Data Papers on
Papua New Guinea Languages

Volume 58

Doromu-Koki Grammar Sketch

Robert L. Bradshaw

2012
SIL-PNG Academic Publications
Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea
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Papua New Guinea
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Published 2012

Printed by SIL Printing Press
Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province
Papua New Guinea

ISBN 9980 0 3649 4
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<td>purpose</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
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1. Introduction

1.1 Location and speakers

The Doromu-Koki [do'romû 'qok⁶:i] language is a non-Austronesian (or Papuan) language of Central Province, Rigo Inland District, Papua New Guinea.

This grammar of the language is based on the Koki dialect. Data were collected by the author under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the Rigo Inland District, mainly in the village of Kasonomu, between 2001 and 2011. Other villages where Doromu-Koki is spoken include Kaikanomu (’Ai’anomu), Amuraika, Badaika (Badai’a), Gagaradobu, Iaromenomu, Mamanu(geagi), Nemonomu, Nevore, Nimunimu, Oduika, and Sirimu. In some of these villages data were also collected.

This document is based on the analysis of 101 pages (181 KB) of texts of various genres (including current personal and non-cultural narrative, traditional narrative, history, procedural, description, dialogue, drama, expository, and correspondence), as well as elicited sentences.

The Doromu-Koki language group is located in the lowland rainforest areas of the Owen Stanley ranges of the Rigo Inland District of Central Province, approximately 80 kilometres east-southeast of Port Moresby (136 kilometres by road and foot). Part of the language group extends into Oro Province in the east ’Origo dialect area. The village of Kasonomu (Efaika) is located at 9° 40’ south latitude, 147° 52’ east longitude at 147 metres elevation. The language group occupies an area of approximately 400 square kilometres (Quigley and Quigley 1993:1) and comprises the Mimani (Kemp Welsh) River, Uma (Margaret) River (a tributary of the Kemp Welsh River) and Ora (Ormond) River valleys to the west of Mount Brown (Dutton 1970:890). The Doromu-Koki language area is bounded by the Barai
language (a Koiari/Baraic language) to the north and west, Sinaugoro (an Austronesian language) to the south, Maria (a Manubaran language) to the southeast, by the Uare language (a Kwalean language) to the west, Grass Koiari (a Koiaric language) to the northwest, and an uninhabited area to the east in Oro Province.

The area is at an elevation of between 300-1200 metres, with average temperatures of 20-28°C (King and Ranck 1982:95). The wet season is from December through March, and the annual rainfall is at 2000-3500 mm (Rannells 1990:18).

The maps below include: 1) The location of the Doromu-Koki language in Central Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG); 2) The Doromu-Koki language in relation to neighbouring languages; and 3) The Doromu-Koki language area including dialect boundaries.

Central Province is located in the Southern, or Papuan region of Papua New Guinea. Doromu-Koki is in the lower half of the province, along the inland border with Oro Province, east-southeast of Port Moresby. It is to the north of the largest language in the Rigo District, Sinaugoro, and is composed of the three dialects of Koki, Kokila and 'Origo (see Bradshaw 2008).

MAP 1.1 DOROMU-KOKI LANGUAGE AREA, CENTRAL PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA
MAP 1.2 THE DOROMU-KOKI LANGUAGE IN RELATION TO NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

MAP 1.3 THE DOROMU-KOKI LANGUAGE AREA
1.2 Language name and dialects

Alternative names for the language include Doromu, Dorom, and Koki. The name Koki is actually the name of the central dialect. There are three dialects (Koki, Kokila, and ‘Origo). Koki is 93.3% cognate with Kokila, and 91.7% with ‘Origo. Kokila is also 91.7% cognate with ’Origo (Bradshaw 2008:5).

1.3 Affiliation and earlier studies

The Doromu-Koki language is a Papuan language of the Trans-New Guinea family, Southeast Papuan, Manubaran (Pawley 2005:94),\(^1\) spoken by approximately 1,500 people, half of whom are living in the capital, Port Moresby. The other language in the subgroup is Maria (or Manubara), for which a brief linguistic description has been written (Dutton 1970: 879-983), comparing the Manubaran and Kwalean languages. Note that ‘[t]he Manubaran Family is named after manubara, the local pronunciation of “Mount Brown” a prominent peak in that area’ (Dutton 1970:978).

Before the present field work with the Doromu-Koki people, there had been only brief descriptions of the language (Dutton 1970, 1975; Kikkawa 1999), and so a more in-depth study of this unique and endangered language is of particular linguistic interest. This detailed description is not only for the benefit of general linguistic knowledge, but also to augment and promote interest in language development for the community of Doromu-Koki speakers, whose culture embraces this language. Language is an integral part of the culture, and thus necessary to a good understanding of the distinctive culture of the Doromu-Koki people.

Dutton (1975:621) states: ‘…there are still families such as the Kwalean and Manubaran which are virtually unknown and should be given top priority in future research programmes’, and also (Dutton 1970:884): ‘Very little is known about the structure of the Manubaran languages and nothing has been published in any of them.’

---

\(^1\) Previously identified as *Doromu*, in the Trans-New Guinea phylum, Central and South-eastern stock, Manubaran family (Dutton 1970:882; Wurm 1975:614; Wurm 1982:163-4; Lewis 2009).
So now, some forty years later, this is an attempt to do that. According to experts, language extinction has greatly accelerated during the last two hundred years: ‘Hundreds of languages, especially indigenous languages…have died during this period, and hundreds more are destined to meet the same fate in the foreseeable future’ (Wurm 1991:1-2). Since the Doromu-Koki language has only about 750 speakers permanently residing in the language area, it is especially ‘…at risk of extinction (Dixon 1991:230),’ as has already been the case with other languages in Central Province. Along with this grammar, literature and literacy efforts can help to prevent this same outcome from coming upon the Doromu-Koki language community. And it is a strong desire of the community to see that done:

The people say our God is a foreign God because He speaks to us in foreign language. We have made it our business to make sure the Bible is translated into our Koki language… Then…we shall stand and say to the rest of the world that in the hills and valleys of Doromu, Kokila and Origo there lives a True God who speaks to His people in Koki language. …by translating God’s word into Koki, like the Word of God that has survived plagues, wars, fires and floods over the last two thousand years, the Koki language will stand up to the test of times for the next 2000 years (Magdalene Roroa and Chris Magio 2002, personal communication).

1.4 Cultural sketch

The Doromu-Koki language area is very mountainous, so that the people reside either in river valleys or on ridge summits. Travel between villages is primarily by bush tracks, which in many parts traverse mountain ridges and then follow stream and river courses. To get to the village area from Port Moresby one must first travel 130 kilometres by road. Past Kwikila (Rigo District) Station the road is unsealed, and therefore travel is more difficult, especially during the rainy season. The Sinaugoro village of Debadagoro is located at the road’s closest point to the language group. From there, one hikes for approximately six kilometres to arrive in the language area, descending the mountain ridge to the Uma River, and from there following the river course to the village of Gagaradobu. This is the first Doromu-Koki village, part of the Kokila dialect area. From there, one can hike on to
Oduika, and then on to the main village of Kasonomu, in the Koki dialect area. Travel to other areas in the language group is much the same, over mountainous tracks, though sometimes by dinghy or raft in the Kokila dialect area, as the villages are primarily along the Mimani river.

An airstrip is located at Orom, in the Maria language area, and is one to two days’ walk from ’Ai’anomu; there is also an airstrip at Dorobisoro, in the Barai language area, three days’ walk from ’Ai’anomu. People do not normally use them.

The subsistence crop is banana, of which there are many varieties (King and Ranck 1982:51). There are over 30 terms in the dictionary to date (see Bradshaw 2007). Other foods, in relative order of consumption, are yams, taro, aibika (Abelmoschus manihot), fish, prawns, coconut, pineapple, sweet potato, tomatoes, wild sugarcane (Saccharum robustum), Malay apple (Eugenia malaccensis), mango, okari (Terminalia impediens), tua (not presently scientifically identified), and pandanus (Pandanus julianettii) (Scientific names taken from Bourke (2007), Compton’s Interactive Encyclopedia – 1995 (1994), and Mihalic (1971)). People also purchase store-bought items such as rice, flour, tinned meats, butter, oil, tea, coffee, sugar, milk powder, biscuits, and cordial.

Half of the group is living and working in the National Capital District, Port Moresby, due mainly to the isolation of the language area. The major concentration of the people within the language area is in Kasonomu village, but otherwise they are more or less evenly distributed throughout the language area.

Originally the language area was administered by the London Missionary Society (LMS), but after some Doromu-Koki people attended a Catholic school in Hanuabada they decided to invite the Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church is now the only established church in the language area, and first arrived in 1964. Currently the Doromu-Koki area is administered by Filipino priests of the Missionaries of the Society of the Philippines (MSP), based at Boregaina Mission in the Sinaugoro language group (Taboro dialect) area.

There is only one primary school in the area, St. Stephen’s Dorom Primary School, in Kasonomu village. (Previously there was a school located
at Nimunimu.) It caters to children in Kasonomu and neighbouring villages. Instruction is in English, except for the elementary component, in which some explanation in Doromu-Koki is used. They have limited materials in the vernacular at this time. The children use Doromu-Koki with each other during recess and lunch, but at other times English. Children learn their own village dialect before going to school. The school has approximately 40 children; the majority are from Kasonomu, and the rest are from Oduika. Children also come from Amuraika and Gagaradobu. The literacy rate in English is approximately 27%, and 24% in Doromu-Koki (Bradshaw 2004:14).

Most children finish grade 6, and some finish high school. Those who go on to high school go to Boregaina, Kwikila or Port Moresby. In Port Moresby the majority of children living in Hohola go to Sacred Heart Primary School – Hohola.

People are primarily oriented to 1) their usika ourena ‘family’ (lit. ‘younger older’), then 2) to their rubu ‘clan,’ and then 3) to their dialect group (named according to the respective dialect names Koki, Kokila, and ‘Origo). For example, in working a new garden, clan and family are involved, but in working on an established garden, only immediate family are involved.

Since people are oriented first to their immediate family, this is the **minimal social unit** (MSU) for the culture. The family, in Doromu-Koki society, is the extended family. Members of the usika ourena ‘family’ are such by blood or marriage relationships, or adoption or residence. Therefore, a person can also be referred to by one of these kin terms without actually being a direct member of the usika ourena, and then the same responsibilities and obligations are expected. So, once one is adopted into the usika ourena, there is no longer a difference in relationship.

Relationships can be strained, in which case respect can be lost, but one is still considered part of the usika ourena. One cannot be expelled. Some choose to leave, usually due to a disagreement or argument. Some leave due to marriage or to work in town, and some leave for other unknown reasons.

The usika ourena works together in gardening, bride price, other festivities, and sharing food, materials things, and general care. The elder men represent the usika ourena in its relations with another usika ourena.
A group of two or more MSUs is a *rubu* ‘clan.’ Rubu membership comes through birth, marriage, or adoption into one of the families. Just as one becomes a part of an *usika ourena*, one is also a part of the *rubu*; whatever applies to the *usika ourena* also applies to the *rubu*.

A group of *rubu* ‘clans’ would make up a *rautu* ‘village’. The *rubu* belong to the *rautu*, and therefore all that applies to the *rubu* and the *usika ourena* also applies to the *rautu*.

Terms based on age include *tora vene* ‘big/older people’, and *keika vene* ‘little/younger people.’ These also apply to terms such as *aufa* ‘grandparent/great-uncle/great-aunt,’ *baba* ‘father/uncle,’ and *nono* ‘mother/aunt.’ Terms based on sex include *rema* ‘woman,’ and *rumana* ‘man.’ The term *asini* ‘friend’ or ‘partner’ is based on friendship.

Hunters are referred to as *vara/suma/u bodo vene* ‘handle person/bush/kill and go people,’ while fishermen are referred to as *koru rafena vene* ‘water washing people.’ *Muro vene* are ‘gardeners.’ *Anaraua vene* are ‘charitable,’ or ‘unselfish people.’ *Yava akuna vene* are ‘builders.’ *Adena vene* are ‘dancers.’ *Isira vene* are ‘sports players,’ while *irakuna vene* are ‘those who prepare feasts.’ *Guruo vene* are ‘mourners.’

Marriage is normally between clans. In the past they were arranged to establish alliances, looking for a dominant clan and wanting some benefits from them, such as to provide a work force. Now, however, they are no longer arranged, and people are free to marry whomever they choose, yet still usually across clans. Some distant cousins now marry, but this is not very common, and is not considered wise. One problem with this is who pays and who receives the bride price, since they are both from the same clan. It can, however, be acceptable to give some and then receive some.

Growth is seen through various rites of passage ceremonies, which are performed in the immediate family and clan, and sometimes even involving the whole village. These *irakuna* ‘feasts’ or celebrations include 1) birth, 2) first haircut, 3) transition to manhood, 4) marriage/bride price, 5) end of mourning and 6) offering feast. The most important Doromu-Koki celebration by far is the bride price feast.

Most of these celebrations are times for the family to get together and forget about failed relationships in the past. They are times of joy for those
who have not seen each other for quite a long time due to work commitments, etc. They are times for reunion amongst family, individuals, and clans. The children have the opportunity to meet their cousins, uncles, aunts and other relatives. Other family matters are discussed, and disagreements are settled in preparation for such events.

Politics are sometimes discussed at these celebrations due to the number of people present, because many people come from other places and want to compare how the local governments are operating.

Many people see these celebrations as a time for reconciliation and forgiveness. Special meals are prepared and invitations sent to the one with whom the person wants to reconcile. Upon acceptance of an invitation, they eat a meal together and apologise to one another.

Nearly all these celebrations cost a lot of money and many resources go into a celebration, depending on the number of participants, transportation costs, amenities, and length of the celebration. These can be a financial drain to the individual, family or clan involved.

Such a celebration is usually a time for the organiser to show his or her status among the people. Those who contribute are viewed favourably and considered worthy of reciprocity in their own time of need.

**Birth** or *vata nina* is an important event in a family, particularly the birth of a couple’s firstborn child. The name is given within a couple of days, sometimes even before birth. The child is always named after someone, and a birth always involves a celebration.

When the stump of the umbilical cord dries up and falls off it is called *asika ya reyo*, ‘umbilical cord fell off.’ Once this has happened the wife is free to come back and be with the family.

The **first cutting of a baby’s hair**, or *ada iye bobonu siko* is usually done by the child’s *vada* ‘uncle’ or namesake. (See Bradshaw [2006] for more details on the obligations of a *vada*.) Then they have tea together with the family to celebrate. Sometimes the hair is placed in the fronds of a young coconut tree or the blades of some sword grass, as it is believed these plants will cause the baby’s hair to grow fast like these plants do.
There is no **male initiation** as such in Doromu-Koki culture; rather, restrictions are placed on a young man from age 15 to 16, which begin his transition to manhood. A boy is not considered a man until he marries. During this transition period, or *godua yaku oyo rego* ‘teenage boy will have restrictions,’ the young man is to strive to look young, smart and strong. In order to do so he cannot eat prawns (*aka*), eel (*gaibana*), bandicoot (*moda*), and some types of banana (*tauga*). To do so will make him look old and be weak. During this time his father will teach him the spells (*sesere*) using ginger (*uke*) for hunting, fishing, fighting, and gardening, as well as teaching him about marriage. At the bride price feast, the restrictions are lifted as a piece of bamboo is split open above his head, indicating that the *oyo* ‘restrictions’ have been ‘broken open.’

**Marriage** is seen as the perpetuation of the family, so children are the focal point of Doromu-Koki life and culture. The woman is chosen by the husband’s clan, since she is important to the economic strength of the clan, as well as being a child bearer. Children are seen as social security for their parents. Because most marriages are arranged between two clans, relationships with in-laws are of absolute importance in ensuring wives for succeeding generations. There is no place in society for unmarried women.

**Bride price**, or *rema voi* ‘buying/paying for the wife,’ is a very important practice for a married couple. It takes place some years after the marriage, since the husband’s relatives want to ascertain first that the wife is hard-working, respectful and bearing children. There are other matters which also help to determine the payment of the bride price, such as demands from the bride’s family, or not wanting to wait until her characteristics have been observed, but wanting the payment right away. A modern issue that is changing bride price is competition.

A widow or widower is required to wear black clothes for the first year after his or her spouse’s death. The relatives of the deceased fast from certain foods (*oyo rego* ‘he/she will do restriction’) or other activities during that period. The foods to be avoided are decided upon by the widow or widower and are usually foods that the deceased particularly liked. *Goro* ‘activity/location restriction’ refers to those activities or locations that the deceased particularly enjoyed or visited, and therefore the survivor ‘fasts’ from them during this time period. These can include such things as cutting
or combing the hair, going to a certain river or piece of ground, or fishing or hunting in a certain place. All these activities are avoided out of respect for the deceased.

After this period is over, a feast is held, and then the widow or widower may remove his or her black clothing, and the restrictions are lifted.

The offering feast (or feast of first crops), called *aira*, is an annual feast which a landowner prepares. It takes place in March or April, on Holy Thursday, or now more commonly on the Saturday between Good Friday and Easter Sunday, when the first crops of yams (*kiroma*) from a new garden are harvested. Every family member is obligated to contribute toward the feast by hunting, fishing or gathering garden foods.

The purpose of the feast is to appease and thank *Sei* ‘God’ for all his blessings in the abundant provision of the harvest, particularly of yams. Normally, the offering consists of wild sugarcane (*pitpit*), *aibika* greens, one bit of leftover old yam, and one new harvested yam. A stone oven is made, and the food is burned or smoked. A bit of the food is eaten and then some leaves and vines from the stone oven are placed on the lintel of the door frame. Each family normally does this on their own or together with one other family. People believe that after the celebration, when they return to normal harvesting, there will be plenty of food, especially yams.

Many significant events take place during the *aira*, including preparation of food for a family as a formal invitation to bride price. The recipient of the food knows from the food and invitation that he or she is now obligated to prepare for the particular event at the specified time.

Traditionally, music involved only singing (*adena*) and using the hourglass drum (*efana*), but now people also use Western instruments, such as the guitar.

**Singing and dancing** are referred to as *adena*, as noted above. Anyone can sing and dance; children especially are encouraged to do so. Most dancing is done during a bride price ceremony. Songs are about love, war, death, joy, or loneliness. There are no songs to spirits; all the dances are for people only.
Today most dancing is for enjoyment. In the past, war songs were sung to boost the warriors’ morale.

When the dancing gear is prepared no one is permitted to sleep with his wife. There are also oyo ‘restrictions’ observed to make the dancer look ‘smarter’, for his headdress to sway in a particular manner, for the hourglass drum to give the best sound, or to have a harmonious voice. These were traditionally observed for one day, but now they are no longer observed. The restrictions included not chewing betel nut, smoking, or disturbing the one preparing the dancing gear, lest he make a mistake. Those who dance are either the ones to receive the bride price or the ones who are invited.

There are six dances used by the Doromu-Koki people, which have all come from outside. They include: 1) Kitoro (from the grasslands toward the coast, particularly Bonanamu and Golobu), 2) Ubi (from Nobone), 3) Kaniku (from the Taboro area along the Mimani [Kemp Welsh] river), 4) Vaiga (from the Boku area), 5) Sisiva (from Popondetta and Dorobisoro, primarily used in the ’Origo dialect area), 6) and Dandan (also from Popondetta and Dorobisoro). The first three are the main ones used today.

New music forms are accepted and even played by today’s generation. Music is also used in church worship, using shells, hourglass drums and guitars. Contemporary music has been integrated with the old forms, and people compose songs that are accompanied by guitar.

Art, or bera ‘design,’ is employed primarily in house flooring. Each family has its own design, similar to a ‘coat of arms.’ Other designs are used in tattoos, which are primarily a remedy against severe pain, such as in the back. There is no magic associated with bera, although the tattoos presumably have some religious significance, since they are used as a remedy.

1.5 Language vitality

The Doromu-Koki language is relatively stable. While there is much influence from Hiri Motu and English, there is a high value on use of the vernacular. The main influence of the languages of wider communication is the borrowing of words. Some Doromu-Koki people see this as a threat and want to do what they can to preserve the original language terms. Thus, there
is a great desire for a dictionary; a trial edition has recently been distributed. Apart from that, Hiri Motu and English are primarily used for communication with outsiders, or in church services, due to the unavailability of vernacular materials. This is also changing, as people are translating the church liturgy into the vernacular and using it in the services.

Even those living in Port Moresby continue to use their language, because many of them live in Doromu-Koki speaking neighbourhoods and regularly interact with village residents who have travelled to town. If more services were offered in the rural communities, more people would spend longer periods of time there, instead of in the city. For more details see Bradshaw (2004, 2006).

With a Barai speaker people normally speak Hiri Motu. Some Kokila dialect speakers might know a few Barai words, due to closer proximity.

People rarely go to Tabunomu and Dirinomu, Uare language villages: only for elections, passing through on the way to Sirimu, or for church gatherings every few years. Therefore, use of the Uare language is limited to a very few old people, or those who have intermarried, as in the case of the Uare village of Buridobu/Buridomu.

On the way to Port Moresby, people often pass through Baugabuna village, which is in the Boku dialect of Sinaugoro, and located about 3.5 kilometres from Kasonomu. Debadagoro village, in the Taboro dialect of Sinaugoro, is also important as a key place on their route to Port Moresby, where they can leave things when they pass through. It is important for them to keep good relations with that village, and therefore they value learning their language to some extent, although they primarily speak Hiri Motu with Sinaugoro speakers. ’Origo dialect speakers do not know any Sinaugoro, unlike Koki and Kokila speakers.

The ’Ai’anomu village people go to Buradubura, in the Maria (Manubara/Mt. Brown) language area, which is a five-hour walk away. When they go to Buradubura, they speak ’Origo, but slightly change their accent, and the Maria people can then understand them. The ’Origo people are the only ones who understand some Maria.

The people have a good knowledge of English (especially the young people, and those living in Port Moresby) and Hiri Motu, but they mainly use
these languages when interacting with outsiders. Those who have spent time in Port Moresby do know Tok Pisin. The younger people do not know Hiri Motu as well as the older people. Doromu-Koki is used in the schools only in vernacular instruction.

1.6 Typological features

Typologically, the Doromu-Koki language exhibits the following characteristics, somewhat unusual for a Papuan language:

- The relative clause is postnominal rather than prenominal, which is more common for an SOV language (§7.4) (Downing 1978:383).
- There are relatively few affixes on nouns and verbs. There is no indication of inalienable possession, gender, animacy, shape, object, controlled, uncontrolled, or number classes (chapters 3 and 4).
- There is no noun class system or any classificatory verbs, in spite of the claims of Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975:169) that they are ‘...wide-spread amongst Trans-New Guinea...languages’.

Also, Doromu-Koki has the following, typically Papuan, characteristics:

- Adjunct verb phrases which make use of the generic verbs ni ‘say’, re ‘do’, and ri ‘make’ (§4.6.2).
- Three postpositional clitics =ri ‘at, in’, =u ‘by, on, in, with’ and =sa ‘with’ (§6.1.1).

This study begins with a phonological and morphological description, and then discusses various grammatical constructions of the language. Discussion also includes discourse and lexical considerations, especially as they relate to the promotion of Doromu-Koki language development. For the most part, Doromu-Koki follows the norms of Trans-New Guinea, Southeast
Papuan languages. It has a few variances, chief of which is a lack of a noun classification system. Doromu-Koki exhibits a switch-reference system, some verb serialisation, productive adjunct verb phrases, and subject-object-verb word order.

Doromu-Koki has a basic phonological inventory consisting of 12 consonants and five vowels. However, nine other consonant phonemes are seen in the borrowing of words — a very productive phenomenon in Doromu-Koki. Borrowing takes place mainly from Hiri Motu, the main trade language of the area, and from the national language English. There are also some minor influences from neighbouring languages, and Biblical languages in the case of liturgy materials (see §9.7 for details).

The Doromu-Koki syllable structure is straightforward, with four basic syllable patterns: V, VV, CV, CVV. Sometimes borrowed words conform to these structures, and sometimes not. Doromu-Koki has few phonological rules, and few mophophonemic alternations. Stress and intonation are rather straightforward.

Doromu-Koki nouns are generally not marked for plurality, except for kin terms, while verbs exhibit affixes to cover mood, aspect, and tense/person/number (a portmanteau suffix). Doromu-Koki makes extensive use of the derivational nominaliser affix.

The language distinguishes coming and going movement on levels of up, over and down.

The Doromu-Koki number system is a five-based system. Because of this fact, higher numbers can be cumbersome, and so English numbers are used.

Although Doromu-Koki word classes have been posited and most words fit well into these classes, some words are more fluid and able to serve well in multiple word classes. Such a word is *tora* ‘big’, which has been categorised as primarily an adjective, but which also functions as a noun (‘elder’), an adverb (‘very’) or an adjective in an adjunct verb phrase.

Doromu-Koki distinguishes between personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, and general pronouns. There are several reflexive pronouns, and the distinction between them is not completely clear.
It is very interesting that Doromu-Koki has a rich distinction between words for days in the past, and yet exhibits only one past tense. Further research may shed more light on this.

As with other Papuan languages, Doromu-Koki has a productive system of adjunct verb constructions, mainly using the verbs *ni* ‘say’, *re* ‘do’, and *ri* ‘make’, while serial verb constructions are less prevalent.

Doromu-Koki makes frequent use of the topic marker *bi* as well as a development marker *yaku* on the discourse level.

The language employs many means of cohesion, one of which is the switch-reference system. Another strategy is through tail-head linkage, although it appears to be much less productive than in other Papuan languages.

Doromu-Koki has a rich vocabulary of idioms and onomatopoeic forms, but other figures of speech, such as metaphors and similes, are used more sparingly. Abstractions are an area of particular concern to the language’s development, and seem to be most productive in the use of *uka* ‘stomach’, the seat of emotion in the Doromu-Koki culture.

### 1.7 Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the many Doromu-Koki speakers who have been so gracious, teaching me their language as well as letting me be a part of their lives, especially Luke and Maggie Bomena, Philip Bomena, Emmanuel Dagere, Charles and Regina Ero, Norbert Gabona, Justin Gugunu, Felix and Maureen Kofena, Mathew K. Maraga, Robin Maro, Joseph Peter Toma and Magdalene Joseph Roroa, Allan Simon, Raphael Totome, Michael and Helen Tuga, Peter Tuga, Raphael Tuga, Sam Warika and Patrick Wasina, and many others. I would also like to thank my wife Betsy for her encouragement, as well as my children Jessica, Jon and Christopher, for their patience. I also want to thank the SIL linguistics consultants Britten Årsjö and René van den Berg for their invaluable help. Finally, I thank God for the wonderful opportunity to study the Doromu-Koki language, and to have a part in the speakers’ lives.
2. Phonology

This chapter discusses the phonology of the language, with emphasis on the phoneme inventory, their distribution, syllable structure, vowel sequences, the various phonological rules exhibited, as well as stress and intonation, and morphophonemics.

2.1 Phonemes

This is an overview of the phonology of the Doromu-Koki language. For further discussion and examples, see Bradshaw (2002, 2010). In this chapter the appropriate phonetic and phonemic symbols are used in the examples; after this section the orthography is used throughout.

The Doromu-Koki language has 12 consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. This is in agreement with Dutton (1975:624), regarding Trans New Guinea, Southeast Papuan languages, in which there are no complex consonants. The consonant phonemes occur at three points of articulation (labial, coronal, and velar), in five manners (plosives, fricatives, nasals, tap, and approximant). Only the plosives and fricatives distinguish voicing, while all the other consonants are voiced only. The vowels are either front, central, or back, high, mid, or low. The allophonic variations for the phonemes will be outlined in the discussion of the applicable allophonic rules (§2.2).
### Table 2.1 Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>coronal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{h}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[k\textsuperscript{h}] [q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricative\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textbeta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following phonemes will be represented as indicated in the orthography: /g/ <g>, /\textbeta/ <v>, /\textdigamma/ <r>, and /j/ <y>.

In addition to the above, the consonant phonemes below are found in loan words, along with their corresponding orthographic representation. Note that /h/, /l/, /p\textsuperscript{h}/, /w/ and /ʔ/ are used in the other dialects, or in very limited situations. (/w/ in native words is being interpreted as the sequence /ua/.) For example, 'Origo /h/ is realised in the Koki dialect as /s/, and 'Origo /ʔ/ is realised in Koki as /k/ (see Bradshaw, 2008:5,6).

\textsuperscript{1} Note that, like Maria, Doromu–Koki has three fricatives, whereas Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975:168) claim in regards to Trans New Guinea, Southeast Papuan languages: ‘fricatives are often restricted to one phoneme per language’ However, Dutton (1975:622) says: ‘On the phonological level all south-east Trans-New Guinea phylum languages usually have… some fricatives’ [emphasis added].
### Table 2.2 Marginal Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source/Dialect</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Origo dialect</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>&lt;h&gt;</td>
<td>henagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>huai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>&lt;ch&gt;</td>
<td>Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/dʒ/</td>
<td>&lt;j&gt;</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>&lt;l&gt;</td>
<td>lagani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lalana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kokila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Palaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>&lt;p&gt;</td>
<td>Palaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kʷ/</td>
<td>&lt;ku&gt;</td>
<td>kuaita maita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>&lt;u&gt;</td>
<td>ue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ueta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Warika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wasina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>&lt;z&gt;</td>
<td>zipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>&lt;’&gt;</td>
<td>a’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>’oru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The five Doromu-Koki vowel phonemes are shown below.

**Table 2.3 Vowel phonemes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\varepsilon)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>(\varepsilon)</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following phonemes will be represented as indicated in the orthography: /\(\varepsilon\)/ <\(e\)>, /\(\varepsilon\)/ <\(a\)>.

Doromu-Koki has 17 phonemes, compared to the 21 of Maria, the only other language in the Manubaran sub-group. However, in addition /\(h\)/ and /\(ʔ\)/ <\(’\)> occur in the 'Origo and Kokila dialects (see Bradshaw 2008), bringing the Doromu-Koki total to 19. (The two additional Maria phonemes are /\(æ\)/ and /\(ŋ\)/.)

2.2  **Allophonic rules**

There are three allophonic rules exhibited in the language: voiceless velar plosive backing, mid front vowel raising, and vowel nasalisation.

2.2.1  **Voiceless velar plosive backing**

The voiceless velar plosive /\(k^h\)/ is realised as [q] when it precedes back vowels. Notice the regular allophone [k^h] before front vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stylistic form</th>
<th>Realisation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>['b(ɛ)q^h]</td>
<td>/b(ɛ)k^h/</td>
<td>&lt;beku&gt; ‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['m(ɛ)q^h]</td>
<td>/m(ɛ)k^h/</td>
<td>&lt;meko&gt; ‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q^h(ɛ)q^h]</td>
<td>/k^h(ɛ)k^h/</td>
<td>&lt;koeka&gt; ‘bird sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q^h(ɛ)a]</td>
<td>/k^h(ɛ)a/</td>
<td>&lt;kato&gt; ‘scrape off’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2 Mid front vowel raising

The vowel /ɛ/ is raised to [e] word finally.

[kʰɛβa] /kʰɛβa/ <keva> ‘liver’
[a'kʰirɛi] /akʰi rei/ <aki rei> ‘bite’

2.2.3 Vowel nasalisation

A vowel becomes nasalised when it follows a nasal consonant.

[ˈβɛnɛ] /βɛne/ <vene> ‘people’
[ˈbinɑ] /bina/ <bina> ‘clear garden’
[ˈmɛqʰo] /mekʰo/ <meko> ‘fruit’
[a'miɛ] /amiɛ/ <amiye> ‘person’
[u'mũɛi] /umuɛi/ <umuyei> ‘kill’
[ˈnõnõ] /nono/ <nono> ‘mother’

2.3 Distribution

All consonant phonemes occur in initial and medial position, as indicated in the examples below (written in the orthography). Most of the borrowed sounds discussed above are limited to initial position. These include /p/, /z/, /tʃ/, /ʤ/, and /w/. The other borrowed sounds (/h/ and /l/) can occur in medial position as well. No consonants occur in final position because of the syllable structure (see §2.4), except in borrowed words, which sometimes insert a final vowel, but not in the case of names, which maintain the source language spelling, and can include consonant clusters (e.g., Justin).
### Table 2.4 Consonant Phoneme Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;t&gt;</td>
<td>toto</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>‘red, ripe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;b&gt;</td>
<td>baba</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;d&gt;</td>
<td>dada</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g&gt;</td>
<td>gagani</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;f&gt;</td>
<td>fafau</td>
<td>‘on top of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;s&gt;</td>
<td>sisika</td>
<td>‘smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;v&gt;</td>
<td>vava</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;m&gt;</td>
<td>Mimani</td>
<td>‘Kemp Welsh River’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;n&gt;</td>
<td>nono</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;r&gt;</td>
<td>ruru</td>
<td>‘witch doctor, climb over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;y&gt;</td>
<td>yoyava</td>
<td>‘seedling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;h&gt;</td>
<td>hurehure</td>
<td>‘wave’ (Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;l&gt;</td>
<td>lalonari</td>
<td>‘during’ (Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;p&gt;</td>
<td>petoro</td>
<td>‘petrol’ (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;z&gt;</td>
<td>zipa</td>
<td>‘zipper’ (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ch&gt;</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>‘Charles’ (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;j&gt;</td>
<td>Justin</td>
<td>‘Justin’ (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;w&gt;</td>
<td>Warika</td>
<td>‘person’s name (chief)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel phonemes all occur in initial, medial and final positions, as written in the orthography below.
TABLE 2.5 Vowel phoneme distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Word 1</th>
<th>Word 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>iniki</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘long tail parrot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;u&gt;</td>
<td>unugu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘banana sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>egeregere</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘okay’ (Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;o&gt;</td>
<td>odoro</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;a&gt;</td>
<td>abata</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phoneme contrasts

Following are contrast sets for suspect pairs. These include [b] [f], [b] [β], [f] [β]; [tʰ] [d], [t̚] [r], [d] [ɾ]; [kʰ] [g]; [i] [ε], [u] [o]; and [o] [α]. Examples include initial, medial and final (vowels only) position whenever possible or applicable.

[b] [f]:

['bare] /bare/ <bare> ‘medium sized louse’
['fare] /fεɾe/ <fare> ‘too much to carry’

[bo'boro] /boboro/ <boboro> ‘top point of tree’
[fo'foro] /foforo/ <foforo> ‘blossom; didn’t bear fruit’

[b] [β]:

['bare] /bare/ <bare> ‘medium sized louse’
['βarei] /βarei/ <varei> ‘sleep’

['baba] /baba/ <baba> ‘father’
['βaba] /βaba/ <vava> ‘hot’

[f] [β]:

['fεɾei] /fεɾei/ <ferei> ‘leave’
['βεɾe] /βεɾe/ <varei> ‘people’

['qharεi] /kafεi/ <kafei> ‘extinguish’
['thaβεi] /tαβεi/ <tavei> ‘cheer’
[tʰ] [d]:  
[tʰumâ] /tuma/ <tuma> ‘wild’
[’dumâ] /duma/ <duma> ‘steal’

[’βatʰa] /βata/ <vata> ‘birth’
[’βada] /βada/ <vada> ‘uncle’

[tʰ] [r]:  
[tʰaqʰu] /taku/ <taku> ‘eat hungrily’
[’raqʰu] /raku/ <raku> ‘scabies’

[’βatʰa] /βata/ <vata> ‘birth’
[’βara] /βara/ <vara> ‘handle’

[d] [r]:  
[’dagu] /dagu/ <dagu> ‘push down’
[’raqʰu] /raku/ <raku> ‘scabies’

[’βada] /βada/ <vada> ‘uncle’
[’βara] /βara/ <vara> ‘handle’

[kʰ] [g]:  
[qʰatʰo] /kato/ <kato> ‘scrape off’
[’gado] /gado/ <gado> ‘house post’

[’uqʰa] /uka/ <uka> ‘stomach, cuscus’
[’uga] /uga/ <uga> ‘break, wipe off’
[i] [ɛ]:

[iˈsɪɾa] /isira/ <isira> ‘play’
['ɛsɔ] /eso/ <eso> ‘torso’

[mɨˈdə] /mida/ <mida> ‘child’
[mɛˈdə] /meda/ <meda> ‘sun, day’

[fifi] /fifi/ <fifi> ‘insect fragment’
[fɛɾe] /fere/ <fere> ‘leave’

[u] [o]:

[uˈɾusa] /urusa/ <urusa> ‘night’
[ɔˈfa] /ofa/ <ofa> ‘lie’

[mutʰu] /mutu/ <mutu> ‘rub clothes’
[ˈmoda] /moda/ <moda> ‘bandicoot’

[rutʰu] /rutu/ <rutu> ‘pull’
[rotʰo] /roto/ <roto> ‘sleep with legs extended’

[o] [a]:

[ɔˈfa] /ofa/ <ofa> ‘lie’
[ˈaɾa] /asa/ <asa> ‘breathe’

[rotʰo] /roto/ <roto> ‘sleep with legs extended’
[ˈɾaro] /raro/ <raro> ‘line’
[ˈɾaro] /raro/ <raro> ‘line’
[sara] /sara/ <sara> ‘naked’
2.4 Syllable structure

Regarding the Trans New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages, Dutton (1975:624) states: ‘Nor are there the complex syllable patterns or wide ranges of allophonic variation in phonemes that are found elsewhere.’ Accordingly, in Doromu-Koki there are only four syllable types, two vowel initial (v and vv), and two consonant initial syllables (cv and cvv).

Consonant clusters and closed syllables are not permissible in Doromu-Koki, so that borrowed words insert a vowel between consonants and add a final vowel when they end in a consonant in the original language (e.g., English ‘spoon’ becomes sifuni), except in the case of names, as discussed above. Examples of each syllable type follow, with syllable breaks indicated by a full stop.

- **V**
  - u
  - a.ka ‘prawn’
  - u.e.ta ‘feather’
  - o.a ‘swim’

- **VV**
  - au
  - ai.ta ‘lightweight’

- **CV**
  - na ‘I/me’
  - bu.ni ‘good’
  - fu.ro.fu.ro ‘bubble up’
  - a.da ‘head’

- **CVV**
  - gou ‘make a noise’
  - nei.dei ‘hear, listen’
  - du.bui.ni ‘brother’
  - so.kau ‘jump’
The Doromu-Koki language has words with between one and six syllable. Each word type is described and illustrated below.

2.4.1 One syllable

One-syllable words have four forms; those being the same forms as seen above for basic syllable types.

v i 'his/hers/its'

vv au 'lime'

cv ba 'or'

cvv nai 'my'

2.4.2 Two syllables

Eight possible forms for two-syllable words have been attested; three with an initial v syllable (v.v, v.cv, and v.cvv), one with an initial vv syllable (vv.cv), three with initial cv syllables (cv.v, cv.cv, and cv.cvv) and one with initial cvv syllables (cvv.cv). The cvv syllable structure is not as productive as the others, especially in initial position.

v.v e.o 'moon'

v.cv i.fi 'rub'

v.cvv a.kau 'carry on shoulders'

vv.cv ai.ta 'light (of weight)'

cv.v di.u 'mist'

cv.cv bu.ni 'good'

cv.cvv so.kau 'jump'

cvv.cv mai.ke 'far away'

\[ This is normally rendered \['ini\], /ini/, <ini>. The form i is most likely a shortening. \]
2.4.3 Three syllables

Three-syllable words have eight possible forms in Doromu-Koki; four with initial v syllable (v.v.cv, v.cv.v, v.cv.cv, and v.cv.vv.cv), and four with initial cv syllable (cv.v.cv, cv.cv.v, cv.cv.cv, and cv.cv.cv.cv). Note that VV sequences such as /ia/, /ie/ and /eo/ are orthographically represented as <iya>, <iye> and <eyo>. See also §2.5.

| v.v.cv       | i.ya.na | ‘crawl’  |
| v.cv.v       | a.fi.ye | ‘tongue’ |
| v.cv.cv      | i.ri.da | ‘I eat’  |
| v.cv.vv      | O.dui.ka| place name |
| cv.v.cv      | ba.e.ko | ‘maybe’  |
| cv.cv.v      | me.ge.a | ‘shoulder’ |
| cv.cv.cv     | mo.sa.ra| ‘sweet potato’ |
| cv.cv.cv     | du.bui.ni| ‘brother’ |

2.4.4 Four syllables

There are seven types of four-syllable words in Doromu-Koki; two with initial v syllable (v.cv.cv.v, and v.cv.cv.cv.v); four with initial cv syllable (cv.v.cv.v, cv.cv.cv.v, cv.cv.cv.cv and cv.cv.cv.cv.cv) and one with initial cvv syllable (cvv.cv.cv.cv).
2.4.5 Five syllables

Only one five-syllable word has been attested:

\[ \text{v.cv.cv.cv.v} \quad \text{e.do.ko.ki.yo} \quad \text{‘millipede’} \]

2.4.6 Six syllables

Only one six-syllable word has been attested:

\[ \text{cv.cv.cv.cv.cv} \quad \text{Ma.ma.nu.ge.a gi} \quad \text{place name} \]

There are many forms with duplication of syllables, which are in fact not ‘reduplication’, because there is no attested unreduplicated form. Often, but not always, these are frozen forms that have been borrowed. Examples include words such as fuofuori ‘while’, gorogoro ‘early’, guriguri ‘prayer’ (from Hiri Motu), neinei ‘each’, toutou ‘like this’, vayavaya ‘very’, vorovoro ‘noisy talking’, and yafuyafu ‘breeze’.

2.5 Vowel sequences

Every combination of vowel sequence is possible, except for sequences of identical vowels. Those marked with ‘X’ in Table 2.6 indicate sequences within a syllable, meaning that the second vowel is analysed as a glide. They are all composed of a combination of a non-high vowel with a high vowel ai, au, ei, eu, oi, and ou. The high vowel combinations iu and ui are not single syllable glides, but rather two-syllable sequences, as are all the other combinations.

In the orthography the sequences (i.e., those which are two syllables, rather than one) are written as two vowels together, except for those with the high front vowel i, which are written with the semi-vowel y between them, thus iya ‘star’, iye ‘leaf’, iyo ‘disturb’, and ariyu ‘daytime’. However, those with the high back vowel u are not written with the semi-vowel w. Examples include tua ‘tree sp’, ueta ‘wing’, mumui ‘giggle’, and fuofuori ‘while’. This has been the people’s desire at this point, but in the future it may be decided to use one or the other strategy consistently for both vowel sequences.
Table 2.6 Attested vowel sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first vowel</th>
<th>second vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are examples of the vowel sequences found in the language:

/\textipa{iu}/  ri.yu.na          ‘tree possum sp’
                 ki.yu.ki.yu      ‘very’

/\textipa{ie}/  i.ye.ta          ‘poke’
                 i.ri.ye.du.ka    ‘sorrow’
                 a.mi.ye          ‘man’

/\textipa{io}/  i.yo              ‘disturb’
                 ki.yo.ma         ‘red hot’
                 ni.yo             ‘he/she said’

/\textipa{ia}/  i.ya              ‘star’
                 ki.ya             ‘slowly’
                 mi.ya             ‘rain’

/\textipa{ei}/  ei.na             ‘tree sp’
                 bei.ka           ‘what’
                 Sei              ‘God’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Symbol</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɛu/</td>
<td>neu.ka</td>
<td>‘orphan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keu</td>
<td>‘step, go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛo/</td>
<td>e.o</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne.ota</td>
<td>‘feeling sleepy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fe.o</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛa/</td>
<td>e.a</td>
<td>‘twist rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me.ge.a</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>bu.i.ka</td>
<td>‘sway’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fu.i</td>
<td>‘mash food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uɛ/</td>
<td>su.e.ka</td>
<td>‘Dwarf Koel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gu.e</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uo/</td>
<td>ku.o</td>
<td>‘cheer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ua/</td>
<td>u.a.kai</td>
<td>‘carry it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ru.a.ka</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tu.a</td>
<td>‘nut species’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oi/</td>
<td>koi.ma</td>
<td>‘leech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo.koi</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ou/</td>
<td>ou.re.na</td>
<td>‘elder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kou.re</td>
<td>‘yam sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>ko.e.re</td>
<td>‘peel it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to.e</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oə/</td>
<td>o.a.ma</td>
<td>‘tell people to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ro.a.fa</td>
<td>‘wild fowl sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko.a</td>
<td>‘adultery/prostitution’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aɪ/</td>
<td>ai.ba.nu</td>
<td>‘whole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gai.ba.na</td>
<td>‘eel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka.rai</td>
<td>‘cockatoo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>au.fa</td>
<td>‘grandparent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rau.tu</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fa.fau</td>
<td>‘on top of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>a.e.na</td>
<td>‘putting it down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka.e.re</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ba.e</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ̄/</td>
<td>a.o</td>
<td>‘oh!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka.o.ro</td>
<td>‘bee sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ga.o</td>
<td>‘tree sp’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6 Stress

Stress in Doromu-Koki always occurs on the penultimate syllable (or ultimate syllable in one syllable words).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>['u]</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>&lt;u&gt;</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['nâ]</td>
<td>/na/</td>
<td>&lt;na&gt;</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['kʰɛ̃j.kʰa]</td>
<td>/kʰɛikʰa/</td>
<td>&lt;keika&gt;</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['bu.nî]</td>
<td>/buni/</td>
<td>&lt;buni&gt;</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[du.'bu.^nî]</td>
<td>/dubuini/</td>
<td>&lt;dubuini&gt;</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fu.ro'.fu.ro]</td>
<td>/furofuro/</td>
<td>&lt;furofuro&gt;</td>
<td>‘bubble up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.7 Orthography

The present orthography was developed during the Doromu Alphabet Design Workshop, held 18-25 March 2002 in Kasonomu village. All the materials produced to date use this orthography.

There were no disagreements over the proposed orthography at the time of the workshop; the participants took the printed Trial Spelling Guides to various areas in the language group to discuss the proposed orthography and decide what changes, if any, would need to be made. No further changes were ever considered. Doromu-Koki does not have any digraphs or consonant clusters, or other complex linguistic factors that would complicate the orthography.

The biggest area of concern with the orthography was with how words with semivowels and/or vowel sequences should be written, which has already been discussed above.

Another area of concern was in the spelling of borrowed words which have letters not found in the Doromu-Koki inventory. The question is whether to add new letters, or to change these words and use letters already found in the alphabet. The people have shown a preference to spell these loan words (especially names) in vernacular materials as they are spelled in the source language, particularly when they are coming from English. This is because they feel it will aid bridging between the languages and finding
information in English reference materials. When words are borrowed from other languages, spelling usually is not an issue, but if it is, the preference is to spell it as a vernacular word. The orthography is listed below.

\[
\begin{align*}
/t^h/ & \quad <t> \\
/k^h/ & \quad <k> \\
/b/ & \quad <b> \\
/d/ & \quad <d> \\
/g/ & \quad <g> \\
/f/ & \quad <f> \\
/s/ & \quad <s> \\
/\beta/ & \quad <\nu> \\
/m/ & \quad <m> \\
\end{align*}
\]

2.8 Intonation

Prosodic features of a language are very important. Intonation patterns (for statements, incomplete sentences, interrogation, emotions, listing and calling) in the language are discussed below.

2.8.1 Statement

A normal declarative, or simple statement, has a rising intonation pattern, with a falling pitch at the end. This the most common intonation pattern found in Doromu-Koki.

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) \quad Nai & \quad roka \quad bi \quad Raphael. \\
1S.POSS & \quad name \quad TOP \quad Raphael \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘My name is Raphael.’
2.8.2 Incomplete sentence

An **incomplete sentence** (or sequence) has a rising intonation, levelling off at the climax of the statement.

(3) *To ina yaku ni-yo,*...
    but 3 DM say-2/3S.PST
    ‘But he said,…’

(4) *Moimai koina ni-yo-ri*...
    work finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
    ‘When he finished the work…’

2.8.3 Question

A content **question**, interrogation, expectation of an impending reply, or rhetorical question has rising pitch through to the end.

(5) *Ya goidu di-sa?*
    2 where go-2S.PRES
    ‘Where are you going?’

This is also exhibited in yes-no questions with a tag.

(6) *Aruma yaku aki re-yo ba ide?*
    snake DM bite do-2/3S.PST or NEG
    ‘Did the snake bite (you) or not?’
Intonation is primarily on the sentential level, but also occurs on the word yo ‘yes’. In isolation the word yo ‘yes’ can have a rising contour with a glottal stop at the end. As an immediate answer it is level. This is the only word in the language to exhibit such a feature.

(7) Ya bi buni ba? Yo.
   2 TOP good Q yes
   ‘Are you well? Yes.’

### 2.8.4 Emotion

Anger, disgust, scolding, and excitement are signaled by raising the pitch higher than normal, but still maintaining the rising pitch, with final falling intonation, as in the statement pattern.

(8) …mida remanu bi foroka=ri bi aka yokoi kava de!
    child two TOP basket=at TOP prawn one not.all NEG
    ‘…the two boys did not have even one prawn in the basket!’

(9) Rei mona maka de re-yo ma yaku bura
    do properly only NEG do-2/3.S.PST and DM expose

    ri-yo urusa rofu.
    make-2/3.S.PST night BEN
    ‘He did not do it properly and so he was exposed at night.’

### 2.8.5 Listing

**Listing** has a fairly regular rising contour. Compare (10), a statement, with (11), a list.
3.POSS woman TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS bag make-SIMSS ‘Their wives were digging the sweet potatoes and putting them in bags…’

...furisi bona kanisoro bona ramena gagani moi amuta
police and councillors and salt place get smooth

ri-si...
make-SQSS
‘…police and councillors and salt and making the place peaceful…’

### 2.8.6 Calling

An intense or distant call has sharp raising high pitch, ending in a steep falling to low pitch.

(12) *Evade!*
quickly
‘Quickly!’

(13) *Raphael-o!*
Raphael-VOC
‘Oh, Raphael!’
2.9 Morphophonemics

There are four morphophonemic alternations in Doromu-Koki: vowel epenthesis, vowel raising, consonant epenthesis and tap consonant deletion.

2.9.1 Vowel epenthesis

The primary morphophonemic alternation in Doromu-Koki occurs with verbs ending in Ce. These verbs add i finally when they occur otherwise uninflected, or before the morphemes -bo ‘POT’, or -nu ‘TRANS’ (see §4.1.3 and 4.5). Note that -nu ‘TRANS’ only occurs with ame ‘stay’, so there are no examples of a verb ending with o.

(14) moke+na → mokena ‘thinking’
(15) re+si → resi ‘do and then’
(16) fere# → ferei ‘leave’
(17) re+bo+afa+ri → reiboyafari ‘when we entered’
(18) ame+nu → ameinu ‘he made him sit’

2.9.2 Vowel raising

Another change involves verbs ending in ae, which are changed to ai when inflected, such as bae ‘come’. Note the application of approximant consonant epenthesis in (22).

(19) ae# → ae ‘put’
(20) bae# → bae ‘come’
(21) bae+si → baisi ‘come and then’
(22) ae+afa → aiyafa ‘I put’

Vowel raising, however, does not occur with verbs ending in oe, such as goe ‘dig’.

(23) goe+gifa+ri → goegifari ‘when we will dig’

2.9.3 Approximant epenthesis

All Doromu-Koki verb stems (except those noted in §2.9.4 below), as well as affixes, end in a vowel or vowel sequence. When the following affix begins with a vowel, then a transitional consonant y comes between the two
morphemes to separate them from a non-low vowel. Approximant epenthesis is especially common with the past tense suffixes (see §4.1.1). (The first two examples illustrate the situation where a consonant-initial suffix is simply added to the verb stem.)

(24) \textit{re+na} \rightarrow \textit{rena} \quad \text{‘doing’}
(25) \textit{ni+go} \rightarrow \textit{nigo} \quad \text{‘she will say’}
(26) \textit{ni+o} \rightarrow \textit{niyo} \quad \text{‘he said’}
(27) \textit{oku+aka+ri} \rightarrow \textit{okuyakari} \quad \text{‘when I broke it open’}
(28) \textit{neide+adi} \rightarrow \textit{neideyadi} \quad \text{‘they heard’}

No examples with the back vowel /o/ have been attested.

2.9.4 Tap deletion

There is a small set of verbs in Doromu-Koki that show an alternation between /t/ and zero in their paradigm. The tap consonant is present before a suffix beginning with a vowel, but absent before a suffix beginning with a consonant and also in absolute position – that is, word-finally. Compare the following examples of the verb ‘to give’:

(29) \textit{mar-aka} \quad \textit{mar-o} \quad \textit{mar-afa} \quad \textit{mar-adi}
\text{give-1S.PST} \quad \text{give-2/3S.PST} \quad \text{give-1P.PST} \quad \text{give-2/3P.PST}
\text{‘I gave’} \quad \text{‘You gave’} \quad \text{‘We gave’} \quad \text{‘You (PL) / they gave’}

(30) \textit{ma-da} \quad \textit{ma-sa} \quad \textit{ma-sifu} \quad \textit{ma-dedi}
\text{give-1S.PRS} \quad \text{give-2S.PRS} \quad \text{give-1P.PRS} \quad \text{give-2/3P.PRS}
\text{‘I give’} \quad \text{‘You give’} \quad \text{‘We give’} \quad \text{‘You (PL) / they give’}
\textit{ma!} \quad \text{give ‘Give him!’}

The most plausible analysis of this alternation is to posit an underlying final /t/ for ‘to give’ (\textit{mar}), which is deleted before an suffix beginning with a consonant, or word-finally. This happens to maintain a strict CV syllable structure. The few verbs showing this alternation include \textit{emar} ‘scold’, \textit{famar} ‘splash’, \textit{mar} ‘give’, \textit{nugar} ‘cut’, \textit{odifar} ‘possess’, \textit{omar} ‘invite’, \textit{oteimar} ‘show, teach’, and \textit{ugar} ‘cross over’. (Notice that positing a final consonant for these verbs is a rather abstract analysis, as there is a constraint against final consonants in the language.)
Examples illustrating this process:

(31) a. \textit{mar+aka} $\rightarrow$ \textit{maraka} ‘I gave’
    b. \textit{mar+da} $\rightarrow$ \textit{mada} ‘I give’

(32) a. \textit{nugar+o} $\rightarrow$ \textit{nugaro} ‘you cut (past)’
    b. \textit{nugar+sa} $\rightarrow$ \textit{nugasa} ‘you cut (present)’

(33) a. \textit{omar+a}$\textit{fa}$ $\rightarrow$ \textit{omarafa} ‘we invited’
    b. \textit{omar+gifa} $\rightarrow$ \textit{omagifa} ‘we will invite’

(34) a. \textit{oteimar+adi} $\rightarrow$ \textit{oteimaradi} ‘they showed’
    b. \textit{oteimar} $\rightarrow$ \textit{oteima} ‘show him’

These verb stems may have been adjunct forms preceding the generic verb \textit{re} ‘do’, of which the final vowel was lost. Evidence of this can be seen in the related Maria language in examples such as \textit{na mare} ‘give me’ and \textit{nukare} ‘break wood’ (Dutton 1970:965, 968). (In Doromu-Koki these would be \textit{na ma} ‘give me’ and \textit{nuga} ‘cut it’, respectively.)
3. Pronouns, nouns and noun phrases

3.1 Pronouns

There are four sets of pronouns in Doromu-Koki: personal, possessive, reflexive and demonstrative.

3.1.1 Personal

The personal pronouns distinguish between singular and plural only in the first person. The following table shows all of the personal pronouns in their basic form. There are no inclusive/exclusive, dual, or gender distinctions (Dutton 1970: 922-3). The personal pronouns function as both subject and object but are not always stated in the subject position, since the verbal morphology encodes subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1 Personal pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) *Na ago ni-da.*
1S word say-1S.PRES
‘I talk.’

(2) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri rauna na moi-yo.*
afternoon one=at hunger 1S get-2/3S.PST
‘One afternoon I felt hungry.’ (Lit. ‘...hunger got me’.)
(3) a. Ya ago ni-sa.
   2 word say-2S.PRES
   ‘You talk.’

   b. Ya ago ni-dedi.
   2 word say-2/3P.PRES
   ‘You (PL) talk.’

(4) Tufā re-gida=ri ya moke-gida.
   dark do-1S.FUT=at 2 think-1S.FUT
   ‘When I’ll be in the dark I will think of you.’

Often vene ‘people’ is added to clarify the plural in the third person, as shown in (5) b. below.

(5) a. Ina ago ni-do.
   3 word say-3S.PRES
   ‘He talks.’

   b. Ina (vene) ago ni-dedi.
   3 people word say-2/3P.PRES
   ‘They talk.’

Dual forms can be generated by adding remanu ‘two’ (Dutton 1970:923).

(6) Ina remanu rafe-gi koru=ri ne-yadi.
   3 two wash-PURP water=at go.down-2/3P.PST
   ‘They two went down to the river to wash.’

Often ina ‘3’ does not occur in the object slot, as it is understood.

(7) Maina Ø re-yaka.
   look.for do-1S.PST
   ‘I looked for her.’

(8) Una ago ni-sifa.
   1P word say-1P.PRES
   ‘We talk.’

(9) Ina yaku una ourefeide-yo.
   3S DM 1P lead-2/3S.PST
   ‘He led us.’
3.1.2 Possessive

The possessive pronouns distinguish between singular and plural in first person, but not in second and third person. Concerning Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages, Dutton (1975:623) states: ‘…in most languages special forms of the pronoun (or pronoun + suffix) are used to indicate possession.’ It looks like -i might have been that suffix, with all the forms dropping the stem final a except for the first person singular. (Note, however, ‘Origo dialect nei for the first person singular.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>uni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>yi/i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) *Nai rovaita no ni-do.*
1S.POSS body bad say-3S.PRES
‘My body becomes bad (or spoiled).’

(11) *Mina giro bi nai.*
this axe TOP 1S.POSS
‘This axe is mine.’

(12) *Yi uka mida ya maina re-da.*
2.POSS stomach child 2 look.for do-1S.PRES
‘Your beloved child is looking for you.’

(13) *Rauna itu yaku yi yava dui re-do.*
hunger cold DM 2.POSS house enter do-3S.PRES
‘Hunger and cold enter your house.’

(14) *Ini yava bi nai yava atafu.*
3.POSS house TOP 1S.POSS house close
‘His house is close to my house.’
(15) Mosara fuse bona ini korikari=sa tufe sweet.potato bag and 3.POSS clothing=ACCM raft fafau migigi risi. on.top tie tight ‘They securely tied the sweet potato bags with their clothing on top of the raft.’

(16) uni vegu no ni-yo dada 1P.POSS life bad say-2/3S.PST because ‘because our life became bad’

(17) Uni nono moke-sa ba de? 1P.POSS mother think-2S.PRES or NEG ‘Do you think about our mother or not?’

The possessive pronouns can also be used in other slots, as below yi ‘2.POSS’ is used in a temporal/locative sense:

(18) Yi buni=ri bi una ve feide-na de. 2.POSS good=at TOP 1P family leave-NOM not ‘In your good times you are not leaving your family.’

The genitive di marker can be used in place of the possessive pronouns for the second and third persons for emphasis:

(19) ya vene di mosara 2 people GEN sweet.potato ‘your (PL) sweet potato’

(20) ina vene di kono 3 people GEN ground ‘their ground’

3.1.3 Reflexive

The reflexive pronouns in Doromu-Koki also convey emphasis and action done by oneself (solitary) as well as a general reflexive meaning. They follow the same pattern as the personal and possessive pronouns, except that there is one variant in the third person. The reflexive pronouns are listed in the table below:
Table 3.3 Reflexive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>naike</td>
<td>uniye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>yaike</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>inike/iniye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) *Naike* de-yaka.
1S.REFL come.down-1S.PST
‘I came down by myself.’

(22) *Yaike* ne-si moi.
2.REFL go.down-SQSS get
‘Go down by yourself and get it.’

(23) *Inike* vata ni-yo.
3.REFL born say-2/3S.PST
‘He’s by himself.’

(24) *Uni* bobada manone yaku iya re-gasa iniyeyiniye
1P.POSS ancestors DM war do-SIMSS REFL REFL
umuye-gam-adi.
kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘Our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.’

(25) ...o ide bi rumana bona rema di vene, *iniye*
or NEG TOP man and woman GEN people REFL
ni rorotari re-si rema rumana rau
say reprove do-SQSS woman man share
re-gam-adi.
do-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘...or are not men and women’s people, reproving themselves and sharing with people.’

(26) *Uniye* ni kaite-yafa gokai re-si makai ni-do.
1P.REFL say ask-1P.PST how do-SQSS like.this say-3S.PRES
‘We asked ourselves how it is happening like this.’

Another reflexive construction employs *kaya* ‘REFL’. It has only been observed with the singular forms. It is not clear what the distinction is
between using kaya ‘REFL’ or a reflexive pronoun, or between inike and iniye. It appears that the above forms are in subject position, while kaya is in object; however, (27) below does not follow that premise.

(27) Garasi dudu na kaya ve-da.
glass INST 1S REFL see-1S.PRES
‘I see myself with a mirror.’

(28) Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu
so 2 REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT BEN
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
‘So you yourself will take the child down and they will get him at Siau’s house.’

3.1.4 Demonstrative

There are four demonstratives. They occur both pronominally (functioning as a noun phrase) and adnominally (functioning as a modifier to a head noun). The demonstratives form a four-way deictic system, distinguishing between close and distant, generic and specific, as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>generic</th>
<th>specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>mina ‘this’</td>
<td>yomina ‘this (one) here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>mirona ‘that’</td>
<td>yomirona ‘that (one) there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are some examples of the demonstratives:

(29) Mina bi nai giro.
this TOP 1P.POSS axe
‘This (one) is my axe.’

(30) Beika re-yaka mina ni oteimar-aka.
what do-1S.PST this say show-1S.PST
‘What I did, this is what I showed you.’
(31) **Mina** dona moi oki-si ini rema
this pig get arrive-SQSS 3.POSS woman
mar-o-ma ini rautu vene ada
give-2/3S.PST-SQDS 3.POSS village people happiness
re-yadi.
do-2/3P.PST
‘He brought this pig and gave it to his wife and her village people were happy.’

(32) **Mirona** bi nai giro.
that TOP 1P.POSS axe
‘That (one) is my axe.’

(33) **Nai** moke-na yaku ni-do bi
1S.POSS think-NOM DM say-3S.PRES TOP
ya bi **mirona** gagani=ri.
2 TOP that place=at
‘My thinking tells me that you are at that place.’

(34) **Yomina** bi i vada ma.
this.here TOP 3.POSS uncle give
‘Give this one here to your uncle.’

(35) **Yomirona** bani bi ga moi.
that.there yam TOP PRHB get
‘Don’t touch that yam there.’

When the postposition =ri ‘at’ is bound to one of these demonstrative pronouns, it produces a location:

(36) **Nai** sisina bai-yo **mina=ri** koina
1S.POSS story come-2/3S.PST this=at finish
ni-yo mini.
say-2/3S.PST here
‘My story came this far and now it finished.’

A shortened form of **mina** ‘this’, in combination with the topic marker **bi**, is **mibi** ‘this (one) is’.
Pronouns are only occasionally used as a cohesive device in Doromu-Koki text, with subsequent clauses and sentences using the pronouns to make reference to the nominals of the previous clauses or sentences (anaphoric reference). The function of a pronoun is to establish or reestablish a referent as topical, and to maintain continuity of participants when there is more than one.

When there is only one participant, then ellipsis is used, and in recapitulation forms (in which case the participant is the same for the two clauses in order to topicalise). Once this is done, continued reference is maintained through verb morphology and ellipsis. It is rare to find a clause or sentence with a pronoun, because participant tracking is primarily indicated in the verb morphology, or through switch reference, so that if one is found, it may be used to slow down the narrative, indicating an aside in the progression, as seen below. (Ina ‘they’ is indicated in the following example because the author wishes to make a point of the boy’s negligence – the topic of the story.)

(38) Anema garasi bo-yadi, ina dibá de head.water glass go.up-2/3P.PST 3 knowledge NEG garasi foroka=sa di-yadi. glass basket=ACCM go-2/3P.PST ‘They went up to the headwaters with their diving glasses, they didn’t know they left their diving glasses behind in the basket.’

The following text illustrates the anaphoric reference of pronouns. In the object position they are used with animate objects, while ellipsis is most prevalent with inanimate objects.
…nai mida bi koro=ri ame-si na ve-gasa

1S.POSS child TOP border=at stay-SQSS 1S see-SIMSS

ame-gam-o. Re-si Ø koru=ri vare-yo-ri
stay-HAB-2/3S.PST do-SQSS water=at sleep-2/3S.PST-SIMDS

aruma yaku ina fafau de-yo.

snake DM 3 above come.down-2/3S.PST
‘…my son was staying at the border where he could see me.
Then when he was sleeping at the river a snake came down on
him from above.’

Notice that the subject ‘my son’ is first indicated by a nominal form (nai mida), then the switch reference suffix -si maintains that reference, and then the verbal suffix -(y)o. In the final clause this participant has now become the object, and in order to differentiate between the new subject (aruma ‘snake’) the third person pronoun ina is used, anticipated by the different subject marker -ri. The story continues below:

Dada Ø moimai fere-si raga bai-yaka nai
so work leave-SQSS run come-1S.PST 1S.POSS

mida ro, to aruma bi ori di-yo-ma Ø
child ABL but snake TOP fear go-2/3S.PST-SQDS

bai-si Jacobo ni kaite-yaka aruma yaku aki
come-SQSS Jacob say ask-1S.PST snake DM bite
re-yo ba ide.
do-2/3S.PST or NEG

‘So I left my work and ran to my son, but the snake was
frightened and went away and then I came and asked Jacob
whether or not the snake bit him.’

In the following example the boy is talking about the snake, and the reader/listener is referred to the previous context (anaphoric reference) in the example above.
(41) To ina yaku ni-yo Ø bi Ø de aki
but 3 DM say-2/3S.PST TOP NEG bite
re-yo vo ni-yo.
do-2/3S.PST happen say-2/3S.PST
‘But what he (Jacob) happened to say was that (the snake) did not
bite him.’

Often a pronoun functions as a recapitulation or copy of a topicalised
noun (phrase). This is often used when first introducing a major participant
bearing the subject or object roles. The following exemplifies its use in the
object slot:

(42) Gabi ro mo Ø una remanu di uni iruku
later ABL at.once 1P two GEN 1P.POSS food
una mar-o-ma Ø iri-yafa ada dudu.
1P give-2/3S.PST-SQDS eat-1P.PST happiness INST
‘Then later she gave the two of us our food, and we ate it
happily.’

Repetition of the subject pronoun is realised, mainly with the nominal
diba ‘knowledge’ in a possessive clause, to emphasise it.

(43) Na na diba de kosini bi nui ide=ri
1S 1S knowledge NEG mother TOP sty inside=at
vare-gam-o.
sleep-HAB-2/3S.PST
‘I myself didn’t know the mother was sleeping inside the sty.’

3.2 Nouns

In general, nouns function as subjects, objects, oblique arguments (e.g.
temporal, locative, accompaniment, benefactive, possessive, genitive, and
instrument), as well as with nominal predicates after the topic marker bi, as
seen below. Sometimes adjectives behave as nouns. Grammatical roles such
as subject or object are determined by position. Number is not indicated on
nouns, except through repetition (see §3.2.2), numbers, verb morphology, and
specific plural nouns. Nominalisation of verbs also occurs as a strategy of
forming nouns (see §4.7).
The following examples show nouns or noun phrases occurring in the various indicated positions listed above:

Subject:

(44) *Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga…*

3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS

‘While their wives dug sweet potatoes…’

Object:

(45) *uba dubuisa bi tufe ri-gedi*

both brothers TOP raft make-2/3P.FUT

‘both brothers will be making a raft’

Temporal:

(46) *Na mirona fura=ri bo-gida.*

1S that week=at go.up-1S.FUT

‘I will go up next week.’

Locative (in a postpositional phrase):

(47) *Mida bi yava ide=ri ame-do.*

child TOP house inside=at stay-3S.PRES

‘The child is inside the house.’

Accompaniment:

(48) *…dada nai rumana=sa kefo bo-yafa…*

so 1S.POSS man=ACCM river.bank go.up-1P.PST

‘…so with my husband we went up the river bank…’

Benefactive:

(49) *…aira iruku ota ori-si nai baba rofu moi boi ne-yafa…*

offering food cook.in.stones burn-SBSS 1S.POSS father get go.up go.down-1P.PST

‘…we were cooking the food offering in stones and took and brought it for my father…’
Possessive:

(50) *Ya moni nufa?*

2 money POSS

‘Do you have any money?’ (Lit. ‘Are you with money?’)

Genitive:

(51) *Kini di vefā ofī bi yava=ri maka ame-gam-o.*

king GEN daughter young.girl TOP house=at only

stay-HAB-2/3S.PST

‘The king’s young daughter was staying alone in the house.’

Instrument:

(52) *Ye, auna yaku dona moi are ne-yo-ma ora dudu getona=ri imi-yo.*

so dog DM pig get stand go.down-2/3S.PST-SQDS spear INST back=at shoot-2/3S.PST

‘So, the dog went down standing next to the pig, and he (the hunter) shot it in the back with a spear.’

Nouns refer to persons, places, and things. The only distinction between proper and common nouns is that proper nouns cannot be modified by other elements within an NP. There is no noun classification in Doromu-Koki, which agrees with Dutton’s remarks concerning Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages: ‘Noun classes are rare…,’ and also ‘…noun class systems based on classificatory or existential verbs are only very weakly in evidence’ (Dutton 1975:623-624). There is no evidence of classificatory verbs (see §4).

3.2.1 Plural nouns

There are a few nouns in Doromu-Koki which are inherently plural, all of which are kin terms (see §9.1). This follows what Dutton (1975:623) says regarding Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages.

Otherwise plural is indicated through repetition as indicated below (see §3.2.2.) or in the verb affixation, or through other means, such as numbers, repeated adjectives, etc. The following table shows the plural nouns, along
with their singular counterparts. The changes are from -ini to -yaka, or -al-o to -kai (baba ‘father’, nono ‘mother’, and vada ‘uncle’ only).

**Table 3.5 Plural nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular form</th>
<th>plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>bakai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>‘fathers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubu/dubuini</td>
<td>dubuiyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘brother’</td>
<td>‘brothers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madini</td>
<td>madiyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ancestor, cousin’</td>
<td>‘ancestors, cousins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meraini</td>
<td>merayaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uncle’s child’</td>
<td>‘uncle’s children, cousins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono</td>
<td>nokai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>‘mothers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasini</td>
<td>rasiyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sister’</td>
<td>‘sisters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobaini</td>
<td>tobaiyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sister’</td>
<td>‘sisters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vada/vadaini</td>
<td>vakai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uncle, nephew’</td>
<td>‘uncles, nephews’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are a few examples of the plural nouns:

(53) **Rapheal bona Solo bi Robin di dubuiyaka.**
Rapheal and Solo TOP Robin GEN brothers
‘Rapheal and Solo are Robin’s brothers.’

(54) **Nai mida bi ini madiyaka=sa di-yadi.**
1S.POSS child TOP 3.POSS cousins=ACCM go-2/3P.PST
‘My children went with their cousins.’

(55) **Frank bona Max bi nai merayaka.**
Frank and Max TOP 1S.POSS cousins
‘Frank and Max are my cousins.’

(56) **Ronna bona Bravo bi nai rema di rasiyaka.**
Ronna and Bravo TOP 1S.POSS woman GEN sisters
‘Ronna and Bravo are my wife’s sisters.’

---

1 Woman’s parent’s same sex sibling’s daughter, female three generations removed from ego (see Bradshaw 2006:10).

2 Parent’s same-sex sibling’s same-sex child, female three generations removed from a male, male three generations removed from a female (Bradshaw 2006:10).
(57) Rachel bona Christina bi nai tobaiyaka.  
Rachel and Christina TOP 1S.POSS sister  
‘Rachel and Christina are my sisters.’

(58) Esika esika moi-ga vare-sa; sori nai vadakai.  
pain pain get-SIMSS sleep-2S.PRES sorry 1S.POSS uncles  
‘You sleep in a lot of pain; I’m sorry for you, my uncles.’

3.2.2 Repetition of nouns and pronouns

Repetition in Doromu-Koki occurs primarily with nouns, pronouns and adjectives, but also with verbs (see §4.1.2) and other parts of speech. Repetition of a noun is used to indicate plurality, although it is not obligatory in a string of nouns, except with the final one, as shown in (59). Note the difference between singular and plural in the repetition of nouns.

(59) Nono, baba ma mida mida amei-nu re-si  
mother father and child child stay-TRANS do-SQSS  
aka, buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau²=sa  
prawn fish.sp fish.sp food and stew=ACCM  
iri-sifa ada dudu.  
eat-1P.PRES happiness INST  
‘Make the mothers, fathers, and children sit, and then with happiness we are eating food and stew.’

(60) To ini mida yaku kero re-si…  
but 3.POSS child DM turn do-SQSS  
‘But her child turned around and…’

(61) bona sina sina Doromu ago dudu ri-yafa  
and story story Doromu word INST do-1P.PST  
‘and we wrote stories in the Doromu language’

(62) uni sina neide-giya-ri  
1P.POSS story hear-2S.FUT-SIMDS  
‘while you will listen to our story’

³ Vaisiyau ‘stew’ is borrowed from Hiri Motu vasiahu ‘soup’.
In the following example, the repeated noun *sufa sufa* ‘bush bush’ can best be translated as ‘big bush’, meaning that they went well into the bush, not just into the outskirts.

(63) *Yokoi aru na bona Mathaias sufa sufa di-yafa.*
    one day IS and Mathaias bush bush go-1P.PST
    ‘One day Mathaias and I went deep into the bush (lit. bushes).’

(64) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa*
    afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
    di-yaka.
    go-1S.PST
    ‘One afternoon I took a gun (lit. bamboo water) and went to the bush.’

Pronouns behave differently in regards to repetition. Some indicate plurality, while others indicate intensity.

With an interrogative pronoun, here used as a relative pronoun (most likely due to influence from English), repetition indicates plurality. See §7.4 for discussion on Doromu-Koki’s relative clause strategies.

(65) *badina Chris bi kaere kaere taoni=ri moimai*
    because Chris TOP who who town=at work
    re-dedi vene di iruku
    do-2/3P.PRES people GEN food
    ‘because the food belongs to Chris, one of those people who work in town’

A repeated reflexive pronoun (see §3.1.3), on the other hand, indicates intensity. In the second example, the intensity is conveyed by the use of no ‘bad’.

(66) *Ini fu mina bi no iniye iniye.*
    3 blow this TOP bad very very
    ‘His blowing this was very, very bad.’
Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma itu yaku no iniye ni-yo.
very say-2/3S.PST ‘We might have kept washing in the river, if it had not been so very cold.’

Repetition of the subject pronoun indicates emphasis. This is very common when a pronoun precedes the noun diba ‘knowledge’ used as a verb.

Na na diba de kosini bi nui ide=ri
1S 1S knowledge NEG mother TOP sty inside=at
vare-gam-o.
sleep-HAB-2/3S.PST ‘I myself didn’t know the mother was sleeping inside the sty.’

3.2.3 Compound nouns

A very common strategy is for nouns to be juxtaposed to form compound nouns. Compounding occurs when two separate nouns function as a new unit, without an intervening genitive marker. When di ‘GEN’ is used between the two nouns, such as Sei di ago ‘God’s word’, it indicates that the nouns are distinct units in a grammatical relationship (see §3.1.2). A number of compounds are illustrated in Table 3.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>literal gloss</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adu nena</td>
<td>jaw-bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibura yava</td>
<td>jail-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dona nui</td>
<td>pig-nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dona sisika</td>
<td>pig-smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doro maena</td>
<td>bush.vine.sp-vine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doromu ago</td>
<td>Doromu-word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furisi vene</td>
<td>police-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literal gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina vene</td>
<td>3P-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita ruvena</td>
<td>firewood-small.fir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuda vene</td>
<td>Judah-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadiri yabo rata</td>
<td>tree.nut-tree-trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaikanomu rautu</td>
<td>Kaikanomu-village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kani konagi</td>
<td>mustard-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koki gagani</td>
<td>Koki-place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koru gena</td>
<td>water-bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koru gena fou</td>
<td>water-bamboo-shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koru seri</td>
<td>water-edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koyomu bani daru</td>
<td>rat-yam-root-PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosara fuse</td>
<td>sweet.potato-bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosara muro</td>
<td>sweet.potato-garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono baba</td>
<td>mother-father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omuna ika</td>
<td>mountain-summit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rautu vene</td>
<td>village-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rema ofi</td>
<td>woman-young.woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rema rumana</td>
<td>woman-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rema vene</td>
<td>woman-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robo rava vene</td>
<td>grassland-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumana mida</td>
<td>man-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound Noun</td>
<td>Literal Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumana vene</td>
<td>man-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikuri mida mida</td>
<td>school-child-PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sioni iruku</td>
<td>white.man-food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutubena vene</td>
<td>ancestor-people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warika amiye</td>
<td>chief-person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka esika mokena</td>
<td>stomach-pain-thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka mida</td>
<td>stomach-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vitu vene</td>
<td>alone-people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(69) *Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi*   
  garden top go.up-SQSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST  
  *iruku iri-gi, ini moke-na bi sioni*  
  food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man  
  *iruku iri-gedi.*  
  food eat-2/3P.FUT  
  ‘They went up to the top of the garden and all sat to eat food, thinking they would eat store-bought food.’

(70) *Mo kani bi nuga nuga re-yaka sana*  
  at.once mustard TOP cut cut do-1S.PST place  
  mina=ri ve-giya mini, kadiri yabo rata=ri.  
  this=at see-2S.FUT here tree.nut tree trunk=at  
  ‘And then at the place that I kept cutting mustard, you will see it there, at the *kadiri* nut tree trunk.’
Compounds can also be idioms:

(71)  Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa
di-yaka.
       afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
       go-1S.PST
       ‘One afternoon I took a gun and went to the bush.’

Often the first noun in a noun compound acts as a modifier to the second, which is often vene ‘people’. Note that normally, adjectives (modifiers) follow the nouns they modify, unlike these modifying nouns.

3.3 Noun phrase

Dutton (1970:920) describes the structure of the NP as follows:

± Dem ± Adjective (of ‘nationality’) ± Noun ± Adjective (of quality, size)
± Numeral

This would produce a noun phrase such as the following:

DEM  ADJ  N  ADJ  NUM

(72)  mina Koki amiye tora yokoi
       this Koki person big one
       ‘this one Koki elder’

It is preferable to interpret the adjective of ‘nationality’ as a noun, as that is how they function elsewhere. The noun phrase structure is therefore as shown below. Note also the inclusion of the possessive pronoun.

NP → (DEM) (N) N (ADJP) (NUM)
     (PROPOSS)

DEM/PROPOSS  N  N  ADJP  NUM

(73)  mina/nai rema dona gabu remanu
       this/1S.POSS woman pig black two
       ‘these/my two black sows’

A noun phrase most often functions as subject or object, and is unmarked. Note that the enclitics =ri ‘at’, and =u ‘by’, are postpositions bound to the final element in a noun phrase (see §3.3).
(74) Mina sana=ri bi mo kiya kiya ne-yo.
this place=at TOP at.once slowly slowly go.down-2/3S.PST
‘At this place he went down very slowly.’

Aside from the sentential coordinator *ma*, the coordinating conjunction *bona* ‘and’ is used to link noun phrases. This is the most common coordinating conjunction in the language.

(75) Mina rema bona ini vefa mosara
this woman and 3S.POSS daughter sweet.potato
iri-gedi.
eat-2/3P.FUT
‘This woman and her daughter will eat sweet potato.’

(76) Yokoi aru Saturday na Raphael bona Mathias sufa
one day Saturday 1S Raphael and Mathias bush
sufa di-yafa...
bush go-1P.PST
‘One Saturday, Raphael and Mathias and I went to the big bush…’

### 3.3.1 Adjectives and adjective phrases

Adjectives (or noun adjuncts) normally follow the noun or pronoun they modify, and can themselves be modified by repetition or an adverb. There are currently over 200 adjectives in the Doromu-Koki dictionary, including ones such as *aita* ‘light weight’, *toe* ‘heavy’, *buni* ‘good’, *no* ‘bad’, *doba* ‘long’, *tumu* ‘short’, *feo* ‘white’, *gabu* ‘black’, *gira* ‘hard’, *yau* ‘soft’, *itu* ‘cold’, *vava* ‘hot’, *keika* ‘small’, *tora* ‘big’, *kevo* ‘crooked’, *rorobo* ‘straight’, *kori* ‘old (things)’, *rua(ka)* ‘new, young’, and *ugava* ‘old (people)’. For colour terms, see §3.3.2; for degrees of comparison, see §3.3.3.

In the following examples, adjectives are illustrated both with an attributive function (within a noun phrase) and also with a predicative function.

(77) iruku yau
food soft
‘soft food’
(78) *auna keika*
dog little
‘little dog’

(79) *...iroka ma koru no mina irakuna=ri ga iri-yagane.*
smoke and water bad this feast=at PRHB eat-3P.JUS
‘...they must not smoke or drink alcohol (lit. bad water) at this feast.’

(80) *Amiye bi doba.*
person TOP long
‘The man is tall.’

(81) *Mida bi tumu.*
child TOP short
‘The boy is short.’

(82) *Mina amiye feo soka re-yo-ri...*
this person white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
‘When this white man arrived...’

(83) *Mirona bi erena gabu.*
that TOP bird black
‘That is a black bird.’

(84) *Koru itu moi bae na ma.*
water cold get come 1S give
‘Bring me some cold water.’

(85) *ini rovaita moi vava ri-gi*
3.POSS body get hot make-PURP
‘in order to warm his body’

(86) *Giro keika bi nai.*
axe small TOP 1S.POSS
‘The small axe is mine.’

(87) *...ini ada kamini kevo ni-yo.*
3.POSS head enough crooked say-2/3S.PST
‘...so he turned his head.’

(88) *yabo rorobo regode*
tree straight three
‘three straight logs’
There are cases in which the ‘adjective’ does not follow the head noun, but precedes it. These most likely are actually nouns, as in the following example.

There are other cases in which a putative adjective precedes the noun, such as tuma vene ‘wild people’. Such cases are best interpreted as compound nouns, in which tuma ‘wild’ can be glossed as ‘wild one’. In agreement with this, other combinations such as vana goiso ‘fingernail’ (hand+nail), koru moka ‘pond’ (water+deep/pool), yabo rata ‘tree trunk’ (tree+trunk) are also treated as compound nouns (see §3.2.3), as the first element functions as a noun in other situations.

The repeated adjective is used to indicate plurality or intensity.

 amiye  *tora tora*  
 man big big  
 ‘the crowd’ (or ‘the very big men’)
(96) bina koina ni-yo-ri yabo keika keika
clear.garden finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS tree small small
nuga-si
cut-SQSS
‘while the garden was finished being cleared, I cut very small
trees’

(97) kamini afara boi ne-yafa bona bora bora
enough ridge go.up go.down-1P.PST and yellow yellow
eina oki-si...
tree.sp arrive-SQSS
‘then we went up and down the ridge, and we arrived at the very
yellow eina plants and…’

An unrepeated adjective can also have plural reference with plurality
being indicated elsewhere in the utterance, as in the example below.

(98) mosara bora tora gade regode
sweet.potato yellow big very three
‘three very big yellow sweet potatoes’

A repeated adjective may also not necessarily indicate plurality, but only
intensity, if the plurality is indicated elsewhere, as shown in the following
two examples.

(99) Uni Koki rautu tora tora vene tau ka
1P.POSS Koki village big big people all also
muye-yadi.
die-2/3P.PST
‘Our Koki village ancestors (lit. very big people) also all died
together.’

(100) Senagi tora vene yaku rema rumana me-si
long.ago big people DM woman man marry-SQSS
ini gokai dudu rema voi re-gam-adi.
3.POSS how INST woman buy do-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘Long ago, the elders married people, and this is how they were
paying bride price.’
In order to indicate intensity on the adjective (thereby creating an adjective phrase), the degree adverb *gade* ‘very’ can be used, which itself can also be repeated for intensity, and incidentally, plurality. Note that *gade* is only found with *tora* ‘big’ (and the quantifier *tau* ‘all’).

(101) amiye *tora gade*
man big very
‘the very big man’

(102) *fore toe tora gade*
stone heavy big very
‘the very, very heavy stone’

(103) *mosara bora tora gade regode*
sweet.potato yellow big very three
‘three very big yellow sweet potatoes’

(104) *Yomirona yabo bi gira tora gade.*
that.there tree TOP hard big very
‘That wood over there is very, very hard.’

(105) *amiye tora gade gade*
man big very very
‘the very, very many men (a large crowd)’

Other intensifiers (degree adverbs) are *tora* ‘big, very’, *vayavaya* ‘very’ (which seems to co-occur especially with *buni* ‘good’) and the third person singular reflexive pronoun *iniye* ‘self; very’, which is often found in responses to questions.

(106) *Muro bi maike tora.*
garden TOP far big
‘The garden is very far away.’

(107) *Muro re-si ve-da bi buni vayavaya.*
garden do-SQSS see-1S.PRES TOP good very
‘I work the garden and then I see that it is very good.’

(108) *amiye tora iniye*
man big very
‘very many people’
(109) *yabo aita iniyे*
tree light very
‘very light wood’

(110) *Ago rama iniyे moi gira ri-yadi di vene*
word true very get hard make-2/3P.PST GEN people
*bi nai ago neide-yadi.*
TOP 1S.POSS word hear-2/3P.PST
‘The very true word strengthened the people who listened to my word.’

### 3.3.2 Colours

Colours are a semantic subclass of adjectives. The colours in Doromu-Koki are *blu* ‘blue’ (borrowed), *bora* ‘yellow, orange’, *braun* ‘brown’ (borrowed), *feo* ‘white’, *gabu* ‘black, blue, brown’, *kaka* ‘red, purple, ripe’, and *vegu* ‘green’ (also a noun meaning ‘life’). The word *kamaidaforo* means ‘colourful, attractive, glittery, sparkling’. Following are example sentences showing use of the colour words.

(111) *Mirona erena bora ve-yo ba?*
that bird yellow see-2/3S.PST Q
‘Did you see that yellow bird?’

(112) *Mina amiye feo soka re-yo-ri*...
this man white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
‘When this white man arrived...’

(113) *Yomirona erena bi gabu.*
that.there bird TOP black
‘That bird over there is black.’

(114) *Dabua kaka ri-yo.*
clothes red wear-2/3S.PST
‘He was wearing red clothes.’

(115) *Miya de-yo dada gagani vegu ni-yo.*
rain come.down-2/3S.PST so place green say-2/3S.PST
‘The rain came down, so the place became green.’
(16) *Odoro Amiye di rautu bi kamaidaforo gagani.*
above person GEN village TOP colourful place
‘The Lord’s place (heaven) is a colourful (attractive, sparkling) place.’

### 3.3.3 Comparison

In order to compare items in Doromo-Koki, one states the positive characteristic for one, and the negative characteristic for the other.

(17) *Mina bani bi tora mo mirona bani bi keika.*
this yam TOP big at.once that yam TOP little
‘This yam is big, and that yam is little.’ (i.e., ‘This yam is bigger than that yam.’)

(18) *Ini meraini bi tora mo ina bi ina keika.*
3.POSS cousin TOP big at.once 3 TOP 3 little
‘His cousin is big, and he is little.’ (i.e., ‘He is smaller than his cousin.’)

Another method of indicating comparison is through the use of *ebu re* ‘beat, win over, surpass’.

(19) *Nai doba bi yi doba ebu re-yo.*
1S.POSS long TOP 2.POSS long beat do-2/3S.PST
‘My height surpasses your height.’ (i.e., ‘I’m taller than you.’)

Superlative is indicated by using *maka* ‘only’.

(20) *Sikuri sana=ri bi ina maka bi ni-do doba.*
school place=at TOP 3 only TOP say-3S.PRES long
‘At school he alone is tall.’ (i.e., ‘He is the tallest in the school.’)

### 3.3.4 Quantifiers

The quantifiers express a degree of quantity, and are shown below.
### TABLE 3.7: QUANTIFIERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Hiri Motu</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>aida</em></td>
<td><em>haida</em></td>
<td>‘some’ (‘some’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>be</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>buafu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘entire, full, whole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ibonai</em></td>
<td><em>ibounai</em></td>
<td>‘many, much, all’ (‘all, every, whole’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>neinei</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘each (one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>noibanu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘whole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tau</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘many, much, all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tora oibanu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘very many (big+whole)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uba</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘both’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uda</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘all, together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vanu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘every’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each of the quantifiers follow:

(121) **Giro aida bi nai.**
    axe some TOP 1S.POSS
    ‘Some axes are mine.’

(122) **Moni be baku re-gedi.**
    money some find do-2/3P.FUT
    ‘They will find some money.’

(123) **Ima buafu na ma.**
    betel.nut whole 1S give
    ‘Give me the whole betel nut.’

(124) **Una ibonai bo-nadi ini mirona rautu=ri!**
    1P all go.up-1P.HORT 3.POSS that village=at
    ‘Let’s all go up in that village!’
(125) *Iya re-gam-adi fogori meino moi-si, rautu war do-HAB-2/3P.PST whilst peace get-SQSS village
neinei furisi bona kanisoro ae di-yo.
each police and council put go-2/3S.PST
‘When they were fighting, he gave them peace and placed police and councillors in each village.’

(126) *amiye noibanu
man whole
‘many people (a crowd)’

(127) *amiye tau
man all
‘all the people’

*Tau ‘all’ can be modified with the addition of *tora ‘big’ or *gade ‘very’.

(128) *amiye tau tora
man all big
‘all the many people’

(129) *amiye tau gade
man all very
‘all the very many people’

(130) *amiye tau gade gade
man all very very
‘all the very, very many people’

*Tora ‘big’ differs from the other adjectives in that it is often used as an adverb to modify adjectives:

(131) *amiye tora noibanu
man big whole
‘very many people (a large crowd/mob)’

(132) *Yokoi aru uruyaku, uba dubuisa bi tufe ri-gedi
one day morning both brothers TOP raft make-2/3P.FUT
vo ni-yadi.
happen say-2/3S.PST
‘One day in the morning, both brothers said they would make a raft.’
(133) *Ina uda moke-fo, ga toto ni-fa.*
3 all think-2P.HORT PRHB forget say-2P.IMP
‘You should remember all of them; don’t forget them.’

(134) *Mina sina ga ni-yainedi vo ni-yaka idu*
this word PRHB say-3S.JUS happen say-1S.PST but
*ne-si amiyi tau vanu ni-yo.*
go.down-SQSS person all every say-2/3S.PST
‘I happened to tell him he must not say this news, but he went
down telling it to each and every person.’

### 3.3.5 Numbers

Doromu-Koki has both cardinal and ordinal numbers. In the typical Papuan manner, there is only a small set of numbers. Numbers modify qualifying adjectives, as do the general quantifiers.

**Cardinal numbers**

Dutton 1975:623 regarding Trans-New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages says: ‘Counting systems are based on two or three (e.g. 1, 2, 2+1, 2+2, 1 hand, or 1, 2, 3, 2+2, 1 hand).’

Doromu-Koki appears more like the latter, having a basic three set of numbers, *yokoi* ‘one’, *remanu* ‘two’, and *regode* ‘three’, although four is not 2+2, but rather a variation on five (= hand). Dutton (1970:924) proposed for Doromu-Koki: 1, 2, 2+1, 5-1, 5 (= hand). In this analysis however, Doromu-Koki follows what Dutton proposed for the Trans-New Guinea phylum languages. The numbers ‘four’ and ‘five’ are unique in that they are built from the word *vana* ‘hand’. Below are examples of the numbers from ‘one’ to ‘ten’. The numbers ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘three’ are used quite regularly. Four and five are sometimes used, while beyond that the English equivalents are normally used, except when someone is speaking in front of a non-Doromu-Koki speaker and does not want them to be able to understand.
**Table 3.8 Numbers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yokoi</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remanu</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regode</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana raro</td>
<td>‘four’ lit. ‘hand line’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana berou autu</td>
<td>‘five’ lit. ‘hand side empty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana berou autu yokoi maka</td>
<td>‘six’ lit. ‘hand side empty one only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana berou autu remanu</td>
<td>‘seven’ lit. ‘hand side empty two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana berou autu regode</td>
<td>‘eight’ lit. ‘hand side empty three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana berou autu vana raro</td>
<td>‘nine’ lit. ‘hand side empty hand line’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana ufo</td>
<td>‘ten’ lit. ‘hand clap (two hands together)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are some examples of the numbers.

(135) *Rema remanu di roka bi Inu Mamaru bona*

woman two GEN name TOP Inu Mamaru and

*Dau Mamaru.*

Dau Mamaru

‘The two women’s names are Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’

(136) *Doromu=ri bi ago regode ame-dedi.*

Doromu=at TOP language three stay-2/3P.PRES

‘There are three dialects in Doromu.’

(137) *mina amiye regode*

this man three

‘these three men’

(138) *Rautu=ri meda vana raro ame-yafa.*

village=at day hand line stay-1P.PST

‘We stayed four days in the village.’
(139) *Kokila ago ni-dedi bi rautu vana berou*  
Kokila word say-2/3P.PRES TOP village hand side  
autu=ri ame-dedi.  
empty=at stay-2/3P.PRES  
‘Those who speak the Kokila dialect live in five villages.’

(140) *Nai mida bi vana berou autu yokoi maka.*  
1S.POSS child TOP hand side empty one only  
‘I have six children.’

(141) *Mina rema ini mida bi vana berou autu remanu.*  
this woman 3.POSS child TOP hand side empty  
remanu.  
two  
‘This woman has seven children.’

(142) *Agiya meda bi September eti (vana berou*  
tomorrow day TOP September eight hand side  
autu regode).  
empty three  
‘Tomorrow’s date is September 8th.’

(143) *Amiye naini (vana berou autu vana raro)*  
person nine hand side empty hand line  
bo-yadi Kaikanomu rautu=ri.  
go.up-2/3P.PST Kaikanomu village=at  
‘Nine people went up to Kaikanomu village.’

(144) *Ina bi lagani vana ufo dibura yava=ri ame-yo.*  
3 TOP year hand clap jail house=at stay-2/3S.PST  
‘He spent ten years in jail.’

The number *yokoi* ‘one’ may also function as an indefinite article.

(145) *Amiye yokoi roka Tau Yagabo yaku ini rautu*  
man one name Tau Yagabo DM 3.POSS village  
vene omar-o ini muro vari-yaganedi.  
people invite-2/3S.PST 3.POSS garden plant-3P.JUS  
‘A man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.’
Yokoi ‘one’ is also used in some interesting constructions; here as the head of a postpositional phrase, with an adverbial function.

(146) **Yokoi=ri  ri-yadi.**
one=at make-2/3P.PST
‘They allied themselves.’

Yokoi ‘one’ can also be repeated in the form **yokoi yokoi** meaning ‘each (one)’, or ‘one-by-one’.

(147) **Kamini yokoi yokoi dadi-ga rautu urana di-yadi.**
   enough one one get.up-SIMSS village toward go-2/3P.PST
   ‘So one-by-one they got up and went back toward the village.’

When yokoi ‘one’ is used with maka ‘only’ it means ‘only one, alone’.

(148) **To ini no yokoi maka bi oruma bo-yo**
   but 3S.POSS bad one only TOP grass go.up-2/3P.PST
   vo ni-do.
happen say-2/3S.PRES
   ‘But the only (one) bad thing is that weeds come up.’

Sometimes the number precedes the noun, as in the following example.

(149) **Yokoi aru na bona Mathias sufa sufa di-yafa.**
   one day 1S and Mathias bush bush go.up-1S.PST
   ‘One day Mathias and I went up to the big bush (i.e., hunting).’

When both an adjective and a number occur in a noun phrase, both orders are found, but the second modifier (either adjective or numeral) is the one less in focus.

(150) **yabo roro bo regode**
   tree straight three
   ‘three **straight** trees’

(151) **yabo regode roro bo**
   tree three straight
   ‘**three** straight trees’

Ordinal numbers

There are only three ordinals: **oure(na) ‘first’, usika ‘last’, and viagana ‘last-born’**. They function in a broader sense as kin terms, **oure(na) meaning**
‘first-born, older, oldest, elder, eldest’, *usika* being ‘second-born, last-born, younger’, and *viaigana* strictly as ‘last-born’ (Hiri Motu *vanegai* ‘last, most recent’).

(152) Vadaini rasini *ourena* maina re-yo.

enough sister first look.for do-2/3S.PST

‘Finally, the first sister found her.’

(153) ...*usika*, *ourena* uni vegu bi no

younger.one older.one 1P.POSS life TOP bad

ni-yo dada!
say-2/3S.PST because

‘...because, younger ones, older ones, our life has been corrupted!’

(154) *Ina* bi nai *oure* di *viaigana* mida.

3 TOP 1S.POSS elder GEN last.born child

‘He is my older brother’s last-born child.’
4. Verbs and verb phrases

Verbs in Doromu-Koki are inflected with suffixes, which include tense, aspect, mood and switch reference. The mood suffixes are generally limited to one form, or at most two or three to indicate number or person. Tense suffixes incorporate number and person in various combinations, exhibited in four or five forms per tense, with the greatest underdifferentiation occurring between second and third person. The verb morphology distinguishes verbs occurring in sentence medial clauses from those occurring in sentence final clauses. Doromu-Koki verb morphology is limited to having at most four suffixes after the verb stem.

On the lexical level, verbs may be divided into intransitive, transitive (and ditransitive) verbs, although it is not a particularly productive grammatical distinction. (Approximately 74% of Doromu-Koki verbs are transitive, while about 26% are intransitive. Only the intransitive verb *ame* ‘stay’ can be made transitive by use of the transitiviser *-nu.*) As well, there is no class of stative verbs. (Verbs could also conceivably be classified according to their stem final vowel: *ar, e, i, o*, and *u*; again, though, this does not seem to be productive. The second vowel *e* is the most prolific whilst *o* is the least, with only one verb.)

While in an utterance such as *Na diba* ‘I know’, *diba* could be considered a stative verb, it is being interpreted as the noun ‘knowledge’, thus the utterance could also be translated as ‘I have knowledge.’ (The word *diba* is borrowed from Hiri Motu, and is glossed as ‘know, understand, able to, acquainted with, knowledge, understanding, ability, skill’ [The dictionary and grammar of Hiri Motu 1976:29].) This is particularly noted in light of the negative construction *Na diba de* ‘I don’t know’, where the negative particle follows the noun, but precedes a verb. No pro-verbs are exhibited in the language.
This chapter includes discussion of verbal affixation, as well as verbs of movement, and other verbal constructions, such as nominalisations, and causative constructions. From there, discussion moves on to the Doromu-Koki verb phrase formation, including purpose, serial verb constructions, adjunct verb phrases, and impersonal verb constructions.

Doromu-Koki verbs function primarily as predicates. In the following two examples, a dependent nominalised clause functions as the subject. (Since =ri ‘in, at’ and -ri ‘SIMDS’ are homophonous, it can be difficult to see the dependent nominalised clause as a subject, except to note the fact that it would not be in agreement to have a change of subject, and the first word in the sentence is the possessive pronoun, not the subject/object pronoun.)

(1) Yi aimei-bo-bi-giya=ri moke na bi yi
   2.POSS stay-POT-DUR-2S.FUT=at think 1S TOP 2.POSS baba.
   father
   ‘As you continue your living your life, remember that I am your father.’

(2) Ini firu-bo-bi-go=ri ve-giya ina bi
   3.POSS climb-POT-DUR-3S.FUT=at see-2S.FUT 3 TOP variva kana.
   lizard.sp like
   ‘When he is climbing, you will see that he is like a lizard.’

While Doromu-Koki has a nominalisation strategy, it cannot be used in conjunction with a postposition, as shown in the ungrammatical example below (see §4.6).

(3) *Yi aimei-na=ri moke na bi yi baba.
   2.POSS stay-NOM=at think 1S TOP 2.POSS father
   ‘During your life (lit. in your staying/living) remember that I am your father.’

The only time a verb is uninflected (except in the case of the unmarked second person singular imperative) is when it is modified by an adverb or other adjunct, and then the verb re ‘do’ or ni ‘say’ are added to take the affixation (see §4.6.2).
(4) **Mokei kava re-da.**

think not.all do-1S.PRES
‘I can’t think.’

(5) **meda nei bora ni-yo-ri**

sun go.down yellow say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
‘when the sun became yellow and was going down’

On the syntactic level, verbs may be divided into final and non-final verbs, taking different affixation.

### 4.1 Tense-aspect-mood

Doromu-Koki has agglutinative inflectional morphology, with fused tense-aspect-mood marking (including person and number for the subject), as noted for Papuan languages (Foley 1998). The Doromu-Koki final verb is inflected for tense, aspect, mood and switch reference. The language has some 39 various affixes, which in their combinations account for approximately 130 verbal output forms. All inflections are optional, as a verb stem can also stand alone as seen above, especially when used in a serial verb construction or an adjunct verb phrase. Final verbs are marked for TAM, while medial verbs are not.

Tenses include past, present and future. Subject and number are encoded within the tense morphology. Dutton (1975:629) claims that Manubaran languages have: ‘…individual forms of OR’s (Object Referents in the verb) corresponding to differences in person and number of the object.’ However, none have been observed in the Doromu-Koki verb.

The aspects indicated include perfective, habitual, durative, and iterative.

Moods include the indicative and the following deontic moods: intensive, hortative, imperative, jussive, and prohibitive, as well as the epistemic moods of potential, hypothetical, and possible.

Switch reference in Doromu-Koki exhibits four medial forms: simultaneous different subject, subsequent different subject, simultaneous same subject, and subsequent same subject.
The chart below delineates the formation of the Doromu-Koki verb:

**Table 4.1 Verb formation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mood</th>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>tense</th>
<th>switch reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bo POT</td>
<td>ITERATIVE</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>-ri SIMDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ma SQDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gam</td>
<td>HAB</td>
<td></td>
<td>PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ga SIMSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-si SQSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bi DUR</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agadu</td>
<td>HYP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adu</td>
<td>POSB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vo/-fo/-nadi</td>
<td>HORT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fa</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aine(di)/-agane(di)</td>
<td>JUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gika</td>
<td>INTV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1 Tense

Chung and Timberlake (1985:256) state: ‘Tense characterizes the location of an event with respect to a point in time (called the tense locus here).’

Doromu-Koki has three tenses: past, present and future, indicating time before the utterance, during the utterance, and after the utterance. The tense affixes also encode subject person and number. The tense affixes are indicated in the following chart:
Table 4.2 Tense affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-(y)aka</td>
<td>-(y)afa</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-(y)o</td>
<td>-(y)adi</td>
<td>-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-(y)o</td>
<td>-(y)adi</td>
<td>-do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past tense indicates that an action occurred at a prior time, and that it is completed or perfected, when co-occurring with the unmarked perfective aspect. When it occurs after the habitual aspect, the action is seen as ongoing. (Note that the approximant epentheses rule, which inserts y after a vowel, applies to all four past tense suffixes; see §2.9.3.)

**First person singular** past is indicated by the morpheme -(y)aka.

(6) *Na ya iruku iri-yaka.*
1S DM food eat-1S.PST
‘I ate the food.’

(7) *Koima, ame-yaka kana ame-giya bi buni de leech stay-1S.PST like stay-2S.FUT TOP good NEG bi keto re-giya baebu.*
TOP fall do-2S.FUT lest
‘Boy,’¹ it is not good that you will sit like I sat; otherwise you will fall.’

**Second** and **third person singular** past are indicated by the morpheme -(y)o. The subject pronoun or context determines which person is referred to.

(8) *Ya yaku iruku iri-yo.*
2 DM food eat-2/3S.PST
‘You ate the food.’

(9) *Ya yaku tauga na mar-o.*
2 DM banana 1S give-2/3S.PST
‘You gave me the banana.’

¹ For the connection between the two meanings of koima, ‘leech’ and ‘boy’, see §9.4.
(10) *Ina yaku ya u-yo.*
3 DM 2 hit-2/3.S.PST
‘He hit you.’

(11) *Priscilla vare-yo dada ina ka bo-si*
Priscilla sleep-2/3.S.PST so 3 also go.up-SQSS
vare-yo.
sleep-2/3.S.PST
‘Priscilla slept, so she also went up and slept.’

**First person plural** past is indicated by the morpheme -(y)afa.

(12) *Una yaku tauga ina mar-afa.*
1P DM banana 3 give-1P.PST
‘We gave him the banana.’

(13) *Ita ru-yafa rofu tau=ri ai-yafa mironi.*
firewood collect-1P.PST BEN all=at put-1P.PST there
‘We collected firewood and we heaped it all there.’

**Second** and **third person plural** past are indicated by the morpheme -(y)adi. Note that the same free pronoun is used for both singular and plural (ya ‘second person’, ina ‘third person’), so that it is the verb morphology which indicates plurality, although -(y)adi itself is ambiguous also in that it can indicate second or third person plural reference. Alternatively, plurality can also be indicated through the use of vene ‘people’.

(14) *Ya vene yaku tauga ina mar-adi.*
2 people DM banana 3 give-2/3.PST
‘You (PL) gave him the banana.’

(15) *Ya ago ni-yadi.*
2 word say-2/3.PST
‘You (PL) talked.’

(16) *Ina vene bi Barai bo-yadi.*
3 people TOP Barai go.up-2/3.P.PST
‘They went up to Barai.’

---

2 The structure of this example sentence is not well understood, especially the meaning and distribution of rofu (which normally follows a NP) and the use of =ri.
The present tense indicates an action occurring at the time of the utterance. When preceded by the iterative aspect, the action has a repetitive nature. Unlike the past, the present differentiates for second and third person in the singular, but like the past, it does not differentiate second and third person in the plural.

Below is an example showing the repetitive nature of an action when the present is in combination with the iterative:

(17) Ina yaku iruku iri-yadi.
3 DM food eat-2/3P.PST
‘They ate the food.’

First person singular present is indicated by the morpheme -da.

(19) Na vare-da.
1S sleep-1S.PRES
‘I sleep.’

Second person singular present is indicated by the morpheme -sa.

(21) Ya yaku erena maina re-sa.
2 DM bird look.for do-2S.PRES
‘You hunt for birds.’

Maruo ve-sa dada ya ferei bai-yaka.
movie see-2S.PRES so 2 leave come-1S.PST
‘You are watching a movie, so I left you and came.’
Third person singular present is indicated by the morpheme -do.

(23) *Ina yaku koru iri-do ba?*  
3 DM water eat-3S.PRES Q  
‘Does he drink water?’

(24) *Ina bi makai re-do dada ini nono baba*  
3 TOP like.this do-3S.PRES so 3.POSS mother father  
yaku gubuyo re-dedi.  
DM anger do-2/3P.PRES  
‘He is doing this, so his parents are angry.’

First person plural present is indicated by the morpheme -sifa.

(25) *Una ina vene u-sifa.*  
1P 3 people hit-1P.PRES  
‘We hit them.’

(26) *Una bi kamini ne-sifa idu ya bi gabi*  
1P TOP enough go.down-1P.PRES but 2 TOP later  
bai-giya ba?  
come-2S.FUT or  
‘We are going down now, but will you come later or not?’

Second and third person plural present are indicated by the morpheme -dedi.

(27) *Ya yaku iruku iri-dedi.*  
2 DM food eat-2/3P.PRES  
‘You (PL) eat the food.’

(28) *Mina kana vegu ve-dedi bi gokai moke-dedi?*  
this like life see-2/3P.PRES TOP how think-2/3P.PRES  
‘Like this life that you see, what do they think about it?’

(29) *Ina arefa vari-dedi ba?*  
3 sugarcane plant-2/3P.PRES Q  
‘Do they plant sugarcane?’

(30) *Ina yaku ina u-dedi.*  
3 DM 3 hit-2/3P.PRES  
‘They hit him.’
The future tense indicates an action occurring after the time of the utterance. When the durative aspect proceeds it, the action will be on-going or durative. When the iterative aspect proceeds it, the action will be repetitive. Note that, like the present tense, there is no distinction for second and third person plural.

Following are examples of the future used in conjunction with the durative aspect and the iterative aspect (repetitive nature):

(31) \textit{Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai-si na eru re-na}
\begin{itemize}
\item wash-DUR-1S.FUT-SIMDS come-SQSS 1S trick do-NOM
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ga re-fa.
\item PRHB do-2P.IMP
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘While I will be washing, don’t come and trick me.’
\end{itemize}

(32) \textit{Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo=ri bi}
\begin{itemize}
\item plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST=at TOP
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item uruyaku gorogoro.
\item morning early
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘They will keep planting when the sun comes up early in the morning.’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{First person singular} future is indicated by the morpheme -\textit{gida}.

(33) \textit{Na uruyaku=ri di-gida.}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1S morning=at go-1S.FUT
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘I will go in the morning.’
\end{itemize}

(34) \textit{Na bi yomina oyena bona tauga iri-gida.}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1S TOP this.here fish and banana eat-1S.FUT
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘I will eat this fish and banana here.’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Second person singular} future is indicated by the morpheme -\textit{giya}.

(35) \textit{Nai mida ari neinei makai rei-bo-bi-giya=ri}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1S.POSS child day each like.this do-POT-DUR-2S.FUT=at
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item bi yi vegu buni ni-go.
\item TOP 2 life good say-3S.FUT
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘My son, when you do this every day, then your life will be good.’
\end{itemize}
(36) Ya yaku tauga na ma-giya.
2 DM banana 1S give-2S.FUT
‘You will give me the banana.’

**Third person singular** future is indicated by the morpheme -go.

(37) Ina yaku iruku iri-go gabi bo-go.
3 DM food eat-3S.FUT later go.up-3S.FUT
‘He will eat food and later he will go up.’

(38) Yi baba yaku ve-go vo ni-yo.
2.POSS father DM see-3S.FUT happen say-2/3S.PST
‘Your father will see it.’

**First person plural** future is indicated by the morpheme -gifa.

(39) Yi baba bi agiya baku re-gifa ba?
2.POSS father TOP tomorrow find do-1P.FUT Q
‘Will we be searching for your father tomorrow?’

(40) Una tau vakoi makai re-gifa bi buni.
1P all together like.this do-1P.FUT TOP good
‘It is good that we will all do this together.’

**Second and third person plural** future are indicated by the morpheme -gedi.

(41) Ya yaku ina u-gedi.
2 DM 3 hit-2/3P.FUT
‘You will hit him.’

(42) Ya yaku tauga ina vene ma-gedi.
2 DM banana 3 people give-2/3P.FUT
‘You will give them the banana.’

(43) Ina bi ago ni-gedi.
3 TOP word say-2/3P.FUT
‘They will talk.’

(44) Tora ni-si me-gedi ma-mo ima
big say-SQSS marry-2/3P.FUT and-at.once betel.nut
iri-fa.
eat-2P.IMP
‘The elders say they will marry, and then you eat betel nut.’
4.1.2 Aspect

There are four aspects indicated in Doromu-Koki: perfective, habitual, durative and iterative; these occur in the slot after mood and before tense. Aspect is ‘…crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation (Comrie 1976:4).’ And:

…although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in very different ways. …tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense) (Comrie 1976:5).

Following is a chart relating the Doromu-Koki aspects, based on Comrie (1976):

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gam</td>
<td>-bi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The **perfective** is the unmarked aspect, indicating no internal duration or repetition. It occurs with all of the tenses.

(45)  *Na ya iruku iri-yaka.*
    1S DM food eat-1S.PST
    ‘I ate the food.’
3 DM water eat-3S.PRES Q
‘Does he drink water?’

The **habitual** is indicated by -gam, and only occurs in conjunction with the past tense. It denotes an on-going, continuous event.

(47) *Uka esika moke-na tora ni-gam-o ya stomach pain think-NOM big say-HAB-2/3S.PST 2 totona.*
‘He was having a big heartache for you.’

(48) *Gauka vare-bo-bi-giya-ma ni-gam-aka idu sick sleep-POT-DUR-2S.FUT-SQSS say-HAB-1S.PST but ya kaya yi rei tavo i tavo i re-gam-o 2 REFL 2.POSS do in.vain in.vain do-HAB-2/3S.PST ye beika sina ya ni-gida.*
‘I was telling you that you might continue to be sick, but you kept on doing it, so what can I tell you?’

The **durative** is indicated by -bi and indicates an on-going, continuous event in the future, as opposed to the habitual’s use in the past tense only. (Note, however, that it cannot co-occur with -bo ‘POT’ and the present, since the potential indicates an action that has yet to occur, if at all.) It can also be seen as a progressive aspect.

(49) *Nai tora yaku vegu re-yadi dada 1S.POSS big DM life do-2/3P.PST so rei-bo-bi-gida.*
do-POT-DUR-1S.FUT
‘My elders did this practice, so I might keep on doing it.’

Note that here the adjective *tora ‘big’* is functioning as a noun ‘elders’.
The iterative aspect is marked through repetition of the verb, and indicates a repetitive action, occurring again and again. It requires the use of the verb re ‘do’, which takes the final verb affixation, and is used in conjunction with the present or future tense.

Serial constructions can also make use of the iterative.

4.1.3 Mood

Doromu-Koki exhibits the indicative, intenive, hortative, imperative, jussive, prohibitive, potential, hypothetical, and possible moods, very much giving the flavour of alternative worlds. The table below shows the relative strengths of the moods (Givón 1980:338).

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3 At this point it is not clear whether the iterative aspect should be analysed as reduplication (a morphological process), or simply repetition of full words or even phrases. The glossing reflects the latter analysis, which is tentative.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>“Bo!” ni-yaka.</td>
<td>Order/command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up say-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Go up!” I told him.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
<td>“Ga bo!” ni-yaka.</td>
<td>Order/command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRHB go.up say-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Don’t go up!” I told him.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jussive</td>
<td>Bo-yaine vo ni-yaka.</td>
<td>Strong suggestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-3S.JUS happen say-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I told him he is allowed to go up.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>“Bo-vo,” ni-yaka.</td>
<td>Weaker suggestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-2S.HORT say-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“You should go up,” I told him.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical</td>
<td>Bo-yagadu vo ni-yaka.</td>
<td>Suggestion (might)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-HYP happen say-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I told him he ought to go up.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>Bo-yadu vo ni-yaka.</td>
<td>Weaker suggestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-POSB happen say-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I told him he could go up.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>Bo-yaka.</td>
<td>Full control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-1S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I went up.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>Bo-bo-bi-gida.</td>
<td>Partial control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-POT-DUR-1S.FUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I might go up.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>Bo-gika re-yo.</td>
<td>No control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go.up-INTV do-2/3S.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘He was trying to go up.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these moods will be discussed below.
The indicative mode subsumes the use of the various aspects and tenses. The indicative is the unmarked mood.

(54) *Tufe remanu ri-yadi.*
raft two make-2/3P.PST
‘They made two rafts.’

(55) *Kaikanomu rautu rofu bo-dedi-ri gauka*  
Kaikanomu village BEN go.up-2/3P.PRES-SIMDS sickness
*re-yo.*
do-2/3S.PST
‘While they went up to Kaikanomu village, he got sick.’

There are five deontic moods in Doromu-Koki: intentive, hortative, imperative, jussive, and prohibitive. Deontic modality indicates:

…an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation. Given the actual world at any point in time, there are a number of worlds that could conceivably develop out of that world. The deontic mode restricts these subsequent worlds with respect to an event, such that the event has to belong to some or all of the subsequent worlds (Chung and Timberlake 1985:246).

The prohibitive is used in conjunction with the hortative, imperative, or jussive.

**Intentive** is used to express the desire to try to accomplish something yet to be realised, but unlike the other deontic moods, it does not impose on the other person:

(56) *Amiye tora regode yaku sioni ini voru=sa*  
person big three DM white.man 3.POSS spear=ACCM
*u-gika ora mari rei meki re-yadi.*
hit-INTV spear shield do chase do-2/3P.PST
‘Three elders were trying to kill the white man with their spears and took their spears and shields and chased him away.’

They were not able to kill him, even though that was their intent.
(57) *Ofa ofa dudu fore moi-gika.*

lie lie INST stone get-INTV

‘With lies they try to get money.’

The **hortative** is used to indicate an expression of desire on the part of the speaker, as an admonition or request, but on a more polite level of entreating someone to do something, rather than in using the imperative or the jussive. It is often realised in English as ‘should’ and has three forms in the first and second persons, seen in the table below (Dutton 1970:921 has analysed this as ‘imperative’).

**Table 4.4 Hortative affixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-vo</td>
<td>-fo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(58) *Ga ne-vo,*

koru yaku ya mo i di-go

PRHB go.down-2S.HORT water DM 2 get go.up.3S.FUT

*baebu.*

lest

‘You shouldn’t go down there, lest the water sweeps you away.’

(59) *Pilisi Tomi-e nono make-vo.*

please Tomi-VOC mother think-2S.HORT

‘Oh please, Tomi, you should think about mother.’

(60) *Dadi kumo pati re-nadi.*

get.up in.order.to party do-1P.HORT

‘Let’s get up and have a party.’

(61) *Baba yaku ni-yo  bi, “Vada ga ve-nadi*  

father DM say-2/3S.PST TOP uncle PRHB see-1P.HORT

*vo ni-yo.”*

happen say-2/3S.PST

‘Father said, “Let’s not go see uncle.”’

(62) *Ga bo-fo auna yaku ya aki re-go baebu.*

PRHB go.up-2P.HORT dog DM 2 bite do-3S.FUT lest

‘You shouldn’t go up there, or the dog will bite you.’
(63) Mosara vari-fo ni-yaka idu vauya
sweet.poato plant-2P.HORT say-1S.PST but refuse
re-yadi ye gokai re-gedi maka.
do-2/3P.PST so how do-2/3P.FUT only
‘I told you that you should plant the sweet potato, but you refused, so what will you do now?’

The **imperative** is used to indicate commands or orders and is between the hortative and jussive in strength. It only occurs in the second person singular (unmarked) and plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-fa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second person singular** imperative is unmarked.

(64) Ya rabiya iri!
2 sago eat
‘Eat the sago!’

(65) Vare!
sleep
‘Sleep!’

While this is a possible form, it would normally not be uttered, as it is considered impolite. It is rather said in the hortative: Vare-vo ‘sleep’, commonly meaning ‘Good-bye’.

**Second person plural** imperative is indicated by the morpheme -fa.

(66) Mirona amiye ve-na ga re-fa!
that person see-NOM PRHB do-2P.IMP
‘Don’t look at that person!’

(67) Ya kono goe-fa!
2 ground dig-2P.IMP
‘You (PL) dig the ground!’

The **jussive** is a third person imperative, or permissive, meaning ‘let’, ‘permit’, or ‘allow’. The jussive is expressed through the morphemes -ainedi

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**TABLE 4.5 IMPERATIVE AFFIXES**

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‘3S.JUS’ and -aganedi ‘3P.JUS’. Note that they can be realised as -yaine, -yainedi, -yagane, or -yaganedi because of approximant consonant epenthesis (see §2.9.3). The final di makes the jussive more definite and stronger, that is, less optional and with less room for delay.

**Table 4.6 Jussive affixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aine(di)</td>
<td>-agane(di)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the singular follow:

(68)  *Di-nadi kumo ini ame-na buni ni-yaine.*
     go-1P.HORT in.order.to 3.POSS stay-NOM good say-3S.JUS
     ‘Let’s go so his living will be good.’

(69)  *Mina rema ga me-yainedi.*
     this woman PRHB marry-3S.JUS
     ‘He is not allowed to marry this woman.’

(70)  *Mina sina ga ni-yainedi vo ni-yaka idu*
     this word PRHB say-3S.JUS happen say-1S.PST but
     *ne-si amiyε tau vanu ni-yo.*
     go.down-SQSS person all every say-2/3S.PST
     ‘I told him he is not permitted to say this word now, but he went down telling it to all the people.’

Examples of the plural follow:

(71)  *Mida mida ni kumo mina vegu bi ga re-yagane.*
     child child say in.order.to this life TOP PRHB do-3P.JUS
     ‘Tell the children that they are not to do this practice.’

(72)  *Mina moimai ga re-yaganedi ni-yaka.*
     this work PRHB say-3P.JUS say-1S.PST
     ‘I told them they are not to do this work.’

The prohibitive negates the positive deontic moods of hortative, imperative and jussive. (These are all moods imposing on another person.) It is indicated by the morpheme *ga* ‘PRHB’ placed before the verb.
Epistemic (Irrealis) moods

The epistemic mode characterizes the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds. At any point in time, there is an actual world, and there are also a number of alternative worlds that could exist at that time. …The epistemic mode characterizes the event with respect to the actual world and its possible alternatives. If the event belongs to the actual world, it is actual; if it belongs to some possible alternative world (although not necessarily to the actual world), it is possible; and so on (Chung and Timberlake 1985:242).

Thus is the case with the three Doromu-Koki epistemic moods; there is some ‘possibility’ of the event, as opposed to a reality (or actual event) in the indicative mood. (These three can be categorised under the umbrella of ‘irrealis’.)

The potential is used to indicate potential, uncertain, or non-actual events. It is indicated by the morpheme -bo, and occurs immediately following the verb stem, as do the deontic moods mentioned above. It is usually translated as ‘might.’ Note that the potential -bo is homophonous with bo ‘go up’, which could have the meaning of ‘keep on’, i.e., going on and on, or increasing. (-bo POT can also be followed by -gam HAB.)

(76)  *Mina vegu re-yo bi ni-bo-bi-gedi.*
    this life do-2/3S.PST TOP say-POT-DUR-2/3P.FUT
    ‘They might keep talking about this thing that you did.’
(77) *Dui rei-bo-yafa-ri ma-mo moke-yaka ida*
enter do-POT-1P.PST-SIMDS and-at.once think-1S.PST road

*bi ferei bai-yafa mironi.*
TOP leave come-1P.PST there

‘When we might have arrived, then I thought we had left the road there and came.’

The **hypothetical** mood indicates an event that is a bit more certain than with potential. The speaker knows that it is possible it may not happen, but has a feeling that it will or should happen. It is indicated by the morpheme *-agadu,* and translated as ‘ought to’ or ‘should’, or ‘would’. (Note the application of the approximant consonant epenthesis rule.) It could also be interpreted as a conditional or counterfactual.

(78) *Samuel de di-yagadu=ri bi aruma ve-yagadu.*
Samuel NEG go-HYP=at TOP snake see-HYP

‘If Samuel had not gone, he would have seen the snake.’

(79) *Na ni-yo kana re-yagadu bi buni idu na*
1S say-2/3S.PST like.this do-HYP TOP good but 1S

*kaya rei tavo i tavo i re-si no baku re-yaka*
REFL do in.vain in.vain do-SQSS bad find do-1S.PST mini.

here

‘It would have been good if he had told me about this, but I did it in vain, and only bad came out of it.’

**Possibility** is indicated by *-adu* ‘POSB,’ and is translated as ‘could’, being contingent on something else. Note the use of the hypothetical in the first clause in both examples below – if the first thing takes place, the second has the possibility of taking place.

(80) *Kita re-yagadu bi muro mo nufa ni-yadu.*
movement do-HYP TOP garden at.once POSS say-POSB

‘We ought to move, and at once we could have a garden.’
(81) Algebra moi-yagadu bi mo mina gokai re-na
algebra get-HYP TOP at.once this how do-NOM
vei mama re-yadu.
see fully do-POSB
‘If you had taken algebra, at once you could understand this formula.’

4.2 Switch reference

Switch reference is indicated in Doromo-Koki through the use of the simultaneous different subject, simultaneous same subject, subsequent different subject, and subsequent same subject markers, which are shown in the table below. Non-final verbs make use of the switch reference affixes, while final verbs do not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>different subject</th>
<th>same subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-ga(sa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsequent</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The simultaneous different subject morpheme is -ri; this is used to indicate that two clauses with different subjects are taking place at the same time and is translated as ‘while’ or when’. The overlap is primarily coterminous or continuous-punctiliar (Longacre 1985:243).

(82) Uni tutubena vene yaku yava
1P.POSS ancestor people DM house
ri-bo-gam-adi-ri ina vo
make-POT-HAB-2/3P.PST-SIMDS 3 happen
ni-gam-adi mo ferei dairi-yadi-ri
say-HAB-2/3P.PST at.once leave return-2/3P.PST-SIMDS
bi rautu keika ni-yo.
TOP village little say-2/3S.PST
‘While our ancestors were building houses, it came about that when they left and returned, the village got smaller.’
(83) Re-si koru=ri vare-yo-ri aruma yaku ina do-SQSS water=at sleep-2/3.PST-SIMDS snake DM 3 fafau de-yo. on.top.of come.down-2/3.PST ‘Then at the river while he was sleeping, a snake came down on top of him.’

**Simultaneous same subject** is indicated by -ga(sa).

(84) …yabo uakai-ga, koru seri=ri mo-i-ga oki-yadi. tree carry-SIMSS water bank=at get-SIMSS arrive-2/3.PST ‘…while they carried the wood, they took it in at the river bank.’

(85) …aura yafuyafu buni mo-i-gasa ame-da dada, wind breeze good get-SIMSS stay-1S.PRES so nai rautu bi ura re-da. 1S.POSS village TOP want do-1S.PRES ‘…when I sit and feel the good breeze, then I love my village.’

(86) Na dadi-si viro bona baiya mo-i-si rarama 1S get.up.SQSS axe and bush.knife get-SQSS clearing ne-yaka-ma nai mida bi koro=ri go.down-1S-PST-SQDS 1S.POSS child TOP border=at ame-si na ve-gasa ame-gam-o. stay-SQSS 1S see-SIMSS stay-HAB-2/3.PST ‘I got up and took my axe and bush knife and went down to the garden clearing, and my son sat at the border and saw me from where he was sitting.’

(87) Dona tururu re-si beuka ni-gasa ori dei pig shake do-SQSS oink say-SIMSS fear come.down di-yo. go-2/3.S.PST ‘The pig trembled and oinked as it came down and ran away.’

**Subsequent different subject** is indicated by the morpheme -ma, which is homophonous to the conjunction ‘and’ (see §7.1.2), and indicates that a different actor performed the successive action in the second clause. (Note that ma ‘and’ is borrowed from Hiri Motu.)
(88) *Ina yaku dona u-yo-*ma na *di-yaka.*
3 DM pig hit-2/3S.PST-SQDS IS go-1S.PST
‘He killed the pig, and then I went.’

(89) *Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-*ma itu yaku no
water always wash-POT-HAB-1P.PST-SQDS cold DM bad
iniye ni-yo.
very say-2/3S.PST
‘We might have kept washing in the river, but it was very cold.’

**Subsequent same subject** is indicated by the morpheme *-si,* for one subject performing one action in succession after another, primarily as event-event (Longacre, 1985:244).

(90) *Medikoro bo-*si ve-*si ma-mo di-nadi.*
medical.orderly go.up-SQSS see-SQSS and-at.once go-1P.HORT
‘Let’s go up and see the medical orderly, and then let’s go.’

(91) …*sosogi uakai-*si, baiya moi-yo-*ma,* na bi
spear carry-SQSS bush.knife get-2/3S.PST-SQDS IS TOP
dura kori yokoi kirokai-yaka…
net.bag old one carry-1S.PST
‘…he carried a spear and then took a bush knife, and then I carried an old net bag…’

4.3 **Verbs of movement**

Verbs of movement in Doromu-Koki have inherent deictic reference, so that they are oriented to the speaker or participant in focus, rather than the addressee. The table below lists the five Doromu-Koki verbs of movement.

**Table 4.8 Verbs of movement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>come</th>
<th>go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bae</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Bae ‘come’ is used to indicate movement toward the speaker.*
(92) Ina gua bai-do.
3 now come-3S.PRES
‘He is coming now.’

(93) Mironi aka u-dedi bae ni-yaka.
there prawn hit-2/3P.PRES come say-1S.PST
‘I said those ones are killing prawns and bringing them.’

De ‘come down’ also indicates movement toward the speaker/participant in focus, to a lower elevation (i.e., the participant is at a lower elevation than the one moving toward him/her).

(94) Aruma yaku ina fafau de-yo.
snake DM 3 above come.down-2/3S.PST
‘The snake came down on him from above.’

(95) Dada ya siko de-si na duaiya re-vo.
so 2 first come.down-SQSS 1S count do-2S.HORT
‘So you come down first and count me.’

Bo ‘go up’ indicates movement away from the speaker to a higher elevation.

(96) Oro imi-si bo-yadi.
flying.fox dip-SQSS go.up-2/3P.PST
‘The flying foxes dipped down and went up.’

(97) Ya agiya uruyaku bo-giya Nunufa omuna=ri
2 tomorrow morning go.up-2S.FUT Nunufa mountain=at
ima moi-si de-giya.
betel.nut get-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT
‘Tomorrow morning you will go up to Nunufa mountain and bring down some betel nut.’

Di ‘go’ indicates movement away from the speaker/participant in focus along the same elevation.

(98) Uruyaku yokoi na bona nai mida Jacob=sa
morning one 1S and 1S.POSS child Jacob=ACCM
muro=ri di-yafa.
garden=at go-1P.PST
‘One morning, my son Jacob and I went to the garden.’
(99) \( \text{Rema ofi remanu muro=ri oruma} \)
woman young.woman two garden=at grass
\( \text{ri-gi di-yadi.} \)
make-PURP go-2/3P.PST
‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’

Ne ‘go down’ indicates movement away from the speaker to a lower elevation.

(100) \( \text{Moimai koina ni-yo-ri dairi-si rautu} \)
work finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS return-SQSS village
\( \text{ne-yaka.} \)
go.down-1S.PST
‘When the work was finished, I returned and went down to the village.’

(101) \( \text{Na bi Saturday ne-gida Mosbi.} \)
1S TOP Saturday go.down-1S.FUT Port.Moresby
‘On Saturday I will go down to Port Moresby.’

4.4 Causative

Doromu-Koki has one clear derivational affix, the causative prefix \( e- \). In more than half of the attested occurrences it is bound to a verbal base, but often it can be found on an adjective, adverb, locative, noun or postposition, in which case it forms an adjunct verb phrase. The following chart shows the attested forms with and without the causative prefix. Thus, in Doromu-Koki, the causative is a morphological causative, in which the predicate uses a derivational process and not a separate causation predication (Comrie 1985:331).
### Table 4.9 Causation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>beku re</th>
<th>‘push’</th>
<th>e-beku re</th>
<th>‘cause to push’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>‘get up’</td>
<td>e-dadi</td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diko re</td>
<td>‘push away’</td>
<td>e-diko re</td>
<td>‘cause to push away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>famu</td>
<td>‘walk through’</td>
<td>e-famu</td>
<td>‘clear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fono re</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
<td>e-fono re</td>
<td>‘cover up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaima</td>
<td>‘far away’</td>
<td>e-gaima ri</td>
<td>‘distance oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gira</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
<td>e-gira re</td>
<td>‘strengthen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogo</td>
<td>‘both/together’</td>
<td>e-gogo re</td>
<td>‘meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaira</td>
<td>‘almost’</td>
<td>e-kaira re</td>
<td>‘approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muye</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>e-muye</td>
<td>‘kill, spiritually cause to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negau</td>
<td>‘near, nearby’</td>
<td>e-negau re</td>
<td>‘point, approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rafu</td>
<td>‘fellowship’</td>
<td>e-rafu re</td>
<td>‘fellowship with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rau</td>
<td>‘share’</td>
<td>e-rau re</td>
<td>‘pour out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tururu re</td>
<td>‘tremble’</td>
<td>e-tururu re</td>
<td>‘take by surprise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>‘try’</td>
<td>e-va ri</td>
<td>‘confuse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vata</td>
<td>‘birth’</td>
<td>e-vata ri</td>
<td>‘bear, produce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vava</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>e-vava re</td>
<td>‘reheat, warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>e-ve</td>
<td>‘cause to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegu</td>
<td>‘life’</td>
<td>e-vegu re</td>
<td>‘enliven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yare</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
<td>e-yare</td>
<td>‘cause to drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youne</td>
<td>‘untie’</td>
<td>e-youne</td>
<td>‘open, hold loosely’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are two clausal examples, one with a locative, and the second with an adjective:

(102) Bi e-gaima ri-si usi kamini di-gam-o.
    TOP CAUS-far make-SQSS follow enough go-HAB-2/3S.PST
    ‘He followed him at a distance.’
Other types of causation do not make use of this derivational construction (Comrie 1981:40), but rely on lexically incorporating constructions. For example, ‘kill’ is composed of the verbs *u* ‘hit’ and *muye* ‘die’, as opposed to *e-muye* ‘cause to die (in a spiritual sense)’.

4.5 **Transitiviser**

There is one verb which appears to show a transitivising suffix *-nu*. This is the intransitive verb *ame* ‘stay, sit’, which is made transitive by *-nu* (resulting in *amei-nu*), in conjunction with the generic verb *re* ‘do’, which takes the appropriate TAM affixation. Compare the following examples:

(105)  *Ina ame-yo.*  
3 stay-2/3S.PST  
‘He sat.’

(106)  *Moi amei-nu re-yo.*  
get stay-TRNS do-2/3S.PST  
‘He made him sit down.’

(107)  *Kamini ina yaku kota re-na sana=ri amei-nu*  
enough 3 DM court do-NOM place=at stay-TRNS  
*re-yadi.*  
do-2/3P.PST  
‘So they made him stay at the court site.’

4.6 **Verb phrase**

The verb phrase has the following form. $V_1$ is the first verb in an *SVC* (serial verb construction; see §4.6.1) and $V_2$ and $V_3$ are the second and third verbs, respectively.
VP $\rightarrow$ (ADV) (NEG) $V_1$ ($V_2$) ($V_3$)
(ADV) $V_1$ (ADJN) (NEG) ($V_2$)

ADV NEG $V_1$ $V_2$ $V_3$

(108) *Nai baba evade de baku nei re-yo-ri...*
1.S.POSS father quickly NEG find go.down do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
‘When my father did not go down quickly to investigate…’

ADV $V_1$ ADJN NEG $V_2$

(109) *Yi moimai kiya rei mona de re-yo.*
2.POSS work slowly do well NEG do-2/3S.PST
‘You didn’t do your work slowly and properly.’

(110) *Ina bi gua mina=ri evade kaiya dudu dona*
3S TOP now this=at quickly knife INST pig

$V_1$

*nugar-o.*
cut-2/3S.PST
‘Today he quickly cut the pig with a knife.’

4.6.1 Serial verb constructions

Aikhenvald (2005:1) states:

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt maker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verbs describe what is conceptualised as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value. Serial verbs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of a serial verb construction must be able to occur on its own. Within a serial verb, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.

While serial verb constructions do occur in Doromu-Koki, they are not nearly as productive as in other Papuan languages. In fact, they are very rare. They are limited to the verbs *afe* ‘return’, *baku* ‘find’, *bo* ‘go up’,
"ferë ‘leave’, ne ‘go down’, ni ‘say’, moi ‘get’, re ‘do’, and usi ‘follow’, which indicates that they are usually tied to motion, combining two separate actions together into one event. Following are some examples.

(111) Nai baba baku nei re-yo-ri...
1S.POSS father find go.down do-2/3S.PST
‘When my father went down to investigate…’

(112) kamini afara boi ne-yafa bona bora bora
enough ridge go.up go.down-1P.PST and yellow yellow
eina oki-si...
tree.sp arrive-SQSS
‘then we went along the ridge and we came to the very yellow
eina trees and…’

(113) Maruo ve-sa dada ya ferei bai-yaka.
movie see-2S.PRES so 2 leave come-1S.PST
‘You are watching a movie, so I left you and came.’

(114) ...koru yaku ya moi di-go baebu.
water DM 2 get go lest
‘…lest the water drown you.’

(115) Meki rei ne-yadi.
chase do go.down-2/3P.PST
‘They chased him down.’

As we can see, these follow Aikhenvald’s premise (2005:5) ‘Serial verb constructions must relate only events which are somehow conceived as notably more commonly associated together in experience or those events which form a culturally important concatenation of events.’

Following is a culturally ‘non-important’ event, which is not presented in an SVC. The verbs are highlighted. Afe ‘return’ and de ‘come down’ are considered separate events.

(116) Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu
so DM REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT BEN
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
‘So you yourself will return and bring the child down, and they will get him at Siau’s house.’
According to the core layer level of increasing openness to serialisation (Crowley 1987:69), the verbs that are used in serial constructions can be classified as follows:

**Table 4.10 Core layer level of increasing openness to serialisation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>most frequent</th>
<th>basic motion</th>
<th>least frequent</th>
<th>transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>intransitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>afei</strong> ‘bring back’, <strong>bo</strong> ‘go up’, <strong>ne</strong> ‘go down’</td>
<td><strong>baku</strong> ‘find’, <strong>moi</strong> ‘get’, <strong>ni</strong> ‘say’, <strong>re</strong> ‘do’, <strong>usi</strong> ‘follow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>posture/active</strong></td>
<td><strong>fere</strong> ‘leave’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>stative/process</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>intransitives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that they are mainly found at both extremes, with most at the area of ‘least frequent’.

Negative constructions have the negative morpheme before the SVC:

(117) …*mida yaku ya de usi rei bai-gedi.*

child DM 2 NEG follow do come-2/3P.FUT

‘…the children will not come following you.’

### 4.6.2 Adjunct verb phrases

Wurm (1982:82) states:

The pro-verbs which play a role in the formation of predications constitute the second type of classificatory verbs…The predications consist of an adjunct, usually a noun, which has a specific meaning and a pro-verb whose meaning is more general, and the combination adjunct + pro-verb functions as a verb-phrase. These pro-verbs are in complementary distribution with the existential verbs as far as types of nouns with which they co-occur are concerned – the nouns which are accompanied by pro-verbs can be
described as generally indicating inner states, events, qualities and time.

Adjunct verb phrases are formed with the three generic verbs *ne* ‘say’, *re* ‘do’ and *ri* ‘make’. The adjunct can consist of a noun, an interrogative pronoun, another verb, or an adjective, remembering that ‘adjectives’ can sometimes function as, and may indeed be analysed as nouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{esiroka ni} & \quad \text{‘cough’} & \text{cough (N) say} \\
\text{beika ni} & \quad \text{‘request’} & \text{what (INTR) say} \\
\text{buni ni} & \quad \text{‘heal’} & \text{good (ADJ) say}
\end{align*}
\]

The following table lists the adjunct verb phrases found in Doromu-Koki, followed by a few example sentences. Note that a few have the verb *ni* ‘say’ preceding the adjunct verb phrase (indicated in bold), forming a compound. As well, there are a few compound forms using *moi* ‘get’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>literal meaning</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ni</em> ‘say’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ata ni</em></td>
<td>‘waste time’ forever say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beika ni</em></td>
<td>‘request’ what say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>buni ni</em></td>
<td>‘heal’ good say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>esiroka ni</em></td>
<td>‘cough’ cough say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>isaka ni</em></td>
<td>‘cry’ tear say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kitoro ni</em></td>
<td>‘singsing’ dance say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koina ni</em></td>
<td>‘finish’ finish say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nei ni</em></td>
<td>‘set (sun)’ go down say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ninika ni</em></td>
<td>‘joke’ joke say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>no ni</em></td>
<td>‘spoil’ bad say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nufa ni</em></td>
<td>‘preserve’ with say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>raka ni</em></td>
<td>‘call’ call say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct Verb Phrase</td>
<td>Literal Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rivo ni</td>
<td>‘conceive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uriyenau ni</td>
<td>‘become afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vata ni</td>
<td>‘bear child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vo ni</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoga ni</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni guba ni</td>
<td>‘insist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni warika ni</td>
<td>‘swear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni vake ni</td>
<td>‘worship’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re ‘do’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aki re</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anua re</td>
<td>‘unable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are re</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bura re</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dui re</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esika re</td>
<td>‘be in pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fare re</td>
<td>‘be full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foiro re</td>
<td>‘become crowded’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu re</td>
<td>‘blow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gauka re</td>
<td>‘be sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyana re</td>
<td>‘move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kava re</td>
<td>‘without solution’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kego re</td>
<td>‘turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maina re</td>
<td>‘hunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moi gira re</td>
<td>‘hold in hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moi rutu re</td>
<td>‘pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct Verb Phrase</td>
<td>Literal Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ori re</td>
<td>‘be afraid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto re</td>
<td>‘visit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oa re</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati re</td>
<td>‘party’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raga re</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rau re</td>
<td>‘share’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rauna re</td>
<td>‘be hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rei mona re</td>
<td>‘do properly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rei no re</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruda re</td>
<td>‘fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe re</td>
<td>‘become a burden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua re</td>
<td>‘wait for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufa re</td>
<td>‘struggle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukita re</td>
<td>‘tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvau re</td>
<td>‘defeat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vau re</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vava re</td>
<td>‘sweat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ni kabai re</strong></td>
<td>‘answer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ri</strong></td>
<td>‘make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agu ri</td>
<td>‘bend down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eta ri</td>
<td>‘knock down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etaga ri</td>
<td>‘move aside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keu ri</td>
<td>‘creep up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moi sui ri</td>
<td>‘deny’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(118) Naivo di-si ata ni ame-do.
help go-SQSS forever say stay-3S.PRES
‘Help him as he goes and wastes time.’

(119) Rema remanu rivo ni-yadi.
woman two abdomen say-2/3P.PST
‘The two women were pregnant.’

(120) Ago rama ni, ga moi sui ri.
word true say PRHB get hide make
‘Tell the truth; don’t deny it.’

(121) Uni bani rama de ni-yo ye rei no re-yafa.
1P.POSS yam true NEG say-2/3S.PST so do bad do-1P.PST
‘Our yams did not produce, so we are cursed.’

(122) Yi moimai rei mona re.
2.POSS work do well do
‘Do your work properly.’

(123) Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi
garden top go.up-SBSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST
iruku iri-gi, ini moke-na bi sioni
food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man
iruku iri-gedi.
food eat-2/3P.FUT
‘They went up to the top of the garden and they all sat down to eat food, thinking that they would eat store-bought food.’

(124) Ni-yafa-ma etaga ri-yo.
say-1P.PST-SQDS move.aside make-2/3S.PST
‘We told him, and he moved over.’

The negative particle comes in the middle of the adjunct verb phrase, between the adjunct and the verb:

(125) Raga de re-yo.
run NEG do-2/3S.PST
‘He didn’t run.’
4.6.3 Impersonal verb constructions

Impersonal verb constructions are such that they are describing the event as uncontrolled. One such construction has been attested in Doromu-Koki, where the event is beyond the control of the speaker.

(126) *Rauna na moi-yo.*

hunger 1S get-2/3S.PST

‘I’m hungry.’ (Lit. ‘Hunger got me.’)

Other constructions which might be considered as such are actually controlled:

(127) *Mofa re-yaka bona koru vai-yaka.*

sweat do-1S.PST and water burn-1S.PST

‘I sweated and I was thirsty.’

(128) *Fofure boi-da asa tumu ni-da.*

steep.ascent go.up-1S.PRES breath short say-1S.PRES

‘When I go up a steep ascent, I’m short of breath.’

(129) *Kaikanomo rautu rofu bo-dedi-ri gauka*

Kaikanomu village BEN go.up-2/3P.PRES-SIMDS sick

re-yo.

do-2/3S.PST

‘While they went up to Kaikanomu village, he got sick.’

4.6.4 Adverbs

Adverbs modify constituents other than nouns, primarily verbs or adjectives, in which case they are classified as manner (pre-verbal) and degree (post-adjectival).

Manner

The table below shows all of the attested ‘manner’ adverbs, which actually are a bit broader in scope, including aspectual and others.
### Table 4.12 Manner Adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>dubu(sa)</code></td>
<td>'more, again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>toga</code></td>
<td>'always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>evade</code></td>
<td>'quickly (action)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ororo</code></td>
<td>'hurriedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kiya</code></td>
<td>'slowly (movement)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>saka</code></td>
<td>'slowly (action)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kava</code></td>
<td>'not all, in vain’ (Hiri Motu <code>kava</code> ‘in vain’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>itafu</code></td>
<td>'in vain, for nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kaini</code></td>
<td>'already’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kamini</code></td>
<td>'enough; and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>vadaini</code></td>
<td>'enough, finally’ (Hiri Motu <code>vadaeni</code> ‘finished, completed action, enough’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>egere</code></td>
<td>'enough, ready, about to’ (Hiri Motu <code>hegeregere</code> ‘enough’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>makai</code></td>
<td>'like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>nigi</code></td>
<td>'almost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>vakoi</code></td>
<td>'together’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are examples of these manner adverbs.

(130) *Una mosara * `dubu `iri-sifa.*  
1P sweet.potato again eat-1P.PRES  
'We are eating sweet potato again.'

(131) *Koru toga `rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma `itu `yaku `no*  
water always wash-POT-HAB-1.PST-SQDS cold DM bad  
inibe `ni-yo.*  
very say-2/3S.PST  
'We always kept washing in the river, and it was very cold.'
(132) Na bi arefa evade vari-gida.
1S TOP sugarcane quickly plant-1S.FUT
‘I will quickly plant sugarcane.’

(133) Ororo re-yo dada de moi-yo.
hurriedly do-2/3S.PST so NEG get-2/3S.PST
‘He did it hurriedly, so he didn’t get it.’

(134) Rumana mida saka re-do.
man child slowly do-3S.PRES
‘The boy works slowly.’

(135) Mida remanu bi foroka=ri bi aka yokoi kava
c indef child two TOP basket=at TOP prawn one not.all
de. Mina mida remanu bi iruku iri-na de
NEG this child two TOP food eat-NOM NEG
rauna vare-yadi.
hunger sleep-2/3P.PST
‘These two children did not have any prawns in the basket. These
two children went to bed without any food.’

(136) Moimai bi itafu re-do, rema yaku fore
work TOP in.vain do-3S.PRES woman DM stone
iri-do.
eat-3S.PRES
‘He works for nothing; his wife uses up the money.’

(137) Nai mida bani goe-gifa-ri uru ni-go
1S.POSS child yam dig-1P.FUT-SIMDS night say-3S.FUT
bi kaini fere-si rautu di-gifa.
TOP already leave-SQSS village go-1P.FUT
‘While my son and I will dig yams, it will get dark, and then at
that time we will leave and go to the village.’

(138) Una bi kamini ne-sifa idu ya bi gabi
1P TOP enough go.down-1P.PRES but 2 TOP later
bai-giya ba?
come-2S.FUT Q
‘Then we go down, but will you come later?’
(139) **Vadaini rasini ourena maina re-yo.**

enough sister first look.for do-2/3S.PST

‘Finally the first sister found her.’

(140) **Ago nigi re-yo, to egere eto re-yo.**

word almost do-2/3S.PST but ready shy do-2/3S.PST

‘He almost told, but then he shied away from it.’

(141) **Makai ni-si ina remanu bo-yadi.**

like.this say-SQSS 3 two go.up-2/3P.PST

‘They said like this, and the two of them went up.’

(142) **John bi David=sa vakoi gogo ne-yadi**

John TOP David=ACCM together gather go.down-2/3P.PST taoni.
town

‘John and David both got together and went down to town.’

Adverbs can also be repeated to indicate intensity:

(143) **Saku saku ni-si ne-yo.**

quickly quickly say-SQSS go.down-2/3S.PST

‘He went down very quickly.’

(144) **Mina sana=ri bi mo kiya kiya ne-yo.**

this place=at TOP at.once slowly slowly go.down-2/3S.PST

‘At this place he went down very slowly.’

**Degree**

Below is a table of the degree adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.13 Degree adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>gade</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>iniye</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tora</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vayavaya</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maka</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Following are examples of degree adverbs.

(145) *Yomirona yabo bi gira tora gade.*

that.there tree TOP hard big very

‘That wood there is very hard.’

(146) *Koru toga rafei-bo-gam-afa-ma itu yaku no iniyen ni-yo.*

water always wash-POT-HAB-1P.PST-SQDS cold DM bad very say-2/3S.PST

‘We always kept washing in the river, and then it was very cold.’

Note that *tora* ‘big’ is primarily an adjective, but sometimes has adverbial uses.

(147) *Muro bi maike tora.*

garden TOP far.away very

‘The garden is very far away.’

(148) *Muro re-si ve-da bi buni vayavaya.*

garden do-SQSS see-1S.PRES TOP good very

‘I work the garden and I see that it is very good.’

(149) *Uka gira dudu moi gira maka re-fo.*

stomach hard INST get hard only do-2P.HORT

‘Simply encourage them with a good conscience.’ (Lit. ‘Only strengthen/harden them with a hard stomach.’)

4.7 Nominalisation

Comrie and Thompson (1985:350) state:

Most languages in the world make use of one or more devices for creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality, or occurrence of that verb or adjective.

In Doromu-Koki the nominaliser makes a verb into a noun, which can then be modified as any other noun. It is realised in the morpheme -na. It also functions as a gerund, indicating a nominalised clause. A nominalised verb can occur in the subject, object, predicate, instrument, or temporal NP slots. One of Dutton’s (1970:919) examples shows the use of the nominaliser:
(150) *Mina amiye yaku auna u-na de re-go.*  
this person DM dog hit-NOM NEG do-3S.FUT  
‘This man will not hit the dog.’ (Lit. ‘This man will not do any  
dog-hitting’; *auna una* ‘dog-hitting’ is a compound noun).  

Following are some more examples, as subject (of main clause, and  
subordinate clause), object, predicate, instrument, and temporal respectively.  

Subject of main clause:  
(151) *Uni moke-na boi tora ni-yo.*  
1.POSS think-NOM go.up big say-2/3S.PST  
‘Our thinking increased.’  

Subject of subordinate clause:  
(152) *Vakoi moi-bo-bi-gifa kumo ve-na buni*  
together get-POT-DUR-1P.FUT in.order.to see-NOM good  
i-yaine.  
say-3S.JUS  
‘We might be getting it together so that it will look good (lit. ‘its  
look will be good’).’  

Object:  
(153) *Beika fafau yi moke-na ai-yo?*  
what on.top.of 2.POSS think-NOM put-2/3S.PST  
‘On what do you base your thinking?’  

Predicate:  
(154) *Yi buni=ri bi una ve fere-na de.*  
2.POSS good=at TOP 1P family leave-NOM NEG  
‘During your good times you are not abandoning your family.’  

Instrument:  
(155) *to eo tau neinei uni vegu re-na kana dudu,*  
but moon all each 1P.POSS life do-NOM like INST  
*irakuna rau re-na di meda=ri ...*  
feast share do-NOM GEN day=at  
‘but every month, according to our custom, on the feast-sharing  
day...’
Temporal:

(156) Vata ni-na waitani aufa maka ni-da.
born say-NOM from grandmother only say-1S.PRES
‘From birth I only say grandmother.’
5. Minor word classes

Peripheral items among the word classes include various particles as well as conjunctions, all of which are discussed below. Other word classes such as postpositions, locatives and adverbs are discussed in §6.1.1.

5.1 Particles

Particles include the topic marker, affirmative, question words, exclamations, negative and vocative.

5.1.1 Topic marker

The topic marker is quite pervasive throughout Doromu-Koki texts, used more by some speakers than others. It regularly occurs in verbless clauses, to mark an argument as topic, to mark an antecedent as topic in switch-reference constructions, and as a relativiser. In most instances it is obligatory. One ‘optional’ instance would be as in (3) below, or when the development marker yaku is used instead, as in (1); bi in place of yaku would indicate the subject NP Tau as the topic, whereas yaku seeks to develop the story (see also §8.2.2). The topic marker’s head is an NP or VP.

(1) *Tau yaku ini vene raka ni edadi-yo.*
  Tau DM 3.POS people name say wake.up-2/3S.PST
  ‘Tau called out waking up his people.’

In a verbless clause, the topic marker is obligatory, except in (3) and (7) below:

(2) *Ya bi buni ba?*
  2 TOP good Q
  ‘Are you well?’
Example (6), from Dutton, while permissible, is quite rare. The alternative with *bi* in (7) shows the more common utterance. The topic marker *bi* establishes something as relevant to the discussion at hand (see also §8.2.3).

(6) *Mina amiye ide, mina fore.*

this man NEG this stone

‘This is not a man, this is a stone.’ (Dutton 1970:920)

(7) *Mina bi amiye de, mina bi fore.*

this TOP man NEG this TOP stone

‘This is not a man, this is a stone.’

Even more common would be *Mibi amiye de, mibi fore.* ‘This one is not a man, it is a stone.’ Note the dual use of *bi* above, which does occur occasionally in separate clauses. Rarely does it occur twice in one clause:

(8) *Na bi wiki nokoi-maka ame-si bi, rautu*

1S TOP week one-only stay-SQSS TOP village

dairi-gida.

return-1S.FUT

‘I will just stay one week, and I will return to the village.’

The speaker wants to focus on himself and ‘will just stay one week’, hence the second *bi* following a verbal clause.

Arguments in verbal clauses can also be marked as topic:

(9) *Ini auna bi dona maina re-yo.*

3.POSS dog TOP pig look.for do-2/3S.PST

‘His dog was hunting for pigs.’
Normally bi marks the subject, but in some instances objects can also be marked:

(10) *Dui rei-bo-yafa-ri mamo moke-yaka ida bi* enter do-POT-1S.PST-SIMDS then think-1S.PST road TOP *verei bai-yafa mironi.* leave come-1P.PST there ‘When we entered, I thought we had left the road and came over there.’

Marking topic in switch reference constructions:

(11) *Nai toba ni ve-giya-ri bi mo dibu* 1S.POSS sister see-2S.FUT-SIMDS TOP at.once knowledge *ni-giya ina bi toe nufa.* say-2S.FUT 3 TOP heavy POSS ‘When you will see my sister, straight away you will know that she is pregnant.’

Following a relative clause (see also §7.4):

(12) *Mina vegu re-yo bi ni-bo-bi-ged.** this practice do-2/3S.PST TOP say-POT-DUR-2/3P.FUT ‘This practice that he does they might be talking about it.’

### 5.1.2 Affirmative

The affirmative is indicated by the particle yo ‘yes’.

(13) *Yo ni-yafa.* yes say-1P.PST ‘We said yes.’

Doromu-Koki has the West Pacific Rim (WPR) strategy for affirmation/negation rather than the Standard Average European (SAE) as proposed by Whorf (1956). That means that ‘yes’ and ‘no’ are used to confirm or deny the quality of the question, rather than the response, as in English.

(14) *Ya bi di-giya ba? Yo, na bi di-gida.* 2 TOP go-2S.FUT Q yes 1S TOP go-1S.FUT ‘Will you go? Yes, I will go.’
5.1.3 Question words

Dutton (1970:920) says: ‘Yes-no questions seem to be distinguished from statements of the same form by intonation only.’ This is in general the case, although the particle ba ‘eh’ is often used to indicate a question. A somewhat less frequently used question particle is eni ‘eh’, which only co-occurs with ba, as in (18).

Some examples:

(15) Ya bi de di-giya ba? Yo, na de di-gida.
   2 TOP NEG go-2S.FUT Q yes 1S NEG go-1S.FUT
   ‘Won’t you go? No, I won’t go.’

(16) Ina arefa vari-dedi ba?
   3 sugarcane plant-2/3P.PRES Q
   ‘Are they planting sugarcane?’

(17) Una bi kamini ne-sifa idu ya bi gabi
   1P TOP enough go.down-1P.PRES but 2 top later
   bai-giya ba?
   come-2S.FUT Q
   ‘Then we go down but will you come later?’

(18) Ya bi mirona amiyie di ni diba maina
   2 TOP that person GEN say knowledge look.for
   re-sa amiyie yokoi, eni ba?
   do-2S.PRES person one eh Q
   ‘Are you the one looking after that person?’

One example has been attested with the order of these two reversed:

(19) Bi dudu ka de re-gida ba, eni?
   TOP INST also NEG do-1S.FUT Q eh
   ‘Will I not do it also with you?’

5.1.4 Exclamations

Doromu-Koki has the following exclamations (or interjections): ao ‘oh’ and eeo ‘oh’. Note that ao ‘oh’ is used as a response to a surprising comment. Eeo is not used in a sentence, but only as an exclamation during a celebration
when the dancers first arrive, especially for one involving bride price. Another common exclamation is *u* as a form of farewell.

(20)  *Rautu* bo-gam-afa-ri idau duma duma 
       village go.up-HAB-2P.PRES-SIMDS on.way steal steal 
       vene yaku una eriki-yadi.  ...Ao!
       people DM 1P block-2/3P.PST oh 
       ‘When we were going up to the village, rascals blocked us. ...Oh’

### 5.1.5 Negative

The negative is indicated by the particle *ide*, which is realised as *de* after a word ending in a vowel. *Ide* is also used in answer to a question.

(21)  *Nai* oto de buni ni-do. 
       1S.Poss visit NEG good say-3S.PRES 
       ‘My not visiting is good.’

(22)  *Ya buni ba? Ide, na buni de.* 
       2 good Q NEG 1S good NEG 
       ‘Are you well? No, I am not good.’

Another negative is *dia*:

(23)  *R.A. dia beika gauka ago siau dudu ate rei* 
       R.A. NEG what sick word power INST receive do 
       vare-sa. 
       sleep-2S.PRES 
       ‘R.A., it is not with powerful word of some sickness that you are sleeping.’

Dutton (1970:918) suggests that the negative may occur inside the verb phrase in the Manubaran languages, citing examples (24) and (25), taken from Dutton (1970:919). However, as my glosses show, it is more likely that the verb in (25) has undergone nominalisation. (Dutton offers no explanation for the *-na* ‘nominaliser’ morpheme, see §4.7.)

(24)  *Mina amiye yaku auna u-yo.* 
       this man DM dog hit-2/3S.PST 
       ‘This man hit the dog.’
(25) *Mina amiye yaku auna u-na de re-go.*
   this man DM dog hit-NOM NEG do-3S.FUT
   ‘This man will not be hitting dogs.’

Following are two examples of this use of *-na ‘NOM’* in negative clauses. Notice that (26) is a negative imperative clause marked by the prohibitive *ga*.

(26) *Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai-si na eru re-na*  
   wash-DUR-1S.FUT-SIMDS come-SQSS 1S trick do-NOM
   *ga re-fa.*  
   PRHB do-2P.IMP
   ‘While I will be washing don’t come and trick me.’

(27) *Mida remanu bi foroka=ri bi aka yokoi kava de.*  
   child two TOP basket=at TOP prawn one not.all
   *Mina mida remanu bi iruku iri-na de*  
   NEG this child two TOP food eat-NOM NEG
   *rauna vare-yadi.*  
   hunger sleep-2/3P.PST
   ‘These two children did not have any prawns in the basket. These two children went to bed hungry without eating any food.’

5.1.6 Vocative

The vocative *o* is used primarily for calling out to someone.

(28) *Baba o babo o babo, goivaka be ni-gida?*  
   father VOC father VOC father when some say-1S.FUT
   ‘Oh Father, oh father, oh father, when will I get some?’ (From a song, hence the repetition.)

Sometimes the vocative is realised as *e*. The variation appears to be phonologically determined: *o* following a low vowel and *e* following a non-low vowel.

(29) *Tomi e uni nono moke-sa ba de?*  
   Tomi VOC 1P.POSS mother think-2S.PRES or NEG
   ‘Oh Tomi, do you think about our mother or not?’
5.2 Conjunctions

Doromu-Koki has various additive, alternative and contrastive coordinating conjunctions, as well as cause-effect, result-reason, contingent and purpose subordinating conjunctions. They are further discussed in chapter 7 and listed here below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>adina</em></td>
<td>‘because, reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ba</em></td>
<td>‘or’ (also a question marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>badina</em></td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baebu</em></td>
<td>‘lest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bao</em></td>
<td>‘but no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bema</em></td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bona</em></td>
<td>‘and’ (linking nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dada</em></td>
<td>‘so that’ (clausal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>idu</em></td>
<td>‘but, so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kumo</em></td>
<td>‘in order to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td>‘and’ (clausal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mina dada</em></td>
<td>‘therefore, for this reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mo</em></td>
<td>‘(and) at once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o</em></td>
<td>‘or’ (loan from English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td>‘but, and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vonisi</em></td>
<td>‘if, even though’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ye</em></td>
<td>‘so’ (anaphoric reference)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Clause structure

There are two types of clauses found in Doromu-Koki, verbal and non-verbal. They are each discussed in turn below.

6.1 Verbal clauses

The general formulae for Doromu-Koki verbal clauses are seen below, contrasting intransitive and transitive clauses respectively.

Intransitive: $S \rightarrow (NP_{SUBJ}) (NP_{OBL}) V$

1. $\text{Mathais bi agiya suf a suf a di-yo.}$
   Mathais TOP yesterday bush bush go-2/3S.PST
   ‘Yesterday Mathais went to the big bush (i.e. went hunting).’

2. $\text{Na Moresby di-gida.}$
   1S Port.Moresby go-1S.FUT
   ‘I will go to Port Moresby.’

Transitive: $S \rightarrow (NP_{SUBJ}) (NP_{OBL}) NP_{DO} (NP_{IO}) V$

3. $\text{uba dubuisa bi tufe ri-gedi}$
   both brothers TOP raft make-2/3P.FUT
   ‘both brothers will be making a raft’

4. $\text{...bi tau ga be ini mida mar-o.}$
   TOP banana some 3.POSS child give-2/3S.PST
   ‘...he gave some banana to his son.’
Various features of verbal clauses are discussed below, including postpositional phrases, locatives, interrogatives and temporal periphery.

6.1.1 Postpositions and postpositional phrases

There are three classes of postpositions in Doromu-Koki, expressing location, direction and various non-local relationships.

Location

The locative postpositions are used to describe physical location relative to some stationary referent. The following table shows the Doromu-Koki locative postpositions. (Dutton (1970:922) categorises =ri ‘at’ as direction, but its use is broader.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adina</td>
<td>‘close, beside, in close proximity, near, next to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boge</td>
<td>‘behind, outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabire</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ide</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nefau</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negau</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odoro</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tebo</td>
<td>‘on top of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ri</td>
<td>‘at, in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=u</td>
<td>‘by, on, in, with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each of these locative postpositions follow:

(5)  *Rumana mida bi yabo odoro ame-do.*  
man child TOP tree on sit-3S.PRES  
‘The boy is sitting on the tree.’

(6)  *Nai rema di rautu bi rautu negau.*  
1s.poss woman GEN village TOP village near  
‘My wife’s village is near the village.’
(7) Yava ida nefau ame-do boro mina kiki house road in.front.of stay-3S.PRES ball this kick re-yaka. do-1S.PST
‘The ball that is in front of the path to the house, this one I kicked.’

(8) Omuna tau tora gabire=ri ame-sa.
mountain all big under=at stay-2S.PRES
‘You live under all the big mountains.’

(9) Ina bi Port Moresby=ri ame-go.
3 TOP Port Moresby=at sit-3S.FUT
‘He will be living in Port Moresby.’


(10) Doba=u oureifeide-na amiye ni-giya.
long=in lead-NOM person say-2S.FUT
‘Ahead of time you will tell the leaders.’

(11) Yi ekama vana=u moi-si rautu di.
2.POSS mat hand=by get-SQSS village go
‘Take your mat by hand and go home.’

**Directional**

The directional postpositions are used to relate direction relative to some referent. Below is a table of the directional postpositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atafu</td>
<td>‘close, near, next to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buda</td>
<td>‘in front of, before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fafau</td>
<td>‘on top of, above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gutu(na)</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urana</td>
<td>‘toward’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of the directional postpositions follow:

(12)  *Tau bi koyomu bani daru daru yu fafau*
  Tau TOP rat yam root root gourd.paste on.top.of
  *fama-yo.* slap-2/3S.PST
  ‘Tao slapped gourd paste on top of stringy rat yams.’

(13)  *Kamini ina vene yaku nana rei ne-yadi ina atafu, re-si ni-yadi…*
  enough 3 people DM walk do go.down-2/3P.PST 3
  close do-SQSS say-2/3P.PST
  ‘Then the people walked on down close to him, and then they
  said…’

Here the postpositional phrase *ina atafu* ‘close to him’ has been moved
for focus.

(14)  *Karen Prisila buda ai-do.*
  Karen  Priscilla in.front.of put-3S.PRES
  ‘Karen places it in front of Priscilla.’

(15)  *Uni koru iri-sifa bi guri koru gutu moi-sifa.*
  1.POSS water eat-1P.PRES TOP deep water from get-1S.PRES
  ‘The water that we drink we get from a deep well.’

(16)  *Kamini yokoi yokoi dadi-ga rautu urana di-yadi.*
  enough one one get.up-SIMSS village toward
  go-2/3P.PST
  ‘So one-by-one they got up and went back toward the village.’

**Non-local relationships**

Non-local postpositions typically specify the semantic relationship
between the predicate and non-local oblique arguments. Those relationships
include semantic roles such as instrument, possessive, benefactive, recipient,
ablative, and purpose. The genitive *di* is included in this class. Those found in
Doromu-Koki are seen in the table below.
TABLE 6.3 NON-LOCAL POSTPOSITIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>‘genitive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudu</td>
<td>‘instrument’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nufa</td>
<td>‘possessive’ (be with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro(fu)</td>
<td>‘benefactive, recipient, ablative, purpose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totona</td>
<td>‘purpose’ (Hiri Motu borrowing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are examples of the non-local postpositions.

(17) **John bi kodu dudu auna u-yo.**
John TOP stick INST dog hit-2/3S.PST
‘John hit the dog with a stick.’

(18) **Ya moni nufa?**
2 money POSS
‘Do you have any money?’

*Rofu* ‘for, in order that, to, from’ is often shortened to *ro* and has varied uses, as seen below. (It is glossed in accordance with its meaning as BEN, REC, PURP or ABL. Not everything is understood about this postposition.)

(19) **Mibi yi vene yaku bona dubu di**
this.one.is 2.POSS people DM and church GEN
*ourefeide-na vene yaku, ya na rofu afei*
lead-NOM people TOP 2 1S BEN take
*bai-yadi.*
come-2/3P.PST
‘That is, you people and the church leaders, you came back for me.’

(20) **Mina muramura bi malaria rofu bi buni.**
this medicine TOP malaria BEN TOP good
‘This medicine is good for treating malaria.’

(21) **Vele kero re-si Toina rofu ni-yo,...**
Vele turn do-SQSS Toina REC say-2/3S.PST
‘Vele turned and said to Toina,...’
(22) *Kaikanomu rautu rofu bo-dedi-ri gauka*  
Kaikanomu village ABL go.up-2/3P.PRES-SIMDS sickness  
re-yo.  
do-2/3S.PST  
‘While they went up from Kaikanomu village he got sick.’

(23) *Nai nono yava ro bo-yo iruku*  
1S.POSS mother house PURP go.up-2/3S.PST food  
feide-gi.  
cook-PURP  
‘My mother went up to the house to cook food.’

In the following example, *rofu* functions as a subordinating conjunction indicating purpose.

(24) *Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu*  
so 2 REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT PURP  
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.  
Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT  
‘So you yourself will take the child down in order that they will get him at Siau’s house.’

Benefactive *rofu* can be separated from the pronoun it modifies, as in the following example where it follows the verb phrase:

(25) *Doketa ya iriyeduka re-go rofu ya imi-go.*  
doctor 2 sorrow do-3S.FUT BEN 2 pierce-3S.FUT  
‘The doctor will feel sorry for you and give you a shot.’

The non-local postposition *totona* ‘in order to, so, as if, for’ has been borrowed from Hiri Motu.

(26) *Uni isira uni gaukara mina totona are*  
1P.POSS play 1P.POSS work this PURP stand  
re-yafa.  
do-1P.PST  
‘Our play and our work, these are what we stand for.’

The genitive postposition *di* differs from the other non-local postpositions in that it does not indicate a relationship between a predicate and its arguments, but rather between nouns within a noun phrase. As a
result, *di* occurs in subject, object, location, temporal, and predicate position (i.e., all positions), as indicated in the following examples, where the phrase in which *di* occurs is underlined.

Subject:

(27) **Rema remanu di roka bi Inu Mamaru bona Dau**

woman two GEN name TOP Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.

‘The two women’s names are Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’

Object:

(28) **Mr John di sina neide-yadi, de bi ada gira**

Mr John GEN story hear-2/3P.PST NEG TOP head hard

di re-si ame-bi-yagadu.
do-SQSS stay-DUR-HYP

‘They understood Mr John’s story, and they shouldn’t have remained stubborn.’

Location:

(29) **Kamini moi-si ina vene di vana=ri ai-yo.**

enough get-SQSS 3 people GEN hand=at put-2/3S.PST

‘So he took him and placed him in the people’s hands.’

Temporal:

(30) **…to eo tau neinei uni vegu re-na kana**

but moon all each 1P.POSS life do-NOM like

dudu, **irakuna rau re-na di meda=ri…**

INST feast share do-NOM GEN day=at

‘…but every month, according to our custom, on the sharing feast’s day…’

Predicate:

(31) **Rapheal bona Solo bi Robin di dubuiyaka.**

Rapheal and Solo TOP Robin GEN brothers

‘Rapheal and Solo are Robin’s brothers.’
Di can also be used in combination with a possessive pronoun (mainly third person; see also §3.1):

(32) *badina gua mida gua bi agiya di ini vegu*
    because now child now TOP tomorrow GEN 3.POSS life
    ‘because today’s youth are tomorrow’s life’

**Postpositional clitics**

The postpositions =*ri* ‘at’, =*u* ‘by’ and =*sa* ‘accompaniment’ are enclitics, as they are attached to the final word of the phrase, regardless of what class of word that is. This final word can even be another postposition, which is actually quite common. The enclitic =*ri* ‘at’ especially has been attested as bound to nearly all the other postpositions (e.g. *boge=ri* ‘behind’), and it can also be bound to the demonstrative pronouns to form locatives, such that *mina=ri* (‘this=at’) means ‘here’ and *mirona=ri* (‘that=at’) means ‘there’. (Note that =*ri* ‘at’ and =*sa* are phonologically bound, but in the practical orthography they are written separately. This is particularly relevant in distinguishing =*ri* ‘at’ from -*ri* ‘SIMDS’ and =*sa* ‘ACCM’ from -*sa* 2S.PRES.)

(33) *Ina bi gua mina=ri evade kaiya dudu dona*
    3 TOP now this=at quickly knife INST pig
    *nugar-o.*
    cut-2/3S.PST
    ‘And then at this time he quickly cut the pig with a knife.’

(34) *Ina bi yava tebo=ri sui ni-do.*
    3 TOP house on.top.of=at hide say-3S.PRES
    ‘He is hiding in the top of the house.’

(35) *Dura bi yabo adina=ri.*
    string.bag TOP tree next.to=at
    ‘The string bag is next to the tree.’

(36) *Yava boge=ri guri ai-yadi.*
    house behind=at bury put-2/3P.PST
    ‘They buried him behind the house.’

(37) *Ita bi yava gabire=ri.*
    firewood TOP house under=at
    ‘The firewood is under the house.’
(38) *Mida bi yava ide=ri ame-do.*
child TOP house inside=at stay-3S.PRES
‘The child is inside the house.’

The accompaniment clitic =*sa* ‘with’ is bound to the final element of a noun phrase, which can be a quantifier, a noun, or a pronoun, as illustrated in the following examples:

(39) *Amiye tau=sa gubuyo re-yo-ma...*
person all=ACCM anger do-2/3S.PST-SQDS
‘He got angry along with all the people and...’

(40) *Na nai rema mida=sa bi buni ame-sifa.*
1S 1S.POSS woman child=ACCM TOP good stay-1P.PRES
‘I am living well with my wife and children.’

(41) *Na bi ina=sa ago ni-da.*
1S TOP 3=ACCM word say-1S.PRES
‘I am talking with him.’

### 6.1.2 Locatives

Doromo-Koki has two types of locatives: adverbial demonstratives and locative adverbs. The adverbial demonstratives correspond to demonstratives. They typically precede the direct object, and can combine with the demonstratives. They also take clitics.

**Adverbial demonstratives**

Doromo-Koki has the following adverbial demonstratives shown in Table 6.4, which, like the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, are distinguished for general and specific. They also have the added distance distinction, so that there is close, mid, distant, further (relative to some other object) and higher. At this point it is not clear what the distinction is between the two forms for ‘over there’, *soroni* and *mirodu*. It could be that *soroni* is a borrowed term as it does not have a specific counterpart.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>general</strong></th>
<th><strong>specific</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td><strong>mini</strong></td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td><strong>mironi</strong></td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distant</td>
<td><strong>soroni</strong></td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mirodu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>further</td>
<td><strong>isefu</strong></td>
<td>‘there further away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher</td>
<td><strong>iseni</strong></td>
<td>‘up over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hiri Motu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>iniseni/iniseniai</strong></td>
<td>‘here’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of these adverbial demonstratives follow:

(42) *Ina gua bi mini.*
3 now TOP here
‘He is here now.’

(43) *Yomini moi bo!*
right.here get go.up
‘Take it right here and go!’

(44) *Na yaku moke-yaka bi, mironi aka u-dedi*
1S DM think-1S.PST TOP there prawn hit-2/3P.PRES
bae ni-yaka.
come say-1S.PST
‘I thought to myself, “They are there killing prawns and bringing them.”’

(45) *Ini rautu bi yomironi.*
3.POSS village TOP right.there
‘His village is that one right there.’

(46) *Soroni yabo adina=ri.*
over.there tree next.to=at
‘It is over there next to the tree.’
(47) *Ini rautu bi mirodu.*
3.POSS village TOP over.there
‘Their village is over there.’

(48) *Yomirodu ai-yafa to kaere ya moi-yo?*
right.over.there put-1P.PST but who DM get-2/3S.PST
‘We put it right over there but who took it?’

(49) *Mirona isefu ro moi-vo.*
that there.further.away ABL get-2S.HORT
‘You should get that one there from further away.’

(50) *Yoisefu moi.*
right.further.away get
‘Get it right there further away.’

(51) *Iseni moi.*
up.over.there get
‘Get it up over there.’

(52) *Yoiseni moi bo.*
right.up.over.there get go.up
‘Get it right up over there.’

**Locative adverbs**

Following is a table of the Doromu-Koki locative adverbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative adverbs</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vaifuro ‘above’</td>
<td>Uni muro bi vaifuro. ‘Our garden is above.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maike ‘far away’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egona ‘lower place’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gutuna ‘distant place’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etofaro ‘outside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ema ro ‘downstream’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaima ‘far away’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anema ro ‘upstream’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples follow:

(53) *Uni muro bi vaifuro.*
1P.POSS garden TOP above
‘Our garden is above.’
(54) **Egona** ro ne-yo.
lower.place PURP go.down-2/3S.PST
‘He went down to a lower place.’

(55) *To ina bi etofaro=ri are re-yo.*
but 3S TOP outside=at stand do-2/3S.PST
‘But he stood outside.’

(56) **Meda regode ni-yo-ri,** gutuna
day three say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS far.away distant.place
nei re-yo-ri...
go.down do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS
‘When three days had passed, from far away when he went down...’

(57) **Muro bi maike tora.**
garden TOP far.away very
‘The garden is very far away.’

(58) *Ya bi goina gutuna=ri bai-yo?*
2 TOP which.one distant.place=at come-2/3S.PST
‘From which place did you come?’

The locative phrases *ema ro* ‘downstream’ and *anema ro* ‘upstream’ are composed of *ema+ro* ‘river mouth+ABL’ and *anema+ro* ‘head water+ABL’, which do not have the component of directional movement. It is possible that the same holds for *vaifuro* ‘above’ and *etofaro* ‘outside,’ thus these two are included here with the locative adverbs.

(59) *Ina bi koru ema ro ame-do.*
3 TOP water river.mouth ABL stay-3S.PRES
‘He is living downstream.’

(60) *Ini usika bi koru anema ro ame-do.*
3.POSS younger TOP water head.waters ABL stay-3S.PRES
‘His younger brother lives upstream.’

Postpositions added to nouns can form temporal elements. For example, when *fufuta* ‘back’ is combined with *=ri* ‘at’, the result *fufuta=ri* means ‘behind, after’.
(61) *Meda be koina ni-yo fufuta=ri, Mary day some finish say-2/3S.PST back=at Mary dadi-si evade boi ne-yo. get.up-SQSS quickly go.up go.down-3S.PST ‘After some days passed, Mary got up and quickly went there.’

6.1.3 Interrogatives

Doromu-Koki has ten interrogatives as seen in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaere</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beika</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goivaka</td>
<td>‘when (location)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beikadinare</td>
<td>‘when (direction)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goini</td>
<td>‘where (location)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goidu</td>
<td>‘where (direction)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beika resi</td>
<td>‘why’ (beika + re-si ‘what + do-SQSS’ – a frozen form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gokai</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goina</td>
<td>‘which one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gokaisa</td>
<td>‘how many, how much’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are examples of each of the interrogatives:

(62) *Ya kaere ro ago ni-sa?*
2 who BEN word say-2S.PRES ‘To whom are you speaking?’

Note that kaere is also used as a relative pronoun, although it is not the usual strategy for relative clause formation (see §7.4).

(63) *Mina bi beika?*
this TOP what ‘What is this?’

Beika ‘what’ can also be used as a relativiser:
(64) **Beika** bura ri-yaka bi kamini bura ri-yaka.
    what write make-1S.PST TOP enough write make-1S.PST
    ‘What I have written I have written.’

(65) **Goivaka** mina yava ri-yo?
    when this house make-2/3S.PST
    ‘When did you build this house?’

(66) **Beikadinare** di-gedi?
    when go-2/3P.FUT
    ‘When are they going?’

Dutton (1970:980) has proposed that *dinare* is possibly derived from Motu *dina* ‘day’ + *re* ‘at, on’, so that *beikadinare* would be ‘what+day+at/on’. However, *re* means ‘do’, while =ri ‘at’ is probably what was meant.

(67) ... mamoe di mida bi goini?
    sheep GEN child TOP where
    ‘...where is the lamb?’

(68) **Ya goidu** di-sa?
    2 where go-2S.PRES
    ‘Where are you going?’

(69) **Beika.resi** yoga ni-dedi?
    why laugh say-2/3P.PRES
    ‘Why are they laughing?’

(70) **Dura gokai** vadi-yo?
    net.bag how make-2/3S.PST
    ‘How did she make the net bag?’

Also we see *gokai* ‘how’ used with *re-si* ‘and then’:

(71) **Uniye** ni kaite-yafa **gokai** re-si makai ni-do.
    1P.REFL say ask-1P.PST how do-SBSS like.this say-3S.PRES
    ‘We asked ourselves how it is happening like this.’

(72) **Ya bi goina** gutuna=ri bai-yo?
    2 TOP which.one distant.place=at come-2/3S.PST
    ‘From which place did you come?’
6.1.4 Temporal periphery

Semantically, Doromu-Koki has four kinds of temporal periphery: calendrical, cyclical, days, and relative temporal elements. They are each described below. Typically, the temporal periphery occurs either at the beginning or at end of a clause; its position is normally a matter of prominence (see §8.2.2).

Calendrical

The calendrical temporal periphery relates to the calendar. The nouns functioning as the core elements of this type are listed below.

Table 6.7 Calendrical temporal periphery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meda</td>
<td>‘day; sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fura</td>
<td>‘week’ (from Hiri Motu pura ‘week’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eo</td>
<td>‘month; moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagani</td>
<td>‘year’ (from Hiri Motu lagani ‘year’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are examples of the calendrical temporal periphery (with the head nouns bolded):

(74)  Meda yokoi=ri nai mida remanu garasi di-yadi.
     day one=at 1S.POSS child two glass go-2/3S.PST
     ‘One day my two boys went out with their diving glasses.’

(75)  Na mirona fura=ri bo-gida.
     1S that week=at go.up-1P.FUT
     ‘I will go up next week.’

(76)  Mirona ferei bai-yafa eo=ri.
     that leave come-1P.PST moon=at
     ‘We left and came that month.’
(77) Nai rema voi re-gida di meda bi gua
1S.POSS woman sell do-1S.FUT GEN day TOP now
mina eo mirona lagani di meda vana ufo
this moon that year GEN day hand clap
remanu ma vana raro.
two and hand line
‘My wife’s bride price day is the 24th day of this month next year.’

Cyclical

The cyclical periphery refers to those time notions which occur over and over again on a regular daily cycle. They are shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.8 Cyclical Temporal Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uruyaku  ‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uriyena  ‘afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urusa ‘night’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are examples of each:

(78) Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo-ri bi,
plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST-SIMDS TOP
uruyaku gorogoro Tau yaku ini vene raka ni
morning early Tau DM 3.POSS people name say
e-dadi-yo…
CAUS-get up 2/3S.PST
‘They will keep planting whilst the sun comes up; then early in the morning Tau called out to wake up his people…’

(79) Uriyena yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa
afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
di-yaka.
go-1S.PST
‘One afternoon I took a gun and went to the bush.’
(80) *Rei mona maka de re-yo ba yaku bura*
do properly only NEG do-2/3S.PST and DM expose
*ri-yo urusa rofu.*
make-2/3S.PST night BEN
‘He did not do it properly and so he was exposed at night.’

**Days**

This category describes days in relationship to one another. This is a separate category as it is so productive in Doromu-Koki, especially in the past, which is quite striking considering that there is only one past tense exhibited in the language. (Perhaps in past history there were more tenses exhibited.) Note that ‘yesterday’ and tomorrow’ are the same word (concurring with Dutton 1970:924), and so can also be glossed as ‘one day removed from today’. They can be disambiguated by the verb morphology. The words referring to days in the past are mostly used in counting off days, rather than in sentences.

**Table 6.9 Days**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>didoka</td>
<td>‘five days before today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maitoka</td>
<td>‘four days before today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neureka</td>
<td>‘three days before today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aineka</td>
<td>‘day before yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agiya</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gua</td>
<td>‘today/ now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agiya</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are example sentences using some of these Doromu-Koki day terms, keeping in mind what was mentioned above.

(81) *Aineka de-yafa.*
day.before.yesterday come.down-1P.PST
‘We came down the day before yesterday.’
(82) **Agiya** voi re-yaka buka mina mar-aka.
yesterday buy do-1S.PST book this give-1S.PST
‘Yesterday I bought the book that I gave him.’

(83) **Mina dona gabu tora gade remanu gua rautu=ri**
this pig black big very two now village=at
ame-dedi.
stay-2/3P.PRES
‘These two big black pigs are now in the village.’

(84) **Nai mokei mokei re-da bi agiya taoni=ri**
1S.POSS think think do-1S.PRES TOP tomorrow town=at
ne-gida.
go.down-1S.FUT
‘I keep thinking that tomorrow I’ll go down into town.’

**General time words**

General time words cover all the remaining temporal periphery, and are
used to encode relative time. They are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 6.10 General time words</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biyetete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duakau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fogori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuofuori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorogoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalonari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mibiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sena(gi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here the river’s name is made prominent by moving it to the beginning of the sentence; the normal construction would be:

(86) Biyetete tora yaku moka roka Kokora ai-yadi
long.time.ago big DM deep name Kokora put-2/3P.PST
vo ni-yo.
happen say-2/3S.PST
‘A long time ago the elders named the Kokora River “deep.”’

(87) Ina gabi de-go.
3 after come.down-3S.FUT
‘She will come down afterward.’

(88) Vari vari re-gedi meda moiyori bi,
plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST-SIMDS TOP
uruyaku gorogoro.
morning early
‘While the sun comes up they will keep planting, early in the morning.’

(89) ...kode=ri bi uni bobada.manone yaku iya
later=at TOP 1P.POSS ancestors DM war
re-gasa iniye iniye umuye-gam-adi.
do-SIMSS REFL REFL kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘...later our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.’

(90) Rautu vene de-gedi mamu dairi-gida.
village people come.down-2/3P.FUT later return-1S.FUT
‘The villagers will come down and later I will come back.’
(91) *Iruku ve-yafa=ri amiye tua re-na de mibiko*  
food see-1P.PST=at person wait do-NOM NEG right.away  
evade maka iri-na de roro re-yafa.  
quickly only eat-NOM NEG finish.off do-1P.PST  
‘When we saw the food we did not wait for the people but right away we didn’t finish off eating it (either).’

(92) *John bi ini nono=sa etofaro ruika*  
John TOP 3.POSS mother=ACCM outside right.now  
yaku-yadi.  
go.outside-2/3P.PST  
‘John went outside with his mother (just) right now.’

(93) *Senagi tora vene yaku rema rumana me-si*  
long.ago big people DM woman man marry-SQSS  
iini gokai dudu rema voi re-gam-adi.  
3.POSS how INST woman buy do-HAB-2/3P.PST  
‘Long ago elders married men and women and this is how they were paying bride price.’

Some appear to be conjunctions (*duakau*, *fogori*, *fuofuori* and *lalonari* all glossed as ‘while/during’), and in addition three of those appear to be frozen forms incorporating the clitic =*ri* ‘at’:

(94) *Sena duakau vabara moi-na kode=ri bona*  
long.ago during light get-NOM later=at and  
sioni ka oki-na...  
white.man also arrive-NOM  
‘Long ago while becoming civilized, at the white men’s arrival...’

(95) *Iya fogori sioni amiye roka Mister English,*  
war during white.man person name Mister English  
*Rigo=ri soka re-yo.*  
Rigo=at arrive do-2/3S.PST  
‘During the fighting a white man named Mister English arrived in Rigo.’

(96) *Adena u-gam-adi fuofuori ruda re-yadi.*  
dance hit-HAB-2/3P.PST while fight do-2/3P.PST  
‘While dancing they were fighting.’
(97) Yaga *lalonari* nai nono muye-yo.
    dry.season during 1S.POSS mother die-2/3S.PST
    ‘During the dry season my mother died.’

Temporal periphery can be placed before or after the subject along with
the topic marker, primarily to change focus. (See also §8.2.2 for further
discussion on variant word order, prominence and focus.)

(98) Agiya *ina bi rautu=ri tauga mida mar-o.*
    yesterday 3 TOP village=at banana child give-2/3S.PST
    ‘Yesterday he was giving the children bananas in the village.’

(99) Ina *bi agiya rautu=ri tauga mida mar-o.*
    3 TOP yesterday village=at banana child give-2/3S.PST
    ‘He was giving the children bananas in the village yesterday.’

6.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses subsume equative and descriptive predications. Doromu-Koki juxtaposes the topic with the comment through a predicate
which is filled by a noun or adjective phrase. They take the following form:

\[ S \rightarrow NP_{SUBJ} NP_{PRED} \]

\[ S \rightarrow NP_{SUBJ} ADJP \]

6.2.1 Equative

Following is an example of an equative clause:

\[ NP_{SUBJ} NP_{PRED} \]

(100) *Peter bi mida keika.*
    Peter TOP child little
    ‘Peter is a little child.’

6.2.2 Descriptive

Descriptive clauses are shown below:

\[ NP_{SUBJ} ADJP \]

(101) *Na bi doba.*
    1S TOP long
    ‘I am tall.’
In the example below, the first noun phrase is a topic, and the second one (diba ‘knowledge’) is a nominal comment that attributes a characteristic to the topic. It is, however, not an existential construction such as: ‘As for me, there is knowledge’, but more probably ‘I have knowledge’. Yet it cannot take nufa ‘POSS’. It could conceivably be considered as an idiom.

```
NP_SBJ           ADJP
1S.POSS mother  TOP  good
(My mother is well.)
```

The negator de is added clause-finally:

```
NP_SBJ           NP_PRED
1S              knowledge
(I know.)
```

```
NP_SBJ           NP_PRED
1S              knowledge  NEG
(I do not know.)
```
This chapter deals with complex clause and sentences structures, including coordination and subordination, direct versus indirect speech and relative clauses.

7.1 Coordination

Crystal (1985:76) defines coordination as: ‘A term in grammatical analysis to refer to the process or result of linking linguistic units of equivalent syntactic status, e.g. a series of clauses, or phrases, or words.’

7.1.1 Temporal/switch reference

Temporal coordination is most commonly indicated by clauses containing medial verb forms (switch reference). These are expressed as -ri ‘simultaneous different subject’, -ma ‘subsequent different subject’, -ga(sa) ‘simultaneous same subject’, or -si ‘subsequent same subject’. This is perhaps the most pervasive type of coordination found in the language. Semantically, sequences of medial clauses are mainly restricted to temporal interpretations, of either overlap or succession. They are discussed further in §4.2 above.

Another possible interpretation for some coordinate medial clause sequences is cause-effect. Because of the use of gokai ‘how’, they are context dependent. A state of affairs functions as the means to a result, as in the following example:
7.1.2 Coordinating conjunctions

There are three types of coordinating conjunctions found in Doromu-Koki: additive, alternative, and contrastive. They are shown in the table below. Coordination links syntactically equivalent units having equivalent semantic function. Note that four of the eight conjunctions are borrowings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>additive</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>‘and’ (clausal; Hiri Motu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bona</td>
<td>‘and’ (linking nouns; Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>‘(and) at once’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>alternative</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>‘or’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>‘or’ (English)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>contrastive</th>
<th>idu</th>
<th>‘but, so’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to</td>
<td>‘but, and’ (Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bao</td>
<td>‘but no, but not’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additive

Additive relationships in Doromu-Koki are expressed by coordinating conjunctions. The additive conjunction ma ‘and’ is occasionally used to
coordinate clauses, though it is much more common to use the switch reference marking, which is discussed in §4.2.

(2) *Ma mina itua=ri ka moimai ma feidei feidei de* and this moment=at also work and cook cook NEG *re-bi-go.*

do-DUR-3s.FUT

‘And at that moment he will not keep working and cooking.’

The same conjunction may be used to coordinate elements within a noun phrase.

(3) *Nono, baba ma mida mida amei-nu re-si aka,* mother father and child child stay-TRNS do-SQSS prawn *buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau=sa iri-sifa* fish.sp fish.sp food and stew=ACCM eat-1p.PRES

*ada dudu.* happiness INST

‘Make the mothers, fathers, and children sit and then we are eating prawns, fish, food and stew with happiness.’

The word *mo* ‘at once’ can also be considered a coordinating conjunction. It signals an unexpected turn of events.

(4) *Nai tobaini ve-giya-ri bi mo diba* 1s.Poss sister see-2s.FUT-SIMDS Top at.once knowledge

*ni-giya ina bi toe nufa.* say-2s.FUT 3 Top heavy Poss

‘You will see my sister, and at once you will know that she is pregnant.’

(5) *Kita re-yagadu bi muro mo nufa ni-yadu.* movement do-HYP Top garden at.once Poss say-POSb

‘We ought to move, and at once we could have a garden.’

**Alternative**

Alternative coordination is signaled through the use of the conjunction *ba* ‘or’. It occurs between the elements in question, and in fact is often used in questioning two alternative verbal propositions.
The disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’ is a synonym of *ba* ‘or’ and is borrowed from English. (English is the more likely source language, since Tok Pisin is not used as extensively in the area as English and Hiri Motu are.) This form is much less common than *ba* ‘or’.

(7) *Isira re-giya  o kaini?*  
play do-2S.FUT or enough  
‘Will you play or have you had enough?’

### Contrastive

The conjunctions *idu* ‘but’, and *to* ‘but, and’ are used to express a contrastive relationship between two clauses.

(8) *Mosara vari-fo ni-yaka  idu vauya*  
sweet.potato plant-2P.HORT say-1S.PST but refuse  
*re-yadi ye gokai re-gedi maka.*  
do-2/3P.PST so how do-2/3P.FUT only  
‘I told you that you should plant the sweet potato but you refused, so what will you do now?’

(9) *Ida keika keika tau ve-giya  idu mina keu ga*  
road small small all see-2S.FUT but this go.up PRHB  
*re, ne-na maka re.*  
do go.down-NOM only do  
‘You will see all the very many small trails but don’t go up these, only go down.’

(10) *Iya ya ina vasa duaiya re-yo,  to duaiya re*  
star DM 3 sand count do-2/3S.PST but count do  
*vau de re-yo.*  
complete NEG do-2/3S.PST  
‘Star counted sand, but he could not count all of him.’
Doromu-Koki describes a negative or unexpected contrast through the use of *bao* ‘but no, but not’:

(11) *Ina bo-go to na bi ame-gida.*
3 go.up-3S.FUT but 1S TOP sit-1S.FUT
‘He will go up but I will stay (here).’

(12) *Muro=ri ne-si evade bai-gifa bao*
garden=at go.down-SQSS quickly come-1P.FUT but.not
*ni-ga diba oruma ri-na vo*
say-SIMSS knowledge grass make-NOM happen
*ni-yo-ma oruma ri-yafa.*
say-2/3S.PST-SQDS grass make-1S.PST
‘We were supposed to go to the garden and come back quickly, but no, she told us to weed the garden.’

## 7.2 Subordination

Townsend and Bever (1977) state:

The main clause of a sentence generally contains the assertions which the speaker wishes to convey, while the subordinate clause often conveys information which the speaker places less importance on … information that is presupposed to be true and that the listener presumably already knows.

Thus is the case with Doromu-Koki. The logical subordination conjunctions are listed in the table below.
### Table 7.2 Subordinating Conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cause-effect</strong></td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>‘so’ (anaphoric reference)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dada</td>
<td>‘so that’ (clausal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mina dada</td>
<td>‘therefore, for this reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Result-reason</strong></td>
<td>adina</td>
<td>‘because, reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>badina</td>
<td>‘because’ (Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contingent</strong></td>
<td>vonisi</td>
<td>‘if, even though’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bema</td>
<td>‘if’ (Hiri Motu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baebu</td>
<td>‘lest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>kumo</td>
<td>‘in order to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Logical subordination in Doromu-Koki is of the cause-effect, result-reason, contingent, and purpose types.

#### 7.2.1 Cause-effect

According to Davies (1969:116) cause is: ‘Thing responsible for an action or result.’ Effect is: ‘Something brought about by a cause or agent (1969:227).’ In Doromu-Koki cause-effect is realised in reason-result causal constructions.

The cause-effect construction has the clauses ordered as follows:

Cause ye/dada/mina dada ‘so/so that/therefore’ Effect

This relationship is expressed in the forms of ye ‘so’ and dada ‘so that’.

(13) *Mosara* vari-*fo* ni-*yaka* idu *vauya* sweet.batato plant-2P.HORT say-1S.PST but refuse re-*yadi* ye gokai re-*gedi* maka. do-2/3P.PST so how do-2/3P.FUT only ‘I told you that you should plant the sweet potato but you refused, so what will you do now?’
(14) Nai sina keika mini ye vei oki-gida-ri
1S.POSS story little here so see arrive-1S.FUT-SIMDS
baku re-gifa.
find do-1P.FUT
‘Here is my little story, so when I will see it arrive we will find it.’

Below are examples of dada ‘so that, that is why, as, since’. It indicates a purpose or intended result relationship.

(15) Dubuini tora eredi mosara muro bi rama
brother big belong.to sweet.potato garden TOP true
ni tau tau re-yo dada, moi di-gedi moni
say all all do-2/3S.PST so.that get go-2/3P.FUT money
be baku re-gedi vonisi.
some find do-3P.FUT if
‘As/since the elder brother’s garden was bearing a lot of sweet potatoes, they would bring them to see if they would find some money (from selling the sweet potatoes).’

(16) Nai tora yaku vegu re-yadi dada
1S.POSS big DM life do-2/3P.PST so.that
rei-bo-bi-gida.
do-POT-DUR-1S.FUT
‘My elders did this practice, so that I will keep on doing it.’

The form mina dada ‘therefore’ is seen in the next example, and is composed of mina+dada ‘this+so’. It indicates sufficient, efficient, or strong cause.

(17) Ina bi dairi-na de re-go mina.dada ya bi
3 TOP return-NOM NEG do-3S.FUT therefore 2 TOP
besa ame-bi-giya.
more stay-DUR-2S.FUT
‘He will not come back, therefore you will stay for some time.’
7.2.2 Result-reason

According to Davies (1969:588) reason is: ‘The basis or motive for an action, decision or conviction.’ Result is: ‘To occur or exist as a consequence of a particular cause’ (1969:602). According to Beekman, Callow and Kopesec (1981:102) this is answering the question why? In Doromu-Koki there are two constructions expressing reason-result, in that the result can precede or follow the reason, resulting in either of the forms below:

Result adina ‘because’ Reason
Reason badina ‘because’ Result

They are used when neither the result nor the reason are presupposed. ‘Because’ takes the forms adina or badina. In the first set of examples we find the first type, and in the second set the second type.

(18) Nai uka esika re-yo adina fidi re-na
1S.POSS stomach pain do-2/3S.PST because gun do-NOM

\[\text{donan} \text{ moi vegu ri-yaka dada.}\]

pig get life make-1S.PST so

‘My heart was in pain because of taking the pig’s life by shooting it.’

(19) Amiye beredi duma re-yo adina rauna
person bread steal do-2/3S.PST because hunger

\[\text{re-yo.}\]

\[\text{do-2/3S.PST}\]

‘The man stole the bread because he was hungry.’

The form badina ‘because’ (and conceivably adina ‘because’ as well) is borrowed from Hiri Motu. According to The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu (1976:27) badina means: ‘base of something; source; cause; reason’.
(20) **Evade maina rei yeiva yeiva rei baku re-fa**
quickly look for do strong strong do find do-2P.IMP
**badina na ka bai-si mina mida guriguri ni**
because 1S also come-SQSS this child prayer say
**ma-gida.**
give-1S.FUT
‘Hurry and search hard to find him, because I will come to pray
for this child.’

(21) ... **badina Chris bi kaere kaere taoni=ri moimai**
because Chris TOP who who town=at work
**re-dedi vene di iruku**
do-2/3P.PRES people GEN food
‘... because the food belongs to Chris, one of those people who
work in town’

### 7.2.3 Condition-consequence

In Doromu-Koki condition-consequence (which includes concession-consequence) takes the following form:

**Condition vonisi ‘if, even though’ Consequence**

It is signalled through the form **vonisi ‘if, even though’** (possibly composed of **vo ni-si ‘happen/call say-SQSS’**). This subordinating conjunction occurs after the final verb of the main clause.

(22) **Re-gida vonisi re-yaka.**
do-1S.FUT if do-1S.PST
‘I will do it, even though I already did it.’

**Bema ‘if’,** borrowed from Hiri Motu, indicates hypotheticality, and comes at the beginning of the clause (i.e., **bema Condition-Consequence**). It is much less frequently used.

(23) **Bema oki-go-ri bi ni oteima-gida.**
if arrive-3S.FUT-SIMDS TOP say show-1S.FUT
‘If he will come, then I will tell him.’
7.2.4 Apprehensive

In Doromu-Koki Apprehensive takes the following form:

Imperative/Prohibitive Feared result baebu ‘lest’

(24) Ga bo-fo auna yaku ya aki re-go baebu.
PRHB go.up-2P.HORT dog DM 2 bite do-3S.FUT lest
‘You shouldn’t go up there, otherwise the dog will bite you.’

(25) Gaibana moi gigitani rei ori di-go baebu.
eel get tightly do fear go-3S.FUT lest
‘Hold on tightly to the eel lest it slip away.’

7.2.5 Purpose

Purpose clauses are often introduced by the conjunction kumo ‘so that’:

(26) Mida mida ni kumo mina vegu bi ga re-yagane.
child child say so.that this life TOP PRHB do-3P.JUS
‘Tell the children that they must not do this practice.’

(27) Di-nadi kumo ini ame-na buni ni-yaine.
go-1P.HORT so.that 3.POSS stay-NOM good say-3S.JUS
‘Let’s go so that his living will be good.’

Alternatively, a purpose clause can be signalled by the suffix -gi on the verb in the purpose clause.

(28) ini rovaita moi vava ri-gi
3.POSS body get hot make-PURP
‘in order to warm his body’

(29) Rema ofi remanu muro=ri oruma
woman young.woman two garden=at grass
ri-gi di-yadi.
make-PURP go-2/3P.PST
‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’
(30)  Re-si  ita adina=ri are  re-yadi,  ini  rovaita
do-SQSS fire  near=at stand  do-2/3.PST  3.POSS body
moi  vava  ri-gi.
get  hot  make-PURP
‘And then they stood near the fire, (in order) to warm their
bodies.’

(31)  Makai  re-gi  moke-yaka  idu  ya  yaku  re-yo
like.this  do-PURP  think-1S.PST  but  2  DM  do-2/3S.PST
mini.
here
‘I thought about doing it like this, but you already did it here.’

The postposition rofu (used to mark benefactive, recipient and ablative)
can also indicate purpose, as in §6.1.1 example (24). Further research is
needed to accurately describe any possible semantic contrasts between
purpose clauses marked by kumo, -gi and rofu.

7.3 Direct and indirect speech

Doromu-Koki has predominantly direct speech, with the reporting clause
preceding the quote. Subject and object cannot be reordered in the reporting
clause. The most common verb in the reporting clause is ni ‘say’; other verbs
are ni kaite ‘ask’, ni oteima ‘show, tell’, and raka ni ‘call’. Note that these all
make use of ni ‘say’, which is also regularly used in adjunct verb
constructions (see §4.6.2).

(32)  Yomakai  ni-yo,  ‘Ya  no  Keni,  Keni  raku  raku
like.this  say-2/3S.PST  2  bad  Keni  Keni  scabies  scabies
yaku  ame-ga  ni-sa.’
DM  stay-SIMSS  say-2S.PRES
‘She said, “You are bad Keni; Keni, you are becoming full of
scabies.”’
(33) *Tau yaku ini vene raka ni e-dadi-yo,*
*Tau DM 3.POSS people call say CAUS-get.up-2/3S.PST*

‘*Nai rautu vene gua bi nai meda dada*’
*1S.POSS village people now TOP 1S.POSS day so*

*ya usa ni-da dadi vau re-fu.’*
*2 ask say-1S.PRES get.up complete do-2P.HORT*

‘*Tau urged (lit. called) his people to wake up, “My village people, today is my day, so I ask you to get up and do it all.”’*

In the following, the reporting clause breaks up the quote. This is not common.

(34) ‘*Bao,’ ni-yadi, ‘Tau no kana bi koyomu bani*’
*but.no say-2/3P.PST Tau bad like TOP rat yam*

*daru daru yu fafau fama-si gobe=ri*
*root root gourd.paste on.top.of slap-SQSS dish=at*

*dabara ri-yo ini vene di.’*
*spread.on.table make-2/3S.PST 3.POSS people GEN*

“*But no,” they said, “Tau was bad in slapping gourd paste on top of stringy rat yams and putting them in a dish at the table for his people.”*

On occasion the speaker is left implicit. This is more common in oral narrative than in written texts. In these cases the direct speech follows the verb *re* ‘do’ in constructions such as *ada tora gade re* ‘become very very happy’, and *gubuyo tora gade re* ‘become very very angry’. Like *ni* ‘say,’ *re* ‘do’ is also commonly used in adjunct verb constructions (see §4.6.2).

(35) *Tau di rema ka mina ve-yo=ri bi gubuyo*
*Tau GEN woman also this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP anger*

*tora gade re-yo, ‘Na bi ya ni-yaka raisi*
*big very do-2/3S.PST 1S TOP 2 say-1S.PST rice*
When Tau’s wife also saw this she was very angry (and said), “I told you to get some rice and flour and why didn’t you get some?”

### 7.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) is a clause which modifies a nominal in another clause. A relative clause:

…consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the over-all construction (Comrie 1981:136).

Doromu-Koki primarily exhibits external postnominal relative clauses, that is, relative clauses which follow the head nominal and are external to it. This is the most common type of relative clause; often common to SVO languages, but less common for an SOV language such as Doromu-Koki (Downing 1978:383). For reasons of focus a relative clause can be placed in prenominal position. Doromu-Koki does not normally indicate a relative clause with a relative pronoun. The question word ka’ere ‘who’ is used primarily in translated texts, and when it occurs it requires the use of the topic marker bi.

In the following example the relative clause construction is indicated in brackets. (Note that bi ‘TOP’ is not part of the relative clause.)

(36) *Kani* [ya ni-da] bi toto ga ni-fo.  
*mustard 2 say-1S.PRES TOP forget PRHB say-2P.HORT*  
“You should not forget the mustard [that I am telling you about].”

### 7.4.1 Restrictive RCs

Most Doromu-Koki relative clauses are restrictive. A restrictive relative clause uses presupposed information to identify the referent of a noun phrase;
it specifies or narrows down the number of entities referred to by the head noun, and as such occurs off the event line, or modifies a peripheral constituent in narrative text.

In Doromu-Koki restrictive relative clause structure the topic marker *bi* follows the relative clause, serving to restrict the relative clause ‘topic’ to the head. The comment is what follows the topic marker.

(37) *Mina kana vegu [ve-dedi] bi gokai moke-dedi?*
this like life see-2/3P.PRES TOP how think-2/3P.PRES
‘Like this practice [that you see], what do you think about it?’

In the example below, the head follows the relative clause, as the relative clause is placed in focus by the marker *ya*:

(38) *Mina=ri ma-mo [Urava Raku ya sisina re-yo] this=at and-at.once Urava Raku DM legend do-2/3S.PST sana bi tabu vo ni-dedi.*
place TOP taboo happen say-2/3P.PRES
‘And then there at the place [where Urava Raku’s legend took place], they have called it taboo.’

Often, the topic marker occurs inside a relative clause, because the primary function of the topic marker is to separate topic and comment, both of which can be inside a relative clause. In the following example, *uba meraini ini roka roka* ‘two cousins named’ is the topic and *vasa bona iya* ‘sand and star’ is the comment within the relative clause.

(39) *Yokoi aru uba meraini [ini roka roka bi vasa one day both cousins 3.POSS name name TOP sand bona iya] ame-gam-adi.*
and star stay-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘One day there were two cousins [whose names were sand and star].’

The topic marker can be absent in the main clause, particularly when the development marker *yaku* is used. (See §8.2.2 for further discussion on *yaku*.)

(40) *Yokoi aru vo ni-bo amiyev yokoi [roka Tau one day happen say-POT person one name Tau*
Yagabo] yaku ini rautu vene omar-o
Yagabo DM 3.POSS village people invite-2/3S.PST
ini muro vari-yaganedi.
3.POSS garden plant-3P.JUS
‘One day a man [whose name was Tau Yagabo] invited his
village people to plant his garden.’

There is more than one way to encode an event (or series of events), and
so often switch reference is preferred to a relative clause, as seen below:

(41) Gabi ro mo una remanu di iruku una
later ABL at.once 1P two GEN food 1P
mar-o-ma iri-yafa ada dudu.
give-2/3S.PST-SQDS eat-1P.PST happiness INST
‘Later when she gave us two our food we ate it with happiness.’

As a relative clause, the above would produce the following construction:

(42) Gabi ro una remanu di iruku [una mar-o]
later ABL 1P two GEN food 1P give-2/3S.PST
bi ada dudu iri-yafa.
TOP happiness INST eat-1P.PST
‘Later we ate with happiness our food [that she gave us].’

The following example illustrates a complex headless relative clause,
which itself contains an appositional clause juxtaposed to the noun phrase ini
moke-na ‘their thinking’:

(43) [ini moke-na bi sioni iruku iri-gedi]
3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man food eat-2/3P.FUT
ni-yadi…
say-2/3P.PST
‘they/those [whose thinking was that they will eat store-bought
food] said…’

7.4.2 Non-restrictive RCs

Non-restrictive relative clauses generally add extra, essentially
extraneous information about the head noun (or noun phrase). In Doromu-
Koki non-restrictive relative clause structure, the topic marker bi comes
between the head and the relative clause, so that the head is the topic, and the relative clause is the (parenthetical) comment, or afterthought to present new information.

(44) *Ini ne koru bi [ari uve-do ve-giya]*
3.POSS eye water TOP day rise-3S.PRES see-2S.FUT
*oruma yuveita dou ni-dedi.*
grass vegetation wet say-2/3P.PRES
‘His tears, [that you will see when the sun comes up], get the grass and vegetation wet.’

In the following example, the verb is reiterated for object complementation, because of the distance to connect -si ‘SQSS’ with the verb.

(45) *Ne-si dona ve-yaka, bi [tafa maka go.down-SQSS pig see-1S.PST TOP hardly only kita re-yo] ve-yaka.*
movement do-2/3S.PST see-1S.PST
‘I went down and saw the pig, I saw [that it was hardly moving].’

7.4.3 Relativiser

The following example shows the use of *kaere* ‘who’ as a relativiser (which requires the use of *bi* ‘TOP’ or *yaku* ‘DM’ in the relative clause). Note as mentioned above, that it is used primarily in translated texts.

(46) *Koki vene bi rema, rumana, mida [kaere bi Koki people TOP woman man child who TOP gua ‘Doromu’ vene vo ni-dedi].*
now Doromu people happen say-2/3P.PRES
‘The Koki people are women, men and children [who now happen to be ‘Doromu’ people].’

(47) *Joseph bi Raphael ve-yo, [kaere yaku Joseph TOP Raphael see-2/3s.PST who DM mosara be mar-ainedi.]*
sweet.potato some give-3S.JUS
‘Joseph saw Raphael, [who could give him some sweet potato].’

As a coordinate structure, the sentence would be as follows:
(48) *Joseph bi Raphael ve-yo-ma mosara*
*Joseph TOP Raphael see-2/3S.PST-SQDS sweet.potato*

*be mar-o.*
*some give-2/3S.PST*

‘Joseph saw Raphael and then he (Raphael) gave him some sweet potato.’

### 7.4.4 Accessibility hierarchy

The relativisability of certain grammatical functions is dependent on that of others. The Accessibility Hierarchy shows the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions. Keenan and Comrie (1977) propose an accessibility hierarchy of grammatical relations to relativisation (SU ‘subject’; > means ‘is more accessible than’):

**Accessibility Hierarchy**

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

The Accessibility Hierarchy has the following constraints:

- A language must be able to relativise subjects.
- Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the hierarchy.
- Strategies that apply at one point of the hierarchy may in principle cease to apply at any lower point.

The subject is most accessible to relativisation and every language can relativise on it, whereas the object of comparison is the least accessible, and not found in many languages. If a language can relativise the object of comparison than it can also relativise all items above it in the hierarchy; so it is claimed that if a language can relativise on a given position on the accessibility hierarchy, then it can relativise on any position higher on the hierarchy. If a language can relativise the subject, it does not necessarily mean that it can relativise on other positions in the hierarchy. It is not necessary that a language distinguishes all these categories. Furthermore it might be necessary for a language to promote something to a higher position before it can be relativised.

Below are examples for Doromu-Koki in the different positions in the hierarchy.
Subject position is the most common, as can be seen in most of the examples above, and in the following as well. Notice that these are prenominal relative clauses (for focus purposes), in which the RC precedes the head.

(49) \[ Yava \ ida \ nefau \ ame-do] \ boro \ mina \ kiki \
house \ road \ in.front.of \ stay-3S.PRES \ ball \ this \ kick \
re-yaka.
\[ \] do-1S.PST
‘I kicked the ball [that is in front of the path to the house].’

(50) \[ Teiboro \ odoro \ ame-do] \ sofeka \ mina \ iri-yo.
\[ table \ above \ stay-3S.PRES \ mango \ this \ eat-2/3S.PST \]
‘He ate the mango [that was on the table].’

Relativised direct objects are seen below, with the first example again a prenominal RC.

(51) \[ Na \ yaku \ ni-da] \ sina \ bi \ yi \ vana=ri \
1S \ DM \ say-1S.PRES \ story \ TOP \ 2.POSS \ hand=at
fere-da \ mini.
leave-1S.PRES \ here
‘I leave here in your hands the words [that I’m telling].’

(52) \[ Mina \ kana \ vegu \ [ve-dedi] \ bi \ gokai \ moke-dedi? \]
\[ this \ like \ life \ see-2/3P.PRES \ TOP \ how \ think-2/3P.PRES \]
‘Like this practice [that you see] what do you think about it?’

In place of the topic marker bi, an alternative strategy is the use of the demonstrative mina ‘this’, as illustrated below in (53) and (54). In the first example below, the order is again reversed for focus (with the RC preceding the head), and conceivably mina acts to heighten that.

(53) \[ Agiya \ voi \ re-yaka] \ buka \ mina \ mar-aka.
\[ yesterday \ buy \ do-1S.PST \ book \ this \ give-1S.PST \]
‘I gave him the book [that I bought yesterday].’

(54) \[ Baiya \ [moi-gam-o] \ mina \ ina \ rofu \ moi-yaka. \]
bush.knife \ get-HAB-2/3S.PST \ this \ 3 \ ABL \ get-1S.PST
‘I took the bush knife [that she was holding] from her.’
A relativised **oblique** function is illustrated in the example below, where further information on the postpositional phrase *koru seri=ri* ‘to the river bank’ is provided in a prenominal RC modifying the locative noun *sana* ‘place’:

\[(55)\] \textit{Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga, fuse} \\
3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIMSS bag \\
\textit{ri-gasa moi oki-yadi koruseri=ri}, \\
make-SIMSS get arrive-2/3P.PST water river.bank=at \\
[rumana vene tufe ri-gam-adi] sana. \\
man people raft make-HAB-2/3P.PST place \\
‘Their wives were digging sweet potato, and putting them into bags and took them to the river bank, to the place [where the men were making rafts].’

The following two examples of a relativised **possessive** (genitive) function have been found:

\[(56)\] \textit{Iya fogo=ri sivoni amiye [roka Mister English],} \\
war during=at white.man person name Mister English \\
\textit{Rigo=ri soka re-yo}. \\
Rigo=at arrive do-2/3S.PST \\
‘During the war a white man [whose name was Mister English] arrived in Rigo.’

\[(57)\] \textit{Amiye tora regode [roka Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka,} \\
person big three name Varabu Foina Itu Saraka \\
\textit{bona Gomuna Kokoba] yaku sivoni u-gika} \\
and Gomuna Kokoba DM white.man hit-INTV \\
\textit{re-si meki re-yadi}. \\
do-SBSS chase do-2/3P.PST \\
‘Three elders [whose names were Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka, and Gomuna Kokoba] tried to kill the white man and chase him away.’

The object of comparison in Doromu-Koki does not constitute a separate grammatical function, and hence does not participate in the Accessibility Hierarchy. See §3.3.3 for some examples of how degrees of comparison are expressed in Doromu-Koki.
8. Discourse considerations

Having previously discussed the morphosyntactic devices of the language, this chapter will now deal with issues such as discourse genres exhibited in Doromu-Koki, and various discourse devices used.

8.1 Discourse genres

Larson (1984:366) has identified several discourse genres, which will be discussed in Doromu-Koki. See the Appendix for example texts showing the genres mentioned here.

A narrative discourse tells a story or delineates some actions: ‘Narrative discourse recounts a series of events (Larson 1975:198).’ Narrative discourses start with a time setting such as uruyaku yokoi ‘one morning’, or meda yokoiri ‘on one day’, and then recount the incidents involving the participants, primarily using the past tense. Oral legends in particular, after the time setting, have vo nibo…‘it might happen that…’. There may be some tail-head linkage, particularly in oral discourse, as a follow-through to begin a new episode. The narrative genre is the main type of discourse found in Doromu-Koki. The medial verb and switch-reference system is the backbone of this type of discourse. Narratives follow a chronological order as described in Beekman, Callow and Kopesec (1981:37).

Behavioural discourse is also referred to as ‘hortatory’, in that it urges or commands, calling for a change of behaviour, through exhortation or rebuke. It seeks to tell what ought to be done and why. It has a conceptual or logical framework, and so does not have to follow a chronological order.

Often a behavioural text is one of correspondence or a letter. It begins with the addressee’s name, and makes particular use of the deontic moods (hortative, imperative, jussive, and prohibitive) and the future tense.
A **procedural** discourse relates a particular course of actions. This type of text is characterised by the use of the future tense, and often opens with an addressee. It follows a strict chronological ordering and describes the procedures involved in doing some action or giving instructions (Larson 1975:198).

An **expository** discourse tries to give more details about a subject in order to clarify it, or to help the reader or hearer understand by giving reasons behind something. This type of genre uses cause-effect and reason-result subordinating conjunctions.

## 8.2 Discourse devices

Switch reference and prominence are employed in Doromu-Koki discourse. They are discussed below.

### 8.2.1 Switch reference

Every language has some way of abbreviating reference to NPs rather than marking them all explicitly. To refer to participants, Doromu-Koki uses portmanteau suffixes on verbs, which mark both person and number as well as tense. Participant tracking is important because: ‘Once a participant has been suitably introduced, it still remains to refer to him correctly thereafter, and to make sure that it is always clear who performed each event’ (Callow 1974:33).

This is performed in Doromu-Koki through the switch reference use of *

- **ga** *(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject,’
- **ri** ‘simultaneous different subject’,
- **si** ‘subsequent same subject’,
- **ma** ‘subsequent different subject’

... to signal the same or a different participant (see §4.2) verbal affixation. Switch reference occurs on medial verbs, indicating same or different subject.

Doromu-Koki exhibits **isomorphic Same Subject** (SS) and **Different Subject** (DS) morphology, with separate morphemes for SS and DS (see §4.2). Note, however, that in a few places, DS rather than the expected SS is observed. This is for adding prominence (see §8.2.2).

Doromu-Koki allows for **coreference**, **disjoint**, inclusive, or overlap/intersection of reference of SS/DS and also complete identity of entities of simultaneous SS and DS.
While the examples below indicate a type of subordination use of SS/DS, it is preferable to interpret Doromu-Koki switch reference as coordination (Roberts 1988:47-48, 58, 62). In Doromu-Koki the switch reference markings indicate sequentiality (SQ) or simultaneity (SIM).

(1) \textit{Rautu oki-ga(sa) ini nono sina ni oteimar-afa.} 
\textit{village arrive-SI}MSS \textit{3.POSS mother story say show-1P.PST} 
‘When we arrived in the village, we told his mother the story.’

(2) \textit{Rautu oki-yafa-ri} \textit{ini nono sina ni} 
\textit{village arrive-1P.PST-SIMDS} \textit{3.POSS mother story say oteimar-o.} 
\textit{show-2/3S.PST} 
‘When we arrived in the village, he told his mother the story.’

(3) \textit{Rautu oki-si} \textit{ini nono sina ni oteimar-afa.} 
\textit{village arrive-SQSS} \textit{3.POSS mother story say show-1P.PST} 
‘We arrived in the village and then we told his mother the story.’

(4) \textit{Rautu oki-yafa-\textit{ma(-mo)}} \textit{ini nono sina} 
\textit{village arrive-1P.PST-SQDS-at.once} \textit{3.POSS mother story} 
\textit{ni oteimar-o.} 
\textit{say show-2/3S.PST} 
‘We arrived in the village and then he told his mother the story.’

Doromu-Koki is mostly consistent in switch referencing, except in the case of -\textit{ri} ‘simultaneous different subject’. The different subject marker -\textit{ri} is also found in instances when the subjects of the two consecutive clauses are actually identical, as in the following two examples. In such cases it seems to indicate that the object in the second clause is in focus, though more research is needed to verify this. This ‘exception’ does not occur with any of the other switch reference markers.
(5) Sioni mina ve-yo-ri furisi vene
white.man this see-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police people
ni-yo-ma koru gena fou re-yadi
say-2/3S.PST-SQDS water bamboo shoot do-2/3P.PST
fere-yagane vonisi.
leave-3P.JUS if
‘When the white man saw this, he told the police and then they
made them leave with their guns.’

(6) Mina amiye feo soka re-yo-ri, rabo.rava
this man white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS grassland
vene siko meino mar-o iya ri-gam-adi.
people first peace give-2/3S.PST war do-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘When this white man arrived, he first gave peace to the
grasslands people who were fighting.’

Note that in the following two examples the switch reference morphemes
are not used due to object complementation. The first example is an indirect
quote.

(7) Jacobo ni kaite-yaka aruma yaku aki re-yo
Jacob say ask-1S.PST snake DM bite do-2/3S.PST
ba ide.
or NEG
‘I asked Jacob if the snake bit him or not.’

In the following example, verb serialisation is used, so that switch
reference cannot be employed. Also, because of the use of the mode suffix
-gika ‘intensive’ there can be no other marking on the medial verb.

(8) Amiye tora regode ...yaku sioni ini voru=sa
person big three DM white.man 3.POSS spear=ACCM
u-gika re meki re-yadi.
hit-INTV do chase do-2/3P.PST
‘Three big men…tried to kill the white man with their spears and
chased him away.’
Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is rarely used in Doromu-Koki, compared with other Papuan languages. It can be referred to as repetition or clause chaining, linking clause chains together by repetition from one clause to another. It is used as a recapitulation device in oral discourse to keep the hearer’s attention, and is much less common in written discourse. It is used to chain the previous clause or sentence to the next one, thus emphasising the action or event of the previous sentence, and as such, using perfective aspect. Note that completive constructions are permissible as well:

(9) ...rautu neinei furisi bona kanisoro ai-yo.
     village each police and councillors put-2/3s.PST

Koina ni-yo-ri furisi kanisoro afe-si
     finish say-2/3s.PST=SIMDS police councillors return-SQSS

...sufa rofu rautu vene maina bai-yo.
     bush DIR village people look.for come-2/3s.PST

‘...he placed police and councillors in each village. Once he finished bringing police and councillors... he came to the bush to look for village people.’

Tail-head linkage serves to slow down the story as it gives known background information in subsequent clauses. There are two possible tail-head linkage strategies: 1) Chained tail-head linkage, which is the default, and 2) Thematised tail-head linkage, which is manifested in nominalised clauses. The data would suggest that Doromu-Koki favours the first strategy. However, when tail-head linkage is used across sentences, recapitulation is used instead, as seen in example (10). Tail-head linkage attempts to slow down the story or argument prior to an important event or assertion.

(10) Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufə
don-1s.PST afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SQSS bush
di-yaka. Sufə di-yaka to uru ni-gi
go-1s.PST bush go-1s.PST but night say-PURP
re-gam-o dairi-yaka.
do-HAB-2/3s.PST return-1s.PST

‘One afternoon I took a gun and went to the bush. I went to the bush but it was getting dark and I returned.’
In the following example there is a bit of difference between the head (duaiya reyo) and the tail (reyo duaiya re...reyo):

(11) **Vasa ya kaito iya duaiya re-yo.** Re-yo
    sand DM start.to star count do-2/3S.PST do-2/3S.PST
    **duaiya re vau re-yo.**
    count do complete do-2/3S.PST
    ‘Sand started to count star. He counted all of him.’

A tail-head linkage can act to resume the theme line or introduce the next step in a progression or procedure.

(12) **Vi Koru ma kamini bo-yafa. Bo-yafa-si John**
    Vi water and enough go.up-1P.PST go-1P.PST-SQSS John
    **di muro odema adina kamini oki-yafa.**
    GEN garden old.garden near enough arrive-1P.PST
    ‘We went up to Vi River. We went up and then we arrived near John’s old garden.’

Mostly variations are due to verb morphology, or verb chaining as seen below:

(13) **Koina ni-yo-ri furisi kanisoro afe-si**
    finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police council return-SQSS
    **sufa rofu rautu vene maina bai-yo.**
    bush DIR village people look.for come-2/3S.PST
    **Bai-gika bi ini furisi vene koru gena**
    come-INTV TOP 3.POSS police people water bamboo
    **asini mar-o.**
    partner give-2/3S.PST
    ‘Once he finished this, he took police and councillors to the bush and came looking for the village people. They were trying to come and he gave his policemen guns.’

(14) **Nai nono moke-yaka. Moke ne-yaka.**
    1S.POSS mother think-1S.PST think go.down-1S.PST
    ‘I thought about my mother. I felt sorry.’
Ya bi mina ida ma ne-giya. Ne-giya=ri
2 TOP this road and go.down-2S.FUT go.down-2S.FUT=at
bi Yo Koru soka re-giya.
TOP Yo water arrive do-2S.FUT
‘You will go down this road. When you go down you will arrive
at Yo River.’

Doromu-Koki often uses re-si ‘do-SQSS’ (de Vries 2005:376). It has been
translated as ‘and then’, but more literally could be rendered ‘did and then’,
showing how it is linking the current event to the previous.

Nono, baba ma mida mida amei-nu re-si aka,
mother father and child child stay-CAUS do-SQSS prawn
buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau=sa iri-sifa
fish.sp fish.sp food and stew=ACCM eat-1P.PRES
ada dudu.
happiness INST
‘Make the mothers, fathers, and children sit and then we are
eating prawns and fish, food and stew with happiness.’

Kamini ina vene yaku nana rei ne-yadi ina
enough 3 people DM walk do go.down-2/3P.PST 3
atafu, re-si ni-yadi...
close do-SQSS say-2/3P.PST
‘Then the people walked on down close to him, and then they
said…’

8.2.2 Prominence

Since word order is not free in Doromu-Koki, it is through word order
changes that prominence is indicated.

Thematic prominence is indicated by a nominal + pronoun copy, as seen
in the example below. Here it is used to indicate that Star, rather than Sand, is
the centre of attention. Note also, the use of yaku ~ ya ‘development marker,’
which will be discussed further below.

Iya ya ina vasa duaiya re-yo.
star DM 3 sand count do-2/3S.PST
‘Star, he counted Sand.’
Story development

Story development is exhibited in Doromu-Koki through the development marker *yaku*. Like *bi* ‘topic marker’, it is pervasive throughout all discourse types, and yet there are also texts in which it is not used at all. When it does occur, it is found immediately after the subject, mostly in sentence-initial clauses or first clauses of embedded complement clauses after the subject. It overtly marks the most salient participant of a sentence and is used primarily to set the story or to slow down the narrative, particularly before a climax or significant development. Dutton (1975:629), identifies *yaku* as a subject marker, accounting for its presence, but not its absence. It is often used to emphasise the subject, particularly in answer to a question, as in (20), in which case the question asked would most likely be (19):

(19) *Kaere bi iruku mar-o?*
    who TOP food give-2/3S.PST
    ‘Who gave him the food?’

(20) *Na yaku iruku mar-aka.*
    1S DM food give-1S.PST
    ‘I gave him the food.’/ ‘It is I who gave him the food.’

The development marker normally occurs immediately after the noun phrase or pronoun it modifies.

(21) *ourena rema ofi yaku na ni no*
    older.sibling woman young.girl DM 1S say bad
    re-yo... do-2/3S.PST
    ‘the older sister cursed me...’

Particularly in speech, *yaku* can be shortened to *ya*:

(22) *Yi uka mida ya maina re-da.*
    2.POSS stomach child DM look.for do-1S.PRES
    ‘It is your beloved child that I am looking for.’

In text 7, *Gokai ida dudu meino moyafa* ‘How we got peace’ (see Appendix), the use of *yaku* makes it clear that the village people are in control throughout, and not the white man and his people. They are only minor participants, whereas *yaku* marks the major participants.
Setting

In the following examples *yaku* ‘development marker’ is indicated before the next sequence in the sentence:

(23) … initi bibo u-ga ame-gam-o-ri bi
    3.POSS flute hit-SIMSS stay-HAB-2/3S.PST-SIMDS TOP

     initi oure-na rema yaku ne-yo rofu
    3.POSS lead-NOM woman DM go.down-2/3S.PST PURP

     ve-yo...
     see-2/3S.PST
     ‘…while he was sitting playing his flute, the older girl went
down to him and saw him…’

(24) Rautu oki-yafa-si na ya initi nono sina
     village arrive-1P.PST-SQSS 1S DM 3.POSS mother story

     ni oteimar-aka...
     say show-1S.PST
     ‘We arrived in the village and then I told his mother the story…’

The development marker *yaku* as used after a **relative clause** is seen below:

(25) Amiye kaere dona u-yo ya na ve-yo.
    person who pig hit-2/3S.PST DM 1S see-2/3S.PST

    ‘The man who killed the pig saw me.’

The development marker *yaku* is further used to separate out subject and object NPs within a sentence.

(26) Uka yaku na ve-si yabo odoro di-yo.
    cuscus DM 1S see-SQSS tree above go-2/3S.PST

    ‘The cuscus saw me and then went into the tree.’

**Focal prominence**

Normally, clauses are verb-final. However, elements such as locatives and postpositional phrases can be given prominence or focus by postposing them after the verb phrase. Examples (27) to (30) illustrate clause-final locatives, while examples (31) to (33) illustrate clause-final postpositional phrases. Note in example (27), that although action is drawn to the subject by
the use of the topic marker *bi*, the location *Mosbi* is in focus. Its unusual position in the clause indicates it is a focal element, that is, informationally this element of the predicate is more important than the others. In this case, the speaker wants to focus on the location above the other non-established information, such as the temporal adjunct *Saturday*.

(27) *Raphael, na bi Saturday ne-gida Mosbi.*
Raphael 1S TOP Saturday go.down-1S.FUT Port.Moresby
‘Raphael, I myself will go on Saturday to Port Moresby.’

(28) *Gua Kwikila vo ni-sifa mini.*
now Kwikila happen say-1P.PRES here
‘Today we call it Kwikila here.’

(29) *Meki re-yo rofu sosogi yaku imi-yo chase do-2/3S.PST BEN spear DM spear-2/3S.PST ini getona=ri.*
3.POSS back=at
‘He chased him and shot the spear in his back.’

(30) *Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga, fuse ri-gasa, moi oki-yadi koru seri=ri.*
make-SIMSS get arrive-2/3P.PST water riverbank=at
‘Their wives were digging sweet potatoes, and putting them in bags and brought them to the riverbank.’

Focal prominence through postposing may act to give further clarification, or anticipation of a change of topic.

(31) *Auna yaku dona meki re-yo-ma Waxy ka dog DM pig chase do-2/3S.PST-SQDS Waxy also ina=sa raga re-yo dona=sa.*
3=ACCM run do-2/3S.PST pig=ACCM
‘The dog chased the pig and then Waxy ran together with him, the pig.’
(32) *Gabi ro mo una remanu di uni iruku una*  
later ABL at.once 1P two GEN 1P.POSS food 1P  
mar-o-ma iri-yafa ada dudu.  
give-2/3S.PST-SQSS eat-1P.PST happiness INST  
‘Later she gave us two our food and we happily ate it.’

Example (33) shows a postpositional recipient phrase in clause-final position; the phrase is in focus in anticipation of a change of topic:

(33) *Re-si na raka ni ne-yo na rofu.*  
do-SQSS 1S call say go.down-2/3S.PST 1S BEN  
‘And then he called down to me.’

To end this section we mention another very common focus strategy, unrelated to the previous discussion, namely repetition:

(34) *Buni tora gade gade ni-yo.*  
good big very very say-2/3S.PST  
‘He blessed him very much.’

### 8.2.3 Topic

Topic in Doromu-Koki is indicated by *bi*. In this way, Doromu-Koki, being a subject-initial language, indicates a subject as a point of departure, as the predicate is normally in focus in a topic-comment sentence (Levinsohn 2004:4.1). Thus the topic maker is needed to draw the ‘topic’ element out (see §5.1.1 for further details).

(35) *Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi*  
garden top go.up-SQSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST  
iruku iri-gi ini moke-na bi sioni  
food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man  
iruku iri-gedi.  
food eat-2/3P.FUT  
‘They went up to the top of the garden and all sat down to eat food, thinking they would eat store-bought food.’
‘They went up to the head waters with their diving glasses, and they didn’t know they went up with their glasses left behind in the basket. These two were going without their diving glasses.’
9. Lexical issues

This chapter discusses various issues in the Doromu-Koki lexicon: kinship terms, homonyms, figures of speech, idioms, names and nicknames, onomatopoeia and rhymes, borrowed words and Biblical key terms.

9.1 Kinship terms

Doromu-Koki kinship terms are listed in Table 9.1. For further discussion see Bradshaw (2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abuata</td>
<td>‘brother/sister-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aufa</td>
<td>‘grandparent/grandchild, great-uncle/aunt, great-nephew/niece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aufa keika</td>
<td>‘younger great-uncle/aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aufa tora</td>
<td>‘older great-uncle/aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>‘father, uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba keika</td>
<td>‘younger uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba tora</td>
<td>‘older uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubuyaka</td>
<td>‘brothers, first cousins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubuini/dubu</td>
<td>‘brother, first cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edini</td>
<td>‘brother/sister-in-law’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 9.1 cont’d: Kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imokai</td>
<td>‘father/mother-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maruka</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meraini</td>
<td>‘cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merayaka</td>
<td>‘cousins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabore</td>
<td>‘brother/sister-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono</td>
<td>‘mother, aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono keika</td>
<td>‘younger aunt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2 Homonyms

Doromu-Koki has many homonyms, though it is possible that some are actually related senses of the same word (polysemy), rather than homonyms. Further research will hopefully bear this out. Following is a listing under the letter a, taken from Bradshaw (2007).

| ada₁     | ‘happiness’          | aka₁     | ‘prawn’          |
| ada₂     | ‘head’               | aka₂     | ‘open mouth’     |
| ada₃     | ‘shadow’             | aku₁     | ‘build’          |
| adaфа₁   | ‘mushroom sp’        | aku₂     | ‘wear’           |
| adaфа₂   | ‘tree sp’            | anema₁   | ‘ear’            |
| adina₁   | ‘because’            | anema₂   | ‘headwaters’     |
| adina₂   | ‘trunk base’         | ava₁     | ‘bee sp’         |
| adina₃   | ‘close beside’       | ava₂     | ‘grass sp’       |
| afe₁     | ‘banana sp’          | avaka₁   | ‘season’         |
| afe₂     | ‘bring back, return’ | avaka₂   | ‘touch’          |
| aira₁    | ‘offering’           | ayena₁   | ‘male cassowary’ |
| aira₂    | ‘Josephine’s Lorikeet’| ayena₂   | ‘lightning’      |
9.3 Figures of speech

A figure of speech is an expression in the language, using the devices of metaphor, simile or antithesis.

9.3.1 Metaphor

A metaphor occurs when a word or phrase is used to suggest comparison with another object. An example in English would be ‘He is a pig’. Two examples follow:

(1) Amiye di uka ide=ri dona auna di mokei
    person GEN stomach inside=at pig dog GEN think mokei.
    think
    ‘Foolishness is in people’s hearts.’ (Lit. ‘Inside a person’s stomach is pigs’ and dogs’ thinking.’)

(2) Gadeva auna yaku yi fogo=ri oki-gedi.
    wild dog DM 2.POSS amongst=at arrive-2/3P.FUT
    ‘Ruthless people will come amongst you.’ (Lit. ‘Wild dogs will arrive among you.’)

9.3.2 Simile

A simile, like a metaphor, also involves comparison, saying that two unrelated things are ‘like’ one another, because they have some common characteristic that the speaker desires to highlight. An example in English is ‘He eats like a pig’. The following occur in Doromu-Koki:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>literal meaning</th>
<th>Table 9.2 Similes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘greedily, lustfully’</td>
<td>auna kana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hard to catch, hold on to, slippery’</td>
<td>gaibana kana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘whiteskin’</td>
<td>uka kana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) *Rauna re-yo dada, bi auna kana ini hunger do-2/3S.PST because TOP dog like 3.POSS iruku iri-yo. food eat-2/3S.PST
‘Because he was hungry, he ate his food greedily.’

(4) *Gaibana kana mida moi gira re-gi anua eel like child get hard do-PURP unable re-yaka.
do-1S.PST
‘I wasn’t able to hold onto the slippery child.’

9.4 Idioms

An idiom is an expression in which the meaning does not add up to the literal parts. Doromu-Koki has many idioms. Below are the ones that have been observed so far. Note that some are used as euphemisms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.3 Idioms</th>
<th>literal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abatasa</td>
<td>‘milk in tea/coffee’ (looks like a river after heavy rain) ‘with flood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada fairo re</td>
<td>‘angry’ ‘flaming head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ari agubo ni</td>
<td>‘crying’ ‘day becomes dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auna yuka</td>
<td>‘flower petals/five clubs (playing card)’ ‘dog paws, dog paw prints’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ava mida</td>
<td>‘stunted, slow to grow up’ ‘grass child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aveta bura</td>
<td>‘skinny’ ‘exposed ribs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>‘ready to go’ ‘get up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei ne</td>
<td>‘death, die’ (euphemism) ‘go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egira re</td>
<td>‘take heart’ ‘strengthen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eina kiri</td>
<td>‘rain shower’ ‘dry tree sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eruka ro</strong></td>
<td>‘pain relieving rub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fai kutu</strong></td>
<td>‘broke, penniless, empty handed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fore</strong></td>
<td>‘money, needs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koima</strong></td>
<td>‘little boy’ (descriptive of how a small penis resembles a leech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koru dadiyo</strong></td>
<td>‘river dried up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koru gena</strong></td>
<td>‘gun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>moi rivo</strong></td>
<td>‘conceive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>moi vena</strong></td>
<td>‘commit adultery, fondle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mosara buni</strong></td>
<td>‘nice girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ni vava</strong></td>
<td>‘speak well of, honour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>raravari keto re</strong></td>
<td>‘get married’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>reiro</strong></td>
<td>‘rice’ (looks like ant eggs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>reiro feide</strong></td>
<td>‘show respect to spirits at end of planting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rema di gauka</strong></td>
<td>‘menstrual period’ (euphemism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rivo beko</strong></td>
<td>‘potbelly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rivo kefuka</strong></td>
<td>‘potbelly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rivo ni</strong></td>
<td>‘pregnant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rovaita nuga</strong></td>
<td>‘circumcision’ (euphemism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rovaita toe re</strong></td>
<td>‘shame/ashamed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sau</strong></td>
<td>‘highlander’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sumu sumu</strong></td>
<td>‘go hunting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teki</strong></td>
<td>‘very hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teteka</strong></td>
<td>‘pretty young girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>toe ni</strong></td>
<td>‘pregnant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>udo</strong></td>
<td>‘flour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uka kabudo re</strong></td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uka koru rama rausi re</strong></td>
<td>‘diarrhoea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uka moi</strong></td>
<td>‘troubled, distressed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uka unema re</strong></td>
<td>‘diarrhoea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vabara koru</strong></td>
<td>‘kerosene’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vai ode</strong></td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vana moi kita kita re</strong></td>
<td>‘work hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vana raro</strong></td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vare</strong></td>
<td>‘have sexual intercourse’ (euphemism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vari afiye</strong></td>
<td>‘double tongue, wishy-washy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yabo feya</strong></td>
<td>‘biscuit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yuka rafo</strong></td>
<td>‘respect for spirits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yuka ode</strong></td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yuka vana nari re</strong></td>
<td>‘self-control’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yuka yokoi maka</strong></td>
<td>‘rain shower’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.5 Names and nicknames

Typically first names are modern (borrowed Western or Biblical) names, while many second/last names are often traditional names. Previously these were the father’s name, but now they have become a family name. For example, Luke Bomena’s father’s name was Bomena, but now his children’s names are Karen Bomena, Shelly Bomena, Adam Bomena and Priscilla Bomena.

Children do not call their parents by their names, and it is considered disrespectful to call an in-law by their name. Generally deceased person’s names are avoided as well.

Nicknames are common, and are used to exaggerate some specific characteristic of the individual. Names are also shortened, or in some way played upon. Following are some examples in Doromu-Koki:

Table 9.4: Nicknames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ada tora</td>
<td>‘Big head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiye doba</td>
<td>‘Tall man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroro</td>
<td>‘Announcer’ (From Hiri Motu haroro ‘preach’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouti</td>
<td>‘Boat’ (occupation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB tora</td>
<td>‘Council boss’ (former counsellor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gensi</td>
<td>‘Gena’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebere</td>
<td>‘Bald’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
<td>‘Luke Bomena’ (play on name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madan amiye</td>
<td>‘Madang man’ (town of origin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne basu</td>
<td>‘Bug-eyed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne iyo</td>
<td>‘Disturbed eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nobi</td>
<td>‘Norbert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioni</td>
<td>‘John’ (referring to all white men)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 9.4 cont’d: Nicknames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stoa amiye</td>
<td>‘Store man’ (occupation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tootsie</td>
<td>‘Raphael Totome’ (play on family name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uboma foki</td>
<td>‘Bent back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vana tu</td>
<td>‘Short arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vekeke</td>
<td>‘Cleaner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vena ueta bora</td>
<td>‘Yellow beard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warder Koki</td>
<td>‘Koki Warder’ (former occupation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaku kou amiye</td>
<td>‘Go out and stop’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.6 Onomatopoeia and rhymes

Onomatopoeia, or the use of words to imitate the sound they denote is a common feature of languages, and Doromu-Koki is no exception; it is rich in onomatopoeic forms, as well as rhyming jingles. Below is a table showing the various onomatopoeic forms found in the language; nearly all of them deal with animal noises.

TABLE 9.5 Onomatopoeia

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buau buau…</td>
<td>‘argh’</td>
<td>(low hoarse voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâĩ hâĩ</td>
<td>‘here dog’</td>
<td>(call dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-a ka-a ka-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>(song of sulphur-crested cuckoo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keao…</td>
<td>‘grrr’</td>
<td>(stomach rumble)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerarai kerarai kerarai</td>
<td></td>
<td>(song of female eclectus parrot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki…</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ringing ears)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiroi kiroi kiroi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(song of male eclectus parrot)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(The tilde (~) over vowels indicates nasalisation, and the ɲ indicates a palatal nasal.)

According to Pawley (2006), a rhyming jingle is a lexical unit of at least two phonological words, identical in form except for one or more elements in the first syllable or initial part of the two words. Such forms found in Doromu-Koki are seen below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>koe koe koe</th>
<th>‘oink oink oink’</th>
<th>(pig grunting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kokoro koo...</td>
<td>‘cock-a-doodle-doo’</td>
<td>(rooster call)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua kua kua</td>
<td>‘quack quack quack’</td>
<td>(duck sound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuiyori kuiyori</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Papuan lorikeet song)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mã...</td>
<td></td>
<td>(call pig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mê...</td>
<td>‘shoo’</td>
<td>(chase dog/pig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲae...</td>
<td>‘buzz’</td>
<td>(mosquito buzz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲai...</td>
<td></td>
<td>(cricket chirp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niau niau niau</td>
<td>‘meow meow meow’</td>
<td>(cat sound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sss...</td>
<td>‘sss…’</td>
<td>(snake sound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teki taki</td>
<td></td>
<td>(rustling of trees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toketake</td>
<td></td>
<td>(crashing of tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi tsi tsi</td>
<td>‘chirp chirp chirp’</td>
<td>(gecko chirp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua ua ua</td>
<td></td>
<td>(bird of paradise song for dance/celebration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uo uo uo</td>
<td>‘bow wow wow’</td>
<td>(dog sound)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 9.6 RHYMING JINGLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bu ba</th>
<th>‘shattering glass’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dogo dago</td>
<td>‘preparing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duma dama re</td>
<td>‘stealing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iri ari</td>
<td>‘eating hurriedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koite kaite re</td>
<td>‘washing hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koke kake</td>
<td>‘cut and bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misiri masiri</td>
<td>‘itty-bitty fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisifura sasifura</td>
<td>‘itsy bitsy trees’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) **Koite.kaite re-yaka.**
wash.hands do-1S.PST
‘I washed my hands.’

(6) **Koru=ri misiri.masiri.**
water=at itty.bitty.fish
‘There are itty-bitty fish in the water/river.’

(7) **Sisifura.sasifura mironi ve.**
itsy.bitsy.trees there see
‘Look at the itsy bitsy trees over there.’

9.7 Borrowed words

To date 268 words in the dictionary (Bradshaw 2007) have been classified as borrowed. The majority are from Hiri Motu or English (or originally from another language coming via Hiri Motu or English), while a few are from Tok Pisin. Most are nouns, but also found are adjectives, conjunctions, and temporal elements. They are used in the same manner as other words in the language. For the most part, they are made to conform to the Doromu-Koki syllable structure (see §2.3 and §2.4). They are listed below, followed by a few example sentences, with the borrowed words highlighted. Notice that a number of recent English borrowings retain their original spelling (e.g. *disco, donkey*).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Source language(s)</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Source meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abata</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>abata</td>
<td>‘flood, current’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abitore re</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>abitorehai</td>
<td>‘credit, borrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahuna</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>ahuna</td>
<td>‘share, reward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aisi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>algebra</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>algebra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>‘song, hymn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aneru</td>
<td>Hiri Motu (English)</td>
<td>aneru</td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anika</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>anchor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariya re</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>haria</td>
<td>‘divide, share, portion out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aroro</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>haroro</td>
<td>‘preach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auri</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>auri</td>
<td>‘iron, steel, metal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babatiso</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>baptism/baptise</td>
<td>‘baptism, baptise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badina</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>badina</td>
<td>‘base of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badu</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>badu</td>
<td>‘anger, angry, cross, irate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baiburu</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baige</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baketi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bucket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banika</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptist</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>baptist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Source language(s)</td>
<td>Source word</td>
<td>Source meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baruni</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>balloon</td>
<td>‘balloon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basileia</td>
<td>Hiri Motu (Greek)</td>
<td>basileia</td>
<td>‘kingdom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>‘bed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bema</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>bema</td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beniga</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>benzene</td>
<td>‘benzene’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beredi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>‘bread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bero</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bell</td>
<td>‘bell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bero</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>bero</td>
<td>‘wound, hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bero</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>belt</td>
<td>‘belt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibo</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>bibo</td>
<td>‘Jew’s harp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blu</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodaka</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>bodaga</td>
<td>‘rotten, decayed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bona</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>bona</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boro</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>‘ball’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boromakau</td>
<td>Tok Pisin</td>
<td>bulmakau</td>
<td>‘cattle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borukoko</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>buruka</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bosi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>boss</td>
<td>‘boss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botolo</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bottle</td>
<td>‘bottle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botoro</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bottle</td>
<td>‘bottle, jar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source</strong></td>
<td><strong>Language(s)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Word</strong></td>
<td><strong>Meaning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bouti</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
<td><em>boat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braun</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>‘brown’</td>
<td><em>brown</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buka</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>‘book’</td>
<td><em>book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>busi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>‘bush man, human-like spirit, dwarf bush man’</td>
<td><em>bushy</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>dabu ni</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>dabu</em></td>
<td>‘lacking, in need of, having nothing’</td>
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<tr>
<td>dabua</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>dabua</em></td>
<td>‘clothing, cloth, clothes’</td>
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<td>daramu</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>drum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>davana</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>davana</em></td>
<td>‘price, wages, pay, money, cost’</td>
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<tr>
<td>davara</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>davara</em></td>
<td>‘ocean, sea’</td>
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<tr>
<td>dereini</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>drain</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>diba</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>diba</em></td>
<td>‘knowledge, understanding, ability, skill, know, understand, able to, acquainted with’</td>
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<tr>
<td>diba</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>diba</em></td>
<td>‘arrow’</td>
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<tr>
<td>dikadika</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>dikadika</em></td>
<td>‘very bad, badly, extremely, very much’</td>
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<td>disco</td>
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<td>doketa</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>doketa</td>
<td>‘doctor, physician’</td>
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<td>donkey</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>dubu</td>
<td>‘church’</td>
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<td>durua re</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>durua</td>
<td>‘help, aid, assist, support’</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>‘oh, ah, o’</td>
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<td>egeregere</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>hegerege</td>
<td>‘okay, well, enough’</td>
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<td>ekalesia</td>
<td>Hiri Motu (Greek)</td>
<td>ekalesia</td>
<td>‘church’</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>fava</td>
<td>‘power’</td>
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<td>fefa</td>
<td>‘paper, manuscript’</td>
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<td>‘aeroplane’</td>
<td>English (aero)plane</td>
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<td>‘petrol’</td>
<td>English petrol</td>
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<td>fisitoro</td>
<td>‘pistol, gun’</td>
<td>English pistol</td>
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<td>foketa</td>
<td>‘pocket’</td>
<td>English pocket</td>
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<td>foki</td>
<td>‘bend, crook, fork’</td>
<td>English fork</td>
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<td>furisi</td>
<td>‘police’</td>
<td>English police</td>
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<td>fuse</td>
<td>‘bag (rice), sack’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu puse</td>
<td>‘purse, sack, bag’</td>
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<td>‘place’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu gabuna</td>
<td>‘place, area, region, site’</td>
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<td>gai</td>
<td>‘club, shield’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu gahi</td>
<td>‘stone club’</td>
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<td>garasi</td>
<td>‘glass(es), mirror, goggles’</td>
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<td>gaudia</td>
<td>‘thing, something’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu gaudia</td>
<td>‘thing, baggage, belongings, luggage, possessions’</td>
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<td>gaukara</td>
<td>‘work, job’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu gaukara</td>
<td>‘work, duty, business, job’</td>
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<td>gavana</td>
<td>‘governor’</td>
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<td>gavmani</td>
<td>‘government’</td>
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<td>geda</td>
<td>‘bed, mat’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu geda</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>‘pain, sharp’</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>ginigini ‘thorn’</td>
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<td>girisi</td>
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<td>‘grease, oil’</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>gohu ‘lake, lagoon, swamp, bay, cove’</td>
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<td>gunika ‘inland’</td>
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<td>guri ‘pit, grave’</td>
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<td>‘knife, fighting knife’</td>
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<td>‘red, ripe’</td>
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<td>karaudi</td>
<td>‘harpoon, spear gun’</td>
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<td>‘carrier(s)’</td>
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<td>karu</td>
<td>‘young, immature, unripe’</td>
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<td>kau</td>
<td>‘cattle, cow’</td>
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<tr>
<td>kava</td>
<td>‘not all, not one, in vain’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>kava</td>
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<td>kebere</td>
<td>‘bald’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>kerere</td>
<td>‘trouble, mistake, accident’</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>kerosene</td>
<td>‘trouble, mistake, blunder, accident, crime, incorrect, wrong’</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>kiki</td>
<td>‘story, tale, gossip’</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>kikire</td>
<td>‘kick’</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>kohu</td>
<td>‘property, wealth, supplies, stores, cargo, baggage’</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>kokoroku</td>
<td>‘chicken, fowl, hen, rooster’</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>komunio</td>
<td>‘communion’</td>
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<td>cone</td>
<td>‘coast’</td>
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<td>koni</td>
<td>‘corn’</td>
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<td>koroko</td>
<td>‘o’clock’</td>
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<td>‘court’</td>
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<td>‘guava’</td>
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<td>kuini</td>
<td>‘queen’</td>
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<td>kuku</td>
<td>‘tobacco, cigarette’</td>
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<td>kutusi</td>
<td>‘cartridge’</td>
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<td>lagani</td>
<td>‘year, age’</td>
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<td>lalona</td>
<td>‘during, while’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>lalonai</td>
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<td>Lohiabada</td>
<td>‘Lord’</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
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<td>loli</td>
<td>‘lolly, candy, sweets’</td>
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<td>‘market’</td>
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<td>‘malaria’</td>
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<td>mamoe</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
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<td>maruvo</td>
<td>‘movement (far away), ‘movie, video’</td>
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<td>masisi</td>
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<td>‘turtle’</td>
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<td>‘box, case, coffin’</td>
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<td>‘medical orderly’</td>
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<td>mereki</td>
<td>‘plate, dish’</td>
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<td>mo</td>
<td>‘only’</td>
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<td>motumotu</td>
<td>‘island, broken’</td>
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<td>muramura</td>
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<td>ofesi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>office</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>oira</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>oil</td>
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<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>party</td>
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<td>pausi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>purse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peroveta</td>
<td>Hiri Motu (English)</td>
<td>peroveta</td>
<td>‘prophet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petoro</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>petrol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilisi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>please</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popo</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>popo</td>
<td>‘root, creeper (chewed with betel nut)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pou</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>puff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pune</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>‘dove, pigeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purisi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>police</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>raba</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>rubber</td>
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<td>Source meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>rabiya</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>rabia</td>
<td>‘sago’</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>rice</td>
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<td>rocket</td>
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<td>ramefa</td>
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<td>lamp</td>
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<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>damena</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>rusted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>reke</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>reke</td>
<td>‘fishing net’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rini</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roho re</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>roho</td>
<td>‘jump, leap, fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roku</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>‘pawpaw, papaya’</td>
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<tr>
<td>sasa</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>saucer</td>
<td></td>
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<td>seini</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>chain</td>
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<td>seke re</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>check</td>
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<td>serti</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>shirt</td>
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<td>seven</td>
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<td>seven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siau</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>siahu</td>
<td>‘heat, hot, perspiration, power, authority, ability’</td>
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<td>sifuni</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>spoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Word</td>
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<td>Source Word</td>
<td>Source Meaning</td>
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<td>sikisi</td>
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<td>six</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
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<td>sikoma</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>comb</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>cement</td>
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<td>sinou</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>snow</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sioni</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>‘white man, Caucasian’</td>
</tr>
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<td>sipanisi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>sponge</td>
<td>‘sponge’</td>
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<td>siriva</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>‘silver’</td>
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<tr>
<td>sisasi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>scissors</td>
<td>‘scissors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisiba</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>sisiba</td>
<td>‘advice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitori</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>‘story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sivarai</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>sivarai</td>
<td>‘story, tale, news, message’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sori</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>sorry</td>
<td>‘sorry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoa</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>store</td>
<td>‘store, shop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suga</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>‘sugar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu</td>
<td>Tok Pisin</td>
<td>susu</td>
<td>‘breast, milk, nipple, nurse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takesi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>taxes</td>
<td>‘tax(es)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamaka</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>tamaka</td>
<td>‘shoe, boot, footwear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanikiu</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>thank you</td>
<td>‘thankful, thank you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>word</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source language(s)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source word</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source meaning</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tanoba(da)</em></td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>tanobada</em></td>
<td>‘country, mainland, continent, world’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taoni</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>town</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taravatu</em></td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>taravatu</em></td>
<td>‘law, commandment, agreement, prohibition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tausini</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>thousand</em></td>
<td>‘thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tauwera</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>towel</em></td>
<td></td>
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<td><em>teiboro</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>table</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ten</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>ten</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>tea</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titiya</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>teacher</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td>‘but, although, still, yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tomata</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>tomato</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tosi</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>torch</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>totona</em></td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>totona</em></td>
<td>‘in order to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>trakita</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>tractor</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuero</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>twelve</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tufe</em></td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>tupe</em></td>
<td>‘raft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>turiya re</em></td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td><em>turia</em></td>
<td>‘sew, weave, string beads’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uafu</em></td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>wharf</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>word</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source language(s)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source word</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source meaning</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ura</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>‘want, wish, desire, like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urena</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>uro</td>
<td>‘earthenware pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ureure</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>hurehure</td>
<td>‘waves, seafoam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uru</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>‘generation, multiply’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vairana</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>vairana</td>
<td>‘face, countenance, front, appearance, façade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaisiyau</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>vasiahu</td>
<td>‘soup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanagi</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>vanagi</td>
<td>‘outrigger canoe, boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viaigana</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>vanegai</td>
<td>‘day before yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viniga</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>vinegar</td>
<td>‘vinegar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voire</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>hoia</td>
<td>‘buy, sell, barter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorovoro</td>
<td>Hiri Motu</td>
<td>vorovoro</td>
<td>‘revolver, pistol’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waini</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>wine</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>week</td>
<td>‘week’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winido</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>window</td>
<td>‘window’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>wheat</td>
<td>‘wheat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yisiti</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>yeast</td>
<td>‘yeast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zipa</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>zipper</td>
<td>‘zipper’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of borrowings in clauses:

(8) *Evade maina re-fa* **badina** **na**
   quickly look.for do-2P.IMP because 1S
   *ka bai nei guriguri ni ma-gida.*
   also come go.down prayer say give-1S.FUT
   ‘Quickly search because I am also coming down to say a prayer.’

(9) *Raphael yaku boromakau voi re-yo.*
   Raphael DM cattle buy do-2/3S.PST
   ‘Raphael bought cattle.’

(10) *Davara fafau enera oa re-dedi-ma ve-yaka.*
    sea above bird fly do-2/3P.PRES-SQDS see-1S.PST
    ‘I saw the birds flying above the sea.’

(11) *Rautu neinei furisi bona kanisoro ai-yo.*
    village each police and council put-2/3S.PST
    ‘In each village he placed police and councillors.’

(12) *To moke-yaka bi dona bi nui ide=ri*
    but think-1S.PST TOP pig TOP sty inside=at
    *dui kode vonisi...*
    enter not.yet if
    ‘But I thought the pig might not yet have entered inside its sty.’

### 9.8 Biblical key terms

Biblical key terms are essential for Scripture translation, but since the biblical cultures are very different from Doromu-Koki culture, many concepts are foreign and difficult to translate. This is especially true for **abstractions** such as ‘peace’, ‘faith’ and ‘grace’. These concepts do not refer to any concrete reality or specific object, but they are primarily used to express a quality or a characteristic. In English and Koiné Greek abstractions are common, but in Doromu-Koki they must almost always be formed into a phrase. Table 9.7 shows a number of terms which have been gleaned so far. Some are newly coined, but most have been in use for some time. Note that the word *uka* ‘stomach’ is commonly used, as it refers to the centre of emotion in the Doromu-Koki culture.
*Sei* is the term commonly used for the supreme being. It is the spirit which has provided everything, such as food, land, animals and water. *Sei* does not cause illness as the *bodaka* ‘evil spirits’ do. When there is hunger, certain rules have been broken; for instance the customs of the *aira* ‘first harvest’ were not properly followed. People are very careful to avoid saying, “There is no food,” as *Sei* will hear you and there will not be any food. Really when there is no food it is your fault, because you have not worked properly. *Sei* has already given everything you need; so you need to trust him to provide. *Sei* is considered a *vima kikifa* ‘showing-honour spirit’ (see below). *Sei* is the term currently being used for God in translated Scriptures, but is under review because of some of the extra connotations it carries.

*Vima Kikifa* is a term that has been adopted by the church to refer to the Holy Spirit. *Vima Kikifa* ‘showing-honour spirit’ is a good spirit, and classified differently from other spirits. A good person is considered to have *vima kikifa* living in him/her, enabling him/her to do the good things he/she does (Bradshaw 2007:13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 9.7 Biblical key terms</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literal meaning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ago buni</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ago gira</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>akeke fata</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>buni tora gade</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>moi vegu re</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>moimai re tavoi tavoi redo amiye</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mokena rorobo</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mokena vari gira</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>muyena sana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9.7 cont’d: Biblical key terms</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni vauna vauna re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ori sisika re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roka moi odoro re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rorobo ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sei di mokena kana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sui ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka ago mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka amuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka amuta ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka buni dudu ni kabaikabai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka maina re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka vari gira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka yokoimaka nina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usi dina amiyie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegu no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vima Kikifa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Below are a few examples of translated sentences using these key terms:

(13) *Ma Sei Warika Amiye yaku ini ago gira* and God chief person DM 3.POSS word hard

mar-o…
give-2/3S.PST
‘And the Lord God gave his commandment…’ (Lit. ‘And God the Chief gave his hard word…’) (Genesis 2:16)

(14) *Ma iniye ini niyo meda=ri ini ago moi* and REFL 3.POSS say-3S.PST day=at 3.POSS word get

ogau riyo, Sei, una moi vegu ri-na
appear make-3S.PST God 1P get life make-NOM
amiye di ago gira fafau mina moimai na person GEN word hard on.top.of this work 1S

mar-o.
give-2/3S.PST
‘And at the right time he revealed his message, according to God our Saviour’s command, in which he entrusted this work to me.’ (Titus 1:3)

(15) *Abram Warika Amiye rofu ini make-na vari* Abram chief person BEN 3.POSS think-NOM plant

gira ai-yo bona Sei ka Abram=ro ni-yo hard put-2/3S.PST and God also Abram=to say-2/3S.PST

ina bi vegu no yokoi ina rofu de.
3 TOP life bad one 3 BEN NEG
‘Abram believed the Lord and God said to Abram that he was righteous.’ (Genesis 15:6)

(16) *Idu na na diba ya gokai kana vene bi, ma* but 1s 1s knowledge 2 how like people TOP and

na na diba ya bi Sei rofu yi 1S 1S knowledge 2 TOP God BEN 2.POSS

uka ma-na yi uka=ri de.
stomach give-NOM 2.POSS stomach=at NEG
‘But I myself know what kind of people you are, and I myself know you are not loving God in your heart.’ (John 5:42).
10. Appendix

Below are eight interlinearised texts. All have been edited to varying degrees.

**Text 1. Tau Yagabo**

This legend was written by Joe Warika in Kasonomu village in September 2001.

(1) *Yokoi aru vo ni-bo amiye yokoi roka Tau* one day happen say-POT person one name Tau

*Yagabo yaku ini rautu vene omar-o* Yagabo DM 3.POSS village people invite-2/3S.PST

*ini muro vari-yaganedi.* 3.POSS garden plant-3P.JUS

‘Once upon a time a man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.’

(2) *Vari vari re-gedi meda moi-yo=ri bi,* plant plant do-2/3P.FUT sun get-2/3S.PST=at TOP

*uruyaku gorogoro Tau yaku ini vene raka ni* morning early Tau DM 3.POSS people name say

*e-dadi-yo,* ‘Nai rautu vene, gua bi CAUS-get.up-2/3S.PST 1S.POSS village people now TOP

*nai meda dada ya usa ni-da dadi vau* 1S.POSS sun so 2 ask say-1S.PRES get.up complete

*re-fo.*

do-2P.HORT

‘The day when they would do the planting came, early in the morning Tau called his people to wake up, “My village people! Today is the day, so I ask you to all get up.”’
(3) *Amiye tau vakoi dadi vau re-yadi, tora person all together get.up complete do-2/3P.PST big vene, rema, rumana, ofi, godua tau people woman man young.girl young.boy all vakoi dadi vau re-yadi.* together get.up complete do-2/3P.PST ‘Everyone got up at once, elders, women, men, young women, young men, all together they got up.’

(4) *Kasi ravau bo-si oki-yadi=ri bi old.garden clearing go.up-SQSS arrive-2/3P.PST=at TOP tua de re-yadi moi de-gi re-si evade wait NEG do-2/3P.PST get come-PURP do-SQSS quickly evade yoyava bi vari vau re-yadi.* quickly seedling TOP plant complete do-2/3P.PST ‘When they went up and arrived in the old garden clearing, they did not wait but got right to work and very quickly planted all the seedlings.’

(5) *Tau yaku mina ve-yo=ri bi ini uka Tau DM this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS stomach ada tora gade iniye re-yo, ‘Nai vene happiness big very very do-2/3S.PST 1S.POSS people kaini ferei bai-fa meda tobo ni-yo enough leave come-2P.IMP sun centre say-2/3S.PST dada bai-si iruku iri-fa bona ada=ri ame so come-SQSS food eat-2P.IMP and shade=at stay ame re-fa.’* stay do-2P.IMP ‘When Tau saw this, he (lit. his stomach) became very very happy (and said), “My people, it’s good that you take a break and come as the sun is high; so come and eat some food and rest in the shade.’”
(6) Muro adau bo-si ame vau re-yadi iruku
garden top go.up-SQSS stay complete do-2/3P.PST food
iri-gi, ini moke-na bi sioni iruku
eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOM TOP white.man food
iri-gedi.
eat-2/3P.FUT
‘They went up to the top of the garden and they all sat down to
eat food, thinking that they would eat whiteman’s food.’

(7) ‘Bao,’ ni-yadi, ‘Tau no kana bi koyomu bani
but.no say-2/3P.PST Tau bad like TOP rat yam
daru duro yu fafau fama-si gobe=ri
root root root gourd.paste on.top.of splash-SQSS dish=at
dabara re-yo ini vene di.’
spread.on.table do-2/3S.PST 3.POSS people GEN
‘‘But no, they said, ‘Tau is bad having slapped gourd paste on
top of stringy yams and put them in a dish at the table for his
people.’’

(8) Amiye mina ve-yadi=ri bi ini uka
person this see-2/3P.PST=at TOP 3.POSS stomach
gubuyo tora gade re-yadi, kamini yokoi yokoi
anger big very do-2/3P.PST enough one one
dadi-si rautu rofu di-yadi.
get.up-SIMSS village PURP go-2/3P.PST
‘When the people saw this they were very very angry, and so
one-by-one they got up and went to the village.’

(9) Tau di rema ka mina ve-yo=ri bi gubuyo
Tau GEN woman also this see-2/3S.PST=at TOP anger
tora gade re-yo, ‘Na bi ya ni-yaka raisi
big very do-2/3S.PST 1S TOP 2 say-1S.PST rice
bona farava bi beika re-si moina de
and flour TOP what do-SQSS look.for NEG
re-yo? Mo moi!’ vo ni-si ini
do-2/3S.PST at.once get happen say-SQSS 3.POSS
‘When Tau’s wife also saw this she was very very angry (and said), “I told you to get some rice and flour, but why didn’t you look for some? Get lost!” and she went off with her people.’

Text 2. *Meda yokoiri nai mida remanu garasi diyadi*

‘One day my two sons went with their diving glasses’

This narrative was written by Sam and Barbara Kapana in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

10. *Meda yokoi=ri nai mida remanu garasi di-yadi.*

This day one=at 1S.POSS child two glass

go-2/3P.PST

‘One day my two sons went with their diving glasses.’


head.water glass go.up-2/3P.PST 3.POSS knowledge glass

and basket=ACCM go-2/3P.PST

‘They went up to the headwaters with their diving glasses; they went up thinking the diving glasses were in the basket.’

12. *Ina remanu bi garasi re-na de.*

3 two TOP glass do-NOM NEG

‘But the two of them did not have their diving glasses.’


wash-SIMSS sun dip-SIMSS stone above stay-HAB-2/3P.PST

‘They washed and dipped in the water in the sun, and they were sitting on a stone.’


1S DM think-1S.PST TOP there prawn hit-2/3P.PRES

but.no say-1S.PST

‘I thought those ones are catching prawns, but now I say no.’
(15)  *Uriyenau ni-yo-ma oki-yadi.*
*afternoon say-2/3S.PST-SQSS arrive-2/3P.PST*
‘In the afternoon they returned.’

(16)  *Na bi baguru, tauga, mava moi-si oki-yaka,*
*1S TOP greens banana coconut get-SQSS arrive-1S.PST*
*mo mida remanu di foroka=ri bi aka yokoi*
*at.once child two GEN basket=at TOP prawn one*
*kava de.*
*not.one  NEG*
‘I brought greens, banana, and coconut, but there was not one prawn in the two boys’ basket.’

(17)  *Mina mida remanu bi iruku iri-na de.*
*this child two TOP food eat-NOM NEG*
‘These two boys were not going to get any food to eat.’

(18)  *Na yaku ni-yaka dada iruku iri-na de*
*1S DM say-1S.PST so food eat-NOM NEG*
*re-yadi re-si rauna vare-yadi.*
*do-2/3P.PST do-SQSS hunger sleep-2/3P.PST*
‘I said that they were not going to eat any food and so they went to bed hungry.’

(19)  *Nai sina keika mini.*
*1S.POSS story little here*
‘Here is my little story.’

**Text 3. Letter 1**

This letter was written by Seba in Kasonomu village in April 2006.

(20)  *Tom beika de to rautu=ri ya yaku beika beika*
*Tom what NEG but village=at 2 DM what what*
*re-yanedid ya ni oteima-gi re-da.*
*do-3S.JUS 2 say show-PURP do-1S.PRES*
‘Tom, I’m going to tell you what hasn’t happened yet in the village that must be done.’
(21) *Na nai rema mida=sa bi buni ame-sifa.*  
1S 1S.POSS woman child=ACCM TOP good stay-1P.PRES  
‘I and my wife and children are well.’

(22) *Rautu vene ni diba re-giya nai rema*  
village people say knowledge do-2S.FUT 1S.POSS woman  
*voi re-gida di meda bi gua mina eo mirona*  
buy do-1S.FUT GEN sun TOP now this moon that  
*lagani di meda vana ufo remanu ma vana raro.*  
year GEN sun hand clap two SQDS hand line  
‘You will advise the village people that my bride price’s feast day will be this month next year on the 24th.’

(23) *Mina re-si irakuna meda bai tumu*  
this do-SQSS feast sun come short  
*ni-go-ri, rautu di oureifeide-na amiyie*  
say-3S.FUT-SIMDS village GEN lead-NOM person  
*ni-giya ma tauga, bani, arefa yato yato*  
say-2S.FUT and banana yam sugarcane gather gather  
*di ma dudubu ri-nadi, ma ita koru naivo*  
GEN and tent make-1P.HORT and fire water help  
*naivo di ni odoro re-yainedi.*  
help GEN say above do-3S.JUS  
‘So when this feast’s day is approaching, you will tell the village leaders to keep gathering bananas, yams, and sugarcane and we’ll erect a shelter, and you can also keep helping with firewood and water.’

(24) *Sioni iruku bi irakuna meda tumu=sa moi*  
white.man food TOP feast sun short=ACCM get  
*feide-gida nai rema mida bai*  
leave-1S.FUT 1S.POSS woman child come  
*ne-bi-gedi-ri.*  
go.down-DUR-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS  
‘I will send store bought food shortly before the feast begins, which my wife and children will be bringing down.’
(25) Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu
so 2 REFL child return-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT PURP
Siau di yava=ri moi-gedi.
Siau GEN house=at get-2/3P.FUT
‘So you come down yourself to bring the children back at Siau’s house.’

(26) De-si moi-gedi-ri mida ni-giya
come.down-SQSS get-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS child say-2S.FUT
iruku moi bo-gedi-ri ga moi forovai
food get go.up-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS PRHB get clear
re-yagane.
do-3P.JUS
‘When they will take them down you will tell the children not to clear it all out when they will take the food up.’

(27) Dobau oureifeide-na amiyi ni-giya-ma amiyi
in.advance lead-NOM person say-2S.FUT-SQDS person
ni diba re-yaine irakuna meda oki-go-ri,
say knowledge do-3S.JUS feast sun arrive-3S.FUT-SIMDS
mida rua vene mina, iroka ma koru no mina
child young people this smoke and water bad this
irakuna=ri ga iri-yagane.
feast=at PRHB eat-3P.JUS
‘Ahead of time you will tell the leaders that they must advise the people when the feast’s day will arrive, that those young boys are not to smoke or drink alcohol at this feast.’

(28) Nai rema voi irakuna moi no re-gedi baebu.
1S.POSS woman buy feast get bad do-2/3P.FUT lest
‘Otherwise they will spoil my bride price’s feast.’

(29) Nai sina keika mini ye ve oki-gida-ri
1S.POSS story little here so see arrive-1S.FUT-SIMDS
baku re-gifa. Yi dubuini Seba.
find do-1P.FUT 2.POSS brother Seba
‘Here are my few words so when I will arrive we will look into this. Your brother Seba.’
Text 4. Meda yokoi dadiyaka rofu di nai mida Adam
‘One day I got up and told my son Adam’

This narrative was written by Luke Bomena in Amuraika village in April 2006.

(30) Meda yokoi dadi-yaka rofu di nai mida Adam
day one get.up-1S.PST ABL GEN 1S.POSS child Adam
ni-yaka, ‘Ima ne-si Ave ema=ri
say-1S.PST betel.nut go.down-SBSS Ave river.mouth=at
moi-yanedi.’
get-3S.JUS
‘One day I got up and told my son Adam, “You must go down to
the mouth of Ave River and get some betel nut.”’

(31) Vo ni-si ida forovai re-si fere-si
happen say-SQSS road crazy do-SQSS leave-SQSS
bai-yo rautu=ri sina bi yomakai ni-yaka,
come-2/3S.PST village=at story TOP like.this say-1S.PST
‘Adam ima Ave ema=ri bi yomakai
Adam betel.nut Ave river.mouth=at TOP like.this
ne-si moi-giya ini ida bi fore ifona
go.down-SQSS get-2S.FUT 3.POSS road TOP stone flooring
rautu fere-si ne-giya omuna afara=ri.’
village leave-SQSS go.down-2S.FUT moutain ridge=at
‘It so happened that the road coming and going into the village
was hard to follow and so I told him these words, “Adam, when
you get betel nut at the mouth of Ave River you will take it down
to the road at the stone for village flooring and you will leave it
down there on the mountain ridge.”’

(32) Mina=ri bi ida yokoi vana enana rofu di
this=at TOP road one hand left PURP GEN
ne-yo mini.
go.down-2/3S.PST here
‘From there one road goes down on the left hand side.’
(33) *Mina ida bi Boku rofu di ne-na ida.
  this road TOP Boku PURP GEN go.down-NOM road
  ‘This road is the road going down to Boku.’

(34) *Ya bi mina ida ma ne-giya.
  2 TOP this road and go.down-2S.FUT
  ‘You will go down that road.’

(35) *Ne-giya=ri bi Yo Koru soka re-giya.
  go.down-2S.FUT=at TOP Yo water arrive do-2S.FUT
  ‘When you go down you will arrive at Yo River.’

(36) *Ida yokoi moi-na ga re.
  road one get-NOM PRHB do
  ‘Don’t take any other road.’

(37) *Ya bi koru maka ne.
  2 TOP water only go.down
  ‘Just go down to the river.’

(38) *Ida keika keika tau ve-giya idu mina ma keu
  road little little all see-2S.FUT but this and get.up
  ga re, ne-na maka re.
  PRHB do go.down-NOM only do
  ‘You will see all the very small paths but don’t go up these, just
  continue going down.’

(39) *De-giya de-giya rofu di raba
  come.down-2S.FUT come.down-2S.FUT ABL GEN rubber
  yabo vari-yadi sana ve-giya.
  tree plant-2/3P.PST place see-2S.FUT
  ‘You will come down and coming down there you will see the
  place where the rubber trees were planted.’

(40) *Mina sana=ri bi mo kiya kiya ne.
  this place=at TOP at.once slowly slowly go.down
  ‘At this place go down very slowly.’

(41) *Vana enana rofu di maka ne ne re-bi.
  hand left ABL GEN only go.down go.down do-DUR
  ‘Just keep going down toward the left side.’
(42) *Ike fate ai-yaka mina ve-giya=ri bi mina dakai road.sign put-1S.PST this see-2S.FUT=at TOP this place keu ri-bo.*
get.up make-POT
‘When you see the road sign I put, go up there.’

(43) *Doba de ina bi ne tumu maka mini.*
long NEG 3 TOP go.down short only here
‘From there it is not long, but just a short way down.’

(44) *Ve-giya bi masibo iye yaku bou ri-yaka mini.*
see-2S.FUT TOP grass leaf DM cover make-1S.PST here
‘You will see the grass leaves there that I covered.’

(45) *Faka ri-giya=ri bi ima baku re-giya.*
fence make-2S.FUT=at TOP betel.nut find do-2S.FUT
‘When you make a fence you will find the betel nut.’

(46) *Mo kani bi nuga nuga re-yaka sana mina=ri at.once mustard TOP cut cut do-1S.PST place this=at ve-giya mini, kadiri yabo rata=ri.*
see-2S.FUT here tree.nut tree trunk=at
‘And then at the place that I kept cutting mustard you will see it there, at the *kadiri* nut tree trunk.’

(47) *Adina remanu dada aki to re-si fere-yaka because two so bite but do-SQSS leave-1S.PST ere mina moi.*
belong this get
‘Because there are two, just get those I bit into but then left.’

(48) *Na kaya bi Odufa ika=ri ya tua re-ga 1S REFL TOP Odufa summit=at 2 wait do-SIMSS ame-bi-gida.*
stay-DUR-2S.FUT
‘I myself will be waiting for you at Odufa summit.’
(49) Sina bi mina kana ni-yaka idu iriyeduka ina mida story TOP this like say-1S.PST but sorrow 3 child ina dada ida forovai re-si fere-si bai-yo. 3 so road crazy do-SQSS leave-SQSS come-2/3S.PST ‘My words that I said were like this, but I felt sorry for the boy as the road’s coming and going was so hard to follow.’

(50) Mina.dada ima gua bi rautu otuka=ri therefore betel.nut now TOP village backyard=at vari-da. plant-1S.PRES ‘So now I’m planting betel nut in the village in the backyard.’

(51) Negau mina=ri mida yaku evade gote-si near this=at child DM quickly go.down-SQSS moi-yaganedi. get-3P.JUS ‘The children nearby can quickly go down and get them.’

Text 5. Letter 2

This letter was written by Michael Tuga in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

(52) Raphael, na bi mina Saturday ne-gida Raphael 1S TOP this Saturday go.down-1S.FUT Port.Moresby dada, ya agiya uruyaku bo-giya Port.Moresby so 2 tomorrow morning go.up-2S.FUT Nunufa omuna=ri ima moisi de-giya. Nunufa mountain=at betel.nut get-SQSS come.down-2S.FUT ‘Raphael, this Saturday I will be going down to Port Moresby, so you will go up on Nunufa hill tomorrow morning and get betel nuts and bring them down.’

(53) Ima bi tau gade dada mida yokoi ni-giya-ma betel.nut TOP all very so child one say-2S.FUT-SQDS ya ota ri-yainedi. 2 escort make-3S.JUS ‘There are plenty of betel nuts, so tell one boy to come with you.’
(54) Nunufa omuna=ri ima ruku vau re-giya-ri,
Nunufa mountain=at betel.nut pick all do-2S.FUT-SIMDS
boi ne-si Ko Koru=ri ima vaga
go.up go.down-SQSS Ko water=at betel.nut bunch
remanu ka ruku-si moi de-gedi.
two also pick-SQSS get come.down-2/3P.FUT
‘When you pick up all the betel nuts at Nunufa hill, go across to
Ko River and also get two bunches there and bring them down.’

(55) Dairi de-gedi-ri Gura Koru=ri oketa
return come.down-2/3P.FUT-SIMDS Gura water=at okari
rata=ri kani konagi mina ka nuga-si moi
trunk=at mustard stem this also cut-SQSS get
de-gedi.
come.down-2P.FUT
‘When you return, at Gura River, cut the mustard stem on the
okari tree trunk and also bring it down.’

(56) Kani ya ni-da bi toto ga ni-fo;
mustard 2 say-1S.PRES TOP forget PRHB say-2P.HORT
Kwikila=ri ima=sa ae-gida baba nari nari
Kwikila=at betel.nut=ACCM put-1S.FUT father wait wait
kana fore be baku re-gida.
like stone some find do-1S.FUT
‘Don’t forget the mustard I am telling you about; I will put it
with the betel nuts at Kwikila to make some money while waiting
for father.’

(57) Agiya di-giya di sina bi ya ni-da mini.
tomorrow go-2S.FUT GEN story TOP 2 say-1S.PRES here
‘These are the words I’m telling you about where you will go
tomorrow.’
Text 6. *Vasa bona iya ‘Sand and star’*

This legend was written by Patrick Wasina in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

(58) *Yokoi aru uba meraini, ini roka roka bi vasa*
one day both cousin 3.POSS name name TOP sand *bona iya ame-gam-adi.*
and star stay-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘One day there were two cousins, their names were Sand and Star.’

(59) *Iya bi oma odoro ma vasa bi kono*
star TOP sky above and sand TOP ground *ame-gam-o.*
stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
‘Star was up in the sky and Sand was living on the ground.’

(60) *Ari yokoi iya ya vasa ni-yo, ‘Na bi na*
day one star DM sand say-2/3S.PST 1S TOP 1S *tau gade.’
all very
‘One day Star told Sand, “I am very many.”’

(61) ‘*Na duaiya re vau de re-giya.*’
1S count do complete NEG do-2S.FUT
‘“You will not be able to count all of me.”’

(62) *Mina.dada vasa ya ni-yo, ‘Uniye uniye*
therefore sand DM say-2/3S.PST 1P.REFL 1P.REFL *duaiya re ve-nadi,’ vo ni-yo.
count do see-1P.HORT happen say-2/3S.PST
‘Therefore Sand said to him, “Let’s try to count ourselves.”’

(63) *Iya yaku vasa ni-yo, ‘Ya siko na duaiya re,’*
star DM sand say-2/3S.PST 2 first 1S count do *vo ni-yo.*
happen say-2/3S.PST
‘Star said to Sand, “You count me first.”’
(64) To vasa ya ni-yo, 'Ya bi odoro ame-sa
but sand DM say-2/3S.PST 2 TOP above stay-2S.PRES
dada ya siko de-si, na duaiya re,’ vo
so 2 first come.down-SQSS 1S count do happen
ni-yo.’
say-2/3S.PST
‘But Sand said, “You are living up there so you come down first,
and count me.”’

(65) Iya yaku ni-yo, ‘Na siko na duaiya re,’ vo
star DM say-2/3S.PST 1S first 1S count do happen
ni-yo.
say-2/3S.PST
‘Star said to him, “You count me first.”’

(66) Vasa ya kaito iya duaiya re-yo.
sand DM start star count do-2/3S.PST
‘Sand started to count Star.’

(67) Re-yo duaiya re vau re-yo.
do-2/3S.PST count do complete do-2/3S.PST
‘And he went on counting all of him.’

(68) Iya ya ina vasa duaiya re-yo, to duaiya re
star DM 3 sand count do-2/3S.PST but count do
vau de re-yo.
complete NEG do-2/3S.PST
‘Star counted Sand, but he could not count all of him.’

(69) Mina.dada iya isaka ni-yo.
therefore star cry say-2/3S.PST
‘Therefore Star cried.’

(70) Mina.dada aru ve-do uruyaku=ri ve-giya-ri,
therefore day see-3S.PRES morning=at see-2S.FUT-SIMDS
urma yuveita bi dou ni-dedi.
grass vegetation TOP wet say-2/3P.PRES
‘Therefore you will see during the day in the morning, grass
leaves are wet.’
(71) *Iya ya vasa duaiya re kava re-yo-ma*
star DM sand count do not.all do-2/3S.PST-SQDS
ni-yadi, *Ve mona maka de re-yo ba*
say-2/3P.PST see properly only no do-2/3S.PST or
yaku bura ri-yo urusa rofu.’
DM expose make-2/3S.PST night BEN
‘Star was not able to count all of Sand and so they said, “He did not do it right and so he is exposed at night.”’

**Text 7. Gokai ida dudu meino moiyafa ‘How we got peace’**

This historical account was written by Raphael Tuga and Samuel Ero in Kasonomu village in April 2002.

(72) *Gokai ida dudu meino moi-yafa.*
how road with peace get-1P.PST
‘How we got peace.’

(73) *Sena duakau, vabara moi-na kode=ri bona*
long.ago during light get-NOM later=at and
sioni ka oki-na kode=ri bi, uni
white.man also arrive-NOM later=at TOP 1P.POSS
bobada.manone yaku iya re-gasa iniye iniye
ancestors DM iya war do-SIMSS REFL REFL
umuye-gam-adi.
kill-HAB-2/3P.PST
‘Long ago while becoming civilised, at the white men’s arrival, our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.’

(74) *Mina fogori sioni amiye roka Mista English,*
this whilst white.man person name mister English
Rigo=ri soka re-yo.
Rigo=at arrive do-2/3S.PST
‘At this time a white man named Mr English arrived in Rigo.’

(75) *Gua Kwikila vo ni-sifa mini.*
now Kwikila happen say-1P.PRES here
‘Today we call it Kwikila.’
(76) *Mina amiye feyo soka re-yo-ri, rabo.rava* this person white arrive do-2/3S.PST-SIMDS grasslands
*vene siko meino mar-o.* people first peace give-2/3S.PST ‘When this white man arrived, he first gave peace to thegrassland peoples.’

(77) *Iya re-gam-adi fogori meino moi-si, rautu* war do-HAB-2/3P.PST whilst peace get-SQSS village *neinei furisi bona kanisoro ae di-yo.* each police and council put go-2/3S.PST ‘When they were fighting he gave them peace and placed police andcouncillors in each village.’

(78) *Kolina ni-yo-ri furisi kanisoro afe-si* finish say-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police council return-SQSS *safa rofu rautu vene maina bai-yo.* bush PURP village people look.for come-2/3S.PST ‘Once he finished this, he took police and councillors to the bush andcame looking for village people.’

(79) *Bai-gika bi ini furisi vene koru gena* come-INTV TOP 3.POSS police people water bamboo *asini mar-o.* partner give-2/3S.PST ‘They were trying to come and he gave his policemen guns.’

(80) *Kuku, ramena, bona loli ka moi-yadi.* tobacco salt and lolly also get-2/3P.PST ‘They also got tobacco, salt and lollies.’

(81) *Sioni ini vene=sa rautu* white.man 3.POSS people=ACCM village *oki-gam-adi-ri rautu vene yaku ruda* arrive-HAB-2/3P.PST-SIMDS village people DM fight *re-gi re-gam-adi.* do-PURP do-HAB-2/3P.PST ‘When the white man and his people were arriving in the villages thevillage people were trying to fight.’
(82) *Idu furisi bona kanisoro yaku ramena ida moi-si*
but police and council DM salt road get-SQSS
*vau re-gam-adi meino moi-gika.*
complete do-HAB-2/3P.PST peace get-INTV
‘But the police and councillors brought salt on the way and tried
to pacify them all.’

(83) *Re bai-si uni gagani=ri oki-yadi*
do come-SQSS 1P.POSS place=at arrive-2/3P.PST
*Dueika rama=ri.*
Dueika right=at
‘They came and arrived at our place right at Dueika.’

(84) *Amiye tora regode roka Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka, person big three name Varabu Foina Itu Saraka bona Gomuna Kokoba yaku sioni ini*
and Gomuna Kokoba DM white.man 3.POSS
*voru=sa u-gika ora, mari re meki re-yadi.*
spear=ACCM hit-INTV shield shield do chase do-2/3P.PST
‘Three elders named Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka, and Gomuna
Kokoba tried to kill the white man with their spears and chase
him with shields.’

(85) *Meki re ne-yadi Memera Agafa=ri.*
chase do go.down-2/3P.PST Memera Agafa=at
‘They chased him and went down to Memera Agafa.’

(86) *Sioni mina ve-yo-ri furisi vene white.man this see-2/3S.PST-SIMDS police people ni-yo-ma koru gena fou re-yadi say-2/3S.PST-SQSS water bamboo shoot do-2/3P.PST
fer-yagane vo ni-si.
leave-3P.JUS happen say-SQSS
‘When the white man saw this, he told his police to use their
guns to make them leave.’
Varabu Foina yaku ini dubuiyaka ni-yo, ‘Ya Varabu Foina DM 3.POSS brothers say-2/3S.PST 2 raga re-bo, de-fo ne-si u-na run do-POT come.down-2P.HORT go.down-SQSS hit-NOM di mibi na ka u-na gena orı fou GEN this.one 1S also hit-NOM bamboo burn shoot re-bi-bo.’
do-DUR-POT
‘Varabu Foina told his brothers, “You come and run down and kill this one that is trying to shoot me with a gun.”’

shoot die-2/3S.PST
‘They kept coming so the white man let his dog loose, and then Varabu shot and killed it with a spear.’

Sioni ini auna muye-yo ve-yo=ri bi, white.man 3.POSS dog die-2/3S.PST see-2/3S.PST=at TOP furisi ni-yo-ma Varabu fidi re-yadi idu police say-2.3S.PST-SQSS Varabu shot do-2/3P.PST but are-na de are ame-gam-o.
stand-NOM NEG stand stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
‘When the white man saw that his dog died, he told the police they were to shoot Varabu but not those standing there.’

Furisi kero re-si Itu Saraka bona Gomuna Kokoba police turn do-SBSS Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba fidi re-yadi.
shot do-2/3P.PST
‘The police turned and shot Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba.’
(91) **Bogara Vare ini tobaiyaka muye-yadi**

Bogara Vare 3.POSS brothers die-2/3P.PST

ve-yo=ri, bi ini kefare kutu-si moi see-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS grass.skirt strip-SBSS get

odoror i-yo makai, ‘Ga re,’ ni-gasa above make-2/3S.PST like.this PRHB do say-SIMSS

kefare dudu biri ri-yo.

grass.skirt INST close make-2/3S.PST

‘When Bogara Vare saw that her brothers were dead, she lifted up her grass skirt like this (saying,) “Don’t do this,” with her grass skirt open (causing embarrassment).’

(92) **Sioni, furisi bona kanisoro Bogara Vare ini**

white.man police and council Bogara Vare 3.POSS

kefare moi odoro ri-yo ve-si ma-mo grass.skirt get above make-2/3S.PST see-SQSS and-at.once kamini fere-yadi.

enough leave-2/3P.PST

‘When the white man, police and councillors saw Bogara Vare lift up her grass skirt at once they left.’

(93) **Bogara Vare yaku makai re-yo dada gua iya**

Bogara Vare DM like.this do-2/3S.PST so now war ferei, meino moi ame-sifa mini.

leave peace get stay-1P.PST here

‘Bogara Vare did this so now we stopped fighting and are living at peace here.’

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**Text 8. Keni Raku**

This legend was written by Raphael Totome at Ukarumpa, EHP in September 2001.

(94) **Yok-aru vo ni-bo, mida yokoi roka Urava Raku**

one-day happen say-POT child one name Urava Raku ame-gam-o.

stay-HAB-2/3S.PST

‘Once upon a time, there was one boy named Urava Raku.’
(95) Rema ofi remanu, muro=ri oruma
    woman young.woman two garden=at grass
    ri-gi di-yadi.
    make-PURP go-2/3P.PST
    ‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’

(96) Mina rema remanu di roka bi, Inu Mamaru
    this woman two GEN name TOP Inu Mamaru
    bona Dau Mamaru.
    and Dau Mamaru
    ‘These two women’s names were Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’

(97) Urava Raku bi raku bona boreva moi-si
    Urava Raku TOP scabies and ringworm get-SQSS
    ame-gam-o.
    stay-HAB-2/3S.PST
    ‘Urava Raku suffered from (lit. was staying/living with) scabies
    and ringworm.’

(98) Yok-aru ne-yo rarava gade=ri ame-yo
    one-day go.down-2/3S.PST cliff edge=at stay-2/3S.PST
    rofu ini bibo u-ga ame-gam-o=ri bi
    PURP 3.POSS flute hit-SIMSS stay-HAB-2/3S.PST=at TOP
    ini oure-na rema yaku ne-yo rofu
    3.POSS lead-NOM woman DM go.down-2/3S.PST PURP
    ve-yo=ri bi, yomakai ni-yo,
    ‘Ya no Keni, see-2/3S.PST=at TOP like.this say-2/3S.PST 2 bad Keni
    Keni raku raku yaku ame-ga ni-sa.’
    Keni scabies scabies DM stay-SIMSS say-2S.PRES
    ‘One day he went down to the edge of a cliff and stayed there
    playing his flute, while the older girl went down to see and said
    this, “You are bad Keni, Keni sitting there with scabies.”’
(99) Keni Raku yaku mina neide-yo=ri bi maena
Keni Raku DM this ear-2/3S.PST=at TOP shame re-yo.
do-2/3S.PST
‘When Keni Raku heard this he was ashamed.’

(100) Dairi-si bo-yo ini nono ni
return-SQSS go.up-2/3S.PST 3.POSS mother say
oteimar-o, ‘Nono beika ni-sa rema
show-2/3S.PST mother what say-2S.PRES woman
ofi remanu, oure-na rema ofi young.woman two lead-NOM woman young.woman
yaku na ni no re-yo, ye dairi bai-yaka
DM 1S say bad do-2/3S.PST so return come-1S.PST
re-si ya rofu ni-da.’
do-SQSS 2 BEN say-1S.PRES
‘He came back and told his mother, “Mother, the older of two young women cursed me, so I came back to tell you; what do you think/have to say about it?”’

(101) Ini kosini mina sina neide-yo=ri bi ini
3.POSS mother this story hear-2/3S.PST=at TOP 3.POSS
mida rofu iriyeduka re-yo.
child BEN sorrow do-2/3S.PST
‘When his mother heard this story she was sorry for her son.’

(102) Kora, kukuru, tabo moi-yo, fore ori-yo,
wild.taro plant.sp yam get-2/3S.PST stone cook-2/3S.PST
re-si imi siu re-yo.
do-SQSS dip steam do-2/3S.PST
‘She got some wild taro, kukuru plants, and yam, and cooked them in stones and dipped him in the steam.’
(103) *Ini mida rafe mar-o, re-si mina*

3.Poss child wash give-2/3s.pst do-sqss this

*re-yo=ri bi ini mida di rovaita*
do-2/3s.pst=at top 3.Poss child gen body

*ruaka ni-yo.*

new say-2/3s.pst

‘She washed her son, and when she did this her son’s body was like new.’

(104) *Ini kosini mina ve-yo=ri bi ini mida*

3.Poss mother this see-2/3s.pst=at top 3.Poss child

*ni-yo, ‘Koima ya me-giya.’*
say-2/3s.pst leech 2 marry-2s.fut

‘When his mother saw this she said to her son, “Boy, you will get married.”’

(105) *To ini mida yaku kero re-si ni oteimar-o, but 3.Poss child dm turn do-sqss say show-2/3s.pst*

‘Ide-o, de na me-gida.’

NEG-voc NEG 1s marry-1s.fut

‘But her son turned and told her, “No way, I will not get married.”’

(106) *Ye mina mida ne-si ame-yo sana=ri*

so this child go.down-sqss stay-2/3s.pst place=at

*dudu ne-si ame=ri bi ini bibo dudu*
with go.down-sqss stay=at top 3.Poss flute with

*sa u-yo.*

accm hit-2/3s.pst

‘So this boy went down and sat at that place and went down a little further and played his flute where he sat.’

(107) *Mina fu-yo fu-yo-ri rasini keika*

this blow-2/3s.pst blow-2/3s.pst-simds sister little

*ere de-si ve tau re-yo.*

belong come.down-sqss see all do-2/3s.pst

‘He blew it and blew it and the younger girl came down to see what he was doing.’
(108) Ye ina remanu kimo ame-dedi=ri bi ini so 3 two slowly stay-2/3P.PRES=at TOP 3.POSS oure-na yaku de-si ve tau re-yo. lead-NOM DM come.down-SQSS see all do-2/3S.PST ‘So the two of them were sitting there when the older one came down to see what he was doing.’

(109) Rasini keika ni oteimar-o, ‘Nai rasini ya yaku sister little say show-2/3S.PST 1S.POSS sister 2 DM baku re-yo ye na na ma?’ find do-2/3S.PST so 1S 1S give ‘She told the younger sister, “My sister, what did you find for me?”’

(110) Idu rasini keika yaku ni-yo, ‘Mina bi nai but sister little DM say-2/3S.PST this TOP 1S.POSS yeiva dudu baku re-yaka. strength INST find do-1S.PST ‘But the younger sister said, “I found it on my own.”’

(111) Moi ya ya ma-gida bi gira tora.’ get 2 DM give-1S.FUT TOP hard big ‘To give it to you would be very difficult.”’

(112) Keni Raku dadi-si ni-yo, ‘Keni, Keni Keni Raku get.up-SQSS say-2/3S.PST Keni Keni Raku Raku momotariya vo ni-yo=ri bi Raku Raku disappear happen say-2/3S.PST=at TOP ini oure-na maena re-yo. 3.POSS lead-NOM shame do-2/3S.PST ‘Keni Raku got up and said, “Keni, Keni Raku Raku disappeared when the older one shamed him.”’

(113) Ye rasini keika bona mina mida, Keni Raku, so sister little and this child Keni Raku ina remanu me-yadi. 3 two marry-2/3P.PST ‘So the younger sister and this boy, Keni Raku, the two of them married.’
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