

GUMAWANA (AMPHLETT ISLANDS, PAPUA NEW GUINEA): GRAMMAR SKETCH AND TEXTS

CLIF OLSON

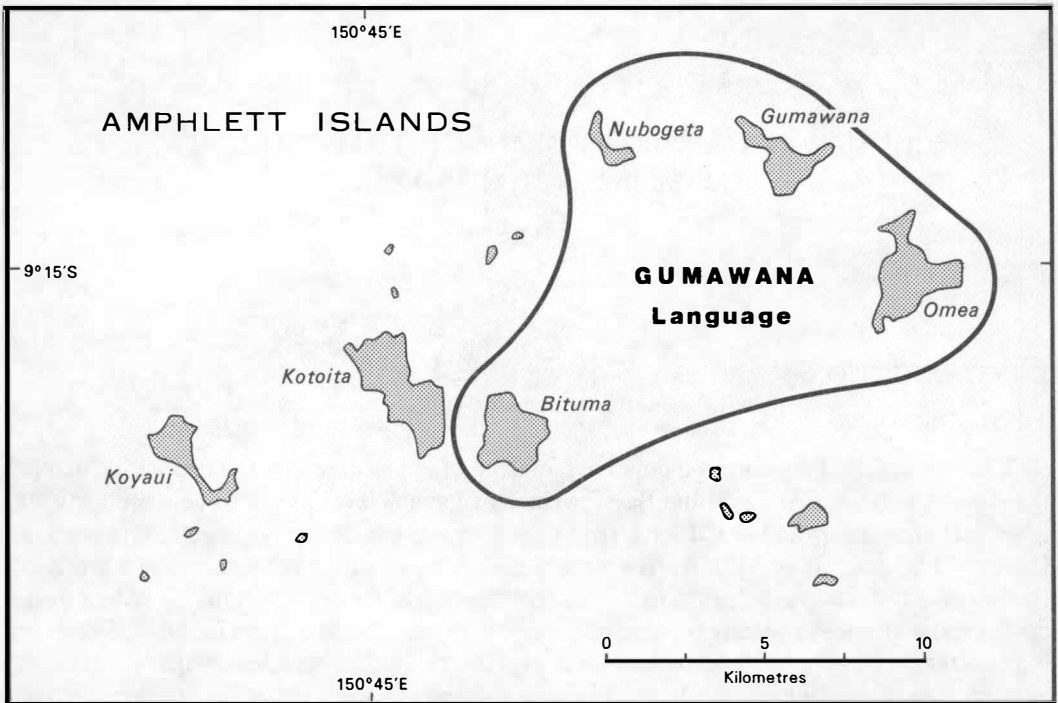
1. INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 BACKGROUND

The Gumawana language is the native language of approximately 350 people located on the Amphlett Islands of the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. There are some 28 islands that make up the Amphletts, four of which are inhabited: Nubogeta, Gumawana, Omea and Bituma. (See Map 4). The Amphletts are a part of the D'Entrecasteaux group of islands some 65 kilometres north of the easternmost tip of Papua New Guinea. Most maps do not show all the Amphletts because of their small size. The four main islands are each no bigger than ten square kilometres, and Nubogeta is the smallest with an area of approximately one square kilometre. Because they are so small there are no airstrips, and therefore they are only accessible by boat.

The Amphlett people are renowned for their clay pot making, which has been the focus of most research in the Amphletts thus far. They are also a major link in the well-known Kula ring made famous by Malinowski's research in the early 1900s. Because of their extensive trading, they have some knowledge of many of the neighbouring languages such as Kilivila, Dobu, Basima, Bosalewa, Yamalele, Kalokalo and Bwaidoka. (See Map 5). The language that has had the greatest influence on Gumawana has been Dobu, which is the language used by the United Church. Both Dobu and Gumawana are used in church services, but most people tend to mix many Dobu words into their Gumawana, sometimes citing both the Dobu and the Gumawana. In everyday speech, the Dobu component greatly decreases; however, Dobu syntax continues to affect it. The Gumawana language is in the midst of change possibly due to this influence from Dobu.

¹Editor's note: This paper was written by Clif Olson as part of his language program with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The purpose of this program is the translation of the New Testament into the Gumawana language. The paper has been edited quite heavily for publication purposes, but the author's analysis remains basically unchanged.



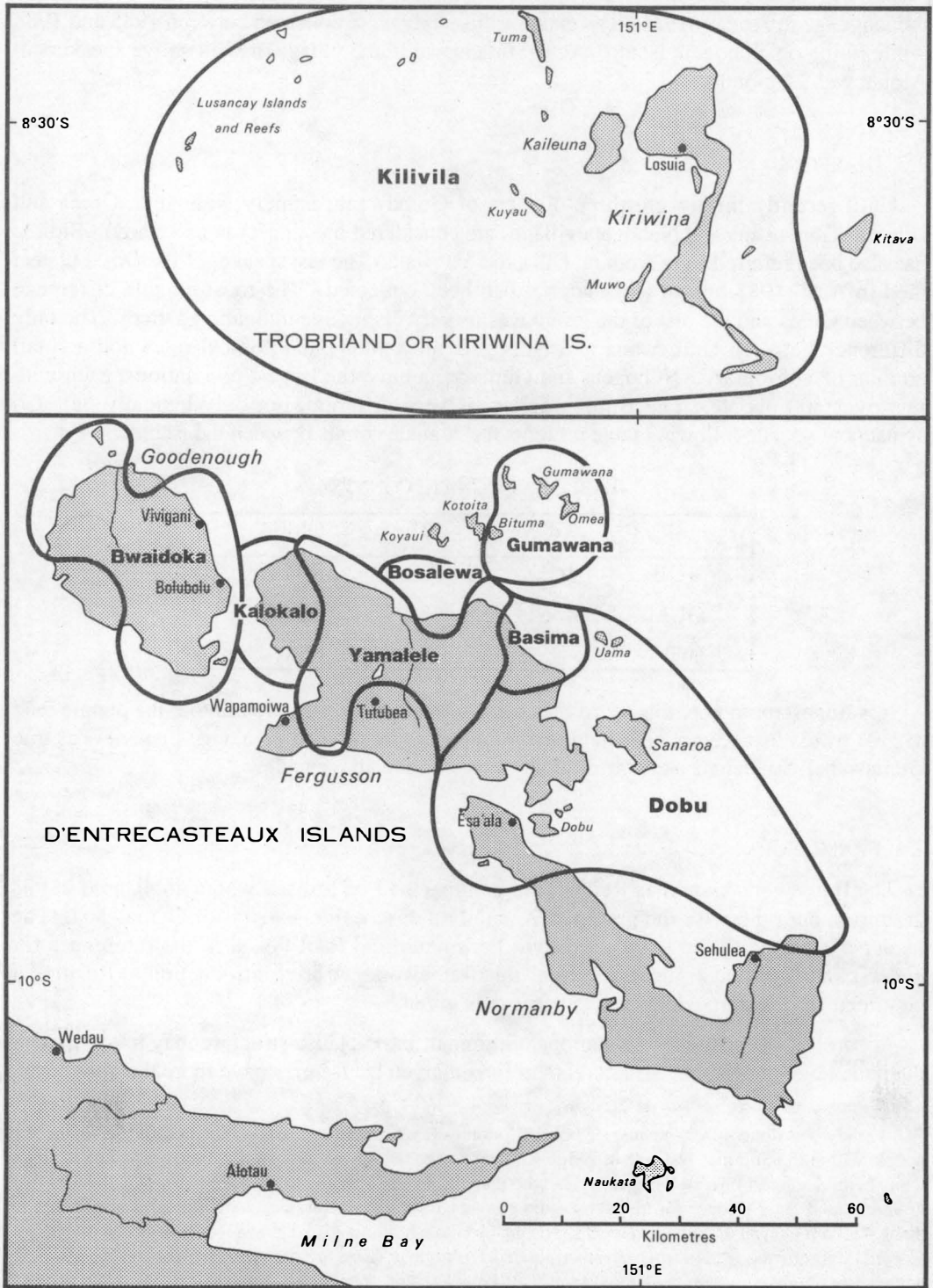
MAP 4: THE GUMAWANA LANGUAGE AREA

1.2 LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

In the literature the Gumawana language is referred to as 'Gumasi'. However, 'Gumasi' is what the Trobriand Island people to the north call the language. It is agreed amongst the people that their language should be called Gumawana, and I therefore refer to it as such.

Gumawana belongs to the large Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages, but is considered by Lithgow (1976) to be an isolate in relation to its Austronesian neighbours in the Milne Bay Province. In comparing Gumawana with both Dobu to the south and Kilivila to the north, it appears that there are significant grammatical differences between them. Lithgow lists Gumawana as being 47% cognate with the Dobu family and 38% with the Muyuw family. There are similarities in the pronominal system with languages on the mainland. Ross (1988:212) tentatively suggests that Gumawana belongs to the North Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux linkage of the Papuan Tip cluster; that is, that it is more closely related to the languages of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands to the south than to Kilivila, although it has been influenced within the latter.

The first recorded work by someone who visited the Amphletts is by Bronislaw Malinowski in 1920. His work in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* gives a small amount of data which he collected during his visit in 1915. No other work to my knowledge was carried on or recorded until Lauer (1974) did his fairly extensive research of pottery in the D'Entrecasteaux group. Lauer included a word list comparing the Omea, Gumawana and Nubogeta dialects with Bituma (see section 11.2), and a list of the key terms used in pottery making. Lithgow (1976) also gives a word list and a small amount of data. Lauer's word list is compared with mine in section 11.



MAP 5: GUMAWANA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

My wife and I did an initial survey in September 1984, before actually beginning to learn the language in January 1985. The data for this study were collected between 1985 and 1988 while living on Nubogeta Island. Actual time spent in the village or with native speakers in Alotau was 24 months.²

1.3 DIALECTS

Until recently there were three dialects of Gumawana, namely Nubogeta, Omea and Bituma (Gumawana and Nubogeta villages are considered one dialect in this study). Bituma has also been referred to as Kotoita, Dilia and Yabwaia. The last speaker of the Omea dialect died in April 1988 but no text material had been collected. The most notable difference between Omea and the rest of the group was its very distinctive intonation pattern. The only difference between Gumawana and Nubogeta are minor phonological rules and a small amount of vocabulary. Nubogeta and Gumawana have the largest populations, each with just over 100 people. The Bituma dialect is very different, not only lexically but also syntactically. The following table presents the cognate counts between the islands.

TABLE 1: COGNATE COUNTS

	GUM	BIT	OMEA
NUB	92%	73%	80%
GUM		67%	82%
BIT			66%

It is important to note that word lists can be deceiving. I have found that the people tend to give words that are not used in everyday speech; instead they give what they view as true Gumawana. So there is a certain amount of error in the above table.

1.4 FRAMEWORK

The framework known as Relational Grammar will be utilised where applicable in this grammar, but otherwise the grammar is mainly a descriptive analysis of Gumawana. The reader is referred to the works of David Perlmutter and Paul Postal in the references for understanding of and argumentation for this framework. A brief introduction to Relational Grammar for the purposes of this paper is now given.

According to Perlmutter's Relational Grammar, basic clause structure may involve more than one level of syntactic structure; therefore, a given clause may have more than one level.

²This study was done under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I would like to thank two people within the Summer Institute of Linguistics who have helped me in writing this paper and have given many helpful suggestions: Bob Bugenhagen, who read through the paper and gave me many new insights into grammar, and Russ Cooper for his many radio conversations and discussions. Most of all I would like to thank Kalitoni Gaiyau of Nubogeta Island. His understanding of how his language works has been invaluable to me. Many of the ideas in his paper originated with him. There are many more people who could be named from Nubogeta who have taught me their language and spent hours working on text material. My good friend Topiyo Mulolu was an excellent language teacher and extremely patient with me as he taught me how to speak his language. Finally, thanks go to my wife, Roxanne, for having put up with my linguistics and frustrations for the last three years and for patiently listening to my ideas.

These levels are referred to as initial and final. It is at the initial level that the grammatical relations of subject, direct object and indirect object are determined by the semantic roles. In other words, agents are initial subjects, patients initial direct objects, recipients indirect objects, etc.

Relational Grammar claims that a clause is underlyingly neither transitive nor intransitive, rather each stratum or level is described as either transitive or not. Therefore, a transitive stratum is one that has a subject and a direct object. There are two types of intransitive strata. One has a subject but no direct object, the other has a direct object but no subject. In the case of the latter, the direct object advances to subject. It should also be noted here that grammatical relations are taken as primitives in Relational Grammar. Argumentation for these notions is given by Perlmutter (1978) and Rosen (1981).

The phonological analysis is phonemic, but I have used Clements and Keyser's (1983) autosegmental framework to describe syllabification. A more complete phonology is in preparation.

All examples are written in the orthography currently proposed. Where phonemic rules are widespread throughout the language I account for these: for example, the phoneme /k/ has two allophones that are quite predictable, therefore only *k* is written. This is true of /a/ as well since its allophones are predictable. The syllable *mu* is also written as such because the rule for /u/ deletion is widespread throughout the language. Although there are a number of morphophonemic rules, I have not tried to base the orthography on the morphophonemic level, due to native speaker preference for a more phonetic orthography.

1.5 TYPOLOGY

In this section I give a brief typological sketch of Gumawana in relation to Greenberg's (1966) universals.

1.5.1 MORPHOLOGICALLY

Gumawana could be classified, morphologically, as an agglutinative language with a propensity toward being fusional. Example (1) illustrates this point.³

- (1) *Mainao ae-mu kwai-sobu-ye-kone.*
 first leg-2SG.IA 2SG.by.set-down-OAD-try.TR
 First you set your leg down.

³Abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows: AGT – agentive nominaliser, BEN – benefactive, CAUS – causative, CERT – certainty, CL – classifier, COM – comitative, CON – control relationship, DEM – demonstrative, DEV – developmental marker, DIR – directional, EAT – eating – intention to consume, EXC – exclusive, EXCL – exclamation, IA – inalienable, IMPER – imperfective aspect, INC – inclusive, INCH – inchoative, INST – instrument, IRR – irrealis, LIM – limiter, LOC – locative, LOC.ADV – locational adverb, NEG – negation, NOM – nominaliser, NONDEV – non-developmental marker, OAD – oblique advancement to direct object, OI – old information, PASS – passive relationship, PER – perfective aspect, PL – plural, PLA.ADV – place adverb, PN – pronoun, POSS – possession, PP – postposition, PRF – perfect aspect morpheme, PRO – prospective aspect, PUR – purpose, REA – reason, RECP – reciprocal, RDP – reduplication, REF – reference marker, REFL – reflexive, SG – singular, ST – stative, SW – switch of attention, TEMP – temporal, TM – tag marker, TR – transitive, UNCRT – uncertainty.

1.5.2 WORD ORDER TYPOLOGY

Comrie (1981:89-96) identifies two major groups of languages on the basis of Greenberg's (1966) word order typology, namely Object-Verb languages (where the object precedes the verb) and Verb-Object languages (where the object follows the verb). The basic word order typology for an Object-Verb language is:

- (a) object + verb;
- (b) noun phrase + postposition;
- (c) possessor noun phrase + possessed noun phrase;
- (d) either adjective + noun or noun + adjective.

The basic word order of Gumawana is Subject-Object-Verb and it follows Greenberg's predictions for an Object-Verb language, with the pattern of noun + adjective rather than adjective + noun.

- (a) subject + object + verb

S	O	V
(2) <i>Topiyo iyana badabada-i-di</i>	<i>i-ginubasi-di.</i>	
Topiyo fish many-?-3PL.IA	3SG-spear-3PL	
Topiyo speared many fish.		

- (b) noun phrase + postposition

(3) *Vada goi i-siu.*
 house PP 3SG-enter
 He entered the house.

- (c) possessor noun phrase + possessed noun phrase

(4) *I-tomo vavina i-na-bayao i-kabi.*
 3SG-next.day woman CON-3SG-basket 3SG-get
 The next day the woman got her basket.

- (d) noun + adjective

(5) *Steve i-na-buki gagai-na*
 Steve CON-3SG-book big-3SG
 Steve's big book

2. PHONOLOGY

This section provides a brief and tentative description of Gumawana phonology. A more detailed phonological analysis is in preparation. The rules are provided as the basis for the grammatical analysis, and no formal rule ordering is given, although rules are presented roughly in their sequence of application.

2.1 PHONEMES

The following chart illustrates the phonemes for Gumawana.

CONSONANTS

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	voiced	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
	voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricatives			<i>v</i>	<i>s</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	
Lateral				<i>l</i>	

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High close	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid close	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low close		<i>a</i>	

2.1.1 STOPS

The stops contrast at labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation. All are unaspirated. /k/ has two allophones, [k] and [x]; /k/ is realised as [x] between a non-high vowel or initial word boundary, and a non-high, back vowel. All the stops occur both word initially and word medially. /t/ has the allophones [t] and [s]; /t/ is realised as [s] before [i].

2.1.2 NASALS

The nasals contrast at labial and dental points of articulation. Both are voiced and can occur word initially and medially.

2.1.3 FRICATIVES

The fricatives contrast at labio-dental and alveolar points of articulation. Both /v/ and /s/ can occur word initially and word medially. The [s] is produced with tongue tip on the lower teeth and with the blade of the tongue in the alveopalatal area. /v/ has two allophones, [v] and [w]; /v/ is realised as [w] before front vowels.

2.1.4 LATERAL

The lateral /l/ is in free fluctuation with the flap [r]. It is alveolar and may occur word initially or word medially. Some people place the tongue tip on the lower teeth using the blade to produce the sound, while others use the tongue tip in the alveolar position.

2.1.5 VOWELS

The vowels contrast in high, mid and low tongue positions. The allophones of /a/ are [a] and [ə]. The latter occurs in unstressed syllables.

2.1.6 SEMIVOWELS

The semivowels [y] and [w] occur phonetically in Gumawana, but are not phonemic. When /i/ and /u/ are assigned to a C in the skeletal tier of Gumawana syllable structure (see section 2.2) they are realised phonetically as [y] and [w]. All examples beyond this section are written using *y* and *w* for clarity.

The [y] has two phonetic shapes. The first is palatal and the second is fronted between a non-high vowel and a non-high, back vowel.

2.1.7 CONTRASTIVE PAIRS

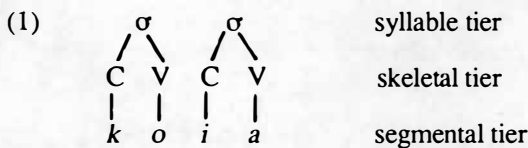
The following pairs of words are contrastive.

b:p	/tabo/	['tabo]	shoot
	/tapo/	['tapo]	height
	/biu/	['biu]	pull
	/piu/	['piu]	break wind
b:v	/beba/	['beba]	butterfly
	/beva/	['beva]	insides of fish
	/bala/	['bala]	across
	/vala/	['vala]	message
b:m	/iaban/	['yabana]	heaven
	/iaman/	['yamana]	outrigger
	/boku/	['boku]	cough
	/moku/	['moku]	bait
m:n	/tarna/	['tama]	we (inclusive) come
	/tana/	['tana]	we (inclusive) go
	/meta/	['meta]	braid
	/neta/	['neta]	if
d:n	/vada/	['vada]	house
	/vana/	['vana]	skin disease
	/deba/	['deba]	bald
	/neba/	['neba]	scar
t:d	/tala/	['tala]	year
	/dala/	['dala]	clan
	/neta/	['neta]	if
	/neda/	['neda]	lice eggs

s:t	/masa/	['masa]	doubt
	/mata/	['mata]	die
	/sasa/	['sasa]	mad
	/tatav/	['tatava]	shake
l:d	/liu/	['liu]	to lift up
	/diu/	['diu]	to cut
	/vala/	['vala]	message
	/vada/	['vada]	house
n:l	/nava/	['nava]	still
	/lava/	['lava]	time
	/sena/	['sena]	divide
	/sela/	['sela]	dig
i:e	/diu/	['diu]	dig out
	/deu/	['deu]	raft
	/kivi/	['kivi]	root of pandanus
	/kive/	['kive]	toward ocean
u:o	/baluma/	[ba'luma]	type of sugarcane
	/baloma/	[ba'loma]	spirit
	/tabu/	['tabu]	taboo
	/tabo/	['tabo]	sprout
a:e	/ago/	['ago]	new information
	/ego/	['ego]	old information
	/niga/	['niga]	afterwards
	/nige/	['nige]	grub worm
a:o	/patu/	['patu]	enclose
	/potu/	['potu]	sore

2.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Gumawana syllable structure may be conveniently described within Clements and Keyser's (1983) autosegmental framework, which views the syllable as a hierarchic structure of three tiers.



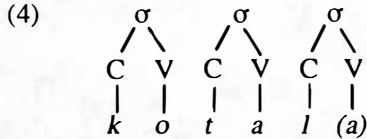
Ito (1986) suggests that each language has a syllable template by which all possible syllable patterns may be derived for that particular language. For Gumawana the syllable template is very simple: [(C)V], from which both a [CV] and a [V] pattern may be generated, as in (2b).

- (2) a. /vada/ ['vada] [CV.CV] house
 b. /ebulu/ [e'bulu] [V.CV.CV] pandanus

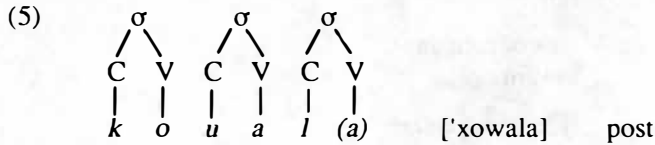
Autosegmental theory also gives a satisfactory account of words such as /kotal/.

- (3) /kotal/ ['xotala] north-west wind

Because /kotal/ with its final consonant does not fit the syllable template, Gumawana requires the vowel [a] to be epenthesised. It refers to this as "stray epenthesis" (see 2.3.8). Syllable assignment is from left to right, placing *a* to the right of the final consonant.



When underlying /u/ and /i/ are assigned to a C at the skeletal tier they become phonetically [w] and [y]. For example in (5) the /u/ receives a C assignment, resulting in [w].



2.3 PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

2.3.1 *i* AND *u* DELETION RULES

/i/ is optionally deleted between /s/ and voiceless stops (6a-b), and word finally following /s/ (6c).

- (6) a. /si-paiseua/ [spai'sewa] / [sipai'sewa] they worked
 3PL-work
 b. /si-tagona/ [sta'gona] / [sita'gona] they allowed
 3PL-permit
 c. /i-kapusi/ [ika'pus] / [ika'pusi] he/she travelled
 3SG-trip

/i/ is also optionally deleted between /n/, and /d/ (7a-b) or /s/ (7c).

- (7) a. /i-vini-di/ [i'vindi] / [ivi'nidi] he/she gave them
 3SG-gave-3PL
 b. /a-kani-di/ [a'xandi] / [axa'nidi] I ate them
 1SG-eat-3PL
 c. /a-ginisi-mu/ [agin'sim] / [agini'sim] I pinched you
 1SG-pinch-2SG

/u/ is optionally deleted word finally after /p/ (8a) and obligatorily after /m/ (8a-b) except in the syllable sequence /mumu/ (9d).

- (8) a. /i-kakapu/ [ika'xap] / [ika'xapu] it is easy
 b. /sabamugo/ [sa'bamgo] night

- | | | | |
|----|------------|------------|----------|
| c. | /a-nimu/ | [a'nim] | I drink |
| d. | /i-tamumu/ | [ita'mumu] | he hides |

2.3.2 a RAISING RULE

In the environment ___CV, where V is [i] or [e], /a/ is raised to [e] or [o], depending on the backness of the preceding vowel.

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (9) a. | /a-giual-i/
1SG-spit-TR | [agi'woli] | I spit at him |
| b. | /a-vatetal-i/
1SG-story-TR | [avate'teli] | I story about him |

2.3.3 a TO o RULE

/a/ become [o] word finally. Only in a small number of words does this rule apply.

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------|------------|
| (10) a. | /a-dudua/
1SG-call | [adu'duo] | I call out |
| b. | /a-diga/
1SG-say | [a'digo] | I say |

When these verbs are transitive, we find the stem-final vowel /a/ coalescing with the transitive marker /-i/ to give [-e] (2.3.4). This indicates that the stem-final vowel is indeed /a/:

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (11) a. | /a-dudua-i/ | [adu'due] | I call out to him |
| b. | /a-diga-i/ | [a'dige] | I talk about him |

2.3.4 THE TRANSITIVE MARKER -i: COALESCENCE

There are various rules that apply to the transitive marker /-i/. These depend on the stem-final vowel of the verb.

The only environment in which the transitive marker is realised as [-i] is when the stem-final vowel is [o] followed by an object marker other than third person singular (in (12) the rules in 2.3.9 and 2.3.11 have applied to give [o]).

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| (12) a. | /a-kupuan-i-di/
1SG-cut-TR-3PL | [aku'poidi] | I cut them |
| b. | /a-kupuan-i/ | [a'kupo] | I cut it |

If the stem-final vowel is /a/, it obligatorily coalesces with the transitive marker /-i/ to become [-e], as in (13b) and (14b).

- | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|----------|----------|
| (13) a. | /a-gita/ | [a'gita] | I see |
| b. | /a-gita-i/
1SG-see-TR | [a'gite] | I see it |

- | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| (14) a. | /a-lusala/ | [alu'sala] | I search |
| | b. /a-lusala-i/
1SG-search-TR | [alu'sale] | I search for it |

The only verb with stem-final /a/ to which this process does not apply is /tala/ 'to cut'.

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|
| (15) a. | /a-tala/ | [a'tala] | I cut |
| | b. /a-tala-i/
1SG-cut-TR | [ata'lai] | I cut it |

A possible explanation of this exception is that an underlying consonant has been deleted. Because /v/ deletion before /i/ or /e/ is so prominent, /v/ seems at first sight the most probable candidate for deletion here (2.3.13). That is, we posit the underlying transitive form /talav-i/, which does not undergo coalescence because /v/ deletion occurs after coalescence. However, I have not yet found any evidence for this hypothesis.⁴

2.3.5 *i* DELETION

/i/ is deleted between non-high, non-front vowels ([e] is generated by the coalescence rule in 2.3.4).

- | | | | |
|---------|---|--------------|------------------|
| (16) a. | /a-taoia/
1SG-stand | [a'taoya] | I stood |
| | b. /a-va-taoia-i/
1SG-CAUS-stand-TR | [ava'taoe] | I stood it up |
| | c. /a-kimoiamoia-i/
1SG-sway-TR | [akimoe'moe] | I make it sway |
| | d. /i-omaiaimaia-i/
3SG-embarrass-TR | [iomae'mae] | he's embarrassed |
| | e. /a-muela-ia-i/
1SG-climb-OAD-TR | [amwe'rae] | I climb with it |

This rule also applies over morpheme boundaries, as exemplified in (16e).

2.3.6 *k*- DELETION RULE

/k/ is deleted word initially before /a/ (17b and 18b).

- | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------|--------------|------------|
| (17) a. | /a-kauanoi/
1SG-beg | [axawa'noi] | I beg |
| | b. /kauanoi/ | [awa'noi] | beg |
| (18) a. | /i-kanamimi/
3SG-dream | [ikana'mimi] | he dreamed |
| | b. /kanamimi/ | [ana'mimi] | dream |

⁴Editor's note: Gumawana *-tala* 'cut' is derived from Proto Oceanic/Proto Papuan Tip **taRaq* 'chop, adze'. Since **-q-* is preserved in a number of Gumawana's neighbours as [ʔ], [ɣ] or [v], a historical explanation for this exception is that a segment reflecting **-q-* has been deleted relatively recently; that is, Olson's argument is diachronically valid, even if it is not supported synchronically.

/k/ is also optionally deleted between /u/ and /a/. When this rule applies /u/ is realised as [w] (see 2.3.7).

- (19) a. /ku-kabi/ → [ku'abi] → ['kwabi] you take it
 2SG-take
- b. /ku-kamas/ [ku'kamas] / ['kwamas] you died
 2SG-die
- c. /ku-kaika/ [ku'kaika] / ['kwaika] you ate
 2SG-eat

2.3.7 u TO w RULE

The sequences [pw bw mw kw gw] occur phonetically in Gumawana:

- (20) *bw* /bobuala/ ['bobwara] to talk
 pw /puaiiuu/ [pwai'yuyu] to smoke
 kw /vatulukuana/ [vatu'lukwana] to teach
 gw /neguasa/ ['negwasa] ocean
 mw /muela/ ['mwera] to climb

I analyse the above sequences as underlyingly *Cu*, where /u/ becomes [w] obligatorily between a bilabial or velar consonant and /a/ or /e/. There are almost no phonetic *Cua* or *Cue* sequences in the language where C is either a bilabial or a velar consonant. There are also no [twa] or [dwa] sequences.

So far I have found only two words which appear to contradict this analysis: [gabuaine] 'god' and [vatupue] 'push over'.

The former has also been heard as [gabwaine]. The latter is readily accounted for by examining the Omea dialect. Where in the Nubogeta dialect we find the intransitive form [vatupuo] and the transitive [vatupue], in Omea the [v] is retained, and we find the intransitive form [vatupuva] and the transitive [vatupuve]. It is clear that in Nubogeta the [wa] to [o] rule (2.3.11) has applied to the intransitive form and [v] deletion (2.3.13) to the transitive, which is underlyingly /vatupuva+i/ (2.3.4). Since the /u/ to [w] rule applies before the rules mentioned in this paragraph, the [pue] sequence is accounted for and is not an exception.

2.3.8 EPENTHESIS

Certain verbs and nouns are underlyingly consonant final. Since the syllable template for Gumawana is [CV] (see section 2.2), a word's syllable structure must conform on the surface to the template. In order for those nouns and verbs which are consonant final in their underlying form to match the template the vowel [-a] is added. Thus the syllable template explains the allomorphy found in the Gumawana verbs and nouns in (21) – (26); in each of these examples the underlying root is /CVCVC/. In the (b) and (c) parts of these examples, the root occurs followed by a vowel-initial suffix and the syllable structure therefore conforms to the template. In the (a) examples there is no suffixation, and the allomorph ends in [-a] resulting from epenthesis.

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| (21) a. | /iaman/ | ['yamana] | outrigger |
| | b. /iamani-na/ | [yama'nina] | its outrigger |
| (22) a. | /goman/ | ['gomana] | child |
| | b. /goman-ia-na/
child-REF-3SG | [goma'niana] | that child |
| (23) a. | /patum/ | ['patuma] | bundle |
| | b. /patumi-na/ | [patu'mina] | bundle of something |
| (24) a. | /a-bagul/ | [a'bagula] | I plant |
| | b. /a-bagul-i/ | [aba'guli] | I plant it |
| | c. /a-bagul-i-di/ | [abagu'lidi] | I planted them |
| (25) a. | /a-ginubasin/ | [aginu'basina] | I speared |
| | b. /a-ginubasin-i/ | [aginu'basi] | I speared it |
| | c. /a-ginubasin-i-di | [aginuba'sidi] | I speared them |
| (26) a. | /a-ginin/ | [a'ginina] | I write |
| | b. /a-ginin-i/ | [a'gini] | I write it |
| | c. /a-ginin-i-di/ | [agi'nidi] | I write them |

Examples (25b), (25c) and (26b), receive their surface shape through the application of /n/ deletion (2.3.9).

Further evidence of epenthesis is given in section 2.6, where stress placement is presented.

2.3.9 *n* DELETION RULE

/n/ is deleted before the transitive marker /-i/, as illustrated by (25b), (25c) and (26b), in the previous section.

2.3.10 *v* TO *w* RULE

/v/ may become [w] preceding /a/ at the end of a word.

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| (27) a. | /a-seva-i-di/
1SG-gather-TR-3PL | [ase'vedi] | I gathered them |
| | b. /a-seva/
1SG-gather | [a'seo] | I gather |

In (27b) two rules are applied to the stem /seva/. The first is the rule which allows /v/ to become [w] and then the [wa] to [o] rule of section 2.3.11.

2.3.11 *wa* TO *o* RULE

[wa] become [o] word finally (27b) or before a CV sequence word finally where the V is a non-low vowel. This rule appears only to apply to verbs, and applies to [wa] resulting from the rules in section 2.2, 2.3.7 and 2.3.10. The non-low vowel of the environment may be [e] resulting from the coalescence rule in section 2.3.4. In each of the (a) examples

below, the rule does not apply since the final vowel is low. However in the (b) examples the conditions for the rule are met.

- (28) a. /a-uiauana/ [au'yawana] I rejoice
 1SG-rejoice
- b. /a-uiauana-i/ [auiauane] → [auyawane] → [auya'one] I rejoice in him
 1SG-rejoice-TR
- (29) a. /a-bobuala/ [a'bobwara] I speak
 1SG-speak
- b. /a-bobuala-i/ [abo'buare] → [abo'bware] → [abo'bore] I speak about it
 1SG-speak-TR
- (30) a. /a-vainauan/ [avai'nawana] I steal
 1SG-steal
- b. /a-vainauan-i/ [avainauai] → [avainawai] → [avainaoi] → [avai'nao] I steal it
 1SG-steal-TR

In (30b) deletions of /n/ (2.3.9) and of /-i/ (2.3.12) have also occurred.

2.3.12 THE TRANSITIVE MARKER *-i*: DELETION

The transitive marker /-i/ is always deleted after [u] (31) and [i] (32), and is also deleted after [o] when it occurs word finally (34).

- (31) a. /a-gabu-i/ [a'gabu] I burn it
 b. /a-gabu-i-di/ [aga'budi] I burn them
- (32) a. /a-ginin-i/ [a'gini] I write it
 b. /a-ginin-i-di/ [agi'nidi] I write them
- (33) a. /a-kupuan-i/ [a'kupo] I cut it
 b. /a-kupuan-i-di/ [aku'poidi] I cut them
 1SG-cut-TR-3PL

Note that (32) also reflects [n] deletion (2.3.9), whilst (33) reflects [n] deletion and the [wa] to [o] rule (2.3.11).

Phonetically the sequences [ui] and [oi] do occur, but they are the result of /v/ deletion (2.3.13), which applies after the deletion of the transitive marker. Note the following examples.

- (34) a. /a-lauv/ [alauva] → [alauwa] → [a'lauo] I hit
 1SG-hit
- b. /a-lauv-i/ [a'lau] I hit him
- (35) a. /a-saioiov/ [asayo'yova] I rinsed
 b. /a-saioiov-i/ [asayo'yoi] I rinsed it

In (34a) /v/ is not realised because of the application of the /v/ to [w] rule (2.3.10) and [wa] to [o] rule (2.3.11), and in (34b) because of the /v/ deletion rule (2.3.13). The rule for deleting the transitive marker evidently precedes /v/ deletion, and this explains why the transitive marker has not been deleted. In (35a) the intransitive form (with epenthetic [-a]

shows that the /v/ is present underlyingly, whilst for the transitive form in (35b) /v/ deletion again accounts for the survival of the transitive marker.

2.3.13 v DELETION RULE

/v/ is deleted before [e] and [i]. In some words it is optional, as in (36a-c), and in others it is obligatory, as in (36d).

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (36) a. | /dedevi-na/
good-3SG | [de'deina] / [dede'vina] | it is good |
| b. | /a-nava-i/
1SG-take-TR | [a'nae] / [a'nave] | I took it |
| c. | /a-kauvisi-i/
1SG-break-TR | [axa'uis] / [axa'uvis] | I broke it |
| d. | /i-taligav-i/
3SG-untie-TR | [itali'gei] | he untied it |

In each of the above examples /v/ is deleted before /e/ or /i/. The coalescence rule feeds this rule, as in (36b).

2.4 MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES AFFECTING SPECIFIC MORPHEMES

As well as the rules affecting the transitive marker /-i/, presented above in their rough order of application, Gumawana has a number of morphophonemic rules which affect other specific morphemes.

2.4.1 -mo

The verbal suffix /-mo/ 'only, just' has the allomorphs [-yamo] and [-mo]. [-yamo] occurs on transitive verbs with third person singular objects. [-mo] occurs everywhere else. It appears that [-yamo] is underlyingly /-ia-mo/, where /-ia/ is historically the third person singular object marker.

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|
| (37) | /ku-tu-sobu- <u>mo</u> /
2SG-by.sit-down-just
Just sit down! | [kutuso'b <u>umo</u>] |
| (38) | /a-gita-i-di- <u>mo</u> /
1SG-see-TR-3PL-just
I just watch them. | [agite'd <u>imo</u>] |
| (39) | /ku-kalava-i- <u>ia-mo</u> /
2SG-leave-TR-3SG-just
You just leave it! | [kukalave' <u>yamo</u>] |

2.4.2 LIMITER *-ita*

The suffix */-ita/*, which limits the scope of negation, has the allomorphs *[-eta]*, *[-yeta]*, *[-ta]* and *[-ita]*. The morpheme-initial */-i-/* of */-ita/* is treated similarly to the transitive marker */-i/*, as discussed in sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.12 above.

Vowel coalescence (cf. 2.3.4) applies to sequences of */-a/* and the morpheme-initial */-i-/* of */-ita/*. The *[-a]* may be the stem-final *[-a]* of an intransitive verb or the *[-a]* of an object suffix. Note that in (40) epenthesis of *[-a]* takes place, resulting in */kamas-a/*, before *[-ita]* is suffixed, giving *-* by coalescence *- [eta]*.

- (40) /geia a-kamas-ita/ [ge axama'seta]
 NEG 1SG-die-LIM
 I didn't die

Example (41) illustrates coalescence of the *[-a]* of an object suffix.

- (41) /geia ku-gita-i-ma-ita/ [geya kugite'meta]
 NEG 2SG-see-TR-1PL.EXC-LIM
 you didn't see us

The allomorph *[-yeta]* occurs only on transitive verbs which have third person singular objects. It appears that *[-yeta]* is underlyingly */-ia-ita/*, where */-ia/* is again historically the third person singular object marker (cf. 2.4.1). Vowel coalescence again applies, producing *[-yeta]*.

- (42) /geia a-iagoi-ia-ita/ [ge ayagoi'yeta]
 NEG 1SG-know-3SG-LIM
 I don't know it
- (43) /geia a-gabu-ia-ita/ [ge agabu'yeta]
 NEG 1SG-burn-3SG-LIM
 I didn't burn it

The allomorph *[ita]* occurs in all other instances except where the stem-final vowel of the verb is */u/* or */i/*; here the *[-i]* of *[-ita]* is deleted in the same way as the transitive marker */-i/* (cf. 2.3.12), resulting in *[-ta]*.

- (44) /geia a-masisi-ita/ [ge amasi'sita]
 NEG 1SG-sleep-LIM
 I didn't sleep
- (45) /geia a-puاییی-ita/ [ge apwaiyu'yuta]
 NEG 1SG-smoke-LIM
 I don't smoke
- (46) /geia a-siu-ita/ [ge a'siuta]
 NEG 1SG-enter-LIM
 I didn't enter

2.4.3 PLURAL MORPHEME

The plural suffix */-iao/* has two allomorphs, *[-yao]* and *[-ao]*. */-iao/* is realised as *[-ao]* on nouns with inalienable suffixes ending in */a/*, and the resulting */a-a/* sequence becomes simply *[a]*.

- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------|---------------|
| (47) | /magi- <u>iao</u> / | [magi' <u>yao</u>] | betel nut |
| (48) | /sina-da- <u>iao</u> /
mother-1PL.INC.IA-PL | [sina'd <u>ao</u>] | our mothers |
| (49) | /tama-ma- <u>iao</u> /
father-1PL.EXC.IA-PL | [tama'm <u>ao</u>] | our fathers - |

2.5 STRESS

With a few exceptions, stress falls on the penultimate syllable. Examples (50) – (53) illustrate stress placement in non-suspect words.

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (50) a. | /kalova/ | [a'lova] | tree |
| b. | /guleua/ | [gu'rewa] | stone |
| (51) a. | /manave-na/ | [mana'wena] | long |
| b. | /kakupi-na/ | [xaku'pina] | short |
| (52) a. | /a-kabi-i/
1SG-get-TR | [a'xabi] | I took it |
| b. | /a-kabi-i-di/
1SG-get-TR-3PL | [axa'bidi] | I took them |
| (53) a. | /a-pola/
1SG-deceive | [a'pola] | I deceived |
| b. | /a-pola-i/
1SG-deceive-TR | [a'pole] | I deceived him |
| c. | /a-pola-i-mu/
1SG-deceive-TR-2SG | [apo'lem] | I deceived you |

Phonetically there are many words that appear not to follow the above stress pattern; instead of the stress falling on the penultimate syllable it falls on the antepenult. Examples of antepenultimate stress are given in the (a) examples below. The (b) examples show penultimate stress with suffixation.

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| (54) a. | /iaban/ | ['yabana] | heaven, sky |
| b. | /iaban-ia-na/
sky-REF-3SG | [yabani'ana] | that heaven/sky |
| (55) a. | /meiav/ | ['meyava] | magic |
| b. | /meiav-i-na/
magic-?-3SG | [meyai'ina] | his magic |
| (56) a. | /a-bagal/
1SG-wrong | [a'bagala] | I erred |
| b. | /a-bagal-i/
1SG-wrong-TR | [aba'gali] | I wrong him |
| c. | /a-bagal-i-mu/
1SG-wrong-TR-2SG | [abaga'lim] | I wrong you |

- | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (57) a. | /a-ioit/
1SG-hold.on | [a'yoita] | I held on |
| b. | /a-ioit-i/
1SG-hold-TR | [ayo'isi] | I held it |
| c. | /a-ioit-i-di/ | [ayoi'sidi] | I held them |

However, if it is recognised that stress placement occurs after suffixation but before the epenthetic vowel [-a] is added (2.3.8), then all these examples are accounted for.

There are a few exceptions to the regular stress pattern. In (58a) and (59a) the intransitive forms have stress on the antepenultimate syllable but the transitive forms follow the normal stress rule. The underlying form is not consonant final, so epenthesis does not occur, and yet the stress placements in (58a) and (59a) behave as if the final [-a] were epenthetic, and thus violate the rule. These are the only exceptions that have been found.

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (58) a. | /a-bobuala/ | [a'bobwara] | I talk |
| b. | /a-bobuala-i/ | [abo'bore] | I talk about it |
| c. | /a-bobuala-i-di/ | [abobo'redi] | I talk about them |
| (59) a. | /a-uiauana/ | [au'yawana] | I rejoice |
| b. | /a-uiauana-i/ | [auya'one] | I rejoice in him |
| c. | /a-uiauana-i-di/ | [auyao'nedi] | I rejoice in them |

This concludes my brief description of the phonology, which requires further investigation.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 WORD CLASSES

The major word classes of Gumawana are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In addition to these, there are a number of minor word classes. The major classes are presented first, followed by a description of the minor classes.

3.1.1 NOUN CLASSES

A noun is a word that cannot be inflected with verbal morphology and may function as the sole argument of a verb. There are several classes of nouns in Gumawana, and these are described next. The classification of nouns interacts with the possessive system, which is presented in more detail in section 4.

3.1.1.1 INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS

There is a class of nouns that is obligatorily inalienably possessed and require suffixes which mark the person and number of their possessor (see also section 4.1). This class includes items encoding body parts (1a), kinship terms (1b), partitives (1c) and spatial relationships (1d).

- (1) a. *Kalitoni nima-na*
Kalitoni hand-1SG.IA
Kalitoni's hand
- b. *sina-da*
mother-1PL.INC.IA
our mother
- c. *oga matakubu-na*
canoe bow-3SG.IA
bow of the canoe
- d. *vada sinae-na*
house inside-3SG.IA
inside of the house

3.1.1.2 INALIENABLY POSSESSED QUANTIFIER NOUNS

Gumawana has four inalienably possessed quantifier nouns whose suffix marks the person and number of the noun which is being quantified.

<i>badabada</i>	many/number
<i>manie</i>	some
<i>madabiki</i>	all
<i>liliu</i>	all

I have not been able to find any difference between *madabiki* and *liliu*.

- (2) a. *Be liliu-ma i-ma-goyo liliu-na i-niki-di*
and all-1PL.EXC.IA CON-1PL.EXC-bad all-3SG.IA 3SG-wash-3PL
ikaikai-na goi.
blood-3SG.IA PP
He will wash all of our evil with his blood.
- b. *Se-m-ao manie-di ta-kasa be ta-kasa*
friend-1PL.EXC.IA-PL some-3PL.IA different-place and different-place
si-kayaka.
3PL-remain
Some of our friends remain at different places.

3.1.1.3 ALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS

Alienably possessed nouns (see also section 4.2) that are potentially consumable may occur with the 'eating' alienable possession marker *a-* (3a), as opposed to the controlled possession marker *i-* (3b).

- (3) a. *A-na-iyana i-ginubasina.*
EAT-3SG-fish 3SG-spear
He speared his fish (for eating, non-referential).

- b. *Tau-ya-na i-na Kalitoni i-na-vada.*
 person-REF-3SG 3SG-go Kalitoni CON-3SG-house
 He went to Kalitoni's house.

3.1.1.4 PERSON, PLACE OR THING

Nouns can also be classed according to whether they encode persons, places or things. When people cannot remember the name of a thing they will pause with *dogoi* 'thing' (4a). For the name of a person they will use *toi* (4b) for a male and *nai* for a female. If the name of a place is forgotten (4c) *nuwoi* 'place' is used.

- (4) a. *Ka-sowodo ka-ma dogoi awoinu-ya-di bogina si-meo.*
 1PL.EXC-arrive 1PL.EXC-come thing food-REF-3PL PRF 3PL-be.done
 We arrived and came, (What?) the food was already cooked.
- b. *Kidi se-m-ao toi Dipastin i-katowana...*
 3PL.PN friend-1PL.EXC.IA-PL man Dipastin 3SG-be.sick
 As for them, our friends, (what's his name) Dipastin was sick...
- c. *Si-kabi si-na si-sou-ye nuwoi Nupaipoya.*
 3PL-take(TR) 3PL-go 3PL-descend-OAD.TR place Nupaipoya
 They took it and went and descended with it to (where?) Nupaipoya.

The distinction between male *toi* and female *nai* is being lost. It is common to hear a woman referred to as *toi*. A reduced form of these words is found prefixed to the names of men and women to make a distinction between them.

Kauseo	Nakauseo	The woman Kauseo
Bwaina	Tobwaina	The man Bwaina

3.1.1.5 COUNT/MASS NOUNS

Nouns can also be divided into count nouns and mass nouns. Mass nouns do not allow third person plural agreement on the verb (5a); instead, they require third person singular verb agreement and third person singular inalienable possession (5b) on the quantifier noun *badabada* 'number, much' (3.1.1.2).

- (5) a. **Ediedila si-dimodimo.*
 sand 3PL-be.hot
 The sand is hot.
- b. *Loulou badabada-i-na i-kaiaka.*
 coral much-?-3SG.IA 3SG-be.there
 There is much coral.

3.1.1.6 HUMAN NOUNS

The use of question words reveals the distinction between human and non-human nouns. When referring to humans the question word is *ava-tau* 'who/which person' (6a) and to non-humans *kaga* 'what' (6b).

- (6) a. *Go ava-tau geya i-na-vaega-mo, e i-kailova.*
 SW which-person NEG CON-3SG-clay-any DEV 3SG-depart
 And whoever does not have any clay, then he departs.
- b. *Kaga vavagi-mu?*
 what desire-2SG.IA
 What do you want?

3.1.2 ADVERBS

Adverbs can be distinguished from other words by the fact that they do not take nominal or verbal morphology. They “function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns” (Schachter 1985:20). In this section certain limited categories of adverbs are described. Adjectives may also function adverbially (see 5.3). Location adverbs form part of the demonstrative system and are discussed in 3.1.7.2.

3.1.2.1 TIME ADVERBS

The difference between time adverbs and time nouns is that time adverbs are not marked with the postposition *goi* whereas time nouns are (5.2.1.3).

Time adverbs normally occur clause initially. The following are some of the time adverbs found in Gumawana.

<i>boi(nimatu)</i>	long ago/before/last
<i>niga</i>	afterwards
<i>nava</i>	still/later
<i>maine</i>	earlier today
<i>boile</i>	yesterday
<i>kaitaga</i>	recent past
<i>koneyuwe</i>	day after/before yesterday/tomorrow
<i>konavasie</i>	four days after/before yesterday/tomorrow
<i>konanima</i>	five days after/before yesterday/tomorrow

- (7) a. *Boi ka-na ka-uwo-uwata ame bei a-vatetel-i.*
 before 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-IMPER-net today PRO 1SG-story-TR
 Today I will tell a story about the last time we went netting.
- b. *Maine nobuyana ka-taoya.*
 earlier morning 1PL.EXC-arise
 Earlier, in the morning, we got up.

The perfect aspect marker *bogina* ‘already’ (8.2.2.1), which may occur either before or after the verb phrase, may also be regarded as a special category of adverb. The negation marker *geya* (8.5.1) has a similar distribution.

3.1.2.2 MODALITY MARKERS⁵

Modality markers are also conveniently treated as a kind of adverb, since they are not structurally part of the verb phrase in Gumawana, and may occur before the subject, between the subject and object, or before the verb phrase. Markers in this category are listed below, with references to the sections in which they are described.

<i>bei</i>	prospective (8.2.2.2)
<i>be</i>	uncertainty (8.3.1.1)
<i>bego</i>	irrealis (8.3.1.2)
<i>tabe</i>	marker of irony (9.1.7)

3.1.3 VERBS

Verbs are words that are inflected with verbal morphology and may function in isolation to encode a full predication. On the basis of their relational valence three main classes of verbs may be recognised in Gumawana.

Within the framework of Relational Grammar, clauses may consist of more than one level of structure. It is at the initial level that grammatical relations are determined in accordance with semantic roles. In her dissertation, Rosen (1981) proposes the need for what she refers to as the 'relational valence' of a predicate. She writes that "A predicate's relational valence specifies which of the central relations must or can be assigned in the initial stratum of a clause with that predicate". Hence a verb like *eat* in English has a relational valence of [Obligatory Subject, Optional Direct Object] since (8) is possible.

- (8) a. *I eat.*
 b. *I eat the sandwich.*

Within this kind of framework, Gumawana has three distinct verb classes on the basis of relational valence. These are presented next. From this point onward, 'subject' is abbreviated as S and 'direct object' as DO when referring to the relational valence of the verb. Parentheses are used to indicate that an element is optional. Thus [(S), DO] indicates that the subject is optional and the direct object is obligatory.

3.1.3.1 [(S), DO]

There are a large number of verbs which make up this class. Even though they are initially transitive, they are not necessarily finally transitive, and in section 5 I discuss the relation-changing device of the antipassive. The following examples (9) illustrate verbs which are both initially and finally transitive.

- (9) a. *Go-gomanea-di ava-di tayamo tayamo si-kabi-di.*
 PL-child.REF-3PL food-3PL.IA one one 3PL-take-3PL
 The children each took their food.
- b. *Bei bao i-kani-mu.*
 PRO pig 3SG-bite-2SG
 The pig will bite you.

⁵Editor's note: This section is an editorial addition.

3.1.3.2 [(S), DO]

There are two classes of verbs that have a relational valence of [(S), DO]. One class requires the verbal prefix *ta-* when the verb is finally intransitive. The prefix *ta-* appears to indicate that the initial DO is in a particular state. In (10a) the verb *upa* 'to break' is finally transitive. However, in (10b) it is finally intransitive ([*topa*] = /*ta-upa*/).

- (10) a. (*oga*) *i-lokoina Gilibo i-saiko, i-kali-upe.*
 canoe 3SG-run Gilibo 3SG-bump(TR) 3SG-by.INST-break.TR
 The canoe ran and bumped Gilibo, and it broke it.
- b. *Gilibo i-topa go, si-lokoina...*
 Gilibo 3SG-ST.break SW 3PL-run
 Gilibo broke and they ran on...

The second class lacks the *ta-* prefix. So in the (a) examples below the verbs are finally transitive whereas in the (b) examples they are finally intransitive. Because in the (b) examples the verbs lack an S, the DO advances to subject.

- (11) a. *Iyana a-kone-di.*
 turtle 1SG-trap.TR-3PL
 I trapped the turtles.
- b. *Iyana si-kona.*
 turtle 3PL-trap
 The turtles were trapped.
- (12) a. *Niboda a-katupaeve-di.*
 door 1SG-open.TR-3PL
 I opened the doors.
- b. *Niboda si-katupaeva.*
 door 3PL-open
 The doors are open.
- (13) a. *Maini-na kubu-gu i-gede.*
 odour-3SG.IA nose-1SG.IA 3SG-hurt.TR
 The odour hurts my nose.
- b. *Kubu-gu i-geda.*
 nose-1SG.IA 3SG-hurt
 My nose hurts.

3.1.3.3 INTRANSITIVES

There are two types of intransitive verbs. The first has a relational valence of [DO]. These verbs which always have only a DO initially obligatorily advance the DO to S. These verbs include statives, where the final subject has no control and is often the notional patient. As we see in section 3.2.2, verbs with a relational valence of [DO], [S] and [S, DO] may acquire the causative prefixes *vai-*, *va-* and *lu-*, which derive transitive verbs from intransitives. In (14a) and (15a) the verbs are finally intransitive. In (14b) and (15b) the causative prefixes occur and the verbs are finally transitive.

- (14) a. *Awoinu i-meo.*
 food 3SG-be.cooked
 The food is cooked.
- b. *Kuvi a-va-meve-di.*
 yam 1SG-CAUS-cook.TR-3PL
 I cooked the yams.
- (15) a. *Kuvi si-polu.*
 yam 3PL-boil
 The yams boiled.
- b. *Kuvi a-vai-polu-di.*
 yam 1SG-CAUS-boil-3PL
 I boiled the yams.

The second type of intransitive verb has a relational valence of [S]. These verbs are event verbs, in which the final subject does the action. Verbs that have an initial S but no initial DO may take one of the suffixes *-(y)e*⁶ or *-ko*, which derive transitive verbs from intransitives, whereby certain oblique noun phrases become DO (see 6.9.2 and 6.9.3). Examples (16a) and (17a) illustrate verbs with a valence of [S]. The (b) examples show the corresponding derived transitive verbs, with an oblique advancement to DO.

- (16) a. *Ma(i)-gu-sisi a-tuko.*
 COM-CON-1SG-machete 1SG-ascend
 I went up with my machete.
- b. *Sisi a-tuko-e.*
 machete 1SG-ascend-OAD.TR
 I ascended with the machete.
- (17) a. *A-siya a-o yai-mu.*
 1SG-flee 1SG-go GOAL-2SG
 I flee to you.
- b. *A-siya-ko-i-mu.*
 1SG-flee-DIR-TR-2SG
 I flee to you.

Some verbs like *siu* 'to go through' have a relational valence of either [DO] or [S]. In the case of [DO], the final subject is the notional patient and has no control or volition; it also allows the causative prefixes.

- (18) a. *Buyala i-siu.*
 vine 3SG-go.though
 The vine went through.
- b. *Buyala a-vai-siu-di.*
 vine 1SG-CAUS-go.through-3PL
 I put the vines through.

If *siu* is initially [S], then its final subject is the animate agent and has control; it also allows the oblique advancement suffix *-ye*.

⁶Editor's note: See 2.3.5 regarding deletion of /i/.

- (19) a. *Vada goi a-siu.*
house PP 1SG-go.through
I enter into the house.
- b. *Buki a-siu-ue-di.*
book 1SG-go.through-OAD.TR-3PL
I entered with the books.

3.1.4 ADJECTIVES

The underived adjective in Gumawana is unmarked, and follows the noun it modifies. Thus far only two members of this category have been found: *vau* 'new' (20) and *bogo* 'old' (21).

- (20) *Yau guna-vada moe vada bogo.*
1SG.PN 1SG.POSS-house DEM house old
My house is an old house.
- (21) *Naveya, ame weniya vau.*
friend this dog new
Friend, this is a new dog.

Other adjectives are derived from verbs or are morphologically different from the underived form. The following adjectives require person and number agreement with the noun they modify (each is here marked with third person singular *-na*; see 4.1).

- (22) *dedevi-na* good
manawe-na long
kakupi-na short
gagai-na big
giyai-na small

What makes these adjectives different is not only the fact that they have agreement suffixes but also that some of them retain the *-na* when functioning as verbs. Compare (23) with (22). Note that (23b) entails transitive marker coalescence (see section 2.3.4).

- (23) a. *Bogina i-dedevina.*
PRF 3SG-good
He is already well.
- b. *A-ta-gagaine.*
1SG-by.cut-big.TR
I cut it long.

Others of these adjectives do not keep the third person singular *-na* when functioning as verbs.

- (24) *Alova i-kakupi.*
stick 3SG-short
The stick is short.

Those adjectives that retain the suffix *-na* when functioning as verbs, as in (24), also retain it when functioning as nouns.

- (25) *A-mu-dedevina bei ku-babane.*
 PASS-2SG-good PRO 2SG-find.TR
 You are going to find your goodness.

3.1.5 PRONOUNS

There are two types of pronouns in Gumawana: personal and reflexive. Personal pronouns are words that may stand alone as the argument of a verb and may replace a noun phrase. They may also function as the possessor in a possessive construction. They are used as topic and for emphasis. Pronouns are inflected with neither nominal nor verbal morphology.

TABLE 2: FREE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>yau</i>	INC <i>kita</i> EXC <i>kai</i>
2	<i>komu</i>	<i>komi</i>
3	<i>kina/iya</i> ¹	<i>kidi</i>

¹Gumawana village has *iya* and Nubogeta village has *kina*.

In (26a, b) the pronoun is used emphatically, and in (c) it is the topic.

- (26) a. *Ago neta komu i-mu-poyapoya i-kaiaka...*
 SW if 2SG.PN CON-2SG-land 3SG-exist
 But if your land exists...
- b. *Yau a-na ava-gu a-lusala.*
 1SG.PN 1SG-go food-1SG.IA 1SG-look.for
 I'm going food-searching.
- c. *E kina go vavina i-nuwo-nuwona...*
 DEV 3SG.PN SW woman 3SG-IMPER-think
 So as for the woman, she was thinking...

The reflexive pronoun is *toini-* and requires agreement suffixes (4.1). It is used in reflexive clauses where the action is unintentional.

- (27) a. *Toini-na i-ta-guyala.*
 REFL-3SG 3SG-ST-break
 It broke itself (on its own).
- b. *Toini-gu a-guinuwe.*
 REFL-1SG 1SG-do.TR
 I did it myself.

(For further discussion of *toini-*, see section 6.6.)

3.1.6 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifier nouns are discussed in 3.1.1.2; other quantifier morphemes include the various forms of the numerals and the words *tamotamo* 'each' and *aditaiyuwomo* 'several'. The last two words appear to be morphosyntactically similar to the underived adjectives referred to in section 3.1.4.

- (28) *Tomota tamotamo a-da-kaiguyau i-vini-da.*
 people each.one PASS-1PL.INC-apportion 3SG-give-1PL.INC
 He gives each of us our portion.

3.1.6.1 CARDINAL NUMERALS

The cardinal numbers in Gumawana are used to specify quantities of objects. The cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'five' are all bimorphemic, but 'one' (29a) is morphologically different from the numerals 'two' to 'five' (29b), which are formed by means of the prefix *ai-*.⁷ The morpheme *nima* 'five' is also the noun 'hand'. The numeral 'ten' appears to be morphologically simple (29c), while other cardinal numbers are compounds (29d).

- (29) a. *taya-mo* one
 one-any/only
- b. *ai-yuwo* two
 CL-two
ai-to three
 CL-three
ai-vasi four
 CL-four
ai-nima five
 CL-hand
- c. *yawou* ten
- d. *ainima tayamo* six
yawou tayamo eleven
koloto tayamo ikamasa twenty (lit. one man died)
koloto tayamo ikamasa yawou tayamo thirty-one
koloto ainima sikamasa 100 (lit. five men died)

Presently the above cardinal numerals are being replaced with borrowed words from English. The first five are still used frequently in everyday speech but numerals greater than five are rarely used.

3.1.6.2 ORDINAL NUMERALS

The ordinal numerals from 'second' to 'fifth' are derived from the cardinals by adding the agreement suffixes (4.1). The numeral for 'first' is a suppletive form.

⁷Editors note: Historically *ai-* is a numeral classifier, derived from the Proto Oceanic noun **kaiu* 'wood, tree'. A full-blown numeral classifier system exists in Kilivila, to the north of Gumawana.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------|
| (30) | <i>boigimaino</i> | first |
| | <i>ai-yuwo-i-na</i> | second |
| | CL-two-?-3SG | |
| | <i>ai-toni-na</i> | third |
| | CL-three-3SG | |
| | <i>ai-vasi-na</i> | fourth |
| | CL-four-3SG | |
| | <i>ai-nima-na</i> | fifth |
| | CL-hand-3SG | |

3.1.6.3 COUNTING NUMERALS

For purposes of counting, the stem forms of the numerals are used.

- | | | |
|------|-------------|-------|
| (31) | <i>taya</i> | one |
| | <i>yuwo</i> | two |
| | <i>toi</i> | three |
| | <i>vasi</i> | four |
| | <i>nima</i> | five |

When counting units of quantity such as baskets or bundles, the reduced forms are suffixed to the noun, which changes stress.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| (32) | <i>'patuma</i> | bundle |
| | <i>patu'ma-to</i> | three bundles |
| | <i>patuma-'nimapatuma-'tamo</i> | six bundles |
| | <i>bayao-'yuwo</i> | two baskets |

To count people, the alienable possessive marker *a-* (see 4.2.1) occurs with its (plural) person and number suffix, followed by *tai* 'person/man' and a suffixed numeral.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| (33) | <i>/a-di-tai-yuwo/</i> | [adite'yuwo] | two of them |
| | PASS-3PL-man-two | | |
| | <i>/a-da-tai-to/</i> | [ada'taito] | three of us |
| | PASS-1PL.INC-man-three | | |
| | <i>/a-ma-tai-nima/</i> | [amatai'nima] | three of us |
| | PASS-1PL.EXC-man-five | | |

Formally related to these structures are those with the limiter *-ita* (2.4.2).

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| (34) | <i>/a-tu-ita/</i> | [a'guta] | only me |
| | PASS-1SG-LIM | | |
| | <i>/a-mu-ita/</i> | ['amta] | only you |
| | PASS-2SG-LIM | | |
| | <i>/a-na-ita/</i> | [a'neta] | only him/her |
| | PASS-3SG-LIM | | |
| | <i>/a-da-ita/</i> | [a'deta] | only us |
| | PASS-1PL.INC-LIM | | |

The counting of canoes is similar to the counting of people except that instead of *tai*, we find *kai* 'canoe'.⁸

- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------|-------------|
| (35) | <i>/a-di-kai-yuwo/</i>
PASS-3PL-canoes-two | [adikai'yuwo] | two canoes |
| | <i>/a-di-kai-vasi/</i>
PASS-3PL-canoes-four | [adikai'vasi] | four canoes |

When counting specific numbers of coconuts or betel nut (areca nuts) a different system is used. However, the numerals listed below have never been heard in normal conversation and are probably no longer current. This type of numeral is formed by reduplicating the reduced form of the cardinal number.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------|
| (36) | <i>tayataya</i> | one |
| | <i>yuwoyuwo</i> | two |
| | <i>otaito</i> | three |
| | <i>vasivasi</i> | four |
| | <i>nimanima</i> | five |

When referring to coconuts *uri-* is prefixed to the cardinal number to count bundles of four coconuts. I have been unable to find any independent meaning for *uri-*.

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------------------|
| (37) | <i>uri-taya-mo</i>
CL-one-only | one bundle |
| | <i>uri-vasi</i>
CL-four | four bundles |
| | <i>uri-taya-mo yuwoyuwo</i>
CL-one-only two | one bundle plus two coconuts |

If betel nut is counted the numerals are prefixed with *yaule-*.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| (38) | <i>yaule-nima</i>
CL-hand | five |
| | <i>yaule-vasi</i>
CL-four | four |
| | <i>yaule-nima yaule-tayamo</i>
CL-five CL-one | six |

Gumawana has a few collective nouns which are used in enumeration:

- | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (39) | <i>yawo</i> | group of fish, dog, birds |
| | <i>aitowo</i> | forest of trees |
| | <i>guguna</i> | pile of sheels, yams etc. |

⁸The morpheme *kai* is found in nearly all words dealing with canoes. Note the following words:

<i>kai-lova</i>	canoe-leave	to depart
<i>kai-vau</i>	canoe-new	new canoe
<i>kai-bogo</i>	canoe-old	old canoe
<i>kai-dede</i>	canoe-float	canoe
<i>kai-moloya</i>	canoe-??	canoe

The two words meaning 'new canoe' and 'old canoe' have been lexicalised to mean 'new' and 'old'. They require agreement with the noun they modify in person and number.

<i>patala</i>	fleet of canoes
<i>kisi</i>	hand of bananas
<i>sipula</i>	bunch of coconuts, mangoes
<i>uyama</i>	plantation of betel nut palm, coconut trees
<i>popo</i>	stack of books, cartons etc.

3.1.7 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are used both in isolation as pronouns and as modifiers of nouns (demonstrative adjectives). The same forms are used as demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, but word order indicates whether a demonstrative is functioning as an adjective or as a pronoun.

Gumawana has a six-place demonstrative system which is person-oriented. This is presented in Table 3 (SP = speaker, HR = hearer).

TABLE 3: DEMONSTRATIVES

DEM pronoun/adjective	PLACE adverb	LOCATION ADVERB		MEANING
		visible	invisible	
<i>ame</i>	<i>ameko</i>	<i>goame</i>	<i>ameni</i>	this/here near SP
<i>moe</i>	<i>moeko</i>	<i>gomoe</i>	<i>moeni</i>	that/there near HR
<i>amo</i>	<i>amoko</i>	<i>goamo</i>	<i>amoni</i>	ther/there distant from SP and HR
<i>kive</i>	<i>kiveko</i>	<i>gokive</i>	<i>kiveni</i>	that/there toward ocean
<i>mae</i>	<i>maeko</i>	<i>gomae</i>	<i>maeni</i>	that/there above SP
<i>tono</i>	<i>tonoko</i>	<i>gotono</i>	<i>tononi</i>	that/there below SP

3.1.7.1 REFERENTIAL FUNCTION

The demonstrative pronouns and adjectives given in Table 3 may be used to refer to various items in a discourse. They can also be used in conjunction with a noun to refer to the physical object in the real world. In (40) the demonstratives are used in gestural ways to point out physical objects in the real world; that is, they function as deictic pronouns.

- (40) a. *Amo kaga?*
that what
What is that?
- b. *Geya, amo moteta.*
NEG that.away snake
Nothing, that is a snake.
- c. *Go semu moe a-mu-moku ku-dabe-di.*
but however that.near.you EAT-2SG-fish 2SG-cut.TR-3PL
However, those are your fish near you, you cut them.

These demonstratives may also be used in symbolic ways. This is especially true of time expressions, where *ame* means 'today'.

- (41) *Tuwo ava-mi go yau ame bogina bei a-na...*
 enough food-2PL.IA SW 1SG.PN today PRF PRO 1SG-go
 It's your food and I am already going to go today...

The item *moe* may be used to indicate anaphoric reference in a discourse. In (42) it is possible that *moe* is used anaphorically because its basic meaning is 'that near hearer' and therefore 'known to both speaker and hearer'; it refers back to a referent in a previous clause not given in the example.

- (42) *Yemesa moe i-lawoiwoi-ye.*
 James that 3SG-deny-OAD.TR
 James rejects that [which was earlier claimed].

The item *ame* may be used cataphorically. Normally this is found at the beginning of a story, as in (43) where *ame* signals that the discourse coming up is about their marriage.

- (43) *Yau Opa i-ma-nai ame nakae.*
 1SG.PN Opa CON-1PL.EXC-marry this like
 Mine and Opa's marriage was like this.

3.1.7.2 LOCATION ADVERBS

There are two ways in which the demonstratives are encoded as location adverbs.

3.1.7.2.1 VISIBLE OBJECTS

The prefix *go-* indicates that the object is visible to both speaker and hearer.

- (44) a. *Komu i-mu-vada go-mae do-yava.*
 2SG.PN CON-2SG-house LOC.ADV-above by.head-to.bush
 Your house is up there toward the bush.
- b. *E vayavaya go-tono.*
 DEV turtle LOC.ADV-below
 There is a turtle down there.

3.1.7.2.2 NON-VISIBLE OBJECTS

When a referent is not visible to speaker or hearer or is new information, the demonstrative is affixed with the inalienable suffixes; however, the third person singular is *-ni* rather than *-na*. I have not been able to find any reason for this difference. In (45a,b) the suffixed demonstrative indicates that the object is unseen by both speaker and hearer.

- (45) a. *I-mu-buyala amo-ni?*
 CON-2SG-necklace there-3SG
 Is your necklace over there? (not seen by speaker or hearer)

- b. *Ame-ni, kai ka-kabi.*
 here-3SG 1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-take(TR)
 He is here, we took him (but not seen by either hearer or speaker).

3.1.7.3 PLACE ADVERBS

Place adverbs are derived from the demonstratives by means of the suffix *-ko*. This type of construction is used to indicate places and directions towards places.

- (46) a. *Si-na amo-ko si-kaika.*
 3PL-go there-PLA.ADV 3PL-eat
 They went there to eat.
- b. *Ka-tuko ka-na tanuwo mae-ko.*
 1PL.EXC-ascend 1PL.EXC-go garden above-PLA.ADV
 We went up to the garden there above.
- c. *Yau mae-ko a-kaiaka.*
 1SG.PN above-PLA.ADV 1SG-live
 I live there above.
- d. *Koloto i-na-kasa ame-ko Tamoidu.*
 man CON-3SG-place here-PLA.ADV Tamoidu
 The man's village was here at Tamoidu.

3.1.8 DETERMINERS

A demonstrative (as noted in 3.1.7.2.2) may be used to indicate that a nominal is given or old information. The number *tayamo* 'one' may be used as the indefinite article. This occurs at the beginning of a story to introduce the main participants and other new information.

- (47) a. *Gwalabeyai gomana tayamo.*
 Gwalabeyai child one
 Gwalabeyai was a child.
- b. *Lava tayamo sina-di i-lituwoko-i-di...*
 time one mother-3PL.IA 3SG-tell-TR-3PL
 One time their mother told them...

The reference marker *-ya*⁹ is used to mark a noun as referential and specific (i.e. referring to a specific item whose identity the speaker assumes is known to the hearer). It is suffixed directly to the noun, and is always followed by a possessive suffix marking the number of the noun, as in (48a,b), or occasionally agreeing with its (alienable) possessor, as in (48c).

- (48) a. *Go anamimi-ya-na tupwana aba-matoita.*
 SW dream-REF-3SG little NOM-fear
 But the dream was a fearful thing.

⁹Editor's note: The remainder of this section is an editorial addition (the examples are culled from other sections).

- b. *Go-gomanea-di* *ava-di* *tayamo* *tayamo* *si-kabi-di*.
 PL-child.REF-3PL food-3PL.IA one one 3PL-take-3PL
 The children each took their food.
- c. *Ka-na* *yau* *tanuwo-ya-gu* *goi ka-paisewa*.
 1PL.EXC-go 1SG.PN garden-REF-1SG PP 1PL.EXC-work
 We went to my garden where we worked.

Occasionally the reference marker *-ya-* is suffixed to the possessive suffix of an inalienably possessed noun. Since *-ya-* is always followed by its own agreement suffix, this means that there can be two agreement suffixes attached to the same noun.

- (49) *Ego* *sina-gu-ya-na* *geya kada tayamo piba o*
 SW mother-1SG.IA-REF-3SG NEG even one fever or
nosanosa geya.
 cold NEG
 But my mother did not have even one fever or cold.

Note that the reference marker may be added to a proper noun as well as to a common noun.

- (50) *Boibo-ya-na* *tubu-na* *i-na-putuma* *i-silupave*.
 Boibo-REF-3SG grandson-3SG.IA CON-3SG-grease 3SG-squeeze.TR
 Boibo squeezed his grandson's coconut grease.

Almost all uses of the reference marker *-ya-* are with nouns which are definite, but occasionally it occurs with a noun marked with *tayamo* 'one', indicating that its function has to do with reference and specificity, not with definiteness (see section 5.1.7).

The usage of nouns marked with the reference marker is discussed in section 5.1.7.

3.1.9 INTERROGATIVES

An interrogative takes the place of a noun as the argument of a verb or as the head of an adpositional phrase. The following are the interrogatives found in Gumawana. (Their use is described in 8.4.3.)

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------|--|--------------------------|
| (51) | <i>ava-</i> | | which |
| | <i>ava-tau</i> | which-person | who |
| | <i>ava-tuta</i> | which-time | when |
| | <i>ai-vina</i> | CL-how.many | how many/much |
| | <i>ma-nakae</i> | COM-like | what do you want/what? |
| | <i>ma-nakae-na</i> | COM-like-3SG | how, what...like? |
| | | (marked for person and number of noun) | |
| | <i>nako</i> | | where |
| | <i>kaga</i> | | what |
| | <i>kaga una-na</i> | what source-3SG | why |
| | <i>kaga pasi-na</i> | what reason-3SG | why = what is the reason |
| | <i>kaga goi</i> | | what for |
| | <i>kaga manu-na</i> | what BEN-3SG | what for |

The interrogative *nako* may also agree with the children in person and number. Compare (52c) with (52d). *Nako* is the only interrogative (other than *manakaena*) which allows

agreement suffixes. The natural question is: what is the difference between the two forms? I have not yet been able to ascertain this.

- (52) a. *Kaga amo i-dige-dige?*
 what that 3SG-IMPER-talk.TR
 What is that he is talking about?
- b. *Ava-tuta ku-ma?*
 which-time 2SG-come
 When did you come?
- c. *Go-gomana ai-yuwo nako?*
 PL-child CL-two where
 Where are the two children?
- d. *Go-gomana ai-yuwo nakoi-di?*
 Pl-child CL-two where-3PL
 Where are the two children?

3.1.10 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions mark the various oblique relations (described in 5.2). Two of them are unmarked: *goi*, which marks locatives ((53a) and 5.2.1.1), instruments ((53b) and 5.2.1.2) and temporals (5.2.1.3) and *taiyao*, marking the comitative (5.2.3.1). The other postpositions require an agreement suffix (4.1).

- (53) a. *Ka-na yau tanuwo-ya-gu goi ka-paisewa.*
 1PL.EXC-go 1SG.PN garden-REF-1SG PP 1PL.EXC-work
 We went to my garden where we worked.
- b. *Giya kawala goi i-dabi-dabi i-kau-mate.*
 INST pole PP 3SG-IMPER-slap 3SG-by.force-kill.TR
 He was hitting her with a pole and he killed her.
- c. *Yau Opa tama-na be sina-na taiyao ka-tuko*
 1SG.PN Opa father-3SG.IA and mother-3SG.IA COM 1PL.EXC-ascend
ka-ma.
 1PL.EXC-come
 I and Opa's mother and father ascended together.
- d. *A-va-tetala Opa be yau i-ma-nai manu-na.*
 1SG-CAUS-story Opa and 1SG.PN CON-1PL.EXC-marriage about-3SG
 I will tell about mine and Opa's marriage.

3.1.11 INTERJECTIONS

There are a number of interjections in Gumawana.

- (54) *ia!* exclamation of disgust or shock at something
oiyoi! exclamation of amazement or when in pain
uu! yes
go! yes (emphatic)

<i>o!</i>	what?
<i>ooo!</i>	I understand
<i>ma-nakae!</i>	What do you want/what (3.1.9)
<i>ma-nakae-da!</i>	What about us (3.1.9)
<i>seki!</i>	What! (3.1.9)
<i>kaga!</i>	What! (3.1.9)
<i>moitamo!</i>	That's right
<i>i!</i>	used when a mistake is made
<i>ade!</i>	oops

- (55) a. *Oiyoi guna-gomana!*
EXCL 1SG.POSS-brother
Oh my brother!
- b. *Ia amo kaga!*
Wow that what
Wow, what is that?

3.1.12 CONJUNCTIONS

3.1.12.1 COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

There are three coordinating conjunctions in Gumawana, namely *go*, *be* and *o*. The use of *go* and *be* as clause coordinators is presented in section 7.1 and the use of *o* in section 8.4.2. Also described in section 7.1 are the uses of *baige* and *gobe*, which serve to coordinate clauses in temporal sequence.

The conjunction *be* joins both clauses and noun phrases of equal rank. Its use in noun phrases is exemplified below. (Note that in (56c) each of the conjoined noun phrases contains a relative clause.)

- (56) a. *Lava tayamo Tomasi Siyokila be yau oga*
time one Tomasi Siyokila and 1SG.PN canoe
ka-lu-sobu-ye.
1PL.EXC-by.lift-descend-OAD.TR
One time Tomasi, Siyokila and I launched the canoe.
- b. *Tuta liliu-na sabamgo be maliyalina nakae i-tai-taiya.*
time all-3SG.IA night and day like 3SG-IMPER-cry
All of the time like night and day he was crying.
- c. *Kaga ka-gite-di be nakae kaga ka-paisewe-di...*
what 1PL.EXC-see.TR-3PL and like what 1PL.EXC-work.TR-3PL
What we see and also what we worked on...

3.1.12.2 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS

Gumawana has a number of morphemes which serve as sentence introducers. They indicate the discourse status of what is to follow in relation to what has preceded, and are discussed in section 7.2.

(57)	<i>ago</i>	switch of attention
	<i>ego</i>	switch of background
	<i>tuwo</i>	enough
	<i>e</i>	marker of new development
	<i>tauna</i>	therefore – marker of result or conclusion

3.1.12.3 SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

Gumawana has a number of words which function as subordinating conjunctions (their uses are described in section 7.3).

(58)	<i>tuteana</i>	time: 'when' (lit. 'the time')
	<i>laveana</i>	time: 'when' (lit. 'the time')
	<i>anatuwana</i>	duration: 'until' (lit. 'its boundary')
	<i>namuliyeta</i>	sequence: 'afterwards'
	<i>nako</i>	place: 'where'
	<i>unana</i>	reason = new information: 'because' (lit. 'its base/source')
	<i>kutoto</i>	reason = presupposed information: 'because'
	<i>balito</i>	reason = contrary to expectation: 'because'
	<i>neta</i>	unreal condition: 'if'
	<i>kaikoma</i>	real condition: 'when, as soon as'

3.2 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

In order to discuss derivational and inflectional morphology it is necessary to establish some criterion for making a distinction between them. For the purposes of this paper derivational morphemes may change the syntactic categories or class of the stems on which they occur, or may change the valency of a verb. They are restricted to a certain class of words. If a morpheme produces a significant meaning change of the stem, it is considered derivational.

3.2.1 INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

Certain verbs in Gumawana allow prefixes which indicate the instrument used to perform a particular action, or the manner in which the action is performed. They are found mainly on initially transitive verbs, but there are a few cases where a transitive verb is derived from an intransitive. These instrumental prefixes (1) derive new verbs, (2) increase valency, (3) are fairly predictable in meaning, and (4) are restricted to certain verb roots. For these reasons I have grouped them with the derivational affixes. These have been referred to as 'classificatory prefixes' (see Ezard, this volume; Bradshaw 1982). Some of the instrumental prefixes are:

(59)	<i>bisi-</i>	by touch
	<i>ka-</i>	with teeth
	<i>kai-</i>	by setting down
	<i>kali-</i>	with pointed instrument
	<i>kana-</i>	(1) by lying down
		(2) with speech

<i>kau-</i>	(1) with rock, axe (2) with force
<i>ki-</i>	with hand
<i>ko-</i>	by bending or stretching
<i>sa-</i>	with water
<i>sai-</i>	by joining
<i>sala-</i>	with loud voice
<i>samu-</i>	by smell
<i>ta-</i>	(1) with paddle (2) with machete
<i>tu-</i>	by sitting
<i>va-</i>	with foot
<i>vaka-</i>	with fire
<i>vata-</i>	(see 6.7)
<i>vatu-</i>	by dropping (see also 6.7)

The instrumental prefixes cannot co-occur with the causative prefixes *va-*, *lu-* or *vai-*, and those verbs which allow the causative prefixes normally do not allow instrumental prefixes. Some verbs obligatorily take an instrumental prefix while others take them optionally (60).

- (60) a. *Alova a-(ki)-guyal-i.*
wood 1SG-with.hand-break-TR
I break the wood (with my hand).
- b. *Alova ku-(ka)-sesel-i.*
wood 2SG-with.teeth-split-TR
You split the wood (with your teeth).

Other verb stems, such as those in (61), require one of the instrumental prefixes.

- (61) a. *Vaega a-vatu-visi.*
clay.pot 1SG-with.drop-break(TR)
I broke the clay pot by dropping it.
- b. *Vevana si-ta-upe-upe.*
seed 3PL-with.knife-IMPER-cut.TR
They are cutting the seed yams with knives.
- c. *Aleko a-ki-ise.*
cloth 1SG-with.hand-tear.TR
I tear the cloth with my hand.

A third group consists of initially intransitive verbs which are transivited by the addition of an instrumental prefix. In both (62a) and (63a) the verb is intransitive. The (b) examples illustrate the same verbs with the instrumental prefixes.

- (62) a. *A-mata.*
1SG-die
I die.
- b. *A-ki-mate.*
1SG-with.hand-die.TR
I kill it with my hand.

- (63) a. *Gomana i-taiya.*
 child 3SG-cry
 The child cries.
- b. *Ku-ki-tai-taiye.*
 2SG-with.hand-IMPER-cry.TR
 You make him cry with my hand.

Some of these prefixes are clearly reduced forms of verbs. The verbs in (64a) and (65a) illustrate two prefixes derived from the verbs illustrated in the (b) examples.

- (64) a. *Bwae a-sai-damane.*
 water 1SG-join-across.TR
 I cross over the water.
- b. *A-savi.*
 1SG-join(TR)
 I join it.
- (65) a. *A-bu-sobu-ye.*
 1SG-pull-descend-OAD.TR
 I pull it down/I down it by pulling.
- b. *Buyala a-biu.*
 rope 1SG-pull(TR)
 I pulled the rope.

3.2.2 CAUSATIVE PREFIXES

The four causatives in Gumawana are *ve-*, *va-*, *vai-* and *lu-*. The differences between them are unclear. Very few cases of *lu-*, *vai-* or *ve-* have been found. However, *ve-* is used to derive verbs from nouns, specifically kinship terms.

- (66) a. *natu-na*
 offspring-3SG.IA
 his/her offspring
- b. *i-ve-natune*
 3SG-CAUS-offspring.TR
 she gave birth to him

By far the most common one is *va-*. The causatives increase the valence of the verb by one argument.

- (67) a. *Alova a-va-taoe.*
 tree 1SG-CAUS-stand.TR
 I stand the tree/stick up.
- b. *A-va-taoe-mu.*
 1SG-CAUS-stand.TR-2SG
 I help you to stand up. (you are unable to stand = non-control)
- (68) *Awoinu a-vai-polu.*
 food 1SG-CAUS-boil(TR)
 I boiled the food.

- (69) *Guna-paisewa a-lu-kavave.*
 1SG.POSS-work 1SG-CAUS-be.finished.TR
 I finished my work.

(The valency-changing role of these prefixes is described in section 6.8. The prefix *va-* also serves as a reciprocal marker, discussed in section 6.5.)

3.2.3 INCHOATIVE PREFIX *ka-*

The *ka-* prefix derives verbs from nouns and has the meaning of 'to become'. The derived verbs are always finally intransitive.

- (70) a. *I-ka-mamaniwana.*
 3SG-INCH-dark
 It became dark.
- b. *Ae-gu i-ka-potu.*
 leg-1SG.IA 3SG-INCH-sore
 My leg developed a sore.
- c. *I-ka-deba.*
 3SG-INCH-bald
 He is becoming bald.
- d. *I-ka-mou.*
 3SG-INCH-heavy
 It becomes heavy.

3.2.4 TRANSITIVE SUFFIX *-i*

The morpheme *-i* marks the transitivity of a verb which has a final direct object. As noted previously, *-i* coalesces with stem-final vowel *a* as *-e* (2.3.4) and is deleted after *i* and *u* (2.3.12).

- (71) a. *Tomota a-gite-di.*
 people 1SG-see.TR-3PL
 I see the people.
- b. *Ku-ma ku-vatuluko-i-gu.*
 2SG-come 2SG-show-TR-1SG
 Come and show me.

When an initially intransitive verb allows the advancement to direct object of an oblique argument, the verb is marked with either *-ko* or *-(y)e*, but the transitive marker is still required. In (72a) the verb is intransitive. However, in (72b) *-(y)e* indicates that there is an advancement.

- (72) a. *Ka-tuko.*
 1PL.EXC-ascend
 We ascended.

- b. *Ka-tuko-e-di*.
 1PL.EXC-ascend-OAD.TR-3PL
 We ascended with the things.

3.2.5 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX *-ko*

The suffix *-ko* derives a transitive verb whose object results from the advancement of a directional (further discussed in 6.9.2). The suffix *-ko* is often found on motion verbs in Gumawana and on a few other verbs. It is derivational because it changes the valency of the verb.

- (73) a. *Ku-ma (yai-gu)*.
 2SG-come GOAL-1SG
 You come to me.
- b. *Ku-me-ko-i-gu*.
 2SG-come-DIR-TR-1SG
 You come to me.
- (74) a. *A-siya a-o yai-mu*.
 1SG-flee 1SG-go GOAL-2SG
 I flee to you.
- b. *A-siya-ko-i-mu*.
 1SG-flee-DIR-TR-2SG
 I flee to you.
- (75) a. *I-lokoina i-na yai-di*.
 3SG-run 3SG-go GOAL-3PL
 He ran to them.
- b. *I-lokoina-ko-i-di*.
 3SG-run-DIR-TR-3PL
 He ran to them.

3.2.6 *-ko* AND *-(y)e* AS REASON SUFFIXES

The suffixes *-ko* and *-(y)e* are also used in questions which ask the reason for or the purpose of something. If the verb is transitive then in a question construction it takes *-ko* as in the (a) examples below. If the verb is intransitive it is transitivised by means of *-(y)e* as in the (b) examples below.

- (76) a. *Kaga ko-talai-ko?*
 what 2PL-cut.TR-REA.TR
 What did you cut it for?
- b. *Kaga ko-tala-e?*
 what 2PL-cut-REA.TR
 What are you cutting for?
- (77) a. *Kaga ku-luma-dade-ko-i-gu?*
 what 2SG-ask-unseen.TR-REA-TR-1SG
 What do you ask me for?

- b. *Kaga ku-luma-dadana-e?*
 what 2SG-ask-unseen-REA.TR
 What do you ask for?

Compare (76a) and (77a) with (74b). In (74b) the verb is initially intransitive and *-ko* marks the verb as transitive. In (76a) and (77a), however, *-ko* is added to verbs which are already transitive, and this is indicated by the presence of the transitive marker *-i* before *-ko* (in (77a) the transitive marker has coalesced with the final *-a* of the verb stem).

In (74b) and (77a) the resulting transitive verb has a pronoun object suffix, and so the transitive marker is suffixed after *-ko*. In the case of (77a), this means that there are two transitive markers.

Compare (78a) and (b) where the verb *mwela* is used to illustrate both uses of the suffix *-ko*.

- (78) a. *Alova kaga ku-mwele-ko?*
 tree what 2SG-climb.TR-REA.TR
 What did you climb up?
- b. *Ku-mwela-ko-i-gu.*
 2SG-climb-DIR-TR-1SG
 Climb up to me.

3.2.7 NOMINALISATION

Nouns can be formed from verbs in a variety of ways. Some involve nominalisers affixed to the verb. Table 4 gives a summary of the various types of nominalisation in Gumawana.

TABLE 4: FORMS OF NOMINALISATION

Affix	Noun type
–	action.non-process
<i>to-</i>	agentive
<i>goma-</i>	experiencer
<i>(k)aba-</i>	instrument/locative
–	objective
<i>ka-</i>	stative

The types of nominalisation found in Table 4 are discussed in the following sections. Nominalisation is a very important aspect of Gumawana, and more research is needed in this area.

3.2.7.1 ACTION NOMINALISATION

The simplest form of nominalisation is where the stem simply occurs without affixation to encode a noun.

- (79) a. *Taya gagai-na i-guinuwe.*
 cry big-3SG 3SG-do.TR
 He had a big cry.
- b. *Paisewa i-mou-mou.*
 work 3SG-IMPER-heavy
 The work is hard.

These forms are what Comrie and Thompson (1985:351) refer to as action non-process nouns.

3.2.7.2 OBJECTIVE NOMINALISATION

Objective nominalisation derives names of things. Like action nominalisations, objective nouns derived from verbs do not have any special marking. They must, however, be the intransitive form of the verb as in (80).

- (80) *Iyoni i-na-ginina*
 John CON-3SG-write
 John's writing

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------------|
| (81) | <i>tala</i> | to cut | <i>tala</i> | cut, i.e. injury or year |
| | <i>kupo</i> | to cut | <i>kupwana</i> | piece |
| | <i>beuta</i> | to paddle | <i>beuta</i> | paddle |
| | <i>kawala</i> | to pole | <i>awala</i> | pole for canoe |
| | <i>vailowana</i> | to anchor | <i>vailowana</i> | anchor |

3.2.7.3 AGENTIVE NOMINALISATION

The nominaliser *to-* derives an agentive noun from a verb. Agentive nominalisation is the traditional term for this process but, as Comrie and Thompson (1985:351) point out, "strictly speaking, the noun need not be in an 'agent' relationship with the verb from which it is derived". The term refers to the fact that underlyingly the 'one who does' the action is the agent of the verb. When a verb is nominalised with *to-* it indicates that the person does the particular action habitually.

- (82) a. *To-paisewa-yao loga si-kamasa.*
 AGT-work-PL hunger 3PL-die
 The workers are starving.
- b. *Nava bei to-kamasa si-valiwoge.*
 later PRO AGT-die 3PL-grave.TR
 Later they will bury the deceased.
- c. *To-vainawana si-siya si-na i-tuli ta-kasa.*
 AGT-steal 3PL-flee 3PL-go 3SG-be.different different-village
 The thieves fled to a different village.

Verbs which only allow non-human subjects or are always finally transitive will not allow the agentive nominalisation.

3.2.7.4 EXPERIENCER NOMINALISATION

Just as in the agentive nominalisation the verb is nominalised and the underlying subject is encoded by means of the prefix *to-*, so an underlying object may be encoded on nominalised verbs by means of the prefix *goma-*. However, this is no longer a productive construction (borrowings are used instead), and it has been found only on the two verbs in (83) and (84).

- (83) a. *liwola* to exhort
 b. *gomaliwola* obedient = one who is exhorted and does what he is told
- (84) a. *etune* to send
 b. *gomaetuna* one who is sent

Goma- probably derives from *gomana* 'child', and so the meaning of verbs nominalised with *goma-* is literally 'the child whom something is done to or who experiences'. In practice, however, these nominalisations refer to adults as well.

3.2.7.5 INSTRUMENT/LOCATIVE NOMINALISATION

The nominaliser (*k*)*aba-*¹⁰ derives both instruments and locative nouns from verbs. For example, *tulaga* 'sit down on something higher than the ground' can be nominalised to form (*k*)*aba-tulagalaga* meaning either 'an instrument for sitting on' or 'place for sitting'. But actually both ideas mean the same thing, that is 'sitting is done here = chair'. These derived nouns are normally generic in meaning.

- (85) a. *Bei aba-vakakona si-kabi.*
 PRO NOM-test 3PL-get(TR)
 They are going to get a test.
- b. *Go anamimi-ya-na tupwana aba-matoita.*
 SW dream-REF-3SG little NOM-fear
 But the dream was a fearful thing.
- c. *Lamupa si-kaiako be nakae aba-isiwo aba-busa.*
 light 3PL-exist and like NOM-wash NOM-defecate
 There were lights and also showers and toilets.
- d. *Tau-ya-na i-na i-na-kaba-paisewa.*
 person-REF-3SG 3SG-go CON-3SG-NOM-work
 He went to his work place.
- (86) a. *masisi* to sleep
abamasisi thing/place for sleeping (on) = bed(room)
- b. *tulaga* to sit above
abatulagalaga thing/place for sitting (on) = chair
- c. *kupwana* to cut
abakupwana thing/place for cutting = knife
- d. *tuko* to go up
abatuko thing/place for going up

¹⁰Initial (*k-*) is written in parentheses because of the application of *k*-deletion whenever the prefix is word initial (see section 2.3.6).

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| e. | <i>siu</i> | to go in |
| | <i>abasiu</i> | thing/place for entering = entrance |
| f. | <i>kaika</i> | to eat |
| | <i>abakaika</i> | thing/place for eating = spoon/table |
| g. | <i>takuku</i> | to erase |
| | <i>abatukuku</i> | thing/place for erasing = eraser |

3.2.7.6 STATIVE NOMINALISATION

Certain nouns in Gumawana may be verbalised with the inchoative *ka-* prefix (3.2.3). These derived verbs can then be nominalised and the new noun indicates a state. In the (a) examples below there is a simple noun. In the (b) examples the same noun has been made into a verb via the *ka-* prefix. Finally, the (c) examples illustrate nominalisation of the verbs from (b).

- (87) a. *mamaniwana* *i-saki*
 dark 3SG-too.much
 it is too dark
- b. *i-ka-mamaniwana*
 3SG-INCH-dark
 it is becoming dark/darkening
- c. *A-mamaniwana* *bogina* *i-ma*.
 INCH-dark PRF 3SG-come
 Darkness has come.
- (88) a. *Guna-potu* *i-geda*.
 1SG.POSS-sore/ulcer 3SG-hurt
 My sore/ulcer hurts.
- b. *Ae-gu* *i-ka-potu*.
 leg-1SG.IA 3SG-INCH-sore/ulcer
 My leg is ulcerating.
- c. *a-potu*
 INCH-ulcer
 ulceration
- (89) a. *deba* bald
 b. *kadeba* to become bald
 c. *adeba* baldness
- (90) a. *mou* hard
 b. *kamou* to become hard
 c. *amou* hardness

3.2.7.7 POSSESSION AND NOMINALISATION

A noun formed by nominalisation may occur as the head of a possessive noun phrase, where the possessor is semantically either the agent or the patient of the nominalised verb. If

the possessor is semantically the agent (the initial subject), then the nominalised verb is marked with the active or control marker *i-* (4.2.2.2). However, if the possessor is semantically the patient (the initial direct object) of the verb, then we find the passive marker *a-* (4.2.1.1).

- (91) a. *a-gu-yala*
 PASS-1SG-believe
 my belief (i.e. someone believes in me)
- b. *i-gu-yala*
 CON-1SG-believe
 my belief (i.e. I believe)

This kind of construction is used, like passive constructions in many languages, where the agent is unspecified. The initial direct object of the verb *tagona* is (92) is 'me', encoded as *-gu*. The fact that it is the initial direct object is indicated by *a-*, the passive alienable possessive marker. (Such forms are further illustrated in sections 4.2 and 4.3.)

- (92) *A-gu-tagona Kalitoni i-na-vada a-mwela.*
 PASS-1SG-permit Kalitoni CON-3SG-house 1SG-climb
 I have permission to go up into Kalitoni's house.

When the initial subject and direct object are both encoded on the nominalised verb, the control marker *i-* marks the initial subject, and inalienable possessive marking (4.2) marks the object.

- (93) *oga i-ma-paisewa-i-na*
 canoe CON-1PL.EXC-work-?-3SG.IA
 our work of canoe(-making)

Inalienable possessive marking is also used to encode the relationship of reference (4.5).

3.2.7.8 NOUNS FORMED FROM NOUNS

New nouns can be formed from nouns by means of the derivational prefix *toni-*, which is similar in meaning to the agentive nominaliser *to-* described in section 3.2.7.2. The prefix *toni-* forms an agentive noun meaning 'one who owns'.

- (94) *Ku-na toni-poyapoya ku-lituwoko...*
 2SG-go owner-land 2SG-tell(TR)
 You go tell the landowner...

The markers *da-* 'the people of' and *guma-* 'one from' are affixed to nouns to make new nouns from place names.

- (95) a. *E se-gowo da-Nubogeta...*
 DEV friend-1SG.IA.PL people.of-Nubogeta
 So my friends of Nubogeta...
- b. *Boi nimatu da-Isireri i-di-lovina yoi-na Yudi.*
 last before people.of-Isreal CON-3PL-rule name-3SG.IA Judea
 A long time ago, the name of the people of Israel's kingdom was Judea.

- (96) a. *E vavina guma-Kotanunu i-na*
 DEV woman one.from-Kotanunu 3SG-go
 So the woman from Kotanunu went.
- b. *guma-Nubogeta i-mamai-ma*
 one.from-Nubogeta 3SG-IMPER-come
 the Nubogetan is coming

Another morpheme which creates nouns from nouns is *ana-* 'language of'. When prefixed to a locative nominal its new meaning is the language of the place indicated.

- (97) *ana-Dobu* Dobu language
ana-Kiriwina Kiriwina language

The prefix *si-* creates new nouns from place names and has the meaning of 'grass skirts of'. The prefix *ko-* means 'the food of'.

- (98) *Kinanava* Fergusson Island
si-Kinanava Fergusson Island grass skirts
ko-Kinanava Fergusson Island food (yams)

3.2.8 DEVERBAL ADJECTIVES

Deverbal adjectives are formed from the imperfective aspect of the verb, either through reduplication or lengthened vowel (3.3.1.5), together with the suffix *-i* and an agreement suffix (4.1).

- (99) a. *Kunaya ta:oya-i-na i-ta-taoya.*
 mast stand.IMPER-?-3SG 3SG-IMPER-stand
 The vertical mast was standing.
- b. *Kunaya kana:balabala-i-na si-sou.*
 mast by.lay.IMPER-across-?-3SG 3PL-descend
 The horizontal mast came down.

Where a deverbal adjective is formed from a *k*-initial verb (e.g. *ka:mas-i-na* 'dead', from *kamasa* 'die') *k*-deletion (2.3.6) does not occur. Instead, *k-* is retained, as it would be on a verb stem preceded by its subject prefix, in contrast to the nominalised form *amasa*, where the /k/ is deleted and there is no vowel lengthening.

- (100) *Tubu-gu ka:mas-i-na a-va-tetel-i.*
 grandparent-1SG.IA die.IMPER-?-3SG 1SG-CAUS-story-TR
 I'll tell about my dead grandparent.

3.3 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Morphemes which indicate grammatical relations or do not change the syntactic category of the word are considered inflectional. This account of inflectional morphology is divided into two sections, the verb (3.3.1) and the noun (3.3.2).

3.3.1 VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.3.1.1 AGREEMENT

The verb in Gumawana agrees with the final subject and object (if there is one) in person and number. Subject agreement prefixes are obligatory on all verbs. Table 5 lists the subject prefixes in Gumawana.

TABLE 5: SUBJECT PREFIXES

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>a-</i>	INC <i>ta-</i> EXC <i>ka-</i>
2	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ko-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	<i>si-</i>

- (101) a. *Yau a-na.*
1SG.PN 1SG-go
I go.
- b. *Gomana i-taoya.*
child 3SG-stand
The child stood up.
- c. *ka-lokoina*
1PL.EXC-run
we run

A finally transitive verb must also agree in person and number with its final direct object. The direct object suffixes are the same as those used to cross-reference the possessor on inalienably possessed nouns. Table 6 lists the direct object suffixes found in Gumawana.

TABLE 6: DIRECT OBJECT SUFFIXES

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-gu</i>	INC <i>-da</i> EXC <i>-ma</i>
2	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-mi</i>
3	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-di</i>

- (102) a. *Si-lumadade-di.*
3PL-ask.TR-3PL
They asked them.
- b. *I-pole-gu.*
3SG-lie.TR-1SG
She lied to me.

- c. *I-kabi-ma*.
3SG-get-1PL.EXC
He got us.
- d. *Si-lau-i-mi*.
3PL-kill-TR-2PL
They kill you.

3.3.1.2 LIMITER *-ita*

The limiter *-ita* only occurs on verbs when they are negated. It limits the scope of the negation; negation without *-ita* means ‘never’, whereas negation with *-ita* refers to a single non-occurrence (8.5.1). *-ita* occurs on the outer periphery and other morphemes may not be suffixed to it. (The allomorphs of *-ita* are discussed in section 2.4.2.)

- (103) a. *Geya i-toboine-gu-ta*.
NEG 3SG-suitable.TR-1SG-LIM
It was not suitable for me.
- b. *Geya si-kaiketa*.
NEG 3PL-eat.LIM
They did not eat.
- c. *Koloto gagai-di geya si-sou-ta*.
man big-3PL NEG 3PL-descend-LIM
The men who are big ones did not descend.

3.3.1.3 *-mo* ‘only’

The morpheme *-mo* and its allomorph *-yamo* (2.4.1) occur on the outer periphery of predicates and, like *-ita*, do not allow any other morpheme to be suffixed after them. The morpheme *-mo* often used in an imperative sense as exemplified in (104).

- (104) a. *Ku-siya-mo!*
2SG-flee-only
Flee!
- b. *Ku-kabi-yamo!*
2SG-take-only
Take it!

However, its meaning is not restricted to the imperative. It has the meaning of ‘just’ or ‘only’.

- (105) a. *A-paisewa-mo*.
1SG-work-only
I only worked.

When a nominal predicate is negated in a stative clause of possession (6.4.2), the suffix *-mo* is attached to that nominal, which also must be possessed. It appears to have the same function as *-ita* does on the verbs, that of limiting the scope of the negation (8.5.2). I have glossed *-mo* here as ‘any’.

- (106) a. *Guna-gomana geya a-na-bwae-mo.*
 1SG.POSS-brother NEG EAT-3SG-water-any
 My brother does not have any water.
- b. *Guna-gomana geya a-na-kinale-mo.*
 1SG.POSS-brother NEG EAT-3SG-rations-any
 My brother does not have any rations.
- c. *Geya a-gu-kai-pata-mo.*
 NEG PASS-1SG-ability-any
 I am not able.
- d. *Geya ava-tau i-na-vaega-mo...*
 NEG which-person CON-3SG-clay-any
 Whoever does not have any clay...

3.3.1.4 ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

The adverbial suffixes occur closest to the verb.

- (107)
- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>beso</i> | any, carelessly |
| <i>dokana</i> | true, properly |
| <i>ko</i> | repeatedly |
| <i>kova</i> | a little |
| <i>masala</i> | all night |
| <i>muna</i> | again |
| <i>ponapona</i> | fast, quickly |
| <i>popoita</i> | boldly |
| <i>save</i> | total, all |
| <i>vata</i> | indefinite time |
| <i>wowoil</i> | hurry |
| <i>yaba</i> | completed |
- (108) a. *I-bobwala-ponapona.*
 3SG-talk-fast
 He talks fast.
- b. *I-pola-muna.*
 3SG-lie-again
 He lied again.
- c. *I-pole-mune-i-mu.*
 3SG-lie.TR-again-TR-2SG
 He lied to you again.
- d. *A-kaiaka-yaba.*
 1SG-remain-completed
 I've finished staying.
- e. *Ka-masisi-vata.*
 1PL.EXC-sleep-indefinite.time
 We sleep forever.

Evidence that these adverbials are suffixes is found in the fact that they behave morphophonemically as part of the verb stem when the transitive suffix *-i* is added. Compare the following intransitive (a) examples with the transitive (b) examples (in (109b) the rules in 2.3.9 and 2.3.11 have applied).

- (109) a. *A-gita-dokana.*
 1SG-see-proper
 I see properly.
- b. *Oga a-gite-doko-i-di.*
 canoe 1SG-see.TR-proper-TR-3PL
 I see the canoes properly.
- (110) a. *A-kaluvila-muna.*
 1SG-return-again
 I return again.
- b. *A-kaluvile-mune-i.*
 1SG-return.TR-again-TR
 I returned with it again.

Also the stress shifts according to the suffixes. The verb in (110) has the stress pattern given in (111).

- (111) [axalu'vila] I return (unaffixed verb)
 [axaluvil'muna] I return (110a)
 [axaluvilem'nei] I returned with it again (110b)

Not all of the adverbials occur on both transitive and intransitive clauses. In (109b) and (110b) the transitive marker *-i* occurs twice, once on the verb stem and once on the adverbial. It is probable that these adverbials were separate words at one time, and have become part of the verb. This would account for the double occurrence of the transitive marker.

Another possibility is that the adverbial suffixes are affixed to the verb after coalescence has taken place. However, the transitive marker is still required on the adverbial suffix before the object marker may be affixed. This same phenomenon also occurs with transitive verbs which have been reduplicated (see 3.3.1.5). Compare (112) with (109b) and (110b). The reduplicated form of the verb retains the transitive marker on the reduplicated part.

- (112) *Oga a-gite-gite.*
 canoe 1SG-IMPER-see.TR
 I am watching the canoe.

Some of the adverbials do occur separately from the verb when they function as the stems of adjectives or nominals.

- (113) a. *ae-gu ponapona-i-na*
 leg-1SG.IA fast-?-3SG
 my fast legs
- b. *woili-mu ku-ma*
 quick-2SG 2SG-come
 you come quickly (lit. your quickness you come)

3.3.1.5 IMPERFECTIVE PREFIX

The imperfective prefix has two allomorphs, CVCV- and CV-, where the consonants and vowels are unspecified. When affixed to the verb root, the prefix copies the features of the first CVCV or CV in the root, as illustrated in (114) with the verb *kabi* 'to get'.

$$(114) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} \text{-CVCV-} & k & a & b & i & \longrightarrow & k & a & b & i & \text{-} & k & a & b & i & \longrightarrow & \text{-} & k & a & b & i & k & a & b & i \\ & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | \\ & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} \end{array}$$

TWO-SYLLABLE VERB ROOTS

Two-syllable verb roots like *-kabi*, taking the allomorph CVCV-, are by far the most common.

- (115) a. *ka-bani-bani* we are fishing for it
1PL.EXC-IMPER-fish.TR
- b. *i-yova-yova* he is flying
3SG-IMPER-fly
- c. *i-kani-kani* he is eating it
3SG-IMPER-eat.TR

With two-syllable roots, the CV- allomorph occurs when the verb root has the syllable structure (CV)₁(CV)₁, that is where the first two syllables are identical, as in *tutu* 'to pound'.

$$(116) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} \text{-CVCV-} & t & u & t & u & \longrightarrow & t & u- & t & u & t & u & \longrightarrow & \text{-} & t & u & t & u & t & u \\ & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | \\ & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} \end{array}$$

- (117) a. *a-lu-lulu* I am pulling it out
1SG-IMPER-pull.out(TR)
- b. *i-ta-pu-pupu* it is falling out
3SG-ST-IMPER-fall.out
- c. *i-sa-sasa* it is angry (as in a dog)
3SG-IMPER-angry
- d. *a-pa-papala* I am playing
1SG-IMPER-play
- e. *i-ta-tatava* he is shaking
3SG-IMPER-shake

Note that in (117d-e) the verb roots have two syllables underlyingly, with epenthetic *-a* (see section 2.2).

ONE-SYLLABLE VERB ROOTS

When a verb root has only one syllable, the imperfective prefix copies the root twice, adding the vowel *-i-* before the root. I have not been able to determine the source of *-i-*. Example (118) shows how one-syllable verbs like *ma* 'to come' reduplicate.

(118) -CVCV-*m a* → -*m a m a- i- m a* → -*mamaima*
 | | | | | | | | | |
 C V C V V C V

- (119) a. *i-vavai-va* (va) he is doing
 3SG-IMPER-do
 b. *i-memei-me* (me) he is bringing it
 3SG-IMPER-come.TR
 c. *i-nonoi-na* (na) he is going
 3SG-IMPER-go

THREE-SYLLABLE VERB ROOTS

Verb roots with three or more syllables take the allomorph CV-.

- (120) a. *i-ma-masisi* he is sleeping
 3SG-IMPER-sleep
 b. *a-ka-kaika* I am eating
 1SG-IMPER-eat
 c. *ku-bo-bobwala* you were talking
 2SG-IMPER-talk
 d. *so-bo-bolagu* they are scolding
 3PL-IMPER-scold
 e. *i-lo-lokoina* he is running
 3SG-IMPER-run

BLOCKAGES TO IMPERFECTIVE REDUPLICATION

Derivational prefixes block reduplication, so that (121) is ungrammatical.

- (121) **a-ki-ki-sesel-i*
 1SG-IMPER-by.hand-split-TR

Transitive verb stems may be reduplicated only if the object is third person singular (a zero morpheme – see section 3.3.1.1). Thus any object suffix blocks reduplication. In (122a) and (b) reduplication is acceptable. However, (c) is ungrammatical since an object suffix is present.

- (122) a. *a-gita-gita*
 1SG-IMPER-see
 I am seeing/watching
 b. *a-gite-gite*
 1SG-IMPER-see.TR
 I am seeing/watching it
 c. **a-gite-gite-di*
 -3PL

Adverbial suffixes (3.3.1.4) also block reduplication. Hence (123) is ungrammatical.

- (123) **a-siu-siu-muna*.
 1SG-IMPER-enter-again
 I am entering again.

There are also a number of verbs, like *-paisewa* 'to work', that never reduplicate.

A question that arises from the above facts is: how is imperfective aspect marked on forms which do not reduplicate? The answer is that imperfectivity is encoded by lengthening the syllable of the inflected verb form which occurs two syllables before the stressed syllable. So a verb stem like *paisewa* will show imperfectivity as in (124). In this case the syllable on which lengthening occurs is the subject prefix.

- (124) *ǎ:-pai'sewa*
 1SG.IMPER-work
 I am working

With longer verb stems the lengthened vowel falls in the middle of the word, as in (125).

- (125) *a-saboku:li'ye-di*
 1SG-follow.IMPER.TR-3PL
 I am following them

A suffixed stem encodes imperfectivity in exactly the same way.

- (126) a. *ǎ:-gi'te-di*
 1SG.IMPER-see.TR-3PL
 I am seeing/watching them
 b. *ǎ:-siu-'muna*
 1SG.IMPER-enter-again
 I am entering again

If the verb form is too short – that is, it lacks two syllables before the stressed syllable, as in *i-'me-di* 'he brings them' – then the verb root is reduplicated.

- (127) *i:-me-'me-di*
 3SG.IMPER-RDP-come.TR-3PL
 he is bringing them

There are some finally intransitive verbs which allow either reduplication or the lengthened vowel.

- (128) a. *i:-kaiaka*
 3SG.IMPER-stay
 he is staying
 b. *i-ka-kaiaka*
 3SG.IMPER-stay
 he is staying
 (129) a. *i:-lokoina*
 3SG.IMPER-run
 he is running

- b. *i-lo-lokoina*
3SG-IMPER-run
he is running
- (130) a. *i:-masisi*
3SG.IMPER-sleep
- b. *i-ma-masisi*
3SG-IMPER-sleep
he is sleeping

In each of the above (a) examples the verb encodes imperfectivity via vowel lengthening. In the (b) examples imperfective aspect is marked by means of reduplication. The question arising is what the difference between these two constructions is. Some native speakers give (131) to illustrate the difference. In (131a) the subject is unspecified, whereas in (b) the subject is known.

- (131) a. *Ava-tau i:-lokoina?*
which-person 3SG.IMPER-run
Who is running?
- b. *Geya, Kelebi i-lo-lokoina.*
NEG Kelebi 3SG-IMPER-run
No, Kelebi is running.

The lengthened vowel is often found in the asking of questions, which would support the above hypothesis. However, many speakers do not seem to make a distinction between the two forms. Further study is need.

3.3.2 NOUN INFLECTION

3.3.2.1 COMITATIVE *ma-*

The morpheme *ma-* indicates either ownership or a comitative relationship. Nouns prefixed with *ma-* must have possession marked on the noun. The alienable possessive markers *a-* and *i-* (4.2) are deleted when *ma-* occurs, as illustrated in (132a,b). The prefix *ma-* is also used with an inalienably possessed noun to express a contents-container relationship, illustrated in (132d) (cf. 4.1.3).

- (132) a. *Maniye-di ma-*(i)-di-vaega.*
some-3PL.IA COM-CON-3PL-clay
Some of them have clay.
- b. *ma-*(a)-na-magi*
COM-EAT-3SG-betel.nut
with his betel nut/he has betel nut
- c. *tayamo vavina ma-natu-na*
a woman COM-child-3SG.IA
a woman with/and her child
- d. *vevana ma-bayao-i-di*
seed COM-basket-?-3PL.IA
basket of seeds = basket containing seeds

3.3.2.2 ADVERBIAL *ta-*

The morpheme *ta-* can be prefixed to any noun; it means 'different' or 'another'.

- (133) *Ava-gu a-lusala ta-kasa.*
 food-1SG.IA 1SG-search different-village
 I will search for my food at a different village.

3.3.2.3 LIMITER *-va*

The limiter *-va* has the meaning of 'only' or 'just'.

- (134) *I-gweniya-va a-duduwe-di.*
 CON-1SG.dog-LIM 1SG-call.TR-3PL
 I called only my dogs.

3.3.2.4 PLURAL *-(y)ao*

The plural morpheme *-(y)ao* suffixes to the noun (its allomorphs are discussed in section 2.4.3).

- (135) a. *weniyā-yao*
 dog-PL
 dogs
- b. *magi-yao*
 betel.nut-PL
 betel nut
- c. *natu-nao*
 child-3SG.IA.PL
 his/her children

The occurrence of the plural marker is not obligatory, and I have yet to determine when it is necessary for it to occur.

4. POSSESSION

As in many Oceanic Austronesian languages, the encoding of possession in Gumawana is quite complex. There are three different types of possessive constructions in Gumawana. The first one, which consists of an affix suffixed directly to the head, is referred to as inalienable (4.1). The other two are normally referred to as alienable (4.2) and are encoded with the morphemes *a-* and *i-*.

The possessive system allows some nouns to utilise two or all three construction types with distinctive meanings depending on which construction is used. In (1a) the noun *nunu* is possessed with the inalienable form and has the meaning of 'breast'; in (b) it is possessed with the alienable *i-* form and the meaning changes to 'lineage'.

- (1) a. *Esteli nunu-na*
 Esteli breast-3SG.IA
 Esteli's breast

- b. *i-gu-nunu*
 CON-1SG-lineage
 my matrilineage (to which I belong)

The word *ba'o* 'pig' allows all three forms with differing meanings as in (2a-c). Note that the *a*-form can be interpreted in two different ways.

- (2) a. *Kalitoni ba'o-i-na*
 Kalitoni pig-?-3SG.IA
 Kalitoni's pig (his in-laws raise and eat it, but they do so because of Kalitoni)
- b. *Kalitoni a-na-ba'o*
 Kalitoni EAT-3SG-pig
 Kalitoni's pig (for consuming) / his pig which was given to him
- c. *Kalitoni i-na-ba'o*
 Kalitoni CON-3SG-pig
 Kalitoni's pig (he owns it)

As the above examples indicate, the normal order for possessive constructions is Possessor-Head. The difference between these three constructions is discussed next.

4.1 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Inalienable possession is associated with those nominals which are obligatorily possessed or those nominals that are inseparable semantically from their head.

Lynch (1982:249) notes that "in many languages...possessive suffixes to nouns and person/number-of-object suffixes to transitive verbs are formally similar or, in many cases, identical". This is true of Gumawana, and Table 7 shows that the object suffixes (3.3.1.1) and possessive suffixes differ only in third person singular.

TABLE 7: OBJECT AND POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Person/number	Object suffixes	Possessive suffixes
1SG	- <i>gu</i>	- <i>gu</i>
2SG	- <i>mu</i>	- <i>mu</i>
3SG	- \emptyset	- <i>na</i>
1PL.INCL	- <i>da</i>	- <i>da</i>
1PL.EXCL	- <i>ma</i>	- <i>ma</i>
2PL	- <i>mi</i>	- <i>mi</i>
3PL	- <i>di</i>	- <i>di</i>

The inalienable possessive suffixes mark a number of forms of agreement, as well as agreement of the head noun with its possessor (as described below), and it is therefore often convenient to speak simply of 'agreement suffixes' and 'agreement'.

In the following sections the functions of inalienable possession are described. A number of the terms used to describe possessive functions are taken from Beekman and Callow (1974:251-256).

4.1.1 PART-WHOLE RELATIONSHIP

Inalienable possession encodes a part-whole relationship between a possessor noun and a head (possessum) noun. There are three subcategories of part-whole relationship: constituent-whole, quantitative-whole and spatial-whole.

4.1.1.1 CONSTITUENT-WHOLE

The constituent-whole relationship includes body parts and parts of things. The word for 'name' is also in this group.

- (3) a. *Ku-na kewou matakubu-na...*
 2SG-go canoe bow-3SG.IA
 You go to the bow of the canoe...
- b. *Ae-mu kwai-sobu-ye.*
 leg-2SG.IA 2SG.by/set-descend-OAD.TR
 You set your leg down.

4.1.1.2 QUANTITATIVE-WHOLE

The second relationship is quantitative-whole. In (4a) *liliu* 'all' is inalienably possessed and in (4b) *manie* 'some' is inalienably possessed. These morphemes belong to the class of quantifier nouns described in section 3.1.1.2.

- (4) a. *Liliu-ma ka-siu vada ame.*
 all-1PL.EXC.IA 1PL.EXC-enter house this
 All of us entered this house.
- b. *Tomota manie-di si-katowana.*
 people some-3PL.IA 3PL-be.sick
 Some of the people are sick.

4.1.1.3 SPATIAL-WHOLE

Nouns of spatial relationships such as *sinae* 'inside' (5a) and *kiki* 'next to, near' (5b) obligatorily take the inalienable possession.

- (5) a. *I-siu vada sinae-na.*
 3SG-enter house inside-3SG.IA
 He entered the inside of the house.
- b. *Latuwo-na bego i-na-tuwowo-na kiki-na.*
 desire-3SG.IA IRR 3SG-go-older.brother-3SG.IA next.to-3SG.IA
 He intended to go next to his brother.

Other nouns also allow inalienable possession to express a spatial relationship.

- (6) a. *tanuwo vada-i-di*
 garden house-?-3PL.IA
 garden house (i.e. houses located in the garden)

- b. *Nubogeta udodana-i-na*
 Nubogeta bush-?-3SG.IA
 bush located on Nubogeta

There is an important distinction which should be noted between (6a) and (7a). In (7a) the meaning would be something like 'a greenhouse', i.e. a house for a garden, which in Amphlett culture is unfelicitous. In (7b) the meaning is clearly 'a house for yams': the house is used for storing yams.

- (7) a. **tanuwo a-na-vada*
 garden PASS-3SG-house
 greenhouse (i.e. a house for a garden)
- b. *kuvi a-na-vada*
 yam PASS-3SG-house
 yam house (i.e. a house for yams)

4.1.2 KINSHIP

Kinship terms are normally inalienably possessed, except the term for 'younger sibling of same sex', *a-na-gomana* (lit. 'his child').¹¹

- (8) a. *Vavina mone-na i-sou i-ma.*
 woman spouse-3SG.IA 3SG-go.down 3SG-come
 The woman's spouse came down.
- b. *Natu-na i-digo...*
 child-3SG.IA 3SG-say
 Her child said...

4.1.3 CONTENTS-CONTAINER

In a contents-container relationship the possessor noun is contained in the head. This type of construction requires the prefix *ma-* 'comitative' on the head noun (3.4.2.1).

- (9) a. *vevana ma-bayao-i-di*
 seed COM-basket-?-3PL.IA
 basket of seeds = basket containing seeds
- b. *bwae ma-vedi-na*
 water COM-coconut.shell-3PL.IA
 shell of water = shell containing water
- c. *iyana ma-uwos-i-di*
 fish COM-net-?-3PL.IA
 net of fish

¹¹Some speakers feel this term is more of a generic term indicating someone who goes and does things for someone.

4.1.4 REFERENCE

In some constructions the head noun is about or refers to the possessor noun.

- (10) a. *sina-gu* *a-na-kamasa* *vatetel-i-na*
 mother-1SG.IA PASS-3SG-death story-?-3SG.IA
 the story about my mother's death
- b. *Kelebi buki-na*
 Kelebi book-3SG.IA
 book about Kelebi

4.2 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

The alienable possession involves two different morphemes, *i-* and *a-*. Both require agreement with the possessor in person and number.

4.2.1 *a-* POSSESSION

The *a-* possessive marker has two main functions. Firstly, it indicates a relationship in which a possessor intends to consume the possessum. This has been traditionally referred to as 'edible' in the literature. Lynch (1982) rightly states that "the important thing in these constructions is the fact or intention of eating, not the edibility of the referent of the head nominal, and hence the name eating rather than edible possession". Therefore, where applicable I have labelled *a-* as EAT for eating.¹²

The second function Lynch refers to as 'passive', in the sense that the possessor has no control over (or has a passive relationship with) the possessum. (In section 4.3.1 I present the semantic relationships in a more general way.)

4.2.1.1 EATING

As stated above, the *a-* form can indicate intention to consume an item. The following examples are given to illustrate:

- (11) a. *a-gu-iyana*
 EAT-1SG-fish
 My fish for eating
- b. *A-mu-magi* *a-vini-mu.*
 EAT-2SG-betel.nut 1SG-give-2SG
 I give you your betel nut (for chewing).

4.2.1.2 PATIENT

This relationship deals with nominalised verbs where the possessor could be described as the direct object of the underlying verb (cf. section 3.2.7.7).

¹²Lynch (1982) suggests that this form of possession was derived from the Proto Oceanic verb **kani* 'to eat'. Historically, Gumawana *a-* is derived from Proto Oceanic **ka-* (cf. Lichtenberk 1986).

- (12) a. *a-ma-yabobona*
 PASS-1PL.EXC-love
 our love = (someone) loves us
- b. *vaega a-na-elina*
 clay PASS-3SG-dig
 digging of clay = (someone) digs clay

4.2.1.3 RECIPIENT

The recipient relationship refers to an implicit event that entails the head and in which the possessor is the recipient of the head.

- (13) a. *Tomasi a-na-gita*
 Tomasi PASS-3SG-spear
 Tomasi's spear = the spear which will be used to spear Tomasi
- b. *a-mu-ten*
 PASS-2SG-ten
 your ten (which I will give you)

Example (13b) was heard during a card game where to get a ten was not good. This is all that was uttered, yet the meaning in parentheses was clearly intended.

4.2.2 *i*-POSSESSION

The *i*- form of possession indicates that the possessor has some control over the possessum.

4.2.2.1 OWNERSHIP

When the possessor owns or can manipulate the possessum we find the *i*- form of possession.

- (14) a. *I-na-weniya-yao i-duduwe-di.*
 CON-3SG-dog-PL 3SG-call.TR-3PL
 He called his dogs (which belong to him).
- b. *Si-kaiaka i-di-vada.*
 3PL-remain CON-3PL-house
 They are at their house (which belongs to them).

4.2.2.2 AGENT

When a verb is nominalised with the *i*- form of possession the relationship is one where the possessor is the underlying agent of the nominalised verb as in (15a,b) (cf. 3.2.7.7).

- (15) a. *i-da-yabobona*
 CON-1PL.INC-love
 our love = we love

- b. *yau* *Opa i-ma-nai*
 1SG.PN Opa CON-1PL.EXC-marriage
 mine and Opa's marriage = Opa and I married

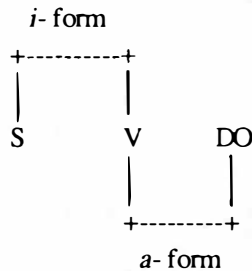
4.2.2.3 ROLE

The *i*-possession may be used to indicate a role relationship fulfilled by the possessum in relation to the possessor:

- (16) a. *Kelebi i-gu-to-bowou.*
 Kelebi CON-1SG-AGT-sorcery
 Kelebi is my sorcerer (he works for me).
- b. *i-ma-minisita*
 CON-1PL.EXC-minister
 our minister

4.3 SUBJECT-OBJECT NOMINALISATION/POSSESSION

In relation to nominalised verbs, an important generalisation was noted in 3.2.7.7, namely that if the possessor is semantically the agent (the initial subject), then the nominalised verb is marked with the active or control marker *i*-, whereas if the possessor is semantically the patient (the initial direct object) of the verb, then we find the passive marker *a*-. The following diagram presents these underlying relationships between the subject and object in relation to the verb in graphic form:



- (17) a. *a-mu-pola* = *(i)-pole-mu*
 PASS-2SG-lie 3SG-lie.TR-2SG
 your lie (which was told to you) = someone lied to you
- b. *i-mu-pola* = *ku-pola*
 CON-2SG-lie 2SG-lie
 your lie (which you told) = you lie

This notion, which is essentially the notion of control, also accounts for the distinction between the *a*- form and the *i*- form of the alienable possession when the possessum is not a nominalised verb. The utterance in (19a) is logically an answer to (18), but is infelicitous because the possessor marked by *a*- has no control over the fire; instead the possessor is in some sense the patient of the action involving the fire. In contrast (19b) is acceptable because it indicates that the fire will be used on the pig; that is, the pig is the patient and has

no control over the fire. The utterance in (19c) is a felicitous answer to the question in (18) because the possessor is in control of the fire.

- (18) *Kaga a-na-yeu?*
 what PASS-3SG-fire
 What is the fire for?
- (19) a. ? *Geya, a-gu-yeu.*
 NEG PASS-1SG-fire
 Nothing – my fire (which I will eat). / Nothing – my fire (which is to be used to burn me).
- b. *Geya, bao a-na-yeu.*
 NEG pig PASS-3SG-fire
 Nothing – the pig's fire (which will be used to roast it).
- c. *Geya, i-gu-yeu.*
 NEG CON-1SG-fire
 Nothing – it is my fire (I decide what it will be used for).

It is clear from contrasting pairs that the distinction is one of control.

- (20) a. *Kelebi a-gu-to-bowou.*
 Kelebi PASS-1SG-AGT-sorcery
 Kelebi is my sorcerer (who is doing sorcery to me).
- b. *Kelebi i-gu-to-bowou.*
 Kelebi CON-1SG-AGT-sorcery
 Kelebi is my sorcerer (i.e. I tell him who to do sorcery to – he belongs to me).

Examples (21a) and (21b) given by my informant, illustrate the difference in meaning, and show that the distinction between these two forms is important.

- (21) a. *Ame Yeisu a-na-keLOSE bei i-vailai.*
 this Jesus PASS-3SG-cross PRO 3SG-accident
 This is Jesus' cross with which he will have an accident.
- b. *Ame Yeisu i-na-keLOSE.*
 this Jesus CON-3SG-cross
 This is Jesus' cross (which he made and owns).

Some speakers, however, make no difference in meaning and use the *i-* and *a-* forms indiscriminately, indicating that this distinction is being neutralised.

4.4 NEUTRALISATION OF INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Nouns which are normally inalienably possessed may also occur in an alternative form, with an invariant suffix *-na* and a shift in stress one syllable to the left. The (a) examples below contain an inalienably possessed noun, the (b) examples the alternative form.

- (22) a. *Yau ma'ta-gu si-goyo.*
 1SG.PN eye-1SG.IA 3PL-bad
 My eyes are bad.

- b. *Yau* 'matana *si-goyo.*
 1 SG.PN eye 3PL-bad
 My eyes are bad.
- (23) a. *Yau* da'ba-gu *i-geda.*
 1 SG.PN head-1SG.IA 3SG-hurt
 My head hurts.
- b. *Yau* 'dabana *i-geda.*
 1 SG.PN head 3SG-hurt
 My head hurts.

Although not immediately obvious from the examples above, a noun with the alternative *-na* form functions as if it were not inalienable. Hence a form like ['nimana] 'hand' can be possessed with the *a-* form of alienable possession. Thus example (24a) is grammatical because stress falls on the first syllable. However, (24b) is ungrammatical because it carries both the alienable *a-* form and the inalienable suffix.

- (24) a. a-mu-*'nimana*
 PASS-2SG-hand
 your hand (which I will hit you with)
- b. *a-mu-ni'*ma-na/-mu*
 PASS-2SG-hand-3SG/2SG
- (25) a. *'yawana* life, breath
 b. *ya'woigu* my life, my breath
- (26) a. *'konana* thing, possession
 b. *ko'nagu* my thing, my possession

4.5 ATTRIBUTION OF INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Just as nouns which are usually inalienably possessed may occur without inalienable possession, so conversely a noun that is *not* normally inalienably possessed may have inalienable possession attributed to it. In such cases an *-i-* suffix occurs before the agreement markers. In (27) *ba* and *ikaika* do not require any form of possession, but when they do take the inalienable form, they require the *-i-* suffix.

- (27) a. *ba-i-gu*
 pig-?-1SG.IA
 my pig = the pig which exists because of me
- b. *ikaika-i-gu*
 blood-?-1SG.IA
 my blood

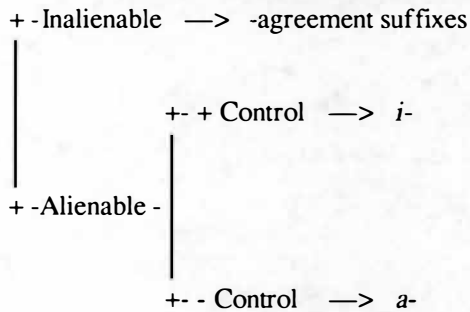
Nominalised verbs which are inalienably possessed to indicate a reference relationship (4.1.4) also require *-i-*. When a man does marriage work, he does work because of his wife-to-be, and in (28a) she is implicitly the possessor. In (28b,c) the verbs are nominalised and require *-i-*.

- (28) a. *paisewa-i-gu*
 work-?-1SG.IA
 my work = the work done because of me
- b. *sina-gu vatetel-i-na*
 mother-1SG.IA story-?-3SG.IA
 the story about my mother
- c. *bagal-i-gu*
 mistake-?-1SG.IA
 my wrong

I have not been able to determine any semantic function for the suffix *-i-*, which seems to occur for phonological reasons.

4.6 SUMMARY

To summarise the possessive system the following diagram is given:



The diagram illustrates the different types of possessive encoding in Gumawana. Alienable possession distinguishes between controlled and non-controlled possession. Consumability is a form of non-control because nouns possessed with this form imply the possessor's intention to consume, but not his control. In (29) there is no evidence that 'you' have control over the object marked as consumable.

- (29) *Maine a-mu-iyana a-ginubasi be, a-vai-polu.*
 earlier EAT-2SG-fish 1SG-spear and 1SG-CAUS-boil
 Earlier I speared your fish (for eating) and I will boil it.

5. PHRASE STRUCTURE

In this section simple phrases are presented; these include noun phrases, adpositional phrases and verb phrases.

5.1 NOUN PHRASE

The order of constituents in the noun phrase is:

(possessor) head noun (attribute noun) (adjective) (numeral) (demonstrative)

where a constituent in brackets is optional. An attribute may be another noun, an adjective, a numeral or a relative clause.

5.1.1 SIMPLE NOUN PHRASE

A simple noun phrase consists minimally of a head noun or pronoun.

- (1) a. *Tanuwo mainao ka-tala-i.*
 garden first 1PL.EXC-cut-TR
 First we cut the garden.
- b. *Go kai ka-kaluvila-muna.*
 SW 1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-return-again
 But we returned again.

5.1.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

The possessive constructions are described in detail in section 4.

The only constituent which comes before the head is the possessor. Note that in (2b) two genitive constructions occur together.

- (2) a. *Patiseba i-na-kewou ka-biu.*
 Patiseba CON-3SG-canoe 1PL.EXC-pull
 We pulled Patiseba's canoe.
- b. *Boibo-ya-na tubu-na i-na-putuma i-silupave.*
 Boibo-REF-3SG grandson-3SG.IA CON-3SG-grease 3SG-squeeze.TR
 Boibo squeezed his grandson's coconut grease.

When the head is a quantifier noun, it has a partitive meaning.

- (3) *Iyana giyai-di badabada-i-di ka-ginubasi-di.*
 fish small-3PL many-?-3PL.IA 1PL.EXC-spear-3PL
 We speared many of the small fish.

5.1.3 NOUN ATTRIBUTES

A noun may serve as an attribute to modify the head noun. The attributive noun is semantically more specific than the head noun.

- (4) a. *E gomana Botuliu i-ma-masisi.*
 DEV child Botuliu 3SG-IMPER-sleep
 The child Botuliu was sleeping.
- b. *E gomana koloto i-digo...*
 DEV child man 3SG-say
 So the boy said...
- c. *E tuta tayamo natu-na koloto toi-na i-latuwoko...*
 DEV time one child-3SG.IA man real-3SG 3SG-tell.TR
 So one time she told her real son...

5.1.4 ADJECTIVES

The morphology of adjectives is described in 3.1.4. An attributive adjective follows any attributive noun (see (4c)) and precedes the numeral (see examples in 3.1.4). Example (5) illustrates the uninflected adjective.

- (5) *Yau guna-vada moe vada bogo.*
 1SG.PN 1SG.POSS-house DEM house old
 My house is an old house.

5.1.5 HEAD-NUMERAL

The numeral is the next to last constituent in the noun phrase. This does not include *tayamo* 'a, one', which may function as an indefinite article. In example (6) the order is noun-adjective-numeral.

- (6) a. *Koloto gagai-di a-di-tai-yuwo a-gite-di.*
 man big-3PL PASS-3PL-man-two 1SG-see.TR-3PL
 I saw the two big men.
 b. *Gulewa giyai-di ai-yuwo i-babane-di.*
 stone small-3PL CL-two 3SG-find.TR-3PL
 He found two small stones.

If the order of constituents in (6b) is changed to that of (7) so that the numeral comes before the adjective, there is a change in intonation. This type of construction is a left-dislocation.

- (7) *Gulewa ai-yuwo, giyai-di i-babane-di.*
 stone CL-two small-3PL 3SG-find.TR-3PL
 The two stones, they were small ones he found.

The numeral *tayamo* 'a, one' functions as an indefinite article when it begins the noun phrase, as in (8a), and as the numeral 'one' when it occurs after the head noun, as in (8b) (see also 3.1.8).

- (8) a. *Tayamo nubasidi gagai-na i-ginubasi.*
 one fish.type big-3SG 3SG-spear.TR
 He speared a big *nubasidi* fish.
 b. *Nubasidi tayamo gagai-na i-ginubasi.*
 fish.type one big-3SG 3SG-spear.TR
 He speared one big *nubasidi* fish.

5.1.6 HEAD-DEMONSTRATIVE

Demonstratives (section 3.1.7) are normally the last constituent in the noun phrase.

- (9) *Vada tayamo giyai-na amo si-yowo-yowo.*
 house one small-3SG that 3PL-IMPER-build
 They were building that one small house.

If the demonstrative comes between the noun and modifying adjective as in (10b), it is a left-dislocation construction. In (10a) the demonstrative comes last in the noun phrase – that

is, in the normal word order. The meaning is that all the fish are big and all are being given. In (10b) there is an intonation difference. The comma indicates a pause. The implied meaning of the noun phrase in (10b) is that there are perhaps small fish which were not given.

- (10) a. *Iyana gagai-di ame a-vini-mu.*
 fish big-3PL this 1SG-give-2SG
 I give you these big fish.
- b. *Iyana ame, gagai-di a-vini-mu.*
 fish this big-3PL 1SG-give-2SG
 These fish, I give you the big ones.

5.1.7 HEAD-REFERENCE MARKER¹³

The reference marker *-ya-* (3.1.8) and its attendant possessive suffix are, like the demonstrative, always the last items of the noun phrase (although a relative clause may follow). Since they are suffixed directly to the noun, this means that they are used only where no other attributes (attributive noun, adjective, numeral, demonstrative) follow the noun.

Although the reference marker is only used when the semantic conditions (referentiality, specificity) and the structural conditions (no attributes) for its use are met, these are apparently only necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for its use. There are occasions when the conditions are met and the reference marker is not used. The reasons for this evidently have to do with discourse considerations, and it appears that there is normally only one case of *-ya-* in a clause. We may say tentatively that *-ya-* marks the topic of the clause (i.e. the referent about which the speaker wishes to say something). This in (11a) *koloto-ya-di* 'the men' is marked with the reference marker, but *weniya* 'the dog' is not. Similarly in (11b) *dokanikani-ya-na* 'the giant' has the reference marker, but *noko* 'the plate' does not. The distinction in each case between the noun marked with *-ya-* and the noun not thus marked is *not* a difference in referentiality or specificity, but apparently a difference in topicality. Note that, as (11c) illustrates, the topic is not necessarily the subject; here it is the possessor.

- (11) a. *Koloto-ya-di weniya si-duduwe.*
 man-REF-3PL dog 3PL-call.TR
 The men called the dog.
- b. *Dokanikani-ya-na noko i-kavale.*
 giant-REF-3SG plate 3SG-carry.TR
 The giant carried the plate.
- c. *Vatutea-na yoi-na kakavaku.*
 legend.REF-3SG name-3SG.IA worm
 The name of this legend is 'worm'.

Similarly, when a temporal clause is introduced by *tuteana* /*tuta-ya-na*/ or *laveana* /*lava-ia-na*/ 'when, the time', the time reference ('the time you go to America') is the topic of the sentence.

¹³Editor's note: This section is an editorial addition, with examples derived from other sections of this work.

- (12) Tutea-na komu ku-na America ta-va-tai-taiya.
 time.REF-3SG 2SG.PN 2SG-go America 1PL.INC-RECP-IMPER-cry
 (At) the time you go to America we will cry for each other.

The concept of topic is not to be confused with that of 'old information'. In (13) *ame dogoi-ya-na* 'this, the thing' is evidently receiving its first mention, but is topic.

- (13) Ame dogoi-ya-na kaga manu-na?
 this thing-REF-3SG what BEN-3SG
 What is this thing for?

There are also cases where the topic noun marked with *-ya-* is clearly referential and specific, but not definite.

- (14) Ago i-ma, tayamo sinapu-ya-na iyana Sipwena
 SW 3SG-come one custom-REF-3SG fish Sipwena
i-kawanoi, geya i-vini-vini.
 3SG-ask NEG 3SG-IMPER-give(TR)
 And he (the giant) came, and one of his customs was that Sipwena would ask for fish but he never gave to him.

Finally, note that a topic noun is only marked with *-ya-* if it is not followed by an attribute; that is, not every topic is marked with *-ya-*.

5.1.8 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Since Gumawana is a verb-final language, we would expect the relative clause to precede the head noun. But that is not the case.

Subjects, objects and locatives may be relativised in Gumawana. The head may be analysed either as internal to the relative clause or as external to and preceding the relative clause:

[head + relative clause] OR head + [relative clause]

It is difficult to determine which is the better analysis, but for convenience of presentation I treat the head as internal to the relative clause.

In (15) the head and the relative clause are enclosed in square brackets and the head is underlined. In (15a) the head is the relativised subject *Daniana monena*. In (15b) there are two relative clauses: the head of the first is the relativised subject *Clif*, of the second the relativised locative *Guest House*.

- (15) a. Kai [Dania-na mone-na i-dalaiba] ka-ma.
 1PL.EXC Dan.REF-3SG wife-3SG.IA 3SG-drive 1PL.EXC-come
 We and Dan's wife, who drove, came.
- b. Teside yau Kelebi Tomasi [Clif i-iwo i-ma
 Thursday 1SG.PN Kelebi Tomasi Clif 3SG-seaward 3SG-come
i-kabi-ma] ka-yava ka-na [Guest House goi
 3SG-get-1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-go Guest House PP
ka-mwela].
 1PL.EXC-climb

On Thursday Kelebi, Tomasi, I and Clif, who came and got us, went to the Guest House where we went up.

When the subject of the matrix clause is the head noun, the subject remains in its normal (clause-initial) position. But when the object of the matrix clause is the head noun, the object and its accompanying relative clause are shifted to the position after the verb.

- (16) a. *Kelebi i-modugu-di [kewou-ya-di si-salili].*
 Kelebi 3SG-make-3PL canoe-REF-3PL 3PL-sink
 Kelebi built the canoes which sank.
- b. *Clif i-na i-leuye-di i-me-di [temba gabula
 Clif 3SG-go 3SG-gather.TR-3PL 3SG-come.TR-3PL timber under.house
 i-yato-i-di].*
 3SG-set-TR-3PL
 Clif went to gather and bring the timber which he set under the house.
- c. *E a-ma a-lituwoko [tubu-gu
 DEV 1SG-come 1SG-tell.TR grandmother-3SG.IA
 i-kali-taoe].*
 3SG-with.point.INST-stand.TR
 So I went and told my grandmother who made one.

Gumawana speakers only allow the locative of a matrix clause to be the head of a relative clause if the verb in the relative clause is imperfective. In (17) the head noun is *abatulagalaga*.

- (17) *[Aba-tulagalaga i-ta-guyala goi] i-tu-sobu.*
 NOM-chair 3SG.IMPER-ST-break PP 3SG-by.sit-down
 He sat down on the chair which was breaking.

A distinction is made between a relative clause and the complement clause of a verb of perception. This difference is seen in the verb agreement with the object. In (18a) and (18b) *koloto* is the head noun internal to the relative clause, and the object-marking of the verb 'see' agrees with it in person and number (with zero-marking for third person singular in (18a), *-di* for third person plural in (18b)). In (18c) the clause in brackets is a complement clause and the verb 'see' has zero-marking because it agrees not with 'many men' but with the complement clause as a whole. In other words the object of *gite* 'see' is the clause in brackets.

- (18) a. *Kelebi i-gite [koloto-ya-na bao i-ginubasi].*
 Kelebi 3SG-see.TR man-REF-3SG pig 3SG-spear.TR
 Kelebi saw the man who speared the pig.
- b. *Kelebi i-gite-di [koloto badabada-i-di bao si-ginubasi].*
 Kelebi 3SG-see.TR-3PL man many-?-3PL.IA pig 3PL-spear.TR
 Kelebi saw the men who speared the pig.
- c. *Kelebi i-gite [koloto badabada-i-di bao si-ginubasi.]*
 Kelebi 3SG-see.TR man many-?-3PL.IA pig 3PL-spear.TR
 Kelebi saw the men spear the pig.

Also found in Gumawana is a construction of the kind which Keenan (1985) labels 'co-relative'.

- (19) a. *Vavina i-kamasa, moe yau tubu-gu.*
 woman 3SG-die that 1SG.PN aunt-1SG.IA
 The woman who died was my aunt. (lit. The woman died, that one was my aunt.)
- b. *Kelebi i-na-kewou i-modugu, kewou-ya-na i-salili.*
 Kelebi CON-3SG-canoe 3SG-make.TR canoe-REF-3SG 3SG-sink
 Kelebi built his canoe which sank. (lit. Kelebi built his canoe, that canoe sank.)

In (19) the first clause is followed by a second clause introduced by either *moe*, a demonstrative used anaphorically, or *tauyana* 'that person' also used anaphorically. The second clause is a description of one particular noun in the first clause.

5.1.9 COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

Noun phrases may be coordinated with *be* to form compound noun phrases.

- (20) a. *Tama-di be sina-di bogina si-kamasa.*
 father-3PL.IA and mother-3PL.IA PRF 3PL-die
 Their father and mother had already died.
- b. *Losui tayamo be niu si-kaiaka.*
 banana one and coconut 3PL-be.there
 A banana and coconut were there.
- c. *Yau Ediliki be Siyokila a-lituwoko-i-di.*
 1SG.PN Ediliki and Siyokila 1SG-tell-TR-3PL
 I told Ediliki and Siyokila.

It is not yet clear to me when *be* is necessary. Normally when listing several nominals, *be* is not used.

- (21) a. *Ka-ma, kona-ma ka-vadoda a-ma-poasi*
 1PL.EXC-come thing-1PL.EXC.IA 1PL.EXC-load PASS-1PL.EXC-bar
a-ma-weniya.
 PASS-1PL.EXC-dog
 We came and loaded our things, our steel rods and our dogs.
- b. *E yau Ediliki ka-tuko.*
 DEV 1SG.PN Ediliki 1PL.EXC-go.up
 So Ediliki and I went up.

5.2 ADPOSITIONAL PHRASES

All adpositions in Gumawana are postposed, with the exception of *ma-* (5.2.3). The most common postposition is *goi*, which is used in various types of phrasal constructions such as temporal, locative and instrumental. Similarity is encoded with *nakae* 'like'. The notions of benefactive, reason and content phrases are encoded by means of *manu-* 'benefactive' or 'purpose', and *pasi-* 'reason'. Source and goal are encoded with *yai-*. Each of these takes

suffixes (4.1) agreeing with the head noun of the phrase in person and number. Two other adpositional phrases discussed in this section are those formed with *ma-* and *taiyao* 'comitative'.

5.2.1 PHRASES MARKED WITH *goi*

5.2.1.1 LOCATIVE PHRASES

Locative phrases include a head with the postposition *goi*. The clause following the locative phrase indicates what took place at that location.

- (22) a. *Tamogibeli natu-na taiyao si-kawala Musuwo goi tomota*
 Tamogibeli child-3SG.IA COM 3PL-pole Musuwo LOC people
manie-di si-lumadade-di...
 some-3PL.IA 3PL-ask.TR-3PL
 Tamogibeli poled with his child to Musuwo where he asked some of
 the people...
- b. *Yau a-na Bogili i-na-kasa goi tau-ya-na*
 1SG.PN 1SG-go Bogili CON-3SG-hamlet LOC person-REF-3SG
a-gite.
 1SG-see.TR
 I went to Bogili's hamlet to see him.

5.2.1.2 INSTRUMENT PHRASES

Goi is also used to encode the instrument with which an action is performed.

- (23) a. *Neta kokona, si-yagoi bei gita goi i-ginubasi-di.*
 if crazy.person 3SG-know.TR PRO spear INST 3SG-spear-3PL
 If the crazy person is there, they know he will spear them with a spear.
- b. *...ediedila goi yagila i-vayamu-di.*
 sand INST wind 3SG-cover-3PL
 ...the wind covered them with sand.

5.2.1.3 TEMPORAL PHRASES

Temporal phrases consist of the postposition *goi* and a temporal noun phrase.

- (24) a. *Maliyalina ame goi uya-ma gagai-na...*
 day this TEMP thank-1PL.EXC.IA big-3SG
 On this day we thank you very much...
- b. *Nobuyana ame goi liliu-ma ka-siu ka-ma...*
 morning this TEMP all-1PL.EXC.IA 1PL.EXC-enter 1PL.EXC-come
 On this morning all of us have entered...

5.2.2 PHRASES MARKED WITH OTHER POSTPOSITIONS

5.2.2.1 BENEFACTIVE PHRASES

The notion of benefactive is encoded by *manu-* 'benefactive', which takes an inalienable possessive suffix agreeing with the head in number and person (4.1).

- (25) a. *A-bobwala manu-mu o tuwo?*
 1SG-speak BEN-2SG or enough
 Shall I speak for you or not?
- b. *Si:-paisewa Kalitoni manu-na.*
 3PL.IMPER-work Kalitoni BEN-3SG
 They are working for Kalitoni.

5.2.2.2 CONTENT PHRASES

The notion of content (or reference) is also encoded by *manu*.

- (26) a. *Be ma-nakae-da go-gomana ame manu-di.*
 UNCRT COM-like-1PL.INC PL-child this CON-3PL
 What might we do about these children.
- b. *Ta-vatetala i-mi-sinapu manu-na*
 1PL.INC-story CON-2PL-custom CON-3SG
 Let's talk about your customs.

5.2.2.3 REASON PHRASES

Reason phrases are characteristically marked by *pasi* 'reason' which, like *manu*, takes an inalienable possessive suffix agreeing with the head in number and person (4.1).

- (27) a. *Kaga pasi-na sinitu yai-na ko-numisa?*
 what reason-3SG satan GOAL-3SG 2PL-trust
 What is the reason you trust in the evil being?
- b. *Yau pasi-gu siya-gu i-lau-i.*
 1SG.PN reason-1SG friend-1SG.IA 3SG-hit-TR
 I am the reason he hit my friend.

5.2.2.4 SOURCE AND GOAL PHRASES

Both source and goal phrases are marked with *yai-*, which also takes an inalienable possessive suffix agreeing with the head in number and person (4.1). In (28a) *yai-* marks the goal and in (28b) it marks the source.

- (28) a. *I-vayali i-na Tomasi yai-na.*
 3SG-walk.on.shore 3SG-go Tomasi GOAL-3SG
 He walked along the shore to Tomasi.
- b. *Yaubada yai-na si-ma.*
 God SOURCE-3SG 3PL-come
 They come from God.

5.2.2.5 SIMILARITY

Similarity is encoded with the postposition *nakae* (for examples, see section 9.1.1).

5.2.3 PHRASES MARKED WITH *ma-*

5.2.3.1 COMITATIVE PHRASES

There are two ways comitative phrases are constructed. One utilises the affix *ma-*, which is prefixed to the head of the comitative phrase.

- (29) a. *Nabodimomu Silekaleka ma-nubai-na i-di-kasa*
 Nabodimomu Silekaleka COM-cousin-3SG.IA CON-3PL-hamlet
Tuluviluvi si-kaiako.
 Tuluviluvi 3PL-live
 Nabodimomu and her cousin Silekaleka lived at their hamlet Tuluviluvi.
- b. *Tau-ya-na ma-niu-na si-kaiako.*
 person-REF-3SG COM-sister-3SG.IA 3PL-be.there
 He and his sister were there.

A second construction consists of a noun phrase followed by the postposition *taiyao*. Note that in (30d) the comitative phrase is clause final and the head is not included in the subject as in (30a-c).

- (30) a. *Nubai-gu taiyao ka-ma ka-kaigoda.*
 cousin-1SG.IA COM 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-gather.shells
 Together with my cousin we came to gather shells.
- b. *Nabodimomu nubai-na Silekaleka taiyao si-na vada giyai-na.*
 Nabodimomu cousin-3SG.IA Silekaleka COM 3PL-go house little-3SG
 Nabodimomu and her cousin Silekaleka went to the toilet.
- c. *Mone-na taiyao si-kawala si-wo si-vaiu.*
 spouse-3SG.IA COM 3PL-pole 3PL-go 3PL-arrive
 With his wife they poled and arrived.
- d. *...go se-gowo si-na si-paisewa Clif taiyao.*
 SW friend-1SG.IA.PL 3PL-go 3PL-work Clif COM
 ...but my friends went and worked with Clif.

When an inanimate object is carried only *ma-* may be used.

- (31) a. *Ma-i-gu-buki a-siu.*
 COM-CON-1SG-book 1SG-enter
 With my book I entered.
- b. **Guna buki taiyao a-siu.*

5.2.3.2 MANNER PHRASES

Manner phrases consist of a nominalised verb with the prefix *ma-*.

- (32) a. *Go-gomana ma-i-di-taiya si-bobwala.*
 PL-child COM-CON-3PL-cry 3PL-talk
 The children spoke weeping. (lit. The children with crying spoke.)
- b. *Ma-i-na-matoita pola-pola i-tuma-bala.*
 COM-CON-3SG-fear IMPER-lie 3SG-beckon-across
 With false fear he beckoned.

5.3 VERB PHRASE

The constituents of the verb phrase are simply:

verb (adverb)

A simple verb phrase minimally consists of a finite verb – that is, a verb stem with attendant affixes (3.3.1).

- (33) a. *Ku-sou!*
 2SG-go.down
 Go down!
- b. *Tamogibeli natu-na bwae i-nimu.*
 Tamogibeli child-3SG.IA water 3SG-drink
 Tamogibeli's child drank water.

The other (optional) constituent of the verb phrase is the adverbial (distinct from the adverbial suffix, which is part of the verb itself; cf. 3.3.1.1). Adjectives such as *toina* 'very' and *gagaina* 'big' may function as adverbials. These are considered as part of the verb phrase because of their strict ordering and the fact that nothing else may come between them. In (34a) and (35a) the finite verb is followed by *gagaina* and *toina*, both of which modify the verb. Both (b) examples show that it is not possible to place any other constituent between the adjectival noun and the verb.

- (34) a. *Ka-matoita gagai-na.*
 1PL.EXC-fear big-3SG
 We were very afraid.
- b. **Ka-matoita moteta gagai-na.*
 1PL.EXC-fear snake big-3SG
- (35) a. *Ai-yuwo-i-na ka-uyawana gagai-na toi-na.*
 CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-rejoice big-3SG real-3SG
 Again we two rejoiced very much.
- b. **Ka-uyawana ai-yuwo-i-na gaga-i-na toi-na.*

It is possible to have more than one occurrence of *toina*, which intensifies the verb.

- (36) *Kelebi i-matoita toi-na toi-na.*
 Kelebi 3SG-afraid real-3SG real-3SG
 Kelebi was very very afraid.

6. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

In this section the clause structure of Gumawana is presented. The basic order of constituents in a Gumawana clause is:

(subject noun phrase) (direct object noun phrase) (oblique noun phrase) verb phrase

Note that the bracketed constituents are not obligatory. Normally only one or two are found.

Grammatical relations in Gumawana are presented in section 6.1. The basic clause structures of intransitive and transitive clauses are discussed in 6.2 and 6.3. In 6.4 the various predicate types found in Gumawana are described. Reflexive clauses and reciprocal clauses are discussed in 6.5 and 6.6. Impersonal constructions are examined in 6.7 and causatives in 6.8. The various relation-changing devices in Gumawana are described in 6.9.

6.1 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

6.1.1 SUBJECT

The subject in Gumawana is identified by the subject agreement prefix on the verb and by word order. All verbs in Gumawana agree with their final subject in both person and number (3.3.1.1). In (1a) the intransitive verb *paisewa* agrees with the third person singular subject *Kalitoni*. In (1b) the intransitive verb *nai* has a plural subject and is thus marked with the third person plural prefix *si-*. Examples (1c) and (1d) illustrate a change in person which is marked on the verb.

- (1) a. *Kalitoni i-paisewa.*
 Kalitoni 3SG-work
 Kalitoni worked.
- b. *Kalitoni be Opa si-nai.*
 Kalitoni and Opa 3PL-marry
 Kalitoni and Opa married.
- c. *Yau a-mwela.*
 1SG.PN 1SG-climb
 I climbed up.
- d. *Komu ku-mwela.*
 2SG.PN 2SG-climb
 You climbed up.

Word order is another way of distinguishing the subject from other constituents of the clause. Overt subjects precede both the object (if there is one) and the verb.

- (2) a. *Topiyo alova i-tala-i.*
 Topiyo tree 3SG-cut-TR
 Topiyo cut the tree.
- b. *Topiyo Kelebi i-lau-i.*
 Topiyo Kelebi 3SG-hit-TR
 Topiyo hit Kelebi.

6.1.2 DIRECT OBJECT

The object noun phrase is cross-referenced on the verb with a suffix agreeing in person and number with the object (3.3.1.1). In (3) the verb agrees in person and number with the final direct object. Note that in (3c) and (3d) it is not necessary for there to be an overt direct object: just the agreement suffix is sufficient if the object has been previously given in the discourse.

- (3) a. *Koloto-ya-di weniya si-duduwe.*
 man-REF-3PL dog 3PL-call.TR
 The men called the dog.
- b. *Koloto weniya-yao i-duduwe-di.*
 man dog-PL 3SG-call.TR-3PL
 The man called the dogs.
- c. *Koloto i-duduwe-mu.*
 man 3SG-call.TR-2SG
 The man called you.
- d. *Koloto i-duduwe-gu.*
 man 3SG-call.TR-1SG
 The man called me.

The direct object follows the subject and precedes the verb in basic word order. In (4b) the direct object is found closest to the verb.

- (4) a. *Kiwelu weniya i-kabi-di.*
 Kiwelu dog 3SG-take-3PL
 Kiwelu took the dogs.
- b. *Dokanikani-ya-na noko i-kavale.*
 giant-REF-3SG plate 3SG-carry.TR
 The giant carried the plate.

A change in word order is found in various types of construction. If the object is in focus (often marked with (-*yana*) and it is clear which nominal is the subject then the object may precede the subject. Objects may come after the main verb when they are relativised (see section 5.1.8).

6.1.3 INDIRECT OBJECT

Because (in the Relational Grammar framework used here) grammatical relations are determined at the initial level, it is possible for the indirect object to occur initially but not finally, due to its advancement to direct object. This is the case in Gumawana. The indirect object obligatorily advances to direct object. As a result, the final object in (5a-c) is semantically the recipient, that is, initially the indirect object. However, it is finally a direct object of the clause.

- (5) a. *A-latuwoko-i-mu.*
 1SG-tell-TR-2SG
 I tell you.

- b. *Buki a-vini-mu.*
book 1SG-give-2SG
I give you the book.
- c. *Ame a-vatuluko-i-di.*
this 1SG-teach/show-TR-3PL
I teach/show them this.

6.1.4 OBLIQUE RELATIONS

Table 8 summarises the oblique relations which are found (the phrase structure of each is examined in 5.2).

TABLE 8: OBLIQUE RELATIONS

Form	Semantic Role
<i>ma-</i>	Comitative
<i>taiyao</i>	Comitative
<i>yai</i>	Source
	Goal
<i>manu</i>	Purpose
	Benefactive
	Content
<i>goi</i>	Instrumental
	Temporal
	Locative
<i>pasi</i>	Reason

Nouns marked by the above postpositions cannot be the arguments of a verb. This is the main difference between the above oblique relations and the relations of subject and object.

- (6) a. *Buyala a-madagi Topiyo manu-na.*
necklace 1SG-make(TR) Topiyo BEN-3SG
I make the necklace for Topiyo.
- b. *Si-na bwanala goi si-tamumu.*
3PL-go food.storage LOC 3PL-hide
They went to the food storage area where they hid.
- c. *Nima-na goi i-lau-i-di.*
hand-3SG INST 3SG-hit-TR-3PL
He hit them with his hand.
- d. *Tapwae i-kawanoi-ye yai-gu.*
tobacco 3SG-request-OAD.TR SOURCE-1SG
He requested tobacco from me.
- e. *Komu yau taiyao ta-paisewa.*
2SG.PN 1SG.PN COM 1PL.INC-work
You and I will work together.

6.2 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Finally intransitive clauses must agree with the final subject in number and person (3.3.1.1). Minimally a finally intransitive clause includes a finite verb which agrees with the final subject. Other constituents of the clause have the basic word order but without the direct object. The word order may be changed due to topicalisation or focus.

- (7) a. *Ta-mogibeli natu-na taiyao si-lokoina.*
male-mogibeli child-3SG.IA COM 3PL-run
Tamogibeli and his child ran.
- b. *Teside sabamugo a-kanamimi.*
Thursday night 1SG-dream
On Thursday night I dreamed.
- c. *Sipwena a-neta Moninito goi i-kaiako.*
Sipwena PASS-3SG.LIM Moninito PP 3SG-remain
Sipwena stayed by himself at Moninito.
- d. *Teside sabamugo boda manie-di si-vesi-vesi Josephine*
Thursday night people some-3PL.IA 3PL-IMPER-sing Josephine
i-na-kamasa manu-na.
CON-3SG-death PUR-3SG
On Thursday night some people were singing because of Josephine's death.
- e. *Nukoto-di i-mou gagai-na Josephine i-na-kamasa pasi-na.*
throat-3PL.IA 3SG-heavy big-3SG Josephine CON-3SG-death REA-3SG
They were very sad because of Josephine's death.

6.3 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A finally transitive verb must agree in person and number with the final subject and direct object (3.3.1.1). Minimally a finally transitive clause need only consist of a finite verb agreeing with subject and direct object. The order of other constituents for finally transitive clauses is the basic order. In both (8a) and (8b) there is an overt subject and an overt object. In (8c) there is no overt subject or object.

- (8) a. *Ta-mogibeli natu-na (S) bwae (O) i-nimu.*
male-mogibeli child-3SG.IA water 3SG-drink(TR)
Tamogibeli's child drank the water.
- b. *Kiwelu natu-na taiyao (S) kewou (O) si-kabi.*
Kiwelu child-3SG.IA COM canoe 3PL-get(TR)
Kiwelu and his child got the canoe.
- c. *Niga vanuwo i-tomo valiwoga goi si-yato.*
later village 3SG-tomorrow grave PP 3PL-set(TR)
Later the next day they set her in the grave.

6.4 PREDICATE TYPES

In this section I illustrate how Gumawana encodes various types of predication, such as equatives, statives and location/position.

6.4.1 EQUATIVE CLAUSES

Equative clauses consist of two noun phrases in juxtaposition.

- (9) a. *I-suma i-ve-natuna, natu-na bobokata.*
 3SG-pregnant 3SG-CAUS-child child-3SG.IA crab
 She was pregnant and gave birth, her child was a crab.
- b. *Vatutea-na yoi-na kakavaku.*
 legend-REF-3SG name-3SG.IA worm
 The name of this legend is *Worm*.
- c. *Sina-na nauli toi-na go i-ve-natuna natu-na*
 mother-3SG.IA woman real-3SG SW 3SG-CAUS-child child-3SG.IA
bunabuna.
 dove
 Her mother was a real woman and she gave birth, her child was a dove.

Whenever a demonstrative is followed by a noun phrase the construction is equational (a demonstrative within a noun phrase occurs as its final constituent).

- (10) a. *Amo moteta.*
 that snake
 That is a snake.
- b. *Ame kuwana gagai-na, tuwo ta-masisi.*
 this rain big-3SG NONDEV 1PL.INC-sleep
 This is a big rain, so let's sleep.
- c. *Ame weniya vau.*
 this dog new
 This is a new dog.

6.4.2 POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

Possessive clauses are verbless. The subject of a possessive clause is the possessor, the predicate is an alienably possessed noun phrase expressing the thing possessed. If the clause is not negative, comitative *ma-* (3.3.2.1) is prefixed to the predicate. If it is negative, the predicate is suffixed by *-mo* 'only' (3.3.1.3). A possessive clause expresses the relationship encoded by English 'have'.

- (11) a. *Ma-(a)-mu-magi o geya?*
 COM-EAT-2SG-betel.nut or NEG
 Do you have any betel nut or not?
- b. *Yau ma-(i)-gu-buki ai-yuwo.*
 1SG.PN COM-CON-1SG-book CL-two
 I have two books.

- c. *Guna-gomana geya a-na-bwae-mo.*
 1SG.POSS-brother NEG EAT-3SG-water-any
 My brother does not have any water.

6.4.3 STATIVE CLAUSES

There are a few stative verbs such as *-goyo* 'to be bad' (12a) and *-togaga* 'to be strong' (12b) in Gumawana, but most stative verbs are derived from adjectives, as in (12c).

- (12) a. *Awoinu ame i-goyo.*
 food this 3SG-be.bad
 This food is bad.
- b. *Ku-na ku-togaga.*
 2SG-go 2SG-be.strong
 You go and be strong.
- c. *Maisi-na i-kaya-kaya.*
 face-3SG.IA 3SG-IMPER-be.red
 His face is red.

Note that when certain adjectives occur as verbs, they are reduplicated. However, this is not the case with all adjectives. In (13) the adjective *kakupi* 'short' is verbalised yet without reduplication.

- (13) *Alova i-kakupi.*
 stock 3SG-be.short
 The stick is short.

6.4.4 LOCATIVE CLAUSES

6.4.4.1 STATIVE LOCATIVE CLAUSES

A stative locative clause normally consists of a noun phrase followed by a demonstrative which is either prefixed with *go-* (indicating location of an object visible to speaker and hearer) or suffixed with person and number suffixes (if the object is unseen) (3.1.7.2). In (14c) it is not clear to me why the third person singular suffix 'is *-ni* rather than *-na*. Only in this type of construction does it appear. Notice that in each example the locative agrees with the head noun.

- (14) a. *Kinale ame-di.*
 rations DEM-3PL
 There are rations here.
- b. *Yau ame-gu.*
 1SG.PN here-1SG
 I am here.
- c. *Guna-sisi amo-ni.*
 1SG.POSS-machete there-3SG
 My machete is over there.

In location questions often there is only a question word and a noun phrase.

- (15) *Go-gomana ai-yuwo nako-i-di?*
 PL-child CL-two where-?-3PL
 Where are the two children?

6.4.4.2 CLAUSES WITH POSITION VERBS

Certain verbs indicate location, such as *-kaiaka* in (16); *-kaiaka* can mean 'to remain, to stay, to live' or 'to exist, to be there'.

- (16) *Topiyo i-kaiaka i-na-vada gabula-i-na.*
 Topiyo 3SG-be.there CON-3SG-house under-?-3SG
 Topiyo is under the house.

The following verbs are location or position predicates:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (17) | <i>-tusobu</i> | sit down | + Animate Subject |
| | <i>-tulaga</i> | sit higher up | + Animate Subject |
| | <i>-taoya</i> | stand/arise | +/- Animate Subject |
| | <i>-masisi</i> | lie down/sleep | +/- Animate Subject |
| | <i>-kanabalabala</i> | lie horizontally | +/- Animate Subject |

They take experiencers as subjects. Some allow animate or inanimate subject while others allow only animate subjects.

- (18) a. *E Sipwena i-kapusi i-sou i-kana-bala-bala.*
 DEV Sipwena 3SG-stumble 3SG-down 3SG-by.lay-IMPER-across
 So Sipwena fell down and lay horizontally.
- b. *E koloto i-taoya i-na-kudula i-kavale.*
 DEV man 3SG-stand CON-3SG-spear 3SG-carry.TR
 So the man stood up and carried his spear.
- c. *Dokanikani-ya-na bosima goi i-tu-laga.*
 giant-REF-3SG platform PP 3SG-by.sit-up
 The giant sat up on the platform.

6.4.5 CLAUSES WITH MOTION VERBS

6.4.5.1 DIRECTION

There are two types of motion verbs in Gumawana: those that indicate a spatial direction travelled by the subject of the verb and those that indicate direction in relation to speaker and hearer location or deictic centre.

The following motion verbs indicate a spatial direction travelled by their subject:

- | | | |
|------|------------------|---|
| (19) | <i>-sou</i> | to move down |
| | <i>-tuko</i> | to move up |
| | <i>-yava</i> | to move towards bush |
| | <i>-iwo</i> | to move towards ocean |
| | <i>-bala</i> | to move across (parallel to ocean and bush) |
| | <i>-kailova</i> | to depart |
| | <i>-kaluvila</i> | to return |

Each of these normally occurs in a serial construction before one of the following directional verbs indicating direction in relation to speaker/hearer location or deictic centre:

- (20)
- | | |
|-----|--|
| -na | move away from speaker/hearer location |
| -ma | move towards speaker |
| -wo | move towards hearer |

In this kind of serial construction, the second (deictic directional) verb modifies the first, telling the hearer which direction the event is moving in with respect to the deictic centre. This type of construction does not allow any other word to occur between the two verbs, which are both finite.

- (21) a. *Dokanikani-ya-na bogina i-sou i-ma.*
giant-REF-3SG PRF 3SG-go.down 3SG-come
The giant had moved down (toward deictic centre).
- b. *Sipwena i-bala i-na...*
Sipwena 3SG-move.across 3SG-go.away
Sipwena went across (toward new deictic centre)...
- c. ...*tauna a-yava a-ma ame-ko a-siboila.*
result 1SG-to.bush 1SG-to.hearer here-PLA.ADV 1SG-enter
...therefore I moved towards the bush to here where I entered.
- d. *Sipwena i-iwo i-na pusa goi i-yoita.*
Sipwena 3SG-seaward 3SG-move.away bow PP 3SG-hold
Sipwena moved seaward to the bow where he held on.
- e. *Ka-kailova ka-ma i-ma-kasa.*
1PL.EXC-depart 1PL.EXC-come CON-1PL.EXC-village
We departed (coming) to our village.
- f. *Niga amo-ko Oyayu goi i-kaluvila-muna i-ma.*
afterwards there-PLA.ADV Oyayu PP 3SG-return-again 3SG-come
Afterwards he returned (coming) from there at Oyayu.

In the above examples the spatial direction verbs indicate the direction in which the subject has moved in terms of three dimensional movement, whilst the deictic direction verbs 'come' and 'go' give the direction of the activity with regard to the speaker and hearer.

A third set of motion verbs indicates manner of motion:

- (22)
- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>lokoina</i> | to run |
| <i>vabebeo</i> | to walkabout |
| <i>ketoiya</i> | to walk (with intent of destination) |
| <i>loiteta</i> | to skip |
| <i>pela</i> | to jump |
| <i>dala</i> | to crawl |

All three types of motion verb may occur together serially. In (23) the motion verb of manner comes first, followed by two verbs indicating spatial direction, then finally a deictic direction verb indicating direction with regard to speaker position.

- (23) *Tau-ya-ni i-lokoina i-sou i-iwo i-na*
person-REF-3SG 3SG-run 3SG-go.down 3SG-seaward 3SG-go

negwasa goi i-kaya-sobu.
 ocean PP 3SG-swim-down
 He ran down to the ocean where he swam in.

The 'come' and 'go' motion verbs may be suffixed to another verb, but this is not a common construction. In (24) the verb *ma* 'motion towards speaker' is suffixed to the preceding verb. Normally the 'come' and 'go' verbs are finite verbs.

- (24) a. *Ku-bale-ma*¹⁴ *guna-kewou* *ta-li-sobu-ye.*
 2SG-go.across-come 1SG.POSS-canoe 1PL.INC-?-down-OAD.TR
 You come here and we will launch my canoe.
- b. *Kina go dokanikani...tukubu goi i-sowoduwo-ma.*
 3SG.PN SW giant cave PP 3SG-arrive-come
 As for the giant...he arrived back at the cave.

Those motion verbs which indicate a direction may also be suffixed to other verbs to form compound verb stems.

- (25) a. *E i-di-kewou si-lu-sobu-ye.*
 DEV CON-3PL-canoe 3PL-lift-go.down-OAD.TR
 So they launched their canoe.
- b. *Kina go i-sowodo i-do-iwo oga geya.*
 3SG.PN SW 3SG-appear 3SG-with.head-seaward canoe NEG
 As for him, he appeared and looked to the ocean, no canoe.
- c. *I-vaiu, i-tuma-yava, ka-na...*
 3SG-arrive 3SG-beckon-to.bush talk-3SG
 He arrived, then beckoned toward the bush saying...

6.4.5.2 DEICTIC CENTRE

The verbs of motion used to describe motion in relation to speaker/hearer location (the 'come' and 'go' motion verbs) are also used to indicate the deictic centre, often the main participant in a third person narrative. In other words, if the main character of a story is the subject, then *na* 'motion away from speaker and hearer' is used. If, however, the main character is the goal, then the motion verb *ma* 'motion toward speaker' is used.

In the folktale entitled *Sipwena* (see section 10.1) the following clauses illustrate this use of 'come' and 'go'. The main character is *Sipwena* and the *dokanikani* 'giant' is a secondary participant. The deictic centre is near the ocean because that is where *Sipwena* lives. So the giant moves toward the deictic centre and the verb *-ma* 'to come' is used.

- (26) *E lava tayamo i-na-kabela konana-i-na i-kabi-di*
 DEV time one CON-3SG-fish thing-?-3SG 3SG-take-3PL
i-sou i-ma negwasa.
 3SG-go.down 3SG-to.hearer ocean
 So one time he (giant) took his fishing gear and went down to the ocean.

¹⁴It is not clear why the verb *bala* occurs as *balc* with an *e* when compounded with *ma* 'to come'.

In (27) Sipwena is moving parallel to the ocean. He is the main character so *-na* is used. In fact in the story of Sipwena *-na* is found with Sipwena in every occurrence.

- (27) *Sipwena i-bela i-na...*
 Sipwena 3SG-move.parallel 3SG-go
 Sipwena went across...

The giant occurs with both *-ma* and *-na* because when Sipwena is not in focus the giant becomes the main character. In (28) the giant is moving away from the deictic centre which is Sipwena.

- (28) *Kina go dokanikani i-na i-kabela.*
 3SG.PN SW giant 3SG-go 3SG-fish
 As for the giant, he went fishing.

Within quotes the deictic centre again shifts to the speaker. In (29) the woman is speaking to her husband so she becomes the centre.

- (29) *I-digo ka-na, "Toi ku-ma memea ku-mata-kavate*
 3SG-say talk-3SG man 2SG-come baby 2SG-by.eye-hold.TR
go, yau a-na Sipwena ava-na a-vini".
 SW 1SG.PN 1SG.go Sipwena food-3SG.IA 1SG-give(TR)
 She (giant's wife) said, "Hey, come and watch the baby and I will go give Sipwena his food".

6.4.5.3 METAPHORICAL USES OF MOTION VERBS

The motion verbs *-na* and *-ma* may also be used to indicate passing of time. In (30) the subject of *-ma* is *tuta* 'time'.

- (30) *Tuta i-mamai-ma ku-vaite-ma.*
 time 3SG-IMPER-come 2SG-help.TR-1PL.EXC
 In the coming time help us.

Another means of expressing the passing of time entails repetition of the verb *-na* or *-ma*. It is usually associated with the lengthening of the final vowel to mean 'until'.

- (31) *Ka-kailova ka-ma ka-ma: e: enao goi,*
 1PL.EXC-depart 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-come until road PP
e talaka...
 DEV truck...
 We departed and came and came until we came to the road, then a truck...

The distance of something may also be indicated by means of the verb *-na*. In (32) the subject of *na* is *dumiya* 'flatland' and the verb is used to indicate the distance of the flatland.

- (32) *Ago i-di-tanuwo tupwana aduwanau unana dumiya*
 SW CON-3PL-garden little far because flatland
gagai-na i-na...
 big-3SG 3SG-go
 And their garden was somewhat far away because the big flatland went a long way...

One other metaphorical use of *-na* is in referring to death:

- (33) *Yau bogina bei a-nonoi-na.*
 1SG.PN PRF PRO 1SG-IMPER-go
 I am already going. (lit. I am dying.)

6.4.6 CARDINAL TRANSITIVES

Cardinal transitive verbs are those verbs which have an agent as subject and a patient as direct object which is highly affected by the agent in some way. Typical verbs which fall into this category are given in (34) and examples in (35). Some of these verbs may be detransitivised (discussed in 6.9.4).

- (34) *-loui* to hit/kill
-kabi to get/take
-babane to find
-yani to do
-ginubasi to spear
-gabu to roast/burn
-kani to eat/bite
- (35) a. *Topiyo iyana badabada-i-di i-ginubasi-di.*
 Topiyo fish many-?-3PL.IA 3SG-spear-3PL
 Topiyo speared many fish.
- b. *...i-gabu-di i-vai-polu-di i-kani-di.*
 3SG-roast-3PL 3SG-CAUS-boil-3PL 3SG-eat-3PL
 ...he roasted, boiled and ate them.
- c. *I-ma-kadi ka-kabi-di.*
 CON-1PL.EXC-card 1PL.EXC-get-3PL
 We got our cards.

6.4.7 VERBS OF TRANSFER

Some of the verbs of transfer are as follows:

- (36) *-vini* to give
-me to bring (*-ma-i* 'to come-TR')
-ve to take
-etune to send
-yabobona to give free

Each of these verbs takes an agent as subject, but they differ in the type of direct object they take. In the case of *vini* 'give' and *yabobona* 'give free' the direct object is the recipient rather than the patient, unlike the other predicates. The verb *-etune* 'send' (37c,d), and verbs of throwing, dropping and the like, require that a deictic direction verb (in these examples, *-ma* and *-wo*) be present in serial construction to indicate the direction of the object sent. This serial construction is thus the transitive equivalent of the intransitive (motion) serial constructions (discussed in 6.4.5). In (37a) *yai-gu* 'to me' is optional with the verb *-me* because the latter inherently means 'come with to the speaker'.

- (37) a. *Sisi kwabi ku-me (yai-gu).*
machete 2SG.get(TR) 2SG-come.TR GOAL-1SG
Get the machete and bring it to me.
- b. *Ka-na vada sinae-na kwini si-vini-ma.*
1PL.EXC-go house inside-3SG.IA quinine 3PL-give-1PL.EXC
We went inside the house and they gave us quinine.
- c. *A-mu-magi ku-etune i-ma yai-gu.*
EAT-2SG-betel.nut 2SG-send.TR 3SG-come GOAL-1SG
Send your betel nut to me.
- d. *Leta a-etune i-wo yai-mu.*
letter 1SG-send.TR 3SG-go GOAL-2SG
I sent the letter to you.

6.4.8 EXPERIENTIAL VERBS

The following are experiential verbs in Gumawana:

- (38)
- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>-matoita</i> | to be afraid |
| <i>-nuwe</i> | to think |
| <i>-lotowo</i> | to feel (as in feelings) |
| <i>-kamasa</i> | to die |
| <i>-kapusi</i> | to stumble |
| <i>-sowoduwo</i> | to appear/arrive/happen |

Body-part idioms also can be grouped with experiential verbs:

- (39)
- | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|---|--------------|
| <i>nukotogu imou</i> | my neck is heavy | = | I am sad |
| <i>nukotogu igoyo</i> | my neck is bad | = | I feel sorry |
| <i>gamogu igoyo</i> | my stomach is bad | = | I am angry |
| <i>dabana ilokoina</i> | his head runs | = | he is smart |

Each of these verbs takes an experiencer as subject. However, they are grammatically very different (these differences are discussed in 6.9.1). Some may be transitivity while some may not be.

- (40) a. *Kina go Lui i-siga-sigana, i-matoita.*
3SG.PN SW Lui 3SG-IMPER-sneak.up 3SG-be.afraid
As for Lui, he sneaked up, he was afraid.
- b. *Nava yaviyavi i-kaiaka nakae be ka-na goila*
still heat 3SG-be.there like UNCRT 1PL.EXC-go lest
ka-kamasa.
1PL.EXC-die
The heat is still there so that if we go, we might die.

6.5 RECIPROCAL CLAUSES

When *va-* is prefixed to the verb stem, it encodes the verb for reciprocity. All reciprocal constructions require a plural subject and the verb must be finally intransitive.

- (41) a. *Kidi Ron be Wagowago si-va-lau-lauwo.*
 3PL.PN Ron and Wagowago 3PL-RECP-IMPER-hit
 Ron and Wagowago are hitting each other.
- b. *Tutea-na komu ku-na America ta-va-tai-taiya.*
 time.REF-3SG 2SG.PN 2SG-go America 1PL.INC-RECP-IMPER-cry
 When you go to America we will cry for each other.
- c. *Komu Kelebi a-gite-mi ko-va-siya-siya.*
 2SG.PN Kelebi 1SG-see.TR-2PL 2PL-RECP-IMPER-flee
 I saw you and Kelebi fleeing each other.

Two constructions which are related to the reciprocal *va-* involve the prefixes *gi-* and *vagi-*; *gi-* indicates some type of contest between the subjects. The verb root must be reduplicated when *gi-* is affixed.

- (42) a. *Boile ta-gi-pota-pota go komu ku-kalisave-gu.*
 yesterday 1PL.INC-RECP-IMPER-stare SW 2SG.PN 2SG-win.TR-1SG
 Yesterday we stared at each other (as in a contest) and you won.
- b. *Nava bei ta-gi-lo-lokoina.*
 later PRO 1PL.INC-RECP-IMPER-run
 Later we will run against each other.

The prefix *vagi-* has an alternative form *vagili-* which is used when the verb is not reduplicated. *Vagi-* indicates a plurality of subjects that do something at the same time.

- (43) *Maine tomota si-vagi-pota-pota.*
 earlier people 3PL-RECP-IMPER-stare
 Earlier the people were staring.
- (44) *E go-gomana i-bowo-i-di si-vagili-siya.*
 DEV PL-child 3SG-scold-TR-3PL 3PL-RECP-flee
 Then he scolded the children and they all fled at one time.

6.6 REFLEXIVE CLAUSES

Two types of reflexive clause occur in Gumawana. The first type is the reflexive clause in which the subject volitionally does something to him/herself. It requires a human subject coreferential with the direct object.

- (45) a. *Ko-tagone-mi.*
 1PL-submit.TR-2PL
 You submit yourselves.
- b. *A-vata-yave-gu a-na a-gite.*
 1SG-?-to.bush.TR-1SG 1SG-go 1SG-see.TR
 I will move myself to the bush and see it.
- c. *?Yeu goi a-gabu-gu.*
 fire PP 1SG-burn-1SG
 I burned myself with the fire (intentionally).

Example (45c) would mean that I wanted to burn myself, and it therefore sounds rather unfelicitous. To indicate that the event was an accident a reflexive construction is not

acceptable. Compare (45c) with (46), where the fire, which is an inanimate object, is acting upon the direct object.

- (46) *Yeu i-gabu-gu.*
 fire 3SG-burn-1SG
 The fire burned me.

A second type of reflexive clause is marked with the word *toini-* 'itself', a reflexive pronoun (3.1.5). This is often used with verbs that take the prefix *ta-* (3.1.3.2). Only a certain class of verbs dealing mainly with the destruction or some type of change of state in the object takes the prefix *ta-*.

- (47) a. *Buyala toini-na i-topa (ta-upa).*
 vine itself-3SG 3SG-ST.break (ST-break)
 The vine broke itself.
- b. *Gune-kaleko toini-na i-ta-isa.*
 1SG.POSS-clothing itself-3SG 3SG-ST-tear
 My clothing tore itself.

6.7 IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Certain clauses in Gumawana allow a subject which does not refer to anything in the discourse. These are often referred to as dummy subjects. These types of constructions are marked by the instrumental prefixes *vatu-* or *vata-* (3.2.1). In example (48) the verbs with the third person singular subjects (underlined) have no reference to anything in the real world. For example, in (48b) the verb *i-vatayaegu* 'it goes to the bush with me' can also be stated as *ayava*, and native speakers agree that it has the same meaning as with the dummy subject.

- (48) a. *Nakae i-kosavalimo be kita ta-sou*
 like 3SG-jump.on.fours UNCRT 1PL.INC.PN 1PL.INC-go.down
gamo-da i-vatu-pave-di.
 stomach-1PL.INC.IA 3SG-by.fall-pop.TR-3PL
 He jumps on all fours so we might go down and our stomachs will pop
 by dropping. (lit. ...there will be popping of our stomachs.)
- b. *E kwaiaka be i-vata-yae-gu mae-ko a-taoya.*
 DEV 2SG.remain and 3SG-??-to.bush.TR-1SG above-PL.ADV 1SG-stand
 So you stay and I will go to the bush there above and stand. (lit. ...there will
 be going to the bush with me...)
- c. *Doiya-gu kwaluvile guna-loseyana be muli-gu*
 nephew-1SG.IA 2SG.return.TR 1SG.POSS-heir UNCRT behind-1SG
ko-saku:rikuri ko-kapusi gomana i-vatu-mate.
 2PL-follow.IMPER 2PL-fall child 3SG-by.drop-die.TR
 Return my nephew, my heir. If you follow behind me and you fall he will die.
 (lit. ...there will be killing of him by dropping.)

6.8 CAUSATIVE CLAUSES

In Gumawana there are four causative prefixes: *va-*, *vai-*, *ve-* and *lu-*. It is unclear exactly what the differences are between them and whether or not there are restrictions on which prefix may occur with which verb stems.¹⁵ There are two types of verbs which allow the causatives – those with an initial valence of [DO] (3.2.3.3) and certain initially transitive verbs. In examples (49a), (50a) and (51a) the underlined verb initially has a direct object without a subject. In the (b) examples the same verb occurs with the causative prefix making the verb finally transitive.

- (49) a. *A-kapusi a-sou a-sipula.*
 1SG-stumble 1SG-go.down 1SG-roll
 I stumbled and rolled down.
- b. *Bolo a-va-sipul-i.*
 ball 1SG-CAUS-roll-TR
 I rolled the ball.
- (50) a. *Kubu-gu i-patu.*
 nose-1SG 3SG-be.enclose
 My nose is plugged.
- b. *Vada a-va-patu-di.*
 house 1SG-CAUS-enclose-3PL
 I enclose the houses.
- (51) a. *Yau a-togaga.*
 1SG.PN 1SG-be.strong
 I am strong.
- b. *A-va-togage-mu.*
 1SG-CAUS-be.strong.TR-2SG
 I strengthen you.

Most of these verbs allow the transitive marker *i-* when the causative prefix occurs. Some verbs require the co-occurrence of *-ye* with the causative prefix.

- (52) a. *A-na udodana goi a-tagau.*
 1SG-go bush PP 1SG-be.lost
 I went to the bush and was lost.
- b. *I-gu-buki a-va-tagau-ye.*
 CON-1SG-book 1SG-CAUS-be.lost-OAD.TR
 I lost my necklace.
- (53) a. *Gomana i-tu-sobu.*
 child 3SG-by.sit-down
 The child sat down.
- b. *Gomana a-va-tu-sobu-ye.*
 child 1SG-CAUS-by.sit-down-OAD.TR
 I sat the child down.

¹⁵With regard to the corresponding prefixes in Tawala, see Ezard (this volume).

The causative *vai-* has only been found on the verbs *-polu* 'boil' and *-siu* 'enter/go through'.

- (54) a. *Vaega i-polu.*
 pot 3SG-boil
 The pot boiled.
- b. *Kuvi a-vai-polu-di.*
 yam 1SG-CAUS-boil-3PL
 I boiled the yams.
- (55) a. *Nima-na i-siu.*
 hand-3SG 3SG-go.through
 His hand went through.
- b. *Dogoi i-vai-siu.*
 thing 3SG-CAUS-go.through(TR)
 He put the thing through.

Likewise the causative *lu-* has only been found on a few verbs such as *-kavava* 'be finished'.

- (56) a. *A-paisewa i-kavava...*
 1SG-work 3SG-be.finished
 When I finish my work...
- b. *Guna-paisewa a-lu-kavave...*
 1SG.POSS-work 1SG-CAUS-be.finished.TR
 I finished my work...

The last causative prefix, *ve-*, appears to derive verbs from nouns.

- (57) a. *Vavina natu-na i-kamasa.*
 woman child-3SG.IA 3SG-die
 The woman's child died.
- b. *Vavina i-ve-natuna.*
 woman 3SG-CAUS-child
 The woman gave birth.
- c. *Sina-gu i-ve-natun-i-gu.*
 mother-1SG 3SG-CAUS-TR-1SG
 My mother gave birth to me.
- (58) a. *Ame tama-gu.*
 this father-1SG
 This is my father.
- b. *Tau-ya-na i-ve-tamane-mu.*
 person-REF-3SG 3SG-CAUS-father.TR-2SG
 He fathered me.

The second type of causative construction involves those verbs that are initially transitive. The causative prefix has the meaning of 'help' rather than of causation on these verbs. The verb is detransitivised with the antipassive (6.9.4), then the causative construction is applied,

increasing the verb's valence by one. The initial subject is the final direct object, as in the (b) examples below. The (a) examples illustrate the intransitive form of the verbs.

- (59) a. *Geya i-toboine-mu-ta vaega ku-kavala.*
 NEG 3SG-be.possible.TR-2SG-LIM clay 2SG-carry
 It is not possible for you to carry clay.
- b. *A-va-kavale-mu.*
 1SG-CAUS-carry.TR-2SG
 I helped you carry (it).
- (60) a. *Yau a-na a-paisewa.*
 1SG.PN 1SG-go 1SG-work
 I went to work.
- b. *Komu ku-va-paisewe-gu.*
 2SG.PN 2SG-CAUS-work.TR-1SG
 You helped me work.
- (61) a. *Bwae a-nimu.*
 water 1SG-drink(TR)
 I drank the water.
- b. *Bwae a-va-nimu-di.*
 water 1SG-CAUS-drink-3PL
 I gave them a drink.

6.9 RELATION-CHANGING DEVICES

There are various relation-changing devices in the clause structure of Gumawana. In referring to these, those grammatical relations which move up on the following hierarchy are said to have 'advanced', those that move down are said to 'retreat':

subject > direct object > indirect object > obliques

6.9.1 POSSESSOR ASCENSION

In this section I present a construction known as possessor ascension. The (a) examples below illustrate typical body-part idioms. In the (b) examples the body part is incorporated into the verb and the possessor is the subject. In (62c) possessor ascension results in a new finally transitive verb whose direct object indicates what the person is afraid of.

- (62) a. *Ate-gu i-yova.*
 liver-1SG.IA 3SG-fly
 I am worried/afraid. (lit. My liver flies.)
- b. *A-kate-yova.*
 1SG-liver-fly
 I am worried.
- c. *Moteta a-kate-yova-e.*
 snake 1SG-liver-fly-OAD.TR
 I am afraid of the snake.

- (63) a. *Nuwo-na i-mou.*
 mind-3SG.IA 3SG-heavy
 He is sad. (lit. His mind is heavy.)
- b. *I-nuwo-mou.*
 3SG-mind-heavy
 He is sad.

In ‘possessor ascension’ the possessor of a possessive construction is raised to become the argument of the verb. In Gumawana, a rule of noun incorporation is required when the possessor ascends. This is (63a) (*k*)*ategu* ‘my liver’¹⁶ is the subject of *-yova* ‘to fly’. In (63b) the possessor of (63a) is raised or ascends (thus possessor ascension) to become the subject and the bare noun stem *kate* is incorporated. This is no longer a very productive construction in Gumawana and is restricted to body parts. A number of body-part idioms allow both forms, while the majority are fixed as idioms or lexicalised in the incorporated verbal state. This use of possessor ascension to promote the affected participant in a body-part idiom into a “primary case role” is cross-linguistically quite common, according to Mithun (1984:858-860).

Some forms that have been lexicalised are still transparent. In (64a) and (64b) the noun incorporation is transparent but the idioms from which they must be derived (64c, 64d) are not longer heard.

- (64) a. *A-mu-mani a-nuwoi-lave.*
 PASS-2SG-money 1SG-mind-throw.TR
 I forgot your money.
- b. *Memea ku-mata-kavate.*
 baby 2SG-eye-hold.TR
 You watch the baby.
- c. **nuwo-gu i-lova*
 mind-1SG.IA 3SG-throw
- d. **mata-mu i-kavata*
 eye-2SG.IA 3SG-hold

Other body-part idioms will not allow incorporation of the overt noun but do allow the incorporation of another noun to give the same meaning. For example, (65a) is a typical body-part idiom. Both (65a) and (65b) have the same meaning, but the incorporated noun in (b) is different from that of the free form in (a), whilst (c) and (d) do not occur.

- (65) a. *Sopa-na i-makimaki.*
 lip-3SG.IA 3SG-be.firm
 He argued/persisted. (lit. his lip was firm)
- b. *I-kao-makimaki.*
 3SG-mouth-be.firm
 He argued/persisted.
- c. **I-sopa-makimaki.*
- d. **Ao-gu i-makimaki.*

¹⁶See the rule of *k*-deletion in section 2.3.6.

It is interesting to note that in the body-part idioms a closer bond than usual is found between the subject (body part) and the verb. When the body-part idiom is negated, two possible word orders are found. The negative particle *geya* normally occurs next to the verb (see 8.5), but in body-part idioms we find it can occur either before the verb (66a) or before the body part (66b).

- (66) a. *Ate-mu geya i-yoveta.*
 liver-2SG.IA NEG 3Sg-fly.LIM
 Don't be afraid.
- b. *Geya ate-mu i-yoveta.*
 NEG liver-2SG.IA 3SG-fly.LIM
 Don't be afraid.

In other constructions it is ungrammatical for the negation particle to occur before the subject, as it does in (66a) above. This is indicative of a closer than usual relationship between the subject and the verb in a body-part idiom, and it is apparently this relationship which results in the fact that possessor ascension occurs only with body-part idioms.

In summary, Gumawana manifests two historical stages of the noun incorporation process. Firstly, there are those body-part idioms which allow incorporation and possessor ascension. Secondly, there are those that are lexicalised as verbs with a transparent prefix being a body part.

6.9.2 OBLIQUE ADVANCEMENTS TO DO WITH *-ko*

In examples (67a), (68a) and (69a) the verb is finally intransitive and the goal of the verb is marked by *yai*. In the (b) examples *yai* no longer occurs and the goal has advanced to direct object. For examples such as (69b) the verb *mwera* 'to climb' is initially transitive but is detransitivised by means of the antipassive (6.9.4). This leaves the verb intransitive, allowing an oblique advancement to direct object.

- (67) a. *A-lokoina a-na Kelebi yai-na.*
 1SG-run 1SG-go Kelebi GOAL-3SG
 I run to Kelebi.
- b. *Kelebi a-lokoina-ko.*
 Kelebi 1SG-run-GOAL(TR)
 I run to Kelebi.
- (68) a. *A-siya a-na tomota yai-di.*
 1SG-flee 1SG-go people GOAL-3PL
 I flee to the people.
- b. *Tomota a-siya-ko-i-di.*
 people 1SG-flee-GOAL-TR-3PL
 I flee to the people.
- (69) a. *Alova a-mwela a-o yai-mu.*
 tree 1SG-climb 1SG-go GOAL-3SG
 I climb on the tree to you.

- b. *Alova a-mwela-ko-i-mu.*
 tree 1SG-climb-GOAL-TR-2SG
 I climb up to you on the tree.

6.9.3 OBLIQUE ADVANCEMENTS TO DO WITH -ye

In this section advancements which involve the oblique advancement (OAD) marker *-ye* are examined. In examples (70a) and (71a) the verb is intransitive and the oblique is flagged with either *yai* or *ma-*. In the (b) examples *-ye* registers the verb for oblique advancement.

- (70) a. *A-siya yai-mu.*
 1SG-flee SOURCE-2SG
 I flee from you.
- b. *A-siya-e-mu.*
 1SG-flee-OAD.TR-2SG
 I flee from you.
- (71) a. *Ma-(i)-gu-sisi a-siya.*
 COM-CON-1SG-machete 1SG-flee
 I flee with my machete.
- b. *Sisi a-siya-e.*
 machete 1SG-flee-OAD.TR
 I flee with my machete.

The advancement must occur out of an intransitive stratum. Thus certain verbs that allow antipassive will also allow an oblique advancement. In (72a) the verb *liwola* is both initially and finally transitive. In (72b) it is finally intransitive due to antipassivisation. However, in (72c) there is an advancement of the oblique argument to direct object.

- (72) a. *Tomota a-liwole-di.*
 people 1SG-exhort.TR-3PL
 I exhort the people.
- b. *Paisewa manu-na a-liwola.*
 work CONTENT-3SG 1SG-exhort
 I exhorted about the work.
- c. *Paisewa a-liwola-e.*
 work 1SG-exhort-OAD.TR
 I exhorted about the work.

Note that the third person singular transitive suffix in (72c) is zero. However, three tests can be applied to show clearly that verbs in *-ye* are transitive.

In (73a) the verb is intransitive and the object taken in is marked with the comitative *ma-*; (73b) is ungrammatical because finally intransitive verbs do not allow object markers; (73c) illustrates the advancement to direct object.

- (73) a. *Ma-i-gu-buki a-siu.*
 COM-CON-1SG-book 1SG-enter
 I entered with my book.

- b. **Buki a-siu-di.*
book 1SG-enter-3PL
- c. *I-gu-buki a-siu-ye-di.*
CON-1SG-book 1SG-enter-OAD.TR-3PL
I entered with my books.

The second test entails negation constructions which require the suffix *-ita* on the verb to limit the scope of negation to a single occasion (8.5.1). One of the allomorphs of *-ita* is *-yeta* /-ia-i-ta/, where /-ia-/ is the third person singular object marker (see 2.4.2). If in fact such verbs as those in (70b), (71b) and (72c) are finally transitive we would expect to find *-yeta* on them when the third person singular occurs. In (74a) the verb takes the negative suffix *-yeta*, indicating that there is a third person singular object – that is, that the verb in *-ye* is transitive. In (74b) note that the suffix *-ita* has coalesced with the final stem vowel *-a* of *siya* to form *-e-*. Both (74c) and (74d) are ungrammatical since the wrong allomorph of /-ita/ occurs.

- (74) a. *Kalitoni geya a-siya-e-yeta.*
Kalitoni NEG 1SG-flee-OAD.TR-LIM
I didn't flee from Kalitoni.
- b. *Geya a-siyeta Kalitoni yai-na.*
NEG 1SG-flee.LIM Kalitoni SOURCE-3SG
I didn't flee from Kalitoni.
- c. **Kalitoni geya a-siya-e-ta.*
- d. **Geya a-siya-yeta Kalitoni yai-na.*

The third transitivity test entails the reason suffixes (discussed in 3.2.6). These are not fully understood at this time, but they do provide a test of final transitivity. If the verb is finally intransitive the suffix is *-ye* and if transitive *-ko*. Those verbs that allow the advancement marker *-ye* should therefore allow the reason suffix *-ko*. The verb in (75a) takes *-ko*, indicating that it is finally transitive. In (75b) the verb is finally intransitive and therefore takes the suffix *-ye*. Note that (75c) is ungrammatical, since the verb is finally transitive but has the reason suffix for finally intransitive verbs.

- (75) a. *Sisi kaga ku-mwela-e-ko?*
machete what 2SG-climb-OAD-REA(TR)
Why did you go up with the machete?
- b. *Kaga ku-mwela-e?*
what 2SG-climb-REA
Why did you climb up?
- c. **Sisi kaga ku-mwera-e-ye?*

From the above arguments it is clear that those verbs which take the *-ye* advancement marker have increased their valence by one, thus making them finally transitive. The same arguments can be applied to the final transitivity of verbs showing advancement with *-ko*.

One last aspect of the advancement of obliques to direct object is their function. When the oblique is advanced to direct object, the subject of the verb exercises more control over the object in question. Example (76a) indicates that the subject must have used some degree of

force or at least exercised his own volition to get the child into the house, whereas (76b) indicates that the child went in under his own volition.

- (76) a. *Gomana vada goi a-siu-ye.*
 child house PP 1SG-enter-OAD.TR
 I entered the house with the child. (lit. I entered the child into the house.)
- b. *Vada goi ka-siu gomana taiyao.*
 house PP 1PL.EXC-enter child COM
 The child and I entered the house together.

6.9.4 ANTIPASSIVE

Certain transitive verbs may be detransitivised by means of the antipassive.¹⁷ Loss of the transitive marker *-i* signals the antipassive. The purpose of the antipassive in Gumawana is to place the focus of the clause on the action of the verb rather than on the object. Verbs which are antipassive indicate that the action is done in a very general way to indefinite, non-specific objects. The definiteness of the nominal determines whether the verb is finally transitive or whether it is antipassive. Definiteness is marked in Gumawana by means of a demonstrative, a numeral or the reference marker *-ya* (5.1.7).

Examples (77) – (80) illustrate the differences between the antipassive and its transitive counterpart. In the (a) examples the nominal is definite and requires the verb to agree with it in person and number. In contrast, the (b) examples illustrate the antipassive verb, which indicates a general non-specific activity with the verb finally intransitive. Mithun (1984) shows that often languages will allow this kind of construction only with institutionalised events, and this may well also be the case in Gumawana.

- (77) a. *Iyana tayamo a-ginubasi.*
 fish one 1SG-spear(TR)
 I speared a fish.
- b. *Iyana a-ginubasina.*
 fish 1SG-spear
 I fish-speared.
- (78) a. *Kuvi amo a-bagul-i.*
 yam that 1SG-plant-TR
 I planted that yam.
- b. *A-na a-bagula.*
 1SG-go 1SG-plant
 I am going to (yam) plant.
- (79) a. *Simwai-ya-na bogina a-teui.*
 sweet.potato-REF-3SG PRF 1SG-peel(TR)
 I have peeled the sweet potato.
- b. *A-teuina i-kavava, bei a-vai-polu.*
 1SG-peel 3SG-be.finished PRO 1SG-CAUS-boil
 When I am done (yam) peeling, then I am going to (yam) boil.

¹⁷See Postal (1977) for arguments that accusative languages may have an antipassive.

- (80) a. *Magi tayamo a-lusale.*
 betel.nut one 1SG-search.for.TR
 I searched for one betel nut.
- b. *Magi a-lusala.*
 betel.nut 1SG-search.for
 I searched for betel nut.

There are many verbs which allow the antipassive construction, some of which are:

- (81)
- | | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>akatubayasina</i> | I prepare |
| <i>agiwala</i> | I spit |
| <i>abagala</i> | I wrong |
| <i>asayoyova</i> | I rinse |
| <i>atuyawata</i> | I wait |
| <i>ayoita</i> | I hold |
| <i>agininina</i> | I write |
| <i>avainawana</i> | I steal |
| <i>akatuyaivina</i> | I read/count |
| <i>asopuna</i> | I plant |
| <i>avatulukwana</i> | I teach |
| <i>awowokana</i> | I accuse |

The antipassive construction is very productive in Gumawana. However, I have found that for verb roots ending in [n] most speakers are no longer using the unmarked antipassive form. Those verbs require an epenthetic [-a] (2.3.8). The transitive form has a rule of /n/ deletion (2.3.9). From the data I have collected it is apparent that in the antipassive forms the final syllable *-na* may be disappearing. Most speakers agree that (82a) and (82b) are the same and that (82c) is different. What has happened in (a), I believe, is that the final syllable *-na* has been lost. Both (a) and (b) are heard but (a) is becoming more common. Speakers also agree that (c) is transitive.

- (82) a. *Vaega ka-eli.*
 clay 1PL.EXC-dig
 We clay-dig.
- b. *Vaega ka-elina.*
 clay 1PL.EXC-dig
 We clay-dig.
- c. *Vaegea-na ka-eli.*
 clay.REF-3SG 1PL.EXC-dig(TR)
 We dug the clay.

Negation constructions shed light on the changes; *-ita* is suffixed to verbs when negated (8.5). The allomorph *-yeta* is found only on finally transitive verbs with the third person singular objects. According to native speakers, (83a) and (83b) mean the same. Notice the negation on (83a) is that for finally intransitive verbs as in (83b). In (83c), however, we find *-yeta* and the meaning is different as well. The differences may be accounted for by loss of the syllable *-na*.

- (83) a. *Vaega geya ka-eli-ta.*
 clay NEG 1PL.EXC-dig-LIM
 We didn't clay-dig.
- b. *Vaega geya ka-elineta.*
 clay NEG 1PL.EXC-dig.LIM
 We didn't clay-dig.
- c. *Vaegea-na geya ka-eli-yeta.*
 clay.REF-3SG NEG 1PL.EXC-dig-LIM
 We didn't dig the clay.
- (84) a. *I-vayali i-na dobala Omanao goi a-na-iyana i-ginubasina.*
 3SG-walk.shore 3SG-go there Omanao PP EAT-3SG-fish 3SG-spear
 He walked along the shore and went to Omanao where he fish-speared.
- b. *Ka-paisewa vatuta ka-ki-totomoina.*
 1PL.EXC-work folktale 1PL.EXC-by.hand-straight
 We worked on folktale straightening.
- c. *I-ma-kadi ka-kabi-di, ka-tu-tuyawata.*
 CON-1PL.EXC-card 1PL.EXC-get-3PL 1PL.EXC-IMPER-wait
 We got our cards and were waiting.

6.9.5 DIRECT OBJECT TO SUBJECT ADVANCEMENT

A certain class of verbs in Gumawana have the relational valence of [(S), DO] (3.1.3.2). When there is no subject initially, the direct object obligatorily advances to subject; thus the notional direct object is referenced on the verb as subject.

In examples (85a), (86a) and (87a), the verb is finally transitive. However, in the (b) sentences the notional direct object is marked on the verb as subject and the verb is finally intransitive, as the absence of the transitive marker indicates.

- (85) a. *Boile iyana ka-kone-di.*
 yesterday fish 1PL.EXC-trap.TR-3PL
 Yesterday we trapped many fish.
- b. *Iyana bogina si-kona.*
 fish PRF 3PL-trap
 The fish are already trapped.
- (86) a. *Totomu ku-katupaeve.*
 doorway 2SG-open.TR
 Open the door.
- b. *Totomu bogina i-katupaeva.*
 doorway PRF 3SG-open
 The door is already open.
- (87) a. *Moe kubu-gu i-gede.*
 that nose-1SG.IA 3SG-hurt.TR
 That there hurts my nose.

- b. *Ae-gu i-geda.*
 leg-1SG.IA 3SG-hurt
 My leg hurts.

A further test of their final intransitivity is the negation affix. If finally intransitive, we would expect *-ita* to coalesce with the final vowel of the verb stem, and this is the case.

- (88) a. *Ae-gu geya i-gedeta.*
 leg-1SG.IA NEG 3SG-hurt.LIM
 My leg does not hurt.

- b. *Totomu geya i-katupaeveta.*
 doorway NEG 3SG-open
 The doorway is not open.

When (86a) and (87a) are negated we would expect *-yeta* to occur, marking final transitivity. This is indeed what occurs.

- (89) a. *Totomu geya a-katupaeve-yeta.*
 doorway NEG 1SG-open.TR-LIM
 I did not open the door.

- b. *Kubu-gu geya i-gede-yeta.*
 nose-1SG.IA NEG 3SG-hurt.TR-LIM
 It did not hurt my nose.

There are many areas of Gumawana clause structure that need further investigation. The above analysis is only a beginning to understanding the structure of Gumawana clauses.

7. COMBINATIONS OF PREDICATIONS

This section is an account of the various ways in which clauses are combined. (Note, however, that relative clauses, which always function as part of a noun phrase, are described under phrase structure in 5.1.7.)

7.1 COORDINATION

The morphemes used to coordinate clauses are *be*, *go*, *baige*, *gobe* and the negative morpheme *geya* (8.5).

The coordinating conjunctions *be* and *go* tend to be attached to the verb which precedes them, rather than to the following clause. In other words, there is often a pause after the conjunction rather than before it, unlike English. Schachter (1985) holds that coordinating conjunctions can be characterised as either postpositional or prepositional in character, and that their character is "quite systematically associated with the language's general word-order characteristics" (1985:47). This association holds true for Gumawana: it has verb-final clause structure and postpositions in adpositional phrases, and its coordinating conjunctions also behave postpositionally.

The first coordinating conjunction is *be*. It joins clauses or noun phrases of equal rank.

- (1) ...*komu Ulogu dadavi-na goi ku-na be ta-lusala moku.*
 2SG.PN Ulogu side-3SG.IA PP 2SG-go and 1PL.INC-search bait
 ...you go to the Ulogu side and we will search for bait...

In the following examples a comma indicates where the pause occurs in relation to the conjunction.

- (2) a. *Noko i-kalave go, i-kaluvila mone-na.*
 plate 3SG-leave.TR SW 3SG-return spouse-3SG.IA
 He left the plate and he returned to his wife.
- b. *I-vakau go, dokanikani-ya-na bogina i-sou i-ma.*
 3SG-tie SW giant-REF-3SG PRF 3SG-descend 3SG-come
 He tied (it) and the giant had descended.

The main function of *go* is 'switch of attention' (SW); this may be a change of either subject or event. It is most commonly used to indicate a switch of event.

- (3) a. *Kwaiyaka go yau a-na.*
 2SG.stay SW 1SG.PN 1SG-go
 You stay but I'm going.
- b. ...*a-vai-polu go a-va-nunu.*
 1SG-CAUS-boil SW 1SG-CAUS-nurse(TR)
 ..I will boil (the food) and I will nurse him.
- c. *Yau bego a-na Wadalei go tama-gu i-katowana.*
 1SG.PN IRR 1SG-go Wadalei SW father-1SG.IA 3SG-be.sick
 I intended to go to Wadalei but my father is sick.

Go is also used when there is a switch from a positive to a negative clause.

- (4) *Sabamugo tayamo koloto si-na si-mwela, Nabodimomu*
 night one man 3PL-go 3PL-climb Nabodimomu
ma-buwo-na go nubai-na Silekaleka geya
 COM-gift-3SG.IA SW cousin-3SG.IA Silekaleka NEG
ma-buwo-na-mo.
 COM-gift-3SG.IA-any
 One night men went and climbed up (in the house); Nabodimomu had a gift
 but her cousin Silekaleka did not have any gift.

The conjunction *go* is also used to encode the notion of contrast where English would use a comparative construction.

- (5) a. *Yau manawe-gu (go) komu kakupi-mu.*
 1SG.PN tall-1SG SW 2SG.PN short-2SG
 I am taller than you. (lit. I am a tall but/and you are short.)
- b. *Komu i-mu-vada gagai-na (go) yau giyai-na.*
 2SG.PN CON-2SG-house big-3SG SW 1SG.PN small-3SG
 Your house is bigger than mine. (lit. Your big house but/and mine small.)

The coordination of clauses in temporal sequence (English 'and then') is marked in Gumawana by one of two morphemes:

<i>baige</i>	'then' + presupposed information
<i>bobe</i>	'then' + new information

If *baige* is used, it signals that the information in the preceding clause is new, while that in the clause introduced by *baige* is given. If *gobe* is used, it signals that the information in the preceding clause is given, while that in the clause introduced by *gobe* is new. *Gobe* probably consists of the morphemes *go*, marking a switch of attention, and *be* 'uncertainty' (8.3.1.1). They are written together since speakers consider them one word.

In (6a) the speaker responds to the comment 'Let's work'. The first clause is thus new information and *baige* introduces given information. In (6b) the person is responding to the comment 'Give me your cigarette to smoke', and so the first clause is given information and *gobe* introduces new information.

- (6) a. *A-pwaiyuyu i-kavava, baige ta-paisewa.*
 1SG-smoke 3SG-be.finished then 1PL.INC-work
 We will work after I have smoked.
- b. *Ku-pwaiyuyu i-kavava, gobe ta-na ta-uwata.*
 2SG-smoke 3SG-be.finished then 1PL.INC-go 1PL.INC-net
 After you smoke, then we will go netting.

The negative marker *geya* is used to conjoin clauses, and in such cases it functions as 'or'.

- (7) *Be ku-ma geya ku-kaiyaka?*
 UNCRT 2SG-come or 2SG-remain
 Are you coming or are you staying?

7.2 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS

Gumawana has several sentence introducers. These are similar in function to coordinating conjunctions, but begin new sentences rather than conjoining them to the preceding clause.

There are two sentence introducers derived from *go* (7.1), namely *ago* and *ego*. Like *go*, they mark switch of attention, and sometimes, as in (8), *go* is used sentence initially where *ago* is expected. Intonation drops at the end of the first clause, indicating a new sentence in the second.

- (8) *I-kapatu go dokanikani-ya-na i-na i-kaisikoko go*
 3SG-close SW giant-REF-3SG 3SG-go 3SG-gather SW
vavinea-na bebegula sinae-na goi i-kaiaka.
 woman.REF-3SG cave inside-3SG.IA PP 3SG-remain
Go dokanikani-ya-na i-kaluvila i-ma...
 SW giant-REF-3SG 3SG-return 3SG-come
 It closed and the giant went to gather (food) but the woman remained inside
 of the cave. And the giant returned...

In (9) *ago* marks a switch of action.

- (9) *Lava liliu-na (dokanikani) i-nonoi-na i-kabela.*
 time all-3SG.IA (giant) 3SG-IMPER-go 3SG-fish

Ago i-ma, tayamo sinapu-ya-na...

SW 3SG-come one custom-REF-3SG

All of the time the giant was going fishing. But he would come, his one custom...

The form *ego* introduces flashback – that is, a switch to significant background information. Thus the event after *ego* in (10) took place at the same time or earlier than the preceding event.

- (10) *Bogina niyala i-saliu, vanuwo i-ka-mamaniwana, go-gomanea-di*
PRF sun 3SG-set village 3SG-INCH-dark PL-child.REF-3PL

alovea-na una-na goi si-masisi. Ego kidi
tree.REF-3SG base-3SG.IA PP 3PL-sleep SW 3SG.PN

sina-di be tama-di si-tuma-dadana geya,
mother-3PL.IA and father-3PL.IA 3PL-beckon-unseen NEG

si-lusala.

3PL-search

The sun had set, the village became dark and the children slept at the base of the tree. And meanwhile their mother and father beckoned – but nothing – they searched.

In order to indicate a switch in subject a pronoun coreferential with the subject is sometimes fronted before *go*.

- (11) a. *Kina go dokanikani i-na i-kabela.*
3SG.PN SW giant 3SG-go 3SG-fish

Now the giant went fishing.

- b. *...go Silekaleka kewou i-siya-e go maiine*
SW Silekaleka canoe 3SG-flee-OAD.TR SW earlier

niu bogina i-nonom-i i-kabi, i-kalisobuye.
coconut PRF 3SG-tie 3SG-get(TR) 3SG-drop.TR

Iya go Nabodimomu nimowo-ya-na i-kabi, i-ma...
3SG.PN SW Nabodimomu shell-REF-3SG 3SG-get(TR) 3SG-come

...and Silekaleka fled with the cane and she got the coconuts which she had tied earlier and dropped it. As for Nabodimomu, she got the shell and came...

The same type of construction is used when indicating a switch in the temporal setting. In (12) the temporal word *niga* ‘afterwards’ is fronted before *go*, changing the temporal setting from that of the preceding clauses.

- (12) *(Weniya) si-gou-gou si-gou-gou, koloto i-ma*
dog 3PL-IMPER-bark 3PL-IMPER-bark man 3SG-come

i-na-numonuwona ka-na, “Nakona bao”.

CON-3SG-thinking talk-3SG.IA perhaps pig

Niga go i-ma i-gite-di go-gomanea-di.

afterwards SW 3SG-come 3SG-see.TR-3PL PL-child.REF-3PL

The dogs were barking and the man came thinking, “Perhaps it is a pig”.
But afterwards he came and saw the children.

In (13) *niga* is again used, and a new temporal setting (*lavilavi* 'evening') is also stated overtly after *go*.

- (13) *Ago (dokanikani) i-ma, tayamo sinapu-ya-na iyana*
 SW giant 3SG-come one custom-REF-3SG fish

Sipwena i-kawanoi, geya i-vini-vini. Niga
 Sipwena 3SG-ask NEG 3SG-IMPER-give(TR) afterwards

go lavilavi si-vai-polu ava-na, nakae.

SW evening 3PL-CAUS-boil food-3SG.IA like

And he (the giant) came, and one of his customs was that Sipwena would ask for fish but he never gave to him. Afterwards, however, in the evening they (the giant and his wife) would cook his (Sipwena's) food, thus (it was).

A strong adversative is encoded by means of *go* followed by *semu* 'however'.

- (14) a. *Yau be Siyokila kokona ka-gite-gite, neta*
 1SG.PN and Siyokila crazy.person 1PL.EXC-IMPER-see if

i-ma bei ka-yois-i.
 3SG-come PRO 1PL.EXC-catch-TR

Go semu komi ame tuta ko-lokoina ko-na asa.

SW however 2PL.PN this time 2PL-run 2PL-go village

Siyokila and I are watching for the crazy person; if he comes we are going to catch him. But right now you run to the village.

- b. *...masigava ku-yato-i-di. Go semu i-mu-nuwonuwona*
 far.away 2SG-set-TR-3PL SW however CON-2SG-thought

ku-vini-ma.
 2SG-give-1PL.EXC

...put them far away. However, give us your thoughts.

- c. *O dedei-na tuwo. Go semu pakiki moe giyai-na*
 oh good-3SG enough SW however fish.name that small-3SG

ku-vini-gu.
 2SG-give-1SG

Oh that's fine. However, give me that small *pakiki* fish.

The negation word *geya* may function not only as a coordinating conjunction (7.1) but also as a sentence introducer. It indicates that the expectation of the previous sentence is negated. In (15) the child is told to stay. The last sentence is introduced with *geya* indicating that this event took place instead of what was proposed in the preceding sentences.

- (15) *E yau gomanea-na a-lituwoko ka-gu,*
 DEV 1SG.PN child.REF-3SG 1SG-tell(TR) talk-1SG.IA

"Sina-da ku-gite-gite. Ago yau
 mother-1PL.INC.IA 2SG-IMPER-watch.TR SW 1SG.PN

a-na Boleigana a-gite". Ago gomana i-matoita i-taiya.
 1SG.go Boleigana 1SG-see.TR SW child 3SG-be.afraid 3SG-cry

Geya, taiyao ka-sou ka-na.
 NEG COM 1PL.EXC-go.down 1PL.EXC-go
 So I told that child: "You watch our mother. And I will go and see Boleigana".
 But the child was afraid and cried. So instead we went down together.

The sentence introducer *tuwo* 'enough' is used to mark new units of information unrelated to previous sentences. Thus in the last sentence of (16) the giants go off, but this is not a direct result of what took place in the preceding sentences.

- (16) (*Dokanikani*) *si-digo ka-di, "Sina-ma i-tomo*
 (giant) 3PL-say talk-3PL.IA mother-1PL.EXC.IA 3SG-be.tomorrow
nakae. Ku-na ku-isiwo go a-ma iyana si-kamasa
 like 2SG-go 2SG-wash SW EAT-1PL.EXC fish 3PL-die
ku-kabi-di ku-kaivae-di ka-ma bogina ka-kaika".
 2SG-get-3PL 2SG-dry.TR-3PL 1PL.EXC-come PRF 1PL.EXC-eat
Sina-di i-digo ka-na, "I-tomo baige".
 mother-3PL.IA 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA 3SG-be.tomorrow then
Tuwo dokanikani-ya-di si-mwela i-di vada goi si-kaivesi.
 well giant-REF-3PL 3PL-climb CON-3PL house PP 3PL-sing
 The giants said, "Our mother, tomorrow the same. You go wash and when our
 fish die, you get them and dry them. When we have come, we'll eat them".
 Their mother said, "Tomorrow then (I will)". Well, the giants climbed up into
 their houses to sing.

Tuwo also marks expected information within an episode. In (17) the house opens as would be expected.

- (17) *Vanuwo i-tomo dokanikani-ya-na ka-na, "Yau*
 village 3SG-be.tomorrow giant-REF-3SG talk-3SG.IA 1SG.PN
a-na a-kaisikoko". Tuwo ka-na, "Bolakanaikanai".
 1SG-go 1SG-gather(food) NONDEV talk-3SG.IA open
Tuwo vada i-kanai.
 NONDEV house 3SG-open
 The next day the giant said, "I am going to go gather (food)". So he said,
 "Open". So the house opened.

Another sentence introducer found in Gumawana is *e* 'so'. It introduces new, significant or distinct information. In a story about a giant that has a woman captive, the woman tries to open the cave door in the same way that the giant has (see example (17) above). Because it is the first time it occurs it is new and distinct information. The result is given in (18).

- (18) (*Nabodimomu*) *ka-na, "Bolakanai". E vadea-na i-kanai.*
 Nabodimomu talk-3SG.IA open DEV house.REF-3SG 3SG-open
 (Nabodimomu) she said, "Open!" And the house (door) opened.

The sentence introducer *e* is glossed 'DEV', for developmental marker, because it introduces a new step in the development of a story, in contrast to *tuwo* in (17), glossed 'NONDEV' because the event is expected and not a new development.

The morpheme *tauna* introduces a concluding statement. It is functionally similar to English 'therefore'. It states the result of or conclusion to a command or proposal, as in the following excerpt from a story called *Silekaleka*. It is conclusive in that the sentences which follow are picking up the story at a different point. This contrasts with the use of *tuwo*, which expects more to follow, whereas *tauna* does not.

In (19a) the adverbial clause is introduced with *tauna*. Note that in (19b) the final sentence begins with *e*, the developmental marker, indicating that the story is moving to new and significant information. Thus *tauna* in the previous sentence is conclusive.

- (19) a. *Ate-ma i-yova gagai-na unana vanuwo*
liver-1PL.EXC.IA 3SG-fly big-3SG because place
madaboki-na i-mamaniwan. Tauna ka-matoita gagai-na...
all-3SG.IA 3SG-be.dark RESULT 1PL.EXC-be.afraid big-3SG
We were worried a lot because all of the village was dark, therefore we were very afraid...
- b. *Gumasai-ya-na geya tayamo niu-na o siya-na*
Gumasai-REF-3SG NEG one sister-3SG.IA or brother-3SG.IA
geya. Tauna sina-na taiyao a-di-tai-yuwo
NEG RESULT mother-3SG.IA COM PASS-3PL-man-two
si-kaiaka. E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i...
3PL-live DEV time one Guyau pig 3SG-catch-TR
Gumasai didn't have any sisters or brothers. Therefore he and his mother, the two of them, lived together. Now one time Guyau caught a pig...

If the result is already known by the hearer, *tauna* is used. When used in this way chiasmus often occurs as in (20), where (b') and (a') repeat in reversed sequence information from (a) and (b). In (b') *tauna* introduces the given information.

- (20) a. *E go toni-kasa si-taiya,*
DEV SW owner-village 3PL-cry
- b. *nukoto-di i-mou*
throat-3PL.IA 3SG-be.heavy
- c. *unana kunumana bego ka-kalae-di*
because sago IRR 1PL.EXC-leave.TR-3PL
- b'. *tauna nukoto-di i-mou,*
RESULT throat-3PL.IA 3SG-be.heavy
- a'. *si-taiya.*
3PL-cry
So the residents cried, they were sad because we were going to leave the sago, therefore they were sad and they cried.

7.3 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Thompson and Longacre (1985:177) find two basic types of adverbial clauses in the world's languages: (1) "clauses substitutable for by a single word"; and (2) "clauses not substitutable for by a single word". The first group consists of time, location and manner

adverbial clauses. The latter includes purpose clauses, conditionals and others. The distinction between these two (p.177) is that “languages have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs expressing the time, location, and manner relationships, but they do not have such adverbs expressing purpose, reason, concession, etc.”. Those in the first group are discussed in section 7.3.1. In section 7.3.2 those in group two are presented.

7.3.1 SUBSTITUTABLE CLAUSES

7.3.1.1 TIME

There are several subordinating conjunctions which introduce temporal adverbial clauses:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|
| (21) | <i>tuteana</i> | when | (lit. the time) |
| | <i>laveana</i> | when | (lit. the time) |
| | <i>anatuwana</i> | until | (lit. its boundary) |
| | <i>namuliyeta</i> | afterwards | |

Example (22) illustrates time adverbial clauses introduced by *tuteana* /*tuta-ia-na*/ and *laveana* /*lava-ia-na*/ ‘time-REF-3SG’. The subordinate clause is in square brackets and could be replaced by a temporal adverb in (a) and (b).

- (22) a. *E [tutea-na guna-bobwala si-nove], bogina si-taiya.*
 DEV time.REF-3SG 1SG.POSS-talk 3PL-hear.TR PRF 3PL-cry
 So when they had heard my talk, they had cried.
- b. *[Tutea-na go-gomanea-di bogina si-siboila], Siyokila*
 time.REF-3SG PL-child.REF-3PL PRF 3PL-enter Siyokila
i-ma yau i-latuwoko-i-gu...
 3SG-come 1SG.PN 3SG-tell-TR-1SG
 When the children had entered, Siyokila came to tell me...
- c. *[Lavea-na bogina vavina i-nai], dokanikani ivatowo bei*
 time.REF-3SG PRF woman 3SG-marry giant 3SG-begin PRO
iyana i-lusala.
 fish 3SG-look.for
 When the woman had married, the giant began to look for fish.

Another means of introducing a temporal adverbial is with *anatuwana* ‘until’ (lit. ‘its border’). The notion of ‘until’ can also be encoded by means of *e...* (extra long [e:]) placed at the end of the first clause.

- (23) a. *I-kaiaka i-na-vada [a-na-tuwana i-boboina].*
 3SG-remain CON-3SG-house PASS-3SG-border 3SG-well
 He remains in his house until he is well.
- b. *Si-lokoina [e... Yagumatabu goi si-sobu].*
 3PL-run until Yagumatabu PP 3PL-bring.sail.down
 They sailed until at Yagumatabu they brought the sail down.

The notion of ‘before’ is encoded by means of a clause introduced by the sequence *namuliyeta* ‘afterwards’ plus *bei* ‘prospective marker’ (8.2.2.2):

- (24) [*Namuliyeta bei si-kaika*], *tau-ya-na i-kawanoi*.
 afterward PRO 3PL-eat person-REF-3SG 3SG-ask
 Before they ate, he prayed.

7.3.1.2 LOCATIVE

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced using the question word *nako* ‘where’. Location clauses may be replaced by locative adverbs. This type of clause may be marked with the postposition *goi*.

- (25) a. *Go-gomana a-latuwoko-i-di ka-gu*, “*Go-gomana, wasale*
 PL-child 1SG-tell-TR-3PL talk-1SG PL-child basket
ame ko-nave [nako Kalitoni i-kaiaka] ko-vini”.
 this 2PL-take.TR where Kalitoni 3SG-remain 2PL-give(TR)
 I told the children, “Children, take this basket to where Kalitoni is and give it to him”.
- b. *Yeu ko-nave [nako i-yabuyabu goi] ko-dimili*.
 fire 2PL-take.TR where 3SG-be.dry PP 2PL-build.fire(TR)
 You take the fire to where it is dry and build it.

7.3.1.3 MANNER

Manner adverbial clauses are characteristically marked with a nominal and the postposition *nakae* ‘like, as’.

- (26) *E tutea-na ka-sowoya ka-to-iwo*,
 DEV time.REF-3SG 1PL.EXC-embark 1PL.EXC-embark-seaward
siya-gu i-na i-na-dadava, yau a-na
 friend-1SG.IA 3SG-go CON-3SG-side 1SG.PN 1SG-go
guna-dadava [maine nakae i-loina bogina].
 1SG.POSS-side earlier same 3SG-decide PRF
 So when we embarked out toward the sea, my friend went to his side and I went to my side as he had decided earlier.

7.3.2 CLAUSES NOT SUBSTITUTABLE

There are several types of clauses in this category. As indicated these clauses cannot be replaced by adverbials. (Purpose clauses are discussed separately in section 7.4.)

7.3.2.1 REASON CLAUSES

Reason clauses are introduced by *unana* ‘because’ (lit. ‘its base/source’), *kutoto* ‘because = presupposed information’ or *balito* ‘because = counter to expectation’. *Unana* indicates that the reason clause is new information to the hearer. A clause introduced with *unana* may either precede or follow the main clause.

In (27a) and (27b) the reason clause follows the independent clause whereas in (27c) the reason clause precedes the independent. Normally, if the reason clause precedes the independent clause it begins with *go* 'SW'. This makes it clear that the reason clause is not related to the previous clause.

(27) a. *Si-kaika [unana loga si-kamasa].*

3PL-eat because hunger 3PL-die

They ate because they were starving.

b. *Ka-sina-laga [unana niyala bogina i-kavava].*

1PL.EXC-?-up because sun PRF 3SG-be.finished

We came up (out of the water) because the sun had set.

c. *Go [unana yau guna-kewou tau-ya-na*

SW because 1SG.PN 1SG.POSS-canoe person-REF-3SG

i-na-yowoyowana goi i-siko], neta i-talige-i, yau

CON-3SG-rope PP 3SG-tie(TR) if 3SG-untie-TR 1SG.PN

guna-kewou i-doiye.

1SG.POSS-canoe 3SG-drift.TR

But because he tied my canoe with his rope, if he untied it my canoe would drift.

Reason clauses introduced by *kutoto* indicate that the information is given or presupposed. As with reason clauses introduced by *unana*, those with *kutoto* may be initial or final.

(28) a. *Yau bego a-na go [kutoto kuwana geya a-no-ita].*

1SG.PN IRR 1SG-go SW because rain NEG 1SG-go-LIM

I intended to go but because of rain (as you know) I didn't go.

b. *Boile geya a-paiseweta [kutoto i-kuwana].*

yesterday NEG 1SG-word.LIM because 3SG-rain

Yesterday I didn't work because (as you know) it rained.

The third type of reason clause is introduced by *balito*, which indicates the clause is counter to what is expected. Clauses of this type can also come first or last.

(29) a. *A-tuyawata geya, kewou a-lu-sobuye bego a-beuta*

1SG-wait NEG canoe 1SG-lift-down.TR IRR 1SG-paddle

a-na Gumawana goi tau-ya-na a-gite go, [balito

1SG-go Gumawana PP man-REF-3SG 1SG-see.TR SW because

i-kali-woduwo], geya a-kaiaka.

3SG-by.pole-appear NEG 1SG-remain

I waited – nothing – so I launched the canoe in order to paddle to Gumawana to see him but because he unexpectedly appeared, I didn't, I remained.

b. *A-kaluvila-muna [balito a-gite komu bogina ku-mamai-ma].*

1SG-return-again because 1SG-see.TR 2SG.PN PRF 2SG-IMPER-come

I returned again because (surprised) I saw you were already coming.

7.3.2.3 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

Thompson and Longacre (1985) divide unreality conditions into 'predictive' and 'imaginative'. They further divide imaginative conditions into 'hypothetical' and 'counterfactual'.

All unreal conditions in Gumawana are introduced by *neta* 'if'. What Thompson and Longacre refer to as predictive conditions Gumawana expresses with *bei* 'prospective aspect' in the apodosis.

- (30) a. [*Neta i-ma*], *bei ka-yois-i*.
if 3SG-come PRO 1PL.EXC-catch-TR
If he comes, we are going to catch him.
- b. [*Neta meyava ku-kalave*], *bei loga ku-kamasa*.
if magic 2SG-leave.TR PRO hunger 2SG-die
If you leave magic, you are going to starve.

The notion 'if and only if' is expressed by the addition of *go geya, geya* 'if not, no'.

- (31) [*Neta tau-ya-na i-tagona*], *nakae, go geya, geya*.
if person-REF-3SG 3SG-offer like SW NEG NEG
If he offers then alright, but if not, no.

Hypothetical conditions are similar to predictive conditions, but *bei* 'prospective aspect' does not occur in the apodosis.

- (32) a. [*Neta i-kuwana*], *guna-kaleko ku-vai-siu-di*.
if 3SG-rain 1SG.POSS-clothing 2SG-CAUS-go.through-3PL
If it should rain, (you would) put my clothes in.
- b. [*Neta i-tagona*], *e dedei-na, ta-tupa*.
if 3SG-offers, DEV good-3SG 1PL.INC-sail
If he offered, then good, we would sail.

Counterfactual conditions are similar to hypothetical conditionals, but there must be an indication that the clause refers to a non-occurring event in the past. This may take the form of the context provided by a previous clause or of a temporal adverb in the protasis.

- (33) a. [*Neta boile komu ku-ma*], *e ta-paisewa*.
if yesterday 2SG.PN 2SG-come DEV 1PL.INC-work
If you had come yesterday, then we would have worked.
- b. [*Maine sisi neta ku-mwela-e*].
earlier knife if 2SG-climb-OAD.TR
Earlier, if you had climbed up with the knife.

In (33b) the apodosis ('you could have cut them') is not given, but is implied.

A few examples occur in the data of apparent conditionals introduced by *kaikoma*. I have not been able to determine its exact use, but the few examples indicate that it introduces predictive conditions.

- (34) a. [*Kaikoma soroti i-me*] *bei a-vini-mu*.
? salt 3SG-come.TR PRO 1SG-give-2SG
As soon as/if he brings it, I am going to give you (some).

- b. [*Kaikoma i-ma*] *bei ta-vatowo ta-paisewa.*
 ? 3SG-come PRO 1PL.INC-being 1PL.INC-work
 As soon as/if he comes, we are going to start to work.

However, *kaikoma* is also used to introduce a concessive conditional.

- (35) *Kaikoma i-kuwana, tuwo bei a-paisewa.*
 ? 3SG-rain enough PRO 1SG-work
 Even if it rains, that's alright I'm going to work.

7.5 PURPOSE

The use of deictic directional verbs ('go', 'come') in serial constructions is described in sections 6.4.5 and 6.4.7. In the cases described there, the directional verb occurs in final position in a sequence of verbs. However, there are other cases where one of these verbs occurs first in a sequence, and the second verb expresses a purpose. It is not entirely clear whether these constitute serialisations.

- (36) a. *Ka-uwo-uwata, toni-kasa si-ma si-bolagu.*
 1PL.EXC-IMPER-net owner-village 3PL-come 3PL-rebuke
 While we were netting, the village owners came to rebuke (us).
- b. *I-ma bego i-duduwo go kai ka-katae.*
 3SG-come IRR 3SG-call SW 1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-refuse.TR
 He came intending to call but we refused him.

7.5 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

There are various types of complement clauses in Gumawana. Sentence-like complements are discussed in section 7.5.1, while in section 7.5.2 nominalised complements are examined.

7.5.1 SENTENCE-LIKE COMPLEMENTS

A sentence-like complement is one that has a finite verb such that the complement clause could stand alone as an independent clause. In (37a) *be sikamasa* is an independent clause but in (37b) it is the object of the verb *matoita* 'fear'. The complement clause is in brackets.

- (37) a. *Be si-kamasa.*
 UNCRT 3PL-die
 They might die.
- b. *A-matoite [be si-kamasa].*
 1SG-afraid.TR UNCRT 3PL-die
 I am afraid they might die.

This type of complement can be either the subject or the object of the matrix verb. As for word order, normally object complements follow the matrix verb whereas subject complements precede it. Only a few verbs allow subject complements of this type.

Constructions with *-kavava* 'finish' indicate completion of the event in the first clause, with a new event occurring in the following clause. Syntactically the first clause is the subject of *kavava*.

- (38) a. [Tanuwo-ya-na si-katuguyal-i] i-kavava...
 garden-REF-3SG 3PL-cut-TR 3SG-be.finished
 When their cutting of the garden was finished...
- b. [Ka-paisewa] i-kavava baige ka-na.
 1PL.EXC-work 3SG-be.finished then 1PL.EXC-go
 When our work is finished, then we will go. (lit. We work it finishes, then we go.)

The following examples illustrate object complements.

- (39) a. A-yagoi [bei June 19 goi a-na Nubogeta].
 1SG-know(TR) PRO June 19 PP 1SG-go Nubogeta
 I know that on June 19 I will go to Nubogeta.
- b. A-nuwopeye [totomu woi bogina a-katunibode].
 1SG-remember.TR doorway CERT PRF 1SG-close.TR
 I remembered I definitely had closed the door.
- c. A-nuwe [geya i-toboine-gu-ta bei a-vaite-mu].
 1SG-think.TR NEG 3SG-suitable.TR-1SG-LIM PRO 1SG-help.TR-2SG
 I think it is not suitable for me that I help you.

To demonstrate that the above clauses are indeed complement clauses compare examples (40) and (41) with example (39).

- (40) a. Kelebi i-nove [kamukamu si-taiya].
 Kelebi 3SG-hear.TR chicken 3PL-cry
 Kelebi heard the chickens cry.
- b. Kelebi kamukamu i-nove-di si-taiya.
 Kelebi chicken 3SG-hear.TR-3PL 3PL-cry
 Kelebi heard the chickens (and they) cried.
- (41) a. A-yagoi [Manawale be Dimi si-katowana].
 1SG-know(TR) Manawale and Jimmy 3PL-be.sick
 I know Manawale and Jimmy are sick.
- b. Manawale be Dimi a-yagoi-di si-katowana.
 Manawale and Jimmy 1SG-know-3PL 3PL-be.sick
 I know Manawale and Jimmy are sick.

In the (a) examples in (40) and (41) the verb agrees with a third person singular object, namely the complement clause. In the (b) examples the word order has changed and the verbs now agree with a third person plural (*-di*) object. The difference between the (a) and (b) clauses is that in the (b) clauses subject-to-object raising has taken place. In other words, the subject of the complement clause has been raised to become the object of the matrix clause.

In some cases the raising rule is obligatory, as in the following examples.

- (42) a. *Kalitoni ku-latuwoko i-ma.*
 Kalitoni 2SG-tell(TR) 3SG-come
 You tell Kalitoni to come.
- b. *Ku-tagone-ma [ka-nonoi-na].*
 2SG-permit.TR-1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-IMPER-go
 Permit us to go.

7.5.2 NOMINALISED COMPLEMENTS

Nominalised complements are numerous in Gumawana. In this type of construction a nominalised verb of the active type (see section 3.2.7.1) is an argument of the matrix verb.

- (43) a. *[Taiya gagai-na] i-guinuwe.*
 cry big-3SG 3SG-do.TR
 He did a lot of crying.
- b. *Yau [beuta] a-katae.*
 1SG.PN paddle 1SG-refuse.TR
 I refuse to paddle.
- c. *[Vanama-i-gu] i-geda a-na-kaigigita goi.*
 laugh-?-1SG 3SG-hurt PASS-3SG-appearance PP
 I laughed until I hurt over his appearance. (lit. My laughing hurt at his appearance.)

8. MODALITY

In this section the area of modality is examined: tense (8.1), aspect (8.2), mood (8.3), questions (8.4), negation (8.5) and quotative constructions (8.6).

8.1 TENSE

Tense is not morphologically marked in Gumawana, but time reference may be indicated by means of temporal adverbs like *maine* 'ealier', verbs like *itomo* 'it is tomorrow/next day' or temporal nouns like *maliyalina* 'day', *sabamugo* 'night', and so on. The temporal adverbs are normally found at the beginning of a story to set the time reference for the scene. However, folktales and legends often give no indication of time reference. They may indicate absolute time or relative time.

- (1) a. *Teside boi ka-na ka-ka-kaika a-vatetel-i.*
 Thursday last 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-IMPER-eat 1SG-story-TR
 I will tell about us going and eating last Thursday.
- b. *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koloto, gomanea-na yoi-na*
 before long a child man child.REF-3SG name-3SG.IA
Gumasai.
 Gumasai.
 Long ago there was a boy, the child's name was Gumasai.

- c. *Boile Palaide yau Ediliki Patimo ma-namoya*
 yesterday Friday 1SG.PN Ediliki Patimo COM-old.woman

Lisi taiyao ka-na...

Lisi COM 1PL.EXC-go

Last Friday Ediliki, Patimo and I along with the old woman Lisi went...

Future tense is implied when the prospective aspect marker *bei* is used (see 8.2.2).

- (2) *Yau bei a-na.*
 1SG.PN PRO 1SG-go
 I am going to go.

8.2 ASPECT

Gumawana makes a distinction between perfective and imperfective aspects (8.2.1) as well as a distinction between the prospective and perfect aspects (8.2.2).

8.2.1 IMPERFECTIVE/PERFECTIVE

Imperfective aspect is marked on the verb by means of a reduplicative prefix or by means of vowel lengthening (both are described in 3.3.1.5). The terms ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ are used here in Comrie’s (1976:16) sense: “perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation”.

Comrie subdivides imperfectivity into habitualness and continuousness, both of which Gumawana marks by means of reduplication or vowel lengthening. Thus the context determines whether the imperfective is habitual or continuous. Concerning the habitual Comrie (1976:27-28) writes that “the feature common to all habituals...is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period”. So for the habitual to be used it must refer to an event that takes place over an extended period of time. Examples (3a) and (3b) are both appropriate responses to the questions ‘do you eat bananas?’ and ‘do you climb coconut palms?’ respectively.

- (3) a. *Losui a-kani-kani.*
 banana 1SG-IMPER-eat
 I eat bananas.
- b. *Niu a-mwela-mwela.*
 coconut 1SG-IMPER-climb
 I climb coconut palms.

Habitual constructions may have the phrase *tuta liliuna* ‘all the time’.

- (4) *Tuta liliu-na si-nonoi-na a-di-vayakuyana si-kaisikoko*
 time all-3SG.IA 3PL-IMPER-go PASS-3PL-rations 3PL-gather

yawalea-na *goi.*
old.garden.REF-3SG PP

All the time they were going to their garden to gather their rations.

When two events either overlap or are simultaneously taking place, both clauses are imperfective.

- (5) a. *Lisi i-bu-bubuna,* *kai* *ka-sela-sela.*
Lisi 3SG-IMPER-pull.weeds 1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-IMPER-dig
While Lisi was pulling weeds, we were digging.
- b. *Kai* *ka-sela-sela,* *siya-ma* *Patimo niu*
1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-IMPER-dig friend-1PL.EXC.IA Patimo coconut
i-mwela.
3SG-climb
While we were digging, our friend Patimo climbed a coconut palm.

The unmarked form of the verb indicates perfective aspect. The perfective aspect may indicate the completion of an event with no reference to time, as in (6). The context determines the time reference.

- (6) a. *Si-kaluvila* *si-na* *vada si-mwela.*
3PL-return(PER) 3PL-go(PER) house 3PL-climb(PER)
They returned/will return to the house where they went/up.
- b. *I-ginubaku-di* *i-kalave-di* *i-me-di*
3SG-spear(PER)-3PL 3SG-carry.TR(PER)-3PL 3SG-come.TR(PER)-3PL
asa i-gabu-di *i-kani-di.*
village 3SG-roast(PER)-3PL 3SG-eat(PER)-3PL
He speared, carried and brought them to the village where he roasted them,
then ate them.

Often the first of two clauses is imperfective and the second perfective, expressing a durative/punctiliar relationship.

- (7) a. *Dada-i-na* *ka-sela-sela* *Ediliki a-na-daima*
side-?-3SG.IA 1PL.EXC-IMPER-dig Ediliki PASS-3SG-spade
i-ta-guyala.
3SG-ST-break(PER)
While we were digging the other side, Ediliki's spade broke.
- b. *Ka-uwo-uwata* *toni-kasa* *si-ma* *si-bolagu.*
2PL.EXC-IMPER-net owner-village 3PL-come(PER) 3PL-scold(PER)
While we were netting, the village owners came and rebuked (us).

8.2.2 PERFECT/PROSPECTIVE

Aspect, according to Comrie (1976:52), is "concerned with different ways of representing the internal temporal constitution of a situation". He writes that the perfect (distinct from the perfective) does not fit into this definition "since it tells us nothing about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation". Traditionally, however, the perfect has been included with discussions on aspect. This is also the case with what Comrie

refers to as “prospective”. This difference can be seen in Gumawana since the truly aspectual markers are found on the verb whereas both the perfect and prospective are external to it.

Comrie defines the perfect as indicating “the continuing present relevance of a past situation”. The perfect is marked by *bogina* ‘already’ in Gumawana. In each example in (8) the clause with *bogina* has relevance to the following situation.

- (8) a. *Tutea-na vavina bogina i-nai, dokanikani i-vatowo*
 time.REF-3SG woman PRF 3SG-marry giant 3SG-begin
be iyana i-lusala.
 and fish 3SG-search
 When the woman had married, the giant began to look for fish.
- b. *Maliyalina manawe-na bogina a-vaite-mu go aika geya.*
 day long-3SG PRF 1SG-help.TR-2SG SW meal NEG
 For a long time I have helped you but (there is) no food.
- c. *Ago Sipwena bogina i-katubayasi, bei i-ketoiya.*
 SW Sipwena PRF 3SG-prepare PRO 3SG-walk
 But Sipwena had prepared and he was about to walk.

Although in (8) *bogina* precedes the verb, it is possible for it to follow the verb.

- (9) ...*siya-gu i-na i-na-dadava goi, yau a-na*
 friend-1SG.IA 3SG-go CON-3SG-area PP 1SG.PN 1SG-go
guna-dadava goi maine nakae i-loina bogina.
 1SG.POSS-area PP earlier like 3SG-decide PRF
 ...my friend went to his area, I went to my area as he had decided earlier.

The perfect may occur in conjunction with the continuous aspect.

- (10) *Bogina si-nonoi-na.*
 PRF 3PL-IMPER-go
 They are already going.

Bogina may occur by itself when someone asks whether a particular event is done or not.

- (11) *Boginae?*
 PRF.TM
 All done, right?

The prospective may be seen as the flip side of the perfect, that is “where a state is related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being about to do something” (Comrie 1976:64). The prospective aspect is marked by the word *bei* which means ‘about to do something’ or ‘be going to do something’.

- (12) a. *Kelebi i-na Gumawana goi bei tapwae i-gimona.*
 Kelebi 3SG-go Gumawana PP PRO tobacco 3SG-buy
 Kelebi went to Gumawana and he is going to buy tobacco.
- b. *Niu-mu bei i-na yawala goi a-mi-vilava gurewa*
 sister-2SG.IA PRO 3SG-go old.garden PP EAT-2SG-taro stone

una-na goi i-kabi.

base-3SG.IA PP 3SG-get(TR)

Your sister is going to go to the old garden and get your taro at the base of the stone.

The prospective and perfect may be used together.

c. *Bogina bei si-ma.*

PRF PRO 3PL-come

They are already about to come.

8.3 MOOD

Mood is expressed by a variety of devices in Gumawana.

8.3.1 IRREALIS/REALIS

8.3.1.1 THE UNCERTAINTY MARKER *be*

The marker *be* indicates uncertainty in questions, as in (13a), or in statements when the speaker is not sure of what is to take place, as in (13b).

(13) a. *Be i-kuwana o geya?*

UNCRT 3SG-rain or NEG

Might it rain or not?

b. *Kelebi i-na Gumawana goi be tapwae i-gimona.*

Kelebi 3SG-go Gumawana PP UNCRT tobacco 3SG-buy

Kelebi went to Gumawana where he might buy tobacco.

It appears that some speakers are collapsing *be* and the prospective marker *bei*.

Note that there is also the conjunction *be* which means 'and'. This is homophonous with the uncertainty marker, but apparently distinct from it.

8.3.1.2 THE IRREALIS MARKER *bego*

The irrealis marker *bego* has various functions. It may be made up of the two morphemes *be* 'uncertainty marker' and *go* 'switch of attention conjunction'.¹⁸

The irrealis is used to indicate frustrated intent, as in (14b). In (14a) the giant takes the plate of food with no problem. In (14b) the giant *intends* to take the plate but is stopped by the dog. *Bego* indicates that the giant's desire was unfulfilled. When *bego* is used as in (14b), a clause introduced by *go* is expected at the end of the clause to introduce the reason why the action did not take place.

(14) a. *Ago dokanikani-ya-na i-bisi-sobu vilava be iyana*

SW giant-REF-3SG 3SG-by.hand-downward taro and fish

¹⁸Editor's note: There is some evidence that some instances of *bego* contain *be* 'uncertainty marker', others *be* 'conjunction', but this requires further investigation.

ma-noko-i-na *i-kavale*.
 COM-plate-?-3SG.IA 3SG-carry.TR
 And the giant reached down and carried the plate with taro and fish.

- b. *Ago dokanikani-ya-na i-bisi-sobu* *bego noko*
 SW giant-REF-3SG 3SG-by.hand-downward IRR plate
i-kavale ... *go weniya i-gou*.
 3SG-carry.TR SW dog 3SG-bark
 And the giant reached down intending to carry the plate...but the dog barked.

Bego is also used with dreams (15a), indirect speech (15b), daydreaming (15c), requests (15d) and desire (15e), all of which are uncertain or unreal. Indirect speech is in a sense not real since the words have been changed from what the person originally said.

- (15) a. *I-kanamimi bego sina-di* *i-ma* *i-digo* *ka-na...*
 3SG-dream IRR mother-3PL.IA 3SG-come 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA
 He dreamed that his mother came and said...
- b. *Maine sina-da* *i-digo-digo* *bego losui* *ta-gabu*.
 earlier mother-1PL.INC.IA 3SG-IMPER-say IRR banana 1PL.INC-roast
 Earlier our mother had said that we would roast the banana...
- c. *Yau bego a-na* *Gumawana*.
 1SG.PN IRR 1SG-go Gumawana
 I might go to Gumawana.
- d. *A-kawanoi yai-mu* *bego magi* *ku-vini-gu*.
 1SG-request GOAL-2SG.IA IRR betel.nut 2SG-give-1SG
 I ask from you that you give me betel nut.
- e. *Ago dokanikani-ya-na i-kao-makimaki* *latuwo-na* *bego i-kaika*.
 SW giant-REF-3SG 3SG-by.mouth-strong desire-3SG.IA IRR 3SG-eat
 And the giant persisted desiring to eat.

8.3.1.3 REALIS

In contrast to clauses marked with *be* or *bego*, the ‘unmarked’ clause expresses realis.

- (16) a. *Ka-na* *Tukwaukwa vaega ka-gimona*.
 1PL.EXC-go-REALIS Tukwaukwa clay.pot 1PL.EXC-sell-REALIS
 We went to Tukwaukwa to sell clay pots.

8.3.2 ABLITY

Ability may be expressed by one of the nouns *yoiya*- ‘ability, fit’ and *kaipata* ‘ability’ in a genitive construction. The noun *yoiya* means ‘ability, fit’ in the sense that something fits such as clothing. It obligatorily takes the inalienable possessive suffix. The idea is ‘my arm is big enough for the armband’. One does not say that the armband is too small.

- (17) *I-mu-nipuna* *yoiya-gu* *a-valiliv-i*.
 CON-2SG-aramband fit-1SG.IA 1SG-slip.on-TR
 I am able to slide your armband on.

Kaipata 'ability' is used with regard to one's physical ability and takes the *a-* form of alienable possession.

- (18) a. *Bogina a-ma-kaipata ka-kaika.*
 PRF PASS-1PL.EXC-able 1PL.EXC-eat
 We have the ability to eat (it).
- b. *A-gu-kaipata alova a-kavale.*
 PASS-1SG-able wood 1SG-carry.TR
 I am able to carry the wood.

8.3.3 DESIRE/INTENT

Desire is expressed through the inalienably possessed nouns *vavagi-* or *latuwo-*, both meaning 'desire, want'. There appears to be no difference in their use. Often this construction is followed by *bego*, the irrealis marker (8.3.1.2).

- (19) a. *Vavagi-mi ko-na Alotau o geya?*
 desire-2PL.IA 2PL-go Alotau or NEG
 Do you want to go to Alotau or not?
- b. *Bobokata i-poikikina. Latuwo-na bego i-na tuwowo-na*
 crab 3SG-try desire-3SG.IA IRR 3SG-go old.brother-3SG.IA
kiki-na.
 next.to-3SG.IA
 The crab tried. His desire was to be next to his older brother.

8.3.4 POSSIBILITY/NECESSITY

Possibility is expressed by means of the modal verb *-kakapu* 'easy, be able, be possible' followed by the goal/source marker *yai-* (20). The verb *-toboina* is also used for the notion of possibility, and takes as its object the animate agent of the possible action (21).

- (20) a. *I-kakapu yai-gu a-katuyaina.*
 3SG-be.easy GOAL-1SG.IA 1SG-read
 I can read. (lit. It is easy to me to read.)
- b. *Paisewa ame i-kakapu yai-da.*
 work this 3SG-be.easy GOAL-1PL.INC.IA
 We can do this work. (lit. This work is easy to us.)
- (21) a. *I-toboine-gu a-liwola.*
 3SG-possible.TR-1SG 1SG-preach
 It is possible for me to preach.
- b. *Ame dogoi-ya-na i-toboine-mu ku-kavale.*
 this thing-REF-3SG 3SG-possible.TR-2SG 2SG-carry.TR
 It is possible for you to carry this thing.

The verb *-toboina* is also used to express necessity, but in this case the direct object is an unspecified third person singular, as in (22). According to informants, this unspecified object is understood to be *lovina* 'rule, law, order'.

- (22) a. *I-toboine* *a-na* *a-paisewa*.
 3SG-must.TR 1SG-go 1SG-work
 I must go work.
- b. *I-toboine* *ta-takisi*.
 3SG-must.TR 1PL.INC-tax
 We must pay taxes.

8.3.5 PRESCRIPTION

The notion of prescription is expressed by means of the word *ka-da* 'our (inclusive) talk' preceding the switch marker *go* (7.1). It may carry a slight rebuke when used in this way. It indicates that the listener should have or should do a particular task. The intonation on such clauses is different.

- (23) a. *Ka-da* *go* *ma-(a)-mu-magi!*
 talk-1PL.INC.IA SW COM-PASS-2SG-betel.nut
 You should have your own betel nut!
- b. *Ka-da* *go* *ma-(a)-mu-mani* *ku-sowoya!*
 talk-1PL.INC.IA SW COM-PASS-2SG-money 2SG-embark
 You should have embarked with your money!

8.3.6 DOUBT

The notion of doubt is introduced with the particle *masa*.

- (24) a. *Masa bei yau a-togaga*.
 doubt PRO 1SG.PN 1SG-be.strong
 I doubt I am going to be strong.
- b. *Masa bei tala si-mamai-ma i-gu-kaiaka bei dedei-na*.
 doubt PRO year 3PL-IMPER-come CON-1SG-stay PRO good-3SG
 I doubt my existence in the coming years is going to be good.

8.4 QUESTIONS

In this section the various types of questions are examined: yes/no (8.4.1), alternative (8.4.2), content (8.4.3), confirmation (8.4.4), embedded (8.4.5) and rhetorical (8.4.6).

8.4.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS

A rise in intonation at the end of a clause indicates a yes/no question.

- (25) a. *Bogina i-ma?*
 PRF 3SG-come
 Has he come?
- b. *Mata-mu i-masisi?*
 eye-2SG.IA 3SG-sleep
 Are you tired?

The appropriate answer to the above yes/no questions would either be *geya* 'no' or a positive answer in the form of the following:

- (26) a. *Uu* 'yes'
 b. *Go* 'emphatic yes'
 c. sharp breath taken in
 d. raising of eyebrows + closing of eyes momentarily

8.4.2 ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

In alternative questions the hearer must decide between a delimited set of alternatives given by the speaker. Intonation rises before *o* 'or' and falls clause finally. In (27) *gea* 'no' may be used in place of *o* 'or' with the same meaning.

- (27) a. *Ame dedei-na o i-goyo?*
 this good-3SG or 3SG-be.bad
 Is this a good one or is it bad?
 b. *Si-vini-mi o si-vagagala?*
 3PL-give-2PL or 3PL-keep
 Did they give you (it) or did they keep (it)?

Another common usage is adding *o geya* 'or not' to the clause.

- (28) a. *Be ku-na o geya?*
 UNCRT 2SG-go or NEG
 Are you going to go or not?
 b. *Ku-tagona i-mu-kaimoloiya goi a-sowoya o geya?*
 2SG-permit CON-2SG-canoe PP 1SG-embark or NEG
 Do you allow that I embark on your canoe or not?
 c. *A-mu-potu i-geda o geya?*
 PASS-2SG-sore 3SG-hurt or NEG
 Does your sore hurt or not?

8.4.3 CONTENT QUESTIONS

Any constituent of a clause may be questioned. Minimally an interrogative clause need only have a question word (listed in 3.1.9).

- (29) *Nako?*
 where
 Where?

In an interrogative equative clause the question word occurs clause finally as the predicate.

- (30) a. *Komu ava-tau?*
 2SG.PN which-person
 Who are you?

- b. *Go-gomana nako?*
 PL-children where
 Where are the children?
- c. *Amo kaga?*
 that what
 What is that?

The interrogative expression *nako nakae* ‘what kind of’ (more literally ‘like where?’) is used to ask for further specification of an object.

- (31) *Manuwo nako nakae?*
 bird where like
 What kind of bird?

8.4.3.1 SUBJECT QUESTIONS

Human subjects may be questioned with (*a*)*va-tau* ‘which person, who’ or with *ava-* ‘which’ in conjunction with some other human nominal. Non-human nouns are questioned with *ava-* plus some non-human noun, or with *kaga* ‘what’.

- (32) a. *Ava-gomana i-kamasa?*
 which-child 3SG-die
 Which child died?
- b. *Ava-tau i-vakakone-da?*
 which-person 3SG-test.TR-1PL.INC
 Who tests us?
- c. *Kaga i-ta-visi?*
 what 3SG-ST-break
 What broke?

8.4.3.2 DIRECT OBJECT QUESTION

Objects are questioned with the same forms as subjects. The only difference is in the placement of the question word, which occurs in the object position. In (33a) an inanimate object is the direct object. In (33b) an animate object is questioned.

- (33) a. *Kelebi kaga i-gite?*
 Kelebi what 3SG-see.TR
 What did Kelebi see?
- b. *Ava-tau-wa bei a-lituwoko-i-di?*
 which-person-PL PRO 1SG-tell-TR-3PL
 Whom am I going to tell?

8.4.3.3 OBLIQUE QUESTIONS

Goal and source are encoded with *yai-* (5.2.2.4). When questioning, the goal/source *ava-tau* occurs with *yai-*.

- (34) a. *Buki ku-etune i-na ava-tau yai-na?*
 book 2SG-send.TR 3SG-go which-person GOAL-3SG
 To whom did you send the book?
- b. *Ku-liwola ava-tau-wa yai-di?*
 2SG-preach which-person-PL GOAL-3PL
 To which people did you preach?

Benefactive constructions consist of a head nominal and the benefactive *manu-* (5.2.2.1). Thus, when benefactives are questioned, the question word is followed by *manu-*. The question word reflects whether the head is human or non-human (8.4.3.1).

- (35) a. *Ku-paisewa ava-tau manu-na?*
 2SG-work which-person BEN-3SG
 For whom do you work?
- b. *Ame dogoi-ya-na kaga manu-na?*
 this thing-REF-3SG what BEN-3SG
 What is this thing for?

Benefactives may also be encoded with the postposition *goi* (5.2.1).

- (36) *Kaga goi?*
 what PP
 What for?

Manner may be questioned with the question word *manakae-* 'how', which agrees in person and number with the questioned word and is made up of the comitative prefix *ma-* and the postposition *nakae* 'like'.

- (37) a. *Niboda ma-nakae-gu a-katupaeve?*
 door COM-like-1SG 1SG-open.TR
 How do I open this door?
- b. *Koloto ma-nakae-na i-ketoiya?*
 man COM-like-3SG 3SG-walk
 How did the man walk?

When questioning how someone is, *manakae* does not agree with the clausal topic.

- (38) *Ma-nakae, dedei-mi?*
 COM-like good-2PL
 How are you, good?

Manakae is also used when someone comes to the door. Instead of asking *kaga vavagimu* 'what do you want', which would be considered impolite, one simply asks *Manakae?*

Location is questioned with the question word *nako* 'where', which normally occurs preceding the verb.

- (39) a. *Komu nako goi ku-ma?*
 2SG.PN where PP 2SG-come
 Where did you come from?
- b. *Noko nako i-yato-i-di?*
 plate where 3SG-set-TR-3PL
 Where did he set the plates?

- c. *Nako ku-na bei?*
 where 2SG-go PRO
 Where are you going to go?

It is possible to form equative clauses with *nako* (40a). *Nako* may also be inflected to agree with the head (40b).

- (40) a. *Nako koloto-i-mu?*
 where man-?-2SG
 Where are you from? (lit. Where are you a man from?)
 b. *Nako-i-na?*
 where-?-3SG
 Where is he?

Time is questioned with the expression *ava tuta* 'which time?'.

- (41) *Clif, komu bei ava-tuta ku-ma Nubogeta?*
 Clif 2SG.PN PRO which-time 2SG-come Nubogeta
 Clif, when are you going to come to Nubogeta?

There are three types of constructions used for questioning the reason for something. One consists of *kaga* 'what' and *pasi-na* 'its reason'. Reason question words normally precede the verb.

- (42) a. *Nubai-gu, kaga pasi-na ku-kalave-gu?*
 cousin-1SG.IA what reason-3SG 2SG-leave.TR-1SG
 Cousin, why did you leave me?
 b. *Libetina Jimi kaga pasi-na si-kaimumuna?*
 Libetina Jimi what reason-3SG 3PL-slow
 Why are Libetina and Jimi so slow?

A second construction involves *kaga* 'what' and *una-na*, which literally means 'its base/source' but which I gloss as 'because' (7.3.2.1). The question in (43a) is asking what the source of the crying is. The implication is that there is no reason. The answer (43b) is that Tomasi hit the child; however, the negation word *geya* introduces the answer by negating the implication of (43a). In (43c) the question is asking Tomasi for his reason for hitting the child, with the same implication as in (43a). The answer in (43d) is betel nut.

- (43) a. *Kaga unana gomana amo i-tai-taiya?*
 what because child that 3SG-IMPER-cry
 Because of what is that child crying?
 b. *Geya, unana Tomasi i-lau-i.*
 NEG because Tomasi 3SG-hit-TR
 Nothing – because Tomasi hit him.
 c. *Go Tomasi, kaga pasi-na gomana ku-lau-i?*
 SW Tomasi what reason-3SG child 2SG-hit-TR
 And Tomasi for what reason did you hit the child?
 d. *Geya, magi pasi-na, unana magi a-kawanoi-ye*
 NEG betel.nut reason-3SG because betel.nut 1SG-request-OAD.TR

i-vagagale tauna a-lau-i.

3SG-hold.back therefore 1SG-hit-TR

Nothing – betel nut is the reason, because I asked for betel nut and he kept it back, so I hit him.

Finally, depending on the transitivity of the clause, reason questions can be registered on the verb by means of *-ko* (6.9.2) and *-ye* (6.9.3). Verbs which are transitive take *-ko*, whereas those that are intransitive take *-ye* thus making them finally transitive.

- (44) a. *Komu kaga kwaiako-e?*
2SG.PN what 2SG.remain-OAD.TR
Why are you here?
- b. *Gomana kaga i-taiya-e?*
child what 3SG-cry-OAD.TR
Why did the child cry?
- c. *Kaga ku-luma-dadana-e?*
what 2SG-ask-unseen-OAD.TR
Why do you ask?
- d. *Kaga ku-luma-dade-ko-i-gu?*
what 2SG-ask-unseen.TR-REA-TR-1SG
Why do you ask me?
- e. *Komi bao kaga ko-tala-i-ko-i?*
2PL.PN pig what 2PL-cut-TR-REA-TR
Why did you cut the pig?

Answers to reason questions may begin with *unana* ‘because’. Examples (45a) and (45b) are possible answers to the question in (44b).

- (45) a. *Unana gomana vavagi-na bwae.*
because child desire-3SG.IA water
Because the child wants water.
- b. *Bego bwae i-nimu.*
IRR water 3SG-drink
He wants water to drink.
- c. *Unana koloto madaboki-di i-di-nuwo-nuwona komu go*
because man all-3PL.IA CON-3PL-IMPER-think 2SG.PN SW
yau si-katae-gu.
1SG.PN 3PL-refuse.TR-1SG
Because all the men want you but they refuse me.

8.4.3.4 QUALITY QUESTIONS

The quality of an object is elicited with interrogative expression *kaganakae* ‘like what’.

- (46) a. *Maisi-na kaga nakae?*
face-3SG.IA what like
What did he look like? (lit. What was his face like?)

- b. *I-na-vada kaga naka?*
 CON-3SG-house what like
 What is his house like?

8.4.3.5 QUANTITY QUESTIONS

Quantity is questioned with the question word *aivina* 'how many, how much?'. The head (if overt) usually precedes the question word, but a reverse order is possible.

- (47) a. *Oga a-di-kai-vina a-na-badabada si-kailova?*
 canoe PASS-3PL-canoe-how.many PASS-3SG-number 3PL-depart
 How many is the number of canoes that left?
- b. *Ai-vina buki si-kaiaka?*
 CL-how.many book 3PL-remain
 How many books are left?
- c. *Ai-vina a-na-maisa?*
 CL-how.much PASS-3SG-debt
 How much does it cost?

When questioning the number of people the word *tai* 'man' or 'person' occurs with *vina* 'how many', which is alienably possessed. This is the construction for counting people (3.1.6.3).

- (48) a. *A-mi-tai-vina ko-ma?*
 PASS-2PL-man-how.many 2PL-come
 How many of you came?
- b. *A-di-tai-vina si-vaite-mu?*
 PASS-3PL-man-how.many 3PL-help.TR-2SG
 How many of them helped you?

To answer the questions in (48) the following constructions are used.

- (49) a. *A-ma-badabada ai-nima tayamo.*
 PASS-1PL.EXC-number CL-five one
 Our number was six.
- b. *A-ma-tai-nima.*
 PASS-1PL.EXC-man-five
 We were five.

8.4.4 CONFIRMATION QUESTIONS

Confirmation questions are marked by the clitic *ae* which occurs clause finally and bears rising intonation. Note that in each case the initial *a* of *ae* is deleted and it becomes phonologically part of the final word of the sentence.

- (50) a. *Boginae?*
 PRF.TM
 Done, right?

- b. *Ta-mogibeli ame bei i-mae?*
 MALE-Mogibeli today PRO 3SG-come.TM
 Tamogibeli is going to come today, isn't he?
- c. *Moitamoe?*
 true.TM
 That's right, isn't it?
- d. *Moe ku-digoe?*
 that 2SG-say.TM
 You said that, didn't you?

8.4.5 EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

With certain verbs it is possible to embed a question. Many of the questions discussed thus far may be embedded. They normally follow the main verb.

- (51) a. *Ku-yagoi ava-tuta be i-ma?*
 2SG-know which-time UNCRT 3SG-come
 Do you know when he will come?
- b. *Ku-yagoi ava-tau i-kamasa?*
 2SG-know which-person 3SG-die
 Do you know who died?

8.4.6 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Rhetorical questions are not marked with any morpheme. They have the same basic pattern as content questions. It is mainly the context that determines a rhetorical question.

- (52) a. *Kaga pasi-na sinitu yai-na ko-numisa?*
 what reason-3SG evil.one GOAL-3SG 2PL-trust
 Why do you trust in the evil one? = You trust in the evil one.
- b. *Bego tau-ya-na ava-mi i-vini-mi?*
 IRR person-REF-3SG food-2PL.IA 3SG-give-2PL
 Will he give you your food? = So that he will give your food.

A common way of forming a rhetorical question is to start the question with *nakona* 'perhaps' as in (53).

- (53) a. *Geya, nakona yau geya a-lovinae-mu-ta?*
 NEG perhaps 1SG.PN NEG 1SG-command.TR-2SG-LIM
 Perhaps I have not commanded you? = I have commanded you.
- b. *Nakona geya a-vini-mu-ta?*
 perhaps NEG 1SG-give-2SG-one
 Perhaps I didn't give you it? = I did give you it.

Rhetorical questions are used mainly in exhortations or when someone is angry.

8.5 NEGATION

There are two negation morphemes in Gumawana, *geya* and *gebu*. It appears that *gebu* is used only when answering polar questions; it is not found in the context of a clause. Two other morphemes used for negation are *tabu* 'taboo' and *boma-* 'ban'. The latter requires inalienable possession.

8.5.1 CLAUSE NEGATION

The negation particle *geya* immediately precedes the verb:

(subject) (object) *geya* verb phrase

When the scope of the negation is a single event, the limiter suffix *-ita* (3.3.1.2) is necessary.

- (54) a. *Go niya-di geya si-sowodo-ita.*
 SW voice-3PL.IA NEG 3PL-come.out-LIM
 And their voices did not come out.
- b. *Go iyana geya ka-koneta.*
 SW fish NEG 1PL.EXC-trap.LIM
 And we didn't trap any fish.

If the limiter *-ita* is not present the meaning becomes 'never' and the verb must be imperfective in aspect (8.2.1).

- (55) a. *...go negwasa geya ta-gite-gite geya.*
 SW ocean NEG 1PL.INC-IMPER-see.TR NEG
 ...but we never saw the ocean.
- b. *Geya ku-mamai-ma.*
 NEG 2SG-IMPER-come
 You don't/never come.

Emphasis may be placed on the negation of a clause by repeating *geya* at the end of the clause or adding *geya toina* 'very no'. It seems that this type of construction can only be used with a completed event.

- (56) a. *Kina go Kakavaku i-sou geya i-kayeta geya,*
 3SG.PN SW worm 3SG-go.down NEG 3SG-swim.LIM NEG
i-salili.
 3SG-sank
 Now the worm who went down didn't swim, he sank.
- b. *Bao geya i-ginubasi-yeta geya.*
 pig NEG 3SG-spear-LIM NEG
 He didn't spear the pig, no.

The scope of the negative particle *geya* may embrace more than one finite verb. In example (57) the negative particle *geya* comes before both verbs, yet only the final verb has the limiter *-ita*.

(57) a. ...*yau* *geya* *a-na* *a-tapwalolo-ita*.
 1SG.PN NEG 1SG-go 1SG-worship-LIM
 ..I didn't go to church.

b. *Geya ta-na ta-kaiketa*.
 NEG 1PL.INC-go 1PL.INC-eat.LIM
 We don't go and eat.

Ellipsis is allowed in negation clauses. In example (58) the phrase *go geya* occurs with the verb elided.

(58) a. *Kunuwo ku-mata-kavate go geya, bei ta-tomova*.
 rudder 2SG-by.eye-hold.TR SW NEG PRO 1PL.INC-run.aground
 You watch the rudder but if not, we will run aground.

b. ...*go mae-ko yata-na si-gite-gite go geya*,
 SW above-PLA.ADV on.top-3SG.IA 3PL-IMPER-see.TR SW NEG
ka-eli-eli, geya ka-yagoi-yeta i-ta-guyala.
 1PL.EXC-IMPER-dig NEG 1PL.EXC-know-LIM 3SG-ST-break
 ...and we (habitually) watch up above, but if not, when we are digging, we
 don't know if it will break.

The prohibitive *tabu* 'taboo' is used in conjunction with the imperfective aspect of the verb (8.2.1), indicating that a certain event is forbidden by taboo.

(59) *Niu tabu ku-mwela-mwela*.
 coconut taboo 2SG-IMPER-climb
 It is taboo for you to climb the coconut tree. / Don't climb coconut trees.

Boma-, which agrees in number and person with the person to whom a ban applies, occurs in sentences such as (60). The prohibitive *boma-* differs from *tabu* in that *boma-* forms a noun phrase and indicates that a particular person has a restriction on doing something. *Tabu* is used at clause level indicating that the event is taboo. Compare (60) with (59). In example (60) the clause *geya ku-kani-kani* 'you don't eat fish' explains that the fish is forbidden for me.

(60) *Iyana boma-mu, geya ku-kani-kani*.
 fish forbidden-2SG.IA NEG 2SG-IMPER-eat(TR)
 You are forbidden fish: you do not eat fish.

8.5.2 PHRASE LEVEL NEGATION

The following examples illustrate negation of noun phrases. In examples (61a)–(61c) the phrase *geya (kada) tayamo* 'not (even) one' occurs. This is a common construction when showing the intensity of the negation.

(61) a. *Ego sina-gu-ya-na geya kada tayamo piba o nosanosa geya*.
 SW mother-1SG.IA-REF-3SG NEG even one fever or cold NEG
 But my mother did not have even one fever or cold.

b. *Geya tayamo monaga ka-babane geya, geya toi-na*.
 NEG one squid 1PL.EXC-find.TR NEG NEG very-3SG
 Not one squid did we find, no, definitely not.

- c. *Geya kada tayamo iyana ka-kone geya, geya toi-na.*
 NEG even one · fish 1PL.EXC-trap NEG NEG very-3SG
 Not even one fish did we trap, no, definitely not.
- d. *Ae-mu kwai-sobu-ye, dimodimo geya, moe bogina*
 leg-2SG.IA 2SG.by.set-down-TR heat NEG that PRF
i-sawala.
 3SG-disperse
 Put your leg down (in the hole), if (you feel) it is not hot, then it (the heat/odour)
 has dispersed.
- e. *Go ka-eli ka-me asa goi moe poisoni geya.*
 SW 1PL.EXC-dig 1PL.EXC-come.TR village PP that poison NEG
 And we dig and bring it to the village where there is no poison.
- f. *Geya tayamo kaga i-kaiaka.*
 NEG one what 3SG-remain
 Not one thing was there.

In constructions where the idea is 'not any', the nominal suffix *-mo* (3.3.1.3) occurs.

- (62) a. *I-poikiki, geya a-na-kaipata-mo.*
 3SG-try(TR) NEG PASS-3SG-able-any
 He tried it but did not have any ability.
- b. *Go yau a-gu-ta geya i-gu-vaega-mo...*
 SW 1SG.PN PASS-1SG-LIM NEG CON-1SG-clay-any
 But if I do not have any clay...

8.6 QUOTATIONS

There are two quotation formulas in Gumawana. The normal order is as follows:

- Indirect speech: speech verb (IMPER) IRR quotation
 Direct speech: (speech verb) *ka-na* quotation (*kaena*)

8.6.1 INDIRECT SPEECH

Indirect speech has restricted use in Gumawana. Normally indirect speech is expressed by the imperfective form of the verb *digo* 'to say' followed by the irrealis marker *bego*, then the quotation. It is normally used in requests but may be found in other contexts as well.

- (63) a. *Tama-gu i-digo-digo bego magi ku-vini-gu a-na*
 father-1SG.IA 3SG-IMPER-say IRR betel.nut 2SG-give-1SG 1SG-go
a-vini.
 1SG-give(TR)
 My father says that you (must) give me betel nut, and I will go give it to him.
- b. *Tuwowo-gu maine sina-da i-digo-digo bego*
 old.brother-1SG.IA earlier mother-1PL.INC.IA 3SG-IMPER-say IRR

losui ta-gabu.

banana 1PL.INC-roast(TR)

Older brother, earlier our mother said that we were to roast a banana.

Indirect speech is used to encode mild requests where the speaker considers himself only to be giving a message. Direct speech is used to encode more forceful requests, in which the speaker is asking on behalf of the one whom he is quoting.

8.6.2 DIRECT SPEECH

In direct speech the quotation formula contains the inalienably possessed quotation noun *ka-* 'talk', which agrees in person and number with the quoted person. *Ka-* may come before the quoted material or after. In direct speech any verb of speech may be used followed by *ka-*.

- (64) a. *I-sou i-ma i-digo ka-na, "Iva-gu,*
3SG-go.down 3SG-come 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA brother.in.law-1SG.IA

kaga ku-vavai-va?"

what 2SG-IMPER-do

He went down and said, "Brother-in-law, what are you doing?"

- b. *I-vaiu, i-tuma-yava ka-na, "Sipwena, ku-ma*
3SG-arrive 3SG-beckon-to.bush talk-3SG.IA Sipwena 2SG-come

kewou ta-yagasi"

canoe 1PL.INC-slip

He arrived, he beckoned toward the bush, "Sipwena, come and let's slip the canoe".

Direct speech is very common, and quotations within quotations are found.

- (65) *Kina gomana tupwana gagai-na i-digo ka-na, "Geya,*
3SG.PN child little big-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA NEG

yau maine a-nove sina-da i-digo
1SG.PN earlier 1SG-hear.TR mother-1PL.INC.IA 3SG-say

ka-na, 'Gwalabeyai ko-gabu' "

talk-3SG.IA Gwalabeyai 2PL-roast

The child, who was a somewhat big one, said his talk, "No, earlier I heard our mother, who said, 'Roast Gwalabeyai' "

The direct speech formula may be reversed so that the quoted material comes first, followed by the quotation noun *ka-*. In such constructions it is necessary to affix *ka-* with *-e* 'old information'.

- (66) a. *"Geya, a:-kaiako", Sipwena ka-e-na.*
NEG 1SG.IMPER-remain Sipwena talk-OI-3SG.IA
"Nothing, I'm just here", said Sipwena.

- b. *"Komu nako koloto-i-mu? Yoi-mu ma-nako-yoi-na?",*
2SG.PN where man-?-2SG.IA name-2SG.IA COM-where-name-3SG.IA

dokanikani ka-e-na.

giant talk-OI-3SG.IA

“Where are you from? What is your name?”, said the giant.

It is possible to combine the two different direct speech formulae into one sentence.

- (67) “*Ame-ko ta-kaiaka*” *ka-da*, “*I-mi-sinapu*
 here-PLA.ADV 1PL.INC-remain talk-1PL.INC.IA CON-2PL-habit
dedei-na”, *ka-e-da* *ame i-mi-sinapu i-goyo...*
 good-3SG talk-OI-1PL.INC.IA here CON-2PL-habit 3SG-be.bad
 If we said, “Your habits are good”, then we would say, “We shall stay here”,
 but your habits are bad... (lit. “We stay here”, if we said, “your habits were
 good”, said we, but your customs are bad...)

9. MISCELLANEOUS DEVICES

In this section I discuss various devices in Gumawana, including abstractions and figures of speech.

9.1 FIGURES OF SPEECH

9.1.1 SIMILE

Simile in Gumawana is expressed using the word *nakae* ‘same, like’.

- (1) a. *Vaega moumou-na simentj nakae.*
 clay heavy-3SG cement like
 The heavy clay is like cement.
- b. *Moe nakae geya ku-nuwo-nuwona geya.*
 DEM like NEG 2SG-IMPER-think NEG
 You are not to think (habitually) like that.

9.1.2 METAPHOR

Metaphors are quite numerous in Gumawana. The characteristics of certain animals are used in describing people in the village.

If someone is wearing a shirt which is too big someone might label that person as being *magiaweda* ‘flying fox’ because the flying fox has wings which appear to be too big for the animal.

An unfriendly person is called *viviya* ‘wasp’ because the wasp stings for no reason and will attack without warning. *Viviya* may also refer to someone who builds without removing the old part but rather adds on. The similarity is that the wasp builds a mud house which he continually adds on to.

A person who is always wearing someone else's clothing is called *giloilo* ‘land crab’ because the land crab or hermit crab always takes various shells as his home.

If a person comes and visits but stays for a long time he is referred to as *yaowana* 'clam' because the *yaowana* attach themselves to large rocks in the ocean and remain there indefinitely.

A person called *kulasi* has the characteristics of the *kulasi* fish, which keeps its mouth open all the time and just stares.

Metaphor is sometimes used to hide the speaker's meaning from some listeners. The question in (2) is asked after a meal when betel nut is being divided up.

- (2) *Gaota si-loiteta si-sou koya giyai-di o geya?*
 cloud 3PL-skip 3PL-go.down mount small-3PL or NEG
 Are the clouds skipping down to the small mountains or not?

The *gaota* 'clouds' are the betel nut, the *koya giyai-di* 'small mountains' are small children and the *loiteta* 'to skip' refers to the dividing up of the betel nut. What they are asking is, 'Is there enough betel nut so that the small children can have some?'

9.1.3 EUPHEMISM

Euphemisms deal with death and sexual ideas.

- (3) a. *Tama-gu i-tagau.*
 father-1SG.IA 3SG-lost
 My father was lost. = My father died.
- b. *A-na-tuta i-babane.*
 PASS-3SG-time 3SG-find.TR
 He found his time. = He died.
- c. *Ka-kaiaka nakae five minutes yawo-i-na i-kavava.*
 1PL.EXC-remain like five minutes life-?-3SG.IA 3SG-be.finished
 We remained for five minutes and her life was finished. = We were there for five minutes and then she died.
- d. *Bogina a-nonoi-na.*
 PRF 1SG-IMPER-go
 I am already going. = I am dying.
- e. *A-masisi-ye.*
 1SG-sleep-OAD.TR
 I slept with her. = I had intercourse with her.
- f. *Sakava-i-na i-bisi-kone.*
 skin-?-3SG.IA 3SG-touch-try.TR
 He touched her skin. = He had intercourse with her.

9.1.4 HYPERBOLE

Hyperbole is found in Gumawana with the quantifier nouns such as *madaboki* 'all' and verbs like *kamasa* 'to die'.

- (4) a. *Boda madaboki-di si-na Wadalei Synod manu-na.*
 people all-3PL.IA 3PL-go Wadalei Synod for-3SG
 All the people went to Wadalei for the synod. = Most of the people went...
- b. *Loga a-kamasa.*
 hunger 1SG-die
 I'm starving. (lit. Hunger I die.)
- c. *Gogou a-kamasa.*
 cold 1SG-die
 I'm freezing to death. (lit. Cold I die.)

9.1.5 APOSTROPHE

Apostrophe occurs in Gumawana.

- (5) *O bolimana ku-ma!*
 o south-east.wind 2SG-come
 O south-east wind, come!

9.1.6 PERSONIFICATION

Personification is mainly found in legends or folktales about non-human beings which have the features of humans attributed to them.

- (6) a. *Utunea-di ka-di, "Kai bei ka-na i-tuli".*
 star.REF-3PL talk-3PL.IA 1Pl.EXC.PN PRO 1Pl.EXC-go 3SG-different
 The stars said, "We are going to go to a different place".
- b. *Ame gulewea-di ai-to Duau goi si-lokoina si-ma.*
 this rock.REF-3PL CL-three Duau PP 3PL-run 3PL-come
 These are three stones which came sailing from Duau.

9.1.7 IRONY

Irony is found extensively in Gumawana. Characteristically irony is indicated using the mood marker *tabe* or *kada go* 'talk but' and a change of the intonation, but *tabe* is not required.

In (7a) the intonation rises on *e* and falls on *moe*. But when the intonation rises on *e* and drops on *mo* with a rise at the end of the word (7b) the meaning is the opposite of what is said.

- / \
 (7) a. *E moe!*
 DEV that
 That's it!

- /
/ \ /
b. *E moe!*
so that
That's right! = No, that's wrong!

Example (8a) is used in complaining about someone coming and taking something without asking. In (8b) the person attempts to carry off the lime belonging to someone else. The owner makes the statement in (8b) and he gets his lime back. Example (8c) was heard in the middle of a game where people draw for a number. When it was not the right number the opponent came out with (8c) to be funny. The intonation patterns on (8a-c) are the same as (7b).

- (8) a. *Moe tabe kona-na i-kabi.*
that MOOD thing-3SG.IA 3SG-take(TR)
He certainly took his thing. = He took my thing.
- b. *Siya-gu tabe moe i-mu-yaguma ku-me a-kauli.*
friend-1SG.IA MOOD that CON-2SG-lime 2SG-come.TR 1SG-chew
My friend, bring your lime so I can chew. = That's my lime you are taking so bring it back so I can chew.
- c. *Ka-da go i-kaiaka.*
talk-1PL.INC.IA SW 3SG-remain
It should be there. = You wish it was there but it's not.

9.1.8 SYNECDOCHE

Synecdoche is also possible.

- (9) a. *Maisi-na nako?*
face-3SG.IA where
Where is he from? (face = person)
- b. *Ame tau-ya-na Nubogeta daba-na.*
this person-REF-3SG Nubogeta forehead-3SG.IA
This man is the leader of Nubogeta. (forehead = leader)

9.2 BORROWING

Words borrowed from English are incorporated into the Gumawana grammatical system. Gumawana speakers make verbs from English nouns just as they do from native nouns. In (10a) the noun *bolo* 'ball' has the subject prefix *ta-* and now has the extended meaning of 'soccer'.

- (10) a. *Ta-na ta-bolo.*
1PL.INC-go 1PL.INC-ball
Let's go play soccer.

- b. *A-talaim*.¹⁹
1SG-try
I try.
- c. *Ka-mikisi*.
1PL.EXC-mix(TR)
We mix it.
- d. *I-na-mitini Kwadima i-na-lokoina manu-na si-mitini*.
3SG-go-meeting Kwadima CON-3SG-run BEN-3SG 3PL-meet
He went to a meeting where they met for the running of Kwadima.

Example (11) shows the verbalisation of an English preposition/adverbial.

- (11) ...*Labe wopi goi ka-lousaidi*.
Rabe wharf PP 1PL.EXC-alongside
...we came alongside of the Rabe wharf.

Phonologically, words borrowed from English will normally add *-i* finally if the English word ends with a consonant.

(12)	Gumawana	Meaning	English
	<i>buki</i>	book	book
	<i>keseti</i>	cassette	cassette
	<i>pati</i>	feast	party
	<i>yusi</i>	to use something	to use
	<i>lampa</i>	light, lantern	lamp
	<i>kanseti</i>	skit, play	concert
	<i>toti</i>	torch, flashlight	torch
	<i>mikisi</i>	mix together	mix

9.3 ELLIPSIS

There are various occurrences of ellipsis (indicated by '—') in Gumawana. A single nominal may be deleted anaphorically.

- (13) a. *Siya-gu bao ai-yuwo i-yois-i-di go yau* —
friend-1SG.IA pig CL-two 3SG-catch-TR-3PL SW 1SG.PN
gayamo a-yois-i.
one 1SG-catch-TR
My friend caught two pigs and I caught one.
- b. *Iyana giyai-di pepeko pinada si-vini namoea-na go*
fish small-3PL *pepeko pinada* 3PL-give(TR) old.woman.REF-3SG SW
— *gagai-di Mogibeli natu-na taiyao a-di-iyana*.
big-3PL Mogibeli child-3SG.IA COM EAT-3PL-fish
They gave the old woman the fish which were small ones, such as *pepeko* and *pinada*, but the big ones were Mogibeli's and his son's fish.

¹⁹Editor's note: The presence of *-im* on *talaim* 'try' indicates that it has been borrowed from Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) or from the now extinct Papuan Pidgin English.

When two clauses are conjoined with *go*, it is normal for the subject or object noun phrase to be omitted in the second clause.

- (14) a. *Silekaleka kewou i-siya-e go maine — niu*
 Silekaleka canoe 3SG-flee-OAD.TR SW earlier coconut
bogina i-nonomi i-kabi i-kalisobuye.
 PRF 3SG-collect(TR) 3SG-take(TR) 3SG-drop.TR
 Silekaleka fled with the canoe, and the coconuts she had collected earlier,
 she took them to drop them.
- b. *Iva-gu a-mu-iyana go golao moe giyai-na*
 brother.in.law-1SG.IA EAT-2SG-fish SW fish.name that small-3SG
ku-vini-gu a-na — a-gabu.
 2SG-give-1SG 1SG-go 1SG-roast(TR)
 Brother-in-law, it is your fish, but that *golao*, you give me a little of it and
 I will go and roast it.

It is also possible to omit the entire verb along with its subject or object.

- (15) a. *Ku-wo ku-kaya-laga go geya —, i-doiye-mu.*
 2SG-go 2SG-swim-upwards SW NEG 3SG-drift.TR-2SG
 You go swim ashore but if you don't, you will drift.
- b. *Iyana badabada-i-di i-ginubasina go yau geya —.*
 fish many?-3PL.IA 3SG-spear SW 1SG.PN NEG
 He speared many fish, but me nothing (I didn't get any).

Example (16b) is the answer to the question in (16a) and the object and the verb from the question have been omitted.

- (16) a. *Kalitoni, ai-vina moku ku-ginubasi-di?*
 Kalitoni CL-how.many bait 2SG-spear-3PL
 Kalitoni, how many fish for bait did you spear?
- b. *Yau ka-gu, "Geya, go komu ai-vina — —?"*
 1SG.PN talk-1SG.IA NEG SW 2SG.PN CL-how.many
 I said, "None, but how many did you?"

Example (17) could possibly also be considered to show ellipsis. In this case the verb *-vini* 'to give' has been omitted.

- (17) *Da-Bosalewa kunumana si-vini-ma awoinu —*
 people.of-Bosalewa sago 3PL-give-1PL.EXC food
magi — luwasi —.
 betel.nut pepper
 The people of Bosalewa gave us sago and food and betel nut and pepper.

Clausal ellipsis allows an entire clause to be omitted. As in many languages, this is common with answers to questions. Consider the following questions (a) and answers (b). Note that in (19b) the answer consists only of *u* 'yes' and the perfect marker *bogina*.

- (18) a. *Be ku-paisewa o geya?*
 UNCRT 2SG-work or NEG
 Are you going to work or not?

- b. *U.*
yes
Yes.
- (19) a. *Kelebi bogina ku-latuwoko?*
Kelebi PRF 2SG-tell(TR)
Have you told Kelebi?
- b. *U, bogina.*
yes PRF
Yes, already.
- (20) a. *Oga a-di-kai-vina si-mamai-ma?*
canoe PASS-3PL-canoe-how.many 3PL-IMPER-come
How many canoes are coming?
- b. — *a-di-kai-nima.*
PASS-3PL-canoe-five
Five.

9.4 IDIOMS

Most idioms in Gumawana involve body parts of some kind. The most common body part used is *nukoto-* 'neck'.

- (21) a. *E Sipwena nukoto-na i-topa.*
DEV Sipwena neck-3SG.IA 3SG-ST.break
So Sipwena gave up.
- b. *Nukoto-gu i-molaela.*
neck-1SG.IA 3SG-nauseous
That makes me sick to my stomach.
- c. *Nukoto-mu i-kabi.*
neck-2SG.IA 3SG-get(TR)
You like it.

There are also several idioms involving *daba-* 'forehead'.

- (22) a. *Daba-na i-patu.*
forehead-3SG.IA 3SG-enclosed
He is stupid.
- b. *Daba-gu i-lokoina.*
forehead-1SG.IA 3SG-run
I am smart.
- c. *Daba-mu i-kasa.*
forehead-2SG.IA 3SG-hard
You are stubborn.

The centre of emotions in Gumawana is the neck and that is the place where *nuwo-* 'thought' resides.

- (23) a. *Nuwo-gu i-mou.*
 thought-1SG.IA 3SG-heavy
 I am sad.
- b. *Nuwo-mu i-gini.*
 thought-2SG.IA 3SG-write(TR)
 You lie.

Other body parts are also used in idiomatic expressions.

- (24) a. *O-gu i-kai.*
 body-1SG.IA 3SG-tired
 I don't like it.
- b. *Ate-da i-yova.*
 liver-1PL.INC.IA 3SG-fly
 We were worried/afraid.
- c. *Gamo-na i-goyo.*
 stomach-3SG.IA 3SG-be.bad
 He is mad.

10. TEXTS

Two texts are given below. The first is by Kalitoni Gaiyau of Nubogeta Island, and is a traditional narrative entitled *Sipwena*. The second is a narrative of recent events by Bunore, also of Nubogeta.

10.1 TEXT 1: SIPWENA

Xoroto tayamo yoina Sipwena, tauyana maniuna
koloto tai-mo yoi-na Sipwena tau-ia-na ma-niu-na
 man one-only name-3SG.IA Sipwena person-REF-3SG COM-sib.opp.sex-3SG.IA

sikayaxa
si-kaiaka
 3PL-live

There was a man whose name was Sipwena who lived with his sister.

Sinadi be tamadi bogina sikamasa.
sina-di be tama-di bogina si-kamas
 mother-3PL.IA and father-3PL.IA PRF 3PL-die
 Their mother and father had died.

Ago kina maniuna sikayaxa aditaiyuwo
ago kina ma-niu-na si-kaiaka a-di-tai-iuwo
 SW 3SG.PN COM-sib.opp.sex-3SG.IA 3PL-live PASS-3PL-man-two

adikasa yoina Moninita.
a-di-kasa yoi-na Moninita
 PASS-3PL-place name-3PL.IA Moninita

But he and his sister lived, the two of them at their place called Moninita.

Sikayaxa, niuna inai monena doxanikani.
si-kaiaka niu-na i-nai mone-na dokanikani
 3PL-remain sib.opp.sex-3SG.IA 3SG-marry spouse-3SG.IA giant
 They lived on and his sister married; her husband was a giant.

Doxanikaniyana inaxasa xoya, aseana yoina Ayona.
dokanikani-ia-na i-na-kasa koia kasa-ia-na yoi-na Aiona
 giant-REF-3SG CON-3SG-place mountain place-REF-3SG name-3SG.IA Ayona
 The giant's place was on a mountain the name of which was Ayona.

E vavineana ituko ina doxanikani inaxasa goi
e vavina-ia-na i-tuko i-na dokanikani i-na-kasa goi
 DEV woman-REF-3SG 3SG-ascend 3SG-go giant CON-3SG-place PP

sikaiaxa.

si-kaiaka

3PL-live

So the woman ascended to the giant's place where they lived.

Ago Sipweneana aneta Moninita goi ikayaxo.
ago Sipwena-ia-na a-na-ita Moninita goi i-kaiaka
 SW Sipwena-REF-3SG PASS-3SG-LIM Moninita PP 3SG-live
 But Sipwena lived by himself at Moninita.

Laveana bogina vavina inai, doxanikani ivatowo bei iyana
lava-ia-na bogina vavina i-nai dokanikani i-ivatowo bei iian
 time-REF-3SG PRF woman 3SG-marry giant 3SG-begin PRO fish

ilusala.

i-lusala

3SG-look.for

When the woman had married, the giant began to look for fish.

E lava tayamo inaxabela xonanina ikabidi, isou
e lava taia-mo i-na-kabela konan-i-na i-kabi-di i-sou
 DEV time one-only CON-3SG-fish thing-?-3SG.IA 3SG-take-3PL 3SG-descend

ima negwasa.

i-ma neguas

3SG-come ocean

So on one occasion he took he fishing gear and came down to the ocean.

Inakewou ikayaxa aolao Sipwena inavada kikina.
i-na-keuou i-kaiaka kaolao Sipwena i-na-vada kiki-na
 CON-3SG-canoe 3SG-remain slip Sipwena CON-3SG-house next-3SG.IA
 His canoe was on a slip next to Sipwena's house.

E doxanikani-yana isou.

e dokanikani-ia-na i-sou

DEV giant-REF-3SG 3SG-descend

So the giant went down.

Isou, ima idigo xana, "Ivagu, xaga
i-sou i-ma i-diga ka-na iva-gu kaga
 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-say talk-3SG brother.in.law-1SG.IA what

kuvavaiva?".

ku-RDP-va

2SG-IMPER-do

He came down and said, "Brother-in-law, what are you doing?"

"Geya, a:xayaxa", Sipwena xaena.
geia a:kaiaka Sipwena ka-e-na
 NEG 1SG-IMPER-be.there Sipwena talk-OI-3SG.IA

"Nothing, I'm just sitting here", said Sipwena.

E doxanikaniyana idigo xana, "Kubalema gunakewou
e dokanikani-ia-na i-diga ka-na ku-bala-i-ma guna-keuou
 DEV giant-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA 2SG-across-?-come 1SG.POSS-canoe

talusobuye ana axabela".

ta-lu-sobu-ia-i a-na a-kabela

1PL.INC-lift-down-OAD-TR 1SG-go 1SG-fish

Then the giant said, "Come here; let's launch my canoe so I can go fishing".

E Sipwena ibala ina, doxanikaniyana idigo xana,
e Sipwena i-bala i-na dokanikani-ia-na i-diga ka-na
 DEV Sipwena 3SG-across 3SG-go giant-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA

"Kuna kewou matakubuna kukibode".

ku-na keuou matakubu-na ku-ki-boda-i

2SG-go canoe bow-3SG.IA 2SG-by.hand-block-TR

So Sipwena went across and the giant said, "Go and hold the bow of the canoe".

E Sipwena iiwo ina pusa goi iyoita.
e Sipwena i-iva i-na pusa goi i-ioit
 DEV Sipwena 3SG-seaward 3SG-go bow PP 3SG-hold

So Sipwena moved seaward to the bow, where he held on.

Iyoita, doxanikaniyana imeyava xana, "Kupi yamam kupi
i-ioit dokanikani-ia-na i-meiv ka-na kupi yama-mu kupi
 3SG-hold giant-REF-3SG 3SG-magic talk-3SG.IA ? ?-2SG ?

kaikemu kupaa butuu".

kaike-mu kupaa butuu

?-2SG ? ?

He held on and the giant did magic and said, "[giant's language: not translatable]".

E Sipwena ikapusi isou, ikanabalabala naxae nawala.
e Sipwena i-kapusi i-sou i-kana-RDP-bala nakae naual
 DEV Sipwena 3SG-fall 3SG-descend 3SG-by.lay-IMPER-across same slip.support

Then Sipwena fell down and lay horizontal like a slip support pole.

Ago doxanikaniyana kewou ivaseseli ina isou negwasa.
ago dokanikani-ia-na keou i-va-seseal-i i-na i-sou neguas
 SW giant-REF-3SG canoe 3SG-CAUS-slide-TR 3SG-go 3SG-descend ocean
 And the giant slid the canoe down to the ocean.

E kina Sipwena imeyava xana, "Soinu yamagu soinu kaikegu
e kina Sipwena i-mejav ka-na soinu yama-gu soinu kaike-gu
 DEV 3SG.PN Sipwena 3SG-magic talk-3SG.IA ? ?-1SG ? ?-1SG

sososoinousoinu".

sososoinousoinu

?

Then Sipwena did magic and said, "[magic formula: not translatable]".

E Sipweneana itaoya isapinunuwo, ibala ina
e Sipwena-ia-na i-taoia i-sapi-nunuv i-bala i-na
 DEV Sipwena-REF-3SG 3SG-stand.up 3SG-slap-brush 3SG-across 3SG-go

inavada isiu ikayaxa.
i-na-vada i-siu i-kaiaka
 CON-3SG-house 3SG-enter 3SG-remain

Then Sipwena stood up to brush himself and crossed over to his house, entered it and remained there.

Kina go doxanikani ina ikabela.
kina go dokanikani i-na i-kabela
 3SG.PN SW giant 3SG-go 3SG-fish
 Now the giant went fishing.

Ikabela, lavilavi bogina ima ivayu.
i-kabela lavilavi bogina i-ma i-vaiu
 3SG-fish evening PRF 3SG-come 3SG-arrive
 He fished, and in the evening he arrived back.

Ivayu, itumayava xana, "Sipwena, kuma kewou
i-vaiu i-tuma-iava ka-na Sipwena ku-ma keou
 3SG-arrive 3SG-beckon-to.bush talk-3SG.IA Sipwena 2SG-come canoe

tayagasi".

ta-iagat-i

1PL.INC-beach-TR

He arrived and he beckoned to the shore, "Sipwena, come let's beach the canoe".

Sipwena ibala ina, doxanikaniyana idigo xana, "Kuna
Sipwena i-bala i-na dokanikani-ia-na i-diga ka-na ku-na
 Sipwena 3SG-across 3SG-go giant-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA 2SG-go

kewou matakubuna kukibode".

keou matakubu-na ku-ki-boda-i

canoe bow-3SG.IA 2SG-by.hand-block-TR

Sipwena crossed over and the giant said, "Go and hold the bow of the canoe".

E Sipwena ina pusa goi iyoita.
e Sipwena i-na pusa goi i-ioit
 DEV Sipwena 3SG-go bow PP 3SG-hold
 So Sipwena went to the bow, where he held on.

Iyoita, doxanikani-yana imeyava xana, "Kupi yamamu kupi
i-ioit dokanikani-ia-na i-mejav ka-na kupi yama-mu kupi
 3SG-hold giant-REF-3SG 3SG-magic talk-3SG.IA ? ?-2SG ?

kaikemu kupaa butuu".
kaike-mu kupaa butuu
 ?-2SG ? ?

He held on and the giant did magic and said, "[giant's language: not translatable]".

E Sipwena ikapusi isou, ikanabalabala.
e Sipwena i-kapusi i-sou i-kana-RDP-bala
 DEV Sipwena 3SG-fall 3SG-descend 3SG-by.lie-IMPER-across
 Then Sipwena fell down and lay horizontal.

Ago doxanikaniyana kewou ivaseseli ina mamaya.
ago dokanikani-ia-na keuou i-va-sesal-i i-na mamaia
 SW giant-REF-3SG canoe 3SG-CAUS-slide-TR 3SG-go shore
 And the giant slid the canoe down to the shore.

E Sipwena kina imeyava xana, "Soinu yamagu soinu
e Sipwena kina i-mejav ka-na soinu yama-gu soinu
 DEV Sipwena 3SG.PN 3SG-magic talk-3SG.IA ? ?-1SG ?

kaikegu sososinusoinu".
kaike-gu sososinusoinu
 ?-1SG ?

Then Sipwena did magic and said, "[magic formula: not translatable]".

Sipwena itaoya, idigo xana, "Ivagu, amiyana
Sipwena i-taoya i-diga ka-na iva-gu a-mu-iiiana
 Sipwena 3SG-stand.up 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA brother.in.law-1SG.IA EAT-2SG-fish

go, golao moe giyaina kuvinigu ana agabu".
go golao moe giiai-na ku-vini-gu a-na a-gabu
 SW fish.name that small-3SG 2SG-give-1SG 1SG-go 1SG-roast
 Sipwena stood up and said, "Brother-in-law, it's your fish but give me a little of that *golao* and I will go roast it".

Doxanikaniyana idigo xana, "Geya, ame go, niu
dokanikani-ia-na i-diga ka-na geia ame go niu-mu
 giant-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA NEG this SW sib.opp.sex-2SG.IA

nunuona go ame".
nunuo-na go ame
 desire-3SG.IA SW this

The giant said, "No, as for this one, your sister wants this one".

"O, *dedevina tuwo.*
o dedevi-na tuua
 "Oh fine, that's fine.

Go sem, pakiki moe giyaina kuvinigu ana agabu."
go semu pakiki moe giiai-na ku-vini-gu a-na a-abu
 SW however fish.name that small-3SG 2SG-give-1SG 1SG-go 1SG-roast
 However, give me that small *pakiki* and I will go and roast it."

"*Geya, ame go nium nunuona toina go ame."*
geia ame go niu-mu nunuo-na toi-na go ame
 NEG this SW sib.opp.sex-2SG.IA desire-3SG.IA very-3SG SW this
 "No, as for this one, your sister really wants this one."

"*Dedevine tuwo.*
dedevi-na tuua
 good-3SG enough
 "Fine, that's all right.

Go sem, moe ammoku kudabedi go, bulubuludi kuvinigu
go semu moe a-mu-moku ku-daba-i-di go bulubulu-di ku-vini-gu
 SW however that EAT-2SG-bait 2SG-cut-TR-3PL SW head-3PL.IA 2SG-give-1SG
ana boxoyo axaigabu."
a-na bokoio a-kai-gabun
 1SG-go necessitate 1SG-set-roast
 But those there are your bait; cut them and give me the heads and I will even go and roast them."

"*Geya, ame go, nium nunuona toina toina go ame."*
geia ame go niu-mu nunuo-na toi-na toi-na go ame
 NEG this SW sib.opp.sex-2SG.IA desire-3SG.IA very-3SG very-3SG SW this
 "No, as for this, your sister really really wants this."

E Sipwena nukotona itopa.
e Sipwena nukoto-na i-ta-upa
 DEV Sipwena neck-3SG.IA 3SG-ST-break
 So Sipwena gave up.

Ibala ina inavada isiu.
i-bala i-na i-na-vada i-siu
 3SG-across 3SG-go CON-3SG-house 3SG-enter
 He crossed to his house and went in.

Geya tayamo xaga ikayaxa bei ikaika.
geia taia-mo kaga i-kaiaka bei i-kaika
 NEG one-only what 3SG-remain PRO 3SG-meal
 There was not one thing remaining for him to eat.

Avana tauna nona kewoina.
kava-na tauna nona keuo-i-na
 food-3SG.IA that's.it fruit.name fruit-?-3SG.IA
 His food was only the fruit of the *nona*.

Tayamo ikabi ikani, imasisi.
taia-mo i-kabi i-kani i-masisi
 one-only 3SG-get 3SG-eat 3SG-sleep
 He got one to eat then slept.

Doxanikaniyana anaiyana ikavala ituko ina monena.
dokanikani-ia-na a-na-iian i-kavala i-tuko i-na mone-na
 giant-REF-3SG EAT-3SG-fish 3SG-carry 3SG-ascend 3SG-go spouse-3SG.IA
 The giant carried his fish up to his wife.

Ina monena, iyana ivini ivai polu.
i-na mone-na iian i-vini i-vai-polu
 3SG-go spouse-3SG.IA fish 3SG-give 3SG-CAUS-boil
 He went to his wife, and he gave her the fish for her to boil.

Ivai polu, ivameo ivaideda.
i-vai-polu i-va-meva i-vai-deda
 3SG-CAUS-boil 3SG-CAUS-cook 3SG-CAUS-serve
 She boiled and cooked it, then she dished it out.

Idigo xana, "Toi kuma memeya kumataxavate go, yau
i-diga ka-na toi ku-ma memeia ku-mata-kavata-i go iau
 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA man 2SG-come baby 2SG-with. eye-hold-TR go 1SG.PN

ana Sipwena avana avini".
a-na Sipwena kava-na a-vini
 1SG-go Sipwena food-3SG.IA 1SG-give
 She said, "Hey, come and watch the baby and I will go give Sipwena his food".

Go kina doxanikaniyana idigo xana, "I kwayaxamo.
ago kina dokanikani-ia-na i-diga ka-na i ku-kaiaka-mo
 SW 3SG.PN giant-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA hey 2SG-stay-only
 But the giant said, "Hey, you just stay.

Kume yau toinigu anava xom bei govila
ku-ma-i iau toini-gu a-nava-i komu bei govila
 2SG-come-TR 1SG.PN REFL-1SG 1SG-take-TR 2SG.PN PRO lest

kwaimumuna memeya itaiya.
ku-kaimumuna memeia i-taiia
 2SG-be.slow baby 3SG-cry
 Bring it so I can take it myself lest you are slow and the baby cries.

Kume, yau xoroto aegu ponaponaina ana avini".
ku-ma-i iau koloto kae-gu ponapona-i-na a-na a-vini
 2SG-come-TR 1SG.PN man leg-1SG.IA fast-?-3SG 1SG-go 1SG-give
 Bring it and I who am a man with fast legs will go and give it to him".

E doxanikaniyana noxo ikavale isou.
e dokanikani-ia-na noko i-kavala-i i-sou
 DEV giant-REF-3SG wood.plate 3SG-carry-TR 3SG-descend
 So the giant carried the plate down.

Isou ima ima aaa kenao tolobona goi awoinu ikani.
i-sou i-ma i-ma aaa kenao tolobo-na goi kauoinu i-kani
 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-come until path middle-3SG PP food 3SG-eat
 He went down and down until half way down the path he ate the food.

Ikani ikanisave, noxo ikalave go, ikaluvila
i-kani i-kani-sava-i noko i-kalava-i go i-kaluvila
 3SG-eat 3SG-eat-complete-TR wood.plate 3SG-leave-TR SW 3SG-return

monena goi avadi sikaika.
mone-na goi kava-di si-kaika
 spouse-3SG.IA PP food-3PL 3PL-meal

He ate it and he finished it, then left the plate and returned to his wife where they ate their food.

Sikaika ikavava, simasisi.
si-kaika i-kavava si-masisi
 3PL-meal 3SG-be.finished 3PL-sleep
 After they ate, they slept.

Vavina inanuwonuwona xana, "Bogina niugu ikaika".
vavina i-na-nuonuuona ka-na bogina niu-gu i-kaika
 woman CON-3SG-think talk-3SG.IA PRF sib.opp.sex-1SG.IA 3SG-meal
 The woman was thinking, "My brother has eaten".

Go geya, awoinuyadi doxanikani ikanidi.
ago geia kauoinu-ia-di dokanikani i-kani-di
 SW NEG food-REF-3PL giant 3SG-eat-3PL
 But that was not the case; the giant had eaten the food.

E simasisi, vanuwo itomo naxae.
e si-masisi vanuwo i-tomo nakae
 DEV 3PL-sleep place 3SG-be.next.day same
 So they slept, and the next day it was the same.

Doxanikaniyana inapaisewa abela.
dokanikani-ia-na i-na-paiseua kabela
 giant-REF-3SG CON-3SG-work fish
 The giant's work was fishing.

Lava liliuna inonoina ikabela.
lave liliu-na i-nonoi-na i-kabela
 time many-3SG.IA 3SG-IMPER-go 3SG-fish
 Many times he went fishing.

Ago ima, tayamo sinapuyana; iyana Sipwena ikawanoi, geya
ago i-ma taia-mo sinapu-ia-na iian Sipwena i-kauanoi geia
 SW 3SG-come one-only habit-REF-3SG fish Sipwena 3SG-beg NEG

ivinivini.

i-RDP-vini
 3SG-IMPER-give

But he came, and one of his customs was that when Sipwena would ask for fish, he would never give any to him.

Niga go lavilavi sivaipolu avana, naxae.
niga go lavilavi si-vai-polu kava-na nakae
 afterwards SW evening 3PL-CAUS-boil food-3SG.IA same

Afterwards, in the evening they would cook their foods, and it was the same.

Doxanikaniyana ikabidi imedi kenao tolobona goi
dokanikani-ia-na i-kabi-di i-ma-i-di kenao tolobo-na goi
 giant-REF-3SG 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-come-TR-3PL path middle-3SG.IA PP

ikanidi go, Sipwena manaloga imasisi lava badabadaina.
i-kani-di go Sipwena ma-a-na-loga i-masisi lava badabada-i-na
 3SG-eat-3PL SW Sipwena COM-PASS-3SG-hunger 3SG-sleep time many-?-3SG.IA

The giant took them and went half way down the path where he ate them, and Sipwena went to sleep hungry many times.

Sabamgo tayamo Sipwena inuwonuwona gagaina xaga bei ikani
sabamugo taia-mo Sipwena i-RDP-nuuona gagai-na kaga bei i-kani
 night one-only Sipwena 3SG-IMPER-think big-3SG what PRO 3SG-eat

unana avaneana nona keuoina bogina
unana kava-na-ia-na nona keuo-i-na bogina
 because food-3SG.IA-REF-3SG fruit.name fruit-?-3SG PRF

anaxabalukavava.

a-na-kaba-lu-kavava

PASS-3SG-LOC.NOM-CAUS-be.finished

One night Sipwena was thinking a lot about what he would eat because his food, the fruit of the *nona*, had come to an end.

Tayamo toito ikayaxo, bei nobuyana ikani, ikavava.
taia-mo toito i-kaiaka bei nobuiana i-kani i-kavava
 one-only only 3SG-remain PRO morning 3SG-eat 3SG-be.finished

Only one remained and he would eat it in the morning, and it would be finished.

Sipwena inanamsa xana, "O apoikiki be asa ame axalave
Sipwena i-nanamus ka-na o a-poikiki be kasa ame a-kalava-i
 Sipwena 3SG-think talk-3SG.IA oh 1SG-try UNCRT place this 1SG-leave-TR

ana alusala avagu.

a-na a-lusala kava-gu

1SG-go 1SG-search.for food-1SG.IA

Sipwena thought, "Oh, I will try to leave this place in order to go and look for my food.

Govila akayaxa amexo, bei amasa ababane".
govila a-kaiaka ame-ko bei kamas a-babana-i
 lest 1SG-stay this-PLA-ADV PRO die 1SG-meet-TR

If I remain here, I am going to meet death".

Nobuyana itaoya, inakudula ivakau.
nobuiana i-taoia i-na-kudula i-vakau
 morning 3SG-get.up CON-3SG-spear 3SG-tie

In the morning he got up and tied his spear.

Ivakau go, doxanikaniyana bogina isou ima.
i-vakau go dokanikani-ia-na bogina i-sou i-ma
 3SG-tie SW giant-REF-3SG PRF 3SG-descend 3SG-come
 He tied it, but the giant had come down.

Idigo xana, "Ivagu, kuma gunakewou
i-diga ka-na iva-gu ku-ma guna-keuou
 3SG-say talk-3G.IA brother.in.law-1SG.IA 2SG-come 1SG.POSS-canoë

talusobuye".

ta-lu-sobu-ia-i

1PL.INC-CAUS-down-OAD-TR

He said, "My brother-in-law, come and let's launch my canoe".

Go Sipwena idigo xana, "Siagu, anuwe geya
ago Sipwena i-diga ka-na sia-gu a-nuua-i geia
 SW Sipwena 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA friend-1SG.IA 1SG-think-TR NEG

itoboineguta bei avaitem.
i-toboina-i-gu-ita bei a-vaita-i-mu
 3SG-possible-TR-1SG-LIM PRO 1SG-help-TR-2SG

But Sipwena said, "My friend, I don't think it is possible for me to help you.

Maliyalina manawena bogina avaitemu go, aika geya.
maliialina manave-na bogina a-vaita-i-mu go kaika geia
 day long-3SG.IA PRF 1SG-help-TR-2SG SW meal NEG
 For a long time I have helped, but with no food.

Gunatogaga madaboikina bogina ikavava".
guna-togaga madaboiki-na bogina i-kavava
 1SG.POSS-strong all-3SG.IA PRF 3SG-be.finished
 All of my strength has finished".

Doxanikaniyana ibolagu idigo xana, "Kuma, iyana aika
dokanikani-ia-na i-bolagu i-diga ka-na ku-ma iian kaika
 giant-REF-3SG 2SG-rebuke 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA 2SG-come fish meal

naxae ae?

nakae ae

same TM

The giant rebuked him and said, "Come, (you don't want) fish like (you don't want) food, right?"

Poila bomadi go, xoxaobodaboda kuma!".
poila boma-di go ko-kao-RDP-boda ku-ma
 hunt forbidden-3PL.IA SW 2PL-by.mouth-IMPER-block 2SG-come
 All hunting is forbidden and so stop answering back and come!".

Sipwena bogina ikawowoteya gagaina toina go, tuwo
Sipwena bogina i-ka-uouo-teia gagai-na toi-na go tuua
 Sipwena PRF 3SG-INCH-body-tire big-3SG very-3SG SW NONDEV

ipoikikina ina ivaite.

i-poikikin i-na i-vaita-i

3SG-try 3SG-go 3SG-help-TR

Sipwena was really tired out but he tried anyway and went to help him.

Laveana ibala ina, doxanikani idigo xana, "Kuna
lava-ia-na i-bala i-na dokanikani i-diga ka-na ku-na
 time-REF-3SG 3SG-across 3SG-go giant 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA 2SG-go

kewou matakubuna kukibode".

keuou matakubu-na ku-ki-boda-i

canoe bow-3SG.IA 2SG-by.hand-block-TR

When he went over, the giant said, "Go and hold the bow of the canoe".

E Sipwena iiwo ina pusa goi iyoita.

e Sipwena i-iva i-na pusa goi i-ioit

DEV Sipwena 3SG-seaward 3SG-go bow PP 3SG-hold

So Sipwena moved seaward to the bow, where he held on.

Iyoita, doxanikaniyana imeyava xana, "Kupi yamam kupu
i-ioit dokanikani-ia-na i-meiaiv ka-na kupi yama-mu kupu
 3SG-hold giant-REF-3SG 3SG-magic talk-3SG.IA ? ?-2SG ?

kaikem kupaa butuu".

kaike-mu kupaa butuu

?-2SG ? ?

He held on and the giant did magic saying, "[giant's language: not translatable]".

E Sipwena ikapusi isou, i-kanabalabala naxae nawala.

e Sipwena i-kapusi i-sou i-kana-RDP-bala nakae naual

DEV Sipwena 3SG-trip 3SG-descend 3SG-by.lie-IMPER-across same slip.support

Then Sipwena fell down and lay horizontally like a slip support pole.

Ago doxanikaniyana kewou ivaseseli ina isou negwasa.

ago dokanikani-ia-na keuou i-va-sesal-i i-na i-sou neguas

SW giant-REF-3SG canoe 3SG-CAUS-slide-TR 3SG-go 3SG-descend ocean

But the giant slid the canoe down to the ocean.

E kina Sipwena imeyava xana, "Soinu yamagu soinu kaikegu

e kina Sipwena i-meiaiv ka-na soinu iama-gu soinu kaike-gu

DEV 3SG.PN Sipwena 3SG-magic talk-3SG.IA ? ?-1SG ? ?-1SG

sososoinusoinu".

sososoinusoinu

?

Then Sipwena did magic saying, "[magic formula: not translatable]".

E Sipweneana itaoya isapinunuwo, ibala ina

e Sipwena-ia-na i-taoya i-sapi-nunuv i-bala i-na

DEV Sipwena-REF-3SG 3SG-stand.up 3SG-slap-brush 3SG-across 3SG-go

inagabula isiu, anakudula ivaxau.
i-na-gabula i-siu a-na-kudula i-vakau
 CON-3SG-under.house 3SG-enter PASS-3SG-spear 3SG-tie

Then Sipwena got up and brushed himself off and went across to the under part of the house, went in and tied his spear.

Kina go doxanikaniyana ina ikabela.
kina go dokanikani-ia-na i-na i-kabela
 3SG.PN SW giant-REF-3SG 3SG-go 3SG-fish

As for the giant, he went fishing.

E kina go vavina inuwonuwona xana, "Yau apoikiki
e kina go vavina i-RDP-nuwona ka-na iau a-poikiki
 DEV 3SG.PN SW woman 3SG-IMPER-think talk-3SG.IA 1 SG.PN 1 SG-try

be ana Sipwena avadade.

be a-na Sipwena a-va-dada-i

UNCRT 1SG-go Sipwena 1SG-by.foot-unseen-TR

But as for the woman, she was thinking, "I will try and go visit Sipwena.

Xaga unana noxo geya i:memedi?
kaga una-na noko geia i:-ma-ma-i-di
 what base-3SG.IA wood.plate NEG 3SG.IMPER-RDP-come-TR-3PL

Why is he not bringing back the wooden plates?

Noxo naxo iyatoidi?"

noko nako i-iata-i-di

wood.plate where 3SG-put-TR-3PL

Where did he put them?"

E vavina awoinu ituwomate, natuna ikabi, awoinuyana
e vavina kauoynu i-tuomata-i natu-na i-kabi kauoynu-ia-na
 DEV woman food 3SG-mash-TR offspring-3SG.IA 3SG-take food-REF-3SG

ikavale isou ima Sipwena igite.

i-kavala-i i-sou i-ma Sipwena i-gita-i

3SG-carry-TR 3SG-descend 3SG-come Sipwena 3SG-see-TR

So the woman mashed food, took her child and carried the food down to see Sipwena.

Ago Sipwena bogina ikatubayasi, bei iketoiya.
ago Sipwena bogina i-katubaiasin bei i-ketoiia
 SW Sipwena PRF 3SG-prepare PRO 3SG-walk

But Sipwena had prepared and was about to walk.

Kina vavina iketoiya.

kina vavina i-ketoiia

3SG woman 3SG-walk

As for the woman, she walked.

Iketoiya, isowodo idoiwo

Sipwena igite konana

i-ketoiia i-souduva i-do-iva

Sipwena i-gita-i kona-na

3SG-walk 3SG-appear 3SG-with.head-seaward Sipwena 3SG-see-TR thing-3SG.IA

katubayasi.

katubaiasi

prepare

She walked and when she arrived she looked towards the ocean and saw Sipwena preparing his things.

Idigo xana, "Sipwena naxo kuna bei?"

i-diga ka-na Sipwena nako ku-na bei

3SG-say talk-3SG.IA Sipwena where 2SG-go PRO

She said, "Where are you going?"

"Geya, ana dobala avayali."

geia a-na dobala a-vaiali

NEG 1SG-go there 1SG-walk.on.shore

"Nowhere, I will go walking along the shore over there."

"Ae?"

ae

TM

"Is that right?"

O dedevina.

o dedevi-na

oh good-3SG

Oh, that is fine.

Kuma avam goame.

ku-ma kava-mu go-ame

2SG-come food-2SG LOC.ADV-this

Come, here is your food.

Kwaika go, kuna kuvayali."

ku-kaika go ku-na ku-vaiali

2SG-meal SW 2SG-go 2SG-walk.on.shore

Eat, then go walk on the shore."

Sipwena idigo xana, "Tuwo, avami xonave xoxani".

Sipwena i-diga ka-na tuua kava-mi ko-nava-i ko-kani

Sipwena 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA enough food-2PL.IA 2PL-take-TR 2PL-eat

Sipwena said, "That's all right, you take your food and eat it".

"Xaga pasina?"

kaga pasi-na

what reason-3SG

"Why?"

"Geya, tuwo avami go, yau ame bogina bei ana avagu

geia tuua kava-mi go iau ame bogina bei a-na kava-gu

NEG enough food-2PL SW 1SG.PN today PRF PRO 1SG-go food-1SG.IA

alusala axaika.

a-lusala a-kaika

1SG-search.for 1SG-meal

“Nothing, that’s all right, it’s your food and I’m already going today to look for my food to eat.

Monem taiyao avami xoxaxaika go, aguloga

mone-mu taiiao kava-mi ko-RDP-kaika go a-gu-loga

spouse-2SG.IA COM food-2PL.IA 2PL-IMPER-meal SW PASS-1SG-hunger

amasisi.

a-masisi

1SG.sleep

You and your husband eat your food together but I go to sleep hungry.

Gunanona bogina ikavava.

guna-nona bogina i-kavava

1SG.POSS-fruit.name PRF 3SG-be.finished

My *nona* fruit is all gone.

Ame aketoiya ana avagu alusala.”

ame a-ketoiia a-na kava-gu a-lusala

today 1SG-walk 1SG-go food-1SG.IA 1SG-search.for

Today I will go and look for my food.”

“Ago lava liliuna doxanikani manoxoidi

ago lava liliu-na dokanikani ma-noko-i-di

SW time many-3SG.IA giant COM-wood.plate-?-3PL

i:memedi, naxo xo:yatoidi?”

i:-ma-ma-i-di nako ko:-iata-i-di

3SG.IMPER-RDP-come-TR-3PL where 2PL.IMPER-put-TR-3PL

“But every time the giant brought the plates, where did you put them?”

“Sekidi aminoxo, avami.

seki-di a-mi-noko kava-mi

don’t.know-3PL PASS-2PL-wood.plate food-2PL.IA

“I don’t know, they are your wooden plates, your food.

Yau avagu nona keuwoina bogina ikavava.

iau kava-gu nona keuua-i-na bogina i-kavava

1SG.PN food-1SG.IA fruit fruit-?-3SG.IA PRF 3SG-be.finished

My food which is the fruit of the *nona* is all finished.

Tauna bei aketoiya ana avagu alusala.”

tauna bei a-ketoiia a-na kava-gu a-lusala

RESULT PRO 1SG-walk 1SG-go food-1SG.IA 1SG-search.for

Therefore I am going to go look for my food.

E xoroto itaoya, inakudula ikavale, iketoiya ivatabale.

e koloto i-taoya i-na-kudula i-kavala-i i-ketoiia i-vata-bala-i

DEV man 3SG-stand.up CON-3SG-spear 3SG-carry-TR 3SG-walk 3SG-?-across-TR

So the man stood up, carried his spear and walked across.

Niuna itaiya mlina iketoiya manatuna.
niu-na i-taiia muli-na i-ketoiia ma-natu-na
 sib.opp.sex-3SG.IA 3SG-cry behind-3SG.IA 3SG-walk COM-offspring-3SG.IA
 His sister cried, walking behind him with her child.

Xoroto ikanidovila igitedi idigo xana, "I: kwaluvila
koloto i-kanido-vila i-gita-i-di i-diga ka-na ii ku-kaluvila
 man 3SG-with.head-turn 3SG-see-TR-3PL 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA hey 2SG-return
 The man looked back and saw them, he said, "Hey, go back.

Doiyagu kwaluvile gunaloseyana be mligu
doiya-gu ku-kaluvila-i guna-loseyana be muli-gu
 nephew-1SG.IA 2SG-return-TR 1SG-POSS-heir and behind-1SG.IA

xosaku:rikuri xoxapusi gomana ivatumate".
ko-sakulikuli ko-kapusi gomana i-vatu-mata-i
 2PL-follow.IMPER 2PL-fall child 3SG-by.falling-die-TR
 Return my nephew, my heir. If you follow me and you fall, the child will die".

Ago iya vavina itaiya, xana, "O niugu, kuma
ago iia vavina i-taiia ka-na o niu-gu ku-ma
 SW 3SG.PN woman 3SG-cry talk-3SG.IA oh sib.opp.sex-1SG.IA 2SG-come

taxaluvila tana asa tayamo goi xoroto tayamo anai bei
ta-kaluvila ta-na kasa taia-mo goi koloto taia-mo a-nai bei
 1PL.INC-return 1PL.INC-go place one-only PP man one-only 1SG-marry PRO

moexo taxayaxa".
moe-ko ta-kaiaka
 that-PLA.ADV 1PL.INC-live

But the woman cried and said, "Oh, my brother, come and let's return to a place where I will marry a man and there we will live".

Xoroto idigo xana, "Geya, tuwo, xowo doxanikani xogite be
koloto i-diga ka-na geia tuua ko-va dokanikani ko-gita-i be
 man 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA NEG enough 2PL-go giant 2PL-see-TR UNCRT

ima igita geya govila ima ikanimi.
i-ma i-gita geia govila i-ma i-kani-mi
 3SG-come 3SG-see NEG otherwise 3SG-come 3SG-eat-2PL

The man said, "No, enough, go and see the giant in order that he comes and sees or otherwise he will come and eat you.

Ago yau tabu manugu xonuwonuwona yau ana avagu
ago iau tabu manu-gu ko-RDP-nuuona iau a-na kava-gu
 SW 1SG.PN taboo about-1SG 2PL-IMPER-think 1SG.PN 1SG-go food-1SG.IA

alusala.
a-lusala
 1SG-look.for

And it is taboo for you to think about me as I go to look for my food.

Neta awoinu xovinigu axaxaika, taxaiyaxa go, unana
neta kauoinu ko-vini-gu 1-RDP-kaika ta-kaiaka go unana
 if food 2PL-give-1SG 1SG-IMPER-meal 1PL.INC-remain SW because

monem taiyao imisinapu igoyo, avami amiiyana
mone-mu taiiao i-mi-sinapu i-goyo kava-mi a-mi-ian
 spouse-2SG.IA COM CON-2PL-habit 3SG-be.bad food-2PL.IA EAT-2PL-fish

xovagagalaxoigu.

ko-vagagal-ko-i-gu

2PL-withhold-DIR-TR-1SG

If you gave me food to eat, we would stay, but because you and your husband's custom is bad, you withhold your food which is your fish.

Tauna, avagu alusala taxasa".
tauna kava-gu a-lusala ta-kasa
 therefore food-1SG.IA 1SG-search.for different-place
 Therefore, I will look for my food in another place".

Vavina itaiya isaki, geya xoroto idigo xana,
vavina i-taiia i-saki geia koloto i-diga ka-na
 woman 3SG-cry 3SG-too.much NEG man 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA

"Kubalema ataoimi".

ku-bala-i-ma a-tao-i-mi

2SG-across-?-come 1SG-delouse-TR-2PL

The woman cried a lot, so the man said, "Come here, and I will delouse you".

Sima i:taoidi.

si-ma 1:-tao-i-di

3PL-come 3SG.IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL

They came and he deloused them.

I:taoidi simasisi, ikalavedi go itaoya
i:-tao-i-di si-masisi i-kalava-i-di go i-taoia
 3SG.IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL 3PL-sleep 3SG-leave-TR-3PL SW 3SG-stand.up

iketoiya.

i-ketoiia

3SG-walk

While he deloused them, they fell asleep; he left them and he stood up and walked.

Iketoiya Magama idoiwo iyana dabatupuna igite
i-ketoiia Magama i-do-iva iian dabatupuna i-gita-i
 3SG-walk Magama 3SG-with.head-seaward fish fish.name 3SG-see-TR

imeyava idigo xana, "E mwako kuduridi yakudukudura yanabwa yanabwa
i-mejav i-diga ka-na e mwako kuduridi yakudukudura yanabwa yanabwa
 3SG-magic 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA ? ? ? ? ? ?

kudurudi yakudukudura saiya sagegege gayave sagegege.
kudurudi yakadukudura saiya sagegege gayave sagegege
 ? ? ? ? ? ?

He walked to Magama and saw a fish which was a *dabaturpuna* and he did magic saying, “[magic formula: not translatable]”.

Xaimolamola sinam taiyao xoma amiiyana xoxabi xoxaluvila.
Kaimolamola sina-mu taiiao ko-ma a-mi-iiian ko-kabi ko-kaluvila
 Kaimolamola mother-2SG.IA COM 2PL-come EAT-2PL-fish 2PL-take 2PL-return
 Kaimolamola and your mother, come and get your fish and go back”.

Gomana yoina xaimolamola.
gomana yoi-na Kaimolamola
 child name-3SG.IA Kaimolamola
 The child's name was Kaimolamola.

Kidi go natuna taiyao simasisi sikaliwoisa, sitaoya
kidi go natu-na taiiao si-masisi si-kaliwoisa si-taoya
 3PL.PN SW offspring-3SG.IA COM 3PL-sleep 3PL-be.startled 3PL-get.up

sidobala Gaugunava, siloxoina.
si-do-bala Gaugunava si-lokovina
 3PL-with.head-across Gaugunava 3PL-run

As for child and mother who slept, they were startled awake; they stood up and looked across to Gaugunava and they ran.

Si:loxoina, si:loxoina, idobala igitedi
si:-lokovina si:-lokovina i-do-bala i-gita-i-di
 3PL.IMPER-run 3PL.IMPER-run 3SG-with.head-across 3SG-see-TR-3PL

ituyaosidi.

i-tuiauat-i-di
 3SG-wait-TR-3PL

While they were running and running, he looked across and saw them so he waited for them.

Ituyaosidi sima idigo xana, “Xoma amiiyana
i-tuiauat-i-di si-ma i-diga ka-na ko-ma a-mi-iiian
 3SG-wait-TR-3PL 3PL-come 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA 2PL-come EAT-2PL-fish

xoxabi xoxaluvila.
ko-kabi ko-kaluvila
 2PL-take 2PL-return

He waited for them to come and said, “Come and get your fish and go back.

Vanuwo luwaya analava bei aem ilabasi gomana
vanuuo luuaia a-na-lava bei kae-mu i-labasi gomana
 place high-tide PASS-3SG-time PRO leg-2SG 3SG-hit child

kwalisobuye negwasa goi bei inim.
ku-kali-sobu-ia-i neguas goi bei i-nimu
 2SG-?-down-OAD-TR ocean PP PRO 3SG-drink

It is time for high tide and it will hit your leg and you will drop the child in the ocean where he will drown”.

Sibala sima itaoidi.
si-bala si-ma i-tao-i-di
 3PL-across 3PL-come 3SG-delouse-TR-3PL
 They came over and he deloused them.

I:taoidi, i:taoidi, simasisi.
i:-tao-i-di i:-tao-i-di si-masisi
 3SG-IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL 3SG-IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL 3PL-sleep
 He deloused and deloused them, so they slept.

Itaoya, iketoiya iketoiya ina Kina goi itaoya.
i-taoia i-ketoiia i-ketoiia i-na Kina goi i-taoia
 3SG-stand.up 3SG-walk 3SG-walk 3SG-go Kina PP 3SG-stand
 He got up and walked on to Kina and stood there.

Iiwoiwo mayava imeyava, "E mwako kuduridi yakudukudura
i-RDP-iva maiav i-meiaiv e mwako kuduridi yakudukudura
 3SG-IMPER-seaward point 3SG-magic ? ? ? ?

yanabwa yanabwa kuduridi yakudukudura saiye sagegege sayava sagegege.
yanabwa yanabwa kuduridi yakudukudura saiye sagegege sayave sagegege
 ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

He went to the point and he did magic saying, "[magic formula: not translatable]".

Xaimolamola eee xoma.
Kaimolamola eee ko-ma
 Kaimolamola VOC 2PL-come
 Kaimolamola, come.

Sinam taiyao amiiyana xoxabi xoxaluvila".
sina-mu taiiao a-mi-iiian ko-kabi ko-kaluvila
 mother-2SG.IA COM EAT-2PL-fish 2PL-get 2PL-return
 You and your mother get your fish and go back".

E sima, vavineana idigo xana, "Niugu
e si-ma vavina-ia-na i-diga ka-na niu-gu
 DEV 3PL-come woman-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA sib.opp.sex-1SG.IA

boxoyo kuma taxaluvila tana idaxasa".
bokoio ku-ma ta-kaluvila ta-na i-da-kasa
 must 2SG-come 1PL.INC-return 1PL.INC-go CON-1PL.INC-place
 So they came and the woman said, "My brother, you must come and we can return to a different place".

Xorotoyana idigo xana, "Geya, niugu kwalavegu.
koloto-ia-na i-diga ka-na geia niu-gu ku-kalava-i-gu
 man-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA NEG sib.opp.sex-1SG.IA 2SG-leave-TR-1SG
 The man said, "No my sister, leave me.

Tuwo, ana avagu alusala.
tuua a-na kava-gu a-lusala
 enough 1SG-go food-1SG.IA 1SG-search.for
 Now I am going to search for my food.

Amexo taxayaxa xada, 'Imisinapu dedevina'
ame-ko ta-kaiaka ka-da i-mi-sinapu dedevi-na
 this-PLA.ADV 1PL.INC-remain talk-1PL.INC.IA CON-2PL-habit good-3SG
xaeda. Ame imisinapu igoyo govila axayaxa bei
ka-e-da ame i-mi-sinapu i-goio govila a-kaiaka bei
 talk-OI-1PL.INC.IA this CON-2PL-habit 3SG-be.bad lest 1SG-remain PRO
 axamasa".

a-kamas
 1SG-die

If we were to say, 'Your custom is good', then we could say, 'We stay here together'. But your custom is bad, and if I stay I will die".

E situsobu go, itaoidi.
e si-tu-sobu go i-tao-i-di
 DEV 3PL-by.sit-down SW 3SG-delouse-TR-3PL
 So they sat down and he deloused them.

I:taoidi i:taoidi simasisi.
i:-tao-i-di i:-tao-i-di si-masisi
 3SG.IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL 3SG-IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL 3PL-sleep
 He deloused and deloused them to sleep.

Ago itaoya iketoiya.
ago i-taoia i-ketoia
 SW 3SG-get.up 3SG-walk
 And he got up and walked on.

Iketoiya Nauweta mayaina goi itaoya itaiya.
i-ketoia Nauweta maiav-i-na goi i-taoia i-taiia
 3SG-walk Nauweta point?-3SG.IA PP 3SG-stand 3SG-cry
 He walked to the point of Nauweta where he stood and cried.

Kidi go simasisi sikaliwoisa sitaoya, sidobala
kidi go si-masisi si-kaliwoisa si-taoia si-do-bala
 3PL.PN SW 3PL-sleep 3PL-be.startled 3PL-stand.up 3PL-with.head-across

sigite mayava goi Gaugaunava.
si-gita-i maiav goi Gaugaunava
 3PL-see-TR point PP Gaugaunava

As for the two who slept, they were startled awake, they stood up and looked across and saw him at the point which was Gaugaunava.

Vavineana gomana ikavale iloxoine.
vavina-ia-na gomana i-kavala-i i-lokovina-i
 woman-REF-3SG child 3SG-carry-TR 3SG-run-TR
 The woman carried and ran with the child.

Iloxoine ime
i-lokovina-i i-ma-i
 3SG-run-TR 3SG-come-TR
 She ran and brought him.

Ime kikina goi xorotoyana idigo xana,
i-ma-i kiki-na goi koloto-ia-na i-diga ka-na
 3SG-come-TR next.to-3SG.IA PP man-REF-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA

“A *yau muligu xosaku:rikuri.*
a iau muli-gu ko-sakurikuri
 hey 1SG.PN behind-1SG.IA 2PL-follow.IMPER

She brought him right to him and the man said, “Hey, you are following behind me.

Yau bei oga asowoya xaeda adodoimi.
iau bei oga a-souoia ka-e-da a-dodo-i-mi
 1SG.PN PRO canoe 1SG-embark talk-OI-1PL.INC.IA 1SG-load-TR-2PL

If I said that I would embark on a canoe, then I would load you.

Ame bei gunaoga ituli.
ame bei guna-oga i-tuli
 today PRO 1SG.POSS-canoe 3SG-be.different
 Today my canoe is different.

Amexo goi xoxaluvila.
ame-ko goi ko-kaluvila
 here-PLA.ADV PP 2PL-return
 Go back from here.

Yau gunamayava goamo.
iau guna-maiav go-amo
 1SG.PN 1SG.POSS-point LOC.ADV-there
 My point is over there.

Amoxo goi bei asowoya”.
amo-ko goi bei a-souoia
 there-PLA.ADV PP PRO 1SG-embark
 There I will embark”.

Ago vavineana itaiya gagaina niuna manuna.
ago vavina-ia-na i-taiia gagai-na niu-na manu-na
 SW woman-REF-3SG 3SG-cry big-3SG sib.opp.sex-3SG.IA about-3SG
 But the woman cried a lot for her brother.

E itaoidi.
e i-tao-i-di
 DEV 3SG-delouse-TR-3PL
 So he deloused them.

I:taoidi i:taoidi
i:-tao-i-di i:-tao-i-di
 3SG.IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL 3SG.IMPER-delouse-TR-3PL

itaomasimasisidi.
i-tao-RDP-masisi-di
 3SG-delouse-IMPER-sleep-3PL
 He deloused and deloused them and he deloused them to sleep.

Simamasisi go, ikalavedi iketoiya.
si-RDP-masisi go i-kalava-i-di i-ketoiia
 3PL-IMPER-sleep SW 3SG-leave-TR-3PL 3SG-walk
 They were sleeping and he left them and walked on.

Iketoiya Kubuyu mayava goi itaoya itaiya go, kidi
i-ketoiia Kubuiu maiav goi i-taoia i-taiia go, kidi
 3SG-walk Kubuyu point PP 3SG-stand 3SG-cry SW 3PL.PN

sitaoya sigita, tauyana geya, siloxoina.
si-taoia si-gita tau-ia-na geia si-lokovina
 3PL-get.up 3PL-see person-REF-3SG NEG 3PL-run
 He walked to Kubuyu to the point where he stood and cried and as for them, they got up and looked but he was not here, and they ran.

Si:loxoina si-loxoina bogina giyaxainava bei kikina,
si:-lokovina si:-lokovina bogina giiakainava bei kiki-na
 3PL.IMPER-run 3PL.IMPER-run PRF soon PRO next.to-3SG.IA

xorotoyana aiyuwoina itaiya.
koloto-ia-na ai-iuuo-i-na i-taiia
 man-REF-3SG CL-two-?-3SG 3SG-cry
 They ran and ran until they had just about reached him and the man again cried.

Itaitaiya go, inaogean a ipoiya moe iyana gagina.
i-RDP-taiia go i-na-oga-ia-na i-poiia moe iian gagai-na
 3SG-IMPER-cry SW CON-3SG-canoe-REF-3SG 3SG-surface that fish big-3SG
 He was crying and he canoe surfaced – it was a big fish.

Ipoiya, ilokoina ima go, vavineana iloxoina.
i-poiia i-lokovina i-ma go vavina-ia-na i-lokovina
 3SG-surface 3SG-run 3SG-come SW woman-REF-3SG 3SG-run
 It surfaced and swam to him and the woman ran too.

Iyaniana iloxoina.
iian-ia-na i-lokovina
 fish-REF-3SG 3SG-run
 The fish swam.

Vavineana iloxoina.
vavina-ia-na i-lokovina
 woman-REF-3SG 3SG-run
 The woman ran.

Iyaniana iloxoina.
iian-ia-na i-lokovina
 fish-REF-3SG 3SG-run
 The fish swam.

Si:loxoina si:loxoina iyaniana ivaiu, vavina isayata.
si:-lokovina si:-lokovina iian-ia-na i-vaiu vavina i-saiata
 3PL-IMPER-run 3PL.IMPER-run fish-REF-3SG 3SG-arrive woman 3SG-stop
 They were running and running and when the fish arrived, the woman stopped.

Kina xorotoyana ipela iyana yatana itulaga.
kina koloto-ia-na i-pela iian iata-na i-tu-laga
 3SG.PN man-REF-3SG 3SG-jump fish on.top-3SG.IA 3SG-by.sit-up
 The man jumped on top of the fish and sat on it.

Vavineana ibisiwo.
vavina-ia-na i-bisi-iva
 woman-REF-3SG 3SG-by.touch-to.ocean
 The woman reached towards the ocean.

Xorotoyana ibisigoyai.
koloto-ia-na i-bisi-goiv-i
 man-REF-3SG 3SG-by.touch-be.bad-TR
 She missed the man.

Vavineana itaiyamsimsi go, iyaniana bogina iloxina
vavina-ia-na i-taiia-RDP-musi go iian-ia-na bogina i-lokovina
 woman-REF-3SG 3SG-cry-IMPER-hiccup SW fish-REF-3SG PRF 3SG-run
niuneana inave go, kina kanasipusipula
niu-na-ia-na i-ava-i go kina i-kana-RDP-sipul
 sib.opp.sex-3SG.IA-REF-3SG 3SG-take-TR SW 3SG.PN 3SG-by.lie-IMPER-roll

imataiyina.
ma-tai-i-na
 COM-tear-?-3SG.IA
 The woman sobbed but the fish had swam off. He had taken her brother and she rolled on the ground with her tears.

Bogina ikavava.
bogina i-kavava
 PRF 3SG-be.finished
 It is finished.

10.2 TEXT 2

Tiuside goi amexo xaxailova eee xaloxoina
Tiuside goi ame-ko ka-kai-lova eee ka-lokovina
 Tuesday PP here-PLA.ADV 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave until 1PL.EXC-move

xaloxoina Xotoita xasobu.
ka-lokovina Kotoita ka-sobu
 1PL.EXC-move Kotoita 1PL.EXC-down
 On Tuesday we departed from here, moving to Kotoita where we brought the sail down.

Xasobu, xayava xana amatapwae
ka-sobu ka-iava ka-na a-ma-tapuae
 1PL.EXC-down 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-go EAT-1PL.EXC-tobacco

xagimone ikavava, aiyuwoina xaxawala.
ka-gimona-i i-kavava kai-iuuo-i-na ka-kauala
 1PL.EXC-buy-TR 3SG-be.finish CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-pole

We brought down the sail, then after we had gone towards the bush to buy our tobacco, we again poled (the canoe).

Xasowoya xaxawala xana aaa, aiyuwoina tayamo asa
ka-souoia ka-kauala ka-na aaa kai-iuuo-i-na taia-mo kasa
 1PL.EXC-embark 1PL.EXC-pole 1PL.EXC-go until CL-two-?-3SG one-only place

goi Baloina goi aiyuwoina xavayu.
goi Baloina goi kai-iuuo-i-na ka-vaiu
 PP Baloina PP CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-land

We embarked and poled on to a place, to Baloina and again landed.

Xaxaiu, semao maniedi sisou sina,
ka-vaiu siia-ma-ao manie-di si-sou si-na
 1PL.EXC-land friend-1PL.EXC.IA-PL some-3PL.IA 3PL-descend 3PL-go

maniema oga goi xaxayaxa.
manie-ma oga goi ka-kaiaka
 some-1Pl.EXC.IA canoe PP 1PL.EXC-remain

We landed, then some of our friends got off and went, and some of us remained at the canoe.

Ikavava, sima sisowoya aiyuwoina xaxawala.
i-kavava si-ma si-souoia kai-iuuo-i-na ka-kauala
 3SG-be.finish 3PL-come 3PL-embark CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-pole
 After that, they came and embarked and we poled again.

Xaxawala xana aaa Nidula goi xaxailova.
ka-kauala ka-na aaa Nidula goi ka-kai-lova
 1PL.EXC-pole 1PL.EXC-go until Nidula PP 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave
 We poled on to Nidula, and we departed (again).

Xaxailova, xaloxoina xaloxoina aaa Wadeya goi
ka-kai-lova ka-lokovina ka-lokovina aaa Wadeia goi
 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave 1PL.EXC-move 1PL.EXC-move until Wadeya PP

xasobu.
ka-sobu
 1PL.EXC-down

We departed and sailed to Wadeya where we brought down our sail.

Xasobu, e xayava xana amaxalova
ka-sobu e ka-iava ka-na a-ma-kalova
 1PL.EXC-down DEV 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-go PASS-1PL.EXC-wood

xapatuma ikavava, xadodoidi ikavava, xaxawala.
ka-patum i-kavava ka-dodo-i-di i-kavava ka-kauala
 1PL.EXC-bundle 3SG-be.finish 1PL.EXC-load-TR-3PL 3SG-be.finish 1PL.EXC-pole
 We brought it down, and after we had gone to the bush, bundled wood and loaded it, we poled.

Xaxawala xana Wadarei goi xavaiu niyala bogina sabamgo.
ka-kauala ka-na Wadalei goi ka-vaiu niiala bogina sabamugo
 1PL.EXC-pole 1PL.EXC-go Wadalei PP 1PL.EXC-land sun PRF night
 We poled to Wadalei where we landed, and it was already dark.

E xayava xama xavaipolu; xaxaika
e ka-iava ka-na ka-vai-polu ka-kaika
 DEV 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-eat

ikavava, xayava xana minisita xagite.
i-kavava ka-iava ka-na minisita ka-gita-i
 3SG-be.finish 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-go minister 1PL.EXC-see-TR
 Then we came to the bush to cook; after we had eaten, we went to the bush to see the minister.

Xagite, xana, "Vevina xoma amexo vada goi
ka-gita-i ka-na vevina ko-ma ame-ko vada goi
 1PL.EXC-see-TR talk-3SG.IA women 2PL-come here-PLA.ADV house PP
xomasisi".
ko-masisi
 2PL-sleep

We saw him, and he said, "You women come here, you will sleep at the house".

Go, vevina sikatae.
ago vevina si-katae
 SW women 3PL-refuse.TR
 But the women refused.

Sikatae, geya, e yau Opa Lanieta xayava xana
si-katae geia e iau Opa Lanieta ka-iava ka-na
 3PL-refuse.TR NEG DEV 1SG.PN Opa Lanieta 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-go

Opa sinana goi xamasisi.
Opa sina-na goi ka-masisi
 Opa mother-3SG.IA PP 1PL.EXC-sleep

They refused, and instead Opa, Laniyeta and I went to the bush to Opa's mother's (place), where we slept.

Xamasisi, itomo nobuyana nave e Solo iwo
ka-masisi i-tomo nobuiiana nava e Solo i-va
 1PL.EXC-sleep 3SG-next.day morning later time Solo 3SG-go

iwoinima.
i-uoin-i-ma
 3SG-awaken-TR-1PL.EXC

We slept and the next morning much later Solo came and woke us up.

Iwoinima, xataoya xama xana, "Bei
i-uoin-i-ma ka-taoya ka-ma ka-na bei
 3SG-awaken-TR-1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-arise 1PL.EXC-come talk-3SG.IA PRO

xauwata *vayavaya*".

xa-uuat *vaiavaia*

1PL.EXC-net turtle

He woke us up, so we got up and came and he said, "We are going to go turtle-netting".

E xana.

e ka-na

DEV 1PL.EXC-go

So we went.

Wenisde moexo goi xana aaa xabeuta xana

Wenide moe-ko goi ka-na aaa ka-beut ka-na

Wednesday that-PLA.ADV PP 1PL.EXC-go until 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-go

nava mamaniwana.

nava mamaniuana

later dark

On Wednesday we paddled on from there; it was dark.

Sabamgo go, xabeuta xana.

sabamugo go ka-beut ka-na

night SW 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-go

It was night but we paddled on.

Xabeuta xana aaa amoxo, dogoi goi manaxoyoina,

ka-beut ka-na aaa amo-ko dogoi goi manakoio-i-na

1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-go until that-PLA.ADV thing PP called-?-3SG

bogina xavailowana xaxayaxa go, bogina vanuwo itomotomo,

bogina ka-vailouan ka-kaiaka go bogina vanuuo i-RDP-tomo

PRF 1PL.EXC-anchor 1PL.EXC-remain SW PRF place 3SG-IMPER-next.day

e xabeuta.

e ka-beut

DEV 1PL.EXC-paddle

We paddled on to what's-its-name, we anchored and remained but it was already dawn, so we paddled on.

Xabeuta, vayavaya tayamo xaxone.

ka-beut vaiavaia taia-mo ka-kona-i

1PL.EXC-paddle turtle one-only 1PL.EXC-trap-TR

We paddled and trapped a turtle.

Vayavaya tayamo xaxone, e xana.

vaiavaia taia-mo ka-kon-a-i e ka-na

turtle one-only 1PL.EXC-trap-TR-3SG DEV 1PL.EXC-go

We trapped a turtle and then went on.

Xana Giluara goi xavayu, vayavaeana geya

ka-na Giluala goi ka-vaiu vaiavaia-ia-na geia

1PL.EXC-go Giluala PP 1PL.EXC-land turtle-REF-3SG NEG

xagabuyeta *geya, xayato.*

ka-gabu-ia-ita *geia ka-iata*

1PL.EXC-roast-3SG-LIM NEG 1PL.EXC-set.down

We went to Giluwala where we landed; we didn't roast the turtle; instead we set it aside.

E xaxaiaxa aaa xavaipolu xaxaika ikavava,

e ka-kaiaka aaa ka-vai-polu ka-kaika i-kavava

DEV 1PL.EXC-remain until 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-eat 3SG-be.finish

xaxaiaxa eee lailai, e aiyuwaina xasowoyamna.

ka-kaiaka eee lavilavi e kai-iuuo-i-na ka-souoia-muna

1PL.EXC-remain until evening DEV CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-embark-again

Then we were there for a while and cooked and after we had eaten, we stayed there until evening, then we embarked again.

Xasowoyamna aiyuwaina xabeuta; xaxaluvila

ka-souoia-muna kai-iuuo-i-na ka-beut ka-kaluvila

1PL.EXC-embark-again CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-return

xama.

ka-ma

1PL.EXC-come

We embarked again and again we paddled; we went back.

Xama Wadalei daiyana goi xabeuta xama aaa

ka-ma Wadalei daiia-na goi ka-beut ka-ma aaa

1PL.EXC-come Wadalei area-3SG.IA PP 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-come until

aiyuwaina iyana aiyuwaina tayamo xaxone.

kai-iuuo-i-na iian kai-iuuo-i-na taia-mo ka-kona-i

CL-two-?-3SG turtle CL-two-?-3SG one-only 1PL.EXC-trap-TR

We came to the Wadalei area where we paddled and again we trapped a second turtle.

E amaiyana bogina aiyuwo.

e a-ma-iian bogina kai-iuuo

DEV EAT-1PL.EXC-turtle PRF CL-two

Then we had two turtles.

Xama aaa xavayu sabamgo, iyana sigabu.

ka-ma aaa ka-vaiu sabamugo iian si-gabu

1PL.EXC-come time 1PL.EXC-land night turtle 3PL-roast

We came and landed at night, and they roasted one of the turtles.

Tayamo sigabu, moe xai amaiyana.

taia-mo si-gabu-i moe kai a-ma-iian

one-only 3PL-roast-TR that 1PL.EXC.PN EAT-1PL.EXC-turtle

They roasted one, that was our turtle.

E sigabu ikavava, xavaipolu xaxaika ikavava,

e si-gabu i-kavava ka-vai-polu ka-kaika i-kavava

DEV 3PL-roast 3SG-be.finish 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-eat 3SG-be.finish

xamasisi.

ka-masisi

1PL.EXC-sleep

Then after we had roasted it, we boiled it, and after we had eaten, we slept.

Xamasisi, itomo, e itomo Teside, semao
ka-masisi i-tomo e i-tomo Teside sii-ma-ao
 1PL.EXC-sleep 3SG-next.day DEV 3SG-be.tomorrow Thursday friend-1PL.EXC-PL

bogina vevina maniedi bogina sisowoduwo.

bogina vevina manie-di bogina si-souduva

PRF women some-3PL.IA PRF 3PL-arrive

We slept and the next day, Thursday, some of our women friends had arrived.

Dabasima dagameta sisowoduwo, e xatapwaroro.
da-basima da-gameta si-souduva e ka-tapualolo
 people.of-Basima people.of-Gameta 3PL-arrive DEV 1PL.EXC-worship

The people of Basima and Gameta arrived, and then we worshipped.

Nobuyana xasiu xatapwaroro, loina sisimana xadi,
nobuiana ka-siu ka-tapualolo lovina si-simana ka-di
 morning 1PL.EXC-enter 1PL.EXC-worship decide 3PL-report talk-3PL.IA

“*Ame bei tasowoduwo, e tana tapaisewa*”.

ame bei ta-souduva e ta-na ta-paiseua
 today PRO 1PL.INC-arrive DEV 1PL.INC-go 1PL.INC-work

In the morning we went in and worshipped, and they reported the decision saying, “Today we are going to go out, then we will go and work”.

Valiwoga xapaisewa.

valivoga ka-paiseua

grave 1PL.EXC-work

We worked on the grave.

Josephine valiwoaina, e moe xana xapaisewa.
Josephine valivoga-i-na e moe ka-na ka-paiseua
 Josephine grave-?-3SG.IA DEV that 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-work
 Josephine's grave, it was that which we went and worked on.

Xapaisewa ikavava, e xama.
ka-paiseua i-kavava e ka-ma
 1PL.EXC-work 3SG-be.finish DEV 1PL.EXC-come

After we had worked, we came back.

Xaiwo xama e vayavaya sigabu, amaiyana.
ka-iva ka-ma e vaiavaia si-gabu-i a-ma-iiian
 1PL.EXC-seaward 1PL.EXC-come DEV turtle 3PL-roast-TR EAT-1PL.EXC-turtle

We returned to the beach, then we roasted the turtle, our turtle.

Sigabu ikavava, aiyuwoina xavaipolu.
si-gabu i-kavava kai-iuuo-i-na ka-vai-polu
 3PL-roast 3SG-be.finish CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil

After we had roasted it, again we boiled it.

Xavaipolu ikavava, awoinu xateui
ka-vai-polu i-kavava kauoinu ka-teui-i
 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 3SG-be.finish food 1PL.EXC-peel-TR

xaxaitabale go iyana, moe xai xasiu, vevina
ka-kaitabala-i go iian moe kai ka-siu vevina
 1PL.EXC-set.across-TR SW turtle that 1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-enter women

xasiu xatapwaroro go, xoroto siyaia manaxoyoina
ka-siu ka-tapualolo go koloto si-iaia manakoio-i-na
 1PL.EXC-enter 1PL.EXC-worship SW man 3PL-thing how?-3SG

sivaipolu.

si-vai-polu
 3PL-CAUS-boil

After we had cooked, we peeled the yams and set them aside and as for the turtle, we women went in and worshipped and the men cooked it.

Sivaipolu ikavava e xama.
si-vai-polu i-kavava e ka-ma
 3PL-CAUS-boil 3SG-be.finish DEV 1PL.EXC-come

After they had boiled it, we came back.

Xai xatapwaroro ikavava, dogoi vevina xaesinua
kai ka-tapualolo i-kavava dogoi vevina ka-esinua
 1PL.EXC.PN 1PL.EXC-worship 3SG-be.finished thing woman 1PL.EXC-choose

dogoi sekiriteri xaesinue.

dogoi sekiliteli ka-esinua-i
 thing secretary 1PL.EXC-choose-TR

After we had worshipped, the women chose something, they chose a secretary.

Xaesinue ikavava, xasowoduwo.
ka-esinua-i i-kavava ka-souoduva
 1PL.EXC-choose-TR 3SG-be.finished 1PL.EXC-appear

After we had chosen her, we came outside.

Xaesinue Gameta vavinaina xadi Nebayodi, e
ka-esinua-i Gameta vavina-i-na ka-di Nebayodi e
 1PL.EXC-choose-TR Gameta woman-TR-3SG talk-3PL.IA Nebayodi DEV

moe tauyana ikabi esinua.
moe tau-ia-na i-kabi esinua
 that person-REF-3SG 3SG-get choose

We chose a woman from Gameta, they said Nebayodi; that one won the election.

E ikavava, xasowoduwo xama, dogoi awoinuyadi
e i-kavava ka-souoduva ka-ma dogoi kauoinu-ia-di
 DEV 3SG-be.finished 1PL.EXC-exit 1PL.EXC-come thing food-REF-3PL

bogina simeo xavadeda.
bogina si-meva ka-va-deda
 PRF 3PL-cook 1PL.EXC-CAUS-serve

Then after it was finished, we went out and we dished out the food which had been cooked.

Xavadeda, *xayava* *xama* *minisita totomna*
ka-va-deda *ka-iava* *ka-ma* *minisita totomu-na*
 1PL.EXC-CAUS-serve 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-come minister doorway-3SG.IA

goi udi *vagana* *sitaupedi* *simedi,*
goi udi *vaga-na* *si-ta-upa-i-di* *si-ma-i-di*
 PP banana branch-3SG.IA 3PL-by.knife-break-TR-3PL 3PL-come-TR-3PL

siyeveidi *ikavava,* *awoinuyadi* *xayatoidi*
si-yeve-i-di *i-kavava* *kauoinu-ia-di* *ka-iata-i-di*
 3PL-spread-TR-3PL 3SG-be.finished food-REF-3PL 1PL.EXC-put-TR-3PL

ikavava, *e* *niyala bogina ina* *ikamamaniwana.*
i-kavava *e* *niiala bogina i-na* *i-ka-mamaniwana*
 3SG-be.finished DEV sun PRF 3SG-go 3SG-INCH-be.dark

We served, then we went toward the bush to the minister's doorway where, after they had laid out the branches which they had cut and brought, we set the food down. Then the sun had gone and it became dark.

E xadi, “*Xoma taxaika*” .
e ka-di *ko-ma ta-kaika*
 DEV talk-3PL.IA 2PL-come 1PL.INC-meal
 Then they said, “Come, let's eat”.

E xayava *xama,* *xadi,* “*Tamamiyao taiyao*
e ka-iava *ka-ma* *ka-di* *tama-mi-yao taiiao*
 so 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-come talk-3PL.IA father-2PL-PL COM

xoyava *xoma*” .
ko-iava *ko-ma*
 2PL-to.bush 2PL-come
 So we came and they said, “Come with your fathers”.

Ego xai *tamamao* *maniedi* *yuti, e* *siyava* *sima*
ego kai *tama-ma-ao* *manie-di* *iuti e* *si-iava* *si-ma*
 SW 1PL.EXC father-1PL.EXC-PL some-3PL.IA youth DEV 3PL-to.bush 3PL-come

go, geya xoroto gagaidi geya sivaipolu.
go geia koloto gagai-di geia si-vai-polu
 SW NEG man big-3PL NEG 3PL-CAUS-boil

Now some of our fathers were (with the) youth (group), and they came, but there were no big men to boil food.

E xayava *xama* *xaxaika* *ikavava,* *e*
e ka-iava *ka-ma* *ka-kaika* *i-kavava* *e*
 DEV 1PL.EXC-to.bush 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-meal 3SG-be.finished DEV

minisita ibobobwara, *ionaoboboma.*
minisita i-RDP-bobuala *i-ona-oboboma*
 minister 3SG-IMPER-talk 3SG-say-love

So after we had come to eat, the minister spoke and said thanks.

Ionaoboboma ikavava, e xaiwo xana.
i-ona-oboboma i-kavava e ka-iva ka-na
 3SG-say-love 3SG-be.finished DEV 1PL.EXC-seaward 1PL.EXC-go
 After he had said thanks, we went to the beach.

E ionaoboboma ikavava, idigo xana, "Ago avatauwa
e i-ona-oboboma i-kavava i-diga ka-na ago ava-tau-ua
 DEV 3SG-say-love 3SG-be.finished 3SG-say talk-3SG.IA SW which-person-PL

vesi vavagimi, e xoyava xoma amexo vada goi xovesi".
vesi vavagi-mi e ko-iava ko-ma ame-ko vada goi ko-vesi
 song desire-2PL.IA DEV 2PL-to.bush 2PL-come here-PLA.ADV PP 2PL-sing
 After he had said thanks, he said, "And any of you who want singing, come over here to the house to sing".

E xai xaiwo xana, xaxayaxa.
e kai ka-iva ka-na ka-kaiaka
 DEV 1PL.PN 1PL.EXC-seaward 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-remain
 Then we went to the beach and sat there.

Ikavava, xaxauli xapwaiyuyu.
i-kavava ka-kauli ka-puuiuiu
 3SG-be.finished 1PL.EXC-chew.betel.nut 1PL.EXC-smoke
 Then we chewed and smoked.

Ikavava, e amabuki xaxabidi xayava
i-kavava e a-ma-buki ka-kabi-di xa-iava
 3SG-be.finished DEV PASS-1PL.EXC-book 1PL.EXC-get-3PL 1PL.EXC-to.bush

xama minisita inavada goi semao dakinanava
xa-ma minisita i-na-vada goi siia-ma-ao da-kinanava
 1PL.EXC-come minister CON-3SG-house PP friend-1PL.EXC-PL people.of-Fergusson

taiyao xavesi.

taiiao ka-vesi

COM 1PL.EXC-sing

After that was finished, then we got our books and came to the minister's house where we sang together with our friends, the people from Fergusson.

Xavesivesi iii xai bogina naxona nobunatoina naxae
ka-RDP-vesi iii kai bogina nakona nobunatoina nakae
 1PL.EXC-IMPER-sing until 1PL.EXC.PN PRF perhaps midnight same

matama simasisi.
mata-ma si-masisi
 eye-1PL.EXC.IA 3PL-sleep

We were singing until perhaps midnight and we were tired.

Simasisi, e xaiwo xana.
si-masisi e ka-iva ka-na
 3PL-sleep DEV 1PL.EXC-seaward 1PL.EXC-go
 We were tired, so we went to the beach.

Xaiwo *xana* *xamasisi*.
ka-iva *ka-na* *ka-masisi*
 1PL.EXC-seaward 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-sleep
 We went to the beach to sleep.

Xamasisi *itomo* *paraide goi, e* *semao*
ka-masisi *i-tomo* *palaide goi e* *siia-ma-ao*
 1PL.EXC-sleep 3SG-be.next.day Friday PP DEV friend-1PL.EXC-PL

dakinanava *sisawala* *go, xai* *aiyuwoina* *xasowoya,*
da-kinanava *si-sauala* *go kia* *ai-iuuo-i-na* *ka-souoia*
 people.of-Fergusson 3PL-disperse SW 1PL.EXC.PN CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-embark

xaxaluvilamna *xana* *Gilwara goi.*
ka-kaluvila-muna *ka-na* *Gilwara goi*
 1PL.EXC-return-again 1PL.EXC-go Gilwara PP

We slept until the next day, which was Friday, then our friends, the people from Fergusson, dispersed and we embarked again and returned to Gilwara.

Xana *amoxo* *tamamao* *sikayaxa go, xai*
ka-na *amo-ko* *tama-ma-ao* *si-kaiaka go kai*
 1PL.EXC-go there-PLA.ADV father-1PL.EXC-PL 3PL-remain SW 1PL.EXC.PN

yuti xasiu *xana* *dogoi woiga xaxavala.*
iuti ka-siu *ka-na* *dogoi uoiga ka-kavala*
 youth 1PL.EXC-enter 1PL.EXC-go thing root 1PL.EXC-carry
 We went there where our fathers were and we the youth went in to carry *woiga* root.

Woiga xaxavala *ikavava,* *e yau* *Pelenaisi Rita Laniyeta*
uoiga ka-kavala *i-kavava* *e yau* *Pelenaisi Rita Laniyeta*
 root 1PL.EXC-carry 3SG-be.finished DEV 1SG.PN Pelenaisi Rita Laniyeta

woiga xaxavala, *e bwada maniedi* *sikavaledi* *xaxaluvila*
uoiga ka-kavala *e buada manie-di* *si-kavala-i-di* *ka-kaluvila*
 root 1PL.EXC-carry DEV caulk some-3PL.IA 3PL-carry-TR-3PL 1PL.EXC-return

xana *Gilwara go,* *xoroto kidi* *yuti moe sina* *aiyuwoina*
ka-na *Gilwara go,* *koloto kidi* *iuti moe si-na* *kai-iuuo-i-na*
 1PL.EXC-go Gilwara SW man 3PL.PN youth that 3PL-go CL-two-?-3SG

bwada tuwaina sikavala.
buada tuuaina si-kavala
 caulking more 3PL-carry

After we had carried the *woiga* root, Pelenaisi, Rita, Laniyeta and I carried caulking, then they carried the caulking and we returned to Gilwara and the men who are youth went again to carry more caulking.

Sikavala sima, *lailai bogina sima* *sisowoduwo, e* *aiyuwoina*
si-kavala si-ma *lavilavi bogina si-ma* *si-souoduva e* *kai-iuuo-i-na*
 3PL-carry 3PL-come evening PRF 3PL-come 3PL-exit DEV CL-two-?-3SG

xanà xabeuta.

ka-na ka-beut

1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-paddle

They carried it and in the evening they came out, then again we paddled on.

Xasowoya aiyuwoina xana xabeuta, xai

ka-souoia kai-iuuo-i-na ka-na ka-beut kai

1PL.EXC-embark CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC.PN

toinima amaiyana.

toini-ma a-ma-iian

REFL-1PL.EXC EAT-1PL.EXC-turtle

We embarked again and paddled, (looking for) our own turtle.

Xana xabeubuta aaa iyana tayamo xaxone.

ka-na ka-RDP-beut aaa iian taia-mo ka-kona-i

1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-IMPER-paddle until turtle one-only 1PL.EXC-trap-TR

We were paddling until finally we trapped a turtle.

Tayamo iyana xaxone, xama.

taia-mo iian ka-kona-i ka-ma

one-only turtle 1PL.EXC-trap-TR 1PL.EXC-come

We trapped a turtle, and we continued.

Xama xavayu, e geya sigabuyeta geya, xamasisi.

ka-ma ka-vaiu e geia si-gabu-ia-ita geia ka-masisi

1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-land DEV NEG 3PL-roast-3SG-LIM NEG 1PL.EXC-sleep

We landed, but then they did not roast it; instead we slept.

Xamasisi, xavaipolu xaxaika ikavava, xamasisi

ka-masisi ka-vai-polu ka-kaika i-kavava ka-masisi

1PL.EXC-sleep 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-meal 3SG-be.finished 1PL.EXC-sleep

itomo Satade, e xaxaluvilamna xama Wadalei goi.

i-tomo Satade e ka-kaluvila-muna ka-ma Wadalei goi

3SG-next.day Saturday DEV 1PL.EXC-return-again 1PL.EXC-come Wadalei PP

We slept, and after we had cooked and eaten, we slept until the next day, which was

Saturday, then we returned again to Wadalei.

Wadalei goi aiyuwoina Satade nobuyana aiyuwoina xama

Wadalei goi kai-iuuo-i-na Satade nobuiana kai-iuuo-i-na ka-ma

Wadalei PP CL-two-?-3SG Saturday morning CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-come

xabeuta.

ka-beut

1PL.EXC-paddle

At Wadalei on Saturday we again went and paddled.

Xabeuta aiyuwoina iyana tayamo xaxone.

ka-beut kai-iuuo-i-na iian taia-mo ka-kona-i

1PL.EXC-paddle CL-two-?-3SG turtle one-only 1PL.EXC-trap-TR

We paddled, and we trapped a second turtle.

E xama sabamgo xama nuwoi Wadalei goi.
e ka-ma sabamugo ka-ma nuwoi Wadalei goi
 DEV 1PL.EXC-come night 1PL.EXC-come PLACE Wadalei PP
 So we came back at night to Wadalei.

Wadalei goi xamasisi, itomo nobuyana, e xasiu
Wadalei goi ka-masisi i-tomo nobuiana e ka-siu
 Wadalei PP 1PL.EXC-sleep 3SG-be.next.day morning DEV 1PL.EXC-enter
xatapuaroro.

ka-tapwalolo

1PL.EXC-worship

At Wadalei we slept; the next day in the morning we went in to worship.

Tapwaroro ikavava, xama xavaipolu xaxaika
tapualolo i-kavava ka-ma ka-vai-polu ka-kaika
 worship 3SG-be.finished 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-meal

ikavava, aiyuwoina dine xasiu xatapwaroro.
i-kavava kai-iuuo-i-na dine ka-siu ka-tapualolo
 3SG-be.finish CL-two-?-3SG afternoon 1PL.EXC-enter 1PL.EXC-worship
 After worship, we came and cooked. After we had eaten, we went in again to worship.

Tapwaroro ikavava, xasowoduwo, xamasisi.
tapualolo i-kavava ka-souoduva ka-masisi
 worship 3SG-be.finished 1PL.EXC-exit 1PL.EXC-sleep
 After we had worshipped, we went out to sleep.

Geya xamasisita geya xama nuwoi.
geia ka-masisi-ita geia ka-ma nuwoi
 NEG 1PL.EXC-sleep-LIM NEG 1PL.EXC-come PLACE
 We didn't sleep, we came to what was the place?

Sande sabamgo goi xama nuwoi.
Sanide sabamugo goi ka-ma nuwoi
 Sunday night PP 1PL.EXC-come PLACE
 On Sunday night we came to what was the place?

Xama nuwoi moe manaxoyoina Duduwe goi.
ka-ma nuwoi moe manakoioi-na Duduwe goi
 1PL.EXC-come PLACE that how-3SG Duduwe PP
 We came to what place, what's the name of it, to Duduwe.

Xama Duduwe goi ama-iyana aiyuwo sigabudi.
ka-ma Duduwe goi a-ma-iiian kai-iuuo si-gabu-i-di
 1PL.EXC-come Duduwe PP EAT-1PL.EXC-turtle CL-two 3PL-roast-TR-3PL
 We came to Duduwe where we roasted our two turtles.

Sigabudi, xamasisi.
si-gabu-i-di ka-masisi
 3PL-roast-TR-3PL 1PL.EXC-sleep
 We roasted them, then we slept.

Itomo *Mande, e* *xavaipolu* *xaxaika*
i-tomo *Manide e* *ka-vai-polu* *ka-kaika*
 3SG-be.next.day Monday DEV 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-meal

ikavava, *kuwana ideodeo* *xama,* *xaxailova.*
i-kavava *kuuan i-deodeo* *ka-ma* *ka-kai-lova*
 3SG-be.finished rain 3SG-be.finish 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave

It was the next day, Monday, then we cooked and after we had eaten, the rain had stopped and we continued and departed.

Xaxailova *xama* *aaa nuwoi* *semao* *sina*
ka-kai-lova *ka-ma* *aaa nuuoi* *siya-ma-ao* *si-na*
 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave 1PL.EXC-come until PLACE friend-1PL.EXC-PL 3PL-go

Tuyatana.

Tuiatana

Tuyatana

We departed and came to, our friends came to Tuyatana.

Sina *Xotoita, sivayu* *ikavava,* *sima* *nuwoi* *Tuyatana go,*
si-na *Kotoita si-vaiu* *i-kavava* *si-ma* *nuuoi* *Tuiatana go*
 3PL-go Kotoita 3PL-land 3SG-be.finished 3PL-come PLACE Tuyatana SW

xai *Kina amoxo* *lagaima* *goi xama* *nuwoi*
kai *Kina amo-ko* *laga-i-ma* *goi ka-ma* *nuuoi*
 1PL.EXC.PN Kin there-PLA.ADV up-?-1PL.EXC PP 1PL.EXC-come PLACE

Duriduri goi niu *Sidoudou imwera,* *xaxaika* *ikavava,*
Duliduli goi niu *Sidoudou i-muela* *ka-kaika* *i-kavava*
 Duriduri PP coconut Sidoudou 3SG-climb 1PL.EXC-meal 3SG-be.finished

e aiyuwoina *xabeuta.*

e kai-iuuo-i-na *ka-beut*

DEV CL-two-?-3SG 1PL.EXC-paddle

They came to Kotoita, then after they had landed, they came to Tuyatana but over there on the bush side from Kina we came to Duriduri where Sidoudou climbed a coconut tree. After we had eaten, we again paddled.

Xabeuta *xama,* *xadi,* *"Tana* *Tuyatana".*
ka-beuta *ka-ma* *ka-di* *ta-na* *Tuiatana*
 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-come talk-3PL.IA 1PL.INC-go Tuyatana
 We paddled on and they said, "Let's go to Tuyatana".

Go xai *oma* *ikai* *xama,*
ago kai *uouo-ma* *i-kai* *xa-ma*
 SW 1PL.EXC.PN body-1PL.EXC.IA 3SG-not.want talk-1PL.EXC.IA

"Amexo *tana* *Nubogeta tamasisi".*

ame-ko *ta-na* *Nubogeta ta-masisi*

here-PLA.ADV 1PL.INC-go Nubogeta 1PL.INC-sleep

But we didn't want to, we said, "From here let's go to Nubogeta and sleep".

E xama aaa xabeuta xama osasa goi yagira
e ka-ma aaa ka-beut ka-ma osasa goi iagila
 DEV 1PL.EXC-come until 1PL.EXC-paddle 1PL.EXC-come sea PP wind

itowo, xaxailova.
i-touo ka-kai-lova

3SG-land 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave

So we came and paddled to the sea where the wind touched down and we departed.

Xaxailova xama aaa bogina ixamamaniwana sabamgo
ka-kai-lova ka-ma aaa bogina i-ka-mamaniwana sabamugo
 1PL.EXC-canoe-leave 1PL.EXC-come until PRF 3SG-INCH-be.dark night

naxae xama xasobu.

nakae ka-ma ka-sobu

same 1PL.EXC-come 1PL.EXC-down

We departed and continued until it had become dark like night; we continued and took down our sail.

Xasobu, xavaipolu xaxaika ikavava, e
ka-sobu ka-vai-polu ka-kaika i-kavava e
 1PL.EXC-down 1PL.EXC-CAUS-boil 1PL.EXC-meal 3SG-be.finished DEV

xasawala xama amavada goi xamasisi.
ka-sauala ka-ma a-ma-vada goi ka-masisi
 1PL.EXC-disperse 1PL.EXC-come PASS-1PL.EXC-house PP 1PL.EXC-sleep

We took down the sail, then we cooked. After we had eaten, we dispersed and came to our houses where we slept.

Ame tauna.

ame tauna

this that's.it

That's all.

11. WORD LISTS

The only previously published lexical materials for Gumawana are short word lists in Lauer (1974) and Lithgow (1976). Section 11.1 contains the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Papua New Guinea branch) basic word list for each of the four Gumawana-speaking islands. They are given in phonetic transcription. Section 11.2 reproduces the list from Lauer (1974) and gives Nubogeta equivalents.

11.1 BASIC WORD LIST FOR FOUR GUMAWANA COMMUNALECTS

The following word lists were collected by the author at each of the four villages of Nubogeta, Gumawana, Omea and Bituma. They are given in phonetic transcription. Items from the Summer Institute of Linguistics list which are not found in Gumawana (e.g. 62. horn) are omitted.

	Nubogeta	Gumawana	Omea	Bituma
1. (his) hair	<i>kununa</i>	<i>kununa</i>	<i>kununa</i>	<i>kununa</i>
2. (his) head	<i>bulubuluna</i>	<i>bulubuluna</i>	<i>bulubuluna</i>	<i>bulubuluna</i>
3. (his) mouth	<i>tobuna</i>	<i>tobuna</i>	<i>tobuna</i>	<i>tobuna</i>
4. (his) nose	<i>kubuna</i>	<i>kubuna</i>	<i>kubuna</i>	<i>kubuna</i>
5. (his) eye	<i>matana</i>	<i>matana</i>	<i>matana</i>	<i>matana</i>
6. (his) neck	<i>nukotona</i>	<i>nukotona</i>	<i>nukotona</i>	<i>nokona</i>
7. (his) belly	<i>gamona</i>	<i>gamona</i>	<i>gamona</i>	<i>gamona</i>
8. (his) skin	<i>saxavaina</i>	<i>saxavaina</i>	<i>saxavaina</i>	<i>sakavaina</i>
9. (his) knee	<i>aetutuna</i>	—	—	—
10. man	<i>xoroto</i>	<i>xoroto</i>	<i>xoroto</i>	<i>oroto</i>
11. woman	<i>vavina</i>	<i>vavina</i>	<i>vaina</i>	<i>vaina</i>
12. bird	<i>manuo</i>	<i>manuo</i>	<i>manuo</i>	<i>mano</i>
13. dog	<i>woinia</i>	<i>weinia</i>	<i>wenia</i>	<i>wenia</i>
14. he bites	<i>ikani</i>	<i>ikani</i>	—	—
15. he sits	<i>itusobu</i>	<i>itusobu</i>	<i>isisobu</i>	<i>itosobu</i>
16. he stands	<i>itaoya</i>	<i>itaoya</i>	<i>itaoya</i>	<i>itaoya</i>
17. he lies down	<i>imasis</i>	<i>imasisi</i>	—	<i>ikena</i>
18. he walks	<i>iketoia</i>	—	—	—
19. road	<i>ena</i>	<i>kenao</i>	<i>keda</i>	<i>ena</i>
20. stone	<i>gurewa</i>	<i>gurewa</i>	<i>lusa</i>	<i>lusa</i>
21. big	<i>gagaina</i>	<i>gagaina</i>	<i>gagaina</i>	<i>gagaina</i>
22. small	<i>giaina</i>	<i>giaina</i>	<i>gilomwenia</i>	<i>giaina</i>
23. fire	<i>yeu</i>	<i>yeu</i>	<i>xova</i>	<i>yeu</i>
24. smoke	<i>aubowo</i>	<i>aubowo</i>	<i>aubowo</i>	<i>au</i>
25. ashes	<i>selexa</i>	<i>poxova</i>	<i>aususu</i>	<i>pokoa</i>
26. his ear	<i>taiana</i>	<i>taiana</i>	<i>taiana</i>	<i>teana</i>
27. his tongue	<i>maena</i>	<i>maena</i>	<i>maena</i>	<i>maena</i>
28. his tooth	<i>alana</i>	<i>salana</i>	<i>sakina</i>	<i>salana</i>
29. her breast	<i>nununa</i>	<i>nununa</i>	<i>susuna</i>	<i>nununa</i>
30. his hand	<i>nimana</i>	<i>nimana</i>	<i>nimana</i>	<i>magirina</i>
31. his foot	<i>aena</i>	<i>aena</i>	<i>aena</i>	—
32. sun	<i>niala</i>	<i>alasia</i>	<i>alasia</i>	<i>niala</i>
33. moon	<i>tukowana</i>	<i>tukowana</i>	<i>waikena</i>	<i>wowoina</i>
34. star	<i>utuna</i>	<i>utuna</i>	<i>utuna</i>	<i>utuna</i>
35. cloud	<i>geleo</i>	<i>gaota</i>	<i>gawata</i>	<i>geleo</i>
36. rain	<i>kuwana</i>	<i>kuwana</i>	—	—
37. water	<i>bwae</i>	<i>bwae</i>	<i>bweye</i>	<i>bweye</i>
38. tree	<i>alova</i>	<i>alova</i>	<i>alova</i>	<i>alova</i>
39. root	<i>lam</i>	<i>lamna</i>	<i>buyala</i>	<i>lamna</i>
40. leaf	<i>yao</i>	<i>yao</i>	<i>yao</i>	<i>yao</i>
41. meat	—	—	<i>goba</i>	<i>esowa</i>
42. fat	<i>sabali</i>	<i>sabali</i>	<i>momona</i>	<i>momonaina</i>
43. egg	<i>pelelemotu</i>	<i>peleleotu</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>pou</i>
44. he eats	<i>ikaika</i>	<i>ikaika</i>	<i>ikaika</i>	<i>ikani</i>
45. he gives me it	<i>ivinigu</i>	<i>ivinigu</i>	<i>ivinigu</i>	<i>iinigu</i>

	Nubogeta	Gumawana	Omea	Bituma
46. he sees	<i>igite</i>	<i>igite</i>	<i>ipwategu</i>	<i>igite</i>
47. he comes	<i>ima</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>ima</i>
48. louse	<i>kutu</i>	<i>kutu</i>	<i>kutu</i>	<i>kutu</i>
49. one	<i>tayamo</i>	<i>tayamo</i>	<i>tayamo</i>	<i>tamo</i>
50. two	<i>aiyuwo</i>	<i>aiyuwo</i>	<i>aiyuwo</i>	<i>aiyuwa</i>
51. his back	<i>toluna</i>	<i>toluna</i>	<i>toluna</i>	<i>ligana</i>
52. his shoulder	<i>valavana</i>	<i>valavana</i>	<i>valavana</i>	<i>vavalana</i>
53. his forehead	<i>dabana</i>	<i>dabana</i>	<i>dabana</i>	<i>dabana</i>
54. his chin	<i>xalaxalena</i>	—	—	—
55. his elbow	<i>nimatutuna</i>	—	—	—
56. his thumb	<i>nimatubutubuna</i>	—	—	—
57. his leg	<i>aena</i>	<i>aena</i>	<i>aena</i>	<i>aena</i>
58. his heart	<i>nuwemagina</i>	—	—	—
59. his liver	<i>atena</i>	<i>atena</i>	<i>atena</i>	<i>atena</i>
60. his bone	<i>luluna</i>	<i>luluna</i>	<i>luluna</i>	<i>luluna</i>
61. his blood	<i>ikaika</i>	<i>ikaika</i>	<i>ikaika</i>	<i>buyai</i>
64. wing	<i>panapanena</i>	<i>panipainena</i>	<i>nipapena</i>	<i>papanena</i>
65. claw	<i>nimadidina</i>	—	—	—
66. tail	<i>yuyuna</i>	<i>yuyuna</i>	<i>duduna</i>	—
67. boy	<i>gomana koroto</i>	—	—	—
68. girl	<i>gomana vavina</i>	—	—	—
69. baby	<i>memea</i>	—	—	—
70. old man	<i>tomoya</i>	—	—	—
71. old woman	<i>namoya</i>	—	—	—
72. person	<i>tomota</i>	—	—	—
73. his father	<i>tamana</i>	<i>tamana</i>	<i>tamana</i>	<i>tamana</i>
74. his mother	<i>sinana</i>	<i>sinana</i>	<i>sinana</i>	<i>sinana</i>
75. brother (older of man)	<i>tuwowona</i>	<i>tuwowona</i>	<i>tuwavana</i>	<i>siyana</i>
76. sister (older of man)	<i>niuna</i>	<i>niuna</i>	<i>niuna</i>	<i>niuna</i>
77. name	<i>yoina</i>	<i>yoina</i>	<i>yoina</i>	<i>yoina</i>
78. pig	<i>bao</i>	<i>bao</i>	<i>bao</i>	<i>bao</i>
81. flying fox	<i>magiaweda</i>	—	—	—
82. rat	<i>kelikeli</i>	<i>kelideli</i>	<i>kwelekwele</i>	<i>kelikeli</i>
83. frog	<i>kwekwe</i>	—	—	—
84. snake	<i>moteta</i>	<i>moteta</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>mota</i>
85. fish	<i>iyana</i>	<i>iyana</i>	<i>iyana</i>	<i>iyana</i>
86. taro	<i>vilava</i>	—	—	—
87. sugarcane	<i>tou</i>	—	—	—
88. yam	<i>kuvi</i>	—	—	—
89. banana	<i>losui</i>	<i>busisi</i>	<i>busisi</i>	<i>isiwo</i>
90. sweet potato	<i>simwai</i>	—	—	—
91. bean	<i>bini</i>	—	—	—
92. axe	<i>kiyama</i>	—	—	—
93. knife	<i>naipi</i>	—	—	—
96. house	<i>vada</i>	<i>vada</i>	<i>sibeove</i>	<i>vada</i>

	Nubogeta	Gumawana	Omea	Bituma
97. earth	<i>poyapoya</i>	<i>poyapoya</i>	<i>poyapoya</i>	<i>poyapoya</i>
98. sand	<i>ediedila</i>	<i>ediedila</i>	<i>nidunidula</i>	<i>lolou</i>
99. mountain	<i>xoya</i>	<i>xoya</i>	<i>xoya</i>	<i>koya</i>
100. wind	<i>yaina</i>	<i>yaina</i>	<i>yaina</i>	<i>yaina</i>
101. vine	<i>buyala</i>	—	—	—
104. seed (for planting)	<i>vevana</i>	<i>vevana</i>	<i>uwaina</i>	<i>keuwaina</i>
105. tobacco	<i>tapwae</i>	—	—	—
106. morning	<i>nobuyana</i>	—	—	—
107. afternoon	<i>dine</i>	—	—	—
108. night	<i>sabamgo</i>	<i>sabamgo</i>	<i>sobomgo</i>	<i>boiboi</i>
109. yesterday	<i>boile</i>	—	—	—
110. tomorrow	<i>itomo</i>	—	—	—
111. white	<i>powouna</i>	<i>powouna</i>	<i>wakekena</i>	—
112. black	<i>xalawoina</i>	<i>xalaxovina</i>	<i>alaxowina</i>	—
113. yellow	<i>yaoyaoina</i>	—	—	—
114. red	<i>xayaxayaina</i>	<i>xaxayaina</i>	<i>xaxayaina</i>	<i>katakoina</i>
115. green	<i>xalakalaoina</i>	—	—	—
116. good	<i>dedeina</i>	<i>dedevina</i>	<i>dedewina</i>	<i>gumaboina</i>
117. bad	<i>goyogoyoina</i>	—	—	—
118. long	<i>manawena</i>	<i>manawena</i>	<i>manawena</i>	<i>manawena</i>
119. short	<i>xakupina</i>	<i>kubokuboina</i>	<i>bokubona</i>	<i>kakopina</i>
120. heavy	<i>moumouna</i>	<i>moumouna</i>	<i>moumouna</i>	<i>kamouna</i>
121. light	<i>xaxapuna</i>	—	—	—
122. cold (water)	<i>tulaina</i>	<i>tulaina</i>	<i>tulaina</i>	<i>tulaina</i>
123. hot (water)	<i>dimodimo</i>	<i>dimodimo</i>	—	<i>yaiyai</i>
124. old	<i>bogo</i>	<i>xaibogoina</i>	<i>aibogoina</i>	<i>takanaboga</i>
125. new	<i>vau</i>	<i>vau</i>	<i>vau</i>	—
126. many	<i>badabadaina</i>	<i>badabadaina</i>	<i>bidibadaina</i>	<i>babadaina</i>
127. all	<i>madabokina</i>	—	—	—
128. this	<i>ame</i>	—	—	—
129. that	<i>amo</i>	—	—	—
130. what?	<i>xaga</i>	<i>xaga</i>	<i>xavaga</i>	<i>kadiani</i>
131. who?	<i>avatau</i>	<i>vatau</i>	<i>vatau</i>	<i>avaita</i>
132. when?	<i>avalava</i>	—	—	—
133. where?	<i>naxo</i>	—	—	—
134. round	<i>gumogumoina</i>	—	—	—
135. wet (clothing)	<i>ikanapoiwo</i>	<i>xanapou</i>	<i>xanapowo</i>	<i>ikanapoa</i>
136. dry (clothing)	<i>iyabuyabu</i>	<i>saiyasaiya</i>	—	<i>isaiyasaiya</i>
137. full	<i>ikayaoda</i>	<i>xayaoda</i>	<i>ikayawada</i>	<i>ikayaoda</i>
138. not	<i>geya</i>	—	—	—
139. three	<i>aito</i>	<i>aito</i>	<i>aito</i>	<i>aito</i>
140. four	<i>aivas</i>	<i>aivas</i>	<i>aivas</i>	<i>aivasi</i>
141. five	<i>ainima</i>	<i>ainima</i>	<i>ainima</i>	<i>ainima</i>
142. ten	<i>yauwo</i>	—	—	—
143. yes	<i>uu</i>	—	—	—
144. no	<i>geya</i>	<i>geya</i>	<i>geda</i>	<i>geya</i>
145. he says	<i>idigo</i>	—	—	—

	Nubogeta	Gumawana	Omea	Bituma
146. he hears	<i>inove</i>	<i>inowo</i>	<i>inowo</i>	<i>inove</i>
147. he knows	<i>iyagoi</i>	—	—	—
148. he drinks	<i>inim</i>	<i>inim</i>	<i>inim</i>	<i>inim</i>
149. he sleeps	<i>imasis</i>	<i>imasis</i>	<i>imasisi</i>	<i>ikena</i>
150. he kills	<i>ikaumate</i>	—	—	—
151. he dies	<i>ikamasa</i>	<i>imata</i>	<i>ikamasa</i>	<i>imata</i>
152. it burns (fire)	<i>ininima</i>	<i>ininima</i>	<i>ininima</i>	<i>ininima</i>
153. it flies	<i>iyova</i>	—	—	—
154. he swims	<i>ikaya</i>	—	—	—
155. he runs	<i>iloxoina</i>	—	—	—
156. he falls down	<i>ikapus</i>	<i>ikapus</i>	—	<i>ibeku</i>
157. he hits	<i>ilauwo</i>	<i>ilauwo</i>	<i>ilauwo</i>	<i>ilauwo</i>
158. he catches	<i>ikalagomota</i>	—	—	—
159. he coughs	<i>iboku/loku</i>	—	—	—
160. he laughs	<i>ivanama</i>	<i>ikolua</i>	<i>ivanama</i>	<i>ianama</i>
161. he dances	<i>ilausa</i>	—	—	—
162. I	<i>yau</i>	<i>yau</i>	<i>yau</i>	<i>yau/lau</i>
163. thou	<i>xom</i>	<i>xom</i>	<i>xom</i>	<i>kom</i>
164. he	<i>kina</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>kina</i>
165. we two (EXC)	<i>amateyuwo</i>	—	—	—
166. you two	<i>amiteyuwo</i>	—	—	—
167. they two	<i>aditeyuwo</i>	—	—	—
168. we (PL.EXC)	<i>kita</i>	—	—	—
169. you (PL)	<i>xomi</i>	—	—	—
170. they	<i>kidi</i>	—	—	—

11.2 TERMS USED IN MAKING CLAY POTS

This section reproduces a word list from Lauer (1974) of terms used in connection with clay pot making. Column 1 is Lauer's list for the villages of Nubogeta, Gumawana, Omea; column 2 his Bituma (or, in his terms, Dilia) list; and column 3 is my list collected at Nubogeta.

	1	2	3
1. paddle	<i>ailauwo</i>	<i>ainena</i>	<i>aipasi/ailauwo</i>
2. Bailer shell	<i>keduya</i>	<i>welego</i>	<i>keduya</i>
3. fresh water	<i>bwoae</i>	<i>bwoae</i>	<i>bwae</i>
4. base board	<i>aisika</i>	<i>aisika</i>	<i>aisika</i>
5. pandanus leaf over the base board	<i>sedula</i>	<i>sekula</i>	<i>sekula</i>
6. grass ring	<i>nupaiya</i>	<i>seniseni</i>	<i>nupaiya</i>
7. wooden knife	<i>aisisi</i>	<i>aisisi</i>	<i>aisisi</i>
8. shell scraper	<i>vidiala</i>	<i>sikaka</i>	<i>vidiala</i>
9. decorating shell	<i>lokiloki</i>	<i>lokiloki</i>	<i>lokiloki</i>
10. decorating seed	<i>meko</i>	<i>aigini</i>	<i>meko</i>

	1	2	3
11. burnishing pebble	<i>bwabwaelo</i>	<i>ulao</i>	<i>bwabwaelo</i>
12. burnishing shell	<i>didimoko</i>	<i>didimoko</i>	<i>didimoko</i>
13. digging clay	<i>uaegaeli</i>	<i>uaegaeli</i>	<i>vaega ana elina</i>
14. breaking dry clay	<i>tutu</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>tutu</i>
15. adding fresh water	<i>wuwui</i>	<i>wuwui</i>	<i>wuwui</i>
16. kneading	<i>pie</i>	<i>taukule</i>	<i>pie</i>
17. cleaning	<i>kutukutu</i>	<i>kutukutu</i>	<i>kutukutu</i>
18. rolling the clay	<i>bili</i>	<i>bili</i>	<i>bili</i>
19. heavy roll	<i>kavakanabale</i>	<i>kavakana bale</i>	<i>vakanabala</i>
20. flattening the roll	<i>tutu</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>tutu</i>
21. slab	<i>geyabadenamo</i>	<i>geyabadenamo</i>	<i>vaega geya dadenamo</i>
22. setting slab on the base board	<i>sepatuko</i>	<i>sepatuko</i>	<i>sepatuko</i>
23. joining the slabs	<i>katuvayapo</i>	<i>katuvayapo</i>	<i>katuvayapu</i>
24. drawing clay up from the slabs	<i>kalitaoe</i>	<i>inene</i>	<i>kalitaoya</i>
25. squeezing heavy rolls	<i>kule</i>	<i>kule</i>	<i>pie</i> <i>atokula (Gumawana)</i>
26. adding heavy rolls	<i>katuvayapo</i>	<i>katuvayapo</i>	
27. the opening in the bottom of the unfinished pot	<i>kibode</i>	<i>kibode</i>	<i>tapora</i>
28. covering rim with fresh leaves	<i>watum</i>	<i>kubwase</i>	<i>vatum</i>
29. beating the pot with the paddle	<i>loui</i>	<i>nene</i>	<i>lauwo</i>
30. decorating	<i>gini</i>	<i>eluelu</i>	<i>gini</i>
31. turning pot over and setting pot into grass ring	<i>gavile</i>	<i>aluile</i>	<i>lugaila</i>
32. scraping	<i>keli kiposi</i>	<i>stalai kiposi</i>	<i>kiposi</i>
33. scraping with paddle	<i>kai</i>	<i>balebale</i>	
34. burnishing	<i>ulao</i>	<i>ulao</i>	<i>ulao</i>
35. drying dry by wind	—		<i>yagira i sive</i>
dry by sun	—		<i>niyala i vae</i>
36. firing	<i>gabu</i>	<i>gabu</i>	<i>gabu</i>
37. wooden fire place	<i>walakone</i>	<i>kudemeli</i>	<i>valakone</i>
38. stacking wood around the pot	<i>vataoe</i>	<i>vataoe</i>	<i>vataoya</i>
39. breaking a pot	<i>tavisi</i>	<i>tais</i>	<i>tavisi</i>
40. the pot breaks while drying	<i>pene</i>	<i>kayau</i>	<i>pene</i>
41. basket for pottery tools	<i>pwasale</i>	<i>yavana</i>	<i>wasare</i>
42. pot	<i>vaega</i>	<i>vaega</i>	<i>vaega</i>
43. cooked pot	<i>kebi</i>	<i>kebi</i>	<i>kebi</i>
44. clay	<i>vaega</i>	<i>vaega</i>	<i>vaega</i>

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