A grammar of Sinaugoro

An Austronesian language of the
Central Province of Papua New Guinea

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

A GRAMMAR OF SINAUGORO

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Central Province of Papua New Guinea

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Abbreviations and symbols

ADVPA	adverb phrase accompanied
ADVPI	adverb phrase of instrument
ADVPL	adverb phrase of location
ADVPT	adverb phrase of time
CAUS	verbal causative marker
C/H	continuous/habitual aspect
COMP	complement
DER	derivational prefix
ED	edible class possessive
ERG	ergative marker
EXC	exclusive
I/I	intentive/imperative mode
IMPF	imperfective aspect
INC	inclusive
INTER	interrogative
INTR	intransitive verb
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
L/T	local/temporal
N	noun
NEG	negative
NOM	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
NTR	neutral
O	object
PERF	perfective aspect
PERS	personal pronoun
PL	plural

POSS	possessive pronoun
PP	postposition
PRON	pronoun
R	remote tense
RED	reduplication
S	subject
SG	singular
S-M-T	subject-mode-tense
TOP	topic marker
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
1, 2, 3	the person marking co-occurs with the number marking either SG or PL, INC or EXC. In the verb the subject marker occurs before the verb stem, the object marker after.

In noun phrases the agreement or possessive marking occurs on the second or third element following the head noun, and the same marking occurs on the personal pronouns.

>	becomes
+	obligatory
-	morpheme boundary
±	optional
[ ]	phonetics
//	phonemics

Orthography symbols

/b/	[b]		/gw/	[gw]
/f/	[f]		/ḡw/	[ɣw]
/v/	[v]		/i/	[j, i]
/m/	[m]		/e/	[e, ɛ]
/n/	[n]		/a/	[a]
/t/	[t]		/o/	[o, ɔ]
/d/	[d]		/u/	[u]
/r/	[r]		/ai/	[ai]
/s/	[s]		/ae/	[ae]
/l/	[l]		/ao/	[ao]
/k/	[k]		/au/	[au]
/g/	[g]		/ei/	[ei]
/ḡ/	[ɣ, ɟ]		/oi/	[oi]
/kw/	[kw]		/ou/	[ou]

1 *Introduction*

1.1 The language

1.1.1 Type, location and dialects

Sinaugoro is a large Austronesian language belonging to the Papuan Tip Cluster (Ross 1988:190–193). It is spoken by approximately 15,000 people living in the Rigo district of the Central Province some 70 kilometres south-east of Port Moresby. It is surrounded by the following related Austronesian languages: Motu in the west, Hula and Keapara in the south, Aroma in the south-east; and also by the following unrelated non-Austronesian languages: Maria in the east, Doromu in the north, Kware and Humene in the north-west. According to a survey by Dutton (1970) there are 17 dialects of Sinaugoro in an area that extends 720 square kilometres:

1.	Ikolu	10.	Kubuli
2.	Balawaia	11.	Tubulamo (?)
3.	Saroa	12.	Omene
4.	Kwabida (?)	13.	Kwaibo
5.	Taboro	14.	Alepa (?)
6.	Boku	15.	Vora
7.	Ikega	16.	Oruone
8.	Wiga	17.	Babagarupu
9.	Buaga (?)		

From a more sociolinguistic or emic point of view the following 8 major dialects are regarded as different:

1.	Sinaugoro (Saroa)	5.	Tubulamo
2.	Taboro	6.	Alepa/Omene
3.	Boku	7.	Balawaia
4.	Kubuli	8.	Gwaibo

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The area from Gomore village to Saroa village, as well as the dialect spoken in these villages, is called Sinaugoro by the local people.

1.1.2 Typology

Morphologically Sinaugoro is an agglutinative language, because most of the words are made up of sequences of clearly identifiable morphemes.

(1)   *Ḡe   ve-ḡata-gini-kau-to·*   *ḡoi.*
         3PL   DER-friend-good-on-PERF   C/H
         'They used to be good friends.'

(2)   *Ḡe   toma-raka-riḡo-vini-a-to*   *ḡoi.*
         3PL   now-walk-down-give-3SG-PERF   C/H
         'They used to worship him.'

As for word order typology, Sinaugoro is an SOV language.

According to Greenberg's universals (1963) OV languages tend to have Postpositional, Genitive-Noun, Adjective-Noun or Noun-Adjective. Sinaugoro follows this pattern, with the adjective following the noun.

Sinaugoro could be claimed to be an ergative language, since the subject of the transitive clause is indicated by the ergative marker -*na*. Various syntactic devices such as object incorporation, reflexive and reciprocal formation and topicalisation delete the ergative marking for different reasons (see Tauberschmidt 1992).

(3)   *Ḡia-na   bai   be-ḡe   ḡani-a.*
         3PL-ERG   pig   R-3PL   eat-3SG
         'They ate the pig.'

(4)   *Ḡia   be-ḡe   raḡasi.*
         3PL   R-3PL   arrive
         'They arrived.'

1.1.3 Previous studies

Dutton (1970) published the results of surveys in the area; a Balawaia grammar sketch and vocabulary was written by Kolia and published in Pacific Linguistics (1975); and a phonology paper was produced by Slim Rome Kokiva from Saroa village during the 'Lahara Session' (1975) at the University of Papua New Guinea.

1.1.4 Method and materials

This paper describes the grammatical features of the Sinaugoro language (Saroa dialect). The description is based on data which was collected between July 1987 and May 1995.

The model used is hierarchical and describes the structures, functions and relationships of the following ranks starting at the word level:

```
\           5. Text           /
 \          4. Sentence        /
  \         3. Clause        /
   \        2. Phrase       /
    \       1. Word       /
```

Morphemes are treated as they occur in words (phrases or clauses).

1.2 Presentation

1.2.1 Orthography (with brief phonology)

1.2.1.1 Outline of phonemes

CONSONANT PHONEMES

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial.velar
stops		/t/		/k/	/kw/
	/b/	/d/		/g/	/gw/
fricatives	/f/				
flat	/v/	/r/	[ɹ]	/ḡ/	/ḡw/
grooved		/s/			
nasals	/m/	/n/			
lateral		/l/			
semivowels			[j]		

VOWEL PHONEMES

	front	central	back
high	/i/		/u/
mid	/e/		/o/
mid-low	[ɛ]	[ɔ]	
low		/a/	

1.2.1.2 Interpretation

1.2.1.2.1 Syllable patterns

The following non-suspect syllable patterns occur:

V	/e/	'and'
V	/a/	'but'
CV	/ba/	'or'
V.CV	/a.ra/	'name'
CV.V	/ke.a/	'call'
CV.CV	[ḡa.ro]	'sun'
CV.CV.CV	[ka.ka.na]	'his older brother'
CV.CV.CV.CV	[ḡa.li.va.ta]	'banana'

From the above we get V and CV as univalent syllables.

1.2.1.2.2 Items which may be either consonant or vowel

/i/ is realised as [i] and interpreted as a vowel in syllable nucleus, but realised as [j] and interpreted as a consonant when it occurs in syllable onset.

/niu/	[ni.u]	'coconut'
/irau/	[i.rau]	'different'
/maioba/	[ma.jo.ba]	'flying fox'
/maiaka/	[ma.ja.ka]	'shame'
/foia/	[fo.ja]	'type of nut'
/iaḡoma/	[ja.ɣo.ma]	'come'

1.2.1.2.3 Labialised consonants

[kw], [gw] and [ɣw] can be only interpreted as units, since there are no univalent consonant clusters, nor any consonant clusters ever in Sinaugoro.

/kwa/	[kwa]	'dig'
/gwaḡiḡi/	[gwa.ɟi.ɟi]	'difficult'
/ḡwa/	[ɣwa]	'carry'

These consonant clusters have probably developed over the years. The original forms are [ku], [gu] and [ɣu] which still remain in some words when preceding a vowel as in:

/guine/	[gu.i.ne]	'first'
/ḡuaḡua/	[ḡu.a.ḡu.a]	'fruit'

[ku] is not used any more preceding a vowel:

/Kwikila/	[kwi.ki.la]	'name of a town'

Originally it was composed of [kui] 'whirling of waters' and [kila] 'divide/disperse'.

[ɣw] is often reduced to [w] as in:

/ḡwa/	[wa]	'carry'

Contrast between /gwV and guV/
                /ḡwV and ḡuV/

/ḡwina/	[ɣwi.na]	'his hair'
/guine/	[gu.i.ne]	'first'
/ḡwatani/	[ɣwa.ta.ni]	'day before yesterday'
/ḡuaḡua/	[ɣu.a.ɣu.a]	'fruit'

1.2.1.2.4 Vowel clusters

The following vowel clusters occur as units, since the higher vowels follow the lower vowels and the stress is on the lower vowels; /ai, ae, au, ao, ei, ou, oi/ are interpreted as units.

	a	e	i	o	u
a		kae skip	ḡai we	kao mix	tau man
e	ke.a call		vei do	ke.o open	ke.u carry
i	ḡi.a he			gi.o spear	ni.u coconut
o			oi yes	fou wash	
u		ḡu.e moon			

1.2.1.2.5 Defining the syllable

The syllable structures CV and V are indicated by the tree structure as they occur in words. S represents syllable (syllable level = phonologically), C represents consonant and V vowel (segmental level = phonetically).

One-syllable words

```
S              S              S              S
|             / \            / \            /|\
V             V V            C V            CVV
|             | |            | |            | | |
/e/  'and'    /oi/  'yes'    /ba/  'or'     bai   'pig'
```
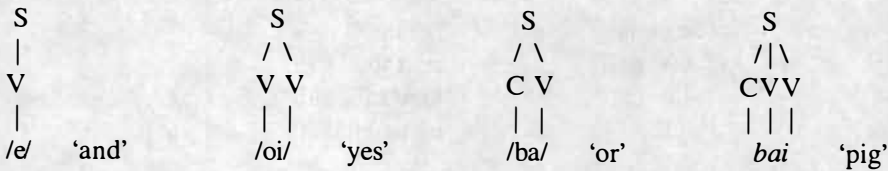
Two-syllable words

```
         S
        / \
      CV   CVV
      ||   |||
      si   nau    'hundred'
```

Three-syllable words

```
         S
        /|\
      CV CV CV
      vo vo ka   'plenty'
```
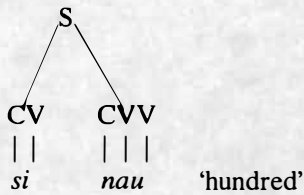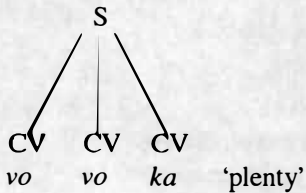
1.2.1.3 Description of phonemes

1.2.1.3.1 Consonants

The consonants contrast with regard to manner and points of articulation.

i.   Bilabials /b, f, v, m/

/b/	[b]	voiced stop
/f/	[f]	voiceless fricative
/v/	[v]	voiced fricative
/m/	[m]	voiced nasal

These occur word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable.

/barego/	['ba.re.go]	'big'
/farefare/	['fa.re.fa.re]	'belongings'
/varevare/	['va.re.va.re]	'gift'
/mari/	['mari]	'song'
/vovoka/	['vo.vo.ka]	'plenty'
/fofo/	['fo.fo]	'mustard'
/boboka/	['bo.bo.ka]	'big black bee'
/momo/	['mɔ.mo]	'rubbish'
/sebinai/	['se.bi.nai]	'beside it'
/sevinai/	['se.vi.nai]	'next to it'
/siforo/	['si.fo.ro]	'kind of lemon'
/sefe/	['se.fe]	'name of shell'
/nuba/	['nu.ba]	'ant'
/nuvi/	['nu.vi]	'dream'
/nufa/	['nu.fa]	'wet'
/numa/	['nu.ma]	'house'

ii.   Alveolars /t, d, s, r, l/

/t/	[t]	voiceless unaspirated stop
/d/	[d]	voiced stop
/s/	[s]	voiceless grooved fricative
/r/	[r]	voiced flat fricative
/l/	[l]	voiced lateral

These occur word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable.

/toḡa/	['tɔ.ɣa]	'through'
/doḡa/	['dɔ.ɣa]	'tooth'
/sogi/	['so.gi]	'a mouth disease'
/roga/	['rɔ.ga]	'type of greens'
/lago/	['la.go]	'catch prawns'
/tabe/	['ta.be]	'sit against'
/dabe/	['da.be]	'rope'
/sale/	['sa.le]	'frangipani'

/laḡani/	['la.ɣa.ni]	'year'
/rara/	['ra.ra]	'blood'
/lilika/	['li.li.ka]	'ant'
/riba/	['ri.ba]	'know'
/lavilavi/	['la.vi.la.vi]	'afternoon'
/raka/	['ra.ka]	'walk'
/ḡata/	['ɣa.ta]	'friend'
/ḡade/	['ɣa.de]	(to address the wife)
/ḡara/	['ɣa.ra]	'fence, to light'
/ḡasi/	['ɣa.si]	'canoe'
/ḡale/	['ɣa.le]	'chin'
/kato/	['ka.to]	'to peel'
/kado/	['ka.do]	'to shovel'
/karo/	['ka.ro]	'friend'
/kasoma/	['ka.so.ma]	'to mix bananas and coconuts'
/Kila/	['kila]	(a name)

iii. Alveopalatal /i/ [j]

/i/   [j]   voiced semivowel, occurs word initially and medially. It is realised as [i] when it occurs in syllable nucleus, and as [j] when it occurs in syllable onset (for examples see §1.2.1.2.2).

iv. Velars and labialised velars /k, g, ḡ, kw, gw, ḡw/

These occur in the onset of a syllable word initially and medially.

/k/   [k]   voiceless stop
/g/   [g]   voiced stop
/ḡ/   [ɣ]   voiced fricative, occurs before central and back vowels
        [ɟ]   voiced palatalised fricative, occurs only before front vowels

/kw/   [kw]   voiceless labialised stop, occurs word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable before front and central vowels

/gw/   [gw]   voiced labialised stop, occurs word initially and medially in the periphery of a syllable before front and central vowels

/ḡw/   [ɣw]   voiced labialised fricative, occurs word initially and medially in the onset of a syllable before front and central vowels

/kara/	['ka.ra]	'what'
/gara/	['ga.ra]	'orphan'
/ḡara/	['ɣa.ra]	'our'
/kwamo/	['kwa.mo]	'a cold'
/gwamo/	['gwa.mo]	'small fish'
/gwamara/	['gwa.ma.ra]	'kind of fruit'
/kakau/	['ka.kau]	'to scrape together'
/gagau/	['ga.gau]	'dust'
/ḡaro/	['ɣa.ro]	'day'

/kwa/	['kwa]	'dig'
/gwaḡiḡi/	['gwa.ɟi.ɟi]	'difficult'
/ḡwa/	['ɣwa]	'carry'
/kora/	['ko.ra]	'pig trap'
/gora/	['go.ra]	'bachelor or spinster'
/ḡora/	['ɣo.ra]	'sorcery'
/raka/	['ra.ka]	'walk'
/raga/	['ra.ga]	'run'
/iaraḡa/	['ia.ra.ɣa]	'garden, to garden'
/takwani/	['ta.kwa.ni]	'we are digging'
/tagwanuni/	['ta.gwa.'nu.ni]	'we are stabbing'
/taḡwani/	['ta.ɣwa.ni]	'we are carrying'

[ḡ] before front vowels in syllable onset:

/ḡia/	['ɟi.a]	'he'
/ḡena/	['ɟe.na]	'his/her/its'
/asiḡi/	['asi.ɟi]	'no'
/gwaḡiḡi/	['gwa.ɟi.ɟi]	'hard'

v.   Nasals /m, n/

/m/   [m]   voiced bilabial nasal, and

/n/   [n]   voiced alveolar nasal, occur word initially and medially in syllable onset.

/manu/	['ma.nu]	'bird'
/nanu/	['na.nu]	'water'
/noḡa/	['nɔ.ɣa]	'like'
/moḡa/	['mɔ.ɣa]	'that one'
/tamama/	['ta.ma.ma]	'our father'
/tamana/	['ta.ma.na]	'his father'
/semu/	['se.mu]	'pumpkin'
/senu/	['se.nu]	'heap'

1.2.1.3.2 *Vowels* /i, e, a, o, u/

These vowels occur word initially, medially and finally as the nucleus of a syllable.

/i/   [i]   voiced high front vowel

       [j]   see consonants

/e/   [e]   voiced mid front vowel, occurs in non-stressed syllables, or when the nucleus
              of the following syllable is a front vowel

       [ɛ]   voiced mid low front vowel, occurs in stressed syllables, or when the nucleus
              of the following syllable is a low central or low back vowel

/kere/	['kɛ.re]	'torch'
/bere/	['bɛ.re]	'if'

/beḡe/	['be.je]	'3PL, verbal subject'
/meḡa/	['mɛ.ɣa]	'put a spell on'

/a/   [a]   voiced low central vowel

/o/   [o]   voiced mid back vowel, occurs in non-stressed syllables, or when the nucleus of the following syllables is a front vowel

[ɔ]   voiced mid low back vowel, occurs in stressed syllables, or when the nucleus of the following syllable is a low central or low back vowel

/loḡo/	['lɔ.ɣo]	'not yet'
/momo/	['mɔ.mo]	'rubbish'
/boḡi/	['bo.ji]	'night'
/boḡa/	['bɔ.ɣa]	'bush'

/u/   [u]   voiced high back vowel

Contrasts:

/iraira/	['i.ra.'i.ra]	'enough; all right'
/erakani/	['ɛ.ra.'ka.ni]	'he is going'
/arakani/	['a.ra.'ka.ni]	'I am going'
/orakani/	['ɔ.ra.'ka.ni]	'you are going'
/ura/	['u.ra]	'like'
/biri/	['bi.ri]	'shut'
/bera/	['bɛ.ra]	'tattoo'
/bara/	['ba.ra]	'dance'
/borabora/	['bɔ.ra.'bɔ.ra]	'colour yellow'
/buri/	['bu.ri]	'jump'
/kira/	['ki.ra]	'say'
/kere/	['kɛ.re]	'torch'
/kara/	['ka.ra]	'what'
/kora/	['kɔ.ra]	'pig net'
/kure/	['ku.re]	'rat'
/ḡari/	['ɣa.ri]	'their (food)'
/ḡare/	['ɣa.re]	'chin'
/ḡara/	['ɣa.ra]	'our (food)'
/ḡaro/	['ɣa.ro]	'sun'
/ḡaru/	['ɣa.ru]	'flow'
/boḡi/	['bo.ji]	'night'
/boḡe/	['bo.je]	'view'
/boḡa/	['bɔ.ɣa]	'bush'
/boko/	['bo.ko]	'pick'
/botu/	['bo.tu]	'short-winded'

Contrast between   /e/ and /ei/
                   /o/ and /ou/

/vetau/	['ve.tau]	'look for'
/veitau/	['vei.tau]	'show off (mask)'

| /goro/ | ['go.ro] | 'law' |
| /gorou/ | ['go.rou] | 'old garden' |

1.2.1.4 Suprasegmental items

1.2.1.4.1 Stress and pitch on words

On one- to three-syllable words stress and high pitch is on the first syllable. (Hyphen indicates morpheme breaks.)

['bai]	'pig'
['nu.ma]	'house'
['vo.vo.ka]	'plenty'
['ai.ɟe.si]	'how are you'

On words with four syllables the first and penultimate syllable is stressed. However, the stress on the first syllable is stronger.

['ɣa.li.'va.ta]	'banana'
['tu.ɣa.'ma.ji]	'thought'
['ta.ri.'ma.-ri]	'people'
['ve.-da.'na.ji]	'question'
['a.si.-'ɟi.-na]	'no/not'

Note: On words such as the following each syllable can be stressed for emphasis. High pitch occurs on the last syllable.

| ['a'si-'ɟi-'na] | 'no/not' | and | ['ai'ɟe'si] | 'how are you' |

The stress pattern on the verb phrase varies depending on the number of syllables of the verbal subject.

Verbs that have subject markers with one syllable behave very much according to the normal pattern, stress on the first and penultimate syllable:

['a.-ra.'ka.-ni]
1SG-go-IMPF
'I am going.'

['ɣa.-ɟe.no.'ɣoi.-to]
1PL.EXC-return-PERF
'We returned.'

['ɣa.-ma.-ri.'ɣo.-ni]
1PL.EXC-come.down-IMPF
'We are coming down.'

Verbs that have subject markers with two or more syllables are stressed on the first syllable of the subject marker and the first syllable of the verbal base:

['ba.-ɣa.-na.   've.-go.go]
R-1PL.EXC-I/I   meet
'Let us meet (later).'

['be.-je.-ne.-ma.   'ɣa.ni.-ɣa.ni]
R-3SG-I/I-at.speaker eat-RED
'They must eat here.'

['ba.-ɣa.   'ma.-ri.ɣo]
R-1PL.EXC   at.speaker-down
'We came down.'

['bo.-ɣo.-no.-a.   'fou]
R-2PL-I/I-different.location   wash
'Wash yourselves (over there).'

['e.-a.   'ke.to.-to]
3SG-different.location
'He fell over there.'

1.2.1.4.2 *Stress and pitch on words in a phrase*

Stress and high pitch of an isolated word can change when it occurs in a phrase:

['ka.ra da.'ga.ra?]
what   thing
'What thing?'

The stress of the second word is on the second syllable and high pitch is on the first.

1.2.1.4.3 *Intonation*

A statement may be turned into a question by changing the intonation:

['bo. fou?]
2SG wash
'Did you wash yourself?'

['oi, 'ba. fou!]
yes   1SG wash
'Yes, I washed myself!'

['e.   ra.'ɣa.si.-to?]
3SG arrive-PERF
'Did he arrive?'

['e.   ra.'ɣa.si.-to!]
3SG arrive-PERF
'He arrived!'

1.3 Morphophonemics

1.3.1 Assimilation rule

When the vowel in the first syllable of the verb root is [i], the third person singular indicator changes from [e] to [i]. Similarly the second person singular indicator changes from [o] to [u].

/e   midigu-ni/   >   [i midigu-ni]
3SG hurt-IMPF
'It is hurting.'

/b-e   vito-gu/   >   [bi vito-gu]
R-3SG   hunger-1SG
'I am hungry.' (lit. 'It hungers me.')

/n-o   ruḡatari/   >   [nu ruɣatari]
I/I-2SG stand
'You stand.'

Orthography: *emidiguni*, *bevitogu*, *noruḡatari*.

1.3.2 Insertion rule

When the third person singular suffix [-a] occurs, [j] is inserted after a verb root or verb modifier that ends in [a].

a   kea-a-ni   -->   [a kea-ja-ni]
1SG   call-3SG-IMPF
'I am calling him.'

1.3.3 Deletion rule

i.   Verbs: the marker *a* 'different location (from hearer and speaker)' which is attached to the subject-indicator is dropped in the first person.

b-a-a   *fou*   >   *bafou*
R-1SG-different.location   wash
'I washed myself (over there).'

In the following example the *a* is not dropped:

b-o-a   *fou*   >   *boa fou*
R-3SG-different.location   wash
'He washed himself (over there).'

ii.   Nouns: the postposition *ai* drops the *a* when a noun ends in *a*.

numa ai   >   *numai*
house in
'in the house'

In the following example the *a* is not dropped:

nanu   ai
'water   in'

2 *Words*

For a long time linguists have been aware of the multifunctional nature of many Austronesian roots which are used here as a verb, there as a noun or adjective. Codrington (1885:102) comments:

> It is not that there is a complete absence of such special forms of Verb or Noun; but that the same word without any change of form may be in use as almost any of the Parts of Speech. The use of the word, not its form, commonly declares its character...

The following examples illustrate this situation:

i. *rakava* 'bad' as verb

    (5)   *Ḡia ḡe-na   motuka e   rakava-to.*
               3SG NTR-3SG car   3SG bad-PERF
               'His car went bad.'

ii. *rakava* as noun

    (6)   *Ḡita   ma ḡe-ra   rakava ta   ḡora-to.*
               1PL.INC with NTR-1PL.INC sin   1PL.INC born-PERF
               'We were born with sin.'

iii. *rakava* as adjective

    (7)   *numa rakava-na*
               house bad-3SG
               'a bad house'

Despite the fluid nature of Sinaugoro roots the existence of the following word classes is confirmed:

2.1	NOUNS	2.8	DEICTICS
2.2	PRONOUNS	2.9	INTERROGATIVES
2.3	VERBS	2.10	CONJUNCTIONS
2.4	ADJECTIVES	2.11	POSTPOSITIONS
2.5	ADVERBS	2.12	INTERJECTIONS
2.6	INTENSIFIERS	2.13	NEGATION
2.7	TOPICALISERS		

2.1 Nouns

Nouns may consist of either one or two roots. Such nouns refer to concrete objects, names of places, kinship terms or body parts.

numa	'house'
Sinau-ḡoro	'name of a people'
tamana	'his father'
debana	'his head'

Nouns may be derived from verbs or adjectives (see §2.1.2).

Nouns function as head of the noun phrase, subject/object/indirect object or adverb phrases.

The roots *vavine* 'female' and *tau* 'male' may be used with a noun to indicate gender.

(8)   *bai vavine-na*
        pig female-3SG
        'pig (female)'

Number is not marked on the noun. However, plurality is indicated in the verb and noun phrase (see §2.3 and §3.1).

Definiteness may be marked on the noun phrase (see §3.1.2.3).

There are some mass nouns (non-countable) that cannot take certain quantifiers, for example, *nanu* 'water' and *iavara* 'wind':

(9)   *nanu   barego*
        water   big
        'much water'

but not:

(10)   **nanu   ḡutuma*
        water   many

2.1.1 Simple nouns (noun classes)

Nouns in Sinaugoro are either alienably possessed or inalienably possessed.

2.1.1.1 Inalienably possessed nouns

Inalienably possessed nouns include kinship terms, names of body parts, personal characteristics (e.g. strength, name), and also partitive and attributive relationships. The possessive suffix is attached to the possessed noun and the personal pronoun is optional.

Kinship terms:

(11)   *(Au) tama-gu   roḡosi b-e-ne   raḡasi.*
        1SG father-1SG not.yet R-3SG-I/I arrive
        'My father hasn't arrived yet.'

Body parts:

(12)   *ḡima-na*
        arm-3SG
        'his arm'

Personal characteristics:

(13)   *au   vari-gu*
           1SG news-1SG
           'the news about me'

Partitive relationships:

(14)   *ḡau rega-na*
           tree   branch-3SG
           'the tree's branch'

Attributive relationships:

(15)   *vari` namo-na*
           news good-3SG
           'good news'

2.1.1.2 Alienably possessed nouns

Among the alienably possessed nouns there is a further subtype, edible, which indicates that the item in possession is to be eaten, drunk, smoked or chewed. For this edible subtype the possessive suffix is attached to *ḡa* as opposed to the neutral subtype where it is attached to *ḡe*. The possessive pronouns precede the possessed noun.

i. neutral possessive pronoun *ḡe* + possessive suffix

(16)   *(Au) ḡe-gu   numa-i   a   tanu-taḡo-ni.*
           1SG NTR-1SG house-in 1SG stay-sit-IMPF
           'I am sitting in my house.'

ii. edible possessive pronoun *ḡa* + possessive suffix

(17)   *(Au) ḡa-gu   mose   b-a   ḡani.*
           1SG ED-1SG sweet.potato R-1SG eat
           'I ate my sweet potatoes.'

A more thorough description of the possessive system is presented in §3.1.1.

2.1.2 Nouns derived with derivational affixes

Nouns may be derived from verbs by adding the derivational prefix *ve-*:

(18)   *Au ma   ḡe-gu   ve-danaḡi.*
           1SG with NTR-1SG DER-ask
           'I have a question.'

(19)   *Ve-gogo   tu   ai-toma?*
           DER-gather TOP L/T-today
           'When is the meeting?'

They may also be derived by adding both the derivational prefix *ve-* and the causative prefix *vaḡa-*:

(20)   *ve-vaḡa-riba*
           DER-CAUS-know
           'teaching'

(21)   *ve-vaḡa-kava*
          DER-CAUS-accompany
          'help'

There is an instance where the nominalising suffix *-ḡa* is added to the verb *vei* 'do' becoming *veiḡa* 'behaviour, custom', and also to a set of deictics: *mai* 'this', *mani* 'that', *mo* 'that (farther away)' > *mai-ḡa* 'this one', *mani-ḡa* 'that one', *mo-ḡa* 'that one (farther away)'.

2.1.3 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are noun-noun or noun-adjective, but do not take possessive suffixing. Names for places, villages and language groups may be compound nouns:

(22)   *Saroa-kei*
          Saroa-small
          'name of a village'

(23)   *Gara-ḡoro*
          cemetery-hill
          'name of a place'

Compound nouns in Sinaugoro are written as one word.

2.1.4 Reduplicated nouns

The nouns where the roots are fully reduplicated have a different meaning from the root:

motu	'name of language'	*motumotu*	'island'
manu	'bird'	*manumanu*	'insects'
ḡani	'type of banana'	*ḡaniḡani*	'food'
sina	'mother'	*sinasina*	'legend'

One noun is only partially reduplicated:

tarima	'people'	*tarima-rima*	'many people'

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

There is one set of personal pronouns which may function as subject, object or complement, and as such these may either stand on their own or may occur in possessive noun phrases.

Personal pronouns are optional since there are person affixes on the verb. Under certain conditions, such as introducing, emphasising or contrasting a participant, personal pronouns must occur. The person is also marked on the verb. The use of free pronouns is fairly frequent.

	Person/Number	
Singular:		
	1SG	*au*
	2SG	*ḡoi*
	3SG	*ḡia*

Plural:

1PL.INC	ḡita
1PL.EXC	ḡai
2PL	ḡomi
3PL	ḡia

Contrasting participants:

(24)   Ḡoi   tu   mai   ḡarivata   n-o   gabu-a,   a   au   tu   mai
         2SG   TOP   this   banana   I/I-2SG   bake-3SG   but   1SG   TOP   this

         ḡau   n-a   basi-a.
         tree   I/I-1SG   cut-3SG
         'You bake the bananas, I cut the tree.'

Emphasis:

(25)   Ḡoi   n-o   ḡani.
         2SG   I/I-2SG   eat
         'You must eat.'

Introducing participants:

(26)   Ḡia   b-e   iaḡoma,   vaburi   b-e   vini-gu.
         3SG   R-3SG   come   yam   R-3SG   give-1SG
         'She came and gave me a yam.'

(27)   Au   ara-gu   tu   Tano,   ḡe-gu   vanuḡa   tu   Saroa.
         1SG   name-1SG   TOP   Tano   NTR-1SG   village   TOP   Saroa
         'My name is Tano, my village is Saroa.'

(28)   Au   na   ḡomi   tu   nanu   na   a   babatiso-mi-ni   ḡia
         1SG   ERG   2PL   TOP   water   with   1SG   baptise-2PL-IMPF   3SG

         na   tu   Iauka   Veaḡa   na   b-e   babatiso-mi-ni.
         ERG   TOP   Spirit   Holy   with   R-3SG   baptise-2PL-IMPF
         'I baptise you with water, he will baptise you with the Holy Spirit.'

In examples (26)–(28) the personal pronouns are used as a device to introduce the participants, and since the subject participants have already been introduced there is no need to repeat the pronoun in the second part of the sentence. For contrast (24) and emphasis (25) personal pronouns are employed.

In the following example the personal pronoun can be used for contrast, emphasis or introduction of a participant depending on the context:

(29)   Tama-na   na   bai   ta   ḡia   e   vini-a-to.
         father-3SG   ERG   pig   one   3SG.IO   3SG   give-3SG-PERF
         'His father gave him a pig.'

The subject of a transitive or ditransitive clause, whether noun or pronoun, is indicated by the ergative marker *-na*. Various syntactic devices such as object incorporation, reflexive and reciprocal formation, and topicalisation delete the ergative marking for different reasons (see Tauberschmidt 1992).

When used as a direct or indirect object the personal pronoun is not marked with the ergative marker.

Both subject and object may be marked with the topic marker *tu* (see examples (24) and (28)).

Personal pronouns can be combined with a following possessive pronoun and a postposition, or only a following postposition to indicate location and comitative. The following combinations are possible:

i.   PERS + POSS + PP   *na* 'from' (source)

(30)   *Ḡia   ḡe-na   na   a   iaḡoma-ni.*
          3SG   NTR-3SG from 1SG come-IMPF
          'I am coming from him.'

ii.   PERS + POSS + PP   *ai* 'to' (goal)

(31)   *Ḡia   ḡe-na-i   a   iaḡo-ni.*
          3SG   NTR-3SG-to 1SG go-IMPF
          'I am going to him.'

iii. PERS + PP   *ḡesi* 'with' (comitative)

(32)   *Ḡia   ḡesi   Geresi   ḡana   ḡa   iaḡo-to.*
          3SG   with   Geresi   to   1PL.EXC go-PERF
          'I went with him to Geresi.'

2.2.2 Isolative pronouns

The isolative pronoun indicates that the person does something on his or her own. The personal subject pronoun stands in addition to the isolative pronoun and occurs under the conditions mentioned in §2.2.1.

Person/ Number	(PERS)	alone-POSS
Singular:		
1SG	(*au*)	*ḡereḡa-gu*
2SG	(*ḡoi*)	*ḡereḡa-mu*
3SG	(*ḡia*)	*ḡereḡa-na*
Plural:		
1PL.INC	(*ḡita*)	*ḡereḡa-ra*
1PL.EXC	(*ḡai*)	*ḡereḡa-ma*
2PL	(*ḡomi*)	*ḡereḡa-mi*
3PL	(*ḡia*)	*ḡereḡa-ri*

(33)   *Ḡia   ḡereḡa-na numa-i   e   tanu-ni.*
          3SG   alone-3SG house-in 3SG   stay-IMPF
          'He lives alone in the house.'

(34)   *Ḡereḡa-ri   ḡe   ḡani-veaḡa-ni.*
          alone-3PL   3PL   eat-separate-IMPF
          'They are eating by themselves to gain power.'

2.2.3 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronoun consists of the noun *tau* 'man' suffixed with the appropriate possessive pronoun (marking alienable possession). It is used to emphasise the fact that some action is/was/will be performed by some person alone, and not by someone else. Emphatic pronouns are frequently used with the reflexive form of the verb (see *ve-* in §2.3.1.1.1) to express reflexivity. For the occurrence of the personal pronoun see §2.2.1.

Person/ Number	(PERS)	man-NTR-POSS
Singular:		
1SG	(*au*)	*tau-ḡe-gu*
2SG	(*ḡoi*)	*tau-ḡe-mu*
3SG	(*ḡia*)	*tau-ḡe-na*
Plural:		
1PL.INC	(*ḡita*)	*tau-ḡe-ra*
1PL.EXC	(*ḡai*)	*tau-ḡe-ma*
2PL	(*ḡomi*)	*tau-ḡe-mi*
3PL	(*ḡia*)	*tau-ḡe-ri*

(35)   *Au   ḡe-gu   bai tau-ḡe-gu   na   b-a   vaḡi-a.*
         1SG NTR-1SG pig man-NTR-1SG ERG R-1SG kill-3SG
         'I killed my pig myself.'

(36)   *Ḡia tau-ḡe-na   e   ve-vaḡi-to.*
         3SG man-NTR-3SG 3SG DER-kill-PERF
         'He killed himself.'

(37)   *Ḡia tau-ḡe-ri   ḡe   ve-vaḡi-to.*
         3PL man-NTR-3PL 3PL DER-kill-PERF
         'They killed themselves.' (suicide)

2.2.4 Possessive pronouns and suffixes

2.2.4.1 Possessive suffixes indicating inalienable possession

There are two sets of possessives, based on their use with alienably versus inalienably possessed nouns. The personal pronouns can be left out under certain conditions (see §2.1.1) and the phrase is still a complete phrase. This is true also for alienable possession. For more information concerning possessives see §3.1.1.

Person/ Number	(PERS)	N-POSS	
Singular:			
1SG	(*au*)	N-*gu*	'my'
2SG	(*ḡoi*)	N-*mu*	'your'
3SG	(*ḡia*)	N-*na*	'his'

Plural:

1PL.INC	(*ḡita*)	N-*ra*	'our'
1PL.EXC	(*ḡai*)	N-*ma*	'our'
2PL	(*ḡomi*)	N-*mi*	'your'
3PL	(*ḡia*)	N-*ri*	'their'

(38)   (*Au*) *tama-gu   tu   tau   namo-na.*
        1SG father-1SG TOP man good-3SG
        'My father is a good man.'

2.2.4.2 *Possessive pronouns indicating alienable possession*

These possessive pronouns are based on *ḡe* 'neutral possession marker' (NTR) or *ḡa* 'edible possession marker' (ED), plus the possessive suffix appropriate to the person. The possessive pronouns precede the noun which they modify (see §3.1.1).

Person/ Number	neutral with *ḡe*	edible with *ḡa*
Singular:		
1SG	*ḡe-gu*	*ḡa-gu*
2SG	*ḡe-mu*	*ḡa-mu*
3SG	*ḡe-na*	*ḡa-na*
Plural:		
1PL.INC	*ḡe-ra*	*ḡa-ra*
1PL.EXC	*ḡe-ma*	*ḡa-ma*
2PL	*ḡe-mi*	*ḡa-mi*
3PL	*ḡe-ri*	*ḡa-ri*

(39)   (*Au*) *ḡe-gu   vanuḡa tu   kei.*
        1SG NTR-1SG village TOP small
        'My village is small.'

(40)   (*Ḡia*) *ḡa-ri   bai   be-ḡe   vaḡi-a.*
        3SG ED-3PL pig R-3PL kill-3SG
        'They killed their pig (to eat it).'

There is an alternative construction for what seems to be neutral alienable possession. Here the ergative marker -*na* occurs after the personal pronoun and before the thing possessed.

(41)   *Au-na   motuka   e   rakava-to.*
        1SG-ERG car   3SG bad-PERF
        'My car got damaged.'

Note: *Auna* 'my' is written as one word when it functions as a possessive pronoun in a noun phrase, and *au na* 'I' is written as two words when it functions as the subject of a transitive clause.

(For further discussion on this topic see Tauberschmidt (1992).)

2.2.5 Dual and trial forms

These are formed by adding the possessive plural suffixes to *tau* 'man' and the numerals *ruarua* 'two', *toitoi* 'three' etc. follow.

Person/ Number	man-POSS	Numeral		
Plural:				
1PL.INC	*tau-ra*	*ruarua*	*toitoi*	'we two/three'
1PL.EXC	*tau-ma*	*ruarua*	*toitoi*	'we two/three'
2PL	*tau-mi*	*ruarua*	*toitoi*	'you two/three'
3PL	*tau-ri*	*ruarua*	*toitoi*	'they two/three'

(42)   *Tau-mi toi-toi   moḡo bo-ḡo   iaḡoma.*
       man-2PL three-RED only   R-2PL come
       'Only the three of you came.'

2.3 Verbs

The Sinaugoro verb is clearly the most complex feature of the Sinaugoro language. The following features are all indicated by verbal affixes: person and number of the subject, person and number of the object if its goal is realised, tense, mode, aspect and repeated action. These functions will be described in this chapter which focuses on the structure and function of the verb as a word.

ELEMENTS IN THE VERB

All elements that can occur in the verb are listed in the following order:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ma	'S'	*-a*	*ve-*	*vaḡa-*	'V'	'-O'	*-to*	*ḡoi*
		-ma			'COMP.V'		*-ni*	
		-si						

' '		=	categories
1	*ma*	=	'repeated action'
2	'S'	=	subject marker including number, person, mode, tense
3	*-a*	=	'different location (from hearer and speaker)'
	-ma	=	'(towards) at speaker'
	-si	=	'(towards) at hearer'
4	*ve-*	=	DER 'reciprocal/reflexive'
5	*vaḡa-*	=	'causative'
6	'V'	=	'verb root'
	'COMP.V'	=	'compound verb'
7	'-O'	=	'object marker'
8	*-to*	=	'perfective aspect'
	-ni	=	'imperfective aspect'
9	*ḡoi*	=	'habitual/continuous'

2.3.1 Verb nucleus

Four classes of word roots may function as the nucleus of the verb: verbs, adjectives, nouns and numerals. The use of nouns is more limited than the use of verb and adjective roots.

Verbs:

(43)   *Mai numa bi-si-ni   rovo-a.*
        this house R-1PL.INC-I/I pull.down-3SG
        'Let us pull down this house.'

Adjectives:

(44)   *Manuḡa e   namo-to.*
        wound   3SG   good-PERF
        'The sore healed.'

Nouns:

(45)   *E   manu-to.*
        3SG   bird-PERF
        'He became a bird.'

Numerals:

(46)   *Ḡita   tu   roḡosi   ta-na   sebona.*
        1PL.INC   TOP   not.yet   1PL.INC-I/I   one
        'We have not become united yet.'

2.3.1.1 Verbal root or base

In general, the term root is applicable to the simplest form in which the verb can occur (e.g. *riba* 'know'). The term base is applicable to a form in which an element is added, which then in turn functions as a root to which other elements are added. Thus Sinaugoro *riba* 'know' becomes *vaḡa-riba* 'inform' by adding the causative prefix; each may take the S-M-T particle *bana* 'I must' as *bana riba* 'I must know' or *bana vaḡa-riba* 'I must inform'. *Vaḡariba* now functions as a base, that is, a root to which further morphemes may be added.

The derivative forms useable in the above manner as bases in the Sinaugoro language are: 1. causative 2. reciprocal 3. reflexive.

2.3.1.1.1 Derivational affixes

a) Derivational prefix *ve-*

The derivational prefix *ve-* is attached to either the verb root or the causative prefix *vaḡa-*.
The function of the prefix *ve-* in the verb is to show that the action was either reciprocal or reflexive (in the latter case the emphatic pronoun is also needed):

i.   reciprocal action

(47)   *(Ḡia) be-ḡe   ve-vaḡi.*
        (3PL)   R-3PL   DER-kill
        'They fought (each other).'

ii.　reflexive action (emphatic pronoun *tau-ḡe-na* + *ve-*)

(48)　　*Ḡia　tau-ḡe-ri　　　ḡe　ve-vaḡi-to.*
　　　　3PL　man-NTR-3PL　3PL　DER-kill-PERF
　　　　'They killed themselves (suicide).'

(49)　　*Tau-ḡe-na　　　e　　ve-bora-to.*
　　　　man-NTR-3SG　3SG　DER-hang-PERF
　　　　'He hanged himself.'

b) Causative prefix *vaḡa-*

The causative prefix *vaḡa-* is added to certain verb roots as follows:

riba	'know'	*vaḡa-riba*	'to inform'
vonu	'full'	*vaḡa-vonu*	'to fill'
namo	'good'	*vaḡa-namo*	'to improve'
vanaḡi	'pass'	*vaḡa-vanaḡi*	'to transfer'

The causative prefix changes intransitive verb roots into transitive stems. Compare the following sentences. The verb in the second sentence is prefixed by *vaḡa-* and is therefore transitive:

(50)　　*N-o　　vanaḡi, asi　　kara　ta.*
　　　　I/I-2SG　pass　　NEG　what　one
　　　　'It's all right, you can pass.'

(51)　　*Ḡuro　nanu-na　　n-o　　　vaḡa-vanaḡi-a　baket　ai.*
　　　　pot　water-3SG　I/I-2SG　CAUS-pass-3SG　bucket　in
　　　　'Pour the water which is in the pot into the bucket.'

The elements of the verb are described in §2.3.2, §2.3.3 and §2.3.4.

2.3.2 Subject-mode-tense particle

Schematic representation of the subject-mode-tense particle
(see §2.3, under 2 in the order of verb elements)

	REALIS 0		INTENTIVE/IMPERATIVE na		IRREALIS ra	
	immed. 0	remote b	immed. na	remote ba na	immed. ba ra	remote ba ra
Singular:						
1SG	*a*	*b-a*	*n-a*	*b-a-na*	*b-a-ra*	*b-a-ra*
2SG	*o*	*b-o*	*n-o*	*b-o-no*	*b-o-ro*	*b-o-ro*
3SG	*e*	*b-e*	*n-e*	*b-e-ne*	*b-e-re*	*b-e-re*
Plural:						
1PL.INC	*ta*	*bi-ta*	*ta-na/si-ni*	*bi-ta-na/ bi-si-ni*	*ta-ra*	*bi-ta-ra*
1PL.EXC	*ḡa*	*ba-ḡa*	*ḡa-na*	*ba-ḡa-na*	*ḡa-ra*	*ba-ḡa-ra*
2PL	*ḡo*	*bo-ḡo*	*ḡo-no*	*bo-ḡo-no*	*ḡo-ro*	*bo-ḡo-ro*
3PL	*ḡe*	*be-ḡe*	*ḡe-ne*	*be-ḡe-ne*	*ḡe-re*	*be-ḡe-re*

Note: There are two forms used in the intentive/imperative mode plural which are interchangeable: *bitana* is used interchangeably with *bisini* 'let us (INC)...later' and *sini* with *tana* 'let us (INC)...soon'. However, in the immediate form *si* 'let us (INC)...now' cannot be interchanged with *ta*.

Realis:

(52)   *A   ḡani-ḡani-ni.*
         1SG   eat-RED-IMPF
         'I am eating.'

Intentive/Imperative:

(53)   *B-a-na   ḡani-ḡani.*
         R-1SG-I/I   eat-RED
         'I'd like to eat/I have to eat/I must eat.'

Irrealis:

(54)   *B-a-ra   ḡani-ḡani senaḡi asi   ḡa-gu.*
         R-1SG-IRR   eat-RED   but   NEG   ED-1SG
         'I would have eaten/I would eat, but I don't have anything.'

The subject markers in 'S' also include morphemes marking the mode and tense. The order of the elements is tense-number-person-mode. Within the realis, irrealis and intentive/imperative modes there are two tense subdivisions, immediate and remote. The immediate tense is used for those actions which occur at the present time, and the remote tense is used for those actions which occur at a time relatively remote from the present.

Diagram:

```
        past          present         future
         <----------------------------->
       _____
        remote                        remote
```
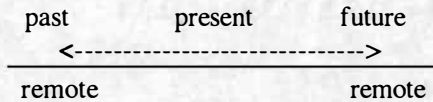
Note, however, that the remote forms may overlap into the present:

(55)   *Ḡe-ra   buka bi-si-ni   keo-ri.*
         NTR-1PL.INC   book R-1PL.INC-I/I   open-3PL
         'Let us open our books.'

In example (55) the remote form is used to make the imperative less strong.

We would expect the immediate irrealis in the singular to be *ra, ro, re* but such forms do not exist. Instead the remote irrealis forms are used.

There are two immediate intentive/imperative plural forms which have the same meaning, although the shorter form seems to be a little stronger.

The unmarked form for each of the morphemes in the subject marker, except for person, is zero; thus immediate tense, singular and realis mode are all marked by 0. The number marking for the first person plural inclusive is *t*, for the intentive/imperative mode *si*, and for all the other plurals *ḡ*.

2.3.2.1 Realis mode

Since the realis mode is marked by 0, the person/number marking stands alone. Realis is used to describe situations that are real.

2.3.2.1.1 Immediate

These forms can occur with the aspect suffix *-ni* 'imperfective' or the aspect suffix *-to* 'perfective':

Paradigm:

a raka-ni	'I am going'
o raka-ni	'you are going'
e raka-ni	'he, she, it is going'
ta raka-ni	'we (INC) are going'
ḡa raka-ni	'we (EXC) are going'
ḡo raka-ni	'you (PL) are going
ḡe raka-ni	'they are going'

Paradigm:

a raka-to	'I went'
o raka-to	'you went'
e raka-to	'he, she, it went'
ta raka-to	'we (INC) went'
ḡa raka-to	'we (EXC) went'
ḡo raka-to	'you (PL) went'
ḡe raka-to	'they went'

Realis immediate verbs when occurring with the imperfective aspect suffix are used to express:

i.   present continuous action

(56)   *Ḡoi   kara   o   vei-ni?*
       2SG   what   2SG   do-IMPF
       'What are you doing?'

(57)   *A   tanu-ni.*
       1SG   stay-IMPF
       'I am staying.'

ii.   present habitual action

(58)   *A   ḡauvei-ni.*
       1SG   work-IMPF
       'I work regularly.'

Realis immediate verbs when occurring with the perfective aspect suffix *-to* are used to express events that are completed. However, they cannot be used for completed events of today, only of yesterday or longer ago. If the action was completed today the verb would be in realis mode with remote tense without any perfective or imperfective suffix (see §2.3.2.1.2).

(59)   *Ḡia   na   ḡai   ḡe   ḡabi-tuḡu-ma-to.*
       3PL   ERG   1PL.EXC   3PL   take-send-1PL.EXC-PERF
       'They said farewell to us.'

2.3.2.1.2 Remote

Realis remote forms are indicated by the marker *b*. These forms occur either without any aspect suffix or with the aspect suffix *-ni*.

Paradigm:

ba raka	'I went'
bo raka	'you went'
be raka	'he, she, it went'
bita raka	'we (INC) went'
baḡa raka	'we (EXC) went'
boḡo raka	'you (PL) went'
beḡe raka	'they went'

Paradigm:

ba raka-ni	'I will go'
bo raka-ni	'you will go'
be raka-ni	'he, she, it will go'
bita raka-ni	'we (INC) will go'
baḡa raka-ni	'we (EXC) will go'
boḡo raka-ni	'you (PL) will go'
beḡe raka-ni	'they will go'

The realis remote tense forms are used without any aspect suffix in the following instances.

i.   for events that have already started to take place or have taken place

(60)   *B-a   keve.*
       R-1SG   sick
       'I have become sick (today).'

(61)   *Ḡia b-e   raḡasi.*
       3SG R-3SG   arrive
       'He has arrived (today).'

(62)   *B-a   vaisi.*
       R-1SG   leave
       'I have left.'

(63)   *Laḡani sebona PNG ai ba-ḡa   tanu.*
       year   one   PNG in R-1PL.EXC live
       'We have been living in PNG for one year.'

ii. to make stories relevant (only used by some old people) (Usually the perfective aspect is used when telling stories.)

The realis remote form with the imperfective aspect suffix *-ni* is used to refer to future events which have not yet taken place, but which definitely will take place.

i.   future events

(64)   *Boinani   vau b-a   iaḡosi-ni.*
       tomorrow then R-1SG come.to.hearer-IMPF
       'I am going to come tomorrow.'

(65) *B-o   keto-ni!*
      R-2SG   fall-IMPF
      'You will fall (if you are not careful)!'

ii. conditions

(66) *Bema b-o   daroa-ni   nai   tu   kurabo   ḡitaḡita-na*
      if   R-2SG   sweep-IMPF   when   TOP   floor   sight-3SG

      b-e   namo-ni.
      R-3SG   good-IMPF
      'If you clean the floor it will look nice.'

2.3.2.2 *Intentive/imperative mode*

The intentive/imperative mode is indicated by the marker *na*. In the plural, though, there is a second set without marking. Both sets seem to have the same meaning, although the unmarked one might be a bit stronger and more definite. That means, *na* makes the imperatives slightly weaker. For example:

(67) *B-a   iaḡosi-ni.*
      R-1SG   come.to.hearer-IMPF
      'I will (surely) come (to you).'

(68) *B-a-na   iaḡosi.*
      R-1SG-I/I   come.to.hearer
      'I intend to come.'

In example (67) certainty is expressed, whereas in (68) some doubt is implied.

(69) *Bema b-o   daroa-ni   nai   tu   kurabo   ḡitaḡita-na*
      if   R-2SG   sweep-IMPF   when   TOP   floor   appearance-3SG

      b-e   namo-ni.
      R-3SG   good-IMPF
      'If you clean the floor it will look nice.'

In Sinaugoro the intentive/imperative mode could never ever be used to express a conditional clause. Note, however, that in Aroma, a related language, the same particle *na* is used for both intentive/imperative and certain and definite events such as in (67) and (69).

What about the intentive/imperative forms in the singular? These correspond to the unmarked plural forms in meaning. Is the *n-* in the singular forms the same as the intentive/imperative marker *na*? But why is it stronger then? Or are there just two sets of immediate realis forms (in Motu *na* is first person singular realis), one used for realis (unmarked) and the other for intentive/imperative mode (marked). This is true for first person plural inclusive realis immediate, though. The first person plural inclusive realis immediate form is *ta*, and the first person plural inclusive intentive/imperative form is *si*.

2.3.2.2.1 *Immediate*

The singular is marked with the prefix *n-* and the plural is either unmarked or marked with *na*. The verb in the intentive immediate mode either takes no aspect marking or the continuous/habitual aspect clitic *ḡoi*.

Paradigm:

na tanu	'let me stay/I must stay'
no tanu	'you want to stay/you must stay'
ne tanu	'let him stay/he must stay'
si tanu	'let us (INC) stay/we must stay'
ḡa tanu	'let us (EXC) stay/we must stay'
ḡo tanu	'you (PL) want to stay/you must stay'
ḡe tanu	'let them stay/they must stay'
tana/	
sini tanu	'let us (INC) stay/we must stay'
ḡana tanu	'let us (EXC) stay/we must stay'
ḡono tanu	'you (PL) want to stay/you must stay'
ḡene tanu	'let them stay/they must stay'

These forms are used to express:

i.   immediate imperative, obligation or wish

(70)   *Ḡo   raga-vei!*
2PL   run-do
'Hurry up!'

(71)   *Ḡata-gu   n-a   ḡita-ia.*
friend-1SG   I/I-1SG   see-3SG
'I must (want to) see my friend now.'

(72)   *Ta-na   ḡenoḡoi.*
1PL.INC-I/I   return
'Let us go back/We must/have to go back/We want to go back.'

(73)   *Barau ḡe-na-i   ta-na   noḡi-raḡe-vini-a   ḡoi.*
God   NTR-3SG-to   1PL.INC-I/I   ask-up-give-3SG   C/H
'Let us keep on asking God.'

ii.   purpose

(74)   *Vavine   ḡaraḡo-na   n-e   seḡaḡi   ḡana   e   taḡi-to.*
woman   spouse-3SG   I/I-3SG   hear   to   3SG   cry-PERF
'His wife cried so that her husband might hear it.'

2.3.2.2.2 Remote

The remote form is indicated by the marker *b*. It implies that the action may take place sometime in the future.

Paradigm:

bana iaḡo	'let me go/I must go (later)'
bono iaḡo	'you want to go/you must go'
bene iaḡo	'he wants to go/he must go'

bitana iaḡo/	
bisini iaḡo	'let us (INC) go/we must go'
baḡana iaḡo	'let us (EXC) go/we must go'
boḡono iaḡo	'you (PL) want to go/you must go'
beḡene iaḡo	'let them go/they want to go/they must go'

These forms are used to express:

i.   events that are intended to be completed (later). In this case *roḡosi* 'not yet' must precede the verb:

(75)   *Ḡani-ḡani roḡosi b-e-ne   meu.*
       food-RED not.yet R-3SG-I/I cooked
       'The food is not cooked yet.'

ii. imperative

(76)   *Tarima maia be-ḡe-ne   iaḡoma.*
       people also R-3PL-I/I come
       'Some more people must/have to come (not immediately, but later).'

(77)   *Asi b-o-no   tuḡamaḡi-meto.*
       NEG R-2SG-I/I think-heavy
       'Don't worry.'

iii. purpose

(78)   *Iesu tu Ioane ḡe-na-i   e   iaḡo-to Ioane na*
       Jesus TOP John NTR-3SG-to 3SG go-PERF John ERG

       b-e-ne   babatiso-a   ḡana.
       R-3SG-I/I baptise-3SG to
       'Jesus went to John in order that he would baptise him.'

iv. wish

(79)   *Au   maki b-a-na   iaḡo.*
       1SG also R-1SG-I/I go
       'I would also like to go.'

2.3.2.3 Irrealis mode

The irrealis mode is indicated by the marker *ra*. There are no forms for the immediate singular. This is expressed by using the remote singular forms.

2.3.2.3.1 Immediate

The immediate forms which are unmarked for tense only exist in the plural. To express singular the remote forms are employed. The irrealis forms do not occur with the aspect markers.

Paradigm:

tara iaḡo	'we (INC) should go'
ḡara iaḡo	'we (EXC) should go'
ḡoro iaḡo	'you (PL) should go'
ḡere iaḡo	'they should go'

The immediate irrealis forms are used to express immediate unrealised events:

(80)   *Ḡita   tu   United Church nuḡa-na-i   senaḡi roḡosi*
1PL.INC TOP United Church inside-3SG-in but   not.yet

        ta-ra   sebona.
        1PL.INC-IRR   one
        'Although we are in the United Church, we are not yet united.'

(81)   *Mandei ḡe-re   iaḡoma senaḡi farai misi   e   kwaibo-to*
Monday 3PL-IRR come   but   flying machine 3SG slow-PERF

        nai   Tiusdei ḡe iaḡoma-to.
        because Tuesday 3PL come-PERF
        'They wanted to come on Monday but since the plane was late they arrived on Tuesday.'

2.3.2.3.2 Remote

The remote irrealis mode is indicated by the marker *b* and is used to point out the following: unrealised events of the past which had not yet taken place at the time of some other event referred to; polite requests or wishes; and conditions.

Paradigm:

bara tanu	'I should stay'
boro tanu	'you should stay'
bere tanu	'he should stay'
bitara tanu	'we (INC) should stay'
baḡara tanu	'we (EXC) should stay'
boḡoro tanu	'you (PL) should stay'
beḡere tanu	'they should stay'

i. remote unrealised events

(82)   *Iesu tama-na   ḡe-na-i   roḡosi b-e-re   ḡenoḡoi*
Jesus father-3SG NTR-3SG-to not.yet R-3SG-IRR   return

        nai   ḡia tu   e   noḡi-noḡi-to   tarima-rima ḡe-ri.
        when 3SG TOP 3SG ask-RED-PERF   people-RED NTR-3PL
        'Before Jesus had returned to the father he prayed for the people.'

ii. polite requests or wishes

(83)   *Gerhard, mani ḡe-mu   vei-ḡa   b-o-ro   iaḡoma Bore*
         Gerhard that   NTR-2SG do-NOM R-2SG-IRR come   Bore

         haroro tau-na   ḡesi si-ma   guruḡa-guruḡa.
         preach man-3SG with 1PL.INC-at.speaker talk-RED
         'Gerhard, would you mind coming to talk with the pastor from Bore.'

iii. unreal conditions

(84)   *Bere namo mo   numa mainai bo-ḡo-ro   raga-ia.*
         if   good that house here   R-2PL-IRR build-3SG
         'It would have been good if you had built that house here.'

(85)   *Bere b-e-re   daro-a,   kurabo ḡitaḡita-na*
         if   R-3SG-IRR sweep-3SG floor   appearance-3SG

         b-e-re   namo.
         R-3SG-IRR good
         'If she had swept, the floor would have been clean.'

2.3.3 Other verbal clitics, prefixes and suffixes

2.3.3.1 Repeated action clitic *ma*

The clitic *ma* 'repeated action' is the first morpheme in the verb phrase, and is used to indicate repetition of an action. It can occur in all modes and aspects and both tenses.

(86)   *Nado ta   ma   e   giro-a-to.*
         stone one again 3SG hurl-3SG-PERF
         'And again he threw a stone.'

(87)   *Ḡai   ma   ba-ḡa   ḡenoḡoi-ni.*
         1PL.EXC again R-1PL.EXC return-IMPF
         'We will come back again.'

2.3.3.2 Spatial markers *a*, *ma*, *si*

2.3.3.2.1 Spatial marker *a*

The marker *a* 'different location (from hearer and speaker)' stands after the S-M-T particle and means that the action will take/took place at a distance from both the speaker and the person spoken to. It does not occur in the first person because of the double *a* problem (e.g. *ba-a fou* becomes *bafou* 'I washed myself (over there)').

(88)   *B-o-a   fou?*
         R-2SG-different.location wash
         'Did you wash yourself (in the river over there or somewhere the one asking doesn't necessarily know)?'

(89) a. *Ḡoi ḡaraḡo-mu ai-ḡana b-e   iaḡo?*
          2SG spouse-2SG L/T-to R-3SG go
          'Where did your spouse go?'

    b.   *Mosbi   ḡana   b-e   iaḡo!*
        Moresby to   R-3SG go
        'He went to Moresby!'

    c.   *Kara   b-e-a   vei?*
        what   R-3SG-different.location do
        'What did he do there?'

2.3.3.2.2 *Spatial marker* ma

The marker *ma* stands after the S-M-T particle and can occur with all modes and aspects and carries the meaning '(towards) at speaker'. However, the notion of location is in focus which is also true for the other two spatial markers (*a* 'different location' and *si* 'at hearer').

(90)   *Si-ma   ḡani-ḡani.*
        1PL.INC.I/I-at.speaker   eat-RED
        'Let us eat here.'

(91)   *N-o   iaḡo-ma vamoka-i n-o-ma   ḡauvei!*
        I/I-2SG go-come   garden-in I/I-2SG-at.speaker work
        'Come and work in the garden here!'

In example (90) the implication is of course that someone has to come first in order to eat near the speaker, but still location is in focus. In (91) there are two verbs, the first one emphasises direction *iaḡoma* 'come', the second emphasises location *noma ḡauvei* 'work here'.

2.3.3.2.3 *Spatial marker* si

The marker *si* stands after the S-M-T particle and can occur with all modes and aspects and carries the meaning 'at hearer'.

(92)   *Lae ai ḡa-si   tanu-to   ḡoi.*
        Lae in   1PL.EXC-at.hearer stay-PERF C/H
        'We used to stay in Lae (at the hearer's place).'

Note: The spatial markers *-ma*, *-a*, *-si* are attached to the S-M-T particle and emphasise a location, whereas *va-*, *ma-/-ma*, *-si* are attached to just a few verbs of motion and emphasise direction as in *va-riḡo* 'go down', *va-raḡe* 'go up', *ma-riḡo* 'come down', *ma-raḡe* 'come up', *iaḡo-ma* 'come to speaker' (go-come), *iaḡo-si* 'go to hearer'.

As Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.:28) state: "*ma* is an active verb formative in Indonesian and Melanesian, but not in Motu".

Motu: *mai* 'come' (verb)   ---   *me* 'to/at speaker
Sinaugoro: *iaḡoma* 'come' (verb)   ---   *-ma* 'at speaker'

2.3.3.3 *Object suffixes*

The object suffixes are attached to the verb root if only one root occurs, or to the last root in a serial verb construction. They are used for indirect or direct objects.

Number/ Person	Singular	Plural
1 INC		-ra
1 EXC	-gu	-ma
2	-mu	-mi
3	-a/ia	-ri

The object suffixes are similar to the possession suffixes with the exception of the third person singular (-a becomes -ia if the object suffix follows a root with final a). They are used when the object or goal is realised, and they add to the transitivity of the clause (see §4.1.2).

2.3.3.4 Aspect suffixes and aspect clitic

There are three morphemes indicating aspect in Sinaugoro, -ni 'imperfective', -to 'perfective' and ḡoi 'continuous habitual'. The suffixes -ni and -to never occur together whereas the clitic ḡoi can be added to either -ni or -to.

Comrie (1976:16) defines perfective aspect in Sinaugoro as: "the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective aspect pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation".

2.3.3.4.1 Perfective and imperfective suffixes -to and -ni

Both perfective and imperfective suffixes follow the object suffix when present; when there is no object suffix they follow the last verb root or modifier. They only occur in the realis mode.

The perfective suffix -to is used for completed events of yesterday or longer ago:

(93)　　Ḡoraḡani　e　iaḡoma-to.
　　　　yesterday　3SG　come-PERF
　　　　'He came yesterday.'

(94)　　Motuka　e　vare-vare-vini-gu-to.
　　　　car　　　3SG　share-RED-give-1SG-PERF
　　　　'He gave me a car (as a gift).'

The imperfective aspect suffix -ni is used to express:

i.　continuous action in the present

(95)　　A　　tanu-taḡo-ni.
　　　　1SG　stay-sit-IMPF
　　　　'I am sitting.'

ii.　habitual action in the present

(96)　　Au　tu　Mosbi　ai　a　　ḡauvei-ni.
　　　　1SG　TOP　Moresby　in　1SG　work-IMPF
　　　　'I work in Port Moresby.'

When -ni occurs with the marker b it refers to events in the future:

(97)   *Boinani   vau   b-a   iaḡo-si-ni.*
        tomorrow   later   R-1SG   go-to.hearer-IMPF
        'I am going to come (to you) tomorrow.'

2.3.3.4.2 Continuous/habitual aspect clitic ḡoi

The continuous/habitual aspect clitic *ḡoi* may occur in all modes, aspects and tenses, and is used to express:

i.   habitual action in the past

(98)   *Laḡani   guine-na-i   tarima   ḡutuma   ḡe   bara-to   ḡoi.*
        year   early-3SG-in   people   many   3PL   dance-PERF   C/H
        'In the early days many people used to dance.'

(99)   *Be-ḡe   tanu   ḡoi   gabu-na   ara-na   Saroa.*
        R-3PL   live   C/H   place-3SG   name-3SG   Saroa
        'They used to live at Saroa.'

ii.   iterative action (the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation)

(100)   *Mare   Ḡiaiva   na   ḡuiato   e   kea-ri-to   ḡoi.*
        Mare   Gaiva   ERG   girl   3SG   call-3PL-PERF   C/H
        'Mare Gaiva repeatedly called the girls.'

iii.   continuous action

(101)   *N-o   guruḡa   ḡoi.*
        I/I-2SG   talk   C/H
        'Keep on talking.'

iv.   simultaneity (during a span of time a punctiliar event takes place)

(102)   *Ḡita   ta   ḡauvei-to   ḡoi   nai,   tama   Rome   e*
        1PL.INC   1PL.INC   work-PERF   C/H   while   father   Rome   3SG

        raḡasi-to.
        arrive-PERF
        'While we were working Father Rome arrived.'

(103)   *A   ḡauvei-ni   ḡoi   nuḡanai   motuka   guru-na   b-a   seḡaḡi-a.*
        1SG   work-IMPF   C/H   while   car   noise-3SG   R-1SG   hear-3SG
        'While I was working I heard the sound of a car.'

(104)   *Numa-i   b-a   tanu-taḡo-ni   ḡoi   nai   b-o-no   iaḡoma.*
        house-in   R-1SG   stay-sit-IMPF   C/H   while   R-2SG-I/I   come
        'While I will be sitting in the house you must come.'

In the practical orthography *-ḡoi* is written with a hyphen to avoid confusion with *ḡoi* 'you'.

2.3.4 Compound verbs

Compound verb stems are of several types including those composed of reduplicated verbs, root plus roots, and root plus modifiers to which the subject-mode-tense marker is added (and other verbal affixes if needed).

2.3.4.1 *Verb root + verb root*

This combination consists of verbs which can stand alone. Their relationship to each other is coordinative.

(105) *Ḡani-ḡani n-o ḡwa-iaḡoma-ia.*
food-RED I/I-2SG carry-come-3SG
'Bring the food.'

Other verbs in this category are:

ḡwa-iaḡo
carry-go
'to take'

tuḡu-iaḡo
send-go
'to send'

2.3.4.2 *Verb root + modifier*

The modifier can only occur following the verb root it modifies.

(106) *A buri-vaisi-ni.*
1SG jump-up-IMPF
'I am jumping up.'

(107) *A raka-toḡa-ni.*
1SG walk-through-IMPF
'I am walking through.'

(108) *A raka-rosi-ni.*
1SG walk-out-IMPF
'I am walking outside.'

Other verbs in this category are:

tanu-taḡo
stay-sit
'stay-sit'

tanu-tari
stay-sit.down
'stay-sit down'

raḡe-kau
climb-on
'climb on'

Some modifiers can stand alone as a simple verb. In example (109) the modifier *riḡo* 'down' modifies a verb; in (110) it stands alone as an independent intransitive verb.

(109) *Niu n-o fiu-riḡo-a.*
coconut I/I-2SG throw-down-3SG
'Throw down the coconut.'

(110)   *Nanu e   rigō-ni.*
        water 3SG downwards-IMPF
        'The water is running downwards.'

Other combinations where the modifier can also be used as an independent verb are:

raka-vanagi
walk-across
'walk across'

raka-guine
walk-first
'go first'

2.3.4.3 Verb root + two modifiers

The following sentence exemplifies a verb root with two modifiers:

(111)   *Numa ge   raga-gini-kau-a-to.*
        house 3PL build-good-on-3SG-PERF
        'They built the house properly.'

Other examples are:

raka-garigari
walk-quickly
'walk quickly'

raka-iagaiaga
walk-breathing
'to be exhausted after walking'

2.3.4.4 Combinations with the auxiliary verb vei 'do/make'

The auxiliary verb *vei* 'do/make' can also be used by itself as an independent verb:

(112)   *Kara o   vei-ni?*
        what   2SG do-IMPF
        'What are you doing?'

In combination with other verbs, *vei* may either precede or follow the other verb. It also occurs in combination with nouns preceding it.

i.   preceding the verb

(113)   *Asi b-o-no   vei-babo-babo.*
        NEG R-2SG-I/I do-stupid-RED
        'Don't be silly.'

vei-garevagareva
make-move
'to shake'

vei-buse
make-extinguish
'to blow/put out (extinguish)'

ii. following the verb

    (114)   *N-o   raga-vei!*
                  I/I-2SG run-do
                  'Hurry up!'

iii. occurring in combination with nouns preceding it

vei-vavine
do-woman
'to show off' (female)

vei-tau
do-man
'to show off' (male)

2.3.4.5 Reduplicated verbs

It is quite common to change a transitive simple verb into an intransitive verb by reduplicating the whole verb root:

    (115) a.   *Mari ta ḡa   mari-a-ni.*
                  song one 1PL.EXC sing-3SG-IMPF
                  'We are singing a song.'

         b.   *Ḡa   mari-mari-ni.*
                  1PL.EXC sing-RED-IMPF
                  'We are singing.'

2.3.5 The irregular verb 'to say' to, ta, si

There is just one irregular verb in Sinaugoro, which is realised as *to* 'say' in IMPF aspect +/- R, as *ta* in PERF +/- C/H, as *si* in I/I and IRR mode, and also in realis remote tense.

2.4 Adjectives

Many adjectives in Sinaugoro may function as adjectives, verbs or nouns. We may set up a group of adjectives that form opposition sets (see below) which are used for comparison. The adjective in itself is uninflected, but as the second or third element of a noun phrase adjectives agree in person and number with the head noun which they modify. The adjectives either occur alone or follow the noun they qualify or quantify. There are two types of adjectives: qualitative adjectives and quantitative adjectives.

2.4.1 Qualitative adjectives

These form opposition sets which may be grouped according to the following general classes:

Value:

namo   'good'   *rakava*   'bad'

Dimension:

kei	'small'	*barego*	'big'
kubi	'short'	*mauka*	'long'
sefaka	'shallow'	*dodoku*	'deep'
maḡiḡi	'thin'	*baruka*	'thick'

Age:

variḡu	'young'	*guine*	'old'

Physical property:

seḡuka	'hot'	*faraka*	'cold'
meraḡa	'light'	*meto*	'heavy'

There are no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in Sinaugoro. But comparison can be expressed in the following ways using either adjectives or adjective phrases:

Comparative:

(116)   *Boregaina tu   vanuḡa bara-na, Saroa tu   kei-na.*
Boregaina TOP village big-3SG Saroa TOP small-3SG
'Boregaina is bigger than Saroa.' (lit. 'Boregaina is big, Saroa is small.')

(117)   *Lae tu   barego leleваḡi, Saroa   tu   kei.*
Lae TOP big   very   Saroa   TOP small
'Lae is much bigger than Saroa.' (lit. 'Lae is very big, Saroa is small.')

Superlative:

(118)   *Mota mabara-ri tu   kei,   avaro   tu   barego.*
snake all-3PL   TOP small snake.name TOP big
'*Avaro* is the biggest of all snakes.' (lit. 'All the snakes are small, *avaro* is big.')

Colour Adjectives:

A further set of adjectives in Sinaugoro are colour words, which have been formed by reduplication:

kurokuro	'white'	*borabora*	'yellow'
maḡitamaḡita	'green'	*kakarakakara*	'red'
dubaradubara	'black'	*vaiorivaiori*	'daylight blue'
karavakarava	'light brown'		

2.4.2 Quantitative adjectives

Quantitative adjectives either occur alone or follow the noun that they modify.

kota	'some'
ḡutuma	'many'
asi-sebo not-one	'very many'
mabara-ra all-1PL.INC	'we all'

asiḡi-na	'none'	
no-3SG		
kwa-na	'part of it'	
part-3SG		
tavi-na	'half of it'	
half-3SG		
vake	'part of the betel nut'	

Reduplicated forms:

viravira	'very few'

(*vira* can mean 'a few' or it can serve as the interrogative 'how many')

seborisebori	'one by one'

(*seborisebori* consists of *sebo* 'one' + *-ri* '3PL')

Numerals:

The Sinaugoro counting system is a base-five system which counts as follows:

Cardinals

1	*sebona*	
2	*ruarua*	
3	*toitoi*	
4	*vasivasi*	
5	*imaima*	
6	*imaima sebona*	(5+1)
7	*imaima ruarua*	(5+2)
8	*imaima toitoi*	
9	*imaima vasivasi*	
10	*gabanana*	(10)
11	*gabanana sebona*	(10+1)
12	*gabanana ruarua*	(10+2)
13	*gabanana toitoi*	(10+3)
14	*gabanana vasivasi*	(10+4)
15	*gabanana imaima*	(10+5)
16	*gabanana imaima sebona*	(10+5+1)
20	*gabana ruarua*	(10x2)
30	*gabana toitoi*	(10x3)
40	*gabana vasivasi*	
50	*gabana imaima*	
60	*gabana imaima ma gabanana*	(10x5+10)
100	*sinau ta*	
200	*sinau ruarua*	(100x2)
1,000	*daḡara ta*	

The numbers *sebo-na* 'one' and *gabana-na* 'ten' are inflected by the third person singular suffix *-na* to indicate singularity.

Ordinals

guine	'first'
vaḡa-ruaruana	'second'
vaḡa-toitoina	'third'
vaḡa-vasivasina	'fourth'
vaḡa-imaimana	'fifth'
vaḡa-imaima sebona	'sixth'
vaḡa-gabana ruaruana ruarua	'twenty-second'

The ordinals from 'second' upwards are inflected by the third person singular suffix. Without this suffix the meaning would be, for example, *vaḡa-toitoi* 'three times'.

Nowadays people do not use the reduplicated form, but simply say, for example, *vaḡa-ruana* 'second'. Only some very old people use the full form.

2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs can be distinguished from other words by the fact that they cannot take nominal or verbal morphology and that they only function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. (See §2.8 for a fuller treatment of deictic adverbs.)

They are divided into four groups: adverbs related to the definiteness/indefiniteness of action; adverbs of manner; adverbs of time; and adverbs of location.

2.5.1 Adverbs related to the definiteness/indefiniteness of action

These adverbs precede the verb:

mai	'just now here'	(near speaker)
mani	'just now there'	(far from speaker)
vau mai	'just now here'	(after a time)
roḡosi	'not yet'	
varau	'already'	

mai 'now.here'

(119)　　*Au   mai   a   raka-ni.*
　　　　 1SG   now.here   1SG   go-IMPF
　　　　 'I am going now.'

The person spoken to would reply:

mani 'now.there'

(120)　　*Mani   o   iaḡo-ni.*
　　　　 now.there   2SG   go-IMPF
　　　　 'See you.' (lit. 'Now you are going.')

roḡosi 'not.yet'

(121)　　*Au   numa   roḡosi   b-a-na   raga-ia.*
　　　　 1SG   house   not.yet   R-1SG-I/I   build-3SG
　　　　 'I haven't built the house yet.'

varau 'already'

(122)   *Dauma varau   e   mase-to.*
            Dauma already 3SG die-PERF
            'Dauma already died.'

vau mai 'just.now.here' (after a time)

(123)   *Vau mai   ḡa   varaḡe-ni.*
            later now.here 1PL.EXC go.up-IMPF
            'Now we are going up (back home) again.'

2.5.2 Adverbs of manner

There are three subgroups of manner adverbs: those that always precede the verb, those that occur 'inside' the verb, and those that can do either.

1.   The largest group of manner adverbs always precedes the verb:

    mai ḡesi   'like this' (near speaker)
    ini ḡesi   'like this' (near speaker)
    mani ḡesi   'like that' (far from speaker)
    mo ḡesi   'like that' (farthest from both speaker and hearer)

(124)   *Ḡoi mani ḡesi o   vei-ni?*
            2SG that   like 2SG do-IMPF
            'Are you doing it like that?'

    vaḡa-sebo   'once'
    vaḡa-ruarua   'twice'
    vaḡa-toitoi   'thrice'

(125)   *Vaḡa-toitoi e   ḡofa-ri-to.*
            CAUS-three 3SG lie-3PL-PERF
            'She lied to them three times.'

Note: The adverb *nega vaḡa-toi* can be used instead of *vaḡa-toitoi* 'three times' (*nega* 'time' comes from Motu).

    kai 'long ago' (often)

(126)   *Au kai   b-a   kea senaḡi ḡoi asi   o   seḡaḡi-ni.*
            1SG often R-1SG call but   2SG NEG 2SG listen-IMPF
            'I often told you, but you haven't listened.'

    asi kau 'very quickly'

(127)   *Bibiḡa-ri asi kau be-ḡe   kakara-ni.*
            lip-3SG   NEG long R-3PL red-IMPF
            'Their lips turned red very quickly.'

    maki 'also'

(128)   *Mo ḡe-ri   ḡe mari-ni, mai ḡe-ri   maki ḡe*
            that NTR-3PL 3PL sing-IMPF this NTR-3PL also   3PL

> *mari-ni.*
> sing-IMPF
> 'Those are singing, they are singing too.'

moḡo 'only'

(129)   *Dauma   rara-na   moḡo   ḡe   iamuse-a-to.*
         Dauma   blood-3SG   only   3PL   leak-3SG-PERF
         'Only they were able to leak Dauma's blood.'

2. Those adverbs of manner which only occur in a compound verb construction (see §2.3.4) are as follows:

ḡari-moḡi   'quickly'
ḡari-ḡari   'quickly'

gini-kau   'very well'
stand-on

(130)   *B-o   raga-ḡari-ḡari.*
         R-2SG   run-quickly-RED
         'You ran quickly.'

3. The following adverb of manner can occur either inside the verb or preceding it:

vanaḡivanaḡi 'continually, again and again'

(131)   *Barau e   tanu-vanaḡi-vanaḡi-ni   Barau-na.*
         God   3SG stay-always-RED-IMPF   God-3SG
         'God is the one who remains for ever.'

(132)   *Vanaḡi-vanaḡi   ḡa   ḡuri-ḡuri-ni.*
         always-RED   1PL.EXC   pray-RED-IMPF
         'We always go to the service.'

2.5.3 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time either occur in adverb phrases of time or precede the verb:

ḡwatani   'day before yesterday'
ḡoraḡani   'yesterday'
toma   'today'
mai/ini toma   'now, nowadays'
boinani   'tomorrow'
ilaḡani   'day after tomorrow'
ilaḡaita   'two days after tomorrow'
guine   'first'
nuḡanai   'while'
vau   'afterwards'
murinai   'afterwards'
roḡo   'still/not yet'

(133)   *Ḡai   maki   vau ḡa   iaḡo-si-ni.*
         1PL.EXC   also   later 1PL.EXC   go-towards.hearer-IMPF
         'Later we will also come.'

(134)   *Ḡai*   *tu*   *roḡo mainai ḡa*   *tanu-ni.*
      1PL.EXC TOP still here   1PL.EXC live-IMPF
      'We are still living here.'

(135)   *Ḡoraḡani au   tama-gu   e   raḡasi-to.*
      yesterday 1SG father-1SG 3SG arrive-PERF
      'Yesterday my father arrived.'

2.5.4 Adverbs of location

Adverbs of location precede the verb:

mainai	'here' (near speaker)
ininai	'here' (near speaker)
maninai	'there' (far from speaker)
monai	'there' (farthest from both speaker and hearer)
maina na	'from here'
inina na	'from here'
manina na	'from there' (far)
mona na	'from there' (farthest)

(136)   *Vanuga kanisoro mainai e   tanu-ni.*
      village   council here 3SG live-IMPF
      'The village council lives here.'

(137)   *Mo-na   na   ḡa   iaḡoma-ni.*
      that-3SG from 1PL.EXC come-IMPF
      'We are coming from over there.'

(For more examples see §2.8.)

2.6 Intensifiers

Intensifiers occur in adjective phrases and intensify the adjective which they precede. The following adjectives and intensifiers tend to go together:

namo vedaurea	'very good'
vovoka tabutabu	'very many'
ḡutuma gorogoro	'very many'
barego lelevagi	'very big'
rakava kwaikwai	'very bad'
mauka kenene	'very long'
iaru korokoro	'very high'
gwaḡiḡi tumutumu	'very hard'
moira keḡokeḡo	'very soft'

2.7 Topicalisers

In Sinaugoro the topicalisers are *tu* and *ne*. These occur in:

i.   equative constructions

+ NP   + TOP   + NP
TOPIC   =   COMMENT

ii. intransitive clauses

+ NP$_S$ + TOP   + VP^{INTR}
TOPIC   =   COMMENT

iii. transitive clauses

+ NP$_S$ + TOP   + COMP
TOPIC   =   COMMENT

Both *tu* and *ne* mark topicalisation in subjects, objects and obliques, without marking the subject as either transitive or intransitive; *tu* is more commonly used than *ne*.

Equative:

(138)   *Mai   tu   ḡai   ḡe-ma   numa.*
         this   TOP   1PL.EXC   NTR-1PL.EXC   house
         'This is our house.'

Intransitive:

(139)   *Au   tu   a   raka-ni.*
         1SG   TOP   1SG   walk-IMPF
         'I am going.'

Transitive:

(140) a. *Mai kure tu   bai   ḡiḡu-na   e   kafu-a-ni.*
          this rat TOP   pig   tail-3SG   3SG   bite-3SG-IMPF
          'This rat is biting the pig's tail.'

      b. *Ḡoi   ne   kamasi o   ve-tugamagi-ni?*
          2SG   TOP   how   2SG   DER-think-IMPF
          'What do you think?'

The topicaliser *tu* may occur together with the ergative marker *-na* as in the following examples:

(141) a. *Dauma   ḡesi   ba-ḡa   vetari-ni   nai   ḡoi   na   tu*
          Dauma   with   R-1PL.EXC   war-IMPF   while 2SG   ERG   TOP

          mai   babaga   moḡo   b-o-no   ḡita-taḡo-a.
          this   flower.name only   R-2SG-I/I   look-at-3SG
          'While we are fighting with Dauma, you must watch this flower.'

      b. *Futua guine-na tobo   e   ḡabi-vaḡa-lei-a-to*
          boy   first-3SG bamboo   3SG   take-CAUS-float-3SG-PERF

          muri-na   ḡana, senaḡi futua muri-sei-na   na   tu
          behind-3SG   to   but   boy   after-born-3SG   ERG   TOP

          tobo   e   ḡabi-tari-a-to,   b-e-namo   e
          bamboo 3SG   take-hold-3SG-PERF   R-3SG-good   3SG

fagā-ia-to.
carry.on.shoulder-3SG-PERF
'The firstborn boy put the bamboo behind him in the water, but the lastborn
boy got hold of the bamboo and carried it on his shoulders.'

Other devices for topic and focus would be the deictic *mo* 'that' which is used to point back to participants or things that have been already introduced (for examples see §2.8 and §3).

The direct or indirect object of a transitive clause may be frontshifted (see §4.3).

2.8 Deictics

Sinaugoro has four basic deictics, which function like demonstrative pronouns (i.e. by modifying a noun in a noun phrase or by replacing a whole noun phrase), and like demonstrative adverbs of time, location and manner. They are treated below as two separate groups, although the distinction is artificial from a structural point of view.

mai	'this' (near speaker)
ini	'this' (near speaker)

(It is adopted from Motu and has the same meaning as *mai*.)

mani	'that' (far from speaker)
mo(a)	'that over there' (farthest from speaker)

Note: Nowadays the *a* in *moa* is not pronounced by many speakers.

2.8.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives can occur either alone or with another element.

2.8.1.1 Deictic alone

(142) **Mai** *tu* *au* *garagō-gu.*
this TOP 1SG spouse-1SG
'This is my spouse.'

2.8.1.2 Deictic + noun

(143) *Mai* **dagara** *n-o* *vini-gu!*
this thing I/I-2SG give-1SG
'Give me this thing!'

2.8.1.3 Deictic + possessive pronoun

Of the possessive pronouns only *ḡeri* 'their' and its singular form *ḡea* 'his/her' are used with the demonstrative pronouns *mo* 'that' and *mai* 'this'. Note that the *n* in *ḡe(n)a* is dropped.

a. *mo ḡeri* 'those...' is often used in stories to refer to persons mentioned earlier in the story. It is also a means of expressing plurality, because if only one person is referred back to, then *mo* 'that' occurs on its own without *ḡea* 'his/her'.

(144)   *Mo   ḡe-ri   ḡuiato mabara-ri ḡe   mase-to.*
        that NTR-3PL girl   all-3PL   3PL   die-PERF
        'Those girls all died.'

(145)   *Mo   ḡuiato ara-na   tu   Boura Vareta.*
        that girl   name-3SG TOP Boura Vareta
        'That girl's name is Boura Vareta.'

b. referring to things

(146)   *Bema mo ḡe-ri   asi   bi-ta   vaḡa*
        if   that NTR-3PL NEG R-1PL.INC CAUS

        kori-ri-ni   nai   tu   buka tari   maki asi   roḡo
        finish-3PL-IMPF when TOP book other also NEG yet

        bi-ta   tore-a-ni.
        R-1PL.INC write-3SG-IMPF
        'If we don't finish these things (grammar, etc.) we won't be able to start
        working on other books.'

c. before enumeration

(147)   *Tarima ara-ri   tu   mai   ḡe-ri...*
        people name-3PL TOP this   NTR-3PL
        'Here are the people's names...'

(148)   *Ḡauka ḡe-ri   vetari farefare-ri   ara-ri   tu   mai*
        old   NTR-3PL war   belongings-3PL name-3PL TOP this

        ḡe-ri: gio,   garaḡota,   ḡesi.
        NTR-3PL arrow spear   shield
        'The weapons our ancestors used to make war are: arrows, spears and shields.'

d. as complement

(149)   *Au   sina-gu   tu   mo   ḡe-a.*
        1SG mother-1SG TOP that NTR-3SG
        'My mother is the one over there.'

e. with frequently used fixed forms which do not occur with copulas or verbs

(150)   *Ḡoi mani ḡe-mu?*
        2SG that   NTR-2SG
        'Are you there?'

(151)   *Oi,   au   mai   ḡe-gu!*
        yes   1SG this   NTR-1SG
        'Yes, I am here!

2.8.1.4 Deictic + suffix -ḡa

The suffix *-ḡa* refers to some 'thing' or 'person'. It seems to be a nominaliser suffix. For example:

    vei 'do' (V)   —   *vei-ḡa*   'habit'(N)

The following combinations are possible:

mai-ḡa/ini-ḡa	'this one' (near speaker)
mani-ḡa	'that one' (far from speaker)
mo(a)-ḡa	'that one over there' (farthest from speaker)
io-mo(a)-ḡa	'the one over there'

(*Io-* serves as a kind of specifier to point out one particular thing or just to specify.)

(152) a.   *Bua   tu   mani-ḡa?*
        betel.nut TOP that-NOM
        'Do you have a betel nut?'

     b.   *Oi, bua   tu   mai-ḡa/ini-ḡa!*
        yes betel.nut TOP this-NOM
        'Yes; here I have one!'

(153) a.   *Au   mani dagara mani-ḡa n-o   vini-gu!*
        1SG that   thing   that-NOM I/I-2SG give-1SG
        'Give me that thing there!'

     b.   *Ini-ḡa/mai-ḡa?*
        this-NOM
        'This one?'

     c.   *Oi, mani-ḡa.*
        yes that-NOM
        'Yes, that one.'

Example (154) is an alternative for (153c):

(154)   *Asiḡina, dia   mani-ḡa, mo(a)-ḡa n-o   vini-gu!*
         NEG   NEG   that-NOM that-NOM I/I-2SG give-1SG
         'No, not this, give me that one!'

(155)   *Sina-mu   mo-ḡa?*
         mother-2SG there-NOM
         'Is your mother there (in the house)?'

2.8.2 Demonstrative adverbs

2.8.2.1 Mai 'this' and mani 'that'

Mai and *mani* are also used before verbs as temporal/spatial adverbs (see §2.5).

(156)   *Au mai a   iaḡo-ni.*
         1SG this 1SG go-IMPF
         'I am going now (here).'

The reply to that is:

(157)   *Mani o   iaḡo-ni.*
         that   2SG go-IMPF
         'You are going now (there).' (lit. 'See you!')

2.8.2.2 Mo 'to/as far as/until'

Mo too serves as a temporal/spatial adverb.

a. spatial: 'as far as'

(158)   *Ḡia e   iaḡo-to   mo ḡoro ta   ara-na   Kapakou.*
         3SG 3SG go-PERF to hill one name-3SG Kapakou
         'He went to the hill named Kapakou.'

In spoken Sinaugoro there are three alternative ways to use *mo* in a proposition to express a great distance:

(159)   *Au a   raka-to   mo raka raka raka raka mo Boku.*
         1SG 1SG go-PERF to walk walk walk walk to Boku
         'I went to Boku.'

(160)   *Au a   raka-to   mo mo mo mo Boku.*
         1SG 1SG go-PERF to to to to Boku
         'I went to Boku.'

(161)   *Au a   raka-to   moooooo Oooooooo... Boku.*
         1SG 1SG go-PERF to   Boku
         'I went to Boku.'

b. temporal: 'until'

(162)   *Ḡia monai e   tanu-to   mo e   ruḡu-to.*
         3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till 3SG give.birth-PERF
         'She stayed there until she gave birth.'

In spoken Sinaugoro there are three alternative ways to use *mo* in a proposition to express a long period of time:

(163)   *Ḡia monai e   tanu-to   mo tanu tanu tanu tanu*
         3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till stay stay stay stay

         mo e   ruḡu-to.
         till 3SG give.birth-PERF
         'She stayed there until she gave birth.'

(164)   *Ḡia monai e   tanu-to   mo mo mo e   ruḡu-to.*
         3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till till till 3SG give.birth-PERF
         'She stayed there until she gave birth.'

(165)   *Ḡia monai e   tanu-to   mooooo Ooooooo... e   ruḡu-to.*
         3SG there 3SG stay-PERF till   3SG give.birth-PERF
         'She stayed there until she gave birth.'

2.8.2.3 Deictic + 3SG suffix + postposition

All demonstratives can occur with the third person singular suffix *-na* + postposition.

a. postposition *na* 'from'

mai-na na/	'from here'	(near speaker)
ini-na na	(*ini* is adopted from Motu)	
mani-na na	'from there'	(far from speaker)
mo(a)na na	'from over there'	(farthest from speaker)

(166)   *Ḡai   tu   mai-na   na   ḡa   iaḡo-ni.*
          1PL.EXC TOP   this-3SG from 1PL.EXC go-IMPF
          'We are going from here.'

b. postposition *ai* 'in/at/on'

When a word ends with *a* and the postposition *ai* is added, one *a* is elided. *Monai* is written as one word because *-na* is regarded as a third person singular suffix which cannot be separated.

mai-na-i/	'here' (near speaker)
ini-na-i	(*ini* is adopted from Motu)
mani-na-i	'there' (far from speaker)
mo(a)-na-i	'over there' (farthest from speaker)

(167)   *Haroro tau-na   tu   mo(a)-na-i e   tanu-ni.*
          preach man-3SG TOP that-3SG-in 3SG live-IMPF
          'The pastor lives over there.'

2.8.2.4 Postposition ḡesi *'with'*

It can occur with all demonstratives and conveys the meaning 'in this/that way'.

mai ḡesi	'like this' (near speaker)
ini ḡesi	'like this' (near speaker)
mani ḡesi	'like that' (far from speaker)
mo(a) ḡesi	'like that' (farthest from speaker)

(168) a. *Mani ḡesi o   vei-ni?*
          that   with 2SG do-IMPF
          'Are you doing it like that?'

      b. *Oi, mai ḡesi a   vei-ni!*
          yes this with 1SG do-IMPF
          'Yes, I am doing it like this!'

(169)   *Au-na   baḡa   tu   varo na mo ḡesi b-a   baru-a.*
          1SG-ERG bush.knife TOP rope with that with R-1SG bind-3SG
          'I twisted the rope round my bush knife like that over there.'

Mai ḡesi is often used to introduce speech:

(170)   *Mai ḡesi a   tuḡamaḡi-ni...*
          this with 1SG think-IMPF
          'I think like this...'

(171)   *Mai ḡesi e   kira-to...*
          this with 3SG say-PERF
          'He said like this...'

The phrase *mo ḡesi* can be added after the speech:

(172)   *...mo ḡesi e   kira-ri-to.*
          that with 3SG say-3PL-PERF
          '...that is what he told them.'

2.9 Interrogatives

The interrogatives consist of either one morpheme, or are composed of up to four morphemes. They can occur as a whole noun phrase or they can modify a noun. In a sentence the interrogative word/expression is in the same position as the questioned item would be in a statement.

The interrogatives which are composed of two independent words are written separately, but those consisting of a word + dependent morpheme (affix) are written as one word. They have the following structures:

2.9.1 *The morpheme* ai *'L/T'*

+ POSTPOSITION
+ TEMPORAL ADVERB
+ POSSESSIVE PRONOUN
+ 3SG SUFFIX + POSTPOSITION

| *ai-ḡana* | 'where to?' |
| L/T-to | |

The postposition *ḡana* 'to' (direction) occurs only as one morpheme although it might have the same origin as *ḡa-na/ḡa-ri* 'for-3SG/PL' in *kara ḡana/ḡari* 'what for' (purpose).

| *ai-ḡesi* | 'how?' or 'where to?' |
| L/T-with | |

| *ai-toma* | 'when?' |
| L/T-today | |

ai-ḡe-ri	
L/T-NTR-3PL	\
	\ 'where, which?'
ai-ḡe-a	/
L/T-NTR-3SG	/

| *ai-na-i* | 'where in?' |
| L/T-3SG-in | |

| *ai-na*   *na* | 'where from?' |
| L/T-3SG   from | |

2.9.2 *Interrogatives consisting of one morpheme*

kara	'what?'
kamara	'which/what?'
kamasi	'how?'
vira	'how many?'
(*vira* also means 'a few')	
dei	'who (SG)?'

Reduplicated form:

| *deidei* | 'who (PL)?' |

2.9.3 *The interrogative* kara

+ POSTPOSITION
+ CONJUNCTION
+ SUFFIX + CONJUNCTION

kara *ḡa-na*
what for-3SG

'what for (purpose)?'

kara *ḡa-ri*
what for-3PL

Note: *ḡa-na/ḡa-ri* is also the alienable 3SG/PL possessive pronoun (edible).

kara *dai-na-i*
what because-3SG-in

'why (reason)?'

kara-se *nai*
what-why because

Note: *dainai* is adopted from Motu, and is used very frequently nowadays.

kara *vei*   'why (to do what)?'
what do

2.9.4 kara *'what' as second element*

korana *kara*   'why (reason)?'
source what

dei-kara   'who?'
who-what

Note: *dei-kara* carries the same meaning as *dei*, although it might be a little stronger.

(173)   *Ai-na* *na* *o* *iaḡoma-ni?*
         L/T-3SG from 2SG come-IMPF
         'Where are you coming from?'

(174)   *Ḡoi* *tu* *kamara* *vanuḡa* *tau-mu?*
         2SG TOP what village man-2SG
         'What village are you from?'

(For more examples see §5.2.3.)

2.10 Conjunctions

There are many conjunctions that are used in Sinaugoro. Quite a number of them are adopted from Motu. They are treated only briefly here—for further discussion as well as examples, see §5.

2.10.1 *Coordinative conjunctions*

2.10.1.1 *Conjunctive*

It is difficult to establish the meaning of the conjunctions *e* 'and', *ma* 'with', *ema* 'and' since the Motu conjunction *bona* 'and' is used instead of *e* and *ema*, and is even used for *ma*. However, there are tendencies for the occurrence of the particular conjunctions.

Ma 'with' often occurs with the postposition *ḡesi* 'with' (although *ḡesi* is not obligatory) and is used to conjoin two persons, or a person and thing, knowledge, power, anger etc.

(175)   *Au   ma   ḡaraḡo-gu   ḡesi   ḡa   raka-to.*
         1SG with spouse-1SG with 1PL.EXC go-PERF
         'I went with my wife.'

(176)   *Tanu   ma   baru-na   ḡesi   e   raka-to.*
         Tanu with anger-3SG with 3SG go-PERF
         'Tanu left with anger.'

E and *ema* 'and' are more difficult to establish, since they are often used interchangeably. They may be used to conjoin clauses or phrases.

(177) a.   *Futua   ema   ḡuiato   ḡe   bara-to.*
            boy   and   girl   3PL dance-PERF

      b.   *Futua   e   ḡuiato   ḡe   bara-to.*
            boy   and   girl   3PL dance-PERF
            'Boys and girls danced.'

However, *ema* tends to mean 'and also' and occurs together with *maki* 'also', or it may stand before the last enumeration.

(178)   *Mai-na-i   ro   ḡe   tanu-kori-kori-to   ema tarima kota*
         this-3SG-in still 3PL stay-really-RED-PERF and people some

         maki   ḡe-ma   doḡari-ri-to.
         also   3PL-at.speaker find-3PL-PERF
         'Here they stayed for quite a while and also met other people.'

(179)   *E   ḡani-ḡani-to   ema   e   gena-to   maki.*
         3SG eat-RED-PERF and 3SG sleep-PERF also
         'He ate and also slept.'

(180)   *Ḡio,   baḡa   ema boda e   ḡwa-ri-to.*
         spear bush.knife and net 3SG carry-3PL-PERF
         'He carried a spear, bush knife and a net.'

2.10.1.2 *Disjunctive*

It seems that in the early days only the particle *ba* was used to express contrast and supplementation, but today the Sinaugoro speakers also use the conjunctions *eiava* which is adopted from Motu and *o* which comes from English and is also used in Hiri Motu.

However, these disjunctive conjunctions are not always interchangeable. For contrast *ba* 'or' tends to be used, and to express supplementation *eiava* and *o* 'or' are used.

Supplementation (two or more options):

(181)   *Mo   gabu   ara-na   o/eiava ḡaruka ara-na   toma   ḡe*
         that place name-3SG or   river   name-3SG today 3PL

         kiragi-a-ni   Ḡuiato Kafu-tari-na'.
         say.about-3SG-IMPF girl   bite-down-3SG
         'The name of that place or river is called 'Girl's Trap'.'

Contrast (one proposition or the other applies):

(182) *Ḡia e iaḡoma-ni ba asiḡi-na?*
3SG 3SG come-IMPF or NEG-3SG
'Is he coming or not?'

(183) *Lori-mu ai ba?*
right-2SG in or
'Are you all right?'

2.10.1.3 Other conjunctions

Other conjunctions are as follows:

senaḡi	'but'	(of explanation)
a	'but'	(of comparison)
b-e-namo	'and then'	
R-3SG-good		

2.10.2 Subordinative conjunctions

Sinaugoro has the following subordinate conjunctions:

vau	'later/afterwards'	
vau-ro	'later/afterwards'	
nai-ro	'later/afterwards'	(Kwabido dialect)
gabi vau	'later/afterwards'	
muri-na-i vau after-3SG-in later	'later/afterwards'	
muri-na-i after-3SG-in	'later/afterwards'	
nai	'when, so'	
nuḡa-na-i inside-3SG-in	'when, while'	
nega-na-i time-3SG-in	'when'	(from Motu)
taimi-na-i time-3SG-in	'when/ at that time'	(from English)
mo-ḡa lori-na-i \ that-NOM right-3SG-in \ / *mo ḡesi nai* /	'therefore'	(result is new information)
nai-ma	'therefore'	presupposed result
korana	'because'	introduces reason clauses, presupposed information
b-e-re R-3SG-IRR	'if'	marks both real and unreal conditions

| *be-ma* | 'if' | (from Motu) |
| *be* | 'so' | change of direction |

2.11 Postpositions

There are different types of postpositions which consist of one or two morphemes. Those which consist of only one morpheme *ai* 'in/at/on' and *na* 'source' might also be considered clitics or suffixes. Traditionally the postpositions have been written as separate words as in the following examples. Yet when a word ends in *a*, the *a* of *ai* merges with it and the postposition becomes a suffix *-i*.

2.11.1 Postpositions consisting of one morpheme

2.11.1.1 na *'source'*

a. 'from a location'

(184)   *Ḡomi tu   guba   na   bo-ḡo   keto-firiḡo ba tano   boka-na*
        2PL TOP sky   from R-2PL fall-down   or ground mouth-3SG

        na   bo-ḡo roka-raḡe?
        from   R-2PL climb-up
        'Did you fall down from heaven or did you come out of a cave?'

b. 'with an instrument'

(185)   *Bai nanu na   a   vaḡa-nufa-ia-ni.*
        pig   water with 1SG   CAUS-wet-3SG-IMPF
        'I am making the pig wet with water.'

(186)   *Kwaku-ma   na   ḡa   raka-to Kemaia ḡana.*
        foot-1PL.EXC with 1PL.EXC go-PERF Kemaia to
        'We walked to Kemaia.'

2.11.1.2 ai *'locative/spatial/temporal'*

a. 'on'

(187)   *Dauma e   keto-to,   tano   ai   e   mase-to.*
        Dauma 3SG fall-PERF ground on   3SG die-PERF
        'Dauma fell down on the ground and died.'

b. 'in'

(188)   *Ḡia numa ai e   tanu-taḡo-ni.*
        3SG house in   3SG stay-sit-IMPF
        'He is sitting in the house.'

(189)   *Ḡia Sinauḡoro garo   ai e   guruḡa-guruḡa-ni.*
        3SG Sinaugoro language in   3SG speak-RED-IMPF
        'He is speaking in the Sinaugoro language.'

c. 'within'

(190)   *Mai fura-i   b-e   iaḡoma-ni senaḡi ḡaro-na asi e*
        this week-within R-3SG come-IMPF but   day-3SG NEG 3SG

kiraḡi-a-to.
tell-3SG-PERF
'He will come this week, but he did not mention the exact date.'

d. 'to'

(191)   *Tama-gu   ḡe-na-i   a   iaḡo-ni.*
        father-1SG NTR-3SG-to 1SG go-IMPF
        'I am going to my father.'

2.11.2 Postpositions composed of two morphemes

2.11.2.1 ḡe-si *'comitative'*

(192)   *Au   ḡaraḡo-gu   ḡesi ḡereḡa-ma   ḡe-ma   numa-i*
        1SG spouse-1SG with alone-1PL.EXC NTR-1PL.EXC house-in

        ḡa   tanu-ni.
        1PL.EXC   stay-IMPF
        'I am living with my wife alone in our house.'

(193)   *Ḡade Gonegone ma   baru-na   ḡesi ḡe-na   dura*
        Gade Gonegone with anger-3SG with NTR-3SG   string.bag

        barego-na e   ḡabi-a-to.
        big-3SG   3SG took-3SG-PERF
        'Gade Gonegone was angry and grabbed her string bag.'

2.11.2.2 ḡa-na *'goal'*

a. 'to, towards' (locative)

(194)   *Ḡoraḡani ḡai   Kemaia ḡana ḡa   iaḡo-to.*
        yesterday 1PL.EXC Kemaia to   1PL.EXC go-PERF
        'Yesterday we went to Kemaia.'

b. 'to, in order to, for'   ḡa-na (SG)
   (benefactive + purpose)   ḡa-ri (PL)

(195)   *Ḡia b-e   dari-dari ḡaraḡo-na   ḡa-na.*
        3SG R-3SG cook-RED   spouse-3SG ED-3SG
        'She cooked for her husband.'

(196)   *Mai gaba tu   kara ḡa-na?*
        this bell TOP what ED-3SG
        'What is this bell for?'

2.11.3 Postpositions formed with the possessive pronoun

The following postpositions are composed of the possessive pronoun + *ai* 'in':

ḡe-na-i   (SG)   'to him/her'
ḡe-ri ai   (PL)   'to them'

(197)   *Au   ḡaraḡo-gu   ḡe-na-i   a   iaḡo-ni.*
        1SG spouse-1SG NTR-3SG-in 1SG go-IMPF
        'I am going to my spouse.'

(198)   *Au   karo-gu   ḡe-ri   ai   a   iaḡo-ni.*
         1SG   friend-1SG NTR-3PL to   1SG go-IMPF
         'I am going to my friends.'

2.11.4 Complex locative postpositions

The complex locative postpositions are composed of a location noun + 3SG/PL suffix *-na/-ri* + *ai* 'in/on/at'.

numa nuḡa-na-i	'inside the house'
house inside-3SG-inside	
numa iatanai/tuḡunai	'on top of the house'

iatanai 'on top' can also mean 'for, on behalf of, in the name of':

ḡia arana iatanai	'in his name'
numa murinai	'behind the house'
numa ḡoiranai	'in front of the house'
numa sebinai	'beside the house'
numa iaunai/nuḡanai	'in the middle of the house'
numa sevinai	'near the house'
tarimarima fakari ai	'among people'
tarimarima vekaravari ai	'among people'

However, in some cases the agreement suffix is not attached to the location noun when the place is not mentioned. A possible reason for the different behaviour of these three location nouns is the inclusion of the suffixes *-re* and *-ka*.

gabure ai	'under (the house)'
under at	
muri-ka-i	'outside (the house)'
after-out-at	
sebi-ka-i	'at the side (of the house)'
side-out-at	

But when the 'place noun' is included the *-na* agreement suffix is also present:

numa gabure-na-i	'under the house'
house under-3SG-in	

2.12 Interjections

There are a number of interjections in Sinaugoro and they can occur as a complete expression:

o	used as a reaction by somebody who has been wrong and is now being corrected
e	used to show interest when somebody tells something
lee	somebody who forgot something calls back to bring it to him
ss	used to draw attention
soo	used by somebody when cross
se	used to prevent somebody from doing something
ia [ya]	used to express disagreement

2.13 Negation

The original Sinaugoro negation words are *asiḡi(na)* 'no/not' and *asi* 'not/no'. The negation word *dia* 'no/not' has been adopted from the Motu language.

2.13.1 The negation words asi 'not/no' and asiḡi(na) 'no/not'

The negation word *asi* is used in clauses and phrases in the following ways:

a. in clauses it occurs before the verb

(199)   *Au Mosbi ḡana asi a   iaḡo-ni.*
         1SG Moresby to   NEG 1SG go-IMPF
         'I am not going to Moresby.'

b. in possesive phrases it precedes the possessive pronoun

(200)   *Asi ḡe-gu   motuka.*
         NEG NTR-1SG car
         'I have no car.'

Note, however, if *dia* is used instead of *asi* it means that 'it is not my car (it belongs to somebody else)'.

c. in fixed phrases

asi   sebo   'a lot'
NEG   one

asi   kara ta   'it does not matter'
NEG   what one

(201)   *Vabu, ḡoi tu   kara o   vei-ni? Asi   kara   ta   a*
         widow 2SG TOP what 2SG do-IMPF NEG what one 1SG

         tanu-taḡo-ni moḡo.
         stay-sit-IMPF only
         'Widow, what are you doing? Nothing at all, I am only sitting.'

The negation word *asiḡi/asiḡina* is used as an 'overall negator':

(202)   *Karava mani-ḡa ba?   Asiḡi/Asiḡi-na!*
         fire   that-NOM INTER NEG-3SG
         'Is there some fire? No!'

(203)   *Karava tu   mani-ḡa? Karava asiḡi-na!*
         fire   TOP that-NOM fire   NEG-3SG
         'Is there some fire? No, there is no fire!'

2.13.2 The negation word dia 'not/no'

The negation word *dia* is used as a constituent negator (it negates one particular constituent, not the whole proposition) in the following ways:

(204)   *Dia ḡoi ḡia na asi ḡe ura-vini-mu-ni,   senaḡi au*
        NEG 2SG 3PL ERG NEG 3PL like-give-2SG-IMPF but   1SG

        asi   ḡe   ura-vini-gu-ni.
        NEG   3PL   like-give-1SG-IMPF
        'It's not you they do not love but it's me they do not love.'

(205)   *Ḡia tu dia   Julie natu-na.*
        3SG TOP NEG   Julie child-3SG
        'She is not Julie's child.'

(206)   *Mo tu dia   ḡia ḡe-na   numa.*
        that TOP NEG   3SG NTR-3SG house
        'That is not his house.'

(207)   *Tarima tu   dia   ḡutuma.*
        people   TOP NEG many
        'The people are not many.'

In (207) *asi* could also be used, but most people nowadays use *dia*.

In the phrase *dia kara ta*:

(208)   *Ḡoi tu kara o vei-ni   nai mai ḡe-ri   dagara*
        2SG TOP what 2SG do-IMPF so   this NTR-3PL thing

        be-ḡe rakava?
        R-3PL   bad
        'What have you been doing to break these things?'

(209)   *Au tu dia kara ta a   vei-a-ni,   be au*
        1SG TOP NEG what   one 1SG do-3SG-IMPF so 1SG

        b-o-no   vane-gu?
        R-2SG-I/I scold-1SG
        'I am not doing anything, why are you cross then?'

Note: *dia kara ta* is stronger than *asi kara ta*.

As double negation *dia* negates *asi*; two negatives make a positive:

(210)   *Dia asi   ḡe-mu   motuka naima mani ḡesi n-o   guruḡa.*
        NEG NEG NTR-2SG car   because that   with I/I-2SG say
        'You do have a car, so don't talk like this.'

Two negation words are used to strengthen the negation:

(211)   *Iesu ini ḡesi e   kira-to: Asiḡi-na, dia maino senaḡi*
        Jesus this with 3SG say-PERF NEG-3SG NEG peace but

        vaḡi-vaḡi baḡa-na   b-a   ḡwa-iaḡoma-ia.
        kill-RED   bush.knife-3SG R-1SG carry-come-3SG
        'Jesus said: I surely did not bring peace, but the sword to kill.'

3 *Phrases*

There are four phrase classes in Sinaugoro: noun phrases, adverb phrases, adjective phrases and verb phrases.

3.1 Noun phrases

The head of the noun phrase is a noun, to which modifiers can be added. The modifiers could include demonstratives, nouns, possessive words or relative clauses that precede the head and adjectives (quantitative and qualitative) that follow the noun. (Demonstratives, personal pronouns and interrogatives can also function as noun phrases: see examples at the end of this chapter.)

The noun phrase can function as a subject and an object, and as a non-verbal predicate in stative sentences. The noun phrase subject of a transitive or ditransitive clause is commonly indicated by the ergative marker -*na*. Conditions under which the subject is not marked are discussed in Tauberschmidt (1992).

3.1.1 Possessives

Sinaugoro exhibits two types of possessive constructions which differ in structure. These are generally referred to as inalienable and alienable. In both cases the possessor is obligatory if a noun, optional if a personal pronoun. In addition, suffixed pronominals are always used as in the following table.

Person	(PERS)	POSS
Singular:		
1 SG	(*au*)	-*gu*
2SG	(*ḡoi*)	-*mu*
3SG	(*ḡia*)	-*na*
Plural:		
1 PL.INC	(*ḡita*)	-*ra*
1 PL.EXC	(*ḡai*)	-*ma*
2PL	(*ḡomi*)	-*mi*
3PL	(*ḡia*)	-*ri*

3.1.1.1 Inalienable Constructions

Inalienably possessed nouns (which refer to things so closely associated with us that normally we cannot get rid of them) are kinship terms and terms which refer to body parts and things such as a person's voice, feelings or personal history.

(212)   *(au) kwaku-gu*
          1SG leg-1SG
          'my leg'

(213)   *(au) sina-gu*
          1SG mother-1SG
          'my mother'

(214)   *(au) ara-gu*
          1SG name-1SG
          'my name'

(215)   *(au) vari-gu*
          1SG news-1SG
          'my story (told about me)'

Inalienable constructions are also used for other close relationships as nouns of location and part-whole relationships.

(216)   *boḡa   bai-na*
          bush   pig-3SG
          'wild pig/bush pig'

(217)   *ḡau lega-na*
          tree   branch-3SG
          'the branch of the tree'

(218)   *numa ḡudugu-na*
          house roof-3SG
          'the roof of the house'

(219)   *kaia ḡima-na*
          knife hand-3SG
          'the handle of the knife'

(220)   *Ḡia tu   Saroa vavine-na.*
          3SG TOP Saroa woman-3SG
          'She is a woman from Saroa.'

(221)   *Ḡoi tu   Saroa vavine-mu?*
          2SG TOP Saroa woman-2SG
          'Are you a woman from Saroa?'

3.1.1.2 Alienable constructions

Alienable constructions refer to things only loosely associated with us; we can get rid of them if we want to. We distinguish between inedible things and things that are edible, drinkable or smokable. The possessive pronouns used for these alienable possessive constructions are composed of the following elements:

ḡe + possessive suffix
ḡa + possessive suffix

The morpheme ḡe is used for inedible things and ḡa is used for things that are edible, drinkable, smokable or chewable.

(222)   *(au)   ḡe-gu   vanuḡa*
         1SG   NTR-1SG   village
         'my village'

(223)   *(ḡia)   ḡe-na   bai*
         3SG   NTR-3SG   pig
         'his pig'

(224)   *(au)   ḡa-gu   ḡarivata*
         1SG   ED-1SG   banana
         'my bananas'

(225)   *(au)   ḡa-gu   bai*
         1SG   ED-1SG   pig
         'my pig (to eat)'

(226)   *(ḡia)   ḡa-na   laufa*
         3SG   ED-3SG   cigarette
         'his cigarette (to smoke)'

There is also another form of possession that applies to alienably possessed forms and this is what might be termed ergative possession. In this form a personal pronoun, which refers to the possessor, is followed by the ergative marker -na and this precedes the possessed nominal. For example:

(227)   *Mai   tu   ḡoi-na   bai?*
         this   TOP   2SG-ERG   pig
         'Is this your pig?'

(228)   *Au-na   vamoka-i   b-a   gena.*
         1SG-ERG   garden-in   R-1SG   sleep
         'I slept in my garden.'

For more information on this topic see Tauberschmidt (1992:187–190).

3.1.1.3 Alienably and inalienably possessed nouns

There are certain nouns that may be possessed either alienably or inalienably. The choice is conditioned by the nature of the relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed. In the following examples, the inalienable construction indicates a lesser amount of control by the possessor and a stronger connection between the two.

(229)   *(au)   vari-gu*
         1SG   story-1SG
         'my story (told about me)'

(230)   *(au)   ḡe-gu   vari*
         1SG   NTR-1SG   story
         'my story (which I tell or make up)'

(231)   *(au) garo-gu*
        1SG voice-1SG
        'my voice'

(232)   *(au) ḡe-gu   garo*
        1SG NTR-1SG language
        'my language'

Possessive noun phrases can be embedded in other possessive noun phrases:

(233)   *Sinauḡoro tarima-ri   ḡe-ri   ((gio ḡau-na) gwaḡiḡi-na)*
        Sinaugoro people-3PL NTR-3PL spear tree-3SG hard-3SG
        'a hard wood which is used for spears by the Sinaugoro people'

(234)   *ḡauka ḡe-ri   ((vetari farefare-ri)   ara-ri)*
        old   NTR-3PL war   belonging-3PL name-3PL
        'the names of weapons our ancestors used for tribal fights'

(235)   *Ḡade Gonegone ((tubu-na   ḡuiato-na) koroga-na)*
        Gade Gonegone grandchild-3SG girl-3SG   friend-3SG
        'the friend of Gade Gonegone's granddaughter'

3.1.2 Uses of demonstratives and adjectives

Demonstratives precede the noun to which they relate. When a noun follows a demonstrative and is not modified by any adjectives it is not inflected for number.

(236)   *Mo numa be-ḡe   rovo-a.*
        that house R-3PL pull.down-3SG
        'They pulled down that house.'

Adjectives follow the noun which they either qualify or quantify.

3.1.2.1 Qualitative adjectives

The adjectives that are more objective (e.g. size, colour etc.) usually come first and then the more subjective (evaluative) adjectives follow. Qualitative adjectives are usually inflected for number with *-na/ri* '3SG/PL'.

(237)   *Mero kei-ri   namo-ri   ḡe   daudarere-to.*
        boy   small-3PL good-3PL 3PL get.lost-PERF
        'The small pretty boys got lost.'

3.1.2.2 Quantitative adjectives

The quantitative adjectives precede the qualitative adjectives:

(238)   *mai futua rua-rua*
        this boy   two-RED
        'these two boys'

(239)   *Vavine ḡutuma ḡe   dari-dari-ni.*
        woman many   3PL cook-RED-IMPF
        'Many women are cooking.'

(240)   *Numa vovoka namo-ri   ḡe   raga-ri-ni.*
          house many   good-3PL   3PL   build-3PL-IMPF
          'They are building many nice houses.'

The quantitative adjective *ta* 'one' is exceptional in that it follows the qualitative adjective:

(241)   *Fore   barego-na ta   e   giro-a-to.*
          stone   big-3SG   one 3SG   hurl-3SG-PERF
          'He hurled a big stone.'

(242)   *Ḡaruka kei-na   ta   ara-na   tu   Morakaḡaru.*
          creek   small-3SG one   name-3SG TOP Morakagaru
          'The name of the small creek is Morakagaru.'

3.1.2.3 Number and definiteness

The personal suffixes are used to indicate the number and to serve as definite articles:

(243)   *Toma boḡiboḡi tau kurokuro-na b-e   raḡasi.*
          today morning man white-3SG   R-3SG arrive
          'This morning the white man arrived.'

In this case it is one definite white man who arrived.

In some cases the qualitative adjectives are not inflected for number in a noun phrase:

i. when the noun is generic, not referring to any particular individual

(244)   *tau   kurokuro*
          man   white
          'white man'

ii. when village names, placenames, names of months, etc. are formed with noun + adjective.

(245)   *Saroa-kei*
          village.name-small
          'Saroakei'

3.1.3 Coordinating the noun phrases

The noun phrases may be conjoined by the conjunctions *e*, *ema* 'and', *ma* 'with' and *ba* 'or'.

Two or more noun phrases may be joined with a conjunction:

(246)   *Ḡaina   ḡauka tau ta   e   vavine ta   tano*
          our.1PL.EXC old   man one   and   woman one   ground

          Miḡaḡa-na   na   ḡe   raka-raḡasi-to.
          Migaga-3SG from 3PL walk-arrive-PERF
          'One of our old men and one of our old women arrived from Migaga.'

(247)   *Ḡia na   vetari e   vaḡivaḡi e   gorugoru e-ma*
          3SG ERG war   and   killing   and   killing   3SG-at.speaker

          kira-ḡoi-a-to.
          say-against-3SG-PERF
          'He abolished tribal fights and killing.'

(248)   *bina   ma   ḡidabu*
hornbill with cassowary
'hornbill and cassowary'

(249)   *Ḡoi   tama-mu   ba   ḡoi   sina-mu?*
2SG father-2SG or 2SG mother-2SG
'Your father or your mother?'

The noun phrases may be conjoined without any conjunction:

(250)   *Ḡauka   ḡe-ri   vetari   farefare-ri   ara-ri   tu   mai*
old   NTR-3PL war belongings-3PL name-3PL TOP this

ḡe-ri: garaḡota,   gio,   ḡesi...
NTR-3PL spear   arrow shield
'These are our ancestors' weapons: spears, arrows, shields...'

Note that demonstratives, personal pronouns and interrogatives can also function as noun phrases:

(251)   *Mai   tu   au   ḡe-gu   bai.*
this   TOP 1SG NTR-1SG pig
'This is my pig.'

(252)   *Ḡia   tu   Saroa tau-na.*
3SG TOP Saroa man-3SG
'He is a man from Saroa.'

(253)   *Kara   o   vei-ni?*
what   2SG do-IMPF
'What are you doing?'

3.2 Adverb phrases

The adverb phrase functions as an optional element of the clause periphery. The adverb phrase is made up of either type of noun phrase followed by a postposition. (The noun phrase in the adverb phrase can be replaced by demonstratives, interrogatives, possessive pronouns or postpositions; see examples at the end of this chapter).

Adverb phrases have the following structure:

+ noun phrase   + postposition

(254)   *Ḡomi   tu   guba   na   bo-ḡo   keto-firiḡo   ba   tano*
2PL   TOP sky   from R-2PL fall-down   or ground

boka-na   na   bo-ḡo   roka-raḡe?
mouth-3SG from R-2PL climb-up
'Did you fall down from heaven or did you come out of a cave?'

(255)   *Bai   nanu   na   a   vaḡa-nufa-ia-ni.*
pig   water with 1SG CAUS-wet-3SG-IMPF
'I am making the pig wet with water.'

(256)   *Dauma   e   keto-to,   tano   ai   e   mase-to.*
Dauma 3SG fell-PERF   ground on 3SG die-PERF
'Dauma fell down on the ground and died.'

(257)   *Ḡia numa ai e tanu-taḡo-ni.*
3SG house in 3SG stay-sit-IMPF
'He is sitting in the house.'

(258)   *Au ḡaraḡo-gu ḡesi ḡereḡa-ma ḡe-ma numa-i*
1SG spouse-1SG with alone-1PL.EXC NTR-1PL.EXC house-in

            ḡa tanu-ni.
1PL.EXC stay-IMPF
'I am living with my wife alone in our house.'

(259)   *Ḡoraḡani ḡai Kemaia ḡana ḡa iaḡo-to.*
yesterday 1PL.EXC Kemaia to 1PL.EXC go-PERF
'Yesterday we went to Kemaia.'

(260)   *Au karo-gu ḡe-ri ai a iaḡo-ni.*
1SG friend-1SG NTR-3PL to 1SG go-IMPF
'I am going to my friends.'

(261)   *Numa gabure-na-i ḡe tanu-taḡo-ni.*
house under-3SG-in 3PL stay-sit-IMPF
'They are sitting under the house.'

In the following adverb phrase the noun phrase is embedded in another noun phrase:

(262)   *Ḡe-na dura barego-na nuḡa-na-i e ḡura-ia-to.*
NTR-3SG string.bag big-3SG inside-3SG-in 3SG put-3SG-PERF
'She put him into her big string bag.'

Adverb phrases, like noun phrases, can be coordinated by the conjunctions *e* 'and', *ma* 'with'.

(263)   *Maḡuri tarima-ri ma ḡaraḡo-ri ma natu-ri ḡesi ḡe*
life people-3PL with spouse-3PL with child-3PL with 3PL

            gari-to.
fear-PERF
'The people who were alive with their spouses and children were afraid.'

(264)   *au ma natu-gu ḡesi*
1SG with child-1SG with
'my child and me'

(265)   *Ḡade Gonegone ma baru-na ḡesi ḡe-na dura barego-na*
Gade Gonegone with anger-3SG with NTR-3SG string.bag big-3SG

            e ḡabi-a-to.
3SG take-3SG-PERF
'Gade Gonegone angrily took her string bag.'

(266)   *Ḡia tau-ri rua-rua tu tobo e arei geve-ri ai*
3PL man-3PL two-RED TOP bamboo and bamboo side-3PL in

            ḡe ve-ḡabi-kau-a-to.
3PL DER-hold-on-3SG-PERF
'The two boys held on to the bamboo called *tobo* and *arei*.'

(267)   *Asi   ḡe-ri   namo ta   Boboḡi ma sina-na   ḡe-ri   ai.*
         NEG NTR-3PL good one Bobogi with mother-3SG NTR-3PL to
         'They didn't do anything good for Bobogi and her mother.'

3.3 Adjective phrases

The adjective phrase usually functions as a complement in equative sentences or as a modifier in a noun phrase. The head of the adjective phrase is an adjective, to which an intensifier can be added.

Adjective phrases have the following structure:

    + adjective   + intensifier

The intensifier in the adjective phrase is not inflected.

(268)   *Garo-ri   tu   irauirau ema vovoka tabutabu.*
         language-3PL TOP different and many   very
         'They have very many different languages.'

(269)   *Bariva, Sinauḡoro ḡa-ri   ḡani-ḡani guine-na tu   namo vedaurea.*
         dessert Sinaugoro ED-3PL food-RED first-3SG TOP good   very
         'Bariva, the kind of dessert the Sinaugoro people used to eat, is very good.'

(270)   *Tarimarima tu   ḡutuma gorogoro.*
         people   TOP many   very
         'The people are very many.'

(271)   *Saroa ḡe-ri   rubu   tu   barego lelevaḡi.*
         Saroa NTR-3PL church TOP big   very
         'Saroa's church building is very big.'

(272)   *Ḡia kefi-na tu   rakava kwaikwai.*
         3SG skin-3SG TOP bad   very
         'His skin is very bad.'

Note that the intensifier *vedaurea* 'very' can be inflected with the 3SG suffix *-na* when it occurs in a noun phrase:

(273)   *Tanikiu   barego vedaurea-na ḡe-ra   Vereḡauka Iesu*
         thank.you big   very-3SG   NTR-1PL.INC Lord   Jesus

         Keriso ara-na-i.
         Christ   name-3SG-in
         'Thank you very much in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

(274)   *Barau tu   ḡita   ḡe-ra   vaḡa-kava-ra   namo*
         God   TOP 1PL.INC NTR-1PL.INC CAUS-help-1PL.INC   good

         vedaurea-na rakava laḡani-ri ai.
         very-3SG   bad   year-3PL in
         'God is our very good help in bad times.'

The adjective phrase can be coordinated with the conjunctive and disjunctive *ma* 'with', *ba* 'or':

(275)   *Ḡia tu mauka ma gwaḡigwaḡi.*
           3SG TOP long   and thin
           'He is long and thin.'

(276)   *Ḡia tu mase ba maḡuri?*
           3SG TOP dead or alive
           'Is he alive or dead?'

The coordinated adjective phrase functions as a non-verbal predicate.

Note that the noun phrase in the adverb phrase can be replaced by demonstratives, interrogatives, possessive pronouns or postpositions:

(277)   *Mai ḡesi e   kira-ni.*
           this with 3SG say-IMPF
           'He says as follows.'

(278)   *Dei ḡesi ḡo iaḡo-ni?*
           who with 2PL go-IMPF
           'Who are you going with?'

(279)   *(Ḡia) ḡe-na   na a iaḡoma-ni.*
           3SG   NTR-3SG from 1SG come-IMPF
           'I am coming from him.'

(280)   *Ai-ḡesi o raka-ni?*
           L/T-with 2SG walk-IMPF
           'Where are you going?'

3.4 Verb phrases

The verb phrase consists of the verb and an auxiliary: *riba* 'know', *ilaila* 'fit' or *namo* 'good/all right'.

(281) a.   *Au na b-a   vaḡa-kava-mu-ni   riba.*
           1SG ERG R-1SG CAUS-help-2SG-IMPF know
           'I am able to help you.'

      b.   *Au na b-a   vaḡa-kava-mu-ni   ilaila.*
           1SG ERG R-1SG CAUS-help-2SG-IMPF fit
           'I am able to help you.'

(282) a.   *Au na b-a   ḡabi-a-ni   riba?*
           1SG ERG R-1SG take-3SG-IMPF know
           'Can I take it?'

      b.   *Au na b-a   ḡabi-a-ni   namo?*
           1SG ERG R-1SG take-3SG-IMPF good
           'Can I take it?'

Note, however, that these sentences differ from those using *riba* as a noun in a possessive phrase construction to express 'know how to do something':

(283)   *Bai   vaḡi-na   ma   riba-na.*
pig   kill-3SG   with   know-3SG
'He knows how to kill the pig.'

(This construction can be compared with those in §4.1.1.2.)

4 *Clauses*

The clause is a unit of grammatical organisation smaller than the sentence, but larger than phrases and words. It includes only one argument.

4.1 Nuclear structure

In this section we discuss the nuclear structures of the clauses, that is the obligatory elements of the verbless (stative) clauses and the clauses with verbs (intransitive, transitive and ditransitive).

4.1.1 Verbless clauses

There are two types of verbless clauses which do not have a full verb (inflected verb stem) but a topicaliser.

4.1.1.1 Verbless clauses with the topicaliser tu

The topicaliser *tu* precedes the complement of the equative (284) or descriptive (285–286) sentence. It can be omitted as in (286b) if the preceding word or phrase does not need to be emphasised.

(284)   *Au   ara-gu   tu   Tanu.*
              1SG   name-1SG TOP Tanu
              'My name is Tanu.'

(285)   *Mai numa tu   barego levelagī.*
              this   house TOP big   very
              'This house is very big.'

(286) a.   *Voi-na   tu   barego.*
              price-3SG TOP high
              'The price is high.'

      b.   *Voi-na   barego.*
              price-3SG big
              'The price is high.'

The topicaliser *ne* is not used very often nowadays. It seems to carry the same meaning as *tu*. It might be used more in poetic texts, for example, songs (see example (140b) which is taken from a song). For example:

(287)   *Ḡaro   ne   mai-ḡa   moḡo.*
day   TOP   this-NOM   only
'It is only this day.'

4.1.1.2 Stative clauses with the conjunction ma

The conjunction *ma* 'with' functions as a delimiting modifier which adds the 'quality of' or the particular condition or state. Both alienable and inalienable constructions with *ma* have the following structures:

Possessor	Conjunction	Possessed	
± PRON	+ *ma*	+ NP	(alienable)
+ NP	+ *ma*	+ NP	(inalienable)

(288)   *(Au) ma ḡe-gu   koko.*
1SG with NTR-1SG axe
'I have an axe.'

(289)   *Ḡale-na ma   lamu-na.*
chin-3SG with hair-3SG
'His chin has hair.'

(290)   *Mata-na ma   galasi.*
eye-3SG with glasses
'He has eye glasses on.'

If *ma* is omitted both structure and meaning will change:

(291)   *(au) ḡe-gu   koko*
1SG NTR-1SG axe
'my axe'

4.1.2 Clauses with verbs

Clauses have an obligatory verb which may be intransitive (- object), transitive (+ object) or ditransitive (+ object + indirect object). The basic word order of these clauses is:

    ± Subject   ± Object   ± Indirect Object   + Verb

(The adverb phrases are not included here; see §4.2.)

In all clauses the number and person of the subject and the direct or indirect object are reflected in the verb by elements affixed to the verb:

(292)   *Manu   ḡe   rovo-ni.*
bird   3PL   fly-IMPF
'The birds are flying.'

(293)   *Tau   na   bai be-ḡe vaḡi-ri.*
man   ERG   pig R-3PL kill-3PL
'The men killed the pigs.'

We know that the 'birds' in (292) and the 'men' and the 'pigs' in (293) are plural only because it is indicated in the subject and object affix of the verb.

(294)   *(Ḡia na au) bai ta b-e vini-gu.*
        3SG ERG 1SG pig one R-3SG give-1SG
        'He gave me a pig.'

4.1.2.1 Intransitive clauses

There are basically two ways to construct an intransitive clause. A purely intransitive verb may be used (295) or a transitive reduplicated form. The latter is used, when an inherently transitive verb is used without an overt object (296).

        S   V
(295)   *Veravera   ḡe   gara-ni.*
        flower   3PL grow-IMPF
        'The flowers are growing.'
        V
(296)   *Ḡe   mari-mari-ni.*
        3PL sing-RED-IMPF
        'They are singing.'

4.1.2.2 Transitive clauses

The order of the basic constituents in the independent transitive clause is S-O-V (Subject–Object–Verb).

        S   O   V
(297)   *Ḡia na ḡau e basi-a-ni.*
        3SG ERG tree 3SG cut-3SG-IMPF
        'He is cutting the tree.'
        O   V
(298)   *Numa   ḡe   rovo-a-ni.*
        house 3PL pull.down-3SG-IMPF
        'They are pulling down the house.'

4.1.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

The most common order of the constituents in a ditransitive clause is:

   ± Subject   ± Object   + Indirect Object   + Verb

        S   O   IO   V
(299)   *Mr English na   taravatu maka-na tarima toitoi e-ma*
        Mr English ERG   law   mark-3SG people three 3SG-at.speaker

        vini-ri-to.
        give-3PL-PERF
        'Mr English handed the duties over to three persons (there at the speaker's village).'

Sinaugoro has case marking in sentence structure that can be analysed as ergative. For more on this topic see Tauberschmidt (1992).

4.2 Peripheral elements

Any of these clauses may be expanded by adding adverb phrases of various kinds to indicate the time, place and/or manner etc. in which the action indicated by the verb was carried out.

4.2.1 Adverb phrases of time

Adverb phrases of time may either precede the subject of the clause or follow the verb, although the general preference seems to be the former option.

```
            ADVPT                    S                V
(300)   Guine-na  laḡani-na-i   futua  rua-rua   ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi.
        first-3SG  year-3SG-in   boy    two-RED   3PL  live-PERF  C/H
        'Long ago there were two brothers.'
```

```
            ADVPT     S                 V              ADVPL
(301)   Ḡaro   ta   Ḡade  Gonegone  e   iaḡo-to   Gida  Enone  e
        day    one  Gade  Gonegone  3SG  go-PERF   Gida  Enone  and
```

```
        Sara   Enone  ḡe-ri     ai.
        Sara   Enone  NTR-3PL   to
        'One day Gade Gonegone went to Gida and Sara Enone.'
```

When the adverb phrase of time follows the verb, it appears to be more informational and less critical to the understanding of the story-line (i.e. less topical).

```
(302)   Ḡe-mi      leta    kekei    ḡo    tuḡu-a-to       dagara-na   ḡa
        NTR-2PL    letter  'polite'  2PL   send-3SG-PERF   thing-3SG   1PL.EXC
```

```
                  ADVPT
        ḡoitaḡo-a-to    Fraidei    29  July  ḡaro-na-i.
        find-3SG-PERF   Friday     29  July  day-3SG-in
        'We received the letter you sent on Friday 29 July.'
```

4.2.2 Adverb phrases of location, instrument, source

The adverb phrases with a directional postposition such as *ḡana* 'to' and *ai* 'in' etc. can either precede or follow the verb. When they follow the verb it may be for emphasis.

```
                           ADVPL
(303)   Natu-ri   misi-na    tano ai  ḡe   guri-a-to.
        child-3PL  small-3SG   land on  3PL  bury-3SG-PERF
        'They buried the child on the land.'
```

```
                           ADVPL
(304)   Au   mai   a    raka-ni    Saroa  ḡana.
        1SG  this  1SG  walk-IMPF  name   to
        'I am going to Saroa now.'
```

```
        ADVPT     S                 V              ADVPL
(305)   Ḡaro  ta   Ḡade  Gonegone  e   iaḡo-to   Gida  Enone  e
        day   one  Gade  Gonegone  3SG  go-PERF   Gida  Enone  and
```

> Sara   Enone   ḡe-ri   ai.
> Sara   Enone   NTR-3PL   to
> 'One day Gade Gonegone went to Gida and Sara Enone.'

Adverb phrases with the postposition *na* 'source' precede the verb.

	ADVPL		V
(306)

> Kemaia   na   ḡa   iaḡoma-ni.
> Kemaia   from   1PL.EXC   come-IMPF
> 'We are coming from Kemaia.'

	O	ADVPI	V
(307)

> Nuḡa-ri   kiduru   na   ḡe   kakari-ri-to   ḡoi.
> inside-3PL shell   with 3PL scrape-3PL-PERF C/H
> 'They used to scrape the inside with the shells.'

4.2.3 'Accompanied' (comitative) adverb phrases

When the adverb phrase with the postposition *ḡesi* 'accompanied' occurs with other adverb phrases or object noun phrases it precedes them, except for adverb phrases of time.

	ADVPT ADVPA	ADVPL	V
(308)

> Ḡaro ta   sina-na   ḡesi   vamoka   ḡana   ḡe   iaḡo-to.
> day one mother-3SG with garden   to   3PL go-PERF
> 'One day they went to the garden with their mother.'

	ADVPA	O	V
(309)

> Ma baru-na   ḡesi   ḡe-na   dura   e   ḡabi-a-to.
> with anger-3SG with NTR-3SG string.bag 3SG take-3SG-PERF
> 'She angrily took her string bag.'

Any of the clauses may be negated by adding the negation word *asi* 'not/no' before the verb or before the complement in verbless clauses (see §2.13).

(310)
> Vanuḡa   tarima-ri   asi   be-ḡe   iaḡoma.
> village   people-3PL NEG R-3PL come
> 'The village people did not come.'

4.3 Changes in word order

The normal word order may be changed either for emphasis or in relative clauses.

4.3.1 Emphasis

When the normal word order is changed for emphasis either the object or indirect object may precede the subject:

	O	S	V
(311)

> Tarima-rima   ḡia   na   e   vaḡi-ri-to   ḡoi.
> people-RED   3SG ERG 3SG kill-3PL-PERF C/H
> 'It was people he used to kill.'

	O				S		
(312)

> Ḡia tubu-na   kwaḡwa   tu   Ḡida   Enone e   Sara Enone
> 3SG granny-3SG bird.name TOP Gida   Enone and Sara Enone

               V

na   be-ḡe vaḡi-a.
ERG R-3PL kill-3SG
'It was her granny Kwagwa that Gida and Sara Enone had killed.'

        O   S   IO   V

(313)   *Kwaiva ḡia   na   mero e   vini-a-to.*
        dog   3SG ERG boy   3SG give-3SG-PERF
        'It was a dog he gave to the boy.'

        IO   S   O   V

(314)   *Mero ḡia   na   kwaiva e   vini-a-to.*
        boy   3SG ERG dog   3SG give-3SG-PERF
        'It was to the boy that he gave the dog.'

4.3.2 Relative clauses

In relative clauses the subject or object may follow the verb:

        O   V   S   V

(315)   *Ḡarivata e   lema-ia-to   tau-na,   e*
        banana   3SG steal-3SG-PERF man-3SG 3SG

        raga-rekwa-rekwa-to.
        run-loose-RED-PERF
        'The man who stole the bananas ran away.'

        V   O

(316)   *Ḡe voi-a-to   dagara-na asi   b-o-no   fitoḡa-ia.*
        3PL pay-3SG-PERF thing-3SG   NEG R-2SG-I/I throw.away-3SG
        'Don't throw away the thing they bought.'

5 *Sentences*

The sentence consists of one or more clauses.

5.1 Sentence types

We distinguish the following sentence types: simple sentences, coordinate sentences and complex sentences.

5.1.1 Simple sentences

The simple sentence consists of a single clause.

5.1.2 Coordinate sentences

Coordinate sentences consist of two or more independent clauses. These clauses are called coordinate clauses, and they are either linked together by coordinating conjunctions, or are juxtaposed without any conjunction. The latter construction is only possible with 'conjunctive' relationships, not with 'disjunctive' relationships.

> + clause   ± conjunction   + clause

The following conjunctions are used to join clauses:

a. conjunctive: b. disjunctive:

ema	'and' (joining clauses)		*ba*	'or' (contrast)
ma	'and' (and in addition)		*o*	'or' (supplementation)
benamo	'and then'			

Additional relationships are shown in the following diagram:

```
                                            |-- TIME SEQUENCE 'benamo'
                      |-- Chronological--------|
                      |                     |-- SIMULTANEOUS TIME 'ema', 'e'
                      |
                      |
                      |
ADDITIONAL--|
                      |
                      |
                      |                     |-- CONJOINING 'ma'
                      |-- Non-chronological---|
                                            |
                                            |
                                            |                        |-Contrastive 'ba'
                                            |-- ALTERNATION--|
                                                                     |-Supplementary 'o'
```
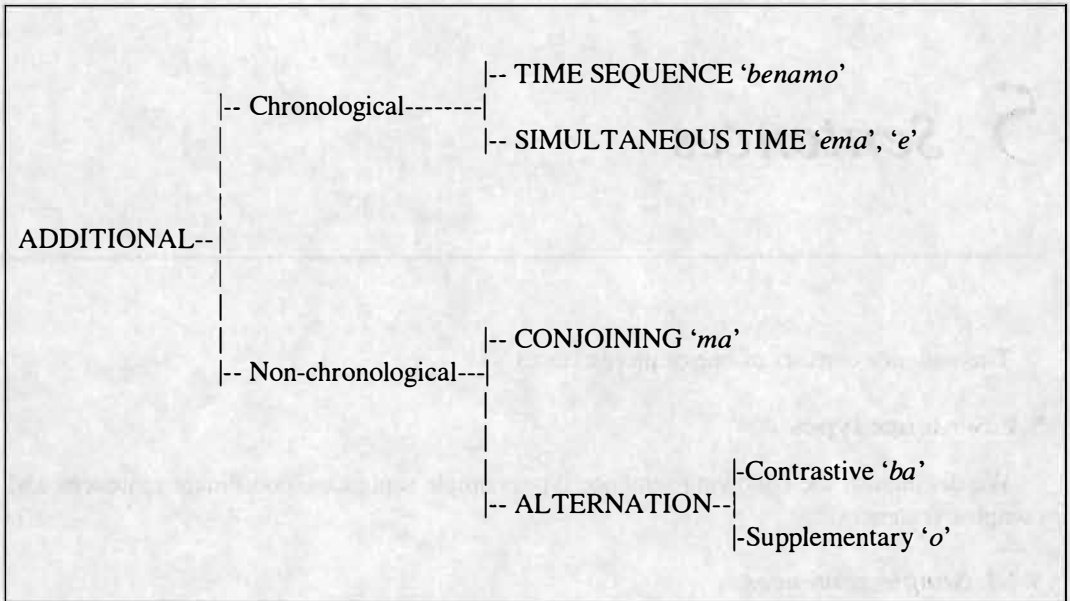
Explanation:

TIME SEQUENCE	-	one event follows the other in time; there is no time overlap between the events.
SIMULTANEOUS TIME	-	one event takes place at the same time as the other.
CONJOINING	-	two propositions are in conjoining relation to each other if they are in parallel relation to each other, being of equal prominence, if they are not chronologically related, and if both events apply (i.e. there is no alternation).
ALTERNATION	-	in the alternation relation, either one proposition or the other applies.
i. Contrastive:		the alternatives are antonyms, one implying not the other.
ii. Supplementary:		the alternatives are a set of two or more options within the same area of meaning.

Examples:

(317) *Vanuḡa votuka-na-i   e   raḡasi-to,   **benamo** e   kea-to.*
        village   border-3SG-in 3SG arrive-PERF and.then 3SG call-PERF
        'She arrived at the village border, and then she called.'

(318) *Mai-na-i   roḡo   ḡe   tanu-korikori-to **ema** tarima kota-ri*
        this-3SG-in still 3PL stay-truly-PERF and   people some-3PL

        ḡe-ma   doḡari-ri-to.
        3PL-at.speaker find-3PL-PERF
        'They stayed here for a while and met some people.'

(319)   *...babaga   b-e   iaro-ḡari-iaro-ḡari-ni   **ema** karai   ma*
      flower.name R-3SG nod-quick-nod-quick-IMPF and bird.name with

      ḡodu   bora   be-ḡe   kikakika-ia-ni.
      bird.name yellow R-3PL sing-3SG-IMPF
      '...then the *babaga* will move and the birds (*karai* and *ḡodu*) will sing.'

(320)   *Ḡia-na   mo   guruḡa mabara-ri ḡe   ḡabi-rage-ri-to,   **ma***
      3SG-ERG that talk   all-3PL   3PL take-up-3PL-PERF and

      ḡe   riba-maoro-to,   au   tu   ḡoi   sevi-mu   na   a
      3PL know-right-PERF 1SG TOP 2SG beside-2SG from 1SG

      iaḡoma-to.
      come-PERF
      'They accepted all these talks, and they knew for sure that I came from you.'

(321)   *Tito maniḡa maki apostolo au   kavana, **ma** ḡai*
      Titus there   also   apostle 1SG like   and 1PL.EXC

      tau-ma   rua-rua tu   ḡomi vekarava-mi ai ḡa
      man-1PL.EXC two-RED TOP 2PL   among-2PL in 1PL.EXC

      ḡauvei-vegogo-ni.
      work-together-IMPF
      'Titus also is an apostle like me, and we two are working among you.'

(322)   *Ḡomi tu   guba na   bo-ḡo keto-firiḡo **ba** tano boka-na*
      2PL TOP sky   from R-2PL fall-down   or land mouth-3SG

      na   bo-ḡo roka-raḡe?
      from R-2PL creep-up
      'Did you fall down from the sky or did you come out of a cave?'

(323)   *Seamani ḡauvei-na tu   Kila-na b-e   ḡabi-a-ni   o*
      chairman work-3SG TOP Kila-ERG R-3SG take-3SG-IMPF or

      Raka-na b-e   ḡabi-a-ni,   o Tau-na   b-e
      Raka-ERG R-3SG take-3SG-IMPF or Tau-ERG R-3SG

      ḡabi-a-ni.
      take-3SG-IMPF
      'It is either Kila or Raka or Tau that will be elected for the chairmanship.'

(324)   *Mo gabu o   ḡaruka ara-na   toma ḡe   kiraḡi-a-ni*
      that place or river   name-3SG today 3PL say.about-3SG-IMPF

      tu   'Ḡuiato Kafutari-na'.
      TOP girl   bite.down-3SG
      'That place or river they call 'Girl's Trap' today.'

Juxtaposition:

(325)   *Garo ta guba na   e   mariḡo-to,   e   kira-to:...*
      voice one heaven from 3SG came.down-PERF 3SG say-PERF
      'A voice, it came from heaven and said:...'

5.1.3 Complex sentences

The complex sentence consists of at least one independent and one dependent clause. The dependent clause may be linked to the independent clause by subordinate conjunctions. It might be helpful to divide these complex sentences into three categories: argumentation, relations and relative clauses.

5.1.3.1 Argumentation

This section deals with the following types of sentence: reason, purpose, conditional, adversative and clarification relations: contrast (NEG)-HEAD.

5.1.3.1.1 Reason sentences

We may distinguish between a) asserted result versus presupposed reason (RESULT-Reason) and b) presupposed reason versus asserted result (Reason-RESULT). Both constructions occur quite frequently.

a) RESULT-Reason

i. with *korana* 'because' in the beginning and *nai* 'because' at the end of the subordinate clause

(326)　*Ḡiana kurabo tu   ma   mirori a   ḡitana   kurabo ḡitaḡitari   tu*
　　　　their floor TOP with dirt   but our.INC floor   appearance TOP

　　　　namo, korana ḡuiato-na vanaḡi-vanaḡi e   iareva-ri-ni   nai.
　　　　good reason girl-ERG always-RED   3SG clean-3PL-IMPF because
　　　　'Their floor is dirty, but our floor looks clean, because the girl always cleans it.'

(327)　*Mo   ḡuiato asi   kwa-vaḡi-ri dabara-na, korana vatava na e*
　　　　that girl   NEG dig-out-3PL way-3SG   reason stone by 3SG

　　　　kafu-tari-ri-to   nai.
　　　　bite-down-3PL-PERF because
　　　　'There was no way to dig the girls out, because the big stone trapped them.'

ii. with *dainai* 'because' (Motu) or *bene* 'because' (Sinaugoro) at the end of the subordinate clause when conjoined with a verbless sentence

(328) a.　*Ḡia tu   numa-i   mo-ḡa,   keve dainai.*
　　　　　3SG TOP house-in that-NOM sick because

　　　　 b.　*Ḡia tu   numa-i   mo-ḡa,   keve bene.*
　　　　　3SG TOP house-in that-NOM sick because
　　　　　'He is staying in the house, because he is sick.'

b) Reason-RESULT

i. with *naima* 'because' (Sinaugoro) or *dainai* 'because' (Motu) at the end of the subordinate clause

Note: *Korana* 'because' does not occur at the beginning of a sentence in natural Sinaugoro.

(329)   *Ḡuiato   na   kurabo   e   iareva-ia-to   naima/dainai, kurabo*
       girl   ERG floor   3SG clean-3SG-PERF   because   floor

       ḡitaḡita-na   tu   namo.
       appearance-3SG TOP good
       'Because the girl swept, the floor is clean.'

(330)   *Mani tu   b-e   niuniu naima/dainai, e   vei-babo-babo-ni,*
       that   TOP R-3SG drink   because   3SG   do-stupid-RED-IMPF

       ḡia   mani   mero   namo vedaureana.
       3SG   that   boy   good   very
       'Because he is drunk, he is acting silly, otherwise he is a very good boy.'

The three examples to follow use *be* 'so'. These constructions are similar to the Reason-RESULT ones, yet restricted to imperfective and intentive/imperative sentences:

(331)   *Ḡoi Mosbi ḡana o   raka-ni be au   tu   a   iaḡo-ni*
       2SG Moresby to   2SG go-IMPF so   1SG TOP 1SG go-IMPF

       numa   ḡana.
       house to
       'You are going to Moresby, so I am going to the house.'

(332)   *N-o   kiraḡi-a, be n-a   tore-vanaḡi-a.*
       I/I-2SG tell-3SG   so   I/I-1SG write-pass-3SG
       'Tell me so I can write it down.'

(333)   *Kurabo ma   miro-na, be n-o   daro-a.*
       floor   with   dirt-3SG   so   I/I-2SG sweep-3SG
       'The floor is dirty, so sweep it.'

ii. with *moḡa lorinai* 'therefore' in the beginning of the subordinate sentence (*mo-ḡa* 'that-NOM' + *lori-na-i* 'right-3SG-in')

(334)   *Vatava-na ḡuiato e   kafu-tari-ri-to   mo-ḡa   lori-na-i*
       stone-ERG girl   3SG bite-down-3PL-PERF   that-NOM right-3SG-in

       asi   kwa-vaḡi-ri dabara-na.
       NEG   dig-out-3PL way-3SG
       'The big stone trapped the girls, therefore there was no way to dig them out.'

In (334) *naima* (or *moḡesi naima = mo ḡesi* 'that like', *nai-ma* 'because-with') and *moḡa lorinai* are interchangeable.

5.1.3.1.2 Purpose sentences

Purpose-MEANS differs from RESULT-Reason in that in the RESULT-Reason relationship the result is always explicitly fulfilled or achieved, whereas in the Purpose-MEANS relationship, the purpose is intended but not necessarily fulfilled.

i. with the topicaliser *tu* or *korana tu* (because + TOP), and the verb in imperative/intentive
    mode + postposition *ḡana* 'to/for' in the subordinate clause

    (335)   *Au   b-a   iaḡoma tu si-ma   tanu-taḡo   ḡana.*
                       1SG R-1SG come   TOP 1PL.INC.I/I-at.speaker stay-sit   to/for
                       'I came in order to sit with you.'

    (336)   *Ḡai   ma   ḡa   ḡenoḡoi-to   Saroa   ḡana tu   garo*
                       1PL.EXC again 1PL.EXC return-PERF Saroa   to   TOP language

                       ma   ba-ḡa-na   riba-ia   ḡana.
                       again R-1PL.EXC-I/I know-3SG   to
                       'We came back to Saroa (in order) to learn the language.'

    (337)   *Ḡia taravatu ḡena seḡuka gabure-na-i e-ma   maḡuri-to,*
                       3SG law   its   power   under-3SG-in 3SG-at.speaker born-PERF

                       korana tu   taravatu ḡena seḡuka gabure-na-i ta   tanu-ni
                       because TOP law   its   power   under-3SG-in 1PL.INC live-IMPF

                       tarima-rima-ra   be-ne-ma   voi-ḡenoḡoi-ra,   benamo
                       people-RED-1PL.INC R-I/I-at.speaker pay-back-1PL.INC then

                       Barau natu-na-i   bi-si-ni   iaḡo ḡana.
                       God   child-3SG-in R-1PL.INC-I/I go   to/for
                       'He was born under the power of the law, in order to pay us back who are
                       living under the power of the law, and to become children of God.'

ii. purpose clause occurring before the main clause for emphasis

    (338)   *Vavine, ḡaraḡo-na n-e   seḡaḡi ḡana, e   taḡi-to.*
                       woman spouse-3SG I/I-3SG hear   to   3SG cry-PERF
                       'The woman cried, so that her husband should hear (her).'

iii. simple construction

    (339)   *Tanu-taḡo b-a   iaḡoma.*
                       stay-sit   R-1SG come
                       'I came to sit with you.'

    (340)   *Sikuri a   iaḡo-ni.*
                       school 1SG go-IMPF
                       'I am going to school (in order to study).'

    (341)   *Mutu gabu ḡa   iaḡo-ni.*
                         grass burn   1PL.EXC go-IMPF
                       'We are going to burn the grass.'

5.1.3.1.3 *Conditional sentences*

The subordinate clause has to occur before the main clause with *bema* 'if' or *bere* 'if'
(only for contrafactual conditions) at the beginning, and *nai/nai tu* or *neganai* (Motu) 'when'
at the end of the subordinate clause (not at the beginning of the main clause).

a) The possible condition

The verbs in the protasis are in the remote tense with imperfective aspect suffix, and the verbs in the apodosis are in the remote tense with imperfective aspect or imperative/intentive mode.

(342)   *Bema ta b-e   laku-ni   nai   [tu], tuta godi-na b-e*
           if   one R-3SG scabies-IMPF when TOP tree tops-3SG R-3SG

           kini-a-ni.
           pinch-3SG-IMPF
           'If somebody has scabies he will get the juice of the *tuta* leaves.'

(343)   *Bema b-e   daro-a-ni   nai, kurabo ḡitaḡita-na   tu*
           if   R-3SG sweep-3SG-IMPF when floor   appearance-3SG TOP

           namo.
           good
           'If she sweeps, the floor will be clean.'

(344)   *Bema sikuri ai b-o   ḡauvei-kokore-ni   nai   b-o*
           if   school in   R-2SG work-strong-IMPF when R-2SG

           kwalimu-ni.
           victorious-IMPF
           'If you work hard, you will pass your exam.'

(345)   *Bema Saroa   ḡana b-o   iaḡo-ni nai   ḡai*
           if   village.name to   R-2SG go-IMPF when 1PL.EXC

           ḡe-ma-i   b-o-no   iaḡoma.
           NTR-1PL.EXC-to R-2SG-I/I come
           'If you come to Saroa village, then you must come to us.'

b) The contrafactual condition

The protasis and apodosis are in the irrealis mode and remote tense.

(346)   *Bere b-e-re   daro-a   nai [tu], kurabo ḡitaḡita-na*
           if   R-3SG-IRR sweep-3SG time TOP floor   appearance-3SG

           b-e-re   namo.
           R-3SG-IRR good
           'If she had swept, the floor would have been clean.'

(347)   *Bema sikuri ai b-o-ro   ḡauvei-kokore nai   b-o-ro*
           if   school in   R-2SG-IRR work-strong   when R-2SG-IRR

           kwalimu.
           victorious
           'If you had worked hard, you would have passed the exam.'

5.1.3.1.4 Adversative sentences

An adversative sentence is formed with *senaḡi* 'but' in the beginning of the subordinate clause. The Concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION relationship is in some way parallel to the Reason-RESULT relationship, but in this case the 'result' is always unexpected.

(348)   *Aba, b-e ·   daro-a,   senaḡi kurabo ḡitaḡita-na   tu*
         true R-3SG sweep-3SG but   floor   appearance-3SG TOP

         roḡosi b-e-ne   namo.
         not.yet R-3SG-I/I   good
         'Although she swept, (but) the floor isn't clean.'

5.1.3.1.5 Clarification relations: contrast (NEG)-HEAD

These are formed with *a* 'but' at the beginning of the subordinate clause. In the contrast relation, the following factors are always present: a point of contrast; a thing (or event, or attribute) is contrasted with another thing (or event, or attribute). At least one point of meaning overlaps.

(349)   *Ḡe-na   vaḡi-vaḡi dagara-na ara-na   tu   nado,   a*
         NTR-3SG kill-RED   thing-3SG name-3SG TOP   sharp.stone but

         dia gio.
         not spear
         'For killing he used sharp stones called *nado*, but he did not use spears.'

5.1.3.2 Relations

5.1.3.2.1 Time sequence

The following conjunctions are used to indicate time sequence: *murinai, murinai vau, vau, vauro, benamo, gabi vau.*

a. *murinai*

B happened after A had happened. A is clearly presupposed temporal sequence.

(350)   *Ḡuiato ḡe   ḡani-ḡani-ḡosi-to   **muri-na-i**,   dobu ai ḡe*
         girl   3PL eat-RED-finish-PERF after-3SG-in deep in 3PL

         ḡere-to   ḡoi.
         play-PERF C/H
         'After the girls had eaten, they played in the water.'

b. *murinai vau*

A happens first and may take some time, after which B will happen.

(351)   *Ḡia tu   roḡo ḡe   ḡani-ḡani-ni,   be be-ḡe*
         3SG TOP still 3PL eat-RED-IMPF   so R-3PL

         *ḡani-ḡani-ḡosi-ni   **murinai vau**, be-ḡe iaḡoma-ni.*
         eat-RED-finish-IMPF after   later R-3PL come-IMPF
         'They are still eating, so when they have finished eating they will come.'

c. *moḡa murinai*

A happened, after which B happened.

> (352)   "*Au na ḡoi a iaunamo-mu-ni.*" **Moḡa murinai**
>   1SG ERG 2SG 1SG pleased-2SG-IMPF that   after
>
>   *Iauka Veaḡa-na Iesu tano fakana ḡana e*
>   Spirit Holy-ERG Jesus land space to   3SG
>
>   *tuḡu-iaḡo-a-to.*
>   send-go-3SG-PERF
>   '"I am pleased with you." After that the Holy Spirit sent Jesus into the desert.'

d. *vau*

i. There may be a longer period of time between A and B, in which case A and B are asserted.

> (353)   *A-iaḡo-ni rogō,* **vau** *ma b-a iaḡoma-ni.*
>   1SG-go-IMPF first   then again R-1SG come-IMPF
>   'I am going first, afterwards I am coming again.'

ii. B has to happen first before A can happen. A is frontshifted to stress that the one spoken to will not do A first, but B.

> (354)   *Garaḡoro ḡana tu* **vau** *a varaḡeni, Girobara ḡana rogō*
>   Garagoro to   TOP later 1SG go.up   Girobara to   first
>
>   *a iaḡo-ni.*
>   1SG go-IMPF
>   'I am going later to Garagoro, first I am going to Girobara.'

e. *vauro*

i. A has to happen first before B can happen.

> (355)   *Girobara ḡana n-o iaḡo rogō,* **vau-ro** *Garaḡoro ḡana*
>   Girobara to   I/I-2SG go first   later-yet Garagoro to
>
>   *b-o-no varaḡe.*
>   R-2SG-I/I go.up
>   'First you must go to Girobara, later you may go to Garagoro.'

ii. B has to happen first before A can happen. A is frontshifted to stress that the one spoken to will not do A first, but B.

> (356)   *Garaḡoro ḡana tu* **vau-ro** *b-o-no varaḡe Girobara ḡana*
>   Garagoro to   TOP later-yet R-2SG-I/I go.up Girobara to
>
>   *rogō n-o iaḡo.*
>   first I/I-2SG go
>   'You may go to Garagoro later, first you must go to Girobara.'

f. *moḡa murinai vauro*

A has to happen first, after which B can happen.

(357)   *Minista   tu   Kemaia   tarima-ri   ḡesi haroro dabara-na*
superintendent TOP   Kemaia   people-3PL with pastor way-3SG

*roḡo be-ḡe   guruḡa-guruḡa-iaḡi-a-ni, **moḡa murinai vau-ro***
first R-3PL   talk-RED-about-3SG-IMPF that after   later-yet

ḡita   gesi bi-ta-ma   tanu-taḡo.
1PL.INC with R-1PL.INC-at.speaker stay-sit
'The superintendent has first to go to Kemaia and talk about the matters
concerning the pastor, after that he will come and sit with us.'

The suffix *-ro* in *vau-ro* 'later' occurs with *roḡo* 'still/first' (see examples (355–357)). It
indicates a necessary precondition which has to take place before something else can happen.

g. *benamo*

A happened, and then B happened. *Benamo* 'and then' expresses asserted temporal sequence.

(358)   *Vanuḡa votuka-na-i   e   raḡasi-to,   **benamo** e   kea-to.*
village   border-3SG-at 3SG arrive-PERF and.then 3SG call-PERF
'She arrived at the village border, and then she called.'

(359)   *Iauka Veaḡa e   vaḡa-vonu-ri-to,   **benamo** garo*
Spirit Sacred 3SG CAUS-fill-3PL-PERF and.then language

boru-ri   ai   ḡe   guruḡa-to.
strange-3PL in   3PL speak-PERF
'The Holy Spirit filled them, and then they spoke in strange/different
languages.'

h. *gabi vau/gabi ai vau*

A takes place first, then B takes place.

(360)   *Si-raka,   **gabi   vau** ma   bi-ta   iaḡoma-ni   bene.*
1PL.INC-go behind later again R-1PL.INC come-IMPF because
'Let us go now, since we will come again afterwards.'

(361)   *N-o   iaḡui-a,   **gabi   vau-ro** ma   bi-ta-na-ma*
I/I-2SG leave-3SG behind later-yet again R-1PL.INC-I/I-at.speaker

ḡwa-kau-a.
carry-on-3SG
'Leave it, later we can take it with us.'

(362)   *Iuda tarima-ri   ḡeri   ai guine, **gabi   ai   vau** bese irauirau*
Jew people-3PL them to first   behind in   later tribe different

tarima-ri.
people-3PL
'First to the Jews, later to the gentiles.'

5.1.3.2.2 Orientation

a) Time-HEAD

i. When two punctuliar events take place at the same time, the word *taiminai* 'when' is used at the end of the dependent clause:

(363) *Wisili   e   fururu-a-to   **taimi-na-i**,   tarima   mabara-ri*
whistle   3SG   blow-3SG-PERF   when-3SG-in   people   all-3PL

ḡauvei   ḡe   vaḡa-doko-a-to.
work   3PL   CAUS-finish-3SG-PERF
'When he blew the whistle, everyone stopped working.'

It is obvious that *taiminai* is adopted from English. The older people use *neganai* or *nai* 'when' instead:

(364) *Pati   ḡana   e   iaḡo-to   nai,   ḡe-na   sedi   tu   kalana*
party   to   3SG   go-PERF   when   NTR-3SG   shirt   TOP   colour

irau   veḡata   e   vei-a-to.
various   kind   3SG   do-3SG-PERF
'He went to the party wearing a brightly coloured shirt/When he went to the party he had a brightly coloured shirt on.'

In (364), however, *taiminai* would rarely be used, since it is not a punctuliar event that is in focus, but the circumstance of how he was clothed when he went to the party.

ii. A punctiliar event during a span of time is indicated by continuous/habitual aspect *ḡoi* on the first verb + conjunction *nai/neganai* 'when' or *nuḡanai* 'while':

(365) *Ḡita   ta   ḡauvei-to   ḡoi   **nuḡanai** tama   Rome   e*
1PL.INC   1PL.INC   work-PERF   C/H   while   father   name   3SG

raḡasi-to.
arrive-PERF
'While we were working, Father Rome arrived.'

(366) *Ḡita   ta   ḡauvei-tutuḡu-tutuḡu-to   ḡoi   **nai**   tama   Rome*
1PL.INC   1PL.INC   work-bow-RED-PERF   C/H   when   father   name

e   raḡasi-to   be   asi   ta   ḡita-ia-to.
3SG   arrive-PERF   so   not   1PL.INC   see-3SG-PERF
'While/when we were working very hard, Father Rome arrived, so we did not recognise him.'

(367) *Mero   ta   dabara-i   e   raka-to   ḡoi   nai   motuka   na*
boy   one   way-on   3SG   walk-PERF   C/H   when   car   ERG

e   vaḡi-a-to.
3SG   kill-3SG-PERF
'When the boy was walking on the road, the car hit him.'

(368)   *Futua   ḡe-na   bibo   e   vetau-a-to   ḡoi nai   e*
         boy   NTR-3SG mouth.organ 3SG seek-3SG-PERF C/H when 3SG

mari-to.
sing-PERF
'While looking for his mouth organ the boy was singing.'

iii. When two events take place in the same span of time both the dependent and
independent clause have the continuous aspect clitic *ḡoi.* The dependent clause also has
nai 'when' at the end:

(369)   *Motuka   nuḡa-na-i   e   tanu-taḡo-to   ḡoi nai,   ḡe-na*
         car   inside-3SG-in 3SG stay-sit-PERF C/H when   NTR-3SG

dagara kota-ri   e   tuḡamaḡi-ri-to   ḡoi.
thing   some-3PL 3SG think-3PL-PERF   C/H
'While sitting in the car she was thinking the matter over.'

b) Orienter-CONTENT (quotative)

There are different orienters:

i. at the beginning of a quotation or thought etc.

(370)   *Ḡena   ḡobata   e   sina-ia-to   nai   mai   ḡesi   e   kira-to:...*
         his   sermon   3SG start-3SG-PERF when this with 3SG say-PERF
'When he started his speech he spoke like this:...'

(371)   *Raka   e   kira-to,   au   ḡe-gu   tuḡamaḡi tu*
         Raka   3SG say-PERF   1SG NTR-1SG thought   TOP

mai ḡesi / mai-ḡa:...
this with / this-NOM
'Raka said, I think like this:...'

(372)   *Ḡia   na   e   kiraḡi-a-to   guruḡa-na tu   mai-ḡa,   "Au*
         3SG ERG 3SG say-3SG-PERF talk-3SG   TOP this-NOM 1SG

b-a   ve-mamiraḡi, namona tu   b-a   iaḡo-si-ni".
R-1SG   DER-feel   good   TOP R-1SG go-towards.hearer-IMPF

A   dia   mai ḡesi e   kira-to,   "Au b-a   iaḡo-ni".
but not   this like   3SG say-PERF   1SG R-1SG go-IMPF
'The speech he gave is this, "I feel it would be good to come to you". But he
didn't say, "I will come".'

(373)   *Iesu   ḡena apostolo tarima-ri   ara-ri   tu   mai   ḡe-ri:...*
         Jesus his apostle   people-3PL name-3PL TOP this NTR-3PL
'Here are the names of Jesus' apostles:...'

ii. at the end of a quotation

(374)   *Mo   ḡesi e   kira-to.*
         that with 3SG say-PERF
'That is what he said.'

(375)   *Tarima ara-ri   tu   mo   ḡe-ri.*
people   name-3PL   TOP   that   NTR-3PL
'Those are the names of the people.'

5.1.3.3 Relative clauses

The relative clauses in Sinaugoro are like dependent phrases preceding the noun on which they depend (e.g. *vanuḡa kwaivana* 'village dog'). Similarly, an entire clause may precede a noun, answering to a relative clause in English (examples below). The noun is inflected with the appropriate possessive suffix and agrees with the verb in number. The dependent clause or relative clause precedes the main clause, and the subject or object can be relativised:

O   V   S
(376)   *Ḡarivata e   lema-ia-to   tau-na   e   raga-rekwarekwa-to.*
banana   3SG   steal-3SG-PERF   man-3SG   3SG   run-loose-PERF
'The man who stole the bananas ran away.'

V   O
(377)   *Ḡe   voi-a-to   dagara-na, asi   b-o-no   fitoḡa-ia!*
3PL   pay-3SG-PERF   thing-3SG   NEG   R-2SG-I/I   throw.away-3SG
'Don't throw away that thing they bought!'

Note that *-na* in *tau-na* and *dagara-na* is simply an agreement marker (3SG) as in noun phrases.

5.2 Mood/mode (or functional sentence classes)

5.2.1 Indicative

Statements can be made by using any sentence structure if the verb is in the realis mood (see §2.3).

(378)   *Mai kure tu   bai   ḡiḡu-na   e   kafu-a-ni.*
this   rat   TOP   pig   tail-3SG   3SG   bite-3SG-IMPF
'This rat is biting the pig's tail.'

5.2.2 Imperative

There is no structural difference between an imperative sentence and any other sentence. There is only a difference in the affixation of the verb (see §2.3).

(379)   *N-o   raga-vei!*
I/I-2SG   run-do
'Hurry up!'

(380)   *Boinani   vau vamoka   ḡana bo-ḡo-no   iaḡo!*
tomorrow   after garden   to   R-2PL-I/I   go
'Tomorrow you must go to the garden!'

5.2.3 Interrogative

There is very little structural difference between an interrogative sentence and any other clause. There is no interrogative mode affix on the verb. The interrogative word merely fills the same slot that the information sought would fill in a declarative sentence: if the interrogative word is 'when' it fills the time slot; if it is 'how' it fills the manner slot and so on. The yes-no questions add a tag and/or change the intonation of a statement. Alternative questions are similar to coordinate sentences.

5.2.3.1 Yes-No questions

The yes-no questions have the same structure as the normal intransitive, transitive or ditransitive sentences except for the question tags at the end of the sentence. They are formed by phonological means (intonation) and the question tags.

5.2.3.1.1 Phonological means (intonation)

a) Positive questions

Positive questions are indicated by stress and high pitch on the subject marking of the verb phrase with falling intonation/voice towards the end of the sentence.

(381)   *Ḡoi b-o   keve?*
         2SG R-2SG sick
         'Are you sick?'

b) Negative questions

Negative questions are indicated by stress and high pitch on negative particle *asi* (which precedes the verb) with falling intonation.

(382)   *Ḡia asi b-o   ḡita-ia?*
         3SG neg R-2SG   see-3SG
         'Didn't you see him?'

The answer to a negative question will be the reverse of the English. To the question 'didn't you see him?' the answer will be 'no' if the speaker saw him, and 'yes' if he did not see him:

(383)   *Oi, (asi ba ḡitaia)!*
         yes
         'Yes (I didn't see him)!'

(384)   *Asiḡi-na (ba ḡitaia)!*
         no-3SG
         'No (I saw him)!'

5.2.3.1.2 Question tags

The question tags at the end of the sentence are used to encourage a response.

a) The tag *ba* 'or'

Stress and high pitch occur on the first syllable of the first word, with falling intonation towards the end of the sentence.

(385)   *Lori-mu   ai   ba?*
          right-2SG in   or
          'Are you all right?'

b) The tag *nema/nene* 'isn't it'

Stress and high pitch occur on the first syllable of the question word *nema/nene* with falling intonation on the second syllable. It is used for affirmation.

(386)   *Ḡoi   tama-mu   b-e   raḡasi, nema/nene?*
          2SG father-2SG R-3SG   arrive   INTER
          'Your father arrived, didn't he?'

Both *nema* and *neṇe* expect the answer *oi* 'yes'. *Nema* is Saroa dialect, *nene* is Kwabida dialect, yet the latter one is now being used frequently in the Sinaugoro villages.

5.2.3.2 *Alternative questions*

Stress and high pitch marks the first alternative, then the intonation falls.

(387)   *Ḡia   tu   mase ba maḡuri?*
          3SG TOP dead or   alive
          'Is he alive or dead?'

(388)   *Ḡia   e   iaḡoma-ni   ba e   tanu-ni?*
          3SG 3SG come-IMPF or 3SG stay-IMPF
          'Is he coming or staying?'

5.2.3.3 *Questions with question words (information questions)*

The question words have already been listed in §2.9. Any constituent of a clause may be questioned. Minimally an interrogative sentence need only have the question word:

(389)   *Kamasi?*
          how
          'How are you?'

(390)   *Tarima tu   ai-ḡe-ri?*
          people   TOP L/T-NTR-3PL
          'Where are the people?'

The following example shows that *ai-ḡeri* also carries the idea of 'which one':

(391) a. *Bua   n-o   ḡabi-ri!*
          betel.nut I/I-2SG take-3PL
          'Take the betel nuts!'

      b. *Bua   tu   ai-ḡe-ri?*
          betel.nut TOP L/T-NTR-3PL
          'Where are the betel nuts?'

      c. *Bua   tu   touraḡe iata-na-i.*
          betel.nut TOP verandah on-3SG-in
          'They are on the verandah.'

  d. *Ai-ḡe-ri* *n-a* *ḡabi-ri?*
    L/T-NTR-3PL I/I-1SG take-3PL
    'Which ones shall I take?'

  e. *Mani* *ḡe-ri* *n-o* *ḡabi-ri!*
    that NTR-3PL I/I-2SG take-3PL
    'Take these at this side!'

(392) *Tarima tu* *ai-na-i* *b-o* *ḡita-ia?*
    people TOP L/T-3SG-in R-2SG see-3SG
    'Where did you see the person?'

(393) *Ai-na* *na* *o* *iaḡoma-ni?*
    L/T-3SG from 2SG come-IMPF
    'Where are you coming from?'

(394) *Boubou* *tu* *ai-toma?*
    collection TOP L/T-today
    'When does the collection feast take place?'

(395) *Dei-kara* *be-ḡe* *iaḡoma-ni?*
    who-what R-3PL come-IMPF
    'Who will come?'

(396) *Dei-dei* *be-ḡe* *iaḡoma-ni?*
    who-RED R-3PL come-IMPF
    'Who (plural) will come?'

(397) *Ḡoi tu* *kamara* *vanuḡa tau-mu?*
    2SG TOP which village man-2SG
    'Which village are you from?'

(398) *Kara* *o* *ura-ni?*
    what 2SG like-IMPF
    'What do you want?'

(399) *Kara* *dainai* *b-o* *kwari-a?*
    what reason R-2SG hit-3SG
    'Why did you hit him?'

(400) *Kara* *vei b-o* *iaḡoma?*
    what do R-2SG come
    'Why did you come (to do what)?'

5.2.3.4 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions have the same basic pattern as content questions. They are used to accuse somebody:

(401) *Ḡomi* *tau-mi* *rua-rua* *dei* *na* *b-e* *kira-mi* *au*
    2PL man-2PL two-RED who ERG R-3SG say-2PL 1SG

> *tubu-gu*   *kwaḡwa*   *bo-ḡo*   *vaḡi-a?*
> grandchild-1SG   bird.name   R-2PL   kill-3SG
> 'Who told you two to kill my grandchild-bird?'

5.3 Elliptical sentences

An elliptical sentence is a sentence where, for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, a part of the structure has been omitted (so that the structure is incomplete by itself). This part is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context.

(402)   *Tau*   *tu*   *Satadei*   *lavi-lavi*   *vanaḡi-vanaḡi*   *ragibi*   *e*
           Tau   TOP   Saturday   afternoon-RED   always-RED   rugby   3SG

           ḡere-ni   *o*   *vamoka-i*   *e*   *ḡauvei-ni.*
           play-IMPF   or   garden-in   3SG   work-IMPF
           'Tau always either plays rugby or works in the garden on Saturday afternoon.'

(403)   *Mari*   *ḡoika*   *e*   *ḡani-to,*   *Tau*   *ḡarivata.*
           Mari   mango   3SG   eat-PERF   Tau   banana
           'Mari ate mangos and Tau bananas.'

Greetings:

ḡoi lorimu ai (ba)	'are you all right?'
au lorigu ai	'I'm fine'
mani otanuni o	'bye (lit. you are staying)'
mani oiaḡoni o	'bye (lit. you are leaving)'
bono gena	'goodbye (SG) (lit. you must sleep)'
boḡono gena	'goodbye (PL)'

Appendix 1: *Identification and movement of participants in Sinaugoro discourse*

Participant reference is concerned with the identification and tracking of participants in a discourse, and answers such questions as: How are participants introduced into narrative discourse? Once introduced, how are they identified from then on? How are participants taken out of the narrative, and how are they reintroduced? Who are the main participants? Who are the lesser ones?

The following five legends and a Sinaugoro history account were chosen for our analysis:

1.	*Ḡuiato Kafutarina*	'Girl's Trap'
2.	*Gabadigabadi*	'Gabadigabadi (snake's name)'
3.	*Boura Vareta*	'Boura Vareta (girl's name)'
4.	*Gida Enone e Sara Enone*	'Gida Enone and Sara Enone (two boys)'
5.	*Dauma Veḡaniveḡani*	'Dauma the cannibal'
6.	*Sinauḡoro Sene Varina*	'Sinaugoro History'

The following notation is used when referring to examples in the legends:

(1) = Story 1

(1.5) = Story 1, sentence 5

(1,5–10) = Story 1, sentences 5–10

(1,5 + 6) = Story 1, sentences 5 and 6

1. Introduction of participants

1.1 Main participants

Well-told stories can be divided into four parts, title, opening, main body and closing. Usually the main participants are introduced in the opening of a story. It is quite common to introduce participants by a noun + *ta* 'one' (e.g. *tarima ta* 'one/a man'). There are no animacy restrictions to *ta* 'one'. It is also quite common to start the main body of a story with *ḡaro ta* 'one day' or some other temporal expression.

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Story 1

1. *Tau ta   ara-na   tu   Mare Ḡaiva, ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi gabu-na*
    man one   name-3SG TOP Mare Gaiva 3PL stay-PERF C/H place-3SG

    ara-na   tu   Marikiḡoro.
    name-3SG   TOP Marikigoro
    There was a man whose name was Mare Gaiva, he was living at Marikigoro.

Often the name(s) of the main participant(s) would be mentioned as in (1,1), but not necessarily.

Story 2

1. *Tau ta ma ḡaraḡo-na e ma tari-na   rua-rua   ḡesi*
    man one with spouse-3SG and with younger.brother-3SG two-RED   with

    ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi.
    3PL stay-PERF C/H
    One man lived with his wife and his two younger brothers.

Also his (or their) introduction may include various descriptions of him (or them), depending upon how pertinent to the plot of the story those descriptions are.

Story 4

TITLE:

1. *Sinasina Gida Enone Sara Enone*
    sina-sina   Gida Enone Sara   Enone
    legend-RED Gida Enone Sara   Enone
    A LEGEND ABOUT GIDA AND SARA ENONE

OPENING:

2. *Guinena laḡaninai futua ruarua ḡe tanuto-ḡoi.*
    guine-na   laḡani-na-i   futua rua-rua   ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi
    early-3SG   year-3SG-in   boy   two-RED   3PL live-PERF   C/H
    Long ago there were two brothers.

3. *Tau guinena arana Gida Enone.*
    tau guine-na   ara-na   Gida Enone
    man first-3SG   name-3SG   Gida Enone
    The firstborn's name was Gida Enone.

4. *Tau muriseina arana Sara Enone.*
    tau muri-sei-na   ara-na   Sara   Enone
    man after-born-3SG   name-3SG   Sara   Enone
    The secondborn's name was Sara Enone.

MAIN BODY:

5. *Ḡia tauri ruarua ḡeri ḡauvei baregona tu kadakada.*
    ḡia tau-ri   rua-rua   ḡe-ri   ḡau-vei barego-na tu   kada-kada
    3PL man-3PL   two-RED   NTR-3PL thing-do big-3SG   TOP trap-RED
    Their main job was to trap birds.

6. *Ḡau arana Magi emaḡeto nai futua ruarua Gida Enone*
    ḡau   ara-na   Magi e   maḡe-to   nai   futua rua-rua   Gida Enone
    tree name-3SG Magi 3SG ripe-PERF so   boy   two-RED   Gida Enone

    e Sara Enone ḡeri kada ḡe ḡabito ḡeiaḡoto
    e   Sara Enone ḡe-ri   kada ḡe   ḡabi-to   ḡe   iaḡo-to
    and Sara Enone NTR-3PL trap 3PL take-PERF   3PL go-PERF

    Magi tuḡunai ḡetorerito.
    Magi tuḡu-na-i   ḡe   tore-ri-to
    Magi on-3SG-in   3PL put-3PL-PERF
    The name of the tree was Magi and when its fruits were ripe, the boys took their
    traps, went to the tree and put it up.

CLOSING:

7. *Mo ḡesi ḡe veirito nai manu ḡutuma ḡe kadarito,*
    mo   ḡesi ḡe   vei-ri-to   nai   manu ḡutuma ḡe   kada-ri-to
    that like 3PL do-3PL-PERF so   bird   many   3PL trap-3PL-PERF

    ḡe kadarito ḡoi nai tauri tu ḡe ḡanirito
    ḡe   kada-ri-to   ḡoi nai tau-ri   tu   ḡe   ḡani-ri-to
    3PL trap-3PL-PERF C/H so   man-3PL TOP 3PL eat-3PL-PERF

    ḡoi a ḡwiri tu ḡeri veravera ḡe
    ḡoi a   ḡwi-ri   tu   ḡe-ri   vera-vera   ḡe
    C/H but feathers-3PL TOP NTR-3PL decoration-RED 3PL

    vei-iaḡirito ḡoi.
    vei-iaḡi-ri-to   ḡoi
    do-use-3PL-PERF   C/H
    So they caught many birds and ate them. The feathers they used for decoration.

1.2 Secondary or minor participants

Secondary or minor participants are introduced either after the main participant (4,8) or
somewhere in the middle of the story (4,25).

Story 4

8. *Veḡaniveḡani vavinena ta arana Ḡade Gonegone.*
    ve-ḡani-ve-ḡani   vavine-na   ta   ara-na   Ḡade Gonegone
    DER-eat-DER-eat   woman-3SG a   name-3SG   Gade Gonegone
    There was one lady, Gade Gonegone, who was a cannibal.

25. *Ḡade Gonegone tu ma tubuna ḡuiatona ta.*
    Ḡade Gonegone tu   ma   tubu-na   ḡuiato-na ta
    Gade Gonegone TOP have granddaughter-3SG girl-3SG   one
    Gade Gonegone had a granddaughter.

It should be noted that there is no special marking on the verb etc. when participants are
introduced. Rather participants are introduced by: stating their names (4,1); use of kinship
terms (2,1–4); use of the formula 'a certain man/woman' (2,1); and addition of the name
after 'a certain man' (1,1).

Story 2

1. *Tau ta ma ḡaraḡona e ma tarina ruarua ḡesi*
   tau   ta   ma   ḡaraḡo-na   e   ma   tari-na   rua-rua   ḡesi
   man   one   with   spouse-3SG   and   with   younger.brother-3SG   two-RED   with

   ḡetanuto-ḡoi.
   ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi
   3PL   stay-PERF   C/H
   One man lived with his wife and his two younger brothers.

2. *Ḡaraḡona na ivana ruarua tu asi*
   ḡaraḡona-ŋa-na   iva-na   rua-rua   tu   asi
   spouse-3SG-ERG   in.law-3SG   two-RED   TOP   not

   enaririto-ḡoi.
   e   nari-ri-to   ḡoi
   3SG   look.after-3PL-PERF   C/H
   His wife did not look after her brothers-in-law.

3. *Ḡaniḡani maki momo moḡo eviniriito-ḡoi.*
   ḡani-ḡani   maki   momo   moḡo   e   vini-ri-to   ḡoi
   eat-RED   also   rubbish   only   3SG   give-3PL-PERF   C/H
   She gave them only rubbish to eat.

4. *Kakari ḡoiranai tu eḡuburito-ḡoi, a*
   kaka-ri   ḡoira-na-i   tu   e   ḡubu-ri-to   ḡoi   a
   older.brother-3PL   front-3SG-in   TOP   3SG   feed-3PL-PERF   C/H   but

   murinai tu asiḡi.
   muri-na-i   tu   asiḡi
   back-3SG-in   TOP   NEG
   In front of their older brother she fed them, but not when he was away.

Furthermore, there is no overt feature which distinguishes between major and minor participants, except that the major participants are usually introduced at the beginning of the story, and are described in more detail.

2. Tracing a participant through a discourse and reintroducing him/her

What are the possibilities for referring to an entity?

2.1 Affixes

In Sinaugoro narrative discourse, once a participant has been introduced and reference to him/her is being maintained, he/she is normally identified only by S-M-T marker of the verb (5,13–19). There are no animacy restrictions on the use of the S-M-T markers.

Story 5

13. *Dauma Veğaniveğani   tu   lağani ai   tarima-rima e   vetau-ri-to*
    Dauma cannibal   TOP day   in   people-RED   3SG search-3PL-PERF

    ğoi, a   boği   tu   asiğina.
    C/H however night TOP not
    Dauma the cannibal used to look for people during the day, but not at night.

14. *Ğena vağivaği dagara-na   ara-na   tu   nado,   a   gio*
    his   killing   thing-3SG name-3SG TOP sharp.stone however spear

    tu   asiğina.
    TOP   not
    To kill the people he used a flat sharp stone, he didn't use spears.

15. *Tau ta   ba   vavine ta   e   ğita-ia-to   ğoi, ğena nado*
    man one or   woman one   3SG see-3SG-PERF C/H his   sharp.stone

    ta   dura   na   e   iaguvaği-a-to   ğoi, mo tau ba vavine
    one   string.bag from 3SG took.out-3SG-PERF C/H that man or woman

    tu   noğa koko na   e   basi-mase-a-to   ğoi.
    TOP like axe   instrument 3SG cut-die-3SG-PERF C/H
    When he saw a person, man or woman, he took his sharp stone out of his string bag
    and threw it so that it cut the person like an axe cuts.

16. *Tau ta ba vavine ta   e   doğari-a-to   ğoi tu e*
    man one or woman one 3SG find-3SG-PERF C/H TOP 3SG

    vaği-mase-a-to   ğoi, e   ğwa-iağo-a-to   ğoi, ğena tanu
    kill-die-3SG-PERF C/H 3SG carry-go-3SG-PERF C/H his   living

    gabuna ğana.
    place   to
    When he found somebody, he killed him and carried him to his land.

17. *Monai vau   e   ğani-a-to   ğoi.*
    there afterwards 3SG eat-3SG-PERF C/H
    There he ate him then.

18. *Ğena vaği-vaği nado-ri   tu   dura   ta   e*
    his   kill-RED sharp.stone-3PL TOP string.bag one 3SG

    vağa-vonu-a-to   ğoi, vau   e   raka-to, ğoro tuğu-ri   ai
    CAUS-fill-3SG-PERF C/H afterwards 3SG go-PERF hill   top-3PL on

    e   tano faeara gabu-ri   ai tarima e   vetau-to   ğoi.
    and land flat   place-3PL in people 3SG search-PERF C/H
    He filled his string bag with sharp stones and walked up the hills and across the flat
    land looking for people.

19. *Tau   ta   ḡaraḡo-na   ma   kuḡa-na,   tau-na   e   vagi-a-to,*
    man   one   spouse-3SG   with   pregnant-3SG   husband-3SG   3SG   kill-3SG-PERF

    e   ḡani-a-to   vavine-na   tu   e   gari-to,   e   raga-to,
    3SG   eat-3SG-PERF   wife-3SG   TOP   3SG   fear-PERF   3SG   run-PERF

    e   iaḡo-to   mo   ḡoro   ta   ara-na   Kapakou.
    3SG   go-PERF   to   hill   one   name-3SG   Kapakou
    He came to a man with a pregnant wife, killed him and ate him; the woman was
    frightened and ran away to a hill called Kapakou.

Yet there are quite a number of situations where the participant—after he/she has been
introduced—is identified by a different means than the S-M-T particle.

There is no special word or feature in Sinaugoro which signals that a participant will be
reintroduced. Generally a participant is reintroduced by one of the following: free pronoun;
kin term, noun/noun phrase; demonstrative + noun/postposition; topicalised/frontshifted noun
phrase. But his/her reintroduction is not as elaborate as in the initial introduction.

2.2 Free pronouns

The subject of a transitive clause must be marked by an ergative marker. So, if for
instance the participant has already been introduced in an intransitive clause (1,9), but a
transitive clause with him as the actor follows (1,10), then the participant in the transitive
clause needs to be encoded by a free pronoun (or noun phrase) following an ergative marker.
In story 1 a free pronoun is used, because it is clear from the context that the pronoun refers
to the man Mare Gaiva whose name was mentioned in (1,9). In (2,7), however, a noun
phrase is used to refer to the 'big boy' of (2,6). In this case it is necessary to use a noun
phrase otherwise the 'big boy' might be confused with the small boy who was just mentioned
in (2,6). Noun phrases (e.g. 'big boy') are avoided unless needed for identification. It would
not sound natural if noun phrases were used unnecessarily to distinguish from other
participants (e.g. 1,10).

Story 1

9. *Mare Ḡaiva e   iaḡo-to   ḡuiato   ḡitaḡita-ri   Kuroḡo   ḡaruka-na-i.*
   Mare Gaiva 3SG   go-PERF   girl   see-3PL   Kurogo   river-3SG-in
   Then Mare Gaiva went to the Kurogo River to see the girls.

10. *Benamo   ḡia-na   vatava   e   kwa-ia-to   ḡoi, senaḡina asi*
    then   3SG-ERG   stone   3SG   dig-3SG-PERF   C/H   but   no

    kwa-vaḡi-ri   dabara-na.
    dig-out-3PL   way-3SG
    Then he started to dig the rock, but there was no way to get the girls out.

Story 2

6. *Mero   barego-na tu   e   rage-to,   a   kei-na   tu   tano*
   boy   big-3SG   TOP   3SG   climb-PERF   yet   small-3SG   TOP   ground

   ai   e   tanu-to.
   on   3SG   stay-PERF
   The big boy climbed the tree, while the small boy remained on the ground.

7. *Mero baregona-na kei-na   e   kira-ia-to,   ḡaruka-i be-ḡe*
    boy big-ERG   small-3SG 3SG tell-3SG-PERF creek-in R-3PL

    keto-riḡo-ni   dagara-ri tu   asi b-e-ne   ḡabi-ri, e   ta-to.
    fall-down-IMPF things-3PL TOP not R-3SG-I/I take-3PL 3SG 3SG-say-PERF
    The big boy told the small one not to take the ones in the creek.

However, there are cases where the agent (subject of a transitive clause) is only identified by the S-M-T particle of the verb (2,11 = he took his spear and knife), although the object is marked in the verb as specific. In the Sinaugoro history account (6) there are a number of similar examples, see (6,15+27).

Story 2

11. *Kaka-ri   naḡa gabu-na-i   e   seḡaḡi-to   tari-na*
    older.brother-3PL hunting place-3SG-in 3SG hear-PERF younger.brother-3SG

    garo-na, benamo ḡena gio   e   baḡa   e   ḡabi-ri-to,   e
    voice-3SG then   his spear and bush.knife 3SG take-3PL-PERF 3SG

    raga-to   mero kei-ri   ḡe-ri   ai.
    run-PERF   boy small-3PL NTR-3PL to
    His big brother heard his cry in the place where he was hunting and took his spear
    and knife and ran to the small boys.

Story 6

15. *Monai ḡe tanu-to   vauro   bese kota ma   ḡe*
    there 3PL stay-PERF afterwards tribe some again 3PL

    vaḡa-ḡora-ri-to.
    CAUS-produce-3PL-PERF
    After they had settled there they had some more kids.

27. *Mainai ro   ḡe tanu-kori-kori-to   ema tarima kota   maki*
    here   still 3PL stay-good-RED-PERF and people some   also

    ḡe-ma   doḡari-ri-to.
    3PL-at.speaker find-3PL-PERF
    There they settled permanently and found some people while they were there.

On the other hand in the same story (6) there are examples in which a maintained referent is referred to by an overt noun phrase. For example, in (6,35) Mr English is introduced and in (6,36) he is referred to by a free pronoun indicated by an ergative marker.

Story 6

35. *Taubada o gavamani ara-na   Mr English e-ma*
    big.man or government name-3SG Mr English 3SG.at.speaker

    fofori-guine-to,
    appear-first-PERF
    A big man or government man named Mr English came first.

36. *Vauro   ḡia-na   vetari e   vaḡi-vaḡi   e   goru-goru*
afterwards he-ERG   war   and   kill-RED and murder-RED

e-ma   kira-ḡoi-a-to.
3SG-at.speaker say-against-3SG-PERF
Because of him people stopped fighting.

How frequent are free pronouns?

In story 1 (17 sentences) the only occurrence is in sentence 10.
In story 2 (18 sentences) there are 5 occurrences in sentences 2,7,9,16,18.
In story 3 (17 sentences) there are 2 occurrences in sentences 3,13.

Animacy restrictions: free pronouns can refer to persons or animals whether alive or dead, but not to things (e.g. rocks, houses, trees etc.).

When there is a change in subject from that of the previous clause/sentence, a free pronoun/noun phrase must be used.

1.   [[subject 1] clause 1, [subject 1] clause 2] sent.1

Raka e   raḡasi-to   nai,   e   ḡani-ḡani-to.
Raka 3SG arrive-PERF when 3SG eat-RED-PERF
When Raka arrived, he ate.

2.   [[subject 1] clause 1, [subject 2] clause 2] sent.1

Raka e   raḡasi-to   nai,   Maino e   ḡani-ḡani-to.
Raka 3SG arrive-PERF when Maino 3SG eat-RED-PERF
When Raka arrived, Maino ate.

3.   [[subject 1] clause 1] sent.1. [[subject 1] clause 1] sent.2

Raka e   raḡasi-to.   Benamo ḡia na bai ta e   vaḡi-a-to.
Raka 3SG arrive-PERF then   he   ERG pig one 3SG kill-3SG-PERF
Raka arrived, then he killed a pig.

4.   [[subject 1] clause 1] sent.1. [[subject 2] clause 2] sent.2

Raka e   raḡasi-to.   Benamo Maino na bai ta e   vaḡi-a-to.
Raka 3SG arrive-PERF then   Maino ERG pig one 3SG kill-3SG-PERF
When Raka arrived, Maino killed a pig.

1. is marked by S-M-T particle;
2. is marked by NP;
3. is marked by S-M-T particle/pronoun;
4. is marked by NP.

What happens when the noun phrases in sentences 2 and 4 are replaced by pronouns? When the subject noun phrase in the second clause is replaced by a free pronoun, subject 2 becomes subject 1, that is, the subject in clauses 1 and 2 is the same. However, the pronoun in subject 2 suggests that there is a second party involved, which is contrasted with subject 1. This applies only to sentence 2:

> *Raka e   raḡasi-to   nai,   ḡia e   ḡani-ḡani-to,   a*
> Raka 3SG arrive-PERF when he   3SG eat-RED-PERF   however

> *Maino tu   asiḡi.*
> Maino TOP NEG
> When Raka arrived he ate, but Maino did not.

2.3 Kinship terms, nouns/noun phrases

i. Kinship terms are frequently used to refer to participants when the relationship between them is crucial. In story 2, for example, the two brothers are introduced as 'two small brothers' (2,1) in relation to their big brother. When referred to again in (2,7+8) they are referred to as 'big and small boy', not as brothers, since it is not relevant at the moment to mention their relationship with their older brother. Then in (2,12+13) the boys are again referred to as 'his small brothers', which stresses the fact that he is responsible for them. Likewise the wife. She is introduced as the man's wife (2,1), and in relation to the two boys as their in-law (who doesn't look after the boys well) (2,2). Now when one of the boys refers to his in-law in (2,13), he refers to her as 'your spouse/wife' which shows that there is something wrong in their relationship, otherwise he would have referred to her as 'my in-law'. He implies, when talking to his older brother, that it is his wife, not their in-law, who is not feeding them properly, since it is the responsibility of an in-law relationship to look after other in-laws.
Note: In Western culture it is quite common to ask someone, "How is your wife/husband?". In Sinaugoro culture, however, this would not be appropriate unless something is wrong in the relationship. Someone would rather ask, for example, "How is my sister/brother or in-law?".

The fact that the relationship between the participants in a given situation is crucial in how they are referred to is also supported by the Sinaugoro history (6). After the man Gire Tauna and his wife Daba Tauna have been introduced in the opening by mentioning their names (6,2), they are referred to by the terms 'woman' and 'man' (6,3). However, in (6,4) he is referred to as 'her husband' and in (6,6) as the 'boy's father', since she didn't cry for any man but her husband, because he is the father of the boy who just died.

Kinship terms are used quite frequently to refer to participants since it would often be impolite in the Sinaugoro culture to refer to someone by their real name. In general only when somebody is cross with someone else would he or she use that person's real name. A nickname (which usually describes a specific characteristic of that person, e.g. *Duba* 'black') can also be used in lieu of a kinship term.

Story 2

1. *Tau ta ma ḡaraḡo-na e ma tari-na   rua-rua ḡesi*
    man one with spouse-3SG and with younger.brother-3SG two-RED with

    ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi.
    3PL stay-PERF C/H
    One man lived with his wife and his two younger brothers.

2. *Ḡaraḡo-na-na   iva-na   rua-rua tu   asi e   nari-ri-to*
    spouse-3SG-ERG in.law-3SG two-RED TOP not 3SG look.after-3PL-PERF

ḡoi.
C/H
His wife did not look after her brothers-in-law.

7. *Mero baregona-na kei-na   e   kira-ia-to,   ḡaruka-i be-ḡe*
    boy big-ERG   small-3SG 3SG tell-3SG-PERF creek-in R-3PL

    keto-riḡo-ni   dagara-ri   tu   asi   b-e-ne   ḡabi-ri,   e   ta-to.
    fall-down-IMPF things-3PL TOP not R-3SG-I/I take-3PL 3SG say-PERF
    The big boy told the small one not to take the ones in the creek.

8. *Senaḡi mero kei-na   tu   asi   e   seḡaḡi-to,   e   iaḡo-to,*
    but   boy small-3SG TOP not 3SG hear-PERF 3SG go-PERF

    ḡaruka ḡana turi   n-e-a-ḡabi-a,   e   ta-to.
    creek to   fruits I/I-3SG-different.location-take-3SG 3SG say-PERF
    But the little boy did not take heed and went to the creek and tried to get the fruits.

12. *E   laḡasi-to,   benamo e   vedanagi-to,   tari-na   tu*
    3SG arrive-PERF then   3SG ask-PERF   younger.brother-3SG TOP

    kamasi.
    how.
    When he arrived he asked how his small brother was.

13. *Benamo tari-na-na   e   kira-ia-to,   e   kira-to,*
    then   younger.brother-3SG-ERG 3SG tell-3SG-PERF 3SG tell-PERF

    "Ḡaraḡo-mu tu   asi namo, ḡai   tu   asi e   ḡubu-ma-ni".
    spouse-2SG TOP not good 1PL.EXC TOP not 3SG feed-1PL.EXC-IMPF
    Then his small brother told him, he said, "Your wife is no good, she doesn't feed us well".

ii. When the flow of the event line is interrupted by a different participant (agent) as, for instance, in (5,19) where the agent is interrupted by 'the woman'. In (5,26) the previous participant is mentioned again and he is referred to by his full name *Dauma Veḡaniveḡani*.

Story 5

19. *Tau ta   ḡaraḡo-na ma kuḡa-na,   tau-na   e   vaḡi-a-to,*
    man one spouse-3SG with pregnant-3SG husband-3SG 3SG kill-3SG-PERF

    e   ḡani-a-to,   vavine-na tu   e   gari-to,   e   raga-to,
    3SG eat-3SG-PERF wife-3SG TOP 3SG fear-PERF 3SG run-PERF

    e   iaḡo-to   mo ḡoro ta   ara-na   Kapakou.
    3SG go-PERF to hill one name-3SG Kapakou
    He came to a man with a pregnant wife, killed him and ate him; the woman was frightened and ran away to a hill called Kapakou.

20. *Mai gabu tu   Saroa ma Sauruba fakari   ai.*
    this place TOP Saroa and Sauruba between in
    This place is between Saroa and Sauruba village.

21. *Mo ḡoro ai fore vekoraḡi-na kouḡa-na-i e tanu-to ḡoi.*
    that hill on stone crack-3SG hole-3SG-in 3SG stay-PERF C/H
    She lived on that hill; there was a very rocky place with caves in it.

22. *Ḡe-na ḡauvei tu boḡi ai vau ḡe-na sega e*
    NTR-3SG work TOP night in afterwards NTR-3SG garden 3SG

    vei-to ḡoi, laḡani tu e gumu-to ḡoi.
    do-PERF C/H day TOP 3SG hide-PERF C/H
    She used to work in her garden at night and during the day she hid.

23. *Moanai e tanu-to mo e ruḡu-to, vekafa e*
    there 3SG stay-PERF till 3SG give.birth-PERF twin 3SG

    ḡabi-ri-to mero mo rua-rua.
    take-3PL-PERF boy that two-RED
    While she was staying in the cave she bore twins, two boys.

24. *Mero guine-na tu aroriba, naima sina-na na ara-na e*
    boy first-3SG TOP right so mother-3SG ERG name-3SG 3SG

    vato-a-to Riba Bada, mero muri-sei-na tu kauri, naima
    name-3SG-PERF Riba Bada boy after-born-3SG TOP left so

    sina-na na ara-na e vato-a-to Kauri Bada.
    mother-3SG ERG name-3SG 3SG name-3SG-PERF Kauri Bada.
    The firstborn was a right-handed person, therefore he was called Riba Bada, and the secondborn a left-handed person, therefore he was called Kauri Bada.

25. *Sina-ri na e nari-ri-to mo ḡe barego-to*
    mother-3PL ERG 3SG care.for-3PL-PERF till 3PL big-PERF

    tarima-rima varau ḡe iaḡo-to, benamo ḡia na Sina-ri
    people-RED already 3PL go-PERF then 3PL ERG mother-3PL

    ḡe danaḡi-a-to, ḡe kira-to, "Sina-gai o, ḡai
    3PL ask-3SG-PERF 3PL say-PERF mother-intimate eh 1PL.EXC

    tama-ma tu ainai e tanu-ni?".
    father-1PL.EXC TOP where 3SG stay-IMPF
    Their mother brought them up and when they were already big they asked their mother: "Mum, where does our father live?".

26. *Sina-ri na e vaḡa-vese-to, e kira-to, "Tama-mi*
    mother-3PL ERG 3SG CAUS-answer-PERF 3SG say-PERF father-2SG

    tu Dauma Veḡaniveḡani na e ḡani-a-to".
    TOP Dauma cannibal ERG 3SG eat-3SG-PERF
    Mother replied: "Your father was eaten by the giant".

iii. When a nominal referent includes more than one person, often a noun phrase is used: (4,5) = *tauri ruarua* 'the two persons'.

Story 4

5.   *Ḡia tauri ruarua ḡeri ḡauvei baregona tu kadakada.*
      ḡia   tau-ri   rua-rua   ḡe-ri   ḡau-vei   barego-na   tu   kada-kada
      3PL   man-3PL   two-RED   NTR-3PL thing-do   big-3SG   TOP   trap-RED
      Their main job was to trap birds.

iv.   A change of scene (location, event, time etc.) may require a more specific identification
      of participants (e.g. full representation of his name) by a noun phrase (5,42+43).

Story 5

42.   *Moḡa murinai ḡauvei varau ḡe   vaḡa-maoro-to.*
      that   after   work   already 3PL   CAUS-finish-PERF
      After that they finished their work.

43.   *Ḡoriḡoro   tuḡu-na-i   fore   barego-na   ta   mai   mero   Riba   Bada*
      name.of.hill   top-3SG-on   stone   big-3SG   one   this   boy   Riba   Bada

      ma   Kauri   Bada   tau   guine-na   na   ḡoira-na   na   reke-na   na
      and   Kauri   Bada   man   first-3SG   ERG   front-3SG   from side-3SG   from

      e   faresi-a-to,   ma   tau   muri-sei-na   na   maki   ḡoira-na
      3SG   jump-3SG-PERF   and   man   after-born-3SG ERG   also   front-3SG

      na   ma   e   faresi-a-to,   tau   guine-na   na   muri-na
      from   again 3SG jump-3SG-PERF   man   first-3SG   ERG   behind-3SG

      na   e   faresi-a-to   ma   tau   muri-sei-na   na   maki
      from   3SG jump-3SG-PERF and   man   after-born-3SG ERG   also

      muri-na   na   ma   e   faresi-a-to.
      behind-3SG from   again 3SG jump-3SG-PERF
      On top of the hill the two boys jumped over a big stone, the firstborn Riba Bada
      jumped first and then the secondborn Kauri Bada; then they jumped again
      backwards over the stone one after the other.

2.4 Demonstratives + nouns/postpositions

There are basically two deictics *mai* 'this' and *mo* 'that' which are frequently used, mostly
in combination with nouns or postpositions to either refer back or point forward. There are no
animacy restrictions.

a. Demonstrative + noun

It is most common that if someone is introduced by name, that person is referred to by a
demonstrative + a noun thereafter, for example, "that girl" (3,3+4).

Story 3

3.   *Ḡuiato   ta   e   tanu-to   ḡoi, ara-na   tu   Boura Vareta.*
      girl   one   3SG stay-PERF C/H name-3SG   TOP   Boura Vareta
      There was a girl named Boura Vareta.

4.   *Mo   ḡuiato   sina-na   e   tama-na   ḡesi   ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi*
      that   girl   mother-3SG and father-3SG with   3PL   stay-PERF C/H

nuḡanai	*e*	*kuḡa-gara-to*		*nai,*	*ḡe*	*roritore-a-to*
while	3SG	give.birth-illegitimate-PERF	because		3PL	gossip-3SG-PERF

ḡoi.

C/H

That girl stayed with her parents, and after a time she became pregnant, and so the people started to gossip.

b. Demonstrative + postposition

mai ḡesi	'like this'
mo ḡesi	'like that'
mai ḡeri	'these things/people'
mo ḡeri	'those things/people'

At the beginning of a quotation or thought *mai ḡesi* 'like this' is used, before enumeration *mai ḡeri* 'these'. In the same way *mo ḡesi* 'like that' is used at the end of a quotation or thought, *mo ḡeri* 'those' is used to refer back to things or persons mentioned earlier in the story. It is also a means of expressing plurality, because if only one person is being referred to, *mo* 'that' occurs instead of *mo ḡeri*.

Story 4

9. *Mai ḡesi e kirarito: "Manu mabarari ḡokadari*

mai	*ḡesi*	*e*	*kira-ri-to*	*manu*	*mabara-ri*	*ḡo*	*kada-ri*
this	like	3SG	say-3PL-PERF	bird	all-3PL	2PL	trap-3PL

vau ḡo vaḡirini tu namo vedaurea senaḡi manu

vau	*ḡo*	*vaḡi-ri-ni*	*tu*	*namo*	*vedaurea*	*senaḡi*	*manu*
later	2PL	kill-3PL-IMPF	TOP	good	very	but	bird

arana Kwaḡwa boḡo kadaiani nai asi

ara-na	*Kwaḡwa*	*bo-ḡo*	*kada-ia-ni*	*nai*	*asi*
name-3SG	Kwagwa	R-2PL	trap-3SG-IMPF	when	not

boḡono vaḡia e boḡono fiu-rovoa!".

bo-ḡo-no	*vaḡi-a*	*e*	*bo-ḡo-no*	*fiu-rovo-a*
R-2PL-I/I	kill-3SG	and	R-2PL-I/I	throw-fly-3SG

She said to them: "You can trap and kill all the birds but if you catch a bird called Kwagwa, don't kill it and let it fly again!".

10. *Mo ḡesi e kirarito.*

mo	*ḡesi*	*e*	*kira-ri-to*
that	like	3SG	say-3PL-PERF

That's what she told them.

7. *Mo ḡesi ḡe veirito nai manu ḡutuma ḡe kadarito,*

mo	*ḡesi*	*ḡe*	*vei-ri-to*	*nai*	*manu*	*ḡutuma*	*ḡe*	*kada-ri-to*
that	like	3PL	do-3PL-PERF	so	bird	many	3PL	trap-3PL-PERF

ḡe kadarito ḡoi nai tauri tu ḡe ḡanirito ḡoi

ḡe	*kada-ri-to*	*ḡoi*	*nai*	*tau-ri*	*tu*	*ḡe*	*ḡani-ri-to*	*ḡoi*
3PL	trap-3PL-PERF	C/H	so	man-3PL	TOP	3PL	eat-3PL-PERF	C/H

a ḡwiri tu ḡeri veravera ḡe vei-iaḡirito

a	ḡwi-ri	tu	ḡe-ri	vera-vera	ḡe	vei-iaḡi-ri-to
but	feathers-3PL	TOP	NTR-3PL	decoration-RED	3PL	do-use-3PL-PERF

ḡoi.

ḡoi
C/H

So they caught many birds and ate them. The feathers they used for decoration.

Story 1

14.
Mo	ḡe-ri	ḡuiato	mabara-ri	tu	maḡanikone	ai	ḡe	iaḡo-to.
that	NTR-3PL	girl	all-3PL	TOP	fish	in	3PL	go-PERF

Those girls turned into fish.

2.5 Topicalised/frontshifted noun phrases

In cases where participants (object-noun phrase) are frontshifted for the sake of topicalisation the sub-noun phrase is indicated by an ergative marker (5,10; 4,16). In some of the smaller stories frontshifting may not occur at all, while in the bigger ones it may occur only once or twice in the whole story. The object-noun phrase is frontshifted when something very unusual has happened to the participants (e.g. when they have been killed).

Story 5

10.
O		S	V			
Tarima-rima	ḡia	na	e	vaḡi-ri-to	ḡoi.	
people-RED	3SG	ERG	3SG	kill-3PL-PERF	C/H	

It was people he used to kill.

Story 4

16.
O					S				
Ḡia	tubu-na	kwaḡwa	tu	Ḡida	Enone	e	Sara	Enone	na
3SG	granny-3SG	bird.name	TOP	Gida	Enone	and	Sara	Enone	ERG

V	
be-ḡe	vaḡi-a.
R-3PL	kill-3SG

It was her granny Kwagwa that Gida and Sara Enone had killed.

Appendix 2: Additional texts

Text 1: Myth about the 'Girl's Trap'

TITLE:

    Ḡuiato Kafutari-na
    girl   bite.down-3SG
    GIRL'S TRAP

OPENING:

1. *Tau ta ara-na   tu   Mare Ḡaiva, ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi   gabu-na*
    man one name-3SG TOP Mare Gaiva 3PL stay-PERF C/H   place-3SG

    ara-na   tu   Marikiḡoro.
    name-3SG TOP Marikigoro
    There was a man whose name was Mare Gaiva, he was living at Marikigoro.

MAIN BODY:

2. *Ḡaro ta   vanuḡa   ḡuiato-ri ḡanigarogaro ḡe   iaḡo-to   Kuroḡo*
    day one   village girl-3PL picnic   3PL   go-PERF Kurogo

    ḡaruka-na-i.
    river-3SG-in
    One day some village girls went for a picnic at the Kurogo River.

3. *Ḡuiato ḡe   ḡani-ḡani-ḡosi-to   murinai ḡaruka-i ḡe   ḡere-to*
    girl   3PL eat-RED-finish-PERF after   river-in 3PL play-PERF

    ḡoi, nuḡanai   ḡuiato sebona ta na   e   ḡofa-ri-to
    C/H meanwhile girl   one   a ERG 3SG trick-3PL-PERF

    e   kira-to,   "Futua mai be-ḡe raḡasi!".
    3SG say-PERF boy   now R-3PL   arrive
    After the picnic the girls were playing in the river. Meanwhile one girl started to tell lies and said: "Boys are coming!".

4. *Ḡuiato mabara-ri tu   asi kafare-ri   ḡe   fou-to   ḡoi nai*
   girl   all-3PL   TOP not grass.skirt-3PL 3PL wash-PERF   C/H because

   ḡe   maiaka-ri-to,   benamo ḡe   raga-raḡe-kau-to   ḡoroka-i.
   3PL ashamed-3PL-PERF and.then 3PL quick-climb-up-PERF bank-on
   All the girls were naked and so they were ashamed, and came out of the river.

5. *Nuḡanai mo ḡuiato-na ma   e   kira-ri-to,   "A   ḡofa-mi-ni*
   meanwhile that girl-ERG   again 3SG say-3PL-PERF 1SG trick-2PL-IMPF

   be ḡo-fou", e   ta-to.
   so 2PL-wash 3SG say-PERF
   That girl told them again: "I am telling lies, so go back again and wash yourselves".

6. *Vaḡa-toitoi kavana e   ḡofa-ri-to.*
   CAUS-three about   3SG trick-3PL-PERF
   She said this about three times.

7. *Ḡofaḡofa vaḡa-vasivasinai vatava e   ḡwa-kafu-a-to,   benamo*
   lie   CAUS-four   stone   3SG carry-close-3SG-PERF and.then

   ḡuiato mabara-ri dobu   nuḡa-na-i   e   kafu-ḡau-ri-to,
   girl   all-3PL   deep.water inside-3SG-in 3SG close-in-3PL-PERF

   murinai ḡofaḡofa ḡuiato-na e   gari-to,   vanuḡa raga-na e
   after   lie   girl-3SG   3SG fear-PERF   village run-3SG 3SG

   vei-to.
   did-PERF
   The fourth time a rock gave way and trapped the girls in the river, and the girl who
   told lies was frightened and ran back to the village.

8. *Vanuḡa votukanai e   raḡasi-to,   benamo e   kea-to,   guruḡa-na*
   village end   3SG arrive-PERF and.then 3SG call-PERF talk-3SG

   tu   mai-ḡesi-na,   "Mare Ḡaiva-oooo, kwaku-mu bakabaka, ainai mani
   TOP this-like-3SG Mare   Gaiva-ooo   leg-2SG   sore   where there

   ḡemu, ḡoina ḡuiato mabara-ri tu   Kuroḡo ḡaruka-na-i vatava na
   you   your   girl   all-3PL   TOP   Kurogo river-3SG-in stone   ERG

   b-e   kafu-tari-ri   ooo!".
   R-3SG close-in-3PL ooo
   When she arrived near the village she called out: "Mare Gaiva, something terrible
   has happened (lit. your leg is full of sores)! Where are you now? All your girls have
   been trapped at the Kurogo River".

9. *Mare Ḡaiva e   iaḡo-to ḡuiato ḡitaḡita-ri Kuroḡo ḡaruka-na-i.*
   Mare Gaiva 3SG go-PERF girl   see-3PL   Kurogo river-3SG-in
   Then Mare Gaiva went to the Kurogo River to see the girls.

10. *Benamo ḡia-na   vatava e   kwa-ia-to   ḡoi, senaḡina asi*
    and.then 3SG-ERG   stone   3SG dig-3SG-PERF   C/H   but   not

    kwa-vaḡi-ri dabara-na.
    dig-out-3PL way-3SG
    Then he started to dig the rock, but there was no way to get the girls out.

11. *Moḡa nuḡanai Mare Ḡaiva-na   ḡuiato e   kea-ri-to   ḡoi,*
    that   while   Mare Gaiva-ERG girl 3SG call-3PL-PERF C/H

    benamo   ḡuiato maki ḡe vaḡa-vese-to   ḡoi gabu-ri
    and.then girl   also 3PL CAUS-answer-PERF C/H place-3PL

    ai moḡo.
    in only
    Mare Gaiva was calling the girls and they were answering.

12. *Tano   ma   e   kwa-ia-to   ḡoi, senaḡina fore tu   barego*
    ground again 3SG dig-3SG-PERF C/H but   stone TOP big

    rakava.
    very
    He was digging again, but the rock was just too big.

13. *Moga lori-na-i   asi   kwa-vaḡi-ri dabara-na.*
    that right-3SG-in not   dig-out-3PL way-3SG
    So there was no way to get the girls out.

CLOSING:

14. *Mo ḡe-ri   ḡuiato mabara-ri tu   maḡanikone ai ḡe iaḡo-to.*
    that NTR-3PL girl   all-3PL   TOP fish   in 3PL go-PERF
    Those girls turned into fish.

15. *Moḡa lori-na-i   mo gabu o ḡaruka ara-na   toma ḡe*
    that right-3SG-in that place or river name-3SG today 3PL

    kiraḡi-a-ni   tu   'Ḡuiato Kafutari-na'.
    say.about-3SG-IMPF TOP girl   bite.down-3SG
    That is why that place or river is called 'Girl's Trap'.

16. *Moḡesi dainai   ḡaina ḡauka   ḡeri kirai, ḠOFAḠOFA TU*
    that   because our   old.people their saying tricking   TOP

    ASI NAMO.
    no   good
    Because of that, according to our ancestors' belief, TELLING LIES IS BAD.

17. *Ḡera   sinasina tu   maniḡa moḡo.*
    our.INC legend   TOP this   only
    This is the end of our legend.

Text 2: Bush medicine of the past

Boḡa muramura
bush medicine
BUSH MEDICINE

Guine tarima-ri   kwaku-ri baḡa   na ḡe basi-ri-to   ḡoi
first people-3PL leg-3PL bush.knife with 3PL cut-3PL-PERF C/H

nai   ḡe   manuḡa-to   ḡoi.
when   3PL   sore-PERF   C/H
The old people had a sore when they cut themselves with a bush knife.

Ḡe   manuḡa-to   ḡoi   nai   vatoru tau-ri   na   ḡe   boko-to
3PL   sore-PERF   C/H   when   nut.tree content-3PL   from   3PL   pick-PERF

ḡoi   ḡe   basi-kira-ri-to   ḡoi   vau   nuḡa-ri   kiduru   na   ḡe
C/H   3PL   cut-half-3PL-PERF   C/H   after   inside-3PL   shell   with   3PL

kakari-ri-to   ḡoi,   vau   manuḡa iatanai ḡe
scrape-3PL-PERF   C/H   after   sore   on.top   3PL

vaḡa-kafa-kau-ri-to   ḡoi.
CAUS-stick-on-3PL-PERF   C/H
When the sore didn't become better they picked the fruit from a certain kind of nut tree, cut these in half, scraped out the inside with a shell and put it on top of the sore.

Murinai   kefi-na   ḡe   kumu-ri-to   ḡoi.
after   skin-3SG   3PL   wrap-3PL-PERF   C/H
After that they wrapped this particular part.

Ḡe   tanu-to   ḡoi   fura sebona o   rua-rua   benamo ḡe
3PL   stay-PERF   C/H   week one   or   two-RED   then   3PL

koki-ri-to   ḡoi ḡe   namo-to   ḡoi.
take.away-3PL-PERF   C/H   3PL   good-PERF   C/H
Then it took about one to two weeks until it was healed and they removed the fruit and wrapping.

Text 3: Women giving birth

Vavine   e   ḡabi-ni
woman   3SG   give.birth-IMPF
A WOMAN GIVING BIRTH TO A CHILD

Vavine   e   ḡabi-ni   numa nuḡa-na-i   moḡo   e   tanu-ni
women   3SG   give.birth-IMPF   house inside-3SG-in   only   3SG   stay-IMPF

fura   ta   o   fura   rua-rua   nuḡanai ḡana dari-dari   tu
week   one   or   week   two-RED   while   her   food-RED   TOP

vavine   sebona.
woman   one
A woman who gives birth to a child stays in the house only for one or two weeks while another woman cooks food for her to eat.

Uro-na   e   ḡwa-ḡutu-a-ni   vau   e   raka-rosi-ni.
umbilical.cord-3SG   3SG   fall-off-3SG-IMPF   after   3SG   walk-out-IMPF
After the umbilical cord has fallen off, she comes out of the house.

Ḡue   ta   kavana asi b-e   dari-dari-ni,   diḡu asi b-e
month one   about   not R-3SG cook-RED-IMPF bowl not R-3SG

ḡuriḡi-ni.
wash-IMPF
She doesn't cook for about one month and she doesn't wash dishes.

Ḡena tanu-taḡo gabu-na   veaḡa.
her   stay-at   place-3SG sacred
The place where she sits is sacred.

Ḡani-ḡani kwari   tau   asi be-ḡe ḡani-ni.
food-RED leftovers man   not R-3PL eat-IMPF
Men will not eat any of her leftovers (from the same day).

Bagoḡa mero e   ḡabi-ni   vavine asi b-e   ḡani-ni.
leftovers boy   3SG take-IMPF woman not   R-3SG eat-IMPF
The boys will take her leftovers (from the previous day) but women don't eat them.

Mero b-e   taku-ni   vau   b-e   ḡauvei-ni.
boy   R-3SG getting.stronger-IMPF after R-3SG work-IMPF
When the boy is getting stronger she will work again.

Text 4: Making popcorn

Popkon   veivei-na
popcorn   making-3SG
HOW TO MAKE POPCORN

Guinena oila ḡuro ai b-o   bubu-a-ni.
first   oil pot in R-2SG pour-3SG-IMPF
First you must pour oil into the pot.

Oila b-e-ne   seḡuka vau, koni b-o-no   ḡura-ia   ḡuro ai.
oil   R-3SG-I/I hot   after corn R-2SG-I/I put-3SG pot in
When the oil is hot you must put the corn into it.

Koni b-e   fou-a-ni   nuḡanai ḡuro b-o-no
corn R-3SG pop-3SG-IMPF while   pot   R-2SG-I/I

vei-ḡareva-ḡareva-ia.
do-shake-RED-3SG
While the corn is popping you must shake the pot.

Benamo ḡuro b-e   vonu-ni.
then   pot   R-3SG full-IMPF
Then the pot will fill up.

B-e-ne   faraka vau   dama b-o-no   bubu-a.
R-3SG-I/I cold   after salt R-2SG-I/I put-3SG
After it is cold again put salt on it.

Murinai vau   b-o-no   ḡani-a.
after   after   R-2SG-I/I   eat-3SG
After that you can eat it.

Text 5: Building a house

Numa   ḡa   vei-a-ni
house   1PL.EXC   make-3SG-IMPF
WE ARE BUILDING A HOUSE

Numa kwaku-na   ḡa   basi-to.
house post-3SG   1PL.EXC   cut-PERF
We cut posts for the house.

Kwaku   ḡa   ḡwa-ri-to.
post   1PL.EXC   carry-3PL-PERF
We carried the posts.

Tou   ḡa   basi-to.
bearers   1PL.EXC   cut-PERF
We cut bearers.

Tou   ḡa   tore-ri-to.
Bearers   1PL.EXC   put-3PL-PERF
We put the bearers on.

Raburabu   ḡa   tore-ri-to   tou   iata-ri   ai.
floor.joist   1PL.EXC   put-3PL-PERF   bearers   top-3PL   on
We put the floor joist on top of the bearers.

Kabe   ḡa   vaisi-a-to.
top.plate   1PL.EXC   put.up-3SG-PERF
We put up the top plate.

Toga kabe   iata-na-i   ḡa   tore-ri-to.
rafter top.plate   top-3SG-on   1PL.EXC   put-3PL-PERF
We put the rafters on the top plate.

Toga iata-na-i   vane   ḡa   tore-ri-to.
rafter top-3PL-on   roof.batten   1PL.EXC   put-3PL-PERF
We put the roof battens on top of the rafters.

Vane   murinai funu   ḡa   tore-ri-to.
roof.batten   after   tin.roof   1PL.EXC   put-3PL-PERF
After the roof battens we put the tin roof on them.

Funu   murinai tobo   ḡa   basi-to   kobe   ḡari.
tin.roof after   bamboo   1PL.EXC   cut-PERF   wall   for
After the tin roof we cut bamboo for the walls.

Ḡai   toma tu   tobo   ḡa   vato-ni.
1PL.EXC   today TOP   bamboo   1PL.EXC   weave-IMPF
Today we are weaving bamboo.

Kobe murinai kurabo ba-ḡa   rore-ni.
wall after   floor R-1PL.EXC put-IMPF
After the wall we will lay the floor.

Ḡitaroka ema ḡatama boka   ba-ḡa   vei-ni.
window and front   opening R-1PL.EXC do-IMPF
We will make a window and door.

Numa b-e   kori-ni.
house R-3SG finish-IMPF
The house will be finished.

Text 6: Conversation about hunting

John: *Boinani mutu gabu ba-ḡa   iaḡo-ni! Ḡoi maki*
tomorrow grass burn R-1PL.EXC go-IMPF 2SG also

bi-ta   iaḡo-ni ba?
R-1PL.INC go-IMPF or
Tomorrow we are going hunting. Will you join us?

Tau: *Oi, au maki bi-ta   iaḡo-ni!*
yes 1SG also R-1PL.INC go-IMPF
Yes, I will go with you.

John: *Nanu kota b-o-no   ḡabikau ema ḡani-ḡani kota maki*
water some R-2SG-I/I take.with and food-RED some also

b-o-no   ḡabikau!
R-2SG-I/I take.with
Take some water and food with you.

People: *Ḡia tu boḡa ḡana ḡe iaḡo-ni.*
3PL TOP bush to   3PL go-IMPF
They are going to the bush.

People: *Ai-ḡana ḡo iaḡo-ni?*
L/T-to   2PL go-IMPF
Where are you going to?

John: *Mutu gabu ḡa   iaḡo-ni!*
grass burn 1PL.EXC go-IMPF
We are going hunting. (lit. We are going to burn grass.)

People: *Ai-na-i   mutu bo-ḡo   gabu-ni?*
L/T-3SG-in grass R-2PL burn-IMPF
Where will you hunt (burn grass)?

John: *Saroa ḡeri tano ai!*
Saroa their land on
On Saroa people's land.

Tau: *Gabu-na   tu   maiḡa.*
             place-3SG TOP here
             There we are.

John: *Be, mutu si   gabu-ri bai ema maḡani be-ḡe-ne*
             so grass 1PL.INC burn-3PL pig and wallaby R-3PL-I/I

             ḡara-rausi-ri   be bi-ta-na   vaḡi-ri   ḡana.
             burn-spread-3PL   so R-1PL.INC-I/I   kill-3PL to
             Now let us burn the grass so that the pigs and wallabies will come out and we
             can kill them.

Speaker: *Naḡa   murinai.*
             hunting after
             After the hunting trip.

Tau: *Korana kara bai ema maḡani asi bi-ta   vaḡi?*
             reason   what pig and wallaby not R-1PL.INC kill
             Why didn't we kill any pig and wallaby?

John: *Korana mabara-ri be-ḡe   raga-kwareḡa, senaḡi toma boḡi*
             because all-3PL   R-3PL   run-away   but   today night

             maḡani ḡe iaḡo-ni dinuka ḡe ḡani-ni   benamo ta
             wallaby 3PL go-IMPF ashes   3PL eat-IMPF and.then 1PL.INC

             fidi-ri-ni.
             shoot-3PL-IMPF
             Because they all ran away, but tonight when the wallabies come to eat the
             ashes of the burnt grass we will shoot them.

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