /ŋʔ/, /ndz/, /n/ or the semivowels /w/ and /y/.
- 3) If V is a diphthong, either /ai/ or /au/, then the diphthong is treated as the nucleus of the syllable, e.g.

mais *bad*  
pauʔ *tobacco* } =  $C_1 + V + C_3$

But if /iu/, /ia/ or /ua/ occur after one or two consonants, or as the onset of a syllable, then the two vowels are considered nuclei of separate syllables, e.g.

miu *snake* =  $C_1 + V + V$   
tsakia *to pain* =  $C_1 + V + C_1 + V + V$   
mpui *water* =  $C_1 + V + V$   
puaʔ *soup* =  $C_1 + V + V + C_3$

- 4)  $C_3$  can be any consonant except /d/, /g/, /ndz/ or the semivowels /w/ and /y/.

## 2.5 Stress

Stress in Amari is not phonemic. In general, the first syllable of a two-syllable word is stressed, and in words of more than two syllables, the first syllable is stressed, and then every alternate syllable is stressed. Slightly heavier stress falls on the first syllable.


|            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| e.g. sàgat | woman          |
| ì-saŋ?     | is enough      |
| màmu       | cassowary      |
| màragàmp   | white          |
| bìŋan-gàŋ? | my name        |
| gàdugàdu   | type of banana |
| Bùsuŋàwa   | woman's name   |
| ŋàrubìni   | good           |


## 2.6 Intonation


Intonation is important in Amari because in some cases it may be the only indication of the full meaning of an utterance or a sentence. This is particularly so for questions. There is no syntactic change in a sentence or utterance to show that it is a question except when the question words wai or bi anuŋ? are used. The only indication that it is a question is the intonation.

## 2.6.1 Declarative intonation

The usual intonation pattern of declarative utterances or sentences is of a slowly falling intonation to the last syllable of the utterance.


e.g.  arañan rina-n-gan i-ba igi  
*Here comes his mother.*


 dzi gamp-aŋ? Waridzian  
*My village is Waridzian.*

 rib igi i-fa taun i-fa-fa-fa da i-wa? da sifu  
*They went to town and arrived there in the night.*

## 2.6.2 Question intonation

The intonation on questions, whether using question words or not, is a slowly rising intonation, then a sharply falling intonation on the last syllable.

e.g.  agam i-ba i wai  
*Why did you(Pl.) come?*

 u mpa bini  
*Are you(S.) well?*

u naru-m-gam i-bi anuŋ?  
*How many children do you have?*

wain-gan i-bi anuŋ? da i-bururuŋ?  
*How did it burn up?*

Adu i-ba wa  
*Has Adu come?*

When there are two sentences joined by *da* and as in the last example but one, the intonation rises to the first syllable of *anuŋ?*, and falls on the last syllable of *anuŋ?*, then rises again to the last syllable of *bururuŋ?*, when it falls again.

### 2.6.3 Intonation with *da-* contrary-to-fact prefix

The *da-* prefix has a particular intonation with which a sentence in which this prefix occurs is said. The tone of such sentences is 'if only such-and-such had happened!', and is said with regret. The intonation is a falling one, but it begins in a higher-pitched voice than either question or declarative intonation.

e.g. a! dzi da-yu nam aga  
*Ah! If only I had taken that food!*

### 2.6.4 Scolding intonation

Amari women, in particular, are noted for their strident voices when scolding each other and their children. A scolding intonation begins very high, goes higher in the middle of the utterance, then falls towards the end.

e.g. maragab na-ba ama?  
*Let the poor fellow come!*

sagat igi da-yu nam  
*If only that woman would get the food!*

## 3. THE NOUN PHRASE

### 3.1 Pronouns

#### 3.1.1 Definite pronouns

Adzera pronouns are distinguished for number and person. There are first, second and third singular and plural, with the common Austronesian characteristic of first person plural, inclusive and exclusive. There are no separate forms for dual or trial. All the pronoun forms are independent, and can be used for subject, object (direct and indirect) and possessive functions. All these pronouns, with their various forms, are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Table of pronouns

|                            | SINGULAR                    |                         |                              | PLURAL                      |                             |                            |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
|                            | I                           | II                      | III                          | I (Inc.)                    | I (Exc.)                    | II                         |
| SUBJECT                    | dzi                         | u, agu                  | aranan                       | agi                         | aga, agai                   | agam                       |
| OBJECT                     | dzi                         | agu                     | aranan                       | agi                         | agai                        | agam                       |
| POSSESSIVE I               | dzi<br>— -ŋʔ-gaŋʔ           | u<br>— -m-gam           | aranan<br>— -n-gan           | agi<br>— -ŋʔ-gaŋʔ           | aga<br>— -ŋʔ-gaŋʔ           | agam<br>— -m-gam           |
| POSSESSIVE II              | dzi<br>(—) -gaŋʔ            | u<br>— -gam             | aranan<br>— -gan             | agi<br>— -gaŋʔ              | aga<br>— -gaŋʔ              | agam<br>— -gam             |
| INDEPENDENT<br>POSSESSIVE  | dzi gaŋʔ                    | u gam                   | — gan                        | agi gaŋʔ                    | aga gaŋʔ                    | agam gam                   |
| INCLUSIVE<br>POSSESSIVE    | dzi<br>(K.T.)-ŋʔ<br>rusa-ŋʔ | u<br>(K.T.)-m<br>rusa-m | aranan<br>(K.T.)-n<br>rusa-n | agi<br>(K.T.)-ŋʔ<br>rusa-ŋʔ | aga<br>(K.T.)-ŋʔ<br>rusa-ŋʔ | agam<br>(K.T.)-m<br>rusa-m |
| REFLEXIVE I<br>EMPHATIC    | dzi<br>ruŋ-gaŋʔ             | u<br>ruŋ-gam            | aranan<br>(gan) ruŋ-gan      | agi<br>ruŋ-gaŋʔ             | aga<br>ruŋ-gaŋʔ             | agam<br>ruŋ-gam            |
| RECIPROCAL<br>REFLEXIVE II | ruaŋʔ                       | ruam                    | ruan                         | ruaŋʔ                       | ruaŋʔ                       | ruam                       |
| INCLUSIVE<br>REFLEXIVE III |                             |                         | ruas                         |                             |                             | ruas                       |

Dem. = Demonstrative; K.T. = Kinship Term.

e.g. Subject:

dzi i- bugin yafas  
I Real. not like fish  
I do not like fish.

u ni wai  
you(S.) say what  
What did you say?

agi fa- dan  
we(Inc.) go Part.  
Let's go.

Direct object:

aragan i- bugin dzi  
he/she Real. not like me  
He doesn't like me.

rib igi i- is aragan  
they Real. hit him/her  
They hit him.

aragan i- is agai  
he/she Real. hit us(Exc.)  
He hit us.

Indirect object:

Uriam i- rim dangki da agam  
Uriam Real. give thanks to you(Pl.)  
Uriam thanked you.

wa- rim ba da dzi  
Imp. give come to me  
Give it to me.

Oblique object:

rib igi i- riqantiq i agai  
they Real. hear Obl.Obj.M. us(Exc.)  
They heard about us.

Isan i- ni nan barun i agu  
Isan Real. say talk bad Obl.Obj.M. you(S.)  
Isan said something bad about you.

### 3.1.2 The possessive

Objects in the Adzera world can be possessed in two ways - Inalienably, which I refer to as Possessive I, and which is a closed class and Alienably, which I refer to as Possessive II, which is an open class.

#### POSSESSIVE I

Kinsmen<sup>2</sup> and body parts are referred to using the first type of possession. For example, *my head* is dzi gudzuŋ?-gaŋ?. This consists of the first person, singular free pronoun dzi, gudzu *head*, and suffixed to gudzu is firstly the first person possessive suffix -ŋ?, followed by the second position, first person possessive suffix, -gaŋ?.

For second person, the noun *gudzu* has the second person possessive suffixes -m plus -gam affixed. In actual speech, the -m suffix becomes -ŋ before the -gam (see 2.3.7).

Similarly, for third person, the suffixes are -n and -gan, but in speech, the -n becomes -m before -gan.

In some isolated speech communities of Adzera, for example, in Guruf, the -m and -n are pronounced before the -gam and -gan, and do not become -n,

e.g. *u rina-m-gam*      *your mother*  
*araŋan bani-n-gan*    *his hand*

The following are examples from the Amari area:

e.g. *head* - *gudzu*-

|          |                            |                        |
|----------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Singular | <i>dzi gudzu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ</i>   | <i>my head</i>         |
|          | <i>u gudzu-m-gam</i>       | <i>your head</i>       |
|          | <i>araŋan gudzu-n-gan</i>  | <i>his head</i>        |
| Plural   | <i>agi gudzu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ</i>   | <i>our(Inc.) heads</i> |
|          | <i>aga gudzu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ</i>   | <i>our(Exc.) heads</i> |
|          | <i>agam gudzu-m-gam</i>    | <i>your heads</i>      |
|          | <i>rib igi gudzu-n-gan</i> | <i>their heads</i>     |

e.g. *father* - *rama*-

|          |                           |                          |
|----------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Singular | <i>dzi rama-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ</i>   | <i>my father</i>         |
|          | <i>u rama-m-gam</i>       | <i>your father</i>       |
|          | <i>araŋan rama-n-gan</i>  | <i>his father</i>        |
| Plural   | <i>agi rama-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ</i>   | <i>our(Inc.) fathers</i> |
|          | <i>aga rama-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ</i>   | <i>our(Exc.) fathers</i> |
|          | <i>agam rama-m-gam</i>    | <i>your fathers</i>      |
|          | <i>rib igi rama-n-gan</i> | <i>their fathers</i>     |

All of these can be shortened by dropping the -ga(-) morpheme. In calling to or speaking to a kinsman, one would say:

*rama-ŋʔ*    *Father!*  
*rai-ŋʔ*    *Brother!*

Similarly with body parts, one may drop the -ga(-) morpheme,

e.g. *dzi faga-ŋʔ i-tsakia*    *my foot hurts*

The presence or absence of the -ga- morpheme has no semantic effect on the noun or the sentence. However, the noun + -ŋʔ/-m/-n is more commonly heard than with the -ga- morpheme. To add the -ga- is considered by the Amari to be rather pedantic.

Other parts-to-whole relationships are expressed in the same way,

e.g. *branch of a tree*  
*gai bani-n-gan* OR *gai bani-n*  
*tree hand.Poss.*      *tree Poss.*  
*narrowing of a creek*  
*mpu<sup>3</sup> wa-n*  
*water neck.Poss.*

## POSSESSIVE II

Most objects in the Adzera world fall into this category. They are possessed alienably, that is, they can be removed from the possessor, and are not an integral part of it.

e.g. *gai tree*

|                 |                       |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| dzi gai-gaŋ?    | <i>my tree</i>        |
| u gai-gam       | <i>your(S.) tree</i>  |
| araŋan gai-gan  | <i>his/her tree</i>   |
| agi gai-gaŋ?    | <i>our(Inc.) tree</i> |
| aga gai-gaŋ?    | <i>our(Exc.) tree</i> |
| agam gai-gam    | <i>your(Pl.) tree</i> |
| rib igi gai-gan | <i>their tree</i>     |

However, after a consonant the -g- is dropped and the morpheme becomes -aŋ?, -am, or -an.

e.g. *mudzuk knife*

|                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| dzi mudzuk-aŋ?    | <i>my knife</i>         |
| u mudzuk-am       | <i>your(S.) knife</i>   |
| araŋan mudzuk-an  | <i>his knife</i>        |
| agi mudzuk-aŋ?    | <i>our(Inc.) knives</i> |
| aga mudzuk-aŋ?    | <i>our(Exc.) knives</i> |
| agam mudzuk-am    | <i>your(Pl.) knives</i> |
| rib igi mudzuk-an | <i>their knives</i>     |

The morphemes gaŋ?, gam, gan, may also be preposed to the possessed noun, and the free pronoun is dropped.

e.g. *gan unar-an his house*  
*gam gur-am your pot(s)*

## INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE

The Independent Possessive forms are essentially the same as the Possessive, except that the Possessive morpheme follows after the pronoun,

e.g. *dzi gaŋ? Mine!*  
*araŋan gan His!*  
*Martin gan Martin's!*  
*u gam Yours!*

## INCLUSIVE POSSESSIVE

There is a third type of Possessive construction in Amari-Adzera, *rusa-* which applies only to Kinship Terms, and has the meaning *all of* .... It is possible that this is a quantifier which takes possessive agreement.

e.g. with *mother rina-*

|          |                       |                              |
|----------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Singular | dzi rina-ŋ? rusaŋ?    | <i>all my mothers</i>        |
|          | u rina-m rusa-m       | <i>all your(S.) mothers</i>  |
|          | araŋan rina-n rusa-n  | <i>all his/her mothers</i>   |
| Plural   | agi rina-ŋ? rusa-ŋ?   | <i>all our(Inc.) mothers</i> |
|          | aga rina-ŋ? rusaŋ?    | <i>all our(Exc.) mothers</i> |
|          | agam rina-m rusa-m    | <i>all your mothers</i>      |
|          | rib igi rina-n rusa-n | <i>all their mothers</i>     |



This construction refers to a group of people, all of whom are called by the kinship term *mother* by the person referred to. So, *dzi rina-ŋ? rusa-ŋ?* means *all the women I call 'mother'*, which includes true mother, mother's sisters, mother's parallel and cross cousins (female).

The *rusa-* is declined in the same way as other possessives.

In this construction, the first suffix only of the inalienable possessive form is used.

### 3.1.3.1 The reflexive

The Emphatic and Reflexive pronouns have the same form in Adzera. Below is a paradigm for the Emphatic/Reflexive pronouns with the verb *fa(n) to go*.

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>dzi ruŋ-gaŋ? i-fan</i>    | <i>I myself am going/went.</i>            |
| <i>u ruŋ-gam i-fan</i>       | <i>You yourself are going/went.</i>       |
| <i>araŋan ruŋ-gan i-fan</i>  | <i>He himself is going/went.</i>          |
| <i>agi ruŋ-gaŋ? i-fan</i>    | <i>We(Inc.) ourselves are going/went.</i> |
| <i>aga ruŋ-gaŋ? i-fan</i>    | <i>We(Exc.) ourselves are going/went.</i> |
| <i>agam ruŋ-gam i-fan</i>    | <i>You yourselves are going/went.</i>     |
| <i>rib igi ruŋ-gan i-fan</i> | <i>They themselves are going/went.</i>    |

The Reflexive is difficult to elicit because the Adzera do not recognise the self as the active participant in actions which in English are expressed by a Reflexive, e.g. *I cut myself* is expressed by, for example, *The knife cut me*,

*mudzuk i- saf dzi*  
*knife Real. cut me*

or *I hit myself (on the tree)* is expressed by *The tree hit me*,

*gai i- is dzi*  
*tree Real. hit me*

In these examples, the agent is the actual thing which performed the action. However, a Reflexive is found in some expressions,

- e.g. *wa- ga ruŋ-gam*  
*Imp. eat yourself*  
*Go and eat yourself! (Obscenity)*
- dzi mara -ŋ? i- fur ruŋ-gaŋ?*  
*I thought Poss. Real. think myself*  
*I am thinking about what I should do.*
- sagat i- gira ruŋ-gan*  
*woman Real. decorate herself*  
*The woman decorates herself.*

### 3.1.3.2 Reciprocal reflexive

There is another form of Reflexive in Adzera, which I have called the Reciprocal Reflexive, as the meaning of it is usually translated as *each other* or *one another*.

- e.g. *agam i- ni nam idzu wai da ru-am*  
*you(Pl.) Real. say thing true what to each other*  
*What did you say to each other?*

garam igi i- is ru-an  
 men there Real. hit each other  
 Those men hit/are hitting each other.

rib igi i- fis in da ru-an  
 they Real. say something to each other  
 They are saying things to each other.

rib igi i- rim pau? da ru-an  
 they Real. give tobacco to each other  
 They gave tobacco to each other.

aga i- ni da ru-an?  
 we(Exc.) Real. say to each other  
 We said (something) to each other.

As can be seen from the above examples, this form of the Reflexive is also inflected for first, second and third person by putting the Possessive suffixes -an?, -am, -an, after the ru reflexive morpheme.

### 3.1.3.3 Inclusive reflexive

A form which appears to be related to the Reciprocal Reflexive is ruas, which only appears in the third person form, and which I've called the Inclusive Reflexive. It has approximately the meaning *all those associated with something or someone or and company*, e.g. Anis ruas means *Anis and all those with him at the moment*. It can also be used with kinship terms, e.g. rama-ŋ? ruas *My father and company*. Ruas does not imply any more than a purely temporary classification, i.e. those associated with my father for a particular purpose at a particular time. Ruas can also be used when referring to a group of animals:

e.g. mamu ruas dzaŋ? buman ruas ru- mpai i- miŋ? wap igi  
 cassowary all pig wild all Cont. stay Real. stay bush there  
 Cassowaries, wild pigs all live in that bush there.

It is interesting that all these Inclusive, Reflexive and Reciprocal forms have the morpheme ru as their base, with the addition of possessive suffixes. Thus ru appears to have the function of anaphoric referent, referring back to the pronoun which precedes it. The verb prefix ru- (Continuous) appears to have the same form, but there is no apparent semantic relationship between this and the other ru- morphemes. This is perhaps borne out by the fact that the Kaiapit variety of Adzera uses ro- rather than ru- for the continuous prefix.

### 3.1.4 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite Pronouns are formed by prefixing n- to the Demonstratives (see 3.2.8),<sup>4</sup>

e.g. n-ani *this here, near me*  
 n-igi *that there, near you*  
 n-aga *that there, far away, or referred to before*

They are usually used, alone, in the form of a question, or as an answer to a question,

e.g. a n-igi *Ah, that one?*

gur maṇan. n-ani  
*pot which this one*  
*Which pot, this one?*

namu. n-aga  
*no that one*  
*No, that one (over there).*

## 3.1.5 arai

In the Amari dialect of Adzera, when two verbs follow each other in sequence, a free morpheme, *arai*, may be used (optionally) to indicate plurality in certain contexts. *Arai* only precedes verbs of motion. It acts like a pronoun. J. Lynch has suggested that it may be related to POC \*ada, third person pronoun (personal communication). *Arai* only occurs before the second verb of verb sequences, and its referent may be in first, second or third person plural.

## 1ST PERSON REFERENT

agi atan -a (arai) fa -da uṇar  
*we(Inc.) go inside. Part. (Pl.) go. Part. house*  
*We went inside the house.*

aga i- yab arai i- fan da aga i- fan i rib fain  
*we(Exc.) Real. go up Pl. Real. go and we Real. wait for people some*  
*ru? -a arai i- ba*  
*go down. Part. Pl. Real. come*  
*We went up and we waited for some people to come down.*

aga i- yab arai i- fan da aga i- mpa arai i- ru?  
*we(Exc.) Real. go up Pl. Real. go and we Real. sit Pl. Real. go down*  
*We went up and we sat down.*

In these three examples, *arai* has a 1st person plural pronoun referent (*agi* (Inclusive) or *aga* (Exclusive)), which is the subject of the sentence.

## 2ND PERSON REFERENT

With second person referent, which is the subject of the sentence, a similar construction occurs:

i- san? agam runt -a arai ru? -a fa -da gamp  
*Real. be enough you(Pl.) run. Part. Pl. go down. Part. go. Part. village*  
*Can you run down to the village?*

agam wa- fan da wa- runt arai wa- yab mamai  
*you(Pl.) Imp. go and Imp. run Pl. Imp. go up mountain*  
*You go and run up the mountain.*

The referent of *arai* in these two sentences is *agam*, second person plural pronoun.

## 3RD PERSON REFERENT

I found it difficult to elicit sentences using *arai* with a third person plural subject referent. A third person plural object seemed to be preferred,

e.g. dzi i- rim bampin? (arai) i- ru?  
*I Real. put coconut (Pl.) Real. go down*  
*I threw the coconuts down.*

Arai is, again, optional, and is only used with the plural object.

aragan i- yu tauf da i- rim (arai) i- fan  
*he Real. take stone and Real. put (Pl.) Real. go*  
*He took the stones and threw them.*

In these examples, arai refers back to the object nouns, bampin? *coconuts*, in the first example, and tauf *stones* in the second. These nouns are otherwise unmarked for singular or plural, and since the subjects of both sentences are clearly singular - dzi *I*, and aragan *he*, the arai must refer to the object nouns. With a singular object, it is unnecessary:

dzi i- rim taip manan i- fan  
*I Real. take net bag a Real. go*  
*I took a net bag away.*

The following sentence produced another problem of plurality:

rib igi i- tip gur igi i- rim (arai) i- fan  
*they Real. dig out clay Dem. Real. give (Pl.) Real. go*  
*They dig out the clay (and) give it (to others) to go out (of the clay pit).*

This sentence occurred in a text about women digging clay in pits for making pots. The referent of arai appears to be the noun gur (*clay*), which appears to be considered a countable or plural noun for this purpose, because the women (rib igi) don't go out of the pit, but hand the lumps of clay out to others. So it is the clay which goes out.

A similar usage was noted in the following sentence:

sagat igi i- iki? nam (arai) i- fan  
*woman Dem. Real. carry food by pot rim (Pl.) Real. go*  
*The woman carried the food away by the pot rim.*

In this sentence, the referent of arai is nam, meaning *food* in this context, and food in pots, because the verb iki? *to carry* is only used for the action of carrying pots by the rim. So nam seems to be considered, in this example, to be a plural noun.

## 3.2 Nouns

### 3.2.1 Introduction

The following formulae represent the ways in which nouns can be modified in Amari:

NP → Head Noun + (Modifier)  
 Modifier →  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(Possession)} \\ \text{(Demonstrative)} \\ \text{(Adjective)} \\ \text{(Clause)} \end{array} \right\}$

Nouns and pronouns can be modified by possession, and by quantitative or qualitative modification.

Possession of nouns has already been discussed, under Pronouns (3.1.2). Most objects in the Amari world are possessed according to the Type II Possessive form. The modifiers always follow the noun.

### 3.2.2 Quantitative modification

Quantity is marked by numerals, by plural marking, or by indefinite quantifiers.

#### NUMERALS

The numerals are the most precise markers. The Amari counting system is a binary system, and some numbers are listed below:

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| bitsinta? (or bits)  | <i>one</i>   |
| iru?run (or iru?)    | <i>two</i>   |
| iru? da bits         | <i>three</i> |
| iru? da iru?         | <i>four</i>  |
| iru? da iru? da bits | <i>five</i>  |

and so on, in multiples of two, and two plus one. This becomes very cumbersome, and if there are more than five objects, people rarely count them using Amari numerals nowadays, and usually count them in Tok Pisin,

e.g. garam sikispara  
*man six*  
*six men*

With the Amari numerals we have,

e.g. ifab bitsinta?  
*pig one*  
*one pig*  
 sagat iru?run  
*woman two*  
*two women*

However, iru? can also mean *a few*,

e.g. garam iru? i- ba  
*man a few Real. come*  
*A few men came.*

### 3.2.3 Singular and plural marking

Nouns in Amari are normally unmarked by affixes to indicate plurality. Usually one has to obtain this through the context, or through any pronouns which may follow the noun and refer to it,

e.g. mama? marub i- fa wap. Rib igi i- wam dzaŋ? buman  
*child male Real. go bush they Real. look for pig wild*  
*The boys went to the bush. They looked for wild pigs.*

Plurality can sometimes be marked by reduplication of the modifier. However, this is quite rare.

e.g. mama? finam finam  
*child female female*  
*girls*

### 3.2.4 Indefinite quantifiers

There are other modifiers, less specific than numerals, which indicate quantity. These include:

|          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| isi?     | <i>a little</i>           |
| fain     | <i>some</i>               |
| maŋan    | <i>a, any, which</i>      |
| santan   | <i>all</i>                |
| ampi     | <i>lots</i>               |
| raginti  | <i>lots of, very many</i> |
| ragingan | <i>lots of, very many</i> |

e.g. mpui isi? ru- miŋ?  
*water little Cont. stays*  
*A little water is left.*

nam fain  
*food/things some*  
*some food/things*

mama? maŋan i- fa gamp  
*child a/which Real. go village*  
*A child went to the village. OR Which child went to the village? (If accompanied by rising intonation.)*

agi santan i- bugin arangan  
*we(Inc.) all Real. not like him/her*  
*We all dislike him/her.*

garam ampi biŋan i- mpa Waridzian  
*men many very Real. stay Waridzian*  
*Many people live in Waridzian.*

dzaŋ? ragingan i- miŋ? wap aga  
*meat (game) lots Real. stay bush there*  
*Lots of game animals live in that bush there.*

Some of these can be intensified by reduplication,

e.g. isi? isi? aŋu *only very little* (aŋu is an adverb meaning *only*)  
 tsira? tsira? *very big, very important*

### 3.2.5 Ordinals

Although there are no true ordinals, I will use the term to refer to the following usages:

Nouns can be modified according to their position in a sequence,

e.g. miamun *first*  
 wasa? *in the middle*  
 bampan *last, at the end (lit. tail)*

So we have,

e.g. nan miamun *firstly (used in narrative)*  
 sagat miamun igi *That woman is first.*  
 garam wasa? *The man in the middle.*  
 garam bampan sib *The last man, last-born, last in the line.*

### 3.2.6 Descriptive modification

Modifiers always follow the noun in Amari. There are two types of adjective-like modifiers - those which immediately follow the noun, and those which also function as stative verbs. Below are listed examples of the first type, Type I, with examples, and some of the second type, Type II, with examples. These are all that I have collected so far, but there are undoubtedly more. Both appear to be open classes.

#### 3.2.6.1 Type I modifiers

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| tsira?     | <i>big</i>                                      |
| isi?       | <i>small</i>                                    |
| gunti?     | <i>tall, long</i>                               |
| uts        | <i>short, narrow</i>                            |
| (ɲaru)bini | <i>good</i>                                     |
| fa?        | <i>new</i>                                      |
| fufi       | <i>old (people)</i>                             |
| ratar      | <i>old (objects)</i>                            |
| maradza    | <i>wide, broad</i>                              |
| mututu     | <i>blunt</i>                                    |
| bararaŋ    | <i>sharp</i>                                    |
| finam      | <i>female</i>                                   |
| marub      | <i>male</i>                                     |
| buman      | <i>wild</i>                                     |
| babampaf   | <i>hard</i>                                     |
| yas        | <i>left (hand)</i>                              |
| gaunt      | <i>hot (liquids)</i>                            |
| marabusuŋ  | <i>black</i>                                    |
| maragamp   | <i>white</i>                                    |
| dzugudzuŋ  | <i>yellow</i>                                   |
| raŋuŋ?     | <i>red</i>                                      |
| mudzu      | <i>blue; a small blue flower</i>                |
| asasa?     | <i>white (refers to plants and fruits only)</i> |
| bi?        | <i>red (refers to plants and fruits); blood</i> |

Examples of use are:

|                |                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| mama? bini     | <i>a good child</i>                   |
| uŋar isi?      | <i>small house</i>                    |
| garam maragamp | <i>white man, European</i>            |
| gai gunti?     | <i>tall tree</i>                      |
| sagat fa?      | <i>new woman or wife, young woman</i> |
| sagat fufi     | <i>old woman</i>                      |

|              |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| mama? finam  | <i>female child, girl</i> |
| siŋan mututu | <i>blunt spear</i>        |
| baŋi yas     | <i>left hand</i>          |
| baŋi bini    | <i>right hand</i>         |
| mpui gaunt   | <i>hot water</i>          |

## 3.2.6.2 Type II modifiers

|             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| daum-an     | <i>good</i>               |
| mais-an     | <i>bad</i>                |
| sasus-an    | <i>hot</i>                |
| fuŋ?-an     | <i>full</i>               |
| pupu?-an    | <i>broken</i>             |
| ruruŋ-an    | <i>straight</i>           |
| waŋ-an      | <i>crooked</i>            |
| dzub-an     | <i>ripe</i>               |
| nu?-an      | <i>cooked</i>             |
| nufunuf-an  | <i>wet</i>                |
| tsara?-an   | <i>dry</i>                |
| pu?-an      | <i>broken</i>             |
| puapap-an   | <i>light</i>              |
| barabin-dan | <i>heavy, troublesome</i> |
| nabaŋip-an  | <i>sweet (taste)</i>      |
| giririp-an  | <i>sour</i>               |
| ŋaŋaŋaŋ-an  | <i>hot, chili (taste)</i> |
| ŋkian-an    | <i>bitter</i>             |
| gagats-an   | <i>irritating, itchy</i>  |
| mamp-an     | <i>dead</i>               |

These are all predicate adjectives, or participles, which in English are expressed by adjectives. They are all conjugated as verbs, and are all stative verbs. To modify a noun, they can be used in two ways:

- (a) with Realis prefix i- + Root (see 4.2.2)
- (b) as a Participle - Root + -(d)an (see 4.3).

Examples:

- (a) aruf i- mais  
*girl Real. bad*  
*The girl is bad. OR She is a bad girl.*
- nam i- sasus  
*food Real. hot*  
*The food is hot. OR It is hot food.*
- mub i- dzub  
*berry Real. ripe*  
*The berry is ripe. OR It is a ripe berry.*
- nam i- nu?  
*food Real. cooked*  
*The food is cooked. OR It is cooked food.*
- tauf i- barabin  
*stone Real. heavy*  
*The stone is heavy. OR It is a heavy stone.*



garam i- mamp  
 man Real. dead  
 The man is dead.

- (b) aruf mais -an  
 girl bad. Part.  
 A bad girl OR She is a bad girl.

nam sasus -an  
 food hot. Part.  
 Hot food OR The food is hot.

mub dzub -an  
 berry ripe. Part.  
 Ripe berry OR The berry is ripe.

nam nu? -an  
 food cook. Part.  
 Cooked food OR The food is cooked.

tauf barabin -dan  
 stone heavy. Part.  
 Heavy stone OR The stone is heavy.

garam mamp -an  
 man dead. Part.  
 Dead man OR The man is dead.

The main difference between (a) and (b) is that the examples in (a) can stand alone as complete sentences, and those in (b) can be the subject or object of a sentence, i.e. they can stand as a noun phrase. However, they can also stand as complete utterances as well. There is no apparent semantic distinction between those in Type I and those in Type II.

### 3.2.6.3 Location adjectives

There is another type of modifier which can act as an adjective or a noun. These indicate location. Whether the word is being used as an adjective or a noun must come from the context, e.g. *wasas? middle*. *Ugar wasas?* can mean either *the middle of the house* or *the house in the middle*. Others of this type are:

|          |        |      |               |   |
|----------|--------|------|---------------|---|
| waras?   | below  | e.g. | garam waras?  | the people living on the lower<br>(southern) side of the valley |
| wagas?   | above  |      | sagas? wagas? | the women living on the higher<br>(northern) side of the valley |
| marafain | beside |      | nam marafain  | the thing beside  |

### 3.2.6 Compounds

In Amari compounds, the first noun is the head noun, and the second word, whether noun, verb, or participle, is descriptive, and refers to the preceding noun. These compounds occur in the following ways:

## NATIONALITY:

garam Niu Gini    *a Niuginian man*  
 sagat Adzera     *an Adzera woman*  
 sagat Siapan     *a Japanese woman*  
 mama? Waridzian *a Waridzian child*

## PROFESSIONS, OR WORK:

garam is        -a    yafas  
*man catch. Part. fish*  
*a fisherman*

garam rim    -a    uŋar  
*man make Part. house*  
*a carpenter*

sagat u        -da    mama? ataŋ    -an  
*woman take. Part. child go in. Part.*  
*teacher (female)*

garam rab    -a    gai  
*man cut.            tree*  
*woodcutter*

garam puris  
*man police*  
*policeman*

## PERSONAL IDIOSYNCRASIES AND CHARACTERISTICS:

garam yab    -a    bampiŋ?  
*man go up. Part. coconut*  
*man who climbs coconuts (who likes to, or is good at it)*

sagat gabai gari -da    gum  
*woman never weed. Part. garden*  
*woman who never weeds her garden*

garam mpa        -dan    aŋu  
*man sit down. Part. only*  
*man who only sits around all the time*

garam anuŋ? ni    -da    nan    aŋu  
*man Neg. say. Part. talk only*  
*man who does not talk much*

## PART-TO-WHOLE RELATIONSHIP (EXPRESSED BY POSSESSIVE):

mpu(i) wa        -n  
*water neck. 3PossI.*  
*a narrowing of a river or stream*

mamai    yu        -n  
*mountain nose. 3Poss.*  
*a peak of a mountain*

gai    baŋi -n  
*tree arm. 3Poss.*  
*branch of a tree*

## 3.2.8 Demonstratives

Other important postnominal modifiers in Amari-Adzera are the demonstratives. These are used very frequently. They incorporate distance from the speaker with visibility of the object being spoken about, and whether or not the object has been referred to already. They are:

|     |   |   |                      |
|-----|---|---|----------------------|
| ani | here, near me/us  | } | visible              |
| igi | there, near you, generally referential                          |   |                      |
| aga | there, near him, it   | } | visible or invisible |
| ugu | there, far away, near him or it,<br>already seen or referred to |   |                      |

Examples:

ani:

maŋa gur -an ani wasa? ani bubumpwa? sib  
 who pot. 3Poss. here inside here dirty finish  
 Whose pot is this here, whose inside is dirty?  
 nam ani i- nabaŋip i- yus  
 food here Real. sweet Real. too much  
 This food is too sweet.

igi: This is the most commonly used demonstrative. It occurs frequently throughout narratives, and seems to be used mainly as a referential tag, e.g. as in

rib igi they, them or  
 nan aranan igi that's all, the end of the story  
 garam igi i- raf ganan  
 man that Real. dig yam  
 The man digs out yams.

aga:

wa- yu dzaf aga i- ba  
 Imp. bring fire that Real. come  
 Bring that fire over here to me.  
 kar idzuwai aga i- ba  
 car which that Real. come  
 What car is that coming?

ugu:

da rib ugu santan i- ru? da i- buariŋ dzaŋ? ugu i-  
 and they there all Real. go down and Real. carry pig there Real.  
 fafub mpui i- ba  
 come downstream water Real. come  
 And they (already referred to) all came down and carried that pig (already referred to) downstream, and came back.

ugu is also used on either side of relative clauses, to demarcate those clauses from the rest of the sentence (see 3.2.9).

The demonstratives are also used in time phrases, e.g.

ani:

gubu? buŋʔa- bi ani da dzi na- is u gur -am  
 day Fut. be like this and I Hort. make you pot 2Poss.  
*On a day like this one, I will make your pot.*

ugu:

rib igi i- fan da Fraidi bampan ugu  
 they Real. go on Friday last there  
*They went on Friday last week.*

araŋan i- mamp da mai? ugu  
 he Real. die on yesterday there  
*He died the day before yesterday.*

### 3.2.9 Relative clauses as noun modifiers

NP → Head Noun +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(Adjective)} \\ \text{(Demonstrative)} \\ \text{(Possessive)} \\ \text{(Noun)} \\ \text{(Relative Clause)} \end{array} \right\}$

NP → Head Noun + (ugu) + Relative Clause

Relative Clause → (N) + Verb Root + Predicate + ugu

Relative clauses, as more complex postnominal modifiers, exist in Amari, and they always follow the noun they modify. The head noun, or referent, is followed optionally by the demonstrative ugu, then the relative clause follows. After the relative clause, ugu is repeated, as an anaphoric referent back to the subject of the clause. The verb of the clause is always expressed in the participial form, verb root + (d)a. Examples:

ifab (ugu) / mus -a yup -a intap ugu / i- mamp sib  
 pig (Dem.) always. Part. dig. Part. earth Dem. Real. die finish  
*The pig that was always digging up the ground is dead.*

dzi na- yu uŋar ugu / garam fawa? -a sib aga ugu /  
 I Hort. take house Dem. man break. Part. finish Dem. Dem.  
*I will take the house which the man has broken.*

In these two sentences, the relative clause follows directly after the noun to which it refers (ifab and uŋar) whether the noun is subject or object of the sentence. The Demonstrative ugu follows directly after the noun which the clause modifies, and again directly after the end of the clause. The verb of the clause is in the participial form, which is formed by the addition of the suffix -a, -da, to the verb root. Some other examples:

mama? marub ugu / dzi dzigin -da i gan nam -gan ugu /  
 child male Dem. I steal. Part. Obl.Obj.M. Poss. food. 3Poss.II Dem.

i- fa uta da ru- fa giŋ?  
 Real. go nothing and Cont. go sleep  
*The boy whose food I stole went without anything and went to sleep.*

In this sentence, the relative clause indicating possession is expressed in the same way, with the possessive markers on the noun nam food.

garam (ugu) / dzi i- rim pas rut in ugu / i- yu i- fa  
 man (Dem.) I Real. give letter go with him Dem. Real. take Real. go

taun

town

*The man to whom I gave the letter has taken it to town.*

sagat (ugu) / dzi ni -da nan rut in ugu / i- fa sib gamp  
 woman (Dem.) I say. Part. talk go with her Dem. Real. go Compl. I village

*The woman to whom I spoke went back to the village.*

In these two examples, the clause contains the verb *rut-* *to go with, to be together*, and the Oblique Object *in to him, her*, which refers back to the subject noun.

dzantsun (ugu) / dzi rab -a gai gin ugu / i- tati? sib  
 axe (Dem.) I cut. Part. tree Obl.Obj. Dem. Real. break finish  
*The axe with which I cut the tree is broken.*

unar (ugu) / dzi mus -a gin? -a gin ugu / dzaf i-  
 house (Dem.) I always. Part. sleep. Part. Obl.Obj. Dem. fire Real.

ga sib

eat finish

*Fire has burnt down the house in which I usually sleep.*

In these two examples, the Oblique Object refers back to the subject in the first sentence, and the object in the second sentence.

#### 4. THE VERB PHRASE

##### 4.1 Verbs

##### 4.1.1 Introduction

Verbs are very important in the Amari language. They carry much of the semantic information of a sentence, different verbs being used specifically for certain operations and contexts that would, in English, need a phrase or two to explain. For example, for the verbs used to describe the different ways of 'picking' or 'harvesting' crops, I have recorded the following, and no doubt there are many more:

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| bri?  | } to pull out of the ground (e.g. peanuts) (from English pull)                            |
| pur   | } to pull out   |
| turu  | } to pick off altogether, not leaving any of the fruit or leaves                          |
| turu  | } to pull fruit off a bunch one at a time (e.g. peanuts, betel-                           |
| piats | } nut off a cluster)  |
| piats | } to pick bananas off a bunch   |
| tus   |   |
| pis   | } to pick single fruit off with the hand, one at a time (e.g. cucumbers, mangoes, melons) |
| is    | } to pick beans, corn, break off the stalk, to collect a lot of                           |
| sam   | } (e.g. pit-pit, leafy vegetables)  |
| idza? | } to harvest by breaking off (e.g. pineapple, sugarcane)                                  |

raf    to dig out of the ground (e.g. yams, sweet potatoes, tapioca)  
ari    to dig in the ground

There are numerous other semantic areas in Amari, with many verbs which explain precisely the kind of activity being performed, e.g. ways of walking or moving, verbs to do with making a clay-pot, to do with fishing, with building a house, etc. They are all worthy of detailed investigation, but are beyond the scope of this paper.

As verbs carry most of the meaning-load of a sentence, they have numerous prefixes and suffixes which refine their meaning even more precisely to locate the actions expressed by the verb in time, to describe its manner of execution and its duration within the time span given.

Table 3 gives the prefixes, suffixes and postverbal particles for Amari. Those described for the Kaiapit Adzera are a little different (see Holzknecht, K.G. 1973b and 1973c).

## 4.2 Verb prefixes

In Amari, the verb can be analysed as being made up of a number of possible prefix positions, then the Verb Root, then one suffix position, with three possible Postverbal Particles following the Verb. Not all of the prefix positions can ever be filled at the one time, and not all of them co-occur with the suffix position and the Postverbal particles. There are usually no more than three prefixes co-occurring at one time, and there are restrictions on which can co-occur.

I will discuss each of the prefixes, suffixes and Postverbal particles indicating its co-occurrence with other verbal features. Negative affixes and particles will be discussed separately in 4.11.

### 4.2.0 Prefix slot 1 - negative (see 4.11 Negation)

#### 4.2.1 Prefix slot 2

This slot includes {<sup>ru-</sup><sub>ruŋʔ-</sub>} Continuative, and buŋ- Perfective. ru- is the most common form of this prefix, which can be translated in English as *still ... -ing*. An alternative form ruŋʔ- is called by the Amari the 'correct' form, and ru- is called the 'lazy' or 'short' form. K. Holzknecht (1973c:25-26) says that around Kaiapit and Sangang ru- (or ro-) follows a singular subject and ruŋʔ- (or roŋʔ-) follows a plural subject. My data from Amari do not support this explanation. Examples:

arajan ru-    mpai  
he/she Cont. stay  
He (or she) is still staying there.

agam        ru-    ga nam  
you(Pl.) Cont. eat food  
Are you(Pl.) still eating?

dzi ru-    gari gum  
dzi ruŋʔ- gari gum  
I Cont. weed garden  
I am still weeding the garden.

Table 3: Amari verb affixes and particles

| Prefix<br>1      | Prefix<br>2              | Prefix<br>3                 | Prefix<br>4   | Prefix<br>5 | Prefix<br>6           | Prefix<br>7     | Verb<br>Root | Suffix                               | Post-<br>verbal<br>Particle<br>1 | Post-<br>verbal<br>Particle<br>2 | Post-<br>verbal<br>Particle<br>3 |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| anuŋʔ-<br>(Neg.) | {ru-<br>ruŋʔ-<br>(Cont.) | i-<br>(Real.)               | ma-<br>(Pot.) | da-<br>(CF) | {wa-<br>a-<br>(Imp.)  | bu-<br>(Repet.) |              | {-da<br>-dan<br>-an<br>-a<br>(Part.) | sib<br>(Compl.)                  | i<br>(Compl.<br>Int.)            | u<br>(Neg.)                      |
|                  | bun-<br>(Perf.)          | {bunʔa-<br>muŋʔa-<br>(Fut.) |               |             | {na-<br>a-<br>(Hort.) |                 |              |                                      | aŋu<br>(only)                    | wa<br>(Compl.<br>Int.)           |                                  |
|                  |                          |                             |               |             | ma-<br>(Neg.<br>Imp.) |                 |              |                                      | amaʔ<br>(Hort.<br>Int.)          |                                  |                                  |
|                  |                          |                             |               |             |                       |                 |              |                                      | a<br>(Imp.<br>Int.)              |                                  | maʔ<br>(Neg.<br>Imp.)            |

agam ru- muaruts i ba -dan da agai  
 you(Pl.) Cont. want Obl.Obj.M. come. Part. with us  
*Do you still want to come with us?*

Ru-/runʔ- can co-occur with other prefixes with the following restrictions:

ru-/runʔ- with i- 'Realis', Present and Past Tense. Before i- the form runʔ- is preferred by the Amari to ru- 'because it sounds better'. However, it is still correct to use ru-i-.

e.g. rib idzun runʔ- i- pur pinat  
 they Cont. Real. pull peanut  
*They are still harvesting peanuts.*

dzi runʔ- i- adzuʔ nam  
 I Cont. Real. wash thing  
*I am still washing things (clothes or food).*

ru-/runʔ- with bunʔa-/munʔa- Future

e.g. tataʔ da aranan ru- bunʔa- mpai  
 tomorrow and he Cont. Fut. stay  
*He will still be here tomorrow.*

ru-/runʔ- with ma- Potential

e.g. aranan ma- ga nam ma aranan ru- ma- mpai  
 he Pot. eat food or he Cont. Pot. stay  
*Perhaps he has eaten, or perhaps he is still sitting (there).*

ru-/runʔ- with da- Contrary to Fact

e.g. (This example is adapted from Holzknecht 1973c:26)  
 sagat ru- da- gari gum ani da agi da- ni rut  
 woman Cont. CF. weed garden here and we(Inc.) CF. say to her  
*If only the woman were still weeding this garden here, then we could tell her (something).*

ru-/runʔ- with wa- Imperative. Does not occur.

ru-/runʔ- with na- Hortative

e.g. Martin ru- na- mpai  
 Martin Cont. Hort. stay  
*Martin should still stay.*

dzi ru- na- mpai ma aga na- fan  
 I Cont. Hort. stay or we(Exc.) Hort. go  
*Should I be staying, or should we go?*

ru-/runʔ- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. aranan ru- bu- ga unas  
 he Cont. Rep. eat sweet potato  
*He is eating sweet potato again.*

bunʔ- Perfective. This prefix means *just now completed*. It usually co-occurs with and precedes Realis i-.



e.g. Sinur buŋ- i- fa makit  
 Sinur Perf. Real. go market  
*Sinur has just gone to the market.*

But buŋ- can also be used to refer to a time further past than *just now*.

e.g. da dzi buŋ- i- adzu? nam da mai? ugu  
 and I Perf. Real. wash thing TimeM. yesterday  
*But I only just washed clothes yesterday!*

buŋ- with buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- Future. Does not occur.

buŋ- with ma- Potential

e.g. rib idzun buŋ- ma- ba ma  
 they Perf. Pot. come or  
*Perhaps they have only just come, or?*  
 aranan buŋ- ma- rab ma garam manan ma- rab  
 he Perf. Pot. cut or man a Pot. cut  
*(I think) maybe he just cut it, or maybe another man cut it.*

buŋ- with da-, wa-, na-, bu-, does not occur.

#### 4.2.2 Prefix slot 3

There are two prefixes in this slot, i- Realis, and buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- Future. I treat Realis i- first.

i- Present and Past tense. This prefix refers to events which have actually happened in the past, or which are happening now. It is the most commonly used prefix in Amari, and has been called 'Modus realitatus' by K. Holzknicht (1973c: 21). The same form is used for singular or plural subjects, and for transitive or intransitive verbs. I will refer to this prefix as 'Realis'.

e.g. rib igi i- fan da i- mpa yaun da i- tai nam  
 they Real. go and Real. stay shade and Real. cook food  
*They go/went and stay/stayed in the shade and cook/cooked food.*

Martin i- ga nam  
 Martin Real. eat food  
*Martin ate food.*

dzi i- fa taun da mai? ugu  
 I Real. go town TimeM. yesterday  
*I went to town yesterday.*

aga rama -ŋ? -gaŋ? i- mpa bini  
 our(Exc.) father. 1Poss.I 1Poss.I Real. stay good  
*Our father is well.*

miamun ugu da aga rumpu -ŋ? rusa -ŋ? i- is garam  
 before Dem. and we(Exc.) grandfather. 1Poss.I all. 1Poss.I Real. hit man

funub da i- gan  
 dead and Real. eat  
*Before, our grandfathers all killed people and ate them.*

This prefix is usually dropped in Amari after a vowel.

e.g. dzi i- ga nam  
I Real. eat food  
I ate food.

This would be said, in normal speech, dzi ga nam. However, for purposes of this paper, I will always write the i- even when the sound would be dropped in speech.

i- with ma-, da-, wa-, na-, does not occur.

i- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi i- bu- ba  
I Real. Repet. come  
I came back again.

Marafirian i- bu- tip i- yuŋ  
Marafirian Real. Repet. return Real. walk  
Marafirian walks back and forth all the time.

buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- Future. This prefix indicates events that are definitely believed will occur in the future. It also expresses an intention to do something in the future. The forms buŋ'a- and muŋ'a- appear to alternate freely in the Amari dialect of Adzera, whereas in the Kaiapit dialect only the buŋ'a- form is heard. However, in Amari buŋ'a- is the most common form. This prefix is called 'Future' rather than 'Irrealis' because there are two other prefixes, ma- Potential, and da- Contrary to Fact, which also have an Irrealis sense. The common opposition of Realis/Irrealis does not occur in Amari.

e.g. agi buŋ'a- fa gamp  
we(Inc.) Fut. go village  
We will go to the village.

tata? da aga buŋ'a- yab mamai na- fa- fa da na-  
tomorrow TimeM. we(Exc.) Fut. go up mountain Hort. go. go and Hort.

ntuap Yan kawan  
come up to Yan kawan  
Tomorrow we will climb the mountain, up and up, and we will arrive at Yan kawan.

garam igi muŋ'a- yuŋ a- fan  
man Dem. Fut. walk Hort. go  
That man will walk.

In the last two examples, the first verb with the Future prefix buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- is followed by another verb, with the Hortative prefix, na-/a-, affixed to it. This is the case whenever the verb in the future tense is followed by another verb which also expresses future. The buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- prefix is never repeated on the second verb (except before da-).

buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- with ma- Potential. This combination expresses doubt about some future action. The final vowel of buŋ'a- is usually dropped before ma- and the two become buŋ'ma-. It is often used in a question form. (Amari informants cannot agree about whether this combination occurs in Amari or only in Kaiapit.)

e.g. aranan buŋ'- ma- fan da mai?  
he Fut. Pot. go TimeM. tomorrow  
Will he go tomorrow?

buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- with da- Contrary to Fact. When buŋ'a- precedes da-, the final vowel of buŋ'a- is dropped and the two become buŋ'da-, and together they express a somewhat negative sense.

e.g. u muŋ'- da- mpaí  
 you(S.) Fut. CF. stay  
 Won't you stay?

u muŋ'- da- ní da rib idzun muŋ'- da- fan  
 you(S.) Fut. CF. say and they Fut. CF. go  
 If you will only say something, then they would go.

buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- with wa, na, a-, does not occur.

buŋ'a-/muŋ'a- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi buŋ'a- bu- ba  
 I Fut. Repet. come  
 I will come back again.

araŋan muŋ'a- bu- tip a- fan  
 he Fut. Repet. again Hort. go  
 He will go back again.

#### 4.2.3 Prefix slot 4

This slot has only one prefix, ma- Potential. This prefix can be translated as *perhaps*, and conveys a sense of doubt. It has already been shown how ma- combines with several other prefixes which occur in the two prefix slots before it (ru- and buŋ'a-/muŋ'a-). When used alone, before a verb root, ma- can be translated as *perhaps* or *maybe*, in the present or past tense.

e.g. araŋan ma- mpaí ma ma- fan  
 he Pot. stay or Pot. go  
 Perhaps he is there, or perhaps he has gone.

Siras ma- ga nam ma araŋan ru- ma- mpaí  
 Siras Pot. eat food or he Cont. Pot. stay  
 Perhaps Silas has eaten, or perhaps he is still sitting there.

ma- with da-, wa-, does not occur. However ma-da- does occur in the Kaiapit dialect.

ma- with na- does not occur, but is found in the Kaiapit dialect.

ma- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi ma- bu- fan  
 I Pot. Repet. go  
 Did I go back? (i.e. I can't remember ...)

#### 4.2.4 Prefix slot 5

This slot contains only da- Contrary to Fact. This prefix has a negative sense, in that it indicates that something could, or should, have taken place, but did not. It has also an element of regret, 'if only' something had happened.

e.g. dzi da- yu papaya ugu wa da dzi da- num da- suf  
 I CF. take pawpaw Dem. finish and I CF. drink CF. be enough  
 If only I had brought that pawpaw, I could have eaten my fill.  
 sagat igi da- ntaṅ krus  
 woman Dem. CF. sew clothes  
 If only that woman would sew clothes! (She can, but she doesn't.)

da- with wa-, na-, does not occur.

da- with bu- does not occur.

#### 4.2.5 Prefix slot 6

A number of prefixes may occur in this slot. They are wa-/a- Imperative, and na-/a- Hortative.

wa- Imperative. This prefix is only used with second person subjects, u/agu (Singular), and agam (Plural). When used with second Singular u/agu, the pronoun is dropped.

e.g. wa- ga nam  
 Imp. eat food  
 Eat!  
 wa- ba ani  
 Imp. come here  
 Come here!

With second person plural agam, the pronoun is retained, but the wa- can become a-.

e.g. agam a- ba  
 you(Pl.) Imp. come  
 or agam wa- ba  
 you(Pl.) Imp. come  
 Come!  
 agam a- mpai  
 you(Pl.) Imp. stay  
 You stay!  
 garam da sagat wa- ba  
 man and woman Imp. come  
 Men and women, come!

wa- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. wa- bu- fan da tata? wa- bu- ba  
 Imp. Repet. go and tomorrow Imp. Repet. come  
 You go again now and come back tomorrow.

na- Hortative, or First and Third Imperative. This prefix is only used with first or third person subjects. It has a future connotation.

e.g. agi na- fan  
 we(Inc.) Hort. go  
 Let us go! We shall go. We should go.

araŋan na- naŋa na- bi anuŋ? da na- ntaŋ taiap in  
*he/she Hort. make Hort. how where and Hort. weave net bag Obl.Obj.*  
*How should she prepare it (the string) and make a net bag from it?*

na- ntsup da dzi na- fan  
*Hort. finish and I Hort. go*  
*When it is finished, I should go.*

na- is often used to convey the meaning 'when something will occur, then ... something else will occur', as in the last example. Another common example is:

na- pis da garam da sagat na- fa gamp  
*Hort. sun come up TimeM. man and woman Hort. go village*  
*When the sun comes up, the men and women will go to their villages.*

na- with ru- and with ma- (Kaiapit dialect only) have been treated (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.3).

na- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi na- bu- ba  
*I Hort. Repet. come*  
*I will/should come back again.*

#### 4.2.6 Prefix slot 7

This slot has only one prefix, bu- Repetitive. This can often be translated as *again*. It is usually preceded by i- Realis prefix (see 4.2.2), or Future prefix buŋ?a- (see 4.2.2).

e.g. araŋan i- bu- ba  
*he Real. Repet. come*  
*He came back again.*

dzi muŋ?a- bu- ba da Muntai  
*I Fut. Repet. come TimeM. Monday*  
*I will come back again on Monday.*

Table 4: Chart of prefix co-occurrence

|                  | anuŋʔ- | ru-<br>ruŋʔ- | buŋ- | i- | buŋʔa-<br>muŋʔa- | ma- <sup>1</sup> | da-       | wa-<br>a- | na-<br>a- | ma- <sup>2</sup> | bu- |
|------------------|--------|--------------|------|----|------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----|
| anuŋʔ-           |        | *            | *    | *  | *                |                  |           |           |           |                  | *   |
| ru-<br>ruŋʔ-     |        |              |      | *  | *                | *                | *         |           | *         |                  |     |
| buŋ-             |        |              |      | *  |                  | *                |           |           |           |                  |     |
| i-               |        |              |      |    |                  |                  |           |           |           |                  | *   |
| buŋʔa-<br>muŋʔa- |        |              |      |    |                  | *                | *         |           |           | *                | *   |
| ma- <sup>1</sup> |        |              |      |    |                  |                  | *         |           | *         |                  | *   |
|                  |        |              |      |    |                  |                  | (Kaiapit) |           | (Kaiapit) |                  |     |
| da-              |        |              |      |    |                  |                  |           |           |           |                  | *   |
| wa-<br>a-        |        |              |      |    |                  |                  |           |           |           |                  | *   |
| na-<br>a-        |        |              |      |    |                  |                  |           |           |           |                  | *   |
| ma- <sup>2</sup> |        |              |      |    |                  |                  |           |           |           |                  |     |
| bu-              |        |              |      |    |                  |                  |           |           |           |                  |     |

1. Potential; 2. Negative; \* = co-occur

#### 4.3 Verb suffix: participle marker

In Amari, there is only one verbal suffix, which can have one of four forms. This suffix, -dan/-an, -da/-a, changes the verb form into a participle or verbal noun.

If the preceding sound is either a vowel, or [n], the form will be -dan/-da. If the preceding sound is a consonant (including other nasals and glottal stop), the form will be -an/-a.

The final nasal of -an and -dan is dropped if the verb is followed by any predicate - any postverbal particle, adverb, an object, complement, or another verb. The form used then is either -da (after a vowel or [n]) or -a (after a consonant). This means, in effect, that the final n is retained only when the participial form of the verb is the last word in a sentence, or before the conjunction da when it joins two sentences. (See *fa go* (4.5.1) and *ga eat* (4.5.2) for exceptions.)

e.g. After vowel or [n]:

sagat mpa -da ris igi  
*woman stay. Part. dam Dem.*  
*The women are staying at the dam.*

aragan i- tip i- fa i tsagan -da sagat ugu  
*he Real. return Real. go Obl.Obj.M. see. Part. woman Dem.*  
*He returned in order to see that woman.*

After consonants (including other nasals and glottal stop):

rama -ŋʔ i- fa naŋ -a gum miŋʔ -a wap  
*father 1.Poss.I Real. go do. Part. work stay. Part. bush*  
*Father has gone to work in the garden in the bush.*

dzi i- nan i fis -a i nan sagat ari  
 I Real. want Obl.Obj.M. tell. Part. Obl.Obj.M. talk woman dig out.  
 -da gur  
 Part. clay  
 I want to tell the story about how women dig out the clay (for pots).

With a predicate following the verb:

agam i- fa tsanan-da wai  
 you(Pl.) Real. go see. Part. what  
 What did you all go to see?

dzi gabai bia? -a sun da dzi i- muangits buŋ'a- rut  
 I never go. Part. quick and I Real. be hungry Fut. be together  
 If I do not go quickly, I will be hungry.

sagat mpa -da ris igi i- is yafas  
 woman stay. Part. dam Dem. Real. hit fish  
 The women staying at the dam caught fish.

aga i- dzraŋ i wam -a nam ga -dan  
 we(Exc.) Real. split up Obl.Obj.M. find. Part. food eat. Part.  
 We split up in order to find some food.

At end of sentence, or before conjunction da:

i- saŋ? dzi bia? -an  
 Real. be enough I come Part.  
 Can I come?

araŋan i- mpa i- saŋ? buramp iru?run igi ntsup -an  
 he Real. stay Real. be enough month two Dem. finish. Part.

da tip -a fa -dan  
 and return. Part. go. Part.  
 He stayed until two months had finished, and he went back.

araŋan i- tsanan dzankum uri? -an da atim runt -an da  
 he Real. see corn sprout. Part. and cucumber grow. Part. and

ganaŋ tap -an  
 yam grow. Part.  
 He saw the corn had sprouted, and the cucumbers had grown, and the yams had grown.

#### 4.4 Post-verbal particles

Post-verbal particles can occur after any verb, and can be separated from the verb by any number of words, for example, demonstratives, an object, a complement, etc. There are two post-verbal particle positions. In the first position (1) either sib, ama?, a, or aŋu may occur. In the second position, and following directly after the first position, i or wa may occur. Most of these particles emphasise tense, aspect or mood which is conveyed by the verbal prefixes, and usually intensifying the meaning conveyed by these prefixes.

## 4.4.1 Completive I – sib

When sib occurs at the end of a verb phrase, it means that the action is completed. It is also used in time phrases to denote actions which have been completed in the past, or actions which will be completed in the future.

e.g. rib igi i- ga nam tai -dan igi sib  
*they Real. eat food cook. Part. Dem. Compl.I*  
*They ate the cooked food.*

mpui igi i- ri? sib  
*water Dem. Real. dry up Compl.I*  
*That water has all dried up.*

Future:

suntai iru?run na- ntsup sib i da agi na- bri? pinat  
*Sunday two Hort. finish Compl.I first and we(Inc.) Hort. pick peanuts*  
*In two weeks' time, we will pick the peanuts.*

Past:

ukam iru?run i- fa sib da dzi anu? i- tsagan aranan u  
*moon two Real. go Compl.I and I Neg. Real. see him/her Neg.*  
*I haven't seen her for two months.*

Sib is used frequently when narrating a story, to show that one action is finished and another is about to begin,

e.g. ...da rib igi i- rim mani sib da i- ntaŋ dzaŋ?  
*...and they Real. give money Compl.I and Real. spear pork/pig*  
*...and they gave (them) the money, and then they took the pork on their*  
*their spears.*

Sib also gives a sense of finality to actions which, when expressed by certain verbs, may be ambiguous, e.g. mamp *to die* may also mean *to faint*, but when followed by sib there is no doubt that *to die* is meant.

e.g. dzi rama -ŋ? -gaŋ? i- mamp sib  
*I father 1Poss.Poss. Real. die Compl.I*  
*My father is dead.*

## 4.4.2 Completive II – sib i and sib wa

Only sib can be followed by the second position particles, i and wa, although they can occur without sib (see below: 4.4.6). They both act as intensifiers. i is an affirmative intensifier, asserting and stressing that an action has occurred:

e.g. dzi i- naŋ sib i  
*I Real. do Compl.I. Compl.II*  
*I have done it.*

Wa intensifies the sense of 'finished, already done', when used after sib. It is also a completive particle, and can occur alone, without sib:

e.g. Adu i- ba sib wa  
*Adu Real. come Compl.I Compl.II*  
*Adu has already come.*



4.4.3 Hortative Intensifier *ama?* *let*

This particle must co-occur with either Hortative prefix *na-/a-* or Imperative *wa-/a-*, and has the meaning of *let...something happen*. It adds encouragement to the hortatory sense of *na-/a-*, and it can only occur following second and third person subjects:

- e.g. *maragab na- rab ama?*  
*poor fellow Hort. cut Hort.Int.*  
*Let the poor fellow cut it!*
- rib igi na- fan ama?*  
*they Hort. go Hort.Int.*  
*They should go! Let them go!*

4.4.4 Imperative Intensifier *a*

*a* occurs only with second person subjects, and with the Imperative prefix *wa-*. It has a strong assertive sense, and according to one informant, it implies criticism of the person being addressed, or exasperation:

- e.g. *wa- nan nam a*  
*Imp. cook food Imp.Int.*  
*Do go and cook the food!*
- wa- gari a*  
*Imp. weed Imp.Int.*  
*Go on, weed it! (Example from K. Holzknacht 1973:23)*

4.4.5 *anu* *only, just*

The particle *anu* can occur with all subjects and prefixes, and has the meaning *only, just*. It can also act like an adverb, and qualify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs:

- e.g. *wa- fan anu*  
*Imp. go only*  
*Just get going!*
- dzi i- mpai anu*  
*I Real. stay only*  
*I am just sitting here.*

4.4.6 *i* and *wa* without *sib*

Both *i* and *wa* can stand alone, without *sib*. The particle *i* asserts that the action is to be completed first, before another begins:

- e.g. *dzi na- rab i*  
*I Hort. cut first*  
*Let me cut it first (before something else happens).*
- dzi na- gari i*  
*I Hort. weed first*  
*Let me weed it first (before I plant something).*

wa implies a completed action, with or without sib preceding it:

- e.g. Adu i- ba wa  
 Adu Real. *come* Compl.II  
 Adu has already come. OR Has Adu already come? (with question intonation.)
- dzi i- tsagan wa  
 I Real. *see* Compl.II  
 I have already seen it.
- gum i- ntsup sib wa  
 work Real. *finish* Compl.I Compl.II  
 The work has really finished.

These particles cannot follow any of the other particles in Position I, Post-verbal particles (4.4) except sib.

#### 4.5 Irregular verb roots

In the Amari language, two verb roots behave differently to other verbs, in the way in which they take endings. These two verbs are *fa go*, and *ga eat*.

##### 4.5.1 *fa go*

The root of this verb is *fa*, and the participial form is *fa-dan*. However, for all prefixes, the root becomes *fan* if it ends the sentence or clause:

- e.g. wa- fan da na- tsagan  
 Imp. *go* and Hort. *see*  
 You go and see!
- dzi na- rut aragan na- fan  
 I Hort. *go with him* Hort. *go*  
 I should go with him.

However, with any predicate following the verb, the root *fa* does not change.

In comparison, the verb *ba come* does not behave in this way. The participial form is *ba-dan*, but the root always remains *ba*, and never becomes *ban*:

- e.g. dzi na- bu- ba  
 I Hort. Repet. *come*  
 I will come back again.
- aragan i- ni ba -dan  
 he Real. *want come*. Part.  
 He wants to come.

##### 4.5.2 *ga eat*

The verb root *ga eat* is also irregular, and behaves in a similar way to *fa go*. Before *da and*, and at the end of a sentence, *ga* becomes *gan*. However, before a vowel, within a sentence, *ga* does not change to *gan*, but remains *ga*, and in speech a glottal stop is inserted between the vowels:

- e.g. rib igi i- ga unas  
*they Real. eat sweet potato*  
*They are eating sweet potato.*
- araŋan i- ga sib  
*he Real. eat Compl.I*  
*He has eaten.*
- araŋan ampi -gan i- gan  
*he guest. 3Poss.II Real. eat*  
*His guest is eating.*
- garam igi ampi -gan igi i- gan da i- num ti igi  
*man Dem. guest. 3Poss.II Dem. Real. eat and Real. drink tea Dem.*  
*That man's guests ate, and drank tea.*

However, the regular participial form is ga-dan/ga-da:

- e.g. dzi i- ni ga -da nam  
*I Real. want eat. Part. food*  
*I want to eat (food).*
- araŋan i- bugin ga -dan  
*he Real. not like eat. Part.*  
*He does not like eating.*

#### 4.6 Auxiliary verbs

There appear to be two types of auxiliary verbs in Amari — those which can also stand alone as main verbs, and those which can only be used in association with another verb.

##### 4.6.1 fa go, and ba come

The first type of auxiliary verb includes *fa go* and *ba come*. As well as being true independent verbs in their own right, *fa* and *ba* can be used with another verb to indicate a continuous aspect, as well as giving a directional sense to the verb, especially verbs of motion. When used in this way, *fa* and *ba* always come after the main verb:

*fa go*

- e.g. garam igi i- ni nan i- fa fa da nan i- saŋ? ruan  
*man Dem. Real. say talk Real. go. go and talk Real. be enough Refl.*  
*The men talk, on and on, until the talk is straight among them.*
- rib igi i- ŋump i- fa- fa- fa da gubu? i- pis  
*they Real. dance Real. go. go. go and sun Real. come up*  
*They dance and dance, until the sun comes up.*
- mama? igi i- fits aruf igi taiap -an da i- yu i- fan  
*child Dem. Real. carry girl Dem. net bag 3Poss.II and Real. take Real. go*  
*The child carries the girl's net bag and takes it away.*
- dzi i- yuŋ i- fa gamp  
*I Real. walk Real. go village*  
*I am walking to the village.*

In the first example, the verb root *fa* is repeated, in order to show that the action was continuing on for a long time. This usage is normally marked by past tense, *Realis i-*, so it is actually a past imperfect. Similarly, the second example shows *fa* being used as an auxiliary aspectual marker. The third example shows *fa* being used as an auxiliary showing direction, and giving a sense of motion to a verb which is not a verb of motion (*yu take*). Because *fa* is used after the verb, it shows that *i-yu i-fan* means *took it (net bag) away from the village*. Motion is seen in relation to the speaker, and his/her position with respect to the home village, so motion away from the village is expressed by *fa go*, and motion towards the village is expressed by *ba come*. The last example shows the motion of walking specifically towards the village.

*ba come*

e.g. *aranan i- tsanan dzaf unar igi dugunt -an yab -a su*  
*he Real. see fire house Dem. smoke 3Poss.II go up. Part. become.*

*-da tsira? da i- tip i- ru? ba*  
*Part. big and Real. return Real. go down come*  
*He saw the smoke from the house-fire become bigger and he came back down again.*

*da rib igi i- yu nam fain da bus da i- yu i-*  
*and they Real. take food some and greens and Real. take Real.*

*ba gamp*  
*come village*

*...and they get some food and greens and bring them back to the village.*

*garam gamp manan i- rim nan i- ba da garam gamp manan*  
*man village a Real. send talk Real. come to man village a*  
*The men from one village send the talk to the men of another village.*

*ba come* is used as a direction marker also, when it follows another verb. Again, as with *fa go*, the direction is determined by the position of the speaker, and of the speaker's village. As in the first example for *ba*, *i-tip i-ru? ba* *he came back down again*, the person referred to came back down to the village from the mountain. Also, in the second example, the motion is towards the village, *i-yu i-ba gamp brought (it) back to the village*. In the third example, the speaker is speaking from the standpoint of a person in her own village – *i-rim nan i-ba da garam gamp manan brought the talk to a man of the village*, i.e. not any village at all, but her own village.

#### 4.6.2 Auxiliary verbs II

A second type of auxiliary verb comes before the main verb (with one exception *mpru? be with*). These verbs differ from the first type of auxiliary in that they cannot stand alone as independent verbs. Verbs of this type collected so far, and commonly used, are:

*mus always*  
*mpru? be with*  
*rut go with*

*mus always.*

- e.g. aga i- mus i- fan  
*we (Exc.) Real. always Real. go*  
*We always go.*
- garam igi i- mus i- runt agu  
*man Dem. Real. always Real. run only*  
*That man always only runs.*

*rut go with, accompany.*

This has a more active sense of *accompany* than *mpru?* and always precedes the verb it modifies, except when it accompanies *ni say*. The object, if there is one, usually comes straight after *rut*.

- e.g. mama? finam finam i- rut sagat fain i- fan da i- is  
*child female female Real. go with woman some Real. go and Real. hit*
- nam wasa? i ntiŋ? -a mpui gin  
*thing inside Obl.Obj.M. dam. Part. water Obl.Obj.*  
*The girls accompany some women and get together the things for damming up the water with.*
- Irafruan i- rut fini -n -gan i- yab i- mpru?  
*Irafruan Real. go with wife 3Poss.I 3Poss.II Real. go up Real. be with*
- da agai  
*with us (Exc.)*  
*Irafruan, accompanied by his wife, got up (into a car) and were together with us.*

*ni say* followed by *rut*.

The verb *ni say*, *like*, is often followed by *rut*, which then has the meaning of *say to someone*. This must then be followed by the oblique object marker, *i*, plus object, or, if the indirect object is a pronoun, by the form which combines oblique object marker and third person pronoun object, *in*.

- e.g. dzi i- ni rut in i ba -dan  
*I Real. say together Obl.Obj.M. Compl.M. come. Part.*  
*I told him to come.*
- wa- ni rut in i dzi fa -da mpru? -an  
*Imp. say together Obl.Obj.M. Compl.M. I go. Part. be with. Part.*
- da rib idzun  
*with them*  
*Tell him that I am going with them.*

*mpru?* *be with, be together.*

*mpru?* usually follows the verb it is accompanying. It can be either transitive or intransitive, and when transitive takes *da* before the object.

- e.g. garam igi i- yu mama? i- mpru?  
*man Dem. Real. take child Real. be together*  
*That man gathered the children together.*

dzi na- fa na- mpru? (da) aranan da aga na- fa gum asa  
 I Hort. go Hort. be together (with) him and we (Exc.) Hort. go garden  
 I will go with him and we will go to the garden.

rib igi i- gints dzaŋ? igi i- mpru? da mani i-  
 they Real. divide up pig Dem. Real. be together with money Real.

saŋ? garam bitsinta? bitsinta?  
 be enough man one one  
 They divided up the pork, together with the money, for each man.

#### 4.7 Objects: direct object; indirect object; oblique object

The relative positions of objects in the verb phrase may be expressed in the following way:

VP + (Direct Object) + (da) + (Indirect Object) + ( { i + Oblique Object }  
 { i + Complement } )

##### 4.7.1 Direct object

The direct object of a transitive verb, in Amari, is not marked in any way other than position, which is directly following the verb.

e.g. aranan i- tip i- yu kar da i- runt  
 he Real. again Real. take car and Real. run  
 Subject Verb 1 Verb 2 Direct Object Conjunction Verb 3  
 i- atsun? dzi  
 Real. follow me  
 Verb 4 Direct Object  
 He got the car again and followed me.

In this sentence, *car* is the direct object of the first verb compound and *me* is the direct object of the second verb compound. They both follow directly after the verb they are related to, and are not marked in any other way.

##### 4.7.2 Indirect object

The indirect object follows the direct object, and is usually preceded by *da to*.

e.g. sifu da i- rim rais da ti da biskit da aranan ampi -gan  
 night Time.M. Real. give rice and tea and biscuit to him guest 3Poss.II  
 At night, (they) gave rice and tea and biscuits to his guests.

However, when the indirect object is a third person pronoun, certain verbs must be followed by the auxiliary verb *rut* and the oblique object *in*.

e.g. dzi i- ni nan da agu  
 I Real. say talk to you  
 I said it to you.

aga na- rim nam ga -dan da agam  
 we(Exc.) Hort. give food eat. Part. to you(Pl.)  
*We will give you (plural) food.*

cf. Rami i- ni nan rut in  
 Rami Real. say talk be together Obl.Obj.  
*Rami talked with him*

mama? manan i- rim rut in  
 child a Real. give be together Obl.Obj.  
*Some child gave (it) to him.*

Some verbs take in or gin after them, as a direct object, for example, riŋant hear, gut ask, and fis tell

e.g. dzi i riŋant in  
 I Real. hear Obl.Obj.  
*I hear/heard it.*

wa- gut in da na- fis in da agu  
 Imp. ask Obl.Obj. and Hort. tell Obl.Obj. to you(S.)  
*Ask him and he will tell you (it).*

#### 4.7.3 Oblique object

The oblique object, that is, the object of a verb that is further removed from the verb than the direct or indirect objects, is marked by the particle i, which has the forms in or gin, when the oblique object is a third person pronoun. In the latter case, in or gin incorporates the i marker with the pronoun object.

The English gloss of i can vary considerably. It can mean *of, about, because of, in order to, as a consequence of, with*, and many other things. For example:

i:

aga i- ba munti da aga i- raŋ i gaŋ?  
 we(Exc.) Real. come stand and we(Exc.) Real. cry Obl.Obj.M. 1Poss.II

uŋar -aŋ?  
 house. 1Poss.II  
*We came and stood (there) and cried for our house.*

dzi i- is gai i baŋi -ŋ?  
 I Real. hit tree Obl.Obj.M. hand. 1Poss.I  
*I hit the tree with my hand.*

sagat fain i- fan da i- is nam wasa? i ntiŋ?  
 woman some Real. go and Real. hit thing inside Obl.Obj.M. dam up.

-a mpui gin  
 Part. water Obl.Obj.  
*Some women go and put the things inside in order to dam up the water with them.*

rib fain mara -n i- fur i muŋ?a- ba gamp  
 people some eye 3Poss.I Real. think Obl.Obj.M. Fut. come village  
*Some people think about coming back to the village.*

aga na- muŋ? i Banabas i- mamp  
 we(Exc.) Hort. go back Obl.Obj.M. Banabas Real. die  
*We should go back because Banabas has died.*

in and gin.

Another form of i is in/gin. These incorporate i plus a third person, singular or plural object, and thus become, for example, *with it, because of him, about him, for them*, and so on. These could be analysed as i plus a third person suffix -n. This would correspond to the third person possessive suffix -n. One finds gin occurring after a vowel, or after [n] or [ŋ], and in after all other consonants. When in or gin are used, usually the referent of the third person pronoun has already been mentioned, and in and gin provide a short way of referring back to it, i.e. it is an anaphoric referent. For example:

in:

...da aga i- gut in : agam i- ba i wai  
 ...and we(Exc.) Real. ask Obl.Obj.: you(Pl.) Real. come Obl.Obj.M. what  
 ...and we asked them: what did you come for?  
 rib idzun i- yu gur igi i- wa? da i- adzu? i  
 they Real. take pot Dem. Real. go out and Real. wash Obl.Obj.M.  
 su -da nam in  
 cook. Part. food Obl.Obj.  
*They took the pots out and washed them in order to cook food in them.*

There appears to be a stylistic preference for gin over in. When in is indicated, speakers often use igi (Demonstrative, *this, these*) after the word ending in a consonant or [n/ŋ] and then gin can be used after igi.

e.g. sagat i- yu maŋuf da maradzuaŋ da i- gira sasiŋ?  
 woman Real. take Bixa sp. and turmeric and Real. decorate grass-skirt  
 igi gin  
 Dem. Obl.Obj.  
*The women take Bixa and turmeric and decorate the grass-skirts with them.*

One informant explained that 'it sounds better' to say sasiŋ? igi gin than sasiŋ? in, although either is correct. Similarly:

Marakus i- yu dzaf da i- faŋa uwir  
 Marakus Real. take fire and Real. set fire to dry banana leaves  
 igi gin  
 Dem. Obl.Obj.  
*Marakus took some fire and set fire to the dry banana leaves with it.*

gin:

rib igi i- yu bugum da maŋuf da i- gira ruan gin  
 they Real. take clay and Bixa and Real. decorate Refl. with it  
*They take clay and Bixa seeds and decorate themselves with it.*  
 ...da aga naŋ -gaŋ? atsuf -an da nam giŋ? -a gin  
 ...and we(Exc.) thing lPoss.I wear Part. and thing sleep. Part. in them  
 igi santan ima?  
 Dem. all Neg.  
*...and we had nothing to wear and nothing to sleep in, it was all gone.*



There are certain verbs in Amari which must take in/gin as an obligatory object. These verbs cannot occur without gin.

- e.g. patam -a gin *to turn something back-to-front*  
 umat -a gin *to remove something from something else, e.g. a stick stuck in the ground*  
 pitam -a gin *to turn something upside-down*  
 untap -a gin *to drag something along with something else*  
 parim -a gin *to turn something around; to change the direction of something*  
 tapu -da gin *to throw something onto something else, e.g. salt into a pot*

The addition of gin to a verb may transform the meaning of the verb, e.g.

- |              |                  |     |                  |                                  |
|--------------|------------------|-----|------------------|----------------------------------|
| mu -dan      | <i>fall over</i> | cf. | mu -da gin       | <i>to set a trap for someone</i> |
| mpa -dan     | <i>sit down</i>  |     | mpa -da gin      | <i>to sit down on something</i>  |
| tsajan isru? | <i>know</i>      |     | tsajan isru? gin | <i>to get to know something</i>  |

Thus gin can add an instrumental element to the verb, or a causative sense.

#### 4.8 The complement

Amari complementation can take several forms. The simplest form is where the verb 'to be' takes a noun phrase as a complement. This relationship of 'something is something' is usually expressed by the use of 'verbal adjectives' (see 3.2.6.2), and these are all stative verbs. When being used as the verb of a sentence, these verb roots take one or more of the usual tense/aspect prefixes.

- e.g. iyam i- mais  
*dog Real. bad*  
*The dog is bad.*
- nam igi ru- sasus  
*food Dem. Cont. hot*  
*This food is hot.*
- is -a garam funub i- mais  
*hit. Part. man dead Real. bad*  
*To kill people is bad.*

Intransitive verbs and stative verbs can take a sentence as complement, but this complement must take the complement marker i before it, and the verb of the complement sentence then becomes expressed in the participial form, that is, verb root + participial suffix -a/-an/-da/-dan.

- e.g. anuŋ? - i- daum i is -a garam funub u  
*Neg. Real. good Compl.M. hit. Part. man dead Neg.*  
*It is not good to kill people.*
- i- daum i yi? -a mpui  
*Real. good Compl.M. swim. Part. water*  
*It is good to swim.*

Some verbs take an obligatory object which may be a noun phrase or a verb phrase, and these must be preceded by i. Some verbs, such as *ni talk, want, say* (unless followed by direct, quoted speech), *riŋant hear, listen*, take an

obligatory oblique object, and this has been discussed in 4.7.3. Other verbs which indicate a state of mind or certain emotions (referred to by Pawley as 'psychological verbs' (Pawley 1973)) must be followed by *i* before a predicate, whether the predicate is a noun or a sentence. Some of these verbs are *muaruts* *believe*, *think*, *frip* *be surprised at*, *rat* *be afraid of*. Metaphors which refer to such emotions and states of mind are also subject to this condition, e.g. *rini -n i-pa?* *be fed up with something* (literally *one's skin rejects*), *mara -n i-ari* *love somebody* (literally *one's eyes spear*) and many more.

e.g. *dzi i- frip i araŋa -gan rab -a nifu -n*  
*I Real. be surprised Compl.M. he 3Poss.II cut. Part. mouth 3Poss.I*  
*I was surprised at his cutting his lip.*

*ma- rat i iyam ma?*  
*Imp.Neg. be afraid Compl.M. dog Imp.Neg.*  
*Do not be afraid of dogs.*

*Maria rini -n i-pa? i rim -a mani da Anis*  
*Maria be fed up with Compl.M. give. Part. money to Anis*  
*Maria is fed up with giving money to Anis.*

#### 4.9 Location

The particle *i* also serves as a location marker. When the sense of the location is simply *at*, then *i* is used. It cannot be used to indicate where someone has gone, but only to express a static relationship between the subject and the verb. For locating something in a specific position in relation to something else, other location markers can be used, such as prepositions, or verbs in which the location or direction is understood.

*i* as a locative marker:

*dzi i- rut fata -ŋ? i- mpa i- miŋ? i*  
*I Real. be together sister-in-law 1Poss.I Real. stay Real. stay Loc.*

*gan uŋar -an*  
*3Poss.II house. 3Poss.II*  
*My sister-in-law and I stayed at her house.*

*rina -ŋ? i- apiŋ? Rufi? i uŋar igi*  
*mother. 1Poss.I Real. bear Rufi? Loc. house Dem.*  
*My mother gave birth to Rufi? at that house.*

*aga santan i- fa munti i mpui*  
*we(Exc.) all Real. go stand Loc. water*  
*We all went and stood at the river.*

*dzi i- taŋin mudzuk rai i gum asa*  
*I Real. leave knife behind Loc. garden*  
*I left the knife behind in the garden.*

*mama? igi i- kup i sagat igi uŋar -an*  
*child Dem. Real. hide Loc. woman Dem. house 3Poss.*  
*The child hid at that woman's house.*

Many verbs in Amari have either direction (if verbs of motion) or location understood in them, for example, *fa go* is not only *go* but *go to*.

e.g. dzi i- ni<sup>5</sup> fa -da Rai  
 I Real. want go. Part. Lae  
 I want to go to Lae.

The root mpa stay, sit means stay at, sit on.

e.g. wa- mpa tsitsu?  
 Imp. sit mat  
 Sit down on the mat.

Thus, i as locative marker is only necessary with verbs which do not have location understood, as in the examples above, apiŋ? give birth to, munti stand, kup hide. However, i can sometimes be used after fa for emphasis or style.

e.g. agi fa -da i nambis  
 we(Inc.) go. Part. Loc. beach  
 Let us go to the beach.

The location phrase always occurs at the end of the sentence, and can sometimes be separated by many elements of speech from the word or phrase to which it refers.

e.g. aga i- ataŋ? i rab -a gai i Simon  
 we(Exc.) Real. go upstream Obl.Obj.M. cut. Part. tree Obl.Obj.M. Simon  
 uŋar -an i Bribris  
 house. 3Poss.II Loc. Bribris  
 We went upstream in order to cut trees at Bribris for Simon's house.

The locative marker i in the sentence above refers to the trees, gai, and not to uŋar house.

The direction of actions is often expressed, as said before, by the verb root. Usually there is a specific verb which describes the action which in English might be translated by a phrasal verb, a collocation of verb + adverb or verb + preposition.

e.g. ataŋ go inside, go upstream  
 wa? go outside  
 fafub go downstream  
 taŋi turn around, turn head around  
 ru? go down (e.g. down mountain)  
 yab go up (e.g. up mountain)  
 wafi? go around  
 sari walk beside the edge of  
 gru? take something off (e.g. clothes)

#### OTHER PREPOSITIONS

There are several other prepositions which indicate location, besides i. Some of these are:

da to, towards.

e.g. arajan i- yuŋ i- fa da uŋar  
 he Real. walk Real. go towards house  
 He walked towards the house.

sinuŋ? *away from, out of, without.*

e.g. dzi i- fa sinuŋ? uŋar  
 I Real. go away from house  
 I walked away from the house.

The location of an action expressed in a verb can often be in the form  
 Noun + Attribute, for example:

arajan i- fa uŋar wasa?  
 he Real. go house middle  
 He went into the inside of the house.

unas i- miŋ? tiriaŋ? waguŋ?  
 sweet potato Real. stay bed platform on top of  
 The sweet potato is on top of the bed platform.

dzi i- yuŋ wasa? i uŋar  
 I Real. walk middle Loc. house  
 I walked between the houses.

In the first sentence, uŋar wasa? means *house middle*, and is actually a compound of two nouns, uŋar and wasa?. Similarly, tiriaŋ? waguŋ? means *bed platform the top of*, and is also a compound of two nouns. By moving these around one can achieve a different meaning, as in the third sentence, with wasa? i uŋar *middle of the houses*: i.e. *the space between the houses*.

#### 4.10 Time phrases

Time phrases can occur either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. When a time phrase occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it is followed by da, which can be translated in this usage as *and then*. The rest of the sentence then follows da. (I will call da Time Marker, in this usage.)

e.g. gubu? maŋan da dzi buŋ?a- fan  
 sun a Time M. I Fut. go  
 I will go one day.

Sunta i ru?run sib i da agi na- bri? pinat  
 Sunday two Compl.I Compl.II Time M. we(Inc.) Hort. pick peanut  
 In two weeks' time we will pick peanuts.

ukam bitsinta? i- fa sib da dzi anuŋ? i- tsanan garam  
 moon one Real. go Compl.I Time M. I Neg. Real. see man

igi u  
 Dem. Neg.  
 I have not seen that man for one month.

udzuf i ru?run na- ntsup da dzi na- fa Madang  
 season two Hort. finish Time M. I Hort. go Madang  
 In two years' time I will go to Madang.

When the time phrase occurs at the end of a sentence, it is preceded by da.

e.g. arajan i- ba da mai? ugu  
 he Real. come Time M. yesterday  
 He came yesterday.

rib igi buŋ'a- fa gamp da tata?  
 they Fut. go village Time M. tomorrow  
*They will go to the village tomorrow.*

In both of these examples, the meaning remains the same when the time phrase is placed at the beginning of the sentence:

mai? ugu da aranan i- ba  
 yesterday Time M. he Real. come  
*Yesterday he came.*

tata? da rib igi buŋ'a- fa gamp  
 tomorrow Time M. they Fut. go village  
*Tomorrow they will go to the village.*

The only difference discernible is one of emphasis.

These time phrases all set the time of reference of the action expressed by the verb and its particles. Tense and aspect marking agree with the time expressed in the time phrase.

e.g. ukam bitsinta? na- ntsup da aranan na- bu- ba  
 moon one Hort. finish Time M. he Hort. Repet. come  
*After one month, he will come back again.*

In this sentence, the tense/aspect marking on the two verbs, ntsup *finish*, and ba *come*, is by na-, Hortative prefix, which has a future connotation. This agrees with the time phrase ukam bitsinta? na-ntsup *one month should be finished....* Also, for example:

aranan buŋ- i- fa da mai?  
 he Perf. Real. go Time M. yesterday  
*He only left yesterday.*

In this sentence, the tense/aspect markers are buŋ- Perfective, and i- Realis, which correspond to the time phrase, da mai? *yesterday*.

Time phrases used as greeting seem to have been introduced by Europeans, and follow European patterns. Previously, according to old Amari informants, the only greetings used were of the 'Where are you going?', 'I am going to the garden, where are you going?' variety. Nowadays people use the introduced forms as well as the old forms.

The times of the day, as divided up by the Amari, are as follows:

|           |                            |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| tata?     | <i>morning</i>             |
| gubu?     | <i>day (literally sun)</i> |
| nam nufan | <i>afternoon</i>           |
| idzian?   | <i>evening</i>             |
| sifu      | <i>night</i>               |

All of these time phrases can be used with bini *good* following them (except gubu?), as a greeting or farewell, e.g. tata? bini *good morning*, or sifu bini *good night*. These words can also be used as temporal phrases in sentences.

e.g. tata? maratait da dzi buŋ'a- fa Nadzab  
 morning early Time M. I Fut. go Nadzab  
*Early in the morning I will go to Nadzab.*

rib igi santan i- wa? da i- ari mint da sifu i-  
*they all Real. come up and Real. hit song Time M. night Real.*  
 san? gubu? pis -an  
*be enough sun dawn. Part.*  
*They all came up and sang songs into the night, until the day dawned.*

Common time phrases used as time reference in sentences are as follows:

|                   |                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| mai?              | yesterday                         |
| mai? ugu          | yesterday                         |
| mai? manan        | day before yesterday              |
| mai? Tundi        | the day before yesterday, Tuesday |
| tata?             | tomorrow                          |
| tata? manan       | the day after tomorrow            |
| aruani            | now                               |
| rai i             | later                             |
| Fraidi manan      | a Friday in the future            |
| Fraidi bampan ugu | Friday last week                  |
| Fraidi manan ugu  | next Friday                       |
| gubu? manan       | some day                          |

Weeks are reckoned as 'Sundays', since the advent of Europeans and their seven-day week. Months are calculated usually as 'moons', either buramp or ukam. A year is now called udzuf. The word udzuf means *season*, and most things in the natural environment of the Amari have a season of their own – fruit, trees, vegetables, animals, rains, winds, and it can also be used metaphorically to refer to men.

e.g. garam igi udzuf -an i- ntsup da i- mamp  
*man Dem. season. 3Poss.II Real. finish and Real. die*  
*This man's time finished and he died.*

Nowadays, udzuf is used to refer to the European-introduced calendar year.

e.g. udzuf iru?run rai i da agi na- fa gamp  
*season two later Compl.II and we(Inc.) Hort. go village*  
*In two years' time we will go to the village.*

#### 4.11 Negation

##### 4.11.1 Simple negation and refusal

The simplest form of negation in Amari is the word *no*, which can be either *ima?* or *namu*. *Namu* is a specifically Amari word, and often people from other Adzera-speaking areas recognise the Amari by their use of *namu* for *no* instead of *ima?* which occurs in all other Adzera areas as a simple negative. In Amari itself, the two can be used interchangeably.

*Namu* and *ima?* can be said alone, as a straight-out refusal, or as a negative reply to a question.

For example an order to a child might be:

wa- fa yi? -a mpui  
*Imp. go swim. Part. water*  
*Go and swim/wash!*

And the child, if he dared, might answer:

namu  
no  
No!

Or a question might be:

u ni ga -da biskit  
you(S.) want eat. Part. biscuit  
Would you like a biscuit?

Reply:

ima? dzi i- bugin biskit  
Neg. I Real. not like biscuit  
No, I do not like biscuits.

#### 4.11.2 Negation of noun phrase

Namu and ima? can also be used to negate a noun or noun phrase. This is not often heard in speech as a discrete unit, but more often tagged at the end of a sentence, for emphasis.

e.g. da aga nan -gan? atsuf -an da nam gin? -a gin  
and we(Exc.) thing. 1Poss.II wear. Part. and thing sleep. Part. Obl.Obj.

igi santan<sup>6</sup> ima?  
Dem. all Neg.  
...and our clothes and our things to sleep on, all gone.

Santan ima?, literally *all no*, is used at the end of this sentence, which was about a fire which destroyed someone's house, and she was describing how there was nothing left after the fire.

The following sentence does not contain any verb. The negative namu negates the two head nouns.

iyam da ifab namu garam gar run -gan agu  
dog and pig Neg. man true Refl. 3Poss.II only  
No dogs or pigs. Only men by themselves.

This would most likely be in reply to a question, such as 'Were there any dogs or pigs there?'. Another question which would elicit a negative noun phrase as answer is, for example:

u naru -n<sup>2</sup> -gam i- bi anuŋ?  
you(S.) child 2Poss.I 2Poss.I Real. be like how much  
How many children do you have?

Reply:

mama? namu  
child Neg.  
No children.

## 4.11.3 Negation of verb phrase

The verb phrase is negated more commonly than the noun phrase. The form of negation is quite different for the verb phrase, consisting of a verb prefix *anuŋʔ-* before the verb, and an optional, free particle *u* at the end of the sentence. This form of negation is applied to all verbs which are marked for all tenses and moods, except Imperative and Hortative, which have a different form of negation. This consists of *ma-* as a prefix on the verb in place of the Imperative *wa-* or the Hortative prefix *na-*, and *maʔ* as a free morpheme after the verb or at the end of the sentence. This morpheme is obligatory (see Table 5).

Table 5: Amari negative verb affixes and particles

|   | Verbal Prefixes  | Verb Root | Suffixes | Post-Verbal Particles | Post-Verbal Neg. Particles |
|---|--|-----------|----------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| General Negation  | <i>anuŋʔ-</i><br>(all except<br>Imp. <i>wa-</i><br>and<br>Hort. <i>na-</i> ) |           | All      | All                   | ( <i>u</i> )               |
| Negation of<br>Imp. ( <i>wa-</i> )<br>and<br>Hort. ( <i>na-</i> ) | <i>ma-</i><br>( <i>wa-</i> and<br><i>na-</i> only)                           |           | None     | All                   | <i>maʔ</i>                 |

Negative morphemes *anuŋʔ-* and *u*.

e.g. <sup>1</sup>*dzi anuŋʔ- i- saŋʔ rim -a u sib u*  
*I Neg. Real. be enough help. Part. you(S.) Compl.I Neg.*  
*I am not able to help you.*

When the action being negated is one which should or will occur in the future, the future tense prefix *buŋʔa-/muŋʔa-* is dropped, and the realis prefix *i-* is used. However, time marking is still present in the time phrase, e.g.

*tataʔ da u anuŋʔ- i- saŋʔ fa -da taun u*  
*tomorrow Time M. you(S.) Neg. Real. be enough go. Part. town Neg.*  
*Tomorrow you will not be able to go to town.*

When there are two sentences either joined by a conjunction, or merely separated by a pause, and the tense marking of both verbs is future, when one is negated the second verb retains the future tense marking.

e.g. *arajan anuŋʔ- i- saŋʔ samur -a gamp da fits -a*  
*she Neg. Real. be enough sweep. Part. village and carry. Part.*  
*gai u arajan buŋʔa- sasaʔ aŋu*  
*wood Neg. she Fut. walk around only*  
*She will not be able to sweep the village and carry firewood, she will only walk around.*



When verbs in the future tense are being negated, it also seems that the verb *saŋʔ* 'be able, be enough', is preferred as an auxiliary, before the main verb of the sentence. There appears to be a reluctance about making negative statements about the future. The statements are either put into the form of 'not able to do something', with *i-saŋʔ* used as verb auxiliary, or the statements are changed to the potential form, using the potential prefix *ma-*.

Other tense/aspect/mood markers on the verb are used with the *anuŋʔ-u* negative forms.

e.g. with *bu-* repetitive:

*dzi anuŋʔ- bu- fa -dan u*  
*I Neg. Repet. go. Part. Neg.*  
*I cannot go again.*

with *ru-* continuous:

*rib igi anuŋʔ- ru- mpai u*  
*they Neg. Cont. stay Neg.*  
*They are not still there.*

with participle *-a/-an/-da/-dan*:

*arajan anuŋʔ- rat -a gin u*  
*he Neg. be afraid. Part. Obl.Obj. Neg.*  
*He is not afraid of it.*

#### 4.11.4 'Neither/nor'

When two negative alternatives are presented in one sentence, and the two elements, either nouns, verbs or sentences are joined by *da* 'and', the first negative morpheme *anuŋʔ-* is placed before the first element, and the last negative morpheme *u* comes at the end of the whole sentence.

e.g. *muŋʔ ugu da sagat anuŋʔ- i- ga was da i- is*  
*a long time ago Time M. woman Neg. Real. eat lime and Real. hit*

*pauʔ u*  
*tobacco Neg.*  
*A long time ago, women neither chewed betel nut nor smoked tobacco.*

*arajan anuŋʔ- i- yuŋ rairai i- fa gum asa da mpui da*  
*he Neg. Real. walk anywhere Real. go garden and water and*

*umpa u*  
*mountain garden Neg.*  
*He does not go anywhere, neither to the garden, nor to the river, nor to the mountain garden.*

#### 4.11.5 Negation of imperative and hortative

When a negative order is given, or the hortative 'I should, we must' etc. is expressed in the negative, a different pair of negative morphemes is used. With imperative, the *wa-* prefix is replaced by *ma-* and the other part of the morpheme, *maʔ* comes after the verb, or at the end of the sentence.

e.g. ma- mpa ru? ma?  
 Imp.Neg. sit go down Imp.Neg.  
*Do not sit down!*

ma- fan ma?  
 Imp.Neg. go Imp.Neg.  
*Do not go!*

With the hortative, the na- prefix is dropped, and ma- replaces it.

e.g. dzi ma- bu- fan ma?  
 I Imp.Neg. Repet. go Imp.Neg.  
*I should/must not go again.*

agi ma- fan da na- u nam igi ma?  
 we(Inc.) Imp.Neg. go and Hort. get food Dem. Imp.Neg.  
*We should not go and get food there.*

## 5. SOME ASPECTS OF SYNTAX

### 5.1 Introduction

This section discusses three aspects of Amari syntax which have not been treated so far. They are Questions, 'If' Clauses, and Co-ordination of Clauses.

### 5.2 Questions

In Amari, there is no particular question form or change in sentence structure for questions. Unless one of the question words is being used, the only indication that a question is being asked is the intonation on the sentence, which is a rising intonation up to the second from last word or syllable, and then a sharp drop in intonation on the last word or syllable.

e.g. tata? da u buŋ?a- fa taun  
 tomorrow Time M. you(S.) Fut. go town  
*Will you go to town tomorrow?*

u bugin i rut -a rib aga fa -da mpui  
 you not like Obl.Obj.M. go with. Part. them Dem. go. Part. water  
*Don't you want to go to the river with the others?*

Questions are often posed in the form i-saŋ? + pronoun + verb, *can he...?* or *can you...?*

e.g. i- saŋ? u rim -a dzi sib  
 Real. be enough you(S.) help. Part. me Compl.I  
*Can you help me?*

The question is always said with the interrogative intonation.

## 5.2.1 Question words

There are two common question words used in Amari questions. These are *wai* which is used like an adjective or a pronoun, and usually follows nouns, and *anuŋʔ* which acts in adverbial manner, usually following the verb *bi be like*, thus.

## 5.2.1.1 Time questions

Questions about time can be in two forms. The first is using *wai* as an adjective after a time noun, and the rules for forming time phrases apply to time questions as well. At the beginning of a sentence, time phrases must be followed by *da*, and at the end of a sentence they must be preceded by *da*. It often occurs as noun + *idzuʔ* + *wai*.

e.g. *gubuʔ idzu wai da agi fa -dan*  
*sun Partic. Q. Time M. we(Inc.) go. Part.*  
*When/what day will we go?*

*gubuʔ mara -n idzu wai da aranan fa -da i*  
*sun face 3Poss.I Partic. Q. Time M. he go. Part. Obl.Obj.M.*

*atan -an*  
*start. Part.*  
*What time will he go and start?*

*aranan i- ba wa da gubuʔ idzu wai*  
*he Real. come Compl.II Time M. sun Partic. Q.*  
*When did he arrive?*

*anuŋʔ* can also be used in time questions, following the verb *bi be like*, thus. This must also be followed by *da* when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, and preceded by *da* when it occurs at the end of a sentence.

e.g. *udzuf bi -da anuŋʔ da aranan ntsup -an*  
*season be like. Part. Q. Time M. he finish. Part.*  
*What year will he finish?*

*gubuʔ i- bi anuŋʔ da rib igi i- ba wa*  
*sun Real. be like Q. Time M. they Real. come Compl.II*  
*When did they come?*

*rib idzun fa -dan da udzuf bi -da anuŋʔ*  
*they Partic. go. Part. Time M. season be like Part. Q.*  
*What year did they go?*

A reply to any of these questions would also be in the form using a time phrase.

e.g. *gubuʔ bi -da ani da aranan buŋʔa- fa gamp*  
*sun be like. Part. Dem. Time M. he Fut. go village*  
*On a day like this (e.g. Monday) he will go to the village.*

## 5.2.1.2 Location questions

anuŋ? can also be used as a question word in questions about location. It is used as an adverb, and always occurs after the verb, as do all locative phrases. When the sentence is a question, the interrogative intonation is used.

- e.g. u gabu -m -gam i- naŋ gum anuŋ?  
 you(S.) husband. 2Poss.I 2Poss.II Real. make work Q.  
*Where does your husband work?*
- rib Waridzian kar -an fa -da anuŋ?  
 people Waridzian car 3Poss.II go. Part. Q.  
*Where did the Waridzian people's car go?*
- nam aga i- yai? i- miŋ? anuŋ?  
 thing Dem. Real. cry out Real. stay Q.  
*Where did that thing cry out?*
- u rama -m -gam i- mpa anuŋ?  
 you(S.) father. 2Poss.I 2Poss.I Real. stay Q.  
*Where is your father?*

With future tense, 'where' questions have a time phrase at the beginning, but the verb is in the Realis tense or in the participial form. The future prefix buŋ'a- is not used, and the future connotation comes from the time phrase. However, the hortative prefix na- may be used instead.

- e.g. tata? da rib Waridzian fa -da anuŋ?  
 tomorrow Time M. people Waridzian go. Part. Q.  
*Where will the Waridzian people go tomorrow?*
- buŋ'a- pis tata? da rib idzun na- fa anuŋ?  
 Fut. dawn tomorrow Time M. people Partic. Hort. go Q.  
*Where will they go tomorrow morning?*

## 5.2.1.3 'Which' questions

wai can be used after nouns or noun phrases as an adjective meaning *which*, to specify which one out of a range of things is meant. bi + anuŋ? can also be used in this way. It often follows idzu.

- e.g. kar idzu wai naga (i-) ba  
 car Partic. Q. Dem. come  
*Which car is that coming?*
- dzi yu -da gai idzu wai  
 I take. Part. tree Partic. Q.  
*Which tree should I take?*

When wai or idzu wai is reduplicated after a noun, it means *which kinds of these things?*

- e.g. dzi yu -da gai idzu wai idzu wai  
 I take. Part. tree Partic. Q. Partic. Q.  
*Which kinds of trees should I take?*
- dzi yu -da gai wai a wai  
 I take. Part. tree Q. Q.  
*Which kinds of trees should I take?*

or: dзи rab -a gai idzu wai a wai  
 I cut. Part. tree Partic. Q. Q.  
 What kind of tree should I cut?

'Which' questions using bi + anuŋ?:

dзи rab -a gai bi -da anuŋ?  
 I cut. Part. tree be like. Part. Q.  
 What sort of tree should I cut?

rib igi fa -da unar bi -da anuŋ?  
 they go. Part. house be like. Part. Q.  
 Which house did they go to?

#### 5.2.1.4 Questions about instrument and manner

wai can be used as a question word in questions about manner or instrument, when preceded by the instrumental marker (or oblique object marker) i. In this case, idzu wai is used as an adjective, following a noun.

e.g. aranan saf -a i nam idzu wai  
 he cut. Part. Instru.M. thing Partic. Q.  
 What did he cut it with?

rib idzun i- wa? i sanampun idzu wai  
 they Partic. Real. come up Instr.M. road Partic. Q.  
 Which road did they come up by?

bi + anuŋ? can also be used in this sense, but then two sentences are used, joined by da and. In the first sentence, bi + anuŋ? is used adverbially, and an oblique object in or gin must occur in the second sentence, with its reference back to the subject of the first sentence.

e.g. dзи adzuŋ? -a bru? bi -da anuŋ? da dзи i- ntaŋ  
 I roll Part. bark rope be like. Part. Q. and I Real. weave  
 tayap in  
 net-bag Obl.Obj.  
 How should I roll the rope, so that I can make a net-bag out of it?

#### 5.2.1.5 'Why' questions

Questions asking for reasons for actions are also put into the form i + wai, so wai in this case is used as a noun, or pronoun. The phrase can be translated as *because of what?*. The phrase always comes after the verb, and after any other objects of that verb.

e.g. u rab -a gai igi i wai  
 you(S.) cut. Part. tree Dem. Obl.Obj.M. Q.  
 Why did you cut that tree?

rib idzun i- mpi? ruan i wai  
 they Partic. Real. argue Refl. Obl.Obj.M. Q.  
 Why are they arguing with each other?

kiap i- ni rib idzun fa -dan i wai  
 kiap Real. say they Partic. go. Part. Obl.Obj.M. Q.  
*Why did the kiap tell them to go?*

However, if the question is negative, e.g. 'Why did you/he not...?' then the sentence must be in the form bi + anuŋ? da + sentence with the negation on the verb.

e.g. i- bi anuŋ? da rib idzun anuŋ? i- ba u  
 Real. be like Q. and they Partic. Neg. Real. come Neg.  
*Why didn't they come?*

i- bi anuŋ? da rib igi anuŋ? i- naŋ nam u  
 Real. be like Q. and they Neg. Real. cook food Neg.  
*Why have they not cooked the food yet?*

#### 5.2.1.6 Negative questions

Negative marking on questions does not occur. A question which is in a negative sense is put in the form bi + anuŋ? da and then the action which is negative is put into a co-ordinating sentence, with the usual negative morphemes marking the verb, as described in the previous section. Otherwise, verbs which have a negative sense understood in them are used, with a question word.

e.g. u bugin ga -da yafas i wai  
 you(S.) not like eat. Part. fish Obl.Obj.M. Q.  
*Why don't you like to eat fish?*

#### 5.2.1.7 Other question forms

maŋan can be used as a question word, meaning *which* or *who*. It occurs in its usual place in a sentence, as an indefinite pronoun marker after a noun, or can stand alone as a pronoun, and is accompanied by an interrogative intonation over the whole sentence.

e.g. garam maŋan igi i- ba  
 man which Dem. Real. come  
*Which man is that coming?*

maŋan i- rab gai igi  
 who Real. cut tree Dem.  
*Who cut this tree?*

dzi gut -a i maŋan  
 I ask. Part. Obl.Obj.M. who  
*Whom should I ask?*

maŋa -gan  
 who 3Poss.II  
*Whose is it?*

maŋan iyam -an  
 who dog 3Poss.II  
*Whose dog is it?*

There are several other short question forms which are often heard. These are as follows:

u mantun igi  
*you(S.) do what Dem.*  
*What are you doing there?*

i- mantun  
*Real. do what*  
*What is it? OR What is he doing?*

u ni wai  
*you(S.) say Q.*  
*What did you say?*

nam idzu wai  
*thing Partic. Q.*  
*What is it?*

### 5.3 'If' clauses

#### 5.3.1 Introduction

'If' clauses have come into existence in the Adzera language since the coming of mission personnel from the coastal Yabim-speaking areas, in the early 1920s. Before this, according to K. Holzknicht, Adzera had no 'if' clause of the type one hears today, and the Yabim speakers invented it after their own model, using Adzera forms which already existed.

#### 5.3.2 *bi be like*

Nowadays one constructs 'if' clauses using the verb *bi be like*, thus, in the participial form at the beginning of the 'if' clause, and the following clause is joined to it by *da and*.

e.g. bi -da gami? ni -da mu -dan da agi anuŋ?- i-  
*be like. Part. rain want. Part. fall. Part. and we(Inc.) Neg. Real.*

saŋ? fa -da makit  
*be enough go. Part. market*  
*If it rains we will not be able to go to the market.*

bi -da Yambutau na- ni ni -da nifu -n da aga  
*be like. Part. Yambutau Hort. like say. Part. mouth. 3Poss.I and we(Exc.)*

na- fa gamp  
*Hort. go village*  
*If Yambutau says so, then we will go to the village.*

The *bi* + participle form can also occur after the subject of the 'if' clause.

e.g. kiap bi -da ba -dan da agi anuŋ?- i- saŋ?  
*kiap be like. Part. come. Part. and we(Inc.) Neg. Real. be enough*

fa -da gum  
*go. Part. garden*  
*If the kiap comes, then we will not be able to go to the garden.*

However, the previous sentence can be said without the *bi - da* construction, and this is probably more like the original Adzera way of saying it, using the hortative prefixes in both clauses.

e.g. Yambutau na- ni ni -da nifu -n da aga na- fa gamp  
*Yambutau Hort. like say. Part. mouth. 3Poss.I and we(Exc.) Hort. go village*  
*If Yambutau say so, then we will go to the village.*

The clauses in this sentence are equivalent and the *bi - da* construction is unnecessary.

### 5.3.3 Negation of 'if' clauses

When the 'if' clause carries a negative action, the negation is done through the use of *gaba i*, a particle which is difficult to describe because it acts like a verb, in the verb position, but does not take any verbal prefixes or suffixes. It is always followed by *i* before its object, whether the object is a noun or pronoun or a verb phrase.

e.g. dzi gaba i bia? -a sun da dzi muanits bun?a- rut  
*I do not Obl.Obj.M. go Part. quick and I hungry Fut. be together*  
*If I do not go soon, I will be hungry.*  
 bi -da sagat aga gaba i gari -da gum da gabu  
*be like. Part. woman Dem. do not Obl.Obj.M. weed. Part. garden and husband.*  
 -n -gan bun?a- is  
*3Poss.I. 3Poss.I Fut. hit*  
*If that woman does not weed the garden, then her husband will hit her.*

## 5.4 Co-ordination of clauses — clauses joined by conjunctions *da*, *ma* and *da bitsinta?*

### 5.4.1 *da and*

*da and* is the most common conjunction, and is used as a co-ordinator to join two sentences. If the subject of the second sentence is the same as the subject of the first, then the subject of the second is omitted.

e.g. rib igi i- fan da rib tsira? tsira? fain igi i- mpa yaun  
*they Real. go and people big big some Dem. Real. sit shade*  
*They go, and some of the older women sit in the shade.*  
 sagat igi i- ba wa da ris igi da i- gints yafas  
*woman Dem. Real. come Compl.I to dam Dem. and Real. distribute fish*  
 igi da ruan  
*Dem. to Refl.*  
*The women came up to the dam, and then (they) divided up the fish among themselves.*

### 5.4.2 *ma or*

*ma or*, is also used as a co-ordinator, between two clauses.



e.g. u        muaruts i        ga -da unas        ma u        muaruts  
 you(S.) like    Obl.Obj.M. eat. Part. sweet potato or you(S.) like  
 i        ga -da umant  
 Obl.Obj.M. eat. Part. taro  
*Do you like to eat sweet potato or do you like to eat taro?*  
 arangan na- yab i    gai aga bini ma arangan na- yab da na-  
 he       Hort. go up Loc. tree Dem. good or he       Hort. go up and Hort.  
 ru?       -a  
 go down. Part.  
*He will either climb the tree well, or he will go up and fall down.*

When two sentences are joined by *ma* and have the same subject, the second subject cannot be left unstated, as it can when clauses are joined by *da*. The subject has to be given in full for both first and second clauses.

#### 5.4.3 da bitsinta? but

e.g. dzi i-    nan i        fa -da taun da bitsinta? gami? i-    mui  
 I Real. like Obl.Obj.M. go. Part. town but       rain Real. fall  
*I wanted to go to town, but it rained.*  
 arangan i-    rim nam ga -dan da dzi da bitsinta? dzi i-    bugin  
 he       Real. give food eat. Part. to me but       I Real. not like  
*He gave me some food, but I did not like it.*  
 aga       i-    nan i        gin? -a marampru? da bitsinta?  
 we(Exc.) Real. want Obl.Obj.M. sleep. Part. lie       but  
 mpui ragiamas i-    nan aga       mara -n?    i-    ta? da aga  
 water splashing Real. make we(Exc.) eye. 1Poss.I Real. wake and we(Exc.)  
 i-    mpai  
 Real. stay  
*We wanted to sleep, but the water's splashing kept us awake and we stayed like that.*

#### NOTES

- Here is a list of abbreviations and symbols used in the text.

|            |                          |          |                         |
|------------|--------------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| Real.      | Realis Tense Marker      | Imp.     | Imperative Mood         |
| S.         | Singular                 | Refl.    | Reflexive               |
| Pl.        | Plural                   | Cont.    | Continuative Aspect     |
| Inc.       | Inclusive                | Dem.     | Demonstrative           |
| Exc.       | Exclusive                | Neg.     | Negative                |
| Part.      | Participle               | Fut.     | Future Tense Marker     |
| Obl.Obj.M. | Oblique Object Marker    | Hort.    | Hortative Mood          |
| Poss.I     | Possessive I             | Obl.Obj. | Oblique Object          |
| Poss.II    | Possessive II            | Pot.     | Potential Aspect        |
| Poss.III   | Possessive III           | CF.      | Contrary-to-fact Aspect |
| 1Poss.     | First Person Possessive  | Perf.    | Perfective Aspect       |
| 2Poss.     | Second Person Possessive | Repet.   | Repetitive Aspect       |
| 3Poss.     | Third Person Possessive  | Compl.I  | Completive I Particle   |

|          |                        |            |                        |
|----------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| Compl.II | Completive II Particle | V.         | Verb                   |
| Compl.M. | Complement Marker      | NP         | Noun Phrase            |
| Time M.  | Time Marker            | VP         | Verb Phrase            |
| Imp.Neg. | Imperative Negative    | Partic.    | Participialiser        |
| Q.       | Question Word          | Hort.Int.  | Hortative Intensifier  |
| Instr.M. | Instrumental Marker    | Imp.Int.   | Imperative Intensifier |
| Conj.    | Conjunction            | Compl.Int. | Completive Intensifier |
| N.       | Noun                   | Neg.Imp.   | Negative Imperative    |

2. For a complete list of Amari kinship terms, see Appendix III.
3. The reduction of *mpui water* to *mpu* is common when *mpui* the first word is a noun compound, for example:
 

*mpu maran*  
*water eye*  
*hole dug in river to find water*

*mpu fagan*  
*water leg*  
*tributary of a stream, etc.*
4. The prefix *n-* as used here could perhaps be related to the third person possessive suffix *-n* (see 3.1.2).
5. *ni want* = *ni say*.
6. See 3.2.2 for quantifiers.
7. The word *idzu* or *idzun* appears to be some sort of particulariser, and to mean *that one*, or *those ones*. It occurs after the third person plural pronoun *rib*, and after nouns referring to people, e.g. *garam man*, *sagat woman*, *mama? child*.

## APPENDIX I

### 1.0 Text of Amari story: Kapumigan raba nifungan.

*Gubu? manan dzi da rai -ŋ? rusa -ŋ? Kapumi ani da*  
*sun a I and brother. 1Poss.I Inc.Poss.III. 1Poss.I Kapumi Dem. and*  
*Benjamin da Tiasan da Maiamguntu da Kapumi naru -n -gan marub*  
*Benjamin and Tiasan and Maiamguntu and Kapumi child. 3Poss.I. 3Poss.I male*  
*tsira? ni -da Rasara gin, aga (i-) atan i rab -a*  
*big say. Part. Rasara Obl.Obj. we(Exc.) (Real.) follow Obl.Obj.M. cut. Part.*  
*gai iya? Simon ungar -an i Bribris. Aga (i-) ga nam*  
*tree Obl.Obj.M. Simon house. 3Poss.II Loc. Bribris we(Exc.) (Real.) eat food*  
*burumpir sib da Kapumi da naru -n -gan i- atan i-*  
*left-over Compl.I and Kapumi and child. 3Poss.I 3Poss.I Real. follow Real.*  
*tip sanampun Wanumudan. Da aga santan i- fa rab gai. Aga*  
*prepare path (to) Wanumudan and we(Exc.) all Real. go cut tree we(Exc.)*

(i-) rab gai sib da nam i- nuf da aga (i-) ru?  
 (Real.) cut tree Compl.I and food Real. be cooked and we(Exc.) (Real.) go down

i- ba mpa mpui mun? i rib idzun. Rib idzun i-  
 Real. come stay water lead the way Obl.Obj.M. them they Real.

ba wa? i- bi nigi da aga (i-) tai nam da aga  
 come come up Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.) cook food and we(Exc.)

(i-) ntin? mpui. Nam idzian? i- bi nigi da aga (i-)  
 (Real.) dam water thing evening Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.)

ntan ram da aga (i-) arun? dzaf. Aga (i-) mpai da nam  
 light lamp and we(Exc.) (Real.) light fire we(Exc.) (Real.) stay and thing

irinirian i- bi nigi da aga i- yab. Aga yab tauf  
 very dark Real. be like this and we(Exc.) Real. go up we(Exc.) go up stone

mais ni -da Wanumudan gin da aga (i-) fa i- ru?  
 bad say. Part. Wanumudan Obl.Obj. and we(Exc.) (Real.) go Real. go down

dzra?. Aga i- fa wa? i- bi nigi da aga (i-)  
 upstream we(Exc.) Real. go come up Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.)

ntan ram tsira?. Da aga i- pan. Aga i- pan i- atan  
 light lamp big and we(Exc.) Real. fish we(Exc.) Real. fish Real. go in

i- fafa da aga i- fa tsana buaruf. Nam farin! Da dzi da  
 Real. go go and we(Exc.) Real. go see eel thing huge and I and

Kapumi aga (i-) rab. Dzi i- su garugaru i rab -an da  
 Kapumi we(Exc.) (Real.) hit I Real. was anxious Obl.Obj.M. hit. Part. and

dzi i- rab untsraf. Dzi i- rab Kapumi i ntin? da ram.  
 I Real. hit missed I Real. hit Kapumi Obl.Obj.M. block off to lamp

Arun igi da ram bitsinta? anu ru- min? da aga i- ni da Yamin  
 then Dem. and lamp one only Cont. stay and we(Exc.) Real. say to Yamin

da mama? naru -n naru -n Rasara da nam ..... Maiamguntu  
 and child child. 3Poss.I child. 3Poss.I Rasara and thing Maiamguntu

i mpa -dan. Aga (i-) arun? dzaf rut in ntua?  
 Obl.Obj.M. stay. Part. we(Exc.) (Real.) light fire be together Obl.Obj. back

Gubu? gami? igi da gai i- nufunuf i mpui da dzaf anun? i-  
 time rain Dem. and wood Real. wet Obl.Obj.M. water and fire Neg. Real.

ga bini. Aga ni -gan? dzaf ga -dan gin da aga  
 eat good we(Exc.) thought 1Poss.II fire eat. Part. Obl.Obj. and we(Exc.)

(i-) atan i- fan. Aga (i-) fa wa? wasa? i- bi nigi  
 (Real.) go in Real. go we(Exc.) (Real.) go come up middle Real. be like this

da Kapumi i- rab buaruf tsira? da bitsinta? buaruf igi i- rupiat i  
 and Kapumi Real. hit eel big but eel Dem. Real. shake Loc.

rini -n da mudzuk i- mpit i- ba rab Kapumi nifu -n  
 skin. 3Poss.I and knife Real. bounce off Real. come cut Kapumi mouth. 3Poss.I

-gan. Arun igi aga nugu -n? i- mais da aga i- ni  
 3Poss.II then Dem. we(Exc.) liver. 1Poss.I Real. bad and we(Exc.) Real. say

da Kapumi: 'Agi anuŋ? - ru- ataŋ -a fa -dan. Agi giŋ? -a  
 to Kapumi we(Inc.) Neg. Cont. go in. Part. go. Part. we(Inc.) sleep. Part.  
 aruani'. Aga (i-) fa tsana ragibaniŋ isi? aru maŋan da aga  
 here we(Exc.) (Real.) go see bend of river small there a and we(Exc.)  
 (i-) aruŋ? dzaf da aga (i-) mpai. Aga (i-) naŋ i  
 (Real.) light fire and we(Exc.) (Real.) stay we(Exc.) (Real.) try Obl.Obj.M.  
 giŋ? -a marampru? da bitsinta? mpui ragiamaŋ naŋ aga  
 sleep. Part. down but water splashing Real. make we(Exc.)  
 mara-ŋ? i- ta? da aga (i-) mpai. Dzi da Tiasan i- tai  
 eye. 1Poss.I Real. open and we(Exc.) (Real.) stay I and Tiasan Real. cook  
 buaruf i- gaŋ da Kapumi i- giŋ? marampru?. Da aranaŋ i- ŋkraf  
 eel Real. eat and Kapumi Real. sleep down and he Real. snore  
 rai ida i- fafub fa da i- ru? da mara-n i- ntap  
 later then Real. dream go and Real. fall down and eye. 3Poss.I Real. come up  
 ruan da i- ni wasi da agai: 'Agam anuŋ?-giŋ? -a marampru?.  
 Refl. and Real. say strongly to us(Exc.) you(Pl.) Neg. sleep. Part. down  
 Agi (i-) ataŋ garam muantsi maŋan mpui -gan'. Aga (i-)  
 we(Inc.) (Real.) go in man clan a water. 3Poss.II we(Exc.) (Real.)  
 mpa i- fafa da i- pis wasi agai. Aga bu- naŋ  
 stay Real. go go and Real. dawn break strongly we(Exc.) we(Exc.) Perf. do  
 i fafub -a mpui ba -dan da aga (i-) rat i  
 Obl.Obj.M. follow. Part. water come. Part. and we(Exc.) (Real.) afraid Obl.Obj.M.  
 nam mais tsira? tsira? da aga (i-) yab wap. Aga (i-)  
 thing bad big big then we(Exc.) (Real.) go up forest we(Exc.) (Real.)  
 yab i- fa sari i- fafa da aga (i-) fa wa?  
 go up Real. go beside forest Real. go go and we(Exc.) (Real.) go come up  
 Binibinikasiab. Da aga (i-) ru? ba Rakiak. Aga (i-)  
 Binibinikasiab and we(Exc.) (Real.) go down come Rakiak. we(Exc.) (Real.)  
 fafub Bintia i- ba dawa? rib igi, Yamin da mama? naru -n  
 follow Bintia Real. come and then they Yamin and child child. 3Poss.I  
 naru -n i Waŋumudan faga -n. Aga (i-) ba mpa i-  
 child. 3Poss.I Loc. Waŋumudan foot. 3Poss.I we(Exc.) (Real.) come stay Real.  
 ru? i- ga gana wauf rib idzun tai -dan. Da Yamin i- guru  
 go down Real. eat tapioca they cook. Part. and Yamin Real. chop up  
 buaruf. Nam i- nuf i- bi nigida aga (i-) fafub i-  
 eel food Real. cool Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.) follow Real.  
 ba gamp. Aga (i-) ba wa gamp sib da aga i-  
 come village we(Exc.) (Real.) come Compl.II village Compl.I and we(Exc.) Real.  
 ntuaŋ Kapumi -gan rab -a nifu -n da rib Pisu. Sifu? i-  
 reveal Kapumi. 3Poss.II cut. Part. mouth. 3Poss.I to people Pisu night Real.  
 bi nigida raburabun Pisu mpa -da Waŋumudan ugu i- ba is  
 be like this and ancestors Pisu stay. Part. Waŋumudan Dem. Real. come hit

aga faranan -gaŋ? da Kapumi. Aruani da rib gamp (i-)  
 we(Exc.) namesake. lPoss.II to Kapumi nowadays and people village (Real.)

is ru- is mint idzun.  
 hit Cont. hit song true

Araŋan igi.  
 he Dem.

Sinur Atang.  
 Waridzian Village, Amari.

### 1.1 Translation: How Kapumi cut his lip

One day, I and all my brothers, Kapumi and Benjamin (Yamin) and Tiasan and Maianguntu and Kapumi's eldest son who is called Rasara, we went into the river to cut trees at Bribris for Simon's house. We went, and sat down and we ate left-over food. When we had finished eating the left-over food Kapumi and his son followed the river up to prepare a path to Warumudan. And we all went and cut trees. We finished cutting trees and it was getting cold and we came down, leading the way for the others, to the water. They arrived soon after and we cooked food and we dammed up the water (for fishing). Night came then and we lit the lamp and made a fire. We sat down and it became very dark, and we climbed up. We climbed up a bad stone called 'Warumudan', and we went down it, in the direction of upstream. We arrived and we lit the big lamp. And we fished with the lamps. We fished for eels and went on upstream, and we went and saw an eel. What a huge one! And I and Kapumi threw knives at it. I was so anxious to hit it that I missed it. I hit the lamp which was in front of Kapumi. That was that, and only one lamp was left, and we said to Yamin and the small children, Rasara and...um...Maianguntu to stay there. We lit a fire and left it with them. It had been raining during the day, and the wood was wet and the fire did not burn well. We thought the fire was burning and we continued on upstream. We arrived midway and Kapumi speared a big eel, but the eel shook itself and the knife bounced and cut Kapumi's lip. So we were upset and we said to Kapumi: 'We must not continue on. Let us sleep here'. We went and saw a small bend in the river and we lit a fire and we stayed there. We tried to sleep but the water's splashing made our eyes awake and we stayed like that. I and Tiasan cooked some eel and ate it and Kapumi slept. And later he snored and then he had a dream which caused him to fall, and he woke up with a start and said strongly to us: 'Do not sleep! We have entered the water owned by another clan'. We stayed awake until the dawn came upon us. We wanted to follow the stream back but we were afraid of the very bad things there, so we went up through the forest. We went up beside the forest, on and on, and we reached Binibinikasiab. Then we came down to Rakiak. We followed the Bintia creek down to the others, to Yamin and the children, at the foot of the Warumudan stone. We came and sat down and ate the tapioca that they had cooked. And Yamin chopped up the eel. It became cool soon and we followed the river to the village. We arrived at the village and we revealed to the people of Pisu clan how Kapumi had cut his lip. That night the Pisu ancestors came to sing about us to Kapumi. Nowadays the people in the village still sing about it.

That is all.

## APPENDIX II

## Word list

This word list is from Wurm: Lexicostatistical comparisons, Highlands Districts languages, TPNG (n.d.). Nouns are recorded as roots only. Nouns which take the Inalienable Possessive suffixes are recorded without any suffix, but with a hyphen after the word, e.g. 5. *child* *naru-*. Verbs are recorded in the form of Root + Participial suffix -a/-an/-da/-dan. All items are written phonemically, not phonetically. Alternatives are indicated in brackets beside the item. Footnotes explain discrepancies and give special information.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>man</i> <i>garam</i>  | 21. <i>we</i> (Inc.) <i>agi</i>   |
| 2. <i>woman</i> <i>sagat</i>  | 22. <i>you</i> (Pl.) <i>agam</i>  |
| 3. <i>old man</i> <i>garam fufi = man old</i>   | 23. <i>they</i> <i>rib aga = there, at distance, rib igi = there, close by</i>                |
| 4. <i>old woman</i> <i>sagat fufi = woman old</i>   | 24. <i>all</i> <i>santan</i>  |
| 5. <i>child</i> <i>naru-</i> (mama?)  | 25. <i>head</i> <i>gudzu-</i>   |
| 6. <i>young boy</i> <i>mama? fa?</i><br>(mama? <i>marub</i> ) = <i>child new</i><br>( <i>child male</i> ) | 26. <i>hair of head</i> <i>gudzu yafa-</i><br>( <i>fufun</i> ) = <i>head hair (body hair)</i> |
| 7. <i>husband</i> <i>gabu-</i>  | 27. <i>forehead</i> <i>mara gubu? = face sun</i>  |
| 8. <i>wife</i> <i>fini-</i>   | 28. <i>eye</i> <i>mara nidzun<sup>2</sup></i>   |
| 9. <i>father</i> <i>rama-</i>   | 29. <i>nose</i> <i>yu-</i>  |
| 10. <i>mother</i> <i>rina-</i>  | 30. <i>ear</i> <i>rina-</i>   |
| 11. <i>sibling: s.s., older</i> <i>rai-tsira? = brother big</i>   | 31. <i>tooth</i> <i>nifu uru- = mouth bone</i>  |
| 12. <i>sibling: s.s., younger</i> <i>rai-isi? = brother small</i>   | 32. <i>tongue</i> <i>ma-</i>  |
| 13. <i>sibling: o.s., older</i> <i>nafu-tsira? = sister big</i>   | 33. <i>jaw, chin</i> <i>katakak (katafat)</i>   |
| 14. <i>sibling: o.s., younger</i> <i>nafu-isi? = sister small</i>   | 34. <i>throat</i> <i>uyamu- (inside), wa- (outside)</i>                                       |
| 15. <i>I</i> <i>dzi</i>   | 35. <i>nape</i> <i>untu-</i>  |
| 16. <i>you</i> (S.) <i>agu (u)</i>  | 36. <i>mouth</i> <i>nifu-</i>   |
| 17. <i>he</i> <i>aranan</i>   | 37. <i>shoulder</i> <i>sipat</i>  |
| 18. <i>we two</i> (Inc.) <i>aga iru?run</i>   | 38. <i>arm</i> <i>banji-</i>  |
| 19. <i>you two</i> <i>agam iru?run</i>  | 39. <i>elbow</i> <i>banji gudzuntu- = hand joint</i>  |
| 20. <i>they two</i> <i>iru?run aga<sup>1</sup></i>  | 40. <i>palm of hand</i> <i>banji pitat = hand surface</i>                                     |

1. *aga* is a Demonstrative here, not a Pronoun as in 18.

2. *Eyeball*.

41. *finger* banj naru- = *hand child*  
 42. *finger nail* banj uru- = *hand bone*  
 43. *chest* nugu mpan = *liver*  
 44. *breast (of woman)* sisu-  
 45. *belly* wanu-  
 46. *navel* mut  
 47. *back* urian (urun)  
 48. *buttocks* dzina?  
 49. *leg* faga-  
 50. *thigh* faga ntun? = *leg long stick*  
 51. *knee* faga gudzun (tun?) = *leg joint*  
 52. *sole of foot* faga intap = *leg ground*  
 53. *skin* rin (ubit)<sup>1</sup>, (rini-)<sup>2</sup>  
 54. *body hair* rini fufu- = *skin body-hair*  
 55. *blood* bi?  
 56. *fat* ragan  
 57. *bone* uru-  
 58. *heart* nugu ampi sisu-  
 59. *liver* nugu iran = *liver original*  
 60. *sore* rini mais = *skin bad*  
 61. *dream* nam bru?p-an = *thing dreaming*  
 62. *to dream* bru?p-an  
 63. *sun* gubu?  
 64. *moon* ukam (buramp)  
 65. *star* qantam  
 66. *sky* gununjun  
 67. *cloud* marabuari  
 68. *fog* nam {yafi-dan  
                                umuman  
 69. *rain* gami?  
 70. *night* (nam) sifu  
 71. *day* gubu?  
 72. *morning* tata?  
 73. *evening* (nam) idzian  
 74. *water* mpui  
 75. *river* mpui  
 76. *round water, pond* mpu fu?  
 77. *ground* intap  
 78. *stone* tauf  
 79. *sand* magaman  
 80. *mountain* mamai  
 81. *bush* wap  
 82. *garden* gum  
 83. *fence* ntin?  
 84. *wind* manis  
 85. *wind blows* manis i-runt = *wind runs*  
 86. *fire* dzaf  
 87. *smoke* dugunt  
 88. *ashes* gai funus<sup>3</sup>, (pap)<sup>4</sup> = *tree ashes*  
 89. *path* sanampun (sanab)  
 90. *tree* gai  
 91. *trunk of tree* gai tsira? = *tree big*  
 92. *branch of tree* gai banj-n = *tree hand*  
 93. *stump of tree* gai gudzuntun? = *tree joint*

- 
1. Covers whole body.  
 2. General.  
 3. Black ashes.  
 4. White ashes.

94. *root of tree* gai waia-n = *tree root*  
 95. *bark of tree* (gai) rini gaŋ-an = *(tree) skin...*  
 96. *tree top* gai gudzu-n = *tree head*  
 97. *fruit of tree* gai nidzu-n = *tree fruit*  
 98. *kunai* sai  
 99. *sweet potato* unas  
 100. *taro* umant  
 101. *yam* ganaŋ  
 102. *banana* ganaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 103. *sugar cane* yait  
 104. *pandanus* mampim<sup>2</sup>, sagara<sup>3</sup>, saŋum<sup>4</sup>  
 105. *betel nut* ntsim  
 106. *tanket* idiriŋ  
 107. *salt* iri<sup>?</sup> simp<sup>5</sup>  
 108. *dog* iyam  
 109. *pig* ifab  
 110. *dog's tail* iyam bampa-n = *dog tail*  
 111. *dog's fur* iyam rini fufu-n = *dog skin body-hair*  
 112. *bird* dzaŋ<sup>?</sup>dzuf = *meat-flying*  
 113. *feather* ragi yafa-n = *arise leaf*  
 114. *egg* urubit  
 115. *wing* inut  
 116. *cassowary* mamu  
 117. *snake* miu  
 118. *fish* yafas  
 119. *fly* nuŋunuŋ  
 120. *mosquito* nubunamp  
 121. *butterfly* uruburi<sup>?</sup>  
 122. *house* uŋar  
 123. *bow* banta  
 124. *arrow* biriaŋ  
 125. *string, rope* bru<sup>?</sup>  
 126. *net-bag* taiap  
 127. *woman's clothes* sasiŋ<sup>?</sup>  
 128. *singsing* (n) nam ɲump-an = *thing jumping*  
 129. *big* tsira<sup>?</sup>  
 130. *small* isi<sup>?</sup>  
 131. *good* bini (daum-an)  
 132. *bad* mais  
 133. *long* gunti<sup>?</sup>  
 134. *short* uts  
 135. *sick* rini-n giŋ<sup>?</sup>-an (rini-n mais) = *skin sleeping (skin bad)*  
 136. *hungry* muanits rut-an = *hunger-be with*  
 137. *red* raŋuŋ<sup>?</sup> (bi<sup>?</sup>)  
 138. *white* maragamp  
 139. *black* marabusuŋ  
 140. *yellow* dzuŋudzuŋ  
 141. *green* gai pisia = *tree green*  
 142. *hot* sasus-an<sup>6</sup>, (gaunt)<sup>7</sup>

- 
1. There are many different, named types of bananas.  
 2. Inedible.  
 3. Edible.  
 4. Edible.  
 5. Traditional ash salt.  
 6. General.  
 7. For liquids only.



143. *cold* ranaran  
 144. *blind* marasap  
 145. *deaf* riqantan  
 146. *full* fuq?-an  
 147. *come quick* wa-ba suŋ = Imp. -  
       *come quickly*  
 148. *old house* uŋar ratar (mugumuŋ)  
       = *house old (old)*  
 149. *new house* uŋar fa? (ŋarubuŋuŋ)  
       = *house new (new)*  
 150. *rotten (house)* pupu?-an  
 151. *right hand* baŋi-n bini = *hand*  
       *good*  
 152. *left hand* baŋi yas = *hand left*  
 153. *to eat* ga-dan  
 154. *drink* num-an  
 155. *stand up* munti-dan  
 156. *sit down* mpa-da ru?-an =  
       *staying going down*  
 157. *speak* ni-da nan = *saying talk*  
 158. *call out* nu?-an  
 159. *run* runt-an  
 160. *walk* yuŋ-an  
 161. *take* u-dan  
 162. *give me* wa-rim ba da dzi =  
       Imperative *give come to me*  
 163. *give you* (dzi) i-rim da agu =  
       Realis - *give to you (S)*  
 164. *give him* wa-rim da aranan =  
       Imperative *give to him*  
 165. *hit (with the hand)* is-an  
 166. *break (tr.)* anta-dan<sup>1</sup>  
 167. *fall (from standing)* rua?-an  
       (i-mu i-ru?)  
 168. *fall (from height)* rua?-an  
 169. *sleep* giŋ?-a marampru? =  
       *lying down sleep*  
 170. *lie on ground* giŋ?-an  
 171. *see* tsanan-dan  
 172. *hear* riŋant-a gin = *hear it*  
 173. *cry* ran-an  
 174. *singsing* (v) ŋump-an  
 175. *cook* antuŋ-a nam =  
       *cook food*  
 176. *blow fire* gufi-da dzaf = *blow*  
       *fire*  
 177. *jump* mpruts-an  
 178. *laugh* rubuŋ?-an  
 179. *be afraid* rat-an  
 180. *scratch skin* aris-an  
 181. *throw* tapu-dan  
 182. *swim* map-an  
 183. *wash oneself* adzu?-an  
 184. *look for* wam-an  
 185. *smell* (tr.) ntaf-a gin = *smell*  
       *it*  
 186. *make bow*<sup>2</sup>  
 187. *go* fa-dan  
 188. *come* ba-dan  
 189. *go up* yab-an  
 190. *go down* ru?-an  
 191. *turn (oneself)* (intr.) i-tama  
       i ruan = Realis - *turn oneself*  
 192. *put down (on ground)* rim-a  
       ru?-an = *put goes down*  
 193. *hold (in hand)* gip-an  
 194. *carry on shoulder* piya?-an<sup>3</sup>  
 195. *push* yut-an  
 196. *pull* untap-a gin = *pull it*

- 
1. Different for different things.  
 2. Not clear what this means.  
 3. This means *carry on head*, e.g. net-bag.

197. *bird flies* dzuf-an  
 198. *shoot* ntaŋ-an  
 199. *bite* (v) gara-dan  
 200. *vomit* tsup-an  
 201. *cough* uku-dan  
 202. *chop wood* rab-a gai = *cut wood*  
 203. *break wood* idza?-an  
 204. *name* biŋan  
 205. *pain* (v) tsakia-dan  
       *pain* (n) nam tsakia-dan = *thing*  
                                   *paining*  
 206. *thick* tsira?  
 207. *thin* isi?  
 208. *narrow* isi?  
 209. *wide* maradza (maradzariŋ)<sup>1</sup>  
 210. *straight* rururuŋ-an  
 211. *crooked* waŋ-an  
 212. *ripe (banana)* dzub-an  
 213. *cooked* nu?-an  
 214. *wet* nufunuf  
 215. *dry* tsara?  
 216. *different, other* mara-n maŋan  
       = *face a* (Indefinite)  
 217. *heavy* barabin-dan  
 218. *stop* antaŋ?-an  
 219. *joke* (v) tus-a umpur =  
       *make lie*  
 220. *skin swells up* fup-an (rinin)  
 221. *enter (go inside)* ataŋ-an  
 222. *go outside* wa?-an  
 223. *bury* pu-dan (dzufuŋ?-an)  
 224. *make hole in ground* raf-a ntsuf  
       = *cut hole*  
 225. *sweat* uwats  
 226. *swallow* (v) tap-a gin =  
       *swallow it*  
 227. *sew up* ntaŋ-a nam<sup>2</sup> = *spear*  
       *thing*  
 228. *pour out* yat-an  
 229. *cut rope* tipu?-an  
 230. *tie rope* udzu-dan  
 231. *draw water* intuŋ?-an  
 232. *who* maŋan  
 233. *what* nam idzu wai = *thing true*  
       *what*  
 234. *where (at)* anuŋ?  
 235. *when* gubu? idzu wai = *day true*  
       *what*  
 236. *later* rai i  
 237. *how much, how many* i-bi anuŋ?  
       = *be like where*  
 238. *on top (of house)* waguŋ?  
 239. *underneath (of house)* waraŋ?  
 240. *beside (of house)* riŋa  
 241. *on top (stone)* waguŋ?  
 242. *underneath (stone)* waraŋ?  
 243. *beside (stone)* marafain  
 244. *stand up (post)* (v.tr.)  
       fuasu-dan  
 245. *dig ground* raf-a intap = *cut*  
       *ground*  
 246. *hit (stick)* is-an  
 247. *stick* (n) gai  
 248. *burn* (tr.) faŋa-dan  
 249. *louse* rislan  
 250. *far away, distant* gunti?  
 251. *near* uts  
 252. *many* raginti (ragin-gan) (ampi)

1. Very big and wide equally.

2. ntaŋ-a applies to anything with a point — spear, needle, etc.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 253. <i>this (close)</i> nani                      | 276. <i>eighteen</i>   |
| 254. <i>this (further)</i> nigi                    | 277. <i>nineteen</i>   |
| 255. <i>that (distant)</i> naga (nugu)             | 278. <i>twenty</i>   |
| 256. <i>here</i> ani                               | 279. <i>and</i> da   |
| 257. <i>there</i> igi                              | 280. <i>together with</i> mpru?-an <sup>2</sup> ,<br>(rut-an) <sup>3</sup>               |
| 258. <i>there (distant)</i> aga (ugu)              | 281. <i>fight (v) (two men fight)</i><br>is-a ruan = <i>hit each other</i>               |
| 259. <i>one</i> bitsinta?                          | 282. <i>sharp</i> bararan  |
| 260. <i>two</i> iru?run                            | 283. <i>blunt</i> mututu   |
| 261. <i>three</i> iru? da bits                     | 284. <i>understand (language)</i> rinantiŋ<br>gin = <i>hear it</i>                       |
| 262. <i>four</i> iru? da iru?                      | 285. <i>kill pig</i> is-a ifab funub =<br><i>hit pig dead</i>                            |
| 263. <i>five</i> iru? da iru? da bits <sup>1</sup> | 286. <i>talk to me</i> wa-ni da dzi <sup>4</sup> =<br>Imperative - <i>say to me</i>      |
| 264. <i>six</i>                                    | 287. <i>talk to you</i> dzi i-ni da agu  |
| 265. <i>seven</i>                                  | 288. <i>talk to him</i> wa-ni da aranan <sup>4</sup><br>= Imperative - <i>say to him</i> |
| 266. <i>eight</i>                                  | 289. <i>piece of wood</i> gai pupuŋuts =<br><i>tree small piece</i>                      |
| 267. <i>nine</i>                                   | 290. <i>float (v)</i> map-an   |
| 268. <i>ten</i>                                    | 291. <i>water carries wood</i> mpui i-yu<br>gai i-fan                                    |
| 269. <i>eleven</i>                                 | 292. <i>not (negative)</i> anuŋ?- u<br>(namu) <sup>5</sup>                               |
| 270. <i>twelve</i>                                 |  |
| 271. <i>thirteen</i>                               |  |
| 272. <i>fourteen</i>                               |  |
| 273. <i>fifteen</i>                                |  |
| 274. <i>sixteen</i>                                |  |
| 275. <i>seventeen</i>                              |  |

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1. Amari do not usually count over five.

2. *Be with* - auxiliary verb.

3. *Go with* - auxiliary verb.

4. wa- imperative prefix.

5. anuŋ?- u verb negation. namu simple negative.

## APPENDIX III

## List of Amari kinship terms

All terms are given with the full possessive suffixes, for first person.  
(m = male speaking; f = female speaking.)

| Reference term   | Vocative term | Gloss  |
|--|---------------|--|
| rai-ŋ?-gaŋ?  | rai-ŋ?        | 1. Sibling (same sex)<br>2. Father's brother's son (m)<br>3. Mother's sister's son (m)<br>4. Father's brother's daughter (f)<br>5. Mother's sister's daughter (f)<br>6. Wife's sister's husband (m)<br>7. Husband's brother's wife (f)   |
| (i.e. sibling same sex,<br>parallel cousins, same sex)   |               |  |
| nafu-ŋ?-gaŋ?   | nafu-ŋ?       | 1. Sibling (opposite sex)<br>2. Father's brother's daughter (m)<br>3. Mother's sister's daughter (m)<br>4. Mother's brother's daughter (m)<br>5. Father's sister's daughter (m)<br>6. Father's brother's son (f)<br>7. Mother's sister's son (f)<br>8. Father's sister's son (f)<br>9. Mother's brother's son (f)<br>10. Wife's brother's wife (m)<br>11. Husband's sister's husband (f) |
| (i.e. sibling opposite sex,<br>parallel cousins, opposite sex,<br>cross-cousins, opposite sex) |               |  |
| yara-ŋ?-gaŋ?   | yara-ŋ?       | 1. Mother's brother's son (m)<br>2. Father's sister's son (m)<br>3. Mother's brother's daughter (f)<br>4. Father's sister's daughter (f)   |
| (i.e. cross-cousins, same sex)   |               |  |
| fini-ŋ?-gaŋ?   | fini-ŋ?       | 1. Wife (m)<br>2. Wife's sister (m)<br>3. Brother's wife (m)<br>4. Mother's brother's son's wife (m)<br>5. Father's sister's son's wife (m)<br>6. Father's brother's son's wife (m)<br>7. Mother's sister's son's wife (m)   |
| (i.e. wife; wife of all called<br>rai-ŋ? or yara-ŋ?)   |               |  |
| gabu-ŋ?-gaŋ?   | gabu-ŋ?       | 1. Husband (f)<br>2. Husband's brother (f)<br>3. Sister's husband (f)<br>4. Father's brother's daughter's<br>husband (f)<br>5. Mother's sister's daughter's<br>husband (f)<br>6. Father's sister's daughter's<br>husband (f)<br>7. Mother's brother's daughter's<br>husband (f)  |
| (i.e. husband; husband of all<br>those called rai-ŋ? or yara-ŋ?)                               |               |  |

| Reference term  | Vocative term | Gloss  |
|---|---------------|--|
| numuntu-gaŋ?<br><br>(i.e. brother-in-law – husband of anyone called nafu-ŋ? and brother of anyone called fini-ŋ? – term used by men only) | mimik         | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wife's brother (m)</li> <li>2. Sister's husband (m)</li> <li>3. Father's sister's daughter's husband (m)</li> <li>4. Mother's brother's daughter's husband (m)</li> <li>5. Father's brother's daughter's husband (m)</li> <li>6. Mother's sister's daughter's husband (m)</li> </ol> |
| fata-ŋ?<br><br>(i.e. sister-in-law – sister of anyone called gabu-ŋ?, wife of anyone called nafu-ŋ? – term used by women only)            | afa?          | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Husband's sister (f)</li> <li>2. Brother's wife (f)</li> <li>3. Mother's brother's son's wife (f)</li> <li>4. Father's sister's daughter's wife (f)</li> <li>5. Father's brother's son's wife (f)</li> <li>6. Mother's sister's son's wife (f)</li> </ol>                            |
| rama-ŋ?-gaŋ?  | rama-ŋ?       | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Father (m + f)</li> <li>2. Father's brother (m + f)</li> <li>3. Mother's sister's husband (m + f)</li> </ol>   |
| rina-ŋ?-gaŋ?  | rina-ŋ?       | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mother (m + f)</li> <li>2. Mother's sister (m + f)</li> <li>3. Father's brother's wife (m + f)</li> </ol>  |
| gaia-ŋ?-gaŋ?  | gaia-ŋ?       | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mother's brother (m + f)</li> <li>2. Father's sister's husband (m + f)</li> </ol>  |
| wagat-aŋ?   | wagat         | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Father's sister (m + f)</li> <li>2. Mother's brother's wife (m + f)</li> <li>3. Brother's son (f)</li> <li>4. Brother's daughter (f)</li> <li>5. Husband's sister's daughter (f)</li> <li>6. Husband's sister's son (f)</li> </ol>   |
| murugu-ŋ?-gaŋ?<br><br>(Term used by men only)   | murugu-ŋ?     | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sister's son (m)</li> <li>2. Sister's daughter (m)</li> <li>3. Wife's brother's son (m)</li> <li>4. Wife's brother's daughter (m)</li> </ol>   |
| naru-ŋ?-gaŋ?  | naru-ŋ?       | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Son (m + f)</li> <li>2. Daughter (m + f)</li> <li>3. Brother's son (m)</li> <li>4. Brother's daughter (m)</li> <li>5. Sister's son (f)</li> <li>6. Sister's daughter (f)</li> <li>7. Father's brother's son's son (m + f)</li> </ol>   |

| Reference term   | Vocative term | Gloss   |
|--|---------------|---|
|  |               | 8. Father's brother's son's daughter<br>(m + f)       |
|  |               | 9. Father's brother's daughter's son<br>(m + f)       |
|  |               | 10. Father's brother's daughter's<br>daughter (m + f) |
|  |               | 11. Mother's sister's son's daughter<br>(m + f)       |
|  |               | 12. Mother's sister's son's son (m + f)               |
|  |               | 13. Mother's sister's daughter's son<br>(m + f)       |
|  |               | 14. Mother's sister's daughter's<br>daughter (m + f)  |
|  |               | 15. Mother's brother's son's daughter (m)             |
|  |               | 16. Mother's brother's son's son (m)                  |
|  |               | 17. Father's sister's son's daughter (m)              |
|  |               | 18. Father's sister's son's son (m)                   |
|  |               | 19. Mother's brother's daughter's son (f)             |
|  |               | 20. Mother's brother's daughter's<br>daughter (f)     |
|  |               | 21. Father's sister's daughter's<br>daughter (f)      |
|  |               | 22. Father's sister's daughter's son (f)              |
|  |               | 23. Wife's sister's son (m)                           |
|  |               | 24. Wife's sister's daughter (m)                      |
|  |               | 25. Husband's brother's son (f)                       |
|  |               | 26. Husband's brother's daughter (f)                  |
| rumpu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ  | rumpu-ŋʔ      | 1. Grandfather (m + f)                                |
| (i.e. all people in grand-<br>parents', and all people in<br>grandchildren's generations)  |               | 2. Grandmother (m + f)                                |
|  |               | 3. Grandchild (m + f)                                 |
|  |               | 4. Wife's grandmother (m)                             |
|  |               | 5. Wife's grandfather (m)                             |
|  |               | 6. Husband's grandmother (f)                          |
|  |               | 7. Husband's grandfather (f)                          |
| bu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ   | maiak         | 1. Wife's mother (m)                                  |
| (i.e. all people called father<br>and mother, by wife or husband,<br>and all people called wife or<br>husband by one's children) |               | 2. Wife's father (m)                                  |
|  |               | 3. Husband's mother (f)                               |
|  |               | 4. Husband's father (f)                               |
|  |               | 5. Son's wife (m + f)                                 |
|  |               | 6. Daughter's husband (m + f)                         |
| rasi-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ   | rasi-ŋʔ       | 1. Grandparents' mother (m + f)                       |
| (i.e. all great-grandparents,<br>all great-grandchildren)  |               | 2. Grandparents' father (m + f)                       |
|  |               | 3. Grandchild's son (m + f)                           |
|  |               | 4. Grandchild's daughter (m + f)                      |

| Reference term  | Vocative term | Gloss   |
|---|---------------|---|
| tafa-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ<br><br>(i.e. all great-great-grandparents,<br>all great-great-grandchildren) | tafa-ŋʔ       | 1. Great-grandparents' mother (m + f)<br>2. Great-grandparents' father (m + f)<br>3. Great-grandchild's daughter (m + f)<br>4. Great-grandchild's son (m + f) |
| yara-ŋʔ rabiʔ<br><br>(Reciprocal term between parents<br>whose children have married)     |               | 1. Son's wife's mother (m + f)<br>2. Son's wife's father (m + f)<br>3. Daughter's husband's mother (m + f)<br>4. Daughter's husband's father (m + f)          |

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## ON ERGATIVITY IN FORE AND OTHER PAPUAN LANGUAGES

Graham Scott

Following on from Li and Lang's paper (1979), this paper outlines uses made of the so-called ergative case marker in some of these Papuan languages. While the marker may be used to separate subject from object in typical ergative fashion, its main purpose is related to the animacy hierarchy. It is used to raise noun phrases to the top of the animacy scale where they may function, *inter alia*, as agents. This ergative marker, then, functions as an indicator of control in a semantic (derivational) role, rather than as a syntactic (inflectional) case marker *per se*.

Some authors in recent years have been classifying Papuan languages as ergative in terms of their morphology.

Deibler (1976:10), for example, states that the Papuan language, Gahuku, 'may be considered an ergative-type language: the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs are unmarked for the largest class of nouns'. He supplies the following Gahuku data:

- (1) Ovakeni venala                      vitive.  
Ovake's wife (subject) she will go  
Ovake's wife will go.
- (2) Ovakeni venala                      apilimo'.  
Ovake's wife (object) she hit her  
She hit Ovake's wife.
- (3) Ovakeni venala-'mo                  apilimo'.  
Ovake's wife-ergative she hit her  
Ovake's wife hit her.

Haiman (1979:61), in discussing the equivalent marker in the Hua language, states that 'the subject of an intransitive verb, like the object of a transitive verb, can never occur with -bamu'; this suffix is reserved for the subjects of transitive verbs alone'. He concludes then, that 'in respect to the construction with -bamu', Hua is an ergative language'. He gives the following among his examples:

- (4) Busa' baie.  
Busa (subject) he is  
Busa is here.
- (5) Busa' ebgie.  
Busa (object) he hit him  
He hit Busa.
- (6) Busa'-bamu' ebgie.  
Busa-ergative he hit him  
Busa hit him.

Li and Lang (1979:309) make the claim that 'those Papuan languages which have case systems are mostly ergative', and illustrate from five further Papuan languages: Kewa, Kiwaian, Moni, Duna and Enga. (Waffa and the Angan languages are listed as rare exceptions.) They contend that Enga, the main language of their research, 'may be described as a typical ergative language of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum' (p.311), the largest grouping (67.9%) of Papuan languages (see Wurm 1975:21).

In contrast with this claim of morphological ergativity, Li and Lang maintain that 'almost all the ergative Papuan languages have subject-verb agreement which shows a nominative-accusative pattern' (p.310). (Duna, which does not mark agreement, is an exception.) They categorically state: 'Our investigation of Enga shows that the language is syntactically accusative' (p.311), and proceed to elucidate this claim through a discussion of surface codings and referentiality.

Similarly, it may be claimed that Fore, the main language to be discussed in this paper, is syntactically accusative but morphologically ergative.

It shall be shown, however, that this 'ergative' morphology is best regarded as derivational (a semantic notion) rather than as a pure case inflection (simply a syntactic marker). (In examples (7)-(8), Fore's -ma has been glossed as 'ergative' in keeping with previous examples.)

- (7) wa wáye.  
man he went  
The man went.
- (8) wá-ma mási tára isiýegúye.  
man-ergative two boys he hit them.  
The man hit two boys.

The use of -ma in transitive clauses is by no means entirely obligatory in Fore, but neither is it totally optional. The -ma seen in example (9) may be omitted (10), without any change to the roles the referents are playing. ('3sg' indicates third singular reference, irrespective of gender or function. Seeming inconsistencies in accent are a result of independent accent rules — see Scott 1978:20.)

- (9) wá-ma wáya: 'áegúye.  
man-ergative woman 3sg hit 3sg  
The man hit the woman.
- (10) wa wáya: 'áegúye.  
man woman 3sg hit 3sg  
The man hit the woman.

Conversely, *-ma* is obligatorily present in (11) so that the same semantic roles as in (9) and (10) may be maintained, once topicalisation has invoked a change in word order. The omission of *-ma* here would have caused a reversal in roles (12).

- (11) wáya: 'wá-má aegúye.  
       *woman man-ergative 3sg hit 3sg*  
       *The man hit the woman.*

- (12) wáya: 'wá aegúye.  
       *woman man 3sg hit 3sg*  
       *The woman hit the man.*  
       \**The man hit the woman.*

In (13), however, we find that although the order is the same as in (12), the meaning of the pig attacking the man is not the usual reading. (There may, of course, be such strong contextual clues that the speaker has felt it unnecessary to distinguish formally between the two noun phrases, with the listener forced to interpret the sentence according to the starred gloss.)

- (13) yaga: wá aegúye.  
       *pig man 3sg hit 3sg*  
       *The man killed the pig.*  
       \**The pig attacked the man.*

What, then, is the basis of *-ma*'s presence or absence? We find an answer in (14)-(15).

- (14) Animacy hierarchy:

Personal > Human > Animate > Inanimate

- (15) Grammatical hierarchy:

Subject > Indirect Object > Direct Object

In Fore these are two interacting hierarchies. At the top of the animacy hierarchy in Fore are the *Personal* referents. These include pronouns, proper nouns (names of people), and very close kin terms. Next on the scale in (14) are the (non-personal) *Human* referents; then come (non-human) *Animates*; then *Inanimates*. This hierarchy is in accord with the 'potentiality of agency' scale given by Dixon (1979:85). We shall shortly see that the addition of the suffix *-ma* raises a noun phrase to the top of this animacy scale.

Grammatically, as seen in (15), the highest rank is *Subject*, followed by *Indirect Object*, followed by *Direct Object*. Where more than one unmarked noun phrase could occur, that which is higher in animacy will be read higher grammatically. Thus, in (16)-(19), where each of the noun phrases differs from the others in animacy, their respective roles are held constant, even though word order has changed. The only changes are in terms of topicality.

- (16) aebá yaga: naninta: amiye.  
       *he pig food 3sg gave to 3sg*  
       *He gave food to the pig.*

- (17) aebá naninta: yaga: amiye.  
       *he food pig 3sg gave to 3sg*  
       *He gave the pig food.*

- (18) yaga: áebá naninta: amiye.  
 pig he food 3sg gave to 3sg  
 To the pig he gave food.

- (19) naninta: áebá yaga: amiye.  
 food he pig 3sg gave to 3sg  
 Food he gave to the pig.

Only when two noun phrases are equal in animacy does word order (S O IO V) assist in determining roles. We saw this earlier in (12) where 'woman' was interpreted as the agent, or subject, and in (10) where 'man' is agent.

In terms of the animacy scale given in (14), the ergative suffix -ma may not occur with personal referents (20)-(21), but it must occur with inanimates if they are to be considered as agents, and therefore as subjects (22)-(24). In between, its usage is much more likely with non-human animates than with human referents. (The n > nt change in (24) follows regular phonological rules.)

- (20) Aegayá: naegúye.  
 Aegaya 3sg hit me  
 Aegaya hit me.
- (21) \*Aegayá:-ma naegúye.  
 Aegaya-ergative 3sg  
 Aegaya hit me.
- (22) kasó-'tasa naegúye.  
 club-with 3sg hit me  
 He hit me with a club.
- (23) kasó-nkama naegúye.  
 club-ergative 3sg  
 The club hit me.
- (24) kasó ntaegúye.  
 club 3sg hit me  
 He clubbed me.  
 \*The club hit me.

(22) illustrates a common non-agentive occurrence of an inanimate referent, *kasó club*. To promote this to agentive status, (23) demands the presence of the ergative marker -ma, which here appears as -nkama in one of its allomorphic forms. We cannot, as seen in (24), omit the ergative marker with an inanimate referent and still maintain an agentive reading. (24) reads literally as a compound: *He club-hit me*.

On the other hand, up at the other end of the scale in (20), Aegayá: is a proper noun and cannot be raised further on the animacy scale, but is already classified as having agentive qualities. Consequently (21) is considered unacceptable.

But note what happens when we want to use a personal referent in a non-agentive manner, for example as a direct object as we have in (25)-(26).

- (25) Aegaya:-nk aegúye.  
 Aegaya-oblique 3sg hit 3sg  
 He hit Aegaya.

- (26) náe-' naegúye.  
 I-oblique 3sg hit me  
 He hit me.

At this stage 'oblique' marking comes into effect. Here a grammatically conditioned phonological change related to non-subject (and non-vocative) usage appears (27)-(28).

- (27) yoga-ri waye.  
 garden-to 3sg went  
 He went to the garden.

- (28) ae-'-tí waye.  
 he-oblique-to 3sg went  
 He went to him.

In (27) the inanimate yoga *garden* simply takes the allative *to*. However, when a noun phrase from the top (or 'personal') end of the animacy hierarchy is to take a non-agentive role (28), it must first be marked as oblique. Then the relevant case marking is added.

For direct and indirect objects there is no further case marking. Objects are not distinguished from each other formally. Usually the object higher on the animacy scale will be the indirect object, but the situational context is the final arbiter.

Oblique marking is used optionally for human and animate referents – optional in the sense that its use is determined by external (contextual) factors. The marker itself is a phonological change (PC), details of which have been given previously (Scott 1978:106).

Occurrence of the ergative (-ma) and oblique (PC) markers is summarised in (29), where single brackets indicate heavier optional use than that given in double brackets.

| (29)     | Personal | Human  | Animate | Inanimate |
|----------|----------|--------|---------|-----------|
| ergative | -        | ((ma)) | (-ma)   | -ma       |
| oblique  | PC       | (PC)   | ((PC))  | -         |

The apparent reverse parallelism of -ma and PC in (29) is an illusion. They differ in kind.

Firstly, oblique marking may never occur on noun phrases used either as the subject of a transitive or as subject of an intransitive. Oblique marking thus is syntactic: a part of the case system of Fore, using a nominative-accusative dichotomy. This means that to posit an absolutive case for Fore is not a viable analysis. Consequently, the concept of syntactic ergativity is becoming less attractive.

Secondly, the ergative marker in Fore may co-occur with oblique marking. Compare (30)-(32).

- (30) pi ntágara-má-ba agaye.  
 that man-ergative-focus 3sg saw 3sg  
 That man saw him.

- (31) pi ntágara-má-'-pa agaye.  
 that man-ergative-oblique-focus 3sg saw 3sg  
 He saw that man.



- (32) pi ntágara-bá agaye.  
*that man-focus 3sg saw 3sg*  
*He saw that man.*  
*That man saw him.*

In these examples it is clearly the presence of the oblique's phonological change (indicated by the glottal stop in (31)) which causes the meaning change between (30) and (31). (32), in which neither ergative nor oblique marking occur, is quite acceptable, but ambiguous, and would depend on external linguistic or social context for interpretation.

The meaning difference between (31) and the first reading of (32) is much more subtle. Out of context, but with the meaning 'He saw that man', native speakers asked to repeat (31) generally revert to (32). This is in spite of the fact that (31) in context is considered grammatical. It appears that (31) indicates some sort of agentive involvement by 'that man', in much the same sense as English's 'get' passives: e.g. 'He got shot' as opposed to 'He was shot'.

Thirdly, the ergative marker may be used with subjects of certain intransitive verbs (33). -ma is used on occasion with verbs in which the subject may be considered to have some sort of control over the action (e.g. 'come', 'laugh'), but not with others (e.g. 'cough', 'be'). Limits and probabilities of such usage have yet to be determined.

- (33) pi ntágara-má-ba kanaye.  
*that man-ergative-focus 3sg came*  
*That man came.*

There are also two constructions in which presence of the ergative marker is syntactically obligatory. The first is where a relative clause takes the place of a noun phrase.

- (34) na:má kiyí ntagara kánaye.  
*house 3sg built man 3sg came*  
*The man who built the house came.*
- (35) na:má kiyí-'ma kanaye.  
*house 3sg built-ergative 3sg came*  
*The one who built the house came.*
- (36) na:má kiyí-'ma-'-ti kanaye.  
*house 3sg built-ergative-oblique-to 3sg came*  
*He came to the one who built the house.*

In (34), na:má kiyí is a relative clause which qualifies the head noun ntagara *man*. If the head noun is omitted, the ergative marker must take its place (35)-(36). This may occur only when a subject noun phrase is relativised, and usually only with transitive subjects, although for some speakers, (37) is acceptable.

- (37) ?kanái-'ma aboráye.  
*3sg came-ergative 3sg appeared*  
*The man who came appeared.*

The second obligatory usage is in non-personal genitive formation (38)-(39).

- (38) wasaná-ma-                      ntamáne.  
       person-ergative-oblique house  
       *It is a house for persons.*
- (39) naba:né-mpá-                      ntamáne.  
       my father-ergative-oblique house  
       *It is my father's house.*

Here the genitive is formed using the combination of ergative plus oblique, followed by a second noun phrase. The oblique in (38) and (39) is shown by the phonological change on the word for *house*, which is normally na:máne but has undergone an n > nt change plus vowel shortening, to give ntamáne. (39) shows kin term occurrence where an optional possessive suffix (-né *my* on the end of naba:) has placed the kin term into the general human grouping. Consequently, the -ma marker is obligatory to genitive formation here.

In (40)-(41), the kin term naba: and the name Aegayá:, both of which are *Personal* in the animacy hierarchy, do not take -ma. Only the oblique is necessary to form the genitive. It would be unacceptable to use -ma in either of these.

- (40) naba:-                      ntamáne.  
       my father-oblique house  
       *It is my father's house.*
- (41) Aegayá:-                      ntamáne.  
       Aegaya-oblique house  
       *It is Aegaya's house.*

#### SUMMATION

In ascertaining the function of the so-called ergative marker in Fore, and potentially also in other Papuan languages, the following points have been made:

- (i) In Fore there is quite an amount of optionality in the usage of -ma when attached to the subject of a transitive verb. Haiman (1979:56, 59) gives examples showing such optionality in Hua, where it leads to potential ambiguity, stating that 'very often Hua tolerates this ambiguity, but Hua also has a possible means of eliminating this ambiguity' (the ergative marker -bamu').

On the other hand, Dixon (1979:72-73) claims that 'in most languages in which the ergative occurs, it is obligatory', but he does allow that 'it is not uncommon to find an ergative case inflection described as 'optional''. Fore, which allows optionality, ties its optionality to the human/animate portion of the animacy hierarchy - a semantic rather than a syntactic function.

- (ii) It has also been mentioned that in Fore, the ergative marker may be used with noun phrases when they function as subject of certain intransitive verbs. Renck (1975:35), who worked in the Move dialect of Yagaria, of which Haiman's Hua is also a dialect, reports a similar occurrence. He has labelled the marker (which varies between -ma' and -ba' in Move) a 'pivotal' marker because of its wide and sometimes obligatory usage. He states that while it may occur 'as agentive marker in transitive clauses...

the pivotal marker may also occur as subject marker in intransitive clauses, but that marking is optional'.

- (iii) We saw earlier in (31) the use of Fore's -ma in object position. Payne and Drew (1970:74) observe that Kamano's equivalent morpheme -mo' may be appended to an indirect object. This non-subject usage, along with its obligatory absence from personal names in Kamano (which was illustrated earlier from Fore in (21)), caused Payne and Drew to label the morpheme 'personaliser'. This lends support to the claim that the morpheme in question is not a simple syntactic mechanism marking subjects of transitives, but primarily marks a participant's ability to control or to be an agent. This marker, being a semantic indicator, acts then as a derivational type morpheme which changes the subcategorisation of noun phrases so that they may function, among other things, as subjects of transitives.

The concept of an ergative marker indicating control has been outlined by Dixon (1979:80-81). He states that, where ergative marking of subject noun phrases occurs with certain intransitive verbs, 'the use of ergative or absolutive on a subject noun phrase appears to be semantically determined', with the ergative marker being used only when the noun phrase referent 'actually is the controller'; otherwise intransitive subjects are (un)marked in the same way as objects which have no control over the activity.

Dixon adds that this scheme is found in just a few languages. It appears that Fore is one of those rare gems. It may well be, on closer scrutiny, that this pattern is to be found in many Papuan languages. I would like linguists to test their particular Papuan languages to see whether this is so.

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## A SKETCH OF NOMINAL CONCORD IN ABU' (AN ARAPESH LANGUAGE)

Otto Nekitel

### 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

#### 1.1 General

There are a number of languages in Papua New Guinea (PNG) which have noun class systems (see Fortune 1942; and Capell 1969).

Abu' is one of these languages.<sup>2</sup> It has a complex classification system with a regular system of concord within the Noun Phrase (NP) and Verb Phrase (VP) structures. Nouns in the language arbitrarily fall into classes determined by their singular and plural forms. These forms in turn determine the forms that nominal modifiers take in NPs as well as the coreferential elements in VPs.

During an introductory class in PNG languages at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1975 with Drs John Lynch and Adrienne Lang, it became apparent to me that the description of Arapesh noun classes given by Fortune (1942) was inadequate. There were more noun classes in Abu' than the 13 reported by Fortune for the closely-related Mountain Arapesh dialect of his grammar. Therefore, this study attempts to provide examples to show the system of nominal concordance and to sort out the number of noun classes in Abu', the language of my speech community.

#### 1.2 Background

Although Arapesh society has been the subject of anthropological literature since 1938,<sup>3</sup> literature on the language is comparatively meagre, except for the work of Fortune cited above. Fortune's study which was basically aimed at the description of Arapesh grammar, mentioned that there were 13 general noun classes in the dialect on which his study was based. He made a general statement about nominal concord but did not provide full details of how nominal concord operates. The Mountain Arapesh grammar of Gerstner (1963) has not been consulted.

A few other people have either made some comments or referred to the language. Glasgow and Loving (1964) in their classification of the Maprik District languages, made reference to the extension of Mountain Arapesh, with dialect changes into the Wewak and Aitape districts as far as the coastal villages of Matapau and Dagua (see map). They also mapped the distribution of the Arapesh languages as then known, namely Bumbita, Southern and Mountain Arapesh. The map published in this study is partly based on this mapping. Laycock (1973)

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elaborated on the classification of Arapesh languages within the Torricelli Phylum, but, as mentioned in note 2, did not recognise Abu' as a separate language. A brief note on the classes, with a bibliography mentioning early word-lists, is to be found in Laycock (1975). Capell (1969:122 fn.) describes Arapesh as belonging to the same typological subgroup as the Baining language of East New Britain.

Tuzin (1972:11) in his ethnographic description of the Ilahita (Southern) Arapesh, briefly mentioned the fact that the common feature of the Arapesh languages is their complex noun classification system. He made no further comments about the nouns or nominal concord as these were outside his area of ethnographic investigation.

At the time this study was first written (1977), Bob and Jo Conrad were doing some work on the morphophonemic rules of the Buki dialect of Mountain Arapesh, which is spoken between Maprik and Yangoru.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3 Materials

The present study represents an analysis of materials collected by the author with the assistance of his wife during the second half of 1976 and the first half of 1977. The materials are from Abu', which is closely related to Mountain Arapesh. The form of Abu' described is that spoken by about three hundred people living in Womsis village about 70 km west of Wewak. Two Abu' dialects are spoken in Womsis.<sup>5</sup> In this study I have concentrated on the Southern dialect since I am a native speaker of that dialect.

### 1.4 Presentation

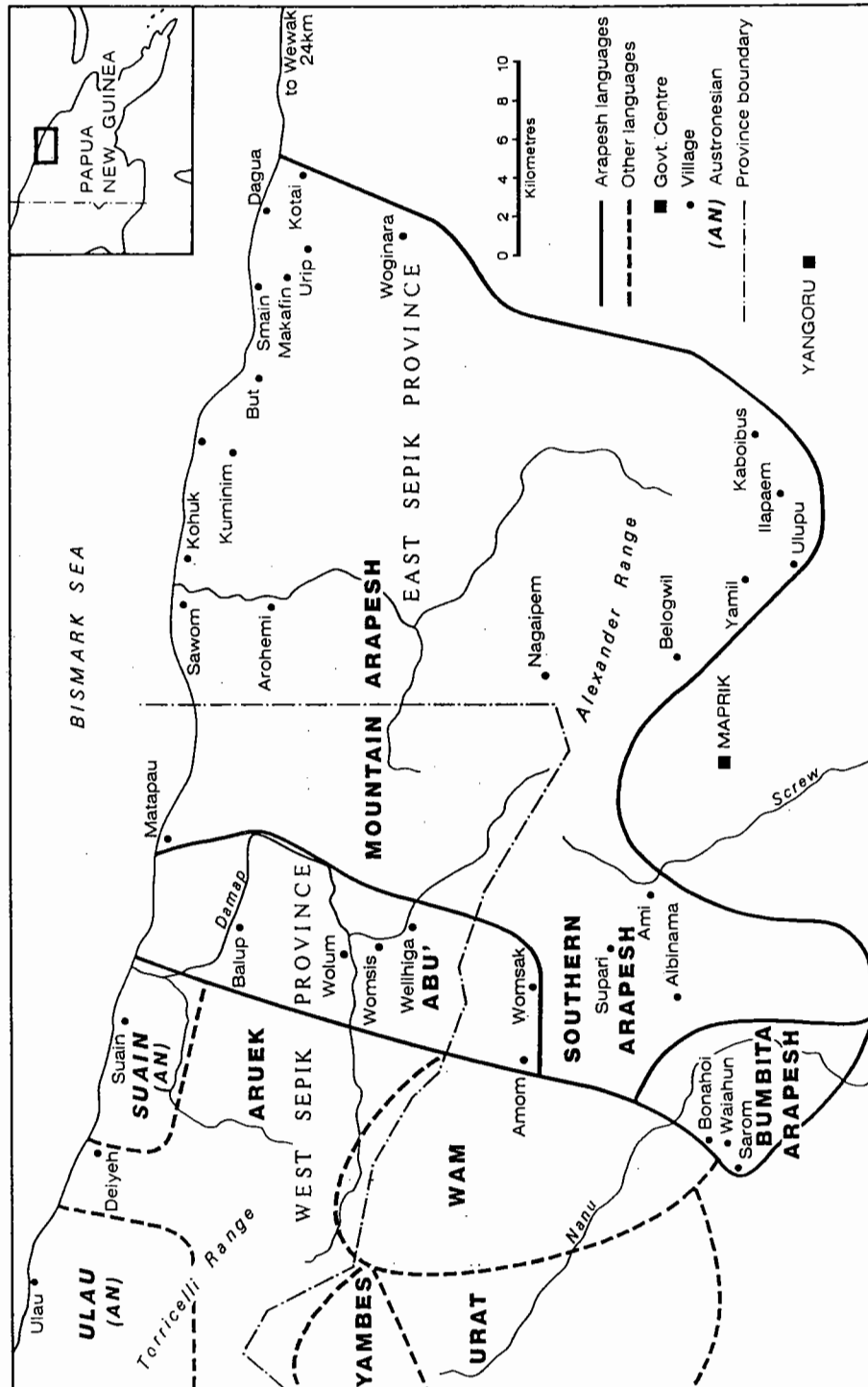
In this study the following orthography and other symbols are used for listing and describing the Abu' materials:

#### 1.4.1 Phonology

The following symbols are employed to represent 16 consonants and five vowel phonemes:

|                 | Labial | Apical | Velar | Rounded velar  | Glottal |
|-----------------|--------|--------|-------|----------------|---------|
| Voiceless stops | (p)*   | t      | k     | k <sup>w</sup> | '       |
| Voiced stops    | b      | d      |       |                |         |
| Nasals          | m      | n      |       |                |         |
| Fricatives      | f      | s      |       |                |         |
| Laterals        |        | l      |       |                |         |
| Flaps           |        | r      |       |                |         |
| Semivowels      | w      | y      |       |                | h       |

\* An introduced phoneme from Tok Pisin.



MAP: DISTRIBUTION OF ARAPESH LANGUAGES



## Vowels

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i     |         | u    |
| Mid  | e     |         | o    |
| Low  |       | a       |      |

## Other symbols and abbreviations

|      |                      |          |   |
|------|----------------------|----------|---|
| Adj  | adjective            | TP       | Tok Pisin                                   |
| AdjC | adjective of colour  | vb       | verb  |
| AdjQ | adjective of quality | V        | any vowel                                   |
| AdjS | adjective of size    | V-       | initial vowel or syllable                   |
| Adv  | adverb               | -V-      | medial vowel                                |
| AdvL | adverb of location   | -V       | final vowel                                 |
| AN   | Austronesian         | VP       | verb phrase                                 |
| excl | exclusive            | x/y      | x or y                                      |
| C    | any consonant        | <u>1</u> | concord feature (underlined)                |
| -C   | final consonant      | >        | becomes                                     |
| -C-  | medial consonant     | <        | derives from                                |
| dem  | demonstrative        | '        | primary stress (in phonetic transcriptions) |
| incl | inclusive            | '        | glottal stop (in phonemic representations)  |
| N    | noun                 | ʔ        | glottal stop (in phonetic transcriptions)   |
| NP   | noun phrase          |          |   |
| num  | numeral/number       |          |   |
| O    | object               | V'       | primary stress                              |
| P    | past                 | V*       | half length                                 |
| pl   | plural               | *        | unacceptable item or borrowed TP word       |
| S    | subject              |          |   |
| sen  | sentence             | #        | word boundary                               |
| sg   | singular             | ∅        | zero symbol                                 |

The Abu' phonetic system does not seem to have a voiceless bilabial stop but because of exposure to Tok Pisin whose phonetic system has the allophonic variants [p] and [f] which are generally represented by the phoneme /p/, Abu' speakers are now using that sound especially in borrowed Tok Pisin words containing /p/.

It is apparent in this study that the voiceless bilabial fricative and the labio-dental voiceless fricative are allophonic variants of the same phoneme, represented in this study by /f/ so that the phoneme /f/ has two allophones, [f] and [ɸ] = [ɸ̥] which occur in free variations in all positions.

$$/f/ \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [f] \\ [\mathfrak{p}] = [\mathfrak{f}] \end{cases} \quad [f] \sim [\mathfrak{p}] \text{ in all positions}$$

The voiceless alveolar stop and the voiceless velar stop are slightly aspirated in word-final position but remained unaspirated elsewhere.

$$\begin{bmatrix} /t/ \\ /k/ \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{cases} \begin{bmatrix} t^h \\ k^h \end{bmatrix} & / - \# \\ \begin{bmatrix} t \\ k \end{bmatrix} & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

The grooved voiceless alveolar fricative becomes an alveolar palatal fricative in word-final position.

$$/s/ \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [\mathfrak{z}] & / - \# \\ [s] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

The liquid sounds [l] and [r] are flapped in word-initial and word-medial positions but are trilled in word-final position.

$$/l/ \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [\text{ɫ}] & / - \# \\ [l] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

$$/r/ \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [\text{ɾ}] & / - \# \\ [r] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

The voiceless velar stop k contrasts with the glottal stop which is represented in this study by the apostrophe '.

#### 1.4.2 Nasalisation

A nasal optionally assimilates to the point of articulation of the following voiced obstruents. Similarly a vowel is nasalised when occurring between two nasal consonants or when the vowel occurs next to a nasal, for example, ['utaba]/['utãmba] *stone/stones*; [m'ãduh]/[m'ãnduh] *rope*. This nasalisation rule is non-obligatory.

##### 1.4.2.1 Labialisation

It was suspected that the rounded voiceless velar stop k<sup>w</sup> may represent two separate units of sounds namely k and w. However, the observation has been that both sounds are inseparable. They comprise a single segment and consequently contrast with k as the following minimal pair indicates: ['kaʎutu] *tree stands*

as opposed to ['kʷarutu] *she stands*. Also because of its function as a third person female subject prefix as illustrated in the above example or as in kʷahe' *she went* in contrast with nahe *he went*, or it *went* and sahe' *they went*. kʷ also occurs at the onset of words implying femininity as for example kʷa'araka *frog*.

#### 1.4.2.2 Vowels

The semivowel /y/ varies freely with the high front unrounded vowel /i/ in all positions. Seeing that vowel glides are predictable, it is plausible to suggest that /i/ = /y/ and /u/ = /w/ so that it is equally acceptable to write /iaħ/ = [iyah] *road*, /niboa/ = ['niṃbowa] *two days ago*.

The phoneme /i/ has two allophones. In word-initial and word-final positions it remains a high front unrounded tense vowel but is generally lax in word-medial position. Hence:

$$/i/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [i] & / C - C \\ [i] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

#### 1.4.2.3 Vowel length

Vowels occurring in word-final positions are generally half-length.  $V \rightarrow V' / -\#$ . Stress falls on the initial syllable.  $V \rightarrow V' / V-$ .

Syllables may be open or closed. Neither stress nor tone appear to be phonemic in Abu'.

#### 1.4.3 Minimal/subminimal pairs and other examples

/f/  $\rightarrow$  [f] ~ [p] or [ɸ] in all environments, /ufaf/  $\rightarrow$  ['ufaf] or ['upap] *banana*. /fifiki/  $\rightarrow$  [f'ɪfɪkɪ] or [p'ɪpɪkɪ] *bone*.

/f/ ~ /p/ in all environments for borrowed words from Tok Pisin into Abu', as for instance:

/pater/ *priests* ['pater], ['fater] or ['pater].  
 /piptin/ *fifteen* ['piptɪn], ['fɪftɪn] or ['pɪptɪn].  
 /bilip/ *belief* or *faith* ['bilɪp], ['bɪlɪf] or ['bilɪp].

/t/ and /d/ contrast as indicated by the following minimal or subminimal pairs:

/idaf/ ['idaf] ~ ['idap] *split timber*  
 /itaħ/ ['itaħ] ~ ['itaħ] *earth, ground*  
 /dalata/ [d'alata] *end of something*  
 /tata/ ['tata] *rock*

$$\begin{bmatrix} /t/ \\ /k/ \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \begin{bmatrix} t^h \\ k^h \end{bmatrix} & / - \# \\ \begin{bmatrix} t \\ k \end{bmatrix} & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

Hence: /nubat/ ['nũbat<sup>h</sup>] or ['nubat<sup>h</sup>] *dog*  
 /lawak/ ['lawak<sup>h</sup>] *tree*  
 /tata/ ['tata] *rock*  
 /kaki/ ['kaki] *that tree*

/k/ and /' / differ as indicated by the following minimal pairs: /akup/ ['akuf] or ['akup] *kind of tree*; /a'uf/ ['a'uf] or ['a'up] *liver*.

/i/ → { [ɪ] / C - C /benikoh/ ['benikoh] *skin*  
 [i] elsewhere { /# - / iyah / ['iah] *road*  
 /- # / emi / ['emi] *who*

/s/ → { [š] / - # /esis/ ['esʔsɪš] *they/them*  
 [s] elsewhere  
 e.g. /# - /sapas/ ['sapaš] *kind of ants*

/l/ → [ɭ] / C - C /aluf/ ['aɭuf] or ['aɭup] *body*  
 / # - /labuf/ ['labuf] or ['labup] *outmost division of garden*  
 [l] / - # /bake/ ['bakeɪ] *stick*

/r/ → [ř] / C - C /arub/ ['ařub] *soot*  
 / # - /rabuf/ ['řabuf] or ['řabup] *rib*  
 [r] / - # /bur/ ['buř] *breakage*

#### Nasalisation

/b/ → [ᵐb] nV - V  
 /d/ → [ᵐd] mV - V  
 /noboil/ → ['nõᵐboil] or ['nobiĩ] *marsh*  
 /nubat/ → ['nũᵐbat<sup>h</sup>] or ['nubat<sup>h</sup>] *dog*  
 /nibowa/ → ['niĩᵐboa] or ['ñiᵐbowa] *two days ago*  
 /maduh/ → ['mãᵐduh] or [mãᵐduh] *rope or vine*  
 /mada'as/ → ['mãdaʔaš] or ['mãᵐdaʔaš] *the men did the assigned task*  
 /i/ = /y/ /iah/ = ['iyah] *road*  
 /u/ = /w/ /niboa/ = ['ñiᵐbowa] *two days ago*

#### Stress rule

/'V - /kwafita/ ['kwafita] *spoon*  
 /dabah/ ['dabah] *finger*  
 /utam/ ['ʔutām] *stone*

Neither stress nor tone are phonemic in Abu'. Syllables may be open or closed.

## 2. ORDER OF ADJECTIVES

Since a considerable part of the study will deal with concord and adjectives, it is better to give the regular order in which the adjectives occur in various syntactic constructions.

All adjectives come after the noun in the following regular order: N + Dem + Adjs + AdjC + AdjQ. The nominal concord inflections occur as adjectival suffixes as for instance:

|        |            |             |                |                 |                   |
|--------|------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Alifen | <u>ene</u> | <u>etin</u> | <u>ubahini</u> | <u>alialini</u> | <u>numehelini</u> |
| N      | dem        | AdjN        | Adjs           | AdjC            | AdjQ              |
| man    | this       | one         | big            | dark            | bad               |

*This one big dark person is bad.*

Adverbs that modify adjectives occur after them. For instance:

|        |             |              |             |
|--------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Alemam | <u>mami</u> | <u>afumi</u> | <u>mami</u> |
| N (pl) | dem         | AdjQ         | adv         |
| men    | these       | good         | very        |

*These very good men.*

The word in Abu' that functions as the English 'that' changes its ending according to the noun it modifies and is phonemically similar in most occurrences to the Abu' word for the adjective intensifier as indicated above. To differentiate one from the other, the order in which they occur in the syntactic constructions is important. When it occurs before the adjective it functions as a demonstrative and when it occurs after the adjective it functions as an adjective intensifier. In the following pages are samples of the various concord bearing syntactic structures. The concord elements in these structures are indicated by underlining. Incidentally concord does not extend to all syntactic structures. For instance, possessive and locality expressions do not participate in concord as shown by the following examples

|              |            |     |                    |
|--------------|------------|-----|--------------------|
| <u>Aulaf</u> | <u>iei</u> | and | <u>sakarfa'uma</u> |
| house        | my         |     | where they fought. |
| my house     |            |     |                    |

## 3. CONCORD IN NOUN PHRASES

|          |               |                  |                |                              |
|----------|---------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| Alemam   | <u>biom</u>   | <u>ubahimi</u>   | <u>mami</u>    |                              |
| N        | num           | Adjs             | adv            | Two very big men             |
| Numatawa | <u>biawa</u>  | <u>ubahiweri</u> | <u>wawi</u>    | Two very big women           |
| Barakas  | <u>biakas</u> | <u>ubahikesi</u> | <u>kekisi</u>  | Two very big heads           |
| Alis     | <u>bies</u>   | <u>ubahisi</u>   | <u>sesi</u>    | Two very big skins or bodies |
| Madulih  | <u>bialih</u> | <u>ubahilihi</u> | <u>halihi</u>  | Two very big ropes or vines  |
| Bakuh    | <u>biakuh</u> | <u>ubahukihi</u> | <u>kakuhi</u>  | Two very big sticks          |
| Utaba    | <u>biaba</u>  | <u>ubahiberi</u> | <u>babi</u>    | Two very big stones          |
| Naif     | <u>bief</u>   | <u>ubahifi</u>   | <u>fefi</u>    | Two very big eyes            |
| Alhuabis | <u>biebis</u> | <u>ubahibisi</u> | <u>bebisi</u>  | Two very big eggs            |
| Disuk    | <u>biok</u>   | <u>ubahuki</u>   | <u>kwaku</u>   | Two very big mountains       |
| Nulub    | <u>bialub</u> | <u>ubahulubi</u> | <u>baluibi</u> | Two very big bellies         |

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Relihēs bies ubahisi sesi     | <i>Two very big pieces of roadmesh</i> |
| Eheb bieb ubahebi babi        | <i>Two very big cold river fish</i>    |
| Dabakwih biekwih ubahehi hehi | <i>Two very big fingers</i>            |

Forms for diminutives and mass nouns are discussed later.

#### 4. CONCORD IN VERB PHRASES

| N. sg.       | nom. prefix<br>Vb. stem | N. pl. nom. prefix<br>Vb. stem | Gloss                       |
|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. aleman    | n-ahe'                  | alemam m-ahe'                  | man Past real go            |
| 2. numata'   | k <sup>w</sup> -ahe'    | numatawa w-ahe'                | woman Past real go          |
| 3. amaliēk   | k-ahe'                  | ameliēs s-ahe'                 | centipede Past go           |
| 4. bahi'atef | f-ahe'                  | bahi'atas s-ahe'               | river fish variety Past go  |
| 5. ihiaburuh | h-ahe'                  | lhiburuli h-ahe'               | butterfly Past go           |
| 6. almil     | l-ahe'                  | alimiku h-ahe'                 | bird Past go                |
| 7. utam      | m-ahe'                  | utaba b-ahe'                   | stone Past go               |
| 8. ufu'al    | n-ahe'                  | ufu'elim m-ahe'                | male spirit Past go         |
| 9. amia      | k <sup>w</sup> -ahe'    | amiawa w-ahe'                  | mother Past go              |
| 10. unaru'   | k <sup>w</sup> -ahe'    | unaruwa w-ahe'                 | cassowary Past go           |
| 11. asubul   | b-ahe'                  | asulub b-ahe'                  | traditional singing Past go |
| 12. paip*    | p-ahe'                  | paipihēs s-ahe'                | smoking pipe Past go        |

The above data shows that a verb is influenced to agree with the noun of the VP structure, by a general rule that reproduced either the ultimate or the penultimate consonant of the noun with the VP structure in preverbal position. There are several alterations to the rule in that those nouns bearing masculine or feminine implications take on the same preverbal nominal concord affix as the nominal prefix of nouns having masculine and feminine meaning as in 8 and 10. The preverbal affixes are summarised below:

|        |        |                         |
|--------|--------|-------------------------|
| 1. n-  | 6. l-  | 11. w-                  |
| 2. kw- | 7. m-  | 12. p-                  |
| 3. k-  | 8. t-  | 13. Mass noun (endings) |
| 4. f-  | 9. b-  |                         |
| 5. h-  | 10. s- |                         |

#### 5. MODIFIER CLASSES AND CONCORD

##### 5.1 Adjectives

Abu' is no different from Chambri (Pagotto 1976:16) in that all adjectives have been found to agree with whatever nouns they modified in number and class. The following table provides the stems of adjectives of quality, size, and colour in Abu'.

| sg. Adj. stem | pl. Adj. stem | Gloss                                 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| madin-        | madin-        | <i>unripe</i>                         |
| didiki-       | didiki-       | <i>hard, selfish</i>                  |
| ker'es-       | ker'es-       | <i>sharp</i>                          |
| ka'amar-      | la'amar-      | <i>blunt</i>                          |
| ubah-         | ubah-         | <i>big</i>                            |
| diba-         | diba-         | <i>big</i> (northern dialect of Abu') |
| lou-          | lou-          | <i>tall/long</i>                      |
| bada-         | bada-         | <i>short</i>                          |
| afu-          | afu-          | <i>good</i>                           |
| numehel-      | numehel-      | <i>bad</i>                            |
| awe-          | awe-          | <i>bad</i> (northern dialect)         |
| koio-         | koio-         | <i>small</i>                          |
| so'sou-       | so'sou-       | <i>small</i> (northern dialect)       |
| mader-        | mader-        | <i>minute</i>                         |
| alu'-         | alu'-         | <i>ripe</i>                           |

Except for *koio* 'small' the above bound morphemes need to employ the various nominal singular and plural suffixes summarised in the General Noun Class Matrix (see page 192).

## 5.2 Demonstratives

Deictic morphemes in Abu' that refer directly to the locational characteristics of the noun about which an utterance is made and whose meaning is thus relative to that noun differ in their final vowels. Proximal deictic vowels are: {a/e} and distal deictic is {i} and are the same for both the singular and plural form of the demonstratives. Consonants of these morphemes vary according to the noun class, and are reduplicated in plural forms:

|    | N. sg.  | <i>this</i> | <i>that</i> | N. pl.   | <i>these</i> | <i>those</i> | Gloss of N.                    |
|----|---------|-------------|-------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | aleman  | ana         | nani        | alemam   | ama          | mami         | <i>man</i>                     |
| 2. | numata' | au'a        | kwa'i       | numatawa | awa          | wawi         | <i>woman</i>                   |
| 3. | baraka  | aka         | kaki        | barakas  | akese        | kekisi       | <i>head</i>                    |
| 4. | aulaf   | afa         | fafi        | aulas    | ese          | sesi         | <i>house</i>                   |
| 5. | maduh   | aha         | hahi        | madulih  | alaha        | halihi       | <i>vine/rope</i>               |
| 6. | bakel   | akala       | kakili      | bakuh    | akuha        | kakuhi       | <i>stick</i>                   |
| 7. | aul     | ala         | lali        | akuh     | akuha        | kakuhi       | <i>eel/mosquito</i>            |
| 8. | utam    | ama         | mami        | utaba    | aba          | babi         | <i>stone</i>                   |
| 9. | borotom | ama         | mami        | beritef  | efe          | fefi         | <i>umbrella</i><br><i>tree</i> |

|     | N. sg. | <i>this</i> | <i>that</i> | N. pl.  | <i>these</i> | <i>those</i> | Gloss of N.                |
|-----|--------|-------------|-------------|---------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| 10. | walub  | aba         | babi        | walubis | ebese        | bebisi       | <i>river</i>               |
| 11. | du'it  | ata         | tati        | disuk   | auka         | kauki        | <i>mountain</i>            |
| 12. | keina  | ene         | neni        | keinab  | aba          | babi         | <i>bow</i>                 |
| 13. | asubul | ebele       | bebili      | asulub  | aleba        | balebi       | <i>singsing</i>            |
| 14. | beseh  | ehe         | hehi        | —       | —            | —            | <i>oratory/<br/>speech</i> |
| 15. | paip   | apa         | papi        | pais    | ese          | sesi         | <i>smoking pipe</i>        |

The Abu' demonstrative which is similar in meaning to the English 'this' generally takes the following feature: aCa or eCe. The medial consonant is far more variable than the vowels and is usually identical phonemically with the final consonant of the noun the demonstrative modifies.

The demonstrative that functions like the English 'that' also takes two forms, namely: CaCi and CeCi. These are partial duplications of the 'this' demonstrative ending in / — i#.

The demonstratives that bear plurality as do the English 'these' and 'those' generally take on forms similar to the singular features given above but some add on an extra syllable medially.

Apparently the demonstratives analysed above end in vowels. These denoting distance away from the speaker end in -i which I understand to be a directional morpheme indicating distance away from the speaker, while those indicating distance within the speaker's proximity end in -a or -e.

### 5.3 Concord in quantifiers

The Abu' quantifier which approximates to the English 'many or a lot' also adapts the endings of the various nouns in harmony with the nouns it modifies, as shown by the following examples.

| N. pl.    | Quantifier | Intensifier | Gloss                                 |
|-----------|------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| aleman    | welei-mi   | mami        | <i>very many men</i>                  |
| numatawa  | welei-weri | wawi        | <i>very many women</i>                |
| barakas   | welei-kesi | kekisi      | <i>very many heads</i>                |
| aulas     | welei-si   | sesi        | <i>very many houses</i>               |
| awalih    | welei-lihi | halihi      | <i>very many songs</i>                |
| alimikuh  | welei-kuhi | kaukuhi     | <i>very many birds</i>                |
| utaba     | welei-beri | babi        | <i>very many stones</i>               |
| abef      | welei-fi   | fefi        | <i>very many breadfruit<br/>seeds</i> |
| subarif   | welei-fi   | fefi        | <i>very many grass skirts</i>         |
| alhu'abis | welei-bisi | bebisi      | <i>very many eggs</i>                 |
| disuk     | welei-kui  | kaukui      | <i>very many mountains</i>            |



| N. pl.   | Quantifier | Intensifier | Gloss                           |
|----------|------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| dabakuih | welei-hi   | hehi        | <i>very many fingers</i>        |
| akalub   | welei-lubi | baliubi     | <i>very many coconut fronds</i> |

#### 5.4 Concord in colour terms

The stems of basic colour terms in Abu' are given in the table below.

| Colour term stem  | Gloss                |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| alial- or barhab- | <i>dark or black</i> |
| sekwel-           | <i>white</i>         |
| ou'es             | <i>red</i>           |
| ati'al-           | <i>yellow</i>        |
| keredu-           | <i>blue</i>          |
| bebeio-           | <i>(light blue)</i>  |
| a'a'a'ah-         | <i>vermillion</i>    |

Colour terms, being adjectives, change their endings to agree with the endings of the nouns they modify in number and class. Consider the following examples which take on the formula: NP + AdjC + VP. For example:

Aleman ana aliali-neri n-ahe' kani aulaf.  
*man this black he-went to house*  
*This black man went to the house.*

Alimil sekewelihili latemun lawak  
*bird white is-sitting on tree*  
*A white bird is sitting on a tree.*

Walub ou'esiberi  
*river red*  
*A red river.*

#### 5.5 Concord in numerals

The Abu' counting system is a modified quinary system. The regular counting terms are given below. When these numbers are used as modifiers their singular or plural endings change to agree with whatever noun ending the number modifies. There seem to be no terms to express the cardinal numbers. The numbers have stems which employ the ending of the noun they modify. For instance, enen e-tin *one thing*, numata a-tu' *one woman* and so on.

| Base form for numbers<br>in Abu' | Literal translation<br>in English | Approximation in<br>Arabic numerals |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| etin                             | <i>one thing</i>                  | 1                                   |
| bies                             | <i>two things</i>                 | 2                                   |
| wenis                            | <i>three things</i>               | 3                                   |

| Base form for numbers<br>in Abu'                                    | Literal translation<br>in English  | Approximation in<br>Arabic numerals |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| nubatis   | <i>dog-things/four things</i>  | 4                                   |
| lakel wa'arakel-(is)  | <i>other hand things</i>   | 5                                   |
| lakel wa'arakel-(is) e<br>etin                                      | <i>other hand and one thing</i>  | $5 + 1 = 6$                         |
| lakel wa'rakel e bies   | <i>other hand and two things</i>   | $5 + 2 = 7$                         |
| lakel wa'arakel e wenis   | <i>other hand and three things</i>   | $5 + 3 = 8$                         |
| lakel wa'arakel e nubatis   | <i>other hand and four things</i>  | $5 + 4 = 9$                         |
| lakel wa'arakel i<br>wa'arakel                                      | <i>other hand and other hand</i>   | $5 + 5 = 10$                        |
| lakel wa'arakel i<br>wa'arakel e etin                               | <i>other hand and other hand and<br/>one</i>                                 | $5 + 5 + 1 = 11$                    |
| .....   | .....  | etc.                                |
| lakel wa'arakel i<br>wa'arakel e bur'ah<br>atuh                     | <i>other hand and other hand and<br/>one leg</i>                             | $5 + 5 + 5 = 15$                    |
| lakel wa'arakel i<br>wa'arakel e bur'ah<br>atuh e etin              | <i>other hand and other hand and<br/>other leg and one</i>                   | $5 + 5 + 5 + 1 = 16$                |
| .....   | .....  | etc.                                |
| lakel wa'arakel i<br>wa'arakel e bur'ah<br>wa'arah i wa'arah        | <i>other hand and other hand and<br/>other leg and other leg</i>             | $5 + 5 + 5 + 5 = 20$                |
| lakel wa'arakel i<br>wa'arakel e bur'ah<br>wa'arah i wa'arah e etin | <i>other hand and other hand and<br/>other leg and other leg and<br/>one</i> | $5 + 5 + 5 + 5 + 1 = 21$            |
| .....   | .....  | etc.                                |

Alternatively the counting system takes the following forms with the first three digital terms similar to the ones above. However a change to a system where each of the first three digits are doubled is followed. The doubling system mentioned by the way does not seem to extend to numbers beyond the term that approximates to the Arabic numeral five.

|                                   |                                    |              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| etin                              |                                    | 1            |
| bies                              |                                    | 2            |
| wenis                             |                                    | 3            |
| bies i bies                       |                                    | 4            |
| wenis i wenit                     | <i>three things + three things</i> | $3 + 3 = 6$  |
| nubatis i nubatis                 | <i>four things + four things</i>   | $4 + 4 = 8$  |
| lakel wa'arakel-i-<br>wa'arakilis | <i>five things + five things</i>   | $5 + 5 = 10$ |

## 6. TEXT

This is a short story about two men who were living together in a hollow tree for some time and then one of them died. The one who was still living fled until he reached a village where he was accepted and given a wife by the community and became the ancestor of the 'tree clansmen'. Concord between elements is indicated by underlining.

Sawa kani alemam biom mafan mara lawak kakari  
 long time ago men two stay Past contained tree hollow  
 Long ago two men were living in a hollow tree.

M afan raraif u - we-'e anana aleman naka'. Anai nakefani  
 they stay Past until and then one man died. The living one  
 They stayed until one of them died. The one who was living

nasahal e naluha. Naluha raraif uma neketaka anabul wabul  
 he-got up and ran away. He-ran away until he arrived at one village  
 got up and ran away. He ran away until he reach a village.

Essei wabulisi sa'i safan uwe'e sati anai  
 those villagers as they were staying suddenly saw the one  
 Suddenly the villagers saw the alive one come running up

nakafani nubilawa nedekieri  
 alive he came running he came up  
 (inferentially) to the village.

Essis sa'i sasahal saluha' uwe'e narifes na'i fa'i.  
 they as about to get up run away but he told them why  
 As they were about to get up and run away he told them not to run

fasahal filuha' uma melein? Fai iye mauran iye' uma alifen  
 do you want to run away for what? Don't think I am a devil I am a human being  
 away because he was not a devil but a human being

Essis sekemine' na'a-e sau'ulana safan e sasa'ana a'u'e  
 they heard such (story) they received him and gave him a wife  
 When they heard what he said they received and welcomed him and gave him a wife

nasa'a' nafan uma nakara betois essei dauna  
 he married and stayed so he bore children those today  
 and he married her and became the father of the children who

sukuhalasuma lawakisi.  
 they call tree-of-children  
 are now called the tree clansmen.

## 7. GENERAL NOUN CLASS MATRIX

| Noun Class Example<br>sg; pl   | SINGULAR       |                   |                | PLURAL               |                   |                | Gloss                                    |
|--|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|--|
|  | Noun<br>Suffix | Adj.<br>Suffix    | Verb<br>Prefix | Noun<br>Suffix       | Adj.<br>Suffix    | Verb<br>Prefix |  |
| 1.a. alemam;<br>b. mohun;<br>c. pater; paterimi*                             | -n             | -neri             | n-             | -m<br>-lihim<br>-imi | -mi               | m-             | man<br>in-law<br>priest                  |
| 2.a. numata'; numatawa<br>nes; nesiwa*                                       | -i<br>-C       | -i<br>-i          | kw-<br>kw-     | -wa<br>-wa           | -weri<br>-weri    | w-<br>w-       | woman<br>nurse                           |
| 3. baraka; barakas   | -a             | -keri             | k-             | -s                   | -kasi             | s-             | head                                     |
| 4.a. aluf; alis<br>b. aulaf; aulas   | -f<br>-f       | -fi<br>-fi        | f-<br>f-       | -s<br>-s             | -si<br>-si        | s-<br>s-       | skin<br>house                            |
| 5.a. maduh; madulih<br>b. su; sulih*   | -h             | -hi<br>-ni        | h-<br>n-       | -lih<br>-lih         | -lihi<br>-lihi    | h-<br>h-       | vine/rope<br>shoe                        |
| 6.a. bakel; bakuh<br>b. aul; akuh  | -l<br>-l       | -kili<br>-li      | k-<br>l-       | -kuh<br>-kuh         | -kuhi<br>-kuhi    | h-<br>h-       | stick; eel/<br>mosquito                  |
| 7. utam; utaba   | -m             | -mi               | m-             | -ba                  | -beri             | b              | stone                                    |
| 8.a. naim; naif<br>b. nikam; nikef<br>c. butum; bitif<br>d. berotom; beritef | -VM            | -mi<br>-mi<br>-mi | m-<br>m-<br>m- | -if<br>-ef<br>-if    | -fi<br>-fi<br>-fi | f-<br>f-<br>f- | eye<br>taro<br>penis<br>umbrella<br>tree |
| 9. du'it; disuk  | -t             | -teri             | t-             | -suk                 | -ki               | k-             | mountain                                 |

Continued...

| Noun Class Example<br>sg; pl                                  | SINGULAR                 |                          |                | PLURAL             |                |                | Gloss                         |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
|   | Noun<br>Suffix           | Adj.<br>Suffix           | Verb<br>Prefix | Noun<br>Suffix     | Adj.<br>Suffix | Verb<br>Prefix |                               |
| 10.a. alhuab; alhuabis<br>b. aun; aubis                       | -b<br>-n                 | -bi<br>-ni               | b-<br>n-       | -bis<br>-bis       | -bisi<br>-si   | s-<br>s-       | egg<br>moon, month            |
| 11. nubul; nulub  | -bul                     | -bili                    | b-             | -lub               | -libi          | b-             | belly,<br>stomach             |
| 12. Diminutives   | -ikin<br>-ikil<br>-tawas | -kini<br>-ikuli<br>-siri |                | -kuh<br>-ikuh<br>? |                |                | see examples<br>on pp.197if   |
| 13. Borrowed TP words<br>ending in -ihes<br>e.g. rel; relihes | -C                       | -                        | -              | -hes               | -hisi          | s-             | rail                          |
| 14. Mass nouns  | -C                       | -                        | -              | -                  | -              | -              | see examples<br>on pp.200-201 |
| 15. Proper names<br>&<br>16. Place names                      |                          |                          |                | -                  | -              | -              | see examples<br>on p.201      |
| 17. awata; awatawk  | -a                       | -tari                    | t-             | -wk                | -kwaki         | kw-            | chicken                       |
| 18. ehen; eheb  | -n                       | -ini                     | n-             | -b                 | -bi            | -b             | cold river<br>fish            |
| 19. dabah; dabakwih   | -h                       | -ihi                     | h-             | -kwih              | -ih            | h-             | finger                        |

## 7.1 Noun classification

### 7.2 Introduction

It is apparent from the noun class summarised above, that there are altogether 19 noun classes. Classification is arbitrary and is done on the basis of the plural suffixes of the nouns or by the concord suffixes of nominal modifiers and verbal prefixes. Although the concord inflections found in the table of demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and other concord bearing features appear to reduce the number of noun classes, it would be a bit misleading to go by demonstratives alone in determining the number of noun classes in Abu'. The objection is based on the apparent principle raised earlier that the demonstrative reduplicates the ultimate syllable of the noun it qualifies and it is evident that if a new phonemic sound is introduced into the Abu' phonetic system, the demonstrative would inflect that sound thus increasing the number of noun classes as instanced by the Tok Pisin word *pater priest*. There is of course an Abu' phonemic consonant namely /d/ which is not inflected at all principally because there are, according to one's knowledge, no nouns ending in d.

There are classes that appear to have subclasses such as 1 and 2 which are referred to in this study as male and female classes respectively because the majority of nouns assigned to this class are male or female or nouns implying both genders.

The rest of the noun classes are determined on the basis of either the plural suffixes or the nominal affixes of the nominal modifiers and there is practically no semantics involved in determining the classes. In general therefore, the moment there are differences shown between nouns from the point of view of nominal concord features, such nouns are assigned to different classes. In the following paragraphs a brief mention will be made about each of the 19 noun classes.

For further clarification, Class 1 is practically a male class and the nouns assigned to this class end their singular in one of the following ways: -n; -a; or -C for borrowed nouns like *pater*. The plural suffixes forms for the male class are: -has/-hes or -imi for borrowed Tok Pisin words. The nominal modifiers like adjectives take on two allomorphic suffixes namely -nari or -neri. The occurrence of the former or latter allomorph is conditioned by the preceding sound. If the preceding vocalic sound of the adjectival stem ends in a mid-low vowel /a/, the following suffix vowel will be the same but if the preceding vowel is a high front unrounded vowel, the suffix vowel will be lowered to an /e/ as for instance in *bada-nari short man*, and *ubahi-neri big man*. The vowel attached to the end of the nominal modifier is a syncretistic feature which, in this context, functions as an emphatic particle.

Class 2 is principally a female class but unlike the male class above where all nouns denote masculinity, the female class contains some nouns that do not seem to have any association with femininity, as indicated in the table (see examples on p.196). Nouns assigned to this class end their singular forms in /' / or /V'/. The plural suffix forms of these operate under the following rules: /' / → Ø/V - wa or /u' / → Ø/V - liwa#.

Class 3 contains most nouns that have to do with eating except for a few inedible ones. The singular form ends in -ka and adds -s to form the plural. The form of the plural is easy for this class: just add /s/ as in English.

Class 4 contains a mixture of nouns from anatomical terms to assets. The singular suffix forms of these nouns end in /uf/ or /f/ but delete these suffixes and add on /is/ or /s/ respectively to form the plural, which could be summarised in the following rule: /uf/ > /is/ or /f/ > /s/. The latter phonological change from the labiodental voiceless fricative to a sibilant (fricative) seems to occur elsewhere as for example the intervocalic /f/ of /fifikil/ becomes an intervocalic /s/ in the plural form of the word. Hence /fifikil/ > /fifikuh/ ~ /fisikuh/.

Class 5 has names of trees and vines as well as anatomical terms. Except for a few irregularities, all nouns end in /h/ in the singular which gets deleted in the environment between a v and /l/ in the formation of the plural form. The rule seems to be as follows:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} /h/ \\ /k/ \end{array} \right\} \emptyset/V - lih\#$$

Class 6 also contains a mixture of all kinds of nouns. This class has been labelled the kuh class after the plural taken by the nouns assigned to this class. Nouns that operate under the rule that causes the singular suffix /l/ to go to zero in the environment between a vowel and the plural suffix /kuh/ have been assigned to this class.

Class 7 is a small class containing names of plants or inanimate objects like stones. These nouns end in the singular in a bilabial nasal but delete it before adding the plural suffix /ba/. It may be assumed that the plural form is a mere nasalisation of the singular form, but it has been noticed that nasalisation does not occur after non-nasal syllables in Abu'.

Class 8 has a few subclasses which are predictable on the basis of the following rule: -um#>if# or om#>ef#. In other words the back vowels of the singular are fronted in the plural form before the labio-dental voiceless fricative.

Class 9 is small. Nouns assigned to this class end the singular suffix in 'Vt which is deleted before the adding of the plural suffix -suk. The final apical voiceless stop becomes /s/.

Class 10 contains edible nouns which end their singular in /b/ and /n/ but employ the suffix -bis to form the plural as in /uwab/ > /uwabis/ *night* or /walen/ > /walebis/ *wild fowl variety*.

Nouns which metathesise their singular suffix form to form the plural are assigned to Class 11. This is a large class containing names of all kinds of nouns. The rule to change from singular to plural for this class is: -bul > lub; for example nuḅul > nulub *stomach*.

Class 12 contains diminutives. The diminutives do not take on the regular endings of their respective classes but take on three different singular endings namely, -ikin; -ikil; and -tawas. These are approximated to the English -*let* of *piglet* or -*ette* as in *laundrette*.

Class 13 contains borrowed Tok Pisin words which usually retain the original singular form but which employ the suffix -ihes to form the plural. For example, taul > taulihes *towel*; rel > relihes *rail (roadmesh)*, etc.<sup>6</sup>

Class 14 contains mass nouns such as abal *water*; unil *pus* or the borrowed Tok Pisin mass nouns like rais *rice*; sol *salt*; suga *sugar* or bia *beer*. These nouns do not take on any plural suffix form but the quantifier /welei-/ *a lot* is used to indicate great quantity.

Classes 15 and 16 contain proper names and place names respectively. Most proper names and place names have meanings which are associated with animals, reptiles, places or habitative actions. These nouns do not have plural forms but instead numerals are used to enumerate the number of people or places if there is more than one person or place involved.

Class 17 contains names of birds, utensils, as well as other nouns which take on the suffix *-wk* to form the plural. For example, *selita* > *selitowk yam/taro masher*.

Class 18 contains nouns that merely add on */b/* to pluralise. There are also borrowed TP words which fall into this class.

Class 19 contains nouns ending the singular form in */h/* but nouns which delete *t* to employ the suffix *-kwih* to form the plural are assigned to this class, for instance, *dabah* > *dabkwih finger*.

Finally, the Abu' word for 'fire', */afiab/* > */unih/* is an interesting word in that its plural takes on a suppletive form, and no other words in this study have been found to follow suit. It is highly plausible to conjecture that it is an irregular noun which changes in that way. The word could have been a borrowing from an Austronesian language. The second conjecture is purely speculative and is based on a piece of information that the word for 'fire' in Malay is *api* (Codrington: rep: 1974:43-67).

Codrington maintained that this root for 'fire' is widespread in the Malayan, Polynesian and Austronesian languages suggesting an ancient distribution (1974:67). The words for 'fire' in the abovementioned languages closely resemble one another, for example, Malay *api*; Polynesian *ahi*, *afi* and so on. If the word has been borrowed it has become Abuanised, maintaining only the first syllable *afi-*. Furthermore, the word for 'fire' in the neighbouring AN language, Suain, is *(i)yah* from which I suspect Abu' *unih* to have been derived. The northern dialect of Abu' has *(as)ieh* as the plural form and it is highly plausible to conjecture that *-ieh* sounds like *yah* in Suain. At any rate, all of this is pure speculation and may incite interest among historical linguists to do further analysis. The word *afiab* > *unih* could be assigned to Class 6 or 18 depending on what one chooses. If one goes by the singular form one would assign it to Class 18 for the reason that it takes on similar concord affixes as the singular forms of nouns assigned to Class 18. However the plural form *unih* concord affixes harmonise very well with nouns of Class 6.

### 7.3 Samples of noun classes

#### Class 1: The male class

| Singular        |   | Plural           | Gloss                          |
|-----------------|---|------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>aleman</i>   | > | <i>alemam</i>    | <i>man</i>                     |
| <i>anen</i>     | > | <i>amum</i>      | <i>husband; 3rd person sg.</i> |
| <i>mohun</i>    | > | <i>mohulihim</i> | <i>in-law</i>                  |
| <i>ahanina</i>  | > | <i>ahalihim</i>  | <i>FaBr</i>                    |
| <i>sahalina</i> | > | <i>sahalihim</i> | <i>MoBr</i>                    |
| <i>baah</i>     | > | <i>belhehim</i>  | <i>GrFa/GrSo</i>               |



## Borrowed Tok Pisin words:

| Singular |   | Plural                | Gloss          |
|----------|---|-----------------------|----------------|
| pater    | > | paterimi              | priest         |
| kiap     | > | kiapimi/kiapihes      | patrol officer |
| tultul   | > | tultulimi/tultulihs   | village chief  |
| kaunsil  | > | kaunsilimi/kaunsilihs | a councillor   |
| tisa     | > | tisaimi               | teacher        |
| katekis  | > | katekisimi            | catechist      |

## Class 2: The female class and other nouns

| Singular |   | Plural   | Gloss     |
|----------|---|----------|-----------|
| numata'  | > | numatawa | woman     |
| numa'u'  | > | numaliwa | FaBrWi    |
| a'u'     | > | awuw     | wife      |
| isa'u'   | > | isaliwa  | GrMo/GrDa |
| nikau'   | > | nikalwa  | daughter  |

## Borrowed Tok Pisin words:

|        |   |           |                |
|--------|---|-----------|----------------|
| tisa   | > | tiseiwa   | female teacher |
| nes    | > | nesiwa    | nurse          |
| sister | > | sisteiwa  | sister         |
| hostes | > | hostesiwa | (air) hostess  |

## Other nouns denoting femininity:

|         |   |          |                       |
|---------|---|----------|-----------------------|
| aha'    | > | ahawa    | coconut or red parrot |
| mofo'   | > | mofowa   | edible river frog     |
| nikila' | > | nikilawa | earthworm             |
| unaru'  | > | unaruwa  | cassowary             |
| amula'  | > | amulawa  | bird of paradise      |

Nouns with no feminine meaning yet which take on similar concord affixes are given below:

|       |   |        |              |
|-------|---|--------|--------------|
| aba'  | > | abawa  | kind of tree |
| woba' | > | wobawa | spear        |
| waiu' | > | waiuwa | hole         |
| mutu' | > | mutuwa | nose         |

It seems that kinship terms which end in /u'/ drop it and insert an /l/ intervocalically in the plural.

## Class 3: The class of nouns associated with eating

| Singular  |   | Plural     | Gloss                             |
|-----------|---|------------|-----------------------------------|
| ahaka     | > | ahakas     | <i>tongue</i>                     |
| akiaka    | > | akiakas    | <i>ant (generic term)</i>         |
| amaka     | > | amakas     | <i>face</i>                       |
| al'a'naka | > | al'a'nakas | <i>sand</i>                       |
| awaka     | > | awakas     | <i>mass of eggs</i>               |
| baraka    | > | barakas    | <i>head</i>                       |
| halaka    | > | halakas    | <i>kind of sago palm</i>          |
| baka      | > | bakas      | <i>sago palm frond</i>            |
| numunika  | > | numunikas  | <i>ugliness; shame/derogatory</i> |

## Class 4: Anatomical terms and others

| Singular |   | Plural   | Gloss                              |
|----------|---|----------|------------------------------------|
| aluf     | > | alis     | <i>body</i>                        |
| a'uf     | > | a'uis    | <i>liver</i>                       |
| rabuf    | > | rabis    | <i>rib</i>                         |
| o'o'suf  | > | o'o'sis  | <i>bottom</i>                      |
| asaf     | > | asas     | <i>pubic covering</i>              |
| aulaf    | > | aulas    | <i>house</i>                       |
| bahiataf | > | bahiatas | <i>scaly river fish</i>            |
| du'u'naf | > | du'u'nas | <i>tree with edible leaves</i>     |
| idaf     | > | idas     | <i>fencing timber</i>              |
| itaf     | > | itas     | <i>land, ground or soil</i>        |
| ihiaf    | > | ihias    | <i>sliced taro/yam</i>             |
| nabulaf  | > | nabulas  | <i>tree used for making drums</i>  |
| suaf     | > | suas     | <i>stone for sharpening knives</i> |

## Class 5: The -lih class

| Singular |   | Plural   | Gloss                  |
|----------|---|----------|------------------------|
| awah     | > | awalih   | <i>song</i>            |
| bur'ah   | > | bur'alih | <i>leg</i>             |
| lahuh    | > | lahulih  | <i>sago</i>            |
| maduh    | > | madulih  | <i>vine/rope</i>       |
| naluh    | > | halih    | <i>tooth</i>           |
| lah      | > | lahih    | <i>gouging utensil</i> |

| Singular |   | Plural     | Gloss               |
|----------|---|------------|---------------------|
| nubah    | > | nubalih    | <i>tree root</i>    |
| halihif  | > | helih      | <i>feather</i>      |
| usak     | > | usalih     | <i>net bag</i>      |
| ihiauruh | > | ihiaurilih | <i>butterfly</i>    |
| mabulah  | > | mabulalih  | <i>kind of tree</i> |
| nukofuh  | > | nukosilih  | <i>navel</i>        |

## Class 6: The -kuh class

| Singular     |   | Plural          | Gloss                   |
|--------------|---|-----------------|-------------------------|
| alimil       | > | alimikuh        | <i>bird</i>             |
| abunal       | > | abunakuh        | <i>green tree-snake</i> |
| abuhutanakil | > | abuhutanakuh    | <i>wing of bird</i>     |
| ahal         | > | ahakuh          | <i>kind of tree</i>     |
| aul          | > | akuh            | <i>eel; mosquito</i>    |
| bakel        | > | bakuh           | <i>stick</i>            |
| bul          | > | burkuh          | <i>pig</i>              |
| ilakel       | > | ilakuh          | <i>tree mushroom</i>    |
| lakel        | > | laku            | <i>hand</i>             |
| fifikil      | > | fifikuh/fisikuh | <i>bone</i>             |

## Class 7: The -ba class

| Singular |   | Plural | Gloss                    |
|----------|---|--------|--------------------------|
| utam     | > | utaba  | <i>stone</i>             |
| itam     | > | itaba  | <i>kind of tree</i>      |
| adum     | > | aduba  | <i>right; right side</i> |
| likam    | > | likaba | <i>left; left side</i>   |

## Class 8: Nouns that operate under Umlaut rule

| Singular |   | Plural  | Gloss  |
|----------|---|---------|--|
| butum    | > | bitif   | <i>penis</i>                                   |
| naim     | > | naif    | <i>eye</i>                                     |
| subarum  | > | suberif | <i>grass skirt</i>                             |
| wasum    | > | wesif   | <i>pitpit (wild sugarcane with edible top)</i> |
| abom     | > | abef    | <i>breadfruit seed</i>                         |
| natam    | > | natef   | <i>digging stick</i>                           |

| Singular  |   | Plural    | Gloss                        |
|-----------|---|-----------|------------------------------|
| nikam     | > | nikef     | <i>taro</i>                  |
| weitam    | > | weitef    | <i>testicle</i>              |
| sututuram | > | sututuref | <i>kind of river lobster</i> |
| borotom   | > | beritef   | <i>umbrella shape tree</i>   |

## Class 9: The -suk class

| Singular |   | Plural | Gloss           |
|----------|---|--------|-----------------|
| du'it    | > | disuk  | <i>mountain</i> |
| al'ut    | > | alsuk  | <i>dusk</i>     |

## Class 10: Edible nouns

| Singular |   | Plural      | Gloss                       |
|----------|---|-------------|-----------------------------|
| alhuab   | > | alhuabis    | <i>egg</i>                  |
| bub      | > | bubis/bibis | <i>betelnut</i>             |
| uwab     | > | uwabis      | <i>night</i>                |
| walub    | > | walubis     | <i>river</i>                |
| aun      | > | aubis       | <i>moon, sun, month</i>     |
| walen    | > | walebis     | <i>variety of wood-fowl</i> |

## Class 11: Metathesis noun class

| Singular  |   | Plural    | Gloss  |
|-----------|---|-----------|--|
| afurubul  | > | afurulub  | <i>dribble</i>                                   |
| akabul    | > | akalub    | <i>frond</i>                                     |
| asubul    | > | asulub    | <i>singing, i.e. traditional dance</i>           |
| atabul    | > | atalub    | <i>ridgepole</i>                                 |
| dabul     | > | dalub     | <i>garden fence</i>                              |
| dohiribil | > | dohirilib | <i>lip</i>                                       |
| dokibul   | > | dokilub   | <i>pimple</i>                                    |
| nabul     | > | nalub     | <i>magic vine</i>                                |
| nahubul   | > | nahulub   | <i>yam fibre</i>                                 |
| nubul     | > | nulub     | <i>belly</i>                                     |
| numabul   | > | numalub   | <i>twisted netbag string</i>                     |
| wabul     | > | walub     | <i>village, home, place</i>                      |
| walakabul | > | walakalub | <i>plant with broad leaves used for wrapping</i> |
| safabul   | > | safalub   | <i>kind of tree</i>                              |

## Class 12: Diminutives

| Singular    |   | Plural        | Gloss                         |
|-------------|---|---------------|-------------------------------|
| bulikin     | > | bulikuh       | <i>piglet</i>                 |
| asaulikin   | > | asaulikuh     | <i>tree grub</i>              |
| nikamikil   | > | nikefikuh     | <i>small taro</i>             |
| alimilikin  | > | alimilikuh    | <i>small bird</i>             |
| utamikil    | > | utabakuh      | <i>small-sized stone</i>      |
| lehitawas   | > | lehitawasukuh | <i>small portion of sago</i>  |
| raitawas    | > | raitawasikuh  | <i>small portion of rice</i>  |
| fifikilikin | > | fifikilikuh   | <i>small bone</i>             |
| dubaunikin  | > | dubausikuh    | <i>small river lobster</i>    |
| alemanikin  | > | —             | <i>small man</i>              |
| numata'ikin | > | numatawakuh   | <i>small woman</i>            |
| dubarinikin | > | dubarinikuh   | <i>small hornbill</i>         |
| du'itikin   | > | du'itikuh     | <i>small mountain or hill</i> |
| uwabikin    | > | uwabikuh      | <i>twilight</i>               |

## Class 13: Borrowed Tok Pisin words ending in -ihes

| Singular |   | Plural     | Gloss                  |
|----------|---|------------|------------------------|
| raipel   | > | raipelihes | <i>rifle</i>           |
| rel      | > | relihes    | <i>rail (roadmesh)</i> |
| sadel    | > | sadelihes  | <i>sandal</i>          |
| wil      | > | wilihes    | <i>wheel</i>           |
| travel   | > | travelihes | <i>travel</i>          |
| kandel   | > | kandelihes | <i>candle</i>          |
| balus    | > | balusihes  | <i>plane</i>           |
| tos      | > | tosihes    | <i>torch</i>           |
| masin    | > | masihes    | <i>machine</i>         |
| sukul    | > | sukulihes  | <i>school</i>          |
| piksa    | > | piksaihes  | <i>picture</i>         |

## Class 14: Mass nouns

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| aub     | <i>coconut</i> |
| abal    | <i>water</i>   |
| abif    | <i>breath</i>  |
| nikiris | <i>fat</i>     |

|        |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|
| uhin   | <i>wind</i>           |
| unil   | <i>pus</i>            |
| uba    | <i>excrement</i>      |
| beseh  | <i>speech</i>         |
| masuk  | <i>dirt</i>           |
| ouih   | <i>fur; body hair</i> |
| kul'is | <i>vomit</i>          |
| usibel | <i>blood</i>          |
| alibis | <i>urine</i>          |

## Class 15 and 16: Proper names and places

| Proper names | Place names |
|--------------|-------------|
| Nekitel      | Womehis     |
| Abeliwa      | Erinikama   |
| Unaruwa      | Iduanama    |
| So'osin      | Laut        |
| Nalapan      | Geteh       |
| Nailiah      | Sokou'kama  |
| Kwailiah     |             |

## Class 17: The -wk class

| Singular |   | Plural     | Gloss               |
|----------|---|------------|---------------------|
| awata    | > | awatawk    | <i>hen</i>          |
| ahata    | > | ahatawk    | <i>marsh</i>        |
| bata     | > | batawk     | <i>bamboo</i>       |
| berita   | > | beritowk   | <i>bed</i>          |
| kwapita  | > | kwapitowk  | <i>spoon</i>        |
| selita   | > | selitowk   | <i>masher</i>       |
| sibu'ata | > | sibu'atawk | <i>kind of bird</i> |
| akata    | > | akatawk    | <i>back</i>         |

## Class 18: The -b class

| Singular |   | Plural  | Gloss                                |
|----------|---|---------|--------------------------------------|
| ehen     | > | eheb    | <i>cold river fish</i>               |
| buburan  | > | buburab | <i>ladle made from coconut shell</i> |
| dubaun   | > | dubaub  | <i>lobster, crayfish</i>             |

| Singular |   | Plural  | Gloss                |
|----------|---|---------|----------------------|
| kedin    | > | kedib   | <i>softwood tree</i> |
| dubaren  | > | dubarub | <i>hornbill</i>      |

## Borrowed Tok Pisin words:

|       |   |         |                 |
|-------|---|---------|-----------------|
| tin   | > | tinab   | <i>tin, can</i> |
| supun | > | supunab | <i>spoon</i>    |
| pin   | > | pinab   | <i>pin</i>      |
| baten | > | batenab | <i>button</i>   |

## Class 19: The -kwih class

| Singular   |   | Plural        | Gloss                                  |
|------------|---|---------------|--|
| dabah      | > | dabakwih      | <i>finger</i>                          |
| haleh      | > | halekwih      | <i>breadfruit tree/fruit</i>           |
| iyah       | > | iyokwih       | <i>path/road</i>                       |
| numunah    | > | numunakwih    | <i>day; daytime</i>                    |
| waluh      | > | walukwih      | <i>fog</i>                             |
| salah      | > | salakwih      | <i>landslide</i>                       |
| sa'a'li'ah | > | sa'a'li'akwih | <i>kind of river crab</i>              |
| lufah      | > | lufokwih      | <i>laplap, i.e. piece of loincloth</i> |

## 8. CONCLUSION

Nominal concord inflections as shown on the various syntactic structures have corresponding phonemic and syllabic similarities with the nouns they modify. Even after all these presentations, I am more than sure that the non-Arapesh reader would still wonder about how the Arapesh speaker operates the 'complex' noun system and how we, the Arapesh speakers, handle the concord principle so naturally. The non-Arapesh reader may be puzzled at the way Arapesh speakers get to know at the click of a second the plural form of a noun and the instantaneous choice of correct inflections to make nominal modifiers agree with the noun in usage. Obviously this may sound involved and the data provided may look intricate but let me assure the reader that the Arapesh system is quite simple and learnable just like learning A, B, C. Children can manipulate most of it by age six.

An obvious feature in the data provided so far is the presence of a very modified form of sound (vocalic or consonantal) harmony as shown in the various syntactic structures in which concord operates. As previously noted the concord affixes are, to a degree, monophonous with that of the head except for anomalous cases such as the metathesised noun class.

Admittedly the inconsistencies of the plural suffixes and nominal modifier affixes require a very careful phonological analysis in order to achieve some degree of workable pattern. At this juncture, only a few but very general

phonological changes have surfaced as we have previously noted. There is, for instance, an Umlaut rule which fronts the back vowels and vice versa. There is the general rule whereby certain sounds go to zero in certain linguistic environments as for example in intervocalic position the /f/ → /s/ or /t/ → /s/ and the insertion rule where /l/ is inserted intervocalically before #/C - /Vk# and so on.

One thing I hope this study has achieved is a better picture with concrete examples of noun classes and better samples of how nominal concord operates in Abu'. This study is the first linguistic attempt at description of noun classes and nominal concord in Abu' and I hope this will serve as a basis for further expansion of the morphophonemic behaviour of Abu' and its related languages and dialects.

## 9. NOTES

1. This is a somewhat revised version of my 1977 B.A. Honours thesis submitted to the University of Papua New Guinea, under the title 'A sketch of nominal concord in the Abu' dialect of Mountain Arapesh (West Sepik Province) Papua New Guinea'. Details of the analysis of the concord system have not been changed, although the author now feels that some of the classes could be treated differently.
2. In previous literature (e.g. Laycock 1973, 1975) Abu' has been regarded as a dialect of Mountain Arapesh. It is regarded by the present author as a distinct language, within the Arapesh family, spoken in the villages of Aspeis, Balup, Malin, Walihiga, Womsis, Amom, Womsak No.1 and Womsak No.2. (Laycock (1973) incorrectly given the last two villages as speaking Southern Arapesh). As all the languages of the Arapesh family share a similar system of noun-classification, the group is sometimes referred to in this paper simply as Arapesh.
3. See Margaret Mead (1938-49) for more information.
4. Bob and Jo Conrad are members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea Branch, based at Ukarumpa in the Eastern Highlands. Their publications in the Buki dialect (which they call Bukiyp, or Bukiyp) are mainly literacy and religious material (see Bibliography). The dialect is fairly difficult for me to comprehend with ease.
5. In an *Oral History* article entitled 'The history of Womsis' (see Neckitelly 1975) a claim was made that there are two languages spoken concurrently in Womsis village today. However, during the course of this study, an analysis of lexical and phonological differences of the two so-called languages indicated very minor differences which led the author to maintain that these are dialects and thus not languages as such. Examples of lexical differences between the two Abu' dialects are provided below.

| Southern<br>dialect | Northern<br>dialect | Gloss   |
|---------------------|---------------------|---|
| bunohuka            | welihika            | (TP) balbal <i>big shady coral tree with bright red flowers during wet season; Erythrina indica</i> |
| akabua              | korehis             | <i>wrapping leaves</i>  |



| Southern<br>dialect | Northern<br>dialect | Gloss                 |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| nikitok             | aureh               | <i>play/sport</i>     |
| lehin               | kwin                | <i>stirred sago</i>   |
| sirah               | uram                | <i>basket</i>         |
| unak                | warua               | <i>pumpkin leaves</i> |
| ouruf               | urah                | <i>bush; jungle</i>   |
| numa'ita            | na'ur               | <i>in-law</i>         |

6. Regarding borrowed Tok Pisin words, Fortune (1942:10) had noted that when nouns are borrowed from English [Tok Pisin] into the dialect his study was based, they are made to conform to the Arapesh rules of noun classification. This has been found to be true also for Abu'. However, this study has specifically noted that when nouns are assimilated into Abu' they retain the original singular Tok Pisin form but the plural suffixes adapt the various suffixes which are determined morphophonemically (as for example the male and female nouns) or conditioned by phonological changes.

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## GRAMMATICAL DECAY IN PAPUAN LANGUAGES

S.A. Wurm

Many Papuan languages have very highly complex morphological systems, both in the verb morphology and in the noun morphology. A feature found in the noun phrase of many Papuan languages is the presence of complex to very complex classification systems, often with elaborate concordance features.

It has been observed in a number of instances that during the last few decades there have been tendencies of varying strength towards a simplification of such elaborate morphological features in Papuan languages in the speech of young people, with these simplifications remaining in use as they grow up and the entire community adapting its language use to it as older speakers of the more elaborate forms of the language die out. This decay of grammatical complexity is apparently contributable to sociolinguistic factors and to language influence resulting from increasing contact between speakers of different languages, the incidence of the use of *lingue franche* such as Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) and Solomon Islands Pijin, and the increasing disuse of the local languages in favour of the *lingue franche* in many situations by the young generation, as well as increasing loss of contact with the traditional culture in which, in many cases, the principles underlying noun classifications for instance, are anchored.

One striking example of this phenomenon is the gradual loss of the very highly complex verb morphology in dialects of Southern Kiwai, which are spoken in the Fly delta area of the Western Province of Papua New Guinea. The language has four main dialects:

- Island Kiwai, mainly on Kiwai Island
- Coastal Kiwai, on the south-eastern and eastern coast of the Trans-Fly area
- Doumori Kiwai, on Doumori Island in the western part of the Fly delta and a village on the left bank of the Fly, downstream from Doumori Island

and finally

- Daru Kiwai, on Daru Island off the south-eastern coast of the Trans-Fly area.

Of these dialects the Island Kiwai dialect was reduced to writing and used as a missionary language by the London Missionary Society in the Fly delta area before the turn of the century.

The main features of the complex verb morphology of Island Kiwai are as follows (Wurm 1973):

Four numbers are distinguished, i.e. singular, dual, trial and plural. They are marked by prefixes and suffixes. However, only two persons, speaker and non-speaker, are differentiated – they are marked by prefixes. The verb stem, and sometimes prefixes added to it, undergo changes to denote non-singularity of the object, e.g. *oruso eat one*, *iriso eat more than one*.

A variety of aspects, such as punctiliarity, repetitiveness and continuity, are indicated by suffixes added to the verb stem, while prefixes to the verb stem denote modes of actions, such as spontaneity, reflexivity, application, an action with something. Combination of a number of such prefixes on one verb form appear in many instances.

There are two past tenses, one present tense and three future tenses. They are indicated by tense forms of subject prefixes, together with combinations of prefixes, suffixes and tense forms of the affixes indicating the number of the subject. In many verb forms tense is signalled several times, often first in a general form by the shape of the subject prefix with which only present, past and future are distinguished, and this general indication is then followed by the indication of a specific past or future tense through additional suffixes.

A similar repeated signalling of number in a verb form is also found frequently. So, for instance, the changes of the verb stem mentioned above, which refer to the number of the object, only serve to signal singularity versus non-singularity. The indication of the specific number of a non-singular object, i.e. whether it is dual or trial or plural, is marked by the addition of suffixes, i.e. *oruso eat one*, *iriso-ama eat two*, *iriso-bi eat three*, *iriso-potoro eat more than three separate ones*, whereas *iriso* indicates *to eat more than three at the same time*.

In addition to this, there is a complex system of habitual forms in which four tenses, present, near past, definite past and future are distinguished, a range of different imperative forms denoting actions ordered to be carried out immediately, or in the near future, or at some future time, or repeatedly or habitually or as something that must or should be done, or as something whose performance is only advised and not definitely ordered. Four numbers are distinguished in all these forms. A number of permissive and conditional forms exists as well, as well as verbal nouns.

A characteristic feature of the Island Kiwai dialect and incidentally of all Kiwaian languages is the fact that the elaboration of the verb forms as mentioned above is restricted to the affirmative. In the negative, only two basic forms occur, one denoting past and present, and one the future. A comparable paucity of negative forms exists in the imperative forms: only an ordinary and a strong prohibitive are present.

The person of the object is indicated in a number of verb forms through prefixes. Other prefixes appear to denote assertion or certainty, completion of an action, incompleteness of an action, repeated action, actual performance or succession of actions, affirmative and negative interrogation, temporal condition, etc.

In contrast to this highly elaborate verb morphology of the Island Kiwai dialect, the Coastal Kiwai dialect shows a somewhat simpler verb morphology. Especially constructions containing verbal nouns formed by prefixes appear instead of complicated tense forms. In general, the appearance of tense markers in verb forms with non-singular subjects tends to be optional with past tenses, if the context is clear. Doumori Kiwai is similar in verb morphology to Island Kiwai, but Daru Kiwai shows a greatly simplified verb morphology when compared with the other dialects of Southern Kiwai. Constructions containing verbal nouns appear extensively in the place of tense forms, tense markers in verb forms with non-singular subjects are much more rarely used than in Coastal Kiwai, the dual and trial object markers are largely optional and the tense system is greatly simplified. It seems likely that the loss, or only rare optional use, of much of the elaborate Kiwai verb morphology in Daru Kiwai may be due to a pidginisation process attributable to the use of this dialect as a *lingua franca* by a large number of speakers of other languages living on Daru Island.

This simplification of the Daru Kiwai dialect as a result of its use as a *lingua franca* is not an unusual phenomenon. However, a simplification process of the morphology of the other three dialects of Southern Kiwai is observable with descending age of the speakers, and is slowly but steadily progressing. Some of this phenomenon may be attributable to influence from the Daru Kiwai dialect. Daru is the administrative centre of the area and tends to be visited by speakers of other dialects of Southern Kiwai. However, that influence by itself appears to be no reason for speakers of these other dialects to start introducing morphological simplifications into their dialects when they speak to each other within their own dialect area. Also, it may be significant that the morphological simplifications observable in these other dialects of Southern Kiwai are directly proportional to decreasing age of the speakers of the dialects, which at the same time means that they are directly proportional to an increasing knowledge of English and increasing modern educational sophistication on the part of its speakers. At the same time, there appears to be a tendency in Southern Kiwai, as evidenced by the Coastal Kiwai dialect, towards moving obligatory marking of grammatical forms into the optional sphere. The fixing of these markings in a largely obligatory form in the Island Kiwai dialect may be attributable to the reduction of writing of this dialect almost a hundred years ago and its long use in printed materials, with the apparent insistence of the creators of the written form of the language on maximal use of the morphological facilities of the language for clarity of expression, e.g. in translations of Scripture. This tendency for 'fullness of expression' has been observed by myself when working with informants in Coastal Kiwai who, when giving stories, sentences and other volunteered material, show a tendency for fuller usage of the morphological possibilities of the language than in ordinary conversational situations.

All these factors and, in addition, the tendency of the younger generation in that area, as is the case in many other parts of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, to oppose traditional features of their culture, which in cases extends to opposition to the use of, or features of, their traditional language, may well be a better explanation of the simplification phenomenon referred to than the assumption that it is caused by a direct influence of the simplified Daru Kiwai dialect. This assumption is supported by the observation that there are other cases, which will shortly be mentioned, in which a comparable simplification of morphological complexity of languages has taken place, without the availability, to the speakers, of an already extant simplified model of the respective languages to follow.

Another striking example of such grammatical decay in a Papuan language is provided by the Buna language of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. This language, for which Kirschbaum (1926) reported the presence of a complex noun-class system comprising 12 classes, has been found by Laycock (1975) to have no noun-class system at all today. The same situation appears to be present with Murik of the same province for which Schmidt (1953) reports the presence of a noun-class system, but during his fieldwork in 1970-71, Laycock (1973) was unable to find any trace of it. Similarly, Laycock (1975) reports the tendency towards a breakdown of the elaborate noun-class system in Mountain Arapesh.

A situation in which the breakdown and decay of an elaborate noun-class system is at present in progress and is in direct proportion to the descending age of the speakers, is observable in the Āyiwo language of the Reef Islands of the Santa Cruz Archipelago at the extreme eastern end of the Solomon Islands chain. This language has an almost totally semantically based multiple-class nominal classification system in which the noun classes are marked by prefixes on the nouns. Sixteen of the noun classes show concordance of varying types. The concordance is limited to the noun phrase and is found with qualitative adjuncts, numerals and possessives (with the latter only if possession is emphasised) (Wurm 1981).

The following types of concordance are distinguished with various noun classes:

- (1) Five of the noun classes show full concordance within the noun phrase, with qualitative adjuncts, numerals and possessives.
- (2) With four noun classes, concordance is present with qualitative adjuncts and possessives (if possession is emphasised), but with numerals the concordance is marked by the prefix of another noun class, the so-called person class, for all four of them.
- (3) With five of the noun classes, concordance is present with qualitative adjuncts only, though a few cases have been observed in which numerals have the class prefix.
- (4) With two classes, concordance is present with numerals only.
- (5) With other noun classes which are present in the language in addition to the 16 noun classes referred to, no concordance has been observed, but qualitative adjuncts are preceded by a special adjunct prefix which can also appear with possession markers if possession is emphasised. Over 30 such additional noun classes have so far been found to exist in the language.

It has been observed that with decreasing age of the speakers, there is an increasing tendency of concordance as described above under points (1)-(4), to be replaced by the system described under (5). Even old speakers today show a tendency towards free variation between the types of concordance described under (1)-(4), and what has been described under (5).

It appears that in all cases referred to, increased exposure to the Western world and turning away from the traditional culture in which many of the morphological complexities of languages are anchored as reference systems, constitute the major reasons for the decay of complex grammatical features of Papuan languages.

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## THE PRESENTATIONAL STYLE OF WOMEN IN HULI DISPUTES

L.R. Goldman

Bi ina larigo haria nawi.  
*talk you said track not-there*  
*The talk you have said doesn't lead anywhere.*

Wane-igini emene bi laridagoni.  
*children small talk you-have-said*  
*You have talked like little children.*

Wali wanela bi O laridagoni.  
*woman daughter-and talk O you-have-said*  
*You have talked like a woman and a daughter.*

Agali bi ndo laridagoni.  
*men talk no you-have-said*  
*You haven't talked like men.*

Hale haria unugo ha ti haria ha polelu piyadagoni.  
*ear tracks there in excreta track in when-it-went went*  
*The talk has gone into your ears and come out through your arse.<sup>1</sup>*

(Text A: Dalu (Goldman 1983:270))

It is well known that women in particular and small boys are liable to be untruthful and invent stories.

(Text B: Judge Sutcliffe, Old Bailey,  
April 1976 (Pattullo 1983:18))

You women are not going to straighten the talk  
If it is a small matter we men will listen  
If it is a big matter we will talk until the evening  
You (women) all go off I am saying

(Text C: Ago (Goldman 1981:213))

INTRODUCTION<sup>2</sup>

The research theme of sexual dimorphism and asymmetry in New Guinea Highlands cultures has characteristically been pursued within the confines of traditional anthropological boundaries. The now voluminous literature evidences two distinct, but interrelated, lines of enquiry. The first approach develops the sociostructural implications of the male/female dichotomy by attending to its semantic, symbolic and metaphoric dimensions (cf. Meggitt 1964; Brown and Buchbinder 1976). The nexus of meanings and values predicated about gender is here invariably schematised in binary oppositions such as dominance-subjugation, purity-pollution, fertility-death or mortality-immortality. These antitheses define stigmatic dogmas and ideologies by encompassing a consistent set of ideas about the nature and implications of female sexuality. As pragmatic instruments, these codes are frequently shown to underscore and support the political subordination of women. A second perspective on intersex relations is constituted as a dialogue between (a) culture-specific definitions of gender identity with their attendant environmental polarities of wild/domestic or private/public; and (b) the broader debate concerning the universality of a nature/culture dichotomy as a rationale for status and power differentials (cf. Gillison 1980; Strathern 1980; Brown and Jordanova 1981).

Notwithstanding the axiomatic status accorded to these grids for an understanding of social action, there is a marked lacuna of information regarding sexual differentiation in language behaviour among Highlands peoples. For the most part, analyses to date are divorced from the discursive contexts in which gender-based inequities are communicated and negotiated. The acknowledgement that language reflects attitudes, prejudices and pejoration processes has not here manifested itself in the provisioning of material on either stereotypical notions of male/female speech and their rhetorical contexts of pronouncement, or the empirical nature of gender-based speech patterns in same-sex or cross-sex conversations. We lack, then, the requisite text data on verbal interaction sequences that might illustrate the interdependence between goals, sexist philosophies and linguistic strategies. That the literature should exhibit a high degree of 'conversational impoverishment' is all the more surprising given that the types of sex-role differentiation found in this region provide a particularly fertile bed for testing sociolinguistic theories focussed on difference, dominance and deference patterns. In this respect, the extensive writings on gender and language (cf. Thorne and Henley 1975; McConnell-Ginet, Borker and Furman 1980) have paradoxically remained of tangential interest to mainstream anthropology in New Guinea. And yet the typological schemas of male/female speech styles - 'powerful/powerless' (O'Barr 1982), 'assertive/tentative' (Lakoff 1975) or 'indirect/direct' (Keenan 1974) - demonstrate a perceived concordance between certain situational-semantic configurations (typically described as 'male dominated') and lexicosyntactic, phonological and prosodic variables. Disparities in the social power of the sexes reflect themselves in speech through techniques of conversational subordination - e.g. constraints on turn length, topic control or interruption (cf. Zimmerman and West 1975) - as well as the sex-based determination of participant roles. Insofar as language is an instrument for, and a parametric index of, social discrimination, speech studies hold a singular significance for gender focussed research in the Highlands. The dearth of relevant data here is, however, less a product of androcentricity (of the 'male-as-norm' interpretation of culture) than the peripheral status of linguistic evidence in research plans and ethnographic treatises.

Despite marked divergences in perspective and method, the literature reveals two problematic areas associated with cross-cultural studies on women as producers and interpreters of language:

(1) The structural and semantic variability of language systems, and indeed the culture-bound nature of glosses used for the indexical features of any 'genderlect', make comparative research a difficult task. Many of the measurable factors detailed by Lakoff (1975) — a classic in this field — have since proved ephemeral (cf. Philips 1980:533). More importantly, her study (like many others) was specific to women's speech in American culture, but unspecific as to its 'situated' character. By focussing on the contextual variation of women's speech we necessarily tie an idiosyncratic set of stylistic choices to a given range of situational factors. Clearly, the pool of linguistic resources used for fashioning communicative strategies varies from one culture to another. Lakoff's hypothesis that women's speech is more polite, tentative and uncertain than male speech, is based on the higher distributional frequency of hedges, disclaimers, super-polite forms, hypercorrectness, tag questions and direct (as opposed to indirect) quotation. While this has proved a testable schema for analysing witnesses' speech in American courtrooms (cf. O'Barr and Atkins 1980), Huli disputants cannot draw on a comparable range of phenomena. I have shown elsewhere (Goldman 1983) that in this Papua New Guinean language there is no distinction between direct/indirect speech since reported utterances are always cited directly in the object position. Furthermore, in that the language system evidences only objective modalisation, it is not possible to lexically mark attitudinal import to express qualified reservation. There are no 'opinion' type gambits that can express wonder, doubt, presumption, diminished assurance or tentativeness. There is always an unqualified commitment to the categorical I-say-so (neustic) component of an utterance though one can (through appropriate evidential suffixes) express qualified factuality in the it-is-so (tropic) element. Moreover, it would be difficult from an emic standpoint to identify what might count as an instance of 'politeness' or 'deference' in this culture and, indeed, it is far from clear that such notions are amenable to interlinguistic comparison.<sup>3</sup> The tenor of these arguments supports those repeated appeals for detailed studies on the interaction between social settings and gender-based patterns of language usage (cf. Thorne and Henley 1975:13, 30; Philips 1980:534, 541; McConnell-Ginet 1980:7; Reiter 1975:16) to widen our understanding of this subject.

(2) Noting the inherent dangers of glossing techniques, there has been considerable reaction against dichotomous theorising on this topic as both oversimplifying complex data and unconsciously imposing the analyst's presuppositions about gender definitions (cf. Thorne and Henley 1975:27; Brown and Jordanova 1981:229). Such categorical and expository conveniences with their 'monochromatic messages' (Philips 1980:540) about women's speech or status as powerless, inferior or subordinate has obscured, rather than clarified, the true nature of male dominance in these societies. The broad agreement that 'even in situations of overt sex role asymmetry women have a good deal more power than conventional theorists have assumed' (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974:9) has ushered in more refined and detailed studies showing how power differentials are matters of a 'kind' rather than 'degree' nature. Such transformations in perspective and emphasis (cf. McConnell-Ginet 1980:17; Brown and Jordanova 1981:230; Brown 1981:254) consider women as political strategists and attempt to define the forms, bases and scope their power takes. Examining linguistic choices provides diacritical evidence for the manner in which resources are exploited and fashioned to situational exigencies. We gain knowledge of how recurrent types

of interaction are experienced by women, as well as their perception of the discursive salience attached to particular patterns of language use. As Harding noted: 'The point is not that women are unique in their verbal skills for political ends, but that these skills must be uniquely developed by them in their exercise of power, given... their lack of formal access to the decision-making processes in the society' (1975:305).

What is required in grappling with the key sociolinguistic question of 'why' (Thorne and Henley 1975:13; Brown 1980:133; McConnell-Ginet 1980:21) women's speech assumes the form it does, is a *strategic* model of communication that adequately accounts for conversationalists' goals in the production and interpretation of talk. Verbal routines, as 'situated' speech, are examined for their actual or construed functional appropriateness; that is, as displaying power in the sense of effecting or influencing desired outcomes. We thereby reach beyond the task of cataloguing formal linguistic features to a consideration of the social-structural milieu underpinning language uses. It is, then, precisely the centrality of a strategic focus that links the endeavours of language and sex ethnography with the theoretical issues addressed by communication research on conversation (e.g. Craig and Tracy 1983). The structure and comprehensibility of talk derives from strategic processes as (but also dependent on) rules and routines - 'making sense' is a pragmatic accomplishment. Most critically for the argument of this paper, notions about the internal and natural 'fit' (cf. Brown 1980:113) of linguistic traits in women's speech are formalised in communications-oriented studies as a relationship between *cohesion* and *coherence*. The former embraces those semantic resources used for manufacturing text as realised through, say, lexicogrammatical variables. Specific types of structural binding are isolated as, principally, within-turn phenomena. Coherence refers to aspects of topic development, relevance and consistency in relation to shared presuppositions and the particular context-of-situation. Analysing coherence as a 'rational totality' (Östman 1978:103) requires consideration of between-turn structures.

The present study is firmly located within the sphere of theoretical issues outlined above. I consider the meshing of gender, power and language in intersex disputes among the Huli of Papua New Guinea. The constitutive foci are:

- (i) the nature of 'textuality' in the accounts of female complainants;
- (ii) the manner in which gender-based ideologies of inequity interface with context-specific egalitarian norms (e.g. principles of 'equal before the law' or 'speech reciprocity' (Goldman 1980)) as impinging upon the structure and content of participants' speech;
- (iii) the way in which the above affects actual and perceived dispute outcomes.

The study is both part of an ongoing inquiry into dispute resolution in Huli as well as a contribution to comparative sociolinguistic work on language and women in forensic situations.

#### STEREOTYPES AND PARTICIPANT-ROLES IN DISPUTES

Huli social organisation is characterised by a rigid role differentiation along sexual lines such that most types of intersex interaction are hedged by taboo. The rhetoric of male/female communication reveals (cf. Goldman 1983) the sense in which the sexual disjunction is a constituent semantic feature of

most organisational schemas. The associated set of values encompasses an uncompromising ideology of pollution which articulates female sexuality in terms of toxicity and contagion. This central motif of pollution is embedded in the linguistic repertoires used in disputing where negative-evaluation terms encode the semantic derogation of women. The morphemic structure of anger, shame, insult and dispute lexemes embodies a congruent set of ideas about the feminine gender. Importantly, idioms of deviance establish a connection between notions of defilement or disorder and women, which underpins the sexist traits in male ideology. It is not so much the cultural evaluation of their sexuality that Huli women dispute as the inferential models relating them to all types of 'anomalous' situation.

At other levels imbalance and inequity are terminologically institutionalised in the labels of unit structuration. Most notable here is the distinction between *tene* (*real, base, first, source*) – agnates – and *yamuwini* (*nothing/woman* (derogatory) *yamu*) + placed (*wini*) – non-agnatic cognates. Moreover, as I have argued elsewhere (1983:94), stigma is inculcated through educational mediums such as myth where there is marked vocabulary switching from neutral to 'loaded' terms.

Inextricably bound to the sexual disjunction are the environmental categories of *anda* (*domestic/private*) and *hama* (*public/epideictic*). This conceptual grid serves to dichotomise power domains such that males monopolise contexts for public display. The patterning of actions on *hama* are homologous with ethno-ethological statements about sexual differentiation in bird-of-paradise behaviour.<sup>4</sup> The aesthetic rationale governing exchange actions on *hama* – whether in pigs, paint or parlance – is the utilisation of 'pure' as opposed to polluted materials. All items must be sanitised of contagion. This is linguistically indexed by occurrences of high-valued eulogistic lexemes, euphemistic and 'indirect' speech in reference to sexual acts, and other forms of linguistic disinfectant. Transferring from *anda* to *hama* is a rule-governed activity. This manifests itself in disputes as conversational routines that sift and separate issues according to those which should and should not be discussed on *hama*:

D.1:663-664

Wali agali la mana wiyago  
*woman man both custom has-been-placed*  
*For man and woman a mana has been placed.*

Ogo hamani ayu lo-yu tagira pobehe ndo  
*this on-public space now to-say-carry outside can-go no*  
*On this public space it shouldn't be said and carried outside.*

In that there is anaphoric reference here both to types of insulting action and to 'domestic' quarrels, an explicit division is made between appropriate and inappropriate issues. Settlement-directed talking in Huli is thus part of the wider ritualised treatment of space.

While adducing popular stereotypes of male/female speech patterns remains an important source of illumination, appreciating their contextualised usages can frequently sound a note of caution against over-simplistic characterisations. Thus one perspective on the prefacing Texts A and C might interpret

Text A as illustrative of male derogation of female speech (perhaps as 'gossip' or 'frivolous' talk); and

Text C as an example of the conversational subordination of women in which men are seen to be 'consciously flaunting power'.

(Maltz and Borker 1982:199)

Moreover, as is apparently the case in certain Malagasy communities (cf. Keenan 1974), the sentiments about language impoverishment expressed in Text A may support or rationalise the interactional control of decision-making exemplified by Text C. However, the evaluation of verbal performance in Text A is based on the contextual inappropriateness of women's/children's speech for the task of dispute resolution. That is, the talk lacks 'direction' (*haria*) in the sense of promoting the communicative goals pertaining to moot situations. It is this feature, rather than any negative inherent quality of the speech itself, which underlies the rhetorical strategies of mediators in D.1 and D.2 which characterise marital arguments as 'man and wife talk':

D.1:969-971 (see also 1204-05; 1243-45)

Au biribigo

*This is how you two have been doing.*

One agalini la lai gungu bialu

*You have been arguing and fighting like man and wife.*

Au lo manda hemaria

*We have thought like that.*

or in its gnomic form

D.1:1345

Walime agalini la lai gungu biaga (custom.mood) biagoni degego  
*woman man both argue fight customarily-do that one just-like*

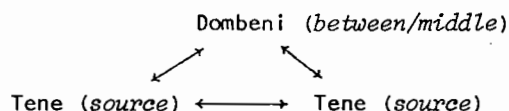
laga (custom.mood)

*it-is-said*

*Women and men customarily argue and fight and this is just like that it is said.*

Equally significant is the point that male stereotypes about female speech do not form confrontational devices used against women in the context of dispute talk. Rather, they are utilised as a discriminatory grid by males to separate 'women-like-men' from 'men-like-men'. This is attributable, as I explain in the next section, to the strength of constraining norms inhibiting expressions of sexual partiality.

In a similar vein, Text C simply affirms sex-role separation in the participant structure of any dispute (*bi*). There are two potentially confusing aspects to this phenomenon that require untangling. First, the conceptual and spatial model of a dispute as a speech event is triadic in nature:



Every quarrel is conceived to have two 'originators' and part of the conversational tasks of disputing is to locate the tene as the loci of responsibility and liability for compensation. Women who attend disputes do so either as (a) a tene; (b) close friend or relation of a female tene; or (c) a witness to events, or as having some relevant testimony on pertinent matters. They

cannot by convention, or choice, take incumbency on 'mediator' (dombeni) roles. This preclusion is not subject to challenge, complaint or censure – it is an accepted given of the interactional context. This sharply contrasts with the Village Court system where there is legislative provision for female village court magistrates, but where the social power of males in the society results in total monopolisation of these judicial roles. That is, women suffer disadvantaged access to mediation roles only in the latter context where choice is conceived to exist. Second, unlike the Malagasy where the rationale for excluding women is directly based on speechmaking abilities (Keenan 1974:141), Huli clearly separate 'access' to mediatorship from 'competence' to make mediatorial speeches:

D.1:1299

Lebe                    amu                    tiga tiga (reduplic.)/ore hanuni / ore  
*two-days ago over there straight                    very middle                    very*  
 lalu                    piru  
*when-said I-went*  
*Two days ago I said a straight talk, a middle talk and I went.*

D.2:413-418

Libu                    one agalini lalu kabi                    bi                    dombeni ogoni dagua pu kabi  
*those-two wife husband talked is-there talk middle that like go is-there*  
 wali hangu bialu kabi                    ogoni dagua labe ngabe  
*woman alone done is-there that like say isn't-it-put-there?*  
*When a husband and wife have argued then, 'Make a middle talk' it is said;*  
*when only a woman is there then (she should), 'Speak like that' it is said?*

Inter-sex conflict in dispute resolution is less an affair of competing ideologies about speech worthiness than competing interpretations of how, and whether, bias manifests itself.

The critical importance of Huli disputes for examining contextual variation in women's speech lies precisely in the interplay between the sex-exclusive role of 'mediator' – reflecting power asymmetry and potential for sexual prejudice in the settlement process – and an egalitarian normative framework pertaining to (A) the relative status of male/female in dispute forums; (B) the structuring of conversation.

A: The surface parity of women's talk is maintained by

- (i) conversational routines between female complainants and middle-men (dombeni) which are constituted as accusations-denials of bias, and which reinforce notions of impartiality; and
- (ii) a strategic pool of proverb and precept resources which can be drawn upon to counteract sexist tendencies. For example,

D.2:399

anda maga                    mo beregedane                    walimedago beregedara...  
*house struts made-turn around woman                    is turning...*  
*Woman turned the struts of the house around for men and she is turning them now...*

This saying (cf. Goldman 1983:232) refers to the mythologically stated primacy of women who 'educated' men to place the horizontal holding-struts of a house on the inside. The speaker here implicitly enjoins others to attend to Wanili's speech as 'showing men the way'.



B: In tracing out the effect of gender on the patterning to talk it is not immediately obvious how women might experience conversational discrimination. A dispute is not terminologically segmented into discrete phases. Most typically they are multiple-claim affairs and there are no restrictions on how disputants compose their claim-profiles though, as I have argued elsewhere (Goldman 1983), these profiles reveal marked sequential patterning. With the exception of land disputes, there is no preallocation of turn order nor any prespecification of turn type (cf. Atkinson and Drew 1979). Talking does not here exhibit the type of formal two-part exchanges characteristic of courtroom speech; that is, question-answer sequences are dispersed rather than dominant. Consonant with this overall lack of choreographic direction, women are not subject to any restriction on the length, locale or format of their speaking turns. Indeed, the absence of a temporal constraint on these events means that competition for turns (and thus for prestige) is diffuse since everyone who wants to speak is assured of space. In this respect, analysis of a number of intersex dispute texts does not show that men are more likely to infringe the speaking rights of women through interruption (cf. Zimmerman and West 1975).

The above properties of the disputing system have to be set against the forms of overt imbalance alluded to earlier. As previously mentioned, the linguistic repertoire used for disputing is replete with terms indexing the semantic derogation of women. Indeed, gender in the Huli language is a 'covert category' (Whorf 1956) where the verb used to place people or animals constitutes one *cryptotype*. There is a division of nouns according to whether they take the marked (ka - *stand*) or unmarked (beda - *sitting*) form:

| Ka            | Beda           |
|---------------|----------------|
| males         | females        |
| pigs, dogs    | birds, insects |
| trees, plants | still water    |

This division applies only where the particular stance of a person is not known in reference. Importantly, the positional dimensions of high/above:low/under characterise a whole range of behavioural and ideological forms.

Insofar as the speech situation of dispute must regularly present to women a broadly similar structural configuration, recurrent experiences of 'inequity' are likely to engender institutionalised responses in the adoption of strategic verbal routines to cope with discrimination. By examining such conversational data one gains insight into the incriminatory and defensive postures adopted - the 'system' models. In Huli, the presentational styles - as motivated choices among linguistic resources - reflect sex-preferential (rather than sex-exclusive) patterns. There is a differential frequency of use of text-forming agencies. In the following analysis I have employed the typological scheme of Halliday and Hasan (1976) specifically attending to the cohesive resources of conjunction and lexical reiteration and collocation. The textuality of women's speech is thus interpreted as a denser cluster of specific ties frequently used for chaining propositions that compose an account. This characteristic selection is sensitive to, and variable with, verbal and non-verbal environmental features. It is this interaction that produces specific text 'colorations' - a term much used for evaluation of audio speakers - which in turn become subject to commonsense glossing procedures. In testing the sensitivity of texture to situational factors one hypothesises a different pattern of choices for other 'talk-situations', or even within a class of contexts (such as Huli disputes) according to, say, different claim sequences in disputants' profiles.

## MEDIATORY STRATEGIES

Agali o kemirume                      ogoni dagua mo tiga bialu...  
men o with those-of-you that like when-you-have-made-straight...  
When you have straightened this matter with those men...

manali        bi    mo tale bule  
mana-people talk will-share-it

[illegible]

Because the category of mediator is by the tacit agreement of both sexes 'male', it would be wrong to interpret these identification processes as inherently discriminatory. The fundamental notions of impartiality, compromise and settlement-directed suggestion, embodied by the term *dombeni*, reflect properties of the class referred to by such phrases as 'the men who are here' (D.1:19; 60) or the 'middle-men' (*agali (man) + dombeni (middle)*) - D.1:767; 831; 834; 1066)

Agali dombenime lagabe?  
*men middle customarily-spoke?*  
*Did the middle-men customarily speak?*

be libinime lagabe?  
*you two customarily-speak?*  
*Or was it just two people (i.e. the disputants) who customarily spoke?*

0 libinime laga ndo  
*0 two people customarily-spoke no*  
*It wasn't that only two people spoke. (Goldman 1983:160)*

These referential phrases are most often subject to focussing activity by suffixation, e.g. -me; or, as in the idiostyle of Dalu, by interposing the voiced pause 0 between noun and adjective (D.1:19; 60; 75; 659)

agali o kemago...  
*men o are-here...*

The above remarks explain the recurrence of vocative uses of 'men' (D.1: 773; 1076; 1194) which are not necessarily appeals to shared ideals between members of the same sex. In this respect D.2:364-379 provides a clear expression of gender differences in speech roles – the fact of an all-male audience – that does not militate against the attribution of importance to women's talk

Ai bi ina larigo agali ha ogobi anda piyada  
*ai talk you said men in this inside went*  
*The talk you (Wanali) have said has gone inside men.*

This surface neutrality is a critical property of a mediation code which I have defined and analysed elsewhere (cf. Goldman 1983) as a specific set of linguistic options communicating levels of commitment to decision making. For dombeni, assertion and tentativeness are differentially distributed in any utterance and indeed over the component arguments constituting a turn. Conversational goals are here oriented to proposing option sets and setting the terms of debate to prospectively structure talk. This is evident from the pronounced patterning found in mediation speeches and the routine use of 'gambits' – recurrent semifixed expressions – which semantically frame previous and forthcoming information in terms of culture-specific, and context-specific, cognitive categories. These constitute a type of subsidiary discourse to the main stream of talk. The commitment of mediators is to the erection of paradigmatic settlement choices and to the reiteration of generalised notions and norms of good speech in disputes. Contrastingly, there is a deferred commitment to direct forms of blame imputation or to the formulation of decisions as specific directives to action. Assertion occurs in the posing, presenting and suggesting of choice frameworks; an attenuation of directness is manifested, however, in the promotion or selection of particular options. This directly parallels the unqualified commitment expressed in the 'I-say-so' element of a proposition in opposition to the qualified commitment (by appropriate evidential suffixes, e.g. D.1:34; 37) expressed in the 'it-is-so' component. These features of objective epistemic modality and direct quotation seem peculiarly suited to the mediation code in which speakers delimit and circumscribe their involvement (or responsibility) for what others have said. This functional appropriateness is, I would argue, exploited by Huli speakers when exercising choice in regard to lexical and syntactic focussing that emphasises 'who' made given statements:

D.1:1

|               |                           |             |                    |                           |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Dalowa        | ibu/gua                   | howa        | lalu Andira        | l/na                      |
| <i>Dalowa</i> | <i>she+3rd.pers.sing.</i> | <i>from</i> | <i>said Andira</i> | <i>you+2nd.pers.sing.</i> |
|               | foc.sub.suffix            |             |                    | foc.sub.suffix            |

D.1:51

|                    |               |                    |                          |                    |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| i/na               | Dalowa        | i/na               | lari /                   | go                 |
| you+2nd.pers.sing. | <i>Dalowa</i> | you+2nd.pers.sing. | <i>you said</i>          | +attention drawing |
| foc.sub.suffix     |               | foc.sub.suffix     | (2nd.pers.<br>sing.Past) | suffix             |

Dalu here expresses his distance and disaffiliation from reported speech by interposing the focussed pronoun forms and adding a focussed suffix to the verb statement (i.e. -go) even though 'who' made the following utterances is perfectly clear from the subject term, verb inflection, and direct quotation in reported speech.

The whole of Dalu's speech (D.1:1-92) evidences a high degree of structuring in terms of rhetorically motivated choices which realise themselves most typically in types of parallel repetition and branching. The determining agents here are the complementaries used for collocational cohesion and the concluding gambits which place the onus of decision making onto the principal disputants:

D.1:33-41

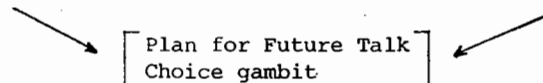
(cf. Goldman 1983:109)

I oneme tindule laruabe  
Your wife lies is-she-saying?

Be henenedabe?  
*Truths?*

Hondolemiya  
*Let us see*

They are saying the truth?  
They are saying lies?  
Puma will say (i.e. when he arrives)



In these types of elliptical polarity the question particle *be*, like the Hindi *kya*, can be differentially employed either at the end of a sentence - as a verb suffix - or at the start in which case the form *heneneda*(*be*) is optional. The phonological repetition produced by inclusion here is thus an important ingredient in the oratorical cocktail. Similarly, choices exercised in the expression of propositional negation indicate an assignment of rhetorical prominence:

D.1:42-50

(Goldman 1983:160)

*The talk you have said*  
La-hende  
*Said heard*

La-hende ndo  
*Said heard no*

Agali dombenime lagabe?  
*Did the middle-men customarily speak?*

Be libinme lagabe?  
*Or was it just two people who  
 customarily spoke?*

Libinime laga ndo  
*It wasn't that only two people spoke.*

The occurrence of the sentence-final lexeme *ndo* (*no*), most typically stressed, is preferred against the negative prefix *na-* which can express precisely the same statement:

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>nala-hende</i>     | <i>libinime nalaga</i>                 |
| <i>not said heard</i> | <i>those two not-customarily-speak</i> |

The dualistic structure of kinship relations in these marital disputes provides a useful resource for constructing passages based on repeated syntax as in references to Tondowa and Hawi (D.1:10; 201; 252), or Dalowa and Andira:

D.1:829-830

|                         |          |                        |
|-------------------------|----------|------------------------|
| <i>Wali unugo</i>       | <i>ì</i> | <i>agalini kagoni*</i> |
| <i>Woman down there</i> |          | <i>your husband is</i> |
| <i>Agali unugo</i>      | <i>ì</i> | <i>one bedagoni</i>    |
| <i>Man down there</i>   |          | <i>your wife is</i>    |

(\*note the different forms for the copula according to sex of the subject.)

Furthermore, such forms of rhetorical enumeration typically occur when choices are listed or plans for future talk are defined (ref. D.1:713; 765; 749)

D.1:51-77

(cf. Goldman 1983:166; 183-84)

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>When Hiribalu...has heard</i>        | <i>One pig has been eaten...</i> |
| <i>When Andira's mother...has heard</i> | <i>Pila, was it you?</i>         |
| <i>When us men...have heard</i>         | <i>Anege, was it you?</i>        |
| <i>When your father's-brothers...</i>   | <i>Helago, was it you?</i>       |
| <i>have heard</i>                       |                                  |

[This isn't the talk I made  
No, that is the talk I said  
He (Andira) will make a reply]

[They haven't chosen now  
These talks choose!]

[Plan for Future Talk  
Choice gambit]

The implicit syntax of Dalu's speech is highly typical in its progression from a description of the current state of play between the disputing parties to a coda composed of disjunctive conclusions and finalised by a choice gambit.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the frequent occurrence of choice gambits in mediation speeches (D.1: 757; 840; 967; 819)

D.2:194

|  |                                    |                          |
|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Ogoni dabole</i>                                | <i>ladaba</i>                      | <i>laro</i>              |
| <i>these to choose you</i>                         | <i>(dual:imperative-immediate)</i> | <i>speak I-am-saying</i> |
| <i>To choose these issues, speak, I am saying.</i> |                                    |                          |

again illustrates the manner in which there is a circumscribed commitment on the part of mediators to the selection of specific settlement options.

It is important to point out that the marked phonological patterning we find in many speeches, as for example in D.2:303-321

Iba piyagoni  
 Homaiyagoni  
 Ira piyagoni  
 Dandame bayagoni  
 Agalime bayagoni  
Hinule  
Honowule  
Hongole

is a rhetorical device also manipulated by women in dispute talking (e.g. D.2: 71-77)

D.1:459-468

... limbi lomba biya  
Iya baba bi laya  
Lai bi laya  
 Ani laya handala

On the one hand the phonotactic structure of Huli — and importantly the fact that all words end in a vowel — makes assonance almost an inevitable by-product of talk. On the other hand, the poetic patterns embedded in Huli genres are evenly distributed among both male- and female-exclusive forms. These arguments are important indicators that gender-based differences in language behaviour are here less likely to be found at the level of rhetorical form.

Among the many stereotyped mediation routines that confront litigants, those which attempt to *normalise* and *trivialise* conflict deserve special mention. The former strategy aims to delimit and de-escalate serious repercussions by presenting disputants with a categorisation of their mode of relationship as 'normal'. The gnomic proposition '*all relatives customarily argue*' is a convenient frame which allows mediators to provide referential determinancy in any given dispute. Speakers neutralise the socio-economically disruptive effects of divorce in D.1 and D.2 by assimilating a host of marital grievances to a 'normal' definition of the situation (D.2:191; 221; 325)

onene agalini la lai gungu bialu howa  
*wife husband both argue fought since-done*

The dispute texts illustrate not only the frequency and distribution of such formulae (ref. D.1:970-971; 1204-1206; 1243-1246; 1345) but also the fixedness of the collocational sets one (*wife*) agalini (*husband*) : lai (*argue*) gungu (*fight*). Promoting the realisation among litigants that conflict is an inevitable and endemic aspect of relationships constitutes an invariable resolution technique regardless of who is arguing with whom about what:

Goldman 1983:180

*Now I am saying something important*  
*I am saying something important*

ì mbalini la  
*you sister both*  
*With a sister.*

Abá hamene la  
*father brother both*  
*With a male relative.*

Bi ko laga  
*talk bad customarily-said*  
*We used to make bad talk.*

The determinant effect of such strategies is to force disputants to disaffiliate their particular claims from falling within these encompassing definitions:

D.2:213

*Wives and husbands used to argue all day and come and go that is a different talk.*

More serious for outcome production is the tendency for normalisation processes, such as those outlined above, to include explicit statements which trivialise or make inconsequential the whole range of subsistent claims and counter-claims (ref. also D.1:1204: 1243-1246; 1345)

D.1:1285-1289

*With the husband*  
*With the woman's fathers and*  
*brothers*  
*I have seen them get many troubles*  
*We have seen many making talks*  
*like these*

Amu larigo tabirene  
*over there you said jokes*  
  
 laribigo  
*you-two-said*  
*What you have said over there are*  
*just jokes.*

D.1:722-725

*Not like this now*  
*For the fighting, arguing and*  
*death...*

Ai dugu wa ha  
*ai pull out throw away*  
*Pull them out and throw them away.*

Bamo  
*(They are) nothing.*

or

D.2:183-186

Tini onene agalini la  
*you wife husband both argued fought done*  
*If you want to talk on how the wife and husband have argued and fought.*

Ndo  
*No.*

O bamodago  
*O nothing (da: on the aural evidence)*  
*That is nothing.*

Wa hole  
*It will be thrown away.*

These highly recurrent acts of trivialisation, which are not always specifically directed at female claimants, can be used in two quite different ways. First, to defeat an overall claim of divorce: '...the middle-men are not going to say, "Pull out the pigs"' (D.1:1271). Second, to support the process whereby 'superficial' (daliga - *on top*) claims are separated from fundamental/first causes (tene - *source*).

Since the development of any dispute discourse in Huli inevitably focusses on the identification of tene (as both *issue* and *persons* responsible, cf. Goldman 1981), the assessment strategies which characterise D.1:1105:1107 and

D.2:156-164 clearly aid the selection process. This is particularly marked in D.2:221-328 where the exchange between Hagai and Wanili reveals a conflict between differential perceptions of tene. Wanili sees the false accusation of Ogoli as directly linked (i.e. as having its tene D.2:10) to a sequence of claims against her husband Garibe for ill-treatment. Hagai, contrastingly, trivialises these typical marital arguments as bamo (*nothing/inconsequential*) in order to make prominent her concealed feelings that her son's death by drowning was not an accident. The terms of the dispute are thus constantly being defined and redefined by participants. Significantly, however, the interactional control by mediators of those routines outlined above results in the submergence and dissipation of claimants' viewpoints.

In part these techniques appear to be adaptive responses to the concatenation of claims that is the most important structural feature of Huli disputes. Examination of litigant profiles during any conflict demonstrate a deliberate and patterned sequencing of claims which, while often manipulated to good effect by claimants, presents problems for outcome production. Gangaro's remarks concerning the 'mixing' (D.1:813; 941, 952; 980; 1176) of claims directly reflects his understanding of the dispute processes depicted in Figure 1:

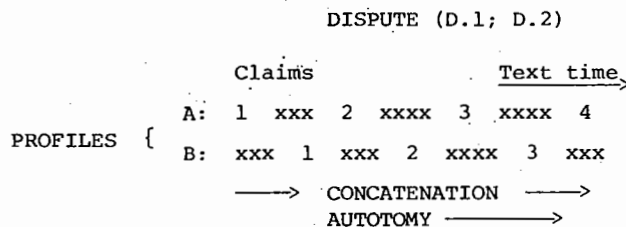


Figure 1

Given the rank level distinctions between *Dispute - Profile - Claim*, at any given juncture of text time mediators confront an accumulation of claims built up by both tene (i.e. A and B in Figure 1). Disregarding the sequential aspects of these profiles for a moment, the dynamics of claim presentation also show an opposing tendency of claim autotomy - a deliberate casting off of certain claims in favour of others as a survival strategy. Notwithstanding autotomy, neutralisation and trivialisation, the resultant 'mixing' of claims makes the talk 'hard' (D.1:811) in the sense of difficult to settle. In that marital disputes represent the paradigmatic case of 'multiple-claim' disputes, bringing this kind of talk 'outside' can also engender disapprobation as the washing of one's dirty linen in public (D.1:946; 995; 1079; 1174). What seems important about all these mediation routines is that they are equally directed against male or female disputants. They are not interpreted by women as inherently limiting or discriminatory and, as I shall argue, only minimally impinge on the structure of accounts.

The interplay between sexist beliefs and stereotyping appears operationally relevant where women are directly opposed in the dispute by a male claimant. That is, males will play on their sexual identity with mediators through implicit reference to, and invocation of, ideas about women as 'norm breakers' and sources of strife. In this regard, their standing (or impartiality) is not threatened to the same extent as it would be for a dombeni expressing similar convictions. Such appeals to 'male' ideology are embodied in Andira's use of the vocative 'men' (agali: D.1:563; 704) and the evocative charge that Dalowa



contaminated his food by 'jumping over' (angua haya: cf. Goldman 1983:85) it. This is a type of polluting act specific to females and falls within the set of gender-defined prohibitions termed galo bira. Significantly, Andira characterises the act as 'typical' through use of the customary mood:

D.1:564

Ogo ale daraboli (pidgin) miaga  
*this like trouble customarily-gives (3rd.pers.custom.)*  
*Women are always making trouble like this.*

In addition to the explicit denials of Dalowa's claims, Andira's case reposes on exposing her 'unreasonable' behaviour. He recounts his involvement in an important compensation payment (damba: 71; 1266) — again likely to be viewed sympathetically by the all-male audience — allowing others to infer from Dalowa's demands for pig a basic obstructionism. Importantly, the most common rationalisation given by Huli men for male-initiated divorce was wives' 'greediness for pig' (nogo dimagoli) which diverted resources away from exchange activities. Two further features worth noting are Andira's references to acts of 'throwing away' (564; 586) — showing moderation — which constitute forms of self-appraisal, and the importance attached to 'what was actually said' as a recoverable feature of past events. This latter aspect typified the speeches of all participants and reveals the degree to which the system is designed to elicit incident as a 'verbal phenomenon', leaving attitude and manner to be inferentially derived. The development of claim topics in Andira's turns shows a standardised progression of accusations:

unwarranted demands on pig (584)  
 argumentative behaviour (584; 591-592)  
 insult (602-606)  
 laziness in gardens (638; 648)  
 prolonged absence at parents (703; 737; 1133; 1219).

It is precisely these attempts at impression management through appeals to shared background ideals among male claimants and mediators which are the object of specific comment by women: 'He saw you people (i.e. mediators) and he is talking (i.e. concocting a set of lies)' (D.1:653).

Through processes of autotomy, it is only the last issue of prolonged absence which remains prominent in Andira's claim profile and which is attended to in speeches occurring in the latter part of the text (e.g. 1146-1147; 1163-1164; 1170; 1177; 1219). The physical separation of wife and husband becomes a focus for mediation talk as a reflection of Andira's perceived desire not to divorce (687; 699; 702-705; 741; 1132; 1219; 1309). That is, despite the absence of any supporting normative provisions, the presentation of a divorce choice to the male renders women at a disadvantage precisely because such choices are frequently determinative of the construction and realisation of dispute outcomes. This procedural imbalance, I would suggest, is underpinned by the politico-economic control of bridewealth by men. There is, then, co-identification with male claimants in the sense of a gender-based 'interest group'. In the context of dispute talk, this results in the differential weighting of male/female demands and resolutions:

D.1:1139-1140

Ina dabu bini yalu poro au lariyagua  
*I married to carry I am going like that if -you-say*  
*If you (Andira) say, 'I am carrying her off'.*

Henene handalumaro bidamagoni  
*truly we-will-see-finished*  
*Then truly we will see the matter finished.*

⋮

*They will stay together over there.*

Dalowa's claims, treated with consideration as legitimate bases for divorce, are assessed against mediation goals defined in the light of male intentions – both of the husband and the male support group of the female claimant. Thus, 'the participant structure of such events reflects a real power asymmetry underneath the surface equality' (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:9).

The stated aim of 'untying the anger in their heart' – as opposed to 'pulling out the pigs' (1241-1246) – partly reflects the problems associated with divorce once children are born, but also the posture adopted by Dalowa's father, Hayabe, throughout the talk. His speeches evidence a distinct lack of commitment to the divorce option (969) which, in accordance with most of the other male speakers (1045; 1129-1132; 1204-1214; 1250-1254), is presented to Andira:

D.1:682

Ì one wane la ni bedagoni lo kebe?  
*your wife daughter both down there sitting to-say are-you*  
*Are you going to say that is your wife and daughter there?*

Be ibu ni wali tara bedagoni ì one ndo?  
*she down there woman different sitting my wife no*  
*Or that woman there is different, that is not my wife?*

It is this consistency of perspective on case settlement which prompts the summation

D.1:1063 (see also 1064-1069)

Mana ayu ngago agali igini ibinime / ore  
*mana now is placed man son himself (intensifier:very)*  
*The mana is there it is on man's son himself.*

In this context, mana does not refer to customary norms but rather the case-specific 'way of doing things' as derived from the preceding conversational exchanges.

The above discussion provides the necessary preparatory base, or backcloth, for analysing the verbal strategies of women. Not only is dispute talk an extremely structured activity, it is also conducted within a framework of egalitarian ideals. These purport to equalise sexual imbalances extant in other behavioural domains. It is less the use of a confrontational rhetoric based on overt sexism than the accepted participant-role structure which, through procedural biases, acts to mitigate the outcome effectiveness of women's arguments. This 'powerlessness' is not a quality of the mooted claims – that is, as lacking credibility or convincingness (cf. O'Barr 1983) – but a reflection or assessment of their impact for outcome construction, choice and realisation.

## WOMEN'S SPEECH

The arguments elicited above form part of the pool of expectations and presuppositions held by female litigants when presenting claims. Their interpretations of mediator/male strategies help fashion their own distinctive language usages as a response to, or a means of coping with, system imbalances. In this respect, there are some intriguing continuities and discontinuities between Huli moots and Anglo-American courts. Among the latter, the numerical preponderance of males in the legal profession (excepting clerical staff and jury personnel) is a direct consequence of an exclusionary elitist ideology (cf. Pattullo 1983) and a generally entrenched sexism within the social fabric of these cultures. However, the male presence in Huli moots reflects, I have argued, the deference and accession of women – choice is not a constituent factor of the perceived situation. Nevertheless, the superficial equality (as ideologically defined) in both contexts, which masks an underlying power asymmetry, belies the notion of 'without prejudice'. One important corollary of the prevailing male ethos in these forensic systems is that women inevitably suffer a deprivation of experience in the practice of, or familiarity with, dispute resolution. For Huli, this is a result of their conventionally restricted participation. In regard to language strategies, then, it has been argued that 'the qualities of a good barrister tend to be associated with male arrogance, pomposity, "erudition"...to achieve a measure of success women barristers were expected to ape this style conceived and exploited by men' (Pattullo 1983:7). To what extent is this applicable to women's talk in Huli disputes?

The evidence from a number of intersex disputes suggests the prevalence of *alignment talk* – the tying of the utterances of one speaker to those of another speaker, or speakers, in proximal turns through the repetition (or building upon) of key lexemes or phrases – in those text environments showing orientation to tene identification: *tene tai bira/tene goda handama (to search for sources/dig up the sources)* (Goldman 1983:14).

Alignment talk, as a female-male phenomenon, appears partially dependent on a high degree of interactional involvement by a female claimant in the control of topic formulation and development. There is a marked difference in this respect between the contributions of Dalowa and Wanili in the cases being considered. It is a pragmatic resource for communicating credibility to males concerning their understanding of those norms governing resolution procedures. That is, latching on to some of the key usages occurring in mediator turns allows women to keep up a level of agreement, and communicate that fact, on critical settlement processes even where there is substantial disagreement on the correct referents of such terms as *tene*. This dynamic of intersex talk creates cohesion through lexical repetition and collocation both within and across turns. It can also be argued that such linguistic activity is a noticeable feature of women's talk in that it indexes perceptions and appraisals of differential competence/experience in the presentation of claims.

The dialogue between Hagai and Wanili (D.2:221-300) is particularly revealing in the above respects. There is marked lexical cohesion centred around the terms *tene (source/reason)*, *irane (trunk, stem/important)* and *kuni (bone/real, important)*. These three near-synonyms are part of a locative lexicon used to place arguments and claims in a relative schema according to importance or aetiological primacy. They have a high frequency of occurrence in locales dealing with *tene* specification. As each new key phrase is introduced by Hagai,

Wanili observably adjusts and aligns her speech to express conformity with 'disputese' – a strategy which functions to boost the credibility of alternative definitions of tene

D.2:224 H: tene...yide  
 227 W: tene  
 242 H: tene irane ore kuni  
 245 W: tene irane  
 263 H: irane kuni/ore  
 291 H: mbiyaore yidego  
 295 W: mbiyaore nayi

Of equal interest is the coloration of claim texts found in D.1 and D.2 which tend to suggest a gender-specific conception of 'correct and effective' delivery. This, in contrast to the above, does not derive (being wholly different) from the actualities of corresponding male speeches. Where women are the initiators of any dispute episode – and particularly when a degree of scheduling has occurred – they tend to be given the floor first. These initial speeches are invariably the longest of all their contributions, and are not constrained by previous speakers' turns to the same degree as later discourse tracts. For this reason, they are particularly illuminating on the perceptions women have of a 'good case'. What emerges from any preliminary reading of such opening speeches (D.1:93-352; D.2:7-140) is the textual predominance of *conjunctive-cohesive* ties – both *causal* and *temporal* (correlative-sequential forms). The resultant coloration, which I argue is specific to women's speech in these contexts, details the way in which one event is 'systematically related' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:227) to a previous one. Causal ties are used to foster the impression that reasoned actions have followed on from unreasonable acts; correlative temporal ties create an impression of 'aggravated circumstances' elevating the overall claim for divorce from 'normal' patterns of husband-wife conflict. Comparable male texts are more densely structured in terms of sequential-temporal forms – e.g. then, next, after that, subsequently – so that reason is an inferential licence given to recipients of accounts. That is, males rely more heavily on implicature and inferential ambiguity. Additionally, textual data from disputes indicates that among Huli women (as for the Iatmul) 'emotional phrasings of reasons for behaviour are very much more frequent than among the men' (Bateson 1958:253). There is a greater proclivity to rely on emotive self-declarations of vulnerable and dependent states.

These arguments, which are more rigorously demonstrated below, point to a strategic nucleus of levelling devices attuned to women's suppositions that they interact in disputes from a weaker or disadvantaged position. Such interpretations of the disputing experience seem to partially account for noticeable disjunctions with male speech styles. Moreover, the manipulation of semantic resources (as realised by lexicogrammatical forms) provides an evidential layer to arguments that is additional to, as well as lexically and syntactically distinct from, the framework of evidential suffixes detailed elsewhere (cf. Goldman 1983:30 – as in -rua D.1:33 and -da D.1:36). In similar fashion, the seemingly redundant usages of locative adverbs provides an emphatic evidential aura for the spatialisation of events in a commonsense geography. The saliency of the discursual forms delineated below must reflect an attribution of 'power' as the control over, and assignment of, meaning.

The prime candidate for consideration in these regards is the repeatedly used construction (e.g. D.1:126; 147; 191; 211, 227; 272, 308, 326, 336, 345; 366; 372; 411; 453; 467)

ani (verb form) / handala  
 thus ( ) / seeing  
*Seeing he/she (said/did, etc.) like that.*

Reiteration of this causal tie establishes a chain of reasoned acts in the foreground of recipients' knowledge. A contrast is drawn with the censurable actions of Andira which are described as lacking 'reason' (yamo: *for nothing* D.1:111; 230). This conjunctive adjunct functions as a prepositional expression with the demonstrative (ani: *thus*; biago: *that one*) as deictic. It carries the meaning of such phrases as 'on account of that', 'as a result', 'for this reason', 'as a consequence', 'because of', 'seeing that was the case'. The adjunct frequently occurs in initial positions (e.g. 126; 147; 191; 211; 227) which, I argue a little later, reflects the relationship of pause phenomena to conversational planning. The reason suffix -handala seems most likely to be based on the same morph -handa as in the focussed subject suffix -handa (for personal names, and mother/father)

D.1:531-534

Ibu ainya/handa...  
*His mother/foc.sub.suffix*  
 I hame/handa  
*My father/foc.sub.suffix*

as derived from the verb handa (imperative: *see, look*) — a demand for attention. Consonant with this, I have translated ani...-handala as *seeing that*.... This conjunctive has two synonymous forms in Huli, both suffixes being added to the verb

-gola  
 -handala

Both forms can express 'as a result of' and 'for this reason'. -gola is also the consecutive action suffix having the exclusively temporal meaning of 'when' (most usually as -gola howa: *from when*) as in D.1:217; 285; 114, 78; 141. When used in reason clauses, however, the meaning of temporal succession, result and reason are fused together

D.1:100

Mba layagola pene  
*As/when he said, 'Let's go' I went.*

D.1:417

Ani layagola wa halu...  
*When/because he said thus, we threw it away.*

D.1:543

Ogoni dagua ba bo hayagola au layagola  
*As/when he was to kill me, when/because he said...*

Insofar as the -gola form is the most frequently used suffix in everyday talk (cf. Rule 1964:77), the predominance of -handala in the dispute texts of women is significant. Temporal succession (an inalienable component of causal conjunction) is thus clearly here subordinate to the communication of 'reason'. Moreover, the choice between the two forms seems governed by notions of appropriateness of text coloration. Sense perception in terms of sight is a linguistic marker of epistemic modality in the Huli language (cf. Goldman 1983: 30). Many of the concepts and terms related to veracity and notions of 'witness'

(de hendene: *the ones who saw*) are centred on sight. In this context, the reiterated construction *seeing* (handa/la) *that* lends evidential weight to the statements of reason forwarded. The two reason suffixes are perceived as having differential import for the structuring and resultant effectiveness of texts. In that it is particularly important for a speaker to establish the evidential basis of reports of past events – especially as reasons for actions they subsequently take – there is a noticeable tendency to use the -gola form in reports (or imputations) of reasons concerning other actors (e.g. 114; 543), employing -handala where subsequent acts are initiated by 1st person (either singular, dual or plural)

D.1:453

ani laya handala wa halu...

*Seeing as he had said like that I threw it away...*

The salience attributed to this adjunct by women indexes the different interpretations they have of the relationship between specific language usages and outcome production. As a reflection of perceived structural imbalances, women presume an increased pressure to make explicit the inferential bases on which their own behaviour was founded. They phrase such reports through strategic choices of evidential markers, the clustering and density of which lends their speeches a wholly distinct texture.

Male texts, by contrast, do not exhibit the same frequency of 'reason' clauses and, where these do occur, they tend to be in the -gola form

D.1:606

oba hayagola o i keba biya

*Because/when they laughed I was angry.*

Reports of events are predominantly organised in terms of temporal connectiveness. The subsidiary discourse is (as I have shown elsewhere for male speech, cf. Goldman 1983) composed of gambits which function to review or restate previous reports. The emphasis is on marking the action as an historical occurrence:

#### GAMBITS

Restatement/summation/emphasised aspect/repeats

|       |   |      |   |      |  |
|-------|---|------|---|------|--|
| ani   | } | lalu | } | laro | <i>it was said like that I am saying</i> |
| au    |   | lene |   |      |  |
| agua  |   | laya |   |      |  |
| ogoni |   |      |   |      |  |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| au lari hendene | <i>it has been seen that you said like that</i> |
| au laramagoni   | <i>we are saying like that</i>                  |

|             |   |           |                         |
|-------------|---|-----------|-------------------------|
| ani         | } | bini      | <i>thus it was done</i> |
| au          |   | biya      |                         |
| ogoni dagua |   | bigi bini |                         |

Where such glosses are used as linking clauses the sequence of time is given preferred expression over reason

D.1:615

|  |      |      |
|--|------|------|
| ani lalu   | pene | laro |
| <i>thus when-it-had-been-said I-went I-am-saying</i> |      |      |

I shall not detail any further aspects of male speech in disputes as text data presented in previous publications bears testimony to the overall distinctions I have drawn.

The status of *ani.../handala* as a semifixed expression in women's speech is further supported by two concomitant features:

(1) The most recurrent verb forms used are that of *bia* (*do*) – as a deputy for any episodic verb – and *la* (*say*)

*ani biya/handala*

*seeing-it-was-done-like-that* (227; 336; 345)

*ani laya/handala*

*seeing-it-was-said-like-that* (147; 191; 211; 273; 308; 326; 367; 373, etc.)

Now these are precisely the verb forms which predominate in the routine lexical phrases of men; in subsidiary discourse they have a formulaic character. This is consonant with the overall focus of dispute activity on the verbal component to any previous event. The interest is on what people actually said, rather than circumstantial information about manner, disposition or attitude. Throughout the transcript it is evident that claimants and mediators alike thematise reports of utterances as a basis for subsequent inferences or actions. In many instances the adjunct *ani laya/handala* links verbal events to personal movements (99; 211; 308; 326; 457).

(2) The punctuational structure of Dalowa's speech also indicates the prepatterned nature of this conjunctive phrase. As a critical resource for text formation, it functions additionally to provide time for conversational planning; an invariant frame packaging variable information. This explains the tendency for such phrases to occupy first position (in a linear not sentential sense) and to be preceded or followed by the voiced and unvoiced pause:

0 (2) *ani laya/handala* (126; 227)

*Ani laya/handala* 0 (147; 336)

*Ani laya/handala* (1) 0 (411)

There is here a functional equivalence between the causal forms examined above and the temporal ties assigning connectivity to events. The internal structuring of events in Dalowa's speech follows the sequence of external happenings. An impression of intolerable and irreconcilable behaviour is promoted through the enumeration of 'times' (*ha/lu* – repetitive D.1:4; 7; *angi* – used with ordinals to mean occasion). It is noticeable that the number of threatening actions by Andira steadily increases (D.1:4-9; 721; 1297) in the various reports suggesting an assigned prominence. Temporal conjunction is imposed by juxtaposing anaphoric and cataphoric time expressions that most usually include an adjectival deictic and the emphatic use of the pause marker 0

D.1:295-299

0 *biagoni kiru* (1.5)

0 *that was twice*

*Tebone angi* 0

*the third time*

311-316

*ogoni angi tebone angi*

*that time was the third time*

*mane angi* (2)

*the fourth time*

Again, this concatenation of negative behaviour by a husband – and therefore the type of textual cohesion markers used in speeches – is quite specific to women's talk in marital disputes.

A somewhat more difficult parameter to assess is the degree and type of emotional expressiveness found in the dispute talk of women. Irrespective of sex, it is always necessary for claimants to index the effects of others' verbal/non-verbal actions on psychological states. Anger (keba), shame (taga) and refusal (manga: D.1:540; 550; D.2:19; 25) represent the material consequences of wrongdoing. Personal disclosure of these states is a prerequisite for the success of any compensation claim precisely because indemnity represents a type of healing ritual to Huli. Notwithstanding such observations, there are important differences between men and women in the kind of sympathy-evoking strategies relied upon. Most particularly, women recount affectual experiences of sorrow (dara) and grief (gende - *heaviness*) and tend to stress their dependence on men. The relationship between sex and the expression of specific feelings, as an aspect of the cultural construction of gender, is institutionalised in Huli through the speech genre Wali 0 (*woman's (wali) wail* (/ɔ:/ is the distinctive refrain produced during performances). This type of lament for the dead is exclusive to women; there are no comparable verbal conventions for men. Moreover, examination of spell texts associated with love-magic (wali dagia: *woman's (wali) platform* (dagia) - preparatory rites for girls of marriageable age) reveal a rich metaphorical language surrounding the expression of such emotional states as pain, loneliness, envy and desire. Indeed, much of the terminological repertoire used to refer to or express sympathy has morphological ties to gender-associated words:

dara or daraba (*sympathy/sorrow*) : daramabi (*red*) : darama (*blood*)

The morphemic base of the above lexemes stresses the semantic ties between women, blood, red, danger and sorrow.

Whatever the emotional content of the claims may be - and they are quite considerable in D.1 - Huli women manipulate affective ploys of appeal by emphasising their vulnerability and dependence:

(Goldman 1983:177; 185)

i mbira

*I am alone*

i biango andu nene

*my breast has been eaten by a dog, i.e. my son is dead*

i igini honowa henedagoni

*my son is dead*

:

:

*I am not like you with many gardens, I am in the bush and mountain side*

*No man came to my leg (i.e. I don't have a husband)*

*Only myself am left and I am dying.*

One notes how Dalowa attributes her mother's death to 'grief' (D.1:543; 1212-1214) and makes reference to her own actions of wailing (435). Similarly, Wanali stresses the sorrow experienced on the death of her son (D.2:63; 84; 362) and alludes to her enforced self-sufficiency

D.2:251

i hangu embera tara...

*I was alone and made to sit in the bush*



Where this dependency is converted by men into outright subordination and discrimination women will, through innuendo and sarcasm, invoke norms stipulating equal status with men before the 'law' (mana):

(Goldman 1983:186)

Agali ge pouni ha harimago meremago  
*We are under the legs of men and so we are giving (indemnity). (sarcastic)*

(Goldman 1981:415)

*He is woman  
 because he wears a string-apron he thinks he is man  
 I am man  
 when my grass-skirt gets too heavy I will throw it away*

(Implicit reference to cultural definitions of man as 'strong' and woman as 'weak'.)

D.2:152-153

The source that you will be saying  
*That is woman and her mind is confused.*

The rhetorical pronouncement by Wanali that she confronts her audience as woman to men (D.2:140-146; 337-372) is an attempt to have reinforced or reiterated a contextually defined parity. These types of ploy are extremely common in cross-sex disputes tending to occur where female claimants experience, or wish to foster the impression of having experienced, bias. The veiled accusation is that males are abusing their power through sexual discrimination in their considerations of claims. This can take many forms. It may be phrased as an attempt by men to obfuscate the 'real' issues by 'covering the source' (tene). Equally, it may charge men with deliberate distortion of truth:

Agali kego hale hai harigo  
*You men have finished hearing the talk.*

Agali binaga o mo tiga bere agile?  
*Why are you straightening the talk only for men?*

Tindule larogoni  
*I am saying they are lies.*

Tindule bi ndodabe  
*It's lies isn't it.* (Field data)

In this particular respect, women evidence a greater proclivity to express their negative assessments of other people's talk as 'lies' (ke/tindule: D.1: 617; 626; 1214; D.2:218; 297; 348; 351-352; 354; 363). This confrontational directness (cf. Keenan 1974:137) contrasts markedly with the metaphorical and circumlocutory nature of male speech assessments. This disjunction may reflect a lack of experience as to male modes of presentation, or constitute a strategy to emphasis incorrectness in intimidating contexts. The latter is a more likely explanation here according as it does with perceptions of disadvantaged status. It is particularly noticeable that, in anticipation of mediators' requests for possible witnesses (e.g. D.1:595-596) to previous events, Dalowa is careful to gradually increase the number of people who could confirm the historical accuracy of her account (nurse 117; aid-post orderly 137; Dalu 204; woman from Andaga 282;

Andira's mother 335, 461; Dabali's father 397; Hiribalu 473; Diliba 504; Kedame 596). A similar familiarity with accredited types of argument is displayed by frequent allusions to acts of claim renouncement as signified by the phrase 'throwing away' (wa halu: 234; 275; 291; 347; 417; 453). By such means Dalowa exhibits a willingness to forget initial provocations and show restraint. Her stated refusal to return to Andira is thus not an impulsive reaction, but a reasoned decision based on past and predicted behaviour of Andira.

Notwithstanding the realisation among some mediators that without divorce the 'stick will still be there' (D.1:1321; 1344), Dalowa (like Wanali) ultimately fails to achieve her desired goals. Assigning relative weight and importance to the many contributing factors to any dispute outcome is inevitably a problematic venture. The complex nature of divorce transactions with their often unwelcome economic repercussions for men has a determinate influence. However, the developmental structure of claim argumentation (as depicted by Figure 1) seems, to my mind, to exert considerable impact on outcomes. Most specifically, the *self-initiated* and *mediator-imposed* forms of autotomy — functionally necessary for goal realisation — serve to promote definitions of conflict which are relatively simple and holistic. There is no separable accounting in decision formulations of the constituent and multiple claims. When allied to the kinds of procedural bias noted previously — giving men the choice of divorce — this reductionism tends to work against women. Furthermore, I would argue these perceptions form part of the communicator's (female) set of expectations and presuppositions brought to any dispute. Some of the accusatory routines examined herein bear testimony to this point. Women, then, conceptualise the *coherence* requirements in disputes as different from those applicable to everyday talk. The surface *cohesion* in opening female speeches, as engendered by a predetermined choice of idiomatic expression, provides the semantic-functional base for participants' interpretations. The kinds of reductionist arguments employed by mediators in the latter phases of an ongoing stream of talk — 'does he/she want to divorce?' — are constructions built on the *coherence* of talk as a 'rational totality' (Östman 1978:103). Importantly, the broad underlying message of female contributions is inferred from the text coloration imposed by the speaker. It would appear that the conversational tactics of Huli women are oriented to accomplishing coherence which, to judge from the absence of any rejection, misinterpretation or questioning of competence (cf. Nofsinger 1983: 257) by mediators, is often achieved but is in itself insufficient to ensure realisation of tactical objectives.

The implications of this study are relevant to nationally defined goals concerning sexual discrimination in judicial fields. The problems are less a matter of language planning than the structural organisation of decision-making bodies and the need to guard against procedural imbalances. How far the conclusions reached here apply to other Highlands societies is impossible to gauge at present given the non-existence of any comparable data base. Nevertheless, the findings highlight an important problem area for legal planning in a social change situation where traditional polities and newly created non-indigenous bodies (such as Village Courts) are male dominated. This may well constitute a needy case for some type of 'affirmative action' policies increasingly adopted by western politico-forensic institutions.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| '         | A high-falling tone   |
| '         | A low-rising tone   |
| (( ))     | Enclose comments on setting   |
| ( )       | Enclose explicatory comment on text   |
| D.        | = dispute number. D.1:35 is to be read as dispute no.1, line 35   |
| ::        | Stretching of the syllable preceding the colons   |
| (2)       | Indicates a time gap the duration of which is indicated by the bracketed number to the nearest half-second            |
| =         | Indicates a lack of interval between the end of one person's utterance and the commencement of a second person's turn |
| [         | Indicates overlapping speech  |
| <u>No</u> | Emphasis by speaker is indicated by underlining   |
| ( )       | Empty brackets signify a failure to retrieve utterances from the sound recording                                      |
| /         | Used for the suffixes -ore and -handala to facilitate lexeme translation  |
| :         | Indicates omitted discourse   |
| foc.      | focussed  |
| sub.      | subject   |
| pers.     | person  |
| sing.     | singular  |
| ref.      | refer   |

## APPENDIX A: D.1

Issue : Action for divorce by Dalowa based on a number of claims including violence during pregnancy, violence against children as witnessed by a local aid-post orderly, and a death threat repeated some six times. These are denied by Andira who counters with claims concerning non-performance of duties and an inordinate amount of time spent by his wife with her parents.

Disputants: Andira  
Dalowa (Andira's wife)  
Hiribalu (Andira's father)  
Hayabe (Dalowa's father)

Date : August 23rd 1977

Location : Ialuba - Koroba District

Outcome : No divorce ensued

## Notes

1. *Throwing away* (wa ha) is used variously to mean renounced, given up, or no further attention paid.
2. The names Tondowa and Hawi refer to a recent incident in which Hawi killed his wife following a marital quarrel. By allegedly couching his death threat in terms of this analogy, Andira is held to have made yobagé – a veiled, covert statement of an intention to kill.
3. *Carry* means to pay compensation for.
4. *Come outside* means to have been publicly revealed.
5. *Saw her forehead*: the forehead is the locus of truth for Huli. All intentions, states and moral conditions are registered here.
6. *The nut tree bears the stem before the nut*: a proverb meaning *there's no smoke without fire* (cf. Goldman 1983:208).
7. *The stick is there*: an expression signifying that the means and motives for killing remain.

## Dalu:

1. Ai bi abāgo Dalowa ibugua howa lalu Andira ina  
*ai talk what's-her-name Dalowa she from has-said Andira you*  
*Ai the talk Dalowa has said is that Andira*  
  
Ibu waraga lu / ore ibu home lolebirago  
*he six single very her death will-make*  
*Will definitely cause her death for the sixth time*  
  
Waraga lu / ore. ibu home lolebirago  
*six single very her death will-cause*  
*For the sixth separate time he will cause her death*  
  
O i mini O unu Hawi manda bialu  
*o my name o down there Hawi when-I-thought*  
*O 'I thought my name was (the same as) Hawi down there*  
  
Ibu mini Tondowa manda birugo  
*her name Tondowa I-thought*  
*I thought her name was Tondowa'*  
Andira said he thought his name was Hawi and his wife's name was Tondowa  
  
Ogoni manda birigo ibu homabe mangabago  
*that you-thought she death didn't desire*  
*When she thought on it she didn't want to die*  
  
Agali O kemirume ogoni dagua mo tiga bialu ladaba  
20 *men o with those of you that like when you have made straight speak*  
  
layagola larimago  
*because-she-said we-are-talking*  
*Because she said, 'You men talk and straighten this' we are talking*  
  
Eh ai nogo ina naribarubi wa halu piridago  
*eh ai pigs you ate those when-threw-away you-went*  
*When you had eaten and thrown away the pigs (i.e. after marriage) you all*  
*went off*

O bi ogoreni howa  
*o talk there from*  
*O from that talk there*

Ibu bole winigoria howa pu tagi hayada ogo dagua layago  
*he will-hit there placed from thrown-outside this like she-said*  
*'From where he will hit me I will be thrown outside' she has said like this*

Ì oneme tindule laruabe? (-rua: sense perception  
*your wife lies is-she-saying-can-he-detect? evidence suffix)*  
*Is your wife telling lies?*

Be henenedabe?  
*truths-can-be-heard? (-da: evidence suffix of having heard)*  
*Or is she telling the truth?*

Hondolemiya  
 40 *let-us-see*  
*Let us see*

Bi ina laridago  
*talk you have-said*  
*The talk you have said*

Ai' la hende  
*ai said-heard*  
*It has been heard*

La hende ndo  
*said-heard no*  
*Not that it has been heard*

Abāgo ina Dalowa ina larigo  
*what's-her-name you Dalowa you have-said*  
*What you have said Dalowa*

O amu Hiribalu hale halu  
*o over there Hiribalu when-has-heard*  
*When Hiribalu over there has heard*

Ì aruni amu Andira ainya hale halu  
*your husband's-mother over there Andira's mother when-has-heard*  
*When Andira's mother over there, your husband's-mother, has heard*

60 Ina agali O kemago hale halu  
*us men o here when-have-heard*  
*When us men here have heard*

Ì hame mbalini hale halu piyago  
*your father's-brothers when-have-heard gone*  
*When your father's-brothers have heard the talk and gone*

Ì agalini hale helo  
*your husband will-hear*  
*Then your husband will hear it*

Ai bi ina abe larigo O ala la dai bia  
*ai talk you yesterday said o first say-it-again*  
*You repeat first the talk you said yesterday*

Andira hale helo  
*Andira will-listen*  
*Andira will listen*

Agali O karubi hale helo  
*men o those there will-listen*  
*Those men there will listen*

O biago la dai beregola  
*o those when-you-have-repeated*  
 80 *When you have repeated those talks*

O Andira ibugua howa  
*o Andira him from*  
*Then from Andira (he will say)*

Bi ogo inaga ndoda  
*talk this mine is-not-from-the-aural-evidence*  
*'This is not the talk I made*

Ndo inagada lalu  
*no mine said*  
*No, that is the talk I said'*

Bi ibugua mani la dai bilo  
*talk he later will-reply*  
*He will make a reply later*

((There is a pause while several women pass through the assembled crowd))

Dalowa:

O agali udugo mbirame ngini ndo  
*o man down there one gave no*  
*Not that a man gave me (i.e. married me) to that man down there*

Inime pene edegoria berewaria ibuwa  
*myself went over there where-I-was-sitting then-he-came*  
*I went myself and then he came to where I was sitting*

Mba layagola pene  
*let-us-go as-he-said went*  
 100 *As he said, 'Let's go' I went*

Ai puwa amu birarudago amu biraru birua  
*ai when-I-went over there sat over there sat sitting-it-can-be*  
*detected*

*When I went I sat over there, and where I sat I am now sitting*

Ai nogo hende halu  
*ai pigs when-tied-up*  
*When the pigs had been tied up (i.e. given in marriage)*

Ai wandari nigo ngiyago  
*ai girl down there was-given*  
*Then this girl was born*

O biyadagoni lowa amu berewaria wandari nigo yamoda  
*o when-that-was-done over there where-I-was girl down there nothing*

ba ho wiyagoni  
*keeps-on-hitting*  
*When that was done, where I was over there, he keeps hitting that girl*  
*for no reason.*

Balu wiabo hayagola howa  
*when-continues-to-hit from*  
*Following his continual beating (1)*

Niguria tida wali homolebira layagola  
*down there nurse-woman will die*  
*The nurse down there said, 'She will die'*

- 120 Ibu dai buwa í ainya abá andaga biraru  
*he returned my mother's father's house I-sat*  
*When he (Andira) had returned I sat at my mother's and father's place*

Baya/handala ibu dai bu berewaria  
*seeing-he-had-hit he returned where-I-was-sitting*  
*Seeing as he had hit her, he returned to where I was sitting*

O (2) ani laya/handala ibu dai bu berewaria ede  
*o thus seeing-that-done he returned where-I-was-sitting over there*

haria ogo halu mbira baya  
*track this times once hit*  
*Seeing that done like that, when he returned to where I was on that track*  
*over there, he hit me one time*

Halu mbira haria edegoria baya/handala  
*times once track over there seeing-he-had-hit*  
*Seeing as he had hit me once over there on that track*

O (1) udu aenogoda andaga pirima  
*o up there doctor's house we-went (pl.)*  
*We went to the aid post up there*

Aenogoda andaga penego ibu lalu ti ini tingini hagu bayadago wane-igini  
*doctor's house went he said they your body weak he-hit children's*  
*nabedago*  
*don't-hit*

- 140 Having gone to the aid-post he said, 'He (Andira) hit a weak body, don't  
*hit children*

O mendeangi teboneangi ogo dagua baragola tiketí mule ibabe  
*o second time third time this like when-he-hits note I-will-give come*  
*When he has hit you a second and third time I will give you an official*  
*note, so come'*

Ogoni dagua laya homolane O bayadagoni la ani laya  
*that like he-said for dying o hitting and thus said*  
*He said like that, he said like that on the subject of dying and hitting*

Ani laya/handala  
*thus seeing-he-said*  
*Seeing as he said like that*

O dai bu berene dai bu beria wandari nigo taba henego  
*o returned-sat while-returned girl down there was-born*  
*I returned and while there this girl was born down there*

Ai taba hono birua gambolene (1) hanalu  
*ai carrying being-there baby when-born*  
*I was carrying this baby, and when it was born*

- Daraboli biago miya/handala  
trouble that one seeing-as-it-gave  
And seeing as I had all this trouble
- 160 Amu Beanda haria polelowa amuguria pialu hebaria  
over there Beanda track when-I-was-going over there where-I-was-going
- amu hariagani gai biya Andira ibu  
over there on the track were-met Andira him  
When I was going down there to Beanda track Andira met us there
- Ibini hangu  
himself only  
He was by himself
- Ibini hangu gai buwa  
himself only when-we-met  
He was by himself when we met
- Iya bi hangu dege gai buwa amu Bebogo uli 0 biago  
we talk only just when-met over there Bebogo cave o that one
- lola haga birima  
we-were-arguing  
We two just talked when we met over there at Bebogo cave and that time we argued
- 0 biago lola haga bialu hemaria  
O that one where-we-had-argued  
Where we had argued on those things
- 0 ibugua lalu bamba biago ibule wiribigo agi bialu baribibe  
o he said before that one will-come you-placed what have-you-done
- laya?  
he-said  
He said, 'You were going to come before now so what have you been doing?'
- 180 0 iba nai bedago wane-igini heba ndobe  
o water there sits children with aren't we-stayed we-said  
'The flood is over there so we (dual) stayed with the children didn't  
we' we said
- Ani biribidago  
thus we-did  
We did like that
- I dindi ni daraboli namule bedabe  
your land down there trouble won't-give you-stay  
'You won't get trouble on your land so you stay
- 0 i'halu mbira bo wa holiya laya  
o I times once hit throw-away he-said  
I am going to hit you to throw you away one time' he (Andira) said
- Ani laya/handala uli dege howa lalu dai biribago nai  
thus seeing-he-said down there just from said we-retained over there
- Eganda haria kebage biagoria howa lalu unu biagoria handa  
Eganda track conjunction there from said down there that-one-there look
- dai bu howa iya amu hondowa halu ibiribagola gi  
when-retained we over there having waited when-we-were-coming hand



agua dola howa  
like this was-pointed

Seeing as he had said this, after what was said down there we returned to the conjunction of tracks at Eganda; we waited over there looking back where we had returned and then he came and pointed his finger like this at us

200 I mini Tondowa  
your name Tondowa  
'Your name is Tondowa

I mini Hawi werabagoni ogoreni howa  
my name Hawi we-are-placing there from  
My name is Hawi and we are placing them there'; from there

O daraboli pu pea harago ogoni buwa i bo wa holiya laya  
o trouble finished this when-done I hit throw-away he-said  
'When I have finished one trouble from before I am going to kill you to throw away' he said

Ani laya/handala amu haria pole wiribago wa halu  
thus seeing-he-said over there track for going we-had-placed threw-away

dai biriba  
we-returned

Seeing as he said this, we threw away the track we had planned to go on and returned

Dai bialu hebaria Dalu ogo ede haria gai biya  
where-we-had-returned Dalu this over there track met  
We met Dalu on that track on which we had returned

Ede haria gai biyagola howa  
over there track when-we-met  
When we met on that track over there

O iya ede hariani Andira ibu bolebiya/handala dai beraba  
o we over there on the track Andira he to-hit-us-seeing we-are-returning

laraba  
we're-saying

220 'We were over there on that track and, seeing as Andira was going to hit us, we are returning we are saying'

Amuali porabi laya abiyabe lalu hearia?  
over there going he-said what-happened while-he-was-talking  
'You were going in that direction so what happened while he talked?' he (Dalu) said

O ani biya/handala dai biriba laribigola  
o thus seeing-it-done we-returned we-said  
'Seeing it was done like that we returned' we said

O iya ogo dagua bole ogo dagua laya nale yamo bolebiya  
o we this like will-hit this like said didn't-say no reason to-hit-us

ani lariba  
thus we-said

'He will hit us like this, he didn't say a talk like this, he will hit us for no reason' we said

Andira didn't say he was going to hit us for a specific reason. We said he was going to hit us for no particular reason whatsoever

Ani lalu iya donge halu wa halu piriba udu andaga pu  
 thus having-said we concealed threw-away went up there house went  
 berenego alendo angi  
 sat afternoon time  
 Having said that we concealed it, threw it away, and went off down to that  
 house and sat; that was in the afternoon

240 O ti bi amugua birua leneyago ni Wali Wano harigani  
 o they talk over there sitting talked down there Wali Wano on-the-track

tagira pialu hebaria lalu  
 outside while-he-had-gone said  
 While they were having a talk over there he (Andira) had gone outside on  
 the Wali Wano track over there

O daraboli O merogo/ore ala bu pea heagoni ayu amu langiruguni  
 o trouble o I-have-very before do-finish now over there I-told-you  
 'The trouble I had to finish from before now, I have told you over there

Hale hariguni  
 you-have-heard  
 You have heard it

I mini Tondowa  
 your name Tondowa  
 Your name is Tondowa'

Ibu mini Hawi  
 his name Hawi  
 His name is Hawi

Ogoni labo mini yaraga ho werebagoni  
 those two names lifted-up placed  
 260 Those two names were placed at the forefront

Ogoni ala bu pea harugo mbiru homeloliya laya  
 that before do-finish-off one thing to-kill he-said  
 'Before killing you I'll finish off on one matter from before' he said

Horo angi dege  
 day time just  
 That was in the day

Alendo ani laya  
 afternoon thus he-said  
 He talked like that in the afternoon

Egerepage ede pialu hebaria layadago  
 morning over there while-we-were-going he-talked  
 In the morning, while we were going over there, he also talked

Ani laya/handala iya mbirabi la nabi  
 thus seeing-it-said we one thing say did-not  
 Seeing it was said like that we didn't say anything  
 Seeing as he had threatened to kill us we said nothing

Donge ha wa halu libu palenego  
 concealed threw-away those-two slept  
 It was concealed and thrown away, and then they slept

- Palebaria egerepage  
*while-they-slept morning*  
 280 *While they slept in the morning*
- O nai Andaga wali ibu hale henego ina layadago  
*o over there Andaga woman she heard us said*  
*A woman from Andaga had heard (of these things) and talked to us*
- Ibugua howa O í ainya abá la bereria te layagola howa  
*her from o my mother father both where-sat story when-was-told*  
*She told her story where my mother and father were seated, and then*
- O udu Bauwa Tombe lamiya ma lowa  
*o up there Bauwa Tombe let-us(pl.)-talk let's-go it-was-said*  
*It was said, 'Let's go and have a talk up at Bauwa Tombe'*
- O wa halu mende tebone angi lelowa hama lala  
*o threw-away second third time having-let-him-say open-space said*  
*wa harimagoni*  
*we-threw-away*  
*This talk was thrown away too. A second and third time we let him say*  
*those things in public, and when they were said we threw it all away*
- O biagoni kiru (I.5)  
*o those two*  
*That was twice*
- Tebone angi O biagoni Sunday nape/ore bialu hebaria  
*third time o that one Sunday hadn't-passed-very where-we-were-doing*
- 300 amu hina pu hanalu ibalu hebaria nai  
*over there sweet potato having-gone-carried where-I-had-come over there*
- hariga dai buwa  
*track returned*  
*The third time, one Sunday hadn't even passed; it was over there where we*  
*were working. Having carried the sweet potato I had returned on the track*  
*I had come over there*
- Hina hailo wa halu ogoni dagua bolebiya  
*sweet potato pulled-out threw-away that like to-hit*  
*When he had taken out all the sweet potato and thrown them away, 'Like that*  
*I am going to hit you'*  
*Andira emptied out all the sweet potato and said he was going to hit me*
- Bo wa haluya ani  
*hit throw-away-I-heard-said (-ya: previous evidence suffix) thus*  
*laya/handala dai biriba*  
*seeing-it-said we-returned*  
*Seeing as he had said, 'I am going to hit and throw you away' we returned*
- Ogoni angi tebone angi  
*that time third time*  
*That was the third time*
- Mane angi (2)  
*fourth time*  
*The fourth time*

- 0 nai amu andaga puwa hina bialu ibugua marume  
*o over there there house had-gone sweet potato done he some people*
- 320 tigua tomo dawalu healalu daro ni heago gange dugualu nalu  
*they food when-cooked were-there taro down there were raw pulled-out ate*  
*Over there at that house I had gone to get some sweet potato, there were*  
*others there cooking sweet potato. He (Andira) pulled up a raw taro and*  
*ate it*
- Bampkin gange nalu buwa mini pongo ni biagoria biraya  
*pumpkin raw ate had-done mind tied-up down there that-one he-was-doing*  
*He ate a raw pumpkin, his mind was tied (confused) and he was doing those*  
*things there*
- Birua bo wa haluya ani laya/handala iraga ( ) ede  
*doing hit throw-away thus seeing-it-said climbed ( ) over there*  
*He was doing those things. Seeing as he said, 'I am going to hit and throw*  
*you away' we climbed up over there*
- 0 ibu ainya ibuwa ogo dege biayayago agibe berebi lowa  
*o his mother when-came this just used-to-do-we-know what doing said*
- udu biagoria lai lama ( )  
*up there that-one-there argument everywhere ( )*  
*When his mother had come she said, 'You both used to do just like this.*  
*What are you doing? You are making an argument everywhere'*
- Ani biya/handala 0 (2) ede Haluma ibu bi haleneya  
*thus seeing-that-done o over there Haluma he talk had-heard*  
*Seeing it was done like that, Haluma over there he heard all the talk*
- 340 0 ede Andira ainya ina handa ani layua ede wali agali  
*o over there Andira's mother you look thus he-said over there women men*
- hina dugu piyago ede larogo  
*sweet potato dig went over there I-am-saying*  
*'You look' he (Haluma) said to Andira's mother over there, 'where the*  
*people have gone to dig up sweet potato I am saying'*
- 0 ogoni dagua bo wa hole biya/handala ogoni dagua lala  
*o that like to-hit to-throw-away seeing-it-done that like said*
- dambia halu wa halu pirima  
*closed-down threw-away we-went*  
*Seeing as he was going to hit and throw me away, and that he had said like*  
*that, the matter was closed and thrown away and we went off*
- Ai ogoni tebone angi eh mane angi  
*at that third time eh fourth time*  
*That was the third time, eh the fourth time*
- Daune angi (1)  
*fifth time*  
*The fifth time*
- 0 amugua hina mbira pu hebaria  
*o over there sweet potato some where-we-had-gone-to-get*  
*Over there where we had gone to get some sweet potato*

360 0 kego / ore gubalini gi ya handalu ogoni dago mbiru homeloliyago  
*o you-are-there truly breasts held that just some day to die*

nahomole ndogo ogoni mbira laya  
*not-you-will-die no that one he-said*  
*'You are truly there' and then he held my breasts. 'Like that some day you*  
*will die. Not that you won't die'. He (Andira) said that one thing.*

Ani laya/handala ibu ainyabi ibu damenebi kagoni ti 0 tini  
*thus seeing-it-said his mother his relations there they o themselves*

hangu kemagoni i mo walene nahea ndodabe ani laya  
*only we-were you make held no-one is-there thus he-said*  
*Seeing it was said like that, his mother and relations that are there,*  
*'They are by themselves but there isn't anybody to help you there is there?'*  
*he (Andira) said like that*

Ani laya/handala ani lelo palelo iya paliriba boyagua  
*thus seeing-it-said thus to-let-speak to-sleep we slept if-to-hit*

bolelowa  
*to-let-hit*

*Seeing it was said like that, we let him speak for we wanted to sleep. We*  
*slept. If he was going to hit us then we would let him hit us*

0 nabe dege  
*o did-not-hit just*  
*He didn't hit us*

*Andira didn't hit us on that occasion*

380 Ogoni angi 0 daune angi  
*that time o fifth time*  
*That was the fifth time*

Ai ani bigi binigo ogoni ainya berelowa bini hangu ogoni  
*ai thus it-was-done that mother sitting done only that*  
*That is what was done while my mother was sitting by herself*

Ai lebe homelolwa 0 tigi anda wandari tigi anda  
*ai two-days-ago when-she-was-sick o hospital girl hospital*

ibiya hayagola aila polene?  
*since-she-came who should-go*  
*Two days ago when the girl (Dalowa's daughter) was sick in hospital we*  
*talked about who should go*

Toba howa bialu hebaria Dabali ab'a beraria ma  
*didn't-know where-we-were-doing Dabali's father while-sitting let's-go*

lariba  
*we-said*

*We didn't know. Dabali's father was there and said, while we were sitting,*  
*'Let's go'*

Dabali ab'a ma lowa  
*Dabali's father let's-go when-said*  
*When Dabali's father had said, 'Let's go'*

Ina haru puwa dai bialu hemaria ede harigani  
 we together when-had-gone while-we-were-returning over there on-the-track  
 yu howa  
 met

400 We went together and were met while returning on that track over there

O ore nabole / ore i emabia nahole wa ore  
 o definately I-won't-hit-definately you won't-shake throw-away very  
 kogoni

I-am-here

'I am not going to hit you, truly I won't shake you so stop the talk,  
 I am here'

O ibu naga mbalini ogoni ela halu baragoni ani laya  
 o his sister that touched hitting thus he-said  
 He was touching and hitting his sister, he said like that

Ani laya/handala (1) O i wa haruguni ogoni dagua laya  
 thus seeing-it-said o you I-am-throwing-away that like he said  
 Seeing it was said like that, O 'I am throwing you away' he (Andira) said  
 like that

Manda nabido ogoni dagua laya  
 don't-understand that like he-said  
 I don't understand why he said like that

Ani layagola wa halu pu birariba  
 thus when-he-said threw-away went we-sat  
 When he said like that we threw it away and went and sat elsewhere

420 Pu berenego.ogoni angi O i ainya homayagoni i ainya dugu biraruguni  
 went sat that time o my mother died my mother I-wailed

ede biraabo hene  
 over there continued-to-sit  
 I went and sat. That time my mother died and I wailed for her. I continued  
 to stay over on that side

Ai ala biago O wandari taba hanalu biraribadagoni  
 ai before that o girl carried we-two-did  
 We two were doing that (arguing) when I was pregnant with this girl

O ega kira birariba  
 o months two we-did  
 We did that for two months

Ega mendegoria i ainya homayagoni  
 month second my mother died  
 On the second month my mother died

Ega tebonegoria i ainya dugu biraruguni  
 month third my mother I-wailed  
 On the third month I wailed for my mother

Ai ani binigo  
 ai thus done

440 It was like that

Ede bedewaria lebe ne tomo biago namiya nogo  
over there while-we-were two-days-ago food that let's-eat pig

dawamiya lalu  
let's-cook said

Two days ago, while we were sitting over there, he said, 'Let's eat food  
and cook pig'

O biago layagola amu haria Andira i ainya hame la  
o that when-he-said over there track Andira your mother father both

lamiabe ani lalu hewaria  
you-tell thus I-said while-we-were-there  
When he said that, I said to Andira, 'Tell your mother and father'; that  
was while we were over there

I ndogo ini handalu bia laya  
I no yourself go-and-see he-said  
'I am not going to go. You go and see them yourself' he said

Ani laya/handala wa halu ina hondo piru  
thus seeing-it-said threw-away I went-to-see  
Seeing as he said that I threw it away and went to see them (Andira's parents)

Ina hondo piruria  
I to-see while-I-went  
While I had gone to see them

Ainya ibugua limbi lomba (reduplicative) biya  
mother she anger was-making

460 His mother was angry

Iya baba bi laya  
us with talk said  
She made a talk with us

Lai bi laya  
argument talk said  
She argued with us

Ani laya/handala (1)  
thus seeing-it-said  
Seeing as she said like that

Ede hame ogo beraria piru  
over there father this where-he-was-sitting I-went  
I went to where his (Andira's) father was sitting

Hame ogo pialu O lamialu ibu nogo dagandia ibaguago  
father this when-I-had-gone o when-told his pigs' house I'll-come

dai bidaba laya/handala  
you-return seeing-it-said  
When I had gone to his father and told him, he said, 'I'll come to the  
pigs' house so you all return'. Seeing as he said this

480 Dai buwa ede mabu hina bialu hebaria Andira ibiniya  
when-returned over there garden sweet potato where-worked Andira he-came  
When I had returned Andira came to where I had been working with the  
sweet potato

Ni kegoni / ore ai mabu kebe unu pu yaridago  
*down there you-are-there definitely whose garden are-you-on those went-held*  
 eberegoria ngela pole. ibu laya  
*those leave to-go he said*  
 'You are down there, so whose garden are you on? Those things you have  
 held, you leave them and go!' he said

Edegoria ndi lalu beregoni O nogo bole ndi lalu bedago  
*over there secret said you-there o pig to-kill secret said you-were-there*  
 ai hondo ibiribe ibu ainya hame la ibiridagoni ani laya  
*who come-to-see his mother father both came thus said*  
 'Over there you made some secret talk. You made some secret talk about  
 killing a pig so who did you come to see? You came to see my mother and  
 father' he (Andira) said

Ani lowa ibuwa i baya  
*thus when-said when-came me he-hit*  
 When he had come, and said that, then he hit me

I bayagola howa O inaga wane ibu ainya ibugua dugu hanalu piyaya  
*me when-he-hit o my daughter his mother her picked-up-carried went*  
 500 When he had hit me, his mother picked up and carried off my daughter

Dugu hanalu piyagola ibugua i bayagola howa igiri Diliba  
*picked-up-carried since-she-went he me when-he-hit boy Diliba*  
 nahenedale  
*if-not-there*

Since she picked up and carried off the child, and after he (Andira) had  
 hit me, if that boy Diliba hadn't been there

O i henemane bo ngale ogorieni  
*o I truly would-be-killed there*  
 Then I would truly be dead

Ai igiri Diliba henegome minalu O tigua minarimigo mangaba layago udu  
*ai boy Diliba was-there caught o they caught he-didn't-like up there*

andaga puwa tai bu piya  
*house went went-to-search*  
 The boy Diliba was there and caught him (Andira) which he didn't like. He  
 went off to his house up there and Diliba went off to search for him

Au biya dagua Diliba talima piya (1) O udu andaga payenda ho biraya  
*how done like Diliba followed o up there house closed to-stay*  
 That is how it was done and Diliba followed him and closed him inside  
 the house

O Hiribalu ibiya ibugua minaya  
*o Hiribalu came him caught*  
 Then Hiribalu came and caught him (Andira)

520 Ogo dege buleyago O biagoria howa gungu biya  
*this just to-do o there from they-fought*  
 They were going to do these things and from there they fought

Ani buwa lalu hariga obenenibi gai beragoriabi O ogoni bolego  
*thus when-done track that one met o that I-will-kill*  
 When that was done, 'For the track and our meet I will kill you  
 After that Andira said he would kill me for the incidents on the track  
 and the time we met



Nu timbuni hene Hiribalu ibu bedagoni to wa haluya ogoni hangu  
 bag big there Hiribalu he sits to-kill throw-away this only

layago  
 he-said

There is a big bag. Hiribalu sits there. I will kill you to throw away'  
 he said only that

Hiribalu carries the compensation for when I kill you. Andira said that

Ibu ainyahanda ibu honowialu  
 his mother him carried-placed  
 His mother gave birth to him

I hamehanda i honowialu i ainya hame lame.  
 my father me carried-placed my mother father both.  
 My father bore me, both my mother and father

O nogome dege dawa honowiagago ai i ainya aba lame mbiyaore honowinigo  
 o pigs just many used-to-bear ai my mother father both one bore  
 Pigs used to have many children but my parents gave birth to only one child

540 Homole i mangaba dai bialu i manga larogoni  
 to-die I refuse to-return I refuse I-am-saying  
 I don't wish to die or to return I am saying

Ogoni dagua ba bo hayagola au layagola ( ) i ainya gende halu homane  
 that like as-going-to-kill as-that-said ( ) my mother heavy was died  
 As he was going to kill me like that, because he said those things, my  
 mother was grief stricken and died

Ai i aba ogoni dagua lamuleda  
 ai my father that like will-tell  
 'I will tell my father like that'

Dalowa said previously that she would tell her father of what had happened

Ani buledagonaga manga timbuni harogoni  
 thus for-to-do refusal big I-am-staying  
 In order to do that I am remaining in a state of refusal

Andira:

I didn't think of saying anything  
 Now I am here

For the talk on killing, it should be thrown away  
 That woman there (Dalowa), what is in her heart has come outside I am saying  
 She said, 'You ate the raw pumpkin and taro'. O those ones she has lied  
 I don't know anything about killing that woman, truly I am saying  
 I wanted to cook and told the small boy Haluma, 'Heat the stones'

560 I said, 'Let's go and cook sweet potato' and then I pulled up the taro  
 Then while I was doing that they came and got the sweet potato and they  
 jumped over (i.e. contaminated) it; with the spade she dug up the garden  
 Men, I was digging for sweet potato and she came and jumped over them  
 Ai like this it used to give trouble; 'I am throwing it away and going, ai  
 Haluma, you come and we will cook food'  
 The one thing that was said was that only  
 The raw pumpkin and taro she has talked on  
 For cooking food with Haluma it has been said and done, only one thing was  
 said O

I don't know what she is talking about down there

She has said what is in her heart  
 The matter over there at Bulibi track has been said, I did a Damba (compensation payment) two days ago, a pig was killed and cooked there yesterday  
 They (the compensation recipients) said, 'You kill pig. One female pig and twenty kina pay. You come and give those' they said  
 For saying, 'Come and give' it has been thrown away. The pig and the twenty kina have gone so we throw it away. 'I have put a pig at Dai's father's place down there. You two (i.e. Dalowa and child) throw it away and go' I said

'Ai you have made two talks

You (Dalowa) go and kill and give pigs to Hiribalu for the trouble Paqubi gave

580 The pig from before is at Dai's father's place so we'll give that one

I am going to give the pig at Dai's father's place for the compensation

You two (i.e. Dalowa and child) go off and throw it away

You two go back to the house over there or go over there' I said like that

When that was said she argued with me; 'The cooked pig, the head and intestines should go to us. Where is the pig?

Seeing as she said that I threw it away and came

That was the second thing that was said

I don't know about anything else that was said. [They

Dalu:

I am saying something, wait

Ai Tondowa and Hawi have been marked (i.e. named), so have you said the pigs are coming now?

Andira:

I didn't mark it (i.e. make the analogy)

The talk that is coming now, about the woman that was killed and thrown away (i.e. Tondowa) she had argued with men and continued to argue with them

Now I am here. 'Don't talk to me like that, you (Dalowa) go' I said

I said like that

What Hawi has done is over there, and now I am here I have said

Egawi:

Were those two people (i.e. Andira and Dalowa) by themselves there?

Or were there many people gathered when you had the talk?

Dalowa:

Kedame was up there and he heard it

Payawi:

When you were up at Ogobi over there nobody else was there

Over there where Hiribalu fought, when they were taking the taro out, then what's-his-name was there (1) Haluma was there when you were taking the food out

Andira:

Down there we had the fight

While I was coming, Wale was one, and Dalowa and the little girl Gauni, they were all going together over there

They laughed there

When they had laughed, Dalowa and the woman Wale they laughed up there too

Because they laughed O I was angry

They were laughing while going  
 They did like that  
 Following their laughter I went  
 'We are just walking around aimlessly' (they said) and then they laughed  
 O I hit Wale and while I was hitting Wale, Dalowa caught me  
 O I didn't hit her (i.e. Dalowa) and I went off  
 I got hold of and hit Wale  
 'You (Dalowa) go' I said. 'If I touch you with my hand blood might pour out'  
 It was said like that and I went off I am saying

Dalowa:

He is lying on those  
 For the laughter, I don't know (what he is talking about)  
 His mother was sick so did he bring sweet potatoes for her pigs? You should  
 620 have done it but I did it. So why are you angry?  
 Having said that, so why are you angry? I was coming, following that woman  
 I was going to throw it away (i.e. the laughter) so do you understand or not?  
 He came, caught and hit Wale  
 Having done that we fought  
 'O I am not going to touch you' he said. 'You go, I am hitting Wale only'  
 he has said  
 I am saying what you have said is lies  
 I am not going back to his house, truly I am saying

Egawi:

She won't return back  
 Alright, that man there has looked after pigs. [ 'You =  
 Kuyago: Over there

Egawi:

= go' we didn't say that. You saw each other by yourselves and you went  
 (i.e. married)  
 When the talk has been said then it will be straightened  
 Once we have talked about this then we can settle it

Dalu:

On the day that you took out all the sweet potato, then he hit you  
 When you were carrying sweet potato over there  
 O what was said?

Andira:

That time she was carrying sweet potato O I didn't hit her  
 When I came there I said, 'You are not digging the gardens, you are just  
 640 carrying sweet potato all the time; what for?' She said, 'There is your  
 sweet potato' and she threw it at my chest

Dalu:

On the ground or outside?

Andira:

No, in the drain  
 Seeing as the sweet potato was there I went  
 Gauni and myself were going down there and I said, 'O I have one garden so  
 you come and we will dig'  
 She said, 'Here is your sweet potato' and seeing as it was thrown at my chest

*I didn't hit her back, I didn't reply back to her, I just went off  
You (Dalowa) are not making gardens, you just keep digging out and carrying  
off sweet potato*

Hiribalu:

*The pigs and the gardens that are there you yourselves are going to see them  
with the eyes*

Dalowa:

*Those ones I have said  
He saw you people and he is talking  
When he saw all of you he started making up the talk  
That woman, his mother, told you yesterday, so did you hear it or not?=-*

Hayabe:

*For those ones (talk) when you hear his talk then you want to eat his  
penis (expression for being angry)*

Dalu: ((see Goldman 1983:273))

*Now you are sitting there decorated  
No, when you go down there anger will come out  
You will be making a big insult to us men here  
660 You will expose your arse down there  
You will rudely gesticulate down there  
It is not just you we are saying  
For man and woman a mana (custom) has been placed there  
On the public space it shouldn't be said and carried outside  
'Ai that man there is killing me  
I am not going to die' (this is what Dalowa has said)  
We are saying you have said, 'Speak to make me stay alive'  
O that one (i.e. talk) we are talking on  
Let us do it (i.e. talk) to keep her alive*

Hayabe:

*'I am the sister of Tondowa' we are talking on what you have said  
We are talking on the parallel you have drawn between yourself and Tondowa*

Dalu:

*Don't say any talk, you sit, we are talking  
Ai, will some of the others talk then? (4)  
Ai the talk Hiribalu has said  
Yesterday it was put (made)  
The talk that your (Andira's) mother said yesterday was also said  
We heard it and are carrying it  
Ai the talk you have made and answered back now, I have replied to  
Now that woman (Dalowa) over there are you (Andira) refusing?  
680 Or 'That woman is my wife' will you say that?*

Andira:

*I didn't say, 'I don't want her'*

Dalu:

*Now, are you saying, 'That's my wife, my wife and daughter sit down there?'  
Or 'That woman is a different woman sitting there, that's not my wife?'*

Au manda bu kebe laro?  
*how you-thinking are-you I-am-saying*  
*How are you thinking about this I am saying?*

Andira:

*I am here to say, 'My wife and daughter are sitting down there'*

Dalu:

*Who is talking?*

Andira:

*I am*

Dalu:

*You say, 'I am a different man*  
*I never used to play*  
*The talk is in me'*

*I am mature and capable of solving this matter*  
*Did you think that is your wife and child there?*  
*Or did you think that was a different woman?*  
*That is how it is I am saying*  
*You have said, 'That is my wife and child'*

Andira:

*You send her back to my house*

Dalu:

700 *Ai you have said, 'I am going to say give me pigs (i.e. the bridewealth*  
*back); give me only pigs I am going to say*  
*I don't desire that woman'. You have said like that*  
*Ai did you think that was your wife?*

Andira:

*I only said, 'Don't sit there all the time'*  
*You men there, do you ever just marry and throw away the pigs?*  
*The father of the pigs or the father of the girl do they do like that?*  
*Where is such a man?*

Dalu:

*We never stayed like that*  
*O we never stayed like that, see*  
*O the one who will answer the talk*  
*O, the girl's father is there*  
*Ai because she sat at his house, the talk about that one that has been said*  
*(i.e. about Dalowa staying away), she sat there*  
*Ai the one who gets your (Dalowa's) hand will hold onto it, they will hold*  
*firmly*

*If your mother holds you then she will hold firmly*  
*If your father holds you then he will hold firmly*  
*Like that you will be carried off*

*Now you are sitting there*  
*Ai when your mother has held onto you*  
*When you have held onto yourself*

720 *Then you will be carried off*

For the seven talks that have been made (i.e. about Andira's behaviour) she should sit there

Not like this now

For the fighting, arguing and death threats that have been said

Ai pull them out and throw them away

Ai they are nothing (i.e. of no consequence)

Yesterday your mother told us she has seen a sign (gandeba: premonition of the future) and we all heard it

Yesterday your father told us he had seen a sign and we all heard it

Now you said we are holding them so will you (Andira) carry Dalowa and your daughter away down there?

Or will you say, 'No, we are saying leave them here?'

You have said, 'That's my wife'

You have said, 'No, that's not my wife'

You have said, 'The pigs will be given back (i.e. there will be a divorce)'

Have you said, 'For sitting with Hayabe (Dalowa's father) the pigs will come back?'

Because Dalowa stayed with her parents there will be a divorce

Andira:

You all think of the days and years (i.e. that Dalowa has stayed away)

((overlapping speech)) ( )

Dalu:

The crying was yesterday

The crying was yesterday

One month

740

Andira:

Who is the man who just marries women and throws them away?

((overlapping speech)) ( )

Dalu:

The crying was yesterday

The crying was yesterday I have said, and it has been seen

The crying was yesterday, one month ago

Ai Dalowa and Andira had made a war

The talk now (1), seven talks have now been said so is that the only times when you have cried?

When Andira himself has replied then

When Dalowa herself has replied, O

Her mother was alive but died while her father was there

They were doing it (i.e. fighting) on the same day she was buried

That was a good thing (sarcastic comment)

No, we never used to do like that

When the smoke comes from the skeleton we kill homanego (funeral pigs); this used to be done first

Bi ogoni dabadaba

talk these choose

You all choose the talks to be said

Egawi:

There won't be any man there to choose those things (i.e. talks)

760 The mother and father will talk  
 'O this boy is getting trouble with this woman  
 That woman (Dalowa) has been sitting there  
 She followed to her father's place'  
 We will talk =

Hiribalu:

= What your father is saying  
 What numba (pidgin for councillor: i.e. Dalu) is saying  
 What the middle-men are saying  
 You listen  
 What the mother has said  
 The source (i.e. of this trouble) was said while we were all there  
 What the mother has said (i.e. reported Andira as having said is),  
 'My wife I used to hit'  
 [ ( ) ]

Gangaro:

You men there  
 You have said, 'An angry talk and an argument can be said'  
 The talk has been covered over and you have both stayed for two years  
 We are saying the mana (custom) goes on the track of our ancestors  
 We are saying that man's wife has held (the trouble) in, and on those you  
 have got angry

Andira:

I was angry, the talk said now makes it seem as if we were enemies

Gangaro:

O not that those things said can't be said  
 780 They can be said can't they?  
 For two years you (both) have been talking  
 With sticks or axe or 'I hit you'  
 If the witnesses talk on these, or if you have lied, then truly that woman  
 (Dalowa) is going to die and we will have a court (i.e. it will go to the  
 official courts)  
 When the witnesses see then they will court this man  
 It is true for two years you have looked after this woman  
 'This woman died yesterday'  
 The witnesses will say Dalowa died only a short time ago  
 'One month' you have said down there, but she is going outside  
 She has stayed over there (i.e. at her parents)  
 She has stayed at Dabali and Gambogoba  
 And then they will take that man Hayabe to court  
 We are saying, 'Let's go to court'  
 The source is that she has been held for one year; they have been arguing  
 and fighting with axe and stick and she has been hit; she is going to take  
 you to court  
 She will say, 'I am angry' and she will talk on the days she has been  
 staying away  
 Then truly they will share it  
 Truly the matter will be debated  
 That's how she will reply

- 800 'I married that woman (Andira will say)'. But now you have hit her once with a stick and it has been carried outside (in public) with the father (i.e. of Dalowa)  
 'We go to court' it has been said  
 First we said, 'Let's go and see what the aid-post orderly says'  
 That time we threw it away  
 We never used to hit women when they were pregnant  
 Hiribalu heard it  
 'I am giving you'  
 Hiribalu heard the orderly tell Dalowa he was giving her a note about the hitting  
 For that one you hit her with a stick  
 The doctor saw it, the aid-post orderly saw it  
 'I'll give you a note' it was said  
 That's how the talk was placed and that is one source (bi amane: source of the trouble)  
 Now we are talking from that point and it is climbing and mixing with a second and third talk and it is hard, it is a hard talk (i.e. difficult to 'soften' or 'settle')  
 Because they are choosing (the talks), if she says, 'I was sitting for two years' or 'I wasn't sitting for two years'  
 Then they (the witnesses) will say, 'That woman has made a true talk'  
 We are saying then, 'Let's say the father (Hayabe) was also making a true talk'  
 For the two years, the middle-men and witnesses will be saying, 'She is telling the truth'
- 820 If they say that then truly he (Andira) used to hit you  
 Now, have some people seen it or not?

Ganabi:

Now what we are saying is this  
 The one for killing, the man who came to that woman for killing, seeing as he is there, we are talking on it  
 If there is no law there for the woman  
 You will see when she has borne a child, it will grow strong and return here  
 When we pull out all the pigs (i.e. divorce)  
 He (i.e. the son) won't know the source of this  
 The son won't understand why his parents divorce  
 O if it's like that then the source will become bad  
 We are the middle-men  
 Woman, your husband is down there  
 Man, your wife is down there  
 That is how it is when we have trouble with a woman, half of the talk will be with middle-men  
 You left a little talk there and we will see on the mana we are saying  
 For that man and woman there, it is true they are biting themselves like pigs and if they scatter away then truly the stick for dying is placed there  
 If she returns you (Andira) won't know what to do

Gangaro:

- What your mother said yesterday. 'I am not going to carry (i.e. pay compensation) for your bones'
- 840 Andira's mother said she won't be responsible for compensation if Dalowa is killed  
 She said that yesterday =



Ago:

= 0 ayu ina biyime dabale kemaria  
 o now we talk-holding-men to-choose where-we-are  
 We middle-men are here to choose the talk where we stand  
 Yesterday Hayabe and Andira's mother said one talk (i.e. made the same talk)

Gangaro:

Yes

Ago:

O what your father said yesterday, he has said the same talk today  
 What you have said is joining it  
 Hayabe and what's-his-name's mother made one talk

Gangaro:

From Hiribalu there was one talk, his wife and daughter are sitting down  
 there  
 He replied like this, 'A big bag has been carried there, are you the one?'  
 He said someone is assuming responsibility for compensation, is it you  
 Andira?

'I am not carrying any bag' he (Hiribalu) said

Then the mother burnt a house there

Then the mother made a big issue out of this

'I am not going to walk around' (the mother said)

When somebody was hitting he (Hiribalu) used to stop them

'I don't know why you are hitting, you didn't say out' =

860 'I don't know why Andira is hitting he didn't tell us' Hiribalu said

Hiribalu:

= What the mother has said, the source has been said like this

Gangaro: [Those two  
 For two years Hiribalu you have been talking

Hiribalu: [Now  
 We are in the second year now

He has got two blocks of garden, another is flooded

If the middle-men want to see it with their eyes then we should see it =

Gangaro:

No

Hiribalu:

= The woman planted her digging stick there and then went off

Gangaro:

What's that?

She sat there, truly it's the second year now or has the second year passed?

Hiribalu:

The woman (Dalowa) has been staying there

I thought the husband and her were coming to visit me so I stayed over there

That's how I thought

Hayabe:

*You didn't think like that =*

Gangaro:

*= You didn't think like that =*

Hayabe:

*= This could become an argument*

*We are going to talk on the one when you said, 'Don't come here*

*[you stay over there']*

880 Hiribalu: *[O for that one, am I going to creep over the woman's thigh*

*Was I going to have intercourse with my son's wife?*

*We can see all the men are here, if we are going to talk on it then we*  
*should talk ( )*

*I am sitting here and my strength is gone*

*He (Andira) is going to kill [me*

Gangaro:

*[ ( )*

Hiribalu:

*Wait*

*He is going to kill me [O*  
*((multiple overlapping)) =*

Hiribalu:

*= Wait*

*He is going to kill me, not that he isn't going to kill me*

*Are you listening?*

*I sent his wife to stay there, but he (Andira) didn't hear what was said*

*Only the woman heard it*

*Other people didn't hear what was said; are you listening?*

*The aid-post orderly said, 'The baby is going to die' it was said while I*  
*was sitting there*

*'We'll choose a good woman so you go and sit there' I said*

*The man (Andira) didn't hear it*

Egari:

*He doesn't want to make lies, the Administration is here now so he doesn't*  
*want to lie*

*Didn't he say, 'That woman is going to die?'*

*Ai I thought I married a bone (i.e. a strong woman) but I think I may have*  
*married a flesh (i.e. weak woman)*

900 *You choose what you want to do and then stay' it was said like that*

Hiribalu:

*If she dies (2), well I am not sick any more like I used to be and we can*  
*still walk around*

*I am still capable of seeing to matters should she (Dalowa) die*

*Now the children are going to die it has been said*

*So who is going to choose a good woman?*

*'You (Dalowa) sit where your father and mother's place is' I said*

*Having said that, O, 'You sit there' I said like that*

Hayabe:

*That year has been broken (i.e. upset)  
I am going to say a little something  
That year has been broken  
The woman that was pregnant (i.e. Dalowa) has been broken (upset by Andira)  
The pigs that were shared (i.e. the bridewealth) have been broken  
When we shared those pigs how did the woman stay?*

*Following the bridewealth distribution how did Dalowa conduct her marriage?  
You count from when the woman was pregnant or when the pigs were shared and  
then break it off there*

*Let's count the months of trouble either from when she was pregnant or when  
the bridewealth was distributed and then finish off on this matter*

Payawi:

*Since you shared the pigs has one year passed?  
[ ((multiple overlapping)) ]*

Hiribalu:

*Once when the woman there came to Gambogoba we saw her forehead (i.e.  
intentions)*

920 *[Gama's father (i.e. Gangaro) made one talk here  
((multiple overlapping))]*

Hiribalu:

*He (Gangaro) made a small talk and then he cut it off, I heard  
'The children's mother shouldn't be hit with a stick' =*

Payawi: *[That's a good talk isn't it]*

Hiribalu:

*= They all went to the aid-post and heard the talk  
Over there at Gambogoba we all heard the talk  
On that day at Gambogoba over there we saw her forehead  
How did she stay I am saying?  
They had gone to the aid-post and when they returned they stayed over there,  
and then the child was born  
When the child had been born, one month didn't pass and her (Dalowa's)  
mother died  
A different talk now will go there on another track, so you all go off*

Gangaro:

*O for that one, you hit her a second time down there  
She was pregnant and ready to give birth and that was a second time  
Once you hit her over there before she was carrying children, and she  
nearly died but ran off  
It was like that the first time, and we are saying the second time was just  
the same  
It has been seen, the stick, the hitting, I am saying, both times  
When woman has something inside her we men never used to hit woman with  
children inside there  
But you have hit twice I am saying  
Twice you have hit her and it is coming outside now (i.e. being made public)  
940 Now that it is coming outside, and you have said you hit her twice  
Having done that all these things are mixing together*

On all these things only yourselves (i.e. Andira and Dalowa) used to talk about them

When you said, 'I am going to kill you' there were no witnesses

'I didn't say it' you (Andira) have now said

'No, he said it' that's what you (Dalowa) have said

Not like this

There is no third person now, but a third person came out when you hit her before down there I have said

Another time the aid-post orderly saw you had hit her, 'I'll give you a note' he said, it has been said

The source of this talk are these two things which have been placed here

The other things (i.e. issues brought up) are just being mixed together  
(mo tago)

Payawi:

A third talk Hiribalu said up there, I am not interrupting

Hiribalu said, 'You come and go'

The aid-post orderly said, what's-her-name, 'Dalowa, you come to Fugua'

He (Hiribalu) made a talk like that for there was a stinging pain there

'You stay over there' he (Hiribalu) said. 'You find a strong woman and

stay with her, go' he said like that

The talk of Hiribalu is that talk

960 Hayabe: [ Ai

Gangaro: [ ( )

Hayabe:

I am saying something

The time she was hit she went to the aid-post and a note was given

The second time she was hit, 'O bring the note' he (aid-post orderly) said

'I'll give you another note and we'll go to Koroba (police station)'

When the note was there he (Andira) said, 'I never touched the children,

you all return' he said

That was the first time

The incident that occurred later

O when we have chosen (the talks) we will say it was done like that

Gangaro:

This is how you two have been doing

You have been arguing and fighting like man and wife; we thought like that

'I am coming outside, I am saying' your wife

Your wife said she was bringing this issue out into the open

Ai now what we are saying

'You (two) have done like that so come and talk'

We are not saying that

You should have finished this off when her mother died

From the fight the source came out from there

The pig that you looked after you didn't eat, you threw it away

'You go' she herself said like that too

980 We are saying all the talks got mixed together

Hayabe:

When the mother died she was really heavy (i.e. with grief), so you talk on how it was

Gangaro:

*We are saying like this  
'You will do what you said' it was said (by Andira)  
'My wife will return, I am thinking like that'  
You (Andira) didn't say like that  
Ai it went outside  
I am going to talk like this  
Like this let us do it*

Hayabe:

*I am talking for the baby she is carrying down there  
I brought her back from the aid-post and I built her a house, the smoke is  
ready now*

*I built her a house and the smoke can be seen coming from it*

Gangaro:

*For that I am talking  
All those things (issues) you have been cutting them off for two years now  
The fighting and arguing that have gone Dalowa has talked on and Andira  
has talked too  
All those things that have come outside now, 'You all talk on these' I  
have said  
'I have said these things and I am going back'  
'I am throwing these things away'  
You (Andira) didn't say you will say this  
1000 'I am going outside (i.e. into public)' you said  
You shouldn't want to talk about going outside. No  
'I'll follow and bring her back' or 'Let's go to court' (Andira should say)  
'Those two sources of the talk will take me to court and imprison me' or  
'They won't imprison me, they are nothing (bamo: of no consequence)'  
If you (Andira) have said these things then will you say, 'I'm leading my  
wife back, let's go and hear the mana (court) over there?'  
I'm replying to your wife so she can hear, I am saying a straight talk  
What is the talk now?  
The woman's fathers and brothers have talked with you two and all those  
talks we have seen and heard  
We have heard that the pig wasn't cooked and eaten, that you threw it away  
and went. So for that one you talk  
It has come outside now, I am saying like this*

Andira:

*I didn't say, 'Let's go and cook pig'*

Gangaro:

*She said, 'He said it' so was it said or not?*

Andira:

*No*

*What that woman said I didn't hear it =*

Gangaro:

*= 'Let's cook pig' it was said. Did your affinal relative say something  
or not?*

Andira:

1020 *It was while I was returning from the compensation payment in Wabia that  
they sent someone to get me  
When they had sent someone for me I arrived  
When I had arrived then he (Hayabe) he said like that (i.e. 'Let's cook pig')  
That woman and man made a talk like that down there  
Seeing as they had made a talk, when a man wants to eat something or do  
something, then if a sour talk is made we never used to stay for these  
((overlapping talk)) ( )*

Gangaro: *[ When you arrived there did that man (Hayabe) say something, an  
important talk and did you hear it?*

Andira:

*The people were talking with us both, that woman (Dalowa) has said it*

Gangaro:

*Not that woman down there  
'You have changed one talk' she has said  
That is your wife so you leave that one alone  
Not like that  
That man down there said, 'We'll cook pig so you go and see that man' it  
was said  
And then another talk was added and it was said on another's forehead  
(i.e. in front of him); that time you looked after a pig and you threw  
it away  
We'll talk from here  
Your daughter is sitting down there and you have fought and argued with  
her and it has gone inside your heart  
When you wanted to cook a pig you made a talk like that and added other  
talks  
1040 Are you going to say like that (now), I am saying?*

Hiribalu:

*You all didn't marry his wife and so you are not going to talk  
For making it straight we'll finish off like this  
'I am going back up there'  
Dalowa should say she is going back to Andira  
Andira, 'That is my wife, I am not going to throw her away'  
When you have said that then it will be finished straight  
I used to marry and throw away (i.e. divorce) women  
I used to divorce women but you, Andira, shouldn't do the same*

*[ Can you see, wait  
Gangaro: [ We are here ( )*

*The one (Andira) they bore and threw out there, that is the one that married  
He is going to hit her himself  
He is going to bring back his wife  
He is going [ to court himself*

Hiribalu: *[ ( )*

Gangaro: *[ His wife's relatives are there and they have  
made a talk, to you reply =*

Hiribalu:

= I once killed a chicken and tore it into pieces with an axe, for that they thought Pagubi had killed someone

Truly, he (Andira) is not going to kill her

- 1060 Andira won't kill Dalowa because he knows the violence I am capable of  
 My son used to come to my house and clear out the excreta  
 He didn't have a spade or a stick to dig it away  
 If someone cut her neck off and I buried him (Andira) then I should say  
 he killed her

Payawi:

The mana (law) is there, it is on man's son [ himself  
 Gangaro: [ 0

The affines are there

The girl's father is there

You all are the middle-men, the ones who used to marry women

'I am throwing her away' (or)

'She (Dalowa) is a sweet one and I am eating (i.e. keeping her)' (or)

'Now, I am throwing her away, when she is ill I am throwing her away' (or)

'No, I'll break the bones' (or) 'No, I won't break the bones

She is his (Hayabe's) daughter so I will send her back'

These talks are for court, that's all

You did the pigs (i.e. the bridewealth) for him so why are you (Hiribalu) getting pain?

He used to talk with his wife there, he never used to talk with you

If he is lying or telling the truth it will be seen

Men, that woman down there made an important talk

You (assembled men) never said, 'That woman down there is lying'

So we will throw it away

This talk came outside and was hitting people

- 1080 The matter has come to the public attention and people are finding it painful

The source is from the time the stick came outside and the aid-post orderly saw it down there

It was like that I have said

Ai ogoreni howa bi mbira unu Hayabe ibugua layadago

ai there from talk one down there Hayabe he has-said

From there Hayabe has said one talk

'We'll kill and cook pig so you (Dalowa) go and look for pig'

So what type of talk did you make, and then you stayed, I am saying?

Purawi:

Which talk was like an arrow (i.e. sharp and penetrating) and then you stayed, I am saying

Gangaro:

Yes

Andira:

That man didn't say anything

That woman said, 'I am saying don't come here, but you have come'

When she had said that she was going to do some things and I stayed

Then I said, 'I am going' and I went

- Gangaro: [One talk  
 Kabo: [The thing you have said you didn't come here to choose  
 There was a thing to be done but you didn't come here to do it  
 For that one you went away and we were angry  
 We were angry because you didn't kill funeral pigs when you were  
 supposed to  
 1100 But (we didn't say), 'Come back and find out what happened'  
 No, the eating of the pigs was for nothing, we didn't see your forehead  
 and you were searching around (for the cause of all the trouble)  
 The nut tree bears the stem before the nut  
 That woman (Dalowa) down there made a small talk but you scattered away  
 What is the source, you are looking to choose the talks  
 The source (of this trouble) has been thrown outside and now you are  
 searching for it  
 What you have said now is nothing, it is on top (daliga: superficial)  
 It was done like that we are saying  
 You didn't eat with that man (Hayabe) and you threw it away, there was no  
 talk made. The ones who should eat the pigs have eaten, but they didn't  
 cut them off and throw them away. For the pigs and dogs we are talking  
 Those ones have been left like that  
 These are the talks that you have placed there  
 'That woman (Dalowa) down there I am going to cut with an axe, I am going  
 to kill you and throw you away'  
 'He (Andira) has eaten the raw taro (a sign of extreme anger), while the  
 children were there he hit us and threw us away  
 I think he is going to kill us, the one he hit before that was my spirit  
 When he finishes the job then I will be dead, I am thinking that I am not  
 1120 going to go with you' she (Dalowa) has said  
 Your father (Hiribalu) up there never does pigs (bridewealth) with his  
 affines like this  
 The mother and father who are tied up there, we never see the talk of  
 their affines  
 We never hear of any trouble between your parents and the respective  
 affines  
 They are not saying, 'We are going to give you back your (Andira's) pigs' =  
 Hayabe:  
 = No  
 The talk (of divorce) will be put there  
 We are saying, 'You reply back to us on this'  
 Payawi: No, [wait  
 Kabo: [I'll reply, to let me speak you wait ( ), stop  
 We will do it like this  
 From you, 'O that is my wife' did you say like that now? (2)  
 Did you say, 'My wife' so she can reply back?  
 Andira:  
 O 'Don't sit down there, you return to your house' I said  
 Kabo:  
 What you are saying is like trying to build a house while water is there  
 (i.e. attempting to construct a marriage on unsound foundations)



*It is not like building a drain beside the road  
While the water is there you are putting a roof on the house  
In your mind one small talk is going there and it might be bad  
For that drain what are you saying?*

1140 *For the roof what are you doing?*

*In your heart you are happy I have said  
The talk that is inside your heart, you say it*

Andira:

*These things I don't know, so we all go to court  
You all go to court*

Ola:

*What Kabo has said is an important talk*

Andira:

*Did anyone say there is a person with Toro (deadly sorcery) up there who  
will kill you, so sit down there?*

*Did anyone tell you there is sorcery there so you (Dalowa) should sit at  
your father's place?*

Ola:

*I am talking because she said, 'I am not going back'*

Hiribalu:

*For the talk that was said yesterday it is being said like this  
Dalowa, you swore and the talk went outside, the mother over there (she  
said)*

*It was done like that, and after the swearing then with your tongues (i.e.  
talk) you two were arguing and cutting each other*

*Don't say anything, leave those things*

*Andira, you have pulled it out from your forehead*

*Andira, you have said what is truly in your heart*

*You (two) were carrying sticks to hit each other so when you do like that  
you are not going to sit in front of my forehead ( )*

Gangaro:

*'I am not going to carry the daughter's (Dalowa's) bones' he has said*

1160 *Andira will refuse to pay compensation for Dalowa if he kills her*

*I am saying*

*He said only one thing*

Hiribalu:

*He (Andira) has the one thing only*

*'She (Dalowa) continues to stay up there at that house (i.e. her parents'  
place)'*

*He saw her face one day and then he hit her*

*When he had hit, 'I'm not going to carry (compensate for) her' he said,  
it has been said and heard*

Gangaro:

*He said like that*

*He held it over there and went off*

Yesterday he (Hiribalu) said, 'You have been staying with your father down there

You showed your face one day and it was hit'

Following the hitting, 'I am not going to carry (compensate) your bones, for you have been staying like that over there'

Truly what you have been saying is coming out here now

Now, not like that

You are mixing it together down there (i.e. compounding the issues)

He didn't say this and went, if you say this one later then you will be covering it over

Dalu:

'She stayed away for a long time' he has said

( )

When they were staying at home I used to see them fighting each other and now we are seeing the pain there

1180 From these troubles we are not going to see it

For that man's daughter (Dalowa) you are tying a knot (making trouble)

Hiribalu has said a talk like this

Gangaro:

((tape reversed five seconds of speech lost))

Now we are saying with the boy's mother; when she was pregnant they built a house

When she is the mother of two or three children you (Andira) can look after it, if she is the mother of one he (Hayabe) can look after her

When she had borne he (Hayabe) looked after it but that is nothing (of consequence)

'This woman has brought the talk out into the open and it is going inside my son like an arrow, with the stick it is hitting him' it will be said you should say this and it will be heard

Hiribalu will be urged to say that by Dalowa's actions of bringing the issues into public his son will get pain from the talk

'Like this she is making garden or looking after pig' and when you (Andira) have said a talk like that then the main talk will go there

Men, what did they used to do?

'The talk is in that woman' we will say like that

'With your own talk you (Andira) are cutting the stick (i.e. revealing your plans)' we will say like that

All these things are not understood

You were hitting her and I used to say you are hitting for nothing and stop them

1200 'I am not going to carry the bones' he (Andira) has said

'My son has a big bag'

Hiribalu has said his son has a big capacity for compensation

'I am going to carry her in my bag' he (Andira) said yesterday

: ((Two speeches relating to extraneous events have been deleted here))

Gangaro:

Now, while we are thinking about it here you two have argued like a wife and husband

The woman has said it to make it come outside

You have been arguing and fighting like wife and husband  
 You take your wife away  
 Your talk has been heard down there  
 You are not going to make this talk  
 The talk you have said is, 'Let's pull out (divorce) the pigs for that  
 woman, I don't want her'  
 If what is in your heart is that you don't want her then it will be  
 coming outside  
 'I want my pigs (bridewealth) back so you go' you will say  
 And then we will go to court  
 When we say, 'We are throwing it away' it won't be settled  
 ( )

Dalowa:

When he talks he is saying lies  
 When we were by ourselves my mother was ill  
 'What are you two doing' she asked  
 Then she got heavy (i.e. grief stricken) and died

Andira:

That woman and child stayed where that house (Hayabe's house) is  
 ((overlapping talk))

Gangaro:

- 1220 The talk that man (Andira) is saying now, 'My wife and daughter return to  
 my house  
 One year (they have stayed)'. O that one you have said is a lie  
 One of the source talks is that you hit that woman and it has come outside  
 and been seen  
 'Let's go to court, you (all) go and get him' it has been said  
 'We'll go to the doctor first' it was said, and then he (Andira) said he  
 didn't touch the child  
 Then it was said, 'Don't hit her' and a second time he hit her  
 The talk will come outside from this man (Andira) and it is coming outside  
 'O the talk he said up there is lies' (Dalowa has said)  
 'I pulled out the taro' you (Andira) said, but she said, 'You ate the  
 raw taro'  
 One of the talks has been exposed already  
 'I never touched her' (Andira said)  
 'Who are you, you are lying' it has been said  
 'I haven't eaten the taro' you said, but she said, 'You touched the taro,  
 you ate it raw and you are lying'  
 The small boy that was there with you, he will speak  
 Now you are wandering around but what belongs to dama (malevolent  
 supernatural beings) is of a different order  
 When it comes then truly the dama will get space inside you and then we'll  
 go to court  
 When you lie then truly the spirits will have possessed you
- 1240 'That woman will return home  
 Let's pull out the pigs (i.e. divorce)'  
 We shouldn't say this  
 One agalini la lai gungu timbuni habane keba haruago mo hada  
 wife husband both argument fight big heart anger is-there make untie  
 hamiya  
 let-us

*Wife and husband have had a big argument so let us untie the anger in their hearts*

Ogoni hangu  
that only  
That's all

Hayabe:

*We are saying, 'Are you a small boy or a man?'  
Do you want those ones you have borne?  
We will say the sources (for this dispute) so you come back  
((Andira had been gradually making his way to the perimeter of the meeting which was interpreted as indicating an intention to leave the dispute))  
The talk is still in progress (wene), so you come back*

Dalowa:

*He never brings any food to us, he is hitting us and I have said these things by myself I am saying  
'For going back to him, I don't want this' I am saying  
That is Andira's child  
If he doesn't want to divorce then I am carrying off my daughter*

Egari:

*'Andira you come up there, I am not going down there (to your place)' she has said  
Did you hear that?*

Dalowa:

1260 *When my mother died he didn't come  
It was like that so I don't want him  
Without a special reason he never came  
When I was mourning with these two, he never came  
For carrying sweet potato to us he never came  
When I had finished sitting there then we wanted to eat pig*

Andira:

*I was making a compensation payment*

Dalowa:

*Compensation, no  
You were thinking of doing pig but I didn't say anything*

Egari: [ 0  
For, wait

*For the fighting and arguing that have been done the middle-men are not going to say, 'Pull out the pigs (i.e. divorce)'  
The talk you are saying, 'Andira, you come up here; if I go there then there might be no witnesses and I might die'  
Are you (Dalowa) talking to say a talk like this?  
Or, 'Andira, now it is finished' are you saying that?  
I am saying*

Dalowa:

*Over there he will be doing all these things and now it is finished*

Ogoni dege laro  
 1280 *this just I-am-saying*  
*I am saying just this*

Egari:

*You are saying a talk to finish the marriage*  
*Are you talking to do the pigs (divorce)?*

Dalowa:

*The men with mana (knowledge of custom) will share the talk and with the*  
*talk will say, 'Go'*

Egari:

*With the husband*  
*With the woman's fathers and brothers*  
*I have seen them get many troubles*  
*We have seen many making talks like these*  
*What you have said over there are just jokes*  
*'We were angry and we did these things' you (both) speak*  
*For anger, for hitting, for these things you are refusing him*  
*You are saying a talk like this*  
*No, when you say, 'Finish' in court, and when you have chosen the talks*  
*in court*  
*'Let's return home', this talk say I am saying*  
*For divorce I am not choosing the talk now*

Dalowa:

*What he said for killing he is saying he didn't say*  
*For killing he has said it eight times*  
*That's all I am saying*  
*Ai two days ago I said a straight talk, a middle talk, and I went*  
 1300 *When he had hit me, his father was carrying a heavy bag to give me*  
*Andira's father was willing to pay compensation to my family if I died*  
*I am not going to return*

Egari:

*She is not going to go to your place over there, she is going to Gambogoba*  
*Andira should talk on that, part of your land is there and another part is*  
*over there*  
*'I am not going over there' she has said*  
*So what will you say?*

Dalu:

*That woman there has said, 'I am not thinking of Andira'*  
*She doesn't want to die and she is finishing it now*  
*He is saying, 'You come over here' =*

Egari:

*= If they say, 'We are not coming up there' then in your heart what will*  
*you say I am saying?*

Andira:

*'She won't sit over there' I am saying*

Egari:

[ No  
((multiple overlapping))  
= If she says, 'We are staying over there' then what will you say I am saying?

Andira:

I don't know what to say for those talks  
If she stays over there, and if she stays over here, then she will be going back and forth I am saying

Dalu:

The talk you made up there, what were you chasing after?  
O when you don't divorce, she is still not going to come I am saying  
1320 O how will you divorce?  
What is this talk of divorce?  
O for killing her the stick will still be there and she won't come I am saying  
For pulling out this talk, then when Hiribalu and Andira have pulled it out  
When Hayabe has pulled it out  
The talk that has gone on this road (i.e. Ialuba) is, 'Throw it away'  
Ai the talk I am saying is Dalowa is lying  
There is nothing in Andira (i.e. no liability or fault)  
No  
We are saying what Andira has been doing  
We should all say a talk like this and cut it off now  
It is raining now  
The talk which you keep throwing out should be left now  
She is not going to come I am saying  
Which talk is pulling out the stick?  
Which talk is going to kill Dalowa  
The stick will still be there and she is not coming it has been said  
If you say the talk is in us (i.e. to settle this issue) then we will go to court on Thursday  
All the talks are lies and we have gathered them here  
You married that one so if you say, 'I am carrying her off' then truly we  
1340 will see the matter finished  
The girl's fathers and brothers, you all go  
They will stay together over there  
When this talk has been said, then cut it off I am saying  
It is getting dark now so let's say, 'We go'  
  
((Some of the participants had begun to dissipate and two speeches were inaudible on playback))

Gangaro:

Women and men used to argue and fight and this is like that it is said  
In your mind now do you think we are divorcing your wife? What are you saying?  
Or do you think it is the woman herself?  
One talk has been placed on the road here  
When you are with your neighbours, your friends, will you think the talk has been mixed and is coming outside, I am saying?

Andira:

*I don't know, I never used to make a long talk for women  
You all go home, I am going*

((Following Andira's departure informal talk occurred among small sections and recording was discontinued))

#### APPENDIX B: D.2

Issue : Ogoli claimed that Wanali had accused him of involvement in her son Baro's death by drowning. This accusation is idiomatically referred to by the phrase *the stick (i.e. for killing) is in you*. The text shows the generally bad relations between Wanali and her husband Garibe on account of the latter's failure to provide her with adequate land and housing.

Date : February 19th 1978

Location: Ialuba - Koroba District

Outcome : The matter remained unresolved after protracted debate and Ogoli did not pursue his claim any further.

#### Notes

1. *Source (tene)* refers to both a person and/or issue identified as primary in the causal aetiology of the dispute.
2. *It's in you* means *you are to blame*.

Ogoli:

- 1 *O now, 'The stick is in you' you said over there, I am saying. Did you say it?*

Wanali:

*O i ha tene lenedago dabalimu lo ala laro  
o me in source said you-choose to-say first I-am-saying  
It has been said the source is in me. In order to say, 'You choose (the talks)' I am speaking first*

Garibe:

((inaudible))

Wanali:

*Uru nale libi laba (reduplicative) nalabe  
those don't-say stutter don't-say  
Don't say those things and don't stutter  
Tene / ore dabama bialu agua dagua leneda laga  
source definite we-choose when-done how like said used-to-say  
biabeha ndodabe?  
can-be-done can't-it?*

*When saying, 'Let's choose the sources' it's possible to talk like we used to isn't it?*

*Ayu i ore uduali bamba i Baro homaiya/handala piruguni  
now me very up there before me Baro died seeing-it I-went  
Before, seeing as Baro had died, I went away*

*O biago mangabiyene  
o that one I-didn't-want*

20 *Because of that I didn't want to stay*

*Agali eberego ibugua biyago hondo ha dege bialu  
man that one he did saw just did  
I saw what that man (Garibe) had done*

*Wali haga la binigo honda ha dege bialu mangabiyene  
woman second-wife with did saw just did didn't want  
I saw what he did with his other wife and I didn't want to be there*

*O aila biruleda lalu?  
o who to-sit-with I-said  
'Who shall I sit (stay) with?' I said*

*I igini Baro iba piya / handala piru  
my son Baro water fell seeing-it I went  
Seeing as my son Baro had drowned I went away*

*Pene iba piya / handala pu birarua  
went water fell seeing-it go where-sitting  
I went and seeing as he had drowned I went to where I am now*

*That man (Garibe) there came and was looking for me, he came with Dalu to  
fetch me back and I came on that track there two days ago  
When I arrived, 'Why did you come and get me?' I said*

40 *'I came with your husband for the argument you've had, for the argument'  
O Gangaro said like that*

*'I am doing this, saying this, staying here' - this wasn't said (at the time)  
'Seeing as you were holding something you just went'  
Gangaro said that as I was thinking of some trouble I just went away  
from it all*

*Now O, 'We are here to hear the source' it has been said*

*O you are talking down there on those*

*O, 'You come back' (they have said to me)*

*O, 'Your pigs and money used for buying, you give them back' (they have said)*

*O because that was said, since Dalu talked about my money and pigs, 'You  
go' I said*

*They said, 'You go with your children, you all go*

*You go back to where your husband is'*

*That's how it was done*

*We were looking for the place*

*'Let's go back (we, the family said) 'but my house that was there before  
was destroyed and bad, and I was going to break it down*

*Ai the old gardens had been completely covered and dug up and I went, so  
then that was that*

*'I am not coming back, so you all go' we said. 'I am going off'*

*'Say, "Go and chop some wood and make the house first"' it was said*

*I told them to tell Garibe to chop wood and make my house before I return*

60 *'I'll tell that to that man there'*



*'Let's build the house'  
I didn't want to build it myself*

*Igiri biago dara honowiya / handala i piru  
boy that one sorrow carried / seeing-it I went  
Seeing there was grief over that boy (Baro) I went*

*O and then you came  
O that one, O he said, 'You all sleep with that woman, Hidamu's mother  
over there'*

*Garibe told us to sleep with Hidamu's mother  
O, 'Seeing as you have given land and houses to Hidamu's mother there why  
are you throwing me down there with them' (I said)  
Before, one thing was said*

*One land*

*One house together*

*For those things that woman (i.e. other wife) was big and strong (in her  
desire)*

*My gardens were taken*

*My houses were taken*

*Now it's been done like this. 'You are there staying bad and with leprosy'  
(Garibe said) and I went away*

*On this land and houses they will stay*

80 *Now why have you come to fetch me I am saying?*

*I am coming and going, when my gardens have been dug up and my sweet potato  
eaten they will stay there*

*I have done like that*

*When I had carried and cried for my son Baro, I went*

*You have told me twice*

*You have told me three times*

*For the one that bore the son?*

*Is that the sort of thing the father of a dead son should say to the  
mother?*

*O biago lari / handala pu haabo halu piruguni  
o that one you-said seeing-it continued to-stay-together I-went  
Seeing as you had said that, and that you continued to stay together, I  
went off*

*Now we have argued, but I was going to say a different thing*

*The one that was born, is that your son? Did you hear him?*

*I stayed and threw it away; just a little, for three days, and then I went*

*Where I was sitting they were looking for me up there. I was making business*

*With my money I got some sweet potato and they looked to see how much pig  
or sweet potato I had*

*They (Dalu, Gangaro and Garibe) were looking for me up there two days ago*

*And then they brought me down from up there*

100 *O truly, not that I wasn't doing anything up there*

*God up there, on that track, he provided. Shouldn't the husband give too?*

*When the men had looked for me I went*

*Now that's a good thing you have done*

*To say, 'Shall I come' you should say, 'Let's make a house'*

*When I came to where he was, he said, 'You go and sleep in the men's house  
in Hiwanda'*

*Ai, 'You have to come here so what have you done?*

*Now you go and sleep with the other wife' he (Garibe) said*

Seeing as he said that, I went, but what was the source of why I went?

'You make a house' I am saying

'Cut down the trees and let's make the grass roof so I can come'

'Are you going to sleep with me?' (Garibe said)

O, men and old women they never sleep together

'I'll be going back and forth so I'll wait for my son Dindipu' it was said like that

Then Dibawi's father and Digima came to gather and talk about my returning home or not returning

From there O, 'You (Wanali) killed and hit your son Baro'

Dibai's father and Digima

Dibai's father and Digima said that I had killed my own son

'With what did I kill him, was it a stick?

120 Did you see me hit with a stick or hand?'

'We never kill the one we bore' my husband said like that

'Are you arguing with them now' I said like that

I didn't know it was in them (i.e. the responsibility for Baro's death)

It has been said, 'It's in you (i.e. me)' I am telling you I am going off

O biago tindule Dibai abá ibu

o that one lies Dibai's father him

Dibai's father (Ogoli) has told lies

You, just you

For no reason, while I was down there, that man told lies

I didn't say to that man (Ogoli), 'How did you kill him?'

I am saying like that

O truly it is sufficient or it isn't sufficient, we will see how it was said

I have argued with my husband over there

How did I point my hand and say, 'It's in you'. I don't know, that's what

I will say

O up there he (Garibe) was on one side and he (Ogoli) was on the other side

'Did you talk to me?'

Ogoli asked if I talked to him

When that was said he talked to give it to me (i.e. the blame for Baro);

that was the track this issue came on, I am saying

140 I said, 'Truly he drowned', and then I went off

: ((Another two minutes of speech recounts an argument over payment  
: for a pig))

I agali

you men

You are men

I walida lowa ndodabe

I woman said wasn't-it

'I am woman' it was said, wasn't it

:

Garibe:

Throw away all those talks

Throw them away, the men down there are getting swollen stomachs from  
the talk

Those talks are not the source

That isn't the source

Hagai: [ Source

Wanali: [ The source that you will be saying

'That is woman, and her mind is confused (burugu)'

Garibe:

*Dangeria came and Baro came and we were talking =*

Wanali:

*= I didn't talk on that one*

Gurubugu:

*That one (talk) is not going anywhere*

*O we are saying the men are doing it*

*You are going around and winding the talk in men and women*

*It is not bearing fruit, it is in progress (wene)*

*It isn't a productive talk, we are still debating*

160 'I am mad' you said

'I am not mad' you said

*So which is the mad talk you are holding there?*

*Which is the source you are talking on?*

*What have you said with that man there?*

*You have said, 'That man there killed my son' you said that first*

*O for that one a source has been placed there*

*'I said, "That man there will carry (compensate) for him (Baro)"' it has been said*

*We are here making that one come (making the talk on it happen)*

Hagai:

*You are coming on one important thing I am going to say*

*Down there it has been placed like this*

*Dama (supernatural beings) went there*

*Hambu (deadly sorcery) went there*

*Poisoning went there, it has been said*

*All these possibilities for your son's death have been mooted*

*O 'My son was killed' you have said like that*

*Which one of these talks should be said, we will say*

*The source is from here*

*How did they go up there?*

*They went by foot*

*From there you were talking on your son*

180 *Ai Dangeria came and your son came, both on foot*

*If you want to talk on that then we should talk from there*

*No*

*If you want to talk on how the wife and husband have argued and fought -*

*No*

*That is nothing*

*It will be thrown away*

⋮

*O down there, first, he (Baro) went to the water and he fell in*

*Ai Dangeria and him were swimming together and he went*

*When Dangeria came down there, how was the talk said' (with him)?*

O from there the story (te: of the drowning) went inside you  
 The talk on this matter had a profound effect on you, Wanali  
 Since it went inside you then wife and husband argued and fought, and you  
 were both pulling yourselves there  
 To choose these issues, speak, I am saying

Wanali:

Ai you have said like that to me  
 What have you said?  
 If you are going to say like that, I am not coming  
 I am talking for pulling him out  
 I am talking to bring the issue of my son into the open  
 'Yourself, did you come to pull it out and eat?'  
 My husband said like that when we buried him  
 200 A second time when he had come back (Garibe said)  
 'Have you come to cook Baro's death compensation?'  
 O, 'We did it together, we bore him together, it was an accident he  
 drowned. Yourself what have you said?'  
 I hembo tandaga biyago i nadai bule udu bedogoni / ore  
 I anger pain had I will-not-return up there I-am-sitting truly  
 Iarudagöni  
 I-said  
 I was angry and hurt. I said, 'I am not returning, I am staying over there'  
 When that had been said they were together up there, talking like we used  
 to talk  
 Then Digima and Yuguai said, 'You killed him'  
 'Did I kill him with a stick or an axe?'  
 Hewa kill the ones they bore, Dugube do it  
 Our foreign neighbours the Hewa and Dugube peoples, they kill their own  
 children  
 With what did you see me kill him?  
 Those two men (Digima and Yuguai) are different (i.e. not of sound mind)  
 Wives and husbands used to argue all day and come and go  
 That is a different talk  
 O that one (i.e. the killing) is causing me to be angry  
 Since that was said  
 'It's in you' - I don't know what he (Ogoli) means  
 'It's in you' - O Dibawi's father (Ogoli) has said lies  
 We are saying you told me, 'It's in you'. That is lies  
 220 That's all

⋮

Hagai:

Ebere i horombe haganego Iarego  
 that one you daytime used-to-stay you-are-saying  
 You are talking about how you used to stay in the day  
 Ayu ina tene yaruago tene ago yide?  
 now you source holding source which you-held  
 Which is the source you are now holding?

Wanali:

Tene ogoni  
source that  
The source is just that one

I anda dindi uru  
my house land those  
My house and my land

O i hagalene lai gungu la bule / ore mangabiyene pene  
o my co-wife argue fight both will-make truly didn't-want went  
I didn't want to fight and argue with my co-wife so I went

Hagai:

Ndo  
no  
No

Ogobi ndo / ore  
240 this no definitely  
It is definitely not this

Tene irane /ore kuni mbira yidago la  
source reason very bone one holding say  
You say the real reason and source, the bone between you that you are holding

Wanali:

Tene irane ogoni  
source reason that  
That is the source and reason

Hagai:

Ogo bamo  
this nothing  
This is nothing

Walani:

I hangu embera tara / ore bere lalu  
I along bush different very when-made-to-sit  
I was alone and made to sit in the bush

Inaga wane-igini hewago ina haru hea lalu i erekui biabe mangabiyene pene  
my children there I looked-after I tired doing didn't-want went  
I was tired of looking after my children there and I went

Hagai:

Ogoni bamo larogo  
that nothing I-am-saying  
I am saying that is nothing

260 O bamo  
o nothing  
Nothing

Irane kuni /ore mbira yuwa i igini unugo / ore  
reason bone very one held your son down there very  
naduguabehego  
shouldn't-be-pulled-out

*When you held the one reason and bone, you shouldn't have pulled out the  
issue of your son*

Inime dugualu haridago  
*yourself pulled-out there*  
*You pulled out the issue yourself*

Irane kuni / ore mbira yidego  
*reason bone very one holding*  
*That is the one reason and bone you are holding*

Wanali:

*They are doing it to me*  
*For my son I really didn't want it*  
*I didn't want to raise the body from the water*  
*Ai my husband over there said, 'You pull him out yourself'*  
*I didn't want to do it*

Hagai:

*O you are saying the argument you had over there*  
*One track down there is that you thought on your son*  
*Over there he had drowned*  
280 *He fell off a tree*  
*No*  
*He died*  
*'He died' we said like that and we were throwing it away*  
*But you raised your son's name*  
*You brought the matter of his death up again*  
*Your mind is continually on that*  
*Kuni irane / ore mbira mbiyaore ( )*  
*bone reason very one only one*  
*That is the one bone and reason together*

Wanali:

*I didn't know what to do, I wanted to see his (Baro's) body*

Hagai:

*To see his body?*

Ogoni naga irane / ore mbiyaore yidego  
*that for reason very only one held*  
*For that, that is the one reason you held*  
*When you held it, then you spoke*

Wanali:

*I am not holding something, not holding, O mother (exclamation)*

Hagai:

*No*

Wanali:

*Don't say like a lie*

Hagai:

*What lies?*

- 300 *The boy's body turned to sand and you threw it away*  
*When Baro died then the issue was dead*  
*For what you have said, that is the one thing you held*

:

*You should say you want to talk*  
*O it was done like that*

*Iba piyagoni*  
*He drowned*

*Homaiyagoni*  
*He died*

*Ira piyagoni*  
*A tree fell*

*Dandame bayagoni*  
*He was killed with a bow*

*O then we buried him*

*Agalime bayagoni*  
*A man killed him*

*O then we threw it away*  
*O this man has paid you in your hand (Garibe is your husband)*

*Hinule*  
*He will look after (you)*

- 320 *Honowule*  
*He will bear (children)*

*Hongole*  
*He will plant (gardens)*

*If another man is there while you are there, then you will get trouble*  
*The source is in you and you are making it come*  
*All these big things (issues) you are carrying everywhere, they are nothing*

*Onene agalini la lai gungu bialu howa*  
*wife husband both argue fight since-done*  
*You have argued and fought like a husband and wife*

*For that one you are saying you are angry*

*Wanali:*

*I wasn't talking backwards and forwards with you*  
*I was talking with my husband*  
*I was talking to him and I thought, 'It is in you'*  
*I am saying, 'It is in you'*  
*If you are making it so that it is in me -*  
*Now O God is up there*  
*O my God will choose*  
*Now that is what we will say*

*Ayu i O bedo wali*  
*now I o sitting woman*  
*Now I am here, a woman*

- 340 Ayu ti agali  
 now they men  
 Now they are there, men  
 I am on this road with you alone  
 I didn't say, 'Let's have an argument'  
 I thought it was in you  
 You thought to finish the matter off and put it in me so you said, 'Let's  
 say that'  
 You thought to put the blame for Baro on me in order to finish this whole  
 dispute
- Hagai:  
 You were saying that up at Peronge
- Wanali:  
 That's a lie
- Garibe:  
 While up there
- Wanali:  
 Eh::::O:::eh  
 Why are you saying lies?  
 Why is he saying that?
- Hagai:  
 Another mana (custom) is like the shout you have just made (sarcastic  
 comment)
- Wanali:  
 That's lies  
 That man is by himself it has been seen  
 Now my son Baro was only one  
 I am carrying it has been said  
 I'm responsible for his death they have said  
 Now all of Koma clan you join together and do it (i.e. pay compensation  
 for Baro)
- Ago:  
 Koma we are talking, so you listen
- 360 We are saying how you two should stay and how to straighten it up
- Wanali:  
 No, I am saying what are you talking about?  
 I am the mother of the dead and you are talking for me to carry him (Baro),  
 those ones are lies I am saying  
 .  
 .  
 .
- Gangaro:  
 Agalime bi damene ayu laremago agua laga  
 men (-me: focussed subject) talk all now we're-saying how used-to-say  
 wirima  
 we-paced



*Men, all the talk we are saying now we have put like we used to do*

Ina agalime                      larimagonibi  
*we men-with (-me: agentive) we-said*  
*We said the talks with men*

Bi walime              larimagonibi  
*talk with-women we-said*  
*We said the talk with women*

Ai bi    ina larigo agali ha ogobi anda    piyada  
*ai talk you said    men    in this    inside went*  
*The talk you have said, it has gone inside men (has penetrated them)*

Au lo        mitangi bialu    bi    debene la dai nabirabali (1) wali  
*how to-say when-thought-on talk sweet    never-reply                      woman*  
*When we have thought what to say, for a good talk we never used to answer*  
*back to women*

⋮

380 *Alright then*

*Ai that woman over there what have you said then*  
*You came, 'Let's make the house' (you said)*  
*Then which is the mana (custom), you placed this in order to say it (i.e.*  
*the mana)*

*The talk we are saying down there, 'Truly she came and she has talked*  
*to stay'*

*'You should have brought the talk' they have said*

*No*

*'I am going back' you will say*

*O, 'When they have found the talk then, seeing as it is like that, I will*  
*come back'*

*From that talk you are following that track*

*You have said, 'You (Garibe) go'*

*Ai before we talked like this and with the talk you rebuked us, you are*  
*sitting there now and you will say that one*

*Ai it is like that now, the talk is going everywhere like the hard nuts*  
*that have been eaten (i.e. scattered around)*

*For going backwards and forwards I have made a talk*

*For travelling back and forth I have already said what I think*

*The talk you made we have thrown away*

*Then you came back down there, 'Yes, the house we talked about, I am making'*

*Then you are saying you came back?*

400 *Anda maga    mo    beregedane    walimedago beregedare ago    hondoliya au*  
*house struts make    turned around woman                      is-turning what let's-see how*

*laru*

*I-said*

*Woman turned the struts of the house around for me; woman is turning them*  
*now, so let's see what she does, I have said*

⋮

Wanali:

*O from you, what did you do? We have said like that*

*We should talk like this*

*They were joined together up there (Garibe and his other wife)*

*I was saying a different talk with my husband and we were pointing our fingers*

*I was talking on another matter and we were angrily gesticulating*

*'Did you plant it?' I didn't know*

*Did you, Garibe, accuse Ogoli?*

*'You planted it' he (Garibe) said*

*O ini mo weruago tene aginaga?*

*o yourself make placed reason why*

*Yourself, you laid the blame, so what is the reason?*

*Libu one agalini lalu kabi bi dombeni ogoni dagua pu kabi*

*those-two wife husband talked is-there talk middle that like go is-there*

*wali hangü bialu kabi ogoni dagua labe ngabe?*

*woman alone done there that like say isn't-it-put-there*

*When a husband and wife have argued then, 'Make a middle talk' it is said;*

*when only a woman is there then (she should), 'Speak like that' it is said?*

#### NOTES

1. Citations from previously published texts form part of a deliberate policy to generate a working corpus of Huli disputes capable of being used by analyst and reader to cross-reference contextual occurrences of salient speech. The data base thus becomes a constantly workable resource for culture-specific or cross-cultural analysis.
2. This paper is based on fieldwork conducted in the Koroba district of the Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea. Some of the material was initially presented to the Anthropology Department, Queens University, Belfast. I wish to thank members of that seminar for some valuable discussion. I am also indebted to Dr Kay Milton and Professor Bruce Rigsby for further incisive comments and suggestions. Responsibility for ideas and interpretations forwarded remains solely mine.
3. The problem of 'politeness' as a universal phenomenon, and the difficulties associated with cultural variation and comparability, have been sketched by House and Kasper (1981).
4. Huli describe and conceptualise human behaviour on 'public' grounds as paralleling that displayed by birds of paradise. In the same way in which some of these animals clear their display grounds of all debris, so 'dirt' is eliminated from the public gaze in human interactions.
5. Lang (1976:355) makes a similar point for Enga speech patterns in judicial contexts.
6. Although I haven't developed the topic of spatial deixis here, I am suggesting an increased use of locative adverbs and spatial expressions in dispute talk by both sexes. In contrast with the temporal emphasis

frequently given in testimony in Western Courts, Huli pay much attention to locating events in terms of a well understood geography to enhance the evidential veracity of their accounts. Importantly, Huli adverbs are based on the contrast between high:low elevation

li                    ni  
udu (up there)    vs.    unu (down there)

— phonemic contrasts mirroring directional contrasts — and a visible: invisible dimension, for example, amu vs. ede (*over there*). The term unu can also be used in constructions such as vi unu laya (*the talk said down there*) to indicate the location of speech in terms of an ongoing conversation (*textual deixis*).

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TOLAI KINSHIP CONCEPTS:  
CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN KUANUA AND TOK PISIN TERMINOLOGY

J.S. Fingleton

1. INTRODUCTION

Although the subject of kinship and marriage has long been the special concern of anthropologists, researchers from other disciplinary backgrounds who wish to understand the workings of a people's culture find study of their kinship system to be central to the undertaking. For purposes of cultural analysis and comparison, the existence of some association between a people's kinship concepts, the terms they use for various kin and the resulting system of kin classification seems to be generally accepted. The nature of that association — what might be paraphrased as the sociological significance of kinship terminology — is, however, a matter on which authorities are deeply divided, leading one contributor to remark in the late 1970s, 'During the last 20 years, the study of kinship terminology has been one of the most contentious and provocative fields of anthropological inquiry' (Tuzin 1977:101).

One aspect of kinship terminology that has so far received little attention is the correspondence between terms in different languages spoken by the same people. Papua New Guinea, where many groups speak Tok Pisin, the major lingua franca, as well as their own vernacular, presents a fertile field for analysis of such correspondence. Do the relationships connoted by a term in the vernacular coincide with those connoted by the corresponding Tok Pisin term, and, if not, what are the similarities and differences? So far there has been no published treatment of these questions (Dr Tom Dutton 1985, personal communication), and the object of this paper is to address them from data collected by the author in the course of research among the Tolai people of Papua New Guinea. The analysis of change in Tolai land tenure in which I was then engaged raised the necessity for detailed analysis of their kinship system,<sup>1</sup> but coincidentally it presented the opportunity to compare their usage of kinship terminology in two languages — their own vernacular and Tok Pisin. Presentation of the findings may contribute to the debate on the sociological significance of kinship terminology in two main ways:

- (i) by demonstrating the degree of correspondence between the kinship terminology in each language; and
- (ii) by enabling comparison of the Tolai usage of Tok Pisin kinship terminology with that of other Melanesian peoples.

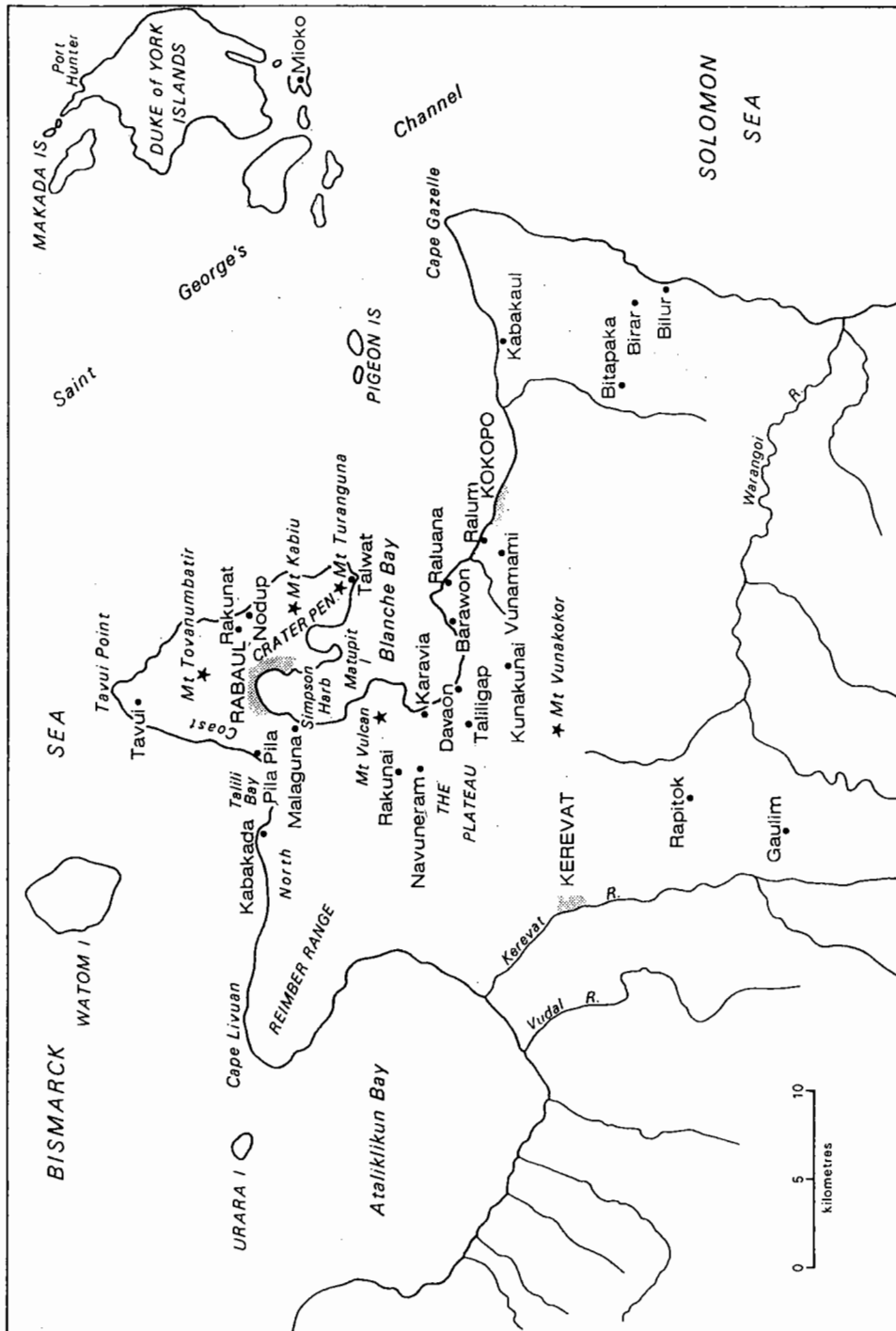


The Tolai territory (see Map) lies at the north-eastern corner of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain. Throughout the colonial era they were one of the most prominent peoples of Melanesia, attracting the interest of commentators from varied backgrounds and disciplines whence a rich ethnographic literature has developed. About 70,000 of their present population of some 90,000 live in the many small villages scattered across their territory, while the remainder reside away from the village, mainly for employment reasons in the cities, towns and Government stations throughout Papua New Guinea. Although permanent European settlement in the area only began in 1875, by the early 1900s almost half the Tolai's land had been acquired for plantation development. The rich volcanic soils and equatorial lowland climate attracted a commercial interest in the area which exposed the Tolai to forces of change more intense and enduring than these experienced by almost all other peoples of Papua New Guinea.

Yet, despite the transformation of their environment over the last century, the integrity of Tolai culture has survived largely intact. In adapting to change the pattern has been for Western social, economic, political and religious institutions to be incorporated into their way of life by supplementing – not supplanting – the corresponding Tolai institutions. In the realm of social structure, the division of the population into two exogamous matrilines is still strictly observed for marriage purposes, and matrilineages (*vunatarai*) remain the central units in Tolai society, in the face of systematic promotion of the patriarchal nuclear family over the period since European contact. Within a general theme of cultural continuity the Tolai kinship system stands out for its comparative immunity to the forces of change.

With records of the Tolai language dating from the earliest European settlement in the area, it is today 'one of the best known languages of Papua New Guinea' (Mosel 1984:12). The Tolai themselves now use the name 'Kuanua' for their language – a practice I have adopted, although several other names have been used in its literature, and linguists tend to favour 'Tolai' nowadays (Mosel 1984:4). An Austronesian language, it 'belongs genetically to the languages of Southern New Ireland' (Mosel 1984:4), whence Tolai regard themselves as having migrated in the distant past. Tolai also had a major influence on the development of Tok Pisin (see Mosel 1980), and the high proportion of Kuanua words in the non-European Tok Pisin lexicon is attributable to the extensive Tolai use of the language during its formative development.

A combination of factors, therefore, makes the Tolai a particularly interesting case for study of their kinship terminology.<sup>2</sup> As a matrilineal society, the Tolai belong to a fairly exclusive set worldwide, whose kinship systems are commonly regarded as incompatible with 'modernisation'. In their state of development the Tolai are one of the most advanced peoples of Melanesia, so to the extent that their kinship terminology continues to observe principles of matrilineality they challenge doubts over the viability of such systems. Because Tolai exerted a formative influence on the early development of Tok Pisin, their usage of the language affords the opportunity for reliable examination of how a people express their kinship concepts in relationship terminology borrowed from elsewhere. And the Tolai's lengthy standardised usage of the Tok Pisin kinship terminology enables comparison with the more recent usage being established by Melanesians with different kinship systems, for example, patrilineal societies. Although I offer some conclusions on these matters, my main aim in presenting my findings on Tolai kinship terminology is to afford others the opportunity to assess their sociological significance.



Map: North-eastern Gazelle Peninsula

## 2. METHODS AND CONVENTIONS

The following findings on Tolai usage of kinship and affinal terminology are based on information collected in a variety of ways, reflecting different stages of my research into Tolai land tenure. During fieldwork at Rakunat village in the early 1980s I was tracing the changing pattern of land tenure in the village. The kinship data collected at this stage, therefore, concerned actual relationships between individuals whose names were mentioned in association with particular parcels of land. The interviews were conducted in Tok Pisin, and from genealogies I was able to identify the precise relationship between the named individuals denoted by a Tok Pisin term on each occasion of its use. Clearly this was a sporadic method of collecting data, although as most terms were used frequently a pattern of usage emerged.

The occasional need to introduce a Kuanua relationship term indicated that informants found Tok Pisin inadequate to cover the full range of relationships recognised by the Tolai. Furthermore, it seemed reasonable to expect that the Tok Pisin terms would not be sufficiently precise in their meaning to reveal significant distinctions in Tolai relationships. To understand the intricacies of Tolai land tenure I had to gain a working knowledge of the Kuanua relationship terminology. In this enterprise I was greatly assisted by a list of Kuanua kinship and affinity terms compiled in 1977 by Dr Peter Sack of the Australian National University, in collaboration with Mr Jacob Simet, a Tolai anthropologist. Sack had drawn on published sources, in both English and German, to produce a list of terms with the range of their meanings offered by the authorities, and these he supplemented with the meanings given by Simet. The list was, of course, compiled in the abstract, without reliance on genealogical data to support its contents.

From my fieldwork data and the Sack-Simet list I worked up a provisional classification system for Tolai kinship and affinity terminology, in both Kuanua and Tok Pisin. In 1983 and 1984 I had the opportunity to verify this classification by establishing the range of a person's actual relatives embraced by each term in both languages — in the case of a male Ego by interview with Simet, and in the case of a female Ego by interview with a Tolai woman, Mrs Relly Manning, for both of whom I held the relevant genealogical data. Diagrams 1 and 2 show the Kuanua terms used by Tolai for all the core relationships when the person speaking is a male and a female respectively, and Diagrams 3 and 4 show the Tok Pisin usage in the same circumstances. The symbols used follow standard anthropological practice, a male being indicated by the phallic triangle and a female by the circle, and relationship to Ego being indicated by the following abbreviations:

|             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| M = mother  | W = wife     |
| F = father  | H = husband  |
| Z = sister  | D = daughter |
| B = brother | S = son      |

so that, for example, the combination ZDS means Ego's sister's daughter's son. Order of generation is indicated by degree of ascent or descent from Ego's generation,  $G^{+1}$  being one generation up and  $G^{-1}$  being one generation down from Ego, and so on.

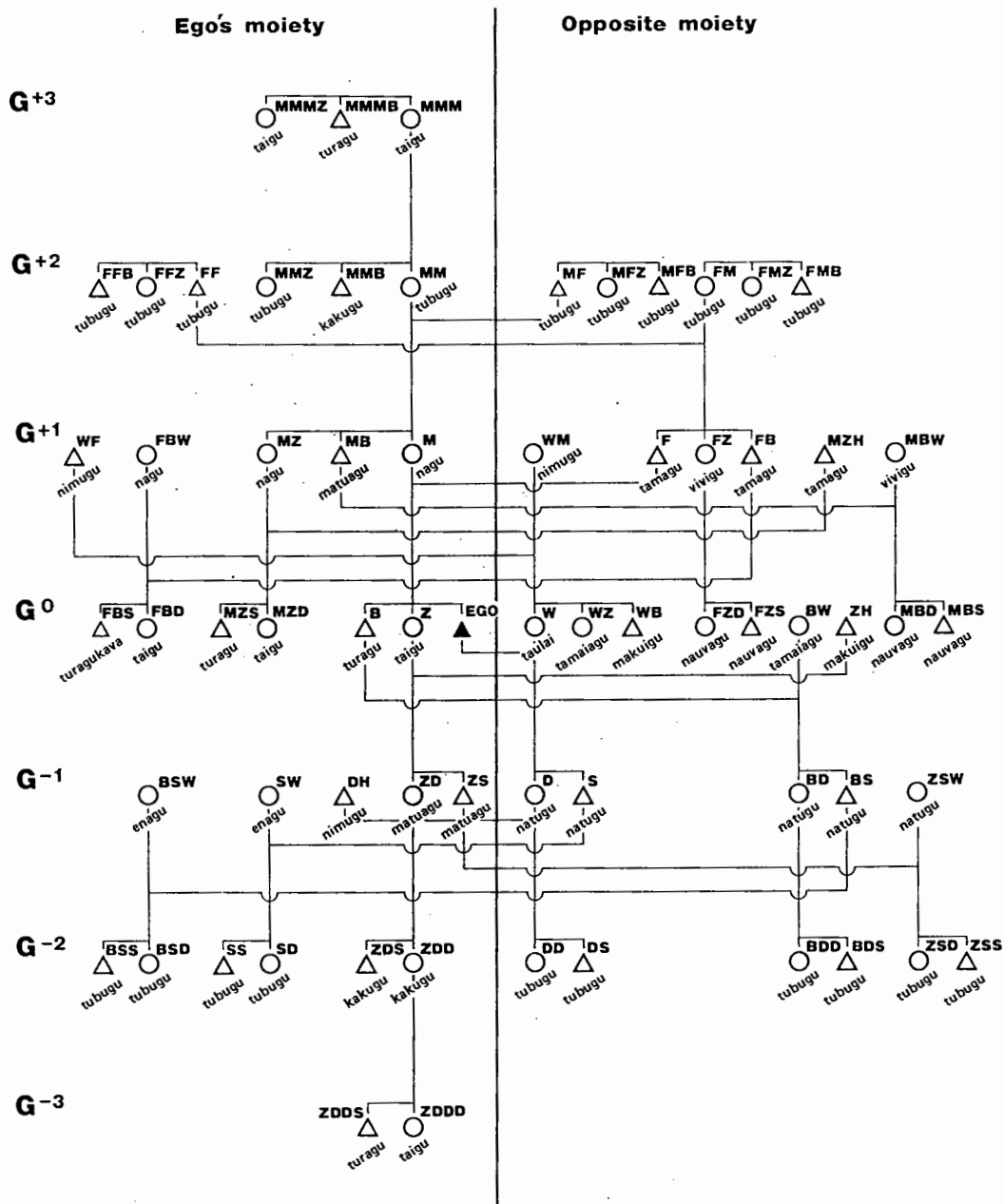


Diagram 1: Core relationships (Kuanua): male Ego

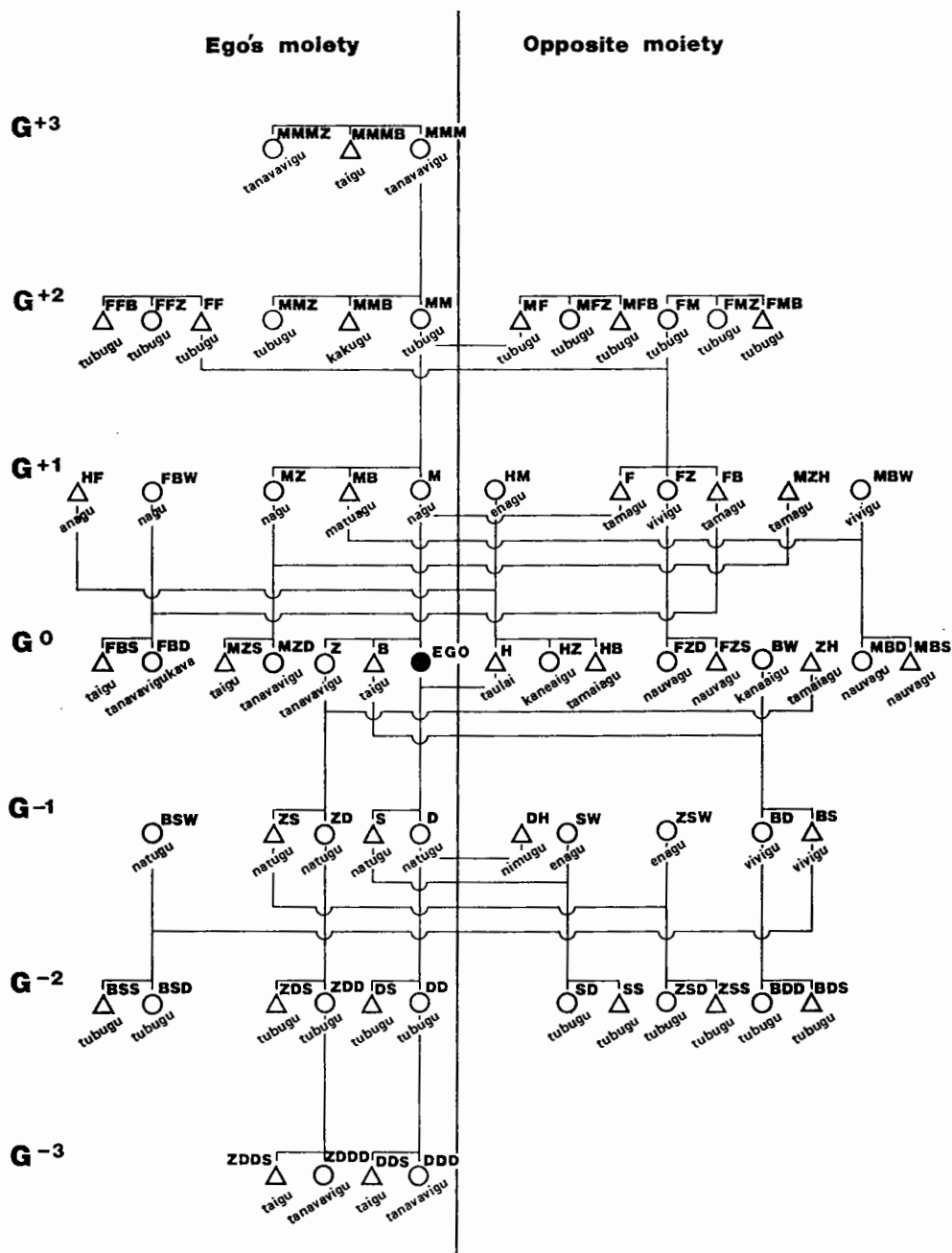


Diagram 2: Core relationships (Kuanua): female Ego

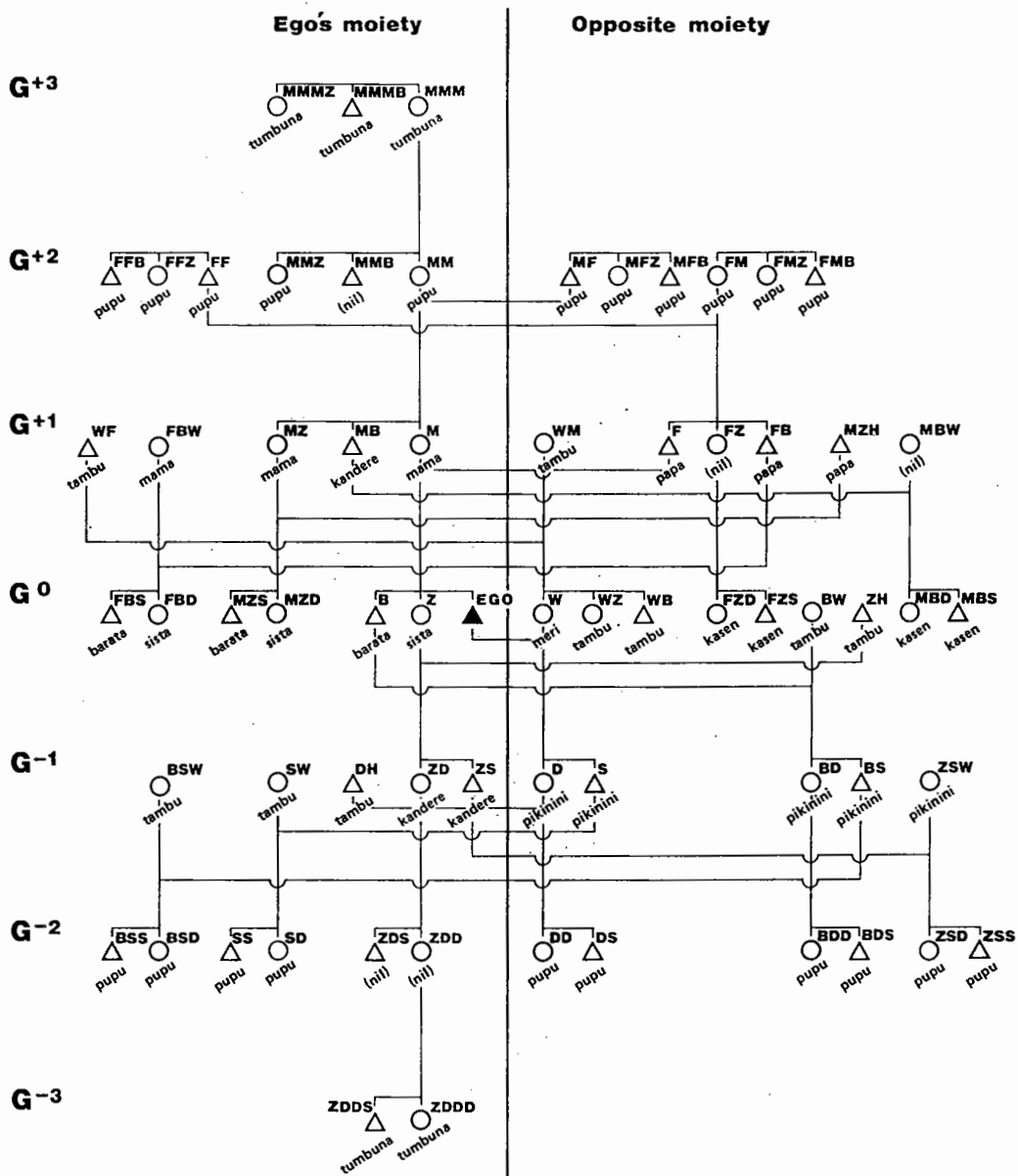


Diagram 3: Core relationships (Tok Pisin): male Ego

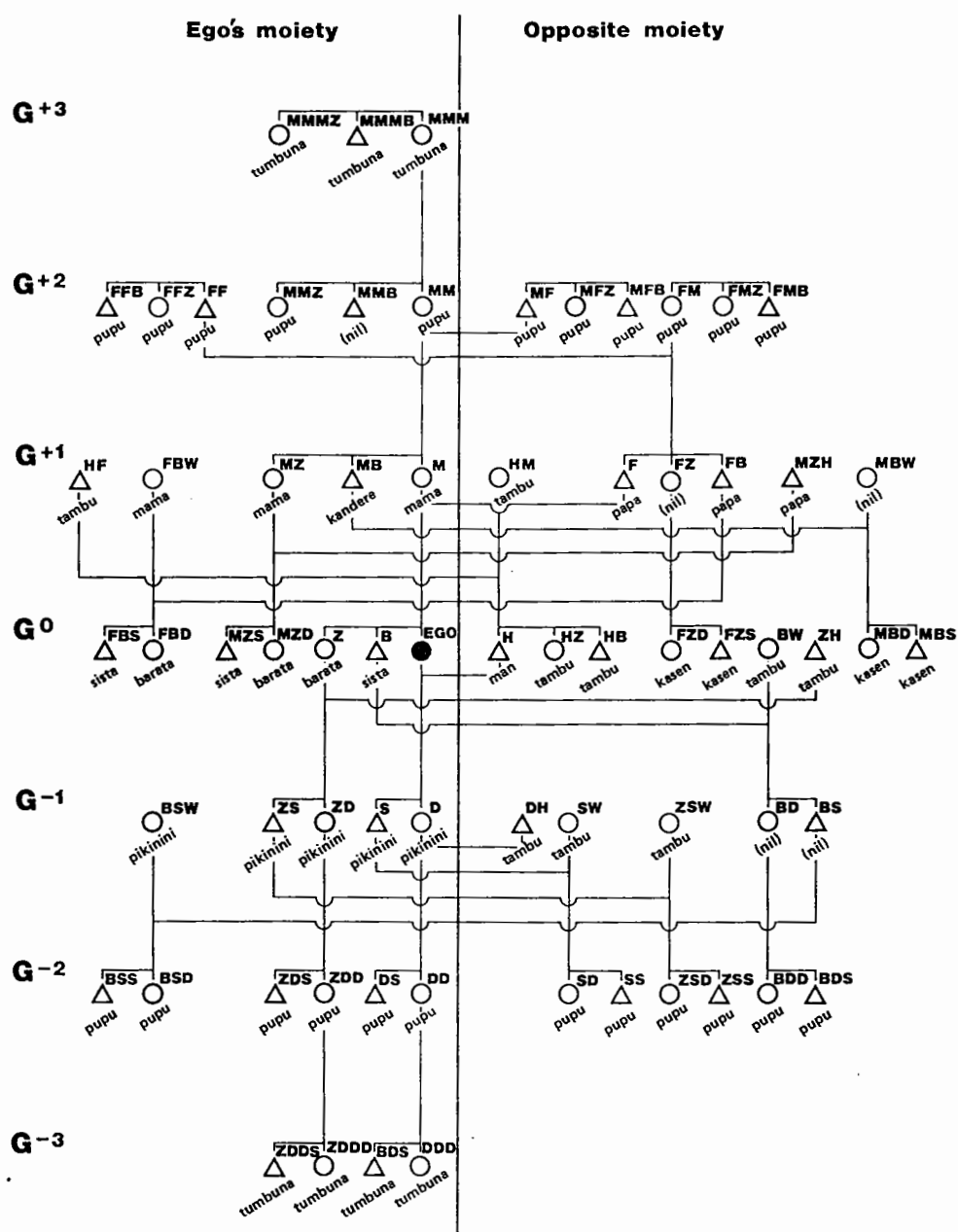


Diagram 4: Core relationships (Tok Pisin): female Ego

Something must be said on the form of Tolai relationship terminology. In Kuanua, kinship terms enter the grammatical construction of possessive noun phrases, where, as with other languages of Melanesia, a differentiation is made between alienable and inalienable possessive phrases (see generally Mosel 1984: 30-51). The Kuanua possessive constructions, Mosel says, follow a continuum of possession between that which is most inherent and involuntary (i.e. the inalienable possessive constructions) and that possession which requires action to be established (i.e. the alienable possessive constructions) (Mosel 1984: 46-47). Possession is most inherent in kinship (Mosel 1984:46-47), so the kinship terms can only be used in a possessive construction, or, if this is not appropriate, then in a 'derelationised' construction (Mosel 1984:40). For example, the Kuanua noun *tura-* denotes the relationship brother/brother. Used in a possessive construction the noun is combined with its pronoun suffix to form the possessive noun phrase – for example, *turagu*, i.e. *my brother* (male speaking). If used not in a possessive but in a predicative construction, the noun must be combined with the derelational suffix *-na* – thus in this example *bar turana* (*are*) *brothers*, where the plural marker *bar* indicates that at least two people are in the designated relationship (Mosel 1984:40). For present purposes in the diagrams and text I have adopted the possessive construction using the first person singular pronoun suffix *-gu*, i.e. *my*. The only exception to this practice is the term for spouse (*taulai*), which, following Mosel's analysis, involves a relationship which is not inherent, and is therefore expressed in an alienable possessive construction (Mosel 1984:34-35) – i.e. without the need for a suffix pronoun.<sup>3</sup> The Tok Pisin relationship terminology presents no such complications, there being no distinction between alienable and inalienable constructions.

A final point on method is the matter of local variation. While it seems reasonable to expect that, given the relative cultural homogeneity of the Tolai and the fact that Tok Pisin is an introduced and less precise lingua franca, Tolai usage of the Tok Pisin relationship terms would have uniform meanings, this may not be a wholly reliable assumption in the case of the Kuanua terms. A number of different Kuanua dialects are recognised (see Mosel 1984:9), and published sources offer divergent meanings for some of the Kuanua kinship and affinity terms. Both my Tolai informants belong to villages on the Crater Peninsula (Simet from Matupit and Manning from Baai), and their usage may not have precisely the same application in other areas of the Tolai territory.

### 3. THE FINDINGS

The accompanying table summarises the findings from the data, working from the Kuanua terms grouped in accordance with what I have styled their 'primary sense' and listed with general reference to the degree of proximity of the relationship – kinship terms first, followed by the affinity terms. To elaborate on the meaning of the terms, their usage and the correspondence between Kuanua and Tok Pisin terminology, I will employ the English relationship terms which denote the primary sense of the Kuanua terms, and follow the same order as in the table on page 300.

#### SIBLING

The Kuanua term for a sibling of the opposite sex is *taigu*, and, for a sibling of the same sex, *turagu* for males, and *tanavavigu* for females. The same terms are used, according to the same sex referents, for parallel cousins, with



Table 1: Tolai kinship and affinal terminology:  
primary and classificatory meanings

| Kuanua                         | TP corresp.               | Primary sense  | Classificatory sense   |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| turagu<br>taigu<br>tanavavigu  | barata<br>sista<br>barata | sibling  | same-moiety member at $G^0$  |
| nauvagu                        | kasen                     | cross-cousin   | opposite-moiety member at $G^0$  |
| nagu<br>tamagu                 | mama<br>papa              | mother<br>father   | same-moiety female at $G^{+1}$<br>opposite-moiety male at $G^{+1}$   |
| natugu                         | pikinini                  | child  | opposite-moiety member at $G^{-1}$<br>(male speaking)<br>same-moiety member at $G^{-1}$<br>(female speaking)   |
| matuagu                        | kandere                   | (i) maternal uncle<br>(ii) sister's child<br>(male speaking)                 | (i) same-moiety male at $G^{+1}$<br>(ii) same-moiety member at $G^{-1}$<br>(male speaking)   |
| vivigu                         | (no term)                 | (i) paternal aunt<br>(ii) brother's child<br>(female speaking)               | (i) opposite-moiety female at $G^{+1}$<br>(ii) opposite-moiety member at $G^{-1}$<br>(female speaking)   |
| tubugu                         | pupu (tubuna)             | (i) grandparent<br>(ii) grandchild   | (i) opposite-moiety member at $G^{+2}$<br>same-moiety female at $G^{+2}$<br>(ii) opposite-moiety member at $G^{-2}$<br>same-moiety member at $G^{-2}$<br>(female speaking) |
| kakugu                         | (no term)                 | (i) maternal granduncle<br>(ii) sister's daughter's<br>child (male speaking) | (i) same-moiety male at $G^{+2}$<br>(ii) same-moiety member at $G^{-2}$<br>(male speaking)   |
| taulai                         | meri<br>man               | (i) wife (male speaking)<br>(ii) husband<br>(female speaking)                | (nil)  |
| nimugu                         | tambu                     | (i) parent-in-law<br>(male speaking)<br>(ii) daughter's husband              | (i) (his) wife's classificatory<br>parent<br>(ii) classificatory daughter's<br>husband   |
| enagu                          | tambu                     | (i) parent-in-law<br>(female speaking)<br>(ii) son's wife                    | (i) (her) husband's classificatory<br>parent<br>(ii) classificatory son's wife   |
| makuigu<br>tamaigu<br>keneaigu | tambu<br>tambu<br>tambu   | sibling-in-law   | classificatory sibling's spouse<br>spouse's classificatory sibling<br>classificatory sibling's spouse's<br>classificatory sibling  |

the refinement that in the case of patrilineal parallel cousins of the same sex the suffix -kava is added. The word kava, as a verb, means *to give birth to*, and the explanation for its usage in the present context is to be found in the Tolai notion that individuals are 'given birth to by', and are therefore 'children of', their father's vunatarai. This appears to conflict with matrilineal ideology, but not so, in terms of social structure, for individuals are members, not children, of their own vunatarai. Patrilineal parallel cousins are, therefore, in common children of their father's vunatarai. The suffix -kava is not used in the case of patrilineal parallel cousins of the opposite sex by reason of a prevailing observance, explained by Simet as follows:<sup>4</sup>

The suffix -kava indicates a 'jovial' relationship between two people. The relationship between a male Ego and his FBS is more free than that with his B or his MZS, which is a 'serious' relationship. A male's relationship with his FBD is also 'serious', because she is a female. The term taigukava is not used, because the relationship is 'serious', not 'jovial'. The same applies to the reciprocal relationship between a female Ego and her FBS.

(1983, personal communication)

Whereas three Kuanua terms are used for siblings, only two are available in Tok Pisin — barata for a sibling of the same sex, and sista<sup>5</sup> for a sibling of the opposite sex. Thus barata corresponds to the terms turagu and tanavavigu, while sista corresponds to taigu. Despite their long exposure to European influence, evidence of a shift in meaning of the Tok Pisin sibling terms to that of their English analogues (where only the sex of Alter — the object of the term — is indicated) is almost entirely lacking in Tolai village usage<sup>6</sup> — a demonstration of the centrality and durability of kinship concepts. A final point which may be made here, although it applies not just to sibling terms, is that while Kuanua kinship terms in their primary sense cover relationships only within the range from two generations above to two generations below Ego's generation, they are systematically extended to relationships at higher and lower orders of generation. Thus a term used for a relationship at G<sup>0</sup> (for example, a sibling term) is again employed at G<sup>+3</sup> and G<sup>-3</sup> (as appears from Diagrams 1 and 2), and a term for Ego's relationship with kin at G<sup>+1</sup> is also used at G<sup>+4</sup>, and so on.

#### CROSS-COUSIN

The Kuanua term for a cross-cousin is nauvagu. The term is used by an Ego of either sex in relation to an Alter of either sex, and applies for both matrilineal and patrilineal cross-cousins. In Simet's terms, the relationship between cross-cousins is 'very serious', and he contrasted the position of a male Ego with respect to his FBS and with his FZS (1983, personal communication). The former, he said, is 'more relaxed', whereas the latter is 'very tense' (1983, personal communication), and more so is this the case with cross-cousins of opposite sexes, where an incest taboo prohibits marriage.<sup>7</sup> Simet made the further point in explaining the tension between male cross-cousins that there is a potential conflict over entitlement to land: 'Your FZS', he said, 'is in opposition to you, because he stands to gain from your F.' (1983, personal communication). The corresponding Tok Pisin term for a cross-cousin is kasen, a clear borrowing from English, but, unlike its English analogue, not extending to parallel cousins, for whom, as already remarked, the sibling terms are used.

There is disagreement on whether cross-cousins observe avoidance behaviour towards each other. The above comments by Simet would suggest they did, and, at least so far as opposite-sex cross-cousins are concerned, there is in support Meier's remark that 'the law of conduct forbids anything resembling company-keeping between persons of opposite sex and moiety previous to marriage' (1938: 28). But the same author has also claimed that there is 'a kind of "blood-relationship" between cross-cousins' (1939:116, fn 85), and that cross-cousins, 'having a "common meeting place" [i.e. the home of the linking male at G<sup>1</sup> - the F to one cross-cousin and the MB to the other] and frequently or regularly eating and associating together, are thus like blood relations or real brothers and sisters and so called such' (1939:116-117, fn 87). The usage of sibling terms for cross-cousins, recorded by Meier at Rakunai on the inland plateau, was not confirmed by my Tolai informants from the Crater Peninsula, although Simet acknowledged a similarity between siblings and cross-cousins of opposite sexes so far as incest taboos are concerned (1983, personal communication). Finally on the question of avoidance, Bradley claims from her experience at Pila Pila that 'joking behaviour [is] allowed, and even expected, between nauvana (cross-cousins) of either sex' (1982:239, fn 4).

#### PARENT

The Kuanua term for mother is *nagu* and for father *tamagu*. The terms are used by an Ego of either sex. *Nagu* also includes maternal aunt (MZ) and paternal uncle's wife (FBW), and *tamagu* includes paternal uncle (FB) and maternal aunt's husband (MZH). The corresponding Tok Pisin terms are *mama* and *papa*, with the same extended meanings.

#### CHILD

The Kuanua term for child is *natugu*, used by an Ego of either sex. The term is also used by a male Ego for his brother's children (BS and BD), and by a female Ego for her sister's children (ZS and ZD). The corresponding Tok Pisin term is *pikinini*, with the same extended meanings in the same circumstances.

#### MATERNAL UNCLE/SISTER'S CHILD (MALE SPEAKING)

Of the terms dealt with so far, those for sibling and cross-cousin are fully self-reciprocal - i.e. the term used by an Ego for an Alter is identical to the term used by that Alter for that Ego, in both the primary and extended senses of the term. The remaining kinship terms share this feature of self-reciprocity, but the factor of generation difference is now added. The Kuanua term used for maternal uncle (MB) by an Ego of either sex is *matuagu*, and, reciprocally, the term is used by a male Ego for his sister's children of either sex (ZS and ZD). The corresponding Tok Pisin term is *kandere*.

#### PATERNAL AUNT/BROTHER'S CHILD (FEMALE SPEAKING)

The Kuanua term used for paternal aunt (FZ) by an Ego of either sex is *vivigu*, and, reciprocally, the term is used by a female Ego for her brother's children of either sex (BS and BD). My informants could offer no corresponding Tok Pisin term. *Vivigu* is also extended to apply to Ego's maternal uncle's wife (MBW) (who would, reciprocally, use the term for her husband's sister's children - HZS and HZD). It may be noted here that, though Simet agreed that the term *matuagu* could be employed for Ego's paternal aunt's husband (FZH), the

relationship with that person is 'not very important', whereas, because Ego's maternal uncle (MB) occupies a position of central importance in Tolai social organisation, the term used for his wife (MBW) has a practical significance in day-to-day affairs (1983, personal communication).

#### GRANDPARENT/GRANDCHILD

The Kuanua term used by an Ego of either sex for a grandparent of either sex (MM, MF, FM and FF) is tubugu, and, reciprocally, the term is used by an Ego of either sex for a grandchild of either sex (DD, DS, SD and SS). The corresponding Tok Pisin term is pupu (sometimes pronounced bubu), or tubuna – a reflection of the Kuanua term in its derelationised construction (see above) – which is also used for more remote ancestors or descendants, either individually or collectively. Tubugu is extended to apply to all siblings of grandparents and, reciprocally, all grandchildren of siblings, with an important exception in the case of Ego's maternal granduncle (MMB) and the reciprocal relationship, to which the special term dealt with next applies.

#### MATERNAL GRANDUNCLE/SISTER'S DAUGHTER'S CHILD (MALE SPEAKING)

The Kuanua term used by an Ego of either sex for maternal granduncle (MMB) is kakugu, and, reciprocally, the term is used by a male Ego for his sister's daughter's children of either sex (ZDS and ZDD). There is no corresponding Tok Pisin term to designate this relationship.

#### SPOUSE

The Kuanua term for a spouse is taulai, and it is used by an Ego of either sex. This first of the affinal relationship terms has no extended meaning. As mentioned above, unlike all the other relationship terms taulai is expressed in alienable possessive constructions, without the need for a suffix pronoun. The Tok Pisin terms for spouse are borrowings from English, and incorporate the corresponding sex referents. Thus a male Ego uses the term meri (*Mary*, i.e. *woman*) for his wife, and a female Ego uses the term man for her husband.

#### SIBLING-IN-LAW

As with the sibling terms, the Kuanua terms for siblings-in-law follow strict sex referents. The term for sibling-in-law of the opposite sex is tamaigu, and, for a sibling-in-law of the same sex, makuigu for males, and keneaigu for females. The sibling-in-law terms are also self-reciprocal, so that the term used by an Ego for an Alter (for example, tamaigu, used by a male Ego for his WZ) is identical to the term used by that Alter for that Ego (in the example, Alter's ZH). The corresponding Tok Pisin term is tambu, used without any sex referents. Apart from the actual spouses, the term tambu is used for all in-law relations. In both Kuanua and Tok Pisin it means *forbidden*, and its use incorporates precepts of avoidance behaviour observed between in-law relations.

#### PARENT-IN-LAW (MALE SPEAKING)/DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND

The Kuanua term used by a male Ego for his parent-in-law (WF and WM) is nimugu, and, reciprocally, the term is used by an Ego of either sex for their daughter's husband. The corresponding Tok Pisin term is tambu.

## PARENT-IN-LAW (FEMALE SPEAKING)/SON'S WIFE

The Kuanua term used by a female Ego for her parents-in-law (HF and HM) is enagu, and, reciprocally, the term is used by an Ego of either sex for their son's wife. The corresponding Tok Pisin term is tambu.

Tolai make the claim that they are all related. From the preceding treatment it is clear that Tolai kinship terms have an extended meaning beyond what I have styled their 'primary sense', but even these extensions do not do justice to the range of relationships embraced by Tolai kinship ideology. The full range to which the terms could be extended first became apparent to me in the usage of Tok Pisin terms during fieldwork. Not only were the terms being used to embrace extended kin, but I found that they were also being used to denote persons with whom no biological connection existed at all. These indications prompted the attempt to identify the necessary and sufficient conditions by which each kinship term was classified — the 'classificatory sense' of each term — with the result shown in the final column of the table on page 300. For each kinship term, the defining features are a combination of relative moiety (same/opposite) and order of generation from Ego, with the refinement for some of the terms that the sex of Ego or Alter is an additional defining feature. Using the three components of moiety, generation and sex referents it is possible to represent kinship terminology in matrix form as in Diagram 5, from which it is apparent that a kinship term is available for all combinations of these three referents. Indeed, all Tolai are 'related' to each other.

Not only is a kinship term available for all combinations of moiety, generation and sex referents, but in almost all cases only one term is available. The single exception is the term kakugu, denoting the relationship maternal granduncle/sister's daughter's child (male speaking), which overlaps partially with the term tubugu (see Diagram 5). The explanation for this is that the same referents cover FF (and FFB) as cover MMB (i.e. same moiety,  $G^{+2}$ , male Alter), and, reciprocally, the same referents cover SS and SD (and BSS and BSD) as cover ZDS and ZDD (i.e. same moiety,  $G^{-2}$ , male Ego), and whereas the term for the former relationship (grandparent/grandchild) is tubugu, there is a special term, kakugu, for the latter relationship. This differentiation recognises the central position of the maternal uncle (MB) in Tolai social organisation, and correspondingly of the mother's maternal uncle (MMB).

The terminology for affinal relations is confined to actual relationships arising from marriage, and while extensions of meaning were mentioned in the treatment of the terms, their classificatory dimensions are limited by the link with an actual affinal relation. Using the same basic matrix combining the three components of moiety, generation and sex referents the affinal terminology may be represented as shown in Diagram 6. Again, a minor overlap appears, for at Ego's generation the same referents cover W as cover WZ (i.e. opposite moiety,  $G^0$ , male Ego-female Alter), and, reciprocally, the same referents cover H as cover HB (i.e. opposite moiety,  $G^0$ , female Ego-male Alter).

| Gen. | Moiety |                                   | Same |                                   | Opposite             |                      |
|------|--------|-----------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|      | Ego    | Alter                             | m.   | f.                                | m.                   | f.                   |
|      |        |                                   |      |                                   |                      |                      |
| +2   | m.     | kakugu / tubugu<br>( - ) / (pupu) |      | tubugu<br>(pupu)                  | tubugu<br>(pupu)     | tubugu<br>(pupu)     |
|      | f.     | kakugu / tubugu<br>( - ) / (pupu) |      | tubugu<br>(pupu)                  | tubugu<br>(pupu)     | tubugu<br>(pupu)     |
| +1   | m.     | matuagu<br>(kandere)              |      | nagu<br>(mama)                    | tamagu<br>(papa)     | vivigu<br>( - )      |
|      | f.     | matuagu<br>(kandere)              |      | nagu<br>(mama)                    | tamagu<br>(papa)     | vivigu<br>( - )      |
| 0    | m.     | turagu<br>(barata)                |      | taigu<br>(sista)                  | nauvagu<br>(kasen)   | nauvagu<br>(kasen)   |
|      | f.     | taigu<br>(sista)                  |      | tanavavigu<br>(barata)            | nauvagu<br>(kasen)   | nauvagu<br>(kasen)   |
| -1   | m.     | matuagu<br>(kandere)              |      | matuagu<br>(kandere)              | natugu<br>(pikinini) | natugu<br>(pikinini) |
|      | f.     | natugu<br>(pikinini)              |      | natugu<br>(pikinini)              | vivigu<br>( - )      | vivigu<br>( - )      |
| -2   | m.     | kakugu / tubugu<br>( - ) / (pupu) |      | kakugu / tubugu<br>( - ) / (pupu) | tubugu<br>(pupu)     | tubugu<br>(pupu)     |
|      | f.     | tubugu<br>(pupu)                  |      | tubugu<br>(pupu)                  | tubugu<br>(pupu)     | tubugu<br>(pupu)     |

Diagram 5: Kinship terminology matrix

|      |     | Moiety            |    | Same             |  | Opposite                                |  |
|------|-----|-------------------|----|------------------|--|---|--|
| Gen. |     | Alter             | m. | f.               |  | m.                                      | f.                                       |
| +2   | Ego |                   |    |                  |  |   |  |
|      | m.  |                   |    |                  |  |   |  |
|      | f.  |                   |    |                  |  |   |  |
|      |     |                   |    |                  |  |   |  |
| +1   | m.  | nimugu<br>(tambu) |    |                  |  |   | nimugu<br>(tambu)                        |
|      | f.  | enagu<br>(tambu)  |    |                  |  |   | enagu<br>(tambu)                         |
| 0    | m.  |                   |    |                  |  | makuigu<br>(tambu)                      | taulai /<br>(meri) / tamaiagu<br>(tambu) |
|      | f.  |                   |    |                  |  | taulai /<br>(man) / tamaiagu<br>(tambu) | keneaigu<br>(tambu)                      |
| -1   | m.  | nimugu<br>(tambu) |    | enagu<br>(tambu) |  |   |  |
|      | f.  |                   |    |                  |  | nimugu<br>(tambu)                       | enagu<br>(tambu)                         |
| -2   | m.  |                   |    |                  |  |   |  |
|      | f.  |                   |    |                  |  |   |  |

Diagram 6: Affinal terminology matrix

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

By Murdock's classic system for classification of kinship terminology published in 1949 the Tolai, on the basis of their cross-cousin terminology, belong to the Iroquois type, but under Scheffler's clarification in 1971 of the distinction in Melanesia between Iroquois- and Dravidian-type systems Tolai fit more closely to the latter. I mentioned the basic disagreement among authorities over the sociological significance which can be drawn from kinship terminology, and the debate over interpretations of Dravidian-type terminologies still continues (see, for example, Dumont 1983). Despite the negative conclusions of such authorities as Needham (1971) and Scheffler (1971, 1972), the foregoing findings suggest that some correlations can be drawn between the structure of Tolai kinship terminology and their social organisation.

In the first place, the fundamental importance of the moiety dichotomy in Tolai society is clearly reflected in their kinship terminology. Moiety affiliation is the crucial determinant in kinship classification; because a Tolai's involvement in social, ceremonial and supernatural life hinges on classificatory relationships, the moiety division may be regarded as the critical factor in Tolai social organisation. Tolai kinship terminology is of the bifurcate merging type, in which F and FB are called by one classificatory term, and M and MZ by another, while MB and FZ are denoted by distinct terms (see Murdock 1949:141). This feature serves to distinguish between children's close kin in their own and in the opposite moiety. Siblings are merged with parallel cousins, who are from the same moiety, but cross-cousins, who are from opposite moieties, are designated by a different term (*nauvagu*). At the level of the parent's generation the centrality of moiety affiliation is further evident — in a child's own moiety the female kin at  $G^{+1}$  are all mothers and the male kin are all mother's brothers (*matuagu*), while in the opposite moiety the male kin at  $G^{+1}$  are all fathers and the female kin are all father's sisters (*vivigu*). For all its centrality, however, it would be mistaken to conclude that the moiety division represents an actual cleavage in Tolai society: the range of a person's relationships is the same either side of the moiety division, and indeed in the case of the term *tubugu* (grandparent/grandchild), it is used for relationships in either moiety without discrimination (see Diagram 5).

Self-reciprocity was seen to be a feature of all Tolai relationship terms, with the single exception of the terms for parent and child.<sup>8</sup> For the Tolai, then, in most cases it is the relationship which is important, rather than an individual's relative position in the relationship. To the extent that ordination between generations and sexes exists in Tolai society, therefore, it is a product of factors external to kinship terminology (i.e. the authority structure, valorisation of women, etc.). A differentiation on the basis of sex is, however, indicated by the special treatment in the terminology of the mother's brother. Although at  $G^{+1}$  a corresponding special term is used for the father's sister, at  $G^{+2}$  there is no differentiation between female kin (who are all merged under *tubugu*) which would correspond to the differentiation between a mother's mother's brother (*kakugu*) and the other male kin (merged as *tubugu*).

From birth a Tolai's moiety affiliation, *vunatarai* membership, status with respect to *vunatarai* of the same and opposite moiety, and kinship and potential affinal relations necessarily follow. Despite systematic promotion of the patriarchal nuclear family by organs of both church and state over the last century, the Tolai descent system remains unequivocally matrilineal, with no hint of any concession to patrilineality in modern Tolai usage of their kinship



terminology. The manner of Tolai adoption of Tok Pisin kinship terminology provides further evidence of the centrality of kinship concepts. The findings summarised in Diagrams 5 and 6 show that Tok Pisin terms for kinship and affinity correspond to the Kuanua terms in accordance with the combined referents of moiety, generation and sex. Not surprisingly, the Tok Pisin terms are not capable of the precision necessary to reveal distinctions made in Tolai relationships in all cases, and some terms (for example, *barata*) must do 'double duty', but on no occasion is there conflict between the Tok Pisin and the Kuanua usage. Where a Tolai relationship of day-to-day importance required recognition, as was the case for the maternal uncle/sister's child (male speaking) relationship (*matuagu*), a term was adopted and given this specialised meaning (*kandere*<sup>9</sup>). Where other distinct Tolai relationships (for example, *vivigu*, *kakugu*) were not of major practical importance, no need was felt for special terms in Tok Pisin. The consistency of correspondence between the terminology in the two languages and the relationships connoted is an impressive demonstration of the cultural constraints inherent in kinship terminology.

Finally, although I claim no special knowledge of the usage of Tok Pisin relationship terminology by other Melanesian peoples, some brief remarks based on my findings of the Tolai usage may assist a comparison with usage elsewhere. Some combinations found in other areas are not used by Tolai, one being use of the prefixes *bik-* and *smol-* with sibling terms to indicate relative age (i.e. *older* and *younger*). Such absence in Tolai usage is reflected by a similar disregard for ordination in the Kuanua terminology — unless, of course, in either language the circumstances require such specificity. Nor is the usage *smolpapa* and *smolmama* found among the Tolai, but here a difference in descent systems may be relevant. Just as the Tolai usage of Tok Pisin kinship terminology reflects their matrilineal descent system within a dual organisation into moieties, so also would I expect that the terms might signify quite different relationships in their usage by a patrilineal society, with or without moieties. While Mihalic's definition of *smolpapa* as *paternal uncle* (1971:179) might be unobjectionable in either a matrilineal or a patrilineal society, I suspect his definition of *smolmama* as *paternal aunt* (1971:179) reveals a patrilineal (or bilineal) bias in his information, for no matrilineal society would regard the father's sister as a *mama* (*mother*) of any description.

The term *kasen barata*, although not used by the Tolai, raises a separate issue, in my view. Extension of meanings of the sibling terms seems to be a general phenomenon in Melanesia, as non-Melanesians seeking details of relationships soon learn. Possibly in consequence of insistence by officials on a distinction between biological and extended kinship, the practice has grown of distinguishing between *barata* (and, presumably, *susa*) and *kasen barata* (*kasen susa*). Alternatively, the distinction being drawn may be between parallel cousins (merged under the sibling terms) and cross-cousins, which may well be an important distinction in patrilineal societies as well as in matrilineal societies such as the Tolai. My findings show that Tolai confine the term *kasen* to cross-cousins, and I feel they would regard *kasen barata* as a conceptual contradiction.

The last term deserving special treatment is *kandere*, used by the Tolai to designate the maternal uncle/sister's child (male speaking) relationship. In matrilineal societies the mother's brother plays a prominent role, being to a child the most important male member of its lineage. As with other kinship terms *kandere* has an extended meaning, and in Diagram 7 I have indicated the biological kin that a Tolai male would designate by the term, while Diagram 8

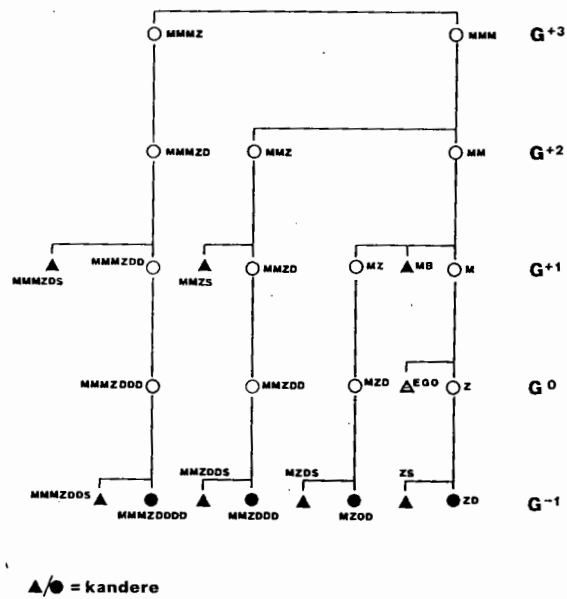


Diagram 7: Usage of kandere for biological kin: male Ego

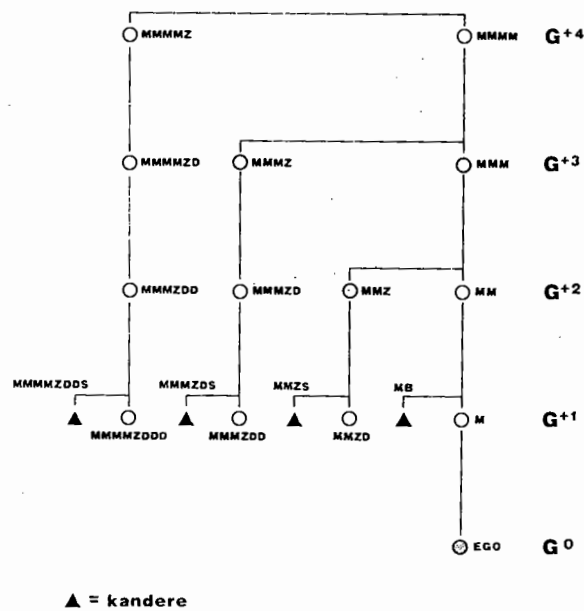


Diagram 8: Usage of kandere for biological kin: female Ego

shows its usage by a female Ego. The differential usage is explained by the fact that only males use the term for members of the next inferior generation, but, reciprocally, the term is used by both sexes for male members at a generation higher. For all its latitude of meaning the limits on its extension are equally clear, and indicate that Mihalic's definition 'any relative from the mother's side of the family: be it uncle, cousin, nephew, niece, or aunt' (1971:105) is quite unsuited to the Tolai usage, and, I would expect, to that of other matrilineal societies.

There is, in my experience, a feeling common among non-Melanesians that the Tok Pisin kinship terminology is imprecise, or at least that Melanesians use the terms imprecisely. Evidence of the Tolai usage refutes this impression. True, and not unnaturally, the Tolai usage shows that the Tok Pisin terminology is not sufficiently precise to reveal all distinctions made in Tolai relationships, nor does it cover these relationships comprehensively. But the range of Tok Pisin terms is adequate to cover the relationships most important to a Tolai in day-to-day life, and they are used in both their primary and their classificatory senses in a way which corresponds consistently with the usage of Kuanua terms for Tolai relationships, when those relationships are reduced to their defining features. Just as the Tolai have applied the Tok Pisin kinship terminology to connote their own kinship concepts, so also would I expect that other societies with different kinship concepts might use the terms with connotations different from the Tolai. Notions of imprecision arise mainly from the failure to relate differences in usage between societies to differences in their social organisation. Clarification of this connection will allow not only more accurate definitions of Tok Pisin kinship terms than are available at present, but also the comparative analysis which may help to throw light on the sociological significance of kinship terminology.

#### NOTES

1. The research is written up in my doctoral dissertation 'Changing land tenure in Melanesia: the Tolai experience' (Fingleton 1985). For assistance in preparing this article I am grateful especially to my two Tolai advisers, Mr Jacob Simet and Mrs Relly Manning, and to Dr Peter Sack for letting me use his lists of kinship terms. I am also grateful to Professor Ann Chowning and Professor Andrew Strathern for their comments on an earlier working paper upon which this article is based, and to Dr Ulrike Mosel for her assistance with grammatical aspects of Tolai kinship terminology. Dr Tom Dutton encouraged me to contribute the article, and gave helpful advice during its preparation.
2. Surprisingly little systematic analysis is available, in English at least, to assist the untrained outsider to come to terms with the complexities of Tolai relationships. The best information is to be found in a series of articles by the Catholic priest Meier on Tolai adoption (1929), illegitimacy (1938) and orphanhood (1939), and a paper by the Methodist minister Trevitt (1940).
3. Mosel claims that terms for the other relationships formed by marriage are also expressed in alienable possessive constructions (1984:34). On her analysis they seem to be a hybrid form — they are established by marriage, but are inherent upon the marriage. I have heard the other affinity terms expressed in either alienable or inalienable possessive constructions, and have used the latter form here for consistency.

4. I understood Simet, whose terms I have adopted here, to use 'jovial' and 'serious' in contrasting degrees of sociability, and 'relaxed' and 'tense' in contrasting the potentiality for conflict of interest.
5. The alternate Tok Pisin term *susa*, more commonly used elsewhere in Melanesia, is known, but not usually employed by Tolai today.
6. Most of my informants were middle-aged or older. Young Tolai children at school find the English sibling terms highly confusing (Simet 1984: personal communication). No doubt over time they come to appreciate the English terms, and in particular circumstances (for example, away from the village, talking to Europeans) they use the Tok Pisin analogues with their English meanings. I have, however, known even highly-educated Tolai, speaking in English, to slip back to the same-sex/opposite-sex signification for the English sibling terms.
7. But see the following comments on avoidance behaviour.
8. A further, minor, exception is the Tok Pisin terms for spouse, which are non-reciprocal.
9. The derivation of this term is uncertain. Mihalic ascribes it to the English 'kindred' (1971:105), but Dr Tom Dutton inclines to the English 'country', seeing a connection with the term *kantriman* used in Bislama and Queensland Kanaka English (1985, personal communication).

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